

INTERPRETATION OF THE T.A.T.

If we accept the hypothesis of determinism of psychological behavior, it follows that deductions concerning the personality of an individual can be based on any kind of performance. Similarly, nearly any test can be analyzed for a great many different aspects and, since each dimension is by necessity a function of the testee's personality, one is bound to have results. The crux of the matter, of course, is for tests to combine maximal applicability with maximum validity, reliability, and economy. By the same token, we need those analytical variables or scoring categories that will offer the most information with the least effort.

I like to think of scoring categories as fishnets. If a net has a large, coarse mesh, one may only catch a few very large fish, losing many medium-sized ones. On the other hand, if a net is exceedingly fine meshed, one may catch so many tiny organisms as to make it almost impossible to pull in the net and haul in a useful catch. Therefore one must select the sort of net best adapted to the task at hand and the desired goal. For research purposes, a very finely meshed set of categories may be desirable. Having very few variables, or none at all, may leave one almost emptyhanded. The ideal set of variables will be one that obtains enough information for clinical purposes without making the task overwhelming.

Before discussing different methods that have been applied to interpretation of the T.A.T., it seems appropriate to enumerate briefly some of the working assumptions held by psychologists concerning the nature of psychological tests. Interpretations of T.A.T. responses, and the diagnostic inferences based on them, are most useful when the interpreter views such responses in the light of the broader framework provided by the following assumptions, which have been noted previously by Feifel (1959). First, psychological tests represent a way of securing behavior samples of the individual. Second, the individual's test responses are the end results of thought processes stimulated by test items. These end products are causally linked to the person's typical ego-organizing principles, that is, to the means used in selecting and organizing internal and external stimuli. Test responses should be differentiated from scores. Scores are "designed to facilitate intra- and interindividual comparisons and, as such, are extremely useful in clinical testing," but "to reason only in terms of the score, or even score patterns, is to do violence to the nature of the raw material" (Schafer, 1948). Third, interpretation needs to take account of the context in which the test responses are made. For example, the meanings of similar formal test patterns may differ in dissimilar contexts. Fourth, a battery of tests is needed in order to

obtain a good picture of the many dimensions of ego functioning; no one test is able to reach all the different levels of psychic functioning.

A. Brief Review of Literature on Interpretive Methods

The original technique used by Murray and his co-workers depended on an analysis of the stories by the need-press method. While it is best to consult Murray's book (Murray, 1943) on the details of the need-press concept, it may suffice here to say that every sentence was analyzed as to the needs of the hero and the environmental forces (press) to which he is exposed. To choose a very simple example, he (the hero) loves her, but she hates him: need (for) love met by (press) hate.

Every story was analyzed thus according to all needs and presses, and each need and press received a weighted score. A rank-order system of the needs and presses could then be tabulated. At the same time, the hierarchical relationship of the needs to each other was investigated, with such concepts of Murray's as need-conflict, need-subsidiation, and need-fusion. Nearly a dozen possible schemes of categories were developed by Murray and Bellak in 1941 at the Harvard Psychological Clinic. A test manual and a guide to the interpretation were designed based on an earlier one by White and Sanford (1941). Aside from a page for the recording of the quantitative need-press data, there was also a page for the recording of more molar qualitative data; not unlike some of the categories described in the recommendations for interpretation that are indicated below.

The need-press scheme of interpretation still has many advantages for use in experiments in which detail is most important and time is no object. The method has not become at all popular clinically, however, since it is not easy to master the need concept, and it takes four to five hours on the average to interpret 20 stories with this system. Therefore a great number of attempts to interpret the T.A.T. have been developed. Wyatt (1947), in an excellent review of the scoring and analysis of the T.A.T., speaks specifically of Rapaport's, Henry's, Rotter's, Tomkins's, and his own method, aside from the need-press analysis.

Rotter's (1947) suggestions for the interpretation of the T.A.T. are presented in three steps, of which the first refers to 11 aspects of responses to be utilized for interpretation. These are as follows:

1. Autobiographical quality; coherence; predominant mood; handling of sex; endings and their relationship to the story; repetition of themes; unusual wording; attitude toward the world; characteristics of central figure; typical methods of solving problems; characters that can be identified with mother, father, son, and so on.
2. In the second step, five principles of interpretation are proposed: frequency of occurrence of an idea; unusualness (regarding plot, language, misrecognition); determination of identification; determination of clichés; and selecting alternate interpretations (decision between two possible interpretations).
3. The third step contains qualitative suggestions for the analysis of personality trends as the final step of interpretation.

In a later paper, *Rotter and Jessor* (1951) proceed in five steps:

1. The entire protocol is read for suggestive leads (mood, unusual plots, unique verbalizations, methods of solving problems, and frequency of specific themes) and for the formulation of tentative interpretations and questions to be investigated further.
2. Each story is analyzed for basic ideas and structural characteristics and is compared with plot norms.
3. Each story is considered as a unit in order to identify the characters, the conflicts, and the relationship; to decide whether the material is wishful, autobiographical, or superficial; and to select hypotheses on the basis of consistency.
4. All the stories are considered as one organized combined unit.
5. The interpretive hypotheses are integrated into a final summary evaluation, under five categories: familial attitudes; social and sexual attitudes; general (educational, vocational, etc.) attitudes; personality characteristics; and etiological implications.

Rapaport's (1947) interpretation, according to Wyatt, is predicated on an examination of the cliché quality of the responses, and the subject's deviation from clichés serves as a base line for orientation. In his "points of view" for scoring, Rapaport suggests two major classes:

- A. Formal characteristics of story structure, of which there are three aspects:
 1. *Compliance with instructions* (omissions and distortions; misplacing of emphasis; dwelling on picture rather than on situation; introduction of figures and objects not pictured)
 2. *Consistency within the testee's production* (interindividual consistency, as shown by deviation in expressive and aggressive qualities; deviation from the usual significance of a particular picture, and deviation concerning language and narrative form; intraindividual consistency)
 3. *Characteristics of verbalization*
- B. Formal characteristics of story content:
 1. *Tone of narrative*
 2. *Figures of story identifications and memory representations*
 3. *Strivings and attitudes*
 4. *Obstacles*

Henry (1947), in the most extensive and detailed scheme for analysis next to Murray's, distinguishes (A) form characteristics from (B) content characteristics.

- A. Form characteristics are divided into six major categories, each of which has several subclasses:
 1. *Amount and kind of imaginal production* (length of story, amount and kind of introduced content; vividness, originality; rhythm and smoothness; variation in the consistency of all these factors)
 2. *Organizational qualities* (presence or absence of antecedents of story and of outcome; level of organization; coherence and logic; manner of approach to central concept; contribution of elaborations and of details; variation in the consistency of all these)
 3. *Acuity of concepts, observations, and their integration*
 4. *Language structure* (movement, action, qualifying, descriptive words, etc.)
 5. *Intrception-extrception*
 6. *Relation of story told to total thought content* (condensed, suppressed)

B. Content characteristics:

1. *General tone* (positive and negative tone of language; passivity or aggressiveness of language; expressed or implied conflict; expressed or implied interpersonal harmonies or affiliative action and thought)
2. *Positive content* (characters described in the story; interpersonal relations; action core of story)
3. *Negative content* (what subject failed to say; what he might have been expected to say)
4. *Dynamic structure of content* (symbols, associations)

In the relation of the form and content characteristics, eight areas are considered: mental approach; creativity and imagination; behavioral approach; family dynamics; inner adjustment; emotional reactivity; sexual adjustment; descriptive and interpretive summary.

Tomkins (1947), in a systematic attempt at a logically consistent analysis of fantasy, distinguishes four major categories:

1. Vectors, comprising needs, or the quality of strivings "for," "against," "under," "by," "away," "from," "of."
2. Levels, such as those of wish, daydreams.
3. Conditions that may be either external forces (Murray's press) or inner states, such as anxiety or depression. Conditions do not refer to the goals of strivings but to given states the individual finds outside or inside himself.
4. Qualities, such as intensity, contingency (certainty), temporal considerations.

The principle underlying this system of analysis is that each class can be related to any other class. One vector can be the object of any other vector (e.g., the wish to act).

Tomkins's method, which is primarily for training and research, comprises both scoring and interpretation. Each story is scored according to the previously mentioned four main categories: 10 vectors, 17 levels, 12 conditions, and 6 qualifiers. The interpretation utilizes three main approaches: canons of inference, such as Mill's methods (of agreement, difference, of concomitant variation, etc.) and additional methods (for the study of cause and effect involving two or more factors); level analysis (degree of variance, relative frequency, cause-effect relationships, and sequence analysis of levels) to study the relationship between overt and covert needs, the degree to which the subject is aware of his own wishes and behavior, and the nature of the conflict between repressed wish and repressing force; and diagnosis of personality, which includes relative importance of the family, love and sex, social relationships, and work.

Korchin's (1951) use of Tomkins's method is a variant of the previously mentioned approach. It is less formalized and therefore better adapted to clinical use. It examines the characteristics of the heroes, the more generalized meanings of the main themes, the outcomes, and the levels. It also analyzes the areas of family, social relationships, work, and so on.

Wyatt (1947) uses 15 variables for the analysis of the T.A.T.: (1) story description, (2) stimulus perception, (3) deviations from typical responses, (4) deviation from self, (5) time trend, (6) level of interpretation, (7) tone of story, (8) quality of telling, (9) focal figure, (10) other figures, (11) personal relationships, (12) striving, avoidances, (13) press, (14) outcome, and (15) thema.

Magda Arnold's (1951) method of interpreting the T.A.T. emphasizes the content of the stories. Situations involving interpersonal relations, such as parent-child, heterosexual, and so on, are examined for the feelings and actions described. Thus information is obtained about the subject's attitudes, conflicts, and dominant problems. The stories are also subjected to a brief "sequential" analysis in order to see whether there is a consistent development of the central theme. The five steps in this procedure are: synopsis, situational analysis, analysis of attitudes (from the situational analysis), sequential analysis, and final integration.

Betty Aron (1951) works on the level of manifest story content, deliberately leaving aside, for the most part, formal aspects of the performance. She uses the Murray-Sanford scheme of variables—need and press—with numerous changes intended to bring the scheme into close harmony with clinical approaches and psychoanalytic theory. Each need or press is recorded together with the characters who are the subject and object of the behavior, so that a given variable can be examined in relation to the context in which it is expressed. Also recorded are surface defenses, such as conflict, denial, rejection of behavior, fantasy, uncertainty, etc.; intensity of variables, which is expressed numerically; and outcomes. The results are analyzed in terms of main features in variable scoring and in variable sequences.

Leonard Eron (1951b) uses a normative, statistical approach. Norms are based on all 20 T.A.T. cards for adult males administered in prescribed order. Stories are rated for emotional tone (from very sad to very happy) and for outcome (from complete failure to great success). Themes are noted according to a checklist of more than 100 themes classified as interpersonal, intrapersonal, and impersonal; disequilibrium (tension) and equilibrium. Any deviations from the task of making up a narrative and any distortions of the physical properties of the pictures, as well as certain other formal characteristics, are noted. The ratings are then compared with the norms. The basic data for this system are the frequency and unusualness of specific fantasy content. Interpretation of personality structure and content depends on the theoretic orientation of the interpreter and on the behavioral data from other sources.

Reuben Fine's (1951) method stresses primarily feelings and interpersonal relationships. It makes use of a checklist for scoring the presence or absence in each story of feelings (affection, anxiety, pain, etc.): interpersonal relations (moving toward, moving against, etc.) between specific types of persons (mother to child, man to woman, etc.); and the outcomes (favorable, unfavorable, or indeterminate). The interpretation is a sort of qualitative summing-up of the results.

A. Arthur Hartman (1951) uses a psychometric approach that was originally designed for research and aims at establishing quantitative norms as a basis for interpretation. It consists of the following steps:

1. Each story is rated on a five-point scale for 65 response categories covering thematic elements, feeling qualities, topics of reference, and formal response characteristics.
2. Numerical ratings on each category are totaled for all stories, and consistency and trend of ratings are noted.
3. From a list of over 40 personality variables, which previous research proved significantly correlated with certain response items, those personality variables are selected which are associated with each response category found important in the protocol.

4. Data thus obtained are integrated with other findings, to obtain a clinically meaningful personality picture.

The method used by *Robert Holt* (1951) is a clinical approach in which the interpreter reads over the stories, jots down tentative hypotheses as he goes along, and integrates these notes into a final personality summary. There is no formal scoring system, and the method may be described as intuitive. The theoretical bases are those of psychoanalytic theory and Murray's need-press formulations.

The system devised by *Walther Joel* and *David Shapiro* (1951) deals primarily with the functioning of the ego. First, interpersonal warmth and hostility and flight from such interpersonal feelings are translated into scoring symbols. Then the sequence of these interactions is analyzed, and finally the interpretation provides a picture of the process of coping with the social environment.

In *Seymour Klebanoff's* (1951) method, intended primarily for research, the content of the stories is tallied on a checklist according to overtly stated themes grouped under such categories as loss of life, aggression, internal stress, and positive themes. Profiles of absolute and percentage frequencies for each theme and each category are then analyzed. Interpretation is based on that analysis.

Jose Lasaga (1951) uses a clinical method intended to discover the psychodynamic causes of neurotic and psychotic disturbances and to be an aid in psychotherapy. It focuses attention on the patient's main conflicts and emphasizes the fact that conflicts may be disguised by a process of symbolic substitution. The actual procedure consists of the following: reading the record for general impressions; underlining phrases that express the main idea or important aspects of the main idea; summarizing each story in terms of the main idea; finding clues for discovering the key conflicts; studying anomalies among the ideas or among reaction times; taking into consideration "basic data" about the patient; and knitting all these impressions together into a summary evaluation.

Helen Sargent (1953) has devised two methods. The Sargent Insight Test Scoring Method was originally developed for scoring written responses to the author's Insight Test but is applicable to the T.A.T. Affects (A) are scored under 12 categories (pleasure, aggression, etc.) and three expressive modes (action, manifest, and latent feeling expression); defense activities (D) are scored under three categories (evaluations, elaborations, and qualifications). Maladjustment (M) scores, based on the use of the first person pronouns, irrelevant feeling expressions, and "subjectivism," are also obtained. The A/D ratio and the A-D-A/D pattern are evaluated and interpreted in terms of established norms, together with qualitative interpretation of the content.

The *Cox-Sargent* T.A.T. Normative Scoring Method is designed as a research tool for analyzing the normative aspects of responses to individual T.A.T. pictures. It uses the following main categories: feelings (frustration, anxiety, etc.); heroes (man, girl, etc.); needs (security, conformity, etc.); threats (guilt, death, etc.); actions to meet need or evade threat (negative, evasive, etc.); and outcomes (success, failure, etc.).

Percival Symonds's (1951) method utilizes the impressions received from careful readings of the protocol as a whole, rather than from the separate stories. The data extracted from the stories are classified largely in terms of themes (aggression, love, punishment, anxiety, defenses, moral standards, conflicts,

guilt, depression, forms of sublimation, etc.) and relationships (to parents, siblings, teachers, etc.). The final write-up attempts to synthesize the themes of primary importance and to indicate the dynamic relationships among them.

Ralph K. White (1951) has devised a "value analysis" method, wherein the manifest content is rewritten in terms of 50 value words that represent motivating forces. In addition, the notations indicate whose point of view is considered, so as to shed light on the storyteller's identification, and also indicate the terms in which the characters are described, in order to get at the storyteller's "social perception." The data are treated quantitatively by tallying. A frustration-satisfaction ratio is obtained from the frequencies of the positive and negative values. The overall interpretation "depends on the clinical insight and disciplined imagination of the analyst."

Piotrowski (1950) does not offer any systematized, formal method of approach to the T.A.T., but he lists nine rules of interpretation, as follows:

1. Proceed on the assumption that T.A.T. stories reflect with much greater freedom and with much less distortion the testee's activities and attitudes than they reflect the actual individuals toward whom his activities are directed and toward whom he assumes the attitudes manifested in the T.A.T.

2. When interpreting T.A.T. stories, proceed on the assumption that every figure in the T.A.T. stories expresses some aspect of the testee's personality.

3. The more acceptable an intended action (drive) is to the consciousness of the testee, the greater the similarity between the testee and the T.A.T. figure to whom the drive is attributed.

4. Bear in mind that the degree of generalization of your conclusions affects their validity. The more specific the conclusions, the more difficult it is to confirm and the more easy it is to invalidate them by facts. The more general and more restrained the conclusions, the more likely they are to be valid.

5. Take into consideration the possibility that the stories may not reflect genuine drives but superficial and stereotyped attitudes developed by the testee in order to hide his specific personality traits.

6. Proceed on the assumption that the stories frequently reflect what the subject thinks and feels about persons represented by the T.A.T. figures (i.e., about the old and the young, the male and the female persons). Of course, the T.A.T. would disclose the testee's ideas about those old, young, male, and female persons who play important roles in his life rather than his ideas about old, young, male, or female persons, as such.

7. The more varied and the more incompatible the drives in a subject's stories, the greater the possibility of poor personality integration, of great inner tension, of fear that the unacceptable drives will undermine self-control and will prompt the subject to act contrary to his self-interest. The greater the diversity of the T.A.T. drives, the greater the testee's indecisiveness and anxiety.

8. The chances of a T.A.T. thema being manifested in the subject's overt behavior are positively correlated with the frequency of the thema's appearance in the T.A.T., with the consistency of the total T.A.T. record (absence of incompatible themas), and with the emotional intensity accompanying the expression of the thema.

9. Employ all formal rules which have been proven valuable in the study of creative associative power. These rules are not specific to the T.A.T. and refer to a variety of formal aspects of the T.A.T. performance: uneven pace in the production of the stories, long and variable pauses, marked differences in the number and elaboration of ideas elicited by some pictures as compared with those prompted by other pictures, disregarding of picture details which usually produce comments, farfetched and bizarre notions, sudden or gradual increase or decrease of ideas, and so on.

David McClelland (1953), addressing himself to achievement motivation exclusively, has devised a measure of this motive as it is expressed in imaginative

stories, particularly the T.A.T. First, the scorer must determine whether or not the story contains any reference to an achievement goal that would justify scoring the subcategories as achievement related. Stories are scored for such Achievement Imagery (A.I.) only when at least one of three criteria, all of which deal with manifestation by a story character of "Competition with a standard of excellence," is met.

The scoring subcategories are:

1. *Stated need for achievement* (N). Someone in the story states the desire to reach an achievement goal.
2. *Instrumental activity*. By one or more characters; is scored I+, I?, I- to indicate whether the outcome of the instrumental activity is successful, doubtful, or unsuccessful.
3. *Anticipatory goal states* (Ga+, Ga-). Someone in the story anticipates goal attainment or frustration and failure.
4. *Obstacles or blocks*. Stories are scored for obstacles when the progress of goal-directed activity is blocked or hindered by a personal obstacle (Bp) or environmental obstacle (Bw).
5. *Nurturant press* (Nup). Forces in the story, personal in source, which aid the character who is involved in ongoing achievement-related activity are scored nurturant press.
6. *Affective states* (G+, G-). Affective states associated with goal attainment, active mastery, or frustration of the achievement-directed activity are scored G.
7. *Achievement thema* (Ach Th). Achievement thema is scored when the achievement imagery is elaborated so that it becomes the central plot of the story.

