Towards the development of a psychodynamic conceptualization of the Black ghetto child.

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TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PSYCHO_DYNAMIC
CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE BLACK Ghetto CHILD

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of Psychology
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ABSTRACT

The existence of a distinct subculture of poverty among lower-class, inner-city Black Americans was posited, this subculture having developed a characteristic child rearing philosophy and practices. Cognitive, linguistic and motivational studies were reviewed in an attempt to isolate those assumed deficits which had spurred the creation of and had served as the justification for the compensatory preschool movement; findings from these studies were equivocal. A. Freud's "Concept of Developmental Lines" was applied to this population of children. This represented one of the first attempts to conceptualize the child's course of development in terms of psycho-dynamic theory, and a Developmental Profile. Environmental factors which previously could have been only cataloged as observations, could now be viewed in the light of psycho-dynamic developmental theory. Environmental deprivation was conceptualized as manifesting itself as cumulative psychological trauma: Developmental deviations, ego arrests, premature ego development, and an overreliance on early defense mechanisms were hypothesized to result from those conditions.
achieved, follow-up studies characteristically showed that these gains were lost within two to five years of completion of the program. Ryan (1974) assembled reports from eight separate preschool projects which had available longitudinal data on their intervention programs (Abelson, 1974; Beller, 1974; Deutsch et al., 1974; Gray, 1974; Hersog et al., 1974; Karmes et al., 1974; Springle, 1974, and Weikart et al., 1974). These children were followed beyond their preschool careers into the second and third grades of elementary school. Initial reports were encouraging for all projects; significant gains in IQ were found regardless of the time the intervention took place as compared to children who were not enrolled in special programs. The curriculums ranged from the more traditional nursery to innovative structures based on psychoanalytic, Piagetian, and other developmentally oriented theories.

While Beller (1974) found that age of intervention significantly affected results, all programs of one or two year durations yielded significantly higher IQ achievement in the experimental group as compared to matched controls. Abelson (1974) reported that differences were not limited to cognitive spheres, but extended to improved motivation and other socioemotional variables. Linguistic skills, a target area for many of these programs, were also found to improve dramatically. Bronfenbrenner (1974), in his review
of twelve similar programs (some included in the Ryan Report), found supporting evidence for the above findings. Comparison of the programs on dimensions of "cognitively structured" versus "play oriented" revealed that greater gains in IQ were associated with the former programs.

However, the longitudinal nature of the studies uncovered disquieting findings. By the end of the programs, and at times while they were still in process, the children exhibited progressive declines on all measures of functioning. Classmates who had not benefitted from these early enrichment programs eventually caught up as the experimental groups declined in performance. Initial gains were lost, children who had been functioning at or above grade level in nursery school were found to be functioning either in the lower end of the average range or below grade level in their first years of elementary school. Institution of "Follow-Through" programs indicated that this decline may in part be offset if the enriched curriculum was extended into early elementary school (Abelson, 1974).

Unfortunately, children showing the least improvement and the most rapid decline were those who came from the most deprived backgrounds (Herzog, 1974). Three variables which showed strong, systematic relationships with initial improvement and retention of skills were sex, socio-economic status, and initial IQ.
Despite the nonsignificant gains in IQ measures, a number of reports noted that children enrolled in these programs had decidedly improved performance on achievement tests such as reading ability, were more often rated by teachers as being well-adjusted socially, displayed more confidence in approaching new tasks, had significantly better work habits and attitudes in comparison to their peers, exhibited more confidence and enjoyment in school and trust in their teachers, and appeared to have far greater academic promise in comparison to the control groups.

The studies reviewed by Bronfenbrenner (1974) underlined a critical variable in regard to sustained IQ gains after termination of the program, that of parental involvement. The finding that the greatest loss of cognitive performance in these disadvantaged children took place during summer vacation and not during the school year, indicated the home environment as critical to academic success. This stands in contrast to children from middle and upper class communities who not only sustained gains, but actually increased their performance levels over the summer. That the home should be so critically important comes as no surprise to developmentalists who have long demonstrated that the child's family life is critical to healthy personality development.

Later research revealed that lasting gains made by
children in Head Start programs surfaced only in the late elementary school grades, despite the measured decrement during the first and second grades. While the purpose and effectiveness of this and similar programs for culturally disadvantaged youngsters now appeared to be vindicated at long last, researchers were still no closer to identifying those variables which were crucial to the child's intellectual and emotional development. Whether or not all of the programs failed or succeeded, the homogeneity of results in a heterogeneous sample of programs did not allow for isolation of that variable or variables which accounted for the outcome. Weikart (reported in Beck, 1970) concluded as early as 1971 that research demonstrated that long-term gains in intellectual development did not appear to be definitely associated with any one specific learning environment over another. He suggested that children appeared to profit cognitively and emotionally from any curriculum which offered a wide range of experiences.

Two central questions emerged from the plethora of programs and research which had been associated with evaluating their effectiveness: What were the specific deficits to which these programs were supposedly addressing themselves, and what underlying variables accounted for the homogeneity of results. A primary gap in theory may have accounted for this state of confusion; simply stated, no coherent,
encompassing conceptualization of child development for the child of poverty existed. A review of the literature revealed that few researchers agree as to what it is that compensatory programs should focus upon; this was understandable in light of the welter of conflicting and disputed research which had attempted to explicate the assumed deficits. It was the author's belief that until a conceptualization of the child of poverty's overall development was formulated, researchers would continue futilely to match remedies (i.e., programs, techniques, material) for a pattern which had yet to be clearly identified.

The purpose of the present research was to focus specifically on the black, inner-city child of poverty. The conceptualization of the unique course of black child development was derived using data from diverse disciplines, the theoretical orientation reflecting both the work of the psychoanalytic and Piagetian schools of thought. Based on the premise that compensatory, early education programs have failed to isolate, or in some cases even to address themselves to the real problems of this population due to the current absence of a developmental theory, a conceptualization was formulated which allowed current research findings to be re-examined in an ethno-specific, class-related context.

It was hypothesized that a uniquely tailored conceptual-
ization of child development for the black, inner-city child of poverty would clarify the paradoxical situation of the homogeneity of results which had followed from a host of diverse and often conceptually conflicting pre-school programs. By application of this formulation, it would be possible to demonstrate that common denominators of experience existed which may have led to these results. The hypothesis was made that factors which eventuated in the success of the pre-school programs would be related to those areas of difficulty and deficit explicated in this conceptualization, and these factors or interpersonal variables common to all the programs could thus be viewed as "quasi-therapeutic" as well as cognitively oriented.

The main intent of the research was to ascertain precisely how it was that these children came to manifest the emotional and cognitive difficulties they demonstrated in the classroom as well as the community. Although previous research had long since established a relationship between early deprivation, poverty, and later cognitive deficits, the manner in which these factors affected emotional development had not been specifically examined. Further, many professionals had long pointed to the lack of a theory of black child development, arguing that previous conceptualizations of child behavior had ignored the unique historical, social, and cultural milieu of the black (i.e., the Black Experience)
which was purported to have shaped his development in a radically different manner from his white counterpart. The issue of class differences in child rearing and development had also received increasing attention, researchers positing that this variable also significantly affected the child. It was hypothesized by the present author that these historical, cultural, racial, and socio-economic factors could be incorporated into our present understanding of child development and a comprehensive conceptualization of black, inner-city child development could be formulated. Further, it was hypothesized that the evolution of this conceptualization would provide a new framework in which to view the academic and emotional problems manifest in these children.

What would differentiate this conceptualization from previous explanations of black, inner-city child development would be the recasting of the concept of "environmental or cultural deprivation." The concept of deprivation was descriptive and quantitative; it failed to account for the subjective or qualitative impact the experience may have had on the child. The experience of deprivation was conceptualized as being psychologically traumatic on the child's development; thus, the experiential history was hypothesized to be explicable in terms of psychological accommodations to multiple and cumulative trauma. If this were the case, specific personality constellations would be found in this
population which could be attributable to early, multiple traumatization. Further, from a psychodynamic viewpoint, the presence of such deleterious conditions in infancy and early childhood was thought to affect personality development in a characteristic manner. It was proposed that conditions of cumulative trauma within the unique historical, socio-economic, racial and cultural milieu of the black inner-city ghetto would lead to developmental skewing or ego arrests and deviations as opposed to neurotic disorders. The hypothesis was made that the ego arrests and ego deviations found would facilitate the understanding of the academic retardation endemic in this population, as well as identifying the causal conditions underlying the many behavioral problems manifested by these children. (An overview of this conceptualization can be found in Chapter 1. A detailed explication and development is provided in Chapter V).
The author wishes to express his appreciation and gratitude to the chairman of the Committee, Dr. Mirian C. Bunt, who recognized and shared with the author the belief that a comprehensive conceptualization of the black inner-city child of poverty was necessary before empirical research and curriculum design could be effectively implemented. As this theoretically-oriented dissertation represents a significant departure from previous empirically-oriented doctoral dissertations submitted to the Psychology Department, the decision to support such a venture was a bold one. It is the author's hope that the scope of this work and the conclusions which grew out of it can equal the enthusiasm and support Dr. Bunt provided the author throughout this dissertation's evolution and often painfully slow progress.

While in no way attempting to shift responsibility (or assign blame!) for this project, its conception and conclusions shouldered solely by the author, Dr. Frank Auld should be singled out as the individual who years ago initially supported the idea that a dissertation involving a theoretical discussion of black children could be accomplished. The author expresses his gratitude to Dr. Auld for both his early encouragement and his helpful counsel on style and content throughout the writing of the dissertation. The author would also like to thank Dr. E. McCabe for her many comments and suggestions concerning related research from other areas of
child development.

A large debt of gratitude must be paid to Dr. Etta G. Saxe, who listened patiently for hours as the author struggled to come to some understanding of the massive amount of material with which he was presented. Her extensive knowledge of the population under study, child development, and developmental issues unique to poor black children added immeasurably to the author's understanding and ability to theoretically conceptulize the problems confronting these children. Dr. Saxe's ability to translate obtuse theoretical conjecture into observable, commonplace behavior and her careful examination of all facets of ghetto life served as a model for emulation by this author.

The author would also like to express his thanks to Dr. Marvin Hyman, whose sage advice and support provided the time and funding necessary to bring this dissertation to a completion. Dr. Lawrence Jackson, the Superintendent of Detroit Psychiatric Institute, was instrumental in making available the time which was necessary to explore the literature and complete the actual field work. The author also wishes to express his appreciation to the nursery school and day-care staff at St. Bernard's Community School in Detroit, Mrs. Mary McDade, Ms. Ana Clark, and Sister Cecilia Marie, and the Director of the Community School, Mr. Alan McNeely. Through his contacts with the director, staff, and children at the school, the author was able to bring the findings of this study
to life. The astute observations and insights of the teachers concerning their young students deepened the author's understanding and brought a compelling sense of reality to the often rarified atmosphere in which theory often resides.

Last, but hardly the least, the author would express his appreciation to Diana Miller, who slogged through numerous drafts of this paper in an often futile attempt to bring coherence, clarity, and conciseness. Hers was perhaps the most burdensome of tasks, but one which she handled with grace and expertise under less than optimal circumstances—often created by the author's impatience. Somehow a thank you hardly begins to capture the author's gratitude for all the tangible and intangible elements which she contributed.
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Chapter 1

An Overview of the Psychodynamic Conceptualisation of the Black Ghetto Child

The failure of many previous remedial programs for the black inner-city child could often be traced to inadequate theoretical conceptualizations of the subjects under study. The child was conceived to be an assemblage of educational weakness and strength, with resulting programs addressing themselves only to ameliorating the cognitive deficits by remedial techniques. The reasons underlying the presence of the particular constellation of deficits were given little consideration or attributed largely to environmental factors. It was the author's contention that the cognitive performance of the child could not be divorced from his developmental, emotional, cultural, environmental, and historical milieu. The child's behavior, in this view, was conceived of as his manifest adaptation to the various external and internal pressures to which he was subjected. An understanding of these factors was essential to an understanding of the child and would be ultimately critical to designing a program that would maximize his development.

The child's overt behavior was conceived as being only
a function of his total psychological adaptation to membership in a particular subculture within the larger society. To apply external criteria to judge his development (e.g., what his middle or upper-class counterparts could achieve at comparable chronological age levels) would lead to a view of the child in negative or deficient terms.

It was found that there were considerable disagreements among researchers as to the extent or even the existence of various deficits in the black child (The reader is referred to Chapter II and Appendices A, B, and C). Much of the confusion stemmed from the failure to adequately take into account the unique cultural, sociological, and linguistic patterns of inner-city blacks, resulting in an often underlying ethnocentric bias; i.e., the test construction and interpretation of findings were often conceptualised as deviances from a middle-class, white norm. Class, racial, and cultural factors were often inadequately formulated or controlled, confounding what results were available. While some ethnocultural specific findings were discovered, these results were hardly justification for the construction of programs based on assumed cognitive deficits of the black child. In assessing the overall findings and theories presented in regard to both research and program development, the burden of proof remained with those who contend that the black, inner-city child manifested definable cognitive or linguistic
good technique to guide the progress of the finite difference solution. A combination of the two techniques, i.e., finite element and method of characteristics, is a new concept in the numerical modelling of hydraulic problems.

1.4 The Approach In General

Even though the main theme of this thesis is the development of a finite element-method of characteristics model (FE-MOC) to simulate unsteady non-Darcy flow in porous structures, an extensive experimental program was needed to furnish the following information:

a. A general friction equation for the flow in porous media;

b. Inertia effect on the flow resistance;

c. Entrained air effect on the hydraulic conductivity;

d. Wave motion on sloping embankments.

The experimental equipment for this research had to be designed to simulate the unsteady nature of wave motion, the entrained air due to wave interaction with a porous structure, and the complicated unsteady non-uniform wave progress on a sloping embankment. The hydraulic characteristics of the media used in this study were determined under steady flow conditions using the equipment designed for the inertia and entrained air studies. The results of these tests were compared with the unsaturated and the accelerated flow results to detect the entrained air and the inertia effects. Wave experiments were carried out to study the effect of structure geometry and wave characteristics on the area influenced by the entrained air. A movie was taken to record wave motion on the sloping embankment in order to establish
taking behavior, deprivation, and the chaotic conditions of the home were found to maximize the opportunity for the occurrence of multiple, cumulative psychological trauma. The precocious development of ego functions and defense mechanisms followed as the child accommodated himself to these conditions. This precocious development was found to lead to a predisposition to brittle ego formation, over-reliance on primitive defenses to the partial exclusion of the development of more advanced defensive processes (e.g., repression, sublimation), a pronounced proclivity to regression and ego arrest in the pre-oedipal psychosexual stage, a precocious overreliance on motoric channels for discharge of tension, a heightened predisposition for anxiety preparedness, narcissistic identification with the maternal object at the expense of the child's own identity consolidation, a disturbed and diminished investment in future libidinal objects, an inability to optimally modulate aggressive discharge in a socially acceptable manner, an identification with the aggressor (i.e., the depriving, frustrating mother), a failure to adequately develop the capacity for delay of gratification and frustration tolerance, and a pseudo-mature, "street-wise" adaptation to the conditions of ghetto life which assumed characterological proportions. It was concluded that the course of development for the black, inner-city child prognosticated ego deficits and arrests of varying degrees and a ready propensity for ego regression
under stress.

The beginning of this pathogenic process was traced to the very inception of the woman's preparation for motherhood even before her pregnancy. The frustrated dependency needs of her own childhood and her wish to be gratified in an infantile manner set the stage for her choice of an often inappropriate marital partner, her expectation being that she could now receive the consistent support and love she never found in her childhood home. However, the very bonds of closeness and the intimacy entailed in marriage were undermined by her need to "cast off" the husband as she herself may have been emotionally isolated and rejected by her own mother, her unrealistic bid for complete gratification interacting with discomfort in being involved in an emotionally close relationship. She was compelled to repeat with others the trauma of her own sloughing off by her mother, just as she was destined to overidealize her potential mate. Cultural factors also entered the equation at this early juncture, males typically denigrated by women and expected to be as unreliable in their support for the family as they were unfaithful. As the woman entered pregnancy, various factors in her personality structure and her environment impeded the resolution of the developmental conflict underlying her assumption of the role of parent. Conscious and unconscious fantasies regarding her as yet unborn child further acted to distort the potential for the provision
of an optimal child-rearing environment. Finally, a vicious cycle of mother-infant interaction was found to perpetuate pathological child-rearing practices. Through an identification with her frustrating, depriving mother, the black woman relived with her child what occurred to her in her own childhood; however, it was then the "new" mother who was in control over her helpless infant. By identifying with the aggressor of her childhood, the mother gained a semblance of control over her own sense of being frustrated and deprived. The ultimate result of this interaction pattern was seen to lead to a generational perpetuation of this pathological mother-infant interaction. However, it was by virtue of the mother's own experiences of deprivation as an infant and child that she was unable to provide the exquisite sensitivity and empathy to the needs of her child.

The failure of the mother to provide her infant with a good enough holding environment or an average expectable environment led to circumstances in which she was not fully available to protect her infant from noxious stimulation intruding on the neonatal stimulus barrier; profound physiological and psychological disruptions in the equilibrium or homeostasis of the infant were found to occur. Recurrent breaches of the stimulus barrier were identified as traumatic. The infantile ego was compelled to prematurely organize itself to protect the infant in view of the maternal failure to adequately "hold" the child. A hypercathexis of the receptive
system and a precocious sense of apprehensive preparedness for anxiety resulted. These defensive maneuvers and psycho-physiological accommodations were conceptualized as the infant's last line of defense against stimuli so disruptive to his equilibrium that these intolerable levels of unpleasant tension threatened to encompass and annihilate him.

The hypercathexis of the receptive system was manifest in precocious discriminatory behavior which served as a defense against further traumatic overstimulation. The need to focus energies on defending himself against further psycho-physiological disruptions led to a blockage of fluid cathexes to external objects, a turning inward in the face of external disruption, an increased narcissistic cathexis, and disruptions in future reality testing. It was hypothesized that a premature organization of thought occurred as memory traces were hypercathexed with a concomitant precocious investment in the sensory functions of vision, audition, and other distal receptors. The positive hallucination was overutilized to magically block out noxious conditions of deprivation or overstimulation, while allowing the infant to adapt to his unpleasant circumstances. This ability to block out noxious stimuli frequently led to a turning inward in the face of stress rather than a reaching out in an attempt to actively master adverse conditions. An evocation or hallucination of past gratifications obviated the need to actively deal with the presenting, frustrating situation.
The maternal failure to protect her infant from environmental impingements would eventually lead to distortions in the infant's development of ego autonomy and a characterological formation of a false self. The false self formed as a result of the infant's need to take over the mothering role while simultaneously developing in terms of the mother's demands as opposed to his own needs. The child was impelled to replace the mother with his own mental functioning, thus making her ministrations to him unnecessary. The severe restriction of primary narcissistic supplies from the mother eventuated in the infant's body being inadequately libidinised; body development became split off from the development of the ego proper. This course of development was linked with a later propensity for the development of depression, de-personalization, psycho-somatic illness and anti-social tendencies.

When the mother did not support the unstable ego functioning of her infant by assuming the role of auxiliary ego, a quality of strain was introduced which biased ego development. The trauma which resulted was often muted in its impact, gradually and silently accumulating until the threshold of a traumatic state was achieved. The ego's integrative capacity was weakened, leaving normal functioning vulnerable to rapid deterioration if the ego were placed under acute stress or crisis; fixation points were developing to the traumatic experience itself, the type of object choice or
object relation, the given component instinct, or to the entire phase of the libidinal or aggressive development. As a consequence of these fixations, further energy was bound, defensive processes arose to manage the displeasure, arrests in drive development occurred, and certain ego functions may have been invalidated. Drive energies remained partially or totally deflected from age-adequate aims with an impairment in the development of the structuralization of the ego and super-ego.

As the infant was compelled prematurely to exploit the primitive mental functions at his disposal, the early defense mechanisms of introjection, projection, denial, and utilization of the hallucinatory experience came to be inordinately relied upon. The precocious independence of the infant was also found to lead to a premature decathexis of the mothering person. The infant's sudden awareness of his separateness was seen to constitute a literal threat to his existence, forcing the infant to establish his own caretaking or false self while attempting to win back the mother's attention by complying with the environmental demands. A vicious cycle or repetition compulsion ensued in which the child attempted to correct the early distortions in his development through a reliving process based on an unattainable wish. This only led to further reintrenchment of the pathological process.
In Piagetian terms, intelligence became the organization through which the infant achieved adaptation, survival itself. The strains and traumas which the infant was subjected to became the nutriment or aliment for his defensive structuralization. The prolonged subjection to environmental impingements acted to precociously structuralize the psyche while compelling premature mental functioning to replace the mothering role. A facilitation on both a physiological and psychological level occurred, a literal physiological organ compliance of the mental apparatus. The sensory-motor system and channels of discharge were hypercathexed to protect the organism from further insult.

Unusual sensitivities developed, artificially induced by the failure of the mother to protect the infant from impingements of his stimulus barrier. The rapid accumulation of tension compelled a hypercathexis of those discharge channels available to the infant in his rudimentary developmental state, the avenues of the motor and perceptual system being most amenable to quickly ridding the infant of large amounts of tension. These channels were also chosen as it appeared that the mother's libidinization of and ego interest in these specific modes of expression acted as a stimulant for the infant to develop along these lines. Exercise of these channels elicited the mother's love and approval while other modalities were often ignored. These discharge behaviors were also found to be the only form of pleasure.
available to the infant which did not seem to provoke un-
predictable responses of approval or disapproval from the
mother, constituting one of the few conflict free areas of the
child's life. The infant often provided his own source of
gratification by utilizing these discharge channels for
autoerotic pleasure, thus freeing the mother even further
from any demand for care or stimulation placed on her by her
infant.

While secondary processes were neither phase adequate
or possible during the first months of life to handle the
occurrence of the traumatic access of images which threatened
to organize themselves into thoughts, heightened motoric
activity was possible, as was a hyperperceptual acuity which
constantly scanned the environment for any indication of
further traumatic overstimulation. Empirical evidence was
found indicating that the lower-class black child exhibited
markedly accelerated motor development over his middle-
class white or black peer in the first year of life, as well
as other racial and ethnic groups in a lower-class population.
Large amounts of libido and aggression were hypothesized to
become fixated in this early defensive overreliance on
motoric channels. Under stress, the child was thought to
revert to these primitive discharge channels as it was
impossible to obtain gratification at higher levels. These
fixation points constantly exerted a pull to these more
primitive defensive functions and the earlier developmental level in which intense gratifications were experienced. A heightened predisposition to drive regression was also hypothesized to result as all those positions and pre-objects which had previously resulted in gratification or homeostasis were tenaciously clung to out of the constant fear that giving up these satisfactions might result in self-annihilation.

The vicissitudes of the hyperoathexis of the perceptual sphere were hypothesized to manifest themselves in an inability of these ego apparatuses to extricate themselves from the conflictual sphere, i.e., they never become conflict free. Perception, sensation, and motoric expression remained highly and inappropriately cathexed with primitive, unbalanced levels of libido and aggression. In particular, the precocious overreliance on motoric channels was thought to lead to a decrement in the development of small muscle coordination skills. The child was seen to turn away from more developmentally advanced, frustrating environmental tasks as they only heightened the infant's level of tension. Implied in this frustration tolerance ability was the prior knowledge that if overwhelming frustration threatened, the mother would "save" the infant, yet this assumption was often invalid in the ghetto home. A propensity for an impulsive action orientation was established with a concomitant atrophy
of such secondary process ego functions as delay of gratification, anticipatory planning, judgement, verbalization skills, and memory.

As the infant came to assume the mothering role in the primary autistic and symbiotic phases, the mother was hypothesized to be prematurely differentiated or "cut-out" of the nebulous, mother-infant dual unity. The infant became aware all too soon of the mother's frustrating and potentially painful attributes, as well as her inherent failure to protect the infant from further stimulation. Indeed, by her erratic cycles of deprivation and overstimulation, she became primarily associated with the presence of noxious stimuli. Aggressive drive energies threatened to differentiate prematurely from the primitive state of fused libido and aggression. Faced with the possibility of projecting his aggressive energies outward onto the mother and possibly annihilating this important if erratic source of gratification, or of turning the aggression inward and destroying himself, the infant was compelled to employ the negative hallucinatory process to blot out the premature perception of the mother's existence. The utilization of this process preserved the infant's early objects from his attacks of rage and anger. The mother was preserved, however, as the infantile ego split the maternal object into good and bad part-objects. The good part-object was then preserved and idealized, the bad
part-object and the rage associated with it driven into the unconscious by the massive employment of countercathexis. The infant was constantly enmeshed in the desperate mental activity of splitting the maternal imago, denying the existence of the bad part-object, and desperately attempting to repair and idealize the good part-object in an attempt to make the mother assimilable. The hypercathexis of the perceptual system thus served to defend the infant from further stimulation while organizing a precocious reality sense, the infant constantly scanning the external world to assure itself that the object had not been obliterated by his anger.

The inability of the mother to act as a container for the infant's aggression was traced to the store of her own barely repressed rage which threatened to break into consciousness. Her desire to have the child gratify her dependency needs and to love her as she was never loved as an infant compelled the infant to make a premature and pathogenic identification with the mothering role. The only way in which the image of the good mother could be sustained and gratification elicited from her was to literally take over both his and her care, to incorporate the "good mothering role." This dual role was hypothesized to lead to a narcissistic identification with the mother and later significant objects. The vicissitudes of his development were traced to a later proclivity to give up one's own self-
integrity to gain another's love. The promiscuous, unselective acquisition of mannerisms, postures, accents, and interests of those around the child was seen to be a manifestation of this process.

Patterns of multiple caretaking, endemic to the ghetto, were found to have various ramifications. The firm, unambivalently established object representation of the mother failed to emerge, and libidinal investments in her as well as others were seen to be diffuse. Despite a seemingly intact development of the personality through latency, supportive evidence indicated that a significant collapse of functioning and personality cohesion may occur at puberty. The mother's unreliable presence hindered her introjection as a stable maternal image, resulting in a partial failure to internalise rules and prohibitions while concomitantly undermining the child's trust in future libidinal objects.

During the twelfth to twenty-fourth months when verbal skills were typically established, the lack of appropriate verbal stimulation led to deficits in impulse control, delay of gratification, and a propensity for spontaneous, unreflective motoric behavior and explosive affective (e.g., aggressive) expression. A critical period for the development of skills relating to the expression of feelings was explored; those verbal skills were found to be established in the black child after this critical period had passed.
As a consequence of this delayed learning, which could be traced to cultural, environmental, and child-rearing factors, future psychological maturation was hindered. The use of speech for the manipulation of others and self-aggrandisement in later life, with the function of communicating relevant information often secondary to the presentation of self were further ramifications of this developmental lag.

A second major traumatic nexus was hypothesized to occur in the practicing and rapprochement subphases of the separation-individuation phase of development. During the earlier practicing subphase, the infant's abandonment of the mother and a striking out independently into the world was greeted with a mixture of relief and anger by the mother. Throughout her child's infancy, the mother was confronted with her own unresolved, frustrated dependency needs, giving to the child reminding her of her own deprived childhood. The hostility and rage engendered in giving to the child what she never received set in motion a reaction formation; instead of withholding the mother was found to overindulge and spoil the child as she wished to be spoiled. However, the rage the mother felt at her own mother and her child for this loss of gratification often broke into consciousness, expressed as harsh verbal or corporeal punishment cloaked in rationalizations that spoiling was bad for the child, and that she was preparing him for the inevitable frustrations and deprivations of later life. Erratic cycles of indulgence and harsh
punishment occurred. These child-rearing patterns were then examined in light of future difficulty in frustration tolerance development, anticipatory planning, and a general weakening of the child's sense of security and trust in the world.

The child's return to the mother during the rapprochement subphase and his reinstigation of infantile demands was viewed by the mother as a severe curtailment of her own drive for independence from the infant. Her rejection of him as he turned back to her constituted a repetition of the sloughing off she was subjected to in her own infancy. The child's renewed demand for gratification and support brought with it memories of the mother's own childhood frustration, as well as increasing the pressure upon her to reinstitute the intense caretaking procedures characteristic of the infant's earlier development. The mother reacted to the state of affairs by being flooded with feelings of bewildered rage.

The mother's angry withdrawal from her needy child threatened the infant with the loss of her love, and ultimately the loss of the mother herself. The child was impelled to institute desperate measures to regain the seemingly lost, blissful symbiotic unity. Repeated attempts at reunion with the recalcitrant mother were likely to be met with continued rejection, and a spiraling, forlorn sense of loss on the child's part. A traumatophilic response occurred, the child locked into a pattern of needing to recreate
the original traumatic situation with his mother and other significant objects in the magical belief that this crisis could ultimately be resolved. This attempt at reuniting with the rejecting, rapprochement mother shaped the pattern for future object relationships, the individual set on a life-long search for the unrequitted love he never received from his primary object.

The desire to regressively merge with the lost symbiotic mother contained within it the inherent threat that the regression would go too far, and the infant would become caught in the whirlpool of the primary undifferentiated symbiotic stage. As the infant was "hatched" from the maternal orbit prematurely, optimal individuation was impeded, and interference was found to occur with the initial fusion of the self and object. Fused and confused coupling with the maternal imago rendered a debilitating blow to the child's growing sense of reality orientation.

The sloughing off in the rapprochement period spilled over into the main anxieties harbored by the child during the anal phase of psychosexual development. If the black parent failed to value the child in view of his own unresolved conflicts regarding his or the child's skin color, the child would come to equate himself with his feces, and fear that the parent might flush him away with his valued body products. While the child's fear of being discarded was
a normal apprehension of this period, a rejection or sloughing off during the rapprochement subphase/anal period would constitute psychological "proof" that he was as bad and worthless as the parent's perceived the feces to be; the child thus came to identify himself with his own flushed away body product. This entire process was given further significance if the parent failed to compensate the child for his loss by re-investing parental cathexis in the child's mastery over his sphincter muscles and his body, or if the parent did not discriminate adequately between the constantly valued child and his devalued anal products.

Ultimately, the child equated the threat of maternal abandonment with his attempts to attain autonomous mastery over space and his own body. The drive for independence and mastery carried with it the risk that all possibility of returning to the maternal fold would be obviated. Passivity and a "giving up to fate" were adopted as a characteristic way of meeting external challenges. The child learned that it was safer to remain enmeshed in the symbiotic fold than to risk abandonment by striking out on one's own.

The phallic-oedipal period appeared to be truncated in the black inner-city male due to the mother's denigration of her son and her punitive, castrating stance to all males. Stopped at the very margins of the Oedipal period and faced with the threatening spectre of the phallic mother, he was impelled to regrass to those earlier psychosexual stages.
where fixation points were already established, the oral and anal stages. The thinly veiled seductive overtures of the mother stimulated the son while his barely repressed rage towards her pressed for release. The boy renounced his oedipal strivings and escaped the sexualized tensions in the home by fleeing to the safety of the peer group, where this preoedipal need could be gratified. Coupled with this regression was a premature flight into latency precipitated by the unendurable phallic ambivalence which invaded the oedipal conflict. The very nature of the mother's erratic patterns of gratifying and frustrating her daughter acted to sustain the pathological bonds to the mother. The black ghetto female's inability to find one man in her later life who could satisfy or gratify her dependency needs were traced to this early mother-daughter relationship; it was not a man's love and support that she was seeking, but her mother's love and consistent care.

The failure in resolving the oedipal conflict interfered with the capacity to form loving relationships with the opposite sex during later period of development, and fears of intimacy were found to be commonplace. A disruption in the process of neutralization of energy occurred which interfered with sublimatory channels, hindering future cognitive development and academic achievement. Super-ego development was further crippled as a result of the irresolution of the
oedipal conflict, the lack of consistent models, particularly the father, for identification, and the super-ego lacunae evident in the adults. Genital masturbation was harshly punished, its general absence among ghetto children attributed to the chronic trauma they were exposed to as well as a culturally-syntonic displacement and distortion of these drives to the oral aims and objects.

In latency, the peer group served as a vehicle through which the child could safely express and discharge the aggression and sexual feelings stimulated by the home. The child's wide exposure to sex and violence within the confines of his own family was often found to have little obvious effect on him. However, the feelings aroused by these occurrences were displaced to the street, where provocative aggressive and sexual acting out, as well as precocious sexual activity, were commonplace. The peer group appeared to play an important role for the latency-aged and pubertal/adolescent male, protecting him from the feared phallic mother by systematically denigrating all women, disavowing anything feminine, and encouraging exhibitionistic displays and "proofs" of manhood.

The proposed conceptualization was unique in literature on the black, inner-city child of poverty as no coherent, encompassing theory of development was previously formulated. Notwithstanding the melange of research findings, compensatory
programs addressed specifically to the deficits in this child's affective and cognitive functioning, observational studies of ghetto life, and polemics, an integrative, developmental theory had yet to be constructed. Utilizing the course of normal development as outlined by A. Freud and Mahler, and the theories of early childhood cognitive growth as explicated by Piaget, the proposed conceptualization represented an interweaving of psychodynamic and Piagetian theory with what was currently known as to the environmental, social, historical, and cultural context of the growth of the black child in the ghetto. As such then this conceptualization represents an application and integration of previously established theory and research to a narrowly defined population.

This exposition took as its starting point the observable, sometimes quantitative factor of environmental deprivation, examining it in light of its impact on psychological growth and maturation. In essence, the broad category of environmental deprivation was operationalized and reconceptualized as psychological trauma. Within this larger, more psychologically meaningful context, one was no longer compelled to continue merely cataloguing observational data, but was enabled to apply it directly to the child's course of development, rendering the conceptualization heuristic, since behavioral sequelae could be predicted from the hypothesized modifications and alterations in ego and super-ego structuralization,
and the employment of defense mechanisms and drive development. These predictions regarding both the ontogenesis and pathogenesis of conditions predisposing the child to developmental skewing or deviance with concomitant ego arrests and fixations, and the manifestations of these conditions in overt, observable behavior, could then be assessed in terms of their validity and value in facilitating an understanding of this child and his problems.

Seminal points in this conceptualization include the hypothesis that two distinct periods of the separation-individuation process were implicated as critical times in the traumatic impingement, the autistic-symbiotic phases and the rapprochement subphase. The conditions which predisposed these period to be highly vulnerable to disruption could be explicated in terms of their cultural, historical and environmental roots. The trauma itself was seen to be the result of repeated environmental impingements, in essence a cumulative trauma, rather than being traceable to one specific event.

The hypothesized acceleration of motoric development as a function of its hypercathexis and utilization for energy discharge was linked directly to normative studies of child development. The empirical verification of this particular hypothesis, as well as confirmatory observational data and case material regarding the other hypotheses developed from the larger conceptualization, were suggestive
of the heuristic value and broad applicability of this conceptualization. Further, the data demonstrated that specific, observable and/or measurable behaviors could be directly predicted and derived from a highly theoretical, metaphychological profile of development.

The interweaving of the rapprochement subphase and the anal phase of psychosexual development illuminated highly racial-cultural specific aspects of black child development and forged a connective link between dynamic and structural components of the metaphychology of the psychoanalytic formulation of child development. Maternal rejection or desertion of the child during this period, or even the possible effects of a traumatic separation or hospitalization of the child within the rapprochement/anal period, could thus be viewed from a different and possibly enriched perspective. This particular melding of two parallel developmental lines would have application to children and families of all races and cultural-socioeconomic backgrounds.

The course of development at the phallic-oedipal period underscored the importance and function of the peer group for the black child, an area which had previously received little attention in the literature. The dual regression-flight into latency hypothesized to occur for the male had wide-ranging ramifications for future libidinal object choice and super-ego development, which may be relevant to an understanding of asocial and anti-social behavioral
patterns found to occur during latency and adolescence in many black, inner-city males, and to the high rate of marital instability and desertion. The female's bond to her mother, resulting from the erratic frustration-gratification sequences, characteristic to black child-rearing practices, had obvious ramifications for the continued existence of the multi-generational, matrifocal home as well as the female's almost constant disappointment and desertion by her male partners. The psychological conceptualization of these behavioral patterns amplified current economic and cultural explanations for the matrifocal home, unstable marital relationships, and high rates of antisocial behavior. These latter explanations were seen as necessary but not sufficient to a theory regarding these phenomena; the psychological dimension offered by the proposed conceptualization appeared to compliment these explanations while providing the needed psychological framework to construct a complete working theory.
CHAPTER 3
A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE:
COGNITION, LANGUAGE, ACHIEVEMENT AND SELF-CONCEPT

This chapter will examine the research findings in an attempt to isolate those variables which underlie the deficits so often observed and attributed to the black, inner-city child of poverty. Due to the broad scope of the research reviewed, these findings will be presented in a cursory form to allow for a rapid overview of the complexities of the problem; for a complete discussion of each topic, the reader is referred to Appendix A for cognition, Appendix B for language, and Appendix C for achievement, motivation, and self-concept.

