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SOCIAL PREFERENCES

in

School-Children and Adolescents;

A Comparative Study of English and Polish Children.

~~A new version of the~~

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The aims of this work are the following: (a) to bring out which persons in the environment are most readily preferred by children at different age levels, especially during the school period from seven to eighteen years of age; (b) to find out what traits possessed by such persons led to this choice, and (c) what do children "need these people for". (This can also throw some light on children's needs and interests). This work is intended as a contribution to the study of personality development in which the contact with, and preference for, other people plays so important a rôle.

We shall find whom children prefer in their environment and why. This last question will be answered by children's explanations ~~for their~~ for their choice. In this way we find in the environment persons who satisfy children's need or who are picked up by them as "models", "ideals" or objects of identification.

This work falls within the scope of social and developmental psychology, being concerned with the development of the individual and his socialisation.

From the great amount of works in this field we mention some general sources and then we proceed to the studies on the relations between a child and some particular persons in the environment, where some psychological mechanisms influencing these relations are explained and methods presented, which we discuss in relation to our intended approach.

Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb (1) based their views on the development of children and their socialisation on the numerous observations and experiments, carried out either by themselves or by many other investigators. The factors of inheritance, maturation and learning in social environment are discussed as responsible for the development of personality and its social adjustment. G.W. Allport (2) and Kimball Young (3) (4) laid great stress on the social environment in their theories of the development of personality, McDougall (5) points out the great importance of innate instincts as the sources of energy responsible for the subsequent development of various forms of behaviour, directed to the satisfaction of instincts in the social milieu. Kurt Lewin (6) emphasizes the importance of the different ²forces influencing the formation of personality in the "social field". The "dynamic theory of personality" is further elaborated by Mowrer and Kluckhohn, (7) who pay great attention to the influence of social contacts and "identifications" in the development of personality.

The psychoanalytical theories stress the problem of satisfaction of "libido" at different age levels. The people in the environment become objects for libido-fixation, of influence, in various ways, these "pleasure seeking" tendencies of the growing child.

Anthropological views on the influence of different cultures on social development are discussed by Malinowski, (8) (9) Margaret Mead (10) (11) and G. Bateson (12). The rôle played by parents, relatives and older children on the socialisation and personality development of a child in various tribes appears to be very different from our cultural notions.

The observational and experimental data on social development of children at different age levels are presented in works by Ch. Buhler, (13) (14) S. Isaaks (based on case studies), (15) J. Piaget, (16) and by A.I. Gates, A.T. Jersild, T.R. McConnel and R.C. Challman, (17).

In the investigations concerned with children of school age, various methods were used: method of observation, direct questionnaires, case studies (of normal and pathological children), the interpretation of material collected from children and the statistical treatment of various of such data.

Social interests were found in diaries or in "archives". (18) (19) (20). Some particular social situations were also separately investigated, e.g. problem of leadership (21), of friendship formation (22), or treated comparatively (friendship and leadership) (23) (24). Parent-child relationship were studied (25), and also children's attitudes towards adults in general (26), teachers, youth leaders etc, (27) (28). Burt (29) deals with the influence of companions and family conditions on the onset of juvenile delinquency, illustrating his views with some typical case studies and statistical analysis.

Psychoanalysts, who based their work mainly on "case-study" methods, describe quite a few mechanisms, governing the inter-human relations, especially in the period of development (fixation, identification, projection, transference etc.) (Freud (30), Flugel (26), Balint (31), Anna Freud (32), R. le Saussure (33)). The workers in the field of mental hygiene use often the same name for differently conceived mechanisms in order to explain "objectively" some forms of adjustment and "defence mechanisms" (Shaffer (34), Morgan (35), Arlitt (36)).

The direct experimental approach to the study of social preferences in children and young people may be found in the work of Moreno (37) who with the help of his sociometric method gathered quite a lot of data about the social preferences in the adolescent groups and its relation to the personality formation. Cole and Morgan (38) discuss his finding in the chapter on Social contacts of the Adolescent in their publication.

The influence of a disrupted social environment is studied among the Refugee Children in America by G. Hildreth (39).

Summarising briefly studies on social preferences, it was found that, in childhood, parents are preferred objects for social contacts of a child. Then other relatives may partly substitute for them, but not until the beginning of the adolescent period is there a ~~marked~~ *general* shifting of social contact from parents to companions, friends and other adults, who may become now objects of admiration and identification (teachers, youth leaders etc.,). Friendships become stronger during this stage, but later on, at about seventeen to eighteen years the heterosexual preferences based on courtship and love are established, although some "models" and "ideals" are still quite often accepted according to the social, cultural or political interests of young people.

Among the main factors underlying the development of social contacts the basic needs for protection, food and sexual satisfaction are the most important; (K. Young) (3). The little child learns to distinguish in his environment persons who more often satisfy these needs: feed him and fondle him and protect him by putting aside annoying situations.

But when the child develops, his needs, even if based on these initial drives are more and more complicated by the acquirement of numerous "social motives" that tend to be satisfied in the framework of a given culture. And if we take into account development of instincts as the innate tendencies which should be satisfied we shall notice that more and more assistance from other people is required and they become helpful in the satisfaction of these instinctive and acquired demands by becoming:

- Objects of satisfaction - for sexual contact, love, sympathy, friendship etc.,
- Instruments of satisfaction for hunger, protection etc., when they satisfy those needs by direct activity.,
- Assistance in satisfaction of various needs when they directly help the child or when their mere presence creates an atmosphere of security, enabling a child to perform his own activity in satisfying his needs.,
- Examples, ideals or models of successful activities and socially accepted attitudes. The child either imitates them or identifies with such persons in order to achieve the indirect satisfaction of his tendencies.

In our work we shall meet with all these instances, though generally these are interwoven one with the other.

According to McDougall and other writers all social preferences are based on the direct or indirect satisfaction of general tendencies and various instincts. But some various "mechanisms" are also present in many instances of this choice: some early fixations, current interests, longing for the most perfect, integrated adjustment, satisfaction of various frustrations ("tension") (40), the compensatory tendencies to seek satisfaction either by identification with suitable persons or by copying their methods of the successful adjustment.

In the choice of models, ideals and especially objects of identification many of the above factors are acting simultaneously. According to the principles of Gestalt psychology it would be rather artificial to consider "response of preference" in social situations as resulting from the mere addition of these various factors. The individual just "feels like" picking up a definite person from the environment due to his "total response" towards it. The analysis of various reasons for this choice and their respective hierarchy is only the second and rather artificial stage in this process. The choice of models has also an important meaning for the representation of one's own future, which also tends to be imagined as the organized whole. In this respect the choice of the other person as the "ideal" or "model" provides the core for this "organized picture" of oneself in life.

During the period of adolescence an individual is especially subjected to the conflict between his personal values and the "world of values" imposed on him by social requirements (41). Here the wholesome integration of these two worlds of values may be achieved through successful identification with other people (Murphy) (42). It does not mean that the child will identify with people representing this "social side" in this conflict. On the contrary he may shift his preferences from the people representing the ideal of social conformity to those, who bravely oppose it and who realise their own desires against the whole social pressure. This makes for the admiration for bandits, rebels, and other antisocial characters. But more often the rather positive models are used (43) (44).

The term "identification" as a name for the mechanism partly responsible for social preferences of the child, has often been abused recently. Social psychologists understand it as normally existing in personality development. ("Method of putting oneself in the place of another in ^{or} imagination activity, often going so far as to result in sense of oneness with the other person" - Kimball Young) (3). Psychologists interested mainly in mental hygiene consider it as a compensatory defence mechanism only: "when frustrated in the achievement of a goal, an individual will frequently identify himself with a person, group or object that is capable of greater achievement than he is" (Dockeray, 1946). Psychoanalysts find the first identification with the father in Oedipus complex, and later on in many other life situations ("identification with aggressor" as escape mechanism- Anna Freud) (32). Some psychiatrists consider identification and empathy as the same mechanism in human interrelations (Selling) (45). In our work we will use the interpretation of this mechanism proposed by social psychologists with more emphasis laid on its emotional character.

In this work the "indirect method" has been used. Children had the simple question put to them: "Whom would you take with you if you were sent to a desert island and only one person was permitted to accompany you? Explain why you have made this choice?" All questions were forbidden, not to suggest some other trend of thought. Some further exact instructions will be found in the next chapter.

The results will be elaborated in respect to main problems: persons chosen and their traits or their "value" for the child. The age groups will be treated separately for boys and girls and some general conclusions drawn about the most important and noticeable *differences* between the whole groups of English and Polish children in two

different sex groups. General conclusions will be presented. Some typical cases will be more particularly analysed and discussed.

Although we look for some general trends in the nature of social preferences, the differences in this respect between two different national groups, which had also during the last few years rather unlike kind of social experience, will be discussed. It is probable that in other studies the other factors, influencing social preferences can be investigated with the help of this or similar methods. (Social preferences among other national groups, children from boarding schools and from family homes, delinquents, backward children, "double-choice" method may be applied: "Whom I should like to take..." and "whom I would have to take..." when social preferences will be opposed to social duties; the negative reactions: "whom I would never take and why?"; the method of "multiple choice": 1st, 2nd, 3rd preference - etc.)

It is hoped that the method here applied allowed answers to have been obtained more freely and frankly than obtained from questionnaires related to the real situations. - ^{Situations} ~~Sometimes~~ that appeal to the phantasy of the child enter the world of his imagination where he is more open and sincere and where his desires and inhibitions, conflicts and needs are more easily traceable. From some preliminary experiments with about a hundred and fifty Polish children in the Lebanon the writer had found this expectation fairly well supported by evidence and he thought that it might throw some more light on the problem ^{of} personality development in social environment.

CHAPTER II

COMMENTS ON THE METHOD

Our method lies within the wide scope of investigations into the individual - social interaction in personality formation. We can distinguish four steps leading from the whole problem to the field covered by our work:

1. The problem of interaction between an individual and its whole environment in personality development.
2. The interaction between an individual and his social environment only.
3. The influence of some people in the environment on the personality formation of an individual.
4. The influence of some definite, real persons, living in the environment of an individual, personally known to him, - in their various degrees of importance for an individual.

Points 3 and 4 require further explanation. In point 3 all personages the child is aware of in his development are included. We shall find, therefore, the following groups:

- (a) Phantastic personalities, heroes of fairytales: Peter Pan, giants, fairies, olympic gods and heroes, legendary and mythological animals behaving like human beings (anthropomorphism in children's understanding of the world) etc.
- (b) Heroes of fiction: adventure stories, pictures, legends etc.
- (c) Historical and biblical figures, with some traits of historical reality about them.

(d) Real people known at a distance: political and military figures, (Churchill, Montgomery), scientists, explorers, sportsmen, high officials, writers, film stars etc., - known from newspapers, news-reels, radio etc.

(e) Real people, known personally to the child: parents, relatives, siblings, school-friends, play and work companions etc.

Undoubtedly all of the above figures may have an influence on a child at different age levels. They enter into his real life, requiring everyday active adjustments, his world of values, his ideals and plans for life, his day-dreaming and play activities. All these figures may satisfy the four-fold needs of an individual, which we have mentioned before in the preceding chapter.

It is rather difficult to draw a sharp line between imaginary and real people. It is even ^{more} difficult because little children do not distinguish between these two groups as clearly as do older ones. This last point we shall discuss now.

Little children are much more prone to accept phantastic persons and situations. They may be deeply disturbed or frightened by some phantastic stories told to them, they are afraid of ghosts and bogeys, they can play for a long time with "imaginary companion" (H.G. Green) and be very upset when their imaginary rôle taken in play is disregarded by adults. (A little boy burst into tears when mother kissed him: "How could you kiss me- he complained - you never kiss a shop-keeper" (X) (47)

Now we should ask two questions:- How far does the child distinguish between reality and phantasy?

-How and when this attitude changes during development?

We have evidence that the distinction between reality and phantasy is typical of all normal children and disappears only with psychopaths and mentally ill. Even the little child is able to distinguish between play and reality in practical life. McDougall mentions the views of F.H. Bradley that in children and animals alike a fixed boundary exists ^{between play} activities and reality. A dog can playfully bite his master's hand but never hurts him. Playful fights are definitely distinct from real fighting, for, according to McDougall, the ultimate aim is to destroy the enemy.

Burt also points out that when considering the influence of the cinema on children and young people we have no evidence that screen situations are copied by children in real life. (The other author even emphasizes that the opportunity to play freely the rôles of bandits, criminals and so on, on the play-grounds prevents children from antisocial activities in reality.) Burt stresses, too, that if we observe children who are not able to distinguish between reality and phantasy, there must be something pathological about them, as in the case of Jerry, the little murderer (29). The same inability to distinguish between reality and phantasy may be found with children suffering from mental diseases, like schizophrenia etc. And even if the rôle taken by a child in play involves his emotional attitude very considerably, as in the case of the "shop-keeper" mentioned above, nevertheless the intellectual control is always preserved and exercised in case of need.

During development the child becomes more and more critical towards the products of his games and day-dreaming. At the beginning of the period of adolescence when he "discovers his self in respect to his social place" (Bailey, 1920) he assumes also a critical attitude towards the reality of his plans and day-dreaming. He verifies them according to his experience with real life. In my work on phantasy in children I introduced the term of "dissociation in day-dreaming of adolescence". In the investigations based on case studies I found many instances when children between the age of fourteen to sixteen confessed that they had two different "kinds of day-dreams", instead of only one kind they enjoyed in childhood. They still imagined themselves as heroes of some phantastic adventures, but alongside with it they dreamt about their future profession and about successes in life which might really be achieved under conditions of normal life. "Now I understand that this first kind of dream is unreal, but I return to it sometimes even now, it is still so pleasant"- says a boy of fifteen (x) (48).

Considering this whole situation we shall assume that although imaginary persons as well as real ones influence the personality of a child, this influence of both kinds of people should be rather different. It bears upon the methods used in investigations of this whole problem. We cannot look at the same time for bonds between the individual and his real surroundings and between him and the world of his imaginary heroes and ideals.

(x) Szyryński: "Fantazja w psychice". 1946

Besides that, the interaction between a child and his real companions, parents etc, requires a different kind of adjustment, from his attitude towards his admired and sometimes imitated imaginary ideals.

If we are to present the different methods used in the psychological literature of this subject, we may suggest the following classification (with some examples):

Preferences for Persons

<u>ions</u> <u>igated</u>	Phantastic, fiction	Semi-real: historical, national heroes, sport, film.	Real, personally existing in child's environment.
	Green: "the day-dream"		<u>Our proposed method.</u>
Phar- tas- tic	Green's study on "imaginary companion" (Imaginary figure in semi-real situation!)	Barnes: "Children's Ideals". Friedrich: "Die Ideale der Kinder".	Moreno's sociometry. Burt's case studies. Partridge camp situations. Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb: socialisation, friendship, leadership etc.
Real			

From the above classification we see that the social situation should also be taken into account in assessing social preferences in children. Some authors, especially more recent ones, try to experiment with possibly real situations: Moreno, Burt, Partridge and others investigated preferences for or influence of real people in real everyday situations.

On the other hand in the so called "projective technique", the imaginary personages and situations were again stressed in their importance for the investigation of social sttitudes and adjustments of children. From this point of view questioning about "children's ideals" may be to some extent regarded also as the "projective" method through which the child expresses his own "value world" peculiar to his own personality. In other words preferences for imaginary ideals disclose some tendencies in the choice of personality values in children whereas their preferences for real people expose also the latter's influence on the active realization of these values in life.

We have mentioned in the above classification the factor of situation in the various methods applied. Moreno questioned children about their preference in the real social field of their life. He (found) also that these preferences changed according to various situation regarded. In our opinion this restriction was too sharp, although this was in full agreement with this author's aims for which his method was devised. But in order to assess the whole nature of the social interaction with respect to a given individual he should have been tested many times with respect to many different social situations.

Generally speaking in all methods devised for testing social preferences in children two restrictions should be considered: restriction in respect of persons and in respect of situations.

If choice of persons were unrestricted the child would have had too easy a task in choosing a person which would suit his needs and tendencies. Such a situation being too distant from the real life would not allow us to notice whether the child is able to get along with his environment or whether he has any difficulties in his social adjustment.

Of course, we know that every child has these difficulties, and during his development tries to overcome them with the help of other people from his environment. And this need for social adjustment is basically responsible for social preferences.

In pointing to these most important figures, who play a real part in the child's social adjustment, we leave the choice to himself. But, as we have mentioned above in connection with Moreno's method, we cannot test him in a limitless variety of social situations. Therefore we allow for it by creating the unreal, imaginary situation, rather vague and indefinite. In this way we supply a child with the "projective background", which is not actually important for our studies, but we force him to be more exact on the point which really interests us that of making a choice of a real person.

To put it quite clearly we want to ask the child: "Tell us frankly, whom do you like, and whom do you need most from among all people in your environment. And tell us also how do you adjust to this social environment of yours?" We presume that no child will be able to answer these questions to our satisfaction. ~~He~~ He will be too embarrassed and too inhibited to answer the first question, he will be rather confused about how to answer the second one without the proper knowledge of instincts, drives, strivings and the unconscious, and he will not understand the third question at all.

We hope to be able to tackle these questions with the help of our method. It does not seem that the difficulty in distinguishing between affective ("like") and utilitarian ("need") motives is too great. Children generally like people who satisfy their various needs, conscious or unconscious, as we have noted previously, especially when they are faced with an imaginary situation, when they should not bother very much about everyday plain and practical needs.

As we said above, we will be trying to avoid any emphasis being put on the situation itself. A "desert island" seems to be somewhat better than the "imaginary town" or such like. It has a little more reality in it. But it should not mean very much more than "just somewhere where I shall be alone and where I can take only one person from my environment". Our preliminary experiments suggested that it might be a good approach. Some children had entirely disregarded qualities of a "desert" island. "I will take my mother. She will stay at home when I go to school. She will help me with my lessons" - writes a ten-year-old girl, who does not bother at all about the difficulties of attending school on the desert island.- On the other hand an eighteen-year-old boy, working for his School Certificate, and rather maladjusted in his social contacts, writes: "I will take with me our priest who teaches us religion. He would tell me whether all my actions are moral and good or not. He will prevent me from committing heavy sins". The troubles of this boy are typical for his age, but not very often presented in this material.

It might be said that with our method we look at life's situations through the diminishing end of a telescope, and on persons from the child's environment through the increasing end of it. It seems also that in this procedure, due to the vagueness of the situation of a desert island, children take with them the preferred persons with their respective "social fields", if we are allowed here to use Lewin's term, and it is just what we are looking for in our endeavour to find out: (1) what real people there are in the child's environment.

and how they help him in his social adjustment, and in this way influence the development of his personality, and (2) whether the child has any difficulties in getting along with these people and what are these troubles, if any. Of course, the second problem may be investigated only in addition to the main question, but it may throw more light on the nature of our general findings and on their meaning in social development and adjustment of a child.

Speaking about real persons from the child's environment we had obtained one hint from some of our preliminary experiments: the wording of the interrogation should be so careful as not to exclude the possibility of taking domestic animals, especially dogs. It happened that quite a few children from various schools, between the age of eleven and thirteen preferred to take their pets instead of any human beings. In the majority of these cases we found it to be significant for rather marked difficulties in social adjustment. Some boys, who wanted to take their dogs stated clearly: "he (the dog) is better than any friend. He is more trustworthy, I may rely on him more than on a man". Some such children came from disrupted homes, when the father or mother lived with another person instead of his or her real partner. Generally speaking it seems that in this period the child's tendency for emotional security and stability is sometimes better satisfied by an animal than by his fellow-men.

An interesting point was suggested by Margaret Phillips (x) (49) that one of the important motives in inter-human relations, especially in children is the "need to be needed".

(x) "Education of the emotions". 1937

It explains very often protective tendencies in children towards their younger siblings or younger friends. It may be partly explained probably by the mechanism of identification and substitution, when a child is longing for affection and security from his parents and instead provides someone else, depending on him, with the same benefit. In this way he feels pleasure and satisfaction of his "protegee" as his own by identifying with him.

There are some other points with the problem of interhuman relations in the development of children, but they will be discussed in the further chapters on the ground of the obtained data.

x
x x x

The points which we mentioned before, that the "situation" should be as vague and indefinite as possible, is of really great importance.

If we ask, for instance, "with whom would you like to share your cabin, when travelling by ship?" and the child answers that he wishes to have some friend, we may suspect that the presence of his parents in the next cabin is so obvious to him, that it is even not worth mentioning. It is certainly the same if we should ask: "With whom would you like to share your private room?" - the child would hardly mention any grown ups being accustomed to the fact that they always have their own part of the house and may be rather annoying when allowed to share the room.

The second drawback^{arises} from emotional fixations and inhibitions, which sometimes form the real basis for the superficial appreciation of social duties.

If, for instance, in testing emotional bonds with other people, we should have asked any adolescent boy or girl, who is absolutely and for ever in love with some girl or boy-friend, an awkward question e.g., "whose death would you miss most of if it happened suddenly just now?" - they very probably would mention their parents, even if they were quarrelling with them, to prevent the appearance of the complex of guilt for rejecting and abandoning their parents for someone else. The same conflict would certainly arise and distort answers to the question: "whom would you take with you if your country was to perish and you were able to save only one person?" The answers to this question with many children would have been more significant for their emotional fixations and complexes, than for their actual constructive social preferences.

The important feature of our work is that it aims to study social preferences along some period of the development of children. In this respect it may supply some observation about the social and emotional development in general. In this field we meet some other methods devised with the special purpose of measuring social and emotional maturity.

"Vineland Social Maturity Scale", devised by Doll ~~xxx~~ in 1935 (x) (50) deals with various situations in everyday life, which should be handled satisfactorily by children at different age levels. We have to mention also Furfey's "Developmental Age Tests" (xx) (51) in which various interests, attitudes, preferences and life plans of children are investigated and typical responses ascribed to various stages of development.

(x) Doll, Edgar A.: "The Vineland Social Maturity Scale; Manual of Directions". 1935.
 (xx) Furfey, Paul H.: "Developmental Age Test", and "Manual". 1930.

Willoughby's "Emotional Maturity Scale" (~~x)~~ (52) is based on the preferred emotional responses in the described situations. Pressey tried also to assess the emotional maturity with his X - O Test.

We hope that our work may add some new data to these observations on the emotional development in children. But not only preferences for some definite persons will be significant. The way in which children will explain and account for their choice may be even more characteristic for various age levels. Therefore we expect to observe the following groups of changes along the development stages:

(a) changes in objects of social preference- different objects may be chosen at different age levels;

(b) changes in evaluation of various traits, which are responsible for the choice of a person; different preferences for different traits at different age levels;

(c) changes in attitudes towards other people, especially when their usefulness for a child is concerned; this will reflect variations in interests and also the degree of security and independence at different age levels.

We expect that Piaget's suggestions that during the development the child emerges from egocentrism and overdependence might be verified in the light of our findings.

Generally we expect that our work will supply some data for the assessment of social development which might be used in the appropriate scales, and it may also contribute to the problem of typical changes in social contacts and attitudes during the social and emotional development.

Instructions to children

- A. You are to write an English composition. I am going to tell you the subject first and then I will tell you what to do later. Please write just what you think quite freely and frankly. This is most important. Write about the subject in any way you like. You have no need to ask the teacher anything.
- B. Now imagine that you were sent away for very many years to a desert island. And you can take there with you anyone you like, whom you really know. But only one.
- C. When you have chosen someone, explain why you chose and give as many reasons for your choice as possible. You may give his name and ~~a~~ some things you like about whom you chose.
- D. Now here is the subject "Whom would you like to take with you to the desert island and why?" - Do not write the name of the composition to save time.
- E. Try to be as frank as you can. Don't trouble about spelling. Being frank is more important. But remember don't ask any questions at all. Just write what you like.

Instructions for teachers

- 1. The most important thing is to explain the topic exactly in accordance with the above "instructions to children" - the same order of sentences and the same expressions are essential.

Any change in the words e.g., "person" or "companion" instead of "anyone" might suggest some definite associations or ideas, with the first word some children would think only about adults, with the second - about their friends, when the expression "anyone" is the most indefinite. - Time: one school period - 45- 50 minutes.

2. Please do not give any examples or comparisons. It is sometimes very tempting to help children in this way, but such aid would be ~~deleterious~~ to the results of this investigation.
3. All questions should be definitely forbidden. If any child happens to ask, for instance, "Can I take my aunt?" or "can I take my dog?" this will immediately start a specific train of associations in others and the results turn out to be quite useless.
4. If any child changes his choice during his work and starts with the new sheet - both sheets should be taken with an appropriate explanatory note. If a child wants to change something he should cross it out and not erase it.
5. If the teacher finds it really impossible to stop questions she may insist that they should be asked in whispers at her table only "not to interfere with the work of others". But it is much better to avoid them altogether.
6. At about 15 minutes from the beginning of writing, when the teacher is sure that every child has made his choice, she may repeat part C (only) from the above "instructions".
7. About 10 minutes before the end of the lesson the teacher will instruct that those children who have finish their work should answer the following questions. (Replies only!)

- I. Write your name.
- II. Date of birth or age.
- III. How many older sisters and brothers have you?
- IV. How many younger sisters and brothers have you?
- V. Are you living with both your parents?
- VI. If not- what happened to them?
- VII. Who is taking care of you, if it is not your father or mother?

N.B. With younger children these questions should not be asked, but filled up from school records.

8. Please give me in writing all remarks the children made as they proceed with their work, any questions they have asked and some particulars on how they behaved.

G. L. H. H.
1/1/11

CHAPTER III

THE SAMPLES

The material for this work was collected from the English and Polish schools during the 1947 and the first half of the 1948 years.

The technic of collecting it consisted of preparing standard instructions, getting in touch with the Principals of the schools and instructing the teachers, who accomplished the last stage of this work in classes. In some schools I have carried out some of the work with children myself, in others I discussed the method in details with Headmasters, who in turn instructed their teachers.

Together with the compositions from their children, teachers prepared written reports on the details of the class work; wherever it was found that some breach of the instruction had happened either because of children, who asked questions or uttered loudly some suggestions, or because of teachers, who misinterpreted some details of the instructions, such group of compositions were not included in this material.

"Wrong answers" were also eliminated from the analysis of the material. They comprised all cases where children, contrary to the instruction, choose either some heroes, unknown to them personally, as political figures, film stars, etc, or when they chose any indefinite person, as "a gardener", "a boy", "a brave man", without supporting such a choice with any evidence that they had in mind any definite, particular friend or acquaintance.

On the whole 1932 English and Polish children answered our test. The English group consisted of 619 girls and 791 boys (Total: 1410), the Polish group comprised 315 girls and 207 boys (Total: 522).

The English children came from the following schools:

<u>Boys.</u>	<u>No. of compositions.</u>	<u>Age range.</u>
Public boarding school for boys with preparatory school	326	9-18
Secondary Modern Boys' School	242	11-15
Catholic Secondary & Upper Day School for Boys	92	11-18
Junior Day School for Boys and Girls	131 (boys)	7-11
Total: Schools 4	791	7-18
<u>Girls:</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Age</u>
Catholic Secondary & Upper Day School for Girls	263	11-18
Secondary Girls' Day School	232	11-14
Junior Day School for Boys and Girls	124 (girls)	7-11
Total: Schools 3	619	7-18

The Polish Children's compositions were collected from the primary, secondary and high schools in the Refugees settlements in Lebanon and in East Africa. In these settlements the great majority of people were families of Polish soldiers, who were fighting with the British Army against Germans. All these people were saved from the remote provinces of Russia, where they had been deported after

the collapse of Poland in Autumn 1939. They spent about 2 years there and afterwards they followed their husbands who joined the Polish Army under the British Command in 1942. All those people lived in the settlements for about 5 - 6 years, their life corresponding approximately to the life in a Polish village or a small town, with primary secondary and high schools, with church, hospital, recreation halls etc. During that whole time, however, wives and children were separated in the great majority of families from their husbands and fathers. Some children, who lost their parents during the war, lived in orphanages.

The majority of the people came from the Polish peasant class, they were mixed, however, with families of the middle class population: government employees, clerks, primary school teachers etc. There were also quite a number of professional people or their families in the settlements. All the people lived in a more or less similar conditions, although the normal social stratification was obviously present. All children had a unique opportunity to attend all kind of schools, as they were not obliged to earn their living before their mature age.

More detailed analysis of particular conditions of their life will be made at some further occasions in the following chapters.

The answers from the Polish children were collected as follows:

	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Age</u>
3 Primary and 1 Secondary Schools in 3 settlements in Lebanon	81	138	6-18
2 Primary and 6 Secondary, Technical & High Schools in 4 settlements in East Africa	126	177	7-18
Total: Schools 12	207	315	7-18

It is obvious from this presentation that the samples were chosen from the most different social and national groups, belonging to the same general cultural group of European population. The English and Polish groups differed not only in national traits, but also in a social situation at the time of this testing, and in their respective experiences in life. ~~I~~ was interested to see, whether their attitudes towards people in their environment would differ very considerably from those of the English children, or whether some deep fundamental tendencies in their personalities occur to be stronger than all these differences and present among all children of both national groups.

Having to answer such a fundamental question I did not attempt any further comparisons between the different groups from various schools, social classes etc, which would expand the limits of this work. ~~X~~ have classified the whole material only into the Polish and English groups and into girls and boys. However, with some more detailed analysis of various "value groups" responsible for social preferences some further selection of different groups of replies has been needed.

After the elimination of the material not consistent with the requirement of the questionnaire, all further elaboration was carried on with the following number of answers:

			Total:
English boys	----	753	1361
English girls	----	608	
Polish boys	----	188	486
Polish girls	----	298	
Total	----	1847	1847

CHAPTER IV

THE RESULTS AND THEIR INTERPRETATION

A. Introductory remarks

The broad general trend to satisfy all our needs, which accounts for our contact with all other human beings, plays a similar part in determining our preferences for some persons in the environment. For the sake of simplicity we may call it the general tendency towards successful adjustment. In all living organisms various needs exist, which require to be satisfied. In the long train of development the child as well as many higher animals learns that other people are sometimes useful means for achieving such a satisfaction of needs. It is in this way that other human beings acquire their "value" from the child's standpoint. Later he is able to differentiate between them in general and see that their particular qualities have some definite positive or negative values. This process of evaluation - more or less conscious - is, in my opinion, the basic mechanism underlying social preferences.

To summarize the above statements some fundamental elements in the development of social preferences for particular persons may be mentioned. They are:

1. needs of the individual: his innate drives and acquired motives, urging him to seek their satisfactions;
2. experience with some definite persons, who assist in satisfying those needs;
3. various values acquired by those persons as the result of their rôle played in the process of adjustment in general, e.g.. providing security, protection etc.

4. Some particular values ascribed by an individual to some qualities existing in other persons, which are of special significance as means of satisfaction, e.g., some practical abilities, as swimming, playing games, social ranks and various character traits etc.

They may include some bodily characteristics as well as various kinds of behaviour on the part of other people.

I think that such ^{process}~~persons~~ of evaluation may act in both ways: the deductive and the inductive one. An individual may ~~firstly~~ discover the positive meaning of a given person for his adjustment and then notice, if he is ever able and cares to do so clearly enough, which qualities make for the general positive value of such a person, or he may need - more or less consciously - some particular qualities which he wants to find in some people in his environment and when he finds a proper person he picks him up.

From the point of view of mental mechanisms, especially those stressed by psychoanalysis, two ways of adjustment (motive satisfaction with the assistance of other persons may be distinguished i.e.

1. the direct, and -
2. the indirect way.

Under the direct way of motive satisfaction through other people I subsume the situations when other people just simply give us something that we need: it may be food to satisfy hunger, or a cradle to satisfy comfort drives in the infant, it may be love, protection or admiration, required in some circumstances, or it may be various sorts of help in achieving different ends for which a given individual is striving.

The indirect way of achieving satisfaction for our needs with the help of other people rests on the mechanism of displacement, or on the mechanisms of identification, transference or projection in particular. In such a case an individual finds satisfaction, not in the achievement of his own goals, but in the attainment of those goals by somebody else, with whom he may identify himself more or less closely. This mechanism is especially marked in cases where the direct satisfaction of motives is thwarted and the frustrated individual finds more or less perfect satisfaction in the achievements of other people. But in all such instances we must admit the existence of some emotional bonds between the subject and the object in the process of identification. However, it is not certain, which comes first: the indirect satisfaction and the emotional link or, what seems to me more probable, the pure need to satisfy some drives is saturated with some emotional tension which is immediately "given to" an object of identification, as simple sympathy or likeness or love.

In all such cases some needs and desires are the basic factors, existing in the individual, which in the course of their indirect satisfaction account for identification with other people.

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If we have said just now that drives and motives, existing in an organism, make in the long run for preferences for persons in general and for some of their personality traits in particular, we should name also the other, secondary source of this situation. This second source consists of various frustrations and failures in motive-satisfaction, which amass in the personality. We may say,

therefore, that as social preferences illustrate the hierarchical system of motives in people, they may also be significant for the amount of frustration experienced by an individual in his social adjustment. It may be said that such frustration simply changes the hierarchical order of motives, when those which were frustrated most, through the highly increased tension were exercising greater influence in the personality than the other ones. Taking the example from our findings we shall see that children who more often felt insecure about their parents tend to chose them more often, than the opposite group.

In elaborating the results of this work all preferences for persons and all traits given as reasons for such preferences are treated as groups of values in the outside world, illustrating the system of needs characteristic for children subjected to this investigation. In this reasoning I think I am in agreement with the opinion expressed by Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb (x) (53) that in the field of social psychology the best way of understanding the personality is to express it as specifically organized system of values. "The world of values" expresses a personality better than anything else.

In elaborating the results I was trying to classify them at first in two great groups:

1. preferences for persons
2. preferences for these persons' traits;

The traits were divided also into two groups of:

1. objective, and -
2. subjective values,

(x) Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb: Experimental Social Psychology, 1937.

according to whether the mentioned trait had to do with the direct satisfaction of some need or just objectively characterising such a person. Thus such values (traits) as social acceptance, providing protection, co-operation with the subject and even that allowing the subject "to give" something ("to be needed", to display his importance)- all those directed towards the subject and connected with him were classified as subjective. All other values, such as physical traits and abilities, social position and character traits, like honesty, cheerfulness, or courage, intelligence, etc, were grouped under the heading of "objective values".

I think that such a classification corresponds to the above mentioned "direct" and "indirect" ways of needs satisfaction. We are fully aware that such a division is, of course, very crude, but it is of value that it facilitates the formation of a conclusion from my material. The material itself having been obtained by an intentionally very vague method of questioning, in order that the children might freely adjust themselves to the test situation, and to express themselves on the subject in the freest possible manner.

This freedom of expression on the part of children requires a specific treatment of the obtained data. Detailed and careful examinations of all compositions produces a fairly good illustration of the needs and frustrations of various groups of children, and also of their attitudes towards various people in the environment. In view of the above considerations ample supplementation of all problems illustrated in the tables by frequent typical quotations from the children's compositions, seems justified.

In the typical samples of children's compositions we shall see that on the whole they describe their "preferences" as the perfectly adjusted, happy individuals according to the system of values based on the needs of a particular child at a given age levels. In other words, we may certainly see how the children create very often the figure of their chosen ideals according to their best notion of qualities making for the successful and good social adjustment. In all such cases the mechanism of identification is clearly responsible for, and plays the greatest part^I in, social preferences.

It may be interesting to mention yet another reason for such an inference, namely, that the same person may be described in quite different ways by ~~some~~ a few people. Besides many other reasons for such differences we may suspect the influence of their different interests and actual desires in directing the attention. Such a supposition may be especially justified when the problem involving the emotional attitude is dealt with. According to J. Mazurkiewicz attention is a selective factor usually directed by, or based on, our emotional states and interests. (x) (54). I also once raised the question that attention as a selective factor in consciousness and unconsciousness is closely linked with the human motives, by which it is actually directed. (xx) (55). I think that this holds good also in our case when different children when making the same choice put forward quite different qualities in support of their preferences.

(x) Mazurkiewicz, J.: "Zarys Fizjologicznej Teorii Uczuc"- Rocznik Psychiatr.

(xx) Szyrynski, W.: "An Outline of Mental Hygiene". 1944.

Some of these differences may be explained by various interests appropriate to different age levels, but others just characterise the personality of a child who makes and explains his choice. Let us take an example: here are three compositions of boys who choose the same person, a boy of 13, P.

First, by a boy of 10:

" I am going to take P., my cousin. He is thirteen years of age. The County in which he lives is M. I know he is a fast runner. His home stands near a river and he owns a little motor-boat. I like him because he is honest and very frank with people. He has a pocket-knife, a compass and a big case for putting food in...

P. was a scout and knew how to make fires... He could make small fishing nets out of pieces of rope. He learned at Scouts how to signal with pieces of cloth".

Second, by a boy of 13:

" The person I would take... is P. His age is 13. He is a strong boy... He can make strong furniture and can prepare food for he is of the farming world. He would cheer you up if downhearted. P. is very tidy in appearance and in the home. He is good company and can make you laugh. He makes other kind of things, besides furniture. He is very generous and kind to other people and animals."

Third, by a boy of 14: (according to his headmaster, a very maladjusted lad):

" I would like to take P. for he is sensible, he acts like a boy and not a girl, he is daring and not afraid of anybody. He is a good companion, he would not desert me if there was trouble. He has

a fine stature and is well built. He has good ideas and is rather clever with his hands. I know I could rely on him and I trust him. He can swim and is pretty good in athletics. He has black hair, blue eyes, rosy cheeks, he is of a good built, his legs are of a nice shape, he wears clean clothes and looks tidy. He is also well mannered and knows how to respect his elders.

His age is thirteen, nearly fourteen and his height is about five feet four inches.

I like P. because he is not a spoil sport, he does not sulk. He is a good companion."

Principally I have to treat the material as a whole, and I am therefore deliberately refraining from separate clinical interpretation of individual compositions. However significant the test situation may be it does not allow of any serious inferences as to the personality problems of individual children, even if some of ~~x~~ their remarks may be highly suggestive of various adjustments or maladjustments. However, in order to complete the above illustration of three compositions about the same individual I should like to include his own composition of one of his friends, who - curiously enough - is not one of those three mentioned above. Bearing in mind all that has just been said it may well be thought that he represents a type of the well adjusted and well integrated youngster:

" I would take B. by reasons I would take him are these.

The first reason is that I have known him for three years and not once have we disagreed and neither have we broken friendship. Another

reason that makes me like him is that he never looks on the dark side of a mishap but always thinks of the bright side of a mishap. One thing B. has in common is that every morning he turns up bright and smiling no matter what kind of weather it is he just keeps on smiling. Humour is another thing B. has. When playtime comes and sometimes before he starts cracking jokes about the subject we have just taken."

All these examples illustrate many of the points I mentioned above which make for social preferences based on the direct and indirect satisfaction of motives organised in every personality in a characteristic and unique way.

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In all the following chapters two main problems are analysed and discussed:

- (i) preferences for persons
- (ii) preferences for "values"

All the tables are also arranged according to this dichotomy: tables I, IA and IB present the quantitative results of the choice of different persons, tables II and VIII show the relative popularity of the various "values" among different groups of children and in relation to various groups of persons chosen.

In chapter III^B the proposed classification of values is extensively explained.

Chapter III^C constitutes the presentation of the most important differences in the preferences for persons among the four fundamental

groups of our subjects.

Chapter III D comprises the detailed analysis of main values responsible for the choice of various groups of people, with reference to basic human motives, underlying ~~the~~ ^{such an} evaluation in children and adolescents.

The general conclusions from the above results will be based again on the previously mentioned premises: as social preferences are emerging from the satisfaction of motives it will be possible to see

1. which motives or needs underly the occurrence and direction of social preferences in some given groups of children.

2. What differences are found from this point of view among various groups of children, included in this investigations. It will show which situations in the life of children may influence their adjustment in general and how ~~such~~ ^{such} situations consequently influence the needs for social preferences in particular.

B. The procedure used in elaborating the data

1. All replies were sorted according to age levels in two groups of English and Polish children, and also into two sub-groups of boys and girls.

The preferences for various groups of people were counted and represented in first group of tables (I, Ia, IB)

2. Preferences for various persons were treated separately and all values given by children as reasons for the choice tabulated as follows:

expressions of a synonymous character (e.g., cheerful, always smiling, never sad and grumpy etc)

were grouped under one character trait - "personality value" (e.g., cheerfulness).

- all such items were classified into six main categories of values.

- four of the above groups were classified into an objective group and two into a subjective group of values.

In the "objective" group of values, mentioned by our subjects as reasons for their choice, are collected all values which are not strictly concerned with the child himself; it may be said that they are not "directed to the child himself", they just characterise the person preferred. Here we have: (See tables {II} and {III}.

- (I) Physical and "outer" values: the general appearance of a given person: bodily build, height, weight, colour of hair and eyes, shape of face; then clothes, general tidiness of appearance etc. We see here all the descriptive qualities of a person. They are subdivided into two main groups: when any quality is just mentioned in a purely descriptive way or when it is evaluated. Such a division seems to be of some meaning, because if the first sub-group may give little bearing on the preference for a person, the second one certainly involves some appreciation on the side of the child. If somebody has just "fair hair", "blue eyes" we do not know what value it possesses, but if somebody has a "very nice curly hair" or "nice smiling face", "is pretty", "has a few freckles which suit her", "is always very smart" - all that means that the author of such a reply commits himself to a positive valuation of such a particular trait in the other person:

Because of the very objective and "outer" character of "possessions" all the remarks about the values of other people

because they have something (toys, ribbons, camping tent and outfit etc.) were included in this group also.

It is interesting to notice that the possession of various objects, valuable from the point of view of the current interests of children adds greatly to the estimated value of their owners.

- (II) "Individual behaviour values" come as the second category in the "objective" group. It was emphasized long ago by many child psychologists (Ch. Bühler, A. Kaminski and others) that with the children of the middle school years (9 - 11) the physical prowess and practical abilities of their companions have a great meaning for the latter's social position. In our classification this great group includes all physical and "practical" abilities ^{displayed} by various people and mentioned by the children as reasons for their likes.

In this group of values many recognized motives are represented such as the need for physical and play activities, curiosity in the outer world and its exploration; self-assertive tendency, desire for social approval and the satisfaction of pugnacious activities are also found in the individual and team sports included in this group of values. All physical qualities, associated with such activities, strength, health, dexterity, nimbleness and quickness are also included here.

As we shall see, the two above categories cover a great range of all qualities chosen by children in support of their social preferences and they refer not only to their playmates and equals, but are also applied to their parents, and grown-ups in general.

It seems pertinent here to mention that these two groups of values are of great importance for social preferences of children, especially when we are agreed that the mechanism of identification plays an important part in the whole process. Many writers

(Williams, Partridge, Hartshorne^{rn} and May) seem to over estimate the rôle of character traits in the formation of friendship and other forms of social links.

Partridge (x) for instance speaks about the similarity of "the standards of conduct of the others" which should be "in keeping with the conception" the people have of their lives. In my opinion the acceptance of the other people's standards of conduct and their imitation by children occurs very often as a result of adoration or sympathy based on more superficial values of appearance, behaviour, and also the "response" by reciprocity of such feelings. The acquisition of the world of values of other people may come as the deeper result of those superficial contacts.

(III) The third group comprises some "social objective group values" based on the rôle played by an individual in his social group. We find here the position of a person chosen in his own family, pre-eminence in his social group, leadership or popularity, membership of a class, school, club, organisation and even the social class.

The attitude of the child's own parents towards his choice is mentioned quite often especially by girls and younger boys.

On the whole this group is rather vague and does not seem to play very significant rôle among the values, responsible for social preferences in general.

Of the special meaning here is the subgroup of social interests in the other sex, when the attitude of the chosen person towards members of the opposite sex is either praised, or - in a ~~rather~~ few cases - condemned.

(x) Partridge, E de A.: Social Psychology of Adolescence, 1938.

(IV) "Personality objective values" form the next group of this classification. Here all the so called "character traits" were gathered. Very great care was exercised, however, to include only those traits which are not directly related to the subject himself. Of course, it is undeniable that all these qualities may be related to the subject, because they make for his general comfortⁱⁿ his experience of friendly relations with the other person and in this way they account for his choice of this person. But if we have in mind the aim of distinguishing between the direct and indirect satisfaction of the subjects' needs when he either obtains something from the other person or, perhaps finds the satisfaction in enjoying the other person's qualities - such a distinction may be justified, even if it only illustrates the needs for this twofold way of achieving the satisfaction - and the adjustment in general - with the assistance of the other people in social environment.

If we want to generalise we may say that the great majority of these values make for the security of an individual in his social contacts. Cheerfulness, honesty, reliability, good temper, politeness and even good workmanship, self-support, courage, sportmanship and good manners - all of them create the situation of good, easy adjustments, when the individual is certain of good relations with the other people, who are "playing the game" according to some respected rules of life and with the positive, pleasant attitude towards their fellow men. "Love for animals" mentioned fairly often may express this attitude in a transferred form.

The need for security, both physical and emotional, based^{on}, or, in any case, connected with the innate need for bodily protection

(K. Young) underlies the majority of values enlisted in this group. The motive of social conformity, responsible for our compliance with social standards and requirements may be found in pronouncing "good manners" and "sportmanship" as values leading to successful adjustment.

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In the division of "subjective values" we have two groups, together embracing all attitudes of other people, directly related to the subject's needs.

- (V) "Social subjective values" include all kind of social responses experienced by the subject in his struggle for social participation. All positive responses, that come from other people and make for the positive feelings towards them are fairly important in creating social preferences. Here we see especially two main tendencies satisfied, those of social acceptance and protection. Children certainly care for people who look after them from early childhood and who satisfy all their physiological and, later, social needs. The most basic requirements for self-preservation and then for self-assertion in social environment, if we use McDougall's terminology, are found here. However, we must understand that social preferences as reported by our children are the most current, present-day attitudes and therefore are related to the present needs, resulting from the present structure of personality, - notwithstanding its long and complicated development, - and its interaction with the present environment. We shall see that the present situation with all its

satisfactions and frustrations influence very considerably the whole social orientation of an individual.

In this group of "social subjective values" we find, therefore, all remarks related to the subject being accepted, protected, advised and instructed directly by other people. When a child says that some persons help him in difficulties, teach him various ways of adjustments, be it swimming, playing tennis or good manners, - he always refers to their values as protectors from frustration. When they give him something, invite him to tea and to the cinema, are "unselfish" "generous" and "not greedy" in relations with him, they are accepted and evaluated as providing various forms of social acceptance, recognition and also, to some extent, protection and support. Let us illustrate this by a very simple example taken from a composition by a 7 years-old-girl.

" I am ^{going} to take my friend with me.

Her name is Beryl...

Beryl is a nice girl she likes me.

I will be in a boat...

The Captain gave me and Beryl an apple and banana.

Me and Beryl had a lovely time.

The Captain gave me and Beryl a bag of sweets each.

The Captain is nice."

