THE WORLD TECHNIQUE

MARGARET LOWENFELD

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CONTENTS

Foreword

Margaret Lowenfeld was one of the great pioneers in the discovery of childhood – the discovery was itself an outstanding human and scientific event of the twentieth century – and part of the whole intellectual adventure of seeking for ways to explore children's thinking and feeling. Throughout her long and innovative life, she emphasised the development of new forms of communication with children, especially devoting herself to the diagnosis and treatment of troubled children. In this she was part of the child guidance and child analysis movement, which is taking new forms today, as we speak of child advocacy and the Year of the Child (1979).

But she did even more, because she combined her insights from treating sick children with insights gained from an enthusiastic inquiry into the history of civilisation, the contrasts between different cultures, and the special creativity of artists, poets and great religious leaders. She was one of the first to realise that the special kinds of thought which are manifestations of early childhood perceptions of the world are not only the roots of trouble in disturbed children, but also the precious precursors of the work of genius. From her experience of the horrors of World War I, the atrocities of World War II, and the continuing nightmares of the post World War II period, she derived a vivid sense of the urgency of acquiring greater understanding of the way children in a world of adults, children in particular classes and situations, in particular societies, and at particular periods of history, learn to relate to the real world, or became stunted, apathetic or distorted.

She belongs in the pantheon of those who have enlarged our understanding of children – Erik Erikson, Anna Freud, Arnold Gesell, Melanie Klein and Jean Piaget – and those who have been providing the links between our understanding of the arts, of history and of the experiences of early childhood – Gregory Bateson, Edith Cobb, Geoffrey Gorer, Susan Isaacs, Ella Sharpe, David Winnicot and Martha Wolfenstein.

But unlike most of her illustrious contemporaries, she was most of all preoccupied with the insufficiency of words to express those aspects of childhood thought and feeling which interested her most. Her development of instruments of communication, such as the Worlds described in this book, and mosaics, have become important anthropological research tools; and kaleidoblocs and poleidoblocs are now widely used in introducing children to mathematics and logic. Due to her rejection of words as a medium of communication, unless they are supplemented by visible, manipulatable forms – miniatures of actuality, two dimensional and three dimensional forms with color and texture – she was hampered in her communication with a wider public than those who knew her in the flesh, as teacher, colleague, therapist, lecturer, and always demonstrator. The problem of how to make communicable the detail of nonverbal communi-

cation, in a world in which colored reproduction is still ruinously expensive, dogged her footsteps throughout her life, and has been a principal concern of mine since I first became acquainted with her work, in connection with the exhibit she had assembled at the Institute of Child Psychology for the World Congress on Mental Health, in London in 1948.

One of her great contributions was what she called "objective tests" – forms of communication in which the patient or subject, child or adult, would make something out of standardised materials, which was unique, repeatable, and which stood alone to be displayed, realised, analysed over and over again by the same or different investigators or collaborators. But the finished product alone – a set of mosaic designs, or a set of reproduced worlds – even if well reproduced, was only half the story. None of these instruments that she devised were actually meant to be more than half the record; the rest was the participation of the therapist or tester in the process of making a world or many worlds, or making a mosaic design. So *The Lowenfeld Mosaic Test*, which presented a set of finished designs, classified into types, told the waiting world, initially stimulated by some public presentation or private consultation with Margaret Lowenfeld, very little.

It has taken almost twenty years of active experimentation with methods of recording the process as well as the finished product, to devise a method of showing the process in the making of mosaics and the ways of linking the process and the finished designs to other aspects of culture, as has been done in Monserrat in the work of Rhoda Metraux and Theodora Abel, among the Manus by Lenora Foerstal, and by Rhoda Metraux among the Iatmul.

Communicating the possibilities inherent in the Worlds was even more difficult. Students from distant places came to England to study with Margaret Lowenfeld and went home to their own countries to reproduce the World cabinet of miniatures from real life, in local forms. The shape and proportions of the tray changed, or children were permitted to take home one miniature as a present from each session, and the cabinet became depleted! But how to represent the Worlds themselves? We tried photography, but the result often looked like a box of toys dumped indiscriminately in a sand pile, instead of what it really was – a representation of the way in which the child was coming to grips with relating inner perceptions, proprioceptive intuitions with the realities of the external world. We tried paintings, which combined with the protocols of process and gave a better rendering of the world-making experience, but added the complications of introducing an artist into the recording of a process for scientific purposes. And Margaret Lowenfeld, trained in the rigors of the physical and biological sciences was acutely aware of the importance of non-interpretative faithful and unadorned reporting. Finally, the method of presentation used in this book was developed by Enid Kotschnig. When colored

reproduction becomes economically viable, they may perhaps replace this more schematic representation.

But for the present, we have the chapters prepared by Margaret Lowenfeld herself, representations she approved, and an attempt by her students, collaborators, successors and colleagues to put those chapters into a perspective; we have the introduction which represents selections from her lectures and papers over a long period of time, special material provided by Ville Andersen, editing by John Hood Williams, and my own deep appreciation and enthusiasm for her work.

She was a vital part of an emerging new world of understanding of individual human thought processes, their implications for particular troubled human beings and a troubled global population – caught between two worlds, "one dead, one powerless to be born." By understanding and using the tools she developed, we can experience, and so partake of her insights, and go on from there.

Margaret Mead
The American Museum of Natural History
New York, New York
March 4, 1977

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Historical Note on the Manuscript

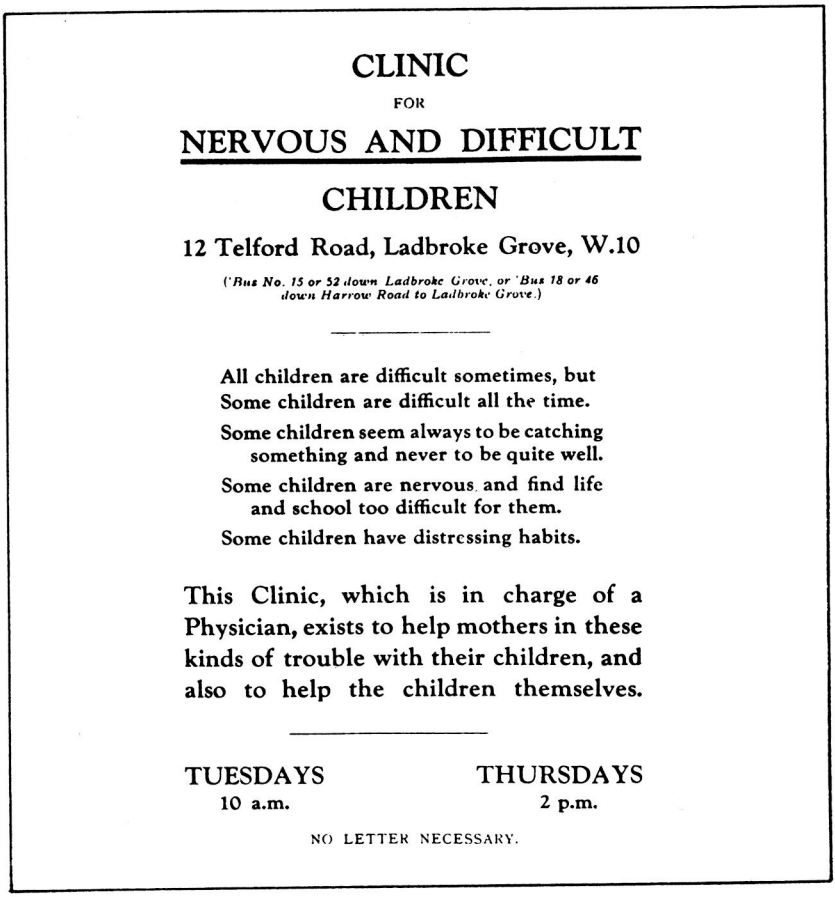
In the autumn of 1956 Dr. Margaret Lowenfeld received a grant, procured by Dr. Margaret Mead, from the Bollingen Foundation, New York, to enable her to write a book on the Lowenfeld World Technique. The work began that autumn and stretched over some three years, as it could only be accomplished in her spare time. The first part of the book was completed by 1959, but for certain reasons it was never published. The manuscript remained in my care as I hoped an opportunity might arise for publication of the three cases, dealing with children under treatment and followed by the chapter "On the Subjective Making of a World". Till now no detailed description showing Dr. Lowenfeld herself at work with Worlds has been available.

I was fortunate to assist Dr. Lowenfeld in this work, my main part being to collect and sort the material, check her writings in regard to references, numbers, etc. But the by far most interesting task I undertook was to try to find out how and when the "World" arose and was recognised as a psychotherapeutic tool.

On October the 28th 1928 Dr. Lowenfeld opened a "Clinic for Nervous and Difficult Children" at 12 Telford Road, London W.10, a district with small shops and identical brick houses mostly occupied by industrial workers. A printed leaflet was circulated to the local shops and pasted in the windows of the Clinic. One copy of the original leaflet was found, and it is reproduced overleaf.

Playroom equipment consisted of two tables and five chairs, some toys such as plasticine, building bricks, coloured paper, bead-mosaics, stencils, dolls, puzzles, crayons and paints, painting books, a bowl of water with rubber toys. At admission a careful case history was taken. During attendance at the Clinic detailed playroom reports were made and all was put together in very well designed case sheets, one for each child. Those early case sheets were still available for study and examination, and after careful research into that material I wrote a report, the relevant part of which will be found on pages 277–281.

During the time of producing the manuscript for the World book in the late 1950s we were fortunate to have the American artist, Miss Enid Kotschnig, with us. She had herself made a series of Worlds and was therefore familiar with the material. In regard to the illustrations of the following cases she developed a very ingenious technique of presenting the serial Worlds in a simple, stylised way as described by Dr. Lowenfeld in Case 1. Only three of the Worlds in Case 3 are drawn in perspective. As the procedure at a therapeutic session is to draw a sketch of the World in the child's presence and to have these sketches filed in the case sheets, it was possible for Miss Kotschnig to draw the simple Worlds straight from them; more complicated Worlds were set up



CLINIC

FOR

NERVOUS AND DIFFICULT

CHILDREN

12 Telford Road, Ladbroke Grove, W.10

('Bus No. 15 or 52 down Ladbroke Grove, or 'Bus 18 or 46 down Harrow Road to Ladbroke Grove.)

All children are difficult sometimes, but
Some children are difficult all the time.

Some children seem always to be catching something and never to be quite well.

Some children are nervous and find life and school too difficult for them.

Some children have distressing habits.

This Clinic, which is in charge of a Physician, exists to help mothers in these kinds of trouble with their children, and also to help the children themselves.

TUESDAYS 10 a.m.

THURSDAYS 2 p.m.

NO LETTER NECESSARY.

again before being drawn.

The cases of Charles Robinson (2) and William Carter (3) were written before Case 1, Mary Smith. In her comments on Mary Smith's Worlds (section, Symbols for E) Dr. Lowenfeld suggests that the analysis of Charles' series of Worlds be read first. In Case 2 (section, Techniques of treatment) Dr. Lowenfeld explains why she wanted only Worlds illustrated for the book.

As the four chapters were to have been part of a book, I have for this publication reviewed the material, deleted irrelevant references, etc., so Dr. Lowenfeld's descriptions of the cases can stand on their own with due reference to the Appendices.

Ville Andersen
Denmark, Fulden 8330 Beder.