A. Studies of Cognitive Processes

Since the publication of Hebb's *The Organization of Behavior* in 1947, researchers have become increasingly aware of the crucial role that early experience plays on the development of cognition. Nagera (1972) reviewed studies which showed a direct correlation between the amount of external stimulation provided to the organism, and the consequent degree of vascularization of those specific areas of the brain sensitive to this stimulation. The effects of this early
stimulation were observed on a psychological as well as a physiological level. Hunt (1969) speculated that human infants might be irreparably damaged if they were exposed to unfavorable environmental conditions during this early period.

As many researchers have claimed that the black child is often deprived of early, crucial experiences that would promote optimal development, a review of the effects of gross environmental deprivation and the benefits of early stimulation is provided below. The classic study of Skeels and Dye (1939) demonstrated that when supposedly retarded youngsters were exposed to a warm, enriched milieu, significant positive changes in intellectual and emotional development could be effected. Later following studies which followed these children through their adulthood showed that their gains were long lasting and stable (Skeels, 1966; Goldfarb, 1949). Those children who had been similarly diagnosed as retarded but who had been left in a barren, institutional milieu were found to remain profoundly retarded in all areas of their development. Studies of "normal" children institutionalized in unstimulating foundling homes also found these children to be deficient in their social alertness, responsiveness, and cognitive development as compared to home-reared children (Provence and Lipton, 1962; Caldwell, 1967; Spitz, 1965).

Bloom (1964) emphasized the importance of the early
years in a child's life, as cognitive growth proceeded so rapidly that as much intellectual development occurred in the first four years of life as it did in the following thirteen years. The critical functions associated with linguistic, emotional, and cognitive patterns appeared to be imprinted by the age of three, as well as characteristic ways of responding attributable to the social background of the child (Bruner, 1972). Many of the child's basic personality traits appeared to be well established in the preschool years (Emmerich, 1975). Ausubel (1965) hypothesised that the child's high plasticity decreased as the child grew older. Physiological maturation allowed stimulation to be registered more discretely and sense-specific, thus rendering environmental contact less generalisable to all cognitive areas. Rudimentary schema development required the appropriately dosed and timed amount of stimulation; without this stimulation the infant would not be able to maximally accommodate and assimilate future stimulation. Kagan and Moss (1962) also found a correlate of the initial period hypothesis in the parental management of the child, parental practices being far more effective in shaping later development if they were introduced at the appropriate time, than if they were introduced too early or too late in the infant's development.

Lower-class environments have been characteristically linked with varying degrees of deprivation or a lack of appropriately timed or dosed stimulation. In the mid-
sixties, researchers systematically explored the effects that social-class had on the child's development. Jensen (1968), like many others, found that there were consistent differences between the performance of children from a high versus a low socioeconomic status; the I.Q. tests of the former groups were always far superior to the performance of the later groups. The most profound differences appeared to reside in abstract reasoning and judgment ability (Freeburg & Payne, 1967). These differences were observable as early as four years of age (Stodolsky & Lesser, 1967). Caldwell (1967) reported that a general deceleration in development was noticeable in the lowest SES groups during the second to third year of life.

Deutsch (1960) labelled the trend toward decreasing levels of performance, I.Q., and school achievement as time progressed as a "cumulative deficit." This pattern was also reported by others (Osborne, 1960; Hunt, 1961; Bloom, 1964; Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, 1964; Gordon, 1965). However, Hess (1970) warned that such studies as Coleman (1966) and Osborne (1960) were methodologically inadequate as social class was often confounded with ethnicity. Despite this cautioning note, the overwhelming consensus appeared to be that lower-class children performed uniformly poorer than their middle and upper class peers, and that their performance levels would progressively drop with increasing age.

While lower-class homes were found to be repeatedly
associated with less than optimal child-rearing patterns, parent-child interactions, and opportunities for stimulation (Dave, 1963; Bloom et al., 1965; Raph, 1965; Wolf, 1965), the effects on the child’s development and behavior were difficult to discern unequivocally before the age of three. Comparing black and white infants of parents of high and low educational levels, Fassamanick (1966) and Knobloch & Fassamanick (1953) found all groups to be equally average in their physical and intellectual growth. Examining a similar age range of black infants from a high and low SES level, Williams and Scott (1953) reported that the lower SES infants were superior in their gross motor development. Bayley (1963) in examining a large number of infants from various racial, ethnic, and SES levels, also reported a general trend toward the superiority of the lower class black children in motor development throughout their first year of life. However, Walters (1967) criticized Bayley’s study for not adequately comparing groups regarding their educational and SES levels. No social class differences were found either on the I.Q. tests or the mental abilities tests. Further, whether the child resided in a home where the father was present or absent appeared to have little effect. The researchers hypothesized, however, that the social disorganization observed in the low SES homes was not conducive to developing abstract language and problem-solving abilities. Although the stimulation found in the home was adequate for
the development of the concrete use of language and the growth of sensory-motor intelligence, it could not sustain the development of more conceptually advanced learning which was mediated by language. It was speculated that the social class of the child would have an increasingly important effect as he grew older. Golden and Birns believed that social-class related child-rearing patterns may have had a debilitating effect on the child even throughout the pre-verbal period, but it was not reflected in the test scores due to the fact that the tests did not address themselves to these higher level functions.

The "sleeper effect" which was hypothesized to occur was empirically validated in 1971 by Golden, Birns, Bridges and Moss. Studying the same population as in the 1968 study, they found that at three years of age there was a significant drop in performance for both white and black children from lower-class homes; middle-class black children from stable homes were found to be far advanced over their lower-class peers from homes with or without fathers. The researchers explained these results in terms of the mediating factor of language. The 18th-36th months marked a time when the child may gradually shift to a verbal-symbolic level of intellectual functioning, the preoperational level. These children who were most deprived of adequate models for speech and had not been systematically "taught" speech by significant others would be unable to effectively use language as a tool in representational thinking.
While the sequence of cognitive growth as explicated by Piaget has been found to be invariant and immune to the influences of culture (Voyat, 1969; Ginsburg, 1969; Bee, 1974), social class membership had a decided effect on the rate of cognitive development using Piaget-based tasks. Gaudia (1972) reported that lower-class children tended to lag behind six months to 2-1/2 years in their cognitive development compared to their more economically advantaged peers. Gaudia hypothesized that the increasing lag in the rate of development was attributable to the cumulative effects of the depriving, lower-class environment. Bee et al. (1968) also found social class membership to affect the mode or style of the child's cognitive operations, as well as his rate of development. A generally impulsive style was found to predominate in the lower-class population they studied. Problem-solving abilities were rudimentary and task approach displayed a lack of anticipatory planning. A number of other researchers have found similar class-linked lags in development and detriments to optimal functioning. Sigel and McBane (1967) found that lower-class children had a slower rate of subordinate grouping. Sigel (1972) reported that there appeared to have been little opportunity for the child to learn to focus on the abstract, unseen, or to gain an understanding of the significance of representation. After conducting a special training program for lower-class black children, Sigel found them unable to transfer what they had
learned to other similar tasks, such as conservation. Deutsch (1963) believed that the poor memory functions manifested by lower-class children could be attributed to the lack of shared activity with the parent and the dearth of conversation about everyday events which occurred in the home.

The mother has often been implicated as the person primarily responsible for her child's early intellectual and emotional growth. The lower-class black mother has come under particular scrutiny concerning the child's later failure in school and his lack of preparedness for the demands of the schoolsetting. In their review of the literature pertaining to mother-child interactions and the development of cognition in the child, Streissguth and Dee (1972) reported that significant changes in the infant's attentional abilities, exploratory behavior, and other behaviors could be effected by short-term environmental manipulations carried out by the mother or the researcher, and that the infant's capabilities could significantly be improved by utilizing long-term intervention projects.

While individual differences in the infant's motoric activity, sensory capabilities and performances, and sensitivity to various social modalities existed, frequent maternal contact and stimulation of the infant was found to increase the child's intellectual development and accelerate his overall functioning (Escalona, 1966). Bronfenbrenner (1968) found that low levels of stimulation provided by the mother ultimately
impeded the child's dependency drive towards her, which acted to hinder the development of progressively complex patterns of interaction between mother and child. The result of this impaired interaction was a progressive deceleration in the development of complex behavioral capabilities and a general retardation of cognitive growth. The lower-class home was implicated by Whitenen, Brown, and Deutsch (1967) as furnishing inappropriate amounts of stimulation which was necessary for optimal cognitive growth. Utilizing a "deprivation index" these researchers found that these homes had a restricted variety of stimulation as well as failure to provide the child with adequate doses of stimulation from significant others. Tracing the development of these children into elementary and secondary school, a systematic deterioration or cumulative deficit was manifest in school performance.

In examining the lower-class mother's interaction with her child in detail, Hess and his coworkers (1965, 1967) observed that the mother often poorly organized or presented information to her child in a learning task. The stimulus display was not patterned for the child, nor was the mother's type, quality or amount of feedback to the child adequate for the child to comprehend the task. Most striking was the mother's failure to adequately use language to orient the child as the task progressed or to provide the child with the necessary information to solve the problem. Hess concluded that there appeared to be a lack of regularity and consistency in the environment of the lower-class home, as
well as an inconsistency in the child's interactions with others. Kagan (1968) fastened upon this last finding in hypothesizing that the child may be deprived of the chance to habituate due to the constant flux and inconsistency in his physical and interpersonal world. Due to the operation of these factors, it would be unlikely that the child would be able to make the more advanced manipulations and discoveries of the objects and people with which he was exploring or interacting. The common finding of a lack of toys and a restriction of mobility in the ghetto home also seriously affected the child's ability to habituate.

Lucco (1972) examined this problem from a Piagetian standpoint; he hypothesized that the mother failed to provide her infant with those necessary clues to the intervening conceptual factors of the task which would enable the child to find a solution. The information provided by the mother did not reside within the infant's conceptual range; this eventuated in the child's inability to utilize this information and eventual failure in the task. However, these children were often able to accomplish tasks which were seemingly far above their developmental ability. It was observed that the maternal demand of accomplishment of daily household chores and responsibilities at an early age, concomitant with her lack of assistance and mediation in problem-solving activities, compelled the child to rely on rote memorization to accomplish his tasks. Further testing revealed that the child
had not attained those advanced levels of thought congruent with an understanding of the task itself.

Other research has found that overstimulation can also deleteriously affect cognitive growth (Wachs, Usgris, & Hunt, 1967). The lower-class home was observed to be an extremely busy and noisy place (Tulkin, 1971; Streissguth & Bee, 1972), where the low signal-to-noise ratio mitigated against attending to anyone and eventually led to poor auditory discrimination patterns (Raph, 1965; C. Deutsch, 1966). While the general consensus was that a screening-out of noxious stimuli overgeneralized to all classes of stimuli, leading to an obstruction in the child's ability to carefully attend to grammatical form, Malone (1966) discovered that there was an inherent selectivity within the child's seemingly gross auditory inattention. Preschool children were found to be hyperalert to those social stimuli which had direct relevance to them, particularly if it was of a threatening nature.

As various cultures emphasize specific skills, abilities, and achievement over others, it is likely that the black lower-class subculture would leave its imprint on the child's cognitive style, work habits, and patterns of achievement. However, in attempting to isolate those patterns endemic to the black ghetto, the effects of poor prenatal care, malnutrition, and other factors associated with poverty cannot be ignored. As an example, Kappelman, Kaplan and Canter (1968)
found that a disproportionately large number of children in
one black ghetto are manifested a disproportionately high
incidence of neurological and emotional handicaps which
appeared to be associated with the conditions of poverty in
which they were raised. Further, there have been continuing
difficulties in constructing a culture fair test of abilities.
I.Q. tests have come under the most criticism in this regard,
many researchers questioning whether the range of skills
measured by these tests tap into critically important cog-
nitive or adaptational styles of the black child.

In a review of black children's performance on I.Q.
tests, Shuy (1966) found that black children scored con-
sistently lower than their white peers. However, Jensen (1968)
and Hess (1970) criticised this review as social class factors
were only taken into account in a few of the reviewed
studies. Despite the shortcomings of Shuy's review, the
black child was found to still consistently score below
other groups even when socio-economic status was controlled
(Deutsch and Brown, 1964; Stodolsky and Lesser, 1967).
Socioeconomic status appeared to have a less profound im-
pact on the black child than white groups because of the
patterns of enforced segregation found in many areas; even
middle-class black families often resided within proximity
of the urban slum (Deutsch and Brown, 1964).

Ethno-specific patterns of strengths and weaknesses in
cognitive skills were found in two different studies (Lesser,
Fifer and Clarke, 1965; Stodolsky and Lesser, 1967). Ethnic group membership not only reliably predicted the absolute level of the child's performance, but also predicted the pattern shown among these abilities. The SES variations within the ethnic groups were not found to alter the basic organization of the cognitive skill achievement level. However, the SES of the black children had a far greater effect on their level of performance compared to the other ethnic groups studied. The researchers concluded that even if ameliorative financial measures were taken to boost the lower-class black family into the middle-class, the basic pattern of abilities, unique to blacks in general, would not be affected. Studies by Golden et al. (1971) and Gaudia (1972) demonstrated that even on Piagetian tasks of conservation skills, black children were significantly slower in their rate of acquisition as compared to other groups tested. The possible causes for this lag in development were traced to the debilitating effects of the lower-class environment. From the evidence in the literature, it appeared that as the black child grew older, his problems in school would increase as his cognitive development lagged and his academic progress faltered. The cumulative deficit found to exist among lower-class groups in general appeared to be particularly pernicious for the black child. As time went on, it appeared likely that the gap between black lower-class children and other groups would widen, as well as the manifested
deficits becoming less and less amenable to change. The unique social, cultural, economic and environmental conditions under which many poor black children were raised colluded with normal development to maximize the possibility that pervasive and permanent impairment would occur.

While most researchers studying black children have adopted a largely environmentalistic or "nurture" approach to the ontogenesis of the problems previously discussed, one group of researchers, Jensen the most notable among them, have offered a genetic theory to account for the differences found between blacks and other groups. As Jensen has presented the most elaborate theory for genetic causality, his theory should be briefly reviewed, although the criticisms levelled at Jensen are equally applicable to any current genetic theory.

In a series of articles, Jensen (1968, 1969, 1970) argued that over eighty percent of the variance found on I.Q. tests could be attributed solely to hereditary intelligence. Jensen stated that I.Q. tests had a high ability to measure true innate ability, evidence from the earlier literature indicating that black children scored significantly lower on these tests of mental ability than did whites. Further, blacks appeared to differ in the type of mental abilities they manifested compared to whites, blacks showing strengths in Level I intelligence (associational or rote learning) while they demonstrated considerable deficits in Level II
intelligence (conceptual skills). Jensen went on to speculate that selective breeding of black slaves for strength and endurance over intellectual skills had effectively bred higher intellectual capabilities out of the black population.

A number of researchers have attacked the notion of a genetic theory in general, and Jensen in particular. Cavalli-Sforza (1970) contended that as intelligence had a polygenic character, it was impossible to study at an interracial level. Further, the variance level cited by Jensen, 80%, was far too high, most geneticists speculating that only half or lower of the variance found in I.Q. tests could be attributable to intellectual capacity. Cavalli-Sforza found that the child's culture, community, family, and SES level could have a tremendous impact on the child's manifest level of behavior and functioning. Finally the very size of the differences between the I.Q. scores of black and white children tended to decrease the likelihood that the observed differences were genetic versus cultural.

Deutsch (1969) attacked Jensen's work directly, demonstrating that there were considerable erroneous statements, misinterpretations, misunderstandings of the nature of intelligence and intellectual tests, and a number of glaring methodological errors all in favor of Jensen's hypothesis. Despite Jensen's caution concerning relying on I.Q. tests to measure intelligence, Jensen used these same tests to base his entire genetic-differences hypothesis. It was apparent
that Jensen repeatedly translated I.Q. test scores into intellectual functioning, despite the fact that no built-in correlation exists between I.Q. scores and the nature of intelligence. Herskovits (cited in Deutsch, 1969) had previously demonstrated that the notion of selective breeding during slavery was patently false.

D. Language

Linguistic deficits have been cited by a number of investigators in explaining the ontogenesis of the vicious cycle of cumulative academic deficits associated with ghetto children. Specific areas of impoverishment or difficulty have been found in syntax, auditory discrimination, semantics and verbal mediation. However, the findings of educators and academic psychologists have recently been questioned by linguists, dialectologists and biologists. These latter groups have asserted that educators and academic psychologists have evidenced a lack of understanding of the nature of language development in general, and a naivete concerning the socio-cultural-linguistic patterns of the black, lower-class subculture in particular. This section on language explores the positions of all of these groups.

Psycho-educational studies uncovered significant frequency deviations from standard English manifested by children from lower-class and ethnic backgrounds, as compared to their white, middle-class peers.
speech patterns of lower-class children it was found that verbs were often used improperly, double negatives were common, and auxiliary verbs were utilised deviantly. On tests such as the vocabulary subtest of the WISC or the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, a paucity of language recognition and vocabulary skills was also demonstrated. However, with the advent of the study of Negro Nonstandard English (NNE), the frequency deviation method was largely discarded as it completely failed to account for the use of a different dialect by blacks (Casden, 1966). Stewart (1967) explicated the differences between the standard and nonstandard forms of English, finding most of the differences on a syntactical versus a lexicophonological level.

Initial studies of the speech of lower-class black youngsters found them to be linguistically impoverished or literally lacking a language (Bereiter, 1967). Jensen (1968) reported finding little spontaneous verbal behavior. Gray and Klaus hypothesized that this was the result of the child's exposure to poor language models and a generally punitive parental stance toward the child which inhibited the development, elaboration, and comprehension of both thinking and language. Raph (1965) observed that the lower-class black child's rate of articulatory maturation was slower than his more advantaged peers, the speech development fixing itself at a lower level of maturity.

Blank (1970) found that lower-class black children not
only had a limited vocabulary, but tended to encounter major difficulties in using words to represent abstract concepts. In comparing black and white children's communication, Carson and Rabin (1960) concluded that the black child's speech was significantly less complex and accurate in its communicative value than the white child's speech. Hess (1970) reported similar findings, his review of the literature indicating that children from the higher socio-economic bracket achieved consistently higher scores on measures of the range of vocabulary, pronunciation and syntax. Casden (n.d.) interjected a note of caution, however, as she found that the comprehension vocabulary of black lower-class children often far exceeded their expressive vocabulary. Further, the elements of the code of the child's basic vocabulary was found to be the same for rich and poor, black and white alike (Labov, 1970; Entwisle, 1970).

The general level of language development and linguistic competence appeared to be approximately the same across all social classes until the age of five or six, with little definable, or obvious impact from the effects of formal schooling up to the age of eight (Entwisle, 1970). Palmer (1970) conducted a series of experiments with black children of various SES levels. She also found that early environmental factors did not seem to play a role in language comprehension and speech development until the child was four and a half years old; it was only then that class differences began to emerge between the ghetto child and other SES groups.
Entwisle (1968) found that by kindergarten the black child had learned most of the structural features of his language. However, after this age the syntactical complexity of the child's response appeared to be inversely related to his SES (Hess, 1970). In a later study, Entwisle (1970) observed that although the black child gave far more mature, paradigmatic responses than the white peers in the first grade, by the third grade blacks were surpassed by white children of both high and low social classes. The black child was found to give an entirely different set of associations, hence meanings, to the stimulus words as compared to the white groups. As the black child grew older, his responses became increasingly stereotyped, less elaborate, poorly structured semantically, and manifested an increasing deficit in the use of verbs and adverbs.

Ausubel (1965) found that lower-class black children had considerable difficulties making the transition from concrete to abstract modes of thought. This inability to use words as representatives of abstract concepts was traced to an eventual failure to utilize abstract, symbolic mediation in logical thinking (Blank, 1970). Related to these difficulties were deficits in the black child's ability to use verbal labelling adequately, lending to a deficit in the ability to generalize learning to other similar situations (Jensen, 1968). While these deficits in labelling or categorizing were not considered to be severe (John, 1963;
Blank and Bridger, 1966, 1967), they did underline a propensity of the black child to ineffectively filter out irrelevant attributes of his learning environment. In comparing lower and middle-class blacks, John and Goldsmith (1964) commented that the lower-class children tended to focus on the nonessential attitudes of the stimuli when attempting to group them, as compared to their middle-class peers. These investigators hypothesized that the deficits in abstraction and categorization of the lower-class children were the result of their exclusion from active, verbal interaction with adults with a consequent lack of opportunities to learn from adult corrective feedback.

Jensen (1968) also found that a lack of verbal stimulation and feedback from adults had a deleterious effect on the child, leading to a paucity in pre-established learning sets. Further, not only did the child come to school with this decrement, but the learning sets imparted by the school were gradually eroded in the home as the child was unable to rehearse what he had learned with the adult. The cumulative effect of these various linguistic deprivations was a generally inadequate development of complex verbal structures. Blank (1970) linked this inadequacy to eventual deficits in causal thinking, deductive reasoning, the utilization of conditional statements, and the retrieval of past events. Blank predicted the occurrence of an overall decrement in the potentialization of the functioning of the internal mental
processes.

Anthropologists such as Whorf and Sapir theorised that language ultimately structured experience, the individual interpreting reality in terms of those categories of thought inherent in his language habits (Olim, 1970). Linguistic development was also singled out by Whiteman and Deutsch (1968) as the crucial mediating factor coming between the impact of the environment and the child's ultimate level of school achievement. The developmental theorists, Piaget and Vygotsky, have directly linked the inception of logic and the process of intellectual development with the beginnings of socialized speech. Despite this suggestive evidence linking cognition and language, Hess (1970) stated that the assigned relationship between language and cognitive development had yet to be fully explicated.

Further, while his review of the literature uncovered evidence of clear deviations from Standard English manifest in the morphological and phonological components of the lower-class child's speech and in Standard English as compared to HNE, there did not appear to be an unambiguous relationship between these factors and linguistic deprivation. Cardan (1968) observed that the efficacy or proficiency with which an individual used language as a means for inter-individual communication was not necessarily indicative of how effective language might be when it was used as an intra-individual cognitive tool.
Investigators suspected, however, that a dearth of verbal stimulation in the home was associated with later verbal deficits (John and Goldstein, 1964; Eaph, 1965). Tulkin (1971) and Kilbride, Johnson, and Streissguth (cited in Streissguth and Eeo, 1972) found that middle-class mothers tended to talk far more to their infants than did lower-class mothers. Lower-class infants were observed to receive significantly more non-directive, unpattered auditory stimulation than their middle-class peers, as well as being overexposed to the monotonous whine of the television. However, Casden (1968) found little correlation existed between the speech of the parents and the child's later linguistic ability. Although studies had demonstrated the positive effects of adult verbal responsivity and reinforcement of the infant's babbling, it appeared to be an open question whether this early adult verbal stimulation would have any effect on the child's later speech. No definitive evidence was found to show whether verbal stimulation of the infant would generalize to later linguistic development.

The nature of interpersonal relationships with a significant other appeared to be a crucial factor. Speech was not mediated by these variables, but developed in the service of them. In one experiment directed at increasing black preschooler's speech, Casden (1965) had adults expand and put into correct grammatical form the communications of a group of children; the other group of children was merely
engaged in conversations with the adult. Despite predictions that the former groups' speech would manifest the most improvement, the unexpended, conversational group of children showed the greatest gains in terms of increased vocabulary and more advanced grammatical patterns. Casden concluded that imitation, reinforcement of the child's correct speech patterns, and corrective feedback all appeared to play a minor role in the acquisition of more varied speech behavior compared to engaging the child in active dialogue. The effective element played a far more significant role in speech development opposed to exposure and reinforcement of certain verbal patterns. Further support for this view came from Casden's (1972) review of language programs utilized in Head Start preschools; those programs which stressed consistency and warmth in the adult-child relationship were found to be the most effective in promoting increased and more complex speech, opposed to those programs which heavily relied on a mechanistic approach to improving the child's language ability.

Another area of concern to researchers has been the mother-child interaction patterns and its ultimate effect on speech development. Following the theoretical impetus of the British investigator Basil Bernstein (1960, 1962), a number of researchers in the United States attempted to ascertain if Bernstein's theory that middle-class speakers of English utilized an elaborated code and lower-class speakers used a
restricted code was applicable to the Afro-American population (see Appendix B). Hess and his associates (1965, 1967, 1968) found that mothers of different social classes tended to verbally interact with their child and the researchers in characteristic manners. Lower-class mothers were observed to have a significantly reduced level of verbal interaction with their child compared to middle-class mothers; further, the lower-class mother's speech itself was linguistically less complex than her middle-class peer. The mother's strategy in orienting their children to cues in the environment and facilitating the child in the completion of tasks was also divisible along class lines. Lower-class mothers tended to commonly employ control techniques with their children, either commanding their child to obey them in view of the mother's status as an adult or as their mother, or demanding that the child blindly adhere to the normative components of the situation. Hess found that these mothers did use a restricted code, a code which stressed an orientation to external control or authority to the disregard of the use of reasoning with the child.

The middle-class mothers were observed to use an elaborated code. They tended to call their child's attention to the instrumental consequences of his actions or they informed him how others would feel if he were to embark on his chosen course of action.

In reviewing the above research, Olim (1970) hypothesized that the status and role orientation utilized almost exclusively
by working and lower-class families in controlling their children, tended to ultimately limit the child's development by restricting his alternatives regarding action and thought while concomitantly offering the child a predetermined, culturally sanctioned set of solutions to everyday problems. Thus, the child's range of choice and decision making was severely restricted. Hess (1970) found that these control techniques were negatively related to reading readiness and adequate performance on cognitive tasks, while slowing the development of complex verbal behavior. Further research revealed that working and lower-class mothers did not provide their children with adequate feedback during cognitive tasks, tending instead to rudely criticize their child or negatively reinforce his efforts at finding a solution to the problem. It was observed that these mothers did not facilitate the child's efforts by either pointing out salient clues and/or characteristics of the situation, nor did they meaningfully encourage the child to logically search for a solution to the task. Frequently, the mother could not tolerate the child's necessary groping to find his own solution, and she frequently took over the child's task by active physical intervention.

In a series of experiments designed to assess the socialization practices of lower-lower-class and middle-class black mothers, Radin and Kamii (1967) found that the former group of mothers tended to employ a repertoire of tactics the investigators termed "unilateral techniques";
these techniques included the use of commanding, bribing, or physically enforcing the child to complete a prescribed task. The middle-class mothers used a series of bilateral techniques; they tended to gently request that their child attempt the task or explained to him the reasons for it. Further, these mothers creatively used psychological manipulation with their children, anticipated when the child might do something wrong and helped the child to construct an alternate course of action, or they discussed with the child how it might make others feel if the child were to carry out these actions. These investigators drew several implications for later socialization and cognitive styles.

The techniques of the lower-lower-class mothers were found to be based largely on blind obedience to a "present" authority figure; the middle-class mother's emphasis was on the internalization of expectations for conduct and consideration for others based on an empathetic understanding of the person's position. As with other studies (Gray and Klaus, 1963; Hess & Shipman, 1963; Hess et al., 1968; and Bee et al., 1969), the control techniques of the lower-lower-class mother was found to contribute to the development of an impulsive, nonreflective orientation in the child.

In opposition to the various theories which proposed that the inner-city black child suffered from a linguistic deficit, recent studies by linguists and biologists (Chomsky, 1967; Lanneberg, 1969; and Norston, 1970) have
argued that the acquisition of language proceeds through invariant and universal stages. The capacity for speech is conceived to be a function of the unique structure of the human brain, rather than a process which must be learned through social interaction.

Lenneberg (1969) is one of the most articulate spokesmen for the biological position. He cited the universality of language forms, the invariant and age correlated onset of linguistic development, and the essentially identical formal operating characteristics of all language which exists despite superficial outward differences, as proof for the biological givenness of language development. The susceptibility of language to impairment by specific brain lesions, the high correlation between the progression of language development and motor development as opposed to chronological age and the inception of language development as coincident with maturation of 65% of the brain, were cited as indicative of the role of cerebral maturation in the ontogenesis of language. To buttress his arguments against an overriding environmental or learned component to language acquisition, Lenneberg reviewed studies which demonstrated that the onset of the production of human sounds was not contingent upon the timing, quantity, or quality of the sounds made by the parents. Further, the research indicated that language was not acquired by simple imitation of other adult's or children's sounds; it was found that
the child regularly abstracted relations from the language which he heard.

The hypothesis was offered that a significant correlation existed between the development of language and the maturation of anatomical and physiological structures. The maturation of these structures was conceived to set the stage for the development of both cognitive and language development. The innate, underlying capacity for language was found to be highly resistant to the effects of even the most depriving environments. Lenneberg argued that only the most extreme deprivatory circumstances could in any way arrest language development.

Dialectologists and linguists have recently challenged the hypothesis that a linguistic deficit exists for the black, inner-city child. Houston (1970) stated that no solid evidence could be found which indicated that disadvantaged children utilized language differently than their more advantaged peers. Further, in opposition to earlier claims that language could almost be dispensed with in the ghetto, Houston observed that the rule of language as a manipulative and social tool was of paramount importance, special recognition and status afforded those who had a "good rapping style." The speculation that black children received less verbal stimulation than other groups of children was termed the "verbal deprivation myth" by Labov (1970). Labov asserted that the black child was
was subject to more verbal stimulation and exposed to grammatically superior sentence forms than many middle-class children. Black children were found to possess the same basic vocabulary and capacity for learning, conceptualization and logic as all children who spoke and understood English. Labov also took issue with the notion that black ghetto speech was not suitable for abstraction; he cited the various "street games," and conversations, and oral traditions of black people to demonstrate the high degree of abstract ability inherent in these dialogues.

Although NNE differs only superficially from SE forms (Labov, 1970), it deviates more radically from SE than any other dialectical form. However, NNE contains no significant linguistic or logical departures from SE, nor is it any less effective than SE as a tool for cognition or communication (Casden, 1968). NNE was found to be a highly structured system which contained its own set of rules to govern syntax, phonetics, intonational patterns, verb construction, lexical distribution, and morpheme construction (Stewart, 1967, 1970; Casden, 1960; Casden et al., n.d.; Shuy, 1968; Baratz, 1970; Houston, 1970; Labov, 1970; Dillard, 1973). (See Appendix B)

Despite differences between SE and NNE, Houston (1970) reported that disadvantaged black children appeared to have little difficulty in understanding utterances in the standard form. Casden (1968) found that while lower-class
black children possessed a rich and varied vocabulary which could be utilized with a great deal of precision; their verbal ability was generally poorly correlated with their performance and achievements in school. John and Berney (1968) reported similar findings; the child's total verbal output was found to have little correlation with either the child's demonstrable verbal competence or his intellectual potential.

A number of contributing factors appear to be implicated in the child's inability to use his own dialect efficiently in the context of the SE speaking classroom. Structural interferences exist between SE and NNE which might frustrate and confuse the child as he attempts to translate his own non-standard verbalized thought into the required "standard" form. Shuy (1968) believed that the constant dialect switching and translation of one form into another had profoundly negative consequences on the child's adjustment in the school situation. There were also socio-cultural factors involved; the child constantly had the nonstandard form modelled for him at home. Speaking SE often became associated with the hated school environment, the child having to face the ridicule of his friends and be accused of "putting on airs" if he were to use the standard form on the street.

Entwisle (1970) and Baratz (1970) found that dialectical differences were often compounded by phonological and semantic differences between NNE and SE. Those differences created interferences in the child's attempt to read and
master written material. The attitude of the teacher towards the child's speech patterns was also found to be extremely hostile and negative (Baratz, 1970), the children often feeling personally devalued as their speech was denigrated.

The issue of the child's motivation and the context in which speech occurs is a particularly crucial variable in assessing the speech of black youngsters. Casden (1970; Labov, 1970; and John & Bernoy, 1970) reported that the degree of personal, emotional involvement the child had in the situation significantly affected his overall amount of spontaneous verbal production as well as the structural complexity of the manifest speech. This finding was not limited to poor black children alone, but extended to all social classes of children. Cowan et al. (1967) found speech behavior to be so dependent upon the nature of the social situation and the individual's affective involvement that they recommended discarding the results of all previous research which had not adequately controlled for this crucial variable.

Casden (1970) also cited the general failure to account for the role that social context played in overall speech produced. She speculated that because this variable had been unaccounted for in earlier research, the results of these previous studies had lead investigators to reach erroneous conclusions regarding black children's speech.

Dillard (1973) observed that the speech community or the
social milieu not only prescribed what form the child's language would take, but also clearly delineated the times and situations when it was appropriate to use one language form rather than another. Unwritten rules and social conventions dictated how the child should speak, to whom he should speak, how often he could speak and the very length of his conversation. The status and age of the person being spoken to shaped the amount, style, and complexity of the speech. Houston (1970) termed the particular range of styles of communication within a given language as the registers of that language. Every child and adult was found to have within his command a number of registers which were tailored to given situations or environments. These registers were found to be selectively utilized in the school, home, job; the register employed was also dependent upon the age, status, and familiarity of the person to whom the child or adult was speaking.

Houston identified two distinct registers utilized in the black community. The "school register" was found to contain a set of short mean length of responses and sentence structures. The syntactical structure was generally simplified. An outside observer's impression would certainly be that the child was nonfluent. This register expressed a rather limited and depleted verbal set for indicating attitudes, ideas, and feelings. In contrast to this register was the nonschool register used in the home or with peers. This register was different in its form, content, and
expressiveness from the school register. It contained within it a complete set of syntactical patterns which were age-appropriate. She concluded that the response set was not only adequate, but manifested "natural linguistic creativity and a frequent giftedness." Houston concluded that it was apparent why such investigators as Hess and Bernstein had concluded that lower-class children had "depleted linguistic sets," as they had measured only one of the registers available to the child, the one used with strange adults.

Labov (1970) and Shuy (1970) underlined the importance of power relationships inherent in the experimental settings in which black children had been assessed as linguistically deprived. The child was seen as being in an essentially unfair position; his task became one of defending himself from the intrusions of the threatening investigators. In an attempt to break off this noxious situation as rapidly as possible, the child was seen to give the shortest answer possible, and remained almost mute in the hope of completely discouraging any further questions. Casden et al. (n.d.) observed that investigators often unknowingly violated the social conventions of the ghetto. It was an unwritten rule that it was inappropriate behavior for children to display their knowledge even to a "benevolent" adult. Further, these children had often been sternly admonished by their parents to avoid any inquiries from strange adults, particularly white middle-class adults.
Previous researchers had assumed that the family, particularly the parents, were the child's most important agents for socialization and language development by serving as the child's primary models for imitation. Stewart (1970) and Dillard (1975) challenged this view, citing the failure of earlier investigations to take into account the socio-cultural milieu of the ghetto. The peer group was observed to be one of the most important socializing agencies, mediating and governing both social activity and language development. Black children tended to speak to each other far more often than to their parents. This pattern could be traced to at least the seventeenth century. Dialectologists and linguists have found that "black child English" still remains alive in the ghetto today, essentially unchanged. Stewart (1967) demonstrated that it was a common practice for cultures or subcultures to utilize one interaction pattern or linguistic form over another. The speech patterns and lack of conversations between black adults and children were also found to be part of the black socio-cultural heritage.

Studies of NHE and the socio-cultural context of speech in the black ghetto have raised serious questions regarding the validity of many of the hypotheses concerning linguistic deficit or impoverishment. Particular criticism has been levied at the postulation of auditory discrimination deficits described by C.P. Deutsch, (1964), Raph, (1965), and Deutsch, (1963). After reviewing the formal test results and the
behavior during the test itself, Sigel and Perry (1968) concluded that such tremendous variability existed in the black population they studied that any attempt to stereotype inner-city, lower-class black children's psycholinguistic functioning was not only triteless but dangerous. Although Blank (1970) found a correlation to exist between the poor performance of a group of black children on auditory discrimination tasks and retarded reading performance, she cautioned that this might not necessarily reflect deficits in auditory discrimination per se. Blank considered that the failure of these children was probably attributable to their difficulty in listening to and retaining an auditory sequence.

