THE PSYCHOANALYTIC APPROACH TO JUVENILE DELINQUENCY 1925-1965

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Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My interest in this topic arose from working with children aged five to twelve at an out-of-school-hours care facility. My job involved supervision and facilitation of play. Modern educators and other child workers often admit helplessness in the face of impulsive, deceitful and/or aggressive behaviour. Their inability to manage these types of behaviour has led me to explore the literature on the subject.

Dr. Justin Clemens supervised the preparation of this work.

Associate Professor Russell Grigg directs the Masters of Psychoanalytic Studies. Associate Professor Grigg and Associate and Professor Douglas Kirsner both nominated reading material, as did Dr. Luis Rodriguez de la Sierra of London.

Liza Travis proof-read a number of drafts of this work and provided editorial input.

This thesis is a review of the literature; no first hand clinical material is included.

The Appendices are extraneous to the argument of the thesis for purposes of assessment. They are short essays that were stimulated by the material investigated in the course of preparing the thesis. They suggest future research avenues.

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS AND OVERVIEW

Problems of Theory Creation in Psychoanalysis

SCOPE OF THESIS

In this thesis we set out to study the psychoanalytic theory of juvenile delinquency. But strictly speaking, there is no psychoanalytic theory of juvenile delinquency. What exists is psychoanalytic theory derived independently from the study of juvenile delinquency in the psychoanalysis of psychoneurotic patients.[1] As a result, we should speak of this thesis as the study of the application of psychoanalytic theory to the problem of juvenile delinquency and, more specifically, the application of this theory to observations of the delinquent and his interaction with others and the environment.

Specialised treatments for the juvenile delinquent have been developed independent of psychoanalytic knowledge. We include in this paper those treatments that came under analytic scrutiny (e.g., see Aichhorn 1931 [1925] and 1936). The success of these treatments and the intrapsychic changes engendered thereby are explained by application of psychoanalytic theory. By the end of this thesis, we are able to draw with some clarity the psychology of juvenile delinquency in terms of psychoanalytic theory.

The study of juvenile delinquency is integrally related to the historical development of psychoanalytic theory. In an historical exposition, we are subject to vagaries of the historical process manifest in the creation of psychoanalytic theory. The difficulties inherent in the creation of this theory impact upon the argument of this thesis.

[1] Some argue that psychoanalytic method is directly applicable to other forms of mental illness. Others argue that a modification of that method is necessary for treatment of other mental psychopathology. The debate is beyond the scope of this paper.

THEORY CREATION IN PSYCHOANALYSIS

There are two processes in theory creation. On the one hand, researchers observe, document and classify data. This is a process of *differentiation.* On the other hand, researchers create theory that explains the relations between sets of classified data (e.g., Freud's metapsychological viewpoints). This is a process of *integration*.

In the course of a developing discipline, ongoing differentiation expands the range of data. Some data is discovered that is beyond the scope of existing theory to sufficiently explain. It becomes necessary to revise the existing theory and/or integrate its different aspects under a supraordinate theory. This process of theoretical integration, also leads to theoretical differentiation. This is where researchers select parts of the theoretical edifice and differentiate the components within, burrowing deeper and deeper into the facts, as it were.

The expansion of psychoanalytic data was rapid during the first half of the 20th Century. In the following section on 'Integration and Differentiation', we introduce some of the attempts made to integrate psychoanalytic theory on supraordinate principles. In the thesis itself, we trace the dual processes of theoretical differentiation and integration as they shed light on the problem of juvenile delinquency during the period 1925-1965. The results indicate that differentiation of data – and of theory – during this period far outstripped the capacity of analysts to provide integrative models for the expanding pool of observable data. At either ends of this survey, in chapters 1 and 5, I have placed two seminal works of theoretical integration applicable to the field of juvenile delinquency: August Aichhorn's *Wayward Youth*, published in 1925, and Anna Freud's *Normality and Pathology in Childhood: Assessments of Development*, published in 1965.

INTEGRATION AND DIFFERENTIATION: PROBLEMS OF SUFFICIENCY AND NECESSITY IN THEORETICAL INTEGRATION

Having explained an approach to theory formation, let us now examine the relation between theory formation and the reality that it is constructed to explain.

Freud assumed the strict determinism of mental events (i.e., every psychic event has causes) (Freud 1900). With this discovery he brought the study of the mind within the reach of methods of natural science as he understood them. This breakthrough brought with it the problem of overdetermination, which says that the number of causes required to explain any mental event is open to infinity (see Figure 1).

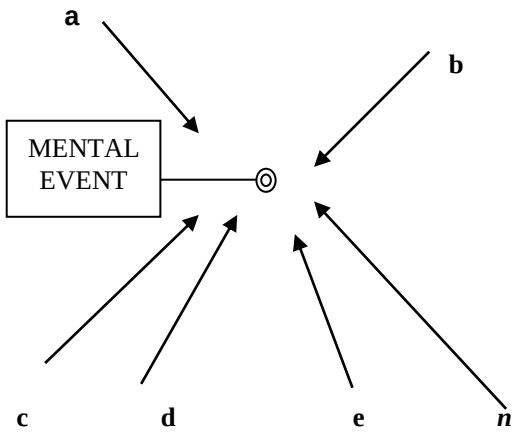

Figure 1. The Overdetermined Quality of a Mental Event
Factors a , b , c, d, e are the 'determinants' (causes) of a specific mental event;
n is open to infinity, indicating the overdeterminated nature of the determining factors

The challenge for science is to integrate the data so as to limit the explanation of an event (or process, etc.) to the necessary and sufficient causes.

As psychoanalysis developed, knowledge of mental events became increasingly differentiated and the need arose for an integrated theoretical structure. In

Interpretation of Dreams (1900) Freud introduced integrated theoretical models, for instance, the *topographic* model of the mind based on conscious, preconscious and unconscious layers in the mind. But this model was insufficient to explain mental events. In 1915, Freud brought three integrated theoretical models (or 'viewpoints') – the *dynamic*,[2] *economic*,[3] and *topographic* models of the mind. He argued that all three were *necessary* to describe fully a mental process, but made no comment as to their *sufficiency* (Freud 1915c). He gave the name *metapsychology* to these overarching theoretical constructs (see Figure 2). Each 'viewpoint' of the metapsychology is itself an independent model of the mind. In 1923, Freud added the *structural*[4] model to his metapsychology.

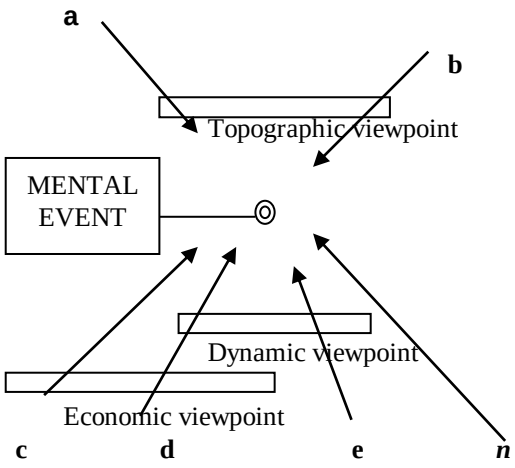

Figure 2. The Metapsychological Coverage of the Determining Factors of a Mental Event (Freud 1915c).
Freud thought that all three metapsychological viewpoints were *necessary* for the explanation of a mental event. He was not sure that they would prove *sufficient* for coverage of the determining factors of a mental event.

In an attempt to gain *sufficiency* for analytic theory, Robert Waelder – a student of Freud's –introduced the 'principle of multiple function' (1930) which says that every psychic act (mental event) can and must be understood as an attempt to solve simultaneously a number of functions (Waelder 1930, p.

[2] Concerned with psychological forces (vectors), and the action of those forces in conflict and in resolution
[3] Concerned with the attribution of quantity to psychological forces.
[4] Concerned with the positioning of psychological forces according to their function.

71). Waelder positioned a decision making 'ego' as the limiting factor for sufficiency. The synthetic function of the ego determines the most efficient act for simultaneously solving the demands imposed upon the ego from without and within the self. The determinants, actively and passively experienced by the ego, are thus the relations of the ego to the id, to the superego, to the external world, and to the repetition-compulsion (Waelder 1930, pp. 71-72). The analysis of these demands from the eight 'points of view' is *necessary* to determine *sufficiently* the full nature of a psychic act.

Despite the efforts of Waelder (and others), many analysts, especially the psychiatrically orientated, continued to integrate psychoanalytic data within diagnostic classifications based on the degree of mental disorder (see Chapter 2) or character-formation, etc. (see Chapter 3). Concurrently, differentiation of data within these classificatory systems succeeded over several decades in creating an intricate web of unintegrated data and theory. When we come to analyse these classificatory systems as they were applied to juvenile delinquency, we expose the insufficiency of these systems. This insufficiency contributed in the 1960s to the breakdown of theoretical discipline within classical psychoanalysis, which made alternate 'non-classical' psychoanalytic models more appealing.

Psychoanalysts were not unaware of the fact that theoretical differentiation had outstripped the collective capacity for integration. Discussions were held at the highest scientific levels of the American Psychoanalytic Association in 1960 and 1962 (see e.g., Panel Reports by Ross 1960 and Neubauer 1963). Some of the concerns were voiced by Edward Glover, a British psychoanalyst who features prominently in this thesis. He bemoaned the absence of a 'one-factor…meta-psychological nomenclature of mental disorder' and hoped that one might be created based on the structural model (Glover 1960, p. 147). Glover had himself, made a synthesising attempt in 1943 by expanding Freud's metapsychology to include a developmental (i.e., 'genetic') and an adaptational viewpoint (Glover 1943, p. 24). A line of thought apparent to many, but not

really integrated until David Rapaport and Merton Gill (1959), whose psychoanalytic metapsychology to this day, remains something of a touchstone for theoretical orientation in the field.

They argued that every mental event (psychic act) must – for completeness – be described in terms of the five *metapsychological* points of view, which they identified as the *dynamic*, *economic*, *structural*,[5] *genetic*,[6] and *adaptive* (see Figure 3). Where Freud had argued for the necessity of three (and then four) metapsychological viewpoints, Rapaport and Gill argued for the necessity of five, arguing at the same time, that these five were sufficient.

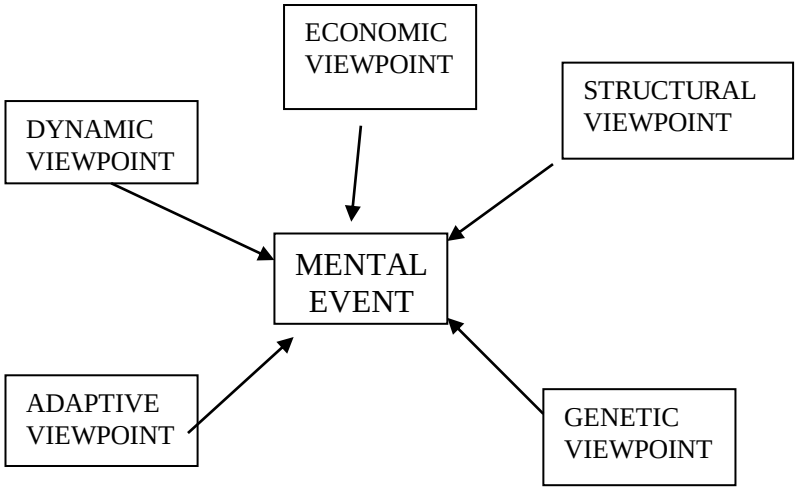

Figure 3. The Application of Metapsychology to a Mental Event (Rapaport and Gill 1959).
The five metapsychological viewpoints collectively applied were thought *sufficient* to cover the determining factors of a mental event; and, the five metapsychological viewpoints collectively applied were thought *necessary* to explain the determinants of a mental event.

But consider that each viewpoint stands for an integrated approach to a mental event, around which a body of theory exists, which is independent of, but

[5] Some authors have insisted upon the continuance of the *topographic* model as an independent point of view, Gill and Rapaport argued that it had been superseded by the *structural* point of view in its spatial sense. The description of the *quality* of thought proccesses as conscious, preconscious and unconscious remain valid.
[6] *Genetic* is not to be confused with *genic* (of the 'genes'). The 'genic' antecedents of a mental event are encompassed within the *adaptive* viewpoint as the maturational factor in development. The genetic viewpoint considers the psychological origin and development of a mental event.

interrelated with, the theory of each of the other metapsychological systems. Further, consider that each viewpoint must be applied in turn to each fact. It is an extremely complex and unwieldy model.

Where Freud argued in 1915 (1915c) that three metapsychological viewpoints are necessary to explain a mental event, Rapaport and Gill in 1959 argued that five viewpoints are necessary. They had, however, attained what they thought was sufficiency in the coverage of the determining causes of a mental event. Having achieved this state of sufficiency, the question for psychoanalysis as a science returned to that of necessity, not in terms of the necessity to explain a mental event, but the necessity of maintaining such a complex theoretical framework. The question for theorists after Rapaport and Gill (1959) is whether the model can be simplified, and made more workable, whist retaining sufficient coverage of the determining factors.

At one point I considered presenting the material of this thesis from each of the five metapsychological viewpoints, but most authors writing on our chosen topic are not explicit as to when they using one viewpoint or another. Usually they describe an observation drawing upon whatever aspects of metapsychology they believe helps to clarify their argument. In the end, I decided to cut across the metapsychology viewpoints, by linking the analytic observations according to what might almost be called 'colloquial' themes. Chapter 2 looks at juvenile delinquency from the point of view of 'psychopathology'. Chapter 3 does the same from the point of view of 'normal psychology' - which begins in the study of character. Chapter 4 adopts some of the main themes of 'ego psychology' – those emanating from child analysis and interpretation of unconscious defence mechanisms and defensive structures.

The final part of the thesis, which corresponds with Chapter 5, is an examination of juvenile delinquency from the point of view of child development. At the centre of this field, Anna Freud placed the problem of

assessment of normality and pathology in childhood (A. Freud 1965). Her solution to this problem – which was itself, just a beginning – marks the end of this thesis. With the introduction of the psychoanalytic 'Diagnostic Profile' (A. Freud 1962) and the concept of 'Lines of Development' (A. Freud 1963), the problems with integrating psychoanalytic metapsychology were transformed. Instead of formulating a theoretical framework to explain a mental event, she sought a framework for the explanation of a whole personality. The framework is her Diagnostic Profile, and the independent factor which limits the range of necessary determinants is the concept of lines of development.

Her model provided for each of the five metapsychological viewpoints to be broken down into lines of development extending from birth to maturity. The demands made upon the ego from within and without (see Waelder 1930) are also broken down into developmental lines based on the key developmental conflicts between these competing interests (see Figure 4).

In Anna Freud's hands, the sufficiency of Rapaport and Gill's integrated model is preserved but limited by the intervention of the lines of development. The 'lines of development' function as the limiting factors upon the range of possible determinants for any mental event. Recall that the five metapsychological viewpoints were designed to explain *all* the determinants of a mental event to the point of sufficiency. Where Waelder (1930) had placed a decision-making ego as the central, independent limiting factor for sufficiency, Anna Freud's model says that the ego itself is limited by lines of development which determine the range of possible determinants governing its decision-making faculty.

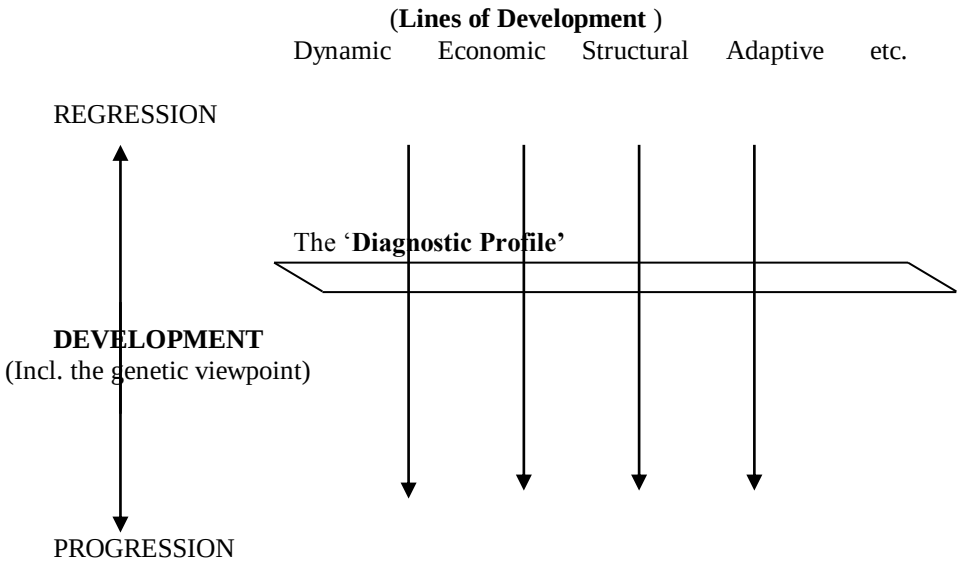

Figure 4: Anna Freud's Model of Psychoanalytic Metapsychology along Lines of Development (A, Freud 1965).
This diagram highlights the lines of development in terms of their intersection with the Diagnostic Profile at the time of developmental assessment of the personality.

In regards to juvenile delinquency, we approach with this model, the possibility of a near sufficient description, in the 'Impulsive Psychopathic Character According to the Diagnostic Profile' (Michaels and Stiver 1965). Also apparent is the possibility of preventing the development of juvenile delinquency on the basis of early recognition of pathology. However, an approach including targeted early intervention is still in its infancy today (see Abrams 2003). Nevertheless, this thesis will show that psychoanalysis has come a long way towards understanding what juvenile delinquency is, how it should be treated, and why some treatments are successful whilst others are not.

Secondarily, this thesis throws light on the theoretical issues driving psychoanalysis as young science, and argues that the rapid differentiation of theory during the expansionist years of the 1940s and 1950s outpaced the capacity of the leading exponents of the field to integrate. The contraction of 'classical' psychoanalysis in the second half of the 20th Century was a necessary result of the too rapid expansion during the first half of the century. This

contributed to the failure of a comprehensive psychoanalytic theory of juvenile delinquency to receive wide application. This is the ‘latent’ theme of this thesis.

INTRODUCTION

Background and Methodological Issues

METHODOLOGY AND OUTLOOK

The term ‘juvenile delinquency’ is one that has been borrowed from the law. A psychological understanding is implicit in the concept. The different legal standard for juveniles recognises that the performance of crime by juveniles is in some degree related to normal development. It implies that there is a greater prospect for reformation of the criminal youth, than of the criminal adult. The social history of this development has been well documented from within the psychoanalytic profession by August Aichhorn (1948), Edward Glover (1960), and John Schowalter (2000).

Delinquency poses a number of definitional problems. The psychoanalytic literature talks of various types of asocial, dissocial, anti-social, wayward or deviant behaviour. Other authors have invented their own character typologies for delinquent behaviour, speaking for example of ‘neurotic character’ (Alexander), ‘impulsive character’ (Reich) or ‘perverse character’ (Arlow). The psychiatrically inclined may speak of a 'sociopath' or 'psychopath' (e.g., Glover). It is up to us to decide if they are talking about the same thing. The process of clarification of terms and integration into general typologies takes place over time. The quest in this scientific enterprise, is increasing differentiation on one hand, and increasing generalisation (integration) on the other.

We are fortunate in our study to be able to begin with August Aichhorn and an essentially ‘lay’ interpretation of psychoanalysis. His application of Freud’s thinking to delinquency is written for the child-guidance worker and teacher. His work is integrative, and applies the basic psychoanalytic conceptions of the time to provide a relative singular picture of delinquent youth. As our study proceeds beyond Aichhorn, we are confronted with increasing specialisation and differentiation of material. For example, one author will explore delinquency from an economic point of view, theorising about the transformations of instinctual energy within the ego system; while another will

investigate the same phenomena genetically, seeking the psychological root causes in the mother-infant relationship of early infancy. It will be our task to draw these detailed investigations back into relation to the psychological model of the whole personality.

In this paper we follow the body of psychoanalytic theory recognised as 'ego psychology' or 'classical' pyschoanalysis. The main reason is that this model builds upon that of Aichhorn. From the outset, ego psychology aimed to establish psychoanalysis as a general psychology of human behaviour – a position not followed by many of the other psychoanalytic schools. This position, naturally brought delinquency within the purview of ego psychology. The two central figures of this movement were Freud's youngest daughter, Anna (b.1896), and Heinz Hartmann (b.1895). Both were psychoanalysed by Freud as part of their training in Vienna. As a result of the Nazi occupation of Austria, Anna Freud fled with Freud to London in 1938, and by 1941 Hartmann had emigrated to New York. Our task of integration is assisted by these two authors, whose authoritative command of theory and practice allowed them to regularly integrate and sanction new developments within the existing body of theory. Most of the authors whom we encounter throughout this paper were themselves émigrés from Vienna and adherents to this ego psychology or 'classical' model of psychoanalysis.

Much of the writing on delinquency is observation-based. Delinquents are reluctant to accept the restrictions necessary for psychoanalytic treatment, and psychoanalysts are often reluctant to accept these cases. Many delinquents are unable or unwilling to pay for treatment due to social and economic complications. There are only limited examples in the literature of actual treatment of delinquency. It demands of the analyst great skill, patience, and resources.

The approach of ego psychology has proved useful in examination of delinquents, who do not *appear* to experience internal conflict. This quality

seems to have made them less analysable to other schools of psychoanalytic thought. I'd suggest that the Kleinian and object relations models, with their decreased emphasis on the drive and increased interest in fantasy products, are more limited in dealing with the delinquent who discharges his drives in action rather than in fantasy. This is notwithstanding Klein's assessment that, 'One can approach and cure both criminal and psychotic children…[and] the best remedy against delinquency would be to analyse children who show signs of abnormality in the one direction or the other' (Klein 1934, p. 261). This remedy is based upon Klein's analytic technique, which she believed was applicable to a much wider range of psychopathology than the 'classical' analytic technique of Freud (see A. Freud 1927 [1926] and 1937 [1926]).