In the same group we find the remarks of children about "being cheered-up". It corresponds very closely to the "trait of cheerfulness" mentioned among the "personality objective values". However, in this case it is clearly defined as related to the subject's social situations. The twofold division of the direct and indirect satis-

faction of needs is applicable here. In the first instance ^{the subject} was satisfied that the person of his choice is just cheerful and happy - now he underlines that this trait is exercised in relation to him. Of course, we cannot rely entirely on these differences of expressions in every case, as I have said all this classification is valid only in broad outline, but on the whole it defines quite clearly these two mechanisms of satisfaction findings.

(VI) "Mutual personal acceptance" - this group mainly includes all remarks about the subjects' attitude towards their choices together with their reciprocal sympathy and affection. All expressions about likes towards other people, friendship, understanding and sympathy are included here, along with common interests, plans, common likes and dislikes. Such remarks suggest very often the existence of the tendency to identify ourselves with the chosen person. "We are alike", "we have the same likes and dislikes", "we share all plans and interests", "he is like I am", "We understand each other well".

The attitude of "giving protection" deserves special mention. In quite numerous cases the reason for the choice is that the subject wishes to take care of somebody, to teach and instruct him, to protect him from danger and difficulties. Such desires are either expressed quite openly, or we see more complicated cases, as that of a girl of 10, who chose her 4 year old brother, explaining that he would defend her and take care of her etc. In real life the girl is recognized to be an ideal example of the "protective attitude" as shown towards her little brother. The mechanism of transference is obvious here, when she identifies herself with her brother and provides him with the affection that she would really like to have from other people;

in reality she shows towards him the same attitude which in the phantasy situation, she unconsciously confesses she wants to be directed towards her.

"I would take my brother, because he is always kind to me. If anybody wants to hit me my brother will stop him. His name is Z. He doesn't go to school he is four, and very kind. He is younger than I am". (P. girl, 10 years)

I do not want to argue to what extent the mechanism of transference and identification are responsible for the satisfaction connected with the protective attitude towards other people. I should like, though, to mention here again an interesting suggestion of Margaret Phillips, (x) (56) namely that many children show "the need to be needed" - and this tendency is rather important in their emotional contact with social environment. In my material also such a tendency is well marked.

The desire for dominance also accounts for the choice of people who may be subjected to children's care and protection. It occurs with equals as well as with the adults. In the last case we may suspect sometimes that this tendency "to be needed" emerges from the desire not to be dependent all the time on parental care and guidance. In some compositions we may also find remarks showing the aggressive tendencies directing the choice. "In the desert island he couldn't be bossy and would look for my help" - writes one of the boys about his friend.

In connection with this "mutual personal acceptance" I should like to raise the problem of reciprocity of such preferences. It seems that this factor plays ^{an} important rôle in the attitudes towards other

people. When trying to treat this data according to Moreno sociometric technique (xx) (57) I rarely found the "star" situation, when the same person was chosen by many others. It occurred only in five cases in the whole material that the same child was chosen by three or more others. Of course, in this experiment children were not artificially limited either by the conditions of the test or by the fact of living in the limited environment of orphanage or boarding institution. They were free to direct their choice to anyone in the environment and the factor of reciprocity acquired greater significance.

When trying to trace the basic motives underlying these groups of values we may also consider ^{the desire} for social response, social acceptance and protection, but it does not seem possible to neglect the sexual drive. From the point of view of psychoanalysis it would have been left in no doubt from such remarks as "we love each other", "we like each other very much", "we went to bed we dreamt about each other" (10 years old girl) or "we sleep together when she visits us" (5 girls of 11 - 12 years), especially when the children in the so-called "homosexual stage" are concerned. I do not think that this moment should be over-emphasized here. It does not seem that it is at all so simple and some of the criticism offered by N.M. Iovetz-Tereshchenko (xx) about the over-simplification of the psychoanalytical interpretation of friendship and mutual sympathy in adolescence seems to be justified. I think that we may cover the whole ground by admitting the existence of the strong social motive for identi-

(xx) Moreno, J.L.: "Who shall Survive." 1934

(xx) Iovetz-Tereshchenko, Friendship- Love in Adolescence. 1936.

fication and making it responsible for such mutual sympathy whether it is based on the similarity of traits or - to the greater or less extent - on the compensatory adoration for the friend's or other people's values. The reciprocity in such cases helps to create stronger emotional bonds and to increase the feeling of identity. The "protection - giving" tendency is also closely connected with the desire for reciprocal affection which, as we see, may be based on many other factors, not necessarily sexual in origin.

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The attempt to find links between the observed factors making for social preferences and the various drives, motives or basic needs underlying them is not an easy one. After the sharp criticism of McDougall's system of instincts no other proposed classification has met with the agreement of the majority of psychologists, nor achieved the convincing support of scientific research. However, the notion of the transformation of the basic physiological drives during the development of personality in its social environment considerably extended our understanding of the motivating forces in human nature. I think that this difficulty may be partly avoided by admitting the fact, that we may consider the problem of basic motives on two levels. On the first level we may examine the genetic aspect and trace them down to the early infantile stages of development. On the second level - the social one - we should consider all motives at their present face value, as the system of needs and tendencies hierarchically organized

in a given personality and operating in its actual contact with the environment. With this second approach we are not interested how this system of motives emerged, but only how it is organized and how it operates at the present moment. As an example of the first approach the explanation of motives by Kimball Young (x) (58) may be cited; he traces all learned attitudes, habits, traits of character and values to the basic drives of hunger, sexual demand and the need for bodily protection, and further down to the basic physiological processes responsible for the crude biological adaptation of the organism to its environment and hence its survival.

The second approach is exemplified in the work of two sociologists, Thomas and Znaniecki (xx) (59) who explained all social activities as promoted by four main desires: for new experience, for recognition, for mastery and for security.

In this work I previously stated that all factors responsible for social preferences are considered as based on some motives, operating in the personality of a particular individual at the present moment.

Here I do not wish to attempt any special classification of these motives, as I have already tried to do this in my other work on social psychology and the problems of motivation (xxx) (60). In explaining the motivating factors responsible for the children's choice I shall usually refer to various motives using their names in accordance with the most generally accepted views.

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(x) Young, Kimball: Social Psychology, 1946.

(xx) Thomas, W.I. and Znaniecki, F.: Polish Peasants in Europe and America, 1927.

(xxx) Szyrynski, W.: The Study of Human Motives by the Double-Evaluation Method, 1947.

In this way I have classified above some of the most general factors which play a part in social preferences. This is just a working classification but the distribution of these groups of "réasons" for children's choice in all sections of this data may indicate their practical value as elements of an analysis of children's social preferences. To summarize: the following "groups of values" were found in this material:

1. Physical values - body and appearance qualities of a persons.
2. Behaviour objective values - various physical skills and practical abilities.
3. Social objective values - social recognition and participation in social group. - Also included ^{here} comes the popularity among the opposite sex and various interests and likings based on the sexual motive.
4. Personality objective values - intellectual and character qualities displayed in general in social contacts but without the direct reference to the subject's needs.
5. Subjective values - all qualities of a given person directly related to the subject's needs: acceptance, protection and co-operation on the part of the person chosen.
6. Mutual sympathy and acceptance - emotional links between the subject and a person preferred in the environment, satisfaction of tendencies for identity, friendship and love with the other person, who plays a rôle of an object ^{in which the subject's} various desires are focused.

The interplay of these main factors occurs in almost all cases of social preferences. In one group of cases some factors are more

potent, in another - the other factors play the dominant rôle. These differences depend generally on the present, actual needs of a given personality. And when some separate groups of persons are examined they may have quite a lot in common in this respect: they may have some common needs, desires, cravings and frustrations. From among many situations which make for such common needs in the group of people I am concerned in this work mainly with the age, sex and national *factors*.
~~differences.~~

Such different dominant needs are also responsible for the different choice of person. We may expect that children greatly frustrated in their need for care and protection will direct their attention to parents and their substitutes who may take care of them, while children, who are satisfied in their everyday security will look for play companions, sport ideals etc.

In the next chapter we shall see preferences for persons among the different groups of children, and the mutual relation of reasons given for their choice and based on ^{children's} ~~their~~ needs and desires

C. Preferences for various persons in different groups of subjects

The following groups must be distinguished

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|--------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| (I) English boys | } | all grouped also in the age classes |
| (II) English girls | | |
| (III) Polish boys | | |
| (IV) Polish girls | | |

(See the tables I, IIA, and IB)

On the whole the following groups of preferences were found in this material:

Family group: adults: mother, father, aunt, uncle; siblings: sisters and brothers; other relations: cousins, both, of the same age and grown-ups.

Friends group: usually friends of the same sex and age, predominantly school mates; occasionally children of the other sex, especially with older adolescents.

Other grown-ups: In a few cases girls and boys chose some other adult persons, like teachers, scoutmasters or mere acquaintances.

Animals: A few children between the ages of 9 - 14, both English and Polish chose animals, usually dogs to accompany them on the desert island.

The numerical results may show only the very general trends in children's preferences. When looking at the tables we may see first the indisputable dominance of friend-preferences over family-preferences, then the difference between boys and girls, which is not very marked among the English children, but quite striking in the Polish group, and last the clear difference between the English and Polish group: Polish girls tend on the whole to choose their parents more often than the corresponding English groups; English boys, however, chose their parent, especially fathers, more often than their Polish counterparts.

In order to explain all these differences the value of various persons for a child should be assessed. This assessment will be made when the various reasons given by children for their choice are examined in the further chapters. However, it seems reasonably to discuss here some general situations which seem to influence the above results.

As I mentioned just now numerical results of this work have a relative value only. The most important thing is to find, by the minute analysis of this material, the value of various persons in the child's environment from the point of view of the actual needs of a child. And then, if we notice that preferences for a particular group of people increase or decrease with a particular group of children, we may believe that this group of children is deprived of the satisfaction of some needs and therefore is more anxious to secure the attention or to have links with people, who can make ~~for~~ ^{for} their better adjustment.

On the other hand children who are properly provided with the satisfaction of the most important of their needs may be quite indifferent to the people who actually provide for them in such case. And such children may become aware of the meaning of such people only when these everyday satisfactions are taken away and the situation of need and frustration suddenly arises.

In other words, it may be said that social preferences of children are based usually on some deep, basic needs and on the actual, urgent desires or frustrations, and in every investigation in this field these two groups of factors are intermingled. Therefore some preferences may shift from one group to the other, and they may be considered as significant only when they are persistent and common to many groups of children, subjected to the same social situation.

This is the case, I believe, with the whole group of Polish children. The samples were chosen from 12 various schools in different localities in Asia and Africa. The common factor being

that all these children came from refugee families, living in special settlements or camps. All these people travelled fairly widely during the war and the majority of the male population was absent. ~~Also~~ All children attended their primary or secondary schools which were run according to the normal programs, and organized like, average Polish schools of the appropriate standard.

Keeping in mind what I have said above about the actual needs, desires and frustrations of the children it seems possible to offer some explanations for the differences found between the English and Polish groups here.

1) Security of the family life: The family life of English children in our groups has certainly been much better established and more secure, than that of the Polish children. In particular the small children never expressed any anxiety about being separated from their parents. They probably had never had any such experience in their life, or in any case, when experiencing it during the war, no uncertainty about the future of their families existed at the moment when the test was taken. The same children usually understood that they will soon come back from the "island" to join their parents. Many of them mentioned about joyful feasts on such an occasion (x). Moreover quite a few of them were trying to find out by themselves the explanation for the situation given; - and they assumed that their parents were the causal factor of their separation. One 9 years old girl

(x) From among 406 English boys between the age 7 - 14, 55 or 13.5% mentioned about returning home from the desert island, the majority of them wrote also about a joyful reunion with their parents and family. Among English girls between the age 7 - 14 - 68 out of 353 (17.6%) mentioned the same. The great majority of such spontaneous remarks was by children between the age of 7-10, both boys and girls. Polish children mentioned only in a few cases about coming back to their native country from the "island"

shows even that she understands this situation as a rejection intended to punish her: "When I am naughty my father sends me to the desert island, when I am a good girl I can stay at home with my mother" (x).

It seems that for the English children their family life is very secure and indisputable, while Polish children feel quite otherwise about it. The need for protection and security is satisfied with the former ones and consequently they are more interested in their play, exploration, sports and games, competition in social activities and they look for companions to help with this side of social adaptation.

2) The other important point, which seems to be closely connected with the first one is the general attitude of parents. ~~These~~ Children do not develop all these attitudes by themselves, they frequently imitate the attitudes of adults. This is definitely the case with the Polish group of refugee children, whose general attitude was undoubtedly affected while living with their mothers overwhelmed by anxiety about their future and the husbands absent in the army. Further evidence which also permits such an assumption is the very great difference between Polish boys and girls. Polish boys who, as boys usually do, spend their time outside their homes, do not differ very markedly in their preferences for persons from their English equals (xx), - while the girls, who usually stay much more

(x) 7 English boys (all between the age of 9-12) out of 406 (between the age of 7-14) offered spontaneously as an explanation of their journey to the desert island, that they were sent there by parents (1.7%), it corresponds to the 7.6% (27 of 353) of such remarks among girls between 7-14.

(xx) There is an exception for the English boys from the boarding, public school, who made a choice of their parents, especially fathers, much more often than Polish boys and also the English group of boys from the day schools, who have not been separated from their parents in a boarding school.

with their mothers display these symptoms of insecurity quite clearly. A good illustration may be found in the following passage by a 16 year~~s~~-old Polish girl:

"I would take my ~~m~~other with me. She is the dearest and most pleasant person. She would share all my troubles and sorrows, because she loves her child and wants everything good for her. She would be always comforting in difficulties, ~~wh~~^{ile} some strange people would never believe me and never look after me. They would rather cause more troubles and misery."

We can see how the dependence of this girl on her mother is allied with the great lack of confidence in, and feelings of insecurity about, all other people. It may be that the absence of fathers who represent more courage and confidence in social adjustments accounts for such an attitude (Susan Isaacs) (x) (61).

3) The differences in school curricula may also influence these results. English children, from whom the data have been obtained, usually spend the majority of their day time in schools among other children. When they go to school in the morning they have their lunch there and they usually come home about 4 - 5 in the evening. Very often they also have games at school at the week-end. Polish children go to school about 8 a.m., they stay there for about 4 - 6 hours and early in the afternoon they return home for the remainder of the day. All their homework is usually done at home. Very occasionally, 2 - 3 times a week they go for the games

(x) Isaacs, Susan: The Fatherless Children.

or for the parades of some organizations such as Boy-Scouts, Girl Guides, etc. On the whole they stay much more with their parents, especially the girls, while boys often escape their supervision. All that makes for the greater dependence of Polish girls on their mothers. But in general the fact, that girls are usually more dependent on their mothers holds good for English and Polish children alike, and we see greater preference for parents on the side of girls in both groups.

On the whole mothers are chosen more often than fathers, both by English and Polish children, although the preference for mothers is more marked with the latter ones, probably because of the absence of fathers. In this respect these results are in general agreement with the work of Simpson (1935) (x) (62), who found that preference for mother was marked with children from the age of five years on and it increased with age (with the exception of 5 years-old-girls only). Burgess (xx) (63), who studied attitudes of children towards their parents, came to the same conclusions.

4) Another factor which may influence the attitude of the Polish group in comparison with the English one may be their residence in a foreign country, although, staying for the whole time in their own national community, they may not experience it to a greater degree. We have no evidence about this in our material, but it may certainly undermine the security-feeling of the adults

(x) Simpson, M.: Parent Preferences of Young Children. Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, No. 652, 1935.

(xx) Burgess, E. W. (ed.): The Adolescent in the Family, 1934.

who may in turn influence their children. This situation may add to the whole attitude of insecurity of immigrants in the foreign country, which was raised by Thomas and Znaniecki in their work (x) (64).

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In their preferences for siblings children were inclined to choose rather older, than the younger ones. Polish girls chose brothers more often than the English ones. (See tables I and IB). Perhaps they found in them some substitutes for their absent fathers. They very often concentrated on their values as protectors and supporters, as will be seen in the further analysis. Those who chose younger brothers quite often attributed to them the above qualities too. As we have seen in the case discussed on the page.. Children's compositions on the subjects which allow them to unearth their suppressed and unfulfilled wishes quite often resemble their dreams (xx) (65).

Boys, too, sometimes, choose their brothers. Such cases are fairly numerous in our material, amounting altogether to 65 for the English and Polish group together (while 55 Polish and English girls took their brothers). Boys, however, do not take their sisters!

(x) Thomas and Znaniecki: op. cit.

(xx) Szyrynski, W.: *Fantazja w Psychice*.

Only six of them, five English and one Polish boy chose sisters. One boy of 12 in the English group used even the imaginary desert island to display the most violent aggression against his older sister (he happened actually to be a Pole living in London^{and} educated in an English school, he had no other siblings except his sister):

"If I went to the desert island I would like to take with me a boy who can take care of himself. I would never have a girl (sister). They are useless. Except for cooking meals which I can do myself, they cannot do anything. For four fifth of the day they are not wanted, while a boy can do most things... A girl cannot walk through forests where with long skirts her wardrobe would be empty in no time... Hair might get tangled in a tree; it is no good showing off in a forest, fashion does not wear in such places...

As to cooking I can do it myself quite easily. So she would be no good. And what girl was ever any good with a gun? (My sister cannot hit a barn). She cannot catch a rabbit or anything like that. My choice would definitely be a boy."

In this short condemnation of sisters we also see what values this boy wants to find in other people. All these concrete abilities will lose their lustre with older boys, as we shall notice later, and the interest in other sex will rise gradually, but even then poor sisters are never mentioned.

The attitude towards other girls, as well as the attitude of girls towards boys is mentioned occasionally in our material with the increase in the late adolescence, after about 13 - 14 years of age. This rise is not very marked in numerical results, but it is quite obvious on the qualitative side of our work:

young people write quite openly about their love and devotion to their heterosexual choice. There is a fundamental difference in that in comparison with reasons given by younger children for their preferences of the other sex; there normal friendly interests predominate, and values are usually similar to those ascribed to friends of the same sex, while adolescents make a clear distinction between friends of the same and opposite sex.

In the adolescent period (13 onward) we (see also) some cases of adult preferences outside the family circle. In such cases children choose their ideals among the people who represent for them the perfect social adjustment and high personal qualities.

Among the young children some preferences for animals were also found (between the age of 10 - 14). In all various animals, usually dogs, were mentioned {31 times}. In some of these cases further analysis disclosed various difficulties in social adjustment. It is not, however, a general rule.

In all groups of children (with the exception of older Polish girls from 11 years on) friends preferences made an overwhelming majority. Among them boys and girls of the same age were most numerous, then came older, and younger at the end. The similar age, size and school form were mentioned quite often as the reason for the choice. These results confirm the investigations of Furfey (x) (66) who found that the same factors were mainly responsible for the formation of friendships among American boys.

(x) Furfey, P. H.: Some Factors Influencing the Selection of Boys' Chums. - Journal of Applied Psychology, 11, 1927.

However, the quantitative results are not our main concern at this point. The assessment of various values ascribed by children to different persons in their environment is the most important aim of this work. That is why the situation presented to children is comparatively vague and enabling them to use more of their phantasy. It seems to me that social preferences for persons may rather vary from situation to situation and the technique of Moreno with its manifold application to various situations would cover more of this field. But it would not disclose various needs and desires of children which are represented by the values ascribed to the persons chosen and given in our material as reasons for choice. This part of the work will be dealt with most extensively.

The general numerical results we have been dealing with just now yielded not only the material for the problems already discussed above, but they provided also a method of checking the results. As it occurred the proportional results were on the whole similar with various samples chosen from different schools and localities. The general profiles of choices in the four groups of children (English girls, English boys, Polish girls and Polish boys) were usually similar with various samples belonging to the same age group. Therefore it seems that the method was valuable for the analysis of differences in social preferences in different groups of children. (Compare also tables IB and V).

The "case study" method as used in elaborating the problem of social values responsible for social preferences seems to be specially useful in cases where children assumed the ambivalent

attitude, i.e. where they showed difficulties in making choice between different people. In such cases we shall see the competition of two worlds of values which represent two or more main needs attaining prominence at the same time. Thus we may see the difficulties in the choice between mother and father, and - which is perhaps more important in the development of personality - between parents and friends, sometimes with the child trying to oppose these conflicting characters to each other or to find the best compromise in the situation.

D. Values responsible for social preferences.

In analysing various values ascribed by children to their preferences one must be very careful in applying both quantitative and qualitative methods of assessment. If we want to find out which values are the most important in social preferences we must remember that not all of them are mentioned by children with the same frankness and willingness. The indirect method of expression applied in this work was primarily intended to overcome these inhibitions, but if it fully succeeded with some children, others might have still resisted it owing to the stronger taboos and personal inhibitions. All this leads to the conclusion, that if any type of value was found to be very infrequently mentioned by the children, it does not mean that on the whole it is less important and some logical corrections to the quantitative results should be made after the qualitative analysis of data.

The best example of the above remarks may be found in the values based on the sexual needs and interests of children and

adolescents. If we were to consider views expressed by Freudian extremists we should believe that sexual cravings are really responsible for the great majority, if not for all, social preferences. Freudians would insist that love for parents and sympathy for playmates of the same sex among younger children are all based on the libidinal tendencies, directed according to the stage of sexual development.

If we provisionally accept this point of view we shall find that sexual tendencies, as found in our data, are either interwoven with many other reasons, raised by children, as desire for sympathy and understanding, admiration for physical qualities and abilities etc., or they are exposed quite clearly, one may even say with a sort of violence, which comes from the impulse to overcome all taboos and inhibitions. Such examples are especially characteristic of the adolescents, who either disguise their sexual interests or speak about them with an aggressive frankness.

As an illustration of the first attitude a few compositions may be mentioned, where girls' names or pronouns as "she" or "her" were carefully crossed and the text accordingly adjusted by a subject. Here is the composition of 16 years old English boy:

... "I would take a friend of mine, I would take this friend because I know..." ("her" carefully crossed but still possible to be deciphered and "the Friend" inserted) the Friend and we would get on ^{well} together, especially as we have been away together by ourselves before... The Friend and I are of the same age. One of the things I like about this friend is that the friend is very good looking or handsome, and that the friend

would be a very good companion... This friend has lovely hair, and also has a fairly dark skin and also blue eyes. The friend being of the jolly type".

In a similar way a girl of 16 writes that "I would like to take a carpenter to build a hut for us and carve some tables and chairs"... , but further on "a carpenter" happens to be her boy acquaintance, who "is good at games and able to teach me how to play them", he is "very jolly, always cracking jokes... not shy and silly like many people of to-day... brave and not afraid of anything hardly" etc.

Some older girls are able to overcome these difficulties and express their attitudes quite openly: "I would choose the boy I am in love with. The main and quite blind reason for it is that I love him and, as I think now, he is the only man I want to spend my life with" etc. (18 years).

The next example is from a 14 years old boy who with the typical exaggerated frankness writes about his choice. According to his headmaster's opinion he seems to be a happy, well adjusted lad.

"I should take a girl to keep me company in case I get lonely.

Why I should like to take "X" (full name and surname given in the composition exactly) "that is the girl, because she is a sport and most of the boys these days are silly boys. Another reason is, she got a figure and the boys have ^{not} ~~not~~ "X." is 5 ft 2 in., black hair, brown eyes. Week-days she wears black shoes or slippers and on rainy days she wears Wellingtons. Blue knickers (how I know that is because you can see when she plays netball), white blouse and a coloured jumper, and blue coat. On Sunday

she wears green costume with a red coat.

... do you like my choice, and she is a very pretty girl if you were to see her then you would agree."

The interesting feature of this boy's attitude is that he applies to his choice some boyish values (good sport, not silly). As he is only 14 years old it is obvious that some of these values, which he estimates most, should be actually fulfilled by a boy rather than a girl. But as at the same time his interests begin to incline to the opposite sex, he tries to find in his girl some qualities which make her in some way even more "boyish" than the real boys are.

Such hesitations in choice which in the end give way to the preference for girl friend and become expressed with the challenging aggression are best exemplified in the next composition of a 17 years old Polish boy, generally well adjusted, fit, clever and brave:

"That is so very difficult to make a choice, as I have my parents and a younger brother and I really do not know who of them might be my choice, I love my parents and I could not choose either my mother or my Dad, as I would have made an injustice to one of them and I certainly would not like to separate them from each other. As about my brother who is still very young, I should not like to take him from his parents with me to face all uncertain conditions and difficulties. Whom have I to take then? Perhaps one person who is nearest to me after my parents. Anybody who knows me would immediately guess whom I mean. Perhaps he would laugh at me and say: "just for the silly schoolboy's love"

- but I really understand it otherwise: I know that the person I am thinking about would be the most suitable companion of my whole life on the desert island, most helpful and comforting in all the worse that would await me there.

I know her very well, indeed, I am sure of her attitude towards me and I know that in such a case, besides my parents, she could share all the difficulties we would have in our life. She would help me in all my work, physical one perhaps, but certainly in the mental and spiritual one.

She is the same age as I am, her personality suits me perfectly. We have the same plans and the same life ideals. It is extremely rare that we have any quarrels or misunderstandings. It is really so rare that I am even sorry I have mentioned about it at all.

I am quite aware that anybody who will read about these plans of mine in case of my journey to the desert island will probably grin at my - as he would probably think - light-mindedness. But I may assure him that in this case he would have been gravely mistaken, as before I started to write about it, I had considered everything very carefully.

Now I am giving the name of this person - lest anybody would think I am ashamed to tell it openly - her name is..." (given in full in the composition).

In the last composition the desire to break all the taboos and prejudices and to speak his own mind is very strong with this boy. Besides that, we (see also) his tendency to rationalise his forsaking his parents and the younger brother. He feels his duty towards them but the love for his chosen girl is stronger.

However, not all the children and adolescents are able in such circumstances to speak out their mind. As we have seen before some of them try to disguise the situation and quite a number are simply unable to overcome their shyness and inhibitions. That is why I have chosen these few striking examples to show that many reasons responsible for social preferences may not be given their appropriate weight in the purely quantitative analysis of the results. For instance, the values discussed above as responsible for sexual preferences are not numerous enough to occupy any higher place among the other items on the tables of these results. All the same they are very important as has been seen from the above examples.

We see therefore that in order to achieve some well balanced conclusions in this work it is important to pay equal attention to the quantitative and qualitative elaboration of the material. Only then will it be capable of extensive and general interpretation.

It seems that in some other works concerned with similar problems this two-fold approach was neglected. Williams (x) (67), for instance, who counted the reasons given by 84 adolescent boys for choice of their friends, simply enumerated them according to the frequency of their occurrence in boys' replies.

In this chapter dealing with the analysis of different values responsible for social preferences I should like first to give some real illustrations of various sort of values as they were

(x) Williams, P.E.: "A Study of Adolescents Friendships". Pedagogical Seminar and Journal of Genetic Psychology", 30. 1923.

expressed by children themselves, then to show how they were arranged in the quantitative analysis with different groups of children (see tables II, III, V, VI, VII and VIII), and last to discuss various specific situations of social preferences and underlying them values, even if they were not clearly represented in the quantitative analysis.

a) The choice of friends.

In the first division of grouping used for the purpose of this work, physical qualities mentioned by the children were grouped together. The great majority are of a descriptive character: children describe the appearance of their friends, their height, weight, build, hair, eyes, face etc. Some of them, however, add to such descriptions their subjective evaluation. They speak about a "pretty face", "handsome face", "freckles which suit her", "a sweet little girl", "nice white teeth", "fine figure", they say: "I like her fair hair" and they express their judgment about other qualities of appearance: "he has always nicely combed hair", "is clean", "is neat and tidy". All such expressions occur in compositions of children between the age of 10 - 14 approximately. I think that the majority of such remarks relating to appearance and somatic qualities may have no great bearing on preferences for some people, being of a descriptive character only, but others, especially those in which children express their subjective judgement, may be considered as making to some extent for their choice on the ground of physical qualities. Let us take some examples: "The reasons why I like K. is because she has black hair, brown eyes and is seven years of age"... (E. girl, 8).

" ... "X" is very strong and healthy... (she) is about 5 feet 6 inches tall, has brown naturally waving hair, brown eyes, a pretty face which is nearly always red and smiling. She generally wears a green gymslip for school with a blue jumper which she hardly ever soils, she wears white socks with tanned shoes trimmed with green and green shoe laces..." (Girls, 12, according to her headmistress she is thin and small, what allows to suspect a compensatory choice).

Another girl of 12 writes:

"... The girl whom I am taking is exactly 12 years 10 months of age and her name is P." (given in full) "I like P. because she is jolly and a sport, nearly all the girls like P. I want her to come with me, to keep up my spirits. As you might not know P. I am going to describe her. She is about 5 feet tall, more fair than dark hair. I think she has green or blue eyes and she is not bad looking. P. is good at games; she is a good runner. But she is always getting into troubles..."

"I am taking C, for he is strong and has a great name in boxing. He is medium height, broad shouldered, he is very nice looking really for his hazel eyes, nice white teeth and black hair that combs right back. He always wears clean clothes and shoes and is nearly always very tidy.

C. is not any good at swimming, but I am, he is also no good at his work at school, if you ask me he is only good at boxing and cheeking people, for he is always cheeking boys and the teachers but sometimes he is inclined to be funny.

He is a great friend of mine. He is thirteen years old... C. is in the Boys Brigade and is very handy with a gun, I belong to the Scouts and I am very handy with a knife. I intend to take C. because he is strong and he would be good company" (Engl. boy, 13).

Another boy of 11 writes at the end of his composition:
 " ... He cannot fight very good, but very interesting to listen to. He is not very strong... He will give you a lot of things. He does not clean his teeth, but he washes the rest of himself. He has brown eyes. He wears long trousers and his father's Wellington boots on when it is snowing. That is why I like him."

The other one, of 9, disqualifies his mates on the ground of physical disabilities:

"I would like to have with me K. He is daring and not frightened of being killed. He is clever and sensible... I could pick F. but he has got a bad leg or M. but he has got a bad eye... if I pick a girl she is not daring like boys".

Many other authors have noticed that age plays an important role in choice of boys and girls friends. In our material also this factor is clearly demonstrated. The great majority of boys and girls prefer their equals, some of them take older persons, whether friends, relatives or other people. The minority take a younger companion. (see Table I, IA and IB). Quite a number of them give as their reason: "he (or she) is of the same age and size (or build) as I am".

" ... I would like to take him because he is about the same age as me and he would be better than a boy older or younger than me" (Eng. boy, 12).

" ... a friend called Tom, who is 14 years of age unfortunately older than me" (E. boy, 11).

As a reason for this value common interests and partnership in sports and competitions are usually given. With older children we shall see that they often expect from their equals much greater understanding and confidence than from parents or people of an unsuitable age.

In the same class of objective qualities which make for social preferences I included, though rather loosely connected with other items, the possession of various objects. It holds good for younger children only (a few cases up to the age of 13). The following example is probably the greatest exaggeration of such an attitude produced by a 7 years old girl.

" ... Her age was 8 years. I like her, because she always gave sweets to me. Once I let her share my paints. Once she gave me an apple on the playground... She took me to the ice-show... She lives in London. She has got a lot of books. She has a lovely brooch. It is red. She has a big box of toys. She has a lovely house. She has lots of ribbons in a box. She has a big coconut in her house. She has a lot of pens. She has a big piece of blotting paper... She has a lot of flowers in her garden..."

Just in the same way boys of 10 - 12 value their friends for having bicycles, knives, tents, stamps, motor-boats, footballs etc...

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x x

Coming to the examples illustrating the second division of values according to the classification applied in this work, we find mentioned here various practical activities from the very simple as running, jumping, swimming to more complex ones like hiking, camping, travelling, exploring and displaying mechanical and technical skill. All these activities have one thing in common: they all require practical behaviour, not specially characterising the attitude of the acting individual towards the subject. If there are some sporting activities here the partner may be anybody as well as the subject (i.e. the child writing composition). In the first place we see here various activities, requiring physical fitness, then sports and games. Boys place a higher value on these qualities than girls in general do, although quite a number of girls mentioned them too.

Playing, in general, is not only the occasion for the outlet of physical energy and display of fitness, but also a very important "social occasion". In this material the most prominent feature of its latter quality is that it creates the situation for social acceptance:

"I think Ann is nice because she lets me play with her"
(E. girl, 8).

"I always play with her. She is not selfish. She and I are always happy" (E. girl, 8).

In one composition a girl of 7 was so preoccupied with writing about playing with her friend that she completely forgotten about the Desert Island. In this case the method applied was probably *fully* ~~the most~~ successful as it (only precipitated) the most vital interests of a child:

"When M. comes to play with me, we have a good bit of fun. The reason I chose to talk about M. is because she is my best friend. When she comes to play with me we play with my desk and blackboard at schools. When we play school M. is a very naughty naughty girl. After tea M. is the teacher and it is my turn to be naughty. Very soon it is time for M. to go home, my mummy takes her home. Very soon after that it is my turn to go to play with M. When I go to play with M. she knocks on the door and we run and hide but M.'s mummy sees us and we go in-doors. After tea we played at blind-man's buff. We soon got tired of it. We went upstairs and made up a plan. The plan was to hide when my mummy came for me so we hid in the front room. When mummy came for me it was pouring with rain".

I have given the full account of this girl's composition, not only with the intention of showing the typical account of the children's play, but also to compare it with its counterpart on the side of boys. Here the desert island is also just mentioned in the opening sentence of the composition and after that the boy preoccupies himself with the most absorbing activities of fighting and wrestling with his chosen friend. The main reason for his choice is that he makes a good partner for these fighting activities. Another characteristic trait of this particular composition is that it deals with the form of behaviour, which is quite popular among younger boys (as shown in this material up to the age of about 14), but is quite unimportant with girls, as they made no mention of it at all with the sole exception of a 10 years old Polish girl, who just spoke about various forms of mischief.

The following case is somewhat exceptional even in the light of Bovet's (x) (68) findings, who believes that fighting activities are quite normal with young boys, and the preoccupation with such activities at the age of 9 may be quite well within the limits of normality:

"I am going to take P. He is nine and I am taking him because he is my best friend, besides he is a very good fighter. He is good in turning round and hitting people in the jaw and throwing them over his back! He knows a lot of tricks in fighting! I've often been thrown over his back once or twice. He has got a very hard fist and has quick hands when he is wrestling. He has often beaten me in fighting. I have often been on the floor with one of his punches. In wrestling he has rather a job to wrestle me! He sometimes does the wrong thing and I get him round the waist, toss him up and then it is easy to pin him down and make him loose another fall. I might be able to wrestle him, but all the same he is a good fighter and wrestler. He is very good at drawing, he is about the best drawer in the class. I think he has two or three drawings on the wall. I have three on the wall".
(E. boy, 9).

The same values are often applied by boys of this age to adults. Another 9 years old boy writes:

"... I would like to take my father... He can make toys that I could play with, My father is 41 old about 5 feet 10 inches. He is a bit of a boxer, when he was fourteen he went to a special

(x) Bovet, P.: The Fighting Instinct. 1923.

training place. He got on all right. It is why I like my father. He is sporty. He is always ready for a laugh and a joke..." (It may be of some interest that this composition is by the boy, who was the ^{object}~~subject~~ of the last boys's essay).

Physical prowess and ability at games are also rated highly among girls and in their preferences for boys, this is exemplified in the following case of a 11 years old English girl:

" ... I would like to take with me one friend whose age is 11 years. That friend would be a boy named P. (full name given). I would like to take P. because he is fond of all sports.

His best sports are swimming, running and tennis.

I would not like to take somebody who is not fond of sport because it would be dull with nothing to do all day...

P. is pleasant in some ways but not pleasant in other ways. If I wanted to play tennis and he wanted to go swimming I would have to let him have his own way and go swimming too. But if I wanted to go somewhere and he wanted to go somewhere else he would have to come where I wanted to go."

This girl (the youngest of 5 sisters and with 4 older brothers also) shares sporting interests with her chosen boy and treats him as an equal partner as is not unusual with children at this age level. The next example, however, shows a different situation, when the girl of 14 values her boy friend partly according to the latter's world of values. In such a case we may assume that through the mechanism of identification with the other person, based on the emotional links, the girl acquires his preferences for some values and judges him accordingly. In this case we see

that she praises him as being a good fighter, although this particular attribute, as it was mentioned above, is never mentioned by girls of her age in relation to other girls:

" ... I would take a friend, it is a boy and he has been my friend for a long time. His name is A. (given), he is 14 years old. I like him very much. He is a very nice boy, he's got his hair in a Boston, and brown eyes and is a very helpful person. He is about my height and he has got a sister, I like his way of doing things quickly. He wants to be an airman when he grows up and fly all over the world. He likes to smoke but I don't like him smoking and I have tried plenty of times to stop him, he does not smoke in front of me now, because he knows I don't approve of him doing it. He doesn't like very many girls but he likes teasing them.

He said he doesn't like woodwork a lot, but he likes metalwork and makes rings and brooches. He likes to have a fight with any boy and he is a very good fighter."

Sporting prowess as a measure of value is very popular among the English children. Here they differ very much from the Polish ones (see table V). I do not mean that Polish girls and boys are not interested in physical activities, I think they are equally keen on playing foot-ball, athletics, swimming, climbing trees and, perhaps, fighting. The most important difference lies in the problem of social approval. In England sport is something accepted by the whole community, parents are quite often as interested in their children's sport achievement, as the children are themselves. With the Polish boys parents very often censure them for "wasting their time" on football or camping, instead of learning school lessons or some trade; fighting among

Polish boys is to their parents and teachers the most outrageous misbehaviour. It is true, that in Poland there are quite numerous sporting clubs and a great number of keen sport organisers, but on the whole sporting successes are not by any means considered popularly approved ways of acquiring social preeminence. Practically speaking, Polish children do not expect to hear their parents praising any of their friends on the ground of their sporting achievements and the parents show little interest in the school marks of their children for P.T. and games. It is more likely that other social groups like Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, Church Clubs for boys and girls or class "self government" at school may provide some grounds for social recognition for the child.

The general interest of the English people in sport, besides affecting the physical development and fitness of children, in which respect they do not differ from other nations, also strongly influences their social development by uniting the children with such groups as school and class teams, clubs etc., and by creating for them a standard of behaviour the ideal of a sportsman and of sportmanship.

In my material these two lines are very well marked. In choosing friends the English boys often mention "he belongs to our club", "he plays with me in the same football team" and most characteristic of the English sport life: "he supports Colchester, ^{like} I do." In this way a child identifies himself with a social group of a team, club etc.

Of course, similar football clubs exist in Poland and the boys also have their loyalties for them and their idolised sport heroes.

But again this is not encouraged at schools and parents who share the interests of their children in this field, are the exception and not the rule.

All this is accurately reflected in our results. To be exactly correct I must introduce one ^{remark} ~~correction~~: as the material for the Polish section of this work was collected from children in refugee settlements ~~we~~ must take into consideration the fact ~~that the fact~~ that the sport life in the camps was organized in general on lines somewhat different from those existing in the children's native country. They had very good P.T. at school and the great majority of boys and girls were members of the Scouts, Guides and other similar school organizations. All these organizations quite often influenced their notion of the "ideal scout", "ideal guide" instead of the "ideal sportsman" of the English children.

In all such cases we see ^{how} the group of values associated with such social myths as the "ideal types" influences social preferences. Such stereotypes help on one hand to create such an "ideal" and on the other hand they enhance the values of many persons who by the mere fact of joining one of such social groups acquire some additional values from the stereotype of the "ideal" member of such a group.

Let us examine some characteristic examples of the varied influence of sports, games and social groups connected with sport, on the world of values of our children. Here is a composition of an 11 years old English boy:

" A person whom I should take ... is a fair-haired boy with blue eyes. His name is D. (given), his school is "Black and White".

He is a good athlete and a very good sportsman. He doesn't get tired of running in a race, he can jump three feet 6 inches., D. is also good at swimming, he received his 30 yards swimming card at Hounslow Town. Football and cricket are his main sports. His age is 11 years 6 months. I also like him because he has given me a file of American stamps, stamps being my main hobby. I believe when he grows up he'll become a sailor and sail the seas.

... Not very long ago Black and White had a two and a half race round Isleworth. His position was a good one so he had a team merit given to him.... He very much likes to explore caves and hollows... He is opposite to timid. The South Pole is very cold and he would not mind... He lives... in a house nearby... He sent a lot of letters asking me to come to a birthday party. This party was one which I was very pleased to go to".

In the following composition these "social group values" are more underlined:

"... He is 12 years of age, he is about 5 ft high and weighs about 7 stones. At his school he is in Gresham House. He is one of my best friends and plays games (Such as football, cricket and goes swimming) with me. He is in the 10th Housnlow Scouts and on Saturday he is boxing for them. He is very good for ~~cr~~ cracking jokes and pulling faces. At football he plays goal keeper and centre-half. He likes cars how they are made and when he grows up he wants to be a mechanic... He supports Brentford football team. I choose this boy because I think he is a good friend of mine. He goes about a lot with girls." (English boy, 11).

Qualities connected with sport as "he is a good sport", "sportsman" - applied to boys and girls alike, "sportmanship" etc. were included with other traits relating to character values. As they emerge, however, from interest in sport and experiences in playing games it seems to be pertinent to give here a few examples how these expressions are understood by the English boys:

"... He is a good sport and will join any sort of game what he can-play". (boy, 11).

"... If you are running a race and you come up against a very good runner and lost, he would come up and say "Hard lines", and we had a telling of if we were not sportsmen. When we were at the Juniors at Grove Road the snow was on the ground it was the "fourth" against the rest and some three boys were trying to duck me in the snow, and he jumped on them and released me . K. is a very good sport. He is good at sports. K. and I are in the Scouts football team. That is why I have chosen K... "(boy, 12).

This short account of a boy of 12 may be compared now with the opinion of an older boy of 16:

"...The first asset I should look for in my companion would be sportmanship. Sportmanship I think, is a basis of a true Englishman. My choice would be a certain B. (name given). This boy, aged fifteen is an almost perfect Englishman. Standing about 5 ft 9 ins., with fair hair, his main asset can definitely be said to be sportmanship.

Sportmanship not in the sense of necessarily being good at sport, but having a sense of decency and knowing what is right and wrong. This boy would, I am sure, be willing to "pull his weight"...

when... there would be a great deal of work to be done.

The second thing that I look for in him is a sense of humour... required when two people have to live together for a long period... If there happens to be a bad weather, there again you must have someone to whom you can turn and laugh with.

Lastly two people must have some hobby or taste in common. B. and I have one thing in common, that is, cricket. Our love for cricket would, I think, keep us united and keep our minds on something.

Maybe I have overlooked the serious side of this matter. B. is very capable of thinking seriously and acting on his good judgment of things going on at the present time. In fact I think he would be an ideal person...

Many people would perhaps take a female with them for various reasons, and for company, but my main objection to a girl would be, that I, as an Englishman would be expected to do at least ninety per cent of the necessary work. That after a time would be bound to cause friction and arguments."

The reluctance towards a girl's company may be understood better if we remember that boys as a whole avoid choosing their sisters. And this lad in his family is the only boy with two older sisters!

Polish children do not have such a popular " collective ideal " of a sportsman, they have, however, some other moral and behaviour standards emerging from their national traditions or connected with some "social group ideals". An example of the latter may be found among Girl Guides and Boy Scouts:

"... I would like to take a boy... He is a Boy Scout and a Boy Scout is never scared of all difficulties, he learns to behave properly in all such cases. They all learn to be brave and fearless" (Polish girl, 13).

"I would like to take my friend, she is ^a Girl Guide. I chose her because a Guide must know ~~how~~ and respect their Laws and cannot be a coward... She is better than other girls are, they could be easily scared when a Girl Guide cannot be afraid of anything. As a Guide she would be good help and protection and a good friend. She would be kind and would cheer me up. When there are two Guides together it should be a lot of fun and laugh" (Polish girl, 13).

"I would like to take a person whom I like most. It would be my brother who is a Boy Scout, because a Boy Scout is always very courageous and brave and he can overcome all difficulties and ~~to~~ help others in case of any danger. I should imagine that a journey with a Boy Scout would be ~~a~~ very pleasant, because a Scout is trustworthy and always keeps all secrets properly", (Polish girl, 17).

"I would take my friend. I have known him for a long time. We are living near each other. I know his character well. He is very helpful, he is a Boy Scout. You may rely on a Scout as on Zawisza (x). I am a Scout too. A Scout can support himself everywhere. He can pitch tents, look for his good food, mend his shoes and clothes. That is why I would like to take him. (P. boy, 12)

(x) A Polish Knight of XV. century, famous for his firmness to keep his word.

As far as the evidence of this material goes, it seems that the English boys pay greater attention to the practical, outdoor abilities of their friends Boy Scouts. Having ^{an} all-round ideal in a "perfect sportsman", they understand a Scout as a clever boy who knows many practical things, like camping, tracking, signalling, woodcraft, first aid etc. The qualities of character typical for a "Boy Scout's Ideal" are also mentioned, but not so often as among the Polish Girls and Boys.

"The reason why I should pick him are because he is my favourite pal and also because he is a Scout and should know how to light a fire and cook and quite a few other helpful little things... Another thing about him is his remarkable ability to track people" (English Boy, 12).

"I would like to take B... he was our Patrol Leader... he knows a lot of things that would be useful... He is a decent sort of boy in many ways, he is willing to help you and believes in having things shared alike. If he is in a small difficulty he usually finds his way out. When he was our Patrol Leader he acted as one and not always playing about as a few do.

He is trustworthy and will take part in any help there is available. He is as far as I know a sportsman and can play the game as you should do, keep to rules as well as play fair". (English boy, 11).

Out of a few scoutmasters, adult leaders of boys, who are chosen by boys in our material, the reasons for choice are based either on their character qualities or on their practical knowledge of camping, woodcraft etc. This reminds us again of the view,

previously expressed in this work, that children choose those people, who in their activities satisfy their needs and interests based on some particular personal motives of a given child or on his cravings proper to his age level. In the following case we have an English boy of twelve who expressed his deep appreciation of his Scoutmaster. This young man is a boy's ideal of a person perfectly adjusted to outdoor life in the country. As we are able to see, the admiration for the ideal goes so far that the boy ascribes to him abilities which in all probability are just the fruit of the child's imagination. It may be supposed that all this is prompted by some very strong motives responsible for the overwhelming interest in country life, camping, hiking etc. These suppositions proved to be quite true, as, according to his Headmaster's evidence, the boy played truant in the country and forests for a few weeks when Spring came (about 4 - 6 weeks after this composition had ^{been} written). It may be also suggested that in the further up-bringing of this boy the persons like his admired Scoutmaster might be most successful in correcting the behaviour of this 12 yrs. old truant.