The *n* achievement score for any individual is computed by combining indexes as follows. Unrelated imagery is scored -1, doubtful achievement imagery is scored 0, and A.I. is scored +1. If a story is scored for A.I., the subcategories are scored. Each subcategory is scored only once per story and given a weight of +1. An achievement score for each story is obtained by summing algebraically the category scores for that story. The *n* achievement score for the subject is the total of scores obtained on all the stories.

Fred Pine (1960) has devised a manual for rating drive content in T.A.T. stories. Dual significance is posited in the use of drive content in these themes; absence of such content implies a pervasive, rigid, and fragile system of ego defenses, whereas at the other extreme there are two possibilities: (1) a weakening of ego control over impulses, such that results are maladaptive, or (2) drive energies have been neutralized so that they can be used in productive mental activity. The present manual provides a method for rating libidinal and aggressive drive material in the manifest content of stories, and also describes a procedure for rating the degree to which drive content is integrated into the theme (effectiveness of such integration is considered an index of ego control). Three ratings are obtained for integration of drive content, based on three types of drive content that are distinguished: thematic, incidental, and nonappropriate. Three ratings are also arrived at for three levels of directness of expression of drive content; these levels are direct-unsocialized, direct-socialized, and indirect-disguised or weak. An especially useful method for a modified, quantitative content analysis of T.A.T. stories of the entire families of schizophrenics, delinquents, and normals has been described by Stabenau and colleagues (1965), and a scoring manual was developed by Werner and colleagues.

T.A.T. responses have obviously been studied in many ways, more or less complex. The simplest procedure is the *inspection technique*. It is frequently helpful merely to read through the stories, treating them as meaningful psychological communications; one simply underlines anything that seems significant, specific, or unique. When an experienced examiner rereads the stories a second time, he can, almost without effort, find a repetitive pattern running through them, or he can find facets of different stories falling together into a meaningful whole. This method becomes easier the more experience one has with the T.A.T. or the more clinical, particularly psychoanalytical, experience one has.

In psychotherapy (see Chapter 7) it may be particularly helpful to have the patient hold one carbon copy of the T.A.T. stories while the psychotherapist has another, and then have the patient free associate generally to the stories and make his own attempts at interpretation.

Since I believe that the strength of the T.A.T. lies in its ability to elicit the content and dynamics of interpersonal relationships and the psychodynamic patterns, my method of interpretation and my scoring categories are primarily concerned with these dimensions and only to a small extent with the formal characteristics.

The main thing to remember in the interpretation of the T.A.T. is the following: The T.A.T. pictures are best seen psychologically as a series of social situations and interpersonal relations. Instead of responding to real people in real situations, the subject is responding to people in the pictures, which he imagines as certain social situations. Since he is under less constraint of conventionality of reality, his responses are more likely to depict his inner feelings. This means we get at the contemporary patterns of his social behavior and may be able to infer the genesis of these patterns. Interpretation is the process of finding a common denominator in the contemporary and genetic behavior patterns of a person (Bellak, 1948).

Among other things, this definition of interpretation implies what cannot be too strongly emphasized, particularly for the beginner: A diagnostic statement should hardly ever be made that is based on a datum revealed in only one story. Impressions gleaned in one instance can be considered a very tentative inference only, for which one must try to find corroboration in other stories or through some source of information external to the T.A.T. *A repetitive pattern is the best assurance that one does not deal with an artefact.*

To give a more definite frame of reference for scoring and a more objectively comparable scheme of interpretation, I have designed the system that Psychological Corporation has published as the Bellak T.A.T. Blank and Analysis Sheet* (Figure 4-1). I believe that it is a system simple enough to be most easily mastered, to serve as a guide and frame of reference, and to make it possible to glean the most important data of a complete 10-story T.A.T. in about half an hour.

* I am indebted to the Psychological Corporation of New York City for permitting me to reproduce here material that they originally published as the Bellak T.A.T. Blank, Analysis Sheets, and Guide to the interpretation of the T.A.T.

Name _____ Story No. _____ (TAT Picture No. _____)

1. Main theme (descriptive, interpretive, diagnostic):

2. Main hero: age _____ sex _____ vocation _____
interests _____ traits _____ abilities _____
adequacy (././././././.) _____ body image and or self image _____

3. Main needs and drives of hero:
 - a) behavioral needs of hero (as in story): _____
dynamic inference: _____
 - b) figures, objects, or circumstances introduced: _____
implying need for or to: _____
 - c) figures, objects, or circumstances omitted: _____
implying need for or to: _____

4. Conception of environment (world) as: _____

5. Parental figures (m _____, f _____) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is _____
Contemp. figures (m _____, f _____) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is _____
Junior figures (m _____, f _____) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is _____

6. Significant conflicts: _____

7. Nature of anxieties: (./)

of physical harm and/or punishment _____	of illness or injury _____
of disapproval _____	of deprivation _____
of lack or loss of love _____	of being devoured _____
of being deserted _____	of being overpowered and helpless _____
other _____	

8. Main defenses against conflicts and fears: (./)

repression _____	reaction-formation _____	rationalization _____	isolation _____
regression _____	introjection _____	denial _____	undoing _____
projective identification _____	other _____		splitting _____

9. Adequacy of superego as manifested by "punishment" for "crime" being: (./ ././ ./././)

appropriate _____	inappropriate _____
too severe (also indicated by immediacy of punishment) _____	
inconsistent _____	too lenient _____
also _____	
delayed initial response or pauses _____	
stammer _____	other manifestations of superego interference _____

10. Integration of the ego, manifesting itself in: (./ ././ ./././) (see also ego function rating scale on page 6 of Blank)

adequacy of hero _____	outcome _____	happy _____	unhappy _____
		realistic _____	unrealistic _____
	solution _____	adequate _____	inadequate _____
thought processes as revealed by plot being: (./ ././ ./././)			
structured _____	unstructured _____	stereotyped _____	original _____
rational _____	bizarre _____	complete _____	incomplete _____
			inappropriate _____

- Intelligence: (./) superior _____ above average _____ average _____ below average _____ defective _____

Analysis Sheet for use with the Bellak TAT Blank (Revised)

Figure 4-1 Analysis Sheet for Use with the Bellak T.A.T. Blank

B. Observation-Near and Observation-Distant Diagnosis

Psychoanalysis as a form of psychotherapy has at times suffered from the fact that one analyst might make one type of interpretation and another may make a divergent one. They might have each been correct but addressing themselves to different aspects of the patient's statement. It is, therefore, at least necessary to

specify the level of abstraction one is addressing. "The patient is angry" would be an observation-near diagnosis. To say that some object representations are in conflict with some self-representations would be an observation-distant inference, involving structural concepts and internalization (e.g., of parental figures whose images interact conflictually with internalized images of oneself), which then produced anger. The chances for error and disagreements are much higher with such observation-distant conclusions.

Similar problems occur in T.A.T. interpretations. It may hold true that the relatively less experienced a clinician, the "wilder" the interpretation may be.

A major attempt to avoid wild interpretations is made by way of the Blank (discussed above). This holds true especially for the breakdown of the theme into descriptive, interpretive, and diagnostic versions. The descriptive theme is the one nearest to observation, whereas the diagnostic and symbolic levels are quite observation-distant. Keeping these concepts in mind should further help avoid wild interpretations.

The following story of a 15-year-old boy may serve as an example:

Story 1

He doesn't obviously want to play the violin. He's a little mad, because his mom [told] him to play the violin, right? But he can't get that note. So he's a little mad and frustrated. So he wants to give up. But I think he's going to stick to it. *What will the outcome be?* He'll stick to it. (Sings "stick to it" to himself.)

The *descriptive* level of this first story might be that the boy does not want to play the violin because his mother told him to, but feels frustrated that he can't do it. He wants to give up, but also stick to it, and eventually sticks to it.

Interpretive Level. If one is told to do something by a maternal figure, one gets angry and also frustrated that one can't perform the task. Eventually, one sticks to it.

Diagnostic Level. Reacts with anger to maternal figures. There is a conflict between disobeying and wishing to be able to do it, and eventually the boy conforms and succeeds.

This story reveals that the young man telling it has a conflict with maternal figures but resolves the conflict by succeeding in his effort. The story tells us that this 15-year-old is rebellious against his mother, but that his own need for achievement makes him succeed in his tasks (broadly speaking, his growing up).

Story 2

Three different things to this. Doesn't look too good. Three people probably don't know each other. This girl goes to school, and she's thinking of what she might have left at home. This guy's too busy to know about anything. Because he's trying to hit this horse. The lady's off nowhere. She doesn't know that she's doing it either. She's just looking out yonder. So they all look like they're doing separate things.

This card is usually considered to reflect family relations. In this boy's case, the *descriptive* level is that three people do different things and don't even know

each other. The girl might have left something at home. The guy uses business to stay uninvolved. It's his horse. The female figure is "off" and doesn't know what she is doing, either.

Interpretive Level. If a family of three is together, they remain utterly uninvolved with each other, though not without conflict. The girl thinks she might have left something at home. The guy uses overactivity for denial and directs his anger at the horse. The maternal figure is also off nowhere.

Diagnostic Level. A family without any contact with each other, which the narrator regrets ("She might have left something at home"). The mother figure is described as "off nowhere." Her pregnancy is ignored. This is obviously a 15-year-old who feels a great deal of isolation within the family (which makes him angry) and wishes it weren't so.

The above example demonstrates the ease with which one may distill considerable information by a careful progression from observation-near data to more abstract observation-distant ones.

Aside from this descriptive diagnosis, it is important to see that these two stories alone—and the rest of the stories not reported here and further insight—are a valuable guide to planning psychotherapy. The many fast pictures of rebelliousness and poor performance in school becomes more hopeful therapeutically as one sees he is frustrated and wants to do better and expresses perseverance.

The second picture makes quite clear for anybody that he feels a lack of relationship in the family and that one will have to deal with the lack of warmth and relationship in the family, possibly with family therapy supplementing the individual therapy.

These simple stories demonstrate again that even a superficial study of the stories—the observation-near data—can be extremely useful for the therapist. This young man was seen in consultation because of learning difficulties. He's so restless that he has been dismissed from several schools and has been arrested several times for minor misdemeanors. He lives with his mother and her boyfriend in comfort but in emotional isolation. At the same time, he appears manifestly outgoing, friendly, and dynamic. He denies any anger but is very difficult to live with.

Subsequent responses to the T.A.T. and neuropsychological testing lead to the diagnosis of attention-deficit disorder.

C. How to Use the Long Form of the T.A.T. Blank*†

The Bellak T.A.T. Blank consists of a six-page folder plus separate recording and analysis sheets, of which one page from the folder is duplicated. On the cover of

* Published by The Psychological Corporation, 555 Academic Court, San Antonio, TX 78204.

† Revised, 1973

the folder one records the personal data of the client and, when the analysis is complete, one writes a Final Report.

Let us assume that the examiner wishes to secure 10 stories from a client and that he is going to take down these stories himself as the client tells them. The first story will be written on page 2 of the T.A.T. Blank; the second story will be written on the back of an analysis sheet. Story 3 is recorded on the back of another analysis sheet, and so on, until the 10 stories have been recorded. The examiner now has the 10 stories recorded, one on the inside cover of the blank and nine on the back of separate analysis sheets. If these are placed in order, printed side up, and laid on top of page 3 in the T.A.T. Blank, the examiner will note that when each sheet is turned over he has an Analysis Sheet opposite the corresponding story. The Analysis Sheet for story 1 is on the front side of the paper on which story 2 is written; the Analysis Sheet for story 2 is on the front side of the sheet on which story 3 is written, and so forth. The analysis of story 10 (or the last story, if more or fewer stories are used) will be made on the Analysis Sheet that is printed as page 3 of the six-page Blank.

After the stories have been analyzed in this fashion, the examiner can write a summary of each of the stories in the space provided on page 4. (If more than 10 stories are used, more summaries can be written on the back of page 4.) It is best to write these summaries after all the stories have been analyzed, because the summary is one of the stages of formally integrating the content of the analysis of each separate story. When the summary sheet has been completed on page 4, one is prepared to write the Final Report. It will be noted that by folding the Blank, the space for the final report and the summary page may be exposed side by side.

When the task is done, the loose sheets may be stapled in the folder for safekeeping, and the final report appears on the cover for convenient reference.

As noted earlier, some examiners prefer to have their patients write the stories themselves. Since the patients should not have access to the outline on the analysis sheet, they should write their stories on plain 8½ by 11 paper. If the stories are so short that there are several on a sheet, they can be cut up and either pasted or clipped to the back of the separate analysis sheets so that the final arrangement will be the same as if the examiner himself had written on the back of the analysis sheets. If a separate sheet is used for each story, the folder will naturally be a little bulkier unless a typist is available to copy the stories onto the backs of the analysis sheets.

For some items on the analysis sheet, appropriate information from the story must be written in, using whatever short phrase or key word will most facilitate the analytic process. For others, indicated on the Blank by (✓), a system of checks is suggested. A single check (✓) may be used to indicate the mere presence of a given attitude, conflict, or the like. A double check (✓✓) or triple check (✓✓✓) may be used to indicate increasing levels of importance to be assigned to the given item in summarizing the story. It is hoped that this approach to quantification will further research studies of interexaminer reliability of interpretation in addition to increasing the flexibility of the analysis form. Blank spaces are provided for adding categories or ideas not given in the outline. Despite the increasing use of the more recent Short Form of the Blank, the Long Form is still highly useful, especially for training and research.

D. Scoring Categories (Ten Variables)

The following suggestions for the use and interpretation of the individual scoring categories of the T.A.T. Blank may be helpful.

I. The Main Theme

The main theme is best understood as an attempt to restate the gist of the story. (It must be remembered that one T.A.T. story may actually have more than one basic theme.) Since beginners in the use of the test go off on a tangent most often in an interpretation of the main theme, a breakdown of the main theme into five levels is recommended.* This breakdown of the main theme is an *important teaching device*. In essence, the student is guided to make *sound inferences in the transition from primary data to diagnostic formulation*. In that process, one automatically proceeds from observation-near inferences to the more ambitious, but also more risky, observation-distant conclusions. This procedure should protect one against wild interpretations. The five levels are:

1. The *descriptive* level: On this level the theme should be a plain restatement of the summarized meaning of the story, a finding of the common trend restated in an abbreviated form and simple words.
2. The *interpretive* level.
3. The *diagnostic* level.
4. The *symbolic* level.
5. The *elaborative* level.

The example of the following story may help (6BM):

This is a young successful engineer. He is the only son in his family; his father is dead, and his mother is very close to him. He is in the oil business and he has been offered a contract to go overseas to the East Indies. He has signed the contract and is about to leave. He obtains her farewell and they part heartbroken. After a while she feels very lonesome and decides to follow her son to the East Indies. It is wartime and somehow she obtains passage on a ship to the island on which her son is. An enemy submarine sinks her ship and she perishes. Her son had not heard about her intentions but had independently planned to visit her as a surprise. He decides to return home for a surprise. The ship on which he had obtained passage is taking the same route his mother had taken. At the exact spot where his mother perishes, another enemy submarine attacks and he perishes also.

The theme on a *descriptive* level could be briefly restated as: A son lives alone with his beloved mother and leaves her—when they both try to rejoin each other they die on the same spot. On an *interpretive* level one may go a step further and put the meaning in a generalized form, assuming a meaning beyond the story:

* For the beginner it is most helpful to force oneself to go through all five levels. However, it may not be necessary to put them all down in writing. The descriptive level, in particular, is a crutch; it may suffice just to state the theme at this level in one's mind. The interpretive level might be recorded on each analysis sheet, and the diagnostic, or higher, level may be the basis for the summary statement. These levels are primarily a learning device. Once one is experienced, the interpretive and diagnostic levels should be enough, just using the blanks for summaries.

The patient believes that if one* permits oneself (incestual) fantasies, such as living with the mother, then both parties die. On a *diagnostic* level one transforms these impressions into a definitive statements: This man has incestuous problems and oedipal conflicts that cause him severe guilt feelings. On a *symbolic* level one may choose to interpret symbols according to psychoanalytic hypotheses; extreme parsimony and caution must be strongly recommended since this level takes one relatively farthest away from hard facts. In our example one might, for instance, possibly want to interpret the torpedoes as paternal phallic symbols that endanger and destroy both mother and son for their illicit attempted get-together. On an *elaborative* level one must get the subject's elaborations and free associations to such specific data as: "East Indies," "engineer," to any proper names or dates, and any other associations he can give.

2. The Main Hero†

The main hero of the story is the one who is most spoken of, whose feelings and subjective notions are most discussed, and, in general, the figure with whom the narrator seems to identify himself. In case of doubt, the figure resembling the patient most closely in age, sex, and other characteristics should be considered the main hero. At times a man may identify himself with a female "main hero"; if this occurs repeatedly, it *might* be considered a sign of latent homosexuality (depending on the total picture). While practically all young men identify in picture 2 with the young girl in the foreground, only some (there is disagreement regarding the percentage) consider the figure in picture 3BM a female. Vocation, interest, traits, abilities, and adequacy as well as body image of the main hero frequently depict qualities or desired qualities of the patient.

By *adequacy* of the hero we mean his ability to carry through tasks under external and internal difficulties in a socially, morally, intellectually, and emotionally acceptable manner. The adequacy of the hero frequently conforms to a pattern throughout the stories and is often in a direct relationship to the ego strength of the patient.

It should also be mentioned here that at times there may be more than one hero in a story. The patient may use a second figure with whom to identify himself, aside from the clearly recognizable hero. This happens rather rarely; usually it involves a figure introduced but not present in the picture itself, and concerns drives and sentiments which are even more objectionable to the patient than the ones pertaining to the main hero. (Other devices for emphatically trying

* The interpretive level can nearly always be stated as a generalized conditional clause introduced by "If one. . . ."

† Some of the following variables were used by me in an earlier mimeographed scoring blank I designed while at the Harvard Psychological Clinic in 1940-42. Thus a great and not easily specified extent of information and stimulation concerning these variables was received from Dr. H. A. Murray, Dr. R. W. White, and indirectly from Dr. R. N. Sanford who, with Dr. White, had written a mimeographed guide to the T.A.T. which served as the major stimulus for systematic attempts of interpretation. I wish to express my gratitude to these and other members of the staff of the Harvard Psychological Clinic.

to dissociate oneself from a story are to place it far away geographically and/or temporally (e.g., placing a story in Russia in the Middle Ages.)