Introduction

For many years I have had as my goal the achievement of an approach to the child's mind which shall be both objective in itself and susceptible of record. I have desired to become able to review freshly the whole question of the child's mental and emotional nature and its development, and to bring to light such manifestations of their nature as will carry their own conviction and be themselves grounds for further study.

I wish to put before you some of the results I have obtained. These form part of a considered point of view about the nature of the mind, a point of view which embodies particular pieces of apparatus and their use, and certain deductions drawn from the material produced by children with this apparatus as to the structure of the mind in childhood.

Shortly following the close of the European War of 1914–18 and while the Russo-Polish War still continued, I went with a Typhus Mission to Eastern Europe. Some discrepancies then existing in the nationality laws of this country and of Poland enabled me for a time to function in two ways: – as a medical member of certain missions of help to the East and also as a landowning citizen of the new state of Poland. This dual identity brought with it certain consequences.

My work when in khaki was to assist in sanitary provisions for Prisoners of War Camps, and in the welfare side of work for troops on a four hundred mile front. To this was later added a share in the attempt to feed and clothe many thousands of demobilised Polish students. The 1917 revolution in Russia was only three years behind us and the consequences still flooded the country.

On the other side, once out of khaki and in a different part of the country, one was a powerless and indistinguishable unit of a disintegrated countryside. In this district typhoid, dysentery, cholera, tuberculosis and epidemic influenza raged, with no medical stores. The larger number of the population had the waxy transparency of famine, fuel was short and transport almost non-existent.

Taking the two together was like being at the same time a haunted man and the ghost that haunts him. To this later, was added a third identity by a period in what would now be termed, "the underground", an "underground" of social rather than political activity.

The reason why I trouble you with this experience is that it posed neatly two problems which are problems which face us today. The living of several distinct mutually incompatible lives did for me what the preliminary analysis does for the therapist-to-be, that is, it opened doors on to an interior world I would not otherwise have reached. Later when reflecting upon this experience, I realised that the living of rôles totally different from and even hostile to each other, in a constant atmosphere of fear, and with a lack of any overall direction is of the essence of the

experience of unhappy children and the black misery of prisoners of war is very like the depressions of infancy.

This experience led later to a direct understanding of certain aspects of the inner life of children but simultaneously certain other aspects of it posed two definite problems. The first was the fact that contrary to all expectations, certain children and young adults, deprived of everything that psychiatry considers essential to health and development, nevertheless grew into vigorous and creative people. The second was the query as to what exactly was taking place in individuals who carried out the type of actions which words like Ausschwitz and Ravensbrück have since made too familiar to us.

This period was followed by a time occupied in strenuous four-language interpretation which left me profoundly sceptical as to the possibilities of language as a tool of inter-personal understanding.

The obvious course of action was to seek for the answer in psychiatry; but although personally gaining much from two analyses, they brought no answer to these questions and even more surprisingly, I found that it was impossible to convey in analysis the essence of the experiences out of which the queries grew. Either, therefore, the enquiry had to be abandoned, or some other mode of attack on the problem had to be found. Choosing the latter course, it was while getting training in clinical research methods that the clue to this different approach appeared.

I began to notice in the faces and bodies of the children I was studying, expressions, postures and gestures that resembled those with which I had become familiar in prison camps and famine areas. Language I had already discarded as too uncertain a tool; the manipulation of relationships seemed irrelevant to problems whose essence was the absence of relationships. It then occurred to me to wonder if anything could be done with objects instead of persons, and whether it would not be possible to devise a scientific experiment where one could represent to children by means of small objects what one guessed they might be undergoing.

Taking courage therefore, I set out to try acting before children with objects, what I conceived that they might be experiencing, and with immediate result. The children understood at once and responded with a naturalness that has persisted throughout the investigation. With this experiment a door came open and I found the children and myself in contact with one another.

Now it is perfectly clear that children have played since the beginning of time and archaeological diggings show us that every civilisation has provided toys for their use.

The loving care expended upon these toys in all human groups shows that grown-up human beings since the beginning of historical times have understood that the way to make contact with a child and to understand his way of thought is to play with him.

Play in childhood is a function of childhood. Toys to children are like culinary implements to the kitchen; every kitchen has them and has also the elements of food. It is what the cook does with these implements and elements that determines the dish.

The child psycho-analyst uses toys as a means of gaining contact with the child's mind in order that that mind may be dealt with on lines indicated by psycho-analytic theory: the child's use of toys is interpreted symbolically in harmony with that theory. Now without entering at all into the question of the validity of psycho-analytic thought, which is far from my purpose, I wish to point out as clearly as I am able, that this is a totally different dish from that which I aim to cook with approximately the same materials.

We both use toys, as does everyone who plays with children, or children who play alone. My own endeavour in my work with children is to devise an instrument with which a child can demonstrate his own emotional and mental state without the necessary intervention of an adult either by transference or interpretation, and which will allow of a record being made of such a demonstration. My objective is to help children to produce something which will stand by itself and be independent of any theory as to its nature.

My own approach to the use of a toy apparatus with children derives from a memory of H. G. Wells' *Floor Games*, the first edition of which had made a deep impression upon my youth. When, therefore, in 1925, I came from orthodox paediatrics to the associated study of emotional conditions in childhood, I began to put this memory to use. I collected first a miscellaneous mass of material, coloured sticks and shapes, beads, small toys of all sorts, paper shapes and match boxes, and kept them in what came to be known by my children as the "Wonder Box"; with this I began to experiment with my children patients.

My approach to the work was that of a clinician, and my aim was to endeavour to devise a method by which direct contact could be made, without interference from the adult, with the mental and emotional life of a child. I set myself as a goal to work out an apparatus which would put into the child's hand a means of directly expressing his ideas and emotions, one which would allow of the recording of his creations and of abstracting them for study, I had at that date no theory of the mind and was determined to avoid making or accepting one until I should have achieved objective records from which a theory could be built or checked.

The central task of psychotherapy is that of making contact with the whole of the patient's mind, not only by intuition but by direct and conscious knowledge and understanding of the laws of mind.

There are certain points about the nature of children's thought that make this task particularly difficult. A child does not think linearly as the adult is capable of doing: thought, feeling, sensations, concept and

memory are all inextricably interwoven. A child's thought is fluid and movement can take place on several planes at once. A child's feeling is absolute in that any emotion, while it is present, holds the whole field of consciousness. Finally, a child's concepts have no relation to what we call in our view of the world, external reality.

An apparatus, therefore, which will give a child power to express his ideas and feelings, must be independent of knowledge or skill, must be capable of the representation of thought simultaneously in several planes at once, must allow of representation of movement and yet be sufficiently circumscribed to make a complete whole, must combine elements of touch and sensation, as well as of sight, and be entirely free from a necessary relation to reality.

Another aspect of the necessity for some such apparatus is that not only child psychotherapy but psychotherapy and psychopathology as a whole suffer from a difficulty not now shared by any other branch of medicine, in that it is impossible to abstract clinical material for independent consideration apart from the circumstances in which it is produced.

We cannot examine the mental and emotional products of other physicians' patients without first understanding in full the psychotherapeutic hypotheses upon which the treatment has been based, and secondly having, by courtesy of the physician, access to the whole of the case notes of the patient. Even then, the personality of the physician must be taken into account in evaluating the facts, since what is available even in these ideal conditions is not the material produced by the patient himself, but this material seen through the eyes of the physician.

Physical science has progressed in strict accord with the development of possibilities of precise investigation and direct record of the facts observed, and their abstraction for study from the circumstances of production.

The dish therefore that I wish to cook with our common implements is one in which all these elements are present and which can be used, if you wish it, as check or proof of any system of psychotherapy, but which, although it is the source from which my own theory of child psychotherapy has been drawn, is independent of it as of other theories.

This apparatus I have called "The World" from the feeling the children have about it. It came into existence in 1929 and has been in constant use since that date both in the Institute of Child Psychology and in my private work. Children of all ages from 4 to late adolescence have worked with it, suffering from complaints including somatic disorders, educational difficulties, personality deviations and social maladjustments.

The equipment for the World Technique is a metal tray approximately $75 \times 50 \times 7$ centimetres, half-filled with sand, for use on tables of differing heights according to the size of the children using them; water should be near at hand; implements for use with the sand such as shovels, funnels, moulds, a sieve; amorphous materials such as plasticine, wooden slats,

rubber tubes, tins and oddments of any kind. Nearby there must be a cabinet with drawers containing miniature objects of the following kinds:

Living creatures: ordinary men, women and children; soldiers; entertainers; people of other races; wild and domestic animals.
Phantasy and Folk-lore: figures; animals, including prehistoric and "space" specimens.
Scenery: buildings of any kind, trees, bushes, flowers, fences, gates and bridges.
Transport: for road, rail, sea and air.
Equipment: for road, town, farms and gardens, playground and fairs, hospital, school, etc.
Miscellaneous objects: which may be anything at any time obtainable in shops.

This apparatus has proved as valuable in psychotherapeutic work with adults as with children, and is welcomed by adult patients as an aid to their understanding of themselves and to communication with their therapist.

Children are introduced to the World apparatus in the following way.

It is explained in simple words that there is a gap between a child's world and that of the adults of his environment, and thus a lack of mutual understanding. This leads to a short talk about "Picture Thinking" in which it is pointed out that children have many ideas and experiences "in their heads" which won't go into words and which nobody seems to talk about. Further, that many things are more easily "said" in pictures and in actions than in words ("comics" and advertisements are used as examples). It is explained to the child that this is a natural way of "thinking" and that this is what we would like him to do for us here, and that the work to be undertaken will make a bridge between two worlds – that of the child and that of the adults.

The World apparatus is then introduced and the child invited to make "whatever comes into his head".

When used with adults this introduction is modified into a general discussion of modes of symbolic representation in art, literature, advertisement and satirical cartoons.

Once started on the work, introduction becomes superfluous; the interest of the creation itself is its own explanation.

In the ordinary course of treatment, children use this apparatus as but one among many other possible activities. Sometimes they act, sometimes they play, sometimes they recount dreams or paint, write stories or recount phantasies that come into their heads. The "World" takes its place among other pieces of apparatus and forms of expression as a clinical instrument used in the process of treatment and study of the child, but upon which the whole burden of treatment does not rest.

Some children keep up a running commentary on their work as they do it; some invoke the help of the physician with them throughout; some work absorbedly at their "Worlds" in silence till they are completed and

seem oblivious of the presence of any other person.

Some children take immediately to this form of expression and hail it with delight, saying, as did one very verbal boy of 14, "I never expected this to be like that! One really can express oneself in that – it's all living – just like we are". Some come to it later, while some children after the first day do not use it at all.

To get any value out of the material the user must find his way to an understanding of the possibilities of the material and gradually come to "find himself" in the medium, if it is to yield a really rich harvest. Careful record, therefore, of exactly what is done by each child at each use of the world material is very important, and this record must contain the maker's own description of it and his reaction to it, both in detail and as a whole. The record should be made at the time by the worker in co-operation with the child, a diagram being made of the "World", each item in it being carefully noted.

As soon as any observer sets out to make such a record, an immediate difficulty arises. Words used in their ordinary grammatical sense and construction do not always express what has been created, something new is needed. To meet this need a series of terms have been invented, such as "a going-alongness" to describe worlds in which rail, road, and river transport are combined together on a track in the tray, which at one time is said by the maker to be a road and at another a river.