"...I would take my Scoutmaster P.W., (name given), as we Scouts call him Pat. He is 26 - 30 I am not sure, he has darkish blue eyes, brownish skin, dark black or jet black hair, dark eyebrows and is six feet three, and well dressed. He knows lots about the country and woods. He knows the wood that burns best as well as that he can make a small tent or hut out of dry grass, branches, leaves, and dry bark; of which he made also an one man canoe, but the bark was not strong against the current. He is good at trapping rabbits or grouse. As well as all these things he can make himself warm with

no blankets just sheets of paper wrapped round tightly. He can get fire going with one match, if it rains, snows or blows, he will always get a decent fire going any day. At camps he cooks good porridge, potatoes, meat, anything. He skins rabbits and makes furs, shoes, gloves etc. His motto is "Waste not want not". He is as we say super with a bow and arrow. I have seen many a fine rabbit killed with one arrow. His bow is made out of one young yew and cat-gut for a string, arrows made from fine straight privet, the flight made from a feather, an aluminium tip with a hard point. I think he is the best man I know except for my father... I have no hard words against him and that is the person I like with me".

This little boy of 12, with only one younger sister at home besides his parents, has centred his thoughts on his ideal, who satisfies his present powerful motives to such an extent that he remembers all the details concerning his abilities, teachings and tools, even exaggerating many things to suit his likings. It may be seen here that in such cases when grown-ups fulfill the standard required by the child's needs and cravings they are evaluated according to the criteria which are applied to equals, and even endowed with much greater power and perfection.

To complete this picture of adults considered as models for the successful satisfaction of the child's needs according to the same standards which are applied to friends and playmates, I would like to cite another case of an older boy, this time a 14 years old English youngster. At his age level this adolescent is faced with the other problems of successful adjustment

to his social surroundings and he chooses his Scoutmaster as an ideal in this field:

" ... I would (take) Mr. C.K. (name given), my Senior Scoutmaster, because I have known him for many years.

Also because I can understand him and he can understand me. He always seems to know what you are thinking and is always ready to help you at any time. He is honest, thrifty and kind to animals, and he talks and associates with anybody, he isn't a "snob". Sometimes he jokes, laughs with people whom he hates, but you would never guess such a thing.

He is very fair over money and such things like, he would never diddle you out of anything. If he tells you to do something he expects you to do it, at once, not in 5 or 10 mins. time.

He can also take a joke that is more than some people can do... He is 20 years of age. And if I had the choice I would choose him."

We shall be able to see more similar situations, when adolescents chose the adults who represent for them the ideals of life adjustment in the chapter on preferences for grown-ups.

From among other items of this group of "behaviour values" we have various "indoor abilities". Here skill in cooking is by far the most predominant among girls, although boys also mention it from time to time. Boys usually speak about various practical abilities and trades, like woodwork, carpentry, making furniture, repairing shoes etc. The separate item in this classification comprises mechanical and technical skill; it is spoken about only in boys' compositions:

" ... he is intelligent and he can make engines. He is a good friend. He is a good cook. He is always designing things and making models of boats, aeroplanes and cars. At the moment he is designing a jet engine". (English boy, 11).

The chosen boy, about whom tells the above composition, writes about some other boy (not the previous one!):

" ... My best friend... when we were younger we used to have a camp at the bottom of my garden. Today he rescued me from having snow rubbed in my face. He also has known all my inventions, all except the cookery ones. At the moment we are dealing with another invention with most success." (English boy, 12).

" ... He is very good at handicraft... makes extremely good working models of engines at home and also spill boats which shows how good he is"... (English boy, 13).

" ... Besides all these things he always carries collapsing mugs, knives, putty, string and three or four other useful things" (English boy, 13).

" ... He knows how to use a phone and he phones me up very often"... (English boy, 12).

Exploring, hiking, travelling, cycling etc. are the other activities which add prestige to the people who are interested or excell in them. They are popular among both boys and girls, but hiking seems to be mostly popular among boys of 14 in their valuation of friends.

" ... I would choose my comrade K. (name given). He is tall and very energetic for the most part of his 14 years' life he has spent in the country... We went on many camping and hiking trips... He is an excellent cook and he is always cheerful.

K. has taught me many things about the country and country life. He is not altogether a scholar at school, but he is a person I would choose... A decent, honest boy".†(English boy, 14).

x

x x

The next group of values which in this work has been entitled "Social objective values" is a rather mixed one. Some of the items included here I have dealt with before when discussing sports and Scouts and Guides ideals. The common characteristic of all values included here is that they are conditioned by the existence of social environment in addition to the relation between the subject and the person chosen by him. We have seen before how some persons acquired additional qualities because they were members of social organizations (Scouts, Boys Brigades, etc.). They were then identified with an "ideal" representing such a social group, a stereotype of Scout, of sportsman and so like, and some appropriate qualities were ascribed to them.

Preeminence and recognition†among others, due to some achievements in sport, in social life etc. were also noticeable in some of the above mentioned examples. Here I want to discuss briefly the values which are due to the attitude of parents and other relatives to the children's friends. Some of the children, especially girls, up to the age of 14, gave us reasons for their choice that "my mother" or "my parents" liked their friend. The same arguments occurred sometimes among boys also, but much less

frequently.. This was only to be expected, as we have seen that preferences for parents are usually more common among girls and that is responsible for identifying with them and acquiring their opinions and judgements.

" ... Our mothers are good friends because they knew each other before we were born. My Mother agreed that I should take E..." (English girl, 12).

" ... She is my dearest companion. My Mother likes her also. My Mother generally lets her sleep and have breakfast with me"... (English girl, 12).

" ... My Mother and Father like her just as much as I do, so I suppose it is another reason" (for the choice) (English girl, 12).

"My Mother said that he is a very well mannered boy because he saw her waiting to go across the road so he went and got hold of her arm and took her across" (English boy, 12).

The approving attitude of the friends' parents is also considered as an asset in choice:

" ... Her mum lets her go anywhere with me" (English girl, 13).

" ... I like her mother and father and they are kind. I always go in her house, they make you feel at home. Some time her father and mother take me to the pictures"... (English girl, 13).

" ... He is not rough, and he has a good mother and father..." (English boy, 12).

Family situation of a friend is sometimes mentioned:

" ... I would like Pat to come, because she has no mother and I have no father so that is why" (English girl, 13).

" ... She is very jolly and happy. She has foster parents,

but she makes the best out of them..." (English girl, 12).

Living in the neighbourhood is brought out as an asset especially with the younger children. From among other authors Warner raises this situation as helpful in the formation of friendship among boys (x) (69).

The special group of values, which come from outside the simple "subject-object" relations in this material, is that concerning the attitude of chosen friends towards their heterosexual relations, their interests in "going with boys" (or girls respectively), love films and love stories, their having dates with friends etc. Here we must very carefully distinguish this factor from that of preferences for the other sex by our subjects themselves. It may be said that these preferences when the subject chooses a friend of the other sex are of the "first order" and as such they are dealt with separately later in this work. But the situation discussed here may be called that of the "second order", i.e. when the subject chooses a friend of the same sex, but likes in him (or her) his heterosexual interests. It seems that this proves again the presence of identification in such cases.

" ... She is eleven years of age... Between us we made a little plan for K. to give two long whistles and I put the light out and on again then she knows I heard her. Then we open the window and have the little talk and she tells me how many of her boy friends she has seen during the day..." (Engl. girl, 11).

" ... We both like out-door games, adventure books and love

(x) Warner, M. L.: "Influence of Mental Level in the Formation of Boys' Gangs. "Journal of Applied Psychology". 7, 1923.

films... We both like the same kind of boy friends and both like going with them together..." (English girl, 13).

This attitude does not occur among boys, but two of them (11, 14 years) remarked about their friends that "girls wink at him" and "girls look after when he is passing them".

The opposite attitude, that of disapproval of heterosexual interests and preferences also occurs, though only very occasionally among girls and among boys only once.

" ... I would like to take my uncle Douglas... He was... torpedoed during the war by a U-Boat... My uncle is seven years my senior... He is a good natured sort of chap and easy to get along with... He is a fine athlete and an acrobat. All his habits are from the Navy and I understand his Navy talk. He doesn't keep girl-friends (that is one of the best things I like about him)..." (English boy, 14).

x

x x

The next group of qualities is that concerned with the "personality objective values"-; all intellectual and character values such as intelligence, brightness, courage, cheerfulness, honesty etc. are included here.

They are distinguished here from the "behaviour objective values", but this distinction does not imply that these values are not recognisable by some particular forms of behaviour in social environment. The difference is that in this case the observed behaviour is not evaluated in itself, but leads to

recognition or, let us say, symbolises some traits usually attributed to the personality as representing its peculiar qualities. Of course, in the compositions these abstract qualities only are usually mentioned without any behaviour facts which have led to such a diagnosis and we are not able to be certain whether we deal with a true observation, or with projection, or with the judgment suggested by a particular stereotype (soldier, sailor, Boy Scout etc.). It does not seem, however, to be of fundamental importance which of these ways was used as long as we are primarily concerned with the evaluation of personal qualities from the point of view of needs and interests of the subject only. In any case, quite a number of children support their statements by some examples of behaviour which prove the existence of a trait attributed to the person chosen.

When a person was called "intelligent", "bright", "very clever, sensible and reasonable" - all such expressions were collected under the common heading of "intellectual values". Of course, this should not be confused with the scientific definition of intelligence as such, but considered in the way in which it was submitted by children in their characteristics of other people based on their own criterions of intelligence and "brightness".

"General life experience" was usually attributed to parents and other adult relations or to much older friends or siblings.

"Life ideals" were usually mentioned in a very vague sense: "she has a high life ideals". - One little boy of 12 writes about his father:

" ... He does not believe in the dogs and such like he is

a man of ideals..." One may guess that the popular English saying "the country may go to the dogs" is blamed here.

Religious beliefs play rather an important part particularly among the Catholic children, although the other children sometimes mention "he (or she) believes in God" - as an asset. Catholic children, both Polish and English, usually say here that the common religious beliefs are the important uniting factor between them and their choice whether the subject of the choice were parents or friends. Such an attitude generally occurs more frequently among girls, but several adolescent boys, both English and Polish made their preference of a Priest in order to help them with their spiritual troubles (I shall discuss it in one of the next chapters).

From among various personal traits cheerfulness and the sense of humour is by far the most popular among boys and girls of both (English and Polish) groups. The great majority of them like their friends, parents and relatives for being "full of fun", "jolly", "cheerful", "cheering up" and for having the "sense of humour", and being "jolly and lively, not dull and miserable". They want their choice to be "ready for a joke" and to know how "to take a joke".

There seem to be various reasons for sense of humour and cheerfulness being so highly evaluated. It is the most simple way for expressing social acceptance. When children or adults smile to each other they actually express these positive social feelings.

" ... She has a funny way of expressing her feelings, for example when she is happy and full of fun she simply dances everyone off her feet..." (English girl, 10).

If we remember that children in their continual social adjustment have to undergo many restrictions and on many occasions inhibit free expression of their feeling we may say that their preference for cheerful and smiling people are based on the desire for the full relaxation, for removal of all tensions and inhibitions and for the opportunity to express their feeling without restrictions.

The happy face is also the symbol of social cooperation and acceptance.

"... She is a jolly sport that is when she is out, say in rounders, she does not make a fuss or try to make excuses like other people do... She is always ready for a joke and can always take a joke and does not walk off in a huff".

Humour and cheerfulness in the other people are very often interpreted as the sign of security. Facing difficulties with a smile is usually considered as a very high trait of character.

" ... He is a brother you can love and care for... When the moments are sad he is always cheerful and will cheer you up..." (English boy, 12).

"... My cousin, she is 12 years old... She is always very happy and makes good out of bad luck..." (English boy, 13).

" ... I would like to take a ... friend of mine who ... is a jolly fellow always happy, whenever there is trouble or a dull day he has always got a smile beaming across his face..." (English boy, 14).

On the whole the preference for this trait is based on the motives for social response, acceptance and cooperation, for security and relaxation, and is also closely linked with the

need for free and happy play and other motor activities and emotional abreactions. It may be concluded from this that the fundamental value of this personal trait in social adjustment accounts for its high place among the qualities which children and adolescents prefer in their environment.

A very high value is also attached to the next trait, that of courage. Here it may be seen clearly ~~and~~ how very often children use their chosen friends or adults to compensate for their own troubles. In this case, when speaking about their brave and courageous companions they admit sometimes that they themselves are lacking in such qualities; but they admire them in their chosen friends or adults, and by such choices they satisfy their need for protection and they identify themselves with those brave, daring and fearless models.

" ... She is not frightened and if I take (her) I will not be frightened of anything". (English girl, 12).

" ... She is a very nice friend to have, I think, because she is not afraid of dogs and most of my other friends are..." (English girl, 11).

" ... He is courageous, both morally and physically, and I think that he would risk his life to save mine, and I am sure that I would do the same for him..." (English boy, 16).

" ... I would like to take my friend E... he is ~~x~~ brave and not frightened of night"... (English boy, 13).

" ... He is not frightened of anything and when you are with him you feel safe". (English girl, 14, about her 16 years old boy friend).

We have seen above some examples when English and Polish children praised courage in their friends. Here I would like to quote from a composition of a 14 years old English boy who doubts about the courage of his friend and wants him to undergo a test on the desert island:

" ... I would like to see what he would do if he was alone ... also to see if he is as brave as he makes out to be or if he is really a coward. And if he was afraid - to see what he would do, if he would try and make himself brave or if he would act like a frightened man". (English boy, 14).

Among various sorts of fears from which the chosen friends or other persons are supposed to be free we find fear of being alone, fear of dark and of night, fear of animals, dogs, rats, snakes, etc. On the whole this trait of courage and bravery is mentioned more often by the Polish boys and girls probably because it is very popular in their national traditions and partly because of different war experiences and living in the tropical countries among strange natives of those areas, and also because of the greater feeling of insecurity due to the family and social conditions of those children which were discussed before.

Craving for security is also present in the next quality here, that of reliability, honesty and trustworthiness.

" ... I choose this girl because she is sensible and she always makes me happy with her... she is a reliable and trustworthy friend..." (English girl, 11 and $\frac{1}{2}$).

" ... She is a good friend and faithful..." (English girl, 12).

" ... I am taking my cousin John... the reason is because I feel sure I can trust him..." (English girl, 11).

" ... I would take my friend because he never lets out our secrets..." (Polish boy, 10). - This boy speaks about his friend whom he met in Poland in the time of German occupation.

" ... I can rely on and trust him at any time" (English boy, 13).

" ... He is truthful... and would never stoop to cheating or meanness..." (English boy, 16).

" ... I would choose neither my brother, nor sister, but my friend, the best one I have... because I have no secrets with her... she is like my treasures-safe, where I shut all my treasures... all troubles, difficulties and all pleasures..." (Polish girl, 16).

" ... My choice... would be a boy about 9 months older than myself... naturally (he) would have to be a person whom I trusted, respected and had an affection for..." (English girl, 17).

Besides the general reliability two special situations are mentioned quite often: faithfulness in friendship and keeping of secrets, the last moment being fairly predominant with girls, while boys emphasized reliability in common effort, work and adventures, as well as fairness in playing games.

Kindness and good nature may be also linked with the need for security and for social acceptance. I was trying to divide these two aspects of kindness: when a child wrote that somebody "likes me and is kind to me", such a quality was classified under the heading of "acceptance", as clearly directed towards the subject; if, however, it was said about somebody that he or she is "good natured and kind" or "kind to everybody" - it was

classified in this group of general personality qualities.

" ... I would like to take her because she is kind and quite well behaved. She plays nicely, she is not rough..." (English girl, 8).

" ... She is good tempered and well mannered... (English girl, 9).

" ... I like him because he is gentle and kind to children younger than himself... I am sure he loves animals..." (English boy, 9).

" ... My mother is 34 years and a very sensible person... Her temper is not easily raised and hardly ever has quarrels with people..." (English girl, 14).

Independence in personal views and in life difficulties is esteemed by boys and girls alike. It is not one of the most popular qualities but still, as we see from the table IV, it is mentioned quite often. If we want to trace its connection with one of the basic motives to be satisfied by it, it seems to me that we may link it with the need for security as it represents the ability of dealing squarely and successfully with the environment without any fears and inhibitions. It suggests a good, strong integration of the whole personality which certainly appeals to the children and especially to the adolescents.

" ... one of the main reasons I would take D. is that she does not, like some people do, agree with everything you say, but sticks to her own point of view and argues..." (English girl, 17).

" ... He would be an ideal partner... very clever at adapting

himself to any situation that might arise and he would treat any crisis calmly and intelligently..." (English girl, 18).

" ... I chose him from among all other people because he is reliable, resourceful and he can always support himself..." (Polish boy, 16).

" ... I would like to take my friend, he is a clever and ingenious boy. I like his quick initiative and decision and his calmness in all situations. He is a boy who can face and deal successfully with all troubles and disasters..." (Polish boy, 13).

I referred to sportsmanship in one of the above paragraphs when the sport ideals were discussed, although, as I have mentioned then, this quality actually belongs to the objective personality traits and is classified in this group of values.

Politeness and good manners are brought out quite often by younger and older children. It seems that their true basis is the motive for conformity with standards laid down by the society. Younger children use in this case expressions applied in everyday life by parents about "being a nice, polite, well behaved child". Older boys and girls speak about table manners, social manners and even about some qualities believed to be of advantage in class distinction such as good pronunciation of various sounds and the correct usage of words and idioms.

" ... One day my mother said to me; "Would you like Janet to have a picnic in the wood with us?" I said "Yes", and went to call for her...

The next morning I made a cup of tea for my mother and woke her up and said, "Mummy, do you know why I like Janet, don't you?" My mother said "No, I don't". I will tell you then,

because she is true and not spiteful, and she is healthy, she is not like other people, she is good tempered and well mannered". (English girl, 9).

" ... She is a nice girl, and she has nice manners. If I were going to friends of my parents then I would know that she would behave herself and then she would be good company" (English girl, 12).

" ... The reasons why I am taking her are because she is kind and loving, she likes to help anyone and she does not like to hear anyone arguing. She is very timid and well mannered and she likes to have a lot of fun... (she) doesn't like people who sit around with long faces and never laugh, and neither do I." (English girl, 12).

In the above quotation an interesting usage of the expression "timid" occurs, it does not mean, as we see from the subsequent sentences a temperament quality but the submissive attitude required for being "well mannered" and supports the inference about the source of this quality of "good manners" in the "conformity motive" (x) (70).

" ... another thing he does not do is to leave the table before asking for, he has very good table manners and he has very good manners when he is outside" (English boy, 12).

" ... I often ask him to my house for tea, he behaves very well and knows his manners. If there is a dull interlude he suggests a game or anything to brighten us up" (English boy, 14).

(x) Dockeray, F. C.: "Psychology", 1945.

" ... He is a clean boy, in his habits and the way he speaks and is a well dressed boy, he pronounces his h's and has very good manners".

It is generally accepted among child psychologists that the period of the last years of childhood and the beginning of puberty is characterized by the love for new experience, exploration and adventures. (x) (72, 73).

To be "adventurous" does not mean here necessarily something either unusual or exceeding the generally approved contacts with the everyday surroundings; it rather implied the active, vivid attitude towards everything that comes within the contact of the child:

" ... I would choose my brother... for he is full of adventure and curiosity... He would make adventure out of the slightest point. The smallest thing will arouse his curiosity. He has a very keen sense of hearing..." (etc.) (English boy, 12).

" ... (She) has a mysterious way of doing things and does not tell you what she does, and lets you find out for yourself which makes it exciting" (English girl, 11).

"I chose her because she likes adventures, also because she is just about my age"... (English girl, 9).

Other children like friends who go with them to the films full of adventures and read books on travels, adventures etc.

(x) Baley, S.: Zarys psychologii w zwiazku z rozwojem psychiki dziecka, 1946.

Ch. Bühler; From birth to maturity. 1943.

Kaminski, A.: Nauczanie i wychowanie metoda harcerska, 1948.

There are a few more items in this group of values which are not mentioned very often. Some children do like their friends who do not "show off" and dislike snobbishness in adults, as we have seen above with a boy speaking about his scoutmaster. Being a "good worker", who is persistent in his effort is also placed among the qualities praised especially by boys:

" ... he is a good worker and does not try to dodge work like most people do"... (English boy, 12).

Initiative, energy and being "full of ideas" concerning plays, games and other interesting pass-times is considered as an asset too. Love for animals is praised both by girls and boys, English and Polish alike.

" ... He is very kind to animals and likes dogs very much"... (English boy, 10).

" ... I would take him because of his kindness to animals. He is always very kind to dumb animals and once he jumped into the river and swam after a young dog who jumped in and was going down the river with the tide. After a terrific race he caught the dog up and brought him back to his owner who was so very pleased..." (English boy, 14).

In a few cases common interests in music and art are mentioned as a uniting factor between friends or between children and their preferred parents.

Short remarks referring to the temperament of the chosen friends are not very numerous in the whole. They are, however, rather characteristic. It seems that preferences exist for

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different types of temperament in chosen friends, and when some writers (x) (74) refer to the quality of being "quiet" as responsible for preferences for friends it should not be necessarily understood as the quality of temperament but it may signify as well the attitude of conformity with social requirements that has been analysed above in connection with "good manners".

In any case in this material "being quiet" and "being noisy", "quick tempered" etc are mentioned from time to time and on the whole the vivid, extrovert traits are more numerous in the results.

Sometimes children praise their friends for being "rude", "rough" and for "making a lot of mischief". Such preferences for agressive qualities may be understood either as the projection of aggressive tendencies or as an admiration for a free, independent, well integrated pattern of behaviour (xx) (75, 76), for something man-like, brute and tough, which appeals so often to young boys as we may suspect from their preferences in the field of films, books and newspapers, ~~t~~here may be one of various factors which according to Burt ⁱ"call for close scrutiny", when ~~t~~hey lead the good boy to "surrendering to the lead of a bad one" (xxx) (79).

(x) Williams, P.E.: op. cit.

(xx) Burnham, W. H.: "The Normal Mind", 1925.
Szyrnski, W.: "Zarys Higjeny Psychicznej". 1944.

(xxx) Burt, C.: "The Young Delinquent". 1944 (131).

" ... I am taking Jim..., who is 11 years old and very cheeky. I should like him to come because he is funny and sometimes rude... He is smaller than me and younger... he has a lot of friends, one of them is me. He likes a fight with somebody now and again... He thinks up rotten ideas... He is very daring and makes a lot of mischief..." (English boy, 12).

" ... he is my nearest friend at school, sometimes he tells me funny jokes and says rude things sometimes..." (English boy, 11).

"I like ... him because he is always getting into troubles. ... We sometimes have a quarrel over things and when we are in class there is an uproar. He has a deep voice and keeps shouting, "Shut up!" in class to me..." (English boy, 11).

"He is very energetic... he makes a lot of noise although he is so small" (English boy, 12).

"If you hit him by accident and he does not think it is done accidentally he will hit you back twice as hard..." (English boy, 11).

"I chose him because he is tough... he plays rough games like rugby and gets a bruise or two." (English boy, 11).

" ... he has some faults... one thing that is not too good and that is I can do most sports whereas he likes sitting down and drawing. Another thing is that R. is not rough and does not go along hitting people and waving his hands about in other people faces..." (English boy, 12).

" ... She is^acheerful girl... not quiet like some girls I know..." (English girl, 13).

" ... She joints in all games you want her to, but when she gets her temper, which is not very often, she is terrible...

(English girl, 12).

On the other hand the opposite quality of being quiet is also praised by other children:

" ... He is a quiet type like myself and does not make a lot of noise like some boys do". (English boy, 11).

" ... He is a good person to have around, quiet and obedient ...". (English boy, 12).

" ... He is not one of the rough boys, but more quiet".
(English boy, 11).

"She was a very shy girl to people whom she did not know...
(English girl, 12).

"He is a good natured and good tempered boy... he never does anything dangerous, he always does things on the safe side" (English boy, 11).

Quite a lot of children's positive expressions about the qualities of their friends were too vague and indefinite and had to be put under the heading of "general pleasant personality".

Here come such expressions as "he is very pleasant", "he is nice", "he has a good personality" and all similar ones.

x

x x

All values represented in the next group are based on the positive attitude of the chosen persons towards the child who made the choice. There is a sharp contrast between all these and all previously discussed qualities. We shall see here that the choice depends not only on the objective admiration for some people but on their real and practical value for the child and for his adjustment to the environment. The analysis of this particular group of values also supports the view that reciprocity of acceptance and affection is an important factor in friendship formation, in identification and mutual sympathy.

The first heading here is acceptance. It is a rather broad name for all acts of sympathy, recognition and friendliness on the part of the other person. One of the clear examples of such an attitude we saw with the little girl of 7 whose composition was presented at the beginning of this chapter. Here are some more situations, where acceptance plays an important role:

"He often asks me to come to tea with him. When it was wet I went to his house and played with his toys. You must not think that I go into his house always, because he came to my house too, when it was wet too..." (English boy, 12).

"Tony always would give me a piece of lunch and I would give him some of my sweets. His mother was very kind to me, she once took me to the pictures and to a ⁱfa_ro. His mother would let me have tea at his house and my mother would give him some tea." (English boy, 12).

"... She has a very kind nature, she has a very nice love for me..." (English girl, 9, about her 10 years old girl-friend).

" ... She always is with me and never does anything concerning us two without consulting me first.

I like her also because when I am lonely she always seems to want to help me.

She never runs off with someone else but always keeps with me (She) never does anything behind my back, she is always straightforward and honest." (English girl, 11).

" ... She is very sensible and when we play games she always puts me first... When I choose the game she doesn't like to play she doesn't complain and sulk like other people do, like my other friend, R., because every time I choose a game to play she just sits and sulks all the time, but when I choose a game she likes she brightens up and then she plays and when we finish she sits and sulks again..." (English girl, 10).

" ... I am taking my cousin K. Unlike most grown-ups he does not keep saying, "you must not do this" and "you must not do that", instead he mostly lets me do what I like..." (English girl, 12).

In the two following examples we shall see how the need for social recognition and acceptance makes for friendship and preference:

" ... The reason I pick him is whenever you see him he never ignores me or other friends, never when I have seen him..." (English boy, 11).

" ... I like him best of all my friends. He lives in Denbigshire, he is 10... he was my first friend when I went there, he used to go to church with me because nobody went with me

because they did not like the way I was talking. He got me into the Scouts and to the football and to the Boys Club..." (English boy, 13).

We see here how a little boy after coming to the new district was suffering from rejection by the other boys because of his different accent and how he was initiated afterwards to the "society" by a friend who first approached and "accepted" him.

Such acceptance is usually attributed to parents when they are chosen by children. It is quite obvious that parents in a normal family are those people who are primarily responsible for the security, recognition and social acceptance of their children. The importance of this situation ^{to be} ~~being~~ carefully preserved by parents is quite obvious, especially ^{in view of/} ~~from~~ ^{opposite} its contrasting mechanism of rejection with its all disastrous consequences (x) (78).

" ... I would like to go with my father. Because he has never hit me and he is my greatest friend. He gives me my food and gives me a bed and a shilling pocket money. I have great respect for my father, he has not a bad temper, also he buys me my sweets..." (English boy, 12).

" ... If I had to go... almost certainly I should choose my father... because I am always completely happy in his company... I would dislike living with someone who was not fond of me... he is always thinking of others, never of himself, and is completely unselfish... He is kindest, most thoughtful....

(x) Symonds, P.M.: The Psychology of Parent-Child Relationship. 1939.

and loving companion it would be possible to find... The most important thing though is that my companion must be fond of me." (English boy, 17).

" ... I would take my best friend, who is as kind and friendly with me as my own mother..." (Polish girl, 18).

On the whole all various expressions like: "she likes me", "she (or he) is always kind to me", "she is very friendly with me", invites me, gives me something, takes me to various places and so like - were collected under this heading.

Next item in this group deals with "receiving protection" from others. As we shall see this value is usually recognised in parents and other people, like other adults, relatives, siblings and older friends. There are, however, children who look for this quality even in their equals and expect from them care and protection in various life situations.

It was not possible to trace how in any particular case such a desire for care and protection depended on the degree of insecurity in a child, but we have seen that when our experimental groups are treated in general, this motive was responsible for the more numerous choices of parents and older siblings by the Polish girls from the refugee camps, and by girls in general in comparison with boys.

" ... I think I would like my brother to come with me... I have reasons for wanting my brother to come with me... The first reason is because he is a boy... The second is because he is 15 years old which is a lot older than I am and I would feel safer with him..." /E boy, 11/.

"... My brother is a tall boy... he was told by my mother to look after me. He did as he was told, because he is 11 years, old...("E. boy, 8")

"... I would take my best friend... I like her best and she would be a good company... As she is older than I am she should look after me and defend me in dangers...("P. girl, 19").

"... I would take my older sister, she is 20 years old...a very ingenuous person, she is afraid of nothing. She would be able to find the proper way in difficulties... it is so much better to have somebody with you. Half of all your fears disappear. When you are alone you feel so uncomfortable... If you have an older person with you ^{you} are sure nothing can threaten you and you may face all troubles... (P. girl, 16).

All qualities of providing protection are, however, usually attributed to parents, even if children speak about their friends, quite often they compare them in this respect to their mother or father. It would be interesting to give here some of the examples, where children refer to their parents as people who protect them against all dangers and troubles.

"... He is a good companion, he can cook and be like a mother to you... (E. boy, 13).

"... I would take my best friend, she is older than I and she would help me in life. I chose her because she is older and would be able to help in any danger or illness. I would take her to look after me. I would most like to take my mother, who is my dearest guardian ... and who would take care of me..." (P. girl, 13).

As we see in the above example when the girl began to speak about her friend as a person who would provide care and protection she immediately turned to her mother as the most ideal object from this point of view.

"... I would take my mother... she would help me and take care of me. If I were by myself I would feel lonely and I would be afraid ... (P. girl, 11).

"... I would like my mum to come with me. She would know how to look after me and know that I was being taken care of well, and know that I was all right... If anything came to hurt me my mum would get her temper up quick.

If I could take ~~two~~ people with me I would take my daddy, because my dad would not let anyone touch me and I would not be afraid... if anybody hurt me they have had it". (E. girl, 13).

In the above example it is clear how all the attention of the girl is concentrated on her own security and freedom from fear which is carefully provided by both of her parents. We can suspect in this case some important reasons affecting the security and adjustment of this child, were they existing at home or in the outside world.

Here come two boys, a Polish and an English one, with a very strong mother preference based on the general insecurity:

"... I would take my mother, because she is my best friend on earth. Since my birth I have always been together with her. She usually forgets about herself and makes all sacrifices for my benefit. When she has something good to eat she refuses it for herself and gives it to me. When I am sad she always cheers me up. When I

When I have any trouble or any important decision to make I ask always her advise... (P. boy, 13).

This boy, being the best pupil in his class is the only child; in his childhood he has been for a few years bed-ridden and his mother took care of him. Besides that he spent with her the last five years, his father being far away with the Forces.

"... I would take my mother for she, and she only, could give me the mother's care I had always been used to. In times of despair she would comfort me... With my mother with me I would feel more at home than if somebody else was with me... She would see that I was always clean and had no cuts and bruises. (E. boy, 16).

Some of the children rely on the persons they choose that in case of troubles or any unpleasant experiences they will "comfort them," cheer them up " or "keep their spirits". Some of such examples we saw among the above quotations and here are three more:

"... If one of us were in trouble (She) would make all the worry go, even if she was in trouble herself. M. has a good way of setting about things and even if unhappy herself, she makes you believe there is nothing wrong..." (E. girl, 11).

"... My friend, aged 11... She can cheer people up if they were feeling particularly down-hearted. She is always cheerful and never miserable..." (E. girl, 12.)

"... He is a brother you can love and care for... When the moments are sad, he is always cheerful and will cheer you up..." (E. boy, 12)

All this group of values is concerned with receiving attention from other people. One of the forms of such attention is receiving instructions of² advice. Some children enlist among the values of their preferences that they can teach them something or give advise:

"... He taught me how to do a running dive off the ground and ... off the eleven foot high spring board... He shows me many things that will most likely come very handy... (E. boy, 11).

"... My mother would teach me how to catch crabs..." (P.g.9).

"... My mother would explain me everything about various plants and animals..." (P. girl, 10).

While practically-minded young children like being taught practical skill and instructed about the outer world, adolescents value in their friends all suggestions concerning their behaviour, their understanding of them and of their new intellectual and moral situations:

"... The reasons for my choice are: first, she has been my best friend for many years, second because we are both fourteen, and I enjoy myself when I am with people of my own age...

When I hurt myself that is if it is not very serious she does not usually sympathise with me, and therefore I don't usually pity myself, I forget about it... If I have not done something very well she will tell me so. We are always very critical of each other and although we don't like criticism at the time, we always know what to correct the next time, so¹that it can't be criticised again." (E. girl, 14).

"... If anything went wrong with me, whether morally or in health, he could be trusted to stick by me and pull me round to view things in a proper light..." (E. boy, 16 about his 1/2 year older boy friend).

"Co-operation" is another quality very highly responsible for social preferences. It is obvious that the other people are chosen quite often according to their values as helpers in our life adjustment.

Besides that, some sort of satisfaction of the motive for recognition and acceptance can be found in the fact that other people share our interests and desires, and co-operate in the achievement of our own goals, recognising them therefore as being worthy of their attention, approval and effort.

There are various forms of such willing co-operation, "he is always willing to help", "he helps with my lessons", "he shares all work with me" etc. Here we have some illustrations of different situations when this quality is applied:

"... He has bright ideas and plenty of knowledge and I am sure he will co-operate very well with me... " (E. boy, 13 about his 13 yrs. old boy friend).

"... His age is now 14... He has a very nice character and is most pleased to do anything you ask him to do... He will always do anything you like and if you want to do a thing he will always fall in and do the same." (E. boy, 14.)

"... We are always ready to help each other... " (E. girl, 14).

"... I would like to take my brother P. who is 8 years old because he is determined and will do practically anything for me... He likes to go anywhere I go and he really always shares anything I have not got it... and he will help me in any difficulties... (E. boy, 12.)

"... His age is fourteen... I like him because he goes with me up the shops or wherever I have to go for my Mum and Dad... (E. boy, 14).

"... He is about my age and height and he knows more about some subjects than I know... He never grumbles when he is asked to do something for his mother or his sister... (E. boy, 13)

"... This friend of mine is the same as me... Whenever someone is in trouble he is always ready to help or get them over their difficulties. He even carries the old people's shopping home for them, trims their private hedges and cuts the lawns." (E. boy, 14).

However, co-operation is considered to be a great asset in other people's character not only when it is manifested by their good turns and helping in good things; co-operation in mischief is also a recognisable, valuable quality, especially among the younger boys.

"... He is the best pal I have got... Whenever we have to do thinking we put our heads together. If we got into any trouble we would get ourselves out and then get ourselves in again..." (E. boy, 12).

"... R. is the best of all pals... I was told not to go out to the railway bank... but I did and I was seen by my mother. When she asked me I said that I had not been up there, when they asked R. he said that we have not been up there and so saved me... I would take him... I think no one will alter my mind." (E. boy, 12).

"... I chose him because he likes to play with me and if I did anything wrong, smoke cigarettes or hit any other boy he never told my mother, but advised me not to do it, because it made her angry, indeed. Sometimes we made toys together. That is why I would take him..." (P. boy, 12.)

In the following case I am definitely not sure whether it may be classified as valuable co-operation. Perhaps the reader can make his judgment for himself:

"... She is my age and still likes playing with dolls... Her mother often lets me go and play with her and my mother lets her come and play with me. She is a very nice friend to have-- quite often she comes in just at the right moment and I don't have to have a bath..." (E. girl, 11).

x

x x

The last group of values making for social preferences is probably the most involved one. I was trying to gather here all reasons given by children to explain their choice which witness about mutual acceptance and sympathy between the subject and his choice. The emotional links enter this group to much greater degree than all the previous ones. I had also to put here together very vague expressions as "I like him", "I choose him because he has always been my best friend" - and more complicated statements about "an indefinable something, which only a friend really feels". But even here I was trying to find some simpler facts which enter into this most emotional side of mutual sympathy, besides all those listed above.

Another characteristic feature of all items in this group of qualities, as opposed to the previous one, is that the active part in the majority of situations collected here is played by the subject

himself: he "likes" the other person, "feels" sympathy for him or her, "confides" in this person who is able to understand him, he gives protection, teaches, advises etc. Of course, it was not possible to trace this active attitude in all of the situations and in some it was only suspected, but in such cases other qualities of the whole situation enabled to classify it here.

In the first item called rather "Friendship and mutual sympathy" we shall find expressions referring to identical traits of both persons, their common interests, views and hobbies, their permanent co-operation and influence exerted on each other, the uniqueness of their relations (only friend, the best friend etc.) and the emotional links between them. Here are some most characteristic examples of all these factors:

"... She is about the same age as me, she likes and dislikes the same things as me (x) and she is in the same class as me, and she used to go to the same school as me... Her hair is similar to the colour of mine" (E.girl, 11).

"... I would pick my most trusted friend (x) P. whose age is 13. I pick him because we are always playing together like brothers and I have learned his ways. We both joined the Youth Club together and we never stay away from meetings... Just lately we both got the same number of votes and gained third seat in the committee of the Club. Every Sunday we both go to the church morning and evening, and at 3 o'clock we again go to Boys Bible Class. Nearly every

(x) For the purpose of numerical results only this one quality out of all mentioned ^{in the composition} was counted here, all others being included in some previous groups.

They are quoted here to give the full picture of identity.

Sunday we are invited to tea with some member of the Club... When we get home I and P. are always messing about with old radio sets we keep in our shed. During summer holidays we go~~e~~ out riding and... camping for a week or two. Sometimes when we are at home we sleep together besides getting up and coming to school together. You should be able to see why I pick him my best friend".(E. boy,13).

"... M. and I get on very well together (x) and I have not had any fight with him since I met him"... (E. boy, 13).

"... I would take her because she and I look on things in the same ways (x). She is about the same age as I am and we both have the same interests..." (E. girl, 16).

"... Her age roughly corresponds with my own. We were at school together for five years... Our tastes are similar (x), we are both of a mild and quiet disposition, but our thoughts differ enough to provoke interest in each other...

We never tire of each other's company and we do not need to talk in order to enjoy each other's company. We both prefer Spain to any other country in the world which we would like to visit... My friend and I both have a liking for painting... We both have a great love for reading, our favorite book being Jane Eyre, Pride and Prejudice being close second. We both like detective stories and adventurous novels.

(x) For the purpose of numerical results only this one quality counted here, all others being included in some previous groups. They are quoted here to give the full picture of identity.

She has brown hair and brown eyes, is five feet, five inches, a little plump and I am similar only a little taller and thinner. We are also similar in features from a distance. We have both Irish mothers which may account" (E. girl, 16).

In the above examples we find some references to physical identity, to similar interests, likings, views and forms of behaviour. With the younger children this identity is, of course, more superficial. With older children it involves character traits and interests. The older children recognize, however, that some differences make also for successful friendship. We would say that they begin to understand the meaning ^{of} the compensatory factors in friendship, which exist ^{with} younger children as well, but they are not aware of it, they project more freely and the overwhelming tendency to identity with a friend is predominant.

"... I want to take M. because she is like myself"...
(E. girl, 11).

"... When I looked at Jean's clothes they were the same as mine..." (E. girl, 12), - when imagining her arrival to the Desert Island). - The element of wish-fulfilment is clear in this case.

"... We share most of the same interests although not all, but we get on well together. If we were too alike as my sister and I are, we could never live together. It is difference of character which, I think, makes friendships"... (E. girl, 16).

"... In many ways Margaret is exactly the opposite to me, perhaps that is why we get on well together. And again we have many mutual tastes" (E. girl, 16).

In the same composition about a girl-friend of the same age, we find a paragraph which shows another quality that makes for friendship and is highly valued, especially by adolescents: the enhancement of one's value by his friend. It is certainly connected ~~with~~ ^{with} acceptance but I think it may be (linked also) with compensatory friendship, as it is obvious in this particular case, when a girl chooses for her friend a person who is "exactly the opposite" - probably because of her qualities which she (the subject) is badly lacking herself - and then enjoys her acceptance as coming from the person more perfect than herself, from her "ideal".

"... Margaret always gives one impresssion that oneself is excellent company. She is very popular and has many acquaintances as well as intimate friends, but she always seems to prefer me to any of them. I know that this sounds very vain, but it is one reason why I like her. I believe a famous writer once said:

" I think the most charming people are charming because they make me feel charming." (E. J. G.)

I think that the above auto-analysis supports my view expressed in one of the previous chapters that mutual acceptance is a more important factor in social preferences than one-sided adoration, especially if it goes along with compensatory choice of friends, when their acceptance is more valuable as coming from the more admired and highly praised personality.

" Such "enhancement of one's own personality" makes for friendship even if it comes from someone younger (actually it may come much easier from our inferiors), but in this case one is still

Careful to admit that such person possesses numerous high qualities which makes her opinion more worthy. That explains also why children quite often praise excessively teachers who like and accept them, but disdainfully diminish all values of those who disregard or dislike them:

"... I would like to take my little cousin. She is 9 years old and she is very nice. I like her and she likes me too... She is very good at school, she is always first... If I ask her to do anything, she always does it. She thinks that I am very clever and that I know everything very well..." (E. girl, 14- the only child).

"... I should choose her (girl, 13) because with her I am myself and I also know I do well when in her company..." (E. girl, 13).

"... T. (girl, 18) has a wonderful character, she always seems to bring out the best in me and when I am with her all my problems seem to disappear... (E. girl, 17).

These quotations remind one of the "field theory" of social behaviour advanced by some Gestalt ~~Psychologists~~ psychologists led by Kurt Lewin (x) (79). In this particular case we see the importance of the presence of friend in the social field. The feeling of self-assertion, recognition of one's own value is enhanced with the help of another, friendly person. I believe that in many cases an attitude on the part of other people has real, positive influence on ^{their} friends' efficiency and pattern of social behaviour. From the point of view of

(x) Lewin, K.: Principles of Topological Psychology, 1946.

Mental Hygiene it may be said that the presence of a sympathetic and stimulating friend in the social field makes for increased happiness, for better and more successful adjustment of personality.

Some friends are called "ideals" or "models", they are considered as the examples:

"... I have never known her to be depressed and I am rather inclined to be sometimes... she is a good example for me ...
(E. girl, 14½, about her 14 yrs. old friend).

"... I would like her to be a devoted friend and I must have a reverence for her. She would be my ideal, should be an example for me in all difficult or bright moments...(P. boy, 18).

The pure emotional motives are usually expressed in a vague way "I like" him or her, but the range of this expression reaches from superficial sympathy up to infatuation and love; of course, the last case happens usually with heterosexual preferences among older adolescents.

here

It doesn't seem to be pertinent, ^{here} to discuss whether all these emotional motives are based more or less on the sexual drive. Such a view would certainly cheer psychoanalysts as much as the opinion of Iovetz-Tereshchenko (x) (80) that "friendship-love" in adolescence is quite remote from sexual sources, disappoints them. It would be safer to speak of emotional inclination of various degrees and probably of slightly varied character in different cases. I think that such an attitude is certainly better understood if we agree

(x) N.M. Iovetz-Tereshchenko: "Friendship-Love in Adolescence"

that all the values discussed in this chapter may also enter into "that something" which stirs the emotional preference for a given person.

"... Besides all these reasons I like with Max..." writes in her composition about his boy-friend of 17, an 18 yrs. old (girl E.)

"... the main and quite blind reason for it is that I love him..." (girl, 18).

"... I took a friend with me. Her name was Ann... Ann and I liked each other very much. I have always been her best friend and she's been mine too. I always play with her. She is not selfish. She and I are always happy...when we went to bed we both dreamt about each other." (E. girl, 10).

Here we have compositions of two older girls about each other:

"... I should take with me the best and greatest friend that I have now... I should want with me someone with whom I can share everything.

My choice falls to the friend that I have at the moment because we always get on very well together, enjoy the same things; we have the same likes and dislikes and often have the same thoughts and ideas on various subjects. She is a person a little older than myself which is good because I like people older than myself. We can always laugh together and at each other, even if we tease each other it does not rouse her tempers and make us quarrel. In whatever kind of mood I find myself, happy, despondent, teasing, we always find each other's company pleasing and without her I always feel very lost...

... She has not a domineering personality but a good strong one. She is often very kind and thoughtful and we are always prepared

to share our thoughts and secrets. The greatest reason for taking my friend is that we always feel completely comfortable and at ease with each other...

I find my friend is a very interesting person" (E. girl, 15).

The second, older girl writes:

"... I should take with me a girl friend of mine. She is aged fifteen years, nearly fifteen months younger than I. I have only really known her well enough to call her a good friend for about two years. We have never during those two years quarrelled for any reason...

... We both like doing the same things which would make life so much simpler. We like to play tennis...

As I have known Doreen only for two years there is much therefore that I do not, or perhaps have not yet discovered, so living with her (on the Desert Island) would prove interesting and not boring. She has her faults as I have but they do not particularly annoy me so that life would become unbearable...

... There are many other people that I know who perhaps excite me more or whom I am more passionately fond of, but Doreen does not ever arise my emotions to the extent that life would be unpleasant. I am always completely at ease free from any feeling of strain or discomfort. We have for each other, I believe, a healthy admiration, and a joy in doing many things in each other company...

... Doreen does not easily panic, and as I am of a rather excitable nature, a cool, calm mind to restrain my rather tempestuous ideas would be very satisfactory for our success.

She has underlying these few qualities I have mentioned an undefineable something which only a friend really feels. I like her for those qualities for this something. Being selfish I like sympathy and understanding, both qualities which Doreen uses with equanimity. Life on the desert island of the worst kind would be bad, but it would be a little better in the company of Doreen, so I believe now safely far away from such a misfortune", (E. girl, 17).

Very often girls and boys speak about the uniqueness of their friends. They call them "my best friend", "the only friend I have" etc. According to many authors (x) (81) the numbers of companions recognized as "friends" steadily decreases from the period of childhood up to the late adolescence. When children are asked how many friends they have they usually answer: "my whole class are my friends" and so like, but adolescents are more exact with the number, they speak about a few friends - 2, 3, 4 - at the age of about 13 - and then come to one or even "no friends" at all" at the later years of adolescence (author's observation). In this material there are also a few 17, 19 years old girls and boys who insisted they would not be able to choose anybody as they don't have really good friends. Of course it signifies that the requirements, which any friend of the adolescent shall meet, are much higher than children's criterions of friendship.

(x) e.g.: Thrasher, F.M. "The Gang". Chicago, 1927

"... I know lots of fit people. I know a good few people of my own age; the question is now to find somebody congenial... No, nobody here has the same interests as myself... Then I think of a Greek gentleman named Pygmalion. The only person whom I could possibly take, having thought it over, would be a creation in my own mind... Who he is I don't know. Nor do I know him by sight. But he always listens to what I say and sometimes has tgood ideas which he tells me about... I must either take this created person or banish him and take nobody..." (L. boy, 17).

"... I would like best to go alone, because I am not|accus-
tomed to live in a family. The big library would be quite enough to make me happy." (P. boy, 15- from the Cadets' Sec. School).

"... I think I would prefer to go alone and take no one with me. Because I'm sure I would soon get fed up with seeing the same person... whereas if I went alone I would be able to do exactly as I pleased and not bother about anyone else..." (E.b., 16)

"... I don't want to take anybody, I want to be alone".
(P.b., 18- Cadet Sec. School).