The *body image* concept was originally created by Schilder (1925), who stated: "The image of the human body means the picture of our own body which we form in our mind . . . the way in which the body appears to ourselves." This concept reveals itself particularly clearly in the violin picture (picture 1), but also in 3BM and in the rope picture (17BM). In picture 1 one may learn about the subject's conception of his own body either in the discussion of the boy or often in the treatment of the violin. This instrument seems to become identified with the hero, and may be described as broken or empty, and dead and falling apart. Particularly in this latter case the reference transcends the body image and really becomes a matter of self-image—including the emotional tone and the subject's conception of his role in the world. (Sometimes the violin is identified with the female body, the bow constituting the male.) Similarly, 3BM and 17BM lend themselves to the characterization of the conception of body and self and the social role.

3. Main Needs and Drives of the Hero

Experience in teaching the T.A.T. has shown that the inquiry concerning the hero's needs produces three types of data that are frequently confused to the detriment of the accuracy of the observations.

Behavioral Needs. The behavioral needs of the hero constitute the rock bottom data: If the hero is extremely aggressive in the story, attacking and hurting a number of people as the theme unfolds, it is worth recording. It is of course useful to remember that the behavioral needs of the hero *may* be the behavioral needs of the subject, but *prima facie* they are only the fantasy needs of the subject.

The problem of the relationship of *latent needs* in the T.A.T. to overt behavior is an important one. The interpreter of T.A.T. stories often must decide whether a need expressed pertains strictly to the fantasy level or reality; for example, the need for aggression or for achievement. The psychologist should have available a maximum of clinical and biographical data about the patient. The clinical situation is not one concerned with testing the validity of the instrument. Problems of the validity of the T.A.T. are dealt with in experiments and must be decided there. If one has sufficient information about the patient, then the T.A.T. stories must be seen as complementary to the behavioral data obtained. For instance, if the subject is shy and retiring and the stories are full of aggression and guilt feelings about the figures, the implications are obvious. On the other hand, there are certain indications from intratest situations that permit us to make assumptions about the manifest or latent needs expressed in the T.A.T. For example, in stories of achievement it is extremely important to notice whether they follow the *deus ex machina* mechanism (simple wish fulfillment) or are actually accomplished piece by piece and suggest much more that they correspond to a behavioral need for achievement.

It was R. N. Sanford (1943) who pointed out some important rules concerning the relationship between fantasy needs and behavioral needs. He suggested

that there are certain needs that are usually high in fantasy and low in behavior—namely, those needs that are usually prohibited and inhibited by cultural pressure from overt manifestation. These are mainly the needs for acquisition, aggression, autonomy, and sexual activity, the wish to be taken care of, and the need for harm avoidance. However, some needs may find little manifest expression in fantasy but may find much expression in manifest behavior because of reality demands—for example, the needs for order, for avoiding social blame, for learning. Again, there is a class of needs that may be high both in fantasy and in behavior, indicating that, while these needs are permitted and encouraged socially, they may yet be sufficiently frustrated to require particular gratification on the fantasy level (especially needs for achievement, friendship, and dominance).

Dynamic Inference. If a subject (hero) is frequently very nurturant and supportive to a number of other figures, one may have reason to suspect that these figures are secondary or tertiary identification figures for the subject, and that the nurturance shown is indicative of a profoundly succorant, demanding attitude on the part of the hero, an attitude that he wards off in this way. Or one may have indications that the subject who avoids all reference to aggression does so because of a great deal of aggression, which he has to keep under control by denying all of it (an inference permitted only if there is supportive evidence).

Figures, Objects, or Circumstances Introduced. A subject who introduces weapons of one sort or another in a number of stories (even without using them in the context) or who has food as an integral part (even without eating it) may be tentatively judged on such evidence as having a need for aggression or oral gratification respectively. Similarly, the introduction of such figures as punisher, pursuer, benefactor, and the like, or such circumstances as injustice, deprivation, and so on, may be interpreted with due regard to the rest of the record.

Figures, Objects, or Circumstances Omitted. If a subject omits reference to the gun in 3BM and to the rifle in 8BM, or does not see the one woman in 18GF choking the other, one may infer a need to repress aggression—or a need to repress sexual stimuli if the semi-nude in the background of picture 4 is ignored, or if 13MF is seen as entirely devoid of sexual references. The inference can only be tentative until we have a large enough sample to achieve a statistical basis for what the expectations are when a certain object is introduced or omitted, so as to be reasonably accurate in judging when a subject deviates from the norm.

4. The Conception of the Environment (World)

This concept is a complex mixture of unconscious self-perception and apperceptive distortion of stimuli by memory images of the past. The more consistent a picture of the environment appears in the T.A.T. stories, the more reason we have to consider it an important constituent of our subject's personality and a useful clue to his reactions in everyday life. Usually, descriptive terms will suffice, such as *succorant, hostile, exploiting, friendly, dangerous*, and so forth.

5. Figures Seen as . . .

The T.A.T. is primarily an instrument that permits a study of the apperceptive distortions of the social relationships and the dynamic factors basic to them. Therefore, an exhaustive study of the hero's attitudes to parental, contemporary, and younger or inferior persons is an integral part of our scheme. This method permits recording these apperceptions and the subject's reactions to his perception, that is, each picture allows the subject to create a situation that can best be understood as a problem ("Tell me what is going on") which he then has to proceed to solve ("And tell me what the outcome will be"), thus baring his ability to come to compromise formations with his own needs, in other words, to show us his defenses. For instance, if a subject chooses to perceive female figures in the T.A.T. as aggressive, then it is worthwhile for us to determine how he proceeds to react to these creatures of his fancy, whether with withdrawal, counteraggression, intellectualization, or other forms of behavior.

6. Significant Conflicts

When we study the significant conflicts of an individual, we not only want to know the nature of the conflict but also the defenses which the subject uses against it. It is important, in designating which drive or force is in conflict with the superego, to specify in a word or two the resultant behavior: e.g., if the conflict is between superego and aggression, it may be that the subject reacts with *shyness*. Here, we have an excellent opportunity for a study of the character structure and the prognosis of the patient. Sometimes the conflict may not be between the superego and such drives as aggression, acquisition, or sexual desires, but between two drives such as achievement and pleasure or autonomy and compliance.

7. Nature of Anxieties

The importance of determining the main anxieties hardly needs emphasizing. Again, it will be valuable to note the defenses in this context, whether they take the form of passivity, flight, aggression, orality, or those mentioned below.

8. Main Defenses against Conflicts and Fears

The T.A.T. should not be studied exclusively for drive content, but should, in addition, be examined for the defenses against these drives. Such a study of defenses will often offer more information in that the drives may appear less clearly than the defenses against them; on the other hand, the defensive structure may be more closely related to manifest behavior. By studying drives and defenses the T.A.T. often permits a clear-cut appraisal of the character structure of the subject. It is also valuable to study the molar aspects of the stories. For instance, some subjects choose obsessive defenses against a disturbing picture content; they may produce four or five themes, each very short and descriptive, manifestly different but dynamically identical. Sometimes a succession of themes to one and the same picture shows the subject's attempts to deal with a disturbing

conflict; successive stories may become more and more innocuous, showing an increase in the defenses. On the other hand, each successive theme may permit more expression of the forbidden drive.

9. Adequacy of Superego as Manifested by "Punishment" for "Crime"

The relationship of the nature of the punishment to the severity of the offense gives us an excellent insight into the severity of the superego; a psychopath's hero may consistently receive no punishment in stories of murder, with no more than a slight suggestion that he may have learned a lesson for later life, while a neurotic may have stories in which the hero is accidentally or intentionally killed or mangled or dies of illness following the slightest infraction or expression of aggression. On the other hand, a nonintegrated superego, sometimes too severe and sometimes too lenient, is also frequently met in neurotics.

10. Integration of the Ego

This is, of course, an important variable to learn about; it tells us how well able a subject is to function. It tells us to what extent he is able to compromise between his drives and the demands of reality on the one hand, and the commands of his superego on the other. The adequacy of the hero in dealing with the problems he is confronted with in the pictures, and his own apperception of it, tells us what we want to know in this respect.

Here we are interested in some formal characteristics: Is the subject able to tell appropriate stories which constitute a certain amount of cognizance of the adaptive aspects of the stimulus, or does he leave the stimulus completely and tell a story with no manifest relation to the picture because he is not well enough to perceive reality or too preoccupied with his own problems to keep them out, whether pertinent or not? Does he find rescue and salvation from the anxiety pertaining to the test by giving very stereotyped responses, or is he well enough and intelligent enough to be creative and give more or less original stories? Having produced a plot, can he attain a solution of the conflicts in the story and within himself which is adequate, complete and realistic, or do his thought processes become unstructured or even bizarre under the impact of the problem?

These observations permit an appraisal of what really constitutes ego strength, often contributing a great deal to facilitating possible classification of the patient in one of the nosological categories, in addition to the dynamic diagnosis which the content variables supply as the main contribution of the T.A.T.

Here too belong such considerations as *the distance of the subject from his story*; for instance, if the setting of the story is far away or long ago, or if the hero is merely an onlooker, or if it is reported as a scene from a movie, or if emotional situations are told in a sarcastic tone and embellished with *sotto voce* remarks, all these factors usually imply an attempt to isolate oneself from the emotional content of the story as a defense mechanism. On the other hand, if a subject immediately involves himself personally in the story and says, "That is just what happened to me . . .," it may mean a loss of distance and implies a very narcissistic preoccupation with the self.

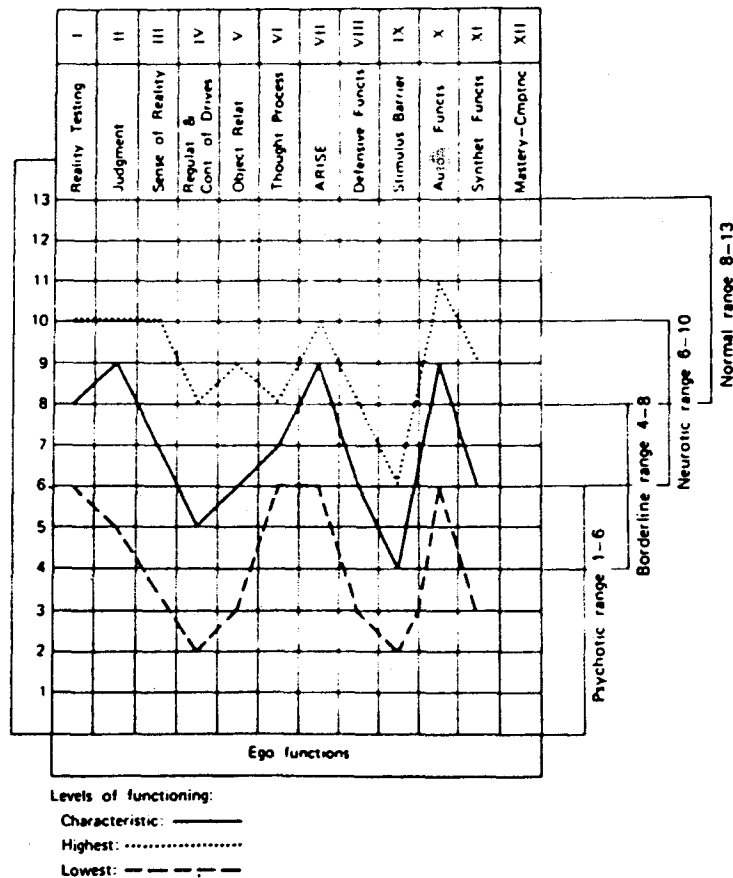
From a formal standpoint, it is useful to consider that telling stories about the pictures is a task which the subject must perform. We may judge his adequacy, ego strength, and other variables from the standpoint of his ability and way of meeting the task.

Clinical interest in *ego functions* has steadily increased. Therefore, a specific ego function assessment scale is provided on page 6 of the T.A.T. Blank. This scale is predicated upon detailed definitions and extensive research reported elsewhere (Arnold, 1951). When ego functions were studied by interview, psychological tests, and laboratory methods, it turned out somewhat surprisingly that ratings derived from the T.A.T. by several raters correlated more highly than those for the Rorschach, WAIS, Figure Drawings, and the Bender Gestalt Test (Arnold, 1951, p. 331). Ego functions may be assessed from the T.A.T. stories themselves and entered on the rating scale. If desired, highest may be drawn to connect the ratings (see the figure below). One may also wish to assess ego functions from the test behavior. It is suggested that this be recorded and reported separately in the space beneath the scale on page 6.

The 12 ego functions may be briefly defined as follows:

I. Reality Testing

The ability to differentiate between inner and outer stimuli involves continuous selective scanning and matching contemporary percepts against past percepts



and ideas. Social contexts and norms will always be relevant in assessing reality testing.

Inner-reality testing is included in this scale. It is reflected here in the degree to which the person is in touch with his inner self. Stated another way, this implies "psychological-mindedness" or "reflective awareness" (e.g., of the implications of the T.A.T. stories).

II. Judgment

Ratings for judgment are based on data indicating comprehension and appraisals of hypothetical and real situations, and the subject's evaluations of the consequences of action or other behavior related to these situations, as the subject creates them here.

III. Sense of Reality of the World and of the Self

This scale assesses disturbances in the sense of ones' self, as it relates to the outside world. It also assays the sense of reality or unreality of the world. For instance, some T.A.T. stories include talk about ghostly creatures and unreal half-worlds!

IV. Regulation and Control of Drives, Affects, and Impulses

This function refers to the extent to which delaying and controlling mechanisms allow drive derivatives to be expressed in a modulated and adaptive way, characterized, optimally, by neither under- nor overcontrol.

V. Object Relations

Optimal relationships are relatively free of maladaptive elements suggesting patterns of interaction that were more appropriate to childhood situations than to the present ones. The most pathological extreme would be essentially an absence of relationships with any people; next would be present relations based on early fixations, unresolved conflicts, and very hostile sadomasochistic relationships. Optimal relations would be the most mature, relatively free of distortions, and gratifying to adult libidinal, aggressive, and ego needs. For picture 1 of the T.A.T., a story in which a violinist plays with pleasure before an empty Carnegie Hall, suggests a great deal of narcissism.

VI. Thought Processes

Disturbances in formal characteristics of logical thinking, as well as the interference of primary process material need to be rated.

VII. ARISE

Adaptive regression in the service of the ego (ARISE) refers to the ability of the ego to initiate a partial, temporary, and controlled lowering of its own functions (keep in mind here the component factors of the eleven ego functions) in the furtherance of its interests (i.e., promoting adaptation). Such regressions result in a relatively free, but controlled, play of the primary process. This ego function can be particularly well observed from the way in which the subject is able to deal with the T.A.T. as a creative task.

VIII. Defensive Functioning

Defenses protect preconscious and conscious organizations from the intrusions of id derivatives, unconscious ego, and superego tendencies. They aid adaptation by

controlling the emergence of anxiety-arousing, or other dysphoric psychic content, such as ego-alien instinctual wishes and affects (including depression), which conflict with reality demands. Excessive defensiveness is of course also maladaptive. A notation—whether excessive or defective—is useful.

IX. Stimulus Barrier

Both thresholds and responses to stimuli contribute to adaptation by the organism's potential for responding to high, average, or low sensory input, so that optimal homeostasis (as well as adaptation) is maintained. Stimulus barrier determines, in part, how resilient a person is or how he readapts after the stress and impingements are no longer present. A story of a mother who can't stand the yelling of her child and how it affects her would be very informative here.

X. Autonomous Functioning

Intrusion of conflict, ideation, affect, and/or impulse upon functioning is a major criterion for determining impairment of either the primary or the secondary autonomy.

The basic apparatuses and functions of primary autonomy are:

perception	memory	language
intentionality	hearing	productivity
concentration	vision	motor development
attention	speech	and expression

XI. Synthetic-Integrative Functioning

This ego function fulfills one of the major tasks of the ego as defined by Freud, in terms of reconciling the often conflicting demands of the id, superego, and outside world, as well as the incongruities within the ego. We focus on the reconciling of areas that are in conflict and also on the extent of relating together areas that are not in conflict.

XII. Mastery-Competence

Raters must score competence and sense of competence separately, since a number of different relationships between the two are possible: (1) they may be congruent; (2) actual performance may exceed the sense of competence; and (3) sense of competence may exceed mastery-competence.

E. The Summary and Final Report

After all the stories have been analyzed, the main data obtained from each should be noted down in the appropriate space on page 4. When the summary page is studied after the analysis of all the stories has been completed, a repetitive pattern in the subject's responses ordinarily becomes quite clear.*

The final report can be written in full view of the summary page. It is suggested that the form of the final report follow the sequence of the 10 catego-

* Experienced T.A.T. workers, having become familiar with our method, may wish to use only the T.A.T. Blank, using the middle page for a guide to record relevant data on the summary sheet rather than actually filling in the details on 10 analysis sheets.

ries on the analysis sheet. The main themes, the second and third variables, permit a description of the *unconscious structure and needs* of the subject, while the fourth and fifth variables show us his *conception of the world and of significant figures* around him. Categories six, seven, eight, nine, and ten may actually be used as headings for statements concerning the respective dimensions of personality.

The form of the final report will depend, of course, to a great extent on the person for whom it is intended. It is, however, strongly advised that empty phrases and erroneous inferences be avoided by the following procedure: The first half of the report may consist of general abstract statements concerning the subject, following the outline above; a second part of the report should then consist of specific, concrete documentation by excerpts from stories or by specific references to stories from which the main abstract statements have been derived.

This arrangement is particularly useful in instances in which the psychologist reports as part of a team to psychiatrists and to social workers who may not have the time or the experience to read the stories themselves, and for whom a purely abstract statement will not be sufficiently meaningful.*

If a diagnosis must be offered, or if one wishes to state one, I suggest that the following formula be used: "The data represented in the T.A.T. are consistent with the diagnosis of. . ." This expresses my belief that the T.A.T. is not primarily a diagnostic test (diagnostic in the sense of labeling nosologically—of course it is diagnostic of dynamic and structural variables) and also that, preferably, no diagnosis should ever be made on the basis of a single test, or better, never on test evidence alone without additional information provided by a clinical interview.

F. The Short Form of the Bellak T.A.T. and C.A.T. Blank†

The short form of the original Blank has been published mainly for clinical convenience. While it uses practically the same variables as the earlier Blank, it consists only of a three-page form which folds into a single 8½ by 11 sheet, with the summarized facts on the front. When the Blank is unfolded, each of the variables can be recorded in the appropriate boxes for all 10 stories and summarized consecutively under the same headings at the extreme right. The writing of the final report can be simplified by having the summary sheet opened out in full view. It should be noted that the 10 major variables or categories are used primarily as a frame of reference; not all aspects will be relevant to every story and, occasionally, details not included in the Blank will occur and have to be recorded.

The principal function of the Blank is to further facilitate the transition from concrete primary data to the inferential summary and final diagnosis by having all three pages unfolded in front of one. Also the Short Form is easier to handle. In its new revised version, it shows a shift to more interest in ego

* I am indebted to S. Sorel Bellak for suggestions and constructive criticism of the revision of this T.A.T. Blank and Manual.