Children use this apparatus in a very large number of different ways, and the main characteristic of their use, once the first strangeness of the material has worn off, is its unexpectedness. No object, therefore, and no arrangement of objects, should be taken at its face value, but careful inquiry made of the child as to what exactly each object in the world is to be recorded as being. It is essential for the proper understanding of the nature and use of this technique that no interpretation be given by the therapist to the child. The purpose is to explore the as yet insufficiently known aspects of a child's inner experience. This can only be done through careful adherence to and study of the meanings and the connections that the child himself has made.

To achieve this end, however, it is essential that certain conditions be observed, namely:

1. A deep tray must be used as the basis of the apparatus.
2. It must be waist high to the individual, so that the "world" can be made in it with his hands.
3. There must be an ample supply of sand and water, so that the maker may model any type of contour, and place objects anywhere in or on this sandy base.
4. There must be a wide supply of objects in ample number, including many of each kind.
5. Understanding of any but the most superficial layers of the child's thought cannot be obtained from a first world, except in the case of mentally deficient or very seriously disturbed children.

One word now as to my own handling of "World" material.

It is perfectly clear that, confronted with this material, any one who wills will be able to read into these "World" representations components derived from his personal conviction, and that not merely as a result of wish fulfilment, but because they are almost certainly to be present there. A psychoanalyst will find sexual themes, sometimes overtly, sometimes symbolically represented there, for the reason that sexuality does play a part in a child's "World" picture. The Adlerian will undoubtedly find the power complex and its derivatives represented in this hyponoic language. The "World" apparatus should appeal to the heart of the Jungian, seeing that the "World" cabinet is richly furnished with already completed archetype symbols.

My own direct use of the material in the presence of the child is to treat it like a cipher language, and concentrate my attention on an endeavour to discover what exactly the objects used represent to *the child who uses them.* Thus I explain to each child that a horse for example may be to one child a representation of a thing it fears, to another its dearest friend, to a third, as one said, "A strong thing which runs", to another "What Daddy rides", and so on; and then we imagine I am a South Sea Islander having never seen Europe and the child explains to me what each object actually is, that is, is to him.

Having drawn the "World" we then substitute in it the *qualities and concepts the child has given.* When these are reassembled together the result is a picture of affect, concept, memory and experience inextricably woven together into the presentation of a total state.

The uses to which children put this material range from photographically accurate transcripts of known scenes of ordinary life through every possible modification of this, to the most complex and interwoven incoherence. I am going here to give some indication of these varieties.

With enough experience with the Worlds we can divide them into categories.

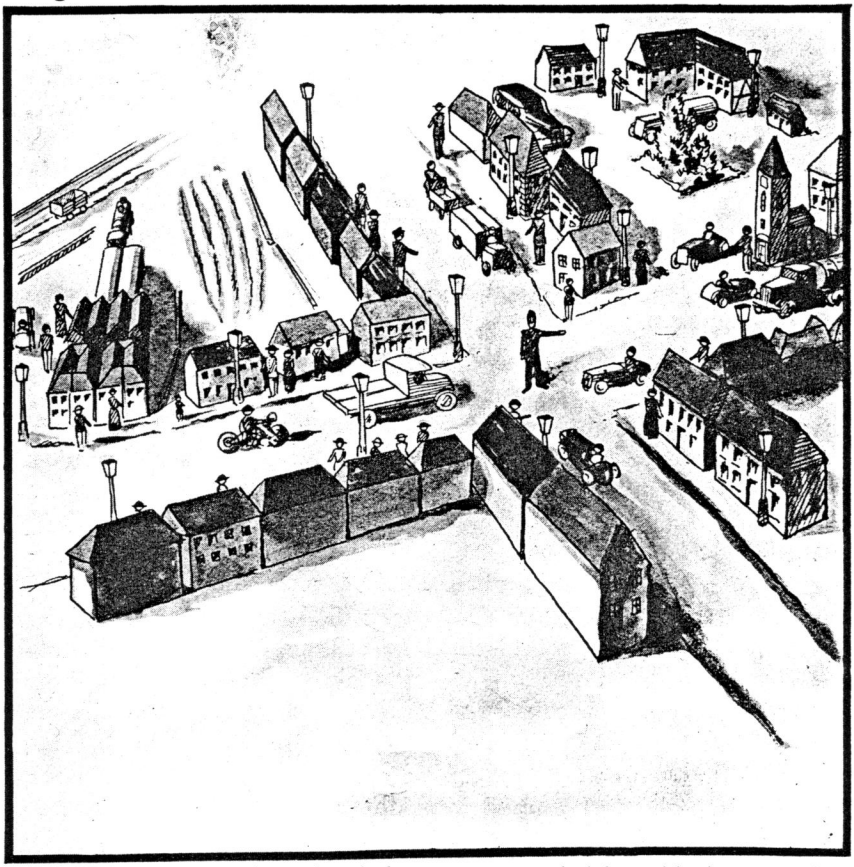
The first group are the *realistic or representational Worlds*, complete or incomplete.

A Complete Representational World is a realistic reproduction of a known or imagined world. The purpose of the child is to present certain scenes with such realism as the material available will permit. In a world of this kind every detail is of considerable importance; everything is practical and objective. See figure 1, page 8.

This world was built by a boy of 11. It represents a scene in a town. Everything is shown as it would be in real life. Street traffic, a railway station on the left and a house on the right. The world is composed very cleverly and makes a colourful and lively impression.

An Incomplete Representational World is the result of an attempt by the child to create something real. If the scene is discussed with the child in

Figure 1



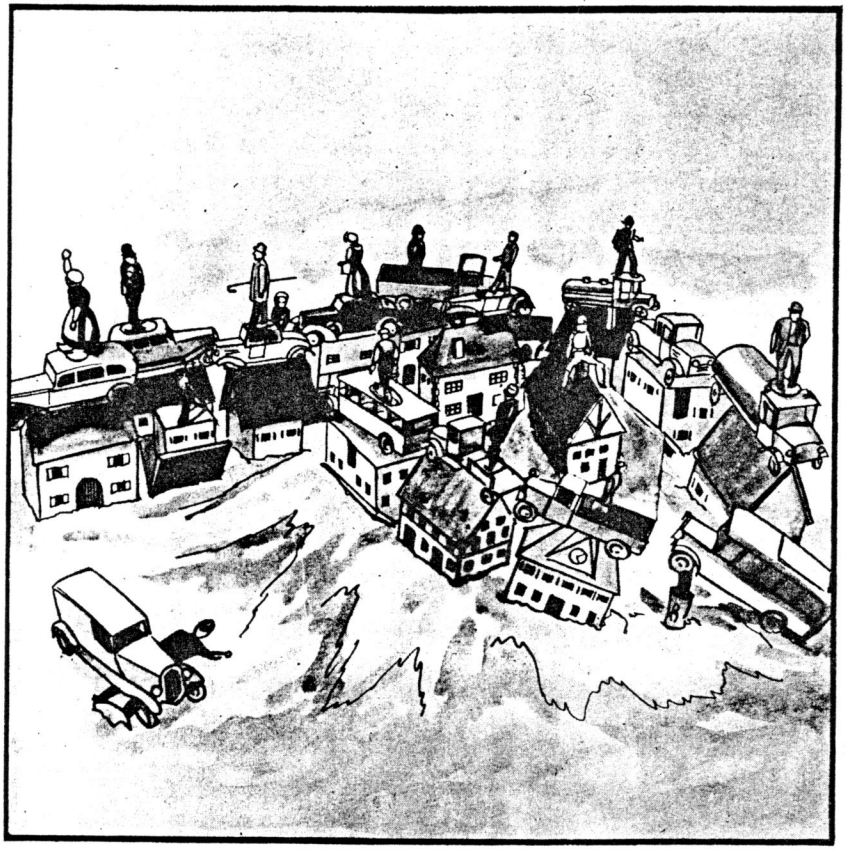
detail, the child notices that it has not succeeded in achieving complete reality. Parts of the picture remain unreal.

A second group is formed by the Worlds in which *real objects are put together in an unreal fashion.* The child has no clear idea of what it is building before the work is finished. When the work is finished, the child experiences a feeling of completion, gives a sigh of relief and calls out, "I have finished". It cannot explain what it has done; it is satisfied but cannot say why. See figure 2.

This world was made by a schoolboy of 13, who was sent to me on account of a phobia. When he had finished, he said, "I don't know what it means, but I feel that it has to be like this".

In front is a round hill, with a small valley in the centre. There is a house in the valley and a man, instead of sitting in the house, sits on the roof. Other houses are put on the hill, some the right way up, some with the roof in the sand and the foundations uppermost. Traffic is crossing the roofs; people are jumping from car to car; everything is moving in the

Figure 2



same direction.

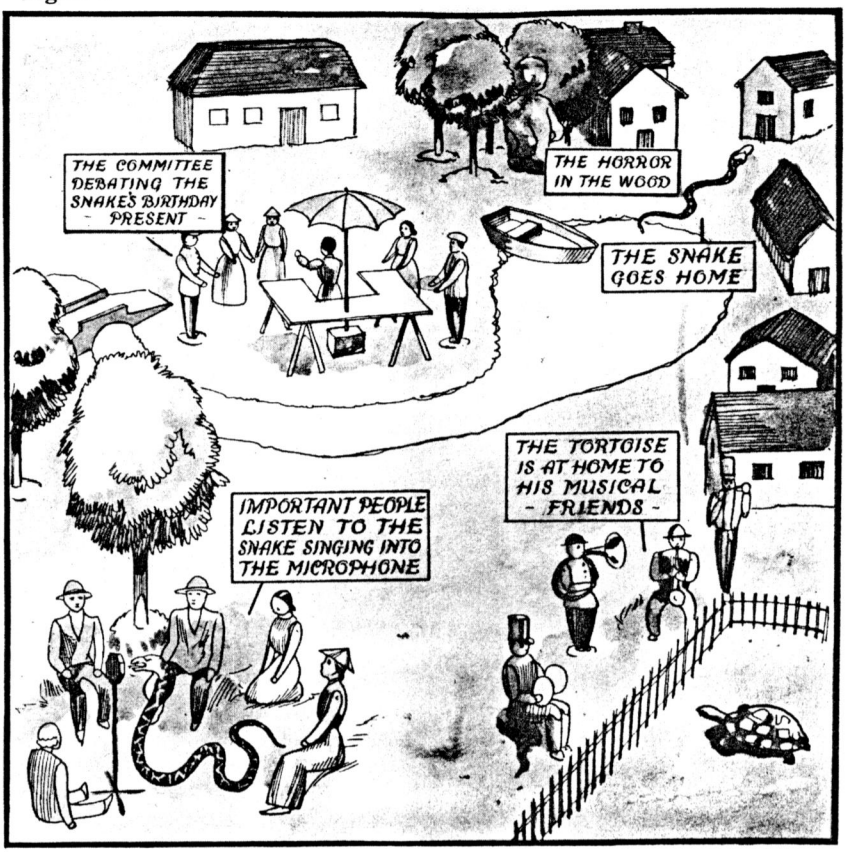
The circle of houses has an entrance, not on the left, where there is a projection, but on the right. In the centre of the entrance a man is stuck into the sand by his head and an ambulance is running over him.

Both in the foreground and in the background a man is being run over by a car.

A further group can be called "*Demonstration of a Phantasy*". Here the most important thing is the phantasy by which the child is governed while it is working. See figure 3, page 10.

This world was made by a girl aged 17. She had studied music on the continent but was sent back to England owing to improper behaviour. The World represents a day in the life of the snake. One picture shows the snake surrounded by important people, singing into a microphone. On top, a committee is debating the snake's birthday present; on the right, a tortoise has invited his musical friends. Above this scene the snake is seen going home past a wood where the Horror lives.

