INFANT DEVELOPMENT AND ANTITHETIC DIAMETERS

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Infant Development and Antithetic Diameters

For many years certain psychoanalysts have been doubting the validity of some of the major tenets of psychoanalytic theory and suggesting that revision of the theory is necessary. For example, Freud's ideas of aggression were questioned by Rapaport (1967), and the instinct theory itself has been criticized by Lashley (1957) and Holt (1962), the latter having written a paper on "free and bound cathexis." In the last ten years those who have studied infant behavior have stated flatly that Freud's developmental theory is inaccurate.

In my 1952 and 1960 papers I suggested that the reality system is intact in all patients in spite of the symptoms and the distortions they may evince. This idea was based not only on my own observations but on certain of Freud's ideas expressed in the "Outline of Psychoanalysis" (1938, 23:201-202, 203-204) and on the work of some of the psychologists who were using psychological tests with patients. I felt that distortions were to be looked upon as *defenses* rather than as an indication of some mysterious kind of infantile mental functioning due to the infant's inability to perceive his environment as it really exists, and thus a function of a mystical id/ego undifferentiated state. Psychoanalytic concepts of development are applied currently by theorists who describe borderline patients both in the area of the genesis of the borderline's basic conflict and in the milieu of treatment. As matters stand today, it looks as if theorists are superimposing upon a social theory (object relations theory) a developmental scheme that does not in fact depict what actually happens in infant development. This confuses the picture and prevents an understanding of the dynamics of borderline conditions interfering with development of a rational therapeutic endeavor.

In this chapter, we shall review some of the literature in the field of infant development that appears to negate the current psychoanalytic concepts regarding the early phases of infant life. These recent studies have important implications for the understanding of the borderline patient. Some case shadows of doubt over traditionally accepted concepts such as the "narcissistic phase of development" and assumptions about the "objectless period," "undifferentiated state," and "self-object." Information that is available today leads to the conclusion that the infant is an organized entity, with perceptual and memory systems intact, with learning and communicating facilities available, and thus with interpersonal capabilities operative, shortly after birth. We previously mentioned Anthony J. De Casper's (1979) result that infants 24 to 36 hours after birth learned and could remember what they had learned to the extent that they could repeat a pattern associated with the sound of the mother's voice, which they could

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distinguish from the voices of other people. There have been many other studies demonstrating that infants can perceive stimuli quite effectively (for example, Caplan, 1973), and all investigators have come to the conclusion that perceptive systems are highly developed at birth and that perceptions and learning may even be operative before birth.

De Casper's thesis was that infants have well-organized perceptual systems, including auditory capabilities at birth, and that learning begins almost immediately. It has been postulated that these functions are activated around the seventh month of gestation. There is in all normal infants a *synchronization of systems*, such as perception, memory, discriminative capacities, and other neurophysiological mechanisms, which are all intact and functionally ready. There is no data to show that this is not true even of infants who when they become adults have emotional problems. In fact, the data show that in these adults such systems are still synchronous and operative.

The infant is not a "closed system" with the mother or with any other person, and what has been interpreted as normal "autism" is apparently the infant's preoccupation with learning about the environment. There seems to be no time that the infant is exclusively occupied with himself such as is hypothesized in some psychoanalytic theories. It is true that in the first three months the infant is asleep more than he is awake, but when he is awake, he

is continuously interacting with the environment, right from birth. There is a great deal of evidence to indicate that normally the infant is an autonomous functioning individual who is actively concerned with learning about his environment. Under normal circumstances, the learning is *pleasurable*, but under the impact of neurotic and/or psychotic parents the learning in interpersonal relations with them is often painful or *unpleasurable*. The pleasure-unpleasure principle is a conditioning element in the infant's mental world. The vast amount of learning that the infant must accomplish in spite of existing circumstances is apparently taken into account by nature, or rather by the genes, since recent studies show that humans appear to have 50 percent more brain cell interconnections, or synapses, when they are infants than when they grow to adulthood, (Science News, 1979 b, p. 89). In line with this fact, it is interesting to note that some of the activity of the infant concerns experimentation with space and time and with the alerting system, thus with learning about his place in the environment through interaction with people and things, particularly with how to manipulate objects and communicate with people.