† Published by C.P.S. Inc., P. O. Box 83, Larchmont, New York. For an example of the use of the Short Form, see Case 3, the analysis of Somerset Maugham's short stories (Chapter 8), and Chapter 11.

psychology in that the revised form lists 12 ego functions. These are to be gauged—as many of them and as well as possible—as a further indication of adaptive capacity. A detailed account of these ego functions can be found in Bellak and Loeb's *The Schizophrenic Syndrome* (1969), in *Ego Functions in Schizophrenics, Neurotics, and Normals*, and in a paper called "A Systematic Study of Ego Functions" (Bellak, Hurvich, & Gediman, 1973).

Briefly, they can be described as follows:*

Reality Testing. The major factors are (a) the distinction between inner and outer stimuli; (b) accuracy of perception (includes orientation to time and place and interpretation of external events); (c) accuracy of inner reality testing (psychological mindedness and awareness of inner states).

Judgment. (a) Awareness of likely consequences of intended behavior (anticipating probable dangers, legal culpabilities, social censure, disapproval, or inappropriateness); (b) extent to which manifest behavior reflects the awareness of these likely consequences.

Sense of Reality of the World and of the Self. The component factors are (a) the extent to which external events are experienced as real and as being embedded in a familiar context (degree of derealization, déjà vu, trance-like states); (b) the extent to which the body (or parts of it) and its functioning and one's behavior are experienced as familiar, unobtrusive, and as belonging to (or emanating from) the individual; (c) the degree to which the person has developed individuality, uniqueness, and a sense of self and self-esteem; (d) the degree to which the person's self-representations are separated from his object representations.

Regulation and Control of Drives, Affects, and Impulses. (a) The directness of impulse expression (ranging from primitive acting out through neurotic acting out to relatively indirect forms of behavioral expression); (b) the effectiveness of delay and control, the degree of frustration tolerance, and the extent to which drive derivatives are channeled through ideation, affective expression, and manifest behavior.

Object (or Interpersonal) Relations. The components are (a) the degree and kind of relatedness to others and investment in them (taking account of withdrawal trends, narcissistic self-concern, narcissistic object choice or mutuality); (b) the extent to which present relationships are adaptively or maladaptively influenced by or patterned upon older ones and serve present, mature aims rather than past immature aims; (c) the degree to which the person perceives others as separate entities rather than as extensions of himself; (d) the extent to which he can maintain object constancy (i.e., sustain relationships over long periods of time and tolerate both the physical absence of the object and frustration, anxiety, and hostility related to the object).

* The material from here to Section G is reprinted from Bellak, Hurvich, and Gediman (1973) by permission.

Thought Processes. The components are (a) the adequacy of processes which adaptively guide and sustain thought (attention, concentration, anticipation, concept formation, memory, language); (b) the relative primary-secondary process influences on thought (extent to which thinking is unrealistic, illogical, and/or loose).

Adaptive Regression in the Service of the Ego. (a) First phase of an oscillating process: relaxation of perceptual and conceptual acuity (and other ego controls) with a concomitant increase in awareness of previously preconscious and unconscious contents; (b) second phase of the oscillating process: the induction of new configurations which increase adaptive potentials as a result of creative integrations.

Defensive Functioning. (a) Degree to which defensive components adaptively or maladaptively affect ideation and behavior; (b) extent to which these defenses have succeeded or failed (degree of emergence of anxiety, depression, and/or other dysphoric affects, indicating weakness of defensive operations).

Stimulus Barrier. The component factors are (a) threshold for, sensitivity to, or awareness of stimuli impinging upon various sensory modalities (primarily external, but including pain); (b) nature of response to various levels of sensory stimulation in terms of the extent of disorganization, avoidance, withdrawal, or active coping mechanisms employed to deal with them.

Autonomous Functioning. The components are (a) degree of freedom from impairment of apparatuses of primary autonomy (functional disturbances of sight, hearing, intention, language, memory, learning, or motor function); (b) degree of or freedom from impairment of secondary autonomy (disturbances in habit patterns, learned complex skills, work routines, hobbies, and interests).

Synthetic-Integrative Functioning. (a) Degree of reconciliation or integration of discrepant or potentially contradictory attitudes, values, affects, behavior, and self representations; (b) degree of *active* relating together and integrating of psychic and behavioral events, whether contradictory or not.

Mastery-Competence. (a) Competence, the person's performance in relation to his existing capacity to interact with and master his environment; (b) sense of competence, the person's expectation of success, or the subjective side of actual performance (how well he believes he can do).

G. Case Illustrations*

Following are some examples of analyzed T.A.T. records.† An attempt has been made to present them as closely as possible to the actual use of the T.A.T. Blank Analysis Sheets. Since the format of this book is smaller than the actual size of the

* In the first two cases, the Long Form is used; in the third case, the Short Form is used.

† These records are by no means exhaustively analyzed, as anyone will recognize. To do so would not be practical here. Indeed, a whole monograph could be written about each T.A.T. record! Different styles of writing the final report are used to illustrate various possibilities.

blank, these pages must of necessity be rather crowded. Another limitation is that the running commentary of a classroom is not easily approximated. The clinical notes are meant to take the place of classroom remarks—enlarging on one aspect or another which might easily appear arbitrary. For instance, in story I of John Doe, blindness is scored both as a defense (namely, a form of denial of the voyeurism which is also expressed in the story itself by the subject's failure to recognize the violin) and again as a form of punishment. Psychological acts are overdetermined. Fear of blindness, especially in children, must be regarded clinically both as a wish not to have to see (for instance, primal scene events), and also as a fear of being punished for wanting to look. Seeing is sometimes experienced as something active, (i.e., the glaring stare of the hypnotist), or as something passive, by the person into whose eyes someone is staring forcefully. The eye may thus serve either as a male or a female sexual symbol. Frequently during psychoanalytic sessions related to the topic of masturbation, patients will rub their eyes and transitory symptoms of compulsive eye rubbing are not uncommon. This usually constitutes a masturbatory equivalent.

The clinical notes accompanying each story are kept to a minimum and where possible printed on the same page as the story itself, as an editorial convenience. *They are not an essential part of the clinical record, but are appended here for didactic purposes.* Similarly, under clinical conditions, the descriptive theme need not be written out at all; the instructions are to write the *interpretive* theme under "Main Theme" on the Analysis Sheet, and to write the diagnostic level of the theme on the Summary Page. *However, for didactic reasons, we are reproducing here the descriptive, interpretive, and diagnostic theme* below each story to show how the final diagnostic level is arrived at by easy stages from the actual story as given by the subject. Then, just to keep the record straight, we also reproduce the interpretive theme on the Analysis Blank and the diagnostic theme level on the Summary Page, where they belong in the actual clinical record.

Thus, the scheme as used here will often be repetitive in the interests of greater clarity.

Case 1

The first case I present is one of "blind" diagnosis—that is, the T.A.T. was administered by someone else in a neuropsychiatric hospital and sent to me as the protocol of "John Doe," male, age 25, single.* These stories are on the whole quite poor, thematically speaking, and as unsuitable for my type of analysis as could easily be found; I include them to show how much one can derive from the scheme even under poor story conditions.

Although at the time of analyzing the material I knew nothing about this man except his age and sex, I am now including a condensed version of the summary evaluation of John Doe made by the mental hygiene psychotherapist:

* Courtesy of Edwin S. Shneidman et al., *Thematic Test Analysis*, New York, Grune & Stratton, 1951. Since this T.A.T. interpretation was part of a research project, there was no objection to a blind diagnosis.

The patient is a tall, slender young man of 25 who gives the impression of boyishness. He seems suspicious, indecisive, and unable to relax. There seem to be considerable effeminate mannerisms in his behavior. He had never been able to make secure object relationships. He was very fearful and withdrawn from early childhood. Some of his guilt in relation to his sexual drives, masturbation, and probably also in relation to incestuous feelings toward a seductive mother. There seems to be considerable guilt in relation to his own hostility. He has established some defenses against this through obsessions, but his defenses are cracking. The patient seemed obsessed with thoughts about death, homicide, and suicide. There were depersonalization, many ideas of reference, and a considerable amount of hostile fantasy. It is felt that this patient is a paranoid schizophrenic who is still able to maintain control over his hostile and destructive impulses, although his control is very tenuous. As long as he can live a withdrawn and sheltered life perhaps he can continue to function outside a hospital; however, in the face of frustration he may become actively psychotic with homicidal and suicidal impulses.

Following is a case reproduced as in the actual T.A.T. Blank, which means that the final report appears on what would be the first page of the blank, so that whoever the report is intended for can read the essentials at one glance. The reader is advised first to go through the stories and then to turn back to the final report. Further on in this book, this case is analyzed in terms of object relations.

BELLAK T A T BLANK

For Recording and Analyzing Thematic Apperception Test Stories

Name John Doe Sex M Age 25 Date _____
 Education _____ Occupation _____
 Referred by _____ Analysis by _____

FINAL REPORT

General:

This is an extremely disturbed man; he conceives of himself as ill, incapacitated, mutilated, feels depressed, fearful, and dead inside.

He is exceedingly ambivalent toward both father and mother figures; his oedipal problems are entirely unresolved; he has a tremendous attachment to the mother, whom he sees as dangerous at the same time. He sees the father as cold, hostile, and inadequate.

The patient has tremendous guilt feelings concerning both sexual and aggressive impulses (which appear fused). He frequently identifies with a female figure. He also has conflicts concerning exhibitionistic and voyeuristic tendencies, possibly related to urethral difficulties.

His thought processes appear disturbed, tending toward the bizarre. There are data consistent with cosmic delusions and hallucinations.

The total picture is consistent with a schizophrenic disorder, with potential paranoid and hebephrenic coloring. Suicidal risk is considerable. Homicidal risk should be considered. Sexual criminality, including overt homosexuality, is a possibility.

Specific:

Illness and mutilation appear in stories 1, 7BM; also in 12M, 14, and 16 (not reproduced here). Depression, fear, and guilt are apparent in every story, usually related to sex, such as prostitution in 7BM, adultery in 4, sex and murder in 6BM; sex and disgust also appear in 13MP, murder and stealing in 14 (the last two stories not reproduced here). Homosexuality is suggested by female identification.

Blindness occurs in story 1, great notoriety in 3BM, stage acting in 6BM; not looking in 13MP and photography in 14 (the latter two are not reproduced here). These themes are consistent with voyeurism and exhibitionism.

Water occurs in story 1, fire in 4, slightly suggestive of urethral problems.

Conflict with parental figures appears in story 1, the female figure is seen as dangerous and seductive in 4, mother seen as dangerous in 6BM, father as cold in 7BM, as inadequate in 7BM (was also sick) and in 13B (not reproduced), and is fought symbolically in 14 (also not reproduced here).

Thought processes appear most clearly to be disturbed and bizarre in stories 1, 6BM, and 16 (not reproduced here).



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73-262AS

Note: The above represents one form of writing the final report, the general statements being separated from the specific concrete references they are based on. The reports for Case 2 and Case 3 show other possibilities.

1: This child is sick in bed. He has been given sheet music to study, but instead of the music he has come across a novel that interests him more than the music. It is probably an adventure story. He evidently does not fear the chance that his parents will find him thus occupied as he seems quite at ease. He seems to be quite a studious type and perhaps regrets missing school, but he seems quite occupied with the adventure in the story. Adventure has something to do with ocean or water. He is not too happy, though not too sad. His eyes are somewhat blank—coincidence of reading a book without any eyes or knowing what is in the book without reading it. He disregards the music and falls asleep reading the book.

<i>Descriptive theme</i>	<i>Interpretive theme</i>	<i>Diagnostic level</i>
A sick child is	(If one) is a sick child	Feels a child, sick, poor body image.
told to study music (ignores fiddle) and	told to work (ignores fiddle),	Feels coerced. Mechanism of denial—re masturbation?
prefers adventure story to studying,	prefers pleasure reading (concerning water) to studying,	Resists authority by withdrawal into fantasy; urethral interests, exhibitionism?
feels not happy, not sad,	without affect,	Anhedonia? Depersonalization?
unafraid of punishment,	unafraid of punishment,	(Fear of punishment), severe superego; denial.
reads without eyes or knows what is in book without reading,	can see without eyes and is omniscient,	Bizarre ideas of magic; severe superego, castration, omnipotence.
falls asleep.	falls asleep.	Withdrawal, passivity.

Clinical notes

The concept of the body image as sick, and merely a child, emerges here, supplemented by the idea of being blind later in the story, probably indicating poor concept patient has of himself, and at the same time probably indicating some intrapsychic awareness of (mental) illness which one finds in patients who seem consciously unaware of being psychotic.

Ignores fiddle altogether: rare in adults, usually signifying disturbance re violin playing as sexual symbol, particularly masturbatory.

Instead of studying, prefers fantasy: resistant to parents; unable to study, or unwilling.

Fantasy concerns water, ocean: since this is an entirely personal introduction by the subject, wonder if related to enuresis, urethral complex, and premature ejaculation as sexual disturbance, aside from actual urinary disturbances.

Unafraid of punishment: negation probably means "I wish I were not afraid" (actually quite afraid), as pointed out by Freud (denial).

Not happy, not sad: anhedonia, underlying depression—mechanism of denial.

Name _____ Story No. 1 (TAT Picture No. 1)

1. Main theme: (Interpretive) (If one is) a sick child, told to study music (ignores fiddle), prefers an adventure story concerning water, feels not happy, not sad, unafraid of punishment, possibly reading without eyes or knowing what is in book without reading it, falls asleep.
2. Main hero: age child sex male vocation student not happy, not sad.
 interests reading traits studious, unafraid abilities reading book without eyes
 adequacy (I, II, III) 0? body image and/or self image ill in bed; blank eyes - no eyes
3. Main needs of hero:
 a) behavioral needs of hero (as in story): Reads adventure story instead of studying music; falls asleep.
 dynamic inference: resistant to parents; passivity; withdrawn; prefers fantasy concerning
 b) figures, objects, or circumstances introduced: parents, book, water, school unethical problems
 implying need for or to: illness; to defy parents and withdraw into fantasy. Preoccupation with and awareness of illness. to study.
 c) figures, objects, or circumstances omitted: violin, boat
 implying need for or to: guilt re masturbation
4. Conception of environment (world) as: coercive, rejecting
5. Parental figures (m f) are seen as coercive-re- and subject's reaction is escape into fantasy
 Contemp. figures (m f) are seen as rejecting and subject's reaction is _____
 Junior figures (m f) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is _____
6. Significant conflicts: Compliance-autonomy; achievement-pleasure; activity-passivity.
7. Nature of anxieties: (/)
 of physical harm and/or punishment _____ of illness or injury
 of disapproval _____ of deprivation
 of lack or loss of love _____ of being devoured _____
 of being deserted _____ of being overpowered and helpless _____
 other _____
8. Main defenses against conflicts and fears: (/)
 repression _____ reaction-formation _____ rationalization _____ isolation _____
 regression _____ introjection _____ denial undoing _____ splitting _____
 projective identification _____ other withdrawal delusional omnipotence
(of voyeurism) sometimes also a form of estrangement
9. Severity of superego as manifested by: (/)
 punishment for "crime" blind ear punishment immediate _____ just _____ too severe _____
 inhibited _____ stammer _____ delayed _____ unjust _____ too lenient _____
 delayed initial response or pauses _____
10. Integration of the ego, manifesting itself in: (I, II, III)
 adequacy of hero 0? outcome: happy _____ unhappy _____
 realistic _____ unrealistic
 solution: adequate _____ inadequate _____
 thought processes as revealed by plot being: (I, II, III)
 structured _____ unstructured stereotyped _____ original _____ appropriate _____
 rational _____ bizarre complete incomplete _____ inappropriate _____
- Intelligence: (/) superior _____ above average _____ average below average _____ defective _____

Analysis Sheet for use with the Bellak TAT Blank

Note: A slightly revised version of variables 9 and 10 of the above blank, to be published as before by The Psychological Corporation, is in process. The changes are identical with those appearing in the revised Short Form.

Reading without eyes: bizarre statement; being blind is often punishment for voyeurism (related to exhibitionism) and often consistent with very great masturbatory guilt.

Knows what is in book without reading it: bizarre statement; implies telepathic notions, superhuman power, possibly related to cosmic delusions.

Falling asleep: resolves conflict situation (disobeying parents) by withdrawal.

Story is far removed from stimulus, poorly structured, bizarre, consistent with severe thought disturbance; flat mood consistent with schizophrenia.

3BM: This is a girl in a cell and she has been jailed because she was found guilty of prostitution. She is in this position in the picture because she is very ashamed, not because of being arrested, because she is quite familiar with the police, but because of the fact that her picture and a newspaper write-up was being sensationally spread across the country. She knew that her sister, who was a nun, would suffer from it, and it made her feel very badly because she, at one time, had a chance and an opportunity to follow her elder sister's example but it was too late now. She grabs a concealed knife from under her blouse and stabs herself.

<i>Descriptive theme</i>	<i>Interpretive theme</i>	<i>Diagnostic level</i>
A girl is jailed for prostitution;	(If a) girl is guilty of prostitution she is jailed;	Great guilt over sex; feminine identification.
is ashamed not for arrest (because she is quite familiar with police) but because of newspaper publicity which would hurt her sister, a nun. Once she could have followed her sister's example but it is too late now.	is ashamed of the publicity and the hurting of sister whom she should emulate in being a nun.	Severe superego concerning also exhibitionism and ambivalence to sibling seen as pure.
Kills herself with knife.	and kills herself.	Intra-aggression.

Clinical notes

Subject apparently considers sex as dirty, in speaking of prostitution here. Apparently feels like an habitual criminal, since he says he is quite accustomed to jail. His fear of the introduced theme of publicity is quite consistent as the exhibitionistic counterpart of the voyeurism in story 1.

Hero identifies with female in this story. This by itself is so frequent in this picture that it can only be considered a most tentative datum. However, this is such a vivid identification and sounds so convincing that it appears to portray something significant.

Name _____ Story No. 2 (TAT Picture No. 3BM)

1. Main theme: (Interpretive) (If a) girl is guilty of prostitution she is jailed; is ashamed of the publicity and the hurting of sister whom she should emulate in being a nun, and kills herself.

2. Main hero: age young sex female vocation prostitute
 interests none noted traits guilty re sex abilities none noted
 adequacy (/. /./ /./) 0? body image and/or self image feminine identification?
outcast - criminal - sexually immoral.