"... I should like to be alone. It wouldn't restrict my full freedom" (P.b., 20).

"... I would like to go alone, because I am fed up with gregarious life in this boarding institution". (P.b., 20- Cad. Sec. School),

. Leaving aside these totally negative social attitudes we may find views in this material about the uniqueness of friends, at various age levels:

"... The reason for my statement is that he is the only close friend I have. Of course, don't think he is the only friend I have, because he isn't, but he is the only friend I trust".

(E.b., 12).

The following quotation from the composition of a 15-year-old English boy shows the all-round validity of his best friend.

It also suggests that the topic of "desert Island" was probably quite suitable and vague enough to permit children to speak about their friends in general, without attracting their attention and focusing it on this particular situation as such.

"... His age is only a few months more than mine and our likes are almost identical...

If I were going to the North Pole or sail round the world with one companion I should always choose (him). When wondering whom I should write about, as soon as I thought about Paul I realised that I had thought of the exact person about whom I should write.

A very great friend! " (E.b., 15).

In some of the compositions quoted above we come across the expressions that the best friends make people feeling "at ease", "free from any feeling of strain and discomfort". This value of friends making either for the full relaxation or for the perfect integration, when "all conflicting ideas die and disappear" in the friend's presence, seem to be very important from the point of view of mental hygiene. All such qualities ascribed to chosen people are mentioned quite often in this material and are collected under the heading of "mutual understanding". In a broad sense this is similar

with the Adlerian concept of "sympathy", when people are helped and supported by having somebody who sympathetically understands them. It also reminds of a Selling's understanding of "empathy" or identification about which he writes that: "Empathy occurs at the moment one human being speaks to another. It is impossible to understand another individual if it is impossible at the same time to identify oneself with him. The inability to identify oneself with another may develop to such an extent that an individual completely refuses to co-operate with his fellowmen". (x) (62)

This tendency to choose friends according to whether they enable us to relax completely and provide the relief from strain, which exists in every-day social relations, is very characteristic. Nobody, who has observed many older children and adolescents, when they come to a Child Guidance Clinic, can deny the tangible existence of this strain and "psychological rigidity", which very often subsides slowly under the sympathetic attitude of the psychotherapist. In our cases such "empathic influence" is exercised by chosen friends and makes for their value and importance:

"... George is about the same age as I am... he is friendly and easy to talk to. You can get on better with a boy, than with a girl or an older person, because with them you would feel a little embarrassed at times." (E.b., 13).

"... When I talk to him I do not get embarrassed like I would with a girl or another boy, when I am talking about personal matters." (E.b., 13).

(x) Selling, L.S.: "Synopsis of Neuro-Psychiatry" 1945.

"... When you are with him you feel safe. He does not get embarrassed at any thing you say to him, that's why I like him. He is outspoken and speaks his own mind..." (E.g., 14- about her boy friend, 16).

"... (We) often have scraps with each other as well. In a way she is more like a sister than a friend. With her one can say what one likes, and she never thinks you are silly - or, at least, she does not say as much. One does not, as with some other people, have to be "on your best behaviour", one need to take any notice of good manners or etiquette; One can just, as the slang phrasing goes, "let oneself go".

She always seems to fit in with one's mood. She is not one of those always cheerful people who frequently get on other people's nerves, but she is a good company and may be quite witty when it suits her...

Margaret is an excellent standby when we are among strangers. She has a gift for putting other people at their ease and drawing them out of their shyness. She also writes very interesting vivacious letters and I always feel quite cheerful after hearing from her..." (E. ^{girl}~~boy~~, 16).

However, this feeling^I of security and relaxation in the presence of somebody else is ^{not} of necessity brought out by conversation* ("We do not need to talk to enjoy each other company" - E.g., 16), mutual understanding is the^I important thing: "We understand each other... We can talk to each other frankly which we could not do to other people" (E.g., 12- about her girl friend of the same age).

"... My friend... is fourteen years of age. I should like to take him because he is only a few months older than I am, we understand each other very well..." (E.b., 13).

"... Sometimes Iris and I tell one another secrets, which we would not tell anyone else". (E.g., 13).

"... She (15) has totally different ideas to me on some subjects,.. it is difficult to find someone who will frankly disagree with you and give her own opinion." (E.g., 15).

Sometimes the negative attitude towards parents is based on this feeling of tension produced either by their over-protective, annoying care or because of the feeling of guilt by which many children are linked ^{to them} especially when they are growing up and separating more and more from their family circle:

"... If it was somebody who was very fussy they might say, I am not going to camp out, I will catch a death ^{or} of cold, I would not want anybody fussy with me I would want to enjoy myself... I would like to take (my friend) ... (E. g., 11).

"... If I took someone else I think I would feel rather guilty... because (my mother) is good to me and would be hurt if I left her. Mother is very kind and understanding although she has a rather quick temper... I would rather have my mother with me than someone of my own age although I would probably be able to do a lot more things with them." (E.g., 13).

Friendly feelings directed to a person are often initiated by his or her acceptance and the removal of the tension and insecurity existing in a given situation. I mentioned the value of acceptance in connection with the previously discussed group of

values, but I would like to add a few more examples here in order to complete this discussion about friendship. Here are some quotations about the beginning of friendship. Of course such a "social beginning" of friendship is not the only one, but, I think, we may distinguish in general when friendship is initiated by one side (the subject), by the other (the object) or arises quite naturally during some common activities, play, work etc. It might be interesting to investigate further in this problem of beginning of friendship among children and adolescents.

"... I would take my friend Kathleen, who is aged twelve... because she is a very friendly girl... I like being with her ... I have always liked Kathleen because when I met her first in school she was immediately friendly and nice, she did not waste a long time thinking about it. I also like her because she did not show off a bit... When we are together we try to please each other and do what the other wants, so we usually end up by doing part of what we want ourselves and part of what the other person wants." (E.g., 11).

I think the above composition is a good example of the developments of social adjustment through progressive compromise of egoistic tendencies with the help of a chosen social preference (friend).

" The first time we met, we were both 5 years old. I had begun on that day, now eleven years ago, at a new elementary school at Cambridge. The whistle has blown when I was standing rather stupidly, wondering what to do. Margaret came along and stayed with me all that day, showing me what I should do and when. At 4 o'clock she showed me the way home, because we had only been in Cambridge for two days, and I was yet unacquainted with the town. Margaret

and I had been friendly since that day". (E.g., 16).

From these and some other similar expressions which were quoted above we see that there are special moments in life when friendship is most likely to begin. They are those situations, when the feeling of insecurity and, let us say, "rejection" or rather "lack of acceptance" is particularly intense and unbearable, as it usually is in a new place, in new surroundings, new life conditions etc. It might be in a nursery as well as in a university, or the Army or Navy when new recruits are meeting for the first time.

It would be interesting to ask, in reference to the above example (and many similar ones), what was it actually that prompted Margaret to approach the new girl and to take care of her. She might have been attracted by some external, physical and behaviour traits of the new girl, some of which were discussed in this work, she might find the opportunity to exercise her own tendency to protect, dominate or impose upon a new girl, or just to exercise her co-operative social tendencies. She might also have been conditioned by her own social situation of insecurity and loneliness, as happened in the case of the 12 year~~d~~-old-boy^{who} found in a new environment a very good protective friend, who himself had been probably experiencing some difficulties in social adjustment as "it was a shame how badly he stuttered". Such individuals are probably much more ready to find an easy prey for their social contacts in the case of a lonely outsider of a newcomer. Of course, they are often successful in establishing the bonds of friendship - in any case for some time - because of the greatly increased susceptibility of the latter to social acceptance and to friendly, protective sympathy.

In the previous examples we saw the initiative on the part of the other person in ^{ch}approaching the subject. In the following case we may suspect that the other girl's shyness in the situation was a factor which attracted the subject's sympathy and made for the beginning of friendship between those girls:

"... I would without hesitation choose my friend Joan... She is my age, though smaller than I, but is what I call a real companion... I have known her for some time and I remember her as the shy girl who came to take her brother Richard home from my house (Richard and my brother are best friends)"... But afterwards, as an accepted, good companion she looks quite changed:" ... her gaiety, smiles and sense of humour are really very delightful..." (E.g., 15).

With this last example we may proceed to the next situation in friendship which allows the subject to exercise a dominating, protective attitude. Speaking in general, social contacts and preferences are established with the, usually unconscious, view of enabling the subject to satisfy his needs. Among those needs there may be also his particular tendency either for submission or for dominance, according to the dichotomous classification of many psychologists. (x) (83) (84).

It is not possible to say on the basis of this material, which of these attitudes is mainly responsible for the formation of friendship, although the submissive attitude seems to be more common, as it accounts for more numerous preferences for older friends, for parents and adults, and also appears more often in

(x) Allport, F.H.: Social Psychology, 1924.

Allport, G.W.: A Test for Ascendance- Submission; Journ. of Abn. and Soc. Psych. 23, 1928.

the composition when children speak about their attitude towards the preferred person, many of which we have seen above.

The inference, however, is not as simple as it appears at first and I would not like to commit myself to this view on the basis of ~~this~~ material only, as this particular problem may ^{only} be discussed in passing. It is possible, instead, to say quite definitely that besides the passive or submissive attitude towards chosen persons the opposite attitude is also met with. I must also make it clear that in the great majority of these cases we see rather the desire for the cooperative relation with the chosen friends, on the ground of exact equality.

Here are, however, some cases where the protective attitude on the part of the subject is shown:

"... I would take John, because I like him, but not only that, I would like to teach him not to be greedy and selfish. The other reason is he is a show-off... I would try to teach him to swim, make him get his own breakfast, dinner and tea. I feel as if I could hit him on the nose when he mocks me, I would like to cure him of that, too. But after all this I like him, I think we both like each other deep in our hearts". (E.b., 13).

"... Why I should choose to take my friend is because he appreciates everything I do for him..." (E.b., 13).

This one and some following examples remind me of the view of Margaret Phillips (x) (85), when she talks about the "need to be needed" by others, often met with in children. It seems to be

(x) Margaret Phillips: "Education of the Emotions", 1937.

closely connected with the desire for social recognition and acceptance, that can be achieved much more easily when one is expected to help other people and his assistance is properly appreciated or even highly valued. Such a situation enhances one's feelings about oneself and satisfy one's-as McDougall would say-self-regarding sentiment:

"... I would like to take most an old friend of mine, she is 12, smaller than me and we have been friends for 8 years. When I was younger I usually did all the planning and it was me who was most irritable, but Ann always approached me first after a quarrel... As I grew a little older I began to think that she was too young to be the best friend, but Ann was not soft, in fact she is very stubborn at times, this increased my regards for her. Also if she did something I thought would be better to do another, when I told her so she might protest, ^{but} nearly always I noticed she did the thing after, of course, I didn't say, "I told you so," afterwards.

When I was at summer camp there was one of our innumerable quarrels, I thought I could do just as well without her companionship as with it, but I found that out of all the unhappy things that occurred, my not being friends with Ann made me most wretched (this I would not show)...

... She is of another denomination, but it has made no difference whatsoever, except that when once we discussed it, I think she faced the worst, as I knew more about my religion, that she did about hers...

She is jolly helpful whenever I get cross and though I think often she does not agree with me whilst I am complaining she soothes my anger a great deal.

At the moment I am not speaking to Ann and have not been for two weeks, but I expect I'll see her soon..." (E.g., 14).

In this case it may well be assumed that this 14-year-old, fussy and fastidious girl, according to her own statements, has some troubles in adjustment, and that may partly explain why she directs her attention to the girl two years younger than herself. It seems further that also the younger girl is rather aggressively dominated by her older friend, however she has a more stable personality, which may attract her older companion and increase her pleasure in dominating the former. It may also be of some interest that the older girl is the only child in her family. Unfortunately I was not able to gather any more details about these two girls.

"... I took him because he lives in the slums of London, he also has good manners, he is 13 years old. I took him because I feel very sorry for him..." (E. boy, 13).

"... I would choose a boy who lives along the same road as I, by name James..."

The reason for my choice, is that whenever he goes an errand for his mother, or goes out by himself anywhere, the boys of the road fight him. The reason for their behaviour is that the boy is frightened to hit back, not because he is small, actually he is 11 years old, but because he has been frightened of them from the first time they hit him. The boys who hit him are not bigger than he, but, in fact, smaller, but as they are three of them, and tough, he would get hurt if he yielded to them.

The real reason for my taking him is because he is weak and

I believe a holiday of a sort would do him good.

He would also feel good to be away from the boys of the road, and to be free for a while. His attitude towards me is good, and I like him very much, although we never go anywhere together because he is very seldom out, to come anywhere. His mother, naturally, loves him, and I think, his father does too, and I can see no reason for him to be scared of the boys, only that they bully him, but he could master them if he tried." (E.b., 14).

The protective attitude together with the cooperative one is sometimes displayed by children towards their parents, especially towards their mothers. Then they speak about helping them, making something for them, supporting them in their old age and simply protecting them as in the following case of a 14-year~~s~~-old English boy:

"... I would like to take (my mother) because she has not had much of life. We have a large family and when the war and the rationing started mother had^{no} spare minute to sit down.

She was always on the go, so to speak... She always said that she would like a long rest one fine day on a place or island where there are no shortages and no rationing...

... I think we are not all grateful to her, and also I noticed whenever we show our dis^aapproval she never gets downhearted...

... I would like to take my mother away from all this world of hate and murder, and take her where everything is peaceful and quiet, where there is no worry and no war...

I think if anyone would say one word against my mother and would say it to me, I would give him the biggest beating of his life.

If I had the choice a hundred times over again I would choose my mother". (E.g., 14)

The other English boy of seventeen, speaks about his prospective wife:

"... There is a great need in me to possess a wife of my own, whom I could love and who could return my love... and we would create a family ... I would defend her".

If we agree that there exists in social attitudes of the individual the need for giving protection, taking care of someone else and perhaps assert himself in this way, we may agree that here the value of other people is that they become objects for the satisfaction of this motive.

This motive, along with the sexual one, would account probably for a few cases of boys who chose a girl in order "to have children together".

The other item in this group closely connected with that of "mutual friendship" is mentioned quite frequently by boys and girls, when they give as reason for their preference that they "know somebody well" or that their friendship lasted a long time and enabled them to know each other and to adjust to each other "ways".

"... We were at school together for five years, so we should know each other ~~well~~, we have gone out on expeditions, shopping and visited each other's house. We know each other's parents, in fact, I know no other girl so well." (E.g., 16).

Some other items, included in this group such as: "teaching and advising somebody else" and "having the same plans for the future" are not very often mentioned in compositions and they are closely

connected with friendly sympathy and mutual understanding. Older boys and girls - again rather occasionally - see in their chosen persons companions for discussions, exchanging views etc.

One rather peculiar point, raised in a few compositions of children 12 - 13 years old was that of "sleeping together" (4 girls of 12, one of 13, one boy of 13- see his composition on the page...)

"... Everything I have he has too... We always share everything we get between us, we always to the pictures with our boy friends...

Always in the summer she sleeps with me" (E.g., 12).

As we see in this case these two 12 years old girls have their heterosexual friendships rather early in life, and all the same they are devoted to each other.

"... She is my best friend and she is the only friend I play with at school... We would play with each other and we would sleep together at night." (E.g., 12).

"... We like each other and we go anywhere with each other... We like going for walks and camping out... We sleep with each other sometimes...(E.g., 12).

I don't think that this evidence, as presented by those girls and boys, has any other meaning beyond expressing the pleasure in being together at night-time as a token of true friendship. It has no other meaning than it has with children, who at the summer-camps like to stay in the same tent with their friends, who invite them to stay in the same house in the boarding school and sit besides each other at class. It is still the same with ~~Dr.~~ Moreno's girls who choose one another to live in the same hut. However, it is interesting that those children mention this situation to express

their friendly contact with their companions.

x

x x

In this chapter all the value, represented by the qualities of other people preferred in the environment, were listed and discussed. Being acquainted in this way with the real characters of children's expressions and arguments it is possible now to see how various of these values change with various age and situation groups of children. In choosing the above examples I was trying to pay equal attention to various age levels in boys and girls. This short collection of the above examples suggests one conclusion which is also supported by our quantitative results (see tables II and III) namely that, on the whole, factors making for friendship and social preferences in general are the same at different stages of the whole school period. Some of the factors, of course, are more numerous with the younger and other with the older children, but there is no fundamental difference in this respect between the former and the latter ones. There is a marked difference in preferences for various sort of persons (School mates, parents, heterosexual friendship etc,) but the system of values to which all these persons should respond is more stable, as it is based on the fundamental system of drives and motives, the basic needs of the human individual.

It might be interesting to see how these various qualities are interwoven in one child's total opinion. To illustrate this question I enclose here three full compositions by boys of 8, 11, 13 and 17.

"... I got sent away to the desert island I chose Peter to come with me. He did come. When we were going Peter asked me, why I chose him. I said, "I like you so much". I have many more reasons, here they are, one is that you seem the only person who will keep me company; another reason is that you are always happy and lively. That is the reason why I chose you". (E.b., 8).

"... I think I would choose David. David is my bosom friend, aged 12.

I would choose David for several reasons, the first being that he is very clever with his hands and can make almost anything with wood. The second is that he is very quick witted, he can make a fire very quickly and shoot well with a bow and arrow. He can swim well. David is very jovial most the time but serious in awkward moments. He can climb trees with the greatest agility. On the whole I think he makes a first class companion. (E.b., 11).

"I would like to take Ray with me on a desert island.

He is my best friend and I have known his habits and ways very well. He is a very well behaved and bright, and nice to have as a companion with you. Another reason why I like him to come is because he will join in any kind of sport. He has a very fine figure and well built, he is thirteen years old, and I know he would not desert me at any time. I can rely and trust in him. He is very daring at times, and is a very helpful boy to have with you. He is good at climbing and is pretty handy with a fishing rod. He likes a good laugh and a joke at any time. His manners are very good. He is very interested in gardening and nature study. He has a great respect

for his clothes and shoes, and always keeps his hair tidy. He has a bright complexion and his hair is brunette. He has a very nice family". (E. boy, 13).

" If I had to go to a desert island I would be most careful as to whom I should bring, However, I am quite certain of the person who would be my choice. He happens to be one of my best friends, but he is not necessarily the boy with whom I go around the most at School.

I chose the boy who is, I am sure, one of the most unselfish people I have met. He is my own age, he has the same interests as I in nearly all department of life; he is amusing and thoroughly good company. I think he is an extremely steady chap and that is more than one can say about most people.

In addition - although this is only of minor importance - he is probably stronger than I and would be of great help in camping.

And that is my choice: a boy who is always apt to please others; who is extremely generous and good-natured, and who never grumbles. If my reader thinks that there are not many people about these days who are like him - well, he would probably be right.

But, nevertheless, I have the pleasure of knowing one."
(E.b., 17).

b. The choice of friends of the opposite sex

There are not very many cases in this material where school children choose as their best companion somebody of the opposite sex, with the natural exception of parents. It does not seem to be caused by the separate education, because some of this data was obtained in mixed schools, in fact, the majority of Polish children were staying during the war in such schools, but this fact does not influence this situation in any marked degree. We may, therefore, agree with many other authors, that it is quite natural for children at the early school period to mix with their schoolmates of the same sex only. "During early adolescence, group formations are almost entirely a matter of groups with the same sex", (Partridge)(x) (86).

This situation changes, however, in the late period of adolescence. In both our groups, Polish and English, there is a marked increase of heterosexual preferences beginning at the age of 14, 15 years approximately.

To illustrate the problem of values, which are responsible for such heterosexual choice at different age levels I would like to quote a few characteristic compositions, beginning with girls preferences for boys.

The boys of the same age are considered by younger girls generally as their playmates and friends, but on the other hand they

(x) Partridge, E.D.: Social Psychology of Adolescence, 1938.

recognize in them their male qualities of courage, strength and independence. They praise boys' physical fitness and their daring in everyday life, which allows to see in them people who can provide protection. Of course, all other qualities, which make for every kind of friendship, which provide acceptance, security, relaxation and the like are also mentioned. The fact that a girl and boy were brought up together from the early childhood and the lack of other playmates can be responsible for such a choice in the younger girls.

"... I am going to take a boy... The reason is because boys are very brave. (He) is ten, he is the same age as me. He has dark brown hair and blue eyes. He has a short, chubby nose... When I was little we played with Harry, because he lived next door... When we were nine we moved to (another) road and then I had nobody to play with, so I had to play by myself..." (E.g., 10)

It is possible to see here the situation I have mentioned in the previous chapter namely that of frustration and thwarting of various needs - in this case, of play and social contact with other children, who accept one - increases the susceptibility of a child to make a choice and form a friendship.

(The same composition continued)... "He never falls out with me. Never in our lives have we fallen out.

Now I will tell you what happened when ~~we~~ got to the desert island. We were sitting on the beach when all of a sudden we heard a growl and falling from a ledge about a ^{few} yards away from us was a bear. Harry ran to it. When he came back, he said, "the bear is dead, it cannot hurt us". What a relief that was. "(E.g., 10).

We see in the above composition how a boy - companion is imagined as a defending hero. This protective activity of a boy may suggest that it may be partly accounted for as an image of a protecting father. This assumption also may be supported by some other cases, where English and Polish little girls gave as their choice much older boys and as their reason that they ~~were~~ brave, big and helpful. This means they are able to provide Security and Protection just as father does.

"... I would like to take a boy. Being a girl I would feel much safer with him. Boys always have more courage and they are not afraid of difficulties. In every moment a boy will be more helpful than a girl. This boy is fairly big, He is about 15 years of age. He is also very daring. He would be able to face any danger much better than I. He would certainly keep his nerve much better than a girl. He is a Boy Scout... They learn to be brave and fearless". (Pol. g, 13).

"... I choose my cousin Peter... because he is willing, faithful and would help you if you were in trouble or in need of anything. I also feel sure that I can trust him. He is 15 years of age..." (E.g., 12).

"... Whom shall I take?... I think I know just the person, or is she too finicky? Yes, she is, I won't have her. I think I will have... Yes! I will.

I am going to have a boy... who is always a great help. His age is 15 years, he is just the right height, with fair hair and a brown skin. He is not a sissy or a baby and can bear any hardships and always willing to help. He will only be too pleased to come and help me along. I'm sure, " (E.g., 11),

In two of the above examples we saw how preference for a girl was dismissed in favour of a boy friend. It reminds of an Adlerian "masculine protest" and a tendency to have greater preference for the masculine values than for those of one's own sex. Here again we may say that two main mechanisms may be found in such choice: satisfaction of motive in a direct way through obtaining protection, security and acceptance, and in the indirect way by identification with a chosen object.

Of course, in such choice for an object of the opposite sex some other values, generally found in preferences for other people, are also present:

"... I chose a boy... He is ten years old. He is quite tall for his age and he has brown hair and eyes. One of the reasons I wanted to take him with me was because he was always cheerful and jolly. Another most important reason is that he is good tempered and agreeable. He is also very strong and won't be ill at times... His father works in the same office as my father does... I knew him when we were about one or two years old. I know his mother and father quite well, they also are jolly and good tempered... He likes trains and "mechano" sets and a lot of other toys... He has... a cat. He lives on a flat in Fulham...

When he makes up his mind he always does it..." (E.g., 10).

"... 'I will take my cousin John, because we have been nearly everywhere together (and) I feel sure I can trust him. He is 11 years of age... He is very willing and would help anyone...' (E.g., 11).

With the older girls we find more remarks about the outer pleasing appearance of a chosen boy and they treat their friendship with boys more particularly - they admit the existence of a special affection for such a choice. The appreciation of the boy's intellectual and character values is more definite and common interests in sports, books, films, dancing, entertainments, art and music are mentioned among the values responsible for a choice.

Still older girls speak about common life ideals, religious beliefs and moral principles. They mention also the future careers of their boys. It seems that this subject is rather popular in their conversations concerned with plans for the future. Marriage and children are also occasionally mentioned.

"... I have taken my boy, because I think he is very neat and tidy and I like his hair, it is black and wavy... His eyes are blue, his teeth are even and white, he cleans them every night and morning... He doesn't smoke ... and doesn't drink..." (E.g., 14).

"... Many people say he is ugly, but the majority of the club think he is pleasant to look at as he has regular features, dark wavy hair and blue eyes..."

Like all boys he will run after girls and take them to dances, pictures and other amusements. He dances very well and will take pains to teach you any steps which you don't happen to know...

... He can speak sensibly unlike many other boys... He is not self-centred and will talk about anything that another person cares to speak about...

... He never treats me as a child, although he is nearly eighteen years old and I am nearly sixteen" (E.g., 15).

"... He loves exploring and camping just as I do. He is not fond of living in houses at all but would rather spend his life apart from many people... returning to civilization occasionally for birthdays... He loves sports just as I do and he also has a lot of interesting hobbies... " (E.g., 15).

"... I like cycling and hiking very much. We all take turns in planning these hikes and they are all highly successful.

(He) likes tennis and next Saturday we are in the tournament. I am lucky this time for he is my partner". (E.g., 15).

Friendship built on common interests and later on common life ideals and principles seems to the adolescent girls to be based on the soundest foundations.

"... I would take with me my (a boy) who is a very old friend of mine. He is 15 years old.. I would like to grow up with him as he likes the same things as I do and we always agree with one another. We both read the same kind of books such as thrillers and sometimes love books and Western. I could never get fed up with him we both have the same ideas. He likes to do hard work... He is very good looking". (E.g., 14).

"... My choice ... would be a boy about nine months older than myself with whom we share many interests. My main reason is that (we) have the same principles, and secondly our interests have very much in common.

... My friend, naturally, would have to be a person whom I

trusted, respected, and have an affection for... Our main ideals would be the same.

Another reason for my choice which seems to be a trivial matter to some people would be that ^{he has} the same refinement as myself and that neither of us would annoy one another by a want of delicacy.

Our education has been on the same standard, although he is more advanced than I" (E.g., 17).

The need for security and relaxation, mentioned in the above quotation is highly valued by many girls in their relations with boy friends.

"... We understand each other perfectly... when in each others' company there is no need for polite conversation, and the silence is never strained, but perfectly natural and soothing... we never have to put ourselves out to make conversation... He is very practical and could be relied on in emergency. He hardly ever grumbles, but is very cheerful. He is level-headed." (E.g, 16).

Such understanding may be created also in the way of violent "abreacting" with people of other temperamental make-up:

"... I have picked a man and not a woman because I dislike my own sex intensely and I never get on well with them. This is probably my own fault...

... We are in harmony mentally, we have the same views on the same things and we understand each other very well. At times we have terrific fights and this would be very good for us because if we were always nice to each other and just simmered inwardly we would

probably end up by murdering each other... " (L.g., 15).

The same girl speaks quite frankly about marriage and having children with her chosen friend:

"... I have chosen this particular person because he is pleasant to look at and has a good speaking voice. And if we were alone ~~on~~ the desert island we should almost certainly "marry"... He is healthy... He would produce healthy children and... we would populate this island... with healthy stock." (E.g., 15).

"I would take my boy friend. I should first get married to him. I should choose him because he has the same religion as myself, a sense of humour, he is interested in things I am interested... After a few years we would have a family and bringing up children would occupy a great deal of time" (E. g., 16).

The understanding of the girl's own rôle in marriage is also found in some compositions:

"... We have many of the same ideas and ideals. I know he is brave and I can trust him in everything, and I hope that I could fulfill for him his ideal of a woman, a woman, whom he values very much. (P.g., 18).

I have never noticed here any hints about jealousy or exclusiveness in references to a boy-friend, although there are such remarks in relation to the friendship among girls or boys separately (she keeps only with me", "she doesn't go much about with other girls", "he keeps with me, he is not a turn coat"). On the contrary, in quite a few compositions the happy indifference towards this problem is expressed:

"... He likes to say what he thinks. He likes speaking to a lot of girls, but I still like him..." (E.g., 14).

"... My friendship with this young man is purely platonic and so love is definitely not the reason why I would take him... While he was in the Navy he had many "girl-friends" and as I like hearing about them this would provide amusement for some of the time." (E.g., 15).

This ~~may~~ not be the true attitude, it is however acquired by some girls in this age-level, when some of them outwardly admit that they are in love with their boy-friends, while others just think about the problem of love ^{and} marriage.

It would be interesting to see how all these heterosexual friendships are initiated as far as the evidence of this material allows us to consider this question.

We were able to see, that some of such friendly relations between boys and girls dated from the very early childhood, when boys and girls met during the first social contacts. Some of early friendships may develop during the period of late childhood ^{and early} adolescence although the age of 11, 12, 13 years seems to be specially unsuitable for contacts of such kind. This is only to be expected and is in keeping with commonly ^{held} idea of the child psychologists, that in this period boys and girls are most definitely keeping apart from each other.

The second way, in which heterosexual friendship begins, operates usually during adolescence. Here friendship and love may develop either # slowly and progressively from the first meeting of young people, and mutual sympathy develops during their association in common activities, or it begins suddenly as a violent

infatuation.

In the previous chapter we have discussed these various ways of initiating social preferences in general. Here I would like to concentrate on one particular factor, which operates especially in adolescence, and this is the tendency to look for perfect ideals in the social environment. It is generally agreed that this particular tendency ^{is} mainly responsible for the marked decrease in the number of friends in this phase of development. Hypercritical adolescents are too sensitive to the trifling shortcomings of their friends, over-critical and incapable of accepting any compromise in their views and judgements. Thus very often they eventually become lonely and rebellious against the "corrupted" society.

In our material this attitude is reflected in a few cases, as exemplified by the adolescents who promptly refused to make any choice, preferring to stay on the desert island by themselves, or by those who put forth such perfect ideals of their probable companions that afterwards they were not able to find any real persons to fit such a model.

In the choice of boy-friends by girls the same attitude may be traced:

"... I suppose the most obvious thing to do would be to take some nice boy with you. I have often heard it said that they make better companions than girls. I suppose that this is because their minds seem to work much more easily than the usually complicated female mind. Although nearly every boy or man succumbs more easily to flattery and are always something of a child at heart.

... But seeing that I know no nice boys, all the boys I do

know irritate me, that idea is definitely out, as the saying goes.

I now begin to look round for some girl..." (E.g., 15).

The above example may also be considered as characteristic of the transient period, when children are not yet fully prepared to accept the heterosexual friendship. The same attitude we shall be able to see among the adolescent boys.

The following composition illustrates the opposite attitude of a sudden sympathy:

"... I think I would like to like a young man that I know, no names given. I do not know him very well as I have only spoken to him once or twice, but he seems to be very interesting and would make a pleasant and agreeable companion. He is fairly good looking so that he would not be offensive to the eye, and has, at least he seems to have, a sense of humour..." (E.g., 15).

The concealment of the name of the preferred person seems also to suggest that this girl may be rather uncertain and slightly confused about her sudden sympathy for a recent young male acquaintance. All the same she puts him ahead of all her present friends and old acquaintances.

There is another problem which should be considered when the question of social preferences is discussed; the problem of the extent to which early childhood experiences influence preferences for various persons in the environment in later life; in other words, to what extent children become conditioned to various positive and negative qualities of their parents and other people whom they meet early in life, and how these conditioned reactions consequently influence, more or less consciously, their attitude towards other

people in life. We may reasonably extend the problem and, relying on clinical manifestations, believe that not only the attitude, but the actual reactions spring quite often from this unconscious storage of past experiences, whether we call them "emotional engrams" (Mazurkiewicz), or complexes (Jung) or just acquired responses, conditioned during early childhood experiences and adjustments (Shaffer).

In this field the conditioned attitudes and adjustments toward parents are generally believed to be of the greatest importance. Not only the psychoanalysts, but all clinical psychologists believe that adjustment (or maladjustment) towards parents is very often transferred to many other persons, like teachers at school, friends, superiors in work and especially in the field of marital life. It is generally believed, that children with successful and happy adjustment to their parents make more successful husbands and wives when, on the other hand, in many cases of marital discord we may trace their origin to these early childhood maladjustment. It is also generally accepted that usually a girl's experiences with her father are transferred to her male-partner, while the attitude of boys toward the wife or a female is in general influenced by their conditioned responses, formed by and connected with the mother. It is not always such a simple matter, as some "cross-transfers^{ence}" may also be traced in clinical situations, but the scheme presented above is the most usual:

Now let us consider how the above mentioned mechanism can influence girls' preferences for their boy-friends. From the discussion of this problem in this chapter it is possible to infer,

that some values of such boy-friends, and girls' attitude towards them are the same as are met with in analysis of the girl's attitudes towards their fathers. Here may be mentioned qualities of: providing protection and security, being a person admitted and trusted by the daughter, being obeyed and respected. These qualities, which are seen mainly in the girls' attitude towards their parents, especially fathers, are also looked for quite often in boy-friends.

"... My friend naturally would have to be a person whom I trusted, respected and had an affection for..."(E.g., 17).

"... I admire his personality and his character". (E.g., 15).

"... He is a very handsome young man, slim, high, with dark hair and black sparkling eyes. He is strong, perfectly built with thin mouth and brownish carnation. He is quite wonderful. He does not talk too much, but what he says it should be obeyed! He is very daring, and no other boy is as clever as he. That is why I chose him to take care of me..."(P.g., 17).

There is also another link between the father and the boy-friend. A submissive and admiring attitude is quite often found among girls towards their older brothers. It is especially marked with the Polish girls, who actually choose their older brother more often than the English girls, which is probably caused by the absence of their fathers, as they usually lived for a few years, up to the time when they wrote their essays in 1948, only with their mothers and siblings, their fathers being either killed during the war or staying with the Forces far away. But among the English

girls also there is a tendency to choose their older brothers more often during the late adolescence period.

In some compositions there is a quite obvious similarity between brothers and boy friends. One Polish girl of 16 writes that she would choose either her older brother or her older boyfriend and she admits that they are both very much like each other.

I think the whole group of preferences for males may be considered as being dependent on the early father preference, evolved into some complicated transferences during the further social development of a girl. This, I believe, is very often responsible for an apparently unreasonable and sudden choice of a friend, who appeals to the girl just because he resembles in some way her own father. It seems that such a resemblance should not be considered in the light of the quantitative similarity. Some seemingly unimportant features cause this "reintegration" - as we usually never know which particular, tiny elements of past experience make for the greatest amount of unconceived pleasure or displeasure, love and hate.

To complete this discussion it seems pertinent to admit, as we have mentioned before, that such "father fixation" (or "mother fixation" respectively) may be also partly found in the formation of friendship between children of the same sex, when usually the "dominance-submission" situation exists with one party being the more active and the other the more passive one. Choice of a girl by boys is again rather exceptional among the younger children. However, the preference for female companionship steadily

increases after the age of 14 years. There are some cases ~~of~~ of such a choice below this age level, and these are rather interesting ones.

The psychoanalytical view that the choice of a female by a boy is based on his mother preference may be partly illustrated by this material. At all age levels, but especially the younger boys supported their choice of a girl-friend on the ground of her usefulness as a cook or a person who will take care generally of her companion. The other factor contributing to such a choice, (again more prevalent among younger boys), is the recognition of a girl as the average playmate. They value their chosen girls according to their physical fitness, sport interests and other "boyish" qualities which are the most important measures of the outer world with the 10-13 year\$-old-boys.

Outward appearance and attractiveness, is also mentioned at this period, but it does not seem to be considered as such an important feature, as it is by the older boys above 15 years of age.

Here is a full composition of an 11 year\$-old English boy, which perfectly illustrates the above discussion:

"... I would like to take Jean... who is my sweetheart, because she is a good cook and she is a good bed-maker.

Jean is not nervous of anything and always plays boys' game such as football, cricket, etc. also she will help boys to ~~make~~ things, she has always things needed like string, tennis balls and pencil and paper.

Jean is a very nice girl in looks and has got a good temper she is very nice in her ways and is admired by people who know her,

and she only mixes with nice children so people would like me as well if she was with me all the time."

Another boy has on the whole rather similar views:

"... I would like to take her... a girl whom I have played with ever since I was one year of age. Her name is June... she is now 12 years.

I would take this girl because she has been a very good playmate...

Also... because I like her and she can play cricket as well as any boy, she is very strong swimmer, she can climb trees, and she is also a very excellent cook.

She is as good as any boy and she is as good looking as any girl..." (E.b., 12).

In the following quotation there is an obvious projective tendency of a 12 year~~s~~-old-boy onto his future children. He is an only child in the family, but from his indifference in comparing his parents value with the attraction of the desert island it does not seem that he is very much bound to them. This is an interesting composition, because it reminds me of the observation that very often little children who speak about having children themselves in order to make them happy are actually disappointed with their own fate and their relations with the parents. They dream about having children in order to make them much happier than they are at present with the real parents. They substitute such imaginary child in their own place and project on it their own needs. Of course, the situation of an imaginary island may be very suitable for such dreams:

"... I would like to take a girl who would have children, so we could have a small family... We will not be lonely... We would make a small hut to live in... I suppose I will have a feeling of missing my father and mother and missing modern conveniences and so on, but all the same I expect missing my Island will be nearly as bad. I can teach my son cricket... which is a good game to teach". (E.g., 12).

"... I would take my cousin.. She is 12 years old... She could cook and is very ⁿnible with her fingers, she could make garments. She likes the thing I like, animals, gardening and birds. I like her which is, I think, the main point,

She is not very wonderful, she has a rather plain face and brown hair.

She has a lot of patience, she is brave. She is the sort that will try everything... She is always very happy, and makes good out of bad luck." (E.b., 13).

With slightly older boys greater attention is paid to the good looks of a chosen girl. The above mentioned practical reasons (cooking, mending clothes, and other "indoor" activities) are also found, but some subtle signs of courtship appear. One such example was given in the general discussion at the beginning of this chapter, here are some more:

"... I would take a girl, who, I know, is very nice looking..." (E.b., 14).

"... I would take with me my girl-friend, she is 14... She could mend my clothes... she could cook for me...

I would also take her because she would make a good mate, we

could go swimming and fishing together... I could build a house for her...

(She) is fair and very beautiful, she has ^{blue} eyes.

I would make her pins for hair and get her flowers to wear in her hair. And in the evening we would go to the lake and watch the birds catch the fish." (E.b., 14)

As I have said before the percentage of girl-choice increases with the older boys from 14 years on. They also begin to state their fundamental reason for such choice, recognising its natural character and confessing about being attracted by the other sex:

"... My companion... would be a girl, for it is a human nature for a man and a woman to go together..." (E.boy, 15).

"... The first reason is that man has been used to the companionship of woman from the beginning and to be away from the company of a woman for a long time has very definite effects on a man. That there is no better companion than a woman has been proved beyond doubt by the fact that considerably more men marry than stay single..." (E.b., 16)

"... Men in general (and I am no exception) like female companionship. The passions inside me would not simply die away. There is a great need in me to possess a wife of my own, whom I could love and who would return my love and we would create a family. The woman I would take would be a nice looking girl who likes me if not loves me and who is also able bodied..." (E.b., 17).

"... My girl is dearest to me, I would give my life to save her, I would give her everything and if I loose her I would be most wretched and miserable". (P.b., 17).

"Boyish" and "motherly" aspects of a girl-^{friend}~~friend~~ chosen by adolescents are present at all age levels - it is probable that with some men they actually persist up to the later period of ~~x~~ life.

"... My girl-friend... although she appears very dreamy at times, she is always alert. (She) is a very good sport and is always ready to take a joke. (She) is a very good athlete and has won about a dozen races for her club. She is above all a very good artists' model and therefore answers my tastes, because I am interested in art. She is also interested in art.

My girl-friend is also a very good cook and is always making new and more appetising meals...

Moreover she would make a very decent companion always bright and cheerful." (E.b., 15).

"... She seems to be very understanding and sympathetic and I have always got on well with her. The other night I was playing in a tennis - match with her and when anything went wrong she did not grumble about it but kept on urging me on and on, giving encouragement all the time". (E.b., 16).

"... As an "all-rounder" she is perfect, that is in my estimation, and I am sure that I should bear the greatest confidence in her judgement, if ever a need arose.

Besides she can play cricket!" (E.b., 16).

"... The person I have in mind is somewhat of a boyish disposition, though she has the feminine charms... " (E.b., 18).

"... She has a younger brother and hence has a domestic and motherly instinct; cooks and does many other household duties.

"... She would be able to look after me... to do my cooking, washing and other odd jobs... " (E.n., 15).

Adolescents of this age (i.e., 15 - 18) quite often speak about their girls as the best of friends and companions. They just treat them as partners for various exploits and also for long discussions, artistic entertainments etc. They have confidence in their friendship, besides treating them as objects for their affection.

"... I have been very friendly with her for over ten months and I don't think anyone would be better company... We have not yet fallen out for more than half an hour and that has only happened three times. I don't think I would get tired of her... She spent three ^eweek-ends with me. We have nearly the same pastimes, the main one being motor-cycling... We can quite easily spend an evening at home whether alone or not... Our thoughts for the future match very well indeed... In fact everyone thinks we make a perfect couple". (E.b., 16).

"... My aim is not only to have a good looking companion, although I consider this an enormous asset, but to have a good mental outlook. Some one I could trust and rely on to act sensibly... " (E.b., 15).

"... Why I like her?... Mainly because I think she is charming to talk to; secondly I think she is rather attractive both in charm of manners and personal prettiness. I like her because I can talk to her about anything I like and enter into any discussion with her. She has the same hobbies as I have and takes interest in things which I do... She is intelligent and therefore will be entertaining rather than dull... She can be both serious and funny,

and lastly because I like her very much". (E.b., 17).

There is one important quality in girls which is emphasized by boys in their essays - that is the girls' stimulating value when they become incentives for bigger effort and greater persistence in various activities, being very efficiently helpful in this way:

"... There are certain qualities in a woman that man yearns for at one period of his life, her love and affection, which can keep a man going just as he is about to give up. " (E.B., 16).

"... With a woman whom you love at your side you feel the whole world at your feet..." (E.b., 17).

"... I would like to make my existence on that island easier by having a purpose in life. I must choose a person who would supply that purpose... 1. it must be somebody I love, for only so we can live together. 2. it must be a woman, because only she can give me purpose in life first as herself and then she would give me children which in turn would keep up the balance of my mind. The woman must be healthy, intelligent, fairly nice looking ..."
 ✱ (E.b., 17).

Having children with a chosen girl is mentioned usually as the future purpose of life of the support in old age.

"... My main reason for choosing a girl is that in later life we would have a family, which would keep our interest in life when we had grown old" (E.b., 18).

As we have said before and as it may be seen from the table I. preferences for girl-friends do not appear suddenly with the older boys. The interests turn slowly and gradually from friends

of the same sex or from parents and siblings to a companion of the opposite sex. It is obvious that such a change may involve some wavering and indecision, when the negative attitude towards girls and the strong fixation to the companions of the same sex is giving way to the preferences for girls. We saw before how in such a transitory stage many "boyish" values are ascribed to girls, even sometimes the rationalisation goes as far as to assume that a given girl is more "boyish", daring, sporting and cheerful, than all the other "cissy" boys are.

It might be of some interest to see some boys' opinions referring to this situation of wavering and process of choosing between a girl and a boy-friend. As we have seen this period covers the second half of adolescence. The mentions about girl preferences by boys before the age of 14 ~~are~~ exceptional. The great majority of them are convinced that girls are either useless or tiresome. Let us first see how this age limit for the change is assessed by boys themselves, however wrong their view may be when compared with the real statistical data:

"... At the moment I have not taken a steady girl. No one does at sixteen. But I have several to choose from, and it is no mean task.

... At sixteen one cannot be sure about the person he would like to live with for the rest of his life. So I would put the names in a hat and draw one out, hoping for the best." (E.h., 16).

"... Why I should take a boy-friend? Well at my age I think it is best for me to take a boy, that is if I only had one person to take because I will probably have enough to do with girls later on in life, although there are good points in having a girl-friend

for company, such as cooking, mending and sewing etc." (E.b., 16).

"... My reason for taking somebody of the opposite sex is that one does get tired of the company of one who is the same sex as you.

My second reason for choosing a girl is that anybody reaching the age of seventeen is already looking for feminine company and is sure to enjoy it more than that of a boy". (E.b., 17).

As to the age of such girl-companion this material supplies the evidence, that boys take girls either of the same age or younger. It is rather in agreement with the statistical data, referring to the age of average marriages. I did not find in this material any evidence of the emotional attachment of boys to the young adult of the opposite sex, although I have come across such cases among adolescents boys in my clinical experience. Preferences for older people of the same sex, described by Hurlock and Klein (x) (87) will be dealt with in one of the next paragraphs.

Sometimes, however, the reasons for the particular age of a chosen girl are interestingly explained:

"... I should like her to be one or two years younger than myself so that she would not have the feeling of my being like a father to her, or her feeling that being older than myself, she would like all women in her case, feel that she knew everything and that I was just a little boy to be patted..." (E.b., 17).

(x) Hurlock, E.B.: and E.R. Klein.: " Adolescent Crushes"- Child Development- 5-1934

now

We may^{now} consider how the girl preferences develop, beginning with the negative attitude towards them of the younger boys:

"... If I .. had to take with me one person, I think that my choice would be of the male sex. Also I think that my choice would be a person of my own age... My choice would be Robert... of my own form. And now my reasons. First I would take a male person because I think that a female would tend to get slightly boring as the months passed by. And also I do not think that they will be very brave at night if a thunderstorm broke out. And then there would be too much responsibility on my shoulders ... " (E.b., 13).

"... I would^{not} take a female as I would probably be partially embarrassed for a large proportion of the period of years..." (E.b., 14).

"... I think I would take Tony... with me... because there wouldn't be any complications of the kind as with somebody of the opposite sex being taken. I wouldn't be so careful as to what I said with a male as with a female. We would be able to have sensible games instead of having girlish games if a girl was taken." (E.b., 16).

"... There remains the question of games and entertainments which a boy friend could provide far more than a girl friend." (E.b., 16).

There seems to be a conflict between the strong tendency for security and relaxation, which to a very great extent accounts for social preferences and the sexual interests. The need for activity in sports and games being also important. As long as the sexual interests are not strong enough those other needs

dominate the whole situation to the advantage of male-preferences, until the whole situation turns round. In the following compositions we may see how the sexual interests are just awakening and how they are pushed aside by the desire for freedom, independence and security in the another boy's company; this was clear also in the one example quoted above, when a boy was talking about being embarrassed in the girls' company.

"... I should like my best friend, Brian,... to be my companion as we have been friends for over six years and he and I have so much in common... I think we would both like a little bit of female company ~~and~~ now and then, but they would live on the other side of the island..." (E.b., 15).

"... I would definitely take a man, because women would become tiresome after a while, Hence I would choose an intimate friend of mine in whom I would have absolute confidence..."

... Our views on women are the same, we regard them as a means of relaxation and not of necessity. They are not needed for cooking, sewing and any of their other activities as we can do that ourselves, besides they would become a nuisance as their physical qualities would not be so great as your own, as women are definitely the weaker sex..." (E.b., 16).