Investigation of the Environment

The infant's investigation of the environment has often been seen through the screen of the experimenter's theoretical convictions. For example, the period of autism was considered a period of narcissism where

there was no distinction between self and environment (Piaget, 1937, 1952). Schaffer (1958) wrote a paper to the effect that infants hospitalized do not "attach" to human beings (objects) before 7 months of age. At that age children do begin to be "attached" to the mother, and shortly after this they react untowardly to strangers. Schaffer noted that a child prior to 7 months who had been hospitalized after returning home showed an "extreme preoccupation with the environment . . . for hours on end the child would crane his neck, scanning his surroundings without apparently focusing on any particular feature." This behavior continued for the first day home. Other children under 7 months in similar circumstances reacted the same way (some of these children were 3 weeks of age). With a few the scanning period lasted only twenty or thirty minutes, but for some it lasted as long as four days. Schaffer interpreted this to mean that children of this age have a "global, undifferentiated, syncretic stage of development." Children who were older than 7 months (none of the children observed were more than 51 weeks of age) had a different kind of reaction. Schaffer noted that "the central feature was overdependence on the mother . . . of the same order as described by Prugh et al. (1953)." The overdependence was shown by such behavior as excessive crying when left alone, continual clinging, and a fear of strangers. Schaffer concluded that the first group demonstrated Piaget's theory of cognitive structure, i.e., the way in which perceptions are organized, and the second reaction was interpreted in terms of Mahler's theory of the "omnipotent symbiotic dual unity" (Mahler et al, 1959, p. 822).

The same data presented by Schaffer might be evaluated in a different way. One might argue that the described "scanning period" is a function of the infant's synchronizing ability to explore and size up the situation in which he finds himself in a short period of time. The second reaction might be accounted for by the phylogenetically determined fear reaction that makes its appearance between the ages of 4 to 12 months and is perhaps a selfpreservative reaction.

The characteristics that make possible the "organized mind" are functions of the "innate schedule" that evokes the appearance of behaviors at certain age level in all infants regardless of culture or environment, such as the ability to focus (to isolate one object from another, i.e., to discriminate), to gesture and communicate (see Trevarthan, 1974), to emote with pleasure when learning (activating the pleasure center in the brain), to prefer *people* rather than objects when people are present in the environment (at 3 months), to "attach" to people at 7 months of age, to demonstrate a fear reaction that is activated between 7 and 12 months, and to imitate at 10 months (perhaps this begins at the 2-month period with the ability to imitate gestures), which may have a relation to the capacity to "identify" at later stages. Thus, we might have a different idea about the 7-month stage than what is described by Mahler as symbiosis. Signs of distress appear at 7 months. It is at this stage that the *fear reaction* occurs in all children; it may have been hastened in the children Schaffer was observing by the hospital experience.

It is at the 8-month period that a child can retrieve a toy that has been hidden; thus he has developed the capacity to "retrieve structures for events not in the immediate field" (Kagan, 1979a). In reference to this principle, the comments of Muller and Richardson (1979) concerning Freud's report of the "Fort! Da." game recorded in "Beyond the Pleasure Principle" (Freud, S.E., 1920) are of interest. The theory these authors expound has a relation to the development of language, which is an important factor in development. The theory, in brief, follows: The world of *meaning* concerning things and people becomes viable through the *presence* and *absence* of the same object—two opposites. (There would be other opposites as well, I suppose, e.g., *pleasure* and *unpleasure*; yes and no; hard and soft; and so on.) In this bipolar experience the child attains the rudiments of language, attaching sounds and later words, phrases, and sentences to the experiences connected with ideas that are integrated along the lines of either selection or combination-two principles that permeate the entire structure of language. Based on the presence and then the absence of something, selection would be represented by the nonpresence of a mutually complementary (opposite) effect, and combination would be represented by *two presences* even though they would be opposites. Muller and Richardson presented this concept in relation to

