Theodore Lidz

The Juvenile

The Person

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The Juvenile

The child’s departure for school marks a long-awaited day. The mother turns her child over to the teacher at the classroom door or to the school bus driver, and breathes deeply to lighten the heaviness in her chest. She feels that she has handed her baby over to the world; she can no longer protect and offer her child guidance during the hours the child is away from home. Schoolchildren must manage on the integration they have achieved during the preceding years, and on the security they feel awaits them at home, which will still remain the center of their lives. The children are buoyed by pride in joining the schoolchildren and leaving the “babies” at home. They enter the classroom, where each feels somewhat lost among so many strange children, uneasy over the unfamiliar procedures and uncertain as they seek to follow the directions given by a strange woman. When the novelty wears off, some may decide that life at home was preferable.

THE CRUCIAL ISSUES OF THE JUVENILE PERIOD

The entrance into school is symbolic of the crucial issues of the period. Children now move into the world beyond the home and must begin to find their places in it, and in so doing their self-concepts, value systems, and cognitive capacities change. The equilibrium children gained at the closing of the oedipal period as they found their positions within their families is disrupted when they move off to school, where they will be judged on their merits, and into the neighborhood peer group, where they must find a place on their own. Neither the classroom nor the peer group forms a completely new environment. Most children have attended kindergarten, if not nursery school, and have played with children in the neighborhood. But new expectations accompany the role of schoolchild. They are no longer just children within their families but representatives of their families, and their parents would like to be proud of them. Children compare themselves with classmates and playmates and wish to measure up and be proud of themselves. A critical aspect of the transition concerns the shift from ascribed to achieved acceptance and status.

Within the family, the child's position was determined largely by biological determinants: each was

a member of the childhood generation of a given sex, age, and sequential position. Basically, each was loved or accepted because he or she was his or her parents' child. In school and with peers it matters little that the child is a younger or older sibling, or a much loved or neglected child, except as such factors have influenced the child's personality and behavior. As part of a group of children of the same age, the child is often treated as part of the collectivity rather than with the individualized attention to which each became accustomed at home. The child must forgo many desires and mask idiosyncrasies in order to fit into the group. The teacher has an obligation to evaluate children on the basis of their achievement and, eventually, according to impersonal scales. Both in school and in the neighborhood confreres are rivals—sometimes harsh judges who are more likely to rub salt than salve in emotional wounds. In these altered circumstances, in these new environments, and in relation to new significant figures, the children's personalities will undergo considerable reorganization and they will develop new abilities to prepare themselves to live within the larger society rather than simply within a family.

Psychoanalytic psychology has relatively little to offer concerning the critical aspects of the period. Classic analytic theory considers the *latency period* a time of transition and consolidation between the closing of the oedipal period and the onset of puberty. Freud postulated that a biologically determined subsidence of libidinal drives or their effective repression permitted a period of relative calm, however, even as there is no evidence of a physiologically determined increase in sexual drive in the oedipal child, there is no reason to believe that a diminution in sexual drive occurs and accounts for the critical aspects of the latency period. There is little if any evidence that children have less impulsion to masturbation or that their sexual curiosity diminishes appreciable. However, children have come to terms with their positions in their families, repressed their sensuous desires for the mother, and internalized controls. Such repression of erotic interests may free energy for learning, as psychoanalytic theory postulates, or new experiences may stimulate children's cognitive appetites in accord with Piagetian theory. In any case, they will now be investing their interests outside the family, in peers and in learning. With their attachments divided between parents, teachers, and peers, and with their many new interests, there is often less turmoil at home. Then, too, children have completed their primary socialization and are less preoccupied with bodily functions, and require and obtain less sensuous gratification from their parents.

Many psychoanalysts have recognized the need to reconceptualize this developmental period and

its importance in personality development. Harry Stack Sullivan (1953), in particular, placed considerable emphasis upon the juvenile period and particularly on the importance of children's finding their places in the peer group and in forming a close relationship with a "chum." He emphasized, too, that a relationship with a chum or some significant adult other than the parents could rescue a child from destructive intrafamilial influences.

Erikson (1950) has considered the development of a *sense of industry* the crucial theme of late childhood. Unless children acquire a sense of industry they develop pervasive *feelings of inferiority and inadequacy.* We can further recognize that the trait of industry is encompassed on the one side by the danger of habitual compulsive striving to excel in competition, and, on the other, by defeatist trends seen in an unwillingness to accept and face meaningful challenges. As striving to excel competitively is a highly-valued American characteristic, its pathological aspects are readily overlooked.[1]

There are, however, other character traits that appear to have their roots in this period of life, and if not implanted firmly during it will never come to blossom. One is the *sense of belonging,* the assurance a child gains of being an accepted and integral part of the group and of the broader society, in contrast to feeling like an outsider. It involves more than social ease or anxiety; it concerns an identification with the society in which a person lives and a commitment to its values and ethics. Serious alienation usually reflects the transference of distrust of parents to the broader society, and although it usually becomes apparent during adolescence, it often has clear-cut precursors in a child's ways of acting in school and in relating to peers. A *sense of responsibility* must also develop at this stage. It involves a willingness and capacity to live up to the expectations one has aroused. It is insufficient for children to learn the technical skills and knowledge required to conduct their life tasks, for unless they can be relied upon their skills are of little value to their fellow citizens. To gain approbation, children need to be trustworthy in the sense of being reliable rather than simply honest. Traits such as a sense of belonging and of responsibility are also basic to the quality of *leadership.* It is now, in finding their places among peers, that children begin to assume their places in society. A child learns that he or she can lead and is expected to lead; that one is a supporter who helps the leader, or simply a follower, or one who is habitually alienated or rebellious. The child places the self in part, and in part is placed by others.

In finding their places in a society of peers, and through being evaluated by adults, by schoolmates

and playmates, children develop more adequate evaluations of themselves than when relating primarily to family members, and form self concepts that serve to regulate their ambitions and ways of relating to others. The ego, so to speak, contemplates and evaluates the self, but in so doing the ego is considering the reactions of others to the self.[2] A boy, for example, realizes that some hold him in esteem and seek him as a friend, as a member of a team, as a birthday party guest. He evaluates who likes him and who avoids him and he notes how others respond to his critiques of these persons, and gains an evaluation of himself in the process. He recognizes that teachers praise his work, give him responsibilities, or consider him a dullard or a nonentity. He is learning who he is, and he is simultaneously learning his society's value system.

In the several environments in which school-age children live—the home, schoolroom, neighborhood play group—they begin to take on new sets of values and begin to view their social worlds from different perspectives, moving beyond the egocentric and family-centered orientations of early childhood. As we shall examine later in this chapter, the decline in egocentricity is of paramount importance to both the child's cognitive and ethical development.

Thus, even though the juvenile period has received little attention in classic psychoanalytic developmental theory, and few aside from Sullivan and educational psychologists have emphasized its importance, we shall here consider the critical significance of these years. It may be useful to realize that in most countries, though not in the United States, the sorting out of students for higher education occurs before adolescence, and thus children's personalities and performances in the grade school years will have a decisive influence upon their future lives.

THE EXPANDING ENVIRONMENT

As this chapter is concerned with a half-dozen years, we cannot describe with conciseness the change from kindergarten tot who has difficulty in differentiating play and fantasy from reality to junior high school boy or girl. Although at five and six the children's groups still are composed of both sexes engaged in playing "house" or "store" and in such activities as hide-and-seek and roller skating, between the ages of seven and eleven the two sexes are more completely separated than at any other time of life. Boys and girls may live as if in different worlds, coming together only within the home and in school.