"... In case my boy-friend fell ill before our departure I would take my neighbour, Ann. I don't know her well as yet, just enough to know she is a good pupil at school, she is cheerful and I rather like her... " (P.b., 16).

In this last example we see how an adolescent boy, who

without any hesitation chose and highly praised his boy friend, but allows for the choice of a girl, though not daring to make such a choice himself, shifting the responsibility ~~for~~ it onto some outer incidental influence. In this way the boy avoided responsibility for the choice, which responsibility he was unwilling to assume.

Next we may consider some opposite situations, when boys, after hesitation and careful consideration, decide finally in ~~fav~~our of the girl-friend and against boys. We shall see how careful and undecided some of them are; and how others accuse their pals of yesterday of being difficult to agree with and to live with without quarelling. It may be suspected that some such complaints conceal the tendency to dominate and to display power over such a girl-friend or alternatively hide the mere irritation with male company, when the sexual interests drive ^{the boy} ~~him~~ elsewhere. As we see such hesitations mainly occur among the adolescents from the age of 15 on.

"... I would take a female with me. I dare say that many others would choose this, but I have very definite reasons why I would take a girl. I would take someone about the same age as myself as she will have the same temperament as myself... There would be a careful observation of a female species before I make my choice..." (E.b., 16).

"... The arguments against taking a boy with me are general.. After having a brother for the first part of my life I would want a change... (If I take a boy) we would be always arguing on different matters and we would not get on very well... I would take someone

who had a good character about the same age as myself and who did not always want his own way... I would take... a girl. She is rather a nice girl, well brought up, with good manners, good appearance and, above all, of a good character... She is small, well built and healthy and would be definitely the person I would take." (E.b., 15).

"... Male friends would not suit me, as... there are bound to be disagreements, and through my nature of not wishing to cause troubles I would give in. Therefore my life would not be really my own, as I should feel under the obligation... My parents are people I would like to take, but... as they have looked after me for the greater part of my youth, and as I should be leaving them soon, I consider it reasonable. A female friend as far as I am concerned has more advantages than all mentioned". (E.b., 15).

In the above composition there is also quite a reasonable attitude towards the problem of getting away from the family, the psychological "weaning" as Hollingworth calls it. (x) (88).

"... Why I should take this girl instead of one of my best male friends is not obvious to anyone who does not know me very well. If I was with a boy, nothing would ever get done, for we would have differences and would always be quarrelling... Now with a girl I can be pacified more easily and be made to see reason and we would get on better together..." (E.g., 15).

(x) Hollingworth, L.S.: "The Psychology of the Adolescent", 1930.

"She would, I think, make me respect her more, than I should do if my companion was a boy..." (E.b., 17).

"... I would choose... a certain girl whom I have know since she was three and I was five. We have grown up together... We have exchanged confidence as far back as I can remember, and we understand each other perfectly...

... She has a sense of humour which I appreciate. She and I have much in common. We like the same sort of music, read the same books and we both appreciate sports such as swimming and tennis,... Mary and I somehow always seem to enjoy each other's company. We have never had any serious differences... (She) seems to have the power of making me forget my problems, if she can help at all she always does.

We often have serious talks which we both appreciate."
(E.b., 19).

Of course, it is quite obvious from the above material that there is no precise age limit, when social preferences among boys change their direction from boy-friends to girls and the "psychological weaning" takes place. Such changes may occur over a period of several years during adolescence, and there are considerable age differences among different children.

The above analysis probably best illustrates the method of investigation applied in this work, where the numerical results supply the general outline of the problem, which is furthermore minutely elaborated on the ground of the most characteristic examples and quotations.

c. The Choice of Siblings.

The choice of a sister is extremely rare among the boys. In our whole material there is only one such case among the Polish boys, and six in the English group, which is obvious as the English group is more numerous. And even among these seven cases, in two of them there are some special circumstances promoting such an attitude in these two boys, as we shall now see. On the other hand, quite a few boys displayed a negativistic attitude towards their sisters; one of such cases was quoted in a previous chapter.

It is difficult to discuss why there is such an attitude among boys towards their sisters. Maybe some special investigation into this particular problem would supply some exact explanation of this phenomenon. It is interesting that girls choose their brothers quite often, and boys are also not reluctant to choose brothers. It seems to me, in the light of this work, that brothers represent for their sisters some values, which are the same with fathers and boy-friends. These values are protectiveness, strength, independence, providing security and so on; it may be said that brothers with girls represent to some extent either "protective father" or "protective male", and are not altogether different from the latter two categories.

There is, however, quite a different situation with boys. Their attitude towards "protective mother" can be hardly transferred to sisters. On the contrary - they are always required to help their sisters, to take care of them, to be "a man" with them. But this manly attitude is not to be rewarded in any way:

a boy cannot expect from his sister motherly protective response, and he is also banned by a very strong "taboo" from expecting any sexual gratifications from her, as he can hope for when being protective and friendly with his girl-friend. As a conclusion we see that a sister with a boy can neither represent his mother, nor his girl-friend in any way. In other words, none of his more powerful motives can be satisfied by his sister: she cannot provide him with security and protection like mother, because it is he who is expected to protect and assist her, and she also cannot satisfy his cravings for love, acceptance and all other forms of sexual gratifications, as he can expect from his girl-friend.- To these arguments we should add another one that boys from ^{whom} these answers are collected are either at the stage when their friends are usually chosen from among other boys, or their preferences are still fixated with their parents. In the next stage, when they direct their attention towards friends of the other sex, none of the main values making for the choice of a girl-friend can normally be represented by the sister.

In these few cases, where boys chose sisters there are ~~these~~ situations, responsible for such a choice: in some cases an older sister represented values of an ordinary companion, together with the practical indoor abilities of cooking, washing etc, which as we remember, accounted for the choice of a girl and partly for a choice of the mother by younger boys; in one case a boy took his sister, being an orphan with no other family member with him, - it may be said that the environmental factor of a very strong frustration in this matter, focused his attention on this

particular choice. In the last case a boy of 16 took his sister because of her perfect "purity". In this last composition we may discover the hypersensitive attitude towards all sexual pollution based on the very strong religious convictions; being afraid of sexual temptations, this boy chooses his sister in order to manifest in this way his ~~devotion~~^{devotion} of any low, sexual interests. He speaks of a perfect, sublimated love between a man and a woman, but he purifies it to such an extent that in this perfect, innocent form it may be even applicable to his attitude towards his sister. From the psychoanalytic point of view we may say that this adolescent boy, under the influence of too strict and exaggerated religious prohibitions and fears, has repressed so strongly his sexual interests that he creates a false, oversublimated, perfect object of his sister to replace his interest in girls. I think that this exceptional case supports the above discussions on the reasons why sisters are usually not chosen by boys.

Here are these three examples:

"... I would like to take a member of the female sex with me, the reason being that someone would be needed to do the cooking, washing-up, cleaning and mending etc. Also I would like her to be fairly young, in order that we might play tennis or something together. Young people, even if they are of different sexes, usually have, more or less, the same interests. Also it would have to be someone I know very well... my sister aged 14. We would be able to swim together, and go boating together... go fishing, play draughts or chess and a lot of other things.

Even though a boy would, perhaps, be better for doing the latter things, a girl would be a thousand times more useful on the domestic side.

My sister, who knows me very well, would be better company than even a boy-friend...

... We both have the same taste in music...

Summing up I think that my sister and I have a lot of things in common... " (E.b., 13).

In the above composition there is a clear hesitation between taking the sister or a boy-friend, which shows that although the choice itself is exceptional, the general interests of this boy are on the normal level of his age.

"... I would take my own sister, her name is Mary. The reason is that I do not want to be separated from her. She is smaller than I am, rather short, with dark hair. I would like her to be always with me, up to the very moment of my death. She would be longing for me very much, if I were at any other place from her. We are orphans and we do not want to leave each other. If I had left her now, she would have missed me very much." (P.b., 17).

The other sisters of this boy also died during the war.

"... I should like to have my older sister with me.

Firstly, we both have the same religious principles, a factor which I consider as being most important, since it would enable us to talk freely together and keep us bound together. For we both have the same object in life, namely, that of living to please God and do his will.

Another reason for choosing my sister, closely connected to the first, is that I know her very well, so well, in fact, that I know she is clean in mind and body. Consequently we would be completely at ease in each others company. She would not dream of doing or saying anything immoral and of bad taste even when we were alone.

Besides these two points she can... cook, and sew, and knit, and do other various sorts of handywork... she is very unselfish ... she can use a bit of common sense in improving and making things ...

Assessing all these points I would not only have a good companion, but I would also benefit from this companionship; also I think that I would need someone to love. There are many types of love, but I mean the kind of love a boy has for a girl, a man has for a woman. I would have it here, even if in a modified form." (L.b., 16).

x

x x

Fifty-five girls, both English and Polish, made a choice of their ~~brothers~~ ^{brothers}. Preference for older brothers is clearly higher than that for the younger ones, as is seen from the following figures:

English girls choosing brothers:	older	- 23
	younger	- 6
	<u>Total</u>	<u>29</u>
	-----	-----

Polish girls choosing brothers:	older -	21
	younger -	5
	<u>Total -</u>	<u>26</u>

comparing

When^a these figures with the whole^e number of girls included in this investigation we shall see that brother-preference among Polish girls is about three times more frequent, than ~~that~~ among the English ones. Another interesting feature is that no English girl above the age of 15 (i.e., 16- 18) ever mentioned her brother, ~~while~~ half of the Polish group (13 girls between 16 - 18) gave this choice; (10~chose an older brother, and three a younger one).

What is the explanation of the above figures? I think that the absence of fathers of the Polish girls is the main factor responsible for this situation. On the whole, about 84% of the whole group of these children had no fathers with them during the last 8 years, and from among 13 girls between the ages of 16- 18, who chose their brothers, only one was living with both of her parents.

The other reason which may be responsible for the choice of brothers is that Polish children used in this investigation were predominantly of the peasant origin, and their attitude towards other young men was subjected to slightly more strict "taboo" of prohibition than was the case with the English adolescent girls of the same age.

Both these factors may be found in the text of the compositions, where the attitude of girls towards their older brothers resembles that towards their father or occasionally, with the older

Polish girls, towards their boy-friends. In a few compositions, as will be seen later in this chapter, there are also quite clear expressions to this effect. It holds good also for many cases when the younger brother was chosen. There ~~his~~ manly values of a protector, a strong and brave person, are also emphasized.

Of course, this whole situation refers as well to the Polish as to the English girls, although it is most pronounced with the former, because their choice of brothers is more frequent and the extent of age range is much greater.

On the whole we may say that brothers with girls acquire the character of persons providing protection and security, in this way they resemble very much the popular image of the father or other male companions. With some older girls the qualities of an ideal friend-protector, with whom they can spend happy years of common life, is added to this picture of a brother and is a reminder of the girls' attitude towards their boy-friends. This latter situation is more common among the Polish girls and we may suspect that it symbolises or just represents in a disguised form their attitude towards boy-friends expressed more clearly by the English older girls. The above situation of a "protective and helpful brother" is found in 43 cases from among the total 55. In 8 cases girls spoke about their brothers just as their friends and companions. Here brothers of nearly the same age are usually chosen and they are characterised as interested in common activities, adventures, games etc. In 3 cases girls took their little brothers just because they were playful and nice companions. But even in one of such cases, which was discussed in the preceding chapter, the

protective attitude was attributed to a boy by his much older sister. One case is of some special interest, as a girl wants to take her brother with her in order to punish him for being "bossy" and being always preferred by their parents.

Here are some compositions, when the protective value of brothers is emphasized:

"... I went, with my brother. He is a tall boy. Before we went he was told by my mother to look after me, and take me wherever he went. He did as he was told, because he is 11 years old... I was a bit afraid at first... but my mother comforted me... (E.g., 8).

"... I would take my brother, He would defend me against natives... He is 11 years old... My brother is brave, he is not afraid of anybody..." (P.g., 9).

"... I would like to take... my big brother, because he is very sporty. Even if he hurts himself, he does not worry about it. Another reason is, because he does not mind if ever anything of his gets broken... his age is 27... " (E.g., 11).

"... I think I would choose someone I could trust, respect and look up to. I would choose my eldest brother.

My brother will be 18 in August, he has black hair, rather wavy... (He) is very like my father, only my father's hair is rather fair.

I'd choose my brother... because I can always trust him, and, to be truthful, he's my favourite brother.

... (He) is quiet (and) very polite... He would show me how

to do things right..." (E.g., 12).

"... The most important thing is that we love each other very much, and I always liked him most in all our family, and I know that he shared my affection. Besides he is very much like my mother, and always looking at his face I could see the image of her..." (P.g., 17).

In the above compositions, we see how the chosen brothers resemble parents not only in their attitude but also in their outer appearance.

I think that some psychoanalytical concepts relating to the attitude of children towards their parents may be mentioned here, especially this one that love and hate are very often mixed together in such situations. Now we may believe that some other members of the family may acquire only the positive aspect of parents, without negative, terrifying qualities which are always linked with their position of moral and social authority. In this way protection and security may be better provided by some members of the family, on whom the normal confidence felt towards parents is transferred, but who at the same time are free from the latter's negative qualities, making for insecurity and rejection. This reasoning may explain such preferences as those for older brothers, for uncles, aunts and other relatives, who provide acceptance, love and sympathy but have no need or opportunity to exercise strict control and apply punishment. Such a situation is exemplified in one of the above quotations ^{about} ~~that~~ a brother who " does not mind if ever anything of his gets broken".

I am not suggesting that control and authority in other people is resented altogether by children. On the contrary, as far as it provides security and represents well-integrated, independent behaviour, it is felt as something very positive and helpful. Psychoanalysts would say that, so far as other people help us in keeping control of our unconscious, we like their integrity and respect their authority; it is only when other people's control and dominance is thwarting our security and frustrating our legitimate and fundamental needs that we resent it. We may suspect that this positive admiration of other people's control and authority is found in children's relations to other members of the family and sometimes to reasonable and friendly parents.

"... I should like to take my brother. He is 27 years old... He is very sensible and never seems to worry. He is always happy and smiling. He is one of the people I love very, very much in the world. He often teases me and I rather like being teased in the funny way that he teases me... He is also strict so that I would be kept under control..." (E.g., 13).

"... I would like to take my brother,,, he is very capable to look after me... and mother would know that I am safe, and he has been very good to me. He is 21... he is my favourite brother and always will be. He would help me to be happy and not frightened..." (E.g., 12).

Sometimes ~~an~~ brother may replace somebody else with the older girls. We have discussed this situation before, here are some examples:

"... I think the most suitable companion would be my brother (22). Of course if I were a bit older I am sure I would have chosen someone else... As it is in all the novels that young girls are accompanied in journeys and adventures, not by their brothers, but by their "knights". I am not sure about it as yet... My brother is at present my best protector... We can live together as in a wonderful dream... " (P.g., 16).

Looking up to the brother for his security and protective values and for his manly strength, daring and independence does not mean that girls see such qualities in their older brothers only. In a few cases they disclose such an attitude even towards their younger brothers. In such cases these girls try sometimes to underline that although such a younger brother is actually still a young boy, he is bigger and stronger for his age and looks much older.

"... I would choose my brother as a companion because ~~we~~ both have generally the same likes and dislikes and get on very well together... I think he would be a good protector if any harm came to us... He is eight months younger (than I), he is my stepbrother but I like him best of the family..." (E.g., 13).

And there are two compositions by the Polish fatherless girls of 18:

"... I would choose my younger brother... he is 12 years old, I love him very much and I cannot imagine my life without him. He has also a great love and brotherly attachment for me. Henry is very big and strong for his age... He is a man and he can do all

hard work... " (P.g., 18).

"... I am taking my brother, he is 16 years of age, tall, healthy, persistent, daring, ingenious and very decisive. I chose him because I was sure he would always help me and would not desert me in danger... He usually sympathises with me and he would never leave me alone in difficulties..." (P.g., 18).

"... I would take... my brother. My brother is nearly five years younger than I am but in outlook he is about fourteen..." (E.g., 15).

Sometimes, as I have mentioned before, brothers are characterised simply as pleasant companions. In such cases they usually are of approximately the same age.

"... I would like to take my brother Denis with me because I understand him better than anyone else I know, as I have known him for years... We know the right way to amuse each other... We can, both of us, swim... we would be able to do that together. Denis could teach me to dive, which art I have not yet learned... We both like practically the same fiction..." (E.g., 15).

When girls speak about their preference for much younger, little brothers, they usually describe them as amusing, little creatures, full of fun and joy and they express tender feelings towards them:

"... I would like to take my brother... He is now seven, he is very jolly... quick... and I think he would be very great company. If I took a friend we would probably argue a great deal... and it would be an awful muddle. My brother is always

called a "large round-eyed terror", although he hits me he has some very kind and sweet ways." (E.G., 11).

"... I would take my little brother John. He is 6 years old.

He is such a merry little fellow, always laughing and j-oking, and up to mischievous pranks. But he can be very helpful and useful... I would never very often feel glum, because he would come along and start making me laugh... He has a very strong will, and mummy used to say to me "where there's a will, there's a way." When John was small he used to have curly golden hair and everybody used to think he was a girl..." (E.G., 12).

"... I would take my brother, because I love him and I know his ways. He is 3 and $\frac{1}{2}$ years old. He is always merry and he will amuse me. I shall be sorry to leave my mother. But it does not matter, we will make our own way." (P.G., 10).

In the following example we shall see the composition which illustrates some troubles between siblings in their family life. We see a younger girl jealous of her older brother's privileges with their parents. It may be suspected that this lack of impartiality on the part of parents causes the instability in the boy and the aggression in his younger sister. It seems that such a composition discloses some difficulties in adjustment of these two children and might be used as a clue for further, more exact diagnosis and guidance.

"... I would take my brother Anthony aged sixteen because if we had no-one around us, I know we would get on very well. My

brother has a lot of good points, he is honest and good-hearted, his bad point is that he is moody and if he got into one of his moods we might start fighting and one of us might get hurt. Another reason why I would like my brother to come with me is that he is only two years older than me and inclined to be "bossy" and on the desert island he would not be able to boss me about because he would have to help himself a bit... He would also have to have the same amount of things as me and would not get his own way so much because at home he has been made more fuss than me as he is the older boy and has had more things bought for him and it has made me jealous". (E.g., 14).

It is interesting to notice that this girl (she has actually two brothers, one older and one younger) blames her home environment for her troubles with her older brothers. She believes that parents' partiality makes him "bossy" and causes jealousy in herself. She believes that when removed from their home surroundings they could get on quite well with each other.

In some of the above examples we could notice that the choice of a brother was made in preference to the choice of a friend, a mother, or both parents. Here are some more examples illustrating in particular this problem of choice itself and what values were responsible for it.

"... I would like to take my brother... (He) is thirteen years old... I would feel safe with him and he is not frightened of many things. I would rather take my brother than my sister because my sister is not very strong but my brother is... He would keep me company for I could talk to him, although I would miss my

mother and father and my sister and our dog Pat very much. He is also very comforting when you are in trouble or distress, and I am very fond of him and quite pleased that he comes ^{home} for the holiday..." (E.g., 11).

The last sentence in the above composition is very characteristic: as the girl's brother is in a boarding school and comes home only for holidays she experiences feeling of frustration caused by his absence. This frustration focuses her attention on this unsatisfied need to have her brother with her, as it was with the great number of Polish children who, having lost one of their parents, were oversensitive to the loss of the other one. Now this girl uses the imaginary situation to compensate for her longing for her brother and chooses him in preference to other people whose presence she can enjoy all the time.

"... I would take my brother... he goes to work, he is seventeen... I like him very much indeed.

I have four sisters as well but I would not like to go with them, because they are much older than myself. I would like to take him because I know he will be a trustworthy companion". (E.g., 12).

"... I would take with me my brother... because he could look after me and see that I would come to no harm. Why I like him is because he is kind and very dependable...

You may wonder why I would take my brother and not one of my best friends, because I know they would not be as loyal to me as my brother would.

My brother is fifteen... He has often looked after my younger brother and me, and is very willing to do as he is asked and also generous". (E.g., 12).

"... Although I have some friends whom I like very much, I would choose my brother because he is sensible and would... keep me cheerful and look after me.

My brother is 21, he helps me when I am wrong and parises me when I am right.

I have a sister, but she is only seventeen and is not quite as sensible. We are always arguing and don't get on well together.

I might have taken my best friend Barbara whom I have known since I was five, but she is a year younger than me. She is quite sensible and would be great company for me, but my brother comes first." (E.g., 13).

x

x x

Although, as we have (just seen) now, some girls explain why they have taken a brother in preference to sisters, there is no remark in support of the opposite choice. On the whole, girls who chose a sister in the majority of 78% had no brothers at home. It seems that in cases when there is in the family both kinds of siblings there is a tendency among girls to choose a brother rather than a sister.

In the following composition such a tendency is clearly expressed.

"... My first choice would be to take my sister... I know I could rely on her to look after me as I have no brothers, which of course, I would take otherwise.." (E.g., 13).

In the other case a friend is considered a better choice than a sister, which also never happened with brothers. No girl argued that it is better to take a friend instead of a brother. Of course, there were quite a number of instances when girls took their girlfriends, but such a choice was never supported by open complaints against brothers.

"... I would take my friend, because she is my best mate... I would not take my sister because she does row with me a lot..." (E.g., 12).

The whole number of preferences for sisters is also smaller than that for brothers. In the whole material, 44 girls made this choice. Among 16 Polish girls, 14 chose the older and 2, the younger sister; among 28 English girls this ratio was 20 to 8. On the whole there is a marked tendency to choose older sisters, sometimes the grown-up ones. This tendency to choose the older one is also more pronounced with the Polish group, which is also evident from the assessment of values ascribed to the chosen sister, when Polish girls speak more often about receiving protection, being cared for and advised by those older sisters. It is again in agreement with the general inference that the Polish war refugee children were devoid of security and protection and that; in turn, increased their need for these values, which influenced their choice.

In general, sisters are chosen by both groups of children

because they provide protection and security, they are good friends and helpful companions, and in a few cases of preferences for much younger sisters the need for giving care and protection is satisfied.

"... My sister is 16, She helps me with my lessons. She would defend me... My sister is brave and not afraid of anything... She is very kind to me... She helps me with everything... " (P.g., 10).

"... My sister is 22... She would look after me, because it is her duty and she has always taken care of me since I was a baby... " (P.g., 14).- This girl has no mother and father, she lived with her older sister from the beginning of the war.

"... I am taking my older sister, who has been taking care of me since she was 17. She was like a mother to me and I will never leave her now." (P.g., 18).- This girl lives only with her older sister, they have no mother, and their father is in the Army.

"... My sister is older than I am, she is 15 years old and she knows much more than I do. As we have no mother and father she has been like my mother all the time, I have confidence in her and I want her to take care of me and to be friendly with me always... She is my best protector and she would never desert me in danger..." (P.g., 14 about her 19-year-old sister).

In the following case we shall see how the older sister is considered as an ideal and a model:

"... I would take my sister because I like her better than anyone, although she is twenty-three she is best suited to me. She is considerate, kind, generous and will do anything for

me or for anyone else. She is attractive, has a good sense of humour and has good principles, she is also good at handwork, farming etc." (E.g., 14).

"... I would choose my married sister because she is young and likes all the things I like. If I was in trouble I know she would help me. She would do anything to get me on in life... She always seems to know what is right..." (E.g., 14).

When sisters of nearly the same age are chosen they are valued as good and reliable friends.

"... I would take her because she and I get along well together as we are both about the same age (she is 18 months younger than me). Both being the same age, we would have more or less the same ideas and therefore would not quarrel unnecessarily. Another reason is that she is quite strong and healthy... Also, being sisters, it would be easier to talk to one another of our feelings... We would know each others characters and the kind of things that would offend or please." (E.g., 14)

"... I would like to take one of my sisters because she would keep me company. I would also like to take one of my friends as well..." (E.g., 12).

The choice between a sister and a girl-friend is not easy, as evidenced in the above example, and on the whole, more girls chose their friends just because of their more immediate contact with them and more direct opportunity to satisfy various motives with their help, as was discussed in the general part of the preceding chapter. Girls, who chose sisters are definitely in the

minority, some of them, however, give reasons for such a choice:

"... I would like to have with me my sister... I would not take a friend because I think that I really know^{more} about my sister than I do about my friends.

of One of the chief reasons, why I should like to have my sister would be because we understand each other very well.. I know exactly how to handle her in all her moods and I feel that I really understand her. Also, she understands myself and we usually get on very well together. We have many common interests..." (E.g., 16).

Sometimes girls like to display their protective and motherly tendencies. There we may remember the suggestion made a few pages before, that children who dream about having children and making them happy or about giving protection and security to others, are usually devoid of^{these} values themselves. They substitute other people for themselves and they project on them their craving and their need to be accepted, secure and loved.- There we find again two cases, when girls speak about providing others with these values, but their personal history reveals that they are probably frustrated in these very aspects of their life.

Here is a composition of a 14- year-old English girl, whose parents died when she was six and she is being brought up by her grandmother:

"... I would take my niece... because she is only a baby and cannot fight for herself. She would also be good company when she gets older and I would teach her to do things for herself... I could teach her games. She could also be very funny,

which amuses me... He could have lots of fun together like we do now though she is only 18 months.. " (E.g., 14).

The other ^rchild has been adopted, with her brother, by a family, where there are a few other children. She chooses one of her younger, foster sisters:

"... I would take my younger sister with me. Partly because she is cheerful and because it would take a lot of my time looking after her, which would pass a lot of time away. Another reason is because I like to dress and make up children, especially doing their hair... She is 9 years old..." (E.g., 14).- The remark of her Headmistress is: " ... She was evacuated and when she came back was unhappy and finally was adopted".

x

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Preferences for brothers among boys are not very numerous in this material, but the prevalence of older brothers is still marked (English boys: 20 older and 8 younger brother: Polish boys: 11 older and 5 younger brother). The character of this choice varies according to the age of such a chosen person. Brothers, who are much older, actually quite adults, resemble the preferences for the father, when boys of approximately the same age have the same values ascribed to them, which accounted for the choice of boy-friends by the great majority of my subjects. The attitude of acceptance, protection and friendly co-operation on the part of such an adult brother is often mentioned, especially by the younger boys. The older brother is presented as a friendly

person providing security, helpfulness and being valuable because of his higher knowledge and experience. It might be suspected that he differs from the father in that he does not fill the boy with awe and fear of his authority.

"... I would like to take my brother... Wh, I would like to take him? He is a nice boy and he is always taking me out... At his birthday last year he let me have more than the rest of them. I forgot to tell you that he is twenty-two years old..." (E.b., 8).

"... I would like to take my brother,,, he is 19 years old. He likes camping and fresh air... He is a good swimmer and can teach me to swim..." (E.b., 12).

"... He is eighteen years old... and quite strong. He likes going out in the country for fresh air. He is in the Navy... We like each other and help each other and never quarrel. He could help me in making all the hard things... We both like fresh air and walking in the country and we like swimming and climbing hills and riding horses..." (E.b., 12).

In all the above examples we see how the value of the other person, chosen by a boy, depends on the latter's actual "world of values".

If anything distinguishes the choice of brothers from that of other older friends, especially when a brother of an approximately age is concerned, it is the family feeling and the very long acquaintance with the brother, obviously much longer than that with any other boy-companion. Of course, all these values are mentioned quite often in connection with the other friends, but they are perhaps more emphasized with this particular choice:

"... Most people, I am sure, would really take their best friend, or any person very dear to them.

My choice, my brother, I chose because he is very dear to me.

We know each other's likes and dislikes. We both like the same and dislike the same things.

We understand each other better than anyone else.

We both like sport very much and we like the same type of music, food and many other things.

My Brother would most certainly be my choice." (E.b., 14).

I quoted the above composition rather extensively, because the reasons given for a choice of a brother are actually very similar to those making for a choice of a good friend, as we have seen in one of the preceding chapters. In fact, this boy makes up his mind after a choice between a friend and his own brother, as in the opening paragraph of his composition we find the following sentence: half crossed:

"... I think my choice would be my ~~most-intimate-friend~~, ~~apart~~ brother..."

There are many other boys whose attitude towards their older or younger brothers is based on this intimate acquaintance and confidence, which certainly makes for greater security.

"... I would immediately pick up my brother.

My first and foremost reason is that I know he knows me! Also we understand each other very well. We are very good friends who have scarcely ever quarrelled.

He is older, he has been abroad with an R.A.F. and therefore

has had much more experience than I have, thus he would be a great help to me.

... My brother is a constant source of mirth. In fact when we get together we are nearly always laughing over something or other.

My last and best reason is because I cannot think of anyone else who I would like to take with me!" (E.b., 15).

I think I should take my brother. I thoroughly know him and can rely on him. He would guide me in the right direction under any circumstances. Naturally we have quarrelled but agreement afterwards has served to cement our friendship and after all it is not unnatural to quarrel with one's brother..." (E.b., 16, about his older brother).

The choice of a younger brother is, on the whole, less frequent than that of an older one. We have seen some of such cases in this chapter, in all of them the younger brother was valued as a good, faithful and intimate companion. In one case only, actually referring, not to a younger brother but to a close cousin, the attitude of providing protection and guidance is shown on the part of the older boy.

Here we have the composition of a ten-year-old boy who writes about his younger brother as his best playmate and companion in mischief. Next comes the composition with the protective attitude of the older cousin.

" I would like to take my younger brother... because he is a good sport and is always wanting me to play games with him... Sometimes we play boxing on our lawn, cricket in the field behind

our house and plenty of other things e.g., marbles, football, rounders and racing...

... When we go to bed in the summer he often comes over into my bed and plays about with me, he **does** not mind having his pocket money stopped, he just goes on playing. Sometimes he comes and bashes my head, when I am asleep, with a pillow. And we have scraps on the lawn which I like very much.

It would be very good on the desert island because there would be nobody to tell us off when we make a noise at night... He gets up to many pranks." (E.b., 10).

"... My cousin,.. is three years younger than myself and, next to my parents, my best friend... We are used to each other's company and we would be quite at ease with each other...

Authors, scholars, painters, and even footballers or cricketers are ruled out because I should never feel quite at ease with them owing to the fact that there would be a difference in our ages and they all would be perfect strangers. Besides that I feel that I should get more pleasure in teaching my cousin what little I already know than from learning more... (E.b., 16).

Remembering **two** fundamental mechanisms, which I have put forth as responsible for all social preferences, of satisfaction of one's motives in the direct and indirect way, we shall see that besides satisfying the subject's actual needs in the direct way, brothers are also spoken of as models or ideals excelling in various modes of adjustment, in other words, who possess qualities valued very highly by boys making such choice. Of course, this

situation is enhanced by the fact that such an "ideal" is a member of one's own family:

"My first choice would be my brother Peter. The first reason.. is because he has had experience...

... My second reason... is that he is a good sportsman. He plays nearly every type of outdoor game which includes soccer, tennis, cricket and occasionally rugger. (He) plays centre forward in the local team and is very fast and also thinks his pass in the best way to beat his opponent... He is a very good left hand right shot which is hard and low...

(He) excells in tennis, his service is terrific in that he looks as though it will just about crawl over the net but in actual fact it goes like a rocket because of the downward swing of his racket is terrifically fast...

At work (he) does his job thoroughly and he will not leave it until it is finished properly. He is a good-natured person and rarely looses his temper..." (E.b., 16).

"... I would like to stay with my brother. Although he is slightly overbearing at times and likes to have his own way and used to getting it, I admire him secretly. He is very keen in sport and, since I am, we get along very well together. He doesn't usually argue with me unless he has proff that I am wrong... Sometimes he is a little sarcastic but only when he has cause to be. He is always willing to play at any sport and is reasonably good, for this reason I admire him..." (E.b., 15 - about his older brother).

As we have seen above, with girls the lack of some members of the family strenghtens the bonds between the other members. The boy whose father was recently killed in the war, speaks with the greatest devotion about his older brother:

"... I would take my older brother, because he is my closest person and he is the dearest to me... (P.b., 14).

Speaking about the various situations of choice, we have seen above how the choice between the brother and the best friend is not always an easy one. The mere fact that one has a brother does not mean the latter should become one's first preference. It still depends very much on the fundamental relations between the subjects' needs and his brother's qualities.

"... (I chose) my brother, because we can share everything... He is my "type". We can keep each other interested..." (E.b., 15- about his younger brother).

As it was obvious from the preference for friends in this material, quite a lot of boys who had older or younger brothers still chose their friends. Sometimes such a preference is clearly stated:

"... I chose my friend because he is quite often better than my own brother; he has a lot of good traits of character, he may defend me in danger and I would not be afraid to go anywhere with him...(P.b., 18, who has three younger brothers).

A brother is sometimes preferred to other members of the family - mainly when he has the qualities of a good playmate and companion of similar age and interests:

"... I would take my younger brother... firstly, because he is young and strong... Secondly, he is a brave boy and would not make a nuisance of himself by being afraid of danger. Thirdly, my brother looks for adventure and would enjoy it more than my Mother, Father and Sister...(E.b., 12).

The choice between the brother and a girl-friend is sometimes commented upon. Many an adolescent has often a negative and suspicious attitude towards the other sex and this leads to various other choices which are defended against this heterosexual preference:

"... I think I would take my younger brother...

I like to live in quiet and solitude. I am never happy, than when I'm out in the fields, enjoying the heat of the noonday sun, and the music of the birds.

My brother enjoys quietness, and is well suited to these conditions. That is why I would not take a girl, because she would be ever grumbling at the quiet and solitude, and would yearn for the pictures, which most people visit weekly, and she would be wondering whether the fashions were changing, and she would be ever worrying me about returning to civilisation and proper mode of life." (E.b., 17).

x

x x

The Choice of Parents

Parents are the persons who satisfy various needs of children

in the most direct way. This is also the case with these results: the greatest majority of values, ascribed to parents and given as reasons for their choice relate to the direct satisfaction of the needs for protection, security and mental comfort. (See tables, VI C,D, VII, C,D, VIII B. They are also persons to whom the feeling of love and loyalty and the attitude of "giving protection" is directed. Meltzer (x) (91), who employed the free association technique, found approximately the same results that parents are the persons who provide^{children} with many things required by the latter and who help them with their activities. The last conclusion, however, is more specified in my work: boys consider oftener their mothers as people who satisfy their needs and to whom loyalty is directed, but the objective values are more often recognised in fathers and therefore^{fathers} are usually mentioned as taking part in the same activities or possessing qualities for which boys are striving. Referring to my distinction I should say that mothers satisfy boys' needs in more direct, and fathers, in more indirect way, by displaying objective traits, not directed immediately towards the boys' needs. - This situation is slightly different with girls, who - as it is seen from the tables II^{and}, III - speak more often also about their mothers' "personality objective values," which means they have stronger tendency to identify with them.

There is, however, another interesting process, which may be seen in some of these compositions. In order to make it clear,

(x) Meltzer, H.: Sex Differences in Parental Preference Patterns.-

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the process of "super-ego" formation, as assumed theoretically by psychanalysts, should be remembered, According to their views the child acquires his parents' attitudes towards different situations, even if they be opposite to his own strivings, directed primarily by the desires of his primitive "id". In this "super-ego formation" the mechanism of identification or - speaking more exactly - that of "introjection" is active, by which the child assimilates in his own personality the moral requirements imposed on his behaviour by his parents. It should be remembered that the emotional bonds existing between parents and children give weight to these ^{parental} requirements or judgments which become more important and more easily assimilated just because of these "emotional qualities" possessed by them in this way.

There are a few examples when this dynamism of introjection is quite clearly represented. Let us see some composition from the first group discussed in this chapter where boys chose their mothers:

"... I would take my mother. She would do all the cooking, washing and sewing for me, and (would I) feel more happy with her. And ^{also} Because I love my mother very much and she would look after me, when nobody else would take care of me. She would mend my trousers and my shirt if I tore them, and would darn my stockings. She would forbid me running to the sea-shore and would see I didn't fall in the water." (P.b., 12- an only, fatherless child).

The last expectation of this boy seems most unusual - why his mother should forbid his going to the seashore? More detailed inquiry into the situation disclosed that this is a very vivid

and unruly boy and he is living about two miles from the sea with his mother, who is often exasperated about his disobedience. Although he has been strictly forbidden to go there alone, he takes every opportunity to break this mother's order. But in his composition we discover that he experiences a conflict between his ways of behaving and his loyalty towards his mother and he expressed the wish which, though coming from himself, is actually directed against his own behaviour based on his more primitive drives. It is quite obvious that this wish comes from the immature super-ego and he wants to strengthen it by wanting his mother to be stronger in imposing on him her requirement. Of course, the reason for such requirement is to avoid his inner conflict between super-ego and ^{the}id and to achieve integration with the external help of the stronger personality of his mother.

The other explanation, which actually does not change this fundamental reasoning, may be that by expressing openly the desire that is in full agreement with his mother's requirements, this boy tends to propitiate his super-ego and to avoid ^{conflict} in this way.

This tendency to strengthen one's own "ego" with the help of the parent's authority is not uncommon among young children, who unconsciously expect to avoid, in this way, their inner conflicts emerging from the difficulties in social adjustment and in the reconciling of social requirements and their egoistic desires and tendencies. In all the following examples we may see illustrations of such situations:

(My Mother) "would see that I washed every day. She would see I eat nicely... " (E.b., 10).

"... She would also encourage me to wash as probably nobody else would, had I decided to take someone else". (E.b., 12).

A similar attitude may be also found among girls:

"... Mummy would also see that I washed myself properly and my teeth. She would also do my hair or see that I did it properly". (E.g., 12).

Such an attitude of looking up for help to the other person in strengthening one's own super-ego is, of course, definitely assisted by the whole emotional situation between these two people. A child looks up to his mother for acceptance and security, and it wants to follow her injunctions in order to secure her approval. In this way some positive acts of the child are conditioned by the pleasant responses of approval on the part of his mother:

"She is a good mother. I like her because she says to me, "Michael will you wash up". The second reason is because I like washing up for her. The third reason is because I do the shopping for her, the fourth is because I save her legs. And the fifth is that she is a very good Mother to me and my brother and sister. And the sixth is because I save her energy and I have a lot of energy and I can save my Mother's energy by doing things for her". (E.b., 12).

The above composition of a little boy looks as if he was quoting his mother's opinions about himself. It seems that his

mother uses these arguments and this boy, by identifying with his mother, uses them too in explaining his attitude and duties towards her.

This emotional relationship between a boy and his mother, built on her acceptance, protection-giving, and on her part in the formation of the child's super-ego, makes for love and the feeling of duties ^{towards} ~~she's~~ mother, which are ^{experienced} ~~expressed~~ by boys, who- as we shall see - express their desire to care for their mother, to protect and defend her later on. It is not possible to distinguish, whether such a protective attitude results from the free and well integrated personality needs, or whether it is only the overt manifestation of the super-ego of the boy, by which he tries to compensate for the other, conflicting trends of the less sublime part of his personality. Only further psychoanalytical examination could clarify this issue, as we never know in cases of the, so called, "mother fixation", what conflicts in a personality such a situation creates.

"... She is my best pal I have in the world... she is not very well and it would be a nice thing for her to get away from work, and to have a rest... Out on a desert island she does not have to scrub, cook, wash-up, and many other about-the-house jobs. Or to queue up for fruit." (E.h., 12).

"... I should like to have my mother with me because I should want to look after her and if she was not with me she would worry... My mother would be the best company that I could have and as she is my mother I think that she would be my first choice. I owe

all I have to her as she brought me into this world and I would not like her to worry about what I was doing and how I was getting on and wondering whether I was still alive." (E.b. 15).

This composition, where this adolescent boy, the only child in the family, is so anxious about his mother's worrying about him suggests rather that he is not entirely secure in his relations with her and that he will experience a strong feeling of guilt not to desert her. It may be quite all right within the limit of an average devotion of a son towards his mother, but it may be also suspected, if these limits were violated, that this fear of guilt of forsaking the parents may hinder the normal "psychological weaning" of an adolescent from his family.

"... I would take someone whom I could trust and who could be comforting and helpful. One may say that his best friend is his dog, for he is faithful even if beaten and whipped. But I think that I am right in saying that a man's best friend is his mother, who knows all his troubles, grievances, weaknesses and failings. She is the one person who could make him happy and forget his homesickness, for surely, the home itself is the mother of the family. When a man is older he leaves home to take up life with a woman, and in some cases his mother is left, perhaps a widow. Her son's visits get less and less until finally she is left all alone on a world of her own to live her days in solitude. I would not like this to happen to my mother, the person who nursed me from a small child and often did things just to please me. I think that a mother should not be deserted after all this." (E.b., 16-the only child).

[The very tender and strong emotional attachment of this boy to his mother and his fear of deserting her for a girl, the wife, may be taken, I think, as a rare but characteristic example of "mother fixation" in an adolescent, single boy.

As we have seen in many other cases, the experienced frustrations may focus the attention more strongly on the compensatory situation. In the following example of a 14-year-old boy the death of his father might endear the other parent to him:

"... I should take my mother, because she is the most treasured and kindest, dearest friend. I should take my mother because nobody would fit her place in any way. Another reason is that I think a world of my mother, and she has struggled to keep me fed and clothed all through the war." (E.b., 14).

This attitude of love and gratitude towards the mother is, however, by no means the most popular one. The majority of our boys speak about their mothers as persons who take care of them, provide them with food, clothes and assist them in many life difficulties. Protection and security are the first needs which are satisfied by mothers. In the following composition, the three most important aspects of the attitude of boys towards their mothers are presented, but in many others, as we shall see, the practical aspect of mother's care is put forward to the first place.

"... I would take my mother because first, she would be very good company... Secondly, she would be the best person for cooking our meals...

Thirdly, we would be able to love each other from the bottom of our hearts ...

We would never quarrel like other people might and we would have Lord God as a kind of bond between us..." (E.b., 15).

"... Here are my reasons for my mother... I think the first thing that counts mostly is good food. *You* might ask why? But it is almost certain that everybody knows that you can't go without food... As my mother is such an extremely good cook I would certainly take her...

I have not many friends and no brothers or sisters, so I think ... my mother is the only real person I would like to take with me." (E.b., 12).

"... My mother... for one reason she is a good cook, another she is a good housekeeper and lastly a companion..." (E.b., 12).

"... She would be the most useful in cooking, sewing and company..." (E.b., 14).

"... Firstly, your mother knows your likes and dislikes and knows how to cook. Secondly, it is nearly always true that your mother is your best friend, and will do many things for you an ordinary friend or relative would not. Thirdly, if any accident befell you, your mother is usually one of the best nurses alive, especially if she has any medical knowledge whatsoever. Fourthly, she can mend clothes etc. and keep a place of abode clean and tidy. Fifthly, there are some understandings between mother and son, as does not exist between any other relationship of any description". (E.b., 14)

The protective value of the mother is evident not only with younger boys, but occasionally all through the period of adolescence, although it is more obvious with the former ones:

"... I would take my Mother because she has brought me up, looked after me when I was ill, cooked my food, taught me to speak, taken me on holidays and sent me to school. As well as teaching me to be a Christian. And giving me presents for my birthday and Christmas Day. For helping me with my prep. For encouraging me in my work." (E.h., 10)

We should remember that nearly all these cases of boys who preferred their mother, show that the latter has been chosen from between both parents. Later on we shall see the inverted situation, when the choice of the father would suggest that in a given situation the general value of the father was higher than that of the mother. In some cases we shall also be able to see some reasons leading to such a preference.

The following is the case of a boy, the eldest among three brothers, with a very stern father, who wants to make a "man" of him, and a kind, accepting mother. When his mother was on holidays he had, for the first time, to pack his suitcase himself when going to his boarding-school; at school he writes the composition where his recent difficulties and frustrations are clearly illustrated.

"... I would like to take my mother, because she does everything for you, and because I love her best. She cooks our food for us and... I would like her company best. And because she knows the best thing to do, so quite honestly I would like to take her.

And she does all your packing for you. And it would be nicer to have her than another people that you don't know so well. She gives you all the best things to eat". (E.b., 10).

"... She is always there and ready if you have hurt yourself or are in some trouble of any form..." (E.n., 12).

"... My mother is kind and always helps me if I am ill or I am in trouble, never hits me except when I have been very naughty." (E.b., 12).

Such attitude of dependence on the mother may persist up to the later period of adolescence, especially with some other factors coexisting, as we can see in the two following compositions by two 17 - and 18 - year - old Polish refugee, fatherless boys, both being also the only children:

"... I would take my mother as I am still lacking independence and without her assistance I would have a very hard time. I have enough strength, but not much experience in life. She would guide me and prevent me from making faults. We would take care of each other... (P.b., 17).

"... I would take my mother and only her. Every man, who has not enough strength and experience would die away. He must have someone above himself, who would guide him. All our affections should be also taken into account. And they should be directed towards someone whom we could value and look up to, who would be more perfect and able to have a good influence." (P.b., 18).

Such a submissive attitude towards mother's authority may

be explained as the weakness of the ego, which is too much dominated by another person's wish. It might be just the situation against which Jung warns in his writings: the situation when the identification with the other person of authority is so strong, that it prevents one's own ego from the full, independent individual development, with the most disastrous effect on the integration of personality. (x) (89).

Protection and security, for which mothers usually provide, are not only of the material character. From the mental hygiene point of view the security in the mental life seems to be even more important in the formation of a healthy personality. These values are also emphasized by boys in their mothers:

"... I would be very uneasy about speaking to the other person and would always be afraid of annoying him or her. Whereas if I took my mother I would feel safer and freer. Also I would be familiar with my mother." (E.b., 11).

"... Besides cooking my meals and comforting me I should pick her for I have never known anyone so much, for no one could understand me so much as her." (E.b., 11).

"... She is very cheerful and keeps you lively, and where you were hurt she usually knows what to use to make it better..." (E.b., 12).

(x) Jung, C.G.: *Integration of the Personality*, 1940.

"... She is the only person, with the possible exception of my father, who really understands me... She has a fine sense of humour and can always see the bright side when things are looking miserable. She makes me more happy than anyone else I know, even if I make her angry she quickly forgives and forgets the whole affair. She would never leave anyone who is in trouble..." (E.b., 15).

"... She fortunately never bores me, and does not make undue fuss over immaterial things as I believe many mothers do.

My mother doesn't get tired of her own company and therefore she would, I hope, have a good influence over me.

Sometimes, when one feels like talking to someone for a time, and the person is not a good listener, it is very annoying, therefore it is fortunate that my mother, although a good talker, is a good listener too.

Therefore... my Mother could master the job of a doctor, cook, companion, teacher and, what is more, friend..." (E.b., 16)

The traits of a good friend and companion are not those very often ascribed to mothers, they definitely give lead to the security and protection values. Sometimes, however, as in the last composition, they are mentioned too.

"... We are very good companions and we work together... she is strong and she doesn't have very many colds. I love her as well..." (E.b., 10),

"... She would also play cricket with me, so that when I wanted to play she would play with me". (E.h., 12).

"... My Mother is a very good swimmer and so (I am) we could go in the sea and have a very good time together..."
(E.b., 13).

The choice of the mother against other people is explained in a few compositions. Boys refer usually to the choice between father and mother or between mother and a boy-friend.