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their discussion of the ideas of Lecan, a French psychiatrist who believes, as do many of us, that Freud's greatest accomplishment was his work "The Interpretation of Dreams." The central message in this opus, according to Lecan, is that "the unconscious is structured like a language." This idea is not so unusual if one believes as fact that dreaming is a form of thinking and the unconscious is a reservoir of thoughts and feelings that were once conscious but are now repressed or temporarily forgotten. In our work with the emotional disorders we are interested in the repressed thoughts and feelings since we believe these to be related to the unconscious conflicts that are unsatisfactorily resolved by the neuroses and psychoses. The dream is a form of communication to tell us of these unsatisfactorily resolved conflicts. The acceptance of this interpretation of a dream leads us to presume with Breuer and Freud that to complete the reactions that were inhibited in the dream might produce relief or cure and resolve the conflicts. The impetus to complete incompleted tasks would thus be a motivation to resolve emotional conflicts (Wolberg, A., 1973, p. 4); in other words, the Zeigarnik effect would be the evoking principle, and the chronic condition of frustration in relations with parents would lay the groundwork for the development of the neurotic condition.

Freud's "game" that Muller and Richardson recalled was that of a little boy who had a wooden reel with a piece of string tied around it. Freud said of this boy that it did not occur to the child to pull the toy along the floor as a wagon or carriage; instead he held the reel by the string and threw it over his cot (bed) so that it *disappeared* at the same time that he uttered "o-o-o." He then pulled the reel out again, and when it reappeared, he said joyfully "da," demonstrating a "cultural achievement" (said Freud), i.e., the renunciation of "instinctual satisfaction" which the boy had made by allowing the object to disappear as his mother could leave without his protesting words—thus overcoming separation anxiety.

If I were to evaluate this particular game, I might think that the child was discovering some of the laws of physics or learning about space relations. Of course, this could apply to the mother's disappearing and appearing, just like the reel was appearing and disappearing, but I would not think of the process as related to "separation anxiety" or "object loss," for example. Since the child was enjoying himself, I might think that he was experimenting with space and time. From birth the child must get used to people appearing and disappearing, the mother and other people as well. When he is 7 or 8 months of age, he is anxious, he has a fear reaction when something unusual occurs. But it is at this same period that he can retrieve a toy, and it is at this same age that he begins to integrate his learning in a way that gives him a sense of peace or danger. He has "representations" in his mind of the realities of his experience; his meaning system has developed. When frustration or forced isolation prevents the child from receiving an adequate amount of stimulation from people, then he cries for the presence of people—perhaps not a

particular person but a family member with whom he is familiar and who is not frightening to him. It is the quality of the interpersonal encounter that makes the difference between the experience of pleasure or unpleasure. The game that Freud described may have nothing at all to do with people per se; it may be an exercise of individual autonomy related to the principle of memorizing a situation and then remembering it long enough to reproduce it. The principle is applied in many different kinds of situations with people and with objects.

Learning in Interpersonal Relations

There are several studies that refer specifically to interpersonal relations and to what has been called in psychoanalytic parlance "the internalization of objects," a phrase that means, as far as I can fathom, learning in interpersonal relations. For example, based on some of the experiments and ideas of Harlow, James Prescott, a developmental neuropsychologist, postulated a relationship between violence and early infant care practices. He points out that "mother" does not mean purely the behavior of the mother —it means the behavior of *anyone* who performs the child-rearing practices, (this can mean mother and father, father, or anyone who serves the child-rearing role). The mothering process, as a matter of fact, is usually carried on by several people. The Harlows' experience (1962) was that monkeys that had been isolated in infancy and childhood as adults were

withdrawn, self-mutilating, and aggressive toward other monkeys who might try to come close to them. When they themselves had young, the isolated females became unstable and brutal. Apparently bodily contact and immediate comfort are important in forming the early trusting interpersonal relationship, and these females had been deprived of this and were then, in turn, depriving of their own children. The borderline patient has some of these characteristics but not in as severe a form as the patterns of Harlow's monkeys. The borderline patient is hostile, withdrawn, and self-destructive. So are other types of patients. The difference between a borderline patient and a schizophrenic in relation to these traits may be a matter of degree. In my experience the aggression toward others is more intense in the schizophrenic, and the chances of the patient being homicidal are much greater in the schizophrenic than in the borderline.