3. Main needs of hero:
 a) behavioral needs of hero (as in story): Kills self because sister would suffer from her actions.
 dynamic inference: depression - guilt over sex - suicidal tendencies? aggression against mother
 b) figures, objects, or circumstances introduced: sister - publicity - suicide
 implying need for or to: exhibitionism and ambivalence to sibling (or mother) seen as pure
 c) figures, objects, or circumstances omitted: object usually seen as pistol is made into a knife (significance not clear - weakening aggression?)
 implying need for or to: _____

4. Conception of environment (world) as: punishing - shaming - reproofing

5. Parental figures (m. /) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is _____
 Contemp. figures (m. /) are seen as pure and subject's reaction is ambivalence
 Junior figures (m. /) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is _____

6. Significant conflicts: guilt concerning sex

7. Nature of anxieties: (./)
 of physical harm and/or punishment _____ of illness or injury _____
 of disapproval ✓ of deprivation _____
 of lack or loss of love ✓ of being devoured _____
 of being deserted _____ of being overpowered and helpless _____
 other _____

8. Main defenses against conflicts and fears: (./)
 repression _____ reaction-formation _____ rationalization _____ isolation _____
 regression _____ introjection _____ denial _____ undoing _____ splitting _____
 projective identification _____ other projection; identification with aggressor.

9. Severity of superego as manifested by: (./)
 punishment for "crime" _____ immediate ✓ just _____ too severe ✓
 _____ delayed _____ unjust _____ too lenient _____
 inhibitions _____ stammer _____ delayed initial response or pauses _____

10. Integration of the ego, manifesting itself in: (./ /./ /./)
 adequacy of hero 0? outcome: happy _____ unhappy ✓✓✓
 _____ realistic _____ unrealistic _____
 solution: adequate _____ inadequate ✓✓✓
 thought processes as revealed by plot being: (./ /./ /./)
 structured _____ unstructured _____ stereotyped _____ original _____ appropriate _____
 rational _____ bizarre _____ complete ✓ incomplete _____ inappropriate ✓

Intelligence: (./) superior _____ above average _____ average _____ below average _____ defective _____

Analysis Sheet for use with the Bellak TAT Blank

4: The girl in the picture is half-caste. She is in love with the man who is going to leave her and return to his wife. They have spent quite some time together in intimacy. She is pleading with him to stay with her or help figure some way to plan for the coming of the child she is going to bear. She is in poor circumstances financially, and he tells her she should make arrangements to conclude the birth and thus everything would iron out because he is definitely determined to leave as the affair in his mind is at an end. She is very broken up by it. She pleads for him to spend one more night, which he agrees to, and in the middle of the night she sets fire to the house, thus solving the problems of all concerned.

<i>Descriptive theme</i>	<i>Interpretive theme</i>	<i>Diagnostic level</i>
A half-caste girl has had a love affair with a man who has impregnated her and now plans to leave her to return to his wife.	(If one) commits adultery, one is "half-caste" (inferior); will be rejected, poorly off,	Sexual guilt; social prejudice; punishment is rejection, poverty.
In their last night together she sets a fire and kills them both.	will kill oneself and lover by fire.	Has intra- and extra-aggressivity; urethral complex (identifies with girl again); but may also say: women are bad, do this sort of thing; endanger one (in secondary identification).

Clinical notes

The reference to the half-caste is intentionally reworded, "If one commits adultery, one is a half-caste," making a causal connection where there had been mere juxtaposition. This is consistent with psychoanalytic practice (e.g., in dream interpretation concerning unconscious modes of thought). The theme is a typical triangular oedipal one; the subject here again identifies with a female in an even more significant way, since here he could easily identify with a male figure.

The introduction of fire again ties in with the urethral aspects of the use of water in the first story, aside from the fact that it connotes uncontrolled emotion. The occurrence of bizarre and unrealistic outcomes, in the presence of structured plots and thought processes, is probably a diagnostic sign of a latent psychotic who can still address himself to a task in an ordinary way even though the pathology underneath is extreme.

Name _____ Story No. 3 (TAT Picture No. 4)

1. Main theme: (Interpreting) (If one) commits adultery, one is "half- caste" (inferior); will be rejected, poorly off, will kill oneself and lover by fire.

2. Main here: age young adult sex F vocation none noted
 interests none noted traits half-caste, poor abilities guilty re sex - pregnant
 adequacy (I, II, III) 0? body image and/or self image strong feminine identification; feels rejected - pregnant.

3. Main needs of hero:
 a) behavioral needs of hero (as in story): love and support
 dynamic inference: fear of abandonment and rejection
 b) figures, objects, or circumstances introduced: pregnancy - setting fire to house
 implying need for or to: intra- and extra-aggression very strong - possibility of suicidal and homicidal impulses; unconscious fear of impregnation.
 c) figures, objects, or circumstances omitted: half-nude female figure
 implying need for or to: sexual guilt - scotoma repression.

4. Conception of environment (world) as: hostile and rejecting

5. Parental figures (m. f.) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is _____
 Contemp. figures (m. f.) are seen as rejecting and subject's reaction is guilt; depression; ag-
 Junior figures (m. f.) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is gression.

6. Significant conflicts: sexual guilt; intra- and extra-aggressivity; urethral complex

7. Nature of anxieties: (/)
 of physical harm and/or punishment ✓ of illness or injury _____
 of disapproval ✓ of deprivation ✓
 of lack or loss of love ✓ of being devoured _____
 of being deserted ✓ of being overpowered and helpless _____
 other _____

8. Main defenses against conflicts and fears: (/)
 repression ✓ reaction-formation _____ rationalization _____ isolation _____
 regression _____ introjection _____ denial _____ undoing _____ splitting _____
 projective identification _____ other projection

9. Severity of superego as manifested by: (/)
 punishment for "crime" _____ immediate _____ just _____ too severe ✓
 _____ delayed _____ unjust _____ too lenient _____
 inhibitions _____ hammer _____ delayed initial response or pauses _____

10. Integration of the ego, manifesting itself in: (I, II, III)
 adequacy of hero 0? outcome: happy _____ unhappy ✓✓
 realistic _____ unrealistic ✓✓
 solution: adequate _____ inadequate ✓
 thought process as revealed by plot being: (I, II, III)
 structured ✓ unstructured _____ stereotyped _____ original _____ appropriate _____
 rational _____ bizarre _____ complete ✓ incomplete _____ inappropriate _____

- Intelligence: (/) superior _____ above average _____ average _____ below average _____ defective _____

Analysis Sheet for use with the Bellak TAT Blank

6BM: This is a scene in a play. The two characters are on the stage; one is a famous elderly actress, who has a son about the age of the young man appearing opposite her. The dialogue in the play has suddenly taken on a new meaning for her. She sees now that the play, which was written by her son, has an entirely different meaning in this scene in the picture. The boy is telling the mother that he has just committed a murder. She understands now that this was her son's way of conveying to her the terrifying fact that that is actually what had happened. In the play, as her son had written it, the climax comes when the mother calls the police. But the famous actress decides to put her own climax into action after the play is over. She calls her son and says, "The climax of your play will have to be changed." She says, "I think the audience will prefer this one," so here she draws a revolver and shoots him. (*What kind of murder was it?*) Oh, a girl. Motive primarily to do with sexual. She had been unfaithful.

<i>Descriptive theme</i>	<i>Interpretive theme</i>	<i>Diagnostic level</i>
In a play written by her son an elderly actress suddenly understands that he has killed a girl	If a man kills a girl because she has been unfaithful to him	Aggression fused with sex. Exhibitionism and symbolism.
for being unfaithful to him.	and mother finds out in a play.	Triangular oedipal situation—feels rejected by girl.
Thereupon she kills him.	symbolically the mother will kill him.	Mother seen as phallic, aggressive, dangerous.

Clinical notes

The value of the theme construction is particularly obvious in this story, though cluttered with confusing descriptive detail. The aggressive sexual wishes of the subject toward the maternal figure and the fear of counteraggression by the mother figure become crystal clear. The "sudden understanding" is a typical experience in schizophrenics with paranoid tendencies, as so well described by Sullivan (1940). The patient is in a panic because of many different impulses and apperceptive distortions, finds a new configuration which gives him a measure of stability and a channeling of his fears and aggression—the paranoid constellation. The fact, too, that the information is conveyed symbolically is highly suggestive of a schizophrenic process.

The actor is probably another identification figure for the subject, who attempts at first to keep some distance between himself and the mother in having someone else play opposite her.

Name _____ Story No. 4 (TAT Picture No. 68M)

1. Main theme: (Interpretative) (If a man kills a girl because she was unfaithful to him, the mother will kill him.)

2. Main hero: age adult sex M vocation playwright
 interests writing traits none noted abilities none noted
 adequacy (J. / / / /) 0? body image and/or self image not noted

3. Main needs of hero:
 - a) behavioral needs of hero (as in story): to punish (kill) girl who was unfaithful to him.
 dynamic inference: oedipal theme; feeling of being rejected; aggressive conception of sex.
 - b) figures, objects, or circumstances introduced: aster; audience; police; gun; girl he killed.
 implying need for or to: punishment for oedipal guilt feelings; aggression; need for exhibitionism.
 - c) figures, objects, or circumstances omitted: none
 implying need for or to: _____

4. Conception of environment (world) as: hostile; punishing

5. Parental figures (m. 1) are seen as punishing and rejecting and subject's reaction is aggression
 Contemp. figures (m. 1) are seen as rejecting and subject's reaction is aggression
 Junior figures (m. 1) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is _____

6. Significant conflicts: _____

7. Nature of anxieties: (/)

of physical harm and/or punishment <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	of illness or injury <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
of disapproval <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	of deprivation _____
of lack or loss of love <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	of being devoured _____
of being deserted _____	of being overpowered and helpless _____
other _____	

8. Main defenses against conflicts and fears: (/)

repression _____	reaction-formation _____	rationalization _____	isolation _____
regression _____	introjection _____	denial _____	undoing _____
projective identification _____	other <u>projection</u>		splitting _____

9. Severity of superego as manifested by: (/)

punishment for "crime" _____	immediate <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	just _____	too severe _____
	delayed _____	unjust _____	too lenient _____
inhibitions _____	stammer _____	delayed initial response or pauses _____	

10. Integration of the ego, manifesting itself in: (J. / / / /)

adequacy of hero <u>0?</u>	outcome: happy _____ unhappy <u>///</u>
	realistic _____ unrealistic <u>///</u>
	solution: adequate _____ inadequate _____
thought processes as revealed by plot being: (<u>J. / / / /</u>)	
structured <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	unstructured _____
rational <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	bizarre <u>///</u>
	complete _____
	original _____
	appropriate _____
	incomplete _____
	inappropriate _____

- Intelligence: (/) superior _____ above average _____ average _____ below average _____ defective _____

Analysis Sheet for use with the Bellak TAT Blank

7BM: This would be a man and his son. The son is very depressed over his health. The father is telling him that as a young man he too had the same illness, and that it can be cured if the son has the will to cure it. The father tells the young man that he himself alone can cure it. The son believes that there is no hope, but replies that he will go away for a little while and think it over. The father replies, "You are not doing a favor to me by saying that. I am thinking about your getting well for the simple reason that you have a wife and children to support, and in the event of your being bedridden, the responsibility for your family will be put entirely upon your mother and me." The young man finally concludes that he will take his wife and family with him and try to make things go better in a healthier climate. (*What kind of illness did he have?*) T.B. (*Did he get better?*) No, I don't think he does. After a few years he dies and the children are old enough to support mother or perhaps he left insurance. Never contacted father again. No correspondence. After not having heard from each other for a long time, the old man dies and leaves the children a large estate. This is his way of having repented.

<i>Descriptive theme</i>	<i>Interpretive theme</i>	<i>Diagnostic level</i>
A young man suffers from T.B., and father tells him he used to have it too	If one is sick with T.B. and father had the same illness.	Feels sick. T.B. is castration.
and that the son will have to cure himself so that his wife and children will not burden father.	father selfishly rejects one.	Father also seen as previously sick, castrated.
Son removes himself, angry at father. Both die, father leaving money to children.	One is angry at father. One dies, and father dies too, repenting too late. Wants father to feel sorry about not having been nicer to him.	Feels rejected by father. Father seen as cold, narcissistic.
		Aggression toward father. Oral wishes toward father

Clinical notes

In several years of clinical work with tuberculars, I found that the fantasies of having T.B. are most frequently either those of being invaded (phallically) by the T.B. germs, particularly in an impregnation fantasy, and having holes made in one (i.e., being castrated, particularly in connection with hemorrhages [Bellak, 1952c]). The fact that the father has also had the illness suggests that patient tended to think of the father also as castrated and weak. Since the father was an identification figure, this may have influenced the subject's emotional growth. T.B. may also mean venereal disease here.

Name _____ Story No. 5 (TAT Picture No. 78M)

1. Main theme: (Interpretive) (If one) is sick with T.B. and father had the same illness, father selfishly rejects one. One is angry at father. One dies and father dies too, repenting too late. Wants father to feel sorry about not having been nicer to one.

2. Main hero: age adult sex M vocation none noted
 interests none noted traits depressed; ill abilities none noted
 adequacy (J. II. III) ? body image and/or self image ill with T.B.; helpless

3. Main needs of hero:
 - a) behavioral needs of hero (as in story): Help and support because of being ill
 dynamic inference: feels weak, helpless, debilitated, oral needs
 - b) figures, objects, or circumstances introduced: wife, mother, children, illness, death, money
 implying need for or to: heterosexual needs - wanting care from parents - fear of illness and death.
 - c) figures, objects, or circumstances omitted: _____
 implying need for or to: _____

4. Conception of environment (world) as: cold, hostile, uncaring

5. Parental figures (m. ✓ f. ✓) are seen as self-speculating and subject's reaction is withdrawal, anger
 Contemp. figures (m. ✓ f. ✓) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is _____
 Junior figures (m. ✓ f. ✓) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is _____

6. Significant conflicts: Rodily concern (T.B. - fall of poles? or is it syphilis?) Strong dependency needs. Aggression towards father.

7. Nature of anxieties: (/)

of physical harm and/or punishment _____	of illness or injury <u>✓</u>
of disapproval _____	of deprivation <u>✓</u>
of lack or loss of love <u>✓</u>	of being devoured _____
of being deserted <u>✓</u>	of being overpowered and helpless _____
other <u>of death</u>	

8. Main defenses against conflicts and fears: (/)

repression _____	reaction-formation _____	rationalization _____	isolation _____
regression _____	introjection _____	denial _____	undoing _____
projective identification _____	other <u>projection, withdrawal</u>		splitting _____

9. Severity of superego as manifested by: (/)

punishment for "crime" _____	immediate _____	just _____	too severe <u>✓</u>
inhibitions _____	delayed _____	unjust _____	too lenient _____
stammer _____	delayed initial response or pauses _____		

sees himself as fatally ill, possibly dies because of anger at father.

10. Integration of the ego, manifesting itself in: (/)

adequacy of hero <u>?</u>	outcome: happy _____	unhappy <u>✓✓✓</u>
	realistic _____	unrealistic _____
	solution: adequate _____	inadequate <u>✓</u>

thought processes as revealed by plot being: (J. II. III)

structured <u>✓</u>	unstructured _____	stereotyped _____	original <u>✓</u>	appropriate _____
rational _____	bizarre _____	complete _____	incomplete _____	inappropriate <u>✓</u>

Intelligence: (/) superior _____ above average _____ average _____ below average _____ defective _____

Analysis Sheet for use with the Bellak TAT Blank

Summary

Record themes and summarize other significant data for each story.

1. Feels a child, sick, poor body image. Feels coerced by parents. Mechanism of denial—re: masturbation? Resists authority by withdrawal into fantasy; urethral interests, exhibitionism (?), anhedonia (?). Delusional omnipotence (knowing what is in book without reading it)—severe thought disturbance and flat mood consistent with schizophrenia.
2. Great guilt over sex; feminine identification. Severe superego concerning also exhibitionism and ambivalence to sibling (or mother) seen as pure. Intra-aggression. Self-image: outcast, criminal.
3. Sexual guilt; social prejudice; punishment is rejection, poverty. Intra- and extra-aggressivity. Urethral complex. Identifies with girl again, but may also say: women are bad, do this sort of thing, endanger one (in secondary identification). Possibility of suicidal and homicidal impulses. Unconscious fear of impregnation.
4. Aggression fused with sex. Triangular oedipal situation—feels rejected by girl. Mother seen as phallic, aggressive, dangerous. "Sudden understanding" consistent with paranoid schizophrenic process.
5. Feels ill and helpless with T.B.—full of holes? or syphilis? Father also seen as previously sick (castrated). Feels rejected by father. Father seen as cold, narcissistic. Aggression toward father. Oral wishes toward father. Sees self as fatally ill, disturbed body image.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.

Ego function assessment from TAT data:

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
	Reality Testing	Judgment	Sense of Reality	Regulat. & Cont. of Drives	Object Relat.	Thought Process.	ARISE	Defensive Funct.	Stimulus Barrier	Auton. Funct.	Synthet. Funct.	Mastery-Comptnc
13												
12												
11												
10												
9												
8												
7												
6												
5												
4												
3												
2												
1												

Ego functions

Psychotic range 1-6

Borderline range 4-8

Neurotic range 6-10

Normal range 8-13

(From Bellak, Hurvich, & Gediman. *Ego functions in schizophrenics, neurotics, and normals*. Copyright © 1973, by C. P. S., Inc. Reprinted by permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.)

Ego functions observed during test administration:

Case 2

Following are stories given by a young man in his middle twenties.* We have chosen a few for illustration. At the time of the administration of the T.A.T. he was in a prison hospital. He had gone AWOL from the armed forces because he found it impossible to urinate in the presence of others, and others were always present in the latrines. When he was picked up by M.P.'s he made an inadequate gesture at aggression and was thereupon shot in the abdomen. These few data may suffice to highlight the dynamic material revealed with regard to homosexual problems, problems of voyeurism and exhibitionism, and the handling of the problem of aggression; the subject was just aggressive enough to invite almost suicidal counteraggression on the part of the armed military police. He was intelligent and industrious and came from immigrant stock.

The T.A.T. was not administered by the writer, and unfortunately story 1, the boy with the violin, was not included.

* I am indebted to the late Dr. Blaise Pasquarelli for this material.

BELLAK T A T BLANK

For Recording and Analyzing Thematic Apperception Test Stories

Name _____ Sex Male Age 26 Date _____
 Education high school Occupation Army private
 Referred by _____ Analysis by _____

FINAL REPORT

Choosing just a few of the stories of the subject, one sees his pervasive feeling of inadequacy of his fear of being overpowered running through nearly all the themes. He sees himself either as a woman (#2, 3BM) or as too small (14). When he has aggressive or sexual desires he thinks of himself as bad, inadequate (#13 MP and 18BM).

His needs appear as a need for autonomy (2, 7BM, 14), achievement, and an oedipal type of competitiveness allied to the partial sexual components of voyeurism and exhibitionism.

His conception of the world is one of deprivation (2, 3BM, 14, 18BM), of being overpowered and harmed (2, 7BM), actually representing an image of his parents whom he tries in vain to stand up to.

His main conflicts center around autonomy versus compliance, activity-passivity, and achievement-inadequacy, and he shows a great deal of anxiety of being overpowered and injured. His main defenses are emotional isolation, projection, and attempts at sublimation by intellectualization.