A later study indicated that black, FHE speaking children neither misinterpreted nor failed to attend to what the white, SE speakers said to them (Labov, 1970). In SE sentence repetition tests such as the ones C.P. Deutsch employed, the child grasped the meaning of the sentence but translated it into NHSE. Labov found that as the superficial SE form was not reproduced, the child was marked down as having given the incorrect answer. Baratz (1970) found that many words which were pronounced quite differently in SE tended to be pronounced similarly in NHSE (e.g., Pin and Pan). In many of these discrimination tests which were used as indicators of auditory discrimination deficits, the dialectical features of NHSE were not taken into account. Not surprisingly, a
number of black children "failed" these tests because the investigators were unaware of the similarities of pronunciation of many words in NNE which were different in SE.

A not unreasonable demand has been made by linguists and dialectologists that linguistic assessment be relative to the language community norms in which the child was reared. It would appear that many of the "deficits" in linguistic ability attributed to the black child were actually artifacts of inadequate experimental designs and procedures which failed to account for the socio-cultural-linguistic membership of the child. An additional factor which also seemed to be ignored was the anxiety provoking nature of the experimental situation itself. Reports of "shortened attention span" may not have been so much attributable to a characteristic mode of response as to the child's anxiety in failing to understand the tasks imposed upon him by white, middle-class speakers of a potentially threatening testing situation.

C. Achievement, Self-Concept and Motivation

Strong achievement motives in children have typically been associated with concerted parental and societal pressures for high standards in all work with which the child is engaged. In their study of the unfolding of achievement orientations in boys and girls, Kagan and Moss (1962) found that boys who manifested high achievement motives tended to have mothers who were high on protectiveness but low on hostility
in their son's first three years of life. The mothers then shifted their emphasis to pushing their sons towards achievement in the next seven years of their lives. Then these boys reached adulthood, they were all found to be highly motivated toward success and achievement. Girls who became high achievers in later life were observed to experience an entirely different set of maternal variables. Their mothers tended to be generally hostile and relatively unprotective towards their daughters in the first three years of life, followed by a demanding attitude towards achievement in the next seven years. The investigators concluded that maternal child-rearing practices had a profound impact on the later achievement orientations of the children.

High achievement oriented children were found to possess an entirely different set of personality characteristics than low achievement children (Crandall, 1975). The former group was found to be largely internally directed, manifested high self-esteem, were largely independent, demonstrated little dependency conflicts, were actively competitive with their peers, good-naturedly accepted authority, set realistic goals for themselves, and were often academically oriented. High achieving children also seemed to depend less upon adults for their immediate needs while being able to work towards a goal without being immediately rewarded for their efforts. Further, they displayed initiative, self-reliance, and a high degree of emotional control. Low achieving children were
almost a mirror image of their high achieving peers. They were found to manifest far more free-floating anxiety, possessed a defiant attitude towards authority, showed evidence of strong dependency conflicts, set unrealistic goals for themselves which were rarely accomplished, and were largely socially versus academically oriented.

Although what is exactly meant by the term "self-concept" is still disputed, most researcher appear to believe that it, like achievement, is highly dependent upon parental influence for its development (Wyne et al., 1974). It appears to be learned through interaction with significant others, the child's perception of himself highly dependent upon his perceptions of how his parents, family, friends, and community value him. A significant relationship has been found to exist between the child's self-concept and his later school achievement. One common area of agreement among researchers can be found regarding the black child's self-concept; his self-concept has generally been found to be quite poor as has his school achievement (Wyne et al., 1974).

Deutsch (1960) reported that the social class membership of the black child had more of an effect on his self-concept than it did on the white child. The lower the black child's social class, the more likely it was that he would feel a diminished sense of his own positive attributes. The social confusion in the child's environment and his perceived lack of safety acted as factors which depressed his motivation and
ultimately led to a failure to adequately structure experience into cognitively meaningful goals and activities. As in the studies of Deutsch, Poussaint and Atkinson (1972) found that these circumstances resulted in a decrement of school performance.

The development of a poor self-concept among lower-class black children was hypothesized to be attributable to the distorted, inferior image the larger white society reflected to blacks in general (Poussaint and Atkinson, 1972). Wattenberg and Clifford (1964; cited in Charnofsky, 1971) found that the effects of a poor self-concept on school achievement could be observed to occur as early as kindergarten. Assessing pre-schoolers on ego-strength and self-concept measures, those children who demonstrated high weightings on both these qualities were found to have attained higher levels of reading achievement as opposed to children who manifested poor self-concepts and ego strength. The combined mental test and self-concept scores provided a more accurate indication of the child's potential than the mental scores alone.

Ausubel and Ausubel (1963) hypothesized that the unique desatellization process that occurred in the ghetto increased the possibility that the black child would manifest a diminished sense of self-esteem. The low self-esteem that parents possessed was directly related to the low social status the larger society conferred upon the parents. The child, consequently, had little opportunity to feel secure.

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with the low status derived from the parents. As the parents were observed to "give up" the child to the street at an early age, relinquishing their control over the child and resignedly allowing the child's peer group to fulfill their function, the family's role of the central transmitters of social values and as a representative of the larger society was significantly diluted. The child's precocious freedom compelled an alliance with the peer group as this was the only available social agency which could provide the child with a secure sense of derived status, ego support, and protection. Although the child was found to develop those executive competencies which would enable him to survive on the street, this heralded the abandonment of his search for derived status from significant adults in his environment; instead, the child looked exclusively to his peer group for derived status. Those adults who were successful and could have provided an adequate derived status for the child were often far out of his grasp as realistic models for emulation. Achievement orientations which were the outcome of identification with successful adults and the satellization process, were not established. Rosen (1972) lent empirical support to Ausubel and Ausubel's hypothesis, finding that black boys scored very low on the "M" achievement construct of Murray's TAT in contrast to comparable groups of same aged boys. Although the black youngsters' educational aspiration were very high, they scored among the lowest of the groups studied on achievement.
orientation, value orientation, and vocational aspirations.

The self-esteem of the black American has been found to be pervasively and fundamentally shaped by the color-caste system (Wynne et al., 1974). Erickson (1963, 1966) observed that inferiority feelings and self-hate were largely the products of a negative self-image imparted by the racism and prejudice inherent in the general society. Blacks were forced to identify with the societally attributed negative characteristics of blacks, as well as to accept a "surrendered identity" in order to survive. Overwhelming clinical and educational evidence was cited by Neers (1973) in his conclusion that the effects of prejudice had significantly impaired the black child's sense of self-respect. Neers believed that these circumstances were responsible for the formation of a unique set of unconscious expectations, defenses, and self-perceptions which ultimately hindered the child's total personality growth. A pervasive sense of insecurity and a generalized inhibition of self-actualizing assertion was also related to the effects of prejudice and discrimination (Pugh, 1972).

While the black child might have little if any direct contact with white society, the child's self-concept was formed by interactions with those other significant others, ghetto residents, whose self-concept had been impaired by these contacts (Rosenberg and Simons, 1971; Foussaint, 1975). Mosby (1971) asserted that despite the positive factors operating within the child's home or community, or even if the child
possessed a high innate potential, he would be unable to fully combat or counteract the debilitating effects of societal racism. Black self-hatred was seen to be expressed through daily interpersonal relationships as well as being evident in depression and poor self-concept (Prohansky, and Newton, 1966; Rainwater, 1972).

Eventually, the child comes to feel that success is unobtainable; his concerted efforts at achievement are met with frustration and indifference. Hunt (1969) found this attitude to be not only ingrained in ghetto children, but also to be pervasive in ghetto adults. The child was found to have no basis for believing that his efforts to achieve would be met with adult approval or appreciations; ultimately, the child perceived that he had no real control over his destiny.

Skin color has remained an important factor in the parent's valuation of the child and the child's developing self-image (Wyne et al., 1974). A study conducted by Palmer and Mauling (1968) demonstrated that black boys continued to be preoccupied with the skin tone of prestigious blacks, while like-aged white boys tended to ignore this characteristic in their evaluation of the black or white sports figures. From a psychoanalytic perspective, Keers (1973) hypothesized that the parental failure to protect the child from various traumas was interpreted by the child as due to
his having a dark skin tone. These children were discovered to fantasize that if they wore white, somehow they would be treated much differently, and much better.

While Rosenberg and Simons (1971) did not find any association between the child's actual skin color and his reported level of self-esteem, this appeared to be due far more to the operation of defensive processes than to a lack of concern with skin color. These children typically employed an "inflation mechanism" which acted to protect them from a recognition of their very low societal status. A pioneer in the field of self-esteem studies of black children, M. Clark, (cited in Poussaint, 1974) concluded that despite the rise of "black consciousness" and campaigns aimed at convincing blacks that "black is beautiful," there had been no significant change in black self-esteem since her studies in the 1940's and 1950's.

The black child seemed to be unable to utilize the school to gain self-esteem or respect because of the very home conditions to which he had been exposed (Deutsch, 1960). Rainwater (1970) found that the child's school achievement was either actively denigrated by the parents or its value was not comprehended. Riessman (1962) attributed this to the pragmatic, anti-intellectual stance of many lower-class blacks. Coleman et al. (1966) and Crandall (1975) offered a different explanation for this phenomena, believing that the child's failure to achieve in school was traceable to an
external control orientation which arose as a function of characteristic, lower-class black child-rearing practices. Children with strong positive self-concepts tended to be internally control oriented, this latter orientation being highly correlated with successful academic performance. Previous studies had shown blacks as a group to manifest feelings of being externally controlled far more often than whites (Battle and Rotter, 1963; Wyne et al., 1974).

Feelings of being externally controlled were found to have ramifications for many ghetto blacks' pervasive belief in luck or chance. There appeared to be an underlying feeling that the individual could neither affect events nor direct his own life; passivity, a lack of self-initiative, frustration, apathy, and resignation were all found to follow from this external control orientation. Wyne et al. (1974) and Poussaint (1970) traced the impulsive, periodic outbursts of violence in many ghetto blacks to this chronic condition of helplessness and passivity. It was hypothesized that the ability to inflict pain on another individual seemed to convey to the individual that he still had some control over affecting the environment. Further, the internalized rage which consumed many blacks was drained by this acting-out towards others (Grier and Cobbs, 1972).

The literature is rife with reports of the black, inner-city child's low aspiration levels in school, his passive indifference to the teacher, and significant academic re
tardation ranging at best two or more years behind the national norms (Deutsch, 1960; Coleman et al., 1968; Meers, 1970; Rosenberg and Simmons, 1971). Rosenberg and Simmons (1971) observed that these children often protected their self-esteem by adopting their culture's general skepticism towards school or anything intellectual. The child saved face by dismissing his poor school performance as neither important nor an accurate indication of his intelligence. Pride in accomplishment was shifted from the school to areas where the child felt it safe to compete, such as sports, dress, and his "street cool."

Deutsch (1960) determined that these children often lacked the internalized anticipation of reward that was mandatory if learning was to take place in a traditional classroom atmosphere. Symbolic rewards and the ability to postpone gratifications were found to be deficient, the children only responding to immediate, self-centered rewards of a highly concrete nature. This type of reward system was highly inconsistent with the demands of formal education (Gordon, 1965).

The stress the child may be under from a chaotic home situation or from previously negative interactions with his teachers may significantly inhibit academic achievement and impair verbal learning (Katz, 1964). When the child was observed to be placed under further stress in the school situation, he typically used avoidant techniques designed
to terminate the unpleasant situation. The slow build-up of resentment and rage at the feared teacher or school situation might not necessarily be expressed in an explosive outburst, but was often manifested in a chronic resentment or stubborn attitude towards all authority, the school in particular (Poussaint, 1970). Zigler and Butterfield (1968) hypothesized that this hostility directed towards the teacher which could not be safely expressed was frequently turned inward toward the self in a further attempt to escape the unpleasant situation. The end product of these mechanisms meant to disguise the child's anger or shunt it off in another direction was a pervasive sense of insecurity and an inhibition of the child's self-actualizing assertion (Pugh, 1972).

The experience of repeated, early failures appeared to have profoundly negative effects on the developing personality, affecting the child's achievement and aspiration levels throughout the child's school career (Bloom et al., 1965). Pugh (1972) cited a defense mechanism that many children used in view of repeated failures, eventually the child accepting the societally established view of himself as inferior; paradoxically, his anxiety over failing academically was lessened as he no longer expected to do well in school.

While black mothers put a high valuation on their children's achievement and educational aspirations, they tended to have fairly low vocational aspiration levels for their children (Rosen, 1972). In finding similar results, Poussaint and
Atkinson (1971) commented that the low maternal vocational aspirations were understandable as the child was often unable to translate his achievements into productive results. Prohansky and Newton (1963) viewed the mother's satisfaction with a lower but good occupation for the child as a realistic stance, considering the black's prospect for a good job in the employment market.

The child, on the other hand, often expressed high aspirations for educational and occupational levels of achievement, but these frequently did not coincide with either the child's realistic ability or the actions he undertook to actualize those goals (Deutsch, 1960).

Katz (1969) traced the inception of pervasive school anxiety found among black children to parental overreliance on predominantly negative reinforcement. Although the parents were often little interested in the child's academic progress, school failure might well provoke the parents to use corporal punishment. Katz hypothesized that the combination of a low expectation of parental reward for academic success and the relatively high expectation that a failure to comply with parental demands would bring punishment, eventuated in emotional blocks to learning concomitant with school anxiety. Hoers (1975) also identified factors which directly interfered with the child's ability to learn. He found pervasive evidence of attentional, motivational, and cognitive-affective blocks.
which stymied any attempts well-meaning professionals used to overcome the child's "cognitive deficits." In their study of school systems across the country, Coleman et al. (1966) reported that even the "better" inner-city schools which employed innovative, remedial techniques were often ineffective as a large percentage of these children just seemed to fail to respond.

A central question raised by a number of the studies concerned the cognitive deficits which have been attributed to inner-city black children. One group of researchers has argued that these deficits might better be conceived as motivational difficulties. Although motivation has been linked to the child's developing self-attitudes towards his own capabilities, this motivation was found to be extremely susceptible to the effects of social stress. The degree and direction of the black child's motivation was often at odds with the goals of formal education (Gordon, 1965). Lyne et al. (1974) believed that at least one component of the black child's motivation might differ quite radically from his white counterpart; the black child was often found to be motivated to protect his self-image from further damage, his achievement orientation being to work to avoid failure rather than to achieve success.

The critical role that motivation played in cognitive development and academic achievement of black children was empirically demonstrated by Zigler and Butterfield (1968).
In their examination of an inner-city pre-school program utilizing a "traditional curriculum" they found that almost all sizeable gains made by the children were directly attributable to motivational factors. Warm encouragement and praise concomitant with a reduction in the child's suspiciousness of the adults involved in the experimental project all acted to significantly improve the child's performance. While Zigler and Butterfield did not rule out the positive academic effects of the nursery program, they believed that cognitive gains were optimized only when the child had a strong motivation to achieve and excel.

D. Conclusions

In sifting through the claims and counterclaims on the existence of discrete, measurable deficits in the black, inner-city child, one can only be impressed by the current lack of clarity in the research literature, despite the amount of work which has been devoted to this area. What is of particular concern is that national programs such as Head Start and Follow-Through have taken as their implicit, operating assumption that these ill-defined deficits exist and should in some way be ameliorated. Current research in the areas of language and motivation tends to call into question the very experimental methodology utilized by those who originally assumed these deficits existed. It appears that at least some of these deficits were merely artifacts of the experimental
situation or design. Early research has been shown to suffer from a disquieting ethno-cultural naivete which was often manifest in the implicit assumption that the inner-city black child was really a sick, middle-class white child in disguise. Failures to appreciate the cultural context of the child lead to a disregard for social conventions, motivational factors, dialectical differences, and language registers which significantly affected and may have indeed obviated the validity of many of those experimental findings.

Undoubtedly, social class and ethnic-racial factors have been demonstrated to have had a profound effect on the child's ultimate level of performance. It has been repeatedly shown that as a child's social class membership declined, a commensurate drop in performance and academic achievement could be safely predicted. Being black and poor appeared to be the critical interaction of variables which portended the most dramatic decrement in cognitive development and almost guaranteed cumulative, academic deficits. However, black children from the lower-class were also observed to develop at the normal, expectable rate until at least the third or fourth year of life. Piagetian analysis revealed that black children, much like their counterparts across the world, progressed the same and followed the same invariant sequence of acquisition of skills; however, the rate of their growth lagged behind their more advantaged peers after the black child reached the age of three-and-a-half. Social class and racial-
ethnic membership was also shown to radically affect the mode and style of the child's cognitive operations, black children tending to be generally impulsive, lack anticipatory planning, be less advanced in problem-solving abilities in specific tests, and demonstrated ethno-specific patterns of strengths and weaknesses in cognitive abilities.

The mother's child-rearing practices appeared to have had a profound effect on the child's later cognitive, affective, and academic growth. While researchers have speculated that the child was either under or overstimulated, it was apparent that a general consensus was that the child was inadequately stimulated. Patterns of maternal care revealed that black mothers failed to engage their children's curiosity, often confronting their children with a lack of stimulus patterning or tasks so poorly structured and presented that the child had difficulty understanding what was required of him. A number of reports singled out the mother's inadequate use of language with her infant, the consequent lack of organization confusing the child and significantly retarding his ability to use abstract language.

Language studies were roundly criticized by linguists and dialectologists who mounted a convincing argument that early researchers measured only deviations from a S.B. norm in a N.H.B. speaking population, thus rendering many of these early results invalid as a measure of the black child's true linguistic ability. From a biological and linguistic position,
N.N.E. was viewed as a just as logical, abstract, complete, and viable language form as S.E. While class-related language styles were found to exist, these styles were neither inferior to the other styles nor was the speaker necessarily limited only to one form or style, though it may have been the style he used most frequently. However, the manner in which the child was taught to verbally interact with his peers and other adults, particularly in regard to issues concerning discipline and problem solving, were found to have implications for future cognitive strategy formation and the internalization of parental and social mores.

Achievement, self-concept, and motivation studies clearly demonstrated that black children tended to manifest poor self-concepts, impaired motivation, and low scholastic and vocational aspirations. Socialization practices in the home as well as the insidious effects of racism and discrimination in the general society colluded to provide a fertile bed for the growth of inferiority feelings, morbid self-hate, despair, and a passive helpless stance to problem-solving situations. Children were found to be concerned with their skin-color as a work of their acceptability. A series of defenses appeared to be called into play to protect the child from recognizing his societally conferred low status and to protect his fragile self-esteem. These defenses were seen to hinder rather than facilitate mature ego growth as an overreliance on denial, over-inflation, unrealistic expectations,
and denigration of intellectual achievement tended to distort the child's perception of the world and its realistic challenges.

Parental socialization practices were seen to promote an externally controlled orientation style, reinforcing the perception that the child could not meaningfully initiate changes or effect events; rather, he must give himself up to luck or chance in the hope that fate would somehow provide for him. Children who tended to be externally-control oriented often had poor self-concepts, highly correlated with poor academic achievement. Poor motivation for academic success was also traced to parental socialization. A number of experiments demonstrated that motivation had a profound effect on cognitive academic achievement, deficits in attention, motivation and the existence of emotional blocks appeared to obviate the learning process itself.

Running through these studies like an unbroken thread was the consistent finding that mother-child interaction patterns and the mother's child-rearing and socialisation techniques crucially and perhaps unalterably affected the child's cognitive, affective, and personality growth in the first five years of the child's development. No convincing evidence was found to substantiate claims that there was anything inherently inferior or inadequate in the lower-class black child's innate physiological or mental capacities, his language, or his cultural milieu. While the possible effects of poverty cannot be disregarded as contributing to specific difficulties in
some children, poor black children as a whole tend to develop
and mature in a manner wholly analogous to their more advantaged
peers of all ethnic and social backgrounds.

Evidence from the research indicated that the dye may
have been cast well before the black child attained the third
birthday. It was at this point that cognitive differences in
terms of styles and rate of growth became apparent. The child
appeared to have had an adequate environment to have seen him
through the sensori-motor period; however, from this point
on social-class membership and ethnic-racial background be­
came increasingly pernicious as factors affecting his satis­
factory cognitive, emotional, and personality growth.

Remediative programs directed at providing the child
with a warm, supportive environment with attendant skill
development in academic areas were generally found to have been
most effective the earlier they were initiated. While the
cognitive orientation of these programs cannot be dismissed
as having minimal effect on the child's intellectual growth,
the crucial mediating factor in many of these successful
programs was the provision of a substitute or surrogate
optimal home environment. It would appear that the effects
of a nurturant environment were the best guarantee of the
child's healthy development, while ignoring the child's needs
for security, love, attention, stimulation and protection
tended to prognosticate that the child would ultimately
manifest many of the difficulties documented in this chapter.
Researchers have been able to identify numerous differences in the black child's rate of growth and his cognitive style, but they have been unable to single out or offer a coherent theory which accounts for the child's total emotional, intellectual, and personality development. Many factors such as mother-child verbal interaction style which have been offered as explanations for the unique development are either too limited in their predictive power and explanations to account for the entire gamut of the black child's development, or they appear to take place "too late"; they may merely be manifestations of an earlier process. Hypotheses identifying irregularities in stimulation or deprivation as possible causative factors appear to be implicated in the unique development of the black child, but are often too broad or general in either their application or effects to be of significant predictive power.

One area which has not received much attention other than an "author's aside" is the frequent observation that inner-city black children are often able to carry out complex tasks and orders at an extremely early age. Some investigators have pointed to the "street-wise" capabilities of black toddlers as evidence against theories which purport that black children are intellectually inferior to other groups. The seemingly paradoxical accelerated development of black children was observed to occur within the first twelve months of life, black infants demonstrating advanced motoric maturation, an
unusually observant, somber demeanor, and a surprising perseverance to tasks. In years following, a full array of survival mechanisms or skills were found to develop which enabled the child to make it on the street. The appearance of these skills was not necessarily indicative of advanced cognitive operations, as the completion of many seemingly complex tasks was found to depend upon less advanced modes of operation such as rote memorization or imitation. One result of the precocious establishment of a set of survival skills appeared to be the later avoidance of complicated tasks or challenges. The premature overtaxing of the child's cognitive abilities eventuated in behavioral disruption, manifest in aggressive attacks mounted against peers or siblings.

It would appear that a number of as yet unidentified factors must account for this early accelerated development and the appearance of these precociously organized survival skills. From a cognitive and affective viewpoint, it could be hypothesized that the premature appearance of these capabilities and skills would have a significantly disruptive effect on the child's intellectual, academic, personality, social and emotional growth. The very energy the child must conscientedly devote to fulfilling his parents' demands while under the constant threat of punishment, the careful watchfulness of the environment the child must maintain, and the overwhelming anxiety that disaster might befall him or his family at any time, all appear to overtax the child's emotional and cognitive
abilities while concomitantly dulling any motivation he might possess to excel.

Presently, no theory or body of findings exists which adequately accounts for the problems endemic to the inner-city, black child of poverty. Remedial programs which have proven to be effective are those which have focused not only on academic skills, but have also incorporated features of what could be conceptualized as a warm, optimal child-rearing environment. The research literature also indicates that factors within the home, specifically involving the mother-child interaction in the first three to five years of life, have a profound effect on the child's cognitive, emotional, and personality growth.
Anthropologists and sociologists define culture as those symbol systems, social traits, and values which are collectively held by individuals, furnishing them with a design for living. Culture may be viewed as one's social heredity (Rainwater, 1970); it orders experience, determines how another's behavior will be perceived and interpreted, and provides guidelines as to acceptable or appropriate responses to other's behavior. Passed down generationally along family lines, it provides a time-honored, consensually validated set of solutions for human problems. Lewis (1966) underscored the functional role it plays in advancing a preconceived set of common adaptations to difficulties encountered by members of the culture.

A culture provides its members with a set of existential predictions on how to view the world and how the world will view them, as well as an evaluative schema which judges that which is said to exist (Rainwater, 1970). It is from these perceptions of self through others' eyes that one forms one's own cultural identity and becomes a social being (Mead, 1965). Norms for behavior represent the rules which groups devise
to insure participation in those activities which facilitate adaptation to the environment. This set of activities may be conceived of as a game. If the individual is unable to enter the game through lack of resources or societal sanctions, he will try to play another established game, invent a new one, or withdraw altogether.

Lewis (1959) first suggested the concept of a "culture of poverty," which transcends national, regional, and urban-rural boundaries. In essence, it represents a common set of adaptations and reactions of the poor to their "marginal position in a class-stratified, highly individuated, capitalistic society." Found among diverse peoples with different national, ethnic, racial and historical backgrounds, the culture of poverty produces striking similarities in family structure, child-rearing practices, value systems, spending habits, temporal orientation, and interpersonal relationships. Faced with the near impossibility of entering into the mainstream of the larger, affluent society, the members of this culture attempt to cope with their feelings of hopelessness and despair by inventing "new games" which promise to salvage some sense of satisfaction and self worth. Segregation of this population to specified areas through either economic and/or racial barriers to outward and upward mobility promotes and sustains the formation of this subculture. Rainwater (1970) commented, however, that this compromise solution is a Pyrrhic victory:

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"Lower-class subculture can be regarded as the historical creation of persons who are disinherited by their society but who retain limited functional autonomy for their group. In this situation, they develop existential perspectives on social reality (including the norms and practices of the larger society) which allow them to stay alive and sane, to hope for a reasonably gratifying life and that somehow they may be able to find admittance to the larger society for themselves or their children. Such a subculture is the repository of a set of techniques for survival in the world of the disinherited and in time these techniques take on the character of substitute games with their own rules guiding behavior. But these rules cannot provide a lasting challenge to the validity of the larger society's norms..." (1970, pp. 396-97).

Perhaps the most pernicious aspect of the culture of poverty is the child-rearing patterns which are passed on from generation to generation, thus serving to perpetuate the culture. While Lewis (1966) believed that by the age of six years the child had assimilated the basic attitudes and values of his subculture, Bruner (1973) cited studies indicating that critical emotional, linguistic, and cognitive patterns associated with social background were already present by the age of three. Once these patterns were established, the child or
adult might be unable to relinquish them at a later time, even if the opportunity presented itself to join the larger society (Beiser, 1965; Lewis, 1966, 1966a; Marans and Lourie, 1967; Rainwater, 1972, 1974a).

Common child-rearing practices are observed in all ethnic and racial groups comprising the culture of poverty, seemingly diverse as Black American, Mexican, Puerto Rican, White Appalachian, or American Indian. Rapidly socialized in meeting the demands, deprivations, and dangers of daily life, the child establishes as his defensive armamentarium a set of survival techniques which Rainwater termed a "survival orientation." Attitudes towards the self, significant others, authority, and the larger society are inculcated in the child through contact with family and peers. These existential predictions and evaluative schemas enable the child to function optimally in the culture of poverty; the culture also furnishes him with a ready-made set of action and reaction patterns which may be at sharp variance with the norms and behavioral expectations of the larger, more affluent society. By successfully adapting to the ghetto culture, the child may paradoxically undermine his potential ability to participate in the larger society (Crain & Weismann, 1972; Lewis, 1967; Marans & Louris, 1957; Moynihan, 1967; Rainwater, 1970, 1972, 1974a). The vicious cycle of the culture of poverty is thus reinforced. Although adoption of a "street mentality" is not restricted to those who are raised in the culture of.
poverty, this unique pattern of adaptation is rarely found to occur in other cultural, socio-economic groups (Harans & Lourie, 1967).

Early childhood is not perceived by the mother as a period which should be particularly prolonged; the awesome responsibility, deep psychological involvement, and almost occupational challenge that infant rearing provides for mothers in the higher social classes is absent in the mother of the lower-lower-class child (Lewis, 1966; Rainwater, 1970, 1972). Child care practices appear to vary little; they were observed in varying groups comprising the culture of poverty with what Lewis (1966) referred to as an inexorable repetitiousness. Unlike his middle or working class peer, the lower-lower-class child enjoys little protection from the physical and emotional trauma of the home (Favenstedt, 1965; Harans & Lourie, 1971). The baby's needs are cared for a catch-as-catch can basis; he is often left to his own devices a good deal of the time and encouraged to independence and the assumption of adult tasks by the late pre-school years. No great concern is shown with the rate of the child's development, developmental milestones often passing unnoticed.

Sibling relationships are often stormy since each new baby threatens to be yet another drain on the limited attention and resources of the mother. The anger towards the younger sibling is only heightened as the older child must devote much of his energy and time to caring for his younger brothers.
and sisters. Exposure and often initiation into sex occurs at an early age; cases of early childhood seduction and molestation, while not common, have been found with sufficient frequency to cause apprehensiveness in parents (Nears, 1972).

An invariant structure of bilateral kinship and matrifocality is another characteristic found in this culture. Lewis (1966, 1966a) argued that despite the consequence of slavery on black American family life, bilateral kinship and matrifocal emphasis appear in all cultures of poverty throughout the world, regardless of racial or ethnic histories of slavery and/or discrimination. Another phenomena is the high rate of one-parent families (Dumyson, 1965; Moynihan, 1967; Roby, 1973) due to desertion of the home by the father, unstable marital relations, and a general laxity in regard to legalizing a living together arrangement. Most women do initially get married, but they are likely to have many living together arrangements with other men following separation or divorce from their husbands. The mother may shun marriage and have her out of wedlock for matters of convenience and economics. A high percent of men are either unemployed or underemployed (Lewis, 1966; Billingsley, 1968; Moynihan, 1967), thus representing a drain on the meager household budget and an impediment to receiving certain social welfare benefits which are contingent upon the husband's absence from the home. Additionally, by foregoing marriage the mother has unquestioned legal control
of the household possessions as well as her children.

Lewis (1966) identified the lack of coherent or formal institutions as the hallmark of the culture of poverty. Heers (1972) speculated that the absence of sustaining social institutions may have been an indirect function of latent sexual identity ambivalence which acted to undermine all communal and personal identity. Beiser (1965) also commented of the lack of patterns of leadership and followership, and the weak, fragmented network of communication inherent in this unstable community. The lack of participation in social institutions goes far beyond the confines of the community, the individual both excluding himself and often actively excluded from entering the main institutions of the larger society. Representations of the larger society are either looked upon with suspicion or outright distrust and hatred. Participation in community or church functions as well as institutional organizations is greeted with apathy or ridicule.

Despite segregation in geographically circumscribed areas, the individual has little class consciousness or desire to empathize with the plight of individuals in positions similar to his own. Orientation to status is quite another matter, and accouterments of success are accumulated and ostentatiously displayed. The individual seems to be largely ignorant of his own or his group's sense of history. Deeply provincial in the fullest sense of the word, he may have
little real knowledge about life beyond the unseen walls of his neighborhood.

Lewis (1966, 1966a) enumerated a number of psychological traits which have been found to be associated with the culture of poverty. One group of traits appears to be the by-product of inconsistent maternal care and deprivation: Pronounced orality, weak ego structures, and sexual identity confusion. Another group of traits appears to encompass the total deprivation of the environment as well as the lack of consistency in regard to either nurturance or systematic reward for developmental achievements: A strong present-time orientation, lack of planning for the future, and little capacity for delay of gratification.

It has been suggested that a reduction of physical poverty through infusions of money, job training, and social services will have little or no effect on those living in the culture of poverty (Kagstrom, 1964; Charnofsky, 1971), a figure which Lewis (1966, 1966a) places at approximately twenty percent of the fifty million poor citizens of the United States. Indeed, the relief system itself has been blamed for perpetuating the feelings of helplessness and poverty by the crass, dehumanizing manner in which it treats individuals, and the economic sanctions which exist against earning extra money from part-time work or finding and keeping a stable marital partner in the home. The "survival orientation" of the street also has frustrated the efforts of the
larger society to "rehabilitate the poor." As evidenced by programs which offered job training for poor people from the culture of poverty, the participants often failed to acquire occupational skills because they were unable to learn or perform as a result of their culturally-antithetic attitudes toward authority and disorganization (Crain & Weissman, 1972).

While income level is not irrelevant to understanding the people of this culture, it is not sufficient to explain the complex attitudes and behavior patterns which have been repeatedly observed (Crain & Weissman, 1972; Keers, 1972; Haggstrom, 1964). Charnofsky (1971) cited examples where economic poverty existed but psychological deficits were not present, among them many religious groups and those committed to social and political change. Further, many minority group members have incomes well below the poverty line, yet remain committed to stable, patriarchal homes with strong allegiances to community, church, and the "Protestant ethic" (Comer, 1975).

While investigators have discussed such a positive aspect of the culture of poverty as a heightened sense of spontaneity, an existential boundedness to the moment, and a seemingly heightened enjoyment of the sensual (Lewis, 1966, 1966a; Weissman, 1962), the majority of observers have concluded that it is a superficial culture, devoid of sustained or reliable gratification, and rife with suffering. It is an environment where good intentions are greeted with suspicion.
or are viewed as identifying the individual as an easy mark, a fit victim for manipulation and exploitation; an aura of desperate fatalism, helplessness, oppression, and debasement seep into every corner of daily existence (Malone, 1966; Charnofsky, 1971; Deutsch, 1960; Lewis, 1966, 1966a; Chilman, 1968; Marans and Louris, 1967; Ravenstadt, 1965; Beiser, 1964, Rainwater, 1970; Hertzog & Lewis, 1970; and Pettigrew, 1964).

Despite many similarities between the structure of the larger culture of poverty and lower-middle-class black society, it would be a mistake to leave unexamined the unique and pernicious effects that racism, discrimination, prejudice, and historical subjugation have had on the psyche and culture of the Black American (upper, middle, and working as well as lower-class). This does not imply that the effects of class membership on blacks should be ignored, or that the physical and economic aspects of poverty may indeed create a larger culture of poverty. However, a growing literature indicates that racial or ethnic membership is one crucial mediating variable which must be accounted for in understanding the many differences found between matched populations of different cultural and economic backgrounds.

In representative studies of racial-ethnic groups in the United States (Forts, Watts, and Lesser, 1969; Rosen, 1972) and in comparable cross-cultural studies (Epstein, 1972),
the effects of ethnicity were found to be independent of social class, and racial-ethnic groups typically manifested unique patterns of response and performance. Addressing himself directly to the issue of ethnicity's differential effect on achievement and aspiration, Epstein (1972) stated that the impact of discrimination in American society appeared to be experienced idiosyncratically and responded to by each ethnic minority:

"Nevertheless, our findings together with the results of previous studies justify the hypothesis that in societies such as the United States, where ethnic differences often are marked by clearly discernable characteristics, both physical and cultural, ethnicity will be a better predictive of achievement than social class, but that societies like Peru, where ethnic differences are not as readily visible or uniform throughout society, social class will be the binding constraint." (p. 213)

While Herzog (1967), H. Lewis (1967) and Chilman (1966) agreed with Lewis (1966, 1966a) that poverty or lower-class status was a more important variable than ethnicity, Billingsley (1968) contended that this assumption was based on a naive analysis; it failed to account for the effects of the very special barriers to advancement that racial discrimination has had on the black population. He argued that for advancement in social class, upward mobility, or occupational
status, comparable income level did not connote comparable opportunities. Deutsch and Brown (1964) implicated the homogeneity of life in a segregated caste society as a critical factor affecting the significantly smaller gradations between black middle versus black lower-class groups in contrast to their white counterparts.

An anthropological approach such as the "Culture of Poverty" fails to consider that an individual's cultural/historical heritage can profoundly contribute to personal identity formation from the earliest years of childhood. The gradual relinquishment of the "melting pot theory" of cultural assimilation into contemporary American society and the alternative adoption of what has been termed a "salad bowl concept", speaks both to the recalcitrance of ethnic subcultures to abandon their cultural heritages and identities. This reaffirmation of ethnicity and cultural pride has recently emerged in third and fourth generation Americans by the appearance of such movements as "Black Power," "Polish Power," "Italian Power," etc. As is devastatingly clear in a society such as the United States, one's racial-ethnic identity can also have extremely negative consequences in terms of self-hate, feelings of worthlessness, inferiority, and an entire range of unfortunate, self imposed attributes; this is particularly true if one is black (Katz, 1969; Charnofsky, 1971; Ausubel & Ausubel, 1963; Bloom et al., 1963; Poussaint & Atkinson, 1972; Rosen, 1972; Rainwater, 1970;
The importance of the individual's cultural/historical inheritance in terms of his personal development and development as a member of his group has long been known to anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, and psychiatrists alike. The pioneering works of E. Franklin Frazier (1957), Rose & Myrdal (1964), and Clark (1965) represented some of the first attempts to explicate the particular problems of Black Americans. The racial violence of the sixties and the national concern with its poor led to a national refocusing on the Black American in his cultural/historical context (Pettigrew, 1964; Moynihan, 1967; and Billingsley, 1968). The unique psychological effects of the black's historical inheritance on identity formation have come under close scrutiny in recent years.