Figure 3



A fourth group is formed of worlds of a *Mixed Type.* Children with a confused intellectual or emotional life or children of sub-average intelligence, tend to make worlds combining all the three types described. In such cases the tray can be divided into various sections, each of which shows a different scene. The various scenes correspond to various layers of the intellectual and emotional life of the child.

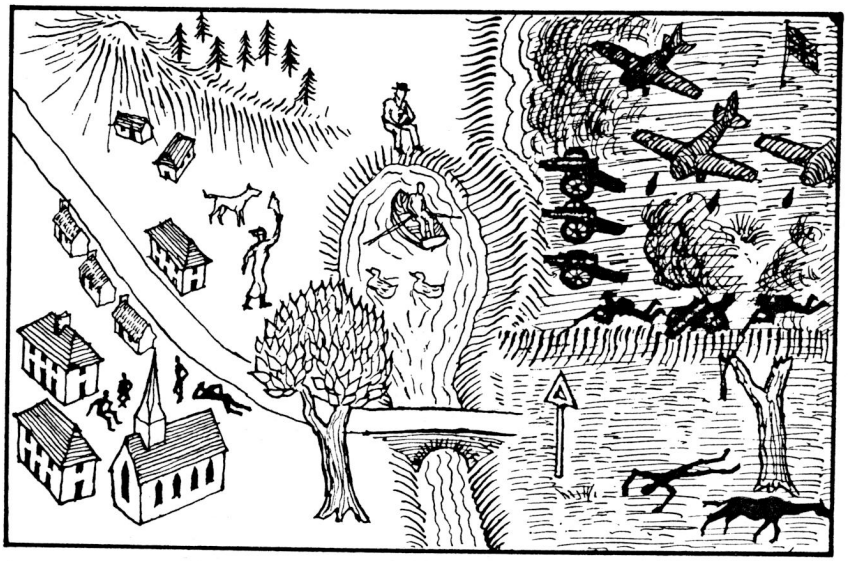
Figure 4 is an illustration of such a World.

This world was made by a boy of 18 during the third consultation.

On the left we have a village with a pond and a river. Everything is normal and straightforward. But on the right we have a war. There is a square, guns being fired on three sides. In the background we can see military aircraft and in the foreground dead horses, a dead man and a broken tree.

When I asked the patient whether he saw or felt an enemy, he said, "No" – he did not have the feeling that there was an enemy. The dead figures in the foreground were purely the result of the guns.

Figure 4



When I asked him whether the village people knew that a war was going on, he said, "No, they don't know and don't feel it either. Neither do the soldiers know that the village exists".

Children of low intelligence, very young children and those under great pressure use unrelated material. They take pieces out of the World cabinet at random and put them down anywhere without any relation between one piece and another. A few neurotic children display a tendency during treatment to give their worlds a certain degree of composition. In such cases the later worlds show a clue to the nature of the first apparently disjointed worlds.

The time taken on the construction of a world may be 20 minutes or 2 to 3 hours. "Worlds" may be unitary and stationary in that the whole afternoon may be given up to the elaboration of a single scene; they may be vivid and moving suggesting a cinema film more than anything else for the rapidity of movement. The "Worlds" of many weeks may show a continuous story, each successive afternoon's work being the development and continuation of the previous one.

There remains to be considered the central question which may perhaps be stated thus: Of what nature is the thought depicted in "Worlds"? The first question concerning this material that clearly needs an answer is, "is it possible, with such an objective, non-relationship approach to children to reach any but the more superficial layers of the psyche"?

Children's material is too diffuse for this question to be answered economically. I propose, therefore, to take for this point, material from two young adults which are presentations of the body scheme.

*Illustration lost**

This is a spontaneous drawing made during treatment by a young woman suffering from multiple phobias, and represents herself as she felt herself to be.

Here, the place of eyes in the face is taken by one breast and one buttock, a penis replaces the nose and the mouth is a worm. Further down, squinting eyes appear where the breasts should be, a small mouth replaces the umbilicus while a relatively normal face, lacking an upper lip and with massive teeth appears lowering in the lower abdomen. A kettle replaces one foot and a pail the other. For arms appear sticks producing noise, said by the patient to be "perpetually in action".

Illustration lost

Actually drawn earlier, this drawing shows the impact of noise on the patient. The parts of the body are in normal position, but grossly distorted. In the abdomen is a window with curtains, and entering the ears are every possible kind of noise. The black spot on the cheek is putrefaction.

This patient is now a successful and cheerful young woman responsible for the work of her household and leading a vivid social life.

Illustration lost

Here is a drawing of a World made by a young man suffering from a devasting sense of inability to make use of his excellent abilities.

You will see that this World is at one and the same time, a queer shaped island in an inland sea with gun boats about and also a human body. The eyes are on antennae and from the collection of houses on the base of the neck,steps go down to a tunnel, which leads through the head and out at the left ear. The right ear is absent. The left axilla is also a harbour and collections of houses with paths between them appear at different places on the body. The maker said the face was semi-sentient and was the religious centre of the island people. In this World, the patient expressed his feeling of hardly being a person at all, but instead, something other people overran.

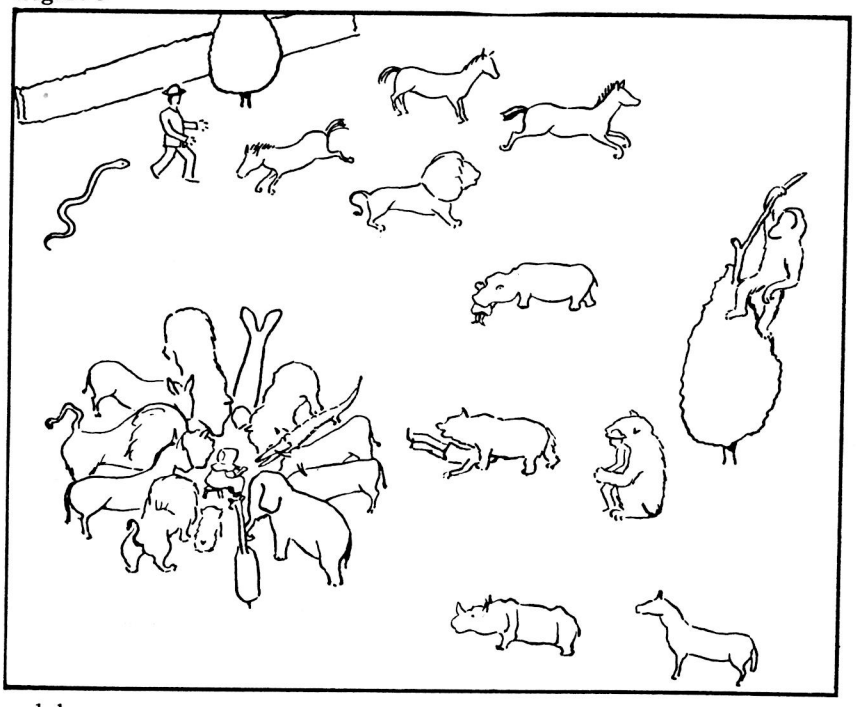
During the war, this patient rose from a humble position to charge of the administration of an important section of our war organisation.

The question that next arises is of the possibilities this material offers for the representation of emotion. See figure 5.

This is a painting of a World done by a boy with asthma. You will note the appalling position of the figure on the ground, as the focus of fierce animals and that three of the other animals have a human figure to maul

*Editor's note: this and the next two illustrations have been lost, but the text is retained since it is not too difficult to reconstruct in imagination the two drawings and the World that are described.

Figure 5



and devour.

This illustration may give you some idea of the capacity of the material to depict emotion.

The essential feature of the conditions for which psychotherapy is sought by or for a patient, is a state of distress which the patient is unable to understand, to control, or to communicate. While, therefore, evaluation of the nature of the patient plays an important part in the preliminary stages, it is communication which forms the essence of therapy; communication of unknown aspects of the patient to himself and to the therapist, and explanation from the therapist to the patient of what is revealed. It is as an agent of communication that the World apparatus plays its invaluable part in the process of psychotherapy. Patients, whether children or adults, feel that with these tools expression can be given to states of being and happenings within the psyche which they find impossible to express in any other way.

I would like to consider what are the qualities of the World apparatus from which its power of expression derives.

1. Its Multi-dimensional Nature

We are all aware of the fact that many processes – and often processes at variance with one another – take place simultaneously within us. If these

are to be expressed in words, or even in drama, descriptions of one aspect must *follow* another and their interactions cannot be presented.

Not only is this true, but processes occurring within the psyche take place at different levels, are of different orders of significance, and often appear to cancel each other out.

The World apparatus, with the range of possibilities offered by its mouldable sand, amorphous objects and World cabinet, makes possible the simultaneous presentation, within a single framework, of processes and concepts going on at different levels in the psyche and consisting of differing elements.

2. The Dynamic Possibilities it Offers

Worlds can be static or dynamic and it is this second possibility which is of such value with children. The life of a child, both externally and interiorly, is one of action. Their own experiences and those of the constituents of the world around them are seen by children as stories: stories which can be endlessly repeated or varied and whose endings on one occasion, even if this ending be total destruction of all constituents, have no effect upon the next beginning. These can be directly represented in the World tray, played out, analysed with the therapist, and the contents realised as they appear in endless repetitions.

3. The Power of the Apparatus to Present States of Mind Hitherto Unknown

All schools of psychological thought agree about the importance of the pre-verbal stages of interior development, and also as to the great difficulty of arriving at an understanding of their nature and content. With the World apparatus states of being of the greatest complexity and processes of perception and of phantasy of the highest degree of unexpectedness and confusion can be, and are, directly presented.

4. Its Independence of Skill

While, at times, young adolescents make constructions in the World tray which display a very considerable degree of manual skill, for the most part the fact that no technical ability of any kind is demanded for the making of a World constitutes a strong appeal. Anything in a World cabinet can be utilised to represent anything else and plasticine used to supply what is missing.

I would submit that we have here in this material achieved the first of our tasks, in that we have now an access to the direct register of precognitive thought in the child which can be treated like any other laboratory scientific material.

I should like to present some of the principles of mental life which I have come to formulate as a result of many years study of material such as I have been endeavouring to demonstrate, and which have formed the experimental basis of not too unsuccessful psychotherapy.

We are accustomed to thinking of the mind as consisting of two parts, the conscious and the unconscious. Let us for a moment see what these terms mean and how they came about.

Freud, starting his work and confronted by a human being, took for examination what he saw, the conscious mind, taken at that time as being co-terminus with mind. As he worked however, another structure began to appear which appeared to have none of the qualities of conscious mind and of which the conscious mind was unaware. It was inevitable and fitting that the term unconscious should be applied to this emergent force. This was found to be at its strongest in childhood.

But if we now turn the medal round and instead of beginning with the conscious, that is, by being confronted by the adult in whom consciousness and cognition are fully developed, and in whom one looks backwards to the unconscious, we start with the infant in whom cognitive faculties are not yet developed, and look forward to cognition, then the reverse of the picture arises. The strange part of the mind, the phantasy part, is what confronts us. This is now the norm, and the problem before us now is: "How and why does the cognitive system arise"?