Prescott felt that the idea of movement in the mothering activities is important. For example, the brain pleasure pathways are stimulated by rocking, caressing, and other forms of normal interpersonal stimulation; thus the role of environment is important in the development of normal brain activity. The "pleasure center" must have a "memory bank," so to speak, of pleasant stimulation in order for the individual to have a favorable outlook on other people and "self." In my opinion Kohut and Winnicott have a similar view. For example, "mother" and "holding," and the like, have a similar connotation except that Prescott is making a connection between

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interpersonal behavior and the neurological system, while Kohut and Winnicott are making a connection between early interpersonal relations and a later capacity to withstand anxiety or frustration, and the presence or absence of emotional problems.

Prescott theorized that *any* movement, including holding and sucking, results in a train of impulses that travel to a specific part of the brain, the cerebellum. When an infant is held or rocked, there are impulses in response that go to the pleasure center. The cerebellum is the area of the brain that coordinates movement. Prescott thought that in the case of disturbed children perhaps both touch and movement receptors and their connections with other brain structures have not received sufficient sensory stimulation for normal development and function to occur. Prescott reasoned that first it had to be demonstrated whether or not the cerebellum is connected with "emotional control centers of the limbic system," and he took some of Harlow's monkeys to Robert G. Heath at Tulane University to test his hypothesis. Heath (1972) found the connection. Prescott believes that when there has been insufficient experiences of pleasure, good feelings cannot be transmitted to the appropriate parts of the brain because there are fewer cell connections; thus the pleasure centers are blocked. Prescott concludes, therefore, that there must be a physiological condition of fewer cells involved in the pleasure tracts under certain circumstances.

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It is likely, it seems to me, that the pleasure centers can be stimulated by the individual himself, i.e., by his own activity. The "need" or the "instinct" for pleasure will find expression. The pain centers are also stimulated when the child has untoward experiences with parents. When pain outweighs pleasure, the individual is thrown into conflict, and the pain centers are stimulated. The borderline eventually becomes sadomasochistic since he has been conditioned to pain through frustration; this kind of conditioning has occurred in the parent-child relations. The patterns of the parents tend to cut off many pleasures that the child begins to experience. The sadomasochistic behavior of the parents toward the child stimulates the "unpleasure center" more often or as often as the pleasure center. The child who later becomes borderline has been conditioned to have guilt if he himself does not cut off the pleasure as the parents do. He must internalize this pattern, so to speak, as an aspect of his identifications that his parents demand of him. This is the normal impulse of the child for new learning and new experience that is pleasurable but that is thwarted by parental control when the parent is neurotic, anxious, and defensive. In the case of neurosis or psychosis, after the experience of having been thwarted and frustrated by sadomasochistic parents, the child through "identification with the aggressor" turns off his pleasure himself and then admits only the pain of the frustration, even though *he may have felt the pleasure as well.* This was the case, for example, of my patient Harriet, who had sex, was aroused (pleasurably) and lubricated, but when she began to feel pleasure, she had to cut it off. Of course, pleasure was eventually cut off as well by the activity of her partner in addition to her own efforts, but this was after her partner had had many difficult experiences with her.

Evoking frustration and consequent pain that has values for the person that outweigh pleasure might then be the reason why we see the phenomenon of the "help-rejecting complainer," a characteristic or trait of many borderline patients. When guilt is evoked in the presence of receiving pleasure, the individual must put a stop to the pleasure—an "undoing" takes place to reduce the anxiety associated with guilt. This might account for the phenomenon described by Dince (1977) and Green (1977).