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The children's environments vary greatly and accordingly influence their way of life differently. Life is different on farms, in suburbs, and in the city, but it is almost always lived with playmates. The social environment may consist of a few girls caring for pets and riding their horses, or boys who get together when finished with farm chores to swim, play baseball at the town center, or turn the barn loft into a fortress. Or it may be a host of kids on a city street, seemingly a mixture of all ages and both sexes, but who are divided into subgroups within this agglomeration, and who, amidst the traffic of passers-by and cars, are in a world of their own, excluding adults from their awareness.

These years are often recalled as being among the happiest periods of life, particularly when the home is stable and relationships with parents are not a source of concern; but even when they are not, children can often forget their domestic woes while with their friends. It is a golden period of freedom marred only by school, when hours can be spent with friends away from adult interference. Children have become sufficiently independent to be on their own, exploring new interests and moving into real or imaginary ventures while burdened with few responsibilities. The parents still provide for their essential needs and furnish a haven in the home to which they can return when frustrated by their companions. Still, these years also encompass many woes—feelings of rejection by the group, the desertion of a best friend, the embarrassment caused by parents, the difficulties at school, the failures to be chosen for a team or a party—as well as the more significant anxieties caused by realization of parents' limitations as sources of protection.

THE SOCIETY OF PLAYMATES

Within the group of childhood companions many essential traits develop and many of the patterns for social living are learned or consolidated. Here, too, children are weaned from home, learning to feel comfortable and secure while interdependent with peers. The society of playmates has a socializing influence as a subculture of its own. It is not a haphazard assemblage of children occupied with random activities. It is a subculture with mores that are transmitted relatively independently of either the family or the school, passed on from one age group to the next in a constant succession and with a turnover that is much more rapid than the generational cycle of the family. Each child remains in the juvenile period for about a half-dozen years, and is replaced by another. There is constant movement of individuals into and out of the age group. The ways of the subculture are learned from the older children by the

neophytes who hang on the periphery of the group, later assume fill-in roles, and then become members who gain increasing importance and responsibility over the next few years. The age roles are fairly well set and afford an opportunity to each child according to ability, and acceptance according to worth to the peer group. The task of learning how to get along with the group and be evaluated on one's own merits sets a very real challenge to the child.

Childhood peer-group activities and mores may remain more stable over generations than the mores of the larger society, and they are a force for conservatism. It is known that some games, and probably the customs that accompany them, go back to antiquity. The checkerboards and marble holes used by Roman children can be found scratched into stone floors in the Roman Forum. Two paintings by Breughel show sixteenth-century children engaged in games most of which are readily recognized from their similarities to contemporary games. The jokes which each child thinks are new and hastens to tell to parents are usually much older than the parents. The child is engaged primarily in the task of learning to live with peers, and the world of the juvenile group may change less than the adult world.

The Separation of the Sexes

The division of children into separate gender groups may be instigated by boys more than by girls. The exclusion of girls from the boys' juvenile peer group serves to help the boy become more secure in his gender identity and his masculine role. He is overcoming his dependency upon his mother but he is also divesting himself of residua of his identification with her and countering whatever envy he may have of the girl's prerogatives, particularly her socially ascribed right to remain more dependent.[3] He adopts a contemptuous attitude toward girls and whatever is girlish. He convinces himself that being a girl is something he would want less than anything else. Indeed, there may be nothing he fears more—nothing that he fears washing more because the wish is not far from the surface. Repressing such wishes into the unconscious is one task of the "latency" period. He does not reject all girls; girls who behave as boys—that is, who act out their wishes to be boys—may be acceptable to him, for they reinforce the idea that no one would wish to be a girl. Still, he is very likely to feel attracted to girls—in secret—or at least to a particular girl, and finds roundabout ways of gaining her admiration.

The exclusion of the opposite sex is, however, not a one-sided matter. Both boys and girls are likely

to feel at ease with and admire others who are more like the self. Both boys and girls who have siblings of the opposite sex who are close to them in age are usually freer to associate and play with agemates of the opposite sex. Then, too, as girls do not need to differentiate so completely from the mother and are likely to have stronger affectional ties to the father, they tend to remain closer to the home and become less rebellious than boys. They will, perhaps in retaliation, become scornful of boys' boisterous behavior and reject them as smelly and dirty. They, too, must convince themselves that they would not wish to be boys.

Girls' Activities

Girls tend to spend more of their free time at home than boys, and may remain closer to their parents. While the society of children is important to them, the groups tend to remain small and the relationships more personal and intimate than group oriented. As the play of the two sexes differentiates, hop scotch, rope jumping, and jacks seem to be the prerogatives of girls. They do not tend to participate in group sports as much except under supervision; but basketball, field hockey, and soft ball can arouse great interest and enthusiasm and competitiveness in them as they grow older. Still, skating, riding, swimming, and other such activities, which are less team oriented, seem to be preferred. A significant part of young girls' play, in contrast to that of boys, bears a relationship to future activities. Play with dolls and at sewing and cooking is apt to turn into similar real activities around the home as years pass. The girl tries on mother's dresses, jewelry, and makeup, pretending to be grown. Girls also may become enamored of horses and horseback riding, sometimes developing a passionate interest in one horse: they seem to enjoy the feeling of power that comes with a sense of unity with the animal as well as the erotic stimulation of riding. As the girl passes ten and is almost prepubertal, desires for intimacy with other girls increase. Cliques that are formalized into clubs or secret societies afford opportunities to exchange knowledge or fantasies about menstruation, sex, and crushes. The approaching changes in physique and physiological functioning can be faced more securely when fears and hopes are shared. Now a girl may have a need for almost constant companionship. She may leave her girl friends after several hours of chatter but find that by the time she reaches home there is so much to say that she must continue on the telephone. Girls usually remain closer to the home than boys and find a prime interest in people and their interactions. Their value systems remain more like that of their parents. The girl may feel that her mother is her best friend. Her self-image depends greatly upon her girl friends' evaluations

of her, but it will develop more definitely later in relation to boys. Some girls will become boyish for a time, and gain acceptance by the boys and inclusion in their games. Boys, in contrast, rarely participate in girls' games. The boyishness and the desire to be accepted by boys because of prowess at their sports usually fade in the prepubertal period, when the girl begins to desire a different type of acceptance from boys. Sometimes, of course, the tomboyish behavior reflects profound dissatisfaction with being female and forebodes serious gender-identity problems. A girl who learned to relate to boys as another boy eventually found herself married to a man who was unconsciously seeking a close relationship with another man, and who insisted that she go on extreme diets and exercise regularly to make her figure more masculine.

Girls today can still be very feminine when their competitive fantasies of becoming a figure-skating or tennis champion can lead to hours of practice each day in the search for fame, wealth, and the admiration of millions. Such fantasies concern personal achievement rather than simply gaining fame and admiration because of beauty or charm.

Boys' Activities

As boys move beyond hide-and-seek and other games shared with girls, they rather typically play "cowboys and Indians," which will turn into "cops and robbers" and various types of military games. They have a passionate interest in marbles, kite flying, bike riding, simple ball games; and then they begin to play games such as baseball, basketball, and football with poorly organized teams, countless fights about rules, arguments about cheating, and lopsided scores. Hours indoors are spent playing checkers, cards, and other games or in constructing models and collecting almost anything. There is the fondness for wrestling and body contact; the dares to fight, the chip on the shoulder; the avoidance of the bully, the teasing of the poor sport. There are the quarrels between friends who will never talk to one another again but seek one another out within the day. There is the boasting, the importance of winning, the complete exhaustion by bedtime. As they near the end of the period they may tend to form into larger groups that resemble gangs in order to have sufficient members to form real teams.