As a consequence of discrimination and racism on the one hand, and culturally syntonic child-rearing practices on the other, the negative societal self-image was fused, and internalized by the child. As evidenced by the psychological reactions of concentration camp survivors of the Nazi holocaust, the victim eventually came to believe that he was being punished because he was bad, that he was not treated with respect because he was not worthy of it. The poor black comes to feel that he is mired in poverty because he is not
human being worthy of respect; that his blackness is a burden that he must shoulder stoically like a cross. While many ethnic subcultures have faced exclusion from a society based on discrimination or their lack of fit into societal work habits and lack of shared aspirations and values, no ethnic group in the United States has had to cope with the pervasive, insidious effects that its own negative self-image has wrought on its members by reason of their heritage of bondage, debasement, and dehumanization at the hands of the larger society.

It is not sufficient to relegate the differences between black and other inner-city culture of poverty members to post-slavery factors of discrimination and deprivation, as some investigators have assumed (Herzog, 1967; Lewis, 1966, 1966a). To assert that as slavery ended over one hundred years ago, only the post-slavery factors of discrimination, segregation, and racism remain relevant is to deny that cultural heritage affects either child-rearing practices or identity formation. Lewis himself stated that once child-rearing practices were instituted they tend to be replicated with little variation across generations. Considering that child-rearing practices and the continuity of the family were severely disrupted due to the cultural traumas relating to the subjugation of Black African tribes during the years of slavery in the United States, and the consequent change in children's perceptions of themselves and of significant others (Hunter &
Babcock, 1967; Billingsley, 1968; Pettigrew, 1964), and that this historical subjugation continued unabated (Mosby, 1972; Billingsley, 1968; Hunter & Babcock, 1967), it is likely that a debilitating negative self-concept was inculcated and reinforced through a combination of mother-family-child interaction and societal racism. The behavioral manifestations of this negative self-concept have been known for generations through song and common knowledge as well as through scientific documentation (see Appendix C).

Coles (1967a) related the typical problems of growing up to the very special problems of being black. Many of the experiences, prohibitions, and punishments of normal development were organized and given a new meaning to the child as he came to understand the special meaning of growing up as a black in a white, prejudiced society. As Mosby (1972) stated in formulating the outlines for a unique personality structure among blacks: "No one Black seems to escape all of the repercussions and conflicts associated with the differential valuation based on color" (p. 129)

Just as specific child-rearing practices appear to be associated with the lower, socio-economic classes, so too are there unique child-rearing practices associated with the black lower economic groups. Shared patterns of child-rearing and shared cultural heritage ultimately contribute to the formation of unique black personality development.
Normal developmental hurdles which are characteristically met with a minimum of conflict by white children often prove to be stumbling blocks for black children, their parents, and the larger society (McDonald, 1970).

As Billingsley (1960) has shown, over 75% of black marriages are stable and over half of American black families have been able to overcome racism to the degree of entering into the mainstream of middle and upper class life. The relative neglect of the stable black family by the scientific community, and the myopic focus on only the disorganized, lower-classes, has been emphasized by Comer (1975) and Foussaint (1974). It has been by their very strength and ability to adapt to pernicious circumstances that blacks were able to survive and succeed where other groups have been crushed by the weight of adversity. However, even the stable, urban black family may come under assault by the "lures of the street," the promise of prestige, status, and money for participation in illegal activities (Rainwater, 1970). The black working or middle-class community may be confined to the outer rim of the inner-city slum, and may be exposed to the societal and psychological pathology rife in the inner-city (Moynihan, 1967).

Due to circumstances of ghetto life and societal attitudes, the black child and family are under the constant pressure of the seductions and stresses of the community and the prejudice of the larger society. These factors have further contributed
to the establishment of unique dimensions of black personality development; the influence of the inner-city subculture may extend beyond the ghetto and transcend class distinctions.
CHAPTER IV

LIFE AND SURVIVAL IN THE BLACK Ghetto

4. The Legacy of Slavery

Psychoanalytic developmentalists believe that the process of maturation can optimally proceed only if the child's caretakers are themselves sufficiently healthy to provide the necessary physical and emotional care for the infant to insure individuation and to encourage autonomy. If there is something awry in the child's average expectable environment, it will have reverberations in the child's pattern of emotional growth and ego structuralization. Clearly, few parents possess all those characteristics that would ensure the theoretically ideal environment. Fortunately, infants are remarkably tolerant of the foibles of their elders. Yet seriously disruptive, psychopathological, or highly traumatizing home situations are likely to have unfortunate effects on the child's development and later adjustment.

Parents or primary caretakers are profoundly important as objects for introjection, imitation, and identification. If the parent perceives his child and/or himself as less
than adequate or even fundamentally damaged, the child may be crippled in his development of a strong, viable self-concept. Erikson (1956) viewed identity formation as originating in a process of selective repudiation and mutual assimilation of all those identifications the child makes in the first years of life. The solidification and validation of the unique identity formation is dependent, however, on the society recognizing and accepting this new "social being." The child comes to know who he is for himself by observing who he is for significant others.

Erikson (1956) indicated that the search for identity goes beyond the conscious sense of selfhood and unconscious desire to seek internal continuity and structural synthesis; it encompasses a desire to maintain inner solidarity with the larger groups' ideals and identity. These values and the perception of one's own identity mirrored through the eyes of society remain a function of the unique history of this society or subsociety. Erikson (1966) later elaborated on this concept, stating that the individual's psychosocial identity was composed of a number of positive and negative elements which were presented to the child by his culture. Negative identities served to caution the child about what he should not become. The positive identity often remained locked in conflict with the negative identity. The child was sensitized to that past which was to be forsworn, and to that potential future which was to be prevented.
Considerable evidence exists which shows that at least until the most recent generation, inferiority feelings and morbid self-hate pervaded the self-concept of the black (Erikson, 1966). The black has been systematically excluded from emulating the cultural ideals esteemed by the larger society. The fact that the black has been ignored has been reflected in the feelings of invisibility, namelessness, and nobodyness expressed through the writings of black writers such as Ellison, DuBois, and Baldwin (Erikson, 1966). At worst, the black was compelled to fuse the negative images inculcated by his culture with the negative images proffered by the dominant white majority.

Vann Woodward (cited in Erikson, 1966) termed the identity instilled by black mothers in their children a "surrendered identity." To dare to compete aggressively on an equal basis with the white man was a guarantee that one would soon come into conflict with the racist society. Knowing one's place was the only way to survive. Erikson (1966) stated:

"Negro mothers are apt to cultivate the "surrendered identity" forced on Negro men for generations. This, so the literature would suggest, has reduced many Negro men to a reflection of the 'negative' recognition which surrounds them like an endless recess of distorting mirrors. How this positive identity has been systematically undermined, first under the
unspeakable system of slavery in North America and then by the system of enslavement perpetuated in the rural South and the urban North, has been extensively, carefully and devastatingly documented.

...and no doubt the righteously and fiendishly efficient way in which the Negro slave in American was forced into and kept in conditions preventing in most the incentive for independent ambition now continues to exert itself as a widespread and deep-seated inhibition against utilizing equality even where it is granted.” (pp. 302-303)

Despite the abolition of slavery, systematic discrimination and racial prejudice have continued to plague the black in America. The negative identity held up by the larger society and the negative identity inculcated in the child by way of culturally transmitted childrearing practices has continued largely unabated (Erikson, 1968). To fully comprehend the effects that this has had on the contemporary black child, an understanding must be obtained of how the history of slavery and post-slavery factors has shaped childrearing practices and the psycho-social, historical identity shared by all blacks.

This does not imply, as asserted by Moynihan (1967) that the black family is the "causal nexus in the tangle of pathology." Billingsley (1968) has assessed that the black
family can only be understood in the context of the larger society. It was created in response to historical-social conditions and continues to be maintained by contemporary social conditions to which it must adapt. Rainwater (1972) concurred that these patterns had their inception in slavery, and they continue as cultural mechanisms devised to live the life of a "victim." Rainwater (1974) argued that contemporary factors such as low income, poor education and services, and racial prejudice kept many black families locked into this pattern of adaptation. This survival orientation spurred the development of social and personal modes of responses which deleteriously affect psychological development and hinder the entrance of many lower-class blacks into the mainstream of society. As Marans and Laurie (1967) emphasized, certain behavior patterns which might be highly adaptive in particular environments may be highly maladaptive to survival in others.

This line of reasoning is far different from asserting that one factor accounts for the present situation, either the black family or white cupidity. Instead, a complex interplay of many factors occurs, the ultimate outcome of which is the structure of black, lower-class society and the personality structures of its members.

B. The Destruction of a Civilization

Popularized mythology has held that the Black African
lived in an asocial, acultural, barbaric environment before he was captured, enslaved, and shipped to the New World. The actual environment of the peoples from the West African and Ivory Coast was totally different from the myth. Comer (1975) summarized the characteristics of this society:

"West Africa had a social system that maximized participation by each individual in every aspect of life. Meaningful representation of each member took place at the decision-making level. Life's demands, limits and opportunities were clearly defined. Meaningful mechanisms, from kinship ties to courts, encouraged acceptable behavior; meaningful ritual and ceremony shared with members of one special age-set gave the African an intense sense of belonging and being a part of things. These elements guaranteed a sense of security..." (pp. 152-153)

Based on a largely agrarian economy, the West African tribes had well-defined kinship systems with traditions of toil, self-discipline, and strong male dominance. Despite the lack of a written language, the African maintained complex traditions, folklore, and societal functions grounded in historical precedent and mythology, which were transmitted orally from one generation to the next. The history of the tribe and the individual's lineage were of particular importance. Crafts and skills were advanced; iron-working, weaving, and wood-carving reached high levels of complexity.
Cities served as sites of advanced learning and commerce.

These were the "savages" that the European slave traders brought to the New World. The slaves were largely composed of young warriors who, in the prime of their life, were captured during tribal warfare, not men who had been domestic slaves for years. Separated from their families and people, they were transported to America under some of the most inhumane conditions imaginable. Small numbers of slaves, often of different tribes, were distributed on each of the early plantations of the South; this significantly impeded the re-institution of cultural systems or language patterns. Further, there was an underrepresentation of women for over a hundred years, weakening the already strained attempts at reorganization of tribal life (Comer, 1975).

Unlike their counterparts in South America, North American slaves did not have the Catholic church to oversee their welfare or to protect them from vicious exploitation. Under the protection of the Roman Catholic Church, South American slaves were legally married, their filial rights were observed, provisions were made for eventual manumission, and at no time were they considered less than human beings. The black in North America was looked upon only as property; many states did not even prosecute those who killed their slaves as there were no laws to protect the "rights" of slaves. They could be disposed of as the owner saw fit. What laws were passed generally prohibited the slave from even hiring himself out.
to others on what little free time he may have had left. The position of the Protestant Church remained that the black was less than human and therefore did not possess the right to freedom or to equal treatment of the law.

Marriages of slaves were neither encouraged, sanctioned, nor protected by their white masters. Black women were free to be exploited and violated for pleasure or profit by owner and overseer alike. The black male was as powerless to protect his wife or family in the New World as he was powerless to keep his family together when they were captured in Africa. No regard was shown for family or kinship ties. In American, too, family bonds could be severed at any time through the auctioning off of parents or children to different plantations.

The Black African was stripped of his heritage, culture, and identity, after being thrown into a foreign, hostile, environment where he was brutalized and exploited. All he could hope for was that he might physically survive the ordeal to live to see another day. Food, clothing and shelter, as well as the possibility of harsh punishment or even hanging was dependent upon the whim of his white master (Comer, 1975).

The depersonalization, confusion over new surroundings, the sense of utter helplessness, and enforced reliance on another to care for one's needs, may have created a profound state of dependency on the white masters, despite their withering inhumanity. Hunter and Babcock (1967) suggested
that the black was placed in a position analogous to an infant in his state of needfulness and relative helplessness. Like a newborn child, the new slave would need a parental object to gratify his traumatically precipitated, regressed dependency needs while he strove to adapt himself to the new environment. The long journey to the New World with inadequate food, horrendous living quarters, the massive trauma of separation from family, and the anxiety attendant upon heading to a strange land where malevolent captors and a hopeless future of slavery waited was surely enough to induce massive psychic trauma and regression to barely subsistence psychological functioning. Enter the white slave owner who "rescued" the black from the slave trader and the sea, who fed and clothed the black, and who offered "fair treatment" at the price of absolute obedience. In psychoanalytic terms, the slave owner then became the distorted parental object to the regressed, infantilized African. This state of dependency and deliberate infantilization of the black people continued throughout slavery, the white slave owners and their families literally viewing the "simple, good-hearted" slaves as their children (Hunter and Babcock, 1967).

A devastating parallel exists between the experience of blacks who were enslaved for generations and the experiences of those interred in the Nazi concentration camps during the Second World War. The parallel is all the more striking...
as profound changes occurred rapidly in the latter case, often in the space of weeks or months as compared to generations. As Pettigrew (1964) and Moynihan (1967) noted, both experiences were closed systems with little chance of manumission or escape; the emphasis was on surviving and all power resided in a single, omnipresent authority. Instead of outrage or rebellion directed against the oppressor, evidence provided from psychoanalytic explorations and therapeutic work with children who survived the camps indicated the readiness with which the terrorized and victimized psyche turned against itself (Meers, 1972). Complete dependence on the S.S. guards for food allotment and daily survival promoted an infantile dependency on the guards. The inmates often viewed them as "father figures" (distorted parental objects). Despite the most blatant evidence of sadism on the part of their oppressors, the children of the camps evolved convictions of their own badness and sense of worthlessness. This occurred as the children observed that it was their parents and themselves who were behind bars, and that the power clearly resided with the S.S. guards (Meers, 1973; A. Freud & Dann, 1951; Cyonroi, 1963).

Perhaps the most disturbing symptom was the mimicking or acquisition of the beliefs, attitudes, and even personal characteristics of the guards. This was carried to the extent that some incarcerated Jews became anti-Semitic and filled in for the guards during their absence, goose-stepping,
and shouting orders and insults to fellow inmates. Psychoanalysts labelled this phenomena "identification with the aggressor," a defensive process in which some mastery is gained over one's powerless position by becoming the powerful persecutor (Heers, 1975).

This same pattern of defensive adaptation was observed in the new slave. The "passive acceptance and compliance" of the conditions of degradations and dehumanization in the face of massive traumatization and the stripping of former identity, the consequence childishness and dependence on the white master as the father figure, and the sense of worthlessness have been commented upon extensively (Hunter & Babcock, 1967; Comer, 1975). Identification with the master's characteristics were manifest in those blacks who became the "white man's nigger" or the "house nigger." These blacks often looked upon their brothers in the fields with the same scorn of their masters, readily accepting the white stereotypes of the black as shiftless, lazy, and inferior. This attitude has not been altogether banished from the black psyche, an insidious product of the legacy of slavery.

Comer (1975) graphically described the childish dependency upon the white master, quoting actual accounts of both blacks and whites of the slavery era, citing instance after instance of blacks who were frightened of their newfound freedom after the Civil War, fearful that they could
not survive without their white masters and reluctant to leave the plantations that enslaved them. Speaking of the experience of Jews under the Nazis, he concluded that at the very least the Jew entered the camp with a positive self-image and a meaningful heritage which served to protect him from total psychological annihilation. In regard to blacks born into the system of slavery, the socialization of inferiority and personal inadequacy became an increasingly potent part of the personality as time eroded the important and supportive elements of their African heritage.

Just as the black came to depend upon his white master for physical and emotional sustenance, so too did the white master need the slave to satisfy his needs for narcissistic gratification and proof of societal competence (their phallic, narcissistic position) through possession of many slaves (Hunter & Babcock, 1967). A symbiosis existed between master and slave which hindered the slave's psychological development as it provided no permission to develop beyond dependency and initiate the breaking away from the smothering stranglehold of enforced infantalization. Hunter and Babcock (1967) compared this historical situation with the course of normal development, the infant progressing beyond his completely dependent, symbiotic tie with the mother and beginning the phase of separation and individuation. If the mother acted to thwart the child's naturational development into this latter phase, serious pathology would result. When this
analysis is applied to the situation of the slave, it can be hypothesized that the formation of a mature ego was significantly hampered, with consequent restrictions in ego and superego development.

"Until that date in this country (slavery era), the major culture had endorsed only one means of existence for him, that analogous to a symbiotic-infantile dependency, barren of encouragement and opportunities for optimally developing his innate drives and ego capacities." (Hunter & Babcock, 1967, p. 160)

Even in the most pathological of symbiotic relationships, however, the mother continues to provide nurturance for the infant based on the physiological needs of the child. In the context of this historical symbiosis between master and slaves, the master demanded that the slave produce physical work before gratification was to be forthcoming. The slave was not appreciated or rewarded for his psychological attributes or capacities, only his capacity to do manual work. The master in his role of paternal surrogate thus attempted to block moves on the part of the slave to develop higher ego functions and structuralization which would be essential for complex functioning. It was only through physical strength that the slave's immature dependency needs and the master's desire for economic success could find mutual gratification. Analyzing this situation in the light of psycho-
Hunter and Babcock (1967) found that the child who worked was prematurely developed in response to the threat that infantile dependency needs would go unmet if the demands of the parent (master) were not satisfied. Case studies of premature ego development in early childhood reveal the crippling effects this has on all ego structur- alization (James, 1960). Further, this pattern has continued to exist in the ghetto, the mother saddling the pre-schooler with the age-inappropriate tasks of caring for younger siblings or carrying out chores such as going to the store. The child must work for the mother before he can expect gratification in the form of emotional nurturance. All the child's energies must be devoted to carrying out his appointed tasks for fear that an inadequate performance will bring down the wrath of the mother. Although some investigators have pointed to the "street-wise" independence of young children as indicative of strength and autonomy, such performance is achieved at the cost of premature ego development. When energy is diverted from the normal activities of growing up and the child is forced to make it on his own at an early age, islands of advancement in ego functioning will be promoted at the cost of a sea of inade- quately minimized and depleted ego functioning (Winnicott, 1959; Jacobs, 1960).

The pattern of "putting the child to work" at an inappropriately early age may have had its inception in
slavery. Forced to work either in the fields or on other chores as required by the plantation, the mother often had to leave her children to their own devices with the eldest caring for the youngest; thus, the mother may have been compelled to socialize her children to be less active and curious of their surroundings (Epstein, 1972).

Much has been written of the disruption of the family stability through the father's or mother's being sold at the auction block to another plantation. It has been the contention of many writers that a matrifocal or matriarchal structure arose to preserve what little stability was left to the family (Epstein, 1972; Moynihan, 1969; Rainwater, 1972; Pettigrew, 1964; Billingsley, 1968). At the time of emancipation, the matrifocal role had become so established in the daily life of the community that it has persisted in certain segments of the black population. Urbanization and the great migrations of blacks northward exacerbated this situation as husbands left to find work in the industrial plants, sometimes deserting their wives and children in preference to the new, exciting life of the city.

Comer (1975) emphasized that a black "matriarchy" (in contrast to a matrifocal emphasis) never existed as women did not control property economics, government or culture. He attributed the "public presence" of the black female to the fact that she represented a diminished threat to the status quo, as opposed to the black male who might
be severely taken to task for being self-assertive in public. Today, however, fully 78% of all black families have both parents living in the home, males in the black middle class home being even more patriarchal and protective than most middle-class fathers (Moynihan, 1967).

However, the effects of slavery did act to undermine the status of the male and to isolate the female, a situation which has persisted to some extent among the most unstable of the black population, the lower-class. Bell (1971) found that black lower-class men continue to view both their marital and parental role as of minimal importance, an understandable defensive adaptation in consideration of the centuries under slavery and the years after slavery when the male was powerless to protect his family (Billingsley, 1968). Black women from the lower-class also share the view that marriage is of little import (Bell, 1971) in contrast to their highly significant roles as mothers. Among these men and women, there is a pervasive belief that infidelity is a certain eventuality and that the marriage will not last (Heers, 1974).

The formation of a mature super-ego and ego-ideal was complicated not only by the instability of the family during slavery, but also by the demeaned status of the male and female. The child was presented with two disparate roles for identification and introjection, that of the powerful, distorted paternal object (the white master) or his own parents, who were dependent, powerless, and on the very lowest
rung of the social ladder. Erikson (1966) believed that this was compounded by the oppressor's vested interest in the need to maintain the negative identity of the black. This negative identity was actually a projection of the master's unconscious and unwanted thoughts. The projection of his own negative attributes gave the master a sense of moral superiority and a brittle sense of wholeness. In an earlier paper, Erikson (1963) speculated that it was the black's sensual and oral temptations from which the white needed to protect himself; Comer (1975) believed the Oedipal, incestuous wishes of the white were projected onto the "man of the night," the black man.

A brittle sense of wholeness for the white was achieved at the expense of a dangerous split in the super-ego structure of the black. To be white meant to be clean, clever, and in command; to be dark was synonymous with dirtiness, stupidity, and servile dependence. A unified super-ego and ego ideal were thus prevented from maturing. Super-ego development remained largely at the level of precursors of objective anxiety from the external world. Hunter and Babcock (1967) believed that this objective anxiety, which took the form of physical abuse and degradation, was enormous and stifling. Even if the master was "kind" to his slaves, the fundamental split in the black's identity could only lead to ego restrictions. One particularly vulnerable area of ego functioning may have been learning. The forces of reality colluded with intrapsychic
processes; the effects of the abysmal education provided blacks and their consequent lack of opportunity to use it interacted with impaired autonomous ego functioning caused by pregenital fixations and identity schisms. The ultimate result was a heightened proclivity to learning inhibitions.

Faced with enormous rage towards those whites who would exploit him for their own narcissistic gains and who had robbed him of any avenues of making a dignified adaptation to his environment, the black man was in the intolerable position of either striking out and courting instant and uncompromising retribution or preserving his own life at the expense of his selfhood. Much like the concentration camp victim, he had little alternative but to regress to a defensive, passive dependent position which assured his survival and helped facilitate the denial of his consciously felt rage (Hunter and Babcock, 1967). Identification with the aggressor and consequent hatred of fellow blacks also occurred. The black mother became the unwitting social agent of the "surrendered identity," keeping her children strictly in line and teaching them that one neither struck out at nor competed against the white man. The child was forbidden to see himself as powerful or as competent as the white for the sake of his survival. This reduction of the black male to a reflection of the negative recognition given to him by the dominant society acted to undermine his competency. It continues to do so, perpetuated by the mother's inculcating
feelings of incompetency and then scorning the child for being powerless.

Motivation to achieve and feelings of competency were further undermined by the system of slavery since it rewarded unquestioned compliance and punished initiative and independence (Epstein, 1972; Moynihan, 1967; Pettigrew, 1964). Slave owners contended that blacks could not think as well as whites and therefore needed to be under their own strong authority, and they supported this contention with "scientific evidence" of the time which indicated that blacks had smaller and thus "inferior brains" (Comer, 1975). Economic and legal sanctions were passed which prevented freedmen from acquiring skilled trades or practicing their skills. Blacks were relegated to the most menial and low-paying of jobs, which exacerbated the frustration of the blacks.

Emancipation brought with it attendant fears of being "cut loose" from the parental objects who had always looked after the needs of the slaves. While a distorted symbiotic relationship existed between master and slave, at least survival was guaranteed. Suddenly the black was free with almost no support offered to help him acclimate to the demands of the larger society. Analogous to the child who was suddenly "soughed off" by the symbiotic-parasitic mother, the black experienced fear and confusion over being abandoned and despised by those whom he felt had a responsibility to take care of him. Freedom and later migration from the
south meant abandonment of the identity he had established during centuries of slavery. For some, massive denial sustained them in their drive to individuate from the south, inflicting an already heavily burdened psychic structure with even greater intra-psychic conflicts. Segregation, racism, and discrimination sought systematically to undermine further attempts of the black to achieve an independent, dignified self-concept and successfully progress psychosexually (Hunter & Babcock, 1967). For many the attempt to individuate meant an eschewing of the identity they had achieved under slavery and a consequent incorporation and identification of the characteristics of their white oppressors. Erikson (1963) commented upon the often violent, sudden, and cruel cleanliness training that black parents forced upon their youngsters, as if by cleaning a "white identity" could be achieved.

The overwhelming frustrations faced by blacks often seriously threatened to outstrip what little gratification could be eked out of existence. Psychoanalytic practice has shown that a tipping of the scales in favor of frustration often leads to impaired growth of ego functioning with consequent deficits in super-ego formation, identity, cognition, and motivation. The extremely depriving conditions that blacks suffered during the Reconstruction era brought many to the brink of starvation or annihilation. There would be some whose brittle, new defenses would fail, bringing with it a psychological regression to a passive, dependent position.
and return to the plantation.

Developmental theory indicates that if the infant's dependency needs are inadequately gratified, the child will fail to have the secure feeling of being loved, a prerequisite for the move into individuation. The parent, too, must derive pleasure in watching his child progress and develop. The child is thus given permission to take pleasure in his own actions, innate capabilities, and the mastering of the environment. If the culture, through the parent, fails to libidinize the infant's drive towards individuation and instead demands that the infant devote his energy to gratifying the parent, distorted development will take place. For the ex-slave drive toward independence and equality was met with strong resistance and the threat of complete frustration of all dependency needs. The black was compelled to work for his ex-masters in order to be gratified, and began to consciously fear that if he ceased to perform this role and really attempted to "separate and individuate" he would be cut off from his only source of gratification. Energy which could have been applied to learning, working, and achieving was sapped by the unconscious defensive maneuvers which sought to stabilize the symbiotic relationship between white and black. The fear many blacks evidence of those people ideas, or mechanisms that might have improved their situation and the seeming indifference some manifested in actively opposing the white supremacist society may have been traceable to.
feelings that despite having precious little, to ask for more was to risk losing everything one had. This, of course, does not ignore the obvious fact that for many blacks who did seek social change and justice, lynchings frequently followed.

Defensive adjustment to this intolerable situation often took the form of passive-aggressive mechanisms directed towards whites, rebellious feelings expressed through mocking caricatures of the black stereotype, laziness, superficial submissiveness, and exaggerated childishness (Erikson, 1966). Whites often had their expectations more than fulfilled by the "shuffling," black, who, true to the stereotype, seemed never to give a full day's work for the white employer. Victories were small but significant. The black was ever watchful for laxness on the part of the white. Despite the terrible price blacks often paid for societal transgressions, stealing from the white was a symbolic way of "beating the man," of evening the score.

Many blacks turned to music, dance, humor, and story telling as a means of survival, remnants of an African culture which did not seem to pose a threat to the whites (Comer, 1975). Comer commented on the unique place story telling had in black survival:

"The student of human behavior will recognize this amusing and innocent tale (The Signifying Monkey) as a wish-fulfillment fantasy, which is a psychological mechanism for satisfying impulses or desired..."
in an almost-but-not-quite manner when the consequences of overt action are too great. Black people have often utilized such mechanisms to deal with excessive anger and frustration generated by the oppressive social system. Otherwise these emotions might have manifested themselves as direct violence toward whites with severe repressive consequences for Blacks. The fact that humor and banter were an inadequate way of handling the repressed emotions is reflected in the fact that the highest percentage of Black assaults is on other Blacks. The low percentage of Black assaults on whites speaks to the degree of intimidation and control of Blacks in American."

(Comer, 1975, p. 177).

It was the church, however, that provided the mechanisms that allowed blacks to survive socially and psychologically (Frazier, 1962; Comer, 1975). Established under slavery and condoned by whites, the church allowed the black cathartic release, a positive self-image, and it functioned to organize the community into a tight-knit group with strong, autocratic control. It was the church which defined values on a fundamentalist conception of the bible, supported the reinstitution of a patriarchal, stable family, and began the many self-help, mutual-aid societies of the black community. Excluded from access to white society, the
freedman and ex-slave relied upon the church to establish a viable alternative society.

The black who labored in the lowest strata of the economic society throughout the week could find self-respect and dignity in his role as church man on Sunday. Deprived of his rightful place in the decision-making process of the larger community, he could take his seat in his lodge or men's group and effectively shape the policy of those local community projects in which he was most intimately involved. Although he was stripped of his dignity in the white work place, in the church he was a man with respect and authority. Ever alert to the provocations of bigoted whites who delighted in putting him down, in the church (as well as in local bars or social clubs) he could relax and enjoy a shared camaraderie with his peers. The culture and talents of his people which were scorned or ignored elsewhere could be joyfully celebrated in the church as testified to in the esteem that was given to choirs from local churches and churches from distant communities. The importance of the church choir and its spirituals has not diminished over the generations.

Comer (1975) indicated that the role of catharsis in the church was a critical element in preserving the integrity and unity of the black community. The anger, rage, and despair of the people was given outlet in a manner which partially relieved their feelings of suffering while legitimizing their daily experience. Deprived of this channel of discharge,
their anger and frustration might have turned towards the cause of their suffering in full fury. As evidenced by the history of black demonstrations against the white power structure, these expressions of discontent would have been put down quickly and brutally. Societal forces could not tolerate the public display of these feelings. The church functioned as a release valve for the pent-up fage that its congregation harbored.

The massive northward migration of job-seeking black men during the first half of this century disrupted the social fabric which had been woven under the auspices of the church and fraternal organizations. While these institutions were quickly reestablished in the urban, industrial environment, a period of dislocation and release from the mores and constraints of the hometown, southern community acted to further strain and weaken family ties (Pettigrew, 1964; Moynihan, 1967). Like many other immigrant groups, the tensions of the new environment often broke apart the family, the father deserting the wife and children in search of the exciting life available on the streets. The disruption wrought by migrations was heightened in those individuals who had been severely traumatized by generations of slavery. The individuals and families who had been unable to effectively utilize the church and fraternal organizations in the South would fare the worst in the North. While the psycho-social effects of slavery continue to touch the lives of all black Americans, it is among the lowest socio-economic classes that one finds the most pervasive
and insidious effects of the historical experience manifested, perpetuated by child-rearing practices and the continued racial-economic oppression of the larger society. Hunter and Babcock (1967) suggested that the main features of the white dominance-black dependency conflict have continued little changed into contemporary society, the psychological effects of the institution of slavery in the period prior to 1863 paralleling the contemporary situation of segregation, deprivation, and discrimination.

Before turning to an examination of the current status of the black, lower-class individual, the position of the black male and female should be examined in the light of their historical experience. The lower-class black male has learned through his collective and personal experience that to take on responsibility either as a father or husband is to risk failure and humiliation at the hands of his wife. While the effects of slavery were devastating in themselves, the demands of urban society dealt a fatal blow to his self-esteem. Erikson (1958) commented on this area of the problem:

"The systematic exploitation of the Negro male as a domestic animal and the denial to him of the status of responsible fatherhood are, on the other hand, two of the most shameful chapters in the history of the Christian nation. For an imbalance of mother and father presence is never good, and becomes increasingly bad as the child grows older,"
for then the trust in the world established in infancy may be all the more disappointed. Under urban and industrial conditions it may, indeed, become the gravest factor in personality disorganization." (p. 311)

If the male was to prove attractive to the female, he would have to utilize those characteristics over which he had nominal control. Despite the plea from women for a man with a good, steady job, society often conspired to deprive the man of a job altogether, or underpay or underemploy him, or lock him into the lowest strata of the work force with little chance for advancement. The woman quickly learned that she would have to fend for herself, avoiding the inherent dangers of dependency on a man who could not be relied upon to keep the family solvent. Her ability to find employment and often be better paid for it only fueled her indignation at the male. She came to consider him ineffectual and inadequate. The male, on the other hand, deprived of the instrumental means of keeping the female through his economic position, resorted to expressive, affective techniques which emphasized status, machismo, and "street cool." His inability to find success through normal societal channels and the esteem afforded him as a member of the street-culture only reinforced his belief that the street life was the only area in which he could achieve a respected status. Child-rearing practices, which rewarded the early display of "machismo behavior" on the part of the very young boy, reinforced this pattern.
Concomitant with the economic and racial conditions which interacted to isolate and keep the black in the urban ghetto, the stigma or "caste" (Billingsley, 1968) attached to being black conspired to force the black to identify with his own evil identity fragments. Society would not let the black forget who he was. He was bombarded by its racist stereotypes through blatant segregationist policies or the more subtle mocking caricatures of the black through the media. The black found that society demanded that he embrace a personality structure not his own (Erikson, 1963), an oral "honey-child" configuration which included such traits as being childishly happy, naive, intellectually dull, rhythmical, superstitious, and a buffoon, the embodiment of evil, the anal-sadistic, "phallic-rapist nigger" whose true nature was that of an African cannibal, plotting in the night to kill the white man and rape the white women, and the "white-man's Negro" who knew his place. The latter identity actually reflected a reaction formation to the negative identity fragments of the white society, but an identification and incorporation of them none-the-less. It was only because some blacks actually believed in these gross distortions that they forced themselves to become everything they were supposed not to be; to react to the white man's distortions and projections of blackness by becoming the black man's distortions and misperceptions of whiteness.

While the "culture of poverty" concept identifies economic
conditions as being responsible for a matrilineal family structure, it does not illuminate the three-dimensional picture that lower-class black men and women have of themselves due to their long history of cultural trauma, deprivation, slavery, societal denigration and eventual adaptation for survival through reliance on culturally syntonic psychological defenses. Rainwater (1972) differentiated between societies which inculcated a sense of competency and mastery over the environment and the black slum society where the individual's shortcomings, incompetency, and impotence were constantly hammered in by his elders. It is this idiosyncratic, cultural-social-historical identity formation passed along generationally by black elders to their children which discriminates the black lower-class individual from other members of the culture of poverty. No other ethnic or racial group in American society has been so compelled to identify with its own evil identity fragments while being subjected to systematic economic and racial discrimination.

C. The Slum

Rainwater observed (1974) that the slum resident was threatened by the physical environment and by the potential for violence from others in his world. Substandard, dilapidated housing is generally a firetrap, physically beyond repair. The widespread presence of rats and vermin is exacerbated by the physical decay of the neighborhood, generally situated in the
oldest part of the inner city. Sewer lines and other aspects of the physical plant have been subject to the wear and tear of generations of use; city services are generally infrequent or erratic; municipal repairs are inadequate or slow to come to the politically powerless; housing inspectors are as lax in enforcing city health and building code regulations as the slum landlords are in instituting needed repairs. Psychological distress, the effects of malnutrition, and poor hygienic training combine to produce an apathetic, depressive, hopeless atmosphere where little attention is paid to the state of the individual home. Here, one can merely resign oneself to one's impoverished and degraded lot in life.

The existence of physical threats to the well-being of her children induce a state of apprehension and guarded hyper-alertness on the part of the mother. The dangers of lead poisoning, rodent bites, infection, and the presence of poisons set out to eliminate pests, create a peculiar sense of personal vulnerability to unexpected attack. A general feeling of hostility and unpredictability permeates the environment.

Paper thin walls in ghetto tenements expose the family to intentional and unintentional eavesdropping by families adjoining them. Family interaction is exposed to those beyond the family nexus, privacy is non-existent. The individual realizes that his most intimate conversations and activities may make their way into the street by route of neighborhood gossip. The family's function of providing a
safe refuge where feelings may be acted upon in relative safety and privacy is severely undermined. Rainwater (1974) speaks of an absence of "defensible space" where the ghetto dweller can feel unquestioningly safe and free from the intrusion of others. Overcrowding and the consequent high degree of exposure to sexual activity and aggressive outbursts exacerbates this situation. The need in later life to be constantly surrounded by others and an intolerance of solitude has been attributed to this type of living arrangement, as has a general cynical attitude towards the benevolence of others (S. Lewis, 1967).

Rainwater (1974) indicated that these depressing circumstances take on symbolic meaning, affecting the slum dweller's perception of himself, his world, and others. The relative ease with which his defensible space can be penetrated through the eavesdropping of curious neighbors or a physical assault on the home through robbery, reinforces the feelings of personal vulnerability. This symbolic struggle is often concretized in the need to find a "lock that works" to protect one's living space. The physical space itself may take on hostile meaning, the occupant threatened with a sense of impotence as the rent may be difficult to meet or seriously depletes the family's ability to purchase other necessities.

Street corner society demands much ostentatious display of status, bravado, and machismo but returns little in terms...
of deep or lasting relationships and friendships (Comer, 1975). Despite the considerable physical dangers inherent in the environment, it is dangers from peers, family, and other slum dwellers who threaten most vitally the integrity of the individual. The chronic exposure to shaming and blaming acts to further isolate one person from another, and a chasm develops which is filled with suspicion and fear.

It is as if the environment acts in collusion with the larger society, hammering in the harsh judgment that the individual is worthless, delapidated, and degraded as the community itself (Rainwater, 1974). The frequently hostile and superficial level of interaction between people seems to reinforce the view that the individual is where he is because he is inferior, bad, incapable of doing any better, or is being justly punished for his sins. The black church has stood against the disorganization and crime of the streets, promising a better life in the hereafter as a reward for suffering in the present (Comer, 1975). However, the seductions of the street with its offer of immediate gratification often challenge the hegemony of the church; young and old alike occasionally succumb to temptation when reality becomes too unbearable or depriving, and heaven seems to be an unrealizable promised land. As an example, deep religious and moral convictions are often found in those mothers who express concern over both the physical and moral safety of their family, yet paradoxically these women have had multiple
illegitimate children as a result of "lapses" of a strict, dogmatic, and punitive superego.