"... I prefer my mother to do cooking and all the housework... You may not understand how we could do without a man, but I would soon grow up to do a male's work..."

I do not mean that I like my mother more than my father but it is just because I think a lady is more ^{useful} than a man..."
(E.b., 10)

Although all psychoanalysts would be ready to read in the above quotation the best illustration of the Edipus complex, I think that all the values possessed by the mother and providing satisfaction of various biological and social needs of a child are quite a sufficient explanation, and are also built on an objective, experimental and statistical evidence. - The following example illustrates the above view, that for the younger children their mother represents often the more immediate satisfaction of needs:

"... I would take my mother and if I was allowed a second choice it would be my father. My mother has a bit more to do with me than my father. My mother feeds me, clothes me and looks after me very well indeed, and if she thinks I am doing something wrong she will correct me and tell me the right thing to do. And she will give me a good education at a good school, and help me to get on in life and so that I can become some importance in life. And she

will see that I have a good home to live in and good furniture to live with..." (E.b., 11).

The older boys find sometimes that they can be freer with their mothers. It is by no means the usual situation, as many other boys are more frank with their fathers. It is difficult to make the statistical assessment of this situation from this investigation, where it is only the marginal question, in some other works, however, this problem was given the particular attention (x) (90) (91). Of course very much depends on family situation and habits, and on the cultural traditions of a given social group.

"... I can talk much more freely with my mother than I can with my father and I think she understands my habits better than the rest of the family..." (E.b., 15).

The choice of mother is sometimes opposed to the choice of a friend. The first years of adolescence, especially 13 and 14 years, are very often the period when the "psychological weaning" begins to occur and many boys direct their attention and affection from the family circle to their connections with the boy-friends, whereas, a few years later, they will look for a girl's company.

On such occasions the loyalty towards mother is expressed in this way that the first choice is given to her, but afterwards a friend, or a girl, with the older boys (or a boy, with girls)

(x) Garrison, K.C.: The Psychology of Adolescence. 1947
Meltzer, H.: Sex Differences in Parental Preference Patterns.
Character and Personality 10, 1941

is frequently spoken of. Here is the composition of a 13 - year- old Polish boy, happy and well adjusted, who takes an active part in all school and organisations' activities being a Patrol Leader in Boy Scouts and one of the best students in his form:

"... I would take my mother to take care of me. If I wanted to take my friend he could refuse, when mother would always accompany her child whatever danger might be at stake. My mother could look after me, wash my clothes and cook my food.

If I had no mother I would take my friend. He is a well built boy, strong and daring. He is 13 years old. We would live and work together. It would be much easier with a friend, because a boy is stronger and more nimble than a girl."

(P.b., 13).

In the following example, which is somewhat similar to the previous one, we may suspect a bit of rationalisation whereby the choice of a friend is ~~actually~~ preferred to that of the mother. It should be noted that this boy is living only with his mother and sister.

"... I would not hesitate very long about my choice. I could not take my mother with me, although we spent together so many pleasant and sad moments, because I would^{not} like to expose her to all dangers and difficulties on that island. Undoubtedly my companion would be my best friend, a Boy Scout. We feel very deep friendship for each other, we know each other well, and I think we are even ready to make many sacrifices for each other. As a Boy Scout he would be able to overcome all difficulties and

is, on the whole, well prepared for life, that might be full of difficulties and unexpected happenings. He would never give up. Being a Boy Scout myself I would feel much better in the company of another Scout..." (P.b., 16).

x

x x

The attitude of boys towards their fathers is slightly different from that towards their mothers. Also the range of values recognised and respected in fathers is much wider than that in mothers. The father, for a boy, is not only a person of authority and power, providing protection, security and acceptance, but he is also the model of many activities, which appeal to a boy at his various periods of development, and a leader, teacher and companion. This last quality becomes more obvious with the adolescent boys, who recognise themselves as men and when looking for an ideal example of a man they often find it in their father. The friendly relations based on mutual confidence and understanding become also established between fathers and sons when co-operation takes place of one sided protection, and understanding the place of authority.

Besides these general qualities of fathers, who become their sons' choice (because we should still remember, that such cases are only a fraction of the whole social relations between a child and his environment, where many other people take the first

position from less successful fathers!)), there are many other, particular qualities which are also male responsible for a choice. In this way the preference for fathers resembles very much that for boy-friends. Many abilities are listed here, from boxing and wrestling, through cooking, camping, swimming, fishing and hunting up to many "personal objective traits" like courage, intelligence, patience, kindness etc. It seems that for the little children the both parents represent more or less similar values, being the closest representatives of the rather remote world of the "grown-ups", but when a child enters this world himself, he becomes more aware of sexual differences and their bearing upon the social life in general. To illustrate this view we may see the composition of an 11-year-old girl, which is well representative of boys and girls alike:

"... I would take my mother or my father. I would take one of them because I have known them all my life. Another reason is that if I ever had an illness or any accident there would always be somebody to look after me... (E.g., 11).

Here protection and security values are represented by both parents alike. It might be of some interest to quote here the remarks of this girl's teacher: "A solid, well balanced girl".

The satisfaction provided by the presence of the father is also different in its psychological nature from that of the mother. It is more of the "indirect" character, where not only the attitude of the father towards his son, but also the qualities objectively existing in the former provide a child with the desired satisfaction. Of course, younger boys would speak rather of the

respect

direct attitude of the father, who is in this, not very different from the mother, as we have seen before:

"... He would look after me, help me, and he is clever, knows many languages and he knows a lot more than I do." (E.b., 9).

"... He is not frightened of anything. He is kind to me, he sends me to a nice school, pays high fees..." (E.b., 10).

"... My father is strong and healthy and I should think he would look after me very much... (E.b., 12).

However, the attitude and tokens of acceptance are, on the whole, more often referred to as the mere protection. Probably because the father is usually less often with the child and because of his power and authority at home, and also because his qualities are more of those which are highly valued by a boy - in consequence of all that, all his favours are highly esteemed and enumerated by boys.

"... He takes me out skating, and he takes me for rides in the car when I work on Sunday he always pays me. When I give him a surprise, he gives me one back. Sometimes he gives me something, he is always kind to me. He buys me all kinds of fruit, apples and anything in that line. He buys me toys and books... He lets me come into town and help him. I do all sort of things with him. I run errands for him and such like things..." (E.b., 10).

"... He has done a lot for me by paying my school fees. He also got me an electric train and a bicycle (the latter for passing the school exam). He also pays for us to go on our holidays. When he has business calls in other towns he usually takes

us (two brothers, one sister) with him, if we are on holiday. But I like him when he takes us to a football or cricket match... He says that if I'm good he will get me a cricket bat for Christmas, but I would sooner have a football... " (E.b., 11).

As I have told, with older boys these explicit signs of security, based on protection and acceptance give ~~me~~ way to the deeper understanding, confidence and the value of a well-balanced personality:

"... I could talk to him and I should not be afraid to talk to him about my personal matters,... " (E.b., 12).

"... My father is very cheerful and is never downhearted, whenever I am miserable he comes and cheers me up... "(E.b., 14).

"... I should go with my father, because I should trust him and he would guard and protect me against dangers..."(E.b., 14).

"... We should understand each other much better than anybody else, thus making difficulties and hardships much more easy to overcome... Also my father has a sense of humour, but can be serious as well... A sense of discipline would be on the island, whereas there would not be if you took someone your age." (E.b., 14).

We see how this adolescent boy welcomes the "sense of discipline" on the part of ~~this~~ father. I think he appreciates it as the valuable factor in the development of his "super-ego", just like younger boys were "introjecting" their mothers' disciplinary commands.

The rôle of the father as a teacher and leader is also appreciated by boys. I think there is evident relation between

these values and those of acceptance and security:

"... I would choose him because he is my father and he will tell me anything I want to know. My father will tell me different names of trees, bushes, minerals, flowers and other things. I know he likes me because he said so... " (E.b., 10).

"... I would take my father, because I am used to him. I know we would get on well with him and we would co-operate well. He would issue instructions and I would understand him and be sure of not making any mistake and if I did I would not be unduly worried by it and would try and do better next time... " (E.b., 11).

"... My father is an ordinary person but I like him very much. I like to work for him and that I love. He gave me a garden... When I work, he brings home a little present for me. I do not just like him because he gives me presents and money, I like him because he is pleasant and often cracks jokes. He goes out quite a lot in his car and sometimes takes me too." (E.b., 13).

As I have said above, there are also many practical qualities which make fathers the ideal of their sons who are just interested in some activities ~~and~~ sports and admire their heroes in these fields:

"... He was once upon a time a boxer and won nearly all his fights... " (E.b., 9).

(My father) " ... is a strong and tall man. He is also a handy man to have with you. He can cook very well... He can swim and lifesave though I can also lifesave. He can row a boat and handle a sailing vessel. He can fight and wrestle well... He would know how to use a rifle and the same with a knife. He could

fish or hunt animals... My father knows a good deal about wood and woodwork..." (E.b., 12).

"... I should like to take Dad... We would be able to play cricket and football in peace... He is also very good in plumbing, he can stop a leaky tap from leaking. He is a very good electrician which is his job..." (E.b., 11).

"... My father is a good fisherman (and) a good shopt with a rifle... He can also run a lot... My father has also a knack of lighting a fire quickly. He has sometimes shown me how a Scout lights a fire. He rubs two sticks together and so lights the fire..." (E.b., 13).

This exaggerating of the father's abilities shows only how this boy admires him.

(My father) "... was once a Scout-Master and therefore knows a lot about camping and can light a fire without the use of matches. He ~~knows~~ a lot about tracking and is very good at it... He can swim about five miles and dive to a depth of 17 feet." (E.b., 14).

"... I have chosen my father because he likes adventure and would enjoy it... He is fond of fishing and swimming... My father is very ambitious and would be delighted to have a whole island of his own to do what he likes on it..." (E.b., 13).

Older boys look in their fathers for various social qualities too. They look on them often as the models of adjustment and therefore at the period of adolescence, when all boys form their world of values, they seek the examples for it in their fathers:

"... He is also a Christian, which matters more than anything else... He is also a philosophic person who could turn the ordeal of living on the island into something that would be an asset, into a fine lesson... " (E.b., 14).

"... My father is a progressive man, always going ahead, not satisfied with remaining at the same place in life. Also he is not one to despair at the slightest bad fortune... I think this is because he believes in God helping him, and as I am of the same belief nothing could make us despair... I cannot think of anyone whom I understand as well as my father... " (E.b., 15).

The character of a father as a chosen companion is the most evident with the older boys. Similar views and customs, as well as similar interests and hobbies, are advanced as accounting for this type of preference:

"... My father is a very good companion and friend. I would find him very good company, he could play cards, tennis, cricket and all the other very popular games... " (E.b., 13).

"... My father is a man who enjoys more or less the same pleasures as I do, this is the main reason (for the choice). He likes outdoor life, fishing, and sport of most descriptions..." (E.b., 16).

"... I would take my best friend... This person would be my father... He is not like some people who start on a job and get bored of it before they have finished. Once he starts a job, like myself, he likes to finish, whatever the consequences are...

... His knowledge of most things would help me to understand most other things, sometimes he is just like a teacher to me..." (E.b., 17).

"... I think I should enjoy my father's company more than anyone else for I always find him amusing and helpful... I always find my father's stories of his childhood ~~very~~ interesting for he was one of a fairly large family and they were always getting into troubles... " (E.b., 17).

"... I can't think of anyone whom I would like to be with more than my father... He is always good-tempered and pleasant and I enjoy his company a great deal and I think he likes mine... Your companion must work together on the basis of trust and understanding... You must be prepared to give as well as to take... Since we have lived together all our lives we would not irritate each other and get on one another's nerves... For this reasons I have no hesitation in choosing my father and I have no doubt we should get along." (E.b., 17).

In some compositions we may see comments on the choice of a father against some other people, who are usually mother, friend or a girl. We should not forget that the percentage of preferences for friends is on the whole higher than for parents. The fact of one being an adult subjected to all the taboos and inhibitions, as well as the differences in interests and all the gloofness of a grown-up are obviously responsible for the reluctance in the choice of parents as the following boy jokingly remarks:

"... I would take my father... because his good points easily outnumber his bad.

He is kind and can be very nice but does seldom ~~use~~ anything but choice language. He is very clever, but this produces boredom, and so I will... take with me a gun in case I get overbored,

(not for father, but for me!)" (E.b., 13).

"... I should choose that companion carefully. Firstly, I should want a male companion... He would have to have a large stock of patience, as I am not very patient, and be an optimist to help keep me cheerful. (With) a fairly wide knowledge of useful things... (and) a scientific mind... I would not like him to want to lead, as if he did, the two of us would not be able to live happily together. I would like him to be careful... to share my likes and dislikes, and also be the same age as I am.

I know of no person who combines all these virtues; but my father when he was a boy, I think possessed them all except patience, so I would take him but only as a boy. If I took him as an adult he would want to lead." (E.b., 15).

Such a defiance of the parental dominance is probably responsible for a number of cases when friends were preferred to parents. But the choice may come also to the advantage of an idealized father, as in the following case:

"... I think it is good to have a companionship which is firm and steadfast, and this could only be brought about by the people of the same background, and the same sort of upbringing coupled with a liking for each other...

I would take my father, I have the same ideas as he has on many different views... I could choose no girl, because as yet, I do not know one sufficiently well..." (E.b., 15).

Sometimes there are values in which a father wins against a mother:

"... My father would not be as scared as my mother might be ..." (E.b., 9).

"... I could understand him better than any other person, than my mother, also I can put on my trust in him and rely on him..." (E.b., 12).

"... I would take without hesitation my mother or father, but it is difficult to choose. After a little doubt I think I would take my Dad. He is very good to me, so is my mother... He is a man and as I hope to be one one day, it is natural we should have a number of things in common... I am very much like him in many ways, may be not quite so brainy..." (E.b., 16).

To end this passage on the preference for fathers, by boys, I would like to quote a composition of a boy of 9 which is rather interesting as it reminds one of a vivid dream, where a father is one of the heroes. Such character of a composition may be found occasionally when its topic is vague and at the same time appeals to the interests and cravings of a child. It brings out a wide range of spontaneous responses which may resemble the product of dreams or day-dreaming, because of the similarity of the origin of all these products, emerging from the half-conscious and half-unconscious wishes of a child.

I do not change anything in the following composition, presenting it in its original context and structure:

" I would like to take my father with me, because he would keep me company and he would have the car with him, and we would be able to travel through the desert in the car.
and we would be quite happy with one another.
and, we would see all kinds of animals
we would see camels

and,
 we would be able to see men on camels in some parts of the desert
 and,
 we would be able to see snakes.
 and, I would like it there because I would be able to study the
 animals and watch them,
 to see what they do, and I think it would be very interesting,
 to see the animals, and to see the desert,
 and it would be like a great zoo.
 and it would be very, very hot there.
 We would be able to dress like the men that ride camels instead
 of horses.
 but,
 those men think that camels'humps are much softer and much more
 comfortable than horses.
 but,
 it would not be better than home by a long way.
 but it would be nice in any case.
 and I would be able to take my bike with me.
 and,
 it would be very sunny as well." (E.b., 9).

x

x x

Somewhat similar qualities, as have been ascribed to fathers,
 account also for the choice of uncles, with the slight divergence
 that uncles when they are objects of preference are usually conceived
 by young boys as more cheerful and less authoritative

persons than parents; which makes for ease and emotional security:

"... I would take my uncle, he is about 26 years old and a very clever person. He is an architect...

I like him because he doesn't trouble much. He is good to me, teaches me things that I do not know. One thing I like about him is he can lay tea and make the dinner... He has wavy hair and a smiling face, he nearly always says, "you eat like a pig", but he doesn't mean it..." (E.b., 8).

"... he could keep me amused with his tricks and he would teach me to make wireless sets and fix up gramophones.

He would also help me to make toy hatchets, galleons and plans which he is fond of making himself...

He could teach me to box and to play punch ball..." (E.b., 9).

"... (My uncle) is always pleasant and can find something to do ..." (E.b., 11).

"... (My uncle) is an adventurous man, always optimistic, never looks on the black side of things and he is very clever. He has great presence of mind, he always knows what to do in case of troubles... He is always friendly towards everybody, always happy and forever with a smile on his face. He is a very "witty" man also... He knows lots of card tricks and conjuring tricks... My uncle..., I think, would be an ideal companion..." (E.b., 12).

"... he is just over forty and likes swimming, fishing and walking. In bad weather he is quite content to read, and if I did not wish to talk he would have me to do whatever caught my fancy..." (E.b., 15).

As to the other traits, like practical knowledge, personal qualities etc, uncles are usually recognised as having them like fathers. There is, however, no evidence of the deep confidence in, and companionship with, them as it was the case with the chosen fathers. It may be said - as far as this investigation goes - that, on the whole, sympathy for uncles is more superficial and not so deeply rooted as friendship with fathers or with the chosen friends or brothers.

x

x

x

Girls choose their fathers, on the whole, less frequently than their mothers; also when compared with boys in both groups, - English and Polish - they pick their fathers much lower percentage, than boys do. (See the table. 18.),

Fathers possess with girls primarily the values of providing security and protection. We may say that they are more remote in the close, friendly relations with their daughters, than mothers are, just as they are usually considered much closer and more intimate friends by sons, than by daughters.

Protection and acceptance are especially pronounced among the reasons given by little girls for their choice, sometimes they seem to be proud ^{to be} with the father. On the whole the attitude towards the father among the girls is not very different from that among boys, as we have seen just now, with that obvious difference that many activities: sports, camping, fishing etc. appeal more

to boys than girls.

Here a little girl of 7 writes about herself in the third person:

"... She longed to go with her father because he was brave and he would probably save her if she fell into the sea... " (E.g., 7).

"... I would take my father... because he is a big, strong man and he would protect me... if I brought my mother (whom I would like to bring as well) or any girl-friend of mine, they would not be able to protect me.... as much as a man...

He always gives me pocket money and forgives me if I am naughty, if I am really sorry. If he asks me to go to the shops to get some cigarettes for him, he always says, " you can buy an ice-cream, if you would like one". When he says a thing he means it. If anyone dares to hurt us seriously he would give them a good telling-off". (E.b., 12).

"... My father is ... very strong and able to ~~d~~o anything. He is very kind to me and would look after me well..."

In the same composition we find another aspect of the father, his value as a partner in playing:

"... Not only he is good at working, but also in playing. He can make balls out of rope and a cricket bat... He can fish and row and swim and ~~has~~ a very strong sense of ~~hum~~our which I like... " (E.g., 13).

"... My father... would be very friendly and I know I would enjoy myself with him. He is a good sport and is good at games. He hardly ever gets in a bad temper... He would know plenty of games to play at, and he is a good walker which I like very much". (E.g., 12)

The adolescent girls, when they choose their father, usually admire his qualities as an experienced, reliable older friend, who can help and at the same time share their interests, being also strongly bound to ^{his daughter} ~~them~~ by emotional links:

"... He would be a very good person to take, because he is so jolly and yet can be serious too. He is very sensible and can do many things... (E.g., 15).

"... I am always completely happy in his company... I should never find myself disillusioned about him. I would also dislike living with someone who ~~was~~ not fond of me... He is the kindest, most thoughtful, unselfish and loving company..." (E.b., 17).

"... The main reason that I chose my father is that we get on very well together, this must not seem that I do not get on with my mother. My father is not only a good companion but also a very practical man..." (E.g., 19).

In some cases of the Polish refugee girls we observe the very strong devotion to their fathers after mothers have been dead for a few years. In such cases it may be understood that fathers were recognised as playing the rôle of both parents together, being also partly a "mother substitute". Such a situation is not difficult to accept, because as I have mentioned before, the values represented by both parents are in a great part very similar. We can see a few compositions, where children either chose both parents

and ascribed to both of them those common qualities, or where they started to write about one parent, and then changing their minds, simply crossed out one name, and substituted another, as in the following case:

"... I chose my ^{Father}~~Mother~~. I chose my ^{Father}~~Mother~~ because, ^{it}I was ^{he}ill ^{Father}she would know what to do, and if we got lost my ~~Mother~~ is a good guide to lead you to safety...

My ~~Father~~ is about 50 but not much older. My ~~Father~~ is very kind and would do anything to help you if he can." (E.g., 11).

In the second part of her composition this girl makes up her mind on behalf of a father-choice, but in the first part we see that all those protective values have been amply represented by mother and father when taken separately.

In this light we may regard the following cases when the father took over all the parental values both for himself and replacing the dead mother:

"... I would take my father, because he is very good to me. I have no mother, she died... a few years ago. I was crying very much then, she was very good to me. They took me to the orphanage as my father was in the Army. He was released afterwards because he was ill; he came and took me from that orphanage and I am living with my father since then. I love my father very much, because he is very good to me." (P.g., 14).

The situation of acceptance and security provided by the father is quite evident in the above case. In the next example we shall see a father playing the mother's rôle, besides his own, for a long time:

"... I took my father for I cannot imagine my life without him. For so many years he has taken care of me, he brought me up thinking always that I was happy and now how I could leave him? No, it is not possible, and besides I cannot imagine how I could be so friendly with anybody else as I have been with my father. Also I know that if I had deserted him he would have been very, and rightly, disappointed.

My father is rather old... a bit nervous, but also very kind and cheerful... He is very experienced... we are getting on very well together... He has a strong personality and is still quite clever with his hands...

But he is getting older and it is my duty to take care of him. Besides we love each other and that is why I cannot do otherwise..." (P.g., 15).

In a few cases girls were hesitating, whether to take father or mother, and in the end chose the father.

"... The friend I took was my father because I like him very much, I wanted to take ^{my} mother as well but I could take only one person so I took my father... My father likes the idea of going away and living by himself with me..." (E.g., 10).

The reasons for such a decision are usually not given quite clearly in the compositions. Sometimes the father was considered a stronger and better protector; sometimes it seemed that a child was simply on better terms with his father than with his mother, or had greater confidence in him. Of course, some deeper reasons should also be admitted, but they were not always evident in these essays.

"... I would take my Father as my Mother is not strong... My Father is kind and helpful... I am sure Mother would be better at home than in a climate so hot... I would not take anyone out of the family because we might quarrel and probably get tired of each other's company..." (E.g., 12-with one younger sister).

"... I would take my father, because he is always very kind to me and he would help me in all difficulties... The other reason is that I have known him much better than anyone else. If I took my mother she would not advise me so well as my father, although I have known her quite well too... " (P.g., 12).

As it was with boys the choice of father is sometimes opposed to the choice of a friend. The difference of age and interests is advanced to support the choice of the latter one.

"... I would take my best friend with me... We both like the same things and get on very well together. She is fourteen years old, just slightly younger than myself...

I would like to take my father with me as I think he is the greatest friend I have on this earth but I think that I would rather take my friend as she is the same age as me and we would be able to do the same sort of things, whereas if it were my father I would not be such a good companion for him as there is such a difference in our age... the things we talk about with my friend are different to what our parents talk about... Our ideas are so different to an older person...

If I went with my father I should feel that he would be wanting someone of his own age there too, because I would not want to do the same sort of things as he would... (E.g., 15).

Uncles, when chosen by girls, are also the easy-going, kind and cheerful grown-ups as we have seen them being with boys. They possess the experience and strength of the grown-ups with the friendly and cheerful attitude of the popular equals, they are not "grown-uppish".

"... I would choose a strong man and one who would be good to me.. I would choose him because he is strong and good, and my best friend from among all people, and what I tell him he always keeps to himself **and never says** to anybody. This man is my uncle, he is 39 years old". (P.g., 10- very good pupil, clever, well balanced, very popular girl; her father was killed in war).

"... I would take my uncle Teddy because he is very funny and it would be good company for me...

... Why I would like to take him, because he is jolly and if anybody is sad he will soon make them laugh. He can dance and sing funny songs and he can do everything." (E.g., 11).

"... My uncle is very strong, healthy and **brave**, and he would help anybody when they are in trouble or in danger... He is not lazy and idle, so he would always help in anything... He is very jolly and happy and if you were unhappy he would cheer you up and have a laugh with you... if you were taken ill he would know what to do... He would never forget anything when going away like some people do... If my uncle has nothing to do he will always read a book and learn something new..." (E.g., 11).

"... I would like to take my uncle... because besides being my favourite uncle he is young. He is 33. I like him mostly

because he has wonderful sense of humour... He can make me into a good temper very soon. He is also firm which I like. He is my mother's brother and very like her... Things are always lively when he is about. We also have some tastes in common, as both he and I like animals and reading. I also like him, because he is not very grown-upish... " (E.g., 14).

x

x x

Both, English and Polish girls, choose their mothers more often than their fathers. With the Polish group, where this difference is very marked, it may be accounted for ~~by their peculiar~~ ^{by their peculiar} conditions of staying without fathers for a long time, but that cannot be the case with the English group, so it may be stated that the greater preference for mothers than for fathers is among all girls the genuine fact in our culture.

The qualitative analysis shows also, that their attitude towards mothers is more intimate and much closer - the mothers, besides satisfying various needs of their daughters in the direct way, are also conceived as objects^{for} identification, models and examples, and as the chosen friends and companions for the adolescent girls, in more or less similar way as it was with fathers and boys.

Being protected and accepted by the mother is the requirement of nearly every girl who wrote in her essay about her mother. Of course, we must realize that this is only a special group of girls, whose affection for their mothers prompted them to make this choice.

In any case these values are the most important in the girls' attitude towards mother as far as this investigation goes.

"... Why I want to take my mother is because my mother could help me a good deal. I think I would be very unhappy without my mother... "(E.g., 9).

The protective value of the mother holds good for the physical and mental comfort:

"... If anything happened that I cut my knee mummy would dress it for me, and I know it would be safe... Mummy would also comfort me if something upsets me and cheer me up. And in the cooking Mummy would know the things I liked best and cook them..." (E.g., 12).

Physical and mental security, provided by the mother extends also to sympathy and understanding:

"... She always takes care of me in everything. When I am unhappy I may always complain of everything to her... " (P.g., 10).

"... I am sure that in danger she would try and defend me as much as possible...

... If I have any worries of any kind she would sympathize with me, she is very understanding with everybody..." (E.g., 12).

All this kind treatment, understanding and security make for the deep friendship between some mothers and their daughters, which, in such cases, is clearer when the girls are getting older and the understanding between them and their mothers deepens gradually.

"... I would choose mummy because she treats me as a friend and I can confide in her. Also I would hate to leave her for more than six months. Some mothers think that a child should be

treated as an underling. This does not make the child happy, also she does not feel as if she could tell her parent anything without her ^{own} scoring the idea.

Many children do not like going for holidays with their parents because they say they are not sufficient company. This should not be so. Your mother should be company on a holiday. That is why many children think they are not wanted...(E.g., 12).

The other qualities pointed out by the same girl, which make her mother such good company: ^{are} good cooking, help in lessons, "pointing out many botanical sights which I would have completely missed if I had been by myself", care in case of illness, and the preservation of proper home discipline.

This last point reminds again of the mechanism of the "super-ego formation", which I have discussed in ^{one} ~~an~~ of the preceding paragraphs. Here also we have a few cases where this identifying of one's own desires with the ~~views~~ held by adults is well exemplified:

"... I'm always being reminded to put things in the right place but on an island everything would have to be tidy to keep it hygienic.

Mummy would see that I got sufficient sleep, but if I went just with a friend I don't suppose we would bother about the proper hours of rest and sleep." (The same girl of 12).

As we see in the above example, the presence of a friend is not sufficient to help in following the standards of behaviour laid down by adults - the presence of their integrated personality

is indispensable to strengthen the child's weak "super-ego" and to prevent her from the inner conflict between her own and her parents' "worlds of values."

This situation is even more clearly described by some other girls:

"... I would choose her because she is my mother and I love her very much.

She can also tell me what to do, like she has all my life. If I had picked anyone else I think I would lose control of myself... If I had another person to choose I would choose a priest or a nun. They would never give up, and so give you more hope and faith in God. You also would have Mass on the desert island." (E.g., 13).

This girl comes from a Catholic family in London and attends a Catholic school run by nuns. As we see, the value of her mother as a moral judge and authority may be substituted by the authoritative religious person. It is quite obvious again, when the standards of behaviour imposed by religion are often presented to children, especially, in the Catholic families, as the most important moral norms and as such they take the greatest part in the formation of the super-ego. When properly assimilated in the hierarchical integration of personality (McDougall) (x) (92) it assists in securing good balance of personality and increases the security feeling. (Moore) (xx) (93)

(x) McDougall, W.: An Outline of Abnormal Psychology. 1944

(xx) Moore, T.V.: Personal Mental Hygiene. 1947

"... Also Mummy is good Catholic which is very comforting to know when there are two of you alone on the Desert Island..." (E.g., 12)

It seems that the knowledge of the mother's strong religious principles makes for the greater confidence in her ways and outlook. It may be based on the notion that since the mother follows very exactly some moral principles her behaviour will not comprise many surprising diversions, which, of course, makes for higher security at home. I will return to this problem of religion later on in this work.

Especially the older girls value very highly the quiet integrated attitude of their mothers, who become in this way models of correct behaviour and of successful adjustment:

"... She is most generous and kind woman alive, and to be with her is great fun, if she is not occupied in doing numberless other jobs, mostly connected with the helping of other people... Everyone who meets her likes her immediately..."

... Although she is strict, she is completely fair and always listening to both sides of a question before giving judgment...

... She ~~is~~ sympathetic but helps you to realize which is right or wrong, and does not always take your side, just because you feel you would like a wave of self^fpity. This, although at the time makes you upset, is the right way to help a person regain her own temper...

... The only disadvantage ... would be^{for} her distance from the church. I cannot see her being happy without her almost daily

communion and mass... "(E.g., 16).

The impartiality is highly valued in mothers:

"... She treats my brother and me both the same and does not take any special side when we fight, except when she is there, when the quarrel starts and knows who is at the bottom of it." (E.g., 14½, - with one younger brother)*

Confidence in an "understanding mother" underlies many attitudes of such a preference:

"... I have chosen my mother, because you cannot have a better friend. She doesn't mind looking after you... She doesn't mind when you tell her your troubles, and she is only too pleased to help you... " (E.g., 13).

"... She understands me better than anyone else understands me... I know also that my mother is the only person that I can really trust..." (E.g., 13).

"... She alone possesses all the qualifications that make a good companion, a friend and a leader... I was separated from her for a few years during the war so I know what it is to be without her. May be it made me more resourceful and made me fall back upon my own judgement, but I could not bear being away from her for a very long time.

I could only take a person whom I know really, intimately and to whom I could talk freely to on all topics and only my mother fulfills this qualification... She alone really understands me probably far better than I do myself..." (E.g., 16).

The separation from the mother is often a very great shock for a girl. In the light of some of these compositions it is possible to assess better what rejection may mean for a child, especially for that one who was very much devoted to her mother or very dependent. Awareness of such possible situations is very important in building up the proper confidence in life and normal adjustment, particularly in girls:

"... I think and believe without a mother you are hopeless. I have been away from my mother and it felt terrible. The first time when I was away from Mummy was when I was evacuated. I was sent to Cornwall although I was with a very kind lady who would do anything to make my sister and me comfortable I still missed my mother. I know sometimes I believe I hate Mummy if I cannot have what I want but still I know I would never leave her if she wanted me and go to enjoy myself. You may think what you like about those who have no mother or whose mother and father have been divorced. But most of those feel unhappy. Also your mother was made to look after you and what good is she when never thinks about her child's condition... " (E.g., 13).

"... She is now 47 years old and her and myself go nearly anywhere together and have always been great friends and if I was parted from her for about two weeks I know I would be very unhappy as I was when I went away for my holidays last year on my own..." (E.g., 14).

As frustration usually makes all needs more acute, the best example of the craving for mother has been presented in a composition of a ten-year-old Polish girl, who wrote about her devotion

to her beloved aunt, but before writing her essay she asked:

"... If my mother is dead, can I take her to this island?"

The other girl wanted to have her mother for herself in spite of all discomfort for her father and brother:

"... I picked my mother because I like her and my mother can cook for me and my father and brother could look after themselves ..."(E.g., 12 with one older brother).

The choice of mother is sometimes opposed to the choice of father or of a friend, girl or boy. With younger girls mother is endowed with greater experience and deeper affection for the child which consequently makes for higher security:

"... If I choose my friend she and I may not be content with each other and we would not know how to do things properly..." (E.g., 10).

The same girl is also hesitating about her father, but she consoles herself: "Next time I go there I take my father..."

"... I would feel safer with her than with anyone else except Daddy, but Mummy is more comforting than Daddy. Even if I look at it from my sister's view I would still take Mummy, because she would have Daddy and the Aunts..." (E.g., 12 - with one younger sister).

"... I would choose a grown-up because she is older than me and knows more than I do. I would not choose brother or sister, because I would have to show them what to do..." (E.g., 12).

"... If ever I was ill I would have her loving care, but if I chose a friend I would not be able to rely upon her as much as upon my mother and my mother is my friend... She would

always keep me happy and gay" (E.g., 12).

"... If I took someone else I would feel rather guilty that she should be at home, working, while I was enjoying myself..." (E.g., 13).

"... She is very kind to me, but I love my father just as much and he is just as kind but I think every child loves her mother just a little bit more than her father... because in the war my father was in the Army for 6 years and... that is another reason why I love my mother just a little bit more..." (E.g., 13).

"... I would like to take my mother, but, unfortunately, I have no mother now and that is why I would take my best girlfriend." (E.g., 16).

"... I would not take a school friend because if we run into danger we would not know what to do and my mother would..." (E.g., 12).

"... I would be scared with just a friend. Also your mother could comfort you in any harm..." (E.g., 13).

Sometimes children are quite unable to make a choice between mother and father:

"... Mother could look after me... Father would be stronger and he could make more things and would be very handy..." (E.g., 13).

The preferences for father were discussed in the preceding paragraph. Now it is important to pay attention to some cases where friends are chosen before mothers. As we have seen from the general results, it is the most popular situation and reasons for

it were analysed before. However, in this chapter in which we investigate compositions where such a choice is clearly defined, (not only due to some circumstances which were not stated in the composition and could only be suspected), we may be able to see the conditions of the "psychological weaning" from the mother's dependence and care:

"... I would like a girl-friend of mine, who is 15 years old ... because we both understand each other and incidentally we both like the same things. I would not choose my mother to accompany me because... my younger brother or sister might benefit much more by her companionship." (E.g., 13).

"... I am taking my girl-friend, who is very clever, pretty and on the whole we get on well together. I am taking her because she is older than I am, and could in some situations take the place of my mother for me. I would not take my mother, because my older brother, if he went to the island, should take her with him." (E.g., 13).

"... At first I wanted to take my mother, but after consideration I think I can't take her to face all troubles and dangers, while among other people she can be comfortable and safe. So I go without her.

I am taking a man. It is quite obvious, as Lord God gave us the normal propensity for the other sex and He wished us to use it properly..." (P.g., 15).

"... The first person who came into my mind was my mother, but as I have lived with her all the 15 years of my life, I changed my mind.

I know what it is living with parents and relations and as I only lived with my friend for short periods like week-ends, I think she would be the best possible person." (E.g., 15).

"... Such a choice would be very difficult for me as I am very young. I would like to take my mother, whom I love so much, or my really good friend Ted. But as I can choose only one person I am ready to choose him. It is quite obvious that I was born and brought up not for my parents, but chiefly for somebody else, so I would choose him, although it would be difficult to leave my mother.

(He) is 30 years old..." (P.g., 18).

Of course, such negative preference for mother may be based simply on the desire to have an adequate playmate and to avoid the parents control:

"... I don't think I would like to go away with somebody five or six years older than me. The reason is I would have nobody to play with or walk with I think it would be awful with my mother or somebody else because my mother would not walk about in the sun I'm sure." (E.g., 10).

x

x x

As I^{have} mentioned before, Mother and Father possess many similar values, and we have already seen how they are sometimes treated together as representing jointly the same parental care, love and protection. Some children do not seem to be able, or in any case, do not care to treat them separately. And in cases

where children oppose the parental authority, they sometimes defy both parents "en bloc."

"I would like to take my father, because he is strong, I would like to take my mother because when I am with the two of them together it makes me feel happy.

But my mother could not come, as she has got my two young brothers to look after and I don't think my father would be able to come either, as he has to go to work and look after my mother and brothers and sisters. So if he could not come I would like my brother Alf to come, but he is in the Army... so I would have to go with my uncle, as my other brothers and sisters would not come, as they would not leave my mother and father. And if no one would come with me I would not go and my mother and father would not let me go alone or with anyone new..." (E.g., 12).

This little girl from a poor family and, according to her headmistress, "poor little thing, rough and untidy and badly cared for", seems to be most anxious to stick to her family and she hopes her parents would not reject her by sending her alone from them. We may think that the general insecurity of life increased in this child her general dependence and craving for protection.

In this paragraph I want to deal also with a few cases who suddenly refuse the company of their parents in general. It might be interesting to observe, that some children simply overlook their parents when making a choice, and this may be

due to various reasons which I have discussed before; but sometimes these children speak about a deliberate choice, while they are taking friends and not parents. In other words the former take their friends just because, at the moment of choice, they have their attention concentrated on them for some reason or other, while the latter make a deliberate, conscious choice "against" parents, either preferring the values represented by friends or, on the other hand, despising the values represented by parents.

We have seen many such cases mentioned before in paragraphs on the father and mother choice. Here are just a few more:

"Valeria is such a nice girl. She is a sport and she is always willing to do what anyone else wants to do. She wouldn't make a fuss if she felt frightened or hurt herself and I would feel quite happy with her... I am sure we would enjoy ourselves instead of being bored... and I don't think we want to go back home..." (E.g., 11, - the only child)

"... She is a jolly girl of 12... We would have lots of fun at sports together and no one to trouble us." (E.g., 12).

"... I have no brothers or sisters, and I know my parents would hate the idea. So my friends are the only people I have to choose from..." (E.g., 14).

"... I would like my friend Zita... I would not take any of my family, because I am sure they would not enjoy themselves even if they did have me with them... I know she would not get in a temper and go and live on the other side of the Island. We like the same things, do the same things and eat nearly the same

things..." (E.g., 14).

From these examples and the other statements quoted before, it is possible to see that among various traits which separate parents from their children, overprotectiveness and the lack of understanding for children's interests are probably the most often complained about. Besides some disappointment of the parental authority which should be gradually overcome in wholesome social adjustment, the children may be right from the mental hygiene point of view, where they dislike parents "making fuss" about various trifling situations: this parental behaviour even if it makes for physical safety, which also may be doubted, surely creates the emotional insecurity which is certainly harmful, and by producing discord between parents and children diminishes the former's influence in bringing up their daughters and sons.

On account of all the above reasons, and especially with adolescents who had never been frustrated in the parental care, friendship of their equals is much more attractive than contact with parents - and when they are looking for a perfect object for imitation and identification they find ^{it} quite often among their friends rather than look up to one of their parents or older relatives. Of course, as we have seen so many times in this work, very much depends on the character and attitude of parents themselves.

"... I should not prefer one of my parents as I would also want the other one, also. I find that parents do not understand people

of my age as well as others of the same age do.

David is just about the same age as I am and he enjoys almost the same things as I do...

He is a boy whom I admire and should like to copy. I think that this friendship is far more violent than parent~~s~~' friendship, as parent~~s~~' love is natural, whereas this sort of friendship is not absolutely necessary to life, whereas parent~~s~~' is.

I should not take a member of the family as they are all older than I, do not understand fully..." (E.b., 14).

"... A boy friend is about the only person a boy could take with him... You couldn't take one of your parents because you would have the unsatisfactory feeling of leaving the rest of the family at home..." (E.b., 15).

In both of the above compositions we see fear of being unjust to the parents, by either making the choice between them or by leaving them behind. The second inference is not very clear from the text of the composition, but it seems that the first of these reasons is just an excuse for forsaking the parents at all, it is only a symptom of rationalization. One of the true reasons for choosing a friend and not one of the parents, besides all others we were talking about, is given by the first of these boys, who says that a boy's friendship is "not absolutely necessary!" In this utterance he expresses a desire for doing things, not because of some kind of duty and compulsion, but of his own, free and independent will. I think it is a characteristic symptom of

conflict arising between the desire for full independence, so typical of the adolescent boys, and the emotional restraint, imposed by the feeling of loyalty towards parents, based partly on the fear of guilt in case they were deserted. The unconscious desire to free himself from this "complex of loyalty" towards parents may also add some "violence" to the adolescent friendship.

The Choice of Adults

The choice of other adults, besides the members of one's family, is not very numerous in my material: Polish girls chose an adult woman 9 times, 3 men teachers, 1 adult man and 1 Roman Catholic priest. English girls chose, on the whole, 6 adults ~~women~~. Polish boys chose only one adult man and one Roman Catholic priest, against 11 men, 8 men-teachers, 6 Scout-masters and 2 Roman Catholic priests chosen by the English boys. The above figures are not difficult to explain: Polish girls were partly orphans and they were living in the community with the overwhelming majority of women, while the Polish boys in the refugee settlements were almost completely devoid of the male models, all their older brothers and fathers being many years in the fighting forces.

As to the general character of these attachments girls display mainly a subjective, emotional type of preference. They adore and love their adult ^{ideals}, while boys, in the great majority, as we shall see from the following analysis of the separate cases, show rather objective admiration for their various traits and

abilities. Although, especially if we take into account the boys' preferences for the much older friends (older boys), we should suspect that the gratitude for acceptance, security and protection as well as admiration for various values creates a strong feeling of loyalty and attachment.

All these compositions remind one of the "syndrome of adoration" described by Baley in his "Adolescent Psychology" (x) (94) which he believes to be typical of the adolescent period, and characterized by the transient infatuation in an older person of the same sex, with the very abrupt and unexpected recovery. This syndrome, which may sometimes cause some trouble for unexperienced teachers and educators, occurs probably earlier (12-15) and lasts for a shorter time with boys than with girls. Hurlock and Klein (xx) (95) found that such "adolescent crushes" are more prevalent among girls than among boys. The length of time of such infatuations was from one month to three years. According to those writers such "crushes" assume the character of the homosexual attachment only among girls.

The same form of adolescent behaviour is also mentioned by Partridge (xxx) (96) who also believes that it is more popular among girls:

(x) (94) Baley, S.: *Psychologia Wieku Dojrzewania*

(xx) (95) Hurlock, E.b.: and Klein, F.R.: "Adolescent Crushes," *Child Development*, 5. 1934.

(xxx) (96) Partridge, E. de A.: *Psychology of Adolescence*, 1938.

In my material we should not identify all preferences for adults with the above mentioned "adoration" or "crushes" of the other authors. Social preferences for other people, according to my analysis, are by no means built only on the positive feeling towards them, but from a much more complicated "social act" with various factors accounting for its occurrence.

Before we come to the cases of "adult choice" among girls we shall have a look at some instances of a choice of much older girl-friends. In these cases we find the evidence of liking, acceptance, and some objective qualities:

"... I would take a girl. I like her, she has big dark eyes. She was living in our settlement. She has got long dark hair. She is 19 years old. I love her very much. She is now in Poland. She writes to me very often... I would be very sorry to leave my mother, but I must go to the Island with this girl." (P.g., 10).

"... I will take my cousin, she is seventeen years old. I will take her because she is nice. She has got fair hair and curls, and blue green eyes. (She is) very good tempered and agreeable ... very good at playing tennis... good at making things... can draw very well... she could draw very good pictures and I could paint them... she is very polite... has a bird called Peter... Also she has a tabby cat, he is very pretty..." (E.g., 10).

If we have to characterize the general attitude of girls towards their friends—the adult women, we can say that the three main groups of qualities are responsible for the situation; those of an ideal mother, and ideal friend and, which is in this case

probably most typical, a perfect model from which to take an example.

"Motherly" qualities are acceptance and protection, but at the same time they are ^{free} of any compulsion and undue authority. It is true, that girls admire their choice being an authoritative person, but only in so far as the properly integrated, harmonious behaviour requires that quality. Receiving protection is an especially important reason with girls who have no mothers.

"... I would take Mrs. K. She has always been very good to me. She is 27 years old... I would like very much to have her with me... I love her very much, indeed". (P.g., 11 - she lives only with her father, her mother died).

"... I would like to go with Dorothy J., age 23 years,... because when I was little she used to look after me and I have always been her friend. She is always taking me out and I go and see her every week-end nearly and I used to stay over the week-ends with her." (E.g., 14 - a sensitive girl from a very poor family with 6 other children).

"... She is very sensible and knows how to deal with children and people in an emergency..." (E.g., 15 - about her friend, 35.)

"If ever I was in troubles I should go to her. I trust her implicitly and she is the best friend I could ever choose. She is never in bad temper and her patience is never ending..." (E.g., 15 - about her friend of 22).

"... She can always do the proper thing in difficulties, and is always willing to help everybody... She would take care of

me instead of my mother." (P.g., 16 - mother living with her.)

The qualities of an ideal friend in these cases embrace the understanding and common interests, together with sympathy and acceptance. There exists also reciprocity in affection, and the feeling of perfect ease and security.

All these qualities are enhanced by the fact that they are coming from the older person, who belongs to the important world of grown-ups, and yet is quite friendly, understanding, a good companion and shares one's interests, activities, troubles and pleasures.

"... If I got into troubles she would help me, she would not stand and laugh at me, and she is strong. She does not think only ~~of~~ herself, she would help anybody... She and I have always been on good terms and I would help her if she was in trouble." (E.g., 11 - about her 23 year\$-old-cousin).

"... She is a tall, graceful lady about thirty to forty years... The reason that I would choose her is that because she makes people feel at home wherever they are. When I first met Mrs. J... we were having soon the most liveliest conversation... after about fifteen minutes I had forgotten everything, even my shyness, which was most important..." (E.g., 13)

"... This person is a woman I know, about twelve years older than I am... She would not be over-bearing but would treat me as an equal (which would be the best course in such circumstances) and I do not think she dislikes my company... We would amuse ourselves with singing, dancing, inventing hair-styles and fashions and concocting new dishes..." (E.g., 14)

" The person I have decided to take with me... is aged about thirty-five years old... She is kind and gentle and has a keen sense of humour. One need never be afraid of asking her anything, but one cannot take any liberties with her such as being extremely cheeky and rude. Her eyes are too brown and warm for that... There would be plenty to talk about, because she knows a great deal about the other countries... and to look back on the happy days spent (in London)..." (E.g., 15).

"... Our tastes should be the same. The most important thing in ^{my} life is music, and in hers it has been most important *also*. She has sung for many years in the Bach Choir - only resigning at the outbreak of war, and so she takes very great interest in all my activities in the London Philharmonic choir. We are both terribly fond of serious music and we discuss many of the broadcasts, etc., that we listen to particularly those of contemporary music. — In fact music is a constant source of discussion and joy to both of us. Her taste in literature is the same as mine- so far as mine goes, and reading is one of her chief pastimes. I have had some of my happiest times in listening to her reading, and if we were allowed books on this desert island it would continue to be a great joy. Her superior knowledge of literature and her wide reading make her conversation most interesting. Her occupation is teaching, and she teaches Mathematics, in which I am particularly interested, so there is still another link..." (E.g., 18 - about her 53- year - old friend).