In making his Worlds the child is quite clearly aware of a great deal of what he expresses, but is unable to explain its meaning in words. This thought can not be equated, therefore, with the unconscious of adult life, and to call it unconscious is misleading. Also, clearly, as the conscious or cognitive part in young children is so little developed, it is difficult to see how this can arise by repression out of the consciousness. Psychoanalysis has met this difficulty by calling it the Id, but that is only to dress it up in fancy dress and give the wearer an identity disc. To do so does not explain the underlying process. It is the task of science to examine its material and to examine it upon lines not of an ideology which is self-contained and peculiar to itself, but upon that which holds current in the world outside the dogma.

Once we allow ourselves to move into an ideology which is individual to its subject and has no affinities in the cognate branches of knowledge, we are off the earth and anything is possible, even elaborate cannibalistic phantasies in the recently born.

I suggest therefore that the terms conscious and unconscious are, in these circumstances, misleading – particularly since consciousness, as Spearman has emphasised, is closely bound up with speech and the child has no speech when it begins its mental life. If there is anything at all that our material has shown and shown conclusively, it is that to call a thing not conscious, i.e., outside the individual's awareness, because it is non-

verbal, is an abuse of terms.

I wish to propose that we get rid of this difficulty, which is a linguistic one, and substitute the terms Primary and Secondary Mental System for unconscious and conscious functioning.

The Primary System of thought then, describes all mental functioning between the age of 0 and the age when cognitive processes occupy a normal part of the mental field. The Secondary System of thought describes all thought that can be expressed in prose.

The name, Primary System, has been given, since it is a systematised region of the psyche, appears first, and remains for life in the core of the psyche.

Having arrived at this point our next task is to examine the nature of this Primary System.

To make the matter clearer, a parable is set out, the form of which is drawn from Worlds children themselves made.

When we were children, many of us delighted in reading that mixture of fairy story and children's tale in which there was a garden surrounded by a wall, which all the grownups took as being really the end of the garden, but which, at a specially exciting moment in the story, the children of the house found to conceal among the bushes, which grew close up to the wall, a secret door. This door, opened only at midnight, led to a garden of delights, unsuspected by the grownups and peopled with fairies and wise or prankish gnomes. This story has many forms; sometimes it is under the sea, sometimes on an island out at sea, sometimes in a lost valley in the hills. But the essence of the story is the same; the finding of a country near to home but with rules of life within it which are magical and different altogether from those which obtain at home. There are also terrible things in this garden, ogres and man-eating giants and wizards and spells; but in the end it is only the wicked who are consumed, or the careless. If one knows the rules of life in that country, it is exciting and virile, and from it the traveller brings back treasures of gold and jewels.

It is clear that there are many ways in which these stories can be regarded, and Jung and Freud have thrown a great deal of light on them, but here they will be taken quite simply as they stand, and studied in almost a literal fashion so that they may assist the understanding of what we are calling the Primary System.

For instance, there are always certain constant characteristics about these stories. There is always a key to that garden, and the key is difficult to find and to many people altogether invisible; great efforts are called for from those who are bold enough to take the key and open the door, before they can enjoy the freedom of the secret kingdom, and of the strange things that are in it. Within that garden, or that kingdom, there are dangers also, and tests and struggles, and not all come back again. Some die, some lose their way back; perhaps these become some of those people we call

insane, who never find their way back again. There are people who, having been once inside, are frightened and spend the rest of their lives denying there is any such kingdom at all; and there are some, like the painter Chagall, and James Joyce and the poet Blake, who live equally on both sides of the wall, and come and go at will; though people find them strange, they do not call them mad.

Two characteristics of that fable must now be considered, which differentiate it in important ways from the concept (either psychoanalytic or of analytical psychology) of the unconscious.

First of all, it is quite a well-defined region, and a wall separates it from the home garden. The rules of conduct and the type of event that occurs on one side of the wall are different from those on the other side. What is to be expected in one garden does not happen in the other, and in the magic garden almost anything may come about. This is not strange, because the idea of the fable has been arrived at directly from study of the actual productions many children have made with the tools supplied to them.

The second important fact about the garden is that though to some extent is looks like the outside world, there is in it neither time nor space. It is this timelessness, and this quality of being able to be at the same time in two places which may actually be far apart, that has given rise to the legends and fairy tales of Rip Van Winkle, the Magic Carpets, Seven League Boots, the little figures that suddenly grow tall as in "Alice in Wonderland", and much of the paraphernalia of fairyland.

We need to ask ourselves, therefore, how is this garden constructed, and what do these strange features mean?

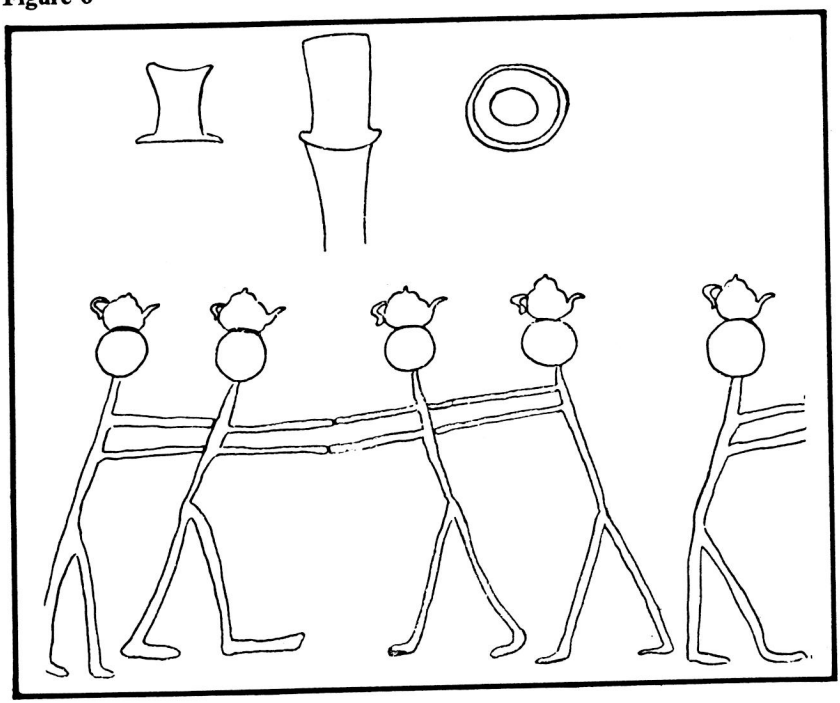
Now it is very difficult to understand this directly; it is too peculiar, and those who are not poets and artists have left it too far behind and grown into too different another world to be able to regain contact with it easily. Some artists keep a dim consciousness of it, and the work of the painter Chagall may be taken to help us in building a bridge.

It is characteristic of Chagall to paint pictures in which figures and objects appear without apparent relation to one another and without the normal relation to gravity. His method of grouping these and his skill in colouring are so aesthetically pleasing that his pictures receive a warm welcome in most countries of the world. Nevertheless, judged from a "rational" standpoint, it is difficult to understand the rules upon which he works, why he selects just those objects that appear in his pictures, or why the ones which are included in any given picture should appear together. Moreover, the size of figures and objects and the place in the picture they occupy seem, judged from the commonsense point of view, to be completely irrational. Figures are painted within other figures and in some, large heads contain whole scenes within them. From the ordinary standpoint, this is very odd. This is not surrealism, which is an attempt to

represent and to evoke in the beholder by that representation certain emotional states, but something different that stands by itself. It is, in the main, the painting of the beautiful side of the strange inner region of man, so difficult to reach in adult life but which dominates the experience of children.

As a first step may be considered the way he treated common metaphor in a concrete fashion. For example, it is quite common to speak of a "horse-faced" woman. But in the picture called "Clair de Lune" (1944), Chagall paints a nude female figure in solid texture, and superimposes over the head of the figure a shadow painting of a horse, so that in literal fact the central figure in his picture is both woman and horse.

Figure 6



This is a drawing made by a young woman patient who wished to express early confusion of thoughts about certain aspects of bodies. It is a commonplace of psychoanalytic experience that the teapot with its projecting spout and the breastlike formation of its lid can stand in symbolic fashion for the combination of male and female sexual characteristics. It is also one of the characteristics of the early confusions and identities of the Primary System that the parts of the body which contain orifices into which and from within which substances come and go, stand for and are identified with one another, the head becoming in this way confused with

the excretory end of the trunk. This particular patient wished to express a concept into which these ideas had coalesced, and to combine the resultant mass with the idea of struggle for possession of the total qualities conceived of as existing both in the head and in the male and female genitalia.

It will be seen that so complex a conception is impossible to express in words, just as the complex of ideas and feelings behind the impulse to superimpose a horse upon a woman's head cannot be fully expressed in words. Both, however, can be presented in a plastic medium, if the usual concepts of "sense" and "possibility" are rejected. Chagall, being an artist, can blend his concepts into an artistically pleasing whole which has value in itself. This patient, having no artistic ability or desire to do anything but communicate something, has produced a drawing in which teapots formed parts of heads of pairs of people engaged in a struggle with each other. The teapots were of different colours, and the patient stated that each figure was dissatisfied with its particular coloured teapot and wished to change it for another's. The top hat, the cork seen from the side, and the third crude drawing indicating a cork stopping up a hole, fill out the genital significance of the drawing in a manner that will be familiar to all psychoanalysts.

Further, those who are familiar with the paintings of Chagall will remember that, as for example in the well-known painting, "Dans mon Village", Chagall makes use of the device of painting scenes within scenes, small solid individuals within parts of larger figures. In particular, in the painting entitled "La Somnabule" (1945), there appears within and painted upon the crinolone skirts of a female figure a winter village scene, the floating horizontal figure of a man with a cock's head, and a quadruped minus the front legs, and with human legs instead of its back legs. In the same picture a candelabra appears in the top right-hand corner although there is a moon below it, and a man's arm in a coat sleeve is in the region of the ear of the bridal female figure. Once again, because Chagall is an artist, the total result of these compositions is enchanting, and has brought Chagall fame in all countries in which his pictures have been exhibited. But this means only that Chagall, being an artist, has chosen to use as the material for his pictures concepts and plastic forms which many experience. These are a common possession of all human beings, but of which we are at present unaware.

Another feature of Chagall's paintings is the confusion of time and space or, to put it the other way round, the absence of the dimensions of time and space. The materials he uses appear, therefore, to be suitable for the expression of experience in which there is neither time nor space but only immediacy of experience, each experience obliterating the one before it and replacing it with itself.

Now the beauty and the harmony of Chagall's pictures, and the gulf that in that aspect separates them from the productions of patients, gives much

material for thought, material which arises equally out of contemplation of the work of Blake, of Coleridge, of James Joyce, of Henry Moore or of Hieronymous Bosch. The great artist works with the same tools as our own experience could make accessible to all of us, but he produces results which are mysterious and act powerfully upon us. Where the work of our patients very often reflects fear, horror and suffering, the work of these artists, even where we cannot understand it with our intelligence, affects some other part of our being in a way peculiar to itself, often calling out responses of which we did not previously know ourselves capable.

Here lies the key to the difference between the Primary System in health and in illness, and this difference will be described in detail later on.

The fact having been established that these strange processes exist, it is now necessary to consider the questions of how they come about, what they convey, and the part these processes play in the total personality. The first idea that will occur to any worker familiar with the technique of free association is that these represent the chain of free association occurring, not in sequence as it usually does, but congested or condensed, as it were into a solid mass as indeed often occurs in psychoanalytic studies.