The term "gang" often has a bad connotation to parents. It conveys a vision of gang fights on city streets; of stealing, gambling, and narcotics peddlers. However, except in delinquent neighborhoods the

gang is not an antisocial influence, nor does it provide a chaotic environment. It has organization and rules and customs which have been transmitted by the juvenile subculture and which somehow are suited to the specific society to which the subculture belongs. Partly because of the erroneous conception of the children's peer groups conveyed by the term "gang," adults often seek to minimize peer-group influences by organizing Cub Scouts and Boy Scouts, and baseball teams supervised by adults in competitive leagues. Parents may send their children to private schools primarily to have them engage in the supervised play in the afternoons. Some supervision can be helpful, particularly in activities that require adult direction such as scouting or sailing, and there can be a pressing need for proper guidance in disorganized neighborhoods where children may readily come under delinquent influences; or a need for substitute father figures or "big brothers" for boys who lack fathers. However, it is very important for peer groups to work out their own hierarchy and to set their own standards of behavior, learn to handle fights, deal with cheaters, and cope with less adaptable children. It is here that children gradually work out patterns of social interaction free from adult authority.[4] They will make mistakes but they gain essential experience. It is here that they learn who they are, independently of adult evaluations.

There is the good life of the protected and happy child, both boy and girl, but there are other lives that children lead as well. There is the slum child who returns to the empty flat after school with an empty stomach and an empty heart, who then ventures forth to find some companionship, looking at shop windows, snitching fruit from a stand, sharing a cigarette with a friend. There is the child of the migratory sugarbeet worker who never goes to any one school for more than a term, lives in a trailer or a series of shacks supplied by the farms, and works in the fields with parents to help eke out a livelihood. There are the black children who must watch that they not overstep a thousand intangible boundaries and who are having inferiority woven into them. And then, of course, there are the children who for emotional reasons cannot move beyond the family into the peer group and remain very much to themselves, lonely and embittered.

THE DEVELOPING SELF-CONCEPT

The manner in which juveniles gain a clearer concept of the self in peer groups or neighborhood gangs is complicated and often subtle. They learn to see themselves as others see them and often

according to rather relentless standards. As we shall examine, at this age children have rigid standards of what is right and wrong, for they consider ethical values as fixed rather than suited to the circumstances, and believe individuals should be judged according to egalitarian standards and punished in an expiatory manner. The peer group has standards of what makes a good companion and a good member. They are based upon the achievements and attitudes of the child and they are not concerned with exonerating reasons. At this age the children are concerned with how good a playmate or companion another makes, not with the reasons why she is or why he is not. Important to the group are loyalty; a willingness to compromise and not insist on having one's own way; being a good "sport" in defeat; being able to keep a secret; not being a "bully" who picks on smaller or weaker children; not being a "sorehead" who quits when decisions go against one, or a "crybaby" who runs home for parental help when teased or hit; not "snitching" even if a friend does something one thinks wrong. Honesty is a virtue, but the standards do not always agree with those of adults: "Finders keepers, losers weepers" is usually an acceptable guide for minor items; and "swiping" inexpensive objects from carts or chain stores, while considered dishonest, may not be deemed a real infraction by the older children. Such behavior is often a testing of limits, a response to taking a dare, a way of showing off; if one never goes beyond parental restrictions one is apt to be considered a "baby."

The threat of being called a "sissy," "baby," or "chicken" can force a child to take a dare in order to prove himself or herself to the gang. Children are in the process of learning what challenges they can accept without coming to physical harm or suffering moral discomfort. Exclusion from the group brings intense unhappiness to most children, and a child will often prefer ridicule to being ignored, and will be the low man on the totem pole rather than feel unwanted. A boy will wear such nicknames as "Stinky" or "Dopey" in order to belong.

Athletic prowess can be a very marked asset for both boys and girls; but the best athlete is not necessarily the leader. Even at this stage of life the leader must be able to forgo his or her own interests for those of the group, and be fair in rendering judgments in order to preserve intragroup harmony. Initiative, often requiring imagination, attracts other children, but boastfulness rather than action, and self-serving fabrications soon lose friends for a child. Reliability and responsibility—important assets in school—are also valued by the peer group, particularly when it reaches the stage of forming clubs and more permanent teams. Not only may such peer evaluations be of greater importance to the child than

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those of teachers, but peers may also be more perceptive than teachers of values that count in the long run.

Modification of Values

In these children's groups new sets of values are learned which may or may not fit with those of the family. The children now come into intimate contact with the value systems of friends. They enter other homes and see how they are conducted. They learn how friends are treated by their parents and note the different ways in which families behave and compare the differing degrees of calm or friction within other households to the atmosphere in their own homes. They acquire a basis on which they can judge their parents as individuals. Children may learn better to appreciate their own parents or may come to develop bitterness toward them, but these experiences permit them to develop a perspective and more realistic values and judgments. There is often a de-idealization of parents, and sometimes an idealization of friends' parents. After all, a friend's mother and father are unlikely to fight with one another when a visiting child is around.

There are limits to the broadening influences exerted by the child's "gang." As the peer group is usually formed in the neighborhood it is apt to be constituted of children from families who are relatively homogeneous economically and socially. The childhood peer groups thus continue to help pattern and prepare the child for the type of life expected from persons of a given family type. Even in heterogeneous neighborhoods children are surprisingly selective in the choice of companions, tending to pick friends who come from similar backgrounds and with similar levels of intelligence because they understand one another better. For such reasons the influence of the family upon the child's values is often difficult to differentiate from that of the peers. Still, the juvenile group has different ideals from those of the family, and children idealize new models whom they would like to emulate. One can say that the child's "ego ideal" becomes modified by incorporation of these new figures, or the term "ideal ego" can be used to signify the image of the person one would like to become. The new models are taken from life, TV, and books: the adolescent athlete in the neighborhood whom the child glorifies; the teacher, coach, scout leader, whose achievements or kindness make that person seem a more desirable model than a parent; the baseball hero or comedian one watches on TV; inventors, scientists, storybook heroes. A girl is likely to develop a crush on a teacher whom the girls all admire or on a girl friend of an older sibling who seems

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so glamorous. Occasionally one sees abrupt changes in a child's behavior when the boy or girl takes on a role as if donning a new garment and begins to act the part. More conventionally a boy will begin to eat and sleep baseball, insist on wearing the baseball cap and shirt, and mimic the gait of his hero, for this is a time of hero worship. The girl may assume the characteristics of a woman tennis star or the woman reporter on TV. The models are apt to disappear almost as rapidly as they are taken on, for the child is subject to the fads and whims of the group.

The Special Friend

At about the age of ten the center of the child's life moves from the group of peers to a special friend, the "chum" in Sullivan's terms, who is distinguished from all other friends by a special intonation when the child refers to "my friend" (Sullivan, 1953, pp. 227-262). It is an intense and important experience, for the relationship usually constitutes the child's first major realistic attachment outside of the family. The friend is of the same sex because sharing feelings and experiences with another and thereby achieving empathy can usually occur only with a person of the same sex at this age. The intimate exchange helps diminish feelings of uniqueness, enables each to learn how another person feels about and manages similar problems. It is an expansion of the self beyond one's own boundaries. There is a constant need to be with the chum, and an altruistic attitude develops in which the friend's welfare is almost as important as one's own.

The child begins to think in terms of "we" instead of "I" and thereby develops a sense of altruism. The special friends are likely to share many intimate thoughts and feelings, and thus learn how another feels about parents, crushes, disappointments. Girls are likely to become even more intimate than boys in exchanging experiences and feelings and real girl friends are likely to spend hours confiding romantic fantasies and talking on the phone about what they have learned about other girls. The friendship is the first movement toward intimacy that develops on the basis of common personality traits and ideals rather than through family relatedness. As psychoanalytic psychology has shown, this first close friendship contains homosexual components—a narcissistic quality of loving and sharing with someone like the self—but it is not an indication of homosexuality but of movement toward learning to relate intimately beyond the family. If a fixation occurs at this stage, it is more likely to indicate disturbances in the family relationships rather than that something is wrong in the friendship.