The French psychoanalytic schools have also been excluded from this report, not for lack of writings on the topic, but because of word limits and the fact that the Lacanian development occurred towards the end of the period covered in this thesis. The 'interpersonal' and 'self-psychology' schools in American psychoanalysis, more often than not, move analysis towards an object relations theory and are therefore regarded more as departures from ego psychology than extensions of it.

None of this should be taken to deny the contribution of other psychoanalytic models to this topic.

The major advantage of studying ego psychology is the almost singular psychoanalytic viewpoint of the Viennese group and their careful articulation and cautious building upon existing concepts. However, there are certain authors who either exist on the 'fringes' of ego psychology, or have created ideas, not integrated into the main body of theory. We have to ask ourselves whether such authors are making an original contribution or whether they are merely saying the same thing in a different language. We can often trace these differences to geographic and professional isolation. Very few non-Viennese entered the inner circle of ego psychology. The leading exception is perhaps

David Rapaport, one of the great integrators and theoretical synthesisers of this movement. In his work, and that of Anna Freud, Hartmann and Otto Fenichel – another Viennese émigré - we are able to cross-reference our own readings of the literature.

Authors on the fringes of this survey include Franz Alexander (Budapest and Berlin), a disciple of Sandor Ferenczi, and one of Freud's early adherents; Wilhelm Reich (Vienna), who did important work before being expelled from the International Psychoanalytic Association (IPA) under unfortunate circumstances, variously ascribed to his insanity, his communist beliefs, or a combination of both; and Edward Glover (London), a dominant figure in British psychiatry and psychoanalysis who embedded himself within the forensic/criminological sector.

This essay will attempt to isolate and explain a kind of behaviour that is impulsive and anti-social, but distinguished from other types of anti-social behaviour by its overtly aggressive, as distinct from sexual nature. Unlike many forms of sexual deviancy, such as homosexuality, which is now broadly tolerated within Western culture, we will be seeking a kind of behaviour which will perhaps never be tolerated (in the sense of becoming socially acceptable). No amount of legal reform will make thievery or violence socially acceptable. But we need to ask also whether legal reform would actually end delinquency. It may be that opposition to society is in fact the critical element. Thus any attempt at reform of the law may just result in a new type of crime or delinquent behaviour.

However, we do need to ask ourselves why it is that society tolerates high levels of delinquency and in many ways provides encouragement of, and tacit acceptance for, delinquent behaviour, especially – as this thesis shows – when remedies have been identified. All of which leads to the problem of aggression, which cannot be adequately dealt with in the thesis due to word limits. I have had to reserve my brief assessment of the species-wide problem of aggression

and its relation to juvenile delinquency for the first appendix (Appendix A). Further consideration of this topic may lead one to question the role, if any, psychoanalysis should have in the treatment of delinquents, but that is beyond the scope of this paper.

Most of our concern in this thesis is with the manifestations and psychology of *male* delinquency. Male gender is predominant in cases of delinquency, we can only touch on this problem in the thesis. Female delinquency, more often than not, relates to prostitution, though kleptomania is also prominent in the literature. In brief, we must reckon with the factor of reduced innate aggression in the female, in comparing the incidence of delinquency in women as compared with men. The psychological delinquency which we ascribe in the male, will be shown to be related to the Oedipus and castration complexes particular to the male. In short, the early onset of the castration complex in the female is a key factor in why her 'delinquent' behaviour favours sexual manifestations, notwithstanding her inferior physical strength (see, for example, Deutsch 1944 pp. 269ff; Aichhorn 1949; Eissler 1950; Blos 1957; Glover 1960 pp. 244-270). Due to limited space, we shall give the male delinquent priority in what follows.

THE SOCIAL AND LEGAL BACKGROUND

A psychoanalyst studying juvenile delinquency from within the 'classical' analytic model will assess the individual psychology of the delinquent, the delinquent within the mother-infant pair, within the family, within the school, within society, and the place of human society within the natural world. Each of these approaches is interrelated – the mother is a part of the family, the family is part of the school and the environment, etc.

A *delinquent* is a law-breaker. In Western countries the age of 18 is usually considered the age of legal responsibility, though this can vary. The term juvenile roughly corresponds with this period, or with what is known as adolescence. In summary, a *juvenile delinquent* is a youth who breaks the law. The term is generally reserved for a habitual law-breaker.

We note that not all law-breakers are discovered, and not all are prosecuted. We need to distinguish from the above group, the so-called *accidental* law-breakers; those members of the community considered psychologically 'normal' who transgress the law unwittingly, as for example inadvertent tax evasion or driving above the speed limit. This group is not our concern, though we recognise that even acts of 'accidental' law breaking have psychological causes (see, e.g., Freud 1901).

A more psychological approach would focus on the criminal and not the crime. We would then speak of juvenile delinquency in terms of 'delinquent behaviour'. Indeed, the law now allows this to a considerable degree. It finds its overt representation in the modern Juvenile Justice System, and more broadly in government policies which aim at diversion of delinquent youths away from the criminal justice system. The social reformers of the 19th century sought to relieve the insane of responsibility before the law, and in time, the same consideration was won for children in certain circumstances, varying with

the age of the child. Thus, youth becomes a mitigating factor in the determination of guilt or innocence.

It is interesting to note that this reform preceded organised psychological insight into the nature of childhood which brought the understanding that children are born anti-social by nature. Nevertheless the law now recognises that in most cases of juvenile law-breaking it is more efficient for the government (and the judiciary) to divert juveniles from the justice system and penal detention. In most cases, the law-breaking does not became habitual. Rather, it is adequately dealt with by, variously: the child's parents, the education system, community services (child guidance and treatment), and/or law-enforcement officers. This approach, which was advanced early in the twentieth century, provided the opportunity for psychoanalytically minded social workers and educationalists to create child-guidance services, schools and treatment clinics in European capitals such as Vienna, Berlin, and London during the 1920s.[7]

Parents and educators too, in the regular course of their duty, take judgement into their own hands to punish, scare and reward children who transgress the law within the confines of school and home. A child caught stealing his playmate's lunch is not brought before the law, but dealt with by application of educational measures in the school and at home. This is ‘normal’. Indeed, the law, and government policy in general, maintains as far as practicable the right of parents to apply the law to their own children. Only in rare circumstances is it thought fit for the state to intervene in childhood discipline (see A. Freud et al. 1973 and 1979). In short, society entrusts parents with the primary role in socialising the child.

Thus, juvenile delinquency is the breaking of the law in public – that is, outside of the home and school environment. It indicates at some level a failure of

[7] See the recent book by Elizabeth Ann Danto (2005), *Freud's Free Clinics*, which provides a social and historical background to this movement.

socialisation. If the parents fail, education has a chance of remedying the deficiencies; if this fails, child guidance authorities may intervene in acute or chronic cases. And if anti-social behaviour persists or emerges into the wider social milieu, eventually the child will come into confrontation with the law.

We must be aware of the ethics underlying classification and treatment of juvenile delinquency, though the theme is beyond the scope of this thesis. If one attributes ‘freedom of will’ to the juvenile delinquent, one may assert an extreme position, such as: intolerance of delinquency is a unjustified suppression of freedom. The psychoanalyst who approaches delinquency makes no value judgement about either the delinquent's morals or about those of the society opposed to them. The psychoanalytic viewpoint remains neutral and, for August Aichhorn, addresses only the goal of adaptation of the individual to the social reality (Aichhorn 1931 [1925]). From this point of view, freedom is not found in the 'free' expression of individual behaviour, but in non-conflictual conformity with societal expectation. The delinquent, by his behaviour is harassed by society, and he interprets this as an encroachment upon his freedom. He may ultimately lose his freedom of movement due to imprisonment. Psychoanalysis is more interested in the internal freedom of the human through increasing the ‘freedom’ of the ego to choose between the often conflicting demands of the id, superego and the environment (Freud 1923a, see also Waelder 1934).

Otto Fenichel described the situation thus:

> The character of man is socially determined. The environment enforces specific frustrations, blocks certain modes of reaction to these frustrations, and facilitates others; it suggests certain ways of dealing with the conflicts between instinctual demands and fears of further frustrations; it even creates desires by setting up and forming specific ideals. Different societies, stressing different values and applying different educational measures, create different anomalies (Fenichel 1946, p. 464).

Aichhorn had fully integrated this line of thinking. He wrote that, 'It is beyond the scope of the therapist to re-order the social system'. Rather, the task of the youth worker/therapist is 'to bring dissocial youth into line with present-day society' (Aichhorn 1931 [1925], p. 120). 'We must discover the cause of the dissocial behaviour, and to do this, we must understand the psychic situation which produced it' (Aichhorn 1931 [1925], p. 70). Aichhorn devised a modification of psychoanalytic technique for treatment of 'wayward youth' and augmented this by theoretical applications based on Freud's work.

To my mind, Aichhorn stands as one of the great psychoanalytic innovators. His method of working with aggressive youths and the 'impostor' type of delinquent is entirely daring and revolutionary. Evidently Freud thought likewise, writing in his preface to the first edition of Aichhorn's *Wayward Youth* that,

> Psychoanalysis could teach him little that was new to him in a practical way, but it offered him a clear theoretical insight into the justification of his treatment and enabled him to explain his method to others in this field (Freud in Aichhorn 1931 [1925], p. vi).

Aichhorn's interest in processes of social adaptation in the context of reviving the developmental progression of the delinquent toward social aims, placed him at the forefront of subsequent psychoanalytic developments, namely, Hartmann's theory of adaptation (Hartmann 1939) and Anna Freud's developmental model (A. Freud 1965). The extent of Aichhorn's direct and indirect influence on the widening scope of psychoanalysis has not been adequately addressed in the historical literature. Throughout this thesis, we shall attempt to rectify this omission by drawing attention to his legacy where it is apparent.

PSYCHOANALYTIC INTEGRATION: JUVENILE DELINQUENCY 1925

Chapter 1

AICHHORN ON JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

August Aichhorn

The two milestone publications in the psychoanalytic literature on delinquency are *Wayward Youth* by August Aichhorn, published in German in 1925 (Revised edition, 1931; English translation, 1935), and a volume of collected essays dedicated to Aichhorn, *Searchlights on Delinquency*, edited by one of his disciples, Kurt Eissler. This collection was published in English in 1949 and included papers from 36 psychoanalytically informed authors. The collection provides a guide to the major figures working with juvenile delinquents at that time, many of them had trained under and/or worked with Aichhorn in Vienna during the 1920s and 1930s. They testify to his enduring legacy.

August Aichhorn was born 27 July 1878 in Vienna. He trained as a teacher and worked in a grade school until, in 1908, he was assigned the duty of organising boys' settlements in Vienna. Eissler credits him with leading a successful campaign against the militarisation of these settlements (Eissler 1949a, pp. ix-x). After ten years in this role, he was granted the opportunity to organise a reformatory for delinquent children at Ober-Hollabrunn (1918-1920) and later at St. Andrä (1920-1922) (A. Freud 1968 [1951], p. 628). After these experiments, he organised and conducted child guidance clinics in Vienna under the auspices of the city administration (Eissler 1949a, p. x). In 1922, he joined the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society and entered analysis with Paul Federn, one of Freud's senior colleagues and Vice-President of the Vienna Society. He commenced treatment of neurotics by the classical method and soon made an application of psychoanalytic theory to the problem of juvenile delinquency (see Aichhorn 1931 [1925]).

In 1932 Aichhorn retired from public service for private practice, setting up a child guidance service and training course for practitioners under the auspices of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Institute. This came to an end with the dissolution

of the Vienna Society following the Nazi occupation in 1938. Aichhorn was one of the few analysts to remain in Vienna throughout the War. After the War, he reconstituted the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society and was appointed its President. He held this post until his death on 17 October 1949.

The Application of Psychoanalysis to Juvenile Delinquency

This brief survey of Aichhorn's career reveals his range of experience with delinquent youths in a variety of settings. By the time Aichhorn encountered psychoanalysis in the early 1920s, he had already developed the original techniques that he applied for the treatment of wayward youth and put them into effect. He had achieved these innovations without the help of psychoanalysis. However, Freud's psychoanalytic models provided him with insight into the specific interplay of mental forces which lead to dissocial development. When Aichhorn came to write his definitive text on juvenile delinquents, he framed delinquency in terms of Freud's structural model. As such he focused on the conflicts between the three mental institutions: id, ego, and superego ('ego-ideal'); and the outcome of this conflict in relation to environmental demands and adaptation to social reality. But above all, Aichhorn never overlooked the fact that,

> The great majority of children in need of retraining come into conflict with society because of an unsatisfied need for tenderness and love in their childhood (Aichhorn 1931 [1925], p. 148).

For Anna Freud, Aichhorn's understanding of dissocial manifestations was 'intuitive, based on an automatic, effortless identification with the delinquent or criminal individual with whom he had to deal' (A. Freud 1951, p. 628). In this identification lay the means of success of Aichhorn's treatment with delinquents. This 'double allegiance and identification, with society on the one hand and the world of the delinquent on the others, remained for him a fascinating problem' (A. Freud 1951, p. 636). According to her, his 1925 book

built a ‘lasting bridge’ between psychoanalysis and work with dissocial children (A. Freud 1951, p. 631).

Social and Dissocial Adaptation

Aichhorn opens his analysis of wayward youth with a descriptive overview of dissocial behaviour. He describes what happens at the child guidance clinic. Usually, a 'problem' child is brought to the clinic for assessment where treatment options can be considered. The child is brought by his parents or the civil authorities either as a means of avoiding penal, or for managing delinquent or otherwise embarrassing behaviour. Typically troubling behaviours included, at the time: theft, vagrancy, truancy, violence, and precocious or perverted sexuality. Aichhorn called these behaviours ‘dissocial’, or ‘delinquent’, and considered the children thus afflicted, under the broad term ‘wayward youth’.[8] Drug use is not recorded as a factor though nowadays it is often a complicating factor in delinquent pathology.

Aichorn insisted on a psychoanalytic classification of dissocial behaviour in which he sought the underlying basis of the behaviour in the unconscious. He called the underlying pathological content, ‘latent’ delinquency and the delinquent behaviour ‘manifest’ delinquency. Both concepts derive from Freud’s study of dreams (Freud 1900, pp. 253ff). Latent delinquency was the result of an interaction between constitutional (hereditary) and environmental factors in the individual. The conversion of a latent delinquency into manifest behaviour involved an ‘exciting causal agent’.

The Freudian model had significant advantages over the prevalent phenomenological psychologies of the day which treated the ‘manifest’ deliquency. Aichhorn had observed that, the removal of one dissocial behaviour (or ‘symptom’) by treatment, would often lead to replacement by another. Secondly, children presenting with the same manifest behavioural disturbance,

and treated in the same manner, responded differently – one child would benefit, while another would deteriorate. Thus, it became necessary to uncover the latent delinquency and formulate treatment according to the latent, rather than the manifest, delinquency.

Freud's structural model of the psyche (1923a) provided Aichhorn the theoretical constructs for analysis of latent delinquency. The model is based on the proposition that behaviour is the result of a dynamic interplay of forces within the psyche, and between the psyche and the environment. There are two primary psychic drives, or 'instincts' – one aggressive, one sexual (libidinal) – which motivate behaviour. The drives are located in the id'. Satisfaction of the drives produces pleasure. The frustration of drive satisfaction produces pain.

Human social development requires drive renunciation and the creation of substitute satisfactions. This is instigated by a psychic structure Freud called the '*ego*'. It is the psychic organ of adaptation, reconciling the conflicting demands of the instinctual drives, external reality and internalised social ideals (Freud 1923a). It develops along a line stretching from a *pure pleasure ego* intolerant of frustration and under sway of the *pleasure principle*, to a *reality ego* under sway of the *reality principle*, a kind of modified pleasure principle in which the child learns to exchange immediate pleasure (drive satisfaction) for the promise of deferred pleasure of a more reliable nature (Freud 1911a). In terms of reality adaptation, Aichhorn measured the child's success in terms of his development from a *primitive* '*biological*' (primary) adaptation understood by the child as 'avoidance of pain', to a *social* (secondary) adaptation which includes the capacity for deferment of pleasure. This line of development is measured by the ego's capacity to withstand frustration and anxiety (Aichhorn 1931 [1925], pp. 189-190). In other words, the child is encouraged to transform – or *sublimate* – the means by which he obtains pleasure. Thus, his pleasure seeking activities become more reality adapted and socially acceptable.

[8] Glover (1960, pp. 164-5) takes issue with the translation of 'Verwahrloste Jugend' into the English, 'Wayward Youth'. Amongst other contentions, Glover thinks the title 'Delinquent

In the context of object relations of the growing child (i.e., the child's relations with the people in his or her environment), Aichhorn saw that there were really only two approaches by which social adaptation occurs: by threat of punishment (fear) and by promise of reward (love). The parent achieves modifications in the child's behaviour because the child either fears the consequence of continuing the behaviour, or because he can win more love by renouncing the behaviour. We shall see the consequences of these parental attitudes when we consider the environmental contributing factors to delinquency. Aichhorn made use of both these approaches in the re-education and treatment of dissocial youths, and summarised the results thus: '…our success is attributed to the fact that we influenced the later development of the libido in the direction of sublimation and compensation' (Aichhorn 1931 [1925], p. 155).

From the foregoing, we have already received an indication as to the environmental causes of delinquency (i.e., the parental attitudes). In analysis of the case history of children presenting with delinquent behaviour, Aichhorn saw the recurrence of parenting which was either too severe, too indulgent, or too severe and too indulgent interchangeably and/or inconsistently (see also Appendix A).

As Aichhorn put it, 'The study of the transference in the dissocial child shows regularly a love life that has been disturbed in early childhood by a lack of affection or an undue amount of affection' (Aichhorn 1936, p. 119). These parental attitudes interfere with the child's capacity to tolerate frustration, and thus preclude successful reality adaptation, interfering with internalisation of social norms.

For children raised in the manner described, Aichhorn's instruction to child guidance workers is to do the opposite of what the parents have done, with one

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Youth' would have been closer in spirit to the original.

restriction: corporal punishment is not to be used. The child worker must learn to exercise patience and tolerance. The aim of the worker is the establishment of a transference from the child. This is a kind of relationship in which an unconscious complex of ungratified libidinal and aggressive urges are transferred from the original objects (e.g. the parents) onto a third person – in this case the child-guidance worker. The child worker aims to promote a *positive* transference (i.e., loving feelings) in the dissocial youth towards the worker. This needs to occur in a child whose attitudes to other people are generally dominated by negative affects. Once a positive transference has been established between the child and the worker, private time should be allocated for the child to express his feelings and anxieties to the worker.

Diagnosis of each child is based on application of psychoanalytic insight to the individual case history and initial interviews. The predominantly neurotic type of child (as distinct from the psychologically delinquent child) should be referred to psychoanalytic treatment. The psychologically delinquent child is predisposed against the formation of a positive transference. This was the special problem for which Aichhorn sought a solution.

Aichhorn and Freud: Application of the Structural Model

In time the myriad of parental threats and enticements is internalised and systemised in the form of a psychic structure, the *superego*[9]. It now performs internally the function which the parents enacted externally. The internalisation is achieved by introjection of, and identification with, the parents (and other role models: siblings, educators, aunts and uncles, etc.).[10]

[9] Aichhorn uses the term 'ego-ideal'. Cf. translator's note: '…the terms 'ego-ideal' and 'superego' are used synonymously' (Aichhorn 1931, p.211*n*1). In light of subsequent theoretical developments, 'superego' is the more correct term.

[10] For the subsequent analysis of these terms (introjection, identification, and imitation) to define specific ego mechanisms which, in the course of development, internalise social edicts and ideals see Anna Freud (1965 pp. 173-175); also Hartmann & Loewenstein (1962); and, J. Sandler (1960).

Let us now look at the process of superego formation. Primarily, two mechanisms are involved in superego formation: object cathexis and identification. The order of events, and the ages at which they occur, differs from boys to girls. Around the age of four or five, the young boy passes through his anal-phase of libido development and assumes the phallic position. This leads him into the Oedipus Complex (Freud 1905a).

As the child's Oedipus complex intensifies, the boy's love for his mother, stimulated now by an intensification of phallic masturbation, is countered by a fear of reprisal from his father. This develops into what is known as the 'castration complex'. The boy must choose between two alternatives, neither of which he can easily accept. The young boy must either give up the auto-erotic pleasures of masturbation – which are intrinsically linked with his mother-love – or, continue masturbation under threat of losing the beloved organ. This forces the boy to resolve his Oedipus Complex.

There is always the risk that the boy's fear of his father will lead him into a 'negative' Oedipal position (i.e., an identification with mother and love for father). This exposes the boy to many potential psychological complications. Usually, however, the castration complex leads to a resolution of the Oedipus complex by identification with the father, and the development of *aim-inhibited* object love towards his mother. With the arousal of sexual urges at the onset of puberty, the boy will be ready to direct these desires outside of his family circle. In economic terms, we can say that the aggressive drive is internalised against the self (i.e. the ego) and is structuralised – or 'bound' – within the 'self' (Hartmann 1950b, Jacobsen 1964). This is achieved by erection of the superego structure.

This internalisation of the parents as a permanent psychic institution, now regulates the child's behaviour by creating anxiety and a sense of guilt whenever the child transgresses acceptable limits of behaviour. The sense of guilt is a manifestation of anxiety caused by fear of the superego and before its

formation, the fear of castration. The fact that guilt may be aroused even by the thought of unacceptable behaviour (e.g. a forbidden wish) makes it the most effective force in socialisation. In the outcome, the incestuous and fantasies associated with the Oedipus complex and masturbation are repressed and kept out of consciousness. Note also that the superego formation implies reward for complicit behaviour when the internalised parental ideals are complied with.