In two of the last examples we may see also two aspects of the third group of values which make for friendship with an adult person in girls — that such person, besides being protective in a mother-like way, and full of understanding, sympathy and sharing the same interests like a true friend, should be also an ideal model of mature adjustment, the personality to admire and imitate, and the example of perfection in some particular fields that appeal to the interests of a girl.

This third group of values, which make of a chosen person an ideal model, are very important because they influence directly the development of personality in the child who sets such a model before him. Such freely chosen authority participates in the super-ego formation, her principles are acquired by the child, her integration helps in strengthening this super-ego, and the whole process of imitation helps the child to pay attention to, and to understand her own personality. That is why many girls, as was the case with their attitude towards parents, look up to such a person for a sign of a full, strong integration, which prevents one from "taking any liberties with her such as being extremely cheeky or rude". In this way contact with such a person helps in controlling our lower, condemned by the "super-ego" modes of behaviour; and that is why such a person should be "admired, esteemed and honoured particularly", who "has a strong sense of right and wrong".

Of course, friends of the same age are not always able to

possess such an authority, although they may represent a good model too, provided they are liked enough, because, as I have said before, the mechanism of social preferences, which is being investigated here, is not a simple one. However, our knowledge of its intricacies is of the utmost importance from the point of view of the psychological art of building up strong and well integrated personalities.

In the following example the need for an adult, experienced and understanding friend is particularly strong.

"... She is about 53 years old. That may seem surprising. It may be thought most natural that a girl of 18 should choose and take a desert-island companion of her own age; but my friends and acquaintances of my own age are either too little known or known too much to make them suitable; and the chief reason for not choosing them is that they are no more mature than I am, and therefore incapable of talking with experience or giving advice — or being admired, esteemed or honoured particularly.

I have known my chosen companion for seven years. I first met her when I was evacuated to Oxford, and she was the special friend of the family with whom I was billeted. I only saw her during part of each holiday but during that time I was living with her and therefore often in her company. When I left Oxford in 1943, I did not see her again until 1947. During these years we have corresponded as frequently as possible considering her busy life, and I have learned more about her

through her letters..." (E.g., 18, — the same as in one of the above examples, about her 53-year-old friend.)

Here I should like to make a short digression to draw attention to the correspondence, mentioned in the above composition. As far as my experience in child guidance goes, correspondence is one of the very important and successful methods in child psychotherapy, especially in the period of adolescence -- it not only allows one to give instructions and advice, but it requires from the girl or boy the careful consideration of her (or his) own mental state, difficulties and needs and it enables the child to formulate for himself his own inner life. It is as good as a diary, being even better because in his replies the psychotherapist is able to direct the child's attention to the required problem and to explain to him many of his troubles.

Besides the general superiority of an adult friend, her higher knowledge or ability in some field, which particularly interests the child, makes for the choice and also allows such a person to be regarded as an ideal and a model. In one of the above examples a girl respected in her choice the latter's talent in singing; in many cases, especially among boys, various sporting and practical abilities will be seen. As the most complete form of such an attitude toward an adult friend we may perhaps regard the friendly relations between an experienced master and his devoted disciples, be it in sport, in trade or in a scientific research work at the universities.

Returning to our material we may see that in the most

complete form such an estimation of a chosen "model" comprises her or his principles, beliefs and higher life ideals. In such cases the mechanism of identification may be at its full swing.

"... When I grow up I would like to be just like her. She never seems to get annoyed and makes the best of all her troubles. She does not like bothering people and will put herself out to do anything for anybody. She is twenty-two years old and makes a very sincere friend... ~~If~~ she says a thing she never goes against her word...

... She is also a great fun to play games and is always playing jokes on other members of her family... She does not mind people playing jokes on her as most people who play jokes on other people do. People never think that she is as old as she is, as she acts just like herself and does not try to be better as she is meant to be..." (E.g., 15).

All through the above examples we were able to see the most important striving of the children and adolescents which accounts for the great majority of their preferences— the need of emotional security and ease. In this choice ~~of~~ adults this factor is also obvious and present either ~~in~~ the direct or in the indirect way. I think that the achievement of the security feeling is actually synonymous with the perfect life adjustment.

In the following composition we are able to see again the majority of the main values responsible for the choice of an adult person by girls; acceptance and sympathy, friendship, experience, understanding and providing protection along with security and ease, similarity of interests, high life ideals and a clear

understanding of right and wrong.

"If I were on a desert island I should want to take someone who would not easily or quickly tire of me and I of her.

Companionship is a great asset but the two must think somewhat alike although not too much so. Now whom can I select from my circle of friends. As I am a person who appreciates another's understanding I must take someone older than myself. She must be a Catholic or a one who believes in God. She must have a quiet resourceful courage. I should like someone motherly but not too overpowering. Someone with whom I could discuss almost anything without feeling restrained.

I would like someone who can act and think quickly as I cannot do so.

Someone who can take an interest in everyday life who loves nature. I have selected her now. She is one of my dearest and best friends, I think she knows me better than I know her. She is about thirty years of age. She fits very well into my description.

She is a devout Catholic and she has a strong sense of right and wrong.

She is tall and strong and well-built. I have selected her because she is not a very near relation and my family I know so much about that I think we would run out of conversation. I would like her motto to be "work well, pray well, sleep well and play well..." (E.g., 15)

We are perfectly aware, because of the very small number of cases of children who chose ^{adult} people, that such a choice is not

a popular one. The diversion in interests, preoccupation with their work and narrow field of general interests make of the grown-ups poor companions for the children. From the psychological point of view we may also mention the declining of general intelligence and acuity of senses together with the "grown-upish" susceptibility ~~to~~ all criticism, especially from the younger folk— all that ~~explains~~ why the contact between adults and youngsters is rather poor, to the obvious disadvantage of both sides.

"... I would not take any grown-up, because they don't have the same ideas about lots of things and so it would not be so very easy to be with them. Also a grown-up would probably make a lot of rules." (E.g., 15).

"... Living on the Desert Island might be fun, because we would not have to go to school and we would do exactly as we like. We wouldn't have to obey any rules at all..." (E.g., 13).

x

x x

In all this material only 29 boys chose as their companions grown-up men from outside the family circle. In this number there were only two Polish boys, obviously because of the almost complete absence of young and middle-aged men in their refugee settlements. From this number I subtract also 3 cases where the choice was that of a priest, as I will discuss it in the next chapter. From among 26 cases, there are 12 where the chief reason

for a choice, as stated in the compositions, was the superior knowledge and life experience of a chosen person, the preferences for teachers came usually in this group. Some other personality traits were also mentioned, but only additionally.

In the second group various practical, usually outdoor abilities, like canoeing, fishing, woodcraft, etc., are given as the chief reasons for a choice. The personal qualities are here spoken of much more, than they were in the previous group. It looks as if the interests most intimately connected with boys' hobbies at a given period made these chosen adults more human and friend-like with the youngsters. The choice of a Scoutmaster is most representative for this group. Some of such replies were extensively quoted in one of the previous chapters. Altogether there are 6 compositions of this character.

In the last three compositions the closer personal attachment is more marked—on the whole they do not differ very markedly from the second group, although more personal reasons, like mutual confidence, close friendship etc., are mentioned in this last group.

On the whole, persons who are models and ideals for the boys with whom this admiration is based on more subjective and emotional attachment, are found in the two last groups. In no case, however, has this attachment such a definitely affective character, as we have seen it with girls. Among boys the attitude towards grown-ups is usually different from their attitude towards their close friends. Even if these friends

are older, they are still recognized as boy-companions. In any case, some "objective personality values" in preferences for adults are usually put forth before the subjective loyalties.

In order to illustrate the above discussion, I would like to introduce analysis of these cases with some examples of choice of the much older boy-friends. In such situations the choice is usually based much more on the attitude of friendly acceptance on the part of the older boy, on his friendly attitude, rather than on the admiration for his higher knowledge and various abilities, which ^{would} make of him a model to be looked up to. In some cases attachment is based, not only on the latter's acceptance, but on protection and similar services received from him. On the whole we have friendship, feeling of security and higher knowledge or experience underlying such a choice. Besides the clear recognition of the superiority of an older companion such cases do not differ from the average preferences for boy-friends.

"... It would be a boy much older than me... He is much more brainy and clever than me, being older as well, he is taught many things at school years before me and therefore... I would have somebody who could teach me many things...

... There is a certain understanding between us which is hard to describe... I call him Geoff for short. During school holidays we go together... he had to build a wireless set for school homework and I went around to help him and we got it done quickly and were able to enjoy more time in the open air..." (E.b., 13).

".. I would take my best friend, who is 17 or 18 years old. I have known him for many years. When once I was drowning in

Poland he saved me and I was very grateful to him for that. I am taking him as I have no better friend than him... We always loved each other like brothers..." (P.b., 13).

"... His age is seventeen.. he has been my friend for a very long time, we go out every night together, to the Cinema and other such places.

He has a small brother, and looks after him very well, that is one reason why I should take him with me. He is taller and a lot stronger, and could help in many ways...

... Another reason would be he has more knowledge than I, and he could teach me things which I would miss if I took any younger person...

... We treat each other like brothers, share everything we have given to us...

... The things I like about him are, the way he dresses, he always looks smart and speaks rather slow and clear and sensible..." (E.b., 14).

"... His age is sixteen and a half. I think I like him because he isn't too big for his boots as to speak, he does not show off like a few people I know, and is an all-round sportsman in swimming, football, and cricket...

... When a dozen of the boys go for a cycle ride and one of us gets a puncture he will help the one...and meet the rest of the boys along the road.

... He is a fairly quiet chap but can make himself heard when he wants..." (E.b., 14).

"... He is one of the most versatile friendliest persons I know and also one of the most honest... I know. Although he is nearly nineteen and is at the moment doing his national service in the Royal Air Force, he and I are very friendly... He is a very broad-minded person... and a very good "mixer". He is equally at home among the young children of the village and the grown-ups. He is very popular with everybody and you can always tell when George is around because of the crowd of small children that chase and follow him. He is a very good worker... good at football and cricket... his hobbies are boxing and gardening.

In spite of having all these qualities he is anything but big-headed, in fact at times he is too modest with himself, especially in the presence of Notabilities..." (E.b., 16).

Now we may proceed to the analysis of the first group of adults chosen by boys. As I have just said the chief reason for this choice was their superior knowledge and experience. We shall see this factor is differently understood by the younger and older boys.

"... I would like to take a scientist who could explain everything to me. I chose him because otherwise I would not know the names of things." (P.b., 11).

We see in this example how important for the little boys is the knowledge of names of things in the surrounding world—it makes one more familiar with, and safer about this big, mysterious world.

"... My friend is a man who is a teacher... he is 30 years old, he is a very learned man... he could help me when I

thought I was lost, he could read the map and tell me where I was... he is a tall man... he is handsome and is very smart..." (E.b., 11).

"... I would take our Science Master... he would know everything... he is my favourite teacher." (E.g., 12).

"... I would take a friend of mine, an old... carpenter ... Provided he had a few tools he could build nearly anything out of nearly nothing..." (E.b., 13)

" I would like to take (my Form master), because he can play rugger, a football and cricket well, so as to keep me fit. (He) can also teach, so I could still go on learning things..." (E.b., 13).

Olier boys appreciate in their teachers not only their pure knowledge, but also their character traits more extensively.

"... I would take Mr. H., because he has a sense of humour as well as intelligence. I am very interested in chemistry and I like a good joke. He would be able to answer all my questions (nearly) about chemistry, and he seems to know quite an amount of Mathematics, for I am nearly as interested in maths, as I am in chemistry... He would be able to teach me German...

... I would come back to England and be in a position to take degree in Science..." (E.b., 15).

"... I would choose a person who could always be dressed in a pleasing manner, with his clothes smart and colourfull... I would like my companion to have a great knowledge of books and plays and so on, and to have the ability to discuss these... Finally I would like my companion to be strong of character, and

a person generally amusing to be with, but with the ability to be serious when necessary. All these qualities I think can be found in one person, our form-master, Mr. F..." (E.b., 15).

As we have seen among older girls many preferences for adults were based on the latters' excessive ability or knowledge in a particular field which especially interested the particular girl. It seems that with older boys such diversion of special interests is even more marked.

"... Taking the masters one by one there is only one suitable, and since his life appears to have been fixed firmly to mathematics I think I would take him...

... to prevent myself from becoming eccentric... (he) would be a person with a sense of humour..." (E.b., 15).

(He is a) "good naturalist... I would learn a great deal about animal and bird life which would help me in my observation of wild in the future...

... The reason for having an older man is because he would be much wiser and would stop any foolhardy action.

There would be no need for the opposite sex, for any cooking to be done would be of the simple sort..." (E.b., 17).

"... My main reason is because Eric has now retired from First Class Soccer and would be able to give me a good deal of coaching. Also he is fairly useful cricketer... he was an

tard, Nouveau raconte les détails de cette visite à sa soeur dans la lettre qu'il lui adresse de Bruxelles le 25 novembre 1891. Ces souvenirs indélébiles le poussent à faire de Benoît-Joseph Labre, son saint tutélaire et de devenir son émule. Le prosélytisme de Verlaine à cette occasion est attesté par Delahaye. "Pour Germain Nouveau, il n'y a aucun doute. Je l'ai entendu causer en 1877, quand Verlaine lui faisait visiter tant d'églises".⁵⁵⁰ Mais ces élans mystiques avaient été accompagnés de beuveries. Dans la lettre que Nouveau adresse à Verlaine de Paris le 7 novembre 1877, il ne se rappelle pas la visite à la maison natale de saint Labre, mais celle rendue à l'auberge d'Amettes. Ernest Delahaye illustre ce même épisode dans son dessin "César Borgia".

Comment et en quelle mesure Verlaine provoque-t-il la dernière crise mystique de Germain Nouveau? On remarque chez les deux poètes une même alternance entre le divin et le profane, entre l'idéalisme et le réalisme, entre le sérieux et le facétieux, mais dans "Dernier Madrigal", ultime pièce

⁵⁵⁰ Ernest Delahaye, La Part de Verlaine et de Rimbaud dans le Sentiment Religieux Contemporain, Paris, Messein, 1935, p. 119.

He can stock the buck, he can tell ~~the~~ difference between the deer by the hoof marks.

Sometimes he will look at the sky and tell you what the day going be like to-morrow.

Often he shows me how to cure snake bites from poison." (E.b., 12).

The above hymn by the boy glorifying his chosen hero reminds us of an attitude we saw in some boys adoring their Scoutmasters, just for being near to perfection in some values which are the most popular among the younger boys, and who, at the same time, were quite accepting and friendly with boys. It also attracts the boy's attention to the ^{other} personality traits of such an example of a leader:

"... I would like to take best my Scoutmaster, Mr. B.. Not only do I know him well, and on the whole get on quite well with him, I also have a great admiration for his general fcharacter, in addition to his great knowledge of Scoutcraft and camping... I have always found him equal in dealing with any emergency of any kind. In addition to this any camp which he is running is practically sure to be good fun." (E.b., 16).

"... I should pick Lord Rowallan-the Chief Scout. This is an obvious chpice because it is easily realized that to reach such a position a man must be absolutely proficient in almost every type of occupation... A man such as he must be an expert on camping and everything related to it. I am not a Scout myself but I used to be and I am still interested in

the work which they do. I do not think any harm would befall us whilst the Chief Scout was in command." (E.b., 15).

"... He is an officer in the Boys' Brigade and has also had Scouting experience... He is strong as he works on a coal lorry and intelligent with a knowledge of engineering. These are his physical virtues and he would also be good company being a Christian man, a great friend of mine for several years, and being able to keep cheerful all the time. So he possesses the best all-round qualifications of any person that I know." (E.b., 16).

"... I would look for a person who would make a good friend, also he must be a practical man... His job was the skipper and organiser of a holiday-camp... He was chosen as one of Britain's fittest men... During the war he served as a paratroop training instructor. He is a magnificent swimmer and no child at the camp had any fear of the water whilst he was around. He was a good dancer and an excellent conversationalist. He was also very practical. Whilst I was at the camp a girl broke her leg and it was he who improvised a chair out of a tea-trolley for her." (Eb., 16).

As I have said before, the last few compositions about adult-friends do not differ very much in their character from the whole second group which was discussed presently. They simply demonstrate some particular situations. The following composition presents the pure situation of acceptance.

"... I went with a man... his name was Mr. K... He took me over Crawford Woods to see the seagulls on a Sunday with

a dog. That is why I like him so much and he also takes me to pictures every Saturdays." (E.b., 12).

In the next composition we see the great attachment of a boy to his boss - a milkman, where friendship arose out of the common work:

"... I would take a friend of mine, called James... with me. He is a young man I have known for about a year, he is the milkman I help every weekend. I would take him for several reasons. First we get on well together he trusts me and I trust him... Then he has been places and seen people and he has experience... I have helped him in all kinds of weather and he has helped me many a time and is always ready to help me again." (E.b., 13).

"... I thought about the question and decided that a youth and a good sport was not the only things in life and after considering the question thoroughly I arrived at the following conclusions:

He would have to be a bit older than me, and a person who was never boring... who could talk on a large number of interesting subjects and who could freely make jokes. There are not many people like that, but I do know one...

... He is tall and about 24 years old. He had a good education and travelled all over England and Scotland.

We both like the same sports and we have many other things in common.

I know him for a good few years now and he has never had the slightest intention of getting married...

... If I was ever stranded on a desert island I would definitely choose John... as my only companion." (E.b., 14).

The last composition directs our attention to one problem, which - among some others — accounts for the misunderstanding between boys and adults, and that is the attitude towards the opposite sex. As we have seen in some previous chapters the attitude of boys towards the opposite sex is strictly negative, and only later in adolescence does it change gradually. At the same time they are prone to admire various young adults, who make good models or are good leaders of boys. Of course, they would like to have such adults represent their ideal of a man, and here normal interests in the opposite sex are usually not consistent with such an ideal pattern of a boys' hero. Sometimes, as in this last composition, the unmarried condition is an important asset in the eyes of the youngsters. In my child guidance practice I saw quite a few examples of similar attitudes towards youth leaders. In one case I had to investigate some accusations against an organiser of a holiday camp for boys, who was charged with immoral behaviour with his fiancée, who was living in the vicinity of the camp. The question was raised by some persons from amongst boys' parents. The investigation disclosed, that all gossip was fabricated by younger boys 12 - 15 years of age who were deeply hurt by the "treason" of their popular leader, while the older boys, 16- 18 years of age, were much more "tolerant" of the situation.

On the whole the signs of acceptance on the part of adults and feeling of security in their presence are very important for

the adolescents. There are many instances in the psychotherapeutical work with adolescent boys where such an attitude on the part of a well integrated psychotherapist helps very quickly to alleviate their difficulties in adjustment and earns their deep gratitude. It does not mean, however, that they like "soft," delicate and gentle adults, On the contrary, the acceptance and security is of much greater value when it comes from a bright and daring, well integrated and strong adult, whose whole sound personality imposes confidence and security in his presence.

The disappointment with adults is usually based on differences in interests, as we have seen before, and on too numerous restrictions imposed by grown-ups; some of such complaints were evident in a few compositions by boys and girls quoted before. Here are just a few more illustrations:

"... I would much rather take a person who I can speak, and play, and have some fun with, than a grown-up, who would be forever telling you what you mustn't do, although sometimes they were right. A grown-up tends to be more restraint, than a boy who likes to get into mischief..." (E.b., 13).

"... A boy would be more of a companion to me... and although arguments were certain to take place the differences would only be small and when important questions were in issue two boys would be more likely to agree than would a boy and a grown-up." (E.b., 14).

f) Religious values and the choice of priests.

As I have mentioned on some occasions before the numerical results of this work are by no means the only way of assessing the respective importance of various values advanced as reasons for the preferences for people in the environment. The religious beliefs and principles are spoken about only occasionally in this material although, undoubtedly, they are very important factors in the process of the integration of personality during adolescence, especially with children from the communities where religious beliefs occupy an important place among life ideals. These ideals are usually referred to only occasionally, as people on the whole do not like to speak often about their fundamental principles in life. However, the qualitative analysis of this material allows one to find some interesting examples to illustrate this factor of adjustment and to assess its rôle in the interhuman relations.

All references to the religious ideals and experience show that the latter may be classified as valuable from four points of view:

1. They supply some ready-made moral standards, supported by the supernatural authority of God as well as by the authority of parents and other important personages in the social environment. They are especially influential with children, when there are some living people who confess such principles and ideals. It is not difficult to realize that such ideals help very considerably in the formation of the super-ego, especially if they are propagated by people, who are popular, loved and imitated by children.

From the few compositions, where priests were made social preferences, their general personality value seems to increase their spiritual influence.

2. Clear and well defined life ideals make for the better security of an individual. It is especially important with adolescents, who very often experience situations of deep conflict over life ideals in the process of their social adjustment. It is usually very difficult to find one's own way of living, and, on the whole, adolescents are very anxious to find ready-made examples and principles which would enable them to build their personality or their "world of values" round the core of some very basic, clearcut principles. Here the authority of a priest offers very definite and tangible help. Being deeply afraid of sin, of guilt against the highest authority of God, the adolescents feel much safer, when this tension of guilt-anxiety may be removed by the friendly, well integrated person endowed with supernatural authority. It straightens the complicated situation and gives a feeling of deep relief. It is no wonder that young people faced with the situation of being separated from society, alone with their inner moral doubts and anxieties, are very eager to secure the outside authority of a priest to relieve them of the tension of conflicts and doubts.

Of course, not all the adolescents react in such a manner to their moral difficulties, some of them are more indifferent to them, while some are morbidly worried and scrupulous. On the whole, however, the period of adolescence is certainly more liable

to evoke such difficulties than any other phase of life.

Another aspect of security acquired through the religious ideals is confidence in the assistance of God in all human difficulties. Some children even simply declared that they would like to go to the desert Island with God himself, for under his omnipotent care nothing could harm them. This kind of security, even if not expressed in such an extreme way, certainly makes for the greater feeling of security in all life adjustment, as it is interestingly exposed from the point of view of mental hygiene by Professor Moore. (x).

3. Another source of security based on the religious principles emerges from the satisfaction of the powerful motive for conformity — here children speak about having a companion ~~with~~ the same religious principles, who would belong to the same denomination. Such a situation implies much greater confidence in his way of thinking and behaving, and it also gives a feeling of another important uniting link. Such values are emphasized in relation to parents and adults as well as to co-evals.

4. The last point is rather of statistixal interest: all our material came from very different sources; especially on the English side I had approximately ^{even} numbers of children from the Catholic and non-Catholic schools. References to the religious ideals and principles were much more numerous among the Catholic children, the ratio being as 4:23 (Polish group, belonging entirely to the Roman Catholic denomination was not included in the above number - among Polish children 12 referred to the religious matter)

(x) Moore, T.V.: Personal Mental Hygiene. 1947.

It suggests that the Catholic education supplies much more spiritual material, which is acquired by children in the formation of their personality and applied to the everyday life problems.

It is also important to note that no other religious ministers, besides the Roman Catholic priests, were chosen by children as their companions in this material.

Following are some examples to illustrate the above considerations in the same order of problems:

"... I think I should like to take a priest with me on my desert isle, because after all the most important object in life is to save your soul.

My priest should be young, strong, ingenious and have a sense of humour. The sense of humour is most important because if you have to live for years with some one, tempers are apt to get frayed.

A priest being near you would give you a sense of security in case of injury or death. He would also keep you on the right track morally. Youth is essential because old people are incredibly boring, dull and spiritless. Ingenuity is another vital factor because one often needs little aids to comfort which require an ingenious mind to develop.

Another and most important reason why I chose a priest, is because he is well educated and consequently would help you keep your reason, by giving you lessons and discussing affairs etc..," (E.b., 16).

"... I would not take a friend of mine, for he could not do me any good, nor would I take one of my family, but I would take someone who could help me in after-life, I refer of course to a Roman Catholic priest. Now to say which one this is rather

a difficult question for all priests are of equal power, but if I had the choice, I think I would take Father John C. I have known Father C. for many years and besides being very pious he always has time for a joke and is always very sociable. Father C. whom I first met when I was at the age of seven, always struck me as being a perfect model to follow, and it seemed that he was everything.

His age is thirty-nine now when I went to school Father C. was always arranging bicycle rides, excursions and holiday trips, and yet always managed to carry out his holy duties to the letter. If we went to a desert island together Father C. could teach me to live a life like he himself ^{does} and then all the time we were on that island we would not just be wasting our time but doing our souls good by prayer and perhaps by the holy sacrifice of the Mass. There would be very little opportunity to fall into sin, and plenty of opportunity to enjoy ourselves..."(E.b., 17).

"... I would take Father S... He is very kind to me and perhaps to everybody else. Being on the desert island if I happen to commit a sin, I could go to confession. This Priest is very experienced, he saw plenty of things and he could advise me how to live. Otherwise I would die in sin and without the due Sacraments. In case of trouble he would comfort me; if I fell ill or such like, he would pray for me. I chose him because Christians cannot live without priests, as they would not be able to go to Heaven and see the Lord God." (P.b., 13).

Sometimes, religion is the only way to find a solution for all conflicts caused by difficult interhuman relations.

In such cases, not unknown ~~to~~ adolescents, religion is the only thing which may exist together with the feeling of individual independence.

"... I would take nobody. I would be able to do everything without asking anybody's permission. I would be able to make all decisions by myself only... and I would be responsible only before ~~God and~~ myself... I would be entirely free." (P.b., 19).

The confidence in God is well illustrated in the following quotations:

"... I am sure if God made me to be stranded on a desert island he would give such a companion as He only thought fit." (E.g., 13).

"... If I were on the desert island I would ask God for help, because nobody could protect me better than God himself..." (P.g., 12).

"... If I chose my girl friend or any member of my family we could all perish without the help of God. That is why I would like to choose Him to take care of me..." (P.g., 16).

Similar religious beliefs are the important uniting factor among friends, too. The feeling of mutual conformity enhances one's confidence in oneself;

"... I would take Christine... She is twelve years old, she is cheerful in all her ways and owns up to anything she does wrong... Christine is a good Catholic and I am sure that if she could not go to mass while she was there with me she would make up for it saying some prayers, and making a confession when we

reached home.

If Christine and I were alone on the island I am sure we could look after ourselves, without there being a grown-up with us..." (E.g., 11).

In the next example an English boy of 15 speaks about his best friend, enumerating his various sporting abilities and character qualities. He also mentions:

"... The main reason for my choice is our similarity of outlook. The main point of similarity is that we both are Catholics and therefore would have the same fundamental conceptions of life..." (E.b., 15).

"... She is only two months older than me... She shares the same hobbies, likes and dislikes, knows the same people as myself. She is a Roman Catholic like me, and so there would be no scorn on her part when I practised the ordinary duties of a Catholic, for she would do the same with me..." (E.g., 16).

"... I would choose a boy who is in my form and about my age... and he would have strong faith in his religion, which would be Catholic..." (E.b., 16)

"... I would like my companion to know something of politics, to be interested in history, and to be a Catholic." (E.g., 17).

The preferences for parents are also supported by the latter's strong religious principles. We have seen such an example in the chapter treating with girls' preferences for mother. Here is another example:

"... Mummy is a good Catholic which is very comforting to know when there are two of you alone on a desert island..." (E.g., 12)

There is not enough material to present the changes in this religious interest throughout the whole school period. However, from all the cases where I found references to this point, some of which were quoted in this chapter and in some previous ones, it seems that the religious values were making for the social preferences in younger children were primarily based on their motive of conformity, with security^{next}, while with the older adolescents their striving for integration and security was the main factor directing their attention to the value of deep religious principles and ideals.

(g) The choice of animals

The choice of animals was comparatively frequent in this material. Forty children declared their choice as being an animal. Polish children pick animals definitely more often than the English children the exact number being 24: 16, although the number of all subjects^{in this group} was much lower, notwithstanding the popular love for animals among the English people. In both groups boys took animals more often, than girls; in the Polish group boys scored 16 against 8 girls, in the English group 13 boys against 3 girls.

When we take into account the incidence according to the age of children, we shall see that in all groups the choice of animals occurred most frequently between the ages of 11 - 14. About 3/4 of all cases (31 out of 40) lies within these limits, and more than half (22) falls in the age of 12 and 13 years. (See ~~table~~ I)

When we consider the general character of these preferences for animals among children, we see a few interesting features of such a choice.

Animals are for a child up to the adolescent age a definite social reality. They are often compared with human beings, sometimes being considered more "valuable" than real people in the child's environment. Such attitude towards animals on the part of children reminds^{one} of the reactions of the primitive mind, where the lower races ascribe to animals not only human abilities,

but even some divine properties. For a child, animals possess very important qualities, that he learns to value in the outside world to which he has to adjust himself. Some animals are strong, brave, some of them are generally believed to provide protection and security. Some of them again make excellent friends and companions for the child's play activities -- very often they are more patient and friendly, and therefore provide greater security than the human playmates.

"... I would not like to leave my sister baby and my dog..." (E.g., 12).

"... I would like to take my girl-friend and my dog. She is my friend... and my dog is also my friend..." (P.g., 13).

Here is an interesting case of a healthy boy of 10, well adjusted in his home and school life, who has been living with his mother for the last few years, his father being in the Army.

"... I will take an elephant with me, he will defend me against all enemies."

After a few minutes he crossed out this composition and wrote another one:

"... I will take my mother, because she would take care of me."

Even if not indulging in supposition that this powerful, protective elephant may unconsciously symbolize the boy's longing for his strong and protective father, who was absent for such a long time, we may observe on one hand the extreme ease with which this boy exchanges his mother for an animal with the borderline being very indefinite, and on the other hand we see the boy's

admiration for the highly evaluated qualities of strength, courage and protection represented by this animal.

"... I picked my cat very brave indeed and he was not afraid of anything only rats because they were large..." (E.b., 9).

"... The dog I would take with me should be very big and strong... (P.g., 12).

"... I would take a dog, because he is a faithful friend and companion, he would amuse me with his tricks and I would be able to play with him, he would be a companion in my loneliness." (E.b., 13).

"... I should like to take my dog, who is called Butch. Butch and I are always friends and he would be a very good companion... He would also be a good protector." (E.b., 13).

"... He (a dog) is the closest friend I have and it would be very useful in many ways. For instance he would be very good company, although he cannot talk. It would help fight any wild animals... He is really very big, well trained and knows many tricks. During the war he was taught not to touch anything thrown down useless you said "British"... if nothing was said he would not touch it." (E.b., 13).

From the point of view of wholesome adjustment to the social environment, the rôle played by animals in this process may be considered a very useful one. In many situations they enable the child to abreact various tendencies or inhibitions, they provide an outlet and are the objects for satisfying the needs for social

contact, for displaying friendliness, dominance or even mild aggressiveness. Also it is easy to secure "acceptance" from animals and they are usually consistent in being grateful and friendly. They are much less complicated than the other figures in the environment such as human beings; their reactions are much more stable and therefore much easier for a little child to learn about, and to adjust to. And besides all this they possess other values which we have mentioned above, such as strength, faithfulness, protection, security etc.,

After this consideration it seems clear, why the preferences for animals, usually dogs, were more numerous among more insecure Polish groups of fatherless refugee children with over-anxious ^{mothers}, and also why the choice of animals is more prevalent among boys, more subjected to social conflicts, than among better protected girls, staying mostly at home.

But besides all the above reasons for the animal preferences among children, there is another very important situation, which was present in about half of the whole number of cases of animal choice in this material, and which was genuinely ^{connected} with the feeling of social insecurity in children. To put it quite simply, we may say that animals are chosen either by happy, well socialized and well-adjusted children, who simply find in them pleasant and devoted companions, or by children badly adjusted socially, who find in the animal-choice compensation for frustrations experienced with human beings. In such compositions, which, as I have

said just now, amounted to about 50% of the total number of animal preferences, the choice of an animal was usually supported by a comparison of its merits with the faults of the human beings:

"I will take my dog with me, because they are such friends and if I was being send away I would not like to leave my dog... a dog can guard you and look after you... better than a human can." (E.b., 12).

"... If I took a person, there are several difficulties arising for instance... we would quarrel... My dog would keep me company and I think I should be quite happy." (E.b., 13).

" I would like to take my Bulldog with me, because he is my best friend and if I took my parents they might worry about me. I do not like that... (E.b., 14).

This last composition is a good example of how a child feels emotionally insecure because of his parents' overprotectiveness and anxiety. Therefore he prefers a dog, which will provide much more stable and quiet social contact.

In some ^{cases} of preferences for animals I have especially inquired at schools about the general social adjustment of some particular children. For instance, the following composition was written by a highly strained boy, who was considered a good pupil at school, but who was always in some difficulties with his playmates, often fighting with other boys and on the whole very unstable in his social reactions. He was living with a very nervous mother, who complained that the boy was very difficult to manage at home.

" I will take my dog, because he is man's best friend. If I chose some man I would start quarrelling with him. Therefore I will take my dog, because I will neither quarrel nor fight with him... He would be very useful, we should be always happy together, he would accompany me everywhere," (P.b., 12).

The two following boys are the only children in their respective families. They come from different schools, both being considered by teachers as definitely lacking in proper adjustment at school.

" I would take my dog. It would be very nice with a dog, who is such a good friend to man... he would defend me. The dog is more faithful than a school friend, because your friend forgets about you very quickly, and your dog would never betray you. If you were in any danger, a friend would escape, and you might perish." (P.b., 12).

"... Your dog is always your best friend, he always helps his master, even in the greatest difficulties. Some people are also good friends, but in any danger they would think about their own safety and never help their friends..." (P.b., 12).

The following boy was observed to be always sad and shy, with very poor contact with his schoolmates, very stubborn and easily upset; physically rather weak and undernourished; relations between him and his mother were not very satisfactory; good pupil at school;

" I would take my dog. He would protect me against all danger, he would also bring me food." (P.b., 13)

Here is a composition by a 14-year-old English boy; his

mother died a few years ago and the child ~~was~~ living with his father and his step mother.

" If I were going to a desert island by compulsion I would take my dog. I would take him for preference because besides being a good pet and companion, he is a good guard and watch dog. I would not take a girl because they are timid and sometimes a nuisance. I know girls have an advantage, because they can cook mend and break the monotony of being alone on a desert island. But I think I could mend, cook and my dog's play would break the monotony...

... He could also come hunting with me, swimming and many other things a girl could not do.

A dog could also if you lost your way find your home, whereas most people would panic. A dog is a faithful friend and would stand by you in your direst moments, he could also guard you from animals and many other dangerous things..." (E.b., 14).

The similar preference for animals, explained by the distrust in and disappointment with, human being happens occasionally even among the older adolescents:

"... I would take my dog, who would be my best friend and my protector against all dangers... I would be so happy to live on the desert island with only nature around me. I would feel among animals just like among men, perhaps even better, because animals would never be angry with me, they would be always obedient and faithful..." (P.g., 16).

"... I would take with me my beloved dog... The dog may be better than a man, he can always feel whether his master is happy or sad. I would not like to take any man, because men are so often unfriendly with each other. They may hurt you, and many of them would pay no attention to your unhappiness... If I took my dog, I would never see any hatred or scorn, because dogs have no such feelings... He would even understand all my troubles or sorrows..." (P.g., 16).

"... I do not think anyone from ^{among} my friends would like to go with me. Therefore I would take my faithful dog..." (P.g., 18).

Among all these preferences for animals there is one case characteristic not so much because of the attitude of children towards animals, but because it presents an interesting account by a sophisticated youngster who is probably very interested in the breeding of domestic animals and simply takes an opportunity to present his experience in this subject:

" I would like to take with me a cow in kindle, because I would have milk from her, and also, as she would be in her first year of calving she would carry on for another five years at least. Also as she was in calf, after nine months I would have a calf which would either be a bull or cow. If it was a cow I would wait until I had got it to as big as it would ever be on the grass that was on the island and then I would kill it, and what I could not eat at once I would evaporate some sea water and with the salt, salt the meat. If on the other hand the calf was a bull I would then be able to service its mother with it and

so have another calf. This would in time be very bad and produce a very weak strain but as I had no other bull on the island it could not be helped. The grass on the island would probably be very poor and so would make the milk yield very low and also I would have no other food for them. But of their milk I could make butter and cheese, and when I killed one I could have glue from their **h**orns and hooves and leather from their skins." (E.b., 13).

(h) Some particular situations reflected in the compositions.

One of the components of mal^aadjustment is fear. The fearful situations arise in the outside world and they leave the "emotional engrams" in the mind of a child. In this way he becomes conditioned to some fearful patterns, which, according to the principle of "redintegration" (Hollingworth)(x) (98) may be evoked even by a tiny fragment of the whole complex, or, in other words, by a mere part of the remembered "configuration" (Koffka) (xx) (99).

Such a fearful experience may be considered as an irritating splinter in the mind, even if it is stored in the unconsciousness, for the shorter or longer period. (I do not think that we should understand the "unconsciousness" as something markedly independent, therefore when I say "mind" I mean the whole of the mental life of an organism, both temporarily conscious or temporarily unconscious). Such an irritation by the fearful experience produces the state of tension, which accounts for the readiness ~~of~~ such an experience to be "redintegrated" at the slightest provocation. This happens when the organism relaxes its activity or its conscious guard, as in sleep, in the state of tiredness or exhaustion, and

(x) Hollingworth, H.L.: Abnormal Psychology. 1930

(xx) Koffka, E.: The Growth of the Mind, 1924

during perfect relaxation. Some complexes produce such a strong "emotional tension" that they invade spontaneously our dreams and even the wakeful periods of the neurotics, not speaking about the hallucinations of the insane. Other complexes produce lesser tension, but they may be easily evoked, especially in children. We may say that children, being much freer in their spontaneous activity, demonstrate more clearly and in less distorted form their complexes, than the adults, strongly and permanently inhibited by social "taboos" and other restrictions.

The emotional tension, existing because of some fearful experiences and leading to the general insecurity of an individual, underlies also the symbolic manifestation of the complexes. Children sometimes imagine various terrifying situations in their dreams, day-dreaming or plays, just because they evoke the hidden emotional tension. The psychoanalytical principle that complexes produce very often the recurrent repetition of their direct or symbolic manifestations may be understood as dependent on this tension, which does not allow the individual to get rid of a complex, before he perfectly adjusts himself to it or in other words, before he solves the unpleasant problem. As we see, this explanation clarifies the whole ground insofar as the psychoanalytical principles of dynamic complexes and the Gestalt-psychology dynamic conceptions of tension, striving for closure and perfection, are fundamentally the same. It may be said that social adjustment obeys the same laws of striving for perfection, as were applied by the Gestaltists to the other aspects of the mental activity.

In this material many children present their fears and complexes in their compositions. It is certainly due to the deliberately intended vagueness of the test subject and of the whole imaginary situation. As it has been said before, such compositions are usually found among younger children, and they resemble very closely the contents of dreams or of the day-dreaming.

In a few compositions children speak about their fear of snakes:

"... I took her because she is my best friend, but she said, I will not go near any snakes. Why I like Jean is that she goes everywhere with me. And she loves elephants and tigers. When we got there we heard a rustling in the bushes and out came a snake. She ran back to the ship. I looked back and saw a canoe lying on the sand, I picked it up and sailed over to the other side till we came to a house there was a man living in it, so we both went to bed." (E.g., 9).

The context of the above composition is rich and clear. This child demonstrates a case of "ophidiophobia" or the fear of snakes; it comes out at the beginning of the composition, then disappears, when the girl follows the instruction and writes about her friend, but the strong fear breaks out again and fully occupies her attention. We see also how she projects her fear on her companion, who said, "I will never go near any snake," and afterwards, when the snake appears, the other girl runs back to the ship, while our girl has still to cross the water in order to come back home, where she finds a man undoubtedly representing

her "protective father", and she can go to bed, as now she feels quite secure.

On the whole we see here again, in a very condensed form, the process of the adjustment to the outside world and the rôle played in it by other people. For this child, the main dangers of this world are represented and dominated by her great fear of snakes. Her closest friend helps her to represent her own personality — in the way as, in other cases, we have seen friends playing the important rôle in the integration of one's personality (x)

Parents represent ^{here} again their protective qualities. Both, ship and home, where a girl finds "a man" and experiences the feeling of ~~the~~ full security represent the ideal home atmosphere, protective and secure. All these pictures were evoked by the topic of the composition, where the island represented the new world, unknown to the child and full of various dangers and fears.

For the psychoanalysts the context of this "dream-composition" may present some additional interests. Thus probably the different behaviors of both girls could suggest some conflict in our subject's mind. While the first girl ran straight to her mother, the second

(x) "... To live with a jolly person makes oneself feel jolly.

If one lives with a person who sees the bright side of life one gets to be like that person. Close friends often influence each other a great deal." (L.g., 13).

one had to come back in a canoe, representing also her mother, across the water of birth, to her home, where, however, she found her father who provided her with protection and security. It may be also suspected that because of the conflicting loyalty to her mother, she experiences some difficulties in joining her father. The snake, in this case, would probably represent the danger of sexual attack. — However, without seeing a patient herself, it is not possible to go much further with such interpretation and even these illustrative speculations go outside the scope of this experimental work.

A very similar situation may be found in the next composition; there is again a fear of snakes and again a protective father comes unexpectedly to the rescue of a girl; there is also a conflicting desire of achieving independence from the family care and fear of the outside world. This fearful experience may come also as a punishment for deserting the parents. As we see, this last issue makes the situation more complicated, but we would remember that this composition^{is} from a girl four years older than the last one:

"... After about two weeks my father said it is nearly time to go home, but Betty and I didn't want to go home when the day came to go home... we couldn't find the track. Suddenly night began to fall and we were getting frightened and suddenly we heard a noise and when we looked we saw a big snake, it was just going to attack us when we heard a shot and the snake lay dead and we looked up we saw my father who had come to look

for us. When we were in the boat my father said that he would never visit a Desert Island again." (E.g., 13).

In the other chapter of this work we said that very often the qualities of the "protective father" were also ascribed to the older brother, to some male acquaintance, friend, etc. When looking over the imaginary situation we may also see some evidence in support of such a similarity or substitution.

Here is a composition of a Polish girl, who had been separated from her father for 7 years up to the moment of the writing of her composition, living only with her mother and two brothers, one of them, 3 years older than herself:

"... He is a very brave boy. I know it because a few times he helped me when I didn't expect it in the least. That is why I took him to this island...

... When we came there I wanted to cry, but he started to comfort me...

... Next day I went to look for some fruit. And when I moved a few steps from my brother a big snake which I didn't see, came out of the bushes, it would certainly have bitten me but for my brother..." (P.g., 15).

The attitude of boys towards such dangers, as far as this material allows to see, is different from that of girls:

"... Once we had a fight with a snake. We were asleep when I woke up because I heard a slithering sound, I woke my friend up and I got my knife and shone my torch around the floor

and I saw a snake.

I asked my friend to shine his torch in its face while I threw my knife at it, I then threw it at the snake and got it between the eyes..." (L.b., 11).

Disasters and dangers of other kinds are also mentioned in the compositions. It is difficult to assess from the limited number of such cases, but it seems that there is a tendency among girls to imagine that they are the victims of such dangers, while boys make such victims of their companions rather than of themselves. Although ~~it~~ does not necessarily mean that they want only to display their protective attitude, it may be due to their stronger inhibitions when they are required to be "haen". So, when they have some desire to receive protection, to be sympathized with, they rather ~~project~~ project it on a friend, whom they help and protect afterwards, as they would like to be helped and protected themselves. I have not enough material here to attempt solving this problem of attitude towards danger and pain among girls and boys, but I want only to mention the various aspects of the problem as it presents itself here.

In the next composition we see an interesting case of a girl who writes of experiencing an injury:

"... We both jumped into bed. In the middle of the night I woke up with a start for I heard a strange noise... I woke Brenda up and she heard it too. We both sat listening when suddenly some sharp claws were stuck into my back. I screamed and Brenda pulled the claws out of my back. We did not know what ~~it~~ was, my back was bleeding and it hurt. In the morning

Brenda washed it in the brook. After a week had passed my back was better..." (E.g., 10).

Another Composition:

"... His age is 11 years old...

... (On the island) we had the time of our lives jumping from tree to tree. We had a disaster, however, Alan fell and had a bully cut forehead and I had to carry him home..." (E.b., 12).

"... Then suddenly we hit a rock and there was an Island unknown. I got my friend out, he had a broken leg. Then I got him on the island where I had put his leg in some sticks.

I found a cave with a lion in it so I made it come out and I threw a brick on it and killed it..." (E.b., 12).

We have seen in the other chapters many more references to the fearful experiences when such traits as courage, bravery, "not afraid of anything", "of night", "of dark", etc., have been emphasized by children in their chosen friends, or adults.

In the following example we have a case of a girl whose insecurity feeling is so great that she is even afraid of accepting the imaginary island at all. She is simply afraid that nobody would like to go there with her. We may assume that this test situation reflects the real position of a girl, her lack of confidence in her social environment, and that, in turn, affects her capacity for successful adjustment. We see again the importance of other people for the proper socialization of a child

and its bearing on his personality:

" I would like to take my friend with me. Because I would not have anyone to go with me to the desert island. If I had no one to go with me, I would go by myself and why I would go by myself is because I don't think she likes me all that much. If she would not come I would pick another of my friends, Joan or Doreen, and if they would not come with me, I would not go at all.

That is all I think for now." (E.g., 12).

It is certainly the most exceptional case of an insecure child. It may witness her rejection at home and the difficulty with her adjustment at school. It may also be that there exists a close link between both these situations. What is most striking is that her social insecurity limits her whole initiative. She would decline the idea of facing new experiences just because she is socially insecure.

The other girl of twelve reports on her troubles with some girl-friends. Although she declares her full indifference to such situations, the persistence with which she speaks about them allows one to suspect that she is rather worried about it. In this case the attitude of this girl is perhaps within the normal limits but the exaggeration in susceptibility to such gossip may certainly lead to the greater insecurity based on the "complex of reference".

" I would like to take Frieda to the Desert Island...Frieda sulks and she likes a good time. Frieda sulks when she does not

have her own way. It is a nasty thing not to be friends with her for she says nasty things about you, even if you were arm in arm with her the day before, her liking for you will blind the nasty things she knows about you. She tells you how nasty May is or any other girl. Then she goes off to May and tells what you think about her and what nasty girl you are. This never worries me for I don't care what anybody thinks about me. I have often been in the bus and been behind a few girls in front having a conversation about me but it does not worry me.

Frieda is generous at times, but she is a good friend."
(E.g., 12).

The next composition by a twelve-year-old boy may seem, at first, an unusual one. However, it only proves the value of the vague test situation in which we are attempting to unearth the child's complexes and to discover the true facts about his social adjustment:

"The person I would like to have on a desert island with me would be my brother. I know I have never seen him before, because he is dead, but I would still like to go with him...

... Why I would take my brother and nobody else is a very long story. I will only tell you some of the reasons the most important ones...