THE CLASSROOM AS A SOCIALIZING AGENCY

Whereas the peer groups' tasks of socializing children and influencing their moral values are informal, the school has the express function of teaching the children the knowledge and skills they will require in order to function as reasonably self-sufficient adults in society. It is a major socializing agency, taking over from the family and supplementing the family's functions. However, the school does not function simply through its expertise in educational matters. Because of the nature of the classroom as a social system, the school can carry out socializing functions different from those with which the parents are concerned, a process in which both teachers and classmates play a part (Parsons, 1959).

The Teacher's Role

The school serves as the first significant institution which differentiates children on the basis of achievement. The parents have accepted the children simply because they are theirs—an acceptance and affection through ascription which children continue to need in order to feel emotionally secure. Status in the classroom is established by differences in performance on tasks set by the teacher, who is acting for the community's school system. This shift to being evaluated through achievement rather than ascription is fundamental to how children learn who they are and what they can expect of themselves. Although children may by now be old enough to start finding their way in the world, they are far from ready to lose parental affection and protection if they cannot live up to expectations. Further, the parents are emotionally unsuited to evaluating their children on merit alone. They have a strong investment in them, and their children's wellbeing is a major factor in their own lives, The teacher, in contrast, has an obligation to evaluate each child fairly and serve as the agent for bringing about a differentiation of the children in the class on the basis of how well they can learn and assume responsibilities. The ethical development of the children, their willingness to accept the teacher's authority, and the children's evaluations of themselves depend upon the teacher's objectivity and fairness.[5] Now, of course, the difference between parental and teacher roles is not as sharp as has been stated. The teacher, particularly in the early grades, often treats the children in a somewhat motherly manner and will take individual shortcomings into account; and the parents reinforce the school's influence by rewarding children's school achievement and through conveying expectations that they will strive to do well. Many children soon learn that their mothers' happiness and satisfaction with them fluctuate with their grades

and class standings. Serious emotional problems and blocks to learning can follow when a child finds that the affection and acceptance received from parents depend largely upon the child's school grades. A mother whose only way of feeling adequate and comparable with her peers had been to be the leading student in each grade became very upset when her son had difficulties in learning to read and was in the lower half of his first-and second-grade classes. She sought to coach him, but became intolerant of his "stupidity" and conveyed rather directly that she could not love a poor student; and before long the boy had developed a serious learning block as well as a reading problem.

The Classmates' Role

The child's classmates also enter into the socialization process and the reorganization of the child's personality. Not only is the child evaluated by teachers in relationship to fellow students and thus placed in competition with them, but each child is also evaluated by classmates according to different standards. The schoolchild learns to balance adult and children's values, seeking approval from both. Children now also identify with their age group in contrast to the identifications with parents and teachers. It is a step that dilutes the intrafamilial identifications and starts a new group loyalty in which children will identify with leaders of their own generation.[6] The peer group in school usually has a less personal relationship to the child than does the neighborhood group, and also differs in that it is supervised by an adult authority rather than being on its own. Children's personalities gain complexity by the children's having to find ways of relating to three or more groups of which they are members and still maintain an identity: to the family group; to the school group, both as student and as classmate; to the neighborhood peer group, free of adult presence.

The Stresses of Starting School

As eagerly as the child has looked forward to becoming a schoolchild, the new situation commonly places the child under considerable emotional strain. The new student docs not know how to respond to the teacher, who, though a woman much like mother is very different from her. The child is not accustomed to being judged on merit and being graded in relation to a large group of other children. Individual needs are often ignored, and sometimes a trait that parents have considered lovable or a reason to be lenient—such as a speech defect—is only an embarrassing handicap that the teacher strives

to correct. Rules cannot be evaded by the child's being cute or crying. A child who finds himself or herself in a secondary role to brighter children may feel inadequate or stupid. The uneasiness reactivates wishes to regress, and behavior can become more babyish for a time. The child may seek reasons to avoid going to school, and as illness may become the only acceptable way out, the child may use hypochondriacal complaints, which need not be feigned, for anxiety creates feelings of dis-ease, and physical symptoms are a simple way of expressing a need for help. The problems usually pass as the child gains familiarity with the situation and makes friends with classmates. When a school phobia develops, the child is usually responding to the mother's anxiety that her child cannot manage without her; but sometimes to fears that the mother will desert while the child is in school, or to jealousy of siblings still at home.

The Family Social Background and School Achievement

Children from deprived homes and even children from the lower socioeconomic levels generally enter school with serious disadvantages; and, unless special efforts are made, the disadvantages can increase in school. The teachers are assessing and rewarding the child for cognitive abilities and for "citizenship"—reliability in meeting obligations and commitments as well as class conduct. Despite their efforts to evaluate and reward children on an egalitarian basis, teachers are human and usually become more involved with the intelligent, knowledgeable, and better-mannered children. The teacher's interest in a child and her expectations for higher performance levels appear to stimulate the development of intelligence as well as improve learning.[7] However, quite aside from the teacher's interest, the school system favors children who have been prepared in the home to be verbal, curious, motivated to learn, and to control distracting impulsions.

Children from families of the higher socioeconomic levels, which are also usually the better educated, have been exposed to more diverse information and to much more verbal interchange, although they often have had less experience with diverse situations. The exposure to more varied experiences in the inner city can foster greater self-sufficiency and knowledge of the "world," but such advantages are commonly offset by the instabilities of the family, the meager verbal communication in the home, and the emotional tensions that are antipathetic to learning. The intensive studies of white inner-city children in Boston (Pavenstedt, 1967) revealed that by the time they started nursery school many were seriously handicapped by impulsivity, inability to delay gratification, retarded cognitive

development, distrust of adults, etc. Teachers felt frustrated in their efforts to establish meaningful relationships because the children did not clearly differentiate between various teachers. Some inner-city black children may find that they must virtually learn a new language, as "Black English" is often found unacceptable, and later will be unsuitable for reading texts and literature. Fluent verbal abilities were once considered to reflect good innate intelligence, but it now seems fairly clear that habitual exposure to good verbal communication in early childhood fosters higher intelligence. How much intelligence level depends upon innate endowment and how much upon experience remains uncertain. Nature and nurture are both important. Many intelligence tests tend to reward high verbal abilities and therefore help select out children from educated homes as having better potential. Although tests can be utilized that minimize the influence of language skills and give a better index of the deprived child's potential capacities, they cannot eliminate the effects of early education completely.[8] It is becoming increasingly apparent that early experiences within the family strongly influence school achievement.

Intelligence and Family Background

The correlation between children's intellectual abilities and their parents' educational level or social status had formerly been widely accepted as an indication of the overriding importance of heredity in determining intelligence. Schooling was offered to all and the children would use as much of it as they were capable. There was concern that economic or emotional factors prevented some bright children from gaining as much education as they could utilize. Currently, however, there is a strong trend to consider that providing equal educational opportunity means instituting measures to develop the latent intellectual abilities of deprived children. Changes in the polity of the nation are involved. Efforts to raise the socioeconomic and educational level of impoverished groups relate to the rapidly diminishing need for unskilled labor as well as to democratic ideals. The task cannot be accomplished within a few years, and faces the difficulty that underprivileged families do not provide the necessary background.