However, the superego does not attain to full strength and development 'if the overcoming of the Oedipus complex has not been completely successful' (Freud 1933 [1932], p. 92). This may lead to dissocial behaviour. A regular consequence of failures in early development is an inability to satisfactorily meet and overcome the Oedipus complex. In both boys and girls, this is often realised as an incapacity to tolerate the anxieties associated with the castration complex. And it is certainly the case, that a relatively strong ego is necessary for tolerating the intensity of castration anxiety.[11] Thus, the critical element in the socialisation of the human being is a successful resolution of the Oedipus complex. With this information, Aichhorn sought to define delinquency in terms of superego malformation.

Superego Malformation

Aichhorn's attempt to classify the forms of juvenile delinquency, centred on the concept of superego malformation. He classified delinquent types according to

[11] In the girl, superego formation follows a different maturational sequence. In them, the castration complex also exists, but occurs prior to her Oedipus Complex, at around the end of the second year. The castration anxieties, which in the male are the motivating factor and the driving force in superego formation are dealt with prior to her Oedipus complex, which has consequences for superego development. Her castration complex is removed from the Oedipus-complex, and in fact resolution of the castration complex is, in the female, the impetus for transference of object love from the mother to the father, and so puts her into the Oedipal position (Freud 1933 [1932], p. 177). Hate for the mother, arising from her failure to provide the young girl with a penis, forces the young girl into the Oedipal position (love of father; hate of mother). The girl's superego formation thus takes place over a longer span of time, in line with the gradual relinquishment of the father as her love-object.

the type and extent of malformation in the superego (i.e., 'ego-ideal'). These distinctions are simplified to facilitate understanding of the issues at heart.[12]

i. 'Weak' or 'Non-Existent' Superego

With too little or no conscience, the ego continues to function as it did in infancy, as a 'pure pleasure ego', and behaviour is thus regulated by the pleasure principle. Demands of social reality hold little sway.

ii. 'Disharmonious' Superego

The mechanisms of object cathexis and identification are played against each other, resulting in a superego in conflict with itself. For instance, a child may cathect and identify with both mother and father resulting in a disharmonious superego, which is not consistent in its directives to the ego. For example, if the father is violent towards the mother, the child, through his identification with the mother, may experience the father's brutal treatment masochistically, while at the same time, experiencing an identification with the aggressor; resulting in a conflict between his aggressive and libidinal drives (Aichhorn 1931 [1925], p. 228).

iii. 'Masochistic' Superego (Criminality from a Sense of Guilt)

Freud's great contribution to the study of criminality was the identification of the role of guilt in criminal behaviour (Freud 1915b; also Aichhorn 1931

[12] There is a fifth class of superego malformation, identified by Freud, which posited a competing superego structure. It was discovered by the first generation of psychoanalysts during their study and treatment of the 'war neuroses' of World War I. The 'peacetime' ego of the conscript soldier is threatened in war, by a new 'parasitic' superego, which, if obeyed, threatens the destruction of the former. Freud suggested that this should only occur in conscript armies, where the formation of a wartime ideal is newly formed and is in sharp contrast to the usual nature of the individual. Thus, the war neuroses result as a flight from a real external danger which cannot be avoided (because of the wartime ideal). Thus the conflict is between the new 'parasitic' superego, which is enforcing the ideals of military situation, and the 'peacetime' superego wants to fly the War situation. From the ego's point of view, compliance with either ideal poses a danger to the ego. A 'war neurosis' is the compromise-formation between the competing superego drives. Many of these neuroses dissolved with the conclusion of the war (Freud 1919b). Similar conflicts between the superego and new introjects may occur, for example, under hypnosis, or under influence of mass suggestion (Fenichel 1946, p. 109 after Freud 1921). It appears to bear some relation to Rangell's 'Compromise of Integrity' (Rangell 1974).

[1925], pp. 229-232). Freud observed that there are certain neurotic characters who suffer from an oppressive feeling of guilt, for which only the committing of a forbidden deed will offer relief. He concluded that this must also be the case for a certain group of criminals, whose motivation for crime is a *pre-existing* sense of guilt (Freud 1915b, p. 343). Freud noted similar behaviour in children of nursery age, who often commit a 'naughty deed' on purpose in order to provoke punishment.

Aichhorn made an application of the structural model to Freud's theory and surmised either an overly severe superego or a too weak ego was responsible. Either case leads to an unbearable quantity of guilt feelings. The guilt feelings are dealt with by means of *repression*, such that we can now speak of an 'unconscious sense of guilt' (Aichhorn 1931 [1925], p. 230 after Freud 1915b). But the guilt feelings do not just go away, they remain an influence on behaviour. The sense of guilt becomes itself a motivation for crime. The punishment derived from the crime satisfies the unconscious sense of guilt. Freud later spoke of the *need for punishment* as 'an instinctual manifestation on the part of the ego which has become masochistic under the influence of the sadistic super-ego' (Freud 1930, p. 797). Aichhorn identified this as a major problem for educators, because the relief (pleasure) thus achieved from punishment, measures the child inaccessible to ordinary educational measures based on positive transference and need for love. This type of child needs punishment (hate feelings), in order to feel pleasure, or – at the least – relief from pain (Aichhorn 1931 [1925], p. 234).

iv. 'Dissocial' Superego

Strictly speaking this is not an instance of deformed superego. Some delinquency comes about due to ill-chosen role models. A child may be raised in a generally loving, 'normal' environment, which leads to full development and strength of the superego. If the child is raised in a family of criminals he will adopt the criminal values within this superego formation. Eventually he will

come into conflict with society as a result of these values. In such cases dissocial (criminal) acts can be committed without guilt impinging.

In a later work (Aichhorn 1948), Aichhorn catalogued other 'value' related dissociality arising from what he called a 'labile orientation toward society' created by parents who are variously, 'antisocial in a social culture, materialistic in an idealistically orientated one, anti-religious in a religious one' (Aichhorn 1948, p. 232).

Links with Child Analysis

The early 1920s were a fertile time for psychoanalysis in Vienna. The second generation of analysts had entered training in Vienna and Freud was assured that those testing times for his fledging science were now past and psychoanalysis would live-on after his own demise. Contemporaneous with Aichhorn's work with delinquents at Ober-Hollabrunn and St. Andrä (1918 - 1922), Hermine von Hug-Hellmuth began working with children from a psychoanalytic viewpoint. Like Aichhorn, she laid special emphasis on the superego and promoting social adaptation in the child. Hug-Hellmuth aimed to better adapt her child patients to their home and school environment by alleviating superego demands and by encouraging the sublimation of instinctual drives (Hoffer 1945, p. 296; see also Hug-Hellmuth 1921). For Hug-Hellmuth, this was an educational technique, not a psychoanalytic one in the classical sense. She sought to instigate the practice of child analysis as a distinct training from that of adult analysis. The more mature the child, the more the analysis would resemble that of an adult.

This particular child analytic practice was resolved – in the hands of Anna Freud – into a theory of technique that advocated a 'preparatory phase' of treatment specific for children. It bore a close resemblance to Aichhorn's comments on treatment of delinquents, that, 'in order to influence the dissocial behaviour, he [the therapist] must bring his charge into the transference situation' (Aichhorn 1931 [1925], p. 119). Anna Freud, Freud's youngest

daughter, was a trained educator who turned to psychoanalysis. She joined the Vienna Society in 1921, delivering her first paper in 1922. Her experimental treatment focused on children aged 6-11 and was outlined in a series of lectures (A. Freud 1927 [1926]).

Anna Freud appreciated (in contradistinction to the child analytic school of Melanie Klein) that one or even all of the preconditions for psychoanalysis is often absent in children. She referred to Freud's standard measures of suitability for analysis: the patient must experience a sense of suffering; he must have confidence in analysis (and the analyst); and, he must undertake the decision to begin analysis on his own account.

She attempted to overcome these limitations through the preparatory phase by certain modifications of analytic technique, which seem to lean on Aichhorn's more extreme therapeutic interventions. Where a conflict was already manifest, either intrapsychically, or between the child's conscious ego and his environment, she would seek to ally herself with the conscious ego against the environment or against the split off part of his personality, in order strengthen the ego's attempts to control the aberrant behaviour (A. Freud 1927 [1926], p. 12).

If the child had *no* insight into the conflict, she would attempt a less direct approach and force herself by devious methods upon the child as somebody useful to the child. For example, she would became a useful auxiliary to the child's dissocial efforts, thus the treatment would be of practical use to the child in avoiding punishment for his dissocial behaviour. The child would repeatedly test this capacity of the analyst in escalating fashion, to the point where the analyst becomes a very powerful person, and basically indispensable. By this technique, a positive transference of sufficient strength can be established to withstand the negative transference which follows the gradual introduction of demands for renunciation made during the psychoanalytic phase of treatment. Aichhorn was a master at this technique (cf. Aichhorn 1931

[1925], e.g.: the ‘tobacco thief’, pp. 159-62; and, the ‘gambler/runaway’, pp. 138-42) and it is not unlikely that he had a major role in her formalisation of this approach.

In a slightly different kind of case, Anna Freud was presented with a boy with a dissocial symptom that was entirely ego-syntonic. She exaggerated the severity of the symptom and frightened the boy. The conflict between the boy and his environment, was transformed into a conflict between the boy's conscious ego, and his ideal image of himself. In cases like this, argued Anna Freud, the analyst or child worker must take sides with the child against the home environment, or with the environment against the child, in order to serve the best interests of the child. This ethical issue is I believe one of the chief reasons why Aichhorn’s (and Anna Freud’s) approach to treatment of delinquent’s has not been widely replicated. Nowadays the threat of legal action places a more conservative attitude upon the child guidance worker. And for similar reasons, governments are less likely to intervene in support of radical solutions even to radical problems. Aichhorn’s re-educational work builds on a solid ethical foundation. Only a society that is sure of itself and confident in its outlook will be able to endorse Aichhorn’s demanding ethical position of impartially. Unfortunately, radical problems often demand radical solutions.

This next section outlines a most radical treatment plan for juvenile delinquents. I have found no more daring, yet evidently effective, treatment model in the literature. It is truly a pity that this experiment seems never to have been replicated despite its promising results (see Schowalter 2000, p. 55).

Aichhorn’s Experiment with an Group of Aggressive Boys

Aggression is usually at the forefront of delinquent psychology and behaviour. It is the aggressive behaviour of delinquents towards other people that brings them into disrepute with the law.

The following section is the outcome of Aichhorn's experimental work in re-education at the Ober-Hollabrunn (1918-1920) and St. Andrä (1920-1922) institutions for wayward youths, prior to his encounter with psychoanalysis. All kinds of delinquent types were represented at these institutions. The first task was separation of the children into basically homogenous groups. This facilitated the formation of object relations between peers and between each group and the supervising guidance worker. In *Wayward Youth* Aichhorn recounted his experience with a group of 12 boys, which he labelled the 'the aggressive group' (see Aichhorn 1931 [1925], Chapter 8). All boys showed retardation in school, manifest difficulties such as truancy, stealing, and especially, aggressive behaviour. The histories of the boys confirmed that in no case was the home situation beyond reproach

Aichhorn set down the following guidelines for working with this group of boys:

1. Exclude severity – especially corporal punishment;
2. Compensate for the lack of love by maintaining a friendly attitude. His motto: 'as far as possible, let the boys alone' (Aichhorn 1931 [1925], p. 172). Workers were instructed to intervene in fights and brawls only to prevent injury – they were never to take sides. The workers must remain impartial, patient and composed;
3. Provide plenty of play to prevent aggressive outbursts. In other words, provide sublimated alternatives to the open expression of aggression.

To the chagrin of the workers, the results of this experimental method were an increase in number and intensity of acts of aggression. But Aichhorn persisted. He had observed that these youths were accustomed to severe punishment within the home, school and civic environment. He reasoned that they expect more of the same when in the re-education institution. So when they instead met with no punishment, but rather love and tolerance, the boys failed to trust

the new attitude as a genuine change. And so the level of aggravation increased in order to illicit the same old response from the 'new' authorities. We say that the boys had transferred (in a non-psychoneurotic sense) a negative emotional attitude from the original object (the father, or the parents) onto the child-guidance worker/therapist; indeed, anyone within range. Thus, 'the antagonistic conduct is motivated by defiance of the father…It is only when the provocative behaviour fails to achieve its aim that this pattern which supports the delinquency breaks down…Then gradually the manifestations of delinquency recede' (Aichhorn 1931 [1925], p. 104). Aichhorn summarised the reality:

> In every case there was a severe conflict between the two parents or with the child, so that the child was forced to take sides with either the father or the mother or against both. All these children had been brought up without affection and had suffered unreasonable severity and brutality…Not one of them had had his need for affection satisfied. All had been beaten unmercifully; they had hit back and attacked when they felt that they were masters of the situation (Aichhorn 1931 [1925], pp.171-2).

Application of Freud's psychoanalytic theory allowed Aichhorn to understand the libidinal component of overtly aggressive behaviour. He found that many of the boys increased their aggression in order to illicit pain from their victim, which they experienced as pleasure. In psychoanalysis, such behaviour is termed *sadistic*. However, sadism rarely makes its appearance without a masochistic reaction. And it is easily observed that, in these boys, sadistic behaviour generally elicited forth a punishment from the environment. Thus, the ultimate pleasure aim of the sadistic behaviour is masochistic, which in turn continues an unending cycle.

Now, when the longed-for punishment was *not* forthcoming, the boys' aggression eventually reached a climax. The outbreaks of rage ceased to be genuine, but were 'acted out for our benefit' (Aichhorn 1931 [1925], p. 174). In each of the boys, the rage expended eventually turned to violent outbursts of

weeping until exhaustion and sleep overcame them. Without punishment, the child no longer had rational grounds for hating the worker. This enabled the beginnings of a positive transference to take place. Unfortunately, as a result of this process, the youths had almost entirely destroyed the institution building and had caused major disturbances to the surrounding residents (Aichhorn 1931 [1925], p. 174).

From this point on, the difficult task of retraining commenced. The aim of which was to increase the frustration tolerance of the boys. The child worker was gradually allowed to display impatience and dissatisfaction, and increase the demands made on the boys. The environment thus became more and more like the world outside the institution. The workers had become the new identifications for the child and many made up for lost school work (Aichhorn 1931 [1925], p. 176-7 & 234-5).

The experiment was ended by the civil authorities after three months. I cannot find any mention of exactly why the program ended. I can only suspect the wanton destruction as a contributing factor. It would be a brave administration to again attempt such an experiment. But for the children who have suffered so unfairly at the hands of brutal elements of society, they are not to blame. I think Aichhorn may have argued that society had it coming to them one way or another.

PSYCHOANALYTIC DIFFERENTIATION: JUVENILE DELINQUENCY 1925-1965

Chapter 2

THE PSYCHOPATHOLOGY OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Having now drawn a picture of the juvenile delinquent based on psychoanalytic knowledge as it was around 1925, our task becomes immeasurably more complex. The next three chapters (Chapters 2-4) constitute a transitional phase, in that we loose a sense of 'the delinquent' as a singular clinical entity. This results from the increasing number of researchers applying psychoanalytic thinking to delinquency in increasingly differentiated areas of theory.

As explained in the Introductory Remarks, I have attempted to group this historical development of insight material around the three concepts of 'psychopathology', 'normality' (i.e., character) and 'defence', none of which is an isolated field of study. Each of these narratives cuts across the five metapsychological points of view. As such, the notions of 'psychopathology', 'character' and 'defence' make use of the entire body of psychoanalytic theory.

Aichhorn's theoretical explanation of his successful treatment of young delinquents in child guidance and institutional settings was based on Freud's first presentation of the structural model of psychoanalysis, *The Ego and the Id* (1923a). However, this work of Freud's inspired a number of other divergent though related trends in psychoanalysis. The evidence suggests that these divergences arose principally along geographic differences, though one should not underestimate the influence of charismatic leaders from each of the different psychoanalytic 'capitals'. We shall follow in approximate sequence the developments in Budapest/Berlin, London and Vienna between the World Wars, and then in London and America after World War II.

Sandor Ferenczi in Budapest was influential upon Franz Alexander, who later initiated a neo-Freudian school in America, based on Ferenczi's 'active' analytic technique. In Vienna, a majority of the young analysts in the circle around Freud followed his last theoretical formulations and took this approach

with to the United States and Britain when driven out by the Nazis. These analysts coalesced around Heinz Hartmann in America, and Anna Freud in London. Another critical figure, Otto Fenichel, a Viennese M.D., was sent by Freud first to Berlin and later to California, where he was influential until his premature death in 1946. The dissemination of the classical analytic approach was almost total within the American Psychoanalytic Association of the 1940s and 1950s.

The following section will address the psychiatric influence upon the psychoanalytic theory and approach delinquency in terms of psychopathology. The key figures in this field are Alexander, Edward Glover, and American psychiatrist/psychoanalyst, Joseph Michaels. But before turning to these authors, let look us examine Freud's psychopathological nosology, and the application of it to delinquency, as done by Kurt Eissler.

Freud and Eissler:

Application of the Dynamic Viewpoint to Juvenile Delinquency

At the centre of Freud's psychopathology lay a theory of conflict (cf., the 'dynamic' point of view – see Introductory Remarks). In a series of short works (Freud 1924a, 1924b, 1924c) he redefined this dynamic model in terms of conflict between the mental agencies he had established with the structural model (viewpoint). He saw that the ego has the task of maintaining a balance between the demands of id, the superego and external reality (Freud 1923a). Where the ego fails in any area, psychopathology ensues. Freud conceived that, 'neurosis [i.e., psycho-neurosis] is the result of a conflict between the ego and its id, whereas psychosis is the analogous outcome of a similar disturbance in the relation between the ego and its environment (the outer world)' (Freud 1924a, p. 250-1) and, 'a narcissistic neurosis [e.g., melancholia] to that between ego and superego' (Freud 1924a, p. 254).

In a subsequent paper (1924c), Freud considered the symptom-formation of psychosis and neurosis, as a two-step process. The first step is: loss of reality;

the second: substitution of reality (Freud 1924c, p. 282). External reality demands that the individual renounce certain instinctual pleasures. In both psychosis and neurosis this demand is experienced as intolerable and a loss of reality results. But the ego response in each illness is different. In a neurosis, the ego responds by rejection of the instinct (repression); whereas, in a psychosis, the ego responds by rejection of external reality (denial).

In the second phase – the *substitution of reality* – a neurosis results from miscarriage of repression and the drive renews itself and finds an alternate course of discharge as a 'return of the repressed' in form of a neurotic symptom. This kind of symptom is a *compromise-formation* in that it satisfies, in part, both the superego demand and the repressed drive. This is achieved through regression of the drive towards an afferent and away from an efferent discharge (i.e. through fantasy). In a psychosis, once the drive renews its force, the ego substitutes reality by filling the breach, with its own construction; a construction which satisfies only the demand of the id (e.g., hallucination, delusional system, etc.) (Freud 1924b, pp. 279-81). Thus the conflict is between the ego and the environment with the environment being sacrificed to the drive.

We make this diversion through neurosis and psychosis to shape the background behind Kurt Eissler's introduction of delinquency into the structural-conflictual model of psychopathology (1949b). This was a significant step in advancing the case for delinquency as a psychological disorder, not just a legal-social condition.

Eissler was born in 1908, achieved a PhD in psychology at the University of Vienna, and joined the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society in 1937. He worked as an assistant to August Aichhorn before leaving for the United States in 1938 (Yorke 2000). In the two step process of symptom-formation in the case of psychological delinquency, *loss of reality* occurs in that portion of reality which is a representation of prohibitions (Eissler 1949b, p. 24). The delinquent

withdraws from the *social* reality. During the second phase, the *substitute for reality* results in an *allo-plastic* adaptation in which the delinquent makes a change in external reality. Compare this with Freud's assessment that, in both the psychoses and neuroses, the result is an *auto-plastic* adaptation (i.e., an endopsychic alteration). Eissler here implies a dual aspect of external reality roughly corresponding to Aichhorn's distinction between *primary* and *secondary* adaptation. The delinquent is often well adapted to reality in the former sense – and in this sense he has much in common with 'normal' behaviour – though his adaptation to social reality (prohibitions) is faulty. In summary, it helps to think of delinquency as an *allo-plastic* disorder, distinct from the neuroses and psychoses, which are primarily *auto-plastic*.[13]

Eissler is framing this distinction in terms of Hartmann's *Ego Psychology and the Problem of Adaptation* (1939), though the situation of adaptedness has been simplified somewhat. Hartmann described the dual aspect of human adaptation. *Primarily*, human action adapts the environment to human functions (through use of tools, etc.), and *secondarily*, requires the human being to adapt to the environment which he has helped to create (Hartmann 1939, pp. 26-27). We have seen that Aichhorn was already using similar terminology and concepts in 1925 (Aichhorn 1931 [1925]). It is this pronounced lability of the drives which allows such creative adaptation in the human being. Hartmann pointed out that an auto-plastic adaptation (i.e., an endopsychic alteration) is adaptive for a given situation, but the persistence of such a change may reduce the adaptedness of the individual to future conditions by limiting him to allo-plastic or primary adaptations. This is particular the case in character disturbances – which includes most delinquents – where little auto-plasticity is available.

[13] Though in consequence of the outbreak of auto-plastic symptoms, changes of an allo-plastic nature usually follow. E.g., the secondary gains from illness (Eissler 1949b, p. 9).

Some Therapeutic Consequences

The key element in the *allo-plastic* disorders is 'their persistent and often successful effort to repress all manifestations of displeasure rather than their actual gain of pleasure.' (Eissler 1949b, p. 11). Eissler offers us the notion in which conscious pleasure in the delinquent co-exists with unconscious (latent) unpleasure (Eissler 1949b, p. 10). Though it is perhaps questionable what benefit we derive from such an idea, Eissler is keen to rebut an earlier held notion that delinquents are free from intrapsychic conflict: conflict is present in the delinquent, though not manifest. This will later be explained in terms of the character disorders in which the ego fends away the drive, then instigates repression against the defence manoeuvre and concomitant anxiety, expelling the entire complex from consciousness. In this way, the delinquent only 'appears' to be free from conflict.