His superego is extremely severe, leading to intra-aggression particularly concerning incestuous sexual wishes.

The integration of the ego is inadequate in that the hero hardly ever succeeds, is usually unhappy, and frequently suicidal. The subject appears to be of above average intelligence.

Impulse control of aggressive and intra-aggressive drives seems so poor that one must consider him potentially suicidal and homicidal, particularly in homosexual panic. The record is consistent with that of a borderline schizophrenic with paranoid features.



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73-262AS

Note: In this final report, abstract statements are interspersed with brief references to relevant stories. This procedure may be profitably enlarged, giving the condensed theme or part of the story as an illustration for the abstract statement.

2: What the hell could have happened before in this picture? I don't know . . . (resistance). . . I would say that this here girl has just come from school and that she has something on her mind which she wants to ask her parents. . . That's her father and mother in the background—her father on the plow, and her mother leaning up against the tree. She has been brought up very strictly, and her parents probably are of European stock but . . . they are immigrants. She is being held down and doesn't live the normal life that a normal girl should. She is very intelligent and a good student. She probably has just graduated and wants to ask her parents . . . or rather wants to talk . . . she wants to go to college and she doesn't feel that her parents will approve it. . . Whether or not, she probably has assumed that when she has finished high school that that is as far as a girl should have to go, and what she is thinking now is that she should get married and settle down on the farm the way they did. . . Her father is a successful farmer who can afford to send her to college . . . but will refuse to do so. This girl is very passionate . . . emotional . . . and unless she is allowed to go to college she will probably develop some physical ailment (snicker). . . But that her father refuses in the end to send her to college whereas . . . strike out whereas. . . They find her a . . . suitor who they think will be suitable for her, and plan to have her married. . . Is this too long? . . . The father is willing to bestow a portion of his land and the money and materials for a home which they can build on the land. . . (Long pause.) She is very unhappy, or rather let's say that they become married and she is very unhappy. She refuses to have any children . . . because she doesn't want to bring them up in this backward atmosphere, knowing that her parents will try to bring up her children as they brought her up. Her husband is similar to her father in his attitude towards education and how to bring up a child. . . He insists that she bear him a child and in time attempts to use physical force to throw a fear into her so that she will do what he will ask of her. She becomes hysterical and ends it all by committing suicide. . . That's all!

<i>Descriptive theme</i>	<i>Interpretive theme</i>	<i>Diagnostic level</i>
A very strictly brought-up girl wants to go to college.	(If one) is a young, strictly brought-up girl and wants to be autonomous,	Feels strictly brought up; need for autonomy, achievement.
but is afraid that her parents will be against it and will marry her against her will, which makes her sick and unhappy.	the parents are against it and force one into a submissive situation to which one responds by unhappiness. (mental) illness.	Parents seen as restricting, coercive. Feels unhappy, mentally ill, fearful of sexual aggression.
When her husband, who resembles her father, uses physical force to impregnate her,	When threatened with male sexual aggression (by paternal figure),	Fear of pregnancy, of male sexual aggression. Identifies men too much with father.
she becomes hysterical and commits suicide.	one commits suicide.	Suicidal tendencies.

Clinical notes

Father and contemporary males (husband) are completely equated in this story, in which the subject identifies so vividly with the female figure. There is some awareness of mental disturbance.

162A5

stories.
as an

Name _____ Story No. 1 (TAT Picture No. 2)

1. Main theme: (Interpretive) If one is a young, strictly brought up girl and wants to be autonomous, the parents are against it and force one into a submissive situation to which one responds by unhappiness and (mental) illness. When threatened with male aggression one commits suicide.

2. Main hero: age young adult sex F vocation student
 interests education traits autonomy abilities intelligent
 adequacy (I, II, III) ✓ body image and/or self image feminine; helpless

3. Main needs of hero:
 a) behavioral needs of hero (as in story): Education; autonomy; to do better than parents.
 dynamic inference: curiosity; feeling of helplessness toward parents; competition with parents;
 b) figures, objects, or circumstances introduced: college; money; pregnancy; suicide.
 implying need for or to: intellectual achievement; suicidal tendencies; fear of impregnation.
 c) figures, objects, or circumstances omitted: pregnancy of the older woman leaning against the tree is not mentioned in the story.
 implying need for or to: fear of pregnancy.

4. Conception of environment (world) as: coercive; depriving; aggressive.

5. Parental figures (m. ✓ f. ✓) are seen as above and subject's reaction is attempt at autonomy;
 Contemp. figures (m. ✓ f. ✓) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is intra-
 Junior figures (m. ✓ f. ✓) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is aggression

6. Significant conflicts: Between autonomy and compliance; extra-aggression and intra-aggression.

7. Nature of anxieties: (/)
 of physical harm and/or punishment ✓ of illness or injury _____
 of disapproval _____ of deprivation _____
 of lack or loss of love _____ of being devoured _____
 of being deserted _____ of being overpowered and helpless ✓
 other Strong homosexual fears

8. Main defenses against conflicts and fears: (/)
 repression _____ reaction-formation _____ rationalization _____ isolation ✓
 regression ✓ introjection _____ denial _____ undoing _____ splitting _____
 projective identification _____ projection intellectualization

9. Severity of superego as manifested by: (/)
 punishment for "crime" _____ immediate ✓ just _____ too severe ✓
 _____ delayed _____ unjust _____ too lenient _____
 inhibitions _____ stammer _____ delayed initial response or pauses _____

10. Integration of the ego, manifesting itself in: (I, II, III)
 adequacy of hero ✓ outcome: happy _____ unhappy ✓
 _____ realistic ✓ unrealistic _____
 solution: adequate _____ inadequate ✓
 thought processes as revealed by plot being: (I, II, III)
 structured ✓ unstructured _____ stereotyped _____ original _____ appropriate _____
 rational _____ bizarre _____ complete ✓ incomplete _____ inappropriate _____

- Intelligence: (/) superior _____ above average ✓ average _____ below average _____ defective _____

Analysis Sheet for use with the Bellak TAT Blank

3BM: Well, I would say that this was a young girl who . . . is in love with a young man. . . . And they had some disagreement, and in this picture she has committed suicide . . . so she is dead (snicker). I would say that the man distrusted her, or believed that she was unfaithful to him. . . . Oh yeah . . . you might add in there what happened to her fiancé. That after she committed suicide that he was so stricken with grief that he, in turn, committed suicide. . . . That is a pistol by her on the floor. . . . I would say that she shot herself through the head. . . . That's all. . . . The awkward position she is in would indicate that . . . she would not just be sitting there, or laying there like that. . . . I would say her fiancé committed suicide the same way. I can't think of anything else to say. . . . I would say it is a woman because it looks feminine . . . a little wide through the hips . . . the long hair . . . the large bust . . . large legs. . . . That's all.

<i>Descriptive theme</i>	<i>Interpretive theme</i>	<i>Diagnostic level</i>
Two people are in love with each other, have a disagreement because the man distrusts her faithfulness.	(If one) has a love affair, one cannot trust the faithfulness of the loved one.	Sexual needs; distinct triangular oedipal theme; jealousy.
She commits suicide, and then he commits suicide too.	This leads to disagreement and intra- and extra-aggression.	Intra- and extra-aggression.

Clinical notes

Probably both are identification figures for the hero, since in the last few lines subject feels the need to give reasons for the feminine identification of the depicted figure.

Name _____ Story No 2 (TAT Picture No. 38M)

1. Main theme: (Interpretive) (If one) has a love affair one cannot trust the faithfulness of the loved one. This leads to disagreement and intra- and extra-aggression.

2. Main hero: age young adult sex F vocation none noted
 interests none noted traits none noted abilities none noted
 adequacy (I, II, III) 0 body image and/or self image feminine

3. Main needs of hero:
 a) behavioral needs of hero (as in story) to be loved; aggression
 dynamic inference: need to be loved; fear of aggression; oedipal involvement
 b) figures, objects, or circumstances introduced competitive males
 implying need for or to homosexual interests
 c) figures, objects, or circumstances omitted _____
 implying need for or to _____

4. Conception of environment (world) as: untrustworthy

5. Parental figures (m. f.) are seen as untrustworthy and subject's reaction is _____
 Contemp. figures (m. f.) are seen as competitive and subject's reaction is aggression and intra-
 Junior figures (m. f.) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is aggression

6. Significant conflicts: Between need for love and fear of aggression; feeling of inadequacy

7. Nature of anxieties: (✓)
 of physical harm and/or punishment _____ of illness or injury _____
 of disapproval _____ of deprivation ✓
 of lack or loss of love ✓ of being devoured _____
 of being deserted _____ of being overpowered and helpless _____
 other _____

8. Main defenses against conflicts and fears: (✓)
 repression _____ reaction-formation _____ rationalization _____ isolation ✓
 regression _____ introjection _____ denial _____ undoing _____ splitting _____
 projective identification _____ other _____

9. Severity of superego as manifested by: (✓)
 punishment for "crime" _____ immediate ✓ just _____ too severe ✓
 delayed _____ unjust _____ too lenient _____
 inhibitions _____ stammer _____ delayed initial response or pauses _____

10. Integration of the ego, manifesting itself in: (✓, II, III)
 adequacy of hero _____ outcome happy _____ unhappy ✓✓✓
 realistic _____ unrealistic _____
 solution adequate _____ inadequate ✓✓✓
 thought processes as revealed by plot being: (✓, II, III)
 structured ✓✓ unstructured _____ stereotyped _____ original _____ appropriate _____
 rational _____ bizarre _____ complete ✓✓ incomplete _____ inappropriate _____

Intelligence: (✓) superior _____ above average _____ average ✓ below average _____ defective _____

Analysis Sheet for use with the Bellak TAT Blank

7BM: In this picture I would say that the younger person is a student who is . . . who is holding some political theories and he is fanatical about them . . . That the older person is probably, I would say, his father, or professor, or teacher, or whatever you want to call him. . . . I would say that it is his father. . . . His father is telling him to give up his wild ideas about the government, but he refuses to give in. . . . The student is in favor of radical changes in society due to some ideals he is holding. . . . The son will probably . . . well here . . . because of his political views will wind up in prison, or become killed . . . in some public forum somewhere where he is trying to arouse the masses more or less. . . . (Long pause.) But anyways, in the end he will learn that he should have listened to his father. . . . That's all. . . . I would say that he is just a reformer, that's all. . . . I would say he is against capital. . . . I don't know, I think this is silly myself . . . (snicker).

Descriptive theme
A young student has radical ideas

and will wind up in prison or be killed for them, repenting that he did not follow his father's advice to give up such ideas. It's all silly.

Interpretive theme
If one has aggressive ideas against authority,

one is severely punished and repentant. Should comply with father figure. Tries to laugh it off.

Diagnostic level
Aggression against authority, particularly male figures.

Severe superego. Need for compliance with males. Rationalization, isolation.

Clinical notes

This story illustrates nicely that it is not merely psychoanalytic imagination which considers the government as a parental figure or, in this case, a paternal one, since the subject equates them easily, suggesting that the source of his political ideas also has a parental origin. Again, the snickering is probably used for defensive purposes to dispel the tension.

Name _____ Story No. 3 (TAT Picture No. 78M)

1. Main theme: (Interpretive) If one has aggressive ideas against authority one is severely punished and repentant.

2. Main hero: age young adult sex M vocation student - agitator
 interests rebellion traits wild abilities none noted
 adequacy (I, II, III) ✓✓ body image and/or self image unsuccessful radical

3. Main needs of hero:
 a) behavioral needs of hero (as in story): aggression; revolt against father
 dynamic inference: fear of paternal figures
 b) figures, objects, or circumstances introduced: government; jail
 implying need for or to: concern with authority; severe superego
 c) figures, objects, or circumstances omitted: _____
 implying need for or to: _____

4. Conception of environment (world) as: overpowering; punishing; harmful

5. Parental figures (m, f) ✓ are seen as powerful; 5 advising; punishing and subject's reaction is rebellion; repen-
 Contemp. figures (m, f) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is tance
 Junior figures (m, f) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is _____

6. Significant conflicts: between autonomy fused with aggression and compliance

7. Nature of anxieties: (✓)
 of physical harm and/or punishment ✓ of illness or injury _____
 of disapproval _____ of deprivation _____
 of lack or loss of love _____ of being devoured _____
 of being deserted _____ of being overpowered and helpless ✓
 other _____

8. Main defenses against conflicts and fears: (✓)
 repression _____ reaction-formation _____ rationalization _____ isolation ✓
 regression _____ introjection _____ denial _____ undoing _____ splitting _____
 projective identification _____ other identification with enemy

9. Severity of superego as manifested by: (✓)
 punishment for "crime" _____ immediate ✓ just _____ too severe ✓
 _____ delayed _____ unjust _____ too lenient _____
 inhibitions _____ stammer _____ delayed initial response or pauses _____

10. Integration of the ego, manifesting itself in: (I, II, III)
 adequacy of hero ✓✓ outcome: happy _____ unhappy ✓✓
 realistic ✓ unrealistic _____
 solution: adequate _____ inadequate ✓✓
 thought processes as revealed by plot being: (I, II, III)
 structured ✓ unstructured _____ stereotyped _____ original _____ appropriate _____
 rational _____ bizarre _____ complete ✓ incomplete _____ inappropriate _____
 Intelligence: (✓) superior _____ above average ✓ average _____ below average _____ defective _____

Analysis Sheet for use with the Bellak TAT Blank

13MF: This is a young man who is going to the local university . . . a student. . . . He is very moralistic . . . that is, very virtuous . . . having a highly developed sense of what is right and what is wrong. He is also very religious. . . . He has been brought up very strictly and believes that one of the greatest sins that man can commit is to have sexual intercourse with a woman out of wedlock. . . . One evening, at a party, for some unknown reason, having taken too many drinks and feeling slightly lightheaded, he became very intimate with one of the girls present. He . . . his animal instincts came to the fore and he abandoned all his ideas of virtue, etc. He took this woman up to his room and went to bed with her. The next morning, after becoming sober and having regained his virtuous sense . . . or whatever you want to call it . . . he looked over and saw this woman beside him in utter nakedness. He was filled with anger, and wild . . . let's see (murmurs to himself) . . . and bitter passion at what he had done. A profound hatred swelled up in his chest for this woman that lay next to him. He ordered . . . she by this time had become awake . . . and he ordered her to leave his room. . . . She, not understanding what has brought this attitude of his about, believed that he was joking, and refused to leave in a jocular manner. . . . This man could think of nothing but to clear himself of this sin he had committed . . . cleanse himself of this sin. . . . And as this woman lay there laughing, and being overcome with his guilt, he seized her by the throat and strangled her. . . . Rising from the bed, and putting on his clothes, he became . . . he realized his predicament. He not only had committed a sin . . . a moral sin . . . but he had committed a greater sin by taking her life. . . . He gazed down as she lay there at her statuesque stillness and was filled with remorse. Remembering a few days earlier . . . that a few days earlier he had bought a bottle of iodine, and which was now in the cabinet of the washroom, he went there and gulped down its contents (laughs) and consequently died. That was the end of that. . . . I just said that he strangled her because she was laying in bed next to him, and that was the easiest thing he could have done, by reaching over and grasping her neck.

<i>Descriptive theme</i>	<i>Interpretive theme</i>	<i>Diagnostic level</i>
A virtuous, moralistic, religious, strictly brought up student, who considers sexual intercourse a great sin, takes too many drinks and is intimate with a girl.	If one is extremely moralistic, one considers sex a great sin which can only be committed under the influence of liquor.	Feels extremely moralistic. Severe superego. Strong guilt feelings about sex. Need for liquor. Strong oral needs. Rationalizes.
Later he is very angry at her, tells her to leave, and when she refuses, strangles her.	Thereafter one is angry at the woman, kills her	Projects (anger) on the woman. Impulse-ridden (it was the easiest thing he could have done).
Filled with remorse, he kills himself by swallowing poison.	and oneself, remorsefully in turn, by swallowing poison.	Strong intra-aggression. Oral needs.

Clinical notes

This story repeats both the orality and the fear of degeneration, as well as the strict superego. When tendencies recur several times in a story, such as oral needs in relation to drinking liquor, and again in the method of suicide, it can usually be considered an indication of the intensity of the problem.

Name _____ Story No. 4 (TAT Picture No. 13MF)

1. Main theme: (Interpretive) If one is extremely moralistic, one considers sex a great sin which can only be committed under the influence of liquor. Thereafter one is angry at the women, kills her and oneself, remorsefully in turn, by swallowing poison.
 2. Main hero: age young adult, sex M, vocation student
 interests religion traits virtuous abilities none noted
 adequacy (1, 1/2, 1/4) 0 body image and/or self image moralistic; degenerate
 3. Main needs of hero:
 - a) behavioral needs of hero (as in story): drinking; women; aggression; intra-aggression.
 dynamic inference oral needs; severe superego; strong aggression
 - b) figures, objects, or circumstances introduced liquor; robine
 implying need for or to oral needs
 - c) figures, objects, or circumstances omitted _____
 implying need for or to: _____
 4. Conception of environment (world) as: tempting
 5. Parental figures (m _____, f _____) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is _____
 Contemp. figures (m _____, f ✓) are seen as licentious and subject's reaction is anger
 Junior figures (m _____, f _____) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is _____
 6. Significant conflicts: between need for sex and superego; extra- and intra-aggression
 7. Nature of anxieties: (/)
 of physical harm and/or punishment _____ of illness or injury _____
 of disapproval _____ of deprivation _____
 of lack or loss of love _____ of being devoured _____
 of being despised _____ of being overpowered and helpless _____
 other of sexual and oral temptation
 8. Main defenses against conflicts and fears: (/)
 repression _____ reaction-formation _____ rationalization ✓ isolation ✓
 regression _____ introjection _____ denial _____ undoing _____ splitting _____
 projective identification _____ other projection
 9. Severity of superego as manifested by: (/)
 punishment for "crime": _____ immediate ✓ just _____ too severe ✓
 _____ delayed _____ unjust _____ too lenient _____
 inhibitions _____ stammer _____ delayed initial response or pauses _____
 10. Integration of the ego, manifesting itself in: (/)
 adequacy of hero _____ outcome: happy _____ unhappy ✓✓✓
 _____ realistic _____ unrealistic _____
 solution: adequate _____ inadequate ✓✓✓
 thought processes as revealed by plot being (/)
 structured ✓ unstructured _____ stereotyped _____ original _____ appropriate _____
 rational _____ bizarre _____ complete ✓ incomplete _____ inappropriate _____
- Intelligence: (/) superior _____ above average _____ average _____ below average _____ defective _____

Analysis Sheet for use with the Bellak TAT Blank

The most ominous feature of this story is the afterthought that he strangled her because "this was the easiest thing he could have done." Together with the realistic detail and the obsessiveness, it suggests that homicidal impulses are not far from the surface in this man.