The pervasive threat to physical survival and emotional well-being engender an atmosphere of anxious watchfulness, and ultimately the individual resigns himself to an acceptance of his lot in life. Contacts with official representatives of the larger society make it clear to the ghetto resident that he has "got what he deserves," and he should not hope for anything better.

D. Health Care and the Poor

A considerable body of evidence has shown that not only do the poor receive far inferior health care services in comparison to more economically advantaged populations, but that this gap is steadily widening (Birch, 1968). A high incidence of infection, disease, toxemia, malnutrition, and premature birth are endemic to the ghetto (Bakan, 1970; Young, 1969; Birch, 1968; Marans and Laurie, 1967; Meers, 1973).

Malnutrition has been implicated as playing an especially pernicious role, taking its greatest toll during the mother's gestation (Bakan, 1970; Young, 1969; Birch, 1968; Marans and Laurie, 1969). Premature births contribute to the high infant mortality rate of the poor (particularly the non-white), and the subsequent risk to a number of debilitating conditions (Birch, 1968; Hunt, 1969; Marans and Laurie, 1969).

Recent evidence has identified malnutrition as a signifi-
cant factor which interferes with the child's ability to learn and, consequently, to function successfully in society (Bakan, 1970; Young, 1969; Marans and Laurie, 1967; H. Lewis, 1967; Lortzog and H. Lewis, 1970; Pasamanick, 1966; Knoblock & Pasamanick, 1953; Hunt, 1969; Cravioto, 1966). Bakan (1970) found that if malnutrition occurred during the first year of life, a lag in the normal incremental increase of the circumference of the head developed, reflecting a reduced number of cells present in the brain. Experiments with subhuman species confirmed that malnutrition during critical periods of cerebral development resulted in long-term brain damage and general physiological malfunctioning (Young, 1967; Birch, 1968). This damage was shown to be largely irreversible, and persisted even after dietary rehabilitation had been instituted (Birch, 1968). In summarizing the overall effects of malnutrition on infant development, Knoblock and Pasamanick (1953) stated:

"The evidence points to the fact that the maintenance of good nutrition is important in aiding optimal development, and the advantages in favor of those who maintained nutrition is statistically significant." (p. 153)

Prolonged nutritional deprivation manifests itself behaviorally in a syndrome which is often noted among poor, inner-city children -- apathy, reduced attention span, and irritability (Bakan, 1970; Birch, 1968; H. Lewis, 1967;
Borchog and N. Lewis, 1970). Unable to attend to the ex-
ternal environment due to a preoccupation with his uncomfortable
visceral state, the child often has little ability to maximize
the opportunities for learning offered to him (Bakan, 1970;
Birch, 1968). Further deficits associated with malnutrition
paired short-term memory, a decreased rate of perceptual
and information processing, and an overall general reduction
in sensitivity to environmental stimulation (Birch, 1968).
When malnutrition goes unabated, the child typically exhibits
excessive fatigue, disturbances of sleep, and concentration
difficulties (Bakan, 1970; Birch, 1960). Psychosomatic
symptomatology were also common (N. Lewis, 1967).

The pernicious effects of malnourishment extend far be-
yond those manifested by the syndrome proper, deleteriously
affecting the child's functioning in the social world. A
circle of neglect is set in motion between mother and child.
The apathetic, lethargic child is of little cue value to
the mother, whose energy might already be severely taxed
by many household responsibilities. The mother may rejoice
over her "good" baby who never fusses, leaving him to his own,
quiet devices for long periods of time. A climate of sensory
depivation, similar to those described by Spitz (1965) may
inadvertently be created as the child fails to cue the
mother to his need for stimulation, and the mother fails to
provide optimal levels of stimulation. This lack of stimu-
lation will have significant, deleterious consequences for
learning, the rate of maturation, and the level of performance on complex tasks in later life. These effects range from the syndrome of "minimal brain dysfunction" to what Birch (1968) viewed as a serious cerebral deficit:

"In brief, although much of the information is incomplete and certain aspects of the data are sparse, a serious consideration of available information leaves little or no doubt that children who are economically and socially disadvantaged and in an ethnic group exposed to discrimination, are exposed to massively excessive risks for maldevelopment." (p. 594).

The effects of dietary deficiency interact with emotional stress to create a significant problem during pregnancy. Disorders of pregnancies, premature delivery, and consequent disorders of embryonic and fetal development were found to be common among the poor (Knoblock, 1960; Hunt, 1969; Sakan, 1970; Birch, 1968; Beers, 1973; Marans & Laurie, 1967). Prematurity alone heightens the infant's vulnerability to infection, brain damage, anemia, hyaline membrane disease, and other dysfunctions (Marans & Laurie, 1967; Pasamanick & Knobloch, 1964), while significantly depressing the rate of maturation and adaptation compared with full-term, normal weight infants (Knoblock & Pasamanick, 1953).

While physiological problems may have a deleterious effect on emotional adjustment, the emotional adjustment of the
mother may conversely affect the intensity of the physiological problems. Mothers from lower-class cultures were found to rely heavily on "magical thinking"; this often resulted in delaying their initial contact with what little medical attention was available until well into the second trimester of pregnancy (Maree & Laurie, 1967). Believing omnipotently that nothing bad could happen, the mother often refused to concede that she was pregnant until it was obvious to all; consequently, the possibility for prenatal care was minimized. The lack of care offered by society, the failure of the prospective mother to seek care until the last months of her pregnancy, and the mother's malnourishment all contribute to the broad range of dysfunction and illness manifested in both mother and child, ranging from anemias and toxemias to brain damage and functional retardation.

E. The Role of the Father

When the role of the ghetto father is discussed, it is usually his absence that most investigators are discussing. The number of fatherless homes ranged from approximately one tenth of the population (about the national average) to close to fifty percent of the families in certain urban areas (Moynihan, 1967; Pettigrew, 1964). The percentage of black families headed by a woman was more than double the amount for whites; fatherless homes increased over 16% for non-white families between 1950 and 1960, while the comparable level
for whites remained constant. Dumpson (1965) cited figures indicating that 30% of all non-white children were living with only one parent; Moynihan (1967) found that only a minority of black children reached 18 years of age having lived all their lives in the care of both of their parents. Those children who grew up in intact homes proved to be those "most likely to succeed," performing significantly better in all areas of functioning than their one-parent peers.

The position of the black male as husband has been systematically influenced by the effects of slavery as well as the economic stability and the availability of jobs in the larger society. Higher family incomes were clearly correlated with greater family stability, economic trends showing that as jobs became more plentiful, the black family became stronger; conversely, when jobs became increasingly scarce, the stability of the family was increasingly difficult to maintain (Moynihan, 1967; Hertzog and Lewis, 1970). Indeed, some researchers have suggested that unemployment and lack of an adequate income is the causal factor in the disruption of the black family; they believe that ameliorating this situation would alter the structure of the community and the family (Rodman, 1968; Hertzog, 1957). Clearly, the job opportunities open to blacks with equal education and training as their white counterparts has been grossly imbalanced, as have comparable incomes for the same jobs, until the very recent past (Billingsley, 1968; Comer, 1975).
The financially vulnerable position of the black male has undermined his position in the marriage; as the wife becomes angered with her financially dependent spouse, she denies him ever greater authority in the home as his tenure of joblessness increases (Moynihan, 1967; Rainwater, 1974a).

It is at this juncture that the historical effects of slavery tend to make their appearance. As related earlier, the black woman has long been cast as the bulwark of the home by reason of the enforced separation of husband from the family; she has come to distrust any male, questioning his reliability or his commitments to the family. The father, on the other hand, has inherited a history of being powerless to protect his family, manifesting itself today in his belief that he has a negligible role in child management and upbringing (Meers, 1972; Rainwater, 1970). The male has had to look for his source of self-definition and pride in areas other than the home, viewing child management, by cultural definition, the responsibility of the women and incompatible with his status and role as a man. A strong preoccupation with machismo and affective, expressive techniques for interacting with women has become the model he emulates (Lewis, 1966; Rainwater, 1972).

While a high degree of conjugal role segregation exists both in white and black lower class families, these tendencies appear to be considerably exaggerated in the black home. The male learns very early that the way to minimize exposure to
failure is not to assume his responsibility as a husband or father but to develop his abilities to court and ingratiate himself with women. The wife is thus left with the greatest responsibility to make the decisions which keep the family viable. She perceives her husband as essentially uninterested in the daily problems of the home (Rainwater, 1971). A true sense of mutuality does not really seem to exist even in the “mainstream” ghetto family which has a fairly strong economic and social base, and matters of deep emotional import are shared not with spouses but with relations or friends. The husband may look to a friend as his confidant, this person assuming a privileged relationship to him as his “main man” or “soul brother.” While the wife may look to a friend, she more often turns to a female relative in whom she can confide and from whom she can seek counsel in times of need. The overall effect of the conjugal role separation, lack of deep emotional mutuality, and economic vulnerability of the wife, husband is to promote and sustain the essentially matrifocal family so commonly encountered in the ghetto. Meers (1972) interpreted this situation as having foreboding consequences for child rearing:

"It is most questionable whether cultural solutions of either the matrifocal family or the street peer group are compatible with maturational, psychological, and needs of healthy child development. In the context of ghetto values, manifest feminine control is notchild
simply injurious to male vanity, it is anathema. Conversely, male denigration of females and child care, also contribute to female ambivalence and to patterns of gender identity incompatible with marriage as an ideal. Thus, the crucible of ghetto childhood may now produce something quite as malignant as white racism, i.e., an intense male-female ambivalence in which love is irrelevant, sex promiscuous, and mutuality a fantasy."

It is peculiar that little has been written of these effects of the husband's presence. H. Lewis (1967) and Hertzog and H. Lewis (1970) indicated that female headed households may be a minority even among the poor; at any given moment approximately two thirds of these black families had two parents present. However, little evidence has been published on how long the families stay together or the particular effects that separation or divorce had at specific periods of the child's development. It appeared that a succession of men in and out of the household (for varying lengths of time) may have colored the child's perception that all emotional relationships were ultimately tenuous (Warren & Laurie, 1967). H. Lewis (1967) conceded that the family composition among the poor was especially "flexible" as indicated by the relatively small number of ghetto children living in a stable home through their late adolescence.

Even in the intact lower-class home, however, the child
is often presented with a male figure who has had little reinforce-
ment for accomplishment, may work at a menial, low-
paying job, or is often unemployed or laid off. The systematic
denigration of masculinity, the suspiciousness of the male,
and the expectancy of infidelity and irresponsibility on
the part of the wife all contribute to the further undermining
of the father's position. High rates of remarriage and living-
together arrangements often mean that all of the children
in the home may not be the father's, therefore weakening his
position in regard to the children. Financial problems or
job availability may force the father to work a number of
jobs or night shifts, thus depriving his children of his
attention. In the latter case, the lower-class home may
even be more patriarchal than its middle-class counterpart
as the father attempts to exercise his authority in the
limited time available to him. However, the tenuous quality
of the male's position in the lower-class home, a function of
his questionable "bread-winning status," cannot help but
affect and weaken his influence on his children. It is in
those very families which do remain intact and strong, with
the father in a respected position, that the children are
more likely to "make it" successfully in the larger society.

Examination of intact homes with warm, dominant fathers
has shown that their sons were likely to be more masculine
in terms of their overt behavior and their preference for
sex-typed activities (Biller & Horstelmann, 1967).
Hetherington, 1967). Sex typing was significantly disrupted if the roles were reversed within the family, the mother exerting more control in both decision making and disciplinary action. Hetherington & Deur (1972) concluded that in a home with only the mother present, she must necessarily be more dominant and play a largely instrumental role. With no opportunity for interaction with a father, gender role development may be distorted.

Burton and Whiting (1961) presented evidence that in societies where the child's earliest social contacts were solely with his mother or other females, and where the father was forbidden from interacting with his infant son a discontinuous identification occurred. At a later age, the boy was compelled to shift from his unusually intense primary identification with the mother and assume a secondary identification with the masculine role. These societies formulated elaborate initiation rites in which an effort was made to cast out the primary feminine identification and facilitate the development of a masculine identification. It is interesting to speculate that the later peer group or adolescent gang may also serve this purpose, the agency which has been delegated to expunge the feminine identification and establish the masculine identification. Such games as "playing the dozens" and the early introduction into sex may serve as the initiation rites of the ghetto.

Father absent boys were found to be more impulsive, less
controlled, and had diminished capacities for delayed gratification in contrast to father-present boys (Mischel, 1961). Restricting his subjects to seventh grade white children, Hoffman (1971) found that less well-internalized standards of moral judgment and a tendency to evaluate the seriousness of an act in terms of the possibility of detection or punishment, rather than its effects on interpersonal relations and social responsibility, were characteristic of father-absent versus father-present boys. Evidence of behavioral immaturity, lack of responsibility, and a tendency to project blame onto others was also found.

In recent years evidence has come to light linking father absence with deleterious social development in girls. This evidence was based largely on studies of adolescents; it suggested that the father played a salient role in helping his daughter define her feminine role and establish her identity. Hetherington and Deur (1972) summarized:

"Thus, studies of father-absent girls suggest a reverse pattern to that of father-absent boys in terms of time of appearance of deviant behavior. Behavior of father absent and father present girls show few differences in the preschool years. However, differences emerge gradually with age and are clearly present at puberty. Also, in contrast to father absent boys, the deviant behavior of father absent girls tends to be closely related
In 1960 Deutsch found that many children from broken homes did significantly poorer in scholastic achievement than their age-mates from intact homes. Carefully controlling for the effects of race and class, Deutsch and Brown (1964) found that while no differences in I.Q. scores existed between father-present and father-absent children in the first grade, by the fifth grade the difference was significant and heavily weighted against the father-absent group. These researchers suggested that a cumulative effect may have taken place, acting to eventually handicap cognitive performance. Other investigators tend to corroborate the link between poor scholastic achievement and father absence (Pettigrew, 1964; Moynihan, 1967; Hetherington & Deur, 1972).

Tiller (1958) and Pederson (1966) argued that the effects of father absence may have been a result of the mediating influence of the mother; her attitude towards masculinity, discipline, values, and the manner in which the home was run would obviously be more influential in the one-parent family. Differences between the one-parent mother and the mother in the intact home were also found, the former placed more emphasis on obedience, politeness, and conformity (Tiller, 1958). She was less encouraging of masculine behavior in her sons, and was likely to utilize more extreme
disciplinary tactics which ran the gamut from over-protectiveness to harsh assertive techniques (Hetherington & Deur, 1970). Whether these maternal behaviors preceded the breaking up of the home or were a result of it was still a matter of conjecture (Hetherington & Deur, 1972).

Despite this evidence, Hertzog and H. Lewis (1970) cited at least three independent reviews of the literature which failed to firmly substantiate that father absence was a contributing factor in juvenile delinquency, poor school achievement, or confused sexual identity. Hertzog and Sudia (1968) reported finding an almost startling lack of replication in the results of over 400 articles that they reviewed. Inadequate controls for socio-economic status tended to confound race with economic factors. The scales of masculinity and femininity used in these reviewed studies came under severe attack as being class, culture, and time bound (Hertzog & H. Lewis, 1970; Erikson, 1968). Father absence may have been only one factor creating stress and strain within the family, the ultimate condition of stress in the home was identified as the factor most disruptive to the child's successful performance.

While the findings as a whole were somewhat equivocal there appeared to be significant empirical evidence that father absence may have a profound effect on the male child if this occurred during the first five years of life and was not mitigated by a stable, loving mother who reinforced the
child for appropriate male behavior and exposed him to adult male models and older male siblings. As a result of inadequate exposure to a father figure, the boy's early inadequate masculine identification may later be transformed into compensatory masculine and delinquent behavior. The girl's behavior may become more deviant as time goes on, reflecting an inability to respond appropriately in heterosexual relations. These patterns appear to confirm much of what is observed in the inner-city black ghetto.

The role of the black father in the lower-class community has not been adequately explored or investigated. This is most striking in regard to the large number of stable homes where the father provides a consistent, strong influence on his children. These are often the homes of the working poor, where both parents must work just to make ends meet. While there may be a negative effect on the children due to the limited time the father has available for his family, his relatively low status in society, or erratic employment record due to his vulnerability in the job market, sufficient attention has not been given to the many positive characteristics for identification that he may provide for his children. Perhaps it is the children's perception of their father struggling against all odds to provide a decent home for the family that will later enable them to struggle against the odds and break out of the cycle of poverty; their perception of his desire to maintain family solidarity in the face of adversity that
will encourage them while furnishing them with a model for a stable home and marriage of their own. The father's respected role in community or church organizations may be a far more salient input to the child than the job his father holds outside the confines of the ghetto. These factors among others appear to weight the balance in favor of good development for the children, compensating for the father's assigned status or the little time he may be able to spend. However, even the child from the stable family is faced with difficulties, as the peer group he fraternizes with may contain a sizeable proportion of such children from fatherless homes who may encourage him to engage in antisocial, delinquent behavior.

The lower-class black mother has often been cast as a carefree sensualist, neglectful of her children and interested only in having a good time for herself at the expense of her family. The actual picture bears little resemblance to the popular mythology. In her work with the very lower-class mothers (not necessarily black), Pavenstedt (1965) found that their self-image was so degraded that they expected to be criticised and punished by the nursery school staff for their attitudes and child-rearing techniques. This went so far as to be reflected in the fear that their children would be taken away from them and their privacy would be violated with
impunity. The nursery appeared to take on the characteristics of all of their dealings with society, with the attendant fear that they and their children would be exposed to dangers which their experience had shown them powerless to handle. Meers (1972) commented that the black mother's evident depression and guilt-ridden nature reflected a background of traumatization and brutalization. Fundamental religiosity dominated their lives, manifested in severe self-recrimination for sins that they believed they had committed (Miesseman, 1962; Meers, 1972).

Chilman (1968) found that their perception of their powerlessness and lifetime of frustrating experiences often led to low self-esteem and an attendant general attitude of passivity and hopeless anxiety. The apparent "I don't care," "live it up" life style became explicable as a defensive maneuver aimed at making life bearable by denying the oppressive conditions to which they were subjected. In contrast to their middle-class peers who characteristically dealt with their depression through intellectualization and a compulsive, instrumentalist approach to their conditions, these mothers generally resorted to an impulsive, histrionic, affective-expressive adaptation. This particular manner of meeting reality's demands allowed for a cathartic relief while simultaneously denying (at least for the moment) their inability to effectively change the situation.

The lack of frustration tolerance and the inability to
delay gratification are phenomena almost ubiquitous to the ghetto. Associated with and perhaps underlying these characteristics is the life history of deprivation or inconsistency of parental love (Craiu & Weisman, 1972; Marans & Laurie, 1972). Chilman (1968) discovered that often the only way she could encourage parents to work effectively with their children was to first give emotional, intellectual, social, and physical nourishment to the parents themselves. This appeared to be due to the multitude of unmet needs that the mother (and also the father) harbored within herself, finding it difficult if not impossible to gratify the needs of her child when her own needs went unheeded (Hunt, 1969). The pattern of not being able to fulfill the child's needs because of one's own neediness, and the demand that one's own needs be satisfied first before one could give to another, grows ever more entrenched as the child becomes older. The mother gradually differentiated less and less between her role as mother as compared to the needs of her child, often seeing her own needs as more pressing than the child's and indulging them at the expense of the child (Pavenstedt, 1965).

Marans and Laurie (1967) found that these unmet dependency needs from infantile life, maintained intact as an overly powerful force in the life of disadvantaged adults, have become so pervasive and potent within the ghetto that they now constitute the most destructive and perpetuated quality of...
parental character. Unable to meet the demands of the child because of her own unmet demands, a cycle of maternal deprivation was set in motion which spanned generations. As her own gratification and sense of comfort may have been severely curtailed due to inadequate support from an unstable husband, and with a helpless baby constantly making more demands on her limited resources, the mother rapidly succumbed to her own unconscious, infantile pressures. Particularly in the case of younger teenagers, a pattern was found of wanting a baby because the child would supply the mother with the unqualified love and acceptance the mother never received in her own childhood. The baby thus was "put to work" gratifying the mother's needs before the mother could or would supply the child's needs. The mother thus used her baby as a source for her own pleasure, lavishing attention and love on it when it was she who desired to have her own needs for love and attention gratified. An erratic pattern of child care developed in which the mother was generally unresponsive to her child's cues while the child was compelled to be responsive to the mother's cues. This is strikingly reminiscent of the situation described by Hunter and Babcock (1967) in regard to the slave having to gratify the master before the master would meet the slave's needs. The slaves' work was used to consolidate their parental surrogate's narcissistic gratification by allowing the masters to live in a comfortable, societal position. This calls to mind the contemporary young
ghetto mother who may become pregnant to consolidate her own unconscious, narcissistic, phallic position by extending herself through a renewal of her own earlier, symbiotic dependency. "Having a baby" becomes more than an initiation into ghetto womanhood or a symbol of status. It is a desperate attempt to re-establish a disrupted, often parasitic symbiotic bond with one's own mother. The "new" mother tries to "do" in action to her baby what was never done for her, the provision of a consistent, loving relationship with her mother. This does not provide the basis for a realistic relationship with the baby as the mother unconsciously sees herself and her own needs reflected in the baby, and not those unique needs of the child himself.

The ghetto woman's experience with her husband is often a recapitualization of her experiences with all men, reflecting repeated abandonment, physical abuse, sexual and monetary exploitation, and instability (Mears, 1972). The woman comes to expect that pain and disappointment are inevitable; an almost masochistic stance that comes to be rationalized as a divine retribution for the "immoral sex drives" that episodically break into consciousness. A strong, fundamentalist religious upbringing lays the basis for a punitive and recriminating super-ego, which extracts severe self-punishment for these actions. In response to the expectation of male abandonment, the mother will teach her daughter that it is dangerous to allow oneself to become dependent on a
male for anything. By maturity, the woman has grown to become "exaggeratedly self-sufficient," (Rainwater, 1972), feeling herself on the most comfortable ground when she alone manages her family and is in firm domination of her man. The sense of instability engendered in husband-wife relationships forces the couple into even greater conjugal role segregation with the wife having the greatest sense of responsibility to the family.

The tenuous ties to man and the expectation of desertion harken back to slavery days, reflecting the long history of abandonment (forced or otherwise) to which women were subjected. Three generation households have arisen as an adaptation to this, with the grandmother often caring for mother and child. After marriage, the couple will establish its own household, but a separation from the husband may bring the mother back to her mother. The teenage mother may remain in her mother's home for a number of years with little serious immediate intention of getting married and settling down with a man. Instead, she may rejoin her adolescent peer group or the street life, leaving the care of her baby largely to the grandmother. It is taken as a matter of course that the mother is permitted (within limits) to continue her previous life and that the grandmother has a duty to raise her grandchild. While it is a commonly held view that babies must have as stable and secure a home as possible, and that optimally it should be the mother who
provides it, the grandmother is expected to intervene and take over care of the baby if the mother does not fulfill her obligations (Rainwater, 1970). It is not uncommon for the mother to precipitously separate from her child, leaving it in the care of its grandmother or another relative for varying lengths of time, only to sporadically reclaim it later.

What is created, in effect is a polymatric situation where the mother may eventually share the child-rearing with others ranging from the grandmother to her own younger sisters. Additionally, if the mother works outside the home or attends school, she may be forced to leave her child in the care of her own mother, her relatives, or neighbors who are hired for this purpose. The husband, even when present, is often reluctant to play an active role in the childrearing. Thus the major burden of childrearing is thrown onto the mother and the maternal substitutes. This situation is exacerbated by the high number of father-absent homes where the mother must assume sole leadership and responsibility for the family. The black mother is more than twice as likely to have lost her husband through death and close to five times as likely to have lost him through divorce or separation than her white counterpart (Crain & Weisman, 1972). This represents almost thirty percent of all non-white families, as opposed to nine percent of white families. While the proportion of female headed families is greatest at the poverty level, the contributing causes appear to be not only economic but racial as
The high percentage of black women without partners as well as the limited role the husband may play in the home even when he is present has contributed to the need for many women to seek employment to keep their families financially solvent. Long hours at work often leave the mother fatigued and overtaxed physically and emotionally (Glaser & Navarre, 1965; Marans & Laurie, 1967; R. Lewis, 1967). Faced with the responsibility for maintaining some semblance of order in the household, the mother must by necessity limit herself to only those tasks which must be accomplished. Those instrumental tasks which are traditionally associated with the women are either delegated to the children, completed in the most efficient and abbreviated manner possible, or neglected altogether. Glaser and Navarre (1965) indicated that there was a loss of "peripheral benefits" which are extremely important to the socialization process of the children and the maintenance of family cohesion. The children, particularly the adolescents, were saddled with often age-inappropriate responsibilities for keeping the home running or child care of their younger sibs. The stress on the family as a result of this situation has been cited as one of the factors contributing to the later poor adjustment of the children. Indeed, it has been argued that the ultimate outcome of this stressful situation was more deleterious to the child's development that was the absence of the father (Netherington &
Pavenstedt (1965) has remarked upon the evident disorder of the homes of the very poor: tasks begun and left unfinished, a general impression of chaos, the absence of consistency, and activities determined more by impulse than by design.

It is as if the home situation itself becomes a metaphor for the disorganization and lack of consistency and support that these mothers experience themselves. The general atmosphere of malaise and entrenched futility is often punctuated by sporadic attempts at mothering and "getting things in order," only to be lost again as the mother is unable to maintain her directed activity. The household tasks which demand her attention rapidly erode her energy, and frustration accumulates as there is often no one she can depend upon for support.

G. The Child and the Mother

Karans and Louris (1967) found that the slum mother's disciplinary techniques had a deleterious effect on her child as early as his first fifteen months of life. As the child exercised his rapidly maturing muscular system and attempted to aggressively explore and familiarize himself with his new environment, the mother often interpreted these movements as hostile actions directed at her authority. This interpretation stemmed from the mother's perception that her child's independent movements conflicted with her own need satisfactions.
The child's wish to leave the stifling confines of his crib conflicts with the mother's demand that the infant remain docile and undemanding. Physical punishment, threats, and loud shouting often comprise the mother's entire armamentarium of techniques to control the child. The child frequently becomes bewildered by the mother's erratic punishment; lashing out at the child if often more in response to her momentary need to assert her authority or her perception of the momentary inconvenience that the behavior might be to her. Discipline is rarely predictable nor aligned with the external world (Marans & Laurie, 1967; Chilman, 1968). The poor physical condition of the home and the mother's feelings of being overwhelmed by the demands of child care exacerbate this inconsistency.

Despite the mother's own inconsistent application of harsh disciplinary techniques, she expects a high degree of comprehension and obedience from her child in regard to her injunctions. As long as the child does not interfere with the activities of the adults in the household, little reason is found to segregate or discipline him. However, if the child intruded upon ongoing adult activities, harsh disciplinary action is likely to follow (Rainwater, 1970).

While outward compliance is maintained, it is at the cost of inadequate internal control formation. The drives toward assertive exploration, independence, and mastery frequently are frustrated or inhibited. When the mother is not

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around to externally suppress this drive expression, however, the child is likely to impulsively act on his inadequately internalized and poorly modulated drives. The rage felt towards the mother is often displaced, visible in the disguised form of destroying household or neighborhood property, or by initiating fights with siblings or peers (Marans & Lourie, 1962).

The ghetto mother shows neither the deep psychological involvement with her infant characteristic of the middle-class mother, nor the anxiety sense of "awesome responsibility" and attendant pleasure in her infant's development that was often associated with the working class mother (Rainwater, 1970; Lewis, 1966). Care of the baby is not fraught with concerns about feeding or demand schedules; he is fed and diapered on a "catch-as-catch-can" basis by the mother. Developmental milestones frequently pass unnoticed, little anxiety shown if the child fails to walk or talk at the prescribed time. If there are other children in the home who take a special liking to the child, the baby might accidentally be overstimulated to the point of irritability. Otherwise, the baby is left to his own devices for a good deal of the time, quickly pacified with a bottle if he becomes restless or cranky. It is the infant who is expected to adapt with a minimum of friction to the ongoing household routines and a minimum of bother to other household members.

Despite the ghetto mother's demand that the child be
compliant and not disrupt household routines, a real and continuing warmth exists between mother and child, bordering on the symbiotic (Coles, 1967). Periods of close attachment and attentiveness to the child's needs are frequently interspersed with periods of relative neglect, which are attributable to mounting tension and lapses of self control on the mother's part. It is not uncommon during these periods for children to be left for long periods in the charge of siblings who might be barely older than the infant himself (Pavenstedt, 1965). The child is compelled to fend for himself in lieu of the mother's support.

Mothers frequently anticipate with dread the day when they would "lose" their children to the influence of the outside world, to the temptations of the street. Young children are often kept virtual prisoners in the home in an effort to isolate them from these influences (Rainwater, 1972). Coles (1967) commented on the "specific and brutal instruction" about the realities of life which the mother imparts to the very young child. A strict, fundamentalist morality and religiosity is often instilled; transgressions are swiftly and forcefully punished by a quick slap or punch. In what Coles referred to as an ironic mixture of indulgence and fierce curtailment, the child is alternately allowed to be independent and active, yet severely and vengefully punished when the parents are compelled to acknowledge the child's wrong-doing. As the young child gradually begins to associate
with his peers, the mother tends to abdicate her role as she feels there is little she can do to further control or direct her child's activities. He becomes lost to the outside world, the setting of limitations on behavior and restrictions of friends only a stop-gap measure in her futile battle with the lures of the street. The child is well aware of the mother's increasing sense of futility; he capitalizes on this by becoming increasingly inattentive to her directions as he grows older (Rainwater, 1972).

The child is vulnerable, not only on the street where the mother is largely powerless to protect him, but he is also vulnerable to assault within the confines of the home. Mears (1974) noted that a number of traumatic childhood sexual seductions had been reported to him, the mother seemingly fully aware of what was occurring. These incestuous episodes usually involve step-children or relatives of the child or half-siblings. As long as the child does not make a nuisance of himself, the adults often ignore him. Children are consequently exposed to adult sexual activity in the home in their pre-school years (Meers, 1972). At times, however, even the adults might lose control over their impulses, resulting in adult seductions and rapes of children barely four years old. While this is certainly not a common occurrence, Meers (1972) found it occurring with sufficient frequency that mothers often feared that this might occur to their children.

Chilman (1968) found that in the middle-class home each
child is seen as a separate individual and valued for his uniqueness; in the homes of the very poor, the mother seems to fail to differentiate one child from another. Marans and Lourie (1967) commented that even if the very poor mother were aware of the individual personalities of her children, that which was most necessary in terms of the entire family's welfare often had to take precedence over the individual personalities of her children and their specific needs.

The mother tends to view the development of her son far differently from that of her daughter. While the mother expects her son to engage in some of the chores of the family, he is burdened far less than the daughter. Household chores are generally considered "woman's work," unfitting for the son to take an active part in (Rainwater, 1970). When the son refuses a task or inadequately completes it, the mother resignedly accepts the situation; the boy is growing up to be "just like his father," who could never be expected to successfully complete a task either. If her son attempts to excuse himself from his obligations by duplicity, the mother knowingly interprets this behavior as an indication that the child is developing into a "good or fast talker," just like the other males she has come into contact with in the ghetto. The amused chortle of the other adult women as they listen to the boy's strained fabrications clearly indicate that this kind of behavior is expected of him. The acceptance of "typically" male behavior may even extend to
to the boy's open denigration of his sisters or mother; this is again identified by significant adults as a culturally syntonic male attitude towards women (Meers, 1974). A self-fulfilling prophecy is set in motion as the mother provokes or condones stubbornness or open aggression, welcoming it as proof that her son is as much a man as is his father because of the similarities in their behavior.

Dressed in a suit and tie, the young boy is expected to be his mother's little man. His future sexual expectations (and exploitations) are introduced by the mother through her provocative teasing of him. He is quickly rewarded for his precocious abilities to "cop" or imitate the expressive mannerisms of the older males. He is encouraged to utilize hip ghetto language and to become facile with body movements associated with the dance or walk (strutting) which identify him as a "cool dude." While the mother takes a thinly disguised pride in her son's emulation of "street cool" behavior, it is not without ambivalence. The very behavior she helps to develop in her son is also the very characteristics she both hated and admired in her husband; the same husband who may have deserted her, leaving her to care for her children alone and unaided. This mixture of amused acceptance and dismayed recognition creates an environment where the growing boy receives muddled maternal messages as to his genuine worth as an individual. As Rainwater (1970) underlined, the very activities which she encourages are the behaviors upon
which she frowns. The one arena which extends unambiguous positive recognition to "street cool" behavior is the boy's peer group, a group which the boy increasingly turns to as he grows older. The recognition of the peer group, however, cannot extend the same sense of valid identity that the mother can potentially offer her son. This disjunction between home and peer-group expectations sets in motion an uncertainty in self-definition and personal validity that plagues the boy throughout his life. This situation is only exacerbated by the maternal fostering of a "surrendered identity" in her son (Erikson, 1966), an identity which tells the boy that he had better not "amount to much" or he may be exposed to the hostility of the white world.

The daughter seems to fare much better in comparison to her male siblings. The mother appears to take a much greater interest in her daughter's development, providing substantially more nurturant and protective experiences (Hoynihan, 1967; Meers, 1972; Rainwater, 1970). Rainwater (1970) commented upon the almost "sisterly" quality of the relationship as the daughter grew older, the mother viewing her daughter as part of the continuity of motherhood she experienced with her own mother. The daughter is saddled with mothering duties early in life, duties she is expected to perform adequately as this is part of any girl's "inherently maternal nature."

Socialized early that all men are shiftless and
irresponsible, the daughter learns that to become dependent upon a man is to court abandonment and disaster. The training towards an exaggerated self-sufficiency begins early, with the assumption of the grown-up roles of child and household management. When she reaches maturity the daughter has learned her lessons well; she must dominate her man and independently manage the affairs of her home if she is to have a viable family life (Rainwater, 1972).

G. The Family of Poverty

The family is likely to feel alienated and distrustful towards either the larger society of the neighborhood. Constriction and encapsulation feed into themselves as the family becomes suspicious and resentful towards any interference from outside influences, especially middle-class professionals (Chilman, 1968; Charnofsky, 1971; Pavenstedt, 1965; Lewis, 1966; Mesra, 1973).

Repeated experiences of failure and rejection lead to feelings of personal worthlessness and a chronic, low-level depression. At times the seeming inability to cope with the demands of day-to-day existence creates an atmosphere of frustration and hopelessness. Even small problems become intolerable. Challenges are avoided, as they remind the family of its impotence to deal with them. A pervasive sense of futility is engendered in which the family feels itself helpless in the face of almost all of the demands facing it.
Concomitant with the belief that they have little control over the environment is the complimentary view that the source of all problems is external (Kesman, 1962; Guren, et al., 1972; Gordon, 1965). This difficulty in accepting personal responsibility has both positive and negative consequences. On the negative side it engenders a lack of self-introspection and self-criticism when something turns out other than expected, leading to difficulties in learning from past experience and ultimately leads to deficits in planning abilities. The proclivity to externalize problems may also encourage scapegoating or to an excessive reliance on projection. On the positive side, in those situations where the source of the individual's troubles is truly external (i.e., racism), the individual can direct his anger at the true source of the problem and avoid excessive self-blame.

A pervasive finding among researchers was that the ghetto home was often chaotic and disorganized. Ravenstadt (1965) noted that impulse ridden behavior of the adults contributed to this atmosphere. There appeared to be little capacity to defer present gratification for greater returns in the future, and little ability to tolerate frustration (Chilman, 1960; Levis, 1966; Charnofsky, 1971; Hunt, 1969). Reissman (1962) took the position that this rootedness in the present reflected a "practical orientation" which did not encourage abstractions. The ultimate outcome of the present
orientation and lack of frustration tolerance was manifest in an overall deficit in anticipatory planning abilities, and a resultant failure to delay present action in terms of the promise of greater rewards in the future. A vicious cycle ensued in which the individual relied upon chance or fate to change his uncomfortable situation, as he had not made adequate long-range preparations to forestall or prevent the situation from actually occurring.

Neiswaner (1962) observed that black ghetto children had a love of excitement, an attribute that he believed reflected their desire to "get away from the humdrum of daily life." Psychoanalytically oriented researchers such as Mears (1974) and Chilman (1968) have offered other explanations for this phenomena, which appears to relate directly to the issue of the paucity of frustration tolerance.