It will be useful, therefore, to start there and to analyse out some of these combinations. To do so we might take a hypothetical case in which a man walking down a street, undergoing emotional experiences of high significance for him, but of a type liable later to be repressed, at the same time notices idly that a woman on the opposite side of the street, wearing a red hat, is passing a pillar box of exactly the same colour. Further, as she comes toward him, she moves in front of a small front garden to the houses on the street, in which there are some Paul Crampel geraniums. The colour of these, he casually notices, is the same as that of her hat and the pillar box. These three as they come together make, as it were, a column of red topped with a hat and finished with fluffy flowers. It is possible that he would remember that experience exactly as he had experienced it; or the sight, on another occasion, of a component part of the combination would reproduce for him the other part, or even that when some chord in the accompanying emotional experience was touched, it would lead him to associate that with these, or the other way about. But whichever way it happened, he would at all times see the hat as a hat and the pillar box and flowers as a pillar box and flowers. They have displayed themselves before him *as he is accustomed to seeing them.* His ability to keep these distinct while at the same time associating them through a single aspect depends *upon his previous experience.* Had he not had that experience, this would not have been possible for him, or possible only in exceptional circumstances.

But it is just this element which is missing in children, especially young children. It must be emphasised that the one essential characteristic of all

children's experience is that it is new to them, and comes, in the larger number of cases, uncombined with understanding of the significance to other people of the sensorial experiences personally experienced.

By what method, therefore, do children classify their experience? This was one of the first questions that it was essential to answer, and the material collected over many years has made it quite certain that the answer is: "By the quality of the personal experience the child has of the thing and event in question". Thus "things which made me feel horrid" go together, as do "things which made me feel warm", etc., etc., up to the greatest refinement of difference, in sensitive children, of all varieties of experience. Moreover, items when grouped together in this way do not become *associated;* they coalesce, the shared quality not combining them in a way that can be separated later by the owner into the component parts, but becoming entirely identified so that the original items now form part of a single whole.

Here is a little story which makes this clearer. A little boy of $3\frac{1}{2}$ with a pretty, social mother, had a green, smooth, shining toy duck to which he was much attached. He used to put it under his cheek when sleeping. This duck quacked. His mother used to go out a great deal in the evening, and so came up to his nursery usually wearing a green silk evening dress, to read him a good-night story. She then sat in a low chair, and being rather tall, her knees came just to the height of his cheek. It was their custom that when he had had his bath he came in from the bathroom to his nursery with his duck under one arm, paused at the door, looked at his mother, then ran forward, stroked his cheek on his mother's knee, said "Pretty Mummy" climbed on her knee and cuddled down, and she read him his story. Every night this little ritual was carried out. But one night his mother came up wearing a red dress. The little boy paused at the door and looked at her very hard before he came forward rather slowly, did not stroke her knees with his cheek, and climbed up rather soberly on to her lap. This happened two nights, and at the third he stood at the door and burst into tears and said, "Oh Mummy, why do you not put on your quacking dress"? That is to say, the whole combination of affection, greenness, smoothness, cheek-stroking, etc., and *quacking* had come together into a whole, and it was a matter of chance which of these composite group of qualities he might hit upon to characterise this whole.

This is the process by which the inner experience of children becomes grouped, and to the results of this process has been given the name "cluster". The strange composite objects in Chagall's pictures are almost certainly clusters, though this could not be finally settled without investigating them with the artist himself. The difference is that Chagall is a great artist and children are just children. There are innumerable clusters in each child's mind. The number and variety depend upon two factors; the sensitivity and the intellectual quality of the child, and the variety of

its experience. Clusters are of all sizes and complexity and composed of very various material.

The formation of clusters, it would appear, is an essential process in the development of the individual personality. When the child is sensitive and intelligent, the linking together which takes place in this way in early life, of experiences of intimacy and intensity in ways which are personal to him and which are afterwards forgotten (in a manner to be described later), gives the personality resources to be drawn upon which are of inestimable value. From this region come "five miles meandering with a mazy motion", "Tiger, Tiger, burning bright, in the forests of the night", and so on, that delight us as adults. Since much of our essential experience is similar to that of the poet, musician or sculptor, in whom suddenly a cluster can burst into poetic speech, or dynamic sound, or form, the creation of an artist will express for us similar clusters in our own experience, which are inaccessible to ordinary man. In so doing, they bring about in us discharge of energy and release of tension and the experience of profound inner satisfaction.

Two main characteristics are observable in any large collection of studies of this kind of material. The first is the occurrence in Worlds made by patients who vary in every possible way in age, sex, complaint and intellectual capacity, of the same formations. Take for instance a relatively simple formation, that of the mound surrounded with water which is, at times, a volcano; this can occur with a number of variations in different patients, but with always the same essential features. This is a representation plastically of the kind of experience which in an artist can result, because of his temperament and ability, in the "explosion" of a work of art, but which in a patient expresses only anxiety and neurotic tension. There are a very large number of these constant factors, but we are only at the beginning of the recognition of them and an understanding of their significance, both in themselves and in and for the patient who makes them.

The second characteristic of this type of material is the individuality of each patient's productions, when these are considered as a whole. This parallels to some extent what we all know of human life. We are all born, feed from a mother or a bottle that we suck, and grow in stature with the constant change of relation to the outer world that this involves, come into full possession of our bodily powers, including those of reproduction, and finally die. Our faces and forms are made of the same features, but no two individuals and no two individuals' lives are really alike. In the same way there is a certain likeness in the material produced by patients when it is *itemised.* Were this not so it would be impossible ever to think of understanding it; but there is an infinite difference in the manner in which the material is grouped and in the individual features which are added by each individual patient.

A very striking similarity between the development of Primary System material and of musical themes here appears. The later themes emerge from elaboration of elements of the original design. It is as if the whole system were charged with power which only slowly becomes perceptible as it finds expression for itself, thus once more paralleling the process of artistic creation.

So far, the clusters have only been considered from their sensorial side. But clusters also represent, and in the most powerful way, dynamic experiences.

To return for a moment to the upside-down faces of Chagall. One of the most striking features of the inter-relation of clusters among themselves is the interchange of positions. Clusters are not arranged flat or vertically, but apparently in a massive clumped manner. Children (and also such adults as have been studied so far) often attempt to arrange objects suspended in space above the World trays, and the relation between World and World of the same patient makes it clear that they are conceived plastically. Not only is this true, but confusion between the relation of glove and hand and that of "inside-out" with the "right way out" also frequently occurs.

This leads to a consideration of the relation between the clusters. How is the whole system tied together and what is the dynamic quality?

As far as it is possible to make a statement from what has been observed, it would appear that energy invests the whole of the clusters of the Primary System, but does so in an uneven fashion. Some clusters are very highly charged, some less so; and the question of what happens to this energy, and what part is played in the conscious life of the individual by the presence of these clusters depends on the next feature of the structure of the psyche that has appeared from investigations, which is the formation of the Secondary System.

It appears that the Primary System begins with the first beginning of sensorial experience and continues through life. But *pari passu* with the formation of the Primary System, the child begins to struggle to make contact with and to understand the world that he shares with the rest of his surroundings. To say this is only to say, in other words, what is the common ground and study of all the aspects of child development. Already a great deal is known about this, and there is nothing new to add here. The child as he grows goes through all the stages known to child psychology and shown especially by the beautiful and careful work of Gesell and his school. Through these processes he learns to gain mastery over his own body and gradually to understand and in a practical way to master his environment, adding by about the age of eight the supreme achievement of mankind, the ability to communicate with others, and with his own interior self, in language.

Thus, in every child, there are two systems. The Primary System is

personal, idiosyncratic, massive and multi-dimensional, by its nature incommunicable in words to others. Parallel with the development of this goes the development of the Secondary System which is reasonable, practical, governed by causality, shared with other people and to a large extent describable in language. The Primary System is non-rational, peculiarly constructed, entirely individual, and made up of groups of clusters not later separable by free association, all charged with undifferentiated energy. The Secondary System is shared, logical, reasonable and uses language as its tool.

Now the important point is that the contents of the Primary System cannot appear in the Secondary System. Most people are, therefore, totally unaware of their existence and contemptuous about the possibility. These contents are, in this sense, truly unconscious. But they are so, not through repression, either of the Freudian or Jungian type, but for the simple reason that Primary System material as such, and in its crude state, is totally inexpressible in Secondary System terms.

In order to discover the Primary System, material has to be made accessible to the patient in which constructions of this peculiar nature can be expressed. It is the absence of such material which has prevented its discovery hitherto. Similarly, for the expression of music, instruments capable of producing certain types of sound must be available and adequate; and suitable stone must be available for the production of sculpture. What, for example, it is interesting to speculate, would have been the fate of Prokovief or Beethoven had they been born in the Greece of classical times, or to Henry Moore if born in a desert of sand?

For development to be normal, two things are essential. First of all, there is much in the Primary System that is common to many different individuals and groups. Fairy tales, folk-lore, myth and fable embody many of these elements. As the Jungian School of analysis has shown, through enjoyment of these, the energy which charges Primary System clusters can find its way through the Secondary System, to expression in the outside world. Certain of the clusters even become almost tangible in solidity and form the "introjected objects" of psychoanalysis.

The second necessity is adequate opportunity for the child to play and toleration of his play and his difficulties in adaptation, by the adults around him. Gradually then he corrects his interior concepts, through contact with external reality, and the energy with which the clusters in the Primary System are charged passes through to the Secondary System to find expression in the outside world.

If, however, this does not occur, for any of the many reasons that can happen to a child, then four conditions may result and these correspond to the four main disabilities of the children we treat. First, the energy may remain locked up in the Primary clusters. In this case, the child becomes listless and without interest, unable to put energy into any aspect of

living; he tends to be conventional, uninteresting as a character and under the domination of outside circumstances. Secondly, if the amount of energy is greater and more concentrated in certain parts of the Primary System, with no outlet through the Secondary System, then the energy, finding no way out, comes to be concentrated in the body. Different organs appear to be associated with different types of cluster; thus arise the asthmas, the eczemas, the catarrhs, convulsions, disturbances of digestive and sleep habits, and so on, which have no organic basis. Thirdly, if, on the other hand, the child takes his clusters for reality and tries to see them in the outside world, they make themselves into phobias and rituals and obsessions. And fourthly, if it be the type of child who cannot achieve a proper development of his Secondary System and a clear distinction between what is outside and what within, the outside world becomes for him mixed up with his inner life and his relation to reality confused. According to the content of his clusters, he may become the dreamy detached child, the child who appears to be suffering from an early psychosis, or the neurotic deliquent. A single child may even develop all four types of trouble, or varying types may appear in turn during the lifetime, or the treatment, of any single individual, depending upon his constitution and upon circumstances.

The use of this approach in the treatment of over two thousand children by a number of workers has made it quite certain that expression of unsuitably-formed clusters in material and their careful analysis by therapist and child bring about in the children release of vitality, with disappearance of symptoms. What appears to take place is that the increase of vitality which release from the domination of pathogenic clusters brings about in a child, so increases his confidence and his knowledge of himself and of the processes going on within him, that he becomes able to work through the tangles of relationships at far greater speed, these becoming expressed through relations between himself and the material he uses and in the material itself. As a result, there comes about an integration of personality. Close contact that has now been kept with a number of these children through into adult life and in some instances, to marriage and parenthood, has enabled us to check this up.

How does this conception throw light either upon the process of survival in impossible circumstances or the appearance of horrific qualities in the apparently normal? I think it does. As one studies the behaviour of children and adults while undergoing this process what seems to take place is a powerful release of vigour, of vitality, the expression of which in creative activities in real life, seems to bring the individual so much satisfaction that previous and existing deprivations fall into the background and cease to exert a limiting effect on the personality.