David Rapaport's exploration and extension of the theory of ego autonomy (1957) helped to explain the failure of classical analytic technique with the delinquent. He suggested we examine the relationship of the ego's autonomy from two sides: from the environment and from the id. The stimulus deprivation central to the psychoanalytic setting is an example involving 'increasing [ego] autonomy from the environment and decreasing autonomy from the id' (Rapaport 1957, p. 733). This facilitates free association or what Kris described as 'regression in the service of and under the control of the ego' (in Rapaport 1957 p. 734). In the delinquent, however, his ego activities have achieved very little autonomy from the id, thus restricting the capability of ego for self-observation, which is the necessary ally in the psychoanalytic treatment process. This model also explains the transformation, noted by Eissler (1949b), that certain delinquents will develop neurotic or psychotic symptoms when incarcerated following criminal conviction. The decreased autonomy from the environment is not matched by a commensurately strong ego to maintain autonomy from the id.

The Contribution of Psychoanalytically-Informed Psychiatry

We start this section from a broad psychoanalytically informed sociological perspective of criminality as devised by Franz Alexander (Alexander & Staub 1931) Alexander trained in Budapest under Ferenczi, before moving to Berlin. He relocated to Chicago during the 1930s and exerted a popular influence on American psychiatry. His psychoanalytic approach argued for the analyst to provide corrective emotional experiences to counteract the particular deprivations suffered by the patient during his childhood. Alexander influence extended into the new field on psychosomatic medicine, where he was a pioneer. However, his radical treatment method, excluding him from the psychoanalytic mainstream, and leaves us with just the one influential text on delinquency, his 1931 publication, *The Criminal, The Judge and the Public*, which succeeded through a number of editions and was widely influential in the growing criminology discipline. Where Aichhorn had viewed delinquency within the limits of the juvenile, Alexander attempted a broad criminological classification, to include all forms of criminal action. His classification is based roughly on the degree of ego participation in the criminal act (Alexander & Staub 1931, pp. 145-152):

<u>I. Chronic Criminality:</u>

i. Conditioned by organic destructive processes (in which the ego is put out of action)

a. *Toxic* (e.g. drug addiction) processes;

b. *Hereditary* processes

ii. Conditioned by a neurosis

a. *Compulsive* (symptomatic of neurotic conflict);

b. *Neurotic acting out* ('criminal by sense of guilt', Freud 1915b)

c. *Dissocial superego*

d. *The 'genuine criminal'* (displaying no conscience/sense of guilt)

<u>II. Accidental Criminality</u>

i. Crimes from mistakes (e.g. manslaughter)

ii. Situational Crimes (the so-called ‘Crimes of Passion’)

This kind of classificatory system helps us to conceptualise the field of study, and should lead to application of appropriate and efficient clinical treatments. Alexander’s system became the primary reference text for subsequent researchers. Over the next couple of decades, Kate Friedlander, a Berlin analyst, medically-trained, critiqued and revised Alexander’s system.

In relation to Alexander’s groupings, she removed the ‘Accidental Criminality’ from the system, and added a third group of ‘Chronic Criminality’, which she defined as ‘psychotic ego-disturbances’. She argued that Alexander’s ‘genuine criminal’ is an impossibility, because it infers the existence of a purely criminal superego for which ‘it would have to be assumed that the child, up to puberty, had not had any contact with the community outside the home, which is unlikely’ (1947, p. 185). She preferred to classify delinquent behaviour on the basis of anti-social character formation on one hand, and organic ego disturbances on the other (Friedlander 1947, pp. 183-187). This classification is particularly noticeable for its shift from superego deformations to deformations and distortions of the ego, as the defining characteristic of delinquent mental structure. Friedlander went on to subdivide the anti-social character formation into four grades, depending on the degree of anti-socialness (see Friedlander 1947, pp. 186-7). One can also see that, in removing the ‘Accidental Criminality’, she has retreated from sociological considerations and ‘normal’ psychology to the limited field of abnormal psychology. Her work drew upon that of a British psychiatrist and psychoanalyst, Edward Glover, with whom she formed a close working relationship in London during the 1930s. He was perhaps the most influential British analyst in the forensic field through the middle part of the century, from his first contact with Freud’s writings in 1922 until his death in 1971.

Edward Glover

Glover remains a controversial figure within psychoanalysis. He was successor to Ernest Jones as President of the British Psychoanalytical Society and presided over the series of scientific discussions (the so-called 'Controversial Discussions') during which the Kleinian system was presented to Anna Freud's group of émigrés Viennese analysts during 1943-44 (see King and Steiner 1991). No scientific consolidation was achieved. Glover tendered his resignation on the grounds that the Kleinians should be expelled from the Society for their non-analytical approach (see Glover 1945).

The Viennese analysts were not in a strong position, politically to mount a takeover of the society so soon after the British had offered them refuge from the Nazi scourge. And so Anna Freud adopted a more pragmatic position, remaining a member of the British Society, while continuing her main activities outside the organisation at the largely American-funded 'Hampstead Clinic' (now the 'Anna Freud Centre').

Glover remained a member of the International Psychoanalytic Association, and was left in the rather unique position of advocating the Freudian legacy outside the psychoanalytic establishment of London, being associated neither with the Kleinians, Anna Freud, nor the so-called British 'Middle Group' of analysts. His works included extended critiques of the American ego psychology (see, e.g., Glover 1968). His theoretical base is a synthesis of Freud's work up to and including *The Ego and the Id.* From his own account, he was 'ashamed' to announce in 1968 that his theoretical position remained essentially unaltered, from the approach he first outlined in 1930 (Glover 1968, p. 14). Nevertheless, he built a substantial base within the British Psychiatric and criminological establishments. In 1932 he co-founded the multi-disciplinary *Institute for the Scientific Treatment of Delinquency* (ISTD). The following year saw the establishment of the *Portman Clinic* in London, under the auspices of the ISTD to specialise in the research and treatment of criminal delinquency under ambulant conditions. Kate Friedlander was a co-founder.

With these activities in mind, Glover made various attempts at classification of delinquent behaviour. His schemes were always based on psychoanalytically-informed psychiatric psychopathology and a clinical interventionist model. Thus, the ISTD diagnostic groupings ranged from: mentally defective, borderline mentally defective, psychotic, borderline psychotic, psychoneurotic, character cases (including psychopathic personalities and sex perverts apart from neurosis), behaviour problems, cases of organic origin, non-delinquent, normal, and alcoholic cases. Friedlander criticised this model as not giving adequate scope for etiological grouping (Friedlander 1947, p. 184), a shortcoming which she tried to rectify (see above).

A more lasting contribution was based upon Glover's introduction of a 'functional' group of delinquents (1950b). It opens a line of thought which sought to explore the various levels of somatic response to psychic events. Glover's 'functional' grouping was based on a reassertion of Freud's 'Basic Mental Concepts', as Glover conceived them (see Glover 1947). He defined the Freudian model of primary process thinking as a theory of 'basic mental function' active during the 'primary functional phase' of the development of the mental apparatus. The primary functional phase explains the workings of the mind prior to structural formation (i.e., of the ego), which Glover sees commensurate with development of the faculty of speech. Thus endopsychic conflict is not possible at the level of primary function.

From within this model, Glover wrote his 1950 paper, 'On the Desirability of Isolating a "Functional" (Psychosomatic) Group of Delinquent Disorders' (Glover 1950b). In it, he defined impulsive behaviour, typical of certain types of delinquency, as 'a psychic end-product and usually a discharge product' (Glover 1950b, p. 384). He seems to be speaking of behaviour that results from the release of dammed-up instinctual tension. In this model, impulsive behaviour occurs once a certain stimuli threshold for instinctual discharge is exceeded. The 'conversion' of a psychic process to a somatic reaction is

thought to occur at a functional level of the mental apparatus over which the ego has little or no control. Impulsive behaviour is thus a '*psychosomatic'* reaction, as distinct from a psychoneurotic, or psychotic, *symptom-formation*, which is an *endo*psychic reaction, involving an inhibition of action brought about by secondary thought processes. Glover defined the psychosomatic reactions as, 'disorders of the [psychic] apparatus in which the apparatus itself is not diseased', but where, 'dynamic stresses occur giving rise to economic changes. Once the stress is relieved or discharged the mental apparatus resumes normal function'. By contrast,' the psychoneurotic reaction involves structural changes in the mental apparatus, which result in compromise-formations we recognise as the symptoms of mental disease' (Glover 1950b, p. 383).

In agreement with the above considerations, Glover observed that delinquent behaviour regularly coincides with life periods when instinctual stresses are at a maximum, such as during puberty or the climacteric in women; periods in which physiological changes impinge upon the psychic balance between ego and id. In most cases of *juvenile* delinquency, the criminal behaviour abates with age (Glover 1950b, p. 388, cf. delinquent types, Friedlander 1945). This reflects the shifting intrapsychic balance between the id and the ego resulting from physiological changes impinging upon the mental apparatus.

In linking this model to character neuroses and ego psychology, Glover has offered us the concept of *canalisation of functional disorders* in which ego integrity is preserved at the cost of a gross disturbance of reality sense. He suggests that a primary fault in the function of the mental apparatus early in life gives rise to excessive use of certain primitive defence mechanisms, which hamper the development of a strong integrated ego (Glover 1950a, p. 374). This functional disturbance shapes development at all later stages, giving rise to a character disorder by the time of puberty (Glover 1950a, p. 375-6).

Psychoanalytic Psychiatry and Pathological Character Formations

Joseph Michaels, a psychoanalyst and psychiatrist based in Boston, preferred to speak of this type of delinquent in terms of a character disorder 'reflected in specific individuations at biologic and psychological levels of the personality'. He saw this kind of character disorder as indicative of a congenital 'psychosomatic disposition'. He found evidence for this a severe type of delinquent in whom a history of persistent enuresis is present (Michaels & Stiver 1965, p. 126). In general, he assessed the structure of the delinquent's character as more primitive than in other psychiatric disorders (Michaels 1958, p. 118). This is reflected in the impulsive behaviour and poorly developed secondary process function, etc. The more transient the delinquency, the more the delinquency is likely to stem from experiential (neurotic) than constitutional factors (Michaels 1958, p. 118).

Hartmann (1950b, p. 87) looked at this same constellation of 'functional' disorder in terms of ego psychology. He raised the possibility, instead, that the ego may make active use of primary process functioning. In his model, autonomous ego functions of primary or secondary order can become, sexualised or aggressivised and object directed. In this sense, ego character is not necessarily fixed, but is rather constantly being energised from the id; and the extent to which the instinctual energy is neutralised and/or its aims sublimated influences the character. In the delinquent, we would expect to see fluctuations in the intensity of impulsiveness behaviour in proportion to drive renewal from the id. Rather than repression of drive, the ego allows discharge via pre-genital efferent channels associated with ego function: i.e., the motor apparatus, speech, thinking, perception, etc.

Fenichel brought these ideas together to critique the oft cited notion of an absent superego in the delinquent. He did this by bringing delinquency into relation with the major addictions and what Freud had labelled the 'narcissistic neuroses' (melancholia, or manic-depression). He explained the periodic nature of the symptoms of these disorders by recourse to fluctuations in drive

intensity, as reflected in the ambivalence of early object relations. This work was based on that of a Berlin psychoanalyst, Sandor Rado, who coined the term ‘prophylactic punishment’ in a 1928 study of melancholia, in which he described the, ‘purchase of instinctual liberties by the antecedent or simultaneous fulfilment of an ideal requirement of a punishment’ (Rado 1928 cited in Fenichel 1946, p. 374).

Translating this idea into structural terms, Fenichel argued that the superego is present, though ‘incomplete or pathological, and the reactions of the ego to the pathological superego reflect the ambivalences and contradictions which these persons felt toward their first objects’ (Fenichel 1946, p. 224). ‘Actions satisfying instinctual demands sometimes alternate with actions satisfying the requirements of the superego with a certain periodicity’ (Fenichel 1946 p. 507). It is the periodicity which betrays the instinctual nature of the impulses.

The successful compliance with a superego edict, brings feelings of euphoria; the euphoria gives the ego a sense of entitlement to liberation from guilt. This allows the ego to carry out the instinctual demand without interference from conscience, whether the demand is expressed as a delinquent act, a drug fix, or a manic reaction. The cycle continues indefinitely: deed—punishment—deed. This analysis confirms Freud basic structural conception of the narcissistic neurosis as a conflict between ego and superego (1924a, p. 254).

Chapter 3

THE NORMALITY OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The previous section focused on delinquency from the point of view of psychopathology where we attempted to place the delinquent in relation to the other major mental disorders and substantiate the case for delinquency as a valid psychological entity. The approach befitted that of psychiatry, which has an interest in the classification and treatment of extreme psychic disorder. The results also brought delinquency into relation with psychosomatic illness, which in turn was shown to bear a relation to character formation. In the present section we shall examine delinquency from the point of view of normality, which finds expression in terms of *character*. This was the point of entry for psychoanalysis into 'normal' psychology notwithstanding Freud's earlier work on dreams (1900), psychopathology of everyday life (1901) and jokes (1905b).

In this chapter we shall follow a divergent path, via the investigation of 'character'. In part, the study of delinquents led to analysis of character (e.g., Reich), but principally, the analysis of character and the changing face of the neuroses shed light on the problem of delinquency. What follows is an excursion through the developments of psychoanalytic technique that made further discovery possible.

What is Character ?

Questions of character had been the focus of the first generation of analysts. Freud himself, in 1908, contributed to the theory of character, when he noted the association between infantile anal-eroticism and certain 'anal' character traits, such as obstinacy, orderliness and parsimony (Freud 1908a, p. 45). He conceptualised these *character-traits* as 'reaction-formations' against the pleasure derived from gratification of the anal drives. Anal characteristics are to a more or less degree common to all socialised beings. The ego, under pressure from the social environment (parents), erects what might be thought of as a permanent repression (*reaction-formation*) against the unwanted impulses. The

reaction-formations represent the 'frozen residues of former vivid instinctual conflicts' (Fenichel 1941, p. 203). They save the ego repeated acts of repression. 'In the formation of character either repression is not at work at all or it easily attains its aim, which is to replace the repressed impulses by reaction-formations and sublimation' (Freud 1913, p. 129).

This view changed little over subsequent decades. Fenichel (1941, p. 203) still identified sublimation and reaction-formation as the two mechanisms responsible for character, and as such, they remained the foundations of social behaviour. The latter became the particular focus of psychoanalytic ego-psychology. The recognition of the ego's habitual defensive manoeuvres were understood to reveal to the analyst the nature of the infantile drives against which the reaction-formation has been erected.

From Resistance Analysis to Character Analysis

As seen in the foregoing, psychoanalytic interest in those aspects of personality which seemed immune to psychoanalytic technique – the individual 'character' – were never far from technical discussions. Freud first wrote about *transference-resistance* in 1912. And he soon brought the concept of 'character' into relation with 'resistance' when he wrote in 1915 that 'the resistances set up against him [the analyst] by the patient… may justly [be] attribute[d] to the latter's character' (Freud 1915b, p. 318). This paved the way for an integration of technical and theoretical matters. This notion says that it is the character that produces the resistances.

In Freud's early papers on technique (1912-1915), the patient was required to 'free associate' – to speak aloud – whatever comes to mind as openly and frankly as possible. They would do this until the associations approached a pathogenic 'complex' (a repressed fantasy), in which we 'come to a place where the resistance makes itself felt so strongly that it affects the next association, which has to appear as a compromise between the demands of this resistance and the work of exploration' (Freud 1912, pp. 316-317). At this

point the repressed impulse is seeking an outlet for discharge. The analyst allies himself with the drive against the resistance preventing its disclosure. He thus become a target for the resistance, and so draws the repressed impulse to the surface. Freud reasoned that this next association will therefore be a compromise between the repressed impulse and the demands of resistance. The compromise is most efficiently achieved by transferring some part of the pathogenic complex onto the person of the analyst. The analyst may be alerted to the fact of transference by an inappropriate or excessive affect accompanying certain associations. This process of transferring elements of the pathogenic complex onto the person of the analyst is designated as a 'transference-neurosis'.

Freud explained that once the transference-neurosis was established, then 'eventually all the conflicts [within the patient] must be fought out on the field of transference' (Freud 1912, p. 318). Thus analysis of the 'transference resistance' becomes the main activity of the analyst. Initially, this was thought to be confined to the discovery and analysis of the unconscious pathogenic complex, but in time, the psychoanalytic attention shifted to the agency implementing the repression of the complex – the *ego*. With this modification, the ego became the agency of the resistance. In the same context, character becomes the habitual means for the ego to achieve its aims. This change of focus was spurred by two developments: the analysis of children; in whom transference manifestations are very slow to develop (see Chapter 1); and, the so-called 'modern neuroses' (Fenichel), where the psychic disorder was attributed to a deformation of character, more than to a specific neurotic symptom.

Character and the 'Modern' Neuroses

The shift in analytic attention had as much to do with the changing nature of patient's complaints as it did with theoretical innovation. Fenichel found that 'the present-day neurotic characters appear to us to possess egos that are restricted by defensive measures' as distinct from 'symptoms' (Fenichel 1941,

p. 202). Where Freud (1912) had redirected the analytic attention from the bringing into consciousness of repressed instincts (the ‘pathogenic complex’) to the unconscious resistances to this process, the ‘modern neuroses, required the analyst to pay attention to the ego’s habitual defensive manoeuvres against the bringing into consciousness of the drives *and* the unconscious resistences. It as discovered that the ego defences are not transference manifestations, but habitual responses of the ego to the arousal of the forbidden drives. As such, they constitute a part of the structure of the character.

After the publication of *The Ego and the Id* (1923a), Freud brought his theory of character into relation with psychopathology and the structural model. He stated that the ‘neuroses and psychoses originate in the ego's conflict with the various powers ruling it [i.e. superego, id and environment] (Freud 1924a, p. 254), and he defined these mental disorders as a ‘failure in the function of the ego’. But when he turned his attention to the circumstances and means by which the ego succeeds in surviving such conflicts – which are undoubtedly always present, he concluded that, ‘it is always possible for the ego to avoid rupture in any of its relations by deforming itself, submitting something of its unity, or in the long run even to being gashed and rent’ (Freud 1924a, p. 254). Such deformations spare the individual from making repressions and mean that he avoids falling ill.

One cannot fail to appreciate some causal connection between the spread of psychoanalytic knowledge on infantile sexuality and the social and political consequences that lead to formation of the ‘modern neuroses’. When Freud wrote his early statements on the need for an amount of sexual enlightenment of children and the liberalisation of middle-class morality (Freud 1907, 1908b), he surely would not have conceived how rapidly this would come about. Fenichel in 1938 had enough distance from events to talk in terms of the changing nature of the neuroses. The 'modern' neuroses (1938) was characterised by persons varying from ‘psychopaths’ to those with ‘character anomalies’, presenting analysts with the problem of deciding ‘at what point

health ends and illness begins' (Fenichel 1938, pp. 418-9). The constant operation of these ego restricting attitudes 'prevents the instinct from becoming manifest so that we see no living conflict between instinct and defence but something rigid which does not necessarily appear to the patient himself as questionable' (Fenichel 1938, p. 420). The defensive and restrictive attitudes of the ego, which are presented to the world as illogicalities, eccentricities and follies (Freud, 1924a, p. 254), are experienced as ego-syntonic by the 'modern' neurotic. This is the same process as occurs in the character formation of non-'neurotic' personalities – the so-called 'normal' personalities.

> The present day neurotic characters appear to us to possess egos restricted by defensive measures: they lose their energy through their continual anti-cathexis, and lose differentiation through renunciation, because, owing to their inability to respond to external stimuli by any but set reaction, they are lacking in vivacity and elasticity (Fenichel 1938, p. 419).

Wilhelm Reich had tried to conceive of this change in his own way as 'the crystallisation of the sociological process of a given epoch' (Reich 1933, p. iv). His earlier efforts, such his 'SexPol' program in Vienna for the sexual enlightenment of the population, displayed a more radical and political bent than Freud or even Fenichel endorsed (see Danto 2005). His ambition for social reform would soon see his theoretical framework moved far beyond psychoanalysis.

Reich was a fellow medical student of Fenichel at the University of Vienna just after World War I. His work with psychopaths and social outcasts during the 1920s brought him into contact with particularly rigid character-types, who lacked the more obvious signs of neurotic conflict. He correctly observed that it was their rigid character which made them inaccessible to the psychoanalytic demand for free association. He gave them the name 'impulsive character type', and gave the term 'character analysis' (1933) to his particular technique; a technique that was criticised by Hartmann, Anna Freud, and Fenichel, amongst

others, for being ‘pre-structural’ in its conceptualisation of the personality. It seems that Reich had not integrated the consequences of structural theory upon the earlier topographic model of the mind, which conceived the personality in terms of historical stratification. Analysis, in Reich’s conception, was to proceed from the most recent events to the most primitive, all the while bringing unconscious material into the system pre-conscious and consciousness. Hartmann later wrote that, ‘this approach…had the advantage of linking in the simplest and most radical way the “correct sequence of interpretations” with the patient’s life history’ (Hartmann 1951, p. 147). But with attempts to realise the technical implications of structural theory, the persistent and rigid adherence to ‘layer analysis’ would become a handicap to new developments. Nevertheless, Hartmann thought that it would always retained its usefulness as a guiding principle in technique.

Anna Freud also made clear that she did not concur with Reich over his model of ‘character analysis’. She argued that because character traits are, by their nature, fixed, they are operative at all times and in all situations and towards all objects. They are thus ‘pseudo’ transference and not real transference to the person of the analyst, as required for application of psychoanalytic technique. The analysis of character traits remained a very difficult process, due to the intense anxiety bound up with their maintenance. Where Reich thought that this could be analysed away, layer by layer to ever deeper levels, Anna Freud stressed the affective component of transference phenomena which reveals successful interpretation and makes its analysis a lasting experience (J. Sandler with A. Freud 1985, p. 89).