Underprivileged children often enter school with other disadvantages. Unfamiliar with middle-class standards, they may be perplexed by the value systems they encounter. Their parents do not provide models of intellectual achievement with whom to identify, and sometimes have little interest in their children's school achievement.[9] Children from minority groups have difficulty fitting into the peer group and identifying with it. Neighborhood schools tend to lessen the impact when neighborhoods

contain families of similar economic and ethnic backgrounds, but a school filled with children from deprived homes does not constitute a suitable environment for efforts to raise the cognitive level of the students. In any event, unless the school serves a very homogeneous community, children now must come to grips with status problems based on social class and ethnic backgrounds. Attitudes toward the underprivileged children and their ethnic group enter into each child’s self-concept, into children's evaluations of their parents as models, and into their commitments to the values of the society.

BOOKS AND TELEVISION

One type of companionship is available to virtually all children who have had some schooling. The companionship of books and the characters who people them can fill the emptiness of lonely days and can transport the child from the isolated farm or fishing hamlet, or replace the dingy slum airshafts and alleys with prairie or castle. Books have furnished the vision of a different and more hopeful life that has motivated many; and have brought into a colorless or disorganized home the heroic models for identification that displaced the disheartening real models. They have taught the use of imagination and opened eves to visions of beauty and ears to the sounds of beauty. The love of books and even the craving for books usually develop during the juvenile period. For most it is not a love of great literature, which is almost always beyond the child’s comprehension of his limited world, and for many it starts with books of little merit beyond their inspirational and narrative values. The delight in reading and the enthusiasm for discovering new worlds in books is what counts. If children keep reading they will become bored with the tawdry and commonplace, and in proportion to their understanding progressively seek out books that provide new vision and perspective.

Of course, television has become a far more pervasive influence than books upon most children. Between the ages of three and sixteen, the average child in the United States spends about one-sixth of his or her waking hours watching television—an activity (or lack of activity) that reaches its zenith (or nadir) between the ages of twelve and fourteen, when some twenty-three or twenty-four hours a week are spent with eves fixed on the TV screen. At this age, almost eights percent of the time is spent watching adult programs (Schramm *et al.,* 1961). Excellent programs for young children have been provided by public television, and many programs expand children’s horizons in felicitous ways. We cannot, however, consider here the quality of the vast majority of television programs intended to provide an

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escape from reality for adults, and attempt to weigh the effects of the envelopment of the child in violence and sex as well as banality. Television clearly influences children's cognitive and moral development by providing them with awareness of lives happier and more placid than their own, or, on the other hand, more unfortunate and chaotic than theirs. It provides figures real as well as fictitious whom they may wish to emulate. Unfortunately, it makes commonplace much that had once been unusual in children's lives, whether violence and death or the opportunity to watch big league baseball games. And experience has been made passive. Children's lives have been changed profoundly by television; but, as with many other changes in the way of life, evaluation is difficult, and one must consider what children would be doing if they were not watching television.[10]

COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT

Under the impact of the new influences and perspectives that enter their lives and the formal education they receive in the school, the maturing children enter a new stage of cognition when about seven. They move beyond the preoperational or prelogical ways of thinking described in Chapter 7 and enter the period of concrete operations or concrete logic. They will gradually become able to reason systematically about situations that confront them, or which they can imagine in a visual, tangible form, but will still not be able to think in propositions or utilize abstract concepts. According to Piaget, concrete ideas are "internalized actions." Two major elements enter into the cognitive growth—the *diminution of egocentricity* and the capacity to carry out the operations of *conservation* and *reversibility*, as we shall examine.

The Transition from Preoperational Thought to the Period of Concrete Operations

The transition to logical ways of thinking occurs slowly. It is difficult for adults to realize the limitations of the juvenile's cognitive capacities and ethical evaluations, and unrealistic expectations by teachers as well as parents can be the source of many serious difficulties for children. Second or third graders continue to confuse their tabulations with reality and are amazingly unconcerned about obvious contradictions in their statements and reasoning. Furthermore, they may make false statements or answers with a conviction that seems to derive from the belief that something is so because they believe it so. Efforts to have children explain just how they sought to solve a problem indicate that they still cannot

think about their thinking.

'Thus, many eight-and nine-year-olds explained that placing a stone in a glass of water raised the level because the stone is heavy. However, to cite one example, when an eight-year-old boy was asked if wood was heavy, he said it was light. Still, lie expected it would make the water rise—because it was light, and knew that it would make it rise more than the stone because it was bigger. Yet, when asked why a stone made the water rise, he again responded, “Because it is heavy.” He cannot handle the several factors of heaviness, lightness, and size at the same time (Piaget, 1947, pp. 181-182). We have noted that preschool children not only do not realize that points of view other than their own exist, but also do not realize that a person looking at an object from a different vantage point sees the object differently. Although problems of egocentricity are now fading, they still present notable difficulties. A child of nine or ten may have trouble realizing that if he traveled abroad he would be a foreigner, or that an American can be an enemy. As Piaget (1947, p. 75) noted, even family relationships that seem so obvious are not altogether clear to a nine-year-old—“She has two sisters, she is not a sister” is a common type of confusion.

Piaget has emphasized the preoperational child's inability to earn out the essential operations of *conservation* and *reversibility.* Thus, after two identical glass beakers are filled with water to the same level, the water from one is poured into a wider beaker. The child is then asked which beaker, the wider or narrower, contains more water. 'The child either says that the wider beaker has less water because it does not rise as high in the beaker; or, focusing on the width, that it contains more water. Children do not appreciate that if the operation were reversed the water would be at the same level in the two original beakers. They do not retain the original image in deciding the issue, or mentally reverse the procedure. They also are still unable to utilize two factors at a time. If they consider the width of the beaker, they do not simultaneously consider the height. Similarly, when a ball of plasticine is molded into a sausage shape, children may not realize that it still contains the same quantity of the material. Piaget has tended to emphasize the importance of reversibility in analyzing this type of failure.[11] School-age children will gradually master problems at this level. At least some of the children's increased cognitive capacities on such tests relate to improved linguistic abilities which help them remember the earlier state and to keep one factor constant while considering the others, and so on.

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The Capacity for Concrete Operations

Piaget has analyzed several of the juvenile's new cognitive capacities which are basic to other achievements. Children become able to classify objects in groups according to one or another attribute, such as shape, color, or size. They can earn out such simple classifications by inspection without having words to designate the categories but the process is helped by having terms to use. More complex classifications require the use of appropriate terms. Children also become capable of arranging objects in series, according to increasing size, weight, or depth of color, etc. At a somewhat older age they become able either to classify objects or to serialize them using two attributes such as size and shape simultaneously. Piaget terms these three operations *classification, seriation,* and *multiplication* and has devoted considerable effort to analyzing their development.

A critical aspect of many of these abilities seems to lie in the fact that children gradually learn an increasingly integrated cognitive *system* into which they can fit their experiences. They become less likely to fall into contradictions or even to judge things egocentrically when they can fit things into an organized approach to understanding experience,[12] Now the children go to school to learn just such organized approaches to mental activities. They learn the meanings of the words that are the culture's labels for its categories—that is, its ways of classifying objects or experiences. They learn syntax—the rules for logical operations. They learn mathematics—an approach to concrete and formal operations. They are also taught in more explicit fashion various ways of solving problems, and to think causally—that is, to seek determinants in precursors of events.

In an earlier chapter we considered the difficulties imposed upon children when they had to assimilate experiences, not only to the schemata that each had gradually built up, but also to the schemata that the culture had built up and conveyed to them through language. School-age children are, as we have examined, acquiring an ever increasing knowledge of the world, and the gap lessens between what they experience themselves and what they hear or read. Their schemata and those of the culture are being integrated. However, as we shall see, it is not until about the end of the grade school period that major confusions drop out, as the adolescent enters the period of formal operations that we shall examine in the next chapter.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MORAL JUDGMENT

The juvenile's moral and ethical values also change profoundly. The school influences the child by introducing different and more impartial standards than the home, and through being a more formalized representative of community values. However, as we have seen, the juvenile culture also begins to exert a profound effect upon the child's value systems.