The theory of masochism and sadism was never satisfactorily elucidated in psychoanalytic theory. Could this have been due to Freud's hesitancy in implicating parents and therefore the family system as a "cause"? He ultimately turned to the instinct theory as the source of both masochism and sadism, and later he conceived of these in terms of his developmental theory, namely, that the aggressive instincts appear automatically at various stages (i.e., in the "oral" stage in biting and in the anal stage by "expelling," and the like). The concept of interpersonal relations was missing in these ideas since the behavior was considered separate from behavior based on the pleasurepain principle. Freud (1921) invoked the concept of the repetition-

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compulsion to explain these phenomena, which he said seemed to be unregulated by the pleasure-pain principle. These he thought were mental operations that are more primitive in a biological evolutionary sense than those regulated by the pleasure-pain principle. Freud connected the "fate neurosis," the enactment of childhood conflicts (acting out), and selfdefeating behavior in the character disorders to the repetition compulsion, and it was on this basis that he postulated the life and death instincts, two opposites. From the observations of such individuals as Szurek and Johnson (1942), Szurek (1952), Jackson (1957, Lidz et al (1965), and others we postulate the idea that masochism (the tendency to repeat painful behavior) is a consequence of training and learning in the family and is thus a result of the pleasure-pain principle in interpersonal relations with parents. It is very interesting that the experiments of Heath with the Harlow monkeys suggest a connection between experience with "objects," neurophysiological processes in the cerebellum, pleasure-pain centers, and emotional reactions.

While neurophysiological systems are not a part of psychoanalytic theory per se, it is, nevertheless, of interest that these systems are interconnected, and interpersonal behavior has a relation, as Freud suspected, to the brain and undoubtedly, as he suspected, to bodily chemical reactions as well. We shall probably learn more of the connections between chemical systems, anxiety, and interpersonal behavior and between biological systems and interpersonal behavior in the future. What current studies do indicate is the relation between anxiety, stress, pleasure, and unpleasure, and interpersonal behavior and brain function. It has been quipped that some behavior therapists do not accept the brain as an intervening variable. Of course, most behavior therapists do acknowledge the central role of the brain in learning, and I suspect that these investigators are well on the way to accepting some of the more rational findings of psychoanalysts.

Aggression

Some of the current theories about the borderline patient, and particularly regarding aggression and its vicissitudes, are refuted by many studies of infants, including some of animal young. The concept that automatically the infant must defend against his own aggression shortly after he is born, that defenses against this instinct must be put into operation early, that there is a period of autism when the infant is unrelated to objects, that there is a time when the perceptive apparatus is so primitive that the infant cannot integrate his images, and so on. and so on—all of these ideas are under challenge by modern investigators.

The Harlows (19621, as we already noted, found that female monkey infants "raised in total isolation exhibited a level of self-aggression that was nearly suicidal." When these isolates became mothers, they exhibited two different behaviors toward their newborn: (1) "they either totally ignored

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them or (2) they violently abused them." Sometimes the abuse was fatal. Harlow believes this finding can be applied to human mothers who engage in child abuse. He has not explained the father in child abuse, but one could assume that fathers too have been used in untoward ways by their own parents. In the human family the father's role is important, and his influence is felt even shortly after birth. We find that in actual child-abuse cases it is often the father who is abusive, but when the mothers separate from the fathers, they (the mothers) eventually carry on the abusing patterns. In the human family there is an interlocking defensive relationship between father and mother.

Harlow said that the "loyalty" of the battered infants to their mothers was intense. The little monkeys showed "clinging fearfulness" and "prominent displays of hostility." I think that "loyalty" is probably the wrong word. A few of the "motherless mothers" who were unsuccessful in either killing their children or ignoring them finally succumbed to their babies *persistent efforts to nuzzle and cuddle*—and they accepted their offspring.