A more measured and patient approach to social reform was adopted by analysts such as Edward Glover. Over many decades he pressed ahead with a psychoanalytically-informed campaign to decriminalise homosexuality, and reform the laws relating to prostitution (see Glover 1960, Chapter V). His argument, like Freud’s moral foray earlier in the century (see Freud 1907 and 1908a), aimed at the pragmatic goal of reducing unnecessary suffering. Even

though psychoanalysis had demonstrated many of the psychological factors in formation of a homosexual orientation, Glover saw it inhumane to criminalise this sexual perversion, and indeed, thought it even unuseful to psychoanalyse such cases unless there were complicating influences. The campaign succeeded, and in time, most of the sexual perversions (prostitution included) have been decriminalised and in part ‘normalised’.

Chapter 4

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY BETWEEN PSYCHOPATHOLOGY AND NORMALITY

In the previous two chapters we have traced the psychology of juvenile delinquency through the increasingly differentiated ideas deriving from Freud's structural model. In Chapter 2, we clearly established that delinquents do have an internal world, and that the psychology of delinquency is just as complex as any other form of psychopathology.

In Chapter 3, we picked up on the question of character, which had already been used in terms of psychopathology. Within psychoanalysis, character was more a term related to normality, in the colloquial sense of the word. In the course of Chapter 3, the concept of character was shown to cause a great deal of confusion and at least one analyst formed a divergent psychological model based on the concept (Wilhelm Reich). With an historical perspective we can see that character analysis was an interim formulation which gave a structure to the transference resistance and made it analysable. It was rapidly superseded by the structural model which provided the ego as the agency of resistance.

In this chapter we move beyond the ego as the sole source of resistance in psychoanalysis, to its multiple functions. We look at alternative types of resistance and their role in delinquent pathology. Later, we see that defence mechanisms which are instigated by the ego against forbidden drive impulses, do themselves become structuralised to form a part of the character. The delinquent is characterised by his need to avoid pleasure, thus he character assumes a predominantly defensive orientation. In the delinquent, the very inflexibility of the character structure becomes his defence against progressive development and socialisation. The circle is closed.

From Character Analysis to Defence Analysis

This shift towards the psychology of the ego reflected a shift in Freud's later thinking, which Hartmann and Anna Freud influenced and responded to. The character analysis of Reich, gradually morphed into the defence analysis of the classical method. Child analysts were at the centre of this development, in which Freud's *Inhibitions, Symptoms, and Anxiety*, published in 1926, was perhaps the most important work. In it, he introduced a revised theory of anxiety.[14] Freud addressed, really for the first time in any length, the psychical reality of anxiety. He rejected the notion of anxiety as an 'economic process', in favour of a conception of anxiety as 'a signal given by the ego in order to affect the pleasure-unpleasure institution'. Thus, 'the ego is the actual seat of anxiety' (Freud 1926, p. 740). In relation to processes of socialisation and the advancement from pleasure-principle to reality-principle – which Aichhorn made so much of – anxiety is a signal of impending or approaching danger. The function of anxiety is to evoke the affect of a real danger, but in a smaller dose. It is a spur for the ego to take action to deal with the danger before it is realised, whether it be from the id, the superego, or the external environment.

Once the signal of anxiety is received, the ego rallies a defence against the perceived danger. In the course of development, the defensive action, and even the anxiety signal may themselves becomes repressed. This explains how infantile defensive manoeuvres, appropriate to that stage of life, often persist into adulthood, where their application is no longer age appropriate. Eventually, the extensions of this theory gave Willi Hoffer (see below) the theoretical constructs to explain what Aichhorn had been doing all along.

Another key development inspired from Freud's 1926 paper was realised by Hartmann as the introduction of the concept of *intra*systemic conflict (i.e., conflict within the ego) to augment the existing *inter*systemic conflicts (e.g.,

[14] Freud never relinquished his first theory of anxiety, preferring to add the second and leave the relationship between the two unresolved. Detailed discussion of this topic is beyond the reach of this thesis. However, analysts after Freud have made numerous efforts to resolve the issue (see, for example, the different solutions proposed by Schur 1953, Waelder 1967,

ego–superego conflict). Hartmann drew attention to this approach (1950b).[15] Freud had used it to explain a case of splitting of the ego in process of defence (Freud 1940b [1938]), and in his comments about the segregation of resistances within the ego from the observing, rational part of the ego (Freud 1940a [1938]). And we recall Anna Freud's technique (1927[1926]) with a dissocial boy where she accentuated the negative consequences for the boy's self image if he persisted in dissocial behaviour (see Chapter 1).

This new formulation in relation to anxiety, was given comprehensive treatment by Anna Freud in her seminal work, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence* (1937 [1936]). She did not argue just for analysis of defence, however. The analyst must adopt an equidistant stance between the ego, id and superego. The major achievement of this approach was a technique whereby the analysis need not stop when free association ceases; rather, the defensive action of the ego thus manifested is itself interpreted as a vicissitude undergone by the instinct in the process of repression.

The understanding of transference phenomena was also widened to include:

(1.) the instinctual impulses (aggressive and libidinal) emanating from the id – with their origin in the Oedipus and castration complexes, and including transference of superego attitudes;
(2.) the defensive manoeuvres of the ego, which are defences against the liberation of instincts, affects and anxiety deriving from (1.); and,
(3.) 'acting out', which involves the enactment of transference phenomena outside the analytic situation. The impulse is too intense to be constrained by the analytic situation and it proceeds directly into action.

Rangell 1968). In the course of time, the concept of anxiety has been integrated progressively into a general theory of affect.

[15] It was not until the work of Leo Rangell (1963a, 1963b) that intrasystemic conflict was systematically investigated.

In terms of work with children, the need for an extensive *preparatory phase* of child analysis was largely done away with and replaced by analysis of the child's defensive mechanisms and manoeuvres (A. Freud 1974, p. xii).

Fenichel, ever the integrator, applied these new developments to the impulsive character types (Fenichel 1938, 1941). In doing so, he preserved Reich's terminology. Fenichel wrote that in the impulsive character type,

> …there is not a genuine lack of instinctual suppression – they do not, like animals, give free expression to their instinctual impulses with unbroken narcissism…on the contrary…their structure is like that of the perversions, where the necessary condition for maintaining the defence against one instinct is the expression of another' (Fenichel 1938, p. 422).[16]

He argued that the analyst is therefore faced with 'reaction-formations against reaction-formations', or 'repression of defence' (Fenichel 1938, p. 421). In the beginning of the illness, there was a conflict – urgent and alive – until the ego withdrew from this conflict by means of a permanent ego-alteration. The instinctual forces 'are now wasted in useless hardened defensive attitudes of the ego: the conflict has become latent' (Fenichel 1938, p. 426). Fenichel would have the analyst 'mobilise' the latent conflict (cf. Aichhorn). The analyst must in fact 'provoke situations in which the conflict becomes actual…by psycho-analysing those points at which the latent conflicts show themselves and by demonstrating their derivatives and making objective the attitude towards them by the observing ego' (Fenichel 1938, p. 428-9). The process of analysis is thus one of undoing isolations, rectifying displacements and leading back affect traces to where they belong – i.e., in the past (Fenichel 1938, p. 427). This technical feat must be achieved in a patient for whom the tolerance of anxiety is at a minimum. 'It is only by dividing the reasonable observing ego from the

[16] Note that Fenichel uses the term 'instinct' in the sense of 'an instinctual drive or drive derivative'.

automatic, defensive, experiencing element, that we are able to re-activate the old conflict' (Fenichel 1938, p. 426).

Fenichel was inclined to group the 'character-neuroses' in a similar category to the sexual perversions. In both types, the instinctual impulse is felt as ego-syntonic – at least in the moment of excitement – as compared with a neurotic symptom which is felt as ego-dystonic and not integrated within the character. The psychoneurotic 'feels forced to do something that he does not like to do, and feels that his will is being used against his own desires' (Fenichel 1946, p. 224). Joseph Michaels suggested we view character types as a composite of intersecting complementary series (see Figure 5). On the main axis, he used the conventional characteristics associated with Freud's libidinal phases (Freud 1905). Michaels innovation was the association of delinquency with a phallic character typology (Michaels 1959, p. 365, cf. Freud 1923b). On a section cut through the 'impulsive (phallic) character' types, he posits a complementary series with the impulsive psychopath (Glover 1960, pp. 117ff) at one extreme, and Reich's 'impulsive neurotic character' (Alexander's 'neurotic character') at the other. Michaels noted the predominance of externalised aggression in the psychopathic spectrum, relative to the psychoneurotic spectrum, where hate and aggression tend to be internalised (in the superego structure) (Michaels 1959, p. 363).

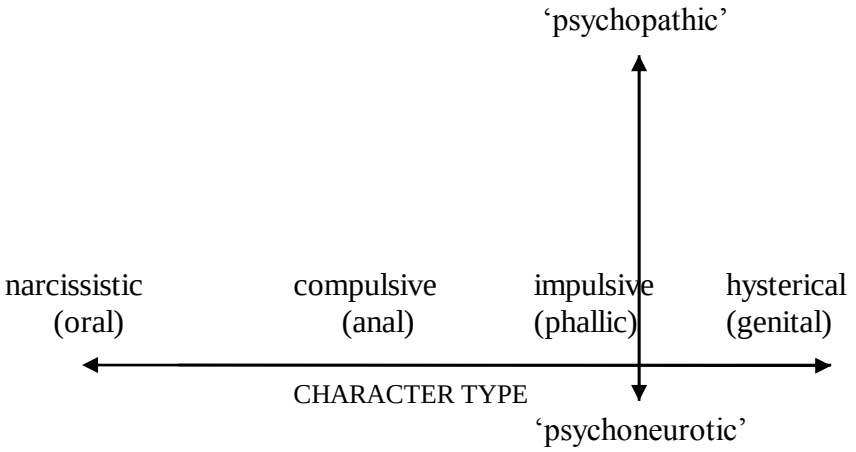

Figure 5. The Character Typology of J. J. Michaels (1959)
On the vertical axis, psychoneurotic features are most prominent in the 'impulsive neurotic character'. The psychopathic impulsive character is more likely to be dominated by the non-

neutralised drive satisfaction and instinctualised ego functions. The horizontal axis is related to Freud's libidinal phases of development (Freud 1905 & 1923b).

In a clarification and extension of Fenichel's association of the perversions and the impulsive character types on the basis of the ego-syntonic quality of their symptoms, Jacob Arlow – another prominent American psychiatrist-psychoanalyst – wrote about a group he called 'character perversions'. In them, the character traits have replaced antecedent perverse practices or perverse fantasies (Arlow 1972). The group includes petty liars, practical jokers and swindlers – not unlike some of the characters encountered, in juvenile form, in Aichhorn's work (Aichhorn 1931 [1925]). These male patients have in common 'the defensive use of specific unconscious fantasies of a perverse nature for the purpose of warding off extreme castration anxiety'. He concludes that, 'what is acted out is a desexualised derivative representation of the unconscious fantasy' (Arlow 1995, p. 159).

From Defence-Analysis to Defensive Character

Arlow's focus on character perversion as a defence against castration anxiety, indicates a widening conception of 'defence'. Eventually, an analyst as prominent as Charles Brenner would suggest rejecting all notion of defence as special mechanisms, replacing them entirely by anything in mental life which 'results in diminution of anxiety or depressive affect' (Brenner 1982, p. 72). However, Hoffer was able to speak of a 'defensive organisation' without obliterating the concept of 'defence-mechanism' (Hoffer 1968). In actual fact, the use of the term 'defence' to describe the organisation of a psychological complex *against* some other complex was not new in the history of psychoanalysis. Delinquency had in fact been described as a 'defence' against castration anxiety. Kurt Eissler (1949b), when he wrote about the adaptive aspects of delinquency, he thought of delinquency as a defence against manifestation of a neurosis or psychosis. In Eissler's view, 'in the majority of *auto*-plastic disorders [neurosis and psychosis] an *allo*-plastic disorder [character neurosis; e.g., delinquency] is kept in abeyance' and vice versa

(Eissler 1949b, p. 13*n*5). Though in all delinquent personalities there is present a proportion of auto-plastic and allo-plastic elements (Eissler 1949b, p. 17).

In confirmation of his theory, a number of delinquents have been shown to develop a neurosis or psychosis when external reality interferes with their symptom-formation (for instance, via incarceration) (see Eissler 1949b, p. 25). Glover found support for this idea in the work of Melitta Schmideberg with hardened criminals (Glover 1960, p. 383-4). In other work of hers, she identified the development of psychosomatic symptoms following imprisonment of delinquent personalities (in Glover 1968, p. 93). This reflects statements made by Aichhorn (1931 [1925]) and Fenichel (1938) about making the latent conflict manifest. It is on this basis, that the psychoanalytic treatment with delinquents is considered feasible (Aichhorn 1931 [1925]; Eissler 1950).

Character and Defence against Castration Anxiety

Either way, the delinquent symptoms may be interpreted as a defensive structure. But a defence against what? There is strong evidence in the work of Aichhorn that psychological delinquency is more often than not, a defence against anxiety – especially castration anxiety. The breakthrough in this area centred on Aichhorn's extraordinary success in treating the 'impostor-type' of delinquency. And while Aichhorn did not fully theorise his technique (cf. Aichhorn 1936), Hoffer's first hand experience with his mentor,[17] provided him with the insight to successfully apply the new theoretical developments and make the process understandable to others. Hoffer (1949) clearly revealed that delinquent symtomatology is a defence against castration anxiety.

Hoffer posited that these youths are enthralled by their *ego-ideal*, which in this context is thought of as a kind of pre-cursor of the superego (see also Jacobsen 1964). Aichhorn himself had recognised, 'a peculiar psychic structure which makes them well-nigh incapable of forming object-libidinal relations of any

[17] Willi Hoffer was a Viennese analyst of the second generation who worked closely with Aichhorn at the Vienna Institute Child Guidance clinic from 1932-1938.

kind' (Aichhorn 1936, p. 175). Hoffer interpreted this as a narcissistic attachment to the ego-ideal.

Hoffer then described Aichhorn's therapy: in structural and economic terms, the therapist becomes identified with the juvenile impostor's ego- ideal. This allows a 'narcissistic love relationship' to take place. 'The impostor "loves" the therapist as if he were part of his own self and not an object in the outer world from which he gains some advantage' (Hoffer 1949, p. 152). The establishment of this narcissistic transference, which is essentially positive, internalises the delinquent conflict within the boy, and opens the possibility of psychoanalytic treatment of the latent pathology.

In terms of object relations, the impostor remains fixated in the phase of s*econdary narcissism* (Freud 1914b), where id needs, relative to ego strength, are dominant. The impostor relates to objects on a *need-satisfying* basis (Hartmann, cited in A. Freud 1952, p. 44), or *narcissistically* (Freud 1914b). In normal development, this phase lasts from roughly three months of age until about the end of the second year (A. Freud 1952, p. 44). In normal development, the child, as a result of the primary care-giver's attention and love, gradually gains sufficient ego-strength to make the transition to *object-constancy*. This indicates that the child has progressed from narcissistic love of the object towards love of the object in its own right. This is only possible in children with a capacity to tolerate anxiety aroused by fear of losing the object's love (Freud 1905, p. 147). In economic terms, this transformation in the quality of object-cathexis, makes possible the transition from instinctive to neutralised cathexis in the ego, so allowing the development of secondary autonomy in the ego, which in turn protects ego functions from regression (Hartmann 1952, p. 25-6). This lays the ground for confronting the anxieties and conflicts of the Oedipal period.

It may help us to consider this narcissistic cathexis of the 'self' – as distinct from ego cathexis (see Jacobsen 1964) – in terms of magical omnipotence. In

such a mind frame, the object world is narcissistically cathected within the self, and thus the subject feels he has a magical power over objects. This narcissistic cathexis of objects is normal in infants but breaks down under the fact of external reality, which insists upon the child its own reality. This breakdown is initially aided by transferred attribution of the magical belief in one's *own* omnipotence to the *parents,* upon whom the child is dependent for gratification of his drives. Thus one may retain a sense of omnipotence by living it vicariously through them. However, in the course of development, reality continues to frustrate the child's drives, for which not even the parents can permit full gratification. Gradually the child's narcissistic illusion in the parents also breaks down resulting in the erection within the child's 'self' of an *ideal* of omnipotence (*ego-ideal),* based on the fantasied omnipotence and perfection of the parents (Freud 1914b, p. 410). In the normal course of development, the ego gains sufficient strength from parental love and maturational processes in order to tolerate the anxiety and frustration caused by reality. In time, the ego-ideal becomes more attuned to reality and is integrated into the soon to be created superego structure.

But in the impostor:

> We must tentatively assume that idealisation and the formation of an ego-ideal occurs too early, the formative influence of reality and of the Oedipus situation ends too soon. The developing ego does not take notice of a threatening, castrating father-competitor. It has fallen in love too early and too deeply with an idealised father, probably to ward off active castration wishes and passive ones rooted in the passive-feminine disposition of the little son. The ideal father does not become depreciated and enters the ego-ideal unchanged. The Oedipal struggle with its active and passive castration fears remains in suspense (Hoffer 1949, p. 154).

Eissler had discussed this in terms of 'magic' (cf. Freud 1912-13). He was concerned that, 'the delinquent's efficient mastery of reality which is easily

mistaken for a partial adjustment to a sector of reality actually covers up a mass of magic beliefs' (Eissler 1949b, p. 14). But Hoffer helps us to understand the underlying conflict:

> The magic to which we here refer is that of the unconscious meaning which is attached to nearly all delinquent and criminal acts. They serve to enhance or to restore an inflated feeling of omnipotence …were he deprived of the prospect of indulging in delinquent acts, he would become depressed or stuporous or would develop panic (Hoffer 1949, p. 15).

The impostor, frustrated by external reality, has substituted an idealisation. Rather than change the internal world (auto-plastic adaptation), as per normal development, the delinquent changes the external world (allo-plastic adaptation). The object (the father) is idealised and his disappointing aspects denied. By consequence the social reality, embodied in the father's (parent's) superior strength, presents no danger. 'There is no need for him to react as other boys do with contempt, aggression and feelings of revenge' (Hoffer 1949, p. 154).

In order to treat this type of patient, the therapist ingratiates himself into the boy's ego-ideal. 'The therapist must assume something at which the impostor has himself been aiming and which he then unconsciously recognises in the therapist' (Hoffer 1949 p. 152). This allows the overflow of narcissistic libido into the internal image of the therapist. In time, the impostor becomes dependent upon the therapist for his successes. At which point, the transference shifts from a narcissistic to a more psychoneurotic, object-based transference.

Aichhorn gives a beautiful description of the technique he used with an 18 year-old impostor-type (1936, pp. 174-191). The boy was brought to the guidance clinic, having been caught for the first time thieving. During the initial meeting Aichhorn elicited from the boy the remainder of his profits from the theft, confessions of prior thievery, and details about his next robbery

expedition. He also offered the boy some suggestions for improving the robbery plan, and finally, gave the boy money needed for an outing with his friends, out of his own pocket. The boy is startled and amazed. Aichhorn had proven himself useful to the boy, and in time the boy will become dependent upon him.

Aichhorn described the initial phase of this work as, ‘the timely use of the factor of surprise’. The therapist unmasks the impostor's ego-ideal by ‘proving its inferiority through his own superiority’ (Aichhorn 1936, p. 181). The therapist helps the impostor avoid punishment, and the boy cannot resist but want to share the omnipotence and ‘magic’ of the therapist. He trusts his own ego-ideal less and less, and becomes more dependent on the therapist. The ego-ideal has been transferred onto the therapist (narcissistic transference). The boy realises that, ‘an ego-ideal which is not proof against discovery is of no value and therefore no protection to one's threatened narcissism’. Castration no longer appears impossible; getting caught stealing and lying now exposes one to serious danger. Anxiety enters the picture. Infantile emotions arise, and the beginnings of a transference-neurosis make themselves felt (recounted in Hoffer 1949, pp. 154-5). This is then analysed in the classical manner.

PSYCHOANALYTIC RE-INTEGRATION: JUVENILE DELINQUENCY 1965

Chapter 5

DEVELOPMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Two trends come together after WWII: Hartmann's theory of adaptation and psychoanalytically informed infant observation research. Both these trends pointed beyond the issues of psychopathology, character, and defence, which were the themes of our previous three chapters. The extensive differentiation of data and concepts brought analysts closer to the intrapsychic processes involved in behaviour, which to the less educated observer might be labelled 'psychopathological' or 'normal'. These terms became reserved as descriptions or symbols of processes occurring within the mind. With the new addition of infant observation, systematic study of children to the analysis of the ego in adults, attention shifted to maturational and developmental progression. The interest returned again to Aichhorn's main theme: the child as an organism in process of socialisation. In terms of the delinquent this brought us closer to the ultimate nature of the defensive character structure examined in Chapter 3.

In summary, psychoanalysis was moving closer towards the aim of a general psychology of normal and abnormal development. The efforts of post-WWII psychoanalysis comes together in the 'Diagnostic Profile' (A. Freud 1962 and 1965), and the concept of 'Lines of Development' (A. Freud 1963 and 1965) devised by Anna Freud and her co-workers. The model was broad enough to include all of psychoanalytic metapsychology, as well as maturational aspects of the developing mind. Furthermore, through process of revision, the model allowed the incorporation of new discoveries as they were made. It thus created a working model for the efficient and effective application of psychoanalytic knowledge to the general population. Its emphasis on prophylactic intervention reveals its spiritual debt to Aichhorn, and also to Freud himself, who held up the goal of psychoanalytic prophylactics as a kind of Utopia in his 1918 address to the Fifth International Psycho-Analytical Congress (Freud 1919c).

Regrettably, the revelation of this model coincided with the historical turning point in the fortunes of ego psychology and the classic analytic model within the international movement and the broader culture. The importance of the second generation Viennese analysts to contemporary psychoanalysis has been on the wane ever since.[18] The Introductory Remarks to this thesis provided a theory which in part explains this shift in terms of a reaction.

Longitudinal Studies and Early Infant Observation

Spitz' early studies (1945, 1946) on the effects of absent mothers on the first year of life indicated the connection between delinquency (and a range of developmental failures) and the lack of a mother (or mother-substitute). Anna Freud's wartime care of infants without families (A. Freud with Burlingham 1939-1945) showed the possibility of remedying many of the negative aspects arising from the absence of the biological mother, by provision of a mother-substitute.