Moynihan (1967) created a furor in the socio-political arena as well as in academic circles when he claimed that a source of the fundamental weakness of the black community was attributable to the rapid deterioration of the black family. Citing statistics on rates of illegitimacy, divorce, and one-parent, matrifocal homes, he offered the thesis that the black family was on the verge of a "total breakdown," its internal dynamics creating nothing less than a "tangle of pathology." Many researchers openly challenged the view that a "matriarchy" was the predominant social form in the
ghetto (Comer, 1975), or that the black family was "breaking down" more rapidly now than in past history (Hertzog, 1967). Other researchers have refuted finding that children of matrifocal one-parent families were significantly psychologically handicapped (Hertzog & Lewis, 1970); that the ghetto family was even predominantly headed by the female (Lewis, 1967; Billingsley, 1968); or that a theory based largely on the effects of a history of subjugation which virtually excluded the contemporaneous effects of social class and social caste, could alone account for the structure and position of the black family in America (Billingsley, 1968).

Hertzog (1967) pointed to the similarities between very poor white and black families, finding comparable rates of broken, mother-dominated homes, out of wedlock births, and multi-generational households. While bowing to the "post-slavery" factors of deprivation and discrimination, she nevertheless believed that the differences associated with income outweighed those differences associated with color. Billingsley (1968) and Pettigrew (1964) took a very different position, emphasizing that the historical experience of the black's subjugation, systematic discrimination and prejudice could be overlooked. The development of the black family was viewed in this context as a constantly changing mechanism for socialization. Despite what might appear to be surface similarities in family and community composition between poor blacks and other poverty groups, basic psychological and
sociological differences remained as a precipitate of the effects of slavery and the post-slavery factors of caste, discrimination, deprivation and prejudice.

Reisman (1962) alluded to the potential harmfulness of permissive attitudes towards sex and nudity which have been found to be prevalent in ghetto homes. Overcrowding into cramped quarters often means that many children may share the same bed and may be constantly exposed to explicit acts of adult sexuality. Young children have difficulty conceptualizing adult sexual behavior as pleasurable, instead seeing it as a sadistic attack by the father (or other male) upon the mother (or other female). The capacity to effectively discriminate between cries of pleasure and pain is poorly developed in the child; the ability to comprehend that penetration and other actions associated with intercourse is anything but terribly painful to the woman is far beyond the realm of belief for the child. Sexual activity, indeed all male-female interactions, becomes equated with unbridled aggression, drive release, and exploitation on the part of the male, and sadness, degradation and misery on the part of the female.

Further, the failure to protect the child from seduction and rape by other family members creates an atmosphere fraught with apprehension, overinstinctualisation, and the very real threat of incestuous acting out. What might heighten the child's fear of incestuous sexual involvement
that his own parent may be so "wildly out of control" that they may be unable to effectively set limits on the child's own impulsive behavior.

Marital discord and infidelity eventually lead to the breakdown and ultimate break up of a substantial number of ghetto households. The one-parent home poses a special problem to the child's socialization and development. If the parent works, the time spent on the job is that much time spent away from the children; the exhausted, homebound adult must proportion and direct his remaining time and energy to addressing only those tasks required for family maintainence.

Within the one-parent home, a fragile yet autocratic structure must be maintained if the family is to survive. All decision making powers are vested in one person, and there is no "appeal" to the other parent; the child is more likely to view the parental decision making process as based on personal, arbitrary grounds. In contrast, the child in the two-parent family has the opportunity to play one parent against the other, developing social skills and learning experientially that authority can be both tolerated and manipulated within reason.

In the two-parent family the child is free to openly express hostility toward either parent, as he is secure in the knowledge that one ally remains that can be depended upon to care for and love the child; the child of the one-parent
family can have no such solace. The family has already proved itself vulnerable; to actively court discord is to further threaten its tenuous balance.

In view of the repeated frustrations and deprivations to which the family is subjected, it comes as no surprise that considerable emphasis is placed on family and personal comforts (Riessman, 1962). "Class consciousness" was found to be virtually non-existent (Lewis, 1966; Riessman, 1962), while political action is generally shunned. The family focuses its energy on daily survival issues rather than actively plan to escape from the ghetto. Despite his feelings of alienation from the mainstream of society and his inability to effectively change the situation, the slum dweller is likely to hold rather "conservative" views on a number of issues; he is often distinctly prejudiced toward many ideas and intolerant of dissident opinions. Ideological positions are tenaciously held, moderation and compromise are often beyond the realm of possibility (Riessman, 1962).

Morality and values are often unquestioningly based on the strong, traditional values of fundamentalist religion. Superstitiousness and magical thinking coexist with pragmatic anti-intellectual attitudes. Marans and Lourie (1967) hypothesized that the poor depend upon magical thinking to deny or avoid confronting their own multiple disappointments and frustrations. As the possibility of altering the external situation is often minimal, a defensive flight from the event
or a disavowal of one's personal culpability.

Riesman (1962) observed that a basically physical-motoric approach was used to teach the child in the lower-class family, the parents largely ignoring visual and aural channels. Motoric channels were further reinforced as physical dexterity and endurance were perceived as early signs of intelligence and budding independence. Physical prowess and strength were looked upon as indicative of the baby's future. This practical, manipulative approach was at variance with the development of abstract, analytic, and deductive cognitive abilities. Ideas were viewed as useful only insofar as they proved themselves to be practical; if they proved to be otherwise, they were thought to be not only irrelevant, but possibly harmful. Activities associated with academic and cognitive growth were generally lumped together with school as "feminine" and useless. The predominant cognitive style was characterised by impulsive, affective expressions marked by idiosyncratic, personalistic, inductive reasoning.

I. The Family Interacts: Vicious Unmasking

Bainwater and his associates have studied the dynamics of the family of the slum from a psychological and sociological perspective. In a long series of articles and books the central thesis was that the suffering of the black lower class was now largely self-inflicted, a result of their attempts to adapt to a racist and repressive society. This
adaptation has facilitated the black's survival in the ghetto at the expense of his adjustment to the larger environment. A "victimisation process" occurs in the home which toughens the child for his entry into the life of the street, but extracts as its price a style of adaptation or world view, which significantly interferes with a successful understanding or response to the demands of the world beyond the walls of the ghetto.

"Shaming" is a frequently used control mechanism in the ghetto, employed against those who lay claim to attributes or accomplishments which they actually do not possess. If the child fails to behave properly or if he is not strong enough to cope with his problems, the adults or peers "shame" him because of his weakness. Rainwater (1970) cited Parsons in differentiating between the mechanisms of shame and guilt; the former experience relates to the individual's inability to get those desired rewards from others because of his deviant behavior, the latter experience a strictly "intra-psychic transaction between an internalized representative of abstract principles to which one is expected to conform and the ego as the perceiver of the behavior." To be "shamed" is to be exposed to the ridicule and unkind glare of others; one is looked down upon and turned away from because of one's dirty (fecal), uncontrollable actions.

The constant fear of being "shamed" or exposed, strikes deeply into the very heart of the ghetto family. When the
mother is the only stable adult member in the home, the very legitimacy of the family may be doubtful as the individual children may have had different fathers, some of the children born out of wedlock. The unity of the family and the strength of the bonds are open to question as the mother is often hard pressed to maintain that all the children should even be living together. The mother and her children often resort to "vicious unmasking" of each other during arguments; they openly challenge the right of each individual to be in the family or expose their transgressions as proof of their incompetence.

To avoid situations which may lead to the further experience of shaming, the child limits his contact with those who point up his shortcomings. He is thus driven to the street and the world of the peer group. His peers rarely judge each other's actions outside the confines of the group interaction; as long as one treats one's buddies appropriately, one is acceptable. The child may occasionally threaten to shame his parents; this institutes a tenuous moratorium on parental control as the child gains an equal status by virtue of his power to shame them. Reflection and self-examination are eschewed because they may lead to unpleasant self-discoveries as to one's real impotence or pretense.

Rainwater (1970) identifies one particularly pernicious effect of poor parental self-regard and feelings of incompetence; the child tends to feel that the adult will be
unable to adequately or reliably take care of his needs. A peculiar sense of vulnerability is fostered within the family. The parent judges himself to be unable to fully meet reality's demands. While the child is presented with a crippled, broken image for identification. The child soon comes to accept that he will be just as inadequate and impotent as his parent.

A family structure which is open to easy penetration by the "street" has evolved. Despite each person's ability to engage in the activities of the street, and to find satisfaction and gratification of his needs which may or may not be fulfilled by the family in times of stress, a return to the home for a respite from the pressures of the street is still available. However, Rainwater (1972) observed that the ready incursion of the street into the boundaries of the family weakened the family's foundations while undermining its ability to offer a truly safe sanctuary.

The early disillusionment with the family scars the child throughout his life. In the shifting fragile alliances of the family, the child is often unsure who rightfully belongs to the family and who belongs to the street; outsiders are ushered into the home, and other family members were literally expelled. The shattered self-esteem and sense that cooperation and trust are a hopeless, futile endeavor, condemn the child to a bitter legacy of self-recrimination and hostile suspiciousness of those who might potentially help him.
Despite the clear message that he is worthless and would "never amount to anything," the child is able to defend himself and gain a modicum of self-respect by striking out at those who wish to shame him. By turning a passive stance into an active one and identifying with the aggressor, the child can now gain mastery over the situation by unmasking the pretentions of others. His ability to "dish it out" in kind enables the child to withstand the verbal (and often physical) onslaught of his parents.

The pervasive distrust and consequent defensive, survival orientation provides the medium for the development of restricted and constricted forms of organizing social roles and relationships. One has to be constantly on the alert for exploitation by others while simultaneously ready to capitalize on any opportunity to manipulate or avoid them. A "stripped down" social organization results. The formation of a "dramatic self" arises in response to this situation, an expressive life style predicated on the notion that superficial qualities and accoutrements are the measure of the individual. The expressive life style entails risks and frustrations as one is constantly "on stage" in front of an audience; one's reputation and image are under constant assault as rivals vie for the "hippest" or "coolest" stance. The individual is threatened by sudden, unpredictable attempts at vicious unmasking even by his peers, an "uncool" remark or an unsuccessful verbal confrontation may shatter the fragile
fascade. Further, the constant, nagging message remains that despite one's acquired status within the confines of the ghetto, the larger society continues to derogate the ghetto resident as a second-class, often "untouchable" being.

Rainwater (1972) observed three kinds of survival strategies emerging from the ghetto milieu, the expressive, violent, or depressive life style. As explicated above, the expressive style is based on an appealing "front" so that others could be manipulated into gratifying one's needs, while offering them little in return. For those less skillful, physical violence serves to coerce others into relinquishing what the individual demands. When the individual could not effectively employ an expressive or violent presentation of self, a depressed, sullen, apathetic resignation often results. The ghetto resident is not restricted to one form of survival strategy; he might employ any one or a mixture of these strategies. As an example, because the elderly have little real opportunity to effectively use an expressive or violent style, they are often compelled to fall back on a depressive orientation.
CHAPTER V
TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PSYCHODYNAMIC CONCEPTUALIZATION
OF THE BLACK GHETTO CHILD

I  Introduction

The literature on the development of the black ghetto child is replete with references to psychopathological systematic manifestations ranging from impulse disorders and inadequately developed capacities for both delay of gratification and frustration tolerance, to academic retardation and self−devaluation (e.g., Chilman, 1968; Eriksen, 1968; McDonald, 1970; Malone, 1966; Narans and Lourie, 1967; Meers, 1970, 1972, 1973, 1975; Pavenstedt, 1965). It has only been in the past decade that researchers have focused their attention on how the idiosyncratic socio-economic-cultural forces of ghetto life have intricately interacted with the normal course of child development to contribute to the formation of what may prove to be a unique course of development for the black, inner−city child. Research findings from developmental psychology exist which compliment and support the view that the black, inner−city child of poverty does indeed follow a highly individualistic progression along developmental lines, manifesting itself in unique personality constellations, reliance upon certain defense processes over others, and a
developmental deviance or setback as opposed to conflictual pathology commonly encountered in more socio-economically advantaged groups. As opposed to an earlier era when studies were basically devoted to cataloging the largely unknown terrain of ghetto existence and unearthing differences between the poor black child and his middle-class counterpart, we are now in a position to account theoretically for the nature of these differences and plausibly hypothesize how those deviations from the norm will manifest themselves in later behavior. Simply put, the time is ripe to formulate a metapsychological profile of the black, inner-city child.

It is not sufficient to reduce the differences found between blacks and whites to mere variations in adaptation to one social milieu or economic position as opposed to another. Thompson (1974) cites the now commonly accepted position that since their very entrance into the United States as slaves to the present, blacks have been subject to a unique set of personal and socio-cultural experiences. As all blacks have poignantly become aware, notwithstanding their own abilities, competencies, and personalities, their "blackness" supercedes their individuality in defining who they are in our present society. By virtue of being identified and simultaneously stereotyped as "black" the black American has been subject to an uncommon set of experiences, even when performing in common social roles.

Current attempts to understand the problems of black
children in terms of differences between them and their white peers without understanding their unique position in this society, are doomed to failure. In speaking to misguided attempts to understand blacks without reference to this historical-social context, Thomas and Sillen (1972) commented:

"These differences are not genetic, nor do they represent a hierarchy of 'superior' and 'inferior' qualities. But to ignore the formative influence of substantial differences in history and social existence is a monumental error (p. 58). But to deny that a common body of experience has shaped a black culture is to shut off the possibility of understanding black psychology (p. 59)."

Baratz and Baratz (1972) addressed themselves directly to those programs which would undertake to ameliorate problems of blacks while concomitantly denying or denigrating these cultural differences; they conceptualized the adoption of such a stance as an operational definition of Racism. In their view, institutional racism was the degree to which social policy was formulated upon those social science studies which had as their underlying premises the overt denial of these differences.

The central experience of childhood is given a new dimension when the child is black; typical problems and struggles are given an often ominous cast by virtue of their being a discriminated against and devalued minority (Gles, 1967a).
The very real differences in socialization practices of parents, culturally held beliefs, and the everpresent reality of racism in the larger society, has become such a well-accepted part of the black American scene that recently mental health professionals have begun to answer these needs by the publication of books and articles aimed specifically at the problems black parents often encounter in rearing their children. Such books as THE BLACK CHILD (Harrison-Ross and Nyden, 1973) and BLACK CHILD CARE (Comer and Poussaint, 1975) are evidence of this growing recognition of the unique difficulties black parents and children face, as is the publicity given to these problems by the black press (e.g., the August, 1975 edition of EPONY devoted to the black child, with articles written by leading black mental health professionals).

Despite the expanding literature on various aspects of black family life, cognitive styles, language and socialization, currently no coherent theory exists which pertains to the overall psychological development of the black, inner-city child of poverty. Considering the sizeable expenditures of time and money which have been directed toward developing special pre-schools, elementary, and secondary school programs for "disadvantaged" black children, as well as early intervention programs and family life projects formulated with the intent of "strengthening" the black, inner-city family or encouraging "good child-rearing practices," it is altogether remarkable that we still have no clear idea as
to how the black child is "supposed" to develop, or how he does in the actuality of the street/slum environment. With few notable exceptions, mental health professionals have generally failed even to begin systematically organizing a coherent and cohesive theory of inner-city child development; they have often contented themselves with well worn polemics against our racist society. Perhaps it is understandable that some professionals have become so taken up in providing an instant "cure" for the blight inflicted on many poor black youth that the need for adequate, scientific conceptualizations paled into the background. However, nearly a decade has passed since the "War on Poverty" was proclaimed, and investigators continue to struggle with many of the same issues and dilemmas which confronted researchers ten years ago. In a recent attempt to pull together what was already known of inner-city, black child development, Dill (1976) could only highlight instead how little was known. He concluded:

"...although some might argue that theory construction is an intellectual extravagance that fails to address the immediate social and educational concerns for inner-city children, my position is that our present programmatic efforts have not succeeded partially because of the absence of a workable and effective theory (p. 114."

As explicated in previous chapters, much of the previous
research has been criticized for employing biased measures or tests, or has tended to brush aside differences in the social milieu of the child as unimportant. Other studies have been based on the a priori assumption that all "deficits" or differences found in the inner-city child can be attributed wholesale to the "inadequate" childrearing practices of the poor black family, with the implicit theme that the childrearing practices of the middle-class are optimal for healthy personality and cognitive functioning (Dukes, 1976). It is obvious that neither of these positions is adequate if we are to fully understand the "how" and "why" of black, inner-city child development, as both positions ignore ontological, ethno-cultural factors, and the psychological processes involved in adaptation to the social milieu. At best these studies have been descriptive, at worst tautological.

In his study of the personality development of black youth from a New Orleans' ghetto, (Thompson, 1974) made a number of salient observations on ghetto life in general and family life in particular; findings which have direct significance towards understanding black child development as it is embedded in a complex social milieu. He found that the ghetto is not a social or cultural "monolith"; instead it encompasses at least five different social worlds which the child comes to be part of: The middle class, matriarchy, gang, nuclear family, or marginality. The
ghetto dweller is ascribed a social ranking by his peers based on a number of subtle criteria, ranging from marital status to religious denomination. In Thompson's view, the particular "social world membership" of the individual is a far more important social reality than race, geographical area raised in, or the ghetto subculture itself.

At the very core of black ghetto life, however, is the black family, an influence Thompson concluded was the "Cardinal Black Experience" through the United States. If one does not understand the black family, one cannot understand life in the black community:

"... the Black family -- because of its long history in dealing with social crises stemming from racism and its unique flexibility -- is the most effective instrument Blacks have had in their precarious struggle to survive in American society (Thompson, 1974, p. 79-80)."

The particular child socialisation patterns of black ghetto parents did not appear capricious or wholly dependent upon the parents' personality; rather, it was definitely correlated with preparing for those primary survival problems which the parents perceived the child would be faced with as he grew up. The problems of adaptation and survival in a hostile environment have been the major forms of the black family since slavery, child-rearing practices being designed to enable the son or daughter to survive and adapt to the
rigors and dangers of the plantation, or the crime infested
ghetto street. The ability of the black parent to impart
these survival skills to the children has been one of the
greatest strengths of the black family, but in training the
child to operate efficiently in one hostile atmosphere it
may have the effect of crippling the child's ability to
function in other environments. The socialization of the
ghetto child may also prove to be the black family's
greatest handicap.

Perhaps one of the most difficult theoretical tasks
that faces the social scientist is to differentiate between
that behavior which is a manifestation of cultural values
as opposed to those behaviors which are circumstantial or
situational adaptations in the service of survival. Thomas
and Sillen (1972) warn that there is a tendency to "blame
the victim" for lifestyle adaptations forced upon him by
external conditions; instead this behavior is erroneously
perceived as freely chosen. While the precise differentiation
of behavior flowing from cultural roots as opposed to the
survival imperatives of poverty is often difficult to
achieve, as situational adaptations tend to be absorbed
into the culture through the passage of multigenerations.
It is clear that both the effects of culture and the narrow
margins of choice imposed by poverty collude to limit and
shape the ghetto parents' child-socialization practices
(Meers and Gordon, 1972; Thomas and Sillen, 1972). Because
of this complex interaction between culture, history, environment, and present circumstance, the phenomena of ghetto existence cannot be solely reduced to the results of economic deprivation, although income level remains an important factor. What remains crucial for our purposes, however, is the realization that child-rearing practices are highly reactive to and in part a function of the particular culture in which the child is raised; by "dosing experiences" the parent molds the child into those culturally syntonic behavior patterns (Fries, 1946). This simultaneously affects the ultimate structure of the child's ego, defensive structure, superego, and the fate of the drives (Meers and Gordon, 1972).

While it remains a central thesis of this paper that much of what is initially perceived as pathological behavior is in fact an adaptation to deprivation, trauma, overstimulation and the very real dangers of ghetto existence, we cannot relegate all behavior to this maladaptation or deviance. Both Baratz and Baratz (1972) and Thomas and Sillan (1972) rightly criticized previous research as being selectively focused on the negative aspects of the behavior of poor blacks, often emphasizing the pathological to the exclusion of healthy adaptation. The ultimate result is a dehumanization of the black individual, even when this ascription is motivated by sympathy or concern. Thomas and Sillan underlined the fact that the stress of ghetto living may also stimulate healthy coping mechanisms, and that unhealthy responses to
stress may later prove to be remediable when the individual is placed in more favorable circumstances. Further, each individual will react to the exigencies of his situation in a highly individualized fashion, depending upon his own personality characteristics and the unique situations to which he was exposed. Speaking to the historical context of these adaptations, Thompson (1974) states:

"Historically, Black Americans have constituted a disesteemed, despised, relatively powerless racial minority. As such, they have had a unique, constant struggle to survive personally and as a socially conscious, viable group. It is very important to realize that in order to facilitate their own survival under various conditions and degrees of servitude, discrimination, and individual and institutionalized hostility, they have invented, refined, and borrowed intact a variety of survival techniques and strategies to be used in their constant confrontations with powerful, often legitimate, untoward social forces (p. 39)."

In his extensive studies of black ghetto children, Meers (1975) came to similar conclusions regarding many adaptational behaviors he observed, suggesting, as an example, that discriminatory capabilities were engendered which facilitated a constant subliminal, preconscious scanning of the environment which equipped the child with a needed
ability to judge when to fight and when to flee. This behavior, as well as others, does not seem to indicate that the ghetto child has severely damaged ego autonomy; rather, it is reminiscent of similar behavior patterns observed in children who have survived highly traumatic life situations, such as those children who survived the Nazi holocaust while imprisoned in concentration camps. However, these behavioral adaptations do take their toll in terms of later ego restrictions and inhibitions. This behavior is ultimately adaptational in that it provides some kind of psychological equilibrium in the midst of overstimulating and traumatizing situations. While this behavior and psychological structuralization does indeed equip the child to survive, the ultimate result may be dysfunctional in terms of later personality functioning in our technological society. The greatest disservice may be done to these children by extolling their survival capacities:

"...some of what we see, glorify and romanticize in the black community is the result of deprivation, imposed by forces outside the community; it is not always evidence of self-determination. Sometimes it is not humane behavior. Some conditions in the black community are the consequences of an unsuccessful fight against overwhelming odds. Yet in the effort to be different in some deep and fundamental way, every aspect of black life -- particularly -- the ghetto life -- is being given the
Another area of adaptation that comes under the direct influence of cultural-situational pressures is that of the cultural syntonicity of particular behavioral patterns, i.e., what behaviors the community and parents will tolerate as opposed to what behaviors it judges as deviant. Through anthropological studies, researchers have become aware that many cultures radically different from our own either allow expression of deviance by the provision of specific roles, such as the Shaman (who is allowed 'delusions' of omnipotence, omniscience, and hallucinations) or the "man-woman" (found in some North American Indian tribes, literally a "cultural acceptance" of homosexuality and transvestism), or they allow an individual to experience hallucinatory trances during circumscribed periods of his life (e.g., during the initiation into manhood). "Speaking in tongues" and near delusional trances are also tolerated, as an example, by our society, at least when they are confined to the duration of the tent revival meeting or Pentecostal church service. Heers (1975) found that cultural norms and experiences may have a direct bearing on the symptomatic expression of underlying psychological conflict, with parents "extinguishing" certain classes of child behavior through censure and punishment. Other behavior which might be unacceptable to the middle-class, such as impulse expression, overt aggression, or precocious sexuality, is allowed expression by the lower-class parent.
Kuensterberger (1974), studying child-rearing in a cross-cultural context, expanded this proposition by finding that if the individual's circle of emotionally significant others extended beyond the "nuclear family," an entirely different set of variables might influence the child's development, resulting in "culture-adequate" behaviors which nonetheless hinder optimal personality integration. The issue of cultural syntonic or dystonic symptomatology and behavior is hypothesized to have far reaching consequences, affecting not only overt behavioral manifestations, but bearing heavily on pre-genital psychosexual development, drive expression, defense choice and formation, and structuralization of both the ego and super-ego. As each phase of development is explored, the effects of culture biasing of behavior will be investigated. The hypothesis of cultural biasing of child development is hardly speculative, discussed in previous chapters, as well as being commented upon by such researchers as Dill (1976), who found that the black child's experience fosters unique perceptual-conceptual organization.

The focus of this chapter is the formulation of a synthetic-integrative model of black, inner-city child development which will draw upon numerous sources from the fields of psychology, psychiatry, biology, anthropology, sociology, and education. It will attempt to interweave developmental data from the earliest days of life with what is known of the cultural dosing of experience as first
practiced by the mothering object and later by the family and community. As the effects of the cultural dosing of experience are often subtle and hidden by later behavioral accommodations, studies from developmental psychology and psychopathology will be introduced to examine how these variables might influence later development if the particular circumstances were hypothetically more extreme, the pathognomonic interaction more virulent, or the constitution of the child more vulnerable. At no time will an identity be formed between one group and another because similar behavioral patterns are present; e.g., while some inner-city children are "deprived," it would be entirely fallacious to equate them uncritically with subjects in a sensory deprivation experiment or infants raised in a poorly staffed institution. Where suggestive similarities are found, corroborating data from normative studies and later development will be offered.

At the expense of some redundancy, the role of the black mother and her personality attributes will be reviewed during each phase of early childhood, to ascertain what effects she may have on the child as the child himself is experiencing unique psychological development, structuralization, and "normal" developmental crises. It will be the position of this paper that maternal behavior and the impingement of external events will have a differential effect on the child, dependent upon his stage of development, and that severe disruption and trauma during one phase of development may have little
obvious, immediate behavioral sequelae. However, these traumas may accumulate silently, irreversibly rending the ego's fabric at the time of their appearance, but failing to manifest their pernicious effects until a later stage of development. The initial role of the mother as "protector" of her infant and child is crucial to the child's healthy maturation; if an average expectable environment is not provided, the child may suffer permanent damage. What the woman brings to her role as mother is of paramount importance in how she will react and interact with her infant; if she has deficits in her own healthy narcissism, she will be unable to envelop her infant within its protective fold; if she is preoccupied with her own problems, she may be unable to extend her "exquisite sensitivity" to her infant and may be oblivious to his cues; if she perceives the infant as being the "re-incarnation" of an important other in her life, she will react to him out of a preconceived set and will ignore, and hence shape, his own unique attributes and individuality. The expectations, fantasies, and hopes that surround motherhood, as well as the woman's own personality and unique life history, will have a profound impact on the woman's mothering role towards her infant, over and above what she may espouse as her child-rearing philosophy.

All too often the black ghetto mother has suffered rather unkind treatment at the hands of professionals, what she has failed to do or has done inadequately being focused on
rather than her strengths or the difficult, ambivalent role she must play vis-a-vis her children. Often at the cost of losing the love of her offspring, she must "toughen them up" to withstand the rigors of the street; survival training and deprivation begins in the home.

These variables concerning the mother will be explored in depth, beginning with the woman's preparation for womanhood, pregnancy, and motherhood. Her attitudes towards her child during each phase of his development will also be examined, with the intent of understanding how her ministrations and feelings towards the infant will later shape the child's personality.

The early development of the child will be investigated at some length to isolate those nodal points in experience when environment and innate constitution collide to yield untoward effects. For this reason, maturation of functioning and ego structuralization will be scrutinized to determine the precise effects maladaptations on the part of infant, mother, and/or environment will yield. Comparative studies of infant development and maturation will be employed to clarify and give empirical grounding to a series of hypotheses which will be proposed regarding the unique course of black, inner-city child development. Adaptations that the child will be impelled to make with consequent development of "survival skills" will be examined in terms of both environmental imperatives and possible encumbrances to optimal development.
How these adaptations will affect later child and adult behavior will also be commented upon. While various sources of information will be drawn upon, the major theoretical impetus for this theoretical explication comes from the work of the psychoanalytic school of thought, influenced most heavily by A. Freud's concept of developmental lines (with particular emphasis on the line of Dependency to Emotional Self-Reliance and Adult Object Relations) and the Developmental Profile, and the work of Piaget.

Although early development will be the area most heavily explored, later development will also be examined in an attempt to understand how early developmental disruptions may shape or alter the course of future adaptation to the inner-city milieu. In this regard, the ever widening circle of the social milieu will be integrated into the course of child development, encompassing the influences of the father, the family, siblings, peers, the "street," and the school. Self-concept formation and autonomous ego functioning, such as academic achievement, will be explored in this context. How the child's early experiences may shape his adolescent and adult functioning will also be commented upon.

Finally, discussions of specific issues involving black child development will be undertaken, these areas of development meriting separate exploration. This will include an examination of the effects of skin color, self-esteem formation and achievement. Previous psychoanalytic studies
which have attempted to isolate those factors which have resulted in sharp criticism from fellow professionals.

II Preparing for Parenthood: Pregnancy, Postparturition, and the Re-emergence of Unsettled Conflicts

It is essential that the environmental groundwork be laid upon which will rest the developmental unfolding of the black infant of the inner-city, as much of the child's emerging personality is dependent upon not only his historical-cultural inheritance, but will be shaped by the attributes of his most significant others, i.e., the mother and father. While it is a truism that in attempting to specify "general characteristics" of the ghetto home we must by necessity ignore the rich complexity of each individual family and risk the dangers of "homogenization" of a wide variety of familial and personality styles (Lilleskov, 1975), it is also clear that general characteristics can be abstracted as evidenced by numerous sociological, anthropological, and psychological studies previously referred to throughout this paper. Personal and familial histories of both paternal and (to a far lesser extent) maternal abandonment abound, as well as abuse, parental discord, economic privation, and traumatization. Moers and Gordon (1972) found through tracing the histories of the families that they studied, successive generations of overwhelming misfortune were commonplace. Male-female relatedness patterns were often found to contain common elements.
of lack of trust, irrational characteristics of mutual provocations, and maternal exploitation (Mears, 1974). Although Beiser's study (1965) was restricted to a more rural population, his conclusions regarding the unrealistic hopes and expectations that many poor blacks bring to marriage, a search not so much for intimacy but for the security denied them in their own respective family histories, can be well applied to their urban cousins. The inevitable disappointment and frustration in not having these fantasies fulfilled is attested to by the instability and frequent changes in "living together" partners endemic in the ghetto.

An incapacity for continued relatedness appears to plague male-female relationships. Beiser (1965) traced the suspiciousness of the fear of the affectional interest by another to anxiety surrounding the concerns of exploitation, a vestige of unsatisfactory relationships in the oral phase of development where the capacity for basic trust is established. Mears (1974) found that love was often defensively split from sexuality, marital partners having great difficulty in accepting that one could sensually enjoy the same person one loves. Marriages are often characterized by little mutuality other than in sex, matters of deep emotional valence shared with peers (generally in the case of males) or one's immediate family (more common in women). Liebow (1967), in his classic study of ghetto street-corner society, observed that both men and women perceived themselves as exploiters of the
opposite sex, constantly speaking of their ability to use their partners as sexual objects while extracting financial support and lavish gifts from them. While this "cultural ideal" proved to be more often fiction than fact, with both men and women desiring to simultaneously establish personal, intimate relationships based on love and mutuality, the constant pull between exploitation and loving mutuality characteristically resulted in relationships which were an amalgam between the two opposing forces. Ultimately, these relationships were rent asunder by these ambivalent, inconsistent, and often contradictory feelings; living-together arrangements and marriages were formed, broken, reformed, and again broken in a vicious cycle as first the impulse towards mutuality made its appearance, to be followed by the desire to exploit and manipulate. These feelings were also manifest in the belief that spouses held out as an almost certain eventuality, that their partners would exploit and shame them by carrying out an extra-marital affair or have another person "on the side" (Meers, 1974).

The prospective father cannot help but approach his impending role as head of the household with trepidation, as he is often fated to fail in performing that function which is central to the cohesiveness of the family, protection of its members. Crier and Cobbs (1972) believed that this pattern was set in the days of slavery, when the male was unable to protect his wife from the sexual exploitation of his white...
slave masters, or the integrity of his family from the gavel of the auction block. In contemporary society the father finds himself in a similar position as he is often unable to provide an income for his family beyond a subsistence level, while he is simultaneously unable to protect the sanctity of the home from the intrusion of the "street" or the agencies of society. Thompson (1974) made much the same point, singling out chronic economic insecurity and inadequate education as forces which undermined the father's socially defined role as protector of the family. The authority of the father is gradually eroded as the mother must take more and more responsibility upon herself as provider for the family, an equation often drawn that the father's authority in the home is often in direct proportion to the income he contributes. Eventually the mother may come to see her husband as a liability, berating him in front of the children and making him a highly ambivalent model for identification.

The family itself suffers as it clings to a marginal existence:

"...The family is in fact saying that it has no skills or mastery to pass on to the child, that it has found no way to reliably 'make it' in society. It says that one must fight to live; one can only survive, and one must survive. This would seem quite enough to shake any young generation (Geiser and Cobbs, 1972, p. 72)."
In a historical context, the father may himself come from the legacy of a broken home with an inadequate (or absent) father to take as a role model or as an ego ideal. Further, the often contentious relationship between mother and son, with the former disparaging males for not taking responsibility or being assertive while concomitantly discouraging her own son's attempts at mastery and dominance, often leads the male to perceive little gains for himself in a stable relationship with a woman when he reaches manhood. This effectively blunts his desire to enter into a stable marriage, heightens his general suspiciousness of women as potential castrators of men, and undercuts his ability to cooperate mutually with his wife in the family venture.

Comer (1965) found that the disparaging attitudes black women have towards black men ultimately resulted in a passive-aggressive self-fulfilling prophecy; the black male retaliated against his wife by continuing to fail even in his attempts at being an adequate father, thus proving that "she was right all along" in her negative characterization of his attributes. The inevitable effects of racism also enter the picture in terms of how the husband perceives himself as the one who "possesses" a black woman as a wife; Grier and Cobbs (1972) speculated that no matter how much he may love her, she comes to represent the deprecated black object -- the quintessence of all that society views as undesirable and worthless. By possessing the "unwanted object," his own sense of deprecation and
undesirability is reinforced. It is little wonder that under these circumstances, black males may be ambivalent about entering into a stable marital relationship and the assumption of the support of children.

Despite the vaulted (and more often than not fallacious) position of "matriarch" which some have ascribed to the black mother, hers is a lonely and desperate position. As discussed elsewhere in this paper, the mother has often been subjected to multiple abuse, desertion, traumatization, exploitation, and a powerfully recriminatory super-ego (Mears, 1975). She too cannot escape the deprecation that befalls the black male, carrying it with her as a legacy of her own mother-child relationship:

"...the first measure of a child's worth is made by her mother, and if, as in the case with so many black people in American, that mother feels that she herself is a creature of little worth, this daughter, however valued and desired, represents her scorned self. Thus the girl can be loved and valued only within a limited sphere, and can never be the flawless child, because who she is — black and inevitably linked to her black, deprecated mother — always seen to be lacking, deficient, and faulty in some way (Grier and Cobbs, 1972)."

Grier and Cobbs went so far as to question the very
possibility of most black women ever achieving healthy personality integrations, considering their long-standing history as debased sexual objects and "sexually convenient animals" even within the black subculture. Due to this deprecatated position she has considerable difficulty in perceiving herself as a highly valued or valuable object, a fundamental impairment in her own healthy store of narcissism. Much like her husband who cannot help feeling ambivalent about possessing a deprecatated object, the wife also feels scorn for her husband in much the same manner; despising him for his own low status, outraged to find herself in the position of being sexually available and exploitable to yet another male, and both depressed and narcissistically wounded that this loyly esteemed man is all that she is capable of possessing. Psychosexually, the investigators believed that black, inner-city women may never have the opportunity to resolve feelings of "mutilation" or castration anxiety stemming from the Oedipal period, as the parents did not provide and the child herself had little store of the secondary narcissism necessary to compensate for not being a boy.