I propose that the child is a "group person" right from the start. This is not to say that "individual development" is not a fact, but we must take another look at what is "innate." Innate patterns that appear at stated intervals in development, regardless of the culture of the child, appear to support self-preservative functions. It is the group that provides the stimulus

for many of the individual's experiences, however, and it is on the basis of these experiences (good or bad) that conflicting thoughts, hopes, and fears are based. Each individual in the family group has a unique experience and thus a unique history. Communication is the medium through which the group survives. When the pleasure system is disturbed by the behavior of the parents in early life, the infants try to wrest what they need for their own growth and development, just as Harlow's monkeys did and as that child Roxanne Felumaro attempted to do (Wolberg, A., 1973, p. 12). The child will try and try to save himself from the hostility of the parent. Anna Freud found that children from concentration camps tried to get what they needed from adults. Sometimes children do succeed in changing the behavior of the parent. In the case of the borderline this has not been the case, and when selfassertion fails, aggression comes to the fore. I have noticed in the reports of criminals who have maimed or murdered people they did not know that prior to the incident of their murdering they have often had an altercation or an experience with a person whom they do know which they have taken to be self-demeaning. The aggression is in retaliation-but with an unknown object. A young couple have had a "blow up," the man has been rejected, for example, and he goes out and attacks some girl sexually, maiming or killing her. The same can be true of a woman. We have learned that women often instigate fights so that they will be attacked, and, as we have said, battered wives who leave their husbands and take their battered children with them

usually begin battering the children themselves when the husbands are not around to do so. The rage reactions of those who will become borderline patients are seen in temper tantrums by the age of 2 or 3 (Geleered, 1945). Hate, revenge, and envy are later developments. There is a paranoidlike flavor to the transference in the borderline when he perceives the analyst as a sadistic person; thus a paranoid trend seems to serve as a defense against admitting the person's own sadistic impulses and wishes which are aspects of the revenge motif, and his identification with the aggressor. Severe frustration brings aggression to the fore.

Harlow (1976) indicated in a lecture at the New York Academy of Medicine describing the results of 40 years of research with primates that mother love and *peer love* are important in teaching a child control of those "innate learned emotions, hostility and aggression, *which are not apparent at birth* but mature late in the mother-infant system of love" (present author's italics). Harlow believes that *peer love*, or love of child for child, manifested in playful interactions is the major determinant of subsequent social and sexual development. While we cannot compare directly work with primates and work with humans, the dynamics of aggression in relation to frustration can be seen in both. It seems evident that the frustration-aggression hypothesis has more of a bearing on the kind of aggression we see in the neuroses and psychoses than a theory that purports that aggression emerges at birth and the infant must defend immediately through projections. In the human aggression is a defense against threat. It is not an imagined threat but a real threat, which is the aggression of the parent who is forcing the child to act out a role that he must accept through identification while at the same time he must deny that this is so. The individual's conflict rests upon several antithetical propositions: see—do not see; do—do not do; accept—do not accept. We may hypothesize several formulations from our work:

- 1. Children will try to obtain what they need from parents even though the parents are rejecting due to their own problems.
- 2. Children make an adjustment to parents when they cannot change them, if they are to survive.
- 3. When the parents are neurotic, the child is forced to play a sadomasochistic identification role, but first he fights against the identification and actually tries to change the parent. When he cannot do this, *he succumbs to identification as a means of survival.*
- 4. Peer relationships are essential in the development of the child and at a certain point are more important than parental relationships.

In this discussion of infant development we are obviously touching upon the need for multidisciplinary thinking in the field of psychoanalysis, recognizing that the psychoanalyst needs to have information from several disciplines and must be able to utilize the knowledge to understand his own role better, to adapt knowledge from other sources when this is relevant, and to know when the other discipline has only peripheral relevance to the psychoanalyst's work. In this present illustration pertaining to infant development we can learn, for example, what to discard in our psychoanalytic theory. The work of McCarley and Hobson (1977) tells us how the neurophysiological mechanisms aid in the operation of certain mental capacities. In discovering the mechanisms that set off dreaming, they have also told us something about thinking, for dreaming and thinking are related processes. Their work tends to explain how the human individual is able to concentrate, i.e., how we "tune out" and "tune in." Also, it tells us how the defenses of repression, denial, and dissociation can be evoked as well as some of the abilities of the individual to engage in hypnosis and to have the capacity to observe one's own behavior, thus to engage in psychotherapy through self observation.