Adults commonly have difficulty appreciating the limitations of the children's understanding of right and wrong and the way in which they judge others as well as themselves. Although moral behavior develops early, and although at the time they enter school most children know the basic moral rules and conventions of our society (Kohlberg, 1964, pp. 383-431), judgment does not appear to become "moral" until early adolescence. Contrary to an impression one might gain from Freud's concept of the origins of the "superego," superego directives do not emerge like Pallas Athena, full-grown and fully armed, out of the father's head at the closing of the oedipal period. Ethical development, very much like intellectual growth, depends upon gaining experience and relating to different people in various settings, which gradually diminishes children's egocentricity, and, as Kohlberg has shown, depends very greatly upon cognitive development. Young children have neither the experience nor the intellectual capacities to use judgment rather than adhere to rules as they understand them. They tend to follow superego edicts in the form of internalized adult commandments, which they reify into immutable rules much more than they follow ethical values about which they can reason. The entire subject of knowledge of ethical values, moral behavior, and moral judgment is complex, difficult to study, and unsettled.[13] Here we are interested primarily in how children learn to make moral evaluations suited to circumstances rather than following relatively inflexible superego dictates.

Children at a very early age learn within their homes that ethical values do not follow the "pleasure principle" but often require them to rescind immediate gratifications for future goals or to maintain the affection of parents. Desires are sadly not a criterion of what is "good" or "just." Later, they must move beyond simple accepting parental values as infallible guides. It is through interacting with adults whose values differ from those of parents, and whose edicts children are less likely to consider immutable, and by learning to relate to peers and accept their very different perspectives that children gradually learn to consider a person's intent and the specific circumstances in making moral evaluations.

Children of three or four do not have a real appreciation of rules when they try to play games: they imitate using rules but are apt to bend them to their need to win. Children of seven or eight not only learn rules and adhere to them reasonably well but are likely to consider the rules of a game immutable. Rules are inherent in the game, or imposed by a higher authority, and cannot be changed by mutual agreement. Thus, a boy of eight who moved to a different town complained bitterly that the neighborhood boys were stupid because their rules for playing marbles differed from those used in his former community. To the youngster, his new friends did not have different rules; they did not know the rules. A child at this age is also likely to judge culpability in terms of the damage done. The boy who accidentally bats a baseball through a store-front window is considered guiltier than a child who spitefully throws a stone through a windowpane in his friend’s house. The child of eight or nine does not clearly know the difference between a lie and a mistake, and will judge the guilt of a falsehood according to its magnitude. A “whopper” may be deemed a worse offense than a small lie told to cheat someone. The very young child decides what is right or wrong by whether it elicits punishment. Consequences rather than intent are what is important, so that “what is punished is bad” rather than “what is bad is punished.”[14] By the age of seven, however, most children will say that a child is good even though punished in error. By the onset of puberty children consider rules as a type of contract capable of being changed by consent, and that intent is important in evaluating guilt (Piaget, 1948).

From Morality of Constraint to Morality of Cooperation

Schoolchildren exhibit what Piaget terms a *morality of constraint.* They usually have rigid standards about punishments, considering that the same punishment should be meted out for the same infraction regardless of circumstances. They believe that a four-year-old who breaks a dish should be reprimanded or punished in the same way as a ten-year-old; or that a hungry little nursery school girl should be expected to await her turn for food just like her older brother. This type of morality develops because the immature and egocentric children accept their position as inferior to the adult and accept the adult’s value system though they do not properly understand it. They usually must accept the adult edict or risk punishment. The adult, if challenged, is likely to bolster the rules by referring to essentially impersonal superordinate authorities such as the Deity, the police, or the school principal. As children pass the first decade, they begin to attain a *morality of cooperation* according to which the motivation and

social implication of acts are appreciated. They also move beyond seeking expiatory punishments in which the punishment fits the crime—a child is deprived of candy in proportion to the size of the dish broken. They begin to comprehend punishment by reciprocity—for example, a boy who refuses to help his mother wash the dishes can expect his mother to refuse to drive him to the store when he wants to buy a comic book (Piaget, 1948).

School-age children tend to base their moral judgments largely on the basis of what will be punished and what will gain rewards or favors in return, but these criteria decrease in importance; whereas conforming to conventions to gain approval or to avoid censure and the ensuing guilt becomes increasingly important. However, higher forms of morality based on self-accepted ethical principles—forming judgments in terms of social contract and democratic principles, or on the basis of individual conscience—do not emerge until adolescence, perhaps with the onset of the cognitive stage of “formal operations" (Kohlberg, 1963).

The progression from a morality of constraint to a morality of cooperation depends upon the social environment in which the child lives. Whereas parents, teachers, and peers all seem to play significant roles, it does not seem possible to separate out just what each of these influences contributes. The total social world seems important, and children’s perceptions of the values of parents, peers, teachers, and the law all influence the total effect upon the child. A child’s moral judgments at any stage in their development “may represent spontaneous efforts to make sense out of his experience in a complex social world” (Kohlberg, 1964, p. 402). However, children’s positions in society influence how they will make sense out of their experiences, and their level of cognitive development will be an important factor in the level of moral judgment achieved.

Sexual Interests

All juvenile peer groups are likely to carry out some activities which adults consider undesirable. The children will start using scatological words and engage in sex talk, progressing to telling stories that none of the group will admit not understanding. This is in part a penetrating into the mysteries of the adult world, in part a token of flaunting parental prohibitions as an indication of growing independence, and a means of gaining admiration by being more in the know than others. It is also a way of trying to

share the fantasies of sex that the child experiences in private. The boys may have contests to see how far they can urinate, and compare the size of their genitals, an activity that may help overcome feelings of inadequacy derived from seeing adult genitalia. Some indulge in masturbation in one another's presence or with one another. Such sex play between boys or girls does not relate to homosexuality, as parents often fear, but is usually a movement from narcissistic preoccupations to heterosexual interests through a phase of sharing with someone like the self. Some visual or physical exploration of children of the same or opposite sex is fairly common during the so-called latency period, but it is just as likely to happen in the home with siblings of the opposite sex or the friends of siblings as in the gang. At any rate, the boy who is not accepted in the neighborhood gang may have difficulty progressing to relate to girls in adolescence, or may gravitate to less desirable groups composed of outsiders who are likely to indulge in more marginal sexual and social activities. However, such undesirable activities usually form a very minor part of the juvenile's life. The children are too absorbed in all the new experiences available to them to become engrossed with sex. As girls approach puberty, they are likely to share with the clique of close friends secret knowledge, or information given to one of the group by her parents, as well as concerns about when they will menstruate and how their breasts will develop, but we shall wait until the next chapter to consider these prepubertal sexual interests.