As has been mentioned in previous chapters, the role of motherhood has culturally-syncratic meanings for the ghetto mother. Thompson (1974) noted that not only the larger family size of the ghetto and the considerable sacrifices that were made for the children, but the obvious love and affection that was showered on them, to the point of overindulgence and
spoil. Despite the burden that an additional child adds to the household, the woman seems to gain significant gratification through her role as a mother. Indeed, the role of mother may be one of the few culturally approved and esteemed roles the woman can hope to participate in, bringing with it feelings of truly being needed, a firm rootedness and task-orientation, strength, and belongingness. Grier and Cobbs (1972) offered perhaps a more pernicious explanation for the highly valued position of motherhood, viewing it not so much as aspiring towards maternity as an opting out from the arena of competition for a desirable male partner. Historically, physical attractiveness had always been a mixed blessing for the black woman, bringing with it the dread of sexual exploitation first at the hands of a white man, later at the hands of black men. Further, the black woman's often poor self-concept and feelings of self-degradation only added to her feelings that it was a losing battle to cling to her femininity in hopes of establishing a mutual-loving bond with a marital partner. While recognizing that these women need to assume responsibility at an early age and to care for their families either physically or economically (or both), Grier and Cobbs questioned this as a viable explanation of the often reported obesity and associated abandonment of sexual competition by some black female adolescents and many older women. These investigators concluded that there was a widespread relinquishment of youth among black women,
traceable to their feelings of self-denigration, which ultimately lead to a shift of energy to an area where they could feel both competent and esteemed, the family:

"...black women seem unconsciously to shorten this period more drastically than their poor circumstances might necessitate. In their thirties and forties they seem to give up competition for male interest. They neglect their figures, allow themselves to become obese, concern themselves more with the utility of their clothing and less with style, and resign themselves to a relatively asexual maternal role in which work and a hovering concern for the family occupies them entirely. They give the impression that they have no interest in men in a sexual way (Grier and Cobbs, 1972, p. 39)."

The need to have large families (from 30 to 40 & larger than the average American family) and the widespread reluctance to practice birth control may also be interrelated with anthropological findings, i.e., that poor black families have little economic resources or promise of security except through their children (Thompson, 1974). In Thompson's sample of black mothers, he often found that the reasons given for having large families ranged from the children's being seen as "valuable insurance: against the possibilities of parental unemployment, old age, or infirmity, to the need to have children to combat the very real possibilities of social
isolation, fears of personal helplessness, and certain loneliness in later years. He stated in summary:

"We may conclude that, by and large, Black parents in the ghetto, more than is true of affluent parents, need children to validate their sexual identities; to give them a feeling of possession, to afford them a sense of responsibility, power, and usefulness, to protect their frustrated egos, to provide a means of security otherwise denied them; and to give them a grasp upon immortality."

"The personal and social need for children expressed particularly by ghetto mothers is much more characteristic of agrarian societies than of modern, urban, industrial societies. (p. 85)."

It has long been a truism in developmental psychology and psychoanalytic theory that the place of the mothering person or object is paramount in the child's early development, and hence in his subsequent personality development. Winnicott (1946) has spoken extensively of the need of the mother to be totally available emotionally to her infant in the first months of its development if adequate development is to take place at all. Furman (1957, 1969) spoke of a "unique relationship" between the mother and the child under five, an unusual mutual unconscious closeness which had a profound effect on the child's development, a closeness which will never be possible for her to attain after this time. As
is obvious from the extensive discussions of the ghetto mother's development (as well as the father's), a number of psychological, social, and environmental factors mitigate against her ability to be fully present to her child. From the stance of how the mother will come to affect the child's overall adaptation, drive and ego development, and super-ego formation, Mahler et al. (1975) found that two other variables were operative in addition to her personality structure; the developmental process underlying her assumption of the role of parent and both her conscious and unconscious fantasies regarding the particular child. When these three factors were taken together, they interact with the child's potentialities to ultimately determine how the child fulfills or frustrates the mother's specific fantasies and expectations. Let us now turn our attention to these two latter variables, in an attempt to fully understand how much the mothering position will influence and is inextricably intertwined with the child's emergent personality formation.

For all women, pregnancy marks a time of profound psychological change, comparable to those periods of crisis which are biologically maturationally determined, such as puberty and menopause. The intense biophysiological changes as well as the attendant psychological reorganisation distinguishes this event as a "point of no return" (Bibring, 1959; Bibring et al., 1961). In a manner similar to other preceding developmental crises, a number of phase-specific libidinal and
adaptive tasks confront the mother-to-be, tasks which are often in sharp distinction to the central tasks, functions, and resolutions of earlier stages. How this crisis is mastered, how the individual copes with this maturationally determined state of disequilibrium, will significantly color not only the mother's future personality development, but her child's as well.

Pregnancy also shares another characteristic of preceding developmental crises; it revives and unsettles psychological conflicts dating from the earliest phases of development; signs of previous unresolved conflicts emerge in an exacerbated form concomitant with a regressive shift to phase-appropriate patterns of behavior, wishes and attitudes; there may be either an increase in the intensity of the defensive positions, an emergence of pathological behavior, or a satisfactory resolution of the crisis leading to personality reorganization which may be more optimal than the pre-pregnancy personality constellation.

In terms of "ideal" development, Bibring et al. (1968) found that those conscious and oftentimes unconscious attitudes which the mother-to-be had previously established with her own mother, which were often compromise formations of childhood, were abandoned; in their place new forms of identification occurred as the mother's mother was taken as a useful prototype of a parental figure. The daughter's relationship with her mother changes as she herself becomes a parent, the
infantile bond between mother and daughter dissolves as the previous mother-child configuration transforms itself into one of the two women as partners or co-equals. However, these researchers often found that the newly formed maternal identification may be shaped or scarred by intense, unresolved conflicts which had previously existed between mother and daughter. In these cases, the mother-to-be manifested remorse and guilt over her own anticipated assumption of motherhood, or, in other cases, mixtures of ambivalence and resentment were found.

The often conflicted and ambivalent relationship between the ghetto mother and her children has been discussed previously. While intensely loving them and fighting to protect them, the mother is simultaneously burdened by them and cannot adequately protect the child from the street. Often deprived and frustrated in her own search for loving dependency, infantile gratification, and consistent mothering, the mother does to her child as was done to her by her mother, mastering this conflict through identification with the aggressor; while simultaneously demanding that her child "mother the mother," in effect the mother identifies with the role and position of her child. This vicious cycle can be observed to be initiated during the first pregnancy, the new mother unable to fully dissolve the early relationship with her own mother because of the highly conflicted and ambivalent nature of the original infantile bond, as well as having an inadequate
maternal prototype with which to identify. The highly ambivalent and often hostile mother-daughter relationship often threatens to erupt into overt hostility between the two, the daughter often fearing that this overt expression may threaten what tenuous bonds exist between them. The fact that the ghetto primaparous may be still an adolescent and realistically unable to depend upon support from the father of her child, as well as still caught within the throes of her own adolescent conflicts of breaking away from the home and asserting her individuality, may further hamper her "emotional" break with her mother. Constrained by circumstance and caught within the psychological cycle of generational maternal frustration and deprivation, the young mother has no choice but to cast her lot with her mother. Through identification with her mother, particularly the depriving aspect of the relationship, the new mother acts to spare her mother from her own store of accumulated anger and aggression, thus reducing the chances that this anger will be impulsively expressed and rend the multi-generational, matrifocal home. Despite these defensive maneuvers, mother-daughter fights often occur with the daughter either leaving or being told to leave -- only to return to the mother's home when tempers have cooled.

Perhaps one of the most pernicious aspects of contemporary ghetto parenting is the almost unavoidable repetition of past parenting patterns, a vicious cycle which revives and
recreates the trauma, inconsistency, and deprivation of previous generations. A degree of parenting-style is often traceable to how the parent herself/himself was parented; how much more so must it be when the mother must act to preserve her own mother-daughter relationship while attempting to master her own infantile conflicts and gain infantile satisfaction from her own child. In addressing themselves to even "average" parenting styles and the influence which past experience plays in shaping present behavior, Coleman, Kris, and Provence (1953) found that the new parent's identification with her own parent's parenting-style ranged from overt compliance to an exaggerated protest against; the identification with the model could be either completely conscious or unconscious, but in each case bore the unmistakable mark of their own experience with their parents' parenting-style.

"This mechanism of revival of the past is operative in the mother as well for both parents constitute a central point in the experience of parenthood. The relation to one's own parents is repeatedly re-enacted by repetition or by avoidance. In parenthood the psychological life cycles of two generations overlap and a third one is regularly involved (p. 23)."

The harsh maternal threatment of the child and the mother's concern over spoiling her infant stem both from the
mother's own frustrated dependency needs and the projection of her helplessness onto her child. Grier and Cobbs (1972) speculated that this pattern or cruelty towards the child may have originated in slavery days when the slave mother identified with the aggressor in the person of the slave-master, the slave mother becoming in essence the powerful master and placing her child in the position of the helpless slave. Other parents are unable to give to their own children what was never given to them when they were children, each demand by their child painfully reminding them of those things that they previously had been denied. Kris (1962), in speaking of the role of the mother in a personal-historical context, noted that one of the ways in which the "cycle of generations" affected the parent-child relationship concerned the identification the mother often made with her own parents and their child-rearing practices, re-enacting with her child what she may even disapprove of consciously. Considering both the environmental and psychological factors under discussion, it does not appear surprising that these maladaptive patterns have remained entrenched for so long in the most socially disorganised and economically deprived sector of the black inner-city community.

One of the hallmarks of pregnancy as a new developmental achievement is the genesis of a freely changeable fusion that the mother displays towards her infant, an amalgam of narcissistic and object-libidinal strivings that
allows that mother to see the child as a part of herself while still very much a separate entity that is simultaneously a part of her sexual mate and the outside world (Bibring, 1961). Coleman Kris, and Provence (1952) believed that the healthy identification the mother will make with her infant rested on the mechanisms of projection and introjection, the ability of the mother to see herself in the child while seeing the child as still part of herself. The maternal ego was thought to employ identification to gain an empathetic understanding of the child, and thus to be "exquisitely" sensitive to the changing state and needs of the child. Difficulty in the mother-infant bond may develop if the mother is unable to adequately shift from one type of identification to another (i.e., projective or introjective identification), a difficulty which may rest on the insufficient autonomy of the maternal identificatory process and the consequent lack of neutralized energies available to the mother to forge a bond with her infant. If an imbalance exists in the ability to freely shift between narcissistic and object-libidinal strivings, the infant may be "divorced" from the mother-child symbiotic unity prematurely because the infant is not endowed with sufficient narcissistic cathexis: the infant may never be seen as a fully independent person as the mother is unable to separate her own needs from those of the infant; or the infant may suffer from the rapid, often erratic shifting of the mother's changing fusion which
inevitably makes the mother less available to the infant by being only periodically empathetically sensitive to his need states.

A significant danger to the fostering of healthy ego development may derive from parents -- in particular the mother -- who themselves are immature, as they may react adversely to their child's satisfactory progress and tend to feel envious of the successes and gratifications of their child -- points in development where they may have met unsatisfactory resolution of conflicts or have been frustrated and deprived. Parental ambivalence increases as the child develops, the mother (and/or father) tending unconsciously to construct obstacles in the path of their child's developmental progress (Fries, 1946). The deprivation and frustration engendered in the mother's early development, her wish to have the infant work for her to satisfy her own unmet dependency needs, and her envy of the infant's dependent position -- all may tend to keep the mother from being optimally available to her infant as well as inappropriately using the infant to gain her own ends. In one study of such a disturbed mother-infant pair, Kris (1962) found that behind the mother's wish to be and not to have her infant, lurked a reproachful longing to be cared for by her own mother, and to consequently be gratified in a passive and infantile manner. Winnicott (1949) observed a number of cases where this pattern had developed; his remarks concerning a group
of English mothers have a curious relevance for the black
ghetto mother, particularly in terms of the popularized
stereotype of the enjoyment black women have in the "mammy"
role:

"A person who is developing in this way displays
a distorted pattern affecting all later stages of
development. For instance, one can observe a
tendency for easy identification with the environ-
mental aspect of all relationships that involve
dependence, and a difficulty in identification with
the dependent individual. Clinically one may see
such a person develop into one who is a marvellously
good mother to others for a limited period; in
fact a person who has developed along these lines
may have almost magical healing properties because
of an extreme capacity to make active adaptation
to primitive needs. The falsity of these patterns
for expression of the personality, however, becomes
evident in practice. Breakdown threatens or occurs,
because what the individual is all the time needing
is to find someone else who will make real this
good environment concept, so that the individual
may return to the dependent psyche-soma which
forms the only place to live from (p. 32)."

The mother's own developmental problems may not only
hinder the infant's satisfactory growth, but may eventuate in
a situation where it may be extremely difficult to ameliorate the situation in the child's later life. Furman (1957), working with mothers whose children were in the below five-year-old rage, has commented on the difficulty in making therapeutic inroads with those particular mothers whose children represented either a "part" of the mother's person or stood for a partner in one of her early object relationships. While these mothers could often assume maternal responsibility, they were repeatedly found to be inconsistent in their ability to be constantly available to their children. Often these mothers related to their children on a primarily narcissistic basis, that part of the child which represented "part of herself" either esteemed and loved or hated and denigrated. Furman made the point that while these children may have periodically received adequate amounts of maternal object-libidinal cathexis, the child as a "whole unique individual" was never loved in his own right -- only in the context of that part of the mother the child represented. Considering previous discussions of how the ghetto infant may at times represent the helpless, powerless creature whom the mother both envied and hated, her wish to be the infant and have the infant "work" for her, and her wish to relive with her infant her own deprivation by identifying with her own depriving mother (treating the child as she herself was treated, we may speculate that the often nebulous, inexact developmental histories which are often characteristically given by mothers to mental health
professionals in a clinic setting may be attributable to the mother's inability to have ever seen the child as a separate and unique person. This would of course be only one major contributing factor in this case, the effects of poverty, overwhelming and often chaotic family circumstances, and often the sheer number of children in the home also contributing to this "parental amnesia."

In her studies of pregnant mothers and the early mother-child relationship, Bibring and her associates (Bibring, 1959; Bibring et al., 1961) often found that a "vicious cycle in the form of mentally induced negative reactions of frustration and rejection between mother and child" was attributable to an incomplete or inadequate psychic equilibrium in the mother beyond parturition, or that the mother was unable to confront the demands which reality imposed upon her as she was faced with caring for her newborn child. The ghetto mother appears to be subject to both of these conditions. The presence of a stable, loving person which the mother can feel both free and safe to express her own feelings and hostility to, as well as to discharge her instinctual drives, cannot be underestimated in regard to maintaining an optimal infant-mother relationship. Spitz (1974) stated that it was imperative for the mother to have these people and discharge channels available, as an excess of aggression may accumulate in the mother which may threaten to be discharged onto the child. The pattern noted in the ghetto home of maternal overindulgence followed by
severe discipline and deprivation may result, the mother vacillating between being openly hostile to her children or, in reaction formation to her own periodic expression of raw aggression, being overly protective.

III. The Breach of the Stimulus Barrier and Premature Ego Development in the Black, Inner-City Child

It is understandable that by virtue of the mother's own severe deprivatory experiences as a child, she may be largely unable to provide the exquisite sensitivity and empathy to the needs of her infant and the fluctuations in the state of its stimulus barrier. This, parenthetically, does not even begin to consider the very real conditions and psychological effects of overcrowding, overtaxing household demands, and the mother's own probable state of poor physical health and malnutrition, potent factors weighing against full attention to the needs of her infant (Bakan, 1970; Beiser, 1965; Birnholz, 1968; Knobloch, 1960; Marans and Lourie, 1967; Pasamanick and Knobloch, 1964; Rainwater, 1970, 1972, 1974; Young, 1969). Lacking the support of a stable marital partner only further depletes the mother, frustrating her needs for an auxiliary ego and depriving her child again of the opportunity for the provision of a "good enough holding environment."

The primary function of the mother toward her newborn child is to provide a protective shield around him, to keep external impingements from disrupting his fragile state of homeostasis.
(For the reader unfamiliar with the psychoanalytic conceptions of the autistic and symbiotic phases, the positive, negative and transitional stimulus barrier, and the positive and negative hallucination, please refer to Appendix D.) The mother acts as the infant's auxiliary ego, at first supplementing his negatively cathected stimulus barrier in the first weeks of life, later taking over his role from the infant as the infantile ego slowly develops the capacity to protect itself. If the mother fails to provide the "average expectable environment" or the "good enough holding environment," noxious stimuli will intrude upon the Reisschuts and profoundly disturb the state of the organism. Freud (1920) definitively studied the ensuing state of trauma in the infant and its untoward effects in Beyond the Pleasure Principle. As his definition and conceptualization form the basis for the thesis that follows, his ideas concerning "trauma" are quoted at length. In his view, trauma can be defined as

"...excitations from outside which are powerful enough to break through the protective shield. It seems to me that the concept of trauma necessarily implies a connection of this kind with a breach in an otherwise efficacious barrier against stimuli. Such an event as an external trauma is bound to provoke a disturbance on a large scale in the functioning of the organism's energy and to set in motion every possible defensive measure. At
the same time, the pleasure principle is for the moment put out of action. There is no longer any possibility of preventing the mental apparatus from being flooded with large amounts of stimulus, and another problem arises instead -- the problem of mastering large amounts of stimulus which have broken in and of binding them, in the psychical sense, so they can be disposed of (p. 29).

"What we seek to understand are the effects produced on the organ of the mind by the breach in the shield against stimuli and by the problems that follow in its train. And we still attribute importance to the element of fright. It is caused by lack of any preparedness for anxiety, including lack of hypercathexis of the systems that would be the first to receive the stimulus. Owing to their low cathexis in those systems not in good positions for binding the inflowing amounts of excitation and the consequences of the breach in the protective shield follow all the more easily. It will be seen, then, that preparedness for anxiety and the hypercathexis of the receptive systems constitute the last line of defense of the shield against stimuli. In the case of quite a number of traumas, the difference between systems that
are well prepared through being hypercathexed may be a decisive factor in determining the outcome; though where the strength of the trauma exceeds a certain limit this factor will no doubt cease to carry weight (Freud, 1920, p. 31)."

Bergman and Escalona (1940) observed both the hypercathexia of the receptive system and a premature preparedness for anxiety in a number of disturbed children who had been found to suffer either inadequate maternal protection of the stimulus barrier, or a defective barrier itself. They hypothesized that the infant was impelled to prematurely develop his ego functions and anxiety preparedness; precocious discriminative behavior was observed in these infants as early as two months of age. This behavior appeared to be in the service of a defense against traumatic overstimulation and was characterized by the appearance of traces of emergent ego functions. The precociously organized ego was also observed to be weak, brittle, highly susceptible to trauma, and liable to break down under stress, in some cases eventuating in psychotic manifestations of thought. The ego is compelled to prematurely organize itself to protect the infant because the mother fails to adequately "hold" the infant. The hypercathexis of the receptive systems and a precocious sense of apprehensive preparedness for anxiety thus becomes the infant's last line of defense against stimulation so disruptive to the infant's equilibrium that it threatens
intolerable levels of unpleasurable tension.

Brody and Exirrad (1970) viewed the neonate's distress signal to the outside environment, manifested in diffuse motoric expression and crying, as the infant striving the infant possesses to protect itself from unpleasurable feelings from any source. They concurred with the basic hypothesis of Bergman and Escalona that excessive receptivity or a traumatic impingement of the Reisschutz lead to overwhelming confusion and disruption of the organismic state and a possible later development of psychotic states. The infant attempts to ward off the negative stimuli by prematurely organizing his capacity for preparedness for psychological anxiety; anxiety becomes the first conscious affect of the organism, being a combined perception of the intrusion of dystonic stimuli with a consequent outcry for relief. When the infant is not relieved of this tension, confusions of both sensation and response may occur and narcissistic cathexis in increased. Further, the pain or stress invoked by the increased tension level is aggravated, and the infant's preparedness for anxiety is actually reduced. The hypercathexis of the infant's sensorium, his need to focus his energies to defend himself against further psychophysiological disruption, his turning inward in the face of external disruption, and his increased narcissistic cathexis, all tend to block the fluid cathexis to external objects in later development.
A direct relationship was proposed by Brody and Axelrad between the infant's heightened preparedness to deal with physiological stress and the later capacity for both object perception and reality testing. Exposure to large amounts of stress, traceable to the failure of the mothering object either to protect the infant from external environmental impingements or internal tension from prolonged frustration of physiological need states (i.e., hunger, lack of sleep), intensifies the cathexis of these inner sensations and taxes the infant's own physiological resources to handle tension by diffuse motoric discharge. These overtaxed resources thus become less tolerant of stress over time, compelling the infant to block off more and more external perceptions by mobilizing free energy to raise its physiological threshold to stimulation; i.e., the negative hallucinatory process is called into operation at an extremely early and phase-inappropriate time. Brody and Axelrad also speculated that the infant may attempt to rid himself of these disturbing tension states by "remembering" earlier wish fulfillments. This would call for a premature formation and hypercathexis of memory traces with a concomitant hypercathexis and premature investment in the sensory functions of vision, audition, and other distal receptors. The infant would, in essence, be compelled to prematurely organize his thought and may, as a later consequence, utilize the positive hallucination to magically block out or adapt to unpleasant circumstances.
Thus, in the face of stressful situations, the organism may be "imprinted" with a predisposition (imprinted in a physiological sense during this early stage of infancy) to turn inward and evoke images of past gratification -- or to hallucinate them -- rather than actively deal with the external circumstances at hand.

While a traumatic penetration of the protective shield may occur in "normal circumstances" if the Reisschuts is itself constitutionally "too thin," as may be true in a small group of infants who display atypical patterns of psychological growth from birth onward, it is the position of this paper that in many black inner-city children, the mother is often unavailable to her young infant due to circumstances and her own developmental/psychological history. Her need for the infant to "work for her," as well as her attempt to master her own infantile deprivation by identifying with the "aggressor" (i.e., her own mother), not only limits her ability to be fully available to the child, but also imposes her own needs onto the infant. Khan (1963) spoke of the consequences to the child's development when this occurred:

"It is the intrusion of her personal needs (the mother's) and conflicts that I characterize as her failure in respect to her role as a protective shield. The mother's role as a protective shield is not a passive one. The protective shield role is the result of conflict-free autonomous ego functions..."
in the mother. If personal conflicts intrude here, the result is a shift from the protective-shield role to that of symbiosis or rejective withdrawal. How an infant will react to these failures depends upon the nature, intensity, duration, and repetition of the trauma (p. 295)."

James (1960) found that a failure to guard the instinct barrier may also occur when the mother has "something else on her mind," when her own circumstances and/or problems draw her interest away from the task of one hundred percent adaptation to her infant. He commented that the mother herself needed an auxiliary ego, e.g., a husband, to relieve her of those distractions or environmental impingements upon her which would obviate her maternal functions. Clearly, the ghetto mother's oft noted lack of a stable marital partner and her own tenuous, often chaotic environmental circumstances would actively mitigate against her full availability to her infant. The mother's age at the birth of the first child, often an early to mid-adolescent (14 to 17 years old), would also draw her attention away from the task of mothering; her own developmental conflicts and concerns would act to keep most of her narcissistic investment in herself and her peers rather than in her infant. Her developmental task is to break away from the "family" and establish her own identity, the demands of the infant compel her to rejoin her own family (i.e., living in her mother's home) and redefine
herself as a "mother" before she has had adequate opportunity to define herself as a person with her own, unique identity.

Wolff's statement (1960) regarding the "state of the organism" as a consideration in cognitive and affective development gains particular saliency for the ghetto infant, as the state of the organism is not only far from optimal, but traumatized and overwhelmed. The infant is compelled to fall back on his own resources to protect his threatened state of homeostasis. The failure of the mother to dose and regulate stimulation, and her failure to prevent impingements from disrupting the infant's equilibrium, lead to a distortion of the infant's developing ego autonomy, the crystallization of a defensive organization and functioning, and the characterological formation of a false self. Winnicott (1949) characterized the false self as a need on the part of the infant's intelligence to take over the mothering role, and to be that which the mother demanded or that which would satisfy her; the infant was compelled to develop in terms of her demands as opposed to his own needs. This "tantalizing environment" impels the infant to replace the mother with his own mental functioning, making her ministrations to him unnecessary:

"...certain kinds of failure on the part of the mother, especially erratic behavior, produces over reactivity of the mental functioning. Here, in the overgrowth of the mental functioning reactive to erratic
mothering, we see that there can develop an opposition between the mind and the psyche-soma, since in re-
action to the abnormal environmental state the thinking of the individual begins to take over and organize the caring for the psyche-soma, whereas in health it is the function of the environment to do this. In health the mind does not usurp the environment's function, but makes possible an understanding and eventually making use of the relative failure (Winnicott, 1949, p. 246).”

The false self, in Winnicott's (1960) terms, implies that the infant has not really come into being, the child's personality reflects instead the accumulation of reactions to environmental impingements rather than a continuity of existence. As a result of the maternal deprivation the infant is not only faced with premature ego functioning, but may also suffer a severe restriction in the needed supplies of primary narcissism. These supplies must be initially forthcoming from the mother if the infant's body is to be appropriately libidinized. Due to the insufficiency of narcissistic gratification, the infant receives from the mother and the early reliance on his own conceptual and adaptive capacities, the body-ego development is split off from the general development of the ego; in Winnicott's terms the psyche is not securely rooted in the soma. The urruption of the "body ego" by a false self development eventuates
in disruptions of ego-id differentiation and a failure of
the optimal development of the sense of self (Khan, 1963).
Ultimately, this deprivation syndrome may predispose the infant
to future depressive, depersonalized, psychosomatic, and anti-
social tendencies (James, 1962), a cluster of symptoms often
used to describe the most disorganized of inner-city dwellers.

The failure of the mother to protect the infant from
overstimulation or impingements to the infant's protective
shield, and hence to preserve his psychic/physiological homeo-
stasis, may not necessarily be localized in time as "one"
specific traumatic event. Khan (1963) elaborated the idea of
a "cumulative trauma," extending the original use of the
"protective barrier" to include all situations throughout the
child's (and even the adolescent's) life, when the child needed
the mother to support his unstable ego functioning by assuming
the role of maternal auxilliary ego. "Cumulative trauma
thus derives from the strains and stresses that an infant-
child experiences in the context of his ego dependence on
the mother as his protective shield and auxilliary ego (Khan,
1963, p. 290-291)." Fries (1946) in speaking of the anxiety
associated with breaches in the protective shield and later,
"minor" traumatisation (more often than not associated with
common, daily-life situations), found that this anxiety
often silently accumulated and was never released in a manner
similar to those affects which are commonly repressed. In
treatment situations, the memory of a major traumatic incident
may actually serve as a screen memory for the multiple, cumulative traumas the individual has been exposed to.

Khan (1963) concurred with Fries (1946) in his assessment that cumulative traumas were difficult to detect clinically, even in childhood, due to their "silent" nature and the fact that they gradually became embedded in specific traits of the individual, or may totally subsume the characterological structure in the full-blown development of the false self. What Kahn referred to as a "quality of strain" gradually establishes itself as a force against the developing personality, a "biasing" of the ego and self development.

The precocious appearance of ego functions, far in advance of their normal occurrence or influence during phase specific conflicts, may be instigated by a number of factors. Hartman (1956) enumerated three specific conditions, among other possibilities, which individually could actualize this state of affairs: 1.) early and intense identification; 2.) atypical body-ego development, and 3.) precocious development of aspects of the ego as a result of some factors in the autonomous sphere. The development of the false-self, characterological accommodations, and the need to work for the mother have already been discussed (a vicissitude of the early identification process, the infant's ego interest in the mother, will be discussed later), as have indications of atypical body-ego development. Unusual sensitivities and precocious development in the sensory-motor sphere also
have been associated with cumulative trauma and impingements to the stimulus barrier. Impingements of the stimulus barrier in earliest infancy due to maternal failure tend to set in motion a vicious cycle of defensive accommodations of both the ego and personality structure with a concomitant weakening of the infant’s ability to deal with even normal excitation during later development (Hoffer, 1950). The duration and severity of the trauma the infant is exposed to with the consequent strain that is placed on the fabric of ego and self-development, appear to be crucial factors in the prognosis of a later failure of functioning.

Leitch and Escalona (1949) clinically examined a number of infant-mother pairs to determine the effects of over and understimulation on the infant’s consequent development. Over-stimulation, including overgratification of the infant, were found to disturb the infant’s optimal homeostatic state, the continual existence of states of stressful stimulation with consequent increases in the level of tension ultimately rendering the infant more vulnerable throughout his early development. A number of behavioral sequelae were found to accompany this high tension state, including a “tense” physiological state, failure to thrive, a resistance to routine, as well as a number of other physiological disturbances in the more extreme cases. In those infants exposed to extremes of continual stimulation, lethargy and an uncanny lack of excitability and tension were observed.
Leitch and Excelfon speculated that this latter state of affairs may occur when the organism has become completely fatigued or literally paralysed by tension states. Further reactions included what appeared to be a withdrawal from further stimulation; the researchers concluded that this might have represented a mode of protection from further arousing dosages of stimulation. Specific areas of retardation of development were also included in the symptomatic picture, with what appeared to be a "lack of pleasure" in normal developmental achievements during later infancy. What ultimately emerged was a behavioral landscape in which many developmental tasks were retarded in their appearance, while other autonomous functions were curiously -- and apparently precociously -- accelerated in their development:

"...among our group of infants it was noted that where tension manifestations were severe or maintained for over a prolonged period of time, psychological test findings were characterized by more extensive scatter than is ordinarily seen. That is, the infant's behavior was characteristically much more mature in some areas of functioning than in others so that failures occurred on test items corresponding to average standards for infancy of a lesser age, and at the same time test items corresponding to average standards for relatively older children were..."
achieved. We have speculated that prolonged or severe tension states may interfere with orderly developmental progress, causing in some instances unusual alertness and sensitivity in some areas but interfering with adequate integration of functioning (Leitch and Escalona, 1949, p. 132).

Brody and Axelrad (1970) hypothesized that overstimulation of the infant ultimately circumvented the establishment of secondary narcissism by "blunting" or "discouraging" the infant's active reaching out toward the external world; this resulted in a continual state of or partial return to primary narcissism and investment in autoerotic activities. Thus, objects (i.e., the mother) are inadequately cathected by the infant, undermining the now "shut off" infant from being libidinally cathected by the mother -- and hence undermining the infant's ability to reinvest in himself.

Erratic patterns of dosage of stimulation and protection from overstimulation may have a similar effect as the infant is given little consistent opportunity to establish tension tolerance. Ultimately, aberrant character formation may ensue with hypercathectic states of extreme inactivity, enhancement of narcissistic investment of defensive functions, stimulus-boundaries, and the propensity for the development of a pathological character (Brody and Axelrad, 1970).

Khan (1953) observed that cumulative trauma could be so muted in its impact that development could proceed on a
deceptively unruffled course, seemingly healthy functioning manifested in the individual's daily life. However, the underlying defensive structure may be so strained and the ego's integrative capacity so weak, that normal functioning may rapidly deteriorate under acute stress and crisis. While the mother's failure to protect the infant in early life through adolescence may result in an outwardly unremarkable clinical picture, none of the specific incidents of impingement being recognizable as alone traumatic, a pre-traumatic state may gradually and silently accumulate further impingements until the threshold of a traumatic state is achieved, clinically recognizable in a cumulative and retrospective sense.

Silent traumas sustained in early life may also become manifest through other events or in the effects of progressive development. The infant may be exposed to an event or series of events which may be ostensibly neutral in its influence at the time of its occurrence, but at a later stage this "irritation" may come to represent a full-blown trauma by virtue of being regressively reinvested with cathexis (Kris, 1950). Winnicott (1949) termed this process a "cataloguing of impingements" for assimilation during a more advanced level of development. While Leitch and Escalona (1949) have found that the specific nature of the same stress or trauma may have significantly different effects according to the phase of development that it is experienced in, this is related to the dominant organismic needs which the trauma either interfered with or did...
not interfere with; Mahler et al. (1945) observed that these same traumatic events could remain "dormant," surfacing only when development progressed to "those nodal points or crossroads" when they arose to create fundamental disturbances.

The concept of fixation is central in regard to our discussion of traumatic experiences encountered in early childhood. Experiences of excessive frustration or gratification tend to hypercathect objects or experiences to the pathological degree that portions of drive energy remain bound to those early aims or objects, impoverishing later object relationship formation and drive functioning through the consequent limitation of freely mobile drive energy and the capacity for neutralization of energy at a later stage (A. Freud, 1965). Fixation points may develop as a consequence of this boundedness of energy, the fixation itself being to a traumatic experience, a type of object choice or relationship, a given component instinct, or to an entire phase of libidinal or aggressive development (Sagarra, 1964). Arrests in drive development occur, stymying forces working toward adaptation and maturation. A. Freud (1965) hypothesized that defenses which arose in regard to the management of unpleasure counteracted the press toward normal development, and tend to literally invalidate certain ego functions.

The traumatic events surrounding the impingement of the infant's stimulus barrier, concomitant with a failure of the
provision of a maternal "good enough, holding environment" may compel the infant to establish such massive defenses at such an early age as to effectively impede or distort ego development. The ego becomes progressively brittle, impingements accumulate or a trauma may then occur which may prove to initiate a permanent regression to the site of the point of fixation. When this occurs in terms of either a permanent regression or in less profound variants, the entire course of forward development may be severely damaged as drive energies remain partially or totally deflected from age-appropriate aims, and the development of structuralization, specifically possible impairment to the ego and super-ego. James (1960) cited a case from his own work in which the traumatic impingements occurred at such an early stage of development (i.e., in the first three months of life the infant was subjected to chronic tension states through physical hunger) a backward move from the motor to the sensory. This regressive tendency was established so early that James spoke of the resultant patterning not so much as a psychological propensity to regress, but as a "constitutional one."

When the infant is confronted by an intolerable barrage of impingements which promises no relief (from the mother), he is compelled to exploit those primitive mental functions at his disposal to protect himself, i.e., the positive and negative hallucinatory experience, introjection, projection,
and encompassing denial (Khan, 1963). Mahler et al. (1975) have also found that those infants who "hatch" at an unusually early stage because of an uncomfortable (or too intense) symbiotic bond, tended to rapidly differentiate in their functioning. Those same children who were later found to have extremely difficult times separating from the mother, had early developmental histories of a precocious awareness of their mothers as different from other caretaking adults. A number of factors may account for this development; two factors relevant to our discussion involve the mother's failure to adequately "hold" her infant securely enough in early life that the infant must precociously reach out to her; he attempts to rekindle her interest in him so that she will furnish him with the desired gratification. There is also the possibility that the infant may have such a plethora of caretakers with different "holding patterns" that he is prematurely forced to discriminate between who they are — and hence to become aware of himself as a separate entity. Both of these factors involve a blow to the infant's primary narcissism and sense of primary omnipotence, compelling him to recognize that he is not gloriously alone and powerful in his primary narcissistic state, but is helplessly dependent on others to care for his needs. In Mahler's conceptualization, this may impede his accumulation of a reservoir of basic trust (i.e., normal narcissism) which would facilitate the development of a "solid base" from which to strike out to
meet the world. The early differentiation of self and other and the rapid development of ego functions ultimately lead to vulnerable autonomous ego capacities which could easily be breached by anxiety and distress (Bergman and Escalona, 1949).

James (1962) observed that too much autonomy too soon may lead to a premature decathexis of the mothering person, although not necessarily her imago. This has serious consequences for body integration and growth of the infant in general, as it is only through the mother's intensive cathexis of the child that the infant can take his own body as an object of secondary narcissistic investment. While certain ego nuclei need far less cathetic investment to be internalized by the infant than others (i.e., they are more constitutionally autonomous) other functions need the mother's support to be securely invested. If the infant cannot depend upon the mother for his requisite need for gratification and protection, he takes over the mother's role in a phase inappropriate period (James, 1962; Bergman and Escalona, 1949).

The maternal inadequacy is not perceived by the infant as a failure of the mother, but a literal threat to his existence; the real possibility looms of the annihilation of the infant's self (Winnicott, 1949). Mobilizing his primitive defenses, the infant desperately resorts to establishing a false self, expurgating himself of instinctual tension by acting them out, becoming over-reactive to stimuli, and "complying" to environmental demands; a defensive ego
mobilization that may quite literally override the infant's constitution. Khan (1963) hypothesized that once this pathogenic interplay began between mother and child, all developmental experiences and object relationships were encompassed within its sphere. The ensuing situation set in motion an increasingly vicious cycle, as later interactions between the pair aimed at correcting those early distortions in development. The attempted recovery -- through a reliving process manifested in a repetition compulsion -- only lead to a more entangled web of pathology.

The very function of the processes of assimilation and accommodation aim at optimal adaptation of the infant to the environment. Piaget (1952) stated this succinctly by viewing intelligence itself as an adaptation -- an ultimate goal, which could be characterized by the inherent drive for equilibrium between assimilation and accommodation. Intelligence can also be conceptualized as that organization by which the infant achieves adaptation. From a psychoanalytic standpoint, the threat of displeasure or upset in the equilibrium in the organism impells a mobilization of the infant for survival. Khan (1963) found that the infant was not only susceptible to insult, but was inherently resilient in its capacity to respond and recover from impingements to its Rezschutz or its protective shield. In Piagetian terms, Khan hypothesized that the infant could even utilize the
strains and traumas it was subjected to as "nutriment" or "aliment" for defensive structuralization and organization.