Rehabilitation

The rehabilitation efforts in Harlow's experiments are geared at helping the isolates who exhibited "abnormal" levels of withdrawal, depression, and/or aggression *to join with a group* of younger, "normal monkeys, who acted as corrective peers." The influence of *the group*, even in animals, is, therefore, an "experimentally demonstrated fact." We have in human society, however, groups in organized crime and certain political groups whose goal is to be destructive or to undo forward moves that have been made to safeguard the welfare of all the people in society. There are also economic groups whose purpose is to control and maintain power at whatever cost, devastation of the environment and hostility to people being techniques that are used. To paraphrase the thinking of such individuals, "I have to have money in order to maintain a certain standard, a position. How the money is obtained is my affair and any means is permissible, as long as I am not caught." There are thus antithetical subgroups in the society. Harlow, however, was speaking of a *constructive group* as a rehabilitative vehicle, one where the security of the members is maintained. In psychoanalytic terms this would be a psychoanalytically oriented therapy group. Group therapy for the borderline is important. There are, as we have said, subgroups also in the therapy group that have antithetical goals at times.

Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, then director of the famous Max Planck Institute for Behavioral Physiology in Bavaria, at a conference held by the Kittay Foundation in March 1974, disagreed with the theories of Konrad Lorenz, the former director of the Max Plack Institute, who held that aggression is an inherited trait of the human race from its animal ancestors—the aggression being related to the animal characteristic of fighting for space and territory. Since aggression is so rampant in our society and creates such distress and havoc among people, and is a factor in all emotional disorders, it is interesting that Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1974) in refuting Lorenz's idea referred to phenomena among animals and birds that are similar to the signaling systems used by

children isolated from ordinary forms of learning by being both blind and deaf. He spoke of the ritualistic behavior of cormorants, for example, in the Galapagos Islands. Lorenz said that "peaceful man" is yet to be born, and that modern man is a "link" between his animal ancestors and an ideal creature that has shed his inherited instinct of aggression. Eibl-Eibesfeldt reminds us that man is equipped with all of the restraints on violent behavior that prevent animals of a particular species from killing one another. Chimpanzees have signals for displaying friendships, for example, that are much like those of human beings. They press their lips together in what seems like a kiss, and they extend hands: One chimpanzee will offer his hand to another, and the other will cover the hand. The first hand, according to Eibl-Eibesfeldt, is extended palm upward while the other covers the first. Many examples from animal and bird life were presented to support the thesis, and George Serban, the medical director of the Kittay Scientific Foundation, at the time, said that this information may help toward reconciliation of the two views that have long divided psychologists into camps represented by the "nature" and "nurture" concepts relevant to the roots of human behavior. Eibl-Eibesfeldt remarked that it is the culture (society) and society's development of weapons that permits killing and destruction. There are inborn signals of peace and friendships, such as smiling, crying, and there are many kinds of acts that are conciliatory in effect. In the modern world there are treaties of friendships, agreements, and concords. In essence these agreements and

concords represent norms that the participants are expected to respect. Human survival depends on our cultural development rather than on the technology that we develop. We are beginning to understand that techniques can be used for the good of society or for its destruction.

We mentioned that in the human group there is the important dynamic —the development of norms—that is essential if the group is to survive. This dynamic is based on a consensus of opinion, on agreements after several solutions to a problem have been discussed and one solution is agreed upon. A norm is a description of the kind of behavior that the group deems appropriate for individuals in a given circumstance. The "norm" is a guide to the roles of individuals in groups, and the "role" is the connecting link between the group and the individual. In emotional problems the neurotic role is indicated by the parent who trains the child in the identification process, the vehicle for accepting the neurotic role.

The fact is, as Winnicott (1965) has pointed out, all children need adequate mothering in order to grow up with a minimum of neurotic traits. I would add that they cannot have "good enough mothering" without good enough "fathering." Right from birth the father enters as an instrument in the rearing techniques as early as the mother, and the reciprocal relationship of the father and mother has an influence on their attitudes toward the child. There is a great deal of self-assertion in the infant at birth that helps the child to be involved in a kind of self-feedback system in relation to objects. When the objects are human, responses are received that give him pleasure and unpleasure, thus lending impetus to the development of defenses.