14: Well, I'd say that this takes place in Paris, just for the heck of it. . . . That the papers have announced that there will be a . . . I would say that there will be . . . there will be meteors shooting across the sky on this date. This here person is a man . . . is watching . . . shall we say astral displays. . . . The room he is in is his bedroom and he has put the light out to make it easier for him to see what is going on. . . . He watches for about 15 minutes, closes the window, puts the light on, and gets undressed and goes to bed. . . . And that's the end of that! . . . (resistance). . . . The way the window opened up, I always imagined that windows like that were to be seen in Paris. . . . I would say that before he went to the windows he was laying on the bed, reading a book, until the time came around at which time the newspapers said that meteors would be seen shooting across the sky. . . . I would say that he is more or less of an amateur astronomer and that he has a great interest in the universe and . . . let's say . . . maybe we can make something out of this after all . . . that he is working on some small job which has no future . . . that he has always been interested in astronomy, but due to the fact that his parents did not have the resources with which to send him to school that he could not further his education in that field . . . (resistance) . . . He has some knowledge of the stars, and this display fascinates him and only makes him yearn for that education he might have had . . . that's all!

Descriptive theme
A young man in a bedroom in Paris at night is watching meteors appearing according to schedule and feels small in comparison.

This makes him yearn for education which the parents were too poor to give him.

Interpretive theme
If one watches big things at night appearing according to schedule, one feels small in comparison

and feels that parents should have given one more (education).

Diagnostic level
Patient has witnessed primal scene frequently and has felt insignificant in relation to his father,

and blames his parents for not having equipped him better genitally. Information and education are given phallic significance as a powerful tool.

Clinical notes

Paris probably means sex, as in the minds of so many. The meteors probably represent a big phallus. The reference to putting the light out to make it easier to see may well relate to the fact that patient would watch what was going on between parents when it got dark. The window is probably a reference to the female sexual organ and expresses the patient's notion that such (sexual) things would only go on in other dirty places, not in the parental home. He already knows what is going to happen from past experience (the newspaper) and feels himself but an amateur working in a small job (penis) and that it is his parents' fault that they did not equip him better.

Name _____ Story No. 5 (TAT Picture No. 14)

1. Main theme: (Interpretive) If one watches big things at night appearing according to schedule, one feels small in comparison, and feels that parents should give one more (education).

2. Main hero: age young adult, sex M, vocation amateur astronomer
 interests astronomy, education traits curiosity abilities none noted
 adequacy (I, II, III) body image and/or self image small; not having enough

3. Main needs of hero:
 - a) behavioral needs of hero (as in story) to watch; to acquire an education
 dynamic inference: voyeurism; exhibitionism; sexual problems; urethral problems; to be
 - b) figures, objects, or circumstances introduced: Paris; meteors; parents; newspaper powerful
 implying need for or to: sex; problem in relation to parents; voyeurism (newspaper); interested in phallus (meteors).
 - c) figures, objects, or circumstances omitted: _____
 implying need for or to: _____

4. Conception of environment (world) as: big; fascinating; depriving

5. Parental figures (m. f.) are seen as depriving and subject's reaction is yearning
 Contemp. figures (m. _____ f. _____) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is _____
 Junior figures (m. _____ f. _____) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is _____

6. Significant conflicts: Between need for achievement and feeling of inadequacy.

7. Nature of anxieties: (/)

of physical harm and/or punishment _____	of illness or injury _____
of disapproval _____	of deprivation _____
of lack or loss of love _____	of being devoured _____
of being deserted _____	of being overpowered and helpless _____
other: <u>of being too small</u>	

8. Main defenses against conflicts and fears: (/)

repression _____	reaction-formation <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	rationalization <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	isolation _____
regression _____	introjection _____	denial _____	undoing _____
projective identification _____	other _____		splitting _____

9. Severity of superego as manifested by: (.) not noted

punishment for "crime" _____	immediate _____	just _____	too severe _____
	delayed _____	unjust _____	too lenient _____
inhibitions _____	stammer _____	delayed initial response or pauses _____	

10. Integration of the ego, manifesting itself in: (/ . II . III)

adequacy of hero <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	outcome: happy <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> unhappy _____
	realistic <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> unrealistic _____
	solution: adequate <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> inadequate _____
thought processes as revealed by plot being: (/ . II . III)	
structured <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> unstructured _____	stereotyped _____ original _____ appropriate _____
rational <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> bizarre _____	complete <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> incomplete _____ inappropriate _____

- Intelligence: (/) superior _____ above average average _____ below average _____ defective _____

Analysis Sheet for use with the Bellak TAT Blank

18BM: This is a young man and he was formerly a successful lawyer. Then due to his bad habits . . . such as women and liquor . . . he began to . . . let's see . . . his talents began to . . . degenerate. Uh . . . He is married and his wife is beginning to turn against him. On this particular night he has . . . he is in a barroom and has become quite intoxicated. It is time for the . . . business to close and the bartender is helping him on with his coat. The man is stupified and doesn't know what is happening. The bartender, not caring what happens to him, escorts him to the door and leads him out to the street . . . where he drunkenly walks, not knowing where is going, and finally winds up sprawled out on the sidewalk where he is picked up by the police and spends the night in the city jail . . . (snickers). His wife, knowing that he is in jail . . . that is, having been informed that he is in the city jail, but refuses to pay his fine, or to aid him in any way whatever . . . (laughs). He becomes melancholy, and when he is finally let out of jail . . . knowing that he is . . . where are we? . . . let out of the jail? . . . knowing that he has been overcome by his niggardly condition, he decides to depart . . . to desert his wife and the city that he is in, and decides to go to another city to begin life anew. . . . That's the end of that!

<i>Descriptive theme</i>	<i>Interpretive theme</i>	<i>Diagnostic level</i>
A formerly successful young lawyer degenerates because of bad habits (women and liquor),	If one indulges in bad habits such as liquor and women, one degenerates,	Feels himself a degenerate because of interest in liquor and women.
and his wife turns against him. He is intoxicated in a bar, and an uncaring bartender sends him out	is rejected by one's wife and others,	Feels rejected by male and female figures.
and he is put in jail.	punished,	Severe superego.
His wife refuses to aid him, and he leaves the city to start life anew.	becomes depressed, withdraws, but starts anew.	Depression, withdrawal, counteraction. Oral needs.

Clinical notes

"Bad habits" refer most frequently to masturbation and resultant guilt. This story shows at least a spark of health, in that the hero tries to begin life anew, although it is not told in any convincing detail.

Name _____ Story No. 6 (TAT Picture No. 18 BM)

1. Main theme: (Interpretive) If one indulges in bad habits such as liquor and women, one degenerates, is rejected by one's wife and others, is punished, becomes depressed, withdraws, but starts life anew.

2. Main hero: age young adult sex M vocation lawyer women
 interests law; women; liquor traits drinking; goes with abilities _____
 adequacy (I, II, III) ✓ body image and/or self image degenerate

3. Main needs of hero:
 a) behavioral needs of hero (as in story): drinking; relations with women; counter-action.
 dynamic inference: oral needs and some defensive counter-action to passivity.
 b) figures, objects, or circumstances introduced: wife; other women; liquor; jail.
 implying need for or to: oral needs and severe superego.
 c) figures, objects, or circumstances omitted: _____
 implying need for or to: _____

4. Conception of environment (world) as: rejecting; uncaring; hostile

5. Parental figures (m _____, f _____) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is _____
 Contemp. figures (m ✓, f ✓) are seen as rejecting and subject's reaction is depression; with-
 Junior figures (m _____, f _____) are seen as _____ and subject's reaction is denial; counteracting

6. Significant conflicts: Between passivity and counter-action.
Sex and superego

7. Nature of anxieties: (I)
 of physical harm and/or punishment _____ of illness or injury _____
 of disapproval ✓ of deprivation _____
 of lack or loss of love ✓ of being devoured _____
 of being rejected ✓ of being overpowered and helpless _____
 other: at loss of control

8. Main defenses against conflicts and fears: (I)
 repression _____ reaction-formation ✓ rationalization _____ isolation _____
 regression _____ introjection _____ denial _____ undoing _____ splitting _____
 projective identification _____ other: projection

9. Severity of superego as manifested by: (I)
 punishment for "crime" _____ immediate _____ just _____ too severe ✓
 _____ delayed _____ unjust _____ too lenient _____
 inhibitions _____ stammer _____ delayed initial response or pauses _____

10. Integration of the ego, manifesting itself in: (I, II, III)
 adequacy of hero ✓ outcome: happy _____ unhappy _____
 _____ realistic ✓ unrealistic _____
 solution: adequate ✓ inadequate _____
 thought processes as revealed by plot being: (I, II, III)
 structured ✓ unstructured _____ stereotyped _____ original _____ appropriate ✓
 rational ✓ bizarre _____ complete _____ incomplete _____ inappropriate _____

- Intelligence: (I) superior _____ above average ✓ average _____ below average _____ defective _____

Analysis Sheet for use with the Bellak TAT Blank

Summary

Record themes and summarize other significant data for each story.

1. Feels strictly brought up; need for autonomy, achievement. Feminine identification—feels helpless. Fear of pregnancy. Suicidal tendencies. Strong homosexual fears. Extra- and intra-aggression. Parents seen as restrictive, coercive. Feels unhappy, physically ill.
2. Sexual needs; distinct triangular oedipal theme; jealousy. Intra- and extra-aggression. Homosexual interests. Severe superego.
3. Aggression against authority, particularly male figures. Severe superego.
4. Feels extremely moralistic. Severe superego. Strong guilt feelings about sex. Need for liquor. Strong oral needs. Rationalizes. Projects (anger) on the woman. Impulse-ridden (it was the easiest thing he could have done). Strong intra-aggression. Oral needs.
5. Patient has frequently witnessed primal scene and has felt insignificant in relation to his father, and blames his parents for not having equipped him better genitally. Information and education are given phallic significance as a powerful tool. Voyeurism. Conflict between need for achievement and feeling of inadequacy.
6. Feels him self a degenerate because of interest in liquor and women. Feels rejected by male and female figures. Severe superego. Depression, withdrawal, counteraction. Oral needs.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.

Ego function assessment from TAT data:

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
13	Reality Testing	Judgment	Sense of Reality	Regulat. & Cont. of Drives	Object Relat.	Thought Process.	ARISE	Defensive Funct.	Stimulus Barrier	Auton. Funct.	Synthet. Funct.	Mastery-Comptnc.
12												
11												
10												
9												
8												
7												
6												
5												
4												
3												
2												
1												

Ego functions

Psychotic range 1-6

Borderline range 4-8

Neurotic range 6-10

Normal range 8-13

(From Bellak, Hurvich, & Gediman, *Ego functions in schizophrenics, neurotics, and normals*. Copyright © 1973, by C. P. S., Inc. Reprinted by permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.)

Ego functions observed during test administration:

Case 3

E.O. is a married man of 25 who came with marital difficulties as his chief complaint. He and his wife were of different religions, although this did not enter into the problems except for some difficulties with the in-laws on both sides. Both families, however, were several thousand miles away. The subject had suffered from depressive episodes of borderline nature and also from premature ejaculation. He had no specific complaints against his wife except that she was not a very good sexual partner, but he did have serious questions concerning his preference for another girl. It became clear dynamically that the other girl was probably a representation of a sister two years older than he and, in the long run, an image of his mother. Together with his ambivalence toward his wife went considerable jealousy (apparently unfounded) concerning her feelings toward other, usually older, men. At times the relationship to the wife was a clearly competitive one, with him equipping her in his fantasy with masculine features. They were both in the entertainment field.

The patient responded favorably to a 6-months' course of psychotherapy. Final diagnosis: cyclothymic personality with some tendency towards a borderline manic-depressive syndrome.

For Case 3 we are using the Short Form (see also Chapters 8 and 11). The Short Form, as mentioned, is especially useful for the working clinicians. They are likely to make themselves brief notes in their personal shorthand, for which the space provided will usually suffice. In print, for public consumption, it is impossible to put all the necessary observations into the boxes. Therefore, the diagnostic theme also appears below each story, and only token references to it show in the boxes of the Blank.

The same limitations of printing versus personal notes limit the utilization of the other spaces in the Blank.

For the didactic purposes of this book, we are also reproducing the individual pages of the Long Form to allow the space necessary for printing some of the comments which might otherwise be personal abbreviations. Furthermore, also for didactic reasons, we chose some stories which by their richness allow more than an average of observations.

For those whose personal style runs counter to the small space provided in the Short Form, the Long Form remains the ideal record.

Note: All three final reports have been kept fairly brief in the interest of conciseness and because experience has shown that much longer reports are found objectionable by psychiatrists and others. Some T.A.T. workers may prefer a more rigid organization of the final report, under the specific headings referred to under "summary," namely, unconscious structure and needs of subject, conception of world and of significant figures, significant conflicts, nature of anxieties, main defenses against conflicts and fears, severity (and integration) of superego, integration of ego, diagnostic impression (this record is consistent with . . .).

SHORT FORM

BELLAK T.A.T and C.A.T BLANK

For Recording and Analyzing Thematic Apperception Test and Children's Apperception Test

Name E. O. Sex M Age 25 Date _____
Education High School Occupation Professional Athlete (circle one) m. s. w. d.
Referred by _____ Analysis by _____

After having obtained the stories analyze each story by using the variables on the left of Page 2. Not every story will furnish information regarding each variable: the variables are presented as a frame of reference to help avoid overlooking some dimension.

When all ten stories have been analyzed it is easy to check each variable from left to right for all ten stories and record an integrated summary on Page 4 under the appropriate headings. That way a final picture is obtained almost immediately.

Then, keeping Page 4 folded out, the Final Report: Diagnostic Impressions and Recommendations can be written on Page 1 by reference to Page 4. Page 5 gives available space for any other notations. The stories then can be stapled inside the blank against Page 5. For further instructions see *Manual for T.A.T. Interpretation*, Psychological Corporation, by Leopold Bellak or *Manual for the C.A.T.*, C.P.S. Inc., or *The T.A.T. and C.A.T. in Clinical Use*, 2nd edition, Grune & Stratton, 1971, N. Y. C. by Leopold Bellak.

FINAL REPORT: Diagnostic Impressions and Recommendations

The main problems of the patient are a low self-esteem and in seeing himself as an object of deprivation and aggression, as seen in stories 2, 13MF, and 18BM. He has a need to express his aggression, but there is a strong conflict in this regard and he frequently turns the aggression against himself (as in 18BM).

His oral needs are very pronounced, manifesting themselves in a need for acquisition of money and fame (1, 2, 13MF). He sees the paternal figure as aggressive and depriving. Contemporary male figures are seen as competitive, and there is a strong homosexual interest in them. Maternal figures are seen with considerable ambivalence and guilt over his aggressive feelings toward them, and also with strong oral demands toward them.

His main conflicts center around activity-passivity, the expression of aggression, and the expression of his oral demands. He shows distinct fears of physical harm and of loss of love.

His main defenses are reaction formation (stories 2, 6BM, 13MF, 17BM, and 18BM) and denial (1, 6BM, and 18BM). He has an extremely severe superego.

This man's extreme narcissism is highlighted in stories 1 and 17BM. His only real need for people seems to be in their capacity as an audience. His exhibitionistic needs thus seem considerably stronger than his heterosexual needs (this is particularly clear in story 17BM, where he states that his interest is not in the girls per se but merely in their admiration of his prowess). Certainly his strong oedipal attachment impairs his heterosexual adjustment quite severely.

Ego strength is of such a nature as to enable him to tell structured, rational stories with, on the whole, perfectly adequate solutions. He deals well enough with reality problems but employs many pathogenic defense mechanisms in order to achieve some equilibrium, especially denial. He appears to be of above average intelligence with a great deal of verbal facility (approaching the verbose), inaptitude, and considerable superficial affect.

The dynamic and ego psychological picture is consistent with an affective disorder without manifest psychosis.

The combination of orality, low self-esteem, and aggression against himself suggests some feelings of depersonalization, but they do not appear marked enough to constitute serious suicidal problems.

Dynamic psychotherapy centering on the problems highlighted above should offer very good chances for considerable improvement and some structural changes.

	Story No. 1	Story No. 2
1. Main Theme: (diagnostic level: if descriptive and interpretative levels are desired, use a scratch sheet or page 5)	Picture 1 Dissatisfied with life. Fantasizes.	Picture 2 Wants to do better than family.
2. Main hero: age <u>10-11</u> sex <u>m</u> vocation <u>musical genius</u> abilities <u>boy feeling empty</u> interests <u> </u> traits <u> </u> body image <u> </u> and/or self-image <u>(solicits his image)</u>	<u>Inadequate or</u> <u>manifest level.</u>	Female <u>19.</u> Student
3. Main needs and drives of hero: a) behavioral needs of hero (as in story): <u>to be a genius</u> implying: <u>a great musician to be famous</u> b) figures, objects, or circumstances introduced: <u>unknown</u> <u>instruments, money, fame</u> implying need for or to: <u>fantasy gratification, artistic showing, need for financial and other success</u> c) figures, objects or circumstances omitted: <u>people playing the instruments, or even an audience</u> implying need for or to: <u>narcissistic gratification</u>	<u>Feeling of failure</u> <u>Of emptiness.</u>	Need for autonomy. One's needs. Money. Success. Successance. Reassurance. Pregnancy of older woman. Repression of sexual themes
4. Conception of environment (world) as: <u>mere backdrop for his needs</u>		<u>Poor, but giving opportunity</u>
5. a) Parental figures (m <u> </u> f <u> </u>) are seen as <u> </u> and subject's reaction to a is <u> </u> b) Contemp. figures (m <u> </u> f <u> </u>) are seen as <u> </u> and subject's reaction to b is <u> </u> c) Junior figures (m <u> </u> f <u> </u>) are seen as <u> </u> and subject's reaction to c is <u> </u>		<u>Restrictive</u> <u>Between nurturance and success</u>
6. Significant conflicts: <u>between reality and fantasy</u> <u>between strong affect, need for achievement and affection and their denial</u>		<u>Contradiction of "eking out" and plentiful food</u>
7. Nature of anxieties: (/) of physical harm and/or punishment <u> </u> of disapproval <u> </u> of lack or loss of love <u> </u> of illness or injury <u> </u> of being deserted <u> </u> of deprivation <u> </u> of being overpowered and helpless <u> </u> of being devoured <u> </u> other <u>if emptiness</u>		
8. Main defenses against conflicts and fears: (/) <u>some secondary</u> repression <u> </u> reaction-formation <u> </u> regression <u> </u> denial <u> </u> introjection <u> </u> isolation <u> </u> undoing <u> </u> rationalization <u> </u> other <u>excessive fantasy</u> projective identification <u> </u> splitting <u> </u>	Mentions "no people." Doesn't realize he is wealthy and famous	Reaction-formation Denial
9. Adequacy of superego as manifested by "punishment" for "crime" being: () appropriate <u> </u> inappropriate <u> </u> too severe (also indicated by immediacy of punishment) <u> </u> inconsistent <u> </u> too lenient <u> </u> also: delayed initial response or pauses <u> </u> stammer <u> </u> other manifestations of superego interference <u> </u>		
10. Integration of the ego, manifesting itself in: (V. VV. VVV) Hero: adequate <u> </u> inadequate <u> </u> outcome: happy <u> </u> unhappy <u> </u> realistic <u> </u> unrealistic <u> </u> drive control <u> </u> thought processes as revealed by plot being: (V. VV. VVV) Stereotyped <u> </u> original <u> </u> imaginative <u> </u> appropriate <u> </u> complete <u> </u> incomplete <u> </u> inappropriate <u> </u> syncretic <u> </u> concrete <u> </u> contaminated <u> </u> Intelligence <u>superior</u> Maturational level <u>immature</u>	<u>Thought processes intact.</u> <u>Good intelligence</u>	<u>Adequacy</u> <u>Happy</u> <u>Realistic</u> <u>Thought processes appropriate and structured</u> <u>Superior intelligence</u>

Story 1

1: This young lad of 10 or 11 years does not know that he is a genius of the music world to come—via his violin. He has been practicing a piece of music. This particular piece does not please him. He isn't temperamental—but he puts down his violin and stares at the music—it's emptiness—just a cute little melody—no feeling—no warmth—no excitement—just an empty melody. As he sits there—he starts—in his mind—to fix it up the way he feels it should have been written—and the melody is going through his head. The way he sees it, it's very sad, but beautifully so. . . . And as he goes further on . . . different instruments join in—and very soon he has a whole orchestra in the background, with the violin crying out its sad and beautiful melody—he isn't even conscious of the fact that there aren't any *people* playing—just the music and the instruments! As he grows older—he makes a name for himself in the music field—and later on, he tires of playing—and starts composing the music that is constantly in his head—he becomes famous but this doesn't move him particularly—he doesn't even realize that he is wealthy—music is his life, and he is happy, because he is doing what he wants.