Growing Up Without Playmates

Although the peer group and special friend are usually very important to the schoolchild's development, they are not a vital part of every childhood. Not all settings provide groups of peers as playmates; and some children are constrained from joining in the collective activities for reasons of health, because of parental restrictions, or because they are, for various reasons, "loners." The son of the school principal or the clergyman may feel that he is different and is treated as an outsider by his peers. The child from a minority group that is unwelcome in the community can be left very isolated though potential playmates abound. Such conditions are often trying for children but they are not necessarily injurious to their development, particularly if they can maintain pride in themselves and their families. The child does not learn to conform as rapidly or learn how to evaluate the self in comparison with peers so readily, but most children can find ways of keeping occupied by themselves, utilizing their imagination and developing active fantasy lives, and perhaps special skills and hobbies. After all, it is

difficult for persons to become truly creative if they have learned to be highly conventional and are so thoroughly grounded in the society's ways of regarding things, that all uniqueness of perception or reasoning is repressed early in life in favor of the societal norms. Fantasy is a precursor of creativity, and though fantasy activities can be shared by two or three it is not a group activity and usually flourishes on loneliness or isolation. Many creative persons feel that they had been outsiders as children because they had been subjected to two sets of cultural directives that prevented them from being as ethnocentrically oriented and as set in the cultural norms as most of their peers. Children who grow up without peers may have to lose their egocentricity later than other children; but they may not lose it to a degree that eliminates their individuality, which may flourish as originality or be noted as eccentricity. Still, only an occasional parent will purposefully promote a child's isolation for such reasons, as it entails some risk of leading to unhappiness and emotional instability, and instability occurs all too readily without being fostered.

Rescue Operations

It is also during these grade school years when the child has gained a modicum of freedom from home and family that some type of "rescue" operation may alter the life of the child who has been raised in an unfortunate and distorting family environment. The child now comes under the sway of new influences in school, in the neighborhood, and in reading which can offset even though they cannot supplant the pervasive influence of parents and home. The child may be included in the activities of a friend's family; a teacher, a social worker, a camp counselor takes an interest in the child and becomes an ideal and a model. The child spends summers with his grandparents or with an aunt or uncle.[15] In one way or another the child learns that some path into the future exists, and confining gates can be opened to permit entrance into a more hopeful world. The family is the most important influence upon the child's development, but it is not the only influence and others can become increasingly significant.

NEW SOURCES OF ANXIETY AND DESPAIR

Although late childhood is so often remembered nostalgically as a time of freedom and of outgoing activities, it contains ample sources of anxiety and discomfort. There are, of course, the problems that derive from unresolved difficulties at early developmental stages, such as the residues of the

intrafamilial oedipal conflicts and sibling rivalries, but the juvenile period in itself contains sources of anxiety and sometimes of depression. The child wishes independence but can readily suffer from the insecurities of having responsibility for one's own welfare. Whereas children become angered at parents who limit their activities, they still need to be dependent. Now they can become more upset than previously over their conflicting emotions toward parents and need to find a way of resolving them. Further, it now becomes apparent to children that even with the best will in the world parents cannot provide complete security. They are not omnipotent or omniscient, and the child now knows that they may die. Death wishes, conscious and unconscious, become more frightening and anxiety provoking. God is now often regarded as more all-knowing than parents and misdeeds and evil thoughts cannot be hidden from God. The girl is often still caught up in her oedipal problems and as she grows older may become more guilt ridden by her rivalrous feelings toward her mother as well as her fantasies about possessing her father. Then, too, the parents have expectations concerning children's achievements, expectations which children also hold for themselves; and there are inevitable failures when self-esteem may be seriously threatened. There are bitter days when a child feels left out by the gang for reasons he or she cannot fathom; or days of shame and self-reproach when a girl feels that she has behaved in ways that are unacceptable to her friends, or when a boy has let his best buddy down. Even though it is a time of transition and trying out, the juvenile may become despondent about his or her prospects.

Juvenile Defenses Against Anxiety

Just as at other phases of development, juveniles are apt to defend against anxieties by regressing. They seek ways of being cared for by parents by being ill, suffering injury, or invoking pity because no one seems to want them. They may spend more and more time at home, giving up efforts to become members of the peer groups, where they must be responsible for themselves. Most children will more or less consciously avoid some stresses at school or with peers by finding ways of staying home on occasion, but some retreat more permanently and will then be confronted by adolescence without adequate preparation in relating beyond the family. The common defensive patterns used at this time of life are those related to obsessive-compulsive patterns. Ritualistic behavior carried out to ward off harm and undo unacceptable wishes appears in almost every child. It is a resort to magical thinking in order to control exigencies beyond the child's control. The child must avoid stepping on cracks in the sidewalk, or

must touch every lamp post, or get up on the same side of the bed every morning, put on the right shoe before the left shoe. If the child fails, some harm will befall the self or one's parents, or if the ritual is carried out correctly some wish will be granted—the home team will win or the examination will be easy. Children also seek means of controlling impulses and controlling nature, just as a primitive person seeks to control the weather or the outcome of a hunt by practicing a ritual which cannot be altered in any detail. The ambivalent feelings toward parents and siblings and the fear that harm may come to them because of hostile feelings are of particular importance. Reaction formation, undoing, and isolation are the mechanisms of defense used in such obsessive ritualization. *Reaction formation,* we may recall, concerns the tendency to repress an unacceptable impulse or wish and manifest its opposite—as when a boy becomes oversolicitous of his father's health after having hostile feelings toward him. *Undoing* consists of rituals or prayers that have the magical property of undoing a wish. *Isolation* has to do with the separation of affect and idea; the idea is somehow deprived of its emotional impact, often by keeping ideas from linking up which would force recognition of consequences and therefore arouse anxiety. Thus, when combined with undoing and reaction formation, prayers that the father not be killed in an auto accident prevent recognition of wishes that the father be killed in an accident.

The rituals may seem less strange when they are a component of prayers, the child may say prayers in a set sequence as part of the effort to achieve magical control. However, there is also a strong tendency to depend upon God who can omnipotently control and protect from illness and death, from failure to develop properly, and from other such matters that the child now knows that neither the child nor the parents can control. At this age children may gain solace from severe anxiety by feeling that God will take care of them if they behave, believe, and pray properly.

This is also a time when fantasy helps compensate for feelings of inadequacy and paucity of achievement. Fantasy also plays the more positive role of providing an imagined future greatness that spurs the child to achievement. The daydreams are not subjected to much reality testing and are often formed on the basis of the child's growing hero worship, but as the child grows older they either reflect some real assets or serve more clearly as compensations for feelings of inadequacy. The boy has his "Dreams of Glory," which have been pictured so ably in cartoons by Steig. He is the football player who arrives just in time to dash onto the field and score the winning touchdown before the final whistle blows; he is the general who saves the war by flying an old decrepit plane to shoot down the enemy

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plane carrying an H bomb; he is the first man to land on Mars. The girl may be the medical scientist who discovers a new drug just in time to save the dying president; the gold medal winner in the Olympics; the dazzling beauty queen who is also an atomic physicist. *Identification* is also helpful and blends with fantasy. The boy or girl identifies with a hero or a greatly admired person and feels capable of becoming as able and thereby more secure in facing the future, or more able to stand present inadequacies. Somewhat similarly, the juvenile may gain security and comfort in the reflection of a leader and willingly follows and becomes subservient to an older child who is much admired; or gains self-esteem from being a member of a group—a club, a team, a school with prestige.

Fixation at the Juvenile Level

The juvenile period also has importance because of the tendency to regress to it—a tendency which may be particularly common in the United States, where children are permitted to lead relatively carefree and independent lives. Later, when one must do well in order to gain admission to college or find advancement in an occupation, the competitions of childhood seem gratifying. When sexual problems occur in adolescence or when marital difficulties create anxiety, the old days before members of the opposite sex were so important are idealized. Adults retain some of the pleasures of the period by spending their free time in sports, competing for fun rather than for keeps; or in still glorifying the athlete and identifying with him or her. Some of the brutality shown in films and on television, some of the ever-present interest in westerns and in whodunits may not be so much an outlet for unconscious sadism as a fixation at playing cowboys and Indians, or cops and robbers—a regaining of the pleasant feelings of childhood. Some individuals will, of course, remain fixated in the period of late childhood and early adolescence, seeking to maintain life as it was, occupied with games and with the members of their own sex.