Conversely, when there takes place an alteration in external social prohibition and permissions to the pathological side, pathological clusters

in individuals appear to derive stimulus from this fact and when similar actions take place in reality, they force their way out into action. Such clusters, when expressed in reality, remain distinct from the rest of the personality, as they did when buried in the Primary Processes of the individual.

The study of the atrocious actions of all kinds carried out, either by individuals or in mass, is one of the dreary parts of this research, but essential to it since what we find is that it is these actions which our children in our playrooms, carry out in plasticine and sand, which in certain circumstances, men and women considered by their fellows to be normal, carry out on the living bodies of men and women. Understanding of the one and of the measures which can be taken to arrest them, may well help to prevent the appearance in reality of the other.

Conversely in the poignancy and immediacy of these early clusters and in their richness and originality lies hidden (in sensitive and gifted people) the germ of creative work; absence of the possibility for expression of experienced beauty can be as productive of depression and strain as is emotional conflict.

Clinical Studies

It is our aim to illustrate the brief outline of the theory of E and the proto-system* by a series of extracts from clinical studies. These three cases have therefore a double purpose: on the one hand to show the way in which children use the World apparatus and the part that this use plays in the process of therapy, and on the other to serve as illustrative of the evidence from which these theories have been derived.

These are difficult objectives which entail on the one hand a selection from the very large amount of clinical material available, and on the other such a presentation as will make intelligible both the children's use of the World apparatus and the therapist's interpretation of it.

Children suffering from a great variety of complaints are treated at the Institute, and if the presentation of case material is to be coherent some principle of selection is essential. Three cases have therefore been chosen to illustrate the way in which therapy, based upon the theory of E and the proto-system, actually works out in practice.

The first is a short case of a very ordinary kind: a girl of 10 referred to the Institute by her mother (who was herself under treatment for depression) on account of difficulties in personal relations at home and at school and backwardness in school work. The point of this case is firstly to introduce the reader to some constantly recurring sequences in Worlds and the relation of Worlds to other forms of play, and secondly to show the part played by the therapist in the handling of World material. This child has been followed up for six years and the last report on her was when she was nearly 18 years old.

The difficulties for which the two other children were referred are concerned with the problem of violence. This selection has been made deliberately, since in the opinion of the writer violence rather than sex is the crucial problem of this period of the world's history. Both children are boys, matched as far as possible in age, intelligence, family background, and the nature of their complaint, but differing as widely as possible in everything else. Both were 7 years of age with an I.Q. between 110 and 120; each had a single sister; and each was referred essentially for violent behaviour which thrust them out of the circumstances and routine normal for their age and social class.

The child, Charles Robinson, whose case follows that of the girl, came of ordinary working-class parents in a small rural manufacturing town. He was treated by the writer in bi-weekly half-hourly sessions at the home-school for maladjusted children to which the local authorities had sent him.

The third case, William Carter, came of parents with a traditional upper middle class professional background, who lived in a country town.

*See Appendix.

William was treated partly by the writer and partly by other members of the psychotherapeutic staff at the I.C.P.* In both cases contact with the parents was minimal.

Since the whole point of these studies is to enable the reader who has no experience of Worlds to form a visual image of the Worlds composing the series, a set of semi-conventional and stylised, semi-realistic figures have been worked out to represent the objects usually found in Worlds. These have been used as standardised representations of such objects. No attempt has been made at reproducing perspective. The convention has been adopted that objects placed at right angles to the front of the tray are drawn as if regarded from the side of the tray. Plastic sand-mouldings have been reproduced by adaptation of a very simplified use of the usual conventions of pen and ink drawings. The aim of this method is to present to the eye of the reader a drawing which, while enabling him to make an imaginative visual reconstruction of the World described, will at the same time record faithfully the nature and position of the objects used in the World.

The point of view from which the descriptions of the drawings (and so of the Worlds they represent) are made is that of a person looking at a landscape. The terms "nearer" and "further" are therefore used instead of "top" and "bottom", in order to emphasise the fact that the drawings are conventionalised presentations of an arrangement on a horizontal plane. Whenever the sequence in which the different parts of the World were constructed is known, the verbal description of the World follows this order. Where actual remarks of the child are quoted they are put in quotation marks.

The mode of reporting treatment sessions with the children is as follows:—first an account of the making the World with description of the completed World; this is followed by a report of any conversation that took place between the therapist and the child; finally a discussion by the author either of the single World or of a series of Worlds taken in a group.

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*Institute of Child Psychology.

General Discussion

The World described above and the three dreams that follow, together with the maker's comments, have been selected for presentation because of the way in which the intimate relation between reality and affect, the process of World-making and its symbols and the process of dreaming are shown in it, and their eventual working out related to present day circumstances and feelings.

This World, the factual incident from which it all arose, and the mode in which its effects upon the personality of the child to whom it occurred are revealed in World and dreams, throw considerable light upon the nature of the process of World-making and the mode in which violent events register themselves in the minds of small children. To consider for a moment what exactly is involved and what comes to light in these four symbolic presentations, we have three facts to consider.

A. An accident which happened to a child of $2\frac{3}{4}$ years.

B. The making of a World in middle life which did, in fact embody the subjective aspects of this experience though these were not known to the maker at the time.

C. Two dreams employing the same symbols as appeared in the World, and a third dream four years after the making of the World which exhausted its meaning and brought the affectual aspect of the situation up to date.

A. The factual incident

This was an external assault upon a child of $2\frac{3}{4}$ which was not caused by anyone and in itself had neither meaning nor factual consequences; it was unique in the child's experience either as happening to herself or to other people. Since there was nothing to which it could be compared there was no mode by which it could be cognised and so none by which it could be assimilated to the fabric of experience. The incident itself therefore became encapsulated and shut off, inaccessible to the ordinary processes of assimilation.

In order that such an experience, thus encapsulated, become integrated again with the personality it must first be "remembered". The question then arises: how and in what form could an incident of this kind be "remembered" by a small child? The answer appears to be that, (1) as an actual incident, it could only be remembered if it had been described to the child by the adults who took part in it, or if she could have heard discussion of it at some time and in some form that she could have understood. This, however, did not take place. (2) It would have been possible for this experience in different circumstances, to have reappeared in the form of a nightmare or a somatic symptom; that is to say, while at $2\frac{3}{4}$

years the development of the child is too immature for exact cognition and recollection of an experience of this kind to be possible, yet the general content of bewilderment, horror, and shock, etc., could have made themselves apparent in the shapelessness of a child's nightmare. The fact that they did not do so is therefore significant.

The incident, as an incident, therefore was neither realised and understood at the time, nor was it interpreted or explained to the child then or later. We have to ask ourselves therefore, from the child's point of view what then was the essence of this experience? It would appear from what we now know that this was *an abrupt arrest during a play situation of the whole course of being:* that is, a wholly spontaneous and natural outburst of joy and gaiety expressed in absorption in the physical playing out of identification of the self with a rebellious unbridled horse was cut short suddenly by an outside force of overwhelming power, wholly blotting out consciousness. This arrest was further reinforced by waking to see the ring of stern and frozen faces.

Finally there was the complete absence of any expression of emotion on the part of the grownups concerned or of any explanation to the child of what had happened.

This was a real experience and as it could not be cognised by the child there came about an inevitable dissociation between consciousness and a crucial real experience really experienced.

In this way the reality-sense of the child became pitted against its emotional spontaneity, so that an intrapersonal conflict of the most profound type developed, the spontaneity and play impulse of the child meeting head on, as it were, the adult pattern of immobility. Moreover this experience, buried as it is in the unconscious of the child forms also a basic pattern for expectation of future experience.

We have therefore a set of subjective experiences referring to an event shared by adults, which for a child would have been totally incomprehensible, since no reaction was shown by these adults. This lack of reaction established for the child a pattern of behaviour in which the normal, and therefore expected and right, concomitant of experience was absence of movement and of emotional expression.*

To continue, the effect of such a total experience upon the development of any child will depend upon the relation between the experience and the general atmosphere of the family. Its impact could have been neutralised had warmth and freedom of emotional expression existed in other parts of the child's experience. But if, as in this case, this attitude was a permanent pattern in the family, then the impact could not fail to be very powerful, reinforced as it was by absence of any proper treatment for shock or warm comforting on the part of the mother.

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*Cf. the biological "sham-dead" reaction.

It seems inevitable that in such a situation there must arise a fixed attitude regarding feelings of all kinds that these are dangerous and taboo and must under no circumstances be allowed to appear.

As, however, the intrinsic nature of a child is the spontaneity, the violence and volatility of its feelings, such an interior and unconscious attitude must bring about a condition resembling the endogenic depression of adults. The heartbroken sobbing therefore which appeared on relaxation of the physical tensions induced by this long-term arrest was both the appearance for the first time in actual expression of misery felt so long ago but never expressed, and also the weeping of the adult for the child self. What therefore is crucial about this situation is not the incident in itself, but the effect the total circumstances and surroundings of this incident had upon the intrapersonal development of the child.

B. The World

Taken as it stands, or as it would be recorded by the camera, this World is meaningless and the actions which might have been photographed or recorded of K during its making would yield no clue to its meaning. The outburst of sobbing which followed its completion would be totally irrational.

On the other hand the very fact of this affective storm makes it clear that the arrangement of the sand and the objects on it either stated something or described something with real significance to the maker. The essential – and to some extent the puzzling aspect of World-making (especially when it is a World of the type described above) – is that conscious planning plays no part. The process of making this World arose spontaneously, each step leading to the next, but without deliberate design on the part of the maker.

Four elements are to be distinguished.

(1) The symmetrical arrangement of both the moulded sand and the objects used taken in relation to each other and to the space of the tray.
(2) Plastic use of the sand.
(3) The use of objects such as trees, flowers and bushes which occur in any ordinary landscape and their grouping in a normal way.
(4) The selection and use of animals familiar from films and books, but which to the maker essentially represented living creatures who roamed in unrestricted space, and which are commonly used as symbols of violent feeling.

These four elements appear in the World with great precision, and when the meaning of the World is known it is clear that each is suited exactly to what it is used to present. What then does the World express?

The answer is curious and unexpected. It appears to be the conclusions

of a mind, looking backward and within upon itself concerning the effect upon itself of a violent and totally uncomprehended experience which occurred to itself at the age of $2\frac{3}{4}$ but *of which the maker of the World was totally unaware*. To arrive at representation of this effect a number of different "modes" are used:

(1) Patterning

The use of patterned arrangements of colour and line in formalised statements of magical or emotional significance occurs in many cultures. The impulse to shape expressions of emotion into formalised patterns seems to be deep and widespread in many human societies. Here the arrangement of the component parts of the scene determines at least half of their significance. For example: the high ridge of sand runs obliquely across the tray. It has therefore the direction of a line drawn crossing out something, since the deliberate detachment by the maker of the ends of the wall from the corners of the tray precludes the idea of the line indicating merely a diagonal. Here then we have a barrier which does not entirely block one side of the scene from the other, but which has the effect of stating that something which might be imagined to take place in the centre of the tray is crossed out. The passage of time is part of this statement, expressed as is so often the case by arrangement of objects in space, the tray in this case appearing as what one might call emotional space.

(2) Plastic use of sand

Without the presence in the tray of mouldable sand, this World could not have been made, since no other way exists on a flat surface which would express what is conveyed here by this moulded ridge. In moist sand, used in this way, there are latent potentialities of sculpture, especially of sculpture seen from a modern viewpoint. Several instances of this use occur in the illustrations to this book.