Descriptive theme
A 10-year-old boy is dissatisfied with his music piece, which feels empty, not warm. Stops it (though not temperamental).

Fantasies writing a better one (sad and beautiful); instruments (not people) join in.

Becomes very famous, happy with music, uninterested in money.

Interpretive theme
If a boy is dissatisfied with his status because life is empty, cold, unexciting.

fantasies of resounding effect (without social participation).

He achieves fame and money, without caring for the latter.

Diagnostic level
Feels like a 10-year-old boy. Dissatisfied with his life. Feels own shallow affect (poor sexual performance?) Denies being temperamental.

Switches from activity to grandiose fantasies of fame in a narcissistic way.

Denies interest in money and recognition.

Clinical notes

It is questionable whether one is justified in identifying the self-image with that of a boy in view of the fact that the picture actually shows a boy. However, subjects frequently tell stories of an adult thinking back to boyhood, thus clearly thinking of themselves as adults, and making the consideration of boyish self-imagining tentatively possible.

The repeated reference to emptiness suggests subject's feeling of emptiness, probably involving some depersonalization. The different "instruments" might well refer to the proximity of people he needs to dispel this feeling, but at the same time the shallow, narcissistic relationship to them (they exist only as need-fulfilling objects) is suggested by the fact that it turns out that only the instruments themselves, without people, are playing.

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Story 2

2: This girl, about 19 years old, would probably be named Olga, of Ukranian parentage and stock. For generations her family has farmed this piece of land . . . just barely eking out an existence on this tired overused land. But food was plentiful, pure, and wholesome, and they were satisfied, all, until Olga grew up. She was the first in the family to get full schooling. At first the family thought it was useless to keep sending Olga to school, year after year—there was so much work to be done, and at 13 she was almost full grown—but Olga wanted to study and learn more. Finally they conceded, and four years later it was with pride that they watched their Olga graduate from the town school! It was indeed difficult to allow her to go to school all these years. Of course she helped after school hours, but that wasn't enough. And now, now Olga wanted to go to Normal School to become a teacher! This was ridiculous—but—finally, after Olga showed them how, in another two years, she would graduate and get a job earning a hundred dollars a month as a teacher, they gave in again. We see Olga coming from town—Normal School! It is almost sunset—and as she comes across the field, she sees her brother, stripped to the waist, tilling the land, and her mother, tired and with an aching back from seeding—resting for a moment—Olga sees this and turns away for a moment—she hates to see them slave, just to eat and sleep. . . . Soon, she thinks to herself, I'll be earning money and we can buy a tractor—with automatic seeder . . . and there are many kinds of farm equipment that could make work easy, and do it quickly; maybe we'll buy the adjoining piece of land and start making a living instead of an existence. She walks over to her mother, takes the seeds from her, and starts seeding. . . . Her mother, now holding Olga's books, looks at her young educated daughter, who is bent over covering the seeds with the earth, and a light shines in her eyes, as she thinks, "Good, she is not spoiled, my daughter with her books—soon she'll finish and all will be well"—and turns to go down to the house to prepare the evening meal!

<i>Descriptive theme</i>	<i>Interpretive theme</i>	<i>Diagnostic level</i>
A girl of simple European stock wants to study and improve herself. Food important.	If a girl wants to do better than her family by studying (though having enough food?),	Need for autonomy, self-improvement. Wants to do better than family. Oral needs.
At first the family objects but then concedes and watches her succeed with pride.	the family first objects, then concedes, and is proud of her success.	Family seen as restrictive, later proud of one's success.
The girl sees the family toil, dreams of helping them, and actually relieves mother of work.	One feels sorry for the family, fantasies of helping them, and actually helps mother.	Need for success, including money. Wish-fulfillment fantasies, rescue fantasies re mother. Need for nurturance.
Mother is happy about her and prepares a meal.		Oral needs.

Clinical notes

It is frequent for males to identify with the female figure in this picture, so that this by itself does not permit any particular inference. The need for success and

money is repeated here, this time without denial of the latter. But denial appears in the contradiction of "eking out" and plentiful food. The need for nurturance (Bellak, 1950) may simply stand for need for succorance.

This is a rather verbose, lively story of cheerful mood, probably typical of the somewhat hypomanic mood the patient was in (as compared with the meager, constricted, brief, often merely descriptive stories of obsessive-compulsives, for instance). This story is also to a certain extent autobiographical in that the patient did come from immigrant stock and helped support his family.

Story 6BM

6BM: This is an old folks' home, and the young man is visiting his old mother. She was only to have stayed for a short while. Till he had moved his family to the new house. . . . Then, when he thought of bringing his mother to the new home . . . his wife had started talking. . . . "Grandma was spoiling the kids. . . . She kept everyone awake with her nerve-wracking cough, and she was very untidy, and made so much extra cleaning work around the house." . . . At first, the young man was shocked to hear his wife speak that way of his mother. . . . he wouldn't think of letting her live in the old folks' home. . . . while he had a new house with plenty of rooms in it. . . . but. . . . after a few weeks. . . . he got used to hearing his wife speaking in this manner. . . . and he wasn't shocked to hear the words, but he was still upset about his mother living in the old folks' home. . . . His wife was stubborn and insistent. . . . there wasn't anything he could say or do that would change her mind, well. . . . there wasn't much he could say now. . . . he was tired. . . . she kept yelling and making scenes. . . . So finally one day he went to see his mother. . . . to tell her. . . . the easiest way he could, that it was inconvenient for them. . . . for her to live with them. . . . After much hemming and hawing. . . . he finally blurted out his case. . . . The mother is very hurt, but she sees how difficult it is for her son, and for his sake tries to make it all sound very trivial. . . . and actually she likes it at the home! . . . But the man can see through her kind but obvious front. And finally the mother starts talking. . . . about how you bring children into the world. . . . and no matter how much they love you. . . . and no matter what they try to do for you, you always feel that you are unwanted. . . . and yet. . . . what can an old woman with no income do? The man is feeling very bad. . . . his little old mother going through all this pain because his wife didn't want to clean an extra room! He is disgusted with himself for not being man enough to make his wife take his mother in. . . . and at the same time he is angry with his mother for making it so difficult for him.

Well, time wore on. The grandma would come to the house Sundays. . . . play with the kids. . . . enjoy their laughter and their tears. Stay for Sunday dinner, and around about eight. . . . the son would drive her to the home.

About six months after the above incident. . . . on a Sunday. . . . they were having fish for dinner. . . . when suddenly. . . . one of the children started coughing and spluttering. . . . everyone started pounding him on the back. . . . the young mother started getting hysterical. . . . and the father kept yelling. . . . "He's got a bone stuck in his throat." . . . The child started getting blue in the face. . . . The grandma ran into the kitchen. . . . went to the bread box. . . . took a piece of stale bread back to the choking child, put a good-sized piece of stale bread in his mouth. . . . told him to chew it a couple of times, and then swallow. . . . no matter how difficult. . . . The child by this time was almost unconscious but, hearing its grandmother's calm voice it did as it was bid. . . . and the bread forced the bone down. . . . and the child was all right, 'cept for fright. . . . The young mother looked at the man. . . . who was her husband. . . . and said. . . . "If it weren't for your mother's old-fashioned remedies. . . . we might have lost our son. I could feel what it was like. I know how she must feel. . . . living away from you. . . . us. . . . now! I think I can manage to clean one more room. . . . !" So, the grandma moved back. . . .

<i>Descriptive theme</i>	<i>Interpretive theme</i>	<i>Diagnostic level</i>
There is a conflict between hero's mother and wife. Hero gives in to wife and mother has to move to old folks' home.	If there is a conflict in one's loyalties to mother and wife, one reluctantly gives in to wife	Has attachment to mother conflicting with marital adjustment. Projects aggression toward mother on wife, rationalizing.
Mother feels son is ungrateful. He doesn't dare stand up to wife and is angry at mother.	and rejects mother, who complains about it.	Mother seen as nagging, poor. Identifies himself with child. Guilt over anger toward mother.
When mother saves life of grandchild when it has a bone stuck in its throat, wife and mother make peace.	If there is trouble with the child (who has object stuck in throat), mother helps. If mother and wife can be reconciled, all is well.	Fearful fantasies of aggression (fellatio). Mother seen as omnipotent. Can feel peaceful only if conflict between attachment to mother and wife (and ambivalence toward both) is resolved.

Clinical notes

This story is most illuminating with regard to the subject's chief complaint of marital problems. Obviously, he is as ambivalent toward his wife as toward his mother and denies both. His relationship to the latter interferes with his relationship to the former. In his oedipal wishfulness, the father is out of the picture. Probably as a punishment both for his oedipal wishes and also because he conceives of the mother as a somewhat phallic woman, the phallus gets stuck in his throat. Making this happen to his own child removes the full impact from himself.

The story of the bone is not unlike the apocryphal story of the origin of the Adam's apple—the forbidden (sexual) fruit getting stuck (Bellak, 1942). It implies a breast-phallus equation. The Kleinian school would speak of the "bad breast." The child is a secondary identification figure. The solution of the conflict between the two women by the bone incident, and the solution by the bread, are somewhat of the nature of a *deus ex machina* solution.

Story 13MF

13MF: This scene takes place in a small room of a tenement house. Very poor people . . . young—students. The betterment of the mind means so much to them. They have starved to go to the university. . . . Sometimes working at nights . . . so . . . they can afford to go to school in the day. They have known each other since childhood, and as they grew older, married and, having much in common, lived happily though precariously,

sometimes not having enough for food, most of the time dressed very poorly. This winter was very cold . . . the girl's coat was very thin . . . and somehow she must have caught a cold. . . . The boy, her young husband, finds her in bed shivering. . . . "What's the matter?" he asks. "Guess I caught a bit of a chill," she answers. He feels her brow and she is very hot! He becomes alarmed and says, "I'll go get a doctor!" . . . "I'll be all right, don't bother." . . . He sits by her side, and talks to her, to keep her company . . . besides, he has no money for a doctor! After a while he notices that she hasn't said anything for quite some time . . . he shakes her, but she is unconscious . . . he becomes frantic, and runs out to find some doctor, but the doctor down the street is not in his office . . . and he runs back to the room. The girl has pushed the covers partly off of her, in her fever, and her full round breasts are exposed . . . he leans down to talk to her . . . he sees . . . she is not breathing . . . ! So quickly life goes . . . he doesn't know how long he has been sitting by the small bed . . . he gets up . . . and calls the police . . . ! Heartbroken . . . he is determined . . . "To hell with education! Money is what counts! If we had had money . . . she wouldn't have died!" . . . He leaves school . . . goes into the world . . . amasses a fortune after a time . . . but, he has not peace of mind . . . money can't buy that!

<i>Descriptive theme</i>	<i>Interpretive theme</i>	<i>Diagnostic level</i>
A poor starving girl dies because husband cannot afford a doctor.	If one is poor, one has to let one's wife die,	Feels deprived orally. Aggression against wife. Projection.
He calls police.	calls the police,	Unconscious guilt feelings.
Heartbroken, he makes much money without peace of mind.	makes much money, is disturbed.	Need for acquisition (money), for security. Guilt.

Clinical notes

Again, the acquisitive needs, denied in the first story, come out here strongly, very often feelings of material deprivation stand for a feeling of being deprived of love. In this story reference to starvation clearly refers to oral deprivation.

The unconscious guilt feelings over unconscious aggression are demonstrated by his calling the police.

Story 17BM

17BM: The boy or young man on the rope is a gymnast . . . takes great pride in his muscles and ability. . . . Today some girls came in to see the men working out . . . and this particular boy was doing everything to appear the hero and strong man in their eyes . . . not that he cared particularly to meet the girls . . . it's just that he wanted them to see that he is the best around. While he is doing all this showing off . . . a small, thin chap with glasses . . . and a portfolio joins the girls, and they all turn eyes on the muscular young man. He smiles to himself and he takes a running leap at the hanging rope and shinnies up like Tarzan, and starts doing all sorts of difficult feats, one-arm planches, dislocations, and so on, for about five minutes, and then he looks at the group that were watching him, and sees that they (the girls) are laughing at the little fellow, who is trying to lift a huge weight . . . and being very funny about it. The muscular one comes down the rope, watching as he descends. "Why should they choose to look and laugh with the skinny, scholarly chap, when I was being so sensational!!"

<i>Descriptive theme</i>	<i>Interpretive theme</i>	<i>Diagnostic level</i>
A young man with great pride in his muscles and ability shows off to girls to impress them as being best.	If one shows off with great pride in one's body, it is narcissistic more than heterosexual.	Great body narcissism; exhibitionism. Little heterosexual interest.
At the same time a thin scholarly fellow makes them laugh, and the muscular one feels the other is stealing the show.	The girls may prefer a funny scholarly chap.	Homosexual competitiveness. Great stress on being thought entertaining. Feeling of inadequacy.

Clinical notes

This story probably reflects a double identification, in that inquiry revealed that the subject thinks of himself both as muscular and, on the other hand, as too little. The other stories, too, show his need to be considered scholarly. His actual appearance was that of a small, inoffensive man, whereas he was a professional athlete. This theme is also related to competition with a brother three years older and has much to do with the patient's homosexual competitiveness with other men rather than genuine heterosexual interest. This man sees people primarily as an audience. His only object cathexis is an anaclitic one. The laughter which the second identification figure arouses was one of the patient's most important conscious needs (getting the laughs).

Story 18BM

18BM: His wife always said . . . "You can't step on peoples' toes . . . and not expect to get hurt yourself!" And he would answer, "If telling the truth . . . if honesty is stepping on peoples' toes, then I damn well am going to step on plenty of toes!"

This afternoon . . . during the lunch hour in the factory . . . he had a bunch of the workers gathered round him . . . and was explaining to them . . . the way the economic system worked. How they . . . the workers were browbeaten . . . how the people with money . . . made more money by making them work like slaves . . . for little more than slave money. That the worker had no chance for security in his old age . . . working conditions weren't even good. . . . Look at the way they had accidents, because the power machines didn't have protection screens around them . . . the bad lighting, etc. . . . etc. . . . One of the foremen overheard this and went to the boss' office . . . and told what he had heard.

That night, as he was walking down the dark street that led to his house . . . a car drove alongside, and some men jumped out . . . something hit him on the head . . . he was dazed by the blow . . . then he was hustled into the car . . . driven out to the country and beaten up. It was four o'clock in the morning by the time he got home . . . sick and sore in his body. . . . He knew why he was beaten up. . . .

The next day, although it was an effort for him to go to work . . . he went . . . his face all swollen . . . his body sore and wracked with pain. . . . His fellows started asking him questions . . . and he said . . . "You all know me. I have no enemies. I think I am well liked . . . yet last night coming from work . . . I was set upon by some thugs . . . thoroughly beaten . . . and apparently left for dead. It couldn't have been thieves . . . because they didn't try to take anything from me . . . and they kept shouting as they were

kicking and punching me . . . 'This oughta teach you to keep your mouth shut . . . you lousy communist!' . . . You see, it was for what I have been speaking to you about that I was beat up! . . . I must of said some very true things for them to try and shut me up . . . !" The workers asked . . . "What are we going to do?" . . . and he answered . . . "What they have done to ME is not of great importance . . . but WHY they have done it is! So, we must organize . . . a union . . . and force them to our demands!"

The workers organized . . . and started making small demands at first . . . until they forced the bosses into making their shop . . . clean . . . safe . . . and better wages. This showed the way . . . and very soon the other shops followed . . . and at least now, the workers live like humans. . . .

<i>Descriptive theme</i>	<i>Interpretive theme</i>	<i>Diagnostic level</i>
A man tells workers they are being abused, even though his wife says this might lead to harm to himself.	If one is verbally aggressive against authority against a female's advice	Need for verbal aggression. Sees female figure (mother?) as being against aggression against authority.
Someone informs on him and he is severely beaten.	one is severely harmed by agents of the authority	Authority is seen as depriving (inviting aggression—masochism). Severe guilt feelings.
Thereupon he leads the men to organize a union.	but then leads men to successful modified counteraggression.	Socially acceptable aggression permissible (after self-punishment).

Clinical notes

The female figure is certainly unexpectedly introduced here. The exploiting authority is probably an image of the parents. The whole story shows the subject's problem with aggression, his turning it against himself, and his ability to express it only in a modified form after he has been punished.

H. Cross-Cultural T.A.T. Literature

Since Murray's development of the T.A.T., the consensus of working clinicians seems to have been that the cards and the method of administration constitute a wonderful addition to clinical practice. But Murray's need-press interpretive scheme is by no means adequate to deal with the current diagnostic classifications in mental health or to be informative in the ongoing work of practical treatment; hence the development of alternative methods of analysis. But to date, none of the alternative cards to be used with adolescents and adults have supplanted Murray's original set.

One reason for the continued success of Bellak's Long and Short Forms methods of T.A.T. interpretation is that it fits in so well with the overall manner in which a working clinician things—that is, How does the patient see the world? What are the major conflicts? What are the main methods used to cope with or