More specifically, John Bowlby's study (1944) showed the common etiological aspects of environment disturbances as they appeared in a sample of juvenile thieves. The statistical research of Glueck & Glueck (1950) made a solid contribution to the verification of a delinquent 'type' through their systematic examination of factors such as physical, intellectual, and emotional states in delinquent children relative to non-delinquents.

In these studies, and others from various psychological and psychoanalytical points of view, established beyond reasonable doubt that inconsistent and/or disturbed upbringing is a significant contributory factor in delinquent psychopathology. Numerous studies provided empirical confirmation of the intuitive and anecdotal accounts of the previous generation of analysts (e.g. Aichhorn 1931 [1925]). With the ongoing investigation into questions of

[18] However, one can observe that the classical analytic theory often exerts its influence as a factor against which contemporary psychoanalysis not uncommonly orientates itself.

character and defence, interest was aroused in early ego formation – an area which had lagged behind the study of early libido development.

Kate Friedlander surveyed the field (1945, 1947, 1949), and concluded that insufficient early object relations between mother and infant result in a 'weak ego'[19] that is not strong enough to maintain effective defence capable of withstanding the tensions arising from instinct renunciation, especially and particular those anxieties arising from the castration complex which is so critical to superego formation and the possibility of true object relations in adulthood. The ego regresses or maintains its function under that of the pleasure principle and so permits drive gratification on a pre-genital (and anti-social) level (Friedlander 1949, p. 207). For the child, the result is that, emotional insight does not follow intellectual insight into the anti-social behaviour (Friedlander 1949, p. 214).

It is therefore little surprise to find in the delinquent, in contradistinction to the neurotic, 'satisfaction of instinctual desires is invariably more important than satisfactions gained from an object relationship' (Friedlander 1945, p. 190). She did not ignore, however, the constitutional element in delinquency: a child with uncommon strength of instinctual urges may prove delinquent under similar conditions of parenting to another child of lesser instinctual urges. Waelder (1930) had explained how the relative strength of each of the mental institutions (and their intrapsychic elements) and external reality result in a particular psychic outcome.

Some longitudinal research has been successful in isolating specific causal factors in formation of delinquency. Beres & Obers (1950) demonstrated that, in an otherwise stable institutional environment, instinctually-charged parental

[19] It was around this time that Hartmann (1951) noted the inadequacy of the prevailing definition of ego 'strength'. He thought that a definition of ego strength would need to include intrasystemic relations; in particular, the extent to which autonomous ego functions had gained independence from the ego's defensive functions, and the degree to which these various ego functions made use of neutralised drive energy (Hartmann 1951, p.146).

interference can contribute to a child's failure to adequately face the Oedipus Complex. They studied the development of a group of children in an institutional setting, and found that where there existed an ongoing interference from a real parent in a disturbed libidinal relationship with the child, this regularly led to impulsive acting-out; all other things being equal. Institutionally raised children without interference from their parents enjoyed better developmental prospects even though the institutional setting resulted in weak and somewhat infantile ego structures (Beres & Obers 1950, p. 224).

Unconscious Fantasy, the Oedipus Complex & Social Maladaption

Now that the environmental factors in the etiology of delinquency had been fairly well represented, attention shifted towards the pre-manifest ('latent') precursors of delinquency, in order to formulate an early intervention therapeutic model. One broad line of development had been identified by Aichhorn; that from dissocial behaviour to social behaviour, which he assessed in terms of age-appropriate behaviour. Where the behaviour was not age-adequate, possible latent delinquency was indicated. One of Anna Freud's first attempts at defining these kinds of social failures was in terms of the persistence of infantile modes of mental functioning (i.e., identification, projection, wishful thinking and magic omnipotence, see A. Freud 1937 [1936]) beyond their age-appropriate use (A. Freud 1949b, p. 80). The child reacts to what he imagines to exist in the outer world rather than to the actual reality.

In the terms of a decade later, she spoke if the child 'maladjusted' to reality. According to Anna Freud, each of these maladjusted types arise out of a failure to properly resolve the Oedipus complex. Extreme failure of social maladjustment leads to psychopathic behaviour. The following is her classification of transference phenomena from merely abnormal to delinquent (psychopathic) reactions.

<u>i. Transference of the Family Situation</u>

This is where the child fails to make the step in development from the family circle to a wider community. It occurs in children when the pre-Oedipal and Oedipal attitudes are too violent and remain unresolved (A. Freud 1949b, p. 82). As a result, the child transfers his loves, hates, jealousies, anxieties, and conflicts – which are the residues of the unresolved family relationships – against the people in the new environment (i.e., peers and teachers). The child fails to develop his faculties and make adjustment to the *current* reality; his development deteriorates into a series of repetitions of earlier emotional experiences. The accidental exciting factor in this development is a certain kind of educational approach which insists upon adjusting the environment (i.e., the school environment) to suit the child, rather than forcing the child to adjust to the new environment (A. Freud 1949b, p. 84).

ii. Transference of Fantasy:

In this instance the 'emotions with which the child responds in the community are …transferred, not from actual family life, but from the conscious and unconscious fantasies which accompany the development of his object relationships' (A. Freud 1949b, p. 85). As in the transference of the family situation, the child transfers unresolved attitudes onto the members of the wider community, and fails to adapt to the new reality of strangers who are not simply models of familiar figures. However, in the transference of fantasy, 'These repercussions primarily affect the inner emotional life of the child and only secondarily his dealings with the outer world' (A Freud 1949b, p. 86).

iii. Acting Out of Fantasy: Psychopathic Behaviour

Of this extreme kind of maladjustment to social reality, Anna Freud writes that:

> It is a further step in social maladjustment when the fantasies, displaced to the environment, do not remain in the realm of thought and feeling but lead to direct action. The environment is then not merely understood in terms of fantasy but treated on the same basis (A. Freud 1949b, pp. 86-7; cf. Hoffer

1949 on narcissistic object relations; and K. R. Eissler 1949b on magical thinking).

This child will be dominated by impulsive behaviour. According to Anna Freud, underlying the psychopathic behaviour is the complete suppression of phallic masturbation which leads to sexualisation and aggressivisation of ego activities. She explains that, in normal development, by the time the child has passed the climax of the Oedipus complex and entered the latency period, the child is left with 'one single image or fantasy into which the whole past era of infantile sexuality and aggression has been compressed' (A. Freud 1949b, pp. 90-1). From then onward, the unconscious fantasy is the sole carrier of the child's sexuality and finds its bodily outlet in phallic masturbation (see also Freud 1919a). But in response to external prohibitions and internal (superego) demands, the child will normally try to prevent such activity. But prevention is usually at least partially unsuccessful. Periodically, during latency, the drive to masturbate reasserts itself, and the child gives in to this urge.

By contrast, in psychopathic cases, the struggle against masturbation is abnormally successful. 'The libidinal and aggressive energy attached to it is completely blocked and dammed up, and eventually is displaced into the realm of ego activities' (A. Freud 1949b, p. 93). Masturbation fantasies are then acted out in dealings with the external world, which become sexualised, distorted and maladjusted. The acting out fantasies will be pre-genital: passive or active, sadistic or masochistic, exhibitionist or scoptophilic (A. Freud 1949b, p. 93).

And so we see in this early developmental study a comparison between normality and pathology, bringing into relation, the drives, structuralisation, ego functions and unconscious fantasy.

Impulsive Behaviour and Psychosomatic Discharge

Margaret Ruben (1957) provided a good case illustration of the above theoretical concerns. She reported the case of a ten year-old boy battling with his masturbation urges under fear of castration. The boy was characterised by a weak ego dominated by a not un-normally severe superego formation. The immature ego was confronted by extreme aggressive and sexual drives after witnessing the primal scene between his parents. This instituted a radical and extreme ego defence that prematurely strengthened the superego position over the ego and made impossible an effective (mature) response to castration anxiety when the Oedipal complex arrived.

Into latency, the boy's masturbation fantasy met with the same extreme response as the earlier primal scene fantasy, resulting in an unusually successful repression of masturbation urges. In response, the boy's sexual and aggressive urges sought gratification (discharge) by other means. Initially this occurred through acting-out impulsive behaviour (e.g., delinquent acts of theft, and exhibitionism). These acts, in turn, provoked punitive action from the environment, which forced a further re-direction of drive energy. This time, the boy turned to the environment for help. In joining the Boy Scouts Movement, he applied what we call an *ego restriction*. He felt that the atmosphere of the camp would prevent him from having the opportunity to masturbate. However, while the camp atmosphere was successful in preventing masturbation, it was not successful in defeating the instinctual urge at the root of the problem. The urge remained, and one further transformation took place: this time, the drive adopted a somatic conversion and the boy suffered repeated asthmatic attacks.

Without the constant interest and attention from the parents, whom the boy loved dearly, the drive would have persisted in discharge through acting out. We see in this case some clinical evidence for Glover's association of 'functional' delinquency with psychosomatic illness (Glover 1950b, p. 383). The boy's attempts to defend against castration anxiety led to a series of failed

allo-plastic adaptations: firstly, failure of the delinquent reaction due to moral pressure, then failure of the ego restriction due to drive pressure, and leading ultimately to a true psychosomatic neurotic response (cf. Schur 1955). In each case, the reaction was designed to avoid an intrapsychic compromise (psycho-neurotic) as the solution to mental conflict. In conclusion, the excessive defensive response of an immature ego to the premature arousal of sexual feelings, results in 'canalisation' (Glover 1950a, pp. 374-6) of ego function at all later stages of development. In the case of the boy, witnessing the primal scene was a key factor in arousing sexual (and aggressive urges) prematurely. But it would appear that this canalisation of functional response is one of the key determinants of delinquent behaviour, in that it results in a failure of the capacity to adequately address and overcome Oedipal complex. Thus, these cases present as being unable to tolerate any anxiety (especially castration anxiety, Hoffer 1949). And finally, the failure to resolve the Oedipal complex, precludes an endopsychic adaptation to situations of danger, leading to psychosomatic ('functional') disturbances where the delinquent reaction has been interfered with (e.g. Reuben's ten year old boy).

Glover used his clinical experience to formulate a complementary series in which the physical discharge of intrapsychic tension results in psychosomatic reactions varying from conversion hysteria, which affects an internal organ object, through to impulsive delinquent behaviour, where the somatic conversion is externalised onto instinctual objects, through the muscular organs (Glover 1950b, p. 389). A few years later, Rene Spitz would argue that the internal organs are the organ of discharge for dammed-up libido, while the musculature remained the organ of discharge for aggression – a suggestion he attributes to Freud. Spitz suggested that, 'the difference between the rhythm of discharge in the organs from that prevailing in the skeletal musculature could lead to a different fate for each of the drives' (Spitz 1953, p. 136). Freud's concept of the life instinct as that which 'holds together all things living' (Freud 1920b, p. 657), is thought by Spitz to perhaps be related to the somatic conversion of libido into the internal organ systems. By contrast, the somatic

discharge of aggression through the musculature follows the more pressing rhythm of discharge in aggression (Spitz 1965, p. 288*n*3). In another study, Joseph Michaels concluded that a psychosomatic disposition in a certain type of severe delinquent is revealed by a history of persistent enuresis (Michaels & Stiver 1965, p. 126).

Psychoanalysts continued to pursue this interest in somatic conversion, especially in relation to anxiety, and the other affects. We shall leave the topic at this point, pausing only to mention the correlation between manifest delinquent behaviour and certain life periods when instinctual stresses are at a maximum, such as puberty and the male and female climacteric (Glover 1950b, p. 388). In this context, psychoanalytic work with adolescents always touched on delinquent acting-out. A small amount of impulsive behaviour is considered not unnormal in relation to the physiological changes which occur during this phase of life. Peter Blos and Helene Deutsch were authority in this area for many decades. For more extreme cases of juvenile delinquency, the meaning of impulsive behaviour during adolescence may be a little different.

Moses Laufer was a member of Anna Freud's circle who specialised in analytic treatment of adolescence. In many papers on adolescence (e.g., 1965, 1968, 1986) he drew attention to the important Oedipal constellation, which decides the course of future development. We have seen (Chapter 1) how it is structuralised as the intrapsychic response of the individual to instinctual and environmental pressures. Laufer reminds us of the important of adolescence as a second opportunity to restructure the superego. This is due to the physiological changes occurring at puberty that upset the psychic balance established at the beginning of latency (post-Oedipal). In the juvenile delinquent with his weak ego and poorly structured or perhaps non-existent superego, the increased drive energy is more likely to reinforce and harden existing character defences in their aim of avoiding unpleasure (cf. Eissler 1949b).

Developmental Lines and the Diagnostic Profile

In the foregoing considerations, we have traced the widening scope of psychoanalysis. No longer could one simply view delinquency as a conflict between the ego and the environment, or the result of a superego deformation. The growth in knowledge of the ego, and especially the development of the conflict-free ego-sphere (Hartmann 1939) provided psychoanalysis with a theoretical bridge to the psychology of 'normal' behaviour. What was needed was a method of distinguishing patterns of behaviour indicative of normal development, from those which might be, or become, psychopathic. With the introduction of the Diagnostic Profile and Lines of Developmental for normal and abnormal development, Anna Freud brought together 70 years of psychoanalytic insight. She wrote:

> Since…neither the symptomatology nor life tasks [i.e., 'age-adequate' tasks] can be taken as reliable guides to the assessment of mental health or illness in childhood, we are left with the alternative idea that the capacity to develop progressively, or respectively, the damage to that capacity, are the most significant factors in determining a child's mental future (A. Freud 1962, p. 150).

She had first extrapolated this idea as early as *Indications for Child Analysis* (1945). In the revised conception (1965), she formulated a 'Diagnostic Profile' in which the analyst's diagnostic thinking is broken up into its component parts. The Profile includes the usual diagnostic categories, typical of psychiatric assessment (reason for referral, description of the child, family background and personal history, possible significant environmental influences, etc.), but in addition, includes scope for 'assessment of development' informed by psychoanalytic metapsychology, as well as relevant non-analytic researches (e.g., Piaget's learning theory). This was to be achieved by examination of the entire personality of the child in terms of a metapsychological assessment and 'lines of normal development'. (A. Freud 1962).

In my mind, this is the fulfilment of work begun by Aichhorn, in that it was he who provided the prototypical models of developmental lines such as the line towards social adaptation. Aichhorn's concept of delinquency was that of social retardation. His technical aim in such cases was the recommencement of the process of socialisation. Anna Freud's model was a more comprehensive development of this concept. Furthermore, she had the task of integrating seventy years of highly complex theory spread out over five metapsychological viewpoints and including divergences into the spheres of psychopathology and character which had to be interpreted back into the mainstream. This is a huge accomplishment in terms of theory integration. And her model appeared to be workable.

Naturally, Freud has a role in this model. He formulated the first line of development in his elaboration of the libidinal phases of development, incorporating their aggressive (active and passive) sub-phases. To this one, Anna Freud added others such as lines related to ego-functions, development of object relations, progress from play to work, and from ego-centricity to companionship (A. Freud 1963, 1965). The model was broad enough to include theoretical and observational innovations which came later (see A. Freud 1981), such as Rene Spitz' line of ego organisation (Spitz 1965), and Margaret Mahler's line from separation to individuation (Mahler et al. 1975).

The concept of developmental lines, was just what J. J. Michaels had been seeking for many years previous. In the 1950s he had advocated for a bio-psycho-social psychiatry, with psychoanalysis contributing the psychological component. When he formulated his general theory of character (1958), he reported that the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, psychiatry, law, criminology and psychoanalysis had each 'their own excellent merits', but still they reflected a 'fractionated aspect of the problem' (Michaels 1958, p. 110). He argued that most of the research in the field could be divided into two polar extremes:

> [O]ne is the collection and the statistical treatment of data of numerous isolated elements reflecting an atomistic, particularistic conception; the other is research using the individual case study method reflecting a synthetic, organismic point of view, having as its objective the understanding of the total personality (Michaels 1958, p. 109).

But in the Diagnostic Profile of Anna Freud, he thought the breakthrough had been found: the Diagnostic Profile is able to take into consideration 'the interaction of biological, neurological, social, psychological and psychoanalytic influences' (Michaels and Stiver 1965, p. 126):

> By recognising dynamic, economic, genetic, structural and adaptive factors in personality development as well as the importance of their interaction, we can formulate a more organised and meaningful description and understanding of a particular personality disturbance (Michaels and Stiver 1965, p. 124).

The Diagnostic Profile received an elaborate expression in, 'The impulsive psychopathic character according to the diagnostic profile' (Michaels and Stiver 1965), in which the previous studies by Michaels into this type of character were brought together in this format. They saw the value of the Profile, not just in use as a diagnostic tool for prognosis (pre-diction), but for describing various groups and explicating character typologies (a process of *post*-diction). They hoped that this use would lead to a more integrated approach to, and conception of, adult personality and psychopathology in general.

Anna Freud included delinquency as a diagnostic category within her own study on the normality and pathology of childhood (A. Freud 1965, pp. 164-183). A little later, in reviewing the symptomatology of childhood (1971 [1970]), she described delinquency as a disturbance 'where the irrupting elements are from the area of the drives' and 'consist of the *undefended* (or

unsuccessfully defended) *acting out of drive derivatives* with disregard for reality considerations' (A. Freud 1971 [1970], p. 167.). This could be distinguished from the psychoses, for instance, where the irrupting elements are part of primary process functioning, such that the symptoms include disturbances of thought and language, delusions, etc.

She reasserted that the symptom is not the disease, but rather a symbol. And it is the recognition of such that allows the analyst to make far reaching inferences from a diagnostic assessment of the child's personality (A. Freud 1971 [1970], p. 158). The challenge for the diagnostician is to distinguish the developmental disturbances from true symptoms-formations (i.e., psycho-neuroses, psychoses) and ego-dystonic compromises (i.e., character disorders) (A. Freud 1981, p. 136). The achievement of this allows for the appropriate application of educational and/or therapeutic intervention. The important thing is to recognise that even within the ego, conflict exists between various functions.

In her final writings, Anna Freud suggested that development perhaps ought to be viewed as a series of compromises under influence of the ego's synthetic function, an idea that recalls Waelder's 1930 formulation which we used in the Introductory Remarks (Waelder 1930). She still held to the conviction that 'conflict governs the entire process of personality development'; that, 'id, ego, and superego are at cross-purposes', and that, 'the same may also be true for the whole range of gradually unfolding ego achievements' (A. Freud 1983, p. 383).

Afterword on Developmental Studies

This was the basic state of developmental theory at the time of Anna Freud's death in 1982 (see Neubauer 1984). A detailed reading of the subsequent research is beyond the scope of this thesis, but even a cursory reading suggests that the real potential of this widened scope for analysis has only gradually became apparent (see Abrams 1996 and Neubauer 1996). The aim of the child

clinician is now an equidistant stance between ‘the expectations of the future and the pathogenic impact of the past’ (Abrams 2003, p. 172). Work has focused in recent years on identifying and encouraging the development of maturational factors distinct from the recognition and analysis of pathogenic elements deriving from the revival of past object relations (Abrams 1996). Samuel Abrams and Peter Neubauer lead a small group of analytic researchers based at the New York University Medical School. According to Abrams, the work of fulfilling the potential of Anna Freud’s unique achievement in integration has just begun. He writes that, ‘psychoanalysts are still at the beginning of tapping the potential of therapeutic work rather than near the end of that effort’ (Abrams 2003, p. 186).

DISCUSSION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

I am inclined to bring all of the viewpoints on juvenile delinquency into relation with the Oedipus Complex. It is widely recognised that successful resolution of the Oedipus Complex is vital to socialisation. Failure to achieve this leads to delinquent behaviour. In terms of developmental theory, it would appear that the defensive organisation ('character') which is brought to bear during the pre-genital phases works against the tolerance of anxiety and instinctual frustration. Castration anxiety being avoided like all other types of anxiety, but more noticeable, perhaps, because all our therapeutic efforts drive the child towards confrontation with the Oedipal position.

I'd like to suggest at this point, the division of delinquencies into two types, based on the dominant phase at which the mental organisation (character) has been structuralised. One type fails to attain the Oedipal position; the second type attains it, but resolves it with a sado-masochistic drive organisation. Both may lead to violent behaviour and theft, only the first to deceitful, impostor-type behaviour. Any individual may consist of an admixture of the two.

In the impulsive type the orientation of the delinquent's psychology to the avoidance of unpleasure, rather than to the gain of pleasure, leads to a rigid defensive character structure, that precludes attainment of the Oedipal position. This type fails to achieve 'true' object relations. The Oedipal position is a crisis over the fear of loss of the parents love; this fear, which leads to castration anxiety has no impact on the delinquent. Other consequences include the severe retardation of lines of development such as those related to object love, sublimation, neutralisation of drive energy, development of autonomous ego functions.

This rigid character organisation is attributed to a premature structualisation of the personality during the phase in which ambivalent object relations are the order of the day (the anal-phase). Some external events forces the ego into a

gross distortion which arrests further drive development. Such characters remain dominated by narcissistic attachment to an ego-ideal. In them, a weak ego 'character' structure allows drive satisfaction via a canalisation of development which is orientated towards avoidance of unpleasure. This is maximally achieved by instinctualisation of ego functions and externalisation of aggression through the musculature. Thus the Oedipal complex never comes to a crisis in either the negative or positive form. Additional quantities of aggression concomitant with the onset of puberty, will, in the absence of successful superego formation, be directly externalised by instinctualisation of the ego functions.

For those delinquent types that have achieved an Oedipal resolution, their psychopathology is predominately psychoneurotic and they find pleasure in a sado-masochistic sexual organisation. The sense of guilt, conscious or unconscious plays a key role in the actions of these types. During latency, the sado-masochistic character structure is hardened, only to receive reinforcement with the invigoration of drives at the onset of puberty. These drive surges nevertheless achieve gratification in fantasy or action via the predominant sado-masochistic fantasy remaining from the Oedipal period.