First as it's usual, I take him because we can have lots of fun building houses and going hunting. And most of all going swimming in small lagoons, and diving like pearls divers just for the fun of seeing what is on the bottom. There are

quite a lot of other reasons that I could mention, but they are the most exciting ones." (E.b., 12).

This boy wrote in a questionnaire about brothers and sisters "not now". I learned from his Headmaster that the boy is considered rather difficult at school and there are reasons to believe that ~~he~~ has not a very happy home life. He really lost his older brother when he was a little child. It is probable that, having difficulties with his adjustment to the real social environment, the boy retreats to day-dreaming, where his dead brother plays an important rôle. The imaginary island helped to discover this situation. This case reminds of the other one, quoted here before, of a little girl who asked: Can I write about my mother if she is dead?

x

x x

Here again ^{is} an interesting case of a 13-year-old boy described by his girl-friend as telling a lot of very fantastic stories, which would suggest a pathological distortion of imagination, but he was recognized at the same time as a very popular companion and quite a bright and sociable pupil. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity of examining this case in more details, but it may be interesting to quote it here as an example. Although attention should be paid to the probable pathological character of the child's products of imagination, less they be symptoms of some mental abnormality, on the other hand,

we should be aware that without any other pathological signs, and with the general successful social adjustment, such symptoms may only show the unusually vivid and rich imagination of a child.

"...I have a great friend, whose name is John... He is a boy, of course, and he is native from Africa. He is my age 13 (perhaps a little older)... He is skilled in swamps and jungles, he also is a very good tracker...I would really feel safer... if John was with me... I like John, not particularly because he has no father, but because he seems to be so jolly and popular. He gets us out of a lot of school traps when we are late by telling some weird tale about some God he saw in the sky, and that he had to stop and talk to it, he also said that when we tried to go on, the God commanded him to keep us with him, which of course is just part of the story that he made up. The teachers do not know whether to believe him or not, anyway they have not found out yet. He is very clever with his lessons and is always ready to help his friends with their homework, if they cannot do it. That is also one of the reasons why I like him, because he does not care what trouble he gets into as long as his friends and classmates are out of it, and always ready to help any needy person. He is also very gentle. If he saw any blind man or woman waiting for somebody to take them across the street he would rush to do so immediately, while everybody else just passed on." (E.g., 13 - from a London School).

CHAPTER V

COMMENTS ON QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

General remarks: The numerical results of this investigation have only a supplementary value for the conclusions. The main procedure is based on the careful analysis of all compositions. All problems included in this work are discussed with the ample support of pertinent quotations and extracts from the original material, provided by the subjects. The indirect method used in this work enabled the author to collect a great number of significant texts for the "mass case analysis" and at the same time rendered the material less tangible statistically. Some problems could not be exactly represented by simply naming them on the tables, without adequate quotations and comments, others of a very subtle and delicate nature, reaching to the depth of mental experiences, have been presented, by the use of our method, only with a limited number of children, who were probably less inhibited and confessed frankly some deeper aspects of their mental life.

The other achievement, which proved also to be disadvantageous from the statistical point of view, was our attempt to cover the whole ground of the social relations of our children. Consequently, some preferences were represented by a small number of cases, which, although providing quite valuable material for case study method, could not supply the statistically significant data. In order to satisfy this second requirement, some special investigations should have been planned and focussed on some

particular problems (e.g., attitude of children towards animals, as their social experience etc), probably with the use of another technique more suitable for such purposes. (E.g, limited questionnaires, etc.)

While covering the whole ground of social preferences of children, we are able to present only the most general aspects of the problem in their numerical form, as we do not wish to create the false impression of some more exact statistical analysis, while this material is primarily suitable for descriptive analysis, supported by numerous quotations which are to be found in all other chapters of this work.

The general presentations of the numerical results may, however, be of some help in assessing the value of our final conclusions, even if they are based on the analysis of many series of separate cases and their particular groups, centered around different problems.

Detailed presentation of data may be found in tables 1, 2 and 3. In the first table are represented all the exact numbers of cases with their division among different classes. We see the whole number of the tested subjects, subdivided further into four groups according to sex and nationality, and finally, according to the age groups in all four classes.

Table I represents the frequency of the choice of various persons in percent. Besides the order of preferences, which is clear from the table, some general conclusions may be drawn, namely, that age and sex are among the most important factors

in social preferences. We may also clearly infer from this table and from the appropriate sections of table I. that the general tendency among school children is to associate with persons older than themselves, whether within the same general age group, as with friends, or within the same family group, as occurs among siblings, where, in the great majority of cases, rather older than younger ~~were~~ are chosen.

These results correspond roughly with the results of some other investigations. Partridge (x) (100) for instance, ranks the "individual factors" for the choice of friends among adolescents, beginning with age, race and sex. It might also be interesting to find, that the choice of associates in the entirely different social situation, such as attending the cinema by the adolescents between the age of 8- 18 (xx) (101) gave approximately the same results as our research, with friends coming first, before parents and siblings and with the greater percentage of parents with girls, than with boys (compare table IB).

Table IB represents the same problem with children of the four different groups. We see much greater attachment to mothers and sisters among the Polish girls.

Tables II and III represent the exact number of all "votes" for various qualities or "values" given as reasons for choice

(x) Partridge, E. de Alton: Leadership among Adolescent Boys. 1934

(xx) Dale, Edgar: Children's Attendance at Motion Pictures, 1935

of a particular person, grouped according to the "classification of values" suggested in chapter II B.

Table IV shows the relative frequency of choices of each "value", from the previous table. The item of "Physical traits described" constitutes all descriptive remarks about the chosen person (e.g., "he is tall, has dark eyes and dark hair"), which have not been given explicitly as "reasons" for choice, although they have been usually found among the latter. This item is therefore considered as only partly belonging to the whole series of "values".

Tables V A.B.C.D. represent the same analysis of "values", as in table IV, but within the different groups of our subjects. Tables VI, VII and VIII give further, more detailed analysis of these preferences for various qualities in various persons. All these tables illustrate, and are referred to in the various chapters of this work. It is clear, for instance, that values of protection and security are mainly ascribed to parents, while boys praise, more often than girls, physical fitness and skill, etc. All that has been discussed in detail in the appropriate chapters.

General Conclusions and Further Considerations

The people in the environment of a school-child are the important factor in his life adjustment and consequently in the development of his personality. With some children, especially with the younger ones, the similar rôle may also be played by animals.

The mechanism of this influence of other persons depends on their capacity in satisfying various needs of the child and on the tendency of the latter to imitate them and to identify himself with their behaviour and attitudes.

The various activities of the other people who take care of the child satisfy his needs in the direct way; the identification with their qualities, behaviour and attitudes enables the child to satisfy his various needs in the indirect, vicarious way.

Preferences for various people, in a child, depend on his actual system of values. Various qualities of the other people are assessed according to this hierarchal system of values, proper to particular personality of a child at a given moment.

This "World of values", so fundamental for the child's social preferences emerges from the child's actual needs.

The respective strength of these needs depends on their proper strength, derived mainly from physiological drives and acquired social motives, and on the degree of their satisfaction or frustration. In this way children who are insecure seek persons who will provide them with security, orphans look for parent

substitutes, children satisfied with parental care, seek play-mates for common activities; adolescents, uncertain about moral standards and experiencing conflict between individual cravings and social rules, require well integrated, happy people to advise them in their problems and to show the example of social adjustment.

The ~~most~~ fundamental need for self-preservation in general, and particularly for hunger and thirst satisfaction, bodily protection, for shelter and attendance to physical needs - directs the choice to the parents and their substitutes.

The needs for activity, social contact, social recognition, conformity and ~~pre~~eminence account mainly for the choice of equals: schoolmates, play companions, youth leaders, etc.

With all the above tendencies there is, however, nearly always present another important factor; the need for the vague, emotional satisfaction. The child seeks in social contacts to achieve a state of pleasant satisfaction, of happy balance of mind, the state opposite to the tormenting suffering of emotional tension, of the feeling of insecurity.

According to Freud this tendency is based on the need for sexual pleasure, for satisfaction of the sexual instinct in the very broad sense of this word, by pleasant behaviour of parents, by pleasure in the presence and friendly attitude of equals of the same sex primarily, and afterwards of the other sex, and finally by the sexual contact with the people of the opposite sex.

According to Suttie (x) (102) this basic tendency which pushes an individual towards other people is the need for love and the fear of the loss of love. The child chooses such people in the environment who are able and willing to provide it with love, sympathy and friendliness. Even in the case of children who generally resent any friendly contact with other people, such an attitude is simply the result of bitter experience in the past and the feeling of insecurity and suspicion towards all new acquaintances. (xxxx)

The other factor which should be remembered here is the "herd-instinct". Described by McDougall and extensively ^{analysed} by Trotter (xx)(103), this instinct was not altogether discarded, even when the whole McDougall classification was sharply criticized and then totally rejected. Even the contemporary writers still recognise it, together with the drives of self-preservation and sex (Henderson and Gillespie) (xxx) (104)

Whatever are the basic forces which underlie the gregarious tendency in men, we see from our results that it is possible to find two important tendencies present in social preferences in children: these are the craving for security and integration.

The craving for security means simply that a child wants to feel secure in the presence of the other person and expects that this other person will increase his feeling of security.

(x) Suttie, I.D.: Origins of Love and Hate. 1935

(xx) Trotter, W.: Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War. 1920

(xxx) Henderson, D.K. and Gillespie, R.D.: A Textbook of Psychiatry, 1947.

(xxxx) Compare also: Levy, D.M.: Primary Affect Hunger, Am. J. Psychiat. 94. 1937.

It may be understood that he prefers people who, firstly, never thwart his security feeling, and, secondly, increase his security feeling by defending him against ^{anything} which can endanger it and by representing in themselves the models of perfect security.

The craving for integration is partly synonymous with the above mentioned need for security. The well integrated personality is that one which is free from inner conflicts, due to the perfect hierarchical organization of its "sentiments" (x) (105) (McDougall) or, in other words, due to a hierarchically organized and well balanced "inner system of values" (Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb) (xx) (106) or, again it may depend upon the proper hierarchical organization of his "system of motives" as I suggested in one of my other works (xxx) (107). The proper integration of any individual increases his "security value", because his reactions may be easily learned. There are no unpleasant surprises in his behaviour, and there is no disturbing tension in his mind, betraying itself in his whole behaviour.

This security and integration factor explain partly why there is no definite and clear tendency to choose the same kind of persons at various age levels respectively. If everything had depended on the satisfaction of various needs we would have expected that social preferences would be more permanently directed, first, to parents, then to playmates, and finally to members of the opposite sex.

(x) McDougall, W.: An Outline of Abnormal Psychology, 1944.

(xx) Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb: op. cit.

(xxx) Szyrynski, W.: The Study of Humans Motives by the Double-Evaluation Method. 1947.

However, as we see from this material, the diversity of social preferences is very great indeed. I believe that is due to this factor of general emotional security entering so often in the relations between parents and children, between friends, ~~lowers~~, etc. We may say that the satisfaction of needs in the direct and indirect way, together with the security feeling make generally for social preferences in people.

I am not going to claim that security, as I understand it here, is simply one of the various needs, cravings or motives, as they are understood by modern psychologists. It is not synonymous with physical, bodily security and self-preservation, it is also slightly different from what Thomas and Znamiecki (x) (108) name the "desire for security" as one of the basic social motives in their four-fold classification.

The security feeling as it is understood in this work, is the general affective experience which accompanies the satisfaction of various other motives and needs, which - in this way - increases human efficiency and which produces the healthy, pleasant feeling of happiness. It is freedom from conflicts and from tension. It is the state of a well-balanced mind or of "peace of mind" as it is called by some people.

& _____

(x) Thomas and Znamiecki: op.cit.

This experience of security may be, however, identified with the perfect state of successful adjustment. People who are always free within their environment, who do not experience fears and conflicts, who do not collect complexes, may be considered as enjoying this security feeling as well as being well adjusted.

It may be added, that taking the social milieu as a whole we may see this fluctuation of insecurity and security according to various social situations. Generally many people experience a feeling of insecurity amounting sometimes to the intense tension, in the presence of strangers. This tension may be immediately reduced by the presence of an acquaintance, of a person belonging to the same family, profession, denomination or nation. Such situations have their roots in the family experiences of a child in our culture, where his most intimate friends were mother and father, where he learned about the value of family bonds and where he experienced perhaps some unpleasant situations when meeting unsympathetic strangers. This attitude, proper to our social culture, is found also in our material, where there is ample evidence that friendships are formed more easily and are deeper, when they begin in the situation of greater tension, e.g., when a child comes for the first time to school and another child approaches him and helps to remove this feeling of insecurity and tension, due to the unknown, strange and sometimes aggressive environment. However, such feelings of insecurity may also be stirred by complete isolation. Especially young children, about

7-9 approximately, support their choice of companion to the Desert Island by the statement "I took him (or her) not to feel lonely on the Island." This discomfort caused by isolation reminds one very closely of McDougall's definition of the gregarious instinct.

If we examine in this data all qualities enumerated by children as reasons for their choice of various persons, we are able to see, that this craving for security clearly determines preference for the most popular values.

First, let us consider age. In the great majority of all cases the preference goes to ^{the} slightly ^{older} people or to the friends of the same age. In all groups of choice: for friends, brothers, sisters, not mentioning preferences for parents and other adults, the number of older people is always markedly greater. If there is the choice of a younger friend - as we have seen in chapters with individual analyses of cases - it is pretty often because he or she represents some qualities of strength, energy and integration, or it is the case of substitution of a younger friend or sibling in one's own place. (See Table I, Ia and I B.)

Then we have physical prowess and other sporting qualities - they also make definitely for security - in a direct way, when such fit and strong persons are certainly great help in case of danger; and in an indirect way by identification with them.

Membership in the same school and class, intelligence, mental alertness, cheerfulness, courage, kindness, honesty, independence and ingenuity, all these qualities, the most popular among English and Polish children alike, make definitely for

the feeling of relaxation and security. Laughter, so popular among youngsters, is the typical example of behaviour leading to instant relaxation; reliability and honesty are often mentioned as producing in a subject the feeling of full confidence enabling him to talk frankly about all his secrets. (See tables II and VIII).

Nearly all qualities called here "the subjective values" provide directly for security, whether it is protection, or understanding, acceptance, sympathy, love, friendship, advising, comforting and cheering up, etc., And these traits seem to be most popular with all groups of our subjects.

We see, then, that the main value of other people, according to which the preferences for them are made by our subjects, is the ability of the former to assist in satisfaction of needs and, above all, to provide the feeling of security and freedom from tension.

Where does this "need for security" come from? Is it an instinctive innate requirement, emerging perhaps from the drive for self-preservation? Or is it the perfect satisfaction of the need for love (Suttie) or of the craving for vague sexual pleasure (Freud and others) ? - In my opinion, the theoretical ^{answer} to this question, which would also explain the preference for well-integrated personalities, should be found according to some principles of Gestalt - psychology, applied to social situations. I am inclined to name this desire for security the "brain dynamism" resembling the one underlying the tendency to "closure", the preference for

more "perfect" figures or grouping, and also making for remembrance of the "incomplete tasks", as in the experiments of Zeigarnik (x) (109) I believe also that such dynamisms, which determine our satisfaction or disappointment at some perceptual as well as social experiences, are similar in nature to various preferences for colour, rhythm, harmony, etc., which Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb (xx) (110) used to call the "brain drives", rightly assuming that they originate in the brain.

If we agree with this interpretation then there is also no permanent discrepancy between the views of Freud and Lewin and other Gestalt - psychologists. When the former stresses the importance of "abreaction" in therapy of neurotic disorders and believes that they are due to repressed tendencies, we find entirely the same ⁱⁿ Gestalt views, that man intricately strives for perfect completion of his experiences, whether in the field of perception or in the field of social experience. Therefore, concept of "need-satisfaction" and "completion of the configuration" are fundamentally the same, and both originate in the tendency of the brain for achieving balance by the perfect completion of various experiences. The same mental mechanisms explains also the desire for security in our social experiences.

The preferences for other people depend therefore 1) on human physiological drives and socially acquired motives and 2) on the specific brain dynamisms which also influence the validation of our experiences.

(x) Zeigarnik, B.: Psychol. Forsch, 9, 1927.

(xx) op. cit

The desire for security provided by other people is also based on these factors.

The desire for perfect integration in the chosen person is also based on the above premises. When human needs are frustrated reaction to this frustration may be either active and outward, or passive and inwardly directed. We may also call these reactions sthenic and asthenic (Burt). The sthenic reaction consists in the activity directed either against the cause of frustration or leading astray to some substitutions of satisfaction. In children it may be some mischievous activities, in psychopathology we may find various hysterical and other symptoms.

The asthenic reaction consists of the inner state of dissatisfaction and insecurity, when tension is deeply suppressed, but still exists, undermining the integration of personality and producing various neurotic and psychotic symptoms of withdrawal, excessive day-dreaming, dissociation of personality, depression, delusions and perhaps also hallucinations.

As we see, the result of the imperfect reaction to frustration or, in other words, to the lack of a successful "completion" of human desires and experiences - is the weakening of his personality, the state just opposite to its wholesome integration. According to the principles of mental hygiene (Burnham) (x) (111) one of the important ways for the sound integration of personality are various activities, preferably with a marked physical component in them, like sports, manual work, tourism, etc. which involve

(x) Burnham, W.: The Normal Mind. 1924

the activity of our muscular system together with the mind. I believe that with the adequately prepared people the mental activity alone properly directed and **organized**, may partly yield similar positive results.

The well-integrated person is always ready to react in various social situations in a successful, positive way. Consequently he is less prone to succumb to frustration and to reach the dangerous limit of pathological forms of reaction. The well-integrated person is able to avoid the feeling of insecurity and the morbid state of tension by direct or sublimated adjustment in a socially legitimate way, or - which also may be the case - by perfectly defying social restrictions and "taboos" in an independent "antisocial" behaviour.

Of course, all such satisfaction may be achieved in the direct or substituted way, and that explains why children tend to take friends, who display such able fighting against insecurity either by occupying themselves with various interesting and fascinating activities of play, sports, hiking, exploring, etc., or who are strong enough to break openly social restrictions and indulge in various forms of mischief. Hence the preference for such qualities as courage, strength, liking for exploration and hiking, excellence in sports - but also rudeness, toughness and some brutal exploits,

Older children and adolescents look for some more complex ways of social adjustment and integration. They are more interested

in mental activities, in discussions, advice and instructions. Their task is to integrate their personality according to the more complex social requirements than those understood by children. If they form the attachment to the older people, it is usually more intimate and stronger. Hence preferences for priests, teachers, youth leaders, and perhaps stronger attachment to parents, based either on the latter's reasonable approach to their children, or on the increased need for such guidance and acceptance, as was the case with the Polish adolescent girls in this material. (See table I B and VIII 3)

These fundamental desires for security and integration ^{children's} also explains why preferences are more often directed to their equals than to parents and other adults. It is true, that adults can better provide them with physical security, but all the activities which form a part of behavioural reactions to all life experiences may be much more adequately performed by playmates, whose forms of behaviour, with greater involvement of muscular activity, are more proper to the child's ways of adaptation. Of course, there are also other mental mechanisms, which make, for instance, that the identification with the other child of similar age and size is easier, than with an adult, and therefore the "indirect way" of need-satisfaction definitely simpler.

We have seen in the preceding chapters some instances where the mechanism of "super-ego" formation presented itself in children's compositions. We saw how children tried to present their parents' views and demands as their own and that some conflict usually accompanied such efforts, as the child had to forgo his own

pleasures and desires in order to comply with the parental requirements. On the other hand, we saw quite a number of examples where children and adolescents confessed their frank tendency to imitate and follow the examples of their deliberately chosen "models" of the same age or older, or even younger when the latter represented better adjustment and stronger integration. It is possible to conclude, therefore, that in the adjustment of an individual to social requirements and rules he develops his personality (1) by responding to the demands and teachings of his parents by developing his super-ego which involves sometimes a clear conflict accompanying this process, and also (2) by identifying himself with his "models" deliberately chosen from among his friends and other people in the environment. The difference between these two forms of "ego -development" is that the latter does not involve any tension and the state of conflict, which often accompanies compliance with parental norms ~~among~~ of attitude and behaviour. This explains why children tend to associate themselves with their equals or slightly older "models", why they often oppose the parental authority and why - sometimes - adults are also successful in their contacts with children: the amount of emotional security provided by, and the degree of perfect integration existing in, such adults makes for their success in moulding the child's personality.

The attachments to parents and friends are not altogether different. The fundamental attitude towards parents is certainly represented in the loyalty and obedience towards older friends

or leaders. The difference is again in the amount of security. If we admit that in this second situation the attitude towards the father is partly repeated, it is now the attitude towards the more friendly, less severe "father substitute", who provides more emotional security and ease.

It directs our attention to other problems, where the attitude of children towards their equals differs from their attitude towards grown-ups. The problem is too extensive to be fully answered here. There is definitely the obvious difference in the response of the little child towards another child and towards the adults. Whether it depends entirely on his previous training and past experiences with both kinds of persons, or whether it is determined by the "brain-dynamism" - that of an easier identification with a creature of similar size, age, behaviour, and underlying it, similar mental development - it is difficult to answer with any amount of certainty:- It seems, however, that, according to these results, there is a marked tendency in children to identify themselves with their equals more easily than with adults.

The desire for emotional security as underlying social contacts is also well illustrated by the preferences for domestic animals. The consistent, sympathetic response on the latter's part certainly makes for security of the child, and satisfies his desire for response, company and love.

It seems possible to discern the most characteristic types of social preferences, as they occur in this work. As we have seen the choice of parents was supported by different reasons from that of friends, heterosexual companions etc. In other words, there are different groups of values ascribed to parents, friends, etc, when

the choice is supported by "reasons" for it.

First, we saw the "parental-protective" type of choice. The qualities of providing protection, advice, love and sympathy, together with explanation of the new, unknown world are usually ascribed to parents by boys and girls. On the whole, mother is often considered as a more sympathetic, lovable person, providing the child with food, home, sympathy and love. Father is considered more as a protective factor and also as the wise, experienced teacher and a model particularly with boys. However, there were numerous instances when mother was endowed with values ascribed otherwise to father, and vice-versa.

Younger school-children very often chose another child, usually of the same sex, as a companion. In some instances this companion was just a brave, strong, cheerful, active, kind, courageous and friendly person, able to play games, to explore and share all interests of a child. He or she was also required to be sympathetic with his friend, accepting him and staying by him as a reliable companion. Physical qualities and pleasant appearance were also listed, especially by girls. Ability to make many practical things, toys, models and various gadgets, as well as experience in outdoor life, camping, hiking, tracking etc. caused also the attachment to older, more experienced friends, or even to adults, who were interesting because of their experiences and abilities. This type of preference I would like to call "child-companion" type.

The "adolescent-friend" type of preference is marked primarily by the much deeper sense of loyalty and friendship. We know from

other sources that the number of friends is usually reduced in this period to one or two (x) (112) but the requirements from them are much higher. Intellectual values, together with deep understanding, friendly advice and well integrated, strong-willed personality attract sympathy of the adolescents, seeking their own way of adjustment.

Sometimes they find these qualities in their parents, sometimes they choose some other grown-ups, who are helpful and sympathetic with the emotional difficulties of the adolescents. They may be youth leaders, teachers or priests, the latter being also the highest authorities in the moral field. On the whole, however, they are friends of the same age or slightly older.

The discovery that such an understanding and sympathy may be found in a person of the opposite sex together with the sexual attraction leads to the formation of the "heterosexual - love" type of choice. However, as we have seen in the previous chapters, there are very numerous factors previously existing in a child's contact with parent and friends which also enter into this situation. There is again the desire for protection and advice, for sympathy, acceptance and love. It is not safe to say what kind of experience is repeated in the attitude of the girl toward the boy and vice-versa. It certainly depends very much on the previous family situation, experienced by an adolescent in his early childhood, and on the form of attachments formed in that period. As we see from this short account, there is no pure form of "heterosexual-love" type of preferences, because there are three main factors coming into it, namely, child-parent attachments, attitude towards

(x) Thrasher, F.M.: The Gang, 1927.

friends and the newly increasing sexual interests. Such a situation is not exceptional: all social preferences based on the actual needs and controlled by the actual system of values of an individual are very much conditioned by all past experiences with previous social contacts. This fact is generally recognized in child guidance under the name of "transference", when some experiences with one person lead to the similar attitude towards the other one, resembling the first one, or occupying the similar position (father-teacher, etc). This transference is often quite unconscious and based on the mechanism of reintegration, where the presence of even the tiniest part of a past experience in the new situation may reproduce the whole emotional component of the previous one.

Besides these two mechanisms present in social preferences, there exist, quite obviously, some qualities of a given person which would make it acceptable or repulsive. I do not think we are fully aware of them at the actual moment of the scientific progress. In my opinion these states of security, which people experience in the presence of some other persons are not only based on the latter's behaviour (even if we take into account our unconscious experience of various "subliminal stimuli" coming from the other people's "particles of behaviour") and on our past positive conditioning to such forms of behaviour, which probably existed in some people, whom we knew in the past and to whom we were very attached - but I would rather believe that there is (also some form of "mental energy" which enters into the phenomena of the mutual influence between various people, which explains ,

together with the previously enumerated factors, why, in the presence of one person, the other may feel quiet and secure, while some individuals make them unnerved, excited and upset.

In this work I was trying to accumulate some data about the various reasons for preferences for people among school children, and to interpret the findings in the light of our present views on this problem. The obtained results enabled me to focus attention on the problem of emotional security and integration, so important in the interhuman relations. I do not think, however, that the problem of social preferences and of all the factors responsible for such attitudes is fully clarified.

I was also able to demonstrate, that the same groups of values were responsible for the social preferences among English and Polish children. Notwithstanding their differences in social situations, cultural traditions and in experience with war disasters such as losing their parents or living in the refugee camps for years, Polish children gave reasons for their choice, which were easily classified into the same groups, as reasons given by their English counterparts. It leads to the conclusion that with both groups of children the mechanisms of social preferences were fundamentally the same, based on the same basic needs of the individual.

There were, however, some quantitative differences in the respective place of different values brought out by various groups of children. Some of these quantitative differences were due to the traditional social stereotypes. Thus, English boys and girls spoke

about "being a sportsman" and praised high prowess in games and sports, while the Polish boys, not having such a popular type of an "ideal sportsman" spoke rather of separate virtues, as bravery, courage, reliability, strength, nimbleness,- and referred sometimes to the stereotypes of an "ideal Boy Scout" or "ideal Guide", these organizations being very popular among them and advancing an "ideal" of their model member.

The other reason for quantitative differences was due to different social positions and life experiences, with Polish children being more insecure in their family and home life. They laid more stress on security and parental protection; that was especially characteristic of the Polish girls, who also more often chose their mothers, representing these values.

Some differences between boys and girls existed in both groups alike: boys being more interested than girls in physical qualities and sport activities of their companions or their "ideals" from among grown-ups.

Parents, siblings, friends and adults preserved their different "types", based on different groups of values, with English and Polish children alike, although the frequency of their respective choice varied, according to the whole social situation of a given child, as we discussed before.

Summary

Two groups of English and Polish children were asked to choose a companion to go with them to a desert island where they had to stay for a few years. The choice had to be supported

by reasons concerning primarily the qualities of a chosen person.

Children in both groups chose primarily their friends of the same sex, then their parents, siblings, friends of the opposite sex other adults (youth leaders, teachers, priests, adult-friends, etc.) and domestic animals, mainly dogs.

Among Polish girls, there was a marked tendency to choose their mothers more often than among the corresponding group of English girls. As an explanation there was given the greater insecurity caused by the absence of fathers during the six years of war and their stay in the refugee camps. The differences between boys were not pronounced, although English boys chose their fathers more often than did the Polish boys which is caused by the important shortage in the "male models" in the camps in general, and the absence of fathers in particular.

The extensive analysis of separate, characteristic compositions was attempted. It was found that desire for security and integration mainly underlies social preferences. A few distinct types of social preferences were suggested: - "parental-protection" type, based on the desire for love, protection, acceptance and explanation of the outside world; "child-companion" type, - based on the need for activity, exploration, physical fitness, acceptance and friendly response;

- "adolescent-friend" type, based on the need for understanding, co-operation, sympathy, advice, confidence and guidance;

- "heterosexual-love" type, was found to be mixed and to reflect many of the attitudes towards parents and towards friends, particularly at the beginning of the adolescent interest in the other sex together with the sex propensity.

Preferences for the different groups of persons: friends, parents, uncles and aunts, siblings, other adults, animals and some especially interesting separate cases, not falling within these groups, were carefully studied and analysed in separate chapters.

In the theoretical interpretation of his data the author suggested that social preferences are prompted by the value of other people in satisfying one's needs either directly or by enabling the identification with their behaviour and attitudes. The desire for security and integration also makes for the choice of social preferences. The satisfaction of needs and craving for emotional security, according to the author, underlie social preferences and attachments.

The various groups of values distinguished in our classification were represented in the answers of both, English and Polish, groups of children, with some quantitative differences. They are based, therefore, on the fundamental human needs, ^{subjected,} however, to hierarchal organisation which is influenced by the actual situation of an individual.

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Preferences for Various People Among English and Polish Boys and Girls

[illegible]

(x) Including Cousins

Preferences for various groups of people(General Results)

		<u>(From the)</u>	<u>Total</u>
A. Friends of the same sex	<u>61.7%</u> ($\sigma = \pm 1.1\%$)		<u>1847</u>
			*
Same age	71%		1141
Older	19.4%		"
Younger	9.6%		"
B. Parents	<u>15.8%</u>		<u>1847</u>
C. Siblings	<u>9.2%</u>		<u>1847</u>
			**
Older	72%		170
Younger	28%		170
D. Friends of the opposite sex	<u>5.4%</u>		<u>1847</u>
E. All adults, besides family, (both sexes)	<u>3.0%</u>		<u>1847</u>
F. All animals	<u>2.2%</u>		<u>1847</u>
G. Other relatives, adults	<u>1.8%</u>		<u>1847</u>
H. Other	<u>0.3%</u>		1847

- 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 -

* Total number of friends.

** Total number of siblings.

Table 1.8.

Preferences for various groups of people in 4 groups of subjects

<u>English Girls (608)</u>	<u>English Boys (753)</u>	<u>Polish Girls (298)</u>	<u>Polish Boys (188)</u>
Friends (girls) - <u>70.2%</u> (<u>6 = 1.8%</u>)	Friends (Boys) - <u>65.7%</u> (<u>6 = 1.7%</u>)	Friends (Girls/Boys) - <u>36.2%</u> (<u>6 = 2.7%</u>)	Friends -(Boys) - <u>58.0%</u> (<u>6 = 3.6%</u>)
Older - 20%	Older - 15%	Older - 30%	Older - 28%
Younger-10%	Younger - 10%	Younger - 11%	Younger - 5%
Same age - 70%	Same age - 75%	Same age - 59%	Same age - 72%
Parents - <u>13.1%</u>	Parents - <u>14.7%</u>	Parents - <u>29.5%</u>	Parents - <u>10.6%</u>
Mother - 79%	Mother - 45%	Mother - 84%	Mother - 75%
Father - 21%	Father - 65%	Father - 16%	Father - 25%
Siblings - <u>9.5%</u>	Siblings - <u>7.2%</u>	Siblings - <u>14.1%</u>	Siblings - <u>9.0%</u>
Sisters - 58%	Sisters - 9%	Sisters - 62%	Sisters - 6%
Brothers- 50%	Brothers - 91%	Brothers - 38%	Brothers - 94%
Boy-Friends - <u>5.6%</u>	Girl-Friends - <u>5%</u>	Boy-Friends - <u>6.4%</u>	Girl-Friends - <u>4.8%</u>
Animals (Dogs) - <u>0.3%</u>	Animals (Dogs) - <u>1.2%</u>	Animals (Dogs) - <u>2.7%</u>	Animals (Dogs) - <u>6.4%</u>

Objective Values

Objective Values

Preferences for various values among all subjects,
in order of their relative frequency

1. Feeling of freindship, sympathy toward, and identity with, the chosen person	1311
2. Physical traits described	826
3. Physical fitness and skill (strength, running, jumping, etc.)	525
4. Cheerfulness, humour	498
5. Acceptance by the chosen person, sympathy toward the subject	492
6. Cooperation, helpfulness	435
7. Intellectual values (intelligent, bright, clever)	388
8. Practical indoor abilities (cooking, repairing things, etc.	378
9. Practical outdoor abilities (camping, tracking, signalling	284
10. Receiving protection from the person chosen	283
11. Knowing somebody well, long acquaintance	271
12. Reliability, honesty, truthfulness	230
13. Skill in team sports and games	222
14. Good nature, kindness	194
15. Playing, hiking, for play activities	183
16. Appearance (good looking, pleasant in appear.)	163
17. Pleasant personality (without specification).....	161
18. Membership of a form or school	156
19. Courage, bravery	155
20. Sportsmanship	146
21, 22 Politeness, good manners	130
21, 22 Mutual understanding, confidence	130
23. Providing the chosen person with protection and help	117
24. Being comforted, "cheered up" by the chosen person	109
25. Being taught, advised by the chosen person	105

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* These descriptive remarks are not necessarily to be considered as "values" this item may be overlooked.

26. Liking for exploring, visiting places of interest, etc.	102
27. Membership of organisation or club (Boy Scouts, etc.)	97
28, 29 Hiking, travelling	94
28, 29 Independance, self-support	94
30. Clothes	91
31. Physical traits positively evaluated (nice figure, etc.)	77
32. Energy, initiative	71
33. Good workmanship	69
34, 35 Discussing exchanging views	63
34, 35 Living in the neighborhood	63
36. Lively, vivid, quick tempered	55
37. "Individual" sports (boxing, wrestling, fighting).....	51
38. Love for adventures	50
39, 40 Love for animals	46
39, 40 Paracuts' acceptance of a chosen friend	46

Total number of qualities mentioned above	<u>8869</u>
- - - - -	

Total number of qualities mentioned

by 1347 subjects:

a) included in the above table	8869
b) referring to 21 less popular items, not included in the above table	<u>642</u>
	<u>9511</u>

Preferences for various values in four group of children (rank order)

Table 5

A. English Girls

1. Friendship feelings	(609)
2. Physical traits *	(415)
3. Cheerfulness	(247)
4. Acceptance	(206)
5. Intellectual values	(164)
6. Cooperation, help	(158)
7. Physical fitness & Skill	(149)
8. Practical indoor abilities	(111)
9. Long acquaintance	(106)
10. Kindness	(99)
11. Reliability	(93)
12. Playing	(92)
13. Receiving protection	(90)
14. Appearance	(87)
15. Pleasant personality	(80)
16. Skill in sports & games	(68)
17. Mutual understanding	(63)
18. Sportsmanship	(60)
19. Pract. outdoor abilities	(60)
20. (School, form -----)	(56)
21. (Independence)	(56)
22. (Politeness, good manners)	(56)
23. Clothes	51
24. Being cheered up, being comforted	50
25. Exploring	48

B. English Boys

Friendship feelings	(469)
Physical fitness & skill	(304)
(Physical traits	286)
Prac. indoor abilities	(235)
Cheerfulness	(214)
Pract. outdoor abilities	(205)
Acceptance	(168)
Skill in sports & games	(152)
Cooperation, help	(144)
Intellectual values	(139)
Reliability	(107)
Long acquaintance	105
Sportsmanship	87
Giving protection	79
Receiving protection	76
Organisation (boy scouts)	70
Playing	69
Appearance	64
Kindness	63
Courage, brave.	61
Hiking, travelling	59
Politeness, good manners	56
School, form	51
Pleasant personality	49
Exploring	47

C. Polish Girls

Friendship	130
Acceptance	90
(Physical traits	88)
Cooperation, help	80
Receiving protection	77
Being advised	50
Intellectual values	48
School, form	38
Being cheered up, comforted	31
Courage, brave	26
Kindness	25
Long acquaintance	25
Cheerfulness	21
Independence	20
Mutual understanding	20
Pleasant personality	19
Playing	18
Prac. indoor abilities	18
Reliability	13
Exchanging view, discuss	12
Physical fitness and skill	12
Politeness, good manners	10
Appearance	9
Good workmanship	9
Giving protection	8

D. Polish Boys

Friendship	(93)
Physical fitness & Skill	(62)
Cooperation, help	(53)
Intellectual values	(48)
Receiving protection	(40)
(Physical traits	36)
Long acquaintance	35
Independence	27
Courage, brave	26
Acceptance	25
Reliability	17
Cheerfulness	16
Being advised	16
School, form	14
Pract. outdoor abilities	14
Pract. indoor abilities	14
Pleasant personality	13
Being comforted	11
Good workmanship	10
Mutual understanding	10
Exchanging views	9
Politeness, good manners	8
Energy	8
Kindness	7
Hiking, travelling	7

* See footnote on the table 4.

English Girls: Choice of Friends, Parents and Boy-Friends

Table 6.

A. <u>Girl-Friends</u>	B. <u>Boy-Friends</u>	C. <u>Mother</u>	D. <u>Father</u>
1. Friendship feelings 475	Friendship 39	Friendship 56	Physical fitness & skill 13
(2. Physical traits 322)	(Physical traits 27)	Receiving protec- 40	Receiving protection 10
3. Cheerfulness 199	(Physical fitness & skill 21	(Physical traits 39)	Pract. outdoor abilities 7
4. Acceptance 150	(Cooperation 21	Pract. indoor abilities 31	(Pract. indoor abilities 6
5. Intellectual values 107	Cheerfulness 14	Acceptance 28	((Physical traits) 6
6. Cooperation 98	Practical outdoor abilities 12	Mutual understanding 22	Acceptance 6
7. Physical fitness & Skill 96	(Independence 9	Kindness 19	Friendship 5
8. Long acquaintance 75	(Long acquaintance 9	Cheerfulness 18	Kindness 5
9. Playing 75	(Physical trait evaluated 7	Cooperation 17	Intellectual values 4
10. Appearance 73	(Sports & games 7	Being comforted 16	
11. Appearance 73	(Courage 7	Intellectual values 16	
12. Reliability 67	Acceptance 7		
13. Kindness 64			
14. Pract. indoor abilities 56			
15. School, form 55			

English Boys: Choice of friends, parents and girl-friends.Table 7A. Boy-Friends

1. Friendship	(385)
2. Physical fitness & Skill	(260)
3. Physical traits -	(242)
4. Cheerfulness	(174)
5. Pract. outdoor abilities	(150)
6. Skill in sports & games	(133)
7. Cooperation	(115)
8.) Intellectual values	(111)
9.) Pract. indoor abilities	(111)
10. Acceptance	(110)
11. Reliability	(99)
12. Long acquaintance	(82)
13 -Sportsmanship	(76)
14. Playing	(66)
15. Organization (Scouts, etc)	(63)

B. Girl-Friends

1. Pract. indoor abilities	(27)
2. Friendship	(14)
3. Appearance	(11)
4. Physical traits	(10)
5. Physical fitness & Skill	(9)
6. Cooperation	(8)
7.) Physical traits evaluated	(7)
8.) Clothes	(7)
9) Skill in sports & games	(7)
10) Cheerfulness	(7)

C. Mother

1. Pract. indoor abilities	(46)
2. Receiving protection	(36)
3. Friendship	(35)
4. Acceptance	(26)
5. Object of protection	(14)
6. Being advised	(11)
7.) Mutual understanding	(9)
8.) Cheerfulness	(9)
9. Being comforted	(8)
10. Cooperation	(6)
11. Physical traits	(6)

D. Father

1. Pract. outdoor abilities	(38)
2. Pract. indoor abilities	(37)
3.) Friendship	(24)
4.) Acceptance	(24)
5. Physical fitness & skill	(20)
6. Receiving protection	(15)
7.) Cheerfulness	(14)
8.) Intellectual values	(14)
9. Cooperation	(12)
(10. Physical traits	11)
11. Mutual understanding	(9)

Table 8.Polish girls: choice of girl-friend and mother

A.	<u>Girl-friends.</u>	B.	<u>Mother</u>
1.	Friendship (57)	Friendship	(65)
2.	Physical traits - (56)	Acceptance	(55)
3.	Cooperation (47)	Receiving protection	(47)
4.	School, form (34)	Being advised	(38)
5.	Intellectual values (31)	Being comforted	(21)
6.	Acceptance (28)	Cooperation	(19)
7.)	Cheerfulness (21)	(Physical traits -	15)
8.)	Courage (21)	Practical indoor abilities	(13)
9.	Long acquaintance (20)	Object of protection	(7)
10.	Kindness (19)	Mutual understanding	(6)
11.	Playing (18)	Kindness	(3)

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Table 9.Polish boys: choice of boy-friend.Boy-friends.

1.	Friendship	(73)
2.	Physical fitness & skill	(62)
3.	Cooperation	(44)
4.	Intellectual values	(41)
(5.	Physical traits -	36)
6.	Long acquaintance	(32)
7.)	Courage	} (25)
8.)	Independence	
9.	Receiving protection	(21)
10.	Reliability	(17)
11.	Acceptance	(15)

APPENDIX

SOCIAL PREFERENCES AMONG SCHOOL CHILDREN

(A Comparative Study of English and Polish Children)
(An Abstract of a Thesis)

The aim of this work is to bring out (1), which persons in the environment are the most readily accepted as best companions, "models", or "objects of identification" by children of school age, between 7-18 years; and (2) what qualities of such preferred people, or "values" represented by them are mainly responsible for this choice. It is understood as a contribution to the study of personality development, in which the formation and hierarchical organization of "values" through attachment to, imitation of, and identification with other people in the environment play the important role.

The "indirect" method has been used in order to enable the subjects to choose freely the best companions in the environment. They were asked to choose any one they liked to accompany them to the "desert island" and to give all their reasons for this choice. The choice was limited, however, to all beings really existing in the child's environment and personally known to him (or her). Thus fantastic "heroes" and other personages were excluded. The attention of the children was focused on real individuals, but the vague and fantastic background of a "desert island" enabled them to make the choice without any restrictions of the stark reality.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-two compositions were collected from 1,410 English children and 522 Polish boys and girls. After eliminating some answers where the conditions of the precise instructions were disregarded, 1,847 compositions were used for the detailed elaboration (1,361 English children: boys, 753; girls, 608; 486 Polish children: boys, 188; girls, 298). All this material was collected from seven English schools in England, and twelve Polish schools in the Polish Refugee Settlements in Africa and in the Middle East. The experiment took place in 1947 and 1948.

For the presentation of statistical results, all answers were divided into four groups: English boys, English girls; Polish boys, Polish girls. It was found that in all groups children made a choice primarily of their friends, then their parents, siblings, friends of the opposite sex, other adults, (youth leaders, teachers, priests, adult friends) and domestic animals, mainly dogs.

In analyzing the "qualities" of these chosen people, given as "reasons" for their choice, a working hypothesis was advanced that: (1) in preferences for persons in the environ-

ment, children are usually directed by their actually dominant motives, (needs or desires) (2) frustration of such motives may increase more or less permanently their respective "strength" and cause the rearrangement of their hierarchical order in the personality, and (3) people in the environment acquire their various "values" for a child because of the system of motives or needs presently existing in the latter's personality.

All such "values" demonstrated by children in the chosen persons were carefully collected from all compositions, which gave the total number of 9,511 remarks given as "reasons for choice". They were all segregated into six groups comprising totally different qualities of the chosen people or their "values".

It was found that two main ways existed in satisfaction of children's need for people in the environment: the "direct" and the "indirect" way. Some people, mainly parents and their substitutes, especially with younger children, satisfy directly their various needs for protection, security, affect, acceptance and instruction; while some other people enable the child to satisfy his needs through the "indirect" mechanism of identification with their qualities, general behaviour and various specific activities. Many "ideals" among friends, other adults, and also some parents, acquire their "values" in this second way.

In both these ways people in the environment help the child to his successful adjustment. The situations of acceptance and rejection, dependence, "psychological weaning", parents' fixation and the formation of the "super-ego" -- all were extensively discussed in appropriate chapters and illustrated by numerous quotations from the children's compositions.

The comparison of the English and Polish groups of children allowed, (1) to find the similarity of the most fundamental motives underlying social preferences in all children of our culture, even of different nationalities, and (2) to observe the influence of the situation of frustration on social preferences and the preferences for various "values" where the Polish refugee children, being in the overwhelming majority fatherless, and with disturbed family life, were compared with the English children provided with the more or less normal background of family and social life, although the latter's experiences with war-time evacuation and separation from their parents also were reflected in our findings.

Some characteristic differences between boys and girls in preferences for persons, and in preferences for various "values" were discussed and amply illustrated by many quotations.

Separate sub-chapters were devoted to various groups of preferences: friends, opposite sex preferences, parents, other adults, priests--on the background of preferences for religious values, preferences for animals, and a special chapter dealing with some particular situations of fear and other mal-adjusted manifestations presented in some of the children's compositions. In all this elaboration, the results from girls and boys were discussed separately and compared with each other,--the majority of the above problems were presented on the background of different age levels.

A few characteristic types of social preferences among children were suggested:

- "parental-protective" type, based mainly on the child's need for love, protection, acceptance and instruction;
- "child-companion" type, based mainly on the subject's need for activity, playing, exploring, physical exploits, acceptance and friendly response;
- "adolescent-friend" type, based mainly on the need for understanding, sympathy, advice, confidence, cooperation and guidance;
- "heterosexual-love" type, reflects many of the attitudes towards parents and friends, particularly at the beginning of adolescent interest in the other sex; the older adolescents' preferences for the opposite-sex-companion grow in number and are more specified among boys and girls.

All the above groups of values responsible for various types of choice considerably overlap each other and the mechanisms of transference and substitution were clearly evident in all these groups, especially with siblings and heterosexual preferences. Numerous illustrations of such situations were presented in this work.

The basic motives present in all of the above groups of preferences were the desire for security and the need for successful integration of one's own personality. It seems that they fundamentally underlie all successful adjustments of the socially developing child in his environment. The "direct" and "indirect" way of satisfaction of all the above motives had been clearly presented by children in their compositions and was analyzed in this work. It was found that the child's preferences for other people in the environment depend on his fundamental needs or on his system of motives, subjected to the hierarchical organization according to the actual situation of the individual.

List of Chapters

1. Introduction - The aim of the work and a short review of the literature pertaining to our field of studies.
 2. Comments on the method - The detailed description and discussion of the method applied.
 3. The samples - The description of all groups of children used for the experiment, and of their social environment.
 4. The results and their interpretation:
 - A. General remarks
 - B. The procedure used in elaboration of the data obtained.
 - C. Preferences for various persons in different groups of subjects.
 - D. "Values" responsible for social preferences:
 - (a) The choice of friends
 - (b) " " " the opposite sex
 - (c) " " " siblings
 - (d) " " " parents
 - (e) " " " adults
 - (f) Religious values and the choice of priests
 - (g) The choice of animals
 - (h) Some particular situations reflected in the compositions.
 5. Comments on quantitative results.
 6. General conclusions and further considerations.
 7. Summary.
 8. References
- Appendix: An Abstract.