Communication

The structure of the group is attained through communication. In fact, communication along with memory are fundamental elements not only in the survival of the species but of the individual as well. Learning involves the synchronization of the individual's various systems and is an important element in the survival chain.

As communication operates, the family structure emerges, and it is partly the stuff out of which individual personality develops. There are those theorists who propose that communication in the form of language is the binding force in group life and that there are natural laws that apply to all communications in the group, regardless of the culture. Communication means any kind of language: sign language, guttural sounds and words, phrases, sentences, any form of signaling that indicates meaning. Possibility for communication is inherent in the child at birth. Cooing, sucking, spitting, looking, the startle response, the manifestations associated with the alerting tendencies and other activities of the limbic system all play a role in the infant's ability to communicate. The genetic base for communication is embedded in various behaviors. Trevarthen (1974) has suggested that the child's ability to communicate with gestures is already developed at birth. The child is prepared genetically for group life. The world of meaning is established through communication. It is the communication system on both its conscious and unconscious or repressed levels that we meet in dreams and fantasies with their associations. We need several types of communication to understand the language (the preconscious material as well as the unconscious or repressed material) that is directed to us in distorted form in dreams. The distortions are a disguised kind of communication that we learn to decipher through the associations. We have learned a great deal about this communication system from "The Interpretation of Dreams" (Freud, S.E., 1900). Dreams reveal aspects of the memory system and the meaning of a particular memory in relation to events in the here-and-now. This point has been discussed by Lewis R. Wolberg (1962) in his book *Psychotherapy and the Behavioral Sciences*.

Apparently the principle of polarity or contrasts is important in language and communication. It is indeed a principle in interpretation in psychoanalysis and psychotherapy. The polarity of pleasant and unpleasant begins in infancy and is a primary factor in learning and in interpersonal relations. Interpretations to the borderline contain many polarities. There are the polarities of sadism and masochism, anger and love, good and bad, aggression and appeasement, self and object, distortion and reality perception, self and environment, and on and on.

The psychoanalytic therapeutic relationship is in itself a form of various types of communication. There has been much in the psychoanalytic and psychotherapeutic literature as well as in sociological writing concerning communication. Many therapists feel that nonverbal communication is important in the treatment of borderline patients. There comes a time in the treatment when it is necessary to work through the detachment and the patient's pattern of cutting off pleasure. This is related to the struggle that the patient had in trying to communicate with a detached parent and the ambivalence and hostility of the parent and finally the identification with the parent. This working through is a most delicate and arduous task, requiring the therapist to make use of polarities or opposite attitudes on the part of the parent. The detached parent usually makes feeble attempts to be friendly, but the patient cannot appreciate these attempts and will either withdraw from the parent or attack-whichever way the sadomasochistic pattern has evolved between them. The communications from the therapist must point to the opposites in the parents' behavior as well as in the patient's.

In the treatment of any patient, including the borderline patient, the help seeker and the therapist are opposites in a sense, the therapist being the more healthy of the two. Nevertheless, areas of cooperation must be found. Inevitably the patient's parents and the therapist are opposites in the sense that the parents had a definite role in promoting the patient's illness, while the therapist (hopefully! has no such role—quite the opposite —the therapist promotes the nonneurotic side of the patient's personality. The defensive structures are opposed to the interpretations of the therapist. The interpretations upset the equilibrium of the patient—they throw him out of balance and so forth. If we think of Harlow's work, we may understand why love, compassion, and closeness are important as opposed to isolation, hate, greed, or unreasonable "control" of one person over another or one group over another. There are some opposites that create not only dissension but also aggression and war if no compromises or agreements exist. As a matter of fact the child's neurosis or psychosis is a compromise that went against the well-being of the child. The child makes the compromise by becoming either neurotic or psychotic, the basic defense being identification with the aggressor.

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