It is the lack of a self-observing faculty within the delinquent (and the child, more generally) that makes them largely inaccessible to analytic influence. The analyst finds no ally within the patient's psyche to progress the treatment. There is correlation in this thesis between the absence of the self-observing function of the ego and the absence of superego formation. This promises to be a fruitful area of research.

In terms of treatment, things have moved more slowly than in theory. Freud found the second type of delinquent – the predominately psychoneurotic, who displays some form of sadomasochistic libidinal organisation – extremely difficult to treat. As late as 1938 he wrote that, 'Even to exert a psychical influence on simple masochism is a severe tax on our powers' (Freud 1937a, p.

243). Aichorn's experiment with a group of aggressive boys is the most promising therapeutic intervention discovered during the research for the thesis. In child analysis, some of the lessons of this experiment have been applied. However, the treatment of aggressive children in private consultation warrants the establishment of certain limits, lest one's rooms be destroyed (A. Freud 1965, p. 30f). Maenchen, another Viennese trained child analyst, demonstrated that some aggressive children actually welcome the establishment of limits, for the security it provides. This is most acute in children where the home environment has been excessively lenient or indulgent (Maenchen 1984). I'd suggest, though, that this does not contradict Aichhorn's basic instruction to the therapist to do the opposite of what the parents have done (Aichhorn 1931 [1925]).

In regard to treatment of psychopathic/impulsive and impostor types, Freud left this to others. Aichhorn stepped into this breach as well. Aichhorn's treatment seems not to have been bettered. He conquered this illness by a radical solution in which he formed a 'narcissistic' transference in the patient to the therapist. Few other analysts have recorded cases treated in this manner. This obviously reflects the extreme demand such cases place on the analyst.

In conclusion, attainment and resolution of the Oedipal complex is critical for socialisation of the child. But as Leo Rangell pointed out in his description of the 'syndrome of the compromise of integrity' (Rangell 1974), few of us ever truly reach a position of complete integrity. Our superegos remain fluid and serve as the bridge between the individual and the group (Rangell 1974, p. 404). When a conflict arises between the ego and the superego over the group ideal, it is the superego which often gives way with a corresponding compromise in the integrity of the self. Rangell talked of these compromises as 'forestages on the path to psychopathy or impulse disorder' (Rangell 1974, p. 402). They are not uncommon. So again, we see that the psychopathological is merely an accentuation of something that is present in all of us. In many ways, this is the theme of the paper. Aichhorn and Anna Freud's orientation of

analytic theory and practice on a developmental basis bridged the gap between ‘normal’ and ‘abnormal’ psychology.

DISCUSSION OF THE HISTORICAL TRENDS

This thesis has provided some indication of the massive differentiation of theory from the 1920s through to the 1960s and beyond. While it eventually led to Anna Freud's developmental model, which I have argued was a kind of solution to the theoretical diffusion of the preceding era, the majority of analysts from the generations subsequent to the Anna Freud have not thought of it in these terms. I suggest here that the character of the Viennese analysts themselves played a part. At the time of their arrival in America and England, they already possessed an Olympian stature among analysts – they brought with them the prestige and intellectual weight of having trained and worked with Freud. In time this must have been accentuated, for as we have seen even in this brief study, the contribution of the Viennese analysts to theory and clinical practice is disproportionate to their small number. Their knowledge of psychoanalytic theory and practice was immense; Hartmann and the other Viennese had lived through, and contributed to, the better part of half a century of the theoretical development. As inspiring figures, they must have posed a daunting challenge to subsequent generations and become the object of affective transference (cf. Kirsner 2000 and Rangell 2004).

The Eisslers (1966) described Hartmann as one of the last 'liberal humanists' and part of an intellectual and humanist tradition extending back to the Renaissance – an tradition that was rapidly coming to a close. It is therefore not a surprise to read Hartmann's reassertion of Freud's argument for the training of an analyst in the humanist tradition (Hartmann 1956). The realisation of this ideal would have appeared extremely burdensome and perhaps unnecessary to many trainee analysts, especially in America, where most of them were drawn from psychiatry, which is itself a very intensive training. But Hartmann's call that 'a detailed study of the history of his own field' be added to the analytic curriculum (Hartmann 1956, p. 269), placed the greatest demand upon the trainee. By 1965, this consisted of 70 years of theoretical and clinical literature to read and integrate.

The strength of psychoanalysis is its comprehensiveness, as expressed in a highly differentiated theoretical system, which argues for the overdetermination of all mental events and the multiple function of those events. Our thesis highlights the problems of differentiation and integration, which all scientific fields of study must grapple with in their theoretical development. Perhaps in psychoanalysis, the differentiation was too rapid and the integration came too late, contributing to the special attraction of the charismatic schismatics of the 1960s and early 1970s. Each of them promised a simplification of theory; a goal which was only achievable at the expense of comprehensiveness, and among this group I include the Contemporary Freudian Group in London (see Appendix B).

Anna Freud's work, and that of ego psychology still stands. It finds a small group of analysts in America and Europe from each generation who continue the never-ending work of exploration, differentiation and integration of concepts. I have suggested that Anna Freud's developmental lines and diagnostic profile provide a supra-ordinate conceptual frame that brings into relation the multiplicity of dependent and independent variables which constitute the data of the classical psychoanalytic approach.

CONCLUSION

Reflecting upon the story of this thesis, I therefore find that the paper is really about August Aichhorn and Anna Freud. It included the contributions of many analysts – the majority of Viennese origin – who contributed to the elucidation and definition of our problem. Ostensibly the problem is 'juvenile delinquency'. In actuality, the problem is that of integration and differentiation of theory for the purposes of explanation and understanding.

August Aichhorn brought juvenile delinquency within the purview of psychoanalytic investigation and independently demonstrated successful treatment in a variety of delinquent disorders. Anna Freud provided a theoretical framework which integrated a vast body of highly differentiated theory. This model was so constructed that it had the potential to bring juvenile delinquency within the reach of educational intervention. The development of this goal remains the task for the future.

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NOTE ON STYLE, SPELLING & USAGE

Abbreviations:

e.g. i.e. cf. ed. edn et al. f ff IPA ISTD p.10 pp.10-15 see also tr. vol. vols WWI WWII

no italics

Capitalisation:

chapter headings: caps for significant words
subheads: caps for significant words
caps: official titles, Oedipus complex

Formatting:

text: 12 font (reference list: 11 font); Times New Roman;
paragraph: 1½ spacing; line between paragraphs.

General Spelling Style: Australian (e.g., -ise, labour)

Inclusive Language:

'he or she', except where author cited refers to one gender only; 'he' often used when discussing the 'juvenile delinquent' in limited sense of male psychopathology.

Numbers: spell out to 10

Punctuation:

quote marks: single
dashes: open en
punctuation after quotes: consistently out
ellipses: fully spaced

Spelling and Hyphenation:

adaptive/adaptative
afterword
aggressivise
allo-plastic
auto-erotic
auto-plastic
dissocial
ego-dystonic
ego-ideal
ego-syntonic
endopsychic
fantasy (also: phantasy)
id
instinctualise
intersystemic
intrapsychic
intrasystemic
metapsychology
overdetermined
part-object
psychoanalysis (also: psycho-analysis)
psychoneurosis
psychopathology
psychosomatic
reaction-formation
resistances
sado-masochism
sexualise
structuralise
superego
supraordinate
symptom-formation
transference-neurosis
transference-resistance
unpleasure

APPENDICES

Appendix A

THE DELINQUENT, SOCIETY AND THE PROBLEM OF AGGRESSION

This section considers the delinquent in the context the species' adaptation to the natural world. In the thesis we studied delinquent behaviour in the context of auto- and allo-plastic adaptation of the individual to society. When human evolutionary adaptation was pre-cultural, his aggressive drive was directed outward (externalised). The delinquent exists at this pre-cultural level within society. In the cultural era, aggression is turned inward against the self and neutralised (i.e., superego formation). It is evident that not all aggression achieves this outcome. A proportion of the drive remains ready for externalisation in a variety of ways.

First of all we investigate the early processes of ego formation in the infant, and the consequences of this for internalisation and neutralisation of aggression. Failure of these developmental processes leads to problems such as juvenile delinquency. The latter parts of this essay analyse how the mother and father may contribute to the disturbance of developmental processes in the child that lead to delinquent behaviour. Finally, we look at the problem of free aggression in the culture and how this impacts upon the family and its capacity to raise socialised children.

Disturbances of Early Ego Development and Juvenile Delinquency

In the field of early infant observation we have adopted to examine closely just one author, Rene Spitz (1965). We choose Spitz for his connection with the classical analytic tradition which we have traced in the thesis. Spitz was the same generation as Anna Freud and Hartmann, and also trained in Vienna before emigrating to the USA. He maintained close professional relations with the Viennese Group. His close look at the environmental mechanisms which affect the interaction and 'binding' of aggressive and libidinal drive energies

makes his work an ideal study to reveal the processes involved in drive fusion and the neutralisation of aggression.

The writings of Hartmann (1948), Hartmann, Kris & Loewenstein (1949), and Anna Freud (1949) detail an elaboration of Freud's drive theory as it applied to aggression. They received observational endorsement from the researches of another Viennese-trained analytic colleague, Rene Spitz (e.g., 1945, 1946, 1953, 1965). They followed Freud in describing the mind at birth as an undifferentiated ego-id matrix (Hartmann, Kris & Loewenstein 1946 after Freud 1940a [1938], p. 149). The intrapsychic economic situation at birth is one of narcissism ('primary narcissism': Freud 1914b). Spitz proposed that during the undifferentiated phase of psychic structure, the drives too are in a state of non-differentiation. The differentiation of the drives occurs only in co-ordination with firstly, the recognition of 'part-objects' (Melanie Klein; cf. 'memory-traces' or 'ego nuclei' of Glover 1968), and secondly, the differentiation of such into 'good' and 'bad' objects. This allows the direction of aggressive impulses towards the 'bad' objects, and libido towards the 'good' objects. Thus 'good' objects are introjected into ego and 'bad' objects are projected as non-ego.

Around the six- to eight- month period, true object relations are developed. The part-objects become integrated and recognised as the mother. This begins the phase of ambivalent object relations, from which follows the possibility of development of a sense of reality and development of secondary thought processes. Hartmann et al. (1946), conclude that organisation of the motor apparatus of the ego, adapts the infant for the discharge of aggression through the musculature (Hartmann, et al. 1946, p. 23; also Freud 1924b). During this early phase of object relations the aggressive drive and libidinal drive come into focus on the same object. Increasing control over the musculature brings the aggressive drive into service through pulling, hitting, biting, etc. A sensitive mother will permit a degree of aggression against her person. It has been recognised that discharge of aggression in this manner is vital to the process of

differentiation between self and environment, which begins the transition from narcissistic object relations to 'true' object relations (Hartmann 1950b, Jacobsen 1964).

A serious disturbance of object relations during this period is associated with asocial behaviour, and in particular, the discharge of free aggression in the form of wanton destruction in later life (Spitz 1965). Thus, a disturbance in the free discharge of aggression early in life may lead to psychological delinquency. Spitz found that the absence of the mother for a period of several months during the second half of the first year, would lead to drive defusion and a state of *anaclitic* depression[21] in the infant left behind. If the mother-infant relations had been satisfactory up until the time of separation, the situation can be remedied, should the mother return within two-three months. Upon her return, the child is likely to display abnormal levels of aggression and of libido towards her and other objects in the environment. But if allowed to run its course, this dammed up drive tension could be discharged and the normal process of drive fusion recommence.

However, in other cases, the prolonged separation during this critical period, prevented the formation of an anaclitic bond with the mother, which correlated with permanent drive defusion. In some infants a somatic conversion of psychic distress occurred. In some cases this lead to death (Spitz 1945 and 1946). In other cases, where 'bad' mothering had persisted from time of birth, the symptomatology led consistently to less acute, but more chronic psychotoxic reactions in the soma, such as skin diseases or asthma (Spitz 1965, pp. 207; pp. 276-7).

Spitz predicted probable delinquency in infants who had had good enough mothering until a time of separation in the second half of the first year. The key pathogenic agent was the exclusion of expression of the aggressive affect

[21] A kind of primal affect related to the loss of the mother during the child's narcissistic phase. Not to be confused with structural depression, contingent upon superego formation.

within the mother-infant relationship, either due to the mother's continued absence, or her refusal to tolerate it. Aggression then would be manifest towards the outside world, in which case Spitz observed a 'generalised and mostly senseless destructiveness' (Spitz 1953, p. 135).

The aim of the first year of life, according to Spitz (1965) is the establishment of 'the first level of true ego organisation'. This is measured by the establishment of the dominance of the reality principle, which in turn makes possible neutralisation of instinctual drive energy (Spitz 1963, p. 289-91). The ego's increasing capacity for integration and organisation means that the former goals of the drives, based on the pleasure-principle, are increasingly identified as non ego-syntonic (on the premise that they pose a risk to ongoing object relations). These goals are rejected in favour of autonomous ego activities and increasingly sophisticated mechanisms of defence. In consonance with the reality principle, it is the promise of love in object relations that proves the critical factor in progressive development and stable drive fusion.

David Rapaport, in his discussion on ego autonomy (1957) talked of autonomy from the environment and from the drives (id). He speculated that environmental stimulus-nutriment are required for the maintenance of various structures in the mind – including structures within the ego. Further, depending on the phase of development and the relative psychic balance between them, certain of these structures may deteriorate where stimulus-nutriment is withheld (Rapaport 1957, p. 733). In the absence of the mother, the child's physical needs may be satisfied, but the absence of the mother in her function as a 'holding environment' (Winnicott 1986) to shield the infant from environmental stimuli, may prematurely increase the child's ego autonomy from the id. If we bring this into relation with other discoveries about the premature arousal of sexual excitement in delinquent pathology, we see the mother's failure to in her protective function to protect the child from excessive stimuli. The delinquent's adaptation to the environment from then

on is allo-plastic in terms of externalisation of drive activity. This formulation is premised on the adequate maturation of specific ego functions essential to delinquency, such as a stable body ego and function of the motor apparatus. These primary autonomous functions of the ego must have achieved a level of irreversible structuralisation, prior to the mother's absence. In the cases of psychotoxic mother-infant disturbances, the ego itself has not gained sufficient independence from the soma, let alone from the id (cf. Glover 1950b, 'psychosomatic' group of delinquent disorders).

The Juvenile Delinquent as Scapegoat

One means in which the members of a society externalise aggression in a socially 'acceptable' way is the concentration of aggression (and other forbidden drives) on 'scapegoats'. The delinquent presents as a ready scapegoat for the gratification of repressed aggressive (and libidinal) urges. Adelaide Johnson (1949) explored this line of thought within the family dynamic. She found evidence for what she called 'superego lacunae', or the 'lack of superego in certain circumscribed areas of behaviour' that lead to dissocial acting out (Johnson 1949, p. 225). She was in the rare situation of having, on occasion, investigated the superego of the parents of delinquent children, whom she had treated. She regularly found that, 'the more important parent – usually the mother, although the father is always in some way involved – has been seen *unconsciously* to encourage the amoral or antisocial behaviour of the child' (Johnson 1949, p. 227).

The situation evolves as follows: the mother experiences latent dissocial tendencies, which her own superego does not permit her to act out. But through the creation of narcissistic economic situation with her child, the child ends up acting out the mother's dissocial tendencies (i.e., her unconscious fantasy). This unconscious need is then realised vicariously through the child. In this way, a seemingly well-intentioned parent will inadvertently encourage a certain type of behaviour which accords with her own unconscious fantasy. A 'scapegoat' is created within the family, as the reservoir for the parents'

dissocial attitudes. Often, where adopted children are involved, the adopted child will be the scapegoat and the dissociality erroneously attributed to 'hereditary'. The parents' two-faced (i.e. unconscious and conscious) image of the child is thus taken into the child's superego with other identifications. The result is cyclical superego which promotes a cycle of uncontrollable deed–punishment–deed. The inhibitive influence of the superego is only periodically in power.

August Aichhorn had long been familiar with the scapegoat phenomena (see Aichhorn 1936). In a personal communication to Ruth Eissler (cited in R. S. Eissler 1949), he described the situation thus:

> [T]he intra-familial libidinal equilibrium is maintained at the expense of the child who, overburdened by it, defends himself and according the given circumstances develops into a delinquent or a neurotic. The delinquent and his defects must never be viewed per se: one must view him and his libidinal relationship as enmeshed within the family group, for if the libidinal equilibrium is maintained at the expense of the child, it will be necessarily disrupted by the cure of the child. The child defends himself against the libidinal overburdening and the family member who misused him for his own needs will break down neurotically (cited in R. S. Eissler 1949, p. 292).

Ruth Eissler went on to describe the case of a child thief, in which the mother gratified vicariously her own anti-social impulses, symbolised by the act of stealing. But more than this, the actions of her child serve two additional functions:

(1.) She secures a masochistic gratification, which serves as a punishment and relief of her guilt feelings (for her unacceptable unconscious impulses); and,
(2.) She can use her child as a scapegoat, pointing to him as the criminal, and thus reassure herself of her own innocence (R. S. Eissler 1948, p. 293).

Ruth Eissler argued that this organisation protects the mother from chronic depression at the hands of her severe superego. She suffers from a overly severe superego, but instead of directing aggressive impulses against her own ego, they are directed against the same impulses present in the child, who function in the mother's internal world as a narcissistically incorporated love-object.

This type of narcissistic object relationship was also the special focus of a paper by Phyllis Greenacre (1945) in which she brings the father into the context. She is concerned specifically with the child's discharge/expression of aggression (hate) during infancy, particularly during the anal-ambivalent phase of development. Normally, where hate is not allowed sufficient outlet in the early narcissistic relationship with the mother, it is turned towards the father. But in some partnerships, the mother will not allow this either, for fear of reprisal from the father, and so becomes overprotective of the child. The result is that his aggression is soon diverted from the family into the social sphere.

In these cases, Greenacre associated delinquent children with fathers who held outstanding positions in the community. From their exalted social position, the home-life (and the mother) are viewed with disgust and disdain. The mother develops shame in response to this feeling of unworthiness and turns to the child for comfort. She experiences intense guilt feelings for her indulgent attitude to the child, and unconsciously realises her anti-social feelings through his delinquent acts in the manner described by Johnson and Ruth Eissler. In other words, she lets loose a delinquent child whose abherrant behaviour is a source of embarrassment to the father.

It is apparent that a male child in this situation will have difficulty progressing to 'true' object relations. His aggression is never brought into conflict with his love relations. In consequence, his relations with both the parents remain highly ambivalent (Greenacre 1945, p. 507). The parents remain enveloped within the

child's narcissistic milieu, and they are attacked and loved in tune with changes in instinctual vicissitudes of the child, for which the child does not experience strong guilt feelings.

Let us now attempt to bring these intra-familial situations into relationship with the wider social group, and man's place in the natural world.

The Problem of Aggression

Edward Glover noted in 1954 that, 'the most rapid advances in the psycho-analytical study of delinquency can be achieved by making good arrears in the application of established psycho-analytical principles to the problem' (Glover 1960, p. 292). He saw the sense of guilt and a criminal's 'need for punishment' as the most basic elements to be understood and applied. And yet, he saw that in 'the individual function or value of criminal behaviour, it cannot be denied that [the stability of society] owes something to the scapegoat system whereby the criminal is made to pay for the unconscious criminal tendencies that lie dormant in the community' (Glover 1960, p. xiii). In the totemistic pre-history of man, the victimisation and punishment which the scapegoat incurs represents an expiation of the collective guilt (see Freud 1912-13). Social cohesion amongst the members of a group is made easier by the identification of a common object for aggression. This is surely the most difficult issue in the successful treatment of delinquents. The criminal/delinquent becomes a 'scapegoat' not just for the mother and the family, but for the entire culture. Indeed, families, whole communities, or even whole nations may become scapegoats for others. The high criminal population in all countries testifies not just to the presence of criminal types, but to a relationship between their function as scapegoats and the maintenance of internal cohesion of a society. Unless we are going to assume the existence of in-born evilness, we have to conclude that humanity collectively bears the responsibility.

Guilt is the cultural solution for the problem of aggression (Freud 1930). As human beings, we must come to terms with our innate aggressive drive and

direct it towards cultural ideals and away from destructive activities. But, as we've seen in the thesis, in cases of sado-masochism and criminality from a sense of guilt, too much guilt can itself be an impetus to discharge of aggression. More guilt is not the solution to our problem. The only successful means of overcoming aggression (and excessive guilt feelings) is via neutralisation and sublimation of drive impulses (see Spitz 1965).

Freud concurred, he thought that, 'the greatest obstacle to civilisation [is] the constitutional tendency in men to aggressions against one another', and thus, aggression 'is at the bottom of all the relations of affection and love between human beings…' (Freud 1930, p. 788). He saw the only real possibility for change, in the development of the cultural superego. This, he said, originates in the same way as that of an individual superego. However, 'It is based on the impression left behind them by great leading personalities, men of outstanding force of mind, or men in whom some one human tendency has developed in unusual strength and purity, often for that reason disproportionately' (Freud 1930, p. 800). Freud himself was just such a personality, and his influence direct and indirect was crucial in the liberation of the sexual drives from perverted middle-class morality of the late 19th century (see Freud 1907a, 1908); however, the liberation of humankind's aggressive drives is evidently not to be wished.

Instead, Freud wrote in 'Civilisation and Its Discontents' after the cataclysm of World War I, that he hoped 'eternal Eros [the force of libido], will put forth his strength so as to maintain himself alongside of his equally immortal adversary [i.e., the destructive drive]' (Freud 1930, p. 802). Despite the incidence of a second World War (and many smaller fights), Freud's call for drive fusion of libido with aggression has not been surpassed as a scientific-cultural ideal. The evidence for its success can be seen in the therapeutic work of August Aichhorn with delinquent youths (Aichhorn 1931 [1925] and 1936).