The juvenile period ends with the new spurt in physical growth that precedes the onset of puberty when the child begins to turn into an adolescent. In the half-dozen juvenile years the relationships within the family and the personality integration achieved with the closing of the oedipal period have had time to consolidate and defenses have become strengthened, enabling the child to be better prepared for the emotional upsurges which accompany puberty and which threaten the established equilibrium. It is erroneous, however, to consider such consolidations as the major task of the juvenile

period. While children's lives still center within the family, their environment is broadening as they venture off to school and into play groups consisting of peers. Adapting to these new environments and finding a place in them have required a substantial reorganization of the personality.

The children have been faced by the difficult reorientation of having their status determined by their achievements rather than through ascription. In their teachers they have been confronted by significant adults who have related to them very differently from parents. They have become part of a group of student peers and learned to identify with them and to measure themselves in relationship to peers. In the neighborhood peer groups they have begun to learn ways of living and relating as members of the society and with its ideals and value systems. In these broader environments children have had the opportunity to strengthen their gender identities, to become less dependent upon parents and their values, to learn how others evaluate their capacities and how much others care for them as individuals. In the process they move a long way in forming self-concepts on which their own evaluations of themselves and their future potentialities will rest. They have learned that status rests heavily upon industriousness and reliability; and have learned to be industrious, perhaps becoming compulsively competitive, or they may have tended to withdraw and no longer accept challenges.

Usually the child has formed his or her first intense extrafamilial relationship to another child, which, although it is with a member of the same sex, forms an important step toward ultimately forming an intimate heterosexual relationship. Toward the end of the juvenile period, perhaps at a time when the girls are prepubertal, boys and girls may again gladly find companionship in mixed groups. The boys feel more secure in their male identity and will be able to enjoy girls with whom they are not competing. The groups can still be fairly spontaneous and provide an opportunity to gain some familiarity with the ways of the opposite sex before the shyness and tension that come with adolescence disrupt the ease of the situation. The experiences beyond the family, both in school and with peer groups, enable children to overcome their egocentric and family-centered orientations, an essential step in both intellectual and ethical development; their ego capacities are greatly increased and they become prepared to be able to guide themselves when they enter adolescence and begin really to emerge from their families, and to utilize their judgment when beset by sexual impulsions that urge toward immediate gratification.

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Notes

1 Ruth Benedict (1934) astutely realized that there may exist in every culture a group of abnormals who represent the extreme development of the favored cultural type, and whom the society supports in their furthest aberrations rather than exposing them. They are given license which they may exploit endlessly—yet from the point of view of another culture or another time in history they are considered the most bizarre of the psychopathic types of the period. One of the wealthiest men in the world, for example lived in total isolation because of a pathological fear of contamination and yet relentlessly-sought after still greater wealth and power that could in no way improve his miserable life.

2 G. H. Mead (1934) differentiates between the “I” and the “me” in his presentation of how a self concept arises through social transactions and recognition of how others evaluate the self. It is of interest that Josiah Royce also emphasized how we achieve self-knowledge only through contrasting ourselves in many ways with other selves—in other words, how self-consciousness depends on social contrasts.

3 Further, in order to achieve the capability of eventually taking care of a wife— even if not, as in the past, assuming a more dominant role in relation to a wife—the boy begins to assert his independence of women.

4 The recent trend fostered by women’s liberation groups to insist that girls be permitted to participate in sports such as juvenile baseball leagues organized for hoys is a questionable maneuver. The tendency of boys to get away from girls at this age seems, as we have noted, to be an important part of the process of gaining a male identity and overcoming wishes to be female. Further, as girls mature more rapidly, they will, for a time, have a height and weight advantage. The notable tendency of fathers to be the major competitors in such juvenile leagues is also unfortunate. Many fathers act and feel disgraced if their young sons strike out or make errors in a baseball game, making such competition more a source of anguish than fun for the boy.

5 The tendency of some educators to keep such evaluations minimal lest they discourage some children or penalize children for their poor natural endowment or deprived backgrounds thus has serious limitations as well as advantages for the children.

6 Freud, in “Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego,” considers the unity of the group in terms of such common identifications. The English “upper classes” fostered strong generational loyalties to agemates who would share responsibilities for running the Empire by the “public school” system. Among the Indigenes of New Guinea, where the safety of each village depends on an almost constant defense against neighboring hostile villages, the initiation rituals and lengthy apprenticeship in the men’s group reinforces bonds between agemates to such an extent that they almost replace kinship loyalties.

7 R. Rosenthal (1966) found that when teachers were told that certain students had unusual potential, these students showed a rise in I.Q., whereas a control series of matched students did not show a rise.

8 The Intelligence Quotient, or I.Q., is determined by giving tests that measure a person’s mental age—how the problems he can solve match the median of an age group. The mental age, divided by the chronological age, multiplied by 100, yields the I.Q. (M.A./C.A. X 100 = I.Q.), which is supposed to remain fairly constant throughout life. If a child is ten years old and solves

problems that a twelve-year-old is expected to solve, the I.Q. is 120. As the mental age does not increase very much after the age of fifteen or sixteen, an arbitrary upper limit of fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen is set for the chronological age (differing according to the standardization of the specific test) in calculating I.Q.s of older adolescents and adults. As the I.Q. usually remains fairly constant throughout life, its use to predict the child's future potential for learning has been very successful despite occasional errors. Thus, I.Q.s determined in the early school grades often influence teachers' appraisals of the child and advice given concerning the child's educational prospects. However, the child's I.Q. can often be modified by special educational efforts, particularly in the preschool years. The improvement may sometimes be maintained because of the child's improved abilities in school, but it may also be necessary to maintain a stimulating home environment or provide continued special tutoring.

I.Q.s between 90 and 110 are considered normative. Children with I.Q.s below 80 will have considerable difficulty keeping up with a normal class or in moving past the eighth grade. Children with I.Q.s above 125 are apt to be bored with routine class work. Children who are idiots, due to a congenital abnormality or brain damage that affects cerebral functioning, fall outside of the bell-shaped distribution curves for intelligence found in the general population.

9 In postwar Japan, where the rise of a new middle class increased the importance of a youth's acceptance into Tokyo University or some other major university on the basis of school grades, many relatively uneducated mothers learned their children's school work before it was assigned to the child in order thus to be able to help their children (Vogel, 1963).

10 A review of the literature up to 1964 can be found in E. E. Maccoby, "The Effects of the Mass Media."

11 See J. Flavell (1963), Chapter 5, and J. Piaget, *The Psychology of Intelligence*, for further discussion of a complex topic that is not essential to this presentation.

12 Representational acts that Piaget terms operations are an integral part of an organized network or system of interrelated acts. See also B. Inhelder and J. Piaget, *The Growth of Logical Thinking from Childhood to Adolescence*, Chapters 1, 2, and 3, for a systematic study of the schoolchild's developing intellectual abilities.

13 The reader is referred to L. Kohlberg's review of the topic in *Review of Child Development Research* and to Martin L. Hoffman's "Moral Development."

14 In a study of delinquents and their parents, the author and his colleagues noted that parents often had the attitude that a delinquent act was reprehensible only if the adolescent was caught at it; and they seemed to teach their children that what one says is more important than what one does. These adolescents seemed to regard laws and rules as arbitrary, and therefore a focus of rebellion against parents.

15 Samuel Butler, for example, after being pushed out of the frying pan of a rigid home with ununderstanding parents, was thrown into the fire of a boarding school that was intolerable to him; he was rescued by an aunt who happened to live near the school and who fostered his interest in music and playing the organ and engendered in him a confidence in himself that his parents had seemed bent on destroying under the guise of breaking his willfulness