(3) The symbolic use of conventional objects

The care and exactitude shown in the selection of objects to form this World is a commonplace of World-making, and it is that very exactitude both in selection and in placing which conveys the meanings of the World. For this reason it is worthwhile considering these in some detail.

The use of trees to express aspects of human relations goes back very far, and the contrasting shapes of the two types of trees selected here carries out well the difference in affect and atmosphere represented by these two elements in the personal background of the child. It is the tallness and darkness of the big trees which renders them suitable for the presentation of "grown-ups".

The duplicated group of three trees at each end of the obstacle, and between the end of the obstacle and the edge of the tray, on the other hand, uses the conventional pattern of 3 to present the relation of parents and child as this relationship was really experienced. That is to say, this was a stable family with a reliable interior structure, responsible and dependable, but without intimacy, the barriers to expression of affect or affection between the members of the family never breaking down.

The bushes on the ridge were inserted as camouflage to disguise its presence.

The isolated circumscribed little garden on the nearer side of the tray, diagonally opposite to the forbidding trees, with a barrier between them which would shut out all communication, expresses directly the experience of this child, as a child toward older people in her family, from contact with whom later her own withdrawal shut her out.

(4) The symbolic use of animals

The choice of wild animals and the negation of their freedom through fixation of their heads in the ridge, present another aspect of the same statement. Here conventional symbols of instinctual energy have been chosen to present the emotional forces of the maker, and these are presented as blinded by and caught in the barrier, across the tray. That which is symbolised in this World is states of being – the arrest of force and violent movement (the oblique ridge and the wild animals caught in it) the impact of awe and terror of towering immobile adults (the dark trees), the general emotional situation of the child/mother/father (the pine trees), and finally the little garden, which represents a sense of separate identity in the child herself, not blending with or in real relation with other people but nevertheless with the potentiality of growth and flowering and an implication of interest in the self and willingness to give time and trouble to the tending of the self.

To the maker of this World a disaster had happened which had powerfully affected emotional development but the fact of its occurrence was unknown to her. Through the loosening and reassuring effect of analysis, the adult who had grown from this child came into a position where a facing of the fact of this disaster and its results became a possibility. The World expressed this in symbolic pattern, demonstrating that, notwithstanding the distortion of affect-development that the incident brought about, we are here dealing with a personality in whom such an incident, although producing a profound effect, has not given rise to a hysterical or schizophrenic distortion.

The creation of this World therefore crystallised and shaped cognitive and non-cognitive thought about the various aspects of the maker's situation, enabling the energy of meditation to be focused upon it and used to arrive gradually at understanding and resolution.

C. The Dreams

This World has been selected to illustrate the nature of the World process because of the clarity with which it expresses the relation between certain aspects of World-making and certain aspects of dreams.

Dream 1. This is an important dream for the understanding of Worlds because it embodies something about the World which is vividly present to children but often very difficult for the onlooker to grasp. To the child who makes a significant World the often incongruous collection of objects placed in and about moulded sand in a tray is alive as dolls and furry toy animals are alive. The vivid vitality of the World carries through to the dream. The dreaming mind wrestles with a problem which is central to the personality – How is the barrier of the sand ridge to be broken down? How were the heads of the animals to be released?

Thinking in terms of the presentation, two possibilities were presented by the maker to herself – i.e., either the action of a powerful influence coming from outside (such as might for example be exercised by a powerful personality impinging upon the maker, a change of work and of external atmosphere, or the sudden occurrence of new and very demanding challenges from the outside world), or an attempt forcibly to pull the heads of the animals out of the obstacle (by, e.g., such courses as going out to seek emotional experience hitherto avoided). Both were regarded by the maker as unsuitable and also probably ineffective. A certain amount of depression was present at this time owing to the apparent fixity of certain personal characteristics. In this dream the part of the personality which is aware of what is happening takes up the symbolism of the World of the previous year and adds to it a living feature which cannot be presented in a World but which is the peculiar characteristic of dreams. By this device a means was found to present the removal of the barrier in terms which are consonant both with the idiom of the World and with universal practical experience. A natural spring arises breaking down the barrier so effectively that the river comes to flow in the opposite diagonal across the World tray. To the dreamer the fact of this river and of its source in a spring comes as an assurance of safety; not only has the barrier been broken down but it cannot build itself again because at the point where it was, a counter-force now runs.

The force of this dream, in the context we are considering, is its use of the same technique of presentation as had been employed in the World, and the completion of the pattern in the World by an opposite diagonal.

The unawareness of the dreamer, at this point, of the animals in the World is a very interesting fact, since in the World, their heads were fixed in the barrier. It now became possible for the symbolism of the two elements to become separated, and thus for the way to be made clear, in due time, for the second dream.

It is this possibility of simultaneity of aspects or trends in the presenta-

tion made by a World which is one of its richest qualities. After such a presentation it is a commonplace that subsequent Worlds (or in this case dreams) take up first one and then another element in the composite World for further elaboration and development.

Dream 2. It was felt by the dreamer as of guiding significance that this dream occurred after she had established a home in the countryside of her own country. This time the only element of the World which appears is a metamorphosis of the arrested wild animals. In the World they were caught, blind and immovable; but had they been free, they were of a type potentially dangerous. The animals in Dream 2 are different: they are faithful and friendly; they are young and playful; they are free to move and are approachable. Toward them the dreamer feels protective. They are to be admitted into the feeling part of the personality (house at night), to be given "house room", and to be trusted.

One element, however, of the old situation remains. This is a leopard which is regarded as dangerous to the practical side of the feeling life (the right eye); and the danger is toward the other feeling aspects. The dreamer takes trouble to separate these from one another. But what is remarkable – and which shows how thoroughly the problems expressed in the World have been surmounted – is that this separation of element from element takes place not by the erection of a barrier between them, but by an attempt to delimit their spheres, the delimitation being expressed in symbolic terms of front and back.

Relation to reality

The kernel of the original incident was the child's identification of herself with an unbridled horse. Such identifications in childhood are often powerful psychic events and continue in something the way that totem animals function for primitive peoples to "carry" the "picture" of the self for the self. It is therefore in line with all we know of symbols of this nature that it should have appeared in the real life personality of the dreamer as a mutually contradictory attitude to real life horses. These embodied for her both an intense fear and an equally intense urge toward learning to ride. As she carried this out it became clear that the effort was toward a real life mastery of the symbols.

This World and these dreams illustrate the subjective experience of the making of a World during a course not only of analysis but also of training in the psychotherapy of children. This is in a sense a special use.

World and dream are therefore aspects of a language of communication between the creative part of the self and the self's actual experience. Supposing, however, a World were to be made by an adult not "in analysis". Here follows an account of the making of a World by an adult interested in the idea of a World but unconnected with psychology or

psychotherapy. He was an Englishman whose work was concerned with the designing and supervising of film sets. Becoming interested in the author's work he decided one day to try out the possibilities of representation offered by so fixed and technically limited a set of apparatus as the World tray and cabinet and he reports as follows:

'I approached making a 'World' with a certain scepticism. To avoid making a conscious design, I deliberately worked at random, risking that the result might be quite meaningless. I shaped the sand into a rough landscape of land and sea, which was *absolutely* suggested by its formation in the tray. Then I went through the drawers of toys one by one without looking to see what was in the next ones, and selected objects, on impulse, putting them straight on to the sand, and consciously resolving not to change their positions. On looking through the toys, I found that I was either indifferent to them or else I reacted. I was aware that the reaction was emotional and that I invested the objects with feelings and meanings, but did not wait to enquire what they were. As I placed them on the tray, I felt it was necessary to rearrange the landscape, to scoop out channels or erect mounds to stand things on. As the 'World' progressed, I became aware that sections of it had an intention and I began to hunt for symbols to make that intention clear. I knew which figure was myself. I knew that one area represented something in the past, and I knew that a 'secret pool' was beautiful and desirable. In the end I was urgently looking for jewels, shells and flowers with which to embellish it.

It was like a dream in which one knows one is dreaming and which one wishes to go on with. But I had no idea of the relations of the parts to one another. Eventually I knew it was finished. The process took a grip on me, as when one struggles to remember a forgotten tune; or as if I had previously been trying to describe colours in words and had now, for the first time, been handed brushes and paints.

I drew a record and studied it over several days and was irritated by inconsistencies and meaningless patches. I attempted to translate it into ideas about myself or the world. I did not know if it referred to my present situation or to the world in general. Then I began to see it as having two layers: first a basic structure or landscape consisting of hills, rivers, bridges, islands and figures which expressed my egocentric view of life (and which revealed my contradictory state of mind: for instance the past seemed to lie between the present and the future); and secondly a superimposed arrangement of figures and objects which represented the present situation, enacted as it were upon the basic landscape as on a stage.

If the 'World' had coherence, this was the only way in which it could be described. I conclude that the 'World' is a natural means of expression for the level of awareness upon which metaphors are made, such as 'the world is divided into two camps', 'the world (or life) is an uphill struggle', or 'life' is a pleasant garden'. In the same way, one's personal situation is depicted upon this subjective stage.

The 'World' is not a work of art, since it bypasses aesthetic manipulation of a medium for its own sake, such as words or paint. It is, like a dream, the direct expression in symbols and images of experience, which is the raw material of art. Therefore its intention is not primarily to communicate, and it is egocentric and ambiguous. The handling of a physical means of expression allows images to be released from the depths of the mind or memory. What is being represented is a

situation, and as the symbols by which the situation is depicted are ready made, the 'dreamer' does not require the artisitic ability to manipulate words or to draw or model".

This example illustrates a way in which World-making can appear to an adult who is without any previous knowledge of psychology.

We conclude with an extract illustrating the relation of the making of a World to an analysis of a different type. N was an adult also in training for child psychotherapy, and simultaneously in the process of a psychoanalytical personal analysis. Much of N's childhood had been spent in mountainous country, and in the course of analysis she described to her analyst how she had treated the mountains as if they were a friend, singing on them when happy, kicking them when angry or frustrated, etc. This feeling of devotion to and personification of mountains was interpreted to N by her analyst as expression of an intense wish to explore her mother's body. The interpretation was rejected by N who felt both that this interpretation was not correct but also that mountains had some deep significance for her.

In thinking about this subject, N decided to experiment on a World tray with a presentation in World terms of her favourite mountains, and set to work on a World, letting it develop spontaneously under her hands. When the World was complete and she could contemplate it, she was startled to note that what she had actually made were two mounds, undeniably breast-like in shape, from between which a stream ran downwards. Studying this World she saw that it was obvious that the mountains did indeed stand for "mother" and it suddenly dawned on her that the mountains had taken the place of the mother she had rejected.

In this example as is the World of the wild animals two facets of World-making appear: the power of the World technique to amplify and intensify the material brought to light by analysis and to relate it to personal experience, and the need for great exactitude in finding out *exactly* what the symbols used by the maker in a World mean to the maker.

The subjective experience therefore of an individual making a World is of meeting a slice of reality; almost as if unexpectedly meeting oneself in a mirror. It has the effect in well-balanced subjects of enlarging the boundaries of one's comprehension of oneself, and in patients of giving them a tool of expression which can present to their therapists and themselves aspects and subtleties of feeling and thought which both speech and gesture fail to present. As one adult has expressed it in a letter to the author: "It is only now that I have experienced the truly astounding mental and emotional clarifying of your techniques of non-verbal languages that I have begun to overcome my own prejudices."