The Present and the Future

Where Freud in 1930 was concerned about the unleashing of man's aggressive drive in cataclysmic war made possible by technology and industrialisation (Freud 1930, p. 801), Rene Spitz in 1965, had been more concerned about the destructive potential of aggression manifest within and against the family. He saw evidence for this in the breakdown of the traditional family structure and the working patterns demanded of industrial societies, which drove women into the workforce and away from mothering. These economic and social causes lead to the increasingly serious problems of juvenile delinquency and to the growing number of neuroses and psychoses in Western adult society. He called this an 'evil' and he held this historical trend as the key cause of 'the rapid deterioration of those conditions which are indispensable for the normal development of earliest object relations' (Spitz 1965, pp. 299-300). From the societal aspect, he observed that, 'disturbed object relations in the first year of life, be they deviant, improper, or insufficient, have consequences which imperil the foundation of society' (Spitz 1965, p. 300). And for delinquents he painted a bleak picture:

> Deprived of the affective nourishment to which they were entitled…[t]he only path which remains open to them is the destruction of a social order of which they are the victims. Infants without love, they will end as adults full of hate (Spitz 1965, p. 300).

Appendix B

THE 'CONTEMPORARY FREUDIAN' APPROACH TO THE SADO-MASOCHISTIC FORM OF DELINQUENT BEHAVIOUR

In this section we use the evidence marshalled in the thesis to begin a critique of the 'Contemporary Freudian' approach to problems of aggression which are so closely related to the problem of juvenile delinquency. The 'Contemporary Freudian' approach demands attention for the following reasons:

1. They associate themselves with Freud while their therapeutic attitude progressively moves away from the analysis of intrapsychic processes.
2. The key figures in this movement, Peter Fonagy, Donald Campbell, and Rosine Perelberg are based in the British Psychoanalytic Society. Fonagy and Campbell are Past Presidents of the Society.
3. These developments have taken place under the auspices of the Anna Freud Centre, of which Peter Fonagy is currently co-Director. He also holds another prominent Freudian position in the Freud Memorial Chair at the University of London.
4. It further highlights the deleterious consequences of the imbalance of integration and differentiation in theory building, as was explored in the thesis.

It seems to me that the 'Contemporary Freudian' movement gained impetus with a Presidential Address by Robert Wallerstein to the 1987 congress of the International Psychoanalytic Association (see Wallerstein 1988), in which he endorsed the separation of what he called clinical theory from general theory. He argued that the differences between analysts are due to different metapsychologies, while their unity remains in their shared clinical approach. That is, the use and supremacy of transference and resistance. This short paper suggests otherwise and builds on the evidence of this thesis which goes to establish that metapsychology is inextricably linked with clinical technique. I do this by examining the results achieved by the 'Contemporary Freudian' analysts

in light of classical Freudian theory. To achieve this I draw largely upon Freud's theory of dreams (Freud 1900), which Freud always saw as the foundation of psychoanalysis. He saw little that needed modification in the theory as late as 1932 (see Freud 1933 [1932]). It is apparent that the Contemporary Freudians have abandoned the essence of this theory.

Classical Psychoanalysis in London after the Death of Anna Freud

There certainly appears to have been a long-term decline in interest in classical psychoanalysis since the peak of Anna Freud's influence in the mid-1960s. This decline has been accelerated since her death of Anna Freud in 1982, and compounded by large theoretical shifts towards object relations and interpersonal analysis by prominent members of her circle, such as Joseph Sandler.

Aside from the developmental studies mentioned in the Discussion section of the thesis, which do not themselves directly relate to juvenile delinquency, John E. Schowalter in the year 2000 found that, 'In the past generation there has been little systematic psychoanalytic study or treatment of delinquents' (Schowalter 2000, p. 58). He did, however cite the recent work of Steve Marans (1996 and 2000), an Assistant Professor of child psychoanalysis at Yale University.

Luis Rodríguez de la Sierra in London undertakes stimulating and difficult work with addicts, which sees him brushing up against the problems of delinquency. He reminds us not to conflate the psychopath and the addict: 'The psychopath experiences no internal conflict and cannot create any. Instead he establishes a conflict with the outside world and in so doing uses alloplastic methods…the addict does experience internal conflict and tries to resolve it by a change of endopsychic functioning…' (Rodriguez de la Sierra 2001, p. 76). Rodriguez is attached to the Anna Freud Centre, and in many ways his work with delinquent and drug affected youths resembles that of Aichhorn. He also draws on the work of Clifford Yorke, a former director of the Anna Freud

Centre, who researched into drug addiction among other areas (Yorke 1970 and Radford et al. 1972). Both these authors work and write in the field of child analysis from a classical viewpoint. Neither, as far as I am aware, has made specific contributions to the theory of delinquency. This is not to say progress has not been made. Many analysts continue to practice the classical method. Nevertheless, the task remains for the application of nearly 40 years (i.e., since around 1965) of psychoanalytic research to the problem of juvenile delinquency.

Rosine Perelberg and Externalising Aggression

In a paper titled, 'A Core Phantasy in Violence' (1995), Perelberg provides a rich source of case material for analysis. She states her theoretical position in terms of the following assumptions:

1. Violence is a defence against conflict;
2. Conflict arises between the need to individuate and the need to remain merged with the mother in the pre-oedipal mother-infant dyad;
3. The 'analyst' and 'analysis' become the exciting cause for this individuation process to recommence;
4. Violence is therefore, the outcome of the child's (i.e., the patient's) resistance to the individuation process. The therapist's task is to formulate constructions (interpretations) which serve the function of 'breaking up the phantasy of a fusion with the mother' (Perelberg 1995, p. 1227).

Now this seems to imply, that an increase in violent behaviour during therapy would represent an intensification of the latent conflict centred on the 'individuation' process. And indeed an escalation of violence does occur during the treatment of 'karl 1' [*sic.*] (Perelberg 1995). Classical psychoanalytic theory instructs the analyst to be wary about an increase in symptomatic behaviour during treatment. The patient's compulsion to repeat must be brought into the transference where the underlying fantasy can be analysed.

Yet, with ‘karl 1’, we witness the intensification of violent behaviour right through the course of treatment.

Here follows my reconstruction of the patient's history of violent behaviour, prior to the commencement of analysis with Perelberg. It is based on Perelberg’s published case history (Perelberg 1995).

Age 14-16: Played 'sado-masochistic games' with his sister;
Age 16-17: First therapeutic intervention: 9 months therapy;
Age 18: Entered Martial Arts Course at University
Age 19: Second therapeutic intervention: patient found to be suicidal.
Age 19-22/23 [?]: At least one barroom brawl; rows with tutors; violence with girlfriend in place of genital intercourse (e.g., spanking)

It was this last action that aroused the extreme anxiety in the youth which lead him to enter treatment with Perelberg.

During the treatment, however, the violent behaviour (and the violent fantasies) escalated: We learn of the smashing of a computer (with the accompanying dream of himself as the computer); the possession of a gun and cartridges; repeated ‘dangerous criminal encounters’ (including a case of dealing in stolen diamonds for which his mother acted as cover); escalating verbal attacks on a religious fraternity known as the ‘scientologists’, culminating in an elaborate plan, with a friend, to bomb their office and mount a kidnap operation.

This pattern of escalating violence outside of the analytic situation maybe interpreted in a number of ways. Perelberg interprets the impulsive violent behaviour as part of the transference relationship in which the patient’s violence represents an attack on the analyst. Classically, we would say that she believes the patient is ‘acting-out’ the transference. ‘Acting out’ in the psychoanalytic sense, can only take place within a transference-neurosis. Now if a transference-neurosis were in place, then the violent acting-out should *not*

be interpreted as a positive indication. It should be interpreted as acting-out the transference, in which case Freud's advised the analyst in this situation to set about the 'perpetual struggle to keep all the impulses within the boundaries of his [the patient's] mind, and when it is possible, to divert into the work of recollection any impulse which the patient wants to discharge in action' (Freud 1914a, p. 273). This assessment contrasts with Perelberg's conviction that the violent acting out is a sign of the patient's advancing 'individuation'. Her endorsement of this approach indicates a movement away from the analysis of intrapsychic processes.

If there is no transference-neurosis, then Perelberg is wrong to infer herself as the object of the patient's violent behaviour. We would perhaps be more accurate to speak of violence as a manifestation of an impulsive character disorder (see Chapter 3 of Thesis). We might think of the patient's relationship to the therapist as a 'narcissistic-transference' (after Hoffer 1949). In this context, I direct the reader back to the work of Rene Spitz (1965). He observed that aggressive (sadistic) character types often result from a type of mothering which does not allow the expression of aggressive impulses within the mother-infant dyad. Perelberg's case material suggests an analytic relationship which, likewise, precludes the expression of aggressive impulses (negative affects). In the patient's narcissistic mileau, his negative affects are simply directed outside of the analytic situation – it's all the same to the patient, inside or outside the analytic situation, as long as the affects receive an anxiety-free discharge.

Perelberg approaches the treatment with an emphasis on interpreting the patient's 'core phantasy' in terms of his mother-infant relationship. Framing her treatment within an attachment theory mode, she encourages the patient to feel warmly about the analyst and about himself. Now, for this kind of sadistic narcissistic patient, suffering from extreme guilt feelings and a sado-masochistic sexual organisation, his aggression is turned away from the ego and from the analyst and into the extra analytic environment. Naturally, he feels better about

this because his superego is less severe, and the ‘analyst’ is left with the impression that the treatment has gone well. But in reality, the underlying sado-masochistic complex remains unaffected; the masochism having been converted to sadism. One could predict that following treatment, the original masochistic fantasy will gradually regain the upper hand, especially if the law should intervene to curb his sadistic outbursts.

In terms of the underlying conflict, we can attempt a reconstruction of its probable basis. We infer, from his impotent relations with women, intense fear of his father, and the anal-sadistic nature of his fantasies (indicated, for example, by a preoccupation with a 'bad' body odour; Perelberg 1995, p. 1215), that homosexual impulses are being defended against. His overt expression of violence is a defence (reaction-formation) against passive feminine wishes. Further evidence is found in the ambivalent preoccupation with the delusional and paranoid teachings of the scientologists (see Freud 1911b). The body of our thesis made plain how difficult the treatment of sado-masochistic pathology is (see Freud 1937a). One should remain circumspect when analysts put forward claims of positive success in the treatment of such cases.

Donald Campbell turning active into passive

In turning to case material from Donald Campbell – the case study of ‘Stan’ (Campbell 2000) – we can again offer a Freudian interpretation. Campbell, like Perelberg is treating a sado-masochistic pathology with paranoid tendencies and suicidal impulses. In a slight variation from Perelberg, he interprets violence as a ‘defence against breakdown’. He too resists making Oedipal interpretations, even though he recognises violence as ‘a defence against anxieties about incest’. He states that this is especially prevalent during adolescence, when the Oedipal fantasies are reinvigorated by puberty (Campbell 2000, p. 15).

He also identifies ‘violence as a defence against excessive passivity’. All this is so, yet Campbell avoids drawing any attention to castration anxiety and the negative Oedipal complex of the male. Campbell allows Stan the space in analysis to express his ‘homosexual phantasies of submission to a man's penis’ (Campbell 2000, p. 19). I would argue that there is a difference in allowing expression of these phantasies and the analysis of them. Campbell fails to *analyse* the homosexual content and bring into connection with the boy’s Oedipal fantasy. The effect is the arrest, or inhibition, of Stan’s progression from homosexuality to heterosexuality (progression in the sense of ‘normal’ development). This would require analysis of the positive love-transference to the analyst (the negative Oedipal fantasy), which at the close of treatment had stabilised in the form of a passive (aim-inhibited homosexual) submission to the analyst.

Peter Fonagy and Mary Target

In matters of theory, Campbell defers to the work by Fonagy and Target (1995) and their model of persecutory internal objects to explain violent behaviour. Fonagy & Target (1995) document the treatment of a violent patient, ‘Mr. T’. The case history documents exhibitionism throughout latency. With onset of puberty, the exhibitionism passed away, but left in its place an intense phallic preoccupation; a pathological identification with the organ. The authors report the patient saying that he only felt ‘whole and *someone* when [his] penis was erect’ (Fonagy & Target 1995, p. 489).

Later, the patient reported a ‘most disturbing dream…of a house which falls down because the roots of an adjacent tree undermine the foundations’ (Fonagy & Target 1995, p. 493). Fonagy is the therapist. He offers Mr. T the following interpretation: ‘There is some part of you that is so excited to see me that you almost want to jump into me. But for another part of you, wanting to be so close is terrifying because you feel that it would undermine the foundations of the analysis’ (Fonagy & Target 1995, p. 491). Where the Kleinian patient yearns for the breast, the contemporary Freudian patient yearns

for analysis. The theory of dreams suggests an alternative interpretation of the dream content, as follows: falling house = falling penis. Mr. T has already offered us, consciously, the association between erect-penis and self-esteem. Thus a falling penis is a threat to Mr T's self-esteem and is experienced as a source of anxiety. It seems that the patient has identified a flaccid penis with a castrated penis. In this way, the erect penis becomes a reassurance against castration fear and an assertion of masculinity (self-esteem). The extreme castration fear – represented in the dream by 'the adjacent tree' – could be produced by none other than the patient's father (the castrating subject). Thus: adjacent tree = father; loss of self-esteem = castration. An Oedipal interpretation of the dream would read as follows:

> a most disturbing dream [castration anxiety]…of a house [erect penis] which falls down [is castrated] because the roots of an adjacent tree [the father] undermine the foundations [he cuts the penis off at the base].

Mervin Glasser and Attachment Theory

The leading exponent of these new ideas about 'aggression' is Mervin Glasser. He conducted studies of violent patients at the Portman Clinic (where Edward Glover had worked) with Donald Campbell. His theoretical writes span nearly four decades. Fonagy and Perelberg refer to his work favourably.

Glasser reframes aggression in terms of violence. For him, violence is the physiological (or 'manifest') counterpart of 'aggression', in the way that he sees 'sexuality' as the physiological counterpart of 'libido'. He coined a theory of two types of violence, which he labelled *sado-masochistic* (S-M) and *self-preservative* (S-P) (Glasser 1998). With this seemingly simple formulation he breeches a vast array of established analytic theory. When he writes for instance, that S-P violence involves no object relationship and does not involve the affect of pleasure (Glasser 1998, p. 895), we are inclined to think that a violent discharge of aggression without pleasure or an object is no longer the manifestation of an instinctual drive (see Freud 1905, 1915a).

Yet, we ought to compare Glasser's conception of the instinctual drive with Freud's (1915a): Freud defined an 'instinct' (i.e., instinctual drive) as:

> a borderland concept between the mental and the physical, being both the mental representative of the *stimuli* emanating *from within the organism* and penetrating to the mind, and at the same time a measure of the demand made upon the energy of the latter in consequence of its connection with the body [my emphasis] (Freud 1915a, pp. 414-5).

Glasser, for his part, when writing on 'the nature of aggression', wrote that he considered aggression 'as an instinctual drive', and opted to 'follow the classical approach (Freud 1905, 1915[a])' (Glasser 1996, p.281), yet wrote that,

> …the stimulus of aggression is any factor which threatens homeostasis … the aim of aggression is to eliminate the stimulus in one way or another; the object of aggression is the individual or thing responsible for the stimulus (Glasser 1996, p. 281).

Glasser's approach leads to a conflation of the biological and psychological that easily lead to false conclusions which deny existence of a 'mental apparatus'. Freud cited this as one of the two fundamental assumptions of psychoanalysis.[22]

Glasser is drawing on the work of W. B. Cannon on homeostasis (Canon 1953), which in turn inspired animal researchers and the ethologists (e.g. Konrad Lorenz 1963). This work formed the basis of John Bowlby's attachment theory. The misapplication of these researches to psychology have coincided with a reduced interest in intrapsychic thought processes, which are

[22] 'We assume that mental life is the function of an apparatus to which we ascribe the characteristics of being extended in space…' (Freud 1940 [1938], p. 145).

the core of psychoanalytic interest. The psychoanalytic critique of Bowlby's work has been extensive, beginning with A. Freud (1960), Max Schur (1960a) and Rene Spitz (1960). Schur (1960b) also cautioned against direct translation of animal research to human psychology. Human beings have a complex internal world, which animals do not have. Arguably, even these early critiques have not been adequately addressed, Bowlby's defence of his developing 'attachment theory' notwithstanding (see Bowlby 1961). A comprehensive critique of Glasser's theory and the introduction of his ideas into 'Contemporary Freudian' psychology needs to be attempted, but would require an extended analysis. The point I wish to make in this short paper, is that the failure to adequately understand the nature of the aggressive drive can lead unwittingly to an increase in the violent behaviour of patients subjected to attachment-theory-directed analytic therapy (e.g., Perelberg's *karl1*, see above). Given that this approach has become prominent as a treatment of aggressive (delinquent) patients, it demands our attention.

Further analysis of Glasser's assumptions reveal that the internal threat which is the stimulus to violence involves a 'core complex' and a severe superego. But it is not the psychoanalytic superego we are used to talking about. Glasser's superego is described as an unintegrated persecutory 'internal object' with its beginnings prior to the phase of 'true object relations' (1996, p. 293). Glasser openly acknowledges his opinion that the superego is *not* 'that momentous step in structuralisation…linked to the conflicts of the oedipal phase' (Glasser 1996, p. 293). Rather, Glasser's clinical experience (particularly in the transference) confirms him in his opinion that the superego is, 'the internalised aggregate of those aspects of relationships encountered in the individual's history which are to be characterised by … proscriptive and prescriptive constraints' (Glasser 1996, p. 293).

It requires little further analysis to read into Glasser's dream interpretations a decided absence of castration fears and Oedipal fantasies. For example, when a paedophile reports his dream in analysis of 'driving his car to his execution – by

hanging' (Glasser 1996, p. 295), Glasser does not entertain castration fear, but rather interprets the hanging fantasy as a fear that the analyst might condemn the patient for his paedophilic activities. The analyst becomes 'an externalised version of the…superego' (Glasser 1996, p. 295; cf. Stratchey 1934). Similarly, when we are told of the patient's masturbation fantasies, and of 'his being the passive recipient of these activities carried out by older men' we cannot fail to see behind them, a passive submission to a sexually aggressive older man, and the realisation of the negative Oedipal complex. This patients' paedophilic activities could be reconstructed in terms of an identification with the aggressor, in response to some early sexual trauma. But to Glasser there is no question of interpreting the fantasy and dream content in any terms other than conscious ones. His interpretations are cognitive and would hardly inspire unconscious resistance within the patient. They indicate a lack of interest in fantasy and the absence of a dynamic and economic model of the mind. Why is unconscious content not being sought and interpreted? How did this un-psychological model enter psychoanalysis and gain the title 'Contemporary Freudian'?

Joseph Sandler and The Theory of Internal Object Relations

I want to suggest that a key figure in this contemporary Freudian movement was a figure very close to Anna Freud – Joseph Sandler. Peter Fonagy holds Sandler up as his 'psychoanalytic mentor' (Fonagy 2005). Sandler was the first to hold the Freud Memorial Chair in the Department of Psychology at the University of London; a chair Fonagy now holds. Sandler's divergence from the Freudian model was gradual, only becoming self-conscious after the death of Anna Freud in 1982. One can find indications of his diverging opinions in his discussions with Anna Freud (Sandler 1980 and 1985). Going back as far as the early 1960s, I have found in his writings the beginnings of a longed-for *rapprochement* with Kleinian object relations theory.

This early work was based on his management of the Hampstead Index at Anna Freud's Hampstead Clinic. The aim of this project was the collection and

cataloguing of case material under concept headings (see Sandler 1962a). He used this material to his own advantage. His first publication on this research analysed the results of material collected by child analysts under the heading 'superego' (Sandler et al. 1962b). Sandler observed that analysts had a lot of difficulty classifying their material, and this lead to inconsistent classification. There can be no doubt that the superego is a particularly complex aspect of analytic theory, a point acknowledged by Sandler in his exemplary interpretation of the superego concept just two years earlier (Sandler 1960). Yet Sandler's conclusion in 1962 was the re-conceptualisation of the superego concept in mean terms of how analysts were using the concept. This seems to me akin to the 'democratisation' of psychoanalysis. A more rigorous attitude would have involved admission of complexity of the case material and the theoretical construct, and raised questions about the possible insufficiency of analytic education.

However, just a year or so later Sandler initiated the first of his reformations of theory by shifting his ground towards an object- and self-representational model. Ultimately, this has led to an increasing minimisation of the drive within the 'Contemporary Freudian' school. For instance, if the superego becomes an 'introjected' object representation, a patient could now be thought to 'externalise an introject, re-creating an inner conflict in the transference' (Sandler et al. 1962c, p. 139). A theory which is very close to James Stratchey's, Melanie Klein influenced, interpretation of the transference as the externalisation of the superego (Strachey 1934), and is almost identical with a description we quoted from Mervin Glasser (see above). This representational superego is to be distinguished from Freud's model of the superego as a "genuine structural entity", not merely "an abstraction, such as conscience" (Freud 1933 [1932], p. 92). The structural model views the endopsychic structures – id, ego and superego – as agencies grouped according to their function, not their content. Furthermore, the adoption of an internal object-relations model for the superego, necessitates a move away from the economic-

dynamic model of unconscious conflict. Without the drives at the centre of theory, there is no motive for conflict.

Final Word

In the works of the 'Contemporary Freudians', we see a coming together of the attachment theory of John Bowlby as applied by Mervin Glasser and Joseph Sandler's internal representational model of the drives. Both trends move away from the psychoanalytic emphases on intrapsychic processes and a dynamic model of the mind. The result is a hybrid treatment based on human empathy and avoidance of interpersonal and/or intrapsychic conflict.

This fundamental trend away from the analysis of intrapsychic processes is just one symptom of the breakdown of theoretical discipline, that we found evidence for in our historical survey of the psychoanalytic approach to juvenile delinquency. August Aichhorn knew before he ever encountered psychoanalysis, that the successful treatment of aggressive patients demanded far more than an empathetic response from the therapist. The fact that this regressive treatment method is being written about in the leading psychoanalytic journals of the day is indicative perhaps of a form of delinquency far more subtle than that practised by the average juvenile delinquent.