The question must be raised as to how the infant protects itself from severe insult, an insult which it cannot repair through its own attempts at restitution and fantasied repair of the mother's protective role. Rubinfine (1962) raised this same question:

"But what about experiences with the earliest object where there is no sensorimotor organization capable of assimilating the experience to make accommodation possible: Since Piaget is concerned only with what we might call conflict-free phenomena, he states that such experiences produce no change, i.e., are ignored (Wolff, 1960). We are, however, concerned with experience which cannot be ignored; for example, severe chronic tension states due to prolonged absence of the object, disease, intractable pain, or massive overstimulation (p. 266)."

Following Piaget's (1948) statement that: "It is by adapting to things that thought organizes itself and it is by organizing itself that it structures things (cited in Decarle, 1974)," it appears that severe and chronologically prolonged subjection to environmental impingements may act to precociously structuralize the psyche (Hartmann, 1952; James, 1962; Rubinfine, 1962), compel premature mental functioning to replace the
disruptive experience of heightened, intolerable tension (Leitch and Escalona, 1949). Dynamic, economic, and structural events which normally occur within the latter half of the first year of life may be found to develop within the first six months.

A process of "memorizing" takes place (James, 1962) in which the impingement from the environment is registered in the infant's mind by a "pre-ego" process. In the act of utilizing its own intelligence to prematurely adapt, an ego nucleus is formed which evolves into the later false or caretaker self personality, with an elaborate personality organization of its own. James (1960) believed that this situation resulted in an economic flooding and hypercathexis of both the perceptual and memory storing end of the psyche, with frightening memory traces which threatened to organize themselves prematurely into thought. A shift of cathexis occurs from the developmentally appropriate proprio-interoceptive perceptions to precocious cathexis of the "peripheral mind of the ego," the perceptual conscious or external conscious. While this early shift better prepares the organism to prematurely take over the role as self-protector by being hyperalert to the external environment, this shift simultaneously diminishes the level of cathexis the infant has invested in himself as well as his mother. Further, this early pattern may bias further development when ideas do become possible, as intrapsychic events are
lack of response to its instinctual call to the external world for relief and protection, all compel a "physiological organ compliance" of the mental apparatus and sensory-motor system which facilitates both discharge of energy and protection against further insult.

James hypothesised that the high organismic plasticity during the first weeks of life and the close association between the psychological and the physiological had the effect that "psychological insults" were organised in a physiologically prodromal neural manner. The actual constitution of the infant would be radically and potentially, unalterably changed as one would conceive of being the case in a physiological birth injury or genetic defect. If this physiological organ compliance were to occur at this early age, pathogenic, skewed development might result. As it would occur on the essentially non-symbolic level of biological patterning, accessibility to retrospective verbally mediated treatment would be severely limited, or obviated altogether.

What might literally be conceptualized as a constitutional insult with attendant premature ego development may initiate formation of syndromes of thought primarily related to pathogenic fixations in the phase of primary narcissism. James found in those clinical cases he has reviewed that this new "organic deficit" was existant in individuals with otherwise seemingly stable egos, the later personality and ego
organisation highly dependent upon the events of later development. In those cases, during moments of stress or trauma, the ego temporarily regressed to these fixations in primary narcissistic functioning with a propensity to inappropriately rely on magical perceptual thought techniques and defenses associated with this early phase of development. Other cases exhibited a more chronic adaptation in contrast to the partial, split-off part of the ego syndrome just described; these latter cases were characterized by a primitive, primary narcissistic organization, psycho-somatization, or by the existence of specific characterological traits pathogenically attributable to this early phase of development. Because of the skewed development and fixation of psychic structuralization at these primitive levels, ego apparatuses were delayed in being brought under control of the ego; those patterns of behavior growing from further experience were observed to be retarded, distorted, or lacking in the expected structural subtlety and richness (Provence and Atwood, 1961).

Mahler et al. (1975) reported that in certain of the cases they studied, a too early differentiation between mother and child was initiated solely by the infant. An "intrinsic" precocity of the infant's sensory-perceptive ego nuclei was found to exist which had little to do with what was often acceptable if not good maternal care. Bergman and Escalona (1949) had earlier noted much the same finding.
labelling these children as "atypical" as they possessed "unusual sensitivities." As has been made abundantly clear, these "unusual sensitivities" can be artificially induced by a failure on the infant's Reisschuts. The psycho-physiological impulse to take over the mother's caretaking and protective role could be established empirically if we were to find observable evidence of precocious development of specific autonomous functions of the ego, i.e., ego nuclei or apparatuses of the ego which have not been structurally encompassed by the ego during the early phases of development. Further, future development could be examined in much the same light, as we search for what might be termed "uneven" developments as a consequence of advanced functioning of these ego apparatuses:

"This wild shoot, this premature differentiation of a fragment, creates an unevenness that hinders, rather than promotes, structuralisation and integration of the ego as a cohesive structure. This may be unfavorable for the smooth evolution in the earliest subphases of the separation-individuation process (Mahler et al., 1975, p. 205)."

Bergman and Escalona (1949) reported that the children included in their study of atypical development possessed such unusual sensitivities in all sensory modalities (e.g., visual, auditory, tactile, etc.), that they were hypersensitive to the impact of average stimulation; these children had a
propensity to either be easily stimulated to enjoyment or easily overwhelmed by painful stimulation. In concurrence with Mahler et al., these children had extremely uneven development characterised by surprisingly retarded functioning in certain ego functions or apparatuses. These infants were found to have undergone severe and chronic tension states by virtue of their inherent unusual sensitivities to stimuli, maternal failure to adequately protect them from this barrage of noxious stimulation, or the resultant effect of the interaction of both of these factors. Bergman and Escalona were struck by the similarity between the evolving pattern of behavior observed in these children as compared to individuals who had suffered from traumatic neuroses -- or, in extreme cases, either mental retardation or psychoses -- or both.

In his examination of a three-year-old child, Kris (1962) found evidence of provocative overstimulation in early infancy which was hypothesised to produce such quantum of noxious tension that the infant was unable to discharge this disruptive energy. Khan (1963) expanded on Kris's findings, postulating that frequent impingements on the protective shield allowed little means of discharge or elimination of the tension. The overwhelming amount of tension lead to a disruption of the infant's psyche-soma, creating a "tantalizing environment," and the foundations of a nucleus forboding a later pathogenic reaction. It was in the nature of
the too frequent impingements on the infant that Khan found the genetic -- and most pathogenic elements -- for the formation of a cumulative trauma. James (1960) also found in the case he examined, that the infant had no progressive means of discharge for the mounting tension experienced as a result of the exposure to chronic tension; economic flooding and hypercathectic resulted of both the perceptual and memory storing end of the psyche. This infant was compelled to "overutilize" or hypercathectic the only discharge channels available to it in its rudimentary developmental state, the avenues of motoric discharge and activity of the perceptual system.

It would appear that inadequate or poor mothering can either encourage discharge of tension through motoric channels and heightened motoric development, or it can conversely discourage it. The difference between the two extremes appears to be in the quality of the maternal care and the sensory-motor discharge channels which may be libidinized by the mother. In a study observing the relationship between motoric development and deficient mothering, Robertson (1962) reported that he often found clumsiness, uncoordination, a flabby limpness, poor muscle tonus, a lack of responsiveness, and delayed development in infants up to twelve months of life who had been poorly mothered; the mothers in question were not seen to be "bad" mothers. They were often very concerned and diligent in the care of their infants -- but, they seemed
to lack the quality of being warm and empathetic with their infants. Differences in development were apparent as early as the eighth to tenth week of life, exhibiting a low quantity and quality of body movement and slow responsiveness. Other areas of growth were also adversely affected, in particular the ability to communicate, expressiveness of feeling states, and a general impression of mental dullness. Interestingly enough, islands of advanced development were also found in these infants, their visual perception was highly advanced with serious facial expressions and a disconcerting alertness and watchfulness of the eyes. This heightened visual perception paralleled remarkably a characteristic found in an infant with similar ineffectual mothering and consequent premature ego development (James, 1960). Provence and Ritvo (1961) also found evidence for delayed or poorly developed motor skills in the infants they studied who were subjected to poor maternal care; however, the motoric area seemed to suffer less damage or retardation than other areas.

What appears to account for the use or preference for one sensory-motor channel over another for discharge may be related to the patterns of stimulation offered to the child by the mother. Further, in the earliest days and weeks of infancy, overwhelming stress may also hypercathexis those channels of discharge most amenable for ridding the infant of large amounts of stimulation, i.e., the motoric...
discharge channels. Regarding the former hypothesis, Escalona (1963) observed that not only do infants manifest clear individual preferences for utilization of specific types of body stimulation, but that these self-initiated body sensations often had been those very same sensations with which mothers had provided their infants during moments of pleasurable and intense mother-child interaction. She qualified this finding, however, stating that those modalities chosen for autoerotic activity must have been provided by the mothering object as well as being pleasurable in and of itself to the infant. The organismic variable of the infant entered the picture at this juncture, as the modality to which the infant proved most reactive and the modality in which the mother provided the most stimulation may not necessarily prove to be the modality the infant chooses for self-stimulation.

A. Freud (1965) found a number of factors to be operative in determining if individual lines would be singled out for special promotion in development. Chief among these were accidental environmental influences, and the predispositions residing in the parent's personality which might bias them to stimulate one sensory modality over another. Encompassed within this parental factor is the family atmosphere, parental actions and ideals, and the larger impact of the cultural setting. The mother's libidinization of and ego interest in specific modes of expression and development may well act as stimulants to the infant to develop along those lines, as it
the early months and years of life, in combination with cultural values placing high esteem on precocious development in certain areas, may further reinforce the mother's own narcissistic cathexis in the infant's maturation of these functions. Motoric development is commonly viewed as indicative of both future intelligence, strength, and potency (sexual as well as physical) in lower-class communities, specifically black communities. In terms of sustaining this popular-cultural belief, the confused relationship between motoric development as a gauge to other measures of development has often been obscure even to mental health professionals and researchers:

"The high coefficients of correlation between the measure of locomotor development and all other psychological variables, including objective development, are harder to understand. The results are evidence for the internal consistency of the Griffiths and for the existence of what Spitz calls the 'somato-psyche'; but we cannot easily see locomotor development as very representative of psychological development in general and intellectual development in particular. Furthermore, a more sophisticated statistical analysis reduces the role of locomotor development (hand and eye development) found to be more influential in development than locomotor development (Decarie, 1974, p. 194)."
While it is not argued that locomotor development and maturation of the motoric apparatus are indicative of advanced general functioning, could it be that advanced development of these functions is a manifestation of precocious development spurred by impingements on the infant's Reisschutz which occurs in the face of a "tantalizing environment" when the mother does not provide a "good enough" holding environment? k Sandler, Dauton and Schurmann (1957) examined a group of children whose mothers were highly disturbed, but nonetheless were good mothers in the sense that they evidenced much care and concern about their children. Common maternal characteristics paralleled what has been observed in black mothers from the inner-city: domineering attitudes, uncontrolled outbursts of aggressive behavior, self-convictions of unworthiness and low self-esteem, and pervasive guilt feelings regarding their mothering role. In regard to the children of the study, of all the disturbances in ego functioning, motility and pleasure in movement was least restricted. Sandler et al. proposed that the reliance on gross motor discharge channels and general bodily excitement to discharge quantum of heightened anxiety may have been a defensive turning to the one form of instinctual gratification which was conflict free. This motoric discharge behavior was the only form of pleasure available to the infant which did not seem to evoke unpredictable responses of approval or disapproval from the mother. Further, the gratification
allowed through exercise of these channels in a relatively conflict-free sphere promoted excellent bodily control and motoric skills as contrasted to a general fidgetiness which might characterize a more diffuse motoric discharge of tension. Of course, these infants were far older than the infants that are presently being considered, but their particular development at a later stage may well reflect an adaptation and hypercathectic of motoric channels of discharge in early life. The culturally syntonic and rewarded area of motoric development would further predispose the infant to choose this specific modality as a means for discharge expression and establishing the first bonds with his mother.

The other apparatus which appears to be highly susceptible to environmental insult and traumatization is the perceptual system. Leitch and Escalona (1949), following K. Lewin's theory, found that increased tension in the organism may lead to behavioral as well as psychological and physiological manifestations. The perceptual system of the infant appeared to be under the control of inner needs in these tension states, actively trying to protect the organism by employment of primitive defenses (e.g., projection, negative hallucinations) and by being hyperalert to threatening situations. Conflict-free perceptual apparatus came under the control of the infant's survival needs, and hence "less realistic" as it was dictated by the infant's fears and wishes.

Rubinfine (1962) reported that Spitz (1946) found what
might be assumed to be a failure to cathact the perceptual
diphery in those institutionalized infants subjected to a
high degree of maternal deprivation — if not maternal absence.
He believed that the opposite situation ensued in those in-
fiants subjected to intolerably high levels of tension due to
environmental impingements with a concomitant failure of the
mother to protect the infant. The child was compelled to
realize his separateness from the mother, both in the primary
autistic phase and in the mother-child dual symbiotic unity,
and to assume the task of taking over the mothering role,
i.e., the false self. The mother was prematurely differenti-
ated, not only as an object, but also as a highly frustrating
and potentially painful object who failed to protect her
infant while possibly adding to his accumulated tension by
further overstimulating him. Aggressive drive energies
threatened to differentiate from the state of fused libido
and aggression; the infant was faced with projecting his
aggressive energy onto the mother and possibly “annihilating”
this important, if erratic, source of gratification. The
infant was compelled to utilize the negative hallucination
to block out this premature perception of her existence,
in essence protecting her from his aggression as well as
himself. Rubinfine hypothesized that the denial of the
existence of the object entailed in the negative hallucina-
tory process was directed against this painful perception
of the mother, and the consequent threatening aggressive
energies directed against her (hence threatening object loss).
The infant could only preserve his early objects by denying their existence.

Both Robertson (1962) and Bergman and Escalona (1949) reported instances where infants manifested precocious discriminatory behavior in the first weeks and months of life, the behavior being conceptualized as a defensive maneuver arising in response to inadequate protection of the infant. Robertson found that the inadequate mothering to which these infants were subjected led them to withdraw into themselves as the mother was not present to the infant in the degree needed to serve as an intermediary or "libidinizer" of the external environment. The infants were compelled to provide their own stimulation through largely autoerotic channels, paradoxically freeing the mother from any further demands placed on her by the infant. Mothers typically reported their infants to be "good babies" or Model infants, undemanding of the mother's energies and pseudo-contented. It was only through the passage of time that the extent of this disturbance became evident, infants who attempted to contain their distress at seven months found not to cry at twelve months. It is important to stress that these were not cold or unemotional mothers, but mothers who were not optimally available to hold their infants in a good enough environment:

"In each of the instances described, the mother was conscientious and concerned. The object tie was, at the manifest level, intact; but its
quality was in question. The babies showed a heightened perception — a special quality of looking, as though taking over part of the mother's role of protector. This activity of looking took precedence over doing or responding (Robertson, 1962, p. 256).

The channels that became hypercathexed appeared to be a function of the particular dosage of tension, the infant's constitutional state, and the apparatuses libidinized by the mothering object. James (1960) asserted that the patterning established could well be a hypercathexis of attention, motoric channels, or psychosomatic discharge phenomena, dependent upon the nature and quality of the trauma the infant sustained as well as the manner in which the mother failed to protect her child from impingements to the stimulus barrier. He chronicled the case of an infant who was compelled toward premature ego development as a result of chronic physical hunger in the first three months of life. The vicissitudes of this particular child's development have interesting implications for the present discussion of the poor, black child. Forced to tolerate unbearable delays due to the mother's inability to provide adequately timed gratification, the infant was apparently pressured by its instinctive needs to act as though it were actually focusing and anticipating the eventual arrival of food to satiate its chronic state of hunger. Homeostasis was threatened under this assault to the integrity of the stimulus barrier, a
challenge mounted by the unpleasurable accumulation of internal, visceral tension. When compared to a phase-adequate response, the precipitant, precocious hypercathexis of attention and liveliness from the earliest weeks of life was pathological in that it represented a blocking of age-adequate instinct. James went on to underline his conviction that this pathological accomodation was not ameliorated by the fact that these prematurely-developed mechanisms were later exploited in the service of future ego development.

The ultimate hypercathexes of the perceptual and memory storing end of the mental apparatus occurred in the absence of a maturationaly compatible means of discharge. The effect of this traumatic over-stimulation of the sensory apparatus and flooding of the memory agencies with memory traces was to force the physiological analog of a premature psychological accomodation, an "organ compliance" or "facilitation of this part of the mental apparatus." Secondary process functions were neither phase adequate or possible at this early stage to handle the occurrence of the traumatic access of images which threatened to organize into thoughts. Heightened motoric and perceptual activity were possible, however, and in all probability, served as the channels for the diffuse discharge of the accumulated tension.

An analogous situation appears to occur during the first weeks of life in the maturation of the black, inner-city child. A similar pattern is observed as homeostasis is
inadequately maintained due to the relative psychological unavailability of the mother to preserve the integrity of her infant's stimulus barrier, following the initial "cracking" of the autistic shell. The crucial process of hatching can be seen to be faulty and traumatic at its very inception.

If the conditions just described prevail, following the thesis presented by James and others, evidence of a heightened reliance on motoric and perceptual discharge channels with concomitant precocious early development should be present. Empirical support exists for this position. A series of independent studies spanning over thirty years have compared the mental and motor development of black and white children. In every one of these studies it has been consistently demonstrated that the lower-class, black population exhibited marked motoric acceleration over their middle-class peers in the earliest months of life regardless of race, as well as being advanced over other ethnic and racial groups in comparable lower-class populations.

Pasamanick (1946) was one of the first to investigate the differences in the rate of development between black and white babies of different classes. He could identify no outstanding characteristic as "racial" with the "possible exception" of a definite acceleration in gross motor behavior displayed by the black infants. Examining black children of parents of both high and low education at sixteen and forty weeks of age, he found to his surprise that in the latter testing
period there was a slight developmental edge in favor of the group of babies from the lower-educated parents. These findings were essentially replicated by Knobloch and Pasamanick (1955) utilizing another measure of development, the Gesell Developmental Schedule as opposed to the Yale Developmental Schedule used in the first study. What is of further interest are the comments made by the examiners regarding the behavior of these black children during the testing as opposed to their white coevals. Knoblock and Pasamanick (1955) commented that during the examinations crying and fussing were almost negligible, adaptive behavior was found equalling or surpassing the behavior of the white children. In a similar vein, Pasamanick (1946) stated

"The most outstanding feature was the remarkable ease with which the examinations were conducted ...(with one exception) every examination, once begun, was carried through to a successful conclusion, despite some of the unfortunate surrounding factors. This compares favorably with the adjustment of the white babies seen at the Clinic of Child Development, where an attempt is made to have the children examined during their happiest play period of the day...."

Pasamanick went on to contrast the white infants who were often hyperactive, "vigorous," "smiling," and "boisterous," with the black infants who exhibited comparatively little
smiling during the examination, largely ignored the examiner while concentrating their attention instead on the demands of the test, and demonstrated well-sustained drive with the relative absence of disorganized, disinterested, or poor attentional behavior.

Williams and Scott (1953) also extracted motoric and adaptive behavior levels from the Gesell Developmental Schedules. With black infants ranging from four to eighteen months of age, those in the lower socio-economic group were significantly advanced in motor development in comparison to their higher socio-economic peers. Solomons and Solomons (1964) confirmed these basic results, finding that four-month-old, black infants' scores slightly advanced over their white peers on motor performance scales. Bayley (1945) ran exhaustive tests with infants ranging from one to fifteen months, trying to ascertain if sex, birth order, race, geographical location, or education of the parents affected the infants' mental or motor growth patterns. Again, while no differences were found between white, black, or a small sample of Puerto Ricans in mental scores, the black children from largely poor areas tended consistently to score above the other groups on the motor scales. The mean scores for the black children were higher for every age group except fifteen months, and significant differences were found through twelve months. Of the 60 items in the California Infant Scale of Motor Development, Bayley could not find one item
for which existed a complete age distribution on a percentage passing which favored the white infants by as half a month.

Examination of those items in which the black infants excelled significantly over their peers reveals a fascinating picture. Bayley asserted that these items were significant "by chance" alone, as there was no preponderance of any one class of coordination behaviors relative to the total scale. However, these "chance" behaviors which appeared prematurely are directly implicated in the process of anticipation of the mothering object (i.e., at 2.5 months holding the head steady, at 4.5 months balancing the head, at 6.9 months sits alone steadily, and at 8.2 months raises to sitting, initiating self-locomotion which propels the infant away from and toward the mother, and overall motoric precocity). The only evidence found in the literature which is even slightly of variance with these findings is reported by Walters (1967) who found that her small sample of black infants from the lower socio-economic levels in all areas but motor development; however, her overall findings confirm that in the third months of life black children as a whole have a higher motor quotient than their white peers (utilizing the Gesell Developmental Schedule).

These investigators could offer no explanation for the anomalous findings of early superiority of the black infants on motoric development, their main intent at the time being to determine if genetic differences existed which could be attributable to race (these differences, incidentally, were
not substantiated). What is proposed is that these differences are explicable, based on the thesis that the precocious perceptual-motor development of the lower-class black child represents a hypercathexis of the sensory-motor channels due to premature ego development which has its pathogenesis in the inadequate preservation of the infant's homeostatic position by the mothering object.

The tension-relief afforded from the discharge which takes place through the motoric and sensory channels, the gratification the infant receives in terms of maternal libidinalization of the motoric channels, and the ability to utilize both these channels without active disruption or erratic response of the mothering object, all tend to fixate large amounts of aggression and libido in these apparatuses at an extremely early age. Under increasing environmental stress or trauma the child will tend to revert to these rudimentarily formed apparatuses as it may be impossible to obtain substantial gratification at higher levels, the fixation points constantly exerting a pull back to those levels where those previous levels of primitive, intense gratification were experienced (Magera, 1964). The lease advanced channels of discharge, gross motoric expression, autoerotic stimulation, and a hypercathexis of sensory channels, are thus reverted to and recathected. James (1960) noted this regressive tendency in the infant he studied, chronic tension states catapulting the infant

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back from progressively advanced mental levels, to motoric discharge channels and ultimately the recathexis of the primitive sensory apparatus itself.

What is hypothesized to occur in the black infant who is subjected to early trauma is a heightened susceptibility to drive regression. All those positions and "pre-objects" which ever resulted in gratification or homeostasis are tenaciously clung to out of the constant fear that giving up these satisfactions may result in self-annihilation. Ego apparatuses which would normally be autonomous are immersed in the conflictual sphere. The most basic of ego apparatuses, perception, sensation, and motoric expression, remain highly and inappropriately catheterized with primitive, unbalanced levels of libido and aggression.

Brody and Axelrad (1974) proposed that the penetration of the protective shield so floods the infant with both internal and external stimuli that impairment may occur in the inherent ability of the infant to later differentiate inner from outer excitations, to effect an active accommodation to this influx of stimuli, or to develop the capacity to passively accommodate, as it cannot depend on the mothering object to rescue it from painful levels of stimulation. A confusion occurs between sensation and response, aggravated by the infant's propensity to draw away from all stimuli and its inability to utilize the mother to dose stimuli in organismically acceptable amounts. The infant, in assuming
the mother's caretaking role, must concentrate its energies on developing its own defenses so as not be further over­whelmed. The result is an increase in narcissistic cathexis of the self and a drawing away from the external object world. James (1960) believed the consequent premature ego development and increased narcissistic cathexis may lay the foundation for later syndromes of thought which were conceptualized to be: manifestations of fixations in the phase of primary narcissism.

IV. The Vicissitudes of Precocious Overreliance on Motoric Discharge Channels

The hypercathexis of motor channels not only provides a ready avenue for discharge and immediate gratification, but is utilized defensively and precociously by the child in its own attempt to establish a tenuous homeostasis. Excessive, inappropriate stimulation can be blocked out by means of repetitive movements such as rocking, head banging, and other self-stimulating activities — in essence creating and self-imposing a barrier of neutral "white noise" between itself and the environment. Inadequate stimulation can also be compensated by the child's gross motor actions, manipulation of body parts, and self-exploration satisfying the infant's perceptual and stimulatory hunger. The parent may later inadvertently reinforce this precocious pattern and the child's over-reliance upon motor discharge channels by his
taking particular pleasure in his child's advanced motor and sensory development, viewing it as a sign of early intelligence while simultaneously taking it as a signal of the end of infancy and the beginning of a parentally less demanding toddlerhood (Marans and Lourie, 1967).

The precocious reliance upon motoric discharge channels etches itself in the infant's psyche as it becomes dominant over all developmentally-advanced modes of discharge. In early life the adequate mastery of small muscle coordination skills are sacrificed for the readily available avenues for discharge and immediate gratification that is provided by diffuse gross motor activity. The frustration which is attendant upon its first experimentation with fine motor skills may threaten the infant with an additional accumulation of unpleasurable stimulation which it feels both unable to tolerate and unable to rely on its mother for tension reduction or protection. The infant thus turns away from developmentally progressive but inherently more frustrating environmental tasks, regressively turning instead to effecting a milieu over which it does have some control -- its own body. Development may not only become fixated at this point, with consequent ramifications for structuralisation, but a propensity to turn toward a manipulation of internal bodily states to facilitate discharge of rapidly accumulating tension may be prematurely consolidated.
A course of development which is biased in the direction of gross motor expression may continue to follow the well channelized path of motoric discharge, persisting unabated in later years. It may manifest itself in a basically impulsive action orientation to the relative exclusion and atrophy of such secondary process ego functions as a delay of gratification, reliance upon the mediating processes of verbalization, and consequent failure to potentiate skills in memory, anticipatory planning, and judgment. The early, dominant hypercathexis of motoric discharge channels thus serves as a significant deterrent to the phase appropriate, gradual transition to the use of language as a central mediating function of the ego.

V. The Negative Hallucination: Protecting Self and Other from Aggression

Obviously, no infant can ever experience "perfect" homeostasis or enjoy uninterrupted gratification. It is by virtue of the contrast between states of uncomfortable tension and pleasurable satisfaction (or lack of tension) that the infant is enticed to cathect the memory of the satisfying experience; structuralization of the ego being facilitated by moderate amounts of frustration. These "memory traces" of need-satisfying experiences are encoded in the ego, to be invoked during periods of mild organismic disequilibrium. This is the positive hallucinatory mechanism which tides the
infant over periods of frustration and "saves" the good mother by making up for her failure to maintain the infant in a constant state of organismic quiescence. By hallucinating the presence of the mother's satisfactions and recalling his own satiation through an invocation of the memory trace of this event, delay of discharge and postponement of the satisfaction of the instinctual drive tension is affected. Memory traces thus can be seen as one of the precursors of thought and an important building block of the ego.

The cathexis of the memory trace of the experience of satisfaction by the mother is also the beginning of a shift of cathexis from the internal sphere of the infant to the outside world. Insofar as it is an investment of the memory of the experiences of the satisfaction, it also represents the genesis of object investment and object relations. Kris (1963) also viewed this investment as the beginnings of a distinction between self and object, the memory trace of both mother and infant being gradually enriched through continued interaction and experiences of gratification between the two. Further, it will be from the establishment of these preconscious ego traces that the ego will develop (Kris, 1950).

If the experience of actual satisfaction was in actuality "too low," the establishment of the memory trace would be interfered with, and hence those structures and processes following from its establishment. This inadequately imprinted memory image could not fully tide the infant over.
his period of "disillusionment" with the mother's care (Kris, 1962), thus the mother would be seen as a source of potential frustration who could not be trusted to save the infant. The external environment would become a source of potential disturbance and noxious stimulation, and the infant would be forced to "work harder" making it -- and the mother -- acceptable. Mobile aggressive energy, still fused with libido, would threaten to be released in uncontrollable amounts towards the external world and the mother, threatening it and her with the infant's omnipotent rage. However, at this still primitive level of psychic development, the world and the mother are inadequately differentiated from the infant; the rage the infant experiences thus threatens the infant himself with annihilation.

Hoffer (1950) asserted that the protective shield primarily protected the infant from turning his own aggressive energies towards himself, the very libidinization of the infantile body dependent upon being saved from this aggressive discharge. It is the function of the mothering object not only to provide the infant with gratification and protection, but also to act as a container for his aggression so it is not turned against himself. One measure of the infant's ability to be free to manifest aggression without fear of its turning against himself is the presence of such behaviors as biting, twisting, or grasping the mother's body; the infant feels secure that his activity will be contained.
by the mother and that his libidinal investment in her is so secure that she cannot be harmed (Kris, 1950). This latter behavior is hardly the behavior of a "perfect, contented child" who makes no demands on his mother. It is, however, the behavior of a normal, healthy baby. The good, compliant behavior noted by so many of the delighted researchers in their normative studies of lower-class black infants, the lack of aggressiveness and tendency toward passivity noted by Sears and Gordon (1972) in their study of ghetto black child development, can be viewed in a far different light. Can it be that the passive, pliant behavioral characteristics of these infants in actuality reflects their inability to trust their mothers as containers of their aggression, and thus be indicative of the accumulated rage they must deny or repress lest their aggression threaten to destroy mother and child? Further, the attentiveness and alertness noted in these same infants might be conceptualised as a hyper-cathexis of the perceptual system; the infants themselves take over the role of the mother in protecting themselves from undue stimulation or traumatization. It is the position of this paper that these enumerated infant characteristics are not indicative of good development and adequate mothering, but the converse; they reflect precocious development of ego functions self-defense, inadequate mothering, and the failure of the infant to freely express his aggression against aggressive discharge expression. Let us expand on
these themes.

The positive hallucinatory image of the absent drive object (i.e., the mothering object) can only protect the infant from the experience of nongratification for a limited period of time, continued absence or deprivation on the mother's part for extended periods of time threatens to overwhelm the infantile organism with tension and the affective experience of displeasure. The tension reduction which temporarily occurs following the invocation of the positive hallucination cannot be sustained. Rubinfinite (1962) postulated that the maintenance of this hallucinatory experience was crucial for uninterrupted development as the infant's painful "recognition" of the mother as separate from himself, prior to the establishment of relative libidinal constancy, might unleash the infant's free aggression on this now separate entity and may thus threaten her loss as an object. The infant resorts to the defense of denial and its various precursors to make the object assimilable again, to preserve it as good, thus preventing the premature perception of the object as separate from the infant's primary narcissistic milieu.

Rubinfinite further stated that the mechanism of denial was employed under those organismic conditions when the infant sought to extricate himself from the "thralldom to painful stimuli" which was experienced as coming from the external environment; more precisely, the painful feeling states
produced by this environmental onslaught. Denial functioned in the service of an innate screening apparatus which reduced the perception of the organismic state and the external world to a signal, a signal of unpleasantness triggering a defensive mechanism which kept this perception from being consciously registered in the infant's awareness. He hypothesized that this mechanism acted to conserve object relations while preventing aggression from prematurely differentiating from the undifferentiated energetic reservoir. If the infant were to become prematurely aware of his organismic distress, the painful perception of the mother as a separate entity would follow, simultaneously evoking aggressive discharge directed toward her and thus threatening her object loss.

"If during fetal or earliest infantile development enteroreceptive or proprioceptive stimuli (disease, pain, etc.) are so intense and continuous as to render ineffective the buffering role of the maternal organism, this 'pain' finds representation as failure of need satisfaction (frustration). Under these circumstances it seems possible that the aggressive drive differentiates first. This in turn could bring about a hyperesthesia of the perceptual apparatus with aggression resulting in premature awareness of the object as separate from the self. The object thus achieves representation as a frustrating or primarily 'bad' object."
would suggest that to insure survival, there results in such infants a proliferation of what might be called the precursor of denial, i.e., a maintenance and intensification of the stimulus barrier, to the point of negative hallucinations. It seems reasonable to assume that for this to result there must first have been some primordial perceptual registration of the object (p. 268-269)." If the infant is subjected to severe deprivation or traumatic impingements early in life, causing disruptive object relationships with the mother, denial and its precursors will become established as the major mechanism of defense. The more intense and prolonged the level of tension, the higher the probability that a fixation will occur to the ego state in which primitive defense mechanisms reign uninterrupted. Introjection, projection, and denial are seen to ceaselessly operate to spare the object from the infant's rage by denying its existence or literally hallucinating it away, or in a desperate attempt at repair of the damaged, frustrating object to make it assimilable. The infant operates under the continual threat that his defenses may give way to the accumulated tension, releasing a torrent of rage which may destroy the object. The hyperesthesia of the perceptual system and the high levels of alertness seen in these infants may not only be in the service of defense against further stimulation or to trigger the denial mechanism when frustration
threatens; it may also serve a precociously organized "reality sense" (in this pre-ego state, it would be misleading to speak of reality testing) which constantly scans the external world to assure itself that the object is still intact -- not having been destroyed by the infant's anger.

An area of perplexing concern to many mental health professionals working with inner-city blacks concerns how the well-behaved little boy of four who seems to be by most accounts shy, withdrawing, and rather passive in his behavior style, can transform himself in a matter of years into a sadistic, vicious adolescent gang member or aggressive adult. Mears and Gordon (1972), studying black children from the ghetto of a large, east-coast city, found that in many of the early developmental histories of children who later had problems with aggression and acting-out, there was strong support for what could be termed precocious early self-control and self-sufficient behavior. Their thesis that many of the black child's difficulties, and ultimately maturational failure, may be due to the repression of incipient rage directed towards the mother, compliments the thesis of denial in the service of preserving the bad maternal object presented by Rubinfine (1962). The inconsistent, erratic, and often ambivalent relationship the ghetto mother has with her child provokes rageful reactions towards her which threaten to "omnipotently annihilate her," the infant denying the very
real frustrating, deprivational characteristics of the mother and deny his own aggressive feelings towards her. The precocious development of self-control to contain this aggression was compared to the premature ego development which James (1960) had uncovered in his treatment case. Meares and Gordon speculated that a further outcome of this process was a defensive projection of the rage into the external environment, followed by a precocious hypercathexis of attention and "watchfulness" as the infant apprehensively attempted to evaluate the effect of his own behavior on the outer world, and specifically on the physical integrity of the mother.

A complex theory of the fusion or detoxification of the libidinal and aggressive drives was proposed by Meares and Gordon, encompassing and developmentally related not only to the synthesis of part-object representations in normal infancy, but directly relevant to a "deviation" in this process which was hypothesized to take place in black ghetto children. Briefly summarizing this theory, in the first weeks of life the drives were not experienced as fused due to the infant's intolerance for pain either internally or externally directed; all painful affective and object representations were projected outward from the infant's narcissistic milieu, the good experiences and objects absorbed. This, of course, was the work of the primitive mechanism of splitting of the object, paving the way for eventual differentiation of self and other representations while protecting the infant from
painful intrusion.

During moments of intense distress, even the split part-object representation of the "good-mother" might not be able to be "saved" by the infant, her perception disappeared altogether through massive denial and negative hallucinations. The investigators believed that the drives which were linked first to the pain and subsequently to the defensive accommodation were perceived as both omnipotent and annihilatory, the same mothering object being threatened with ablation upon whom the infant symbiotically depended for survival. The infant does indeed have the fantasy that his angry feelings could magically destroy the mother, the frustration which triggered their occurrence was ultimately followed by a "blotting out" or destruction of the mental representation of her in his mind -- a function of the negative hallucination.

In the attempt to preserve the mothering object (actually, his mental representation of her, consisting of the good and bad part-objects), Neera and Gordon hypothesized that the infant's "bad objects" and his annihilatory drives were repressed. The massive anticathexes which were invested in containing these drives and the objects in the unconscious not only represented a severe drain on the organism's mobile energy, but also precluded further experience from having any mitigating impact on these primitively organized drives and objects. Future libidinal investments in the external environment as well as positive object relationships could not reach
or detoxify these aggressive drives which were so deeply submerged in the unconscious. The infant, and later the developing individual, carried within him the unmodified mental representation of the bad maternal part-object and the dangerous, raw aggressive drives which threatened annihilation of the entire object world and constantly pressed for impulsive expression. The ego was put under great stress and must inevitably suffer from deviations in its structure or the entire defensive structure was warped by the fixation to primitive mechanisms of defense; reality testing and adaptation were impaired, and freely mobile energy which would normally be at the service of the ego for growth and maturation was blocked to maintain the anticathexis against the repressed, unconscious aggressive drives. The resultant ego dysfunctions which arose as a function of this defensive-adaptational maneuver could thus be traced to the inadequate detoxification or tension of the aggressive drives during this early libidinal phase of development. The infant was left helplessly stuck or fixated in this stage by virtue of the fact that future experience could not mitigate the now unconscious mental representation of the mother as a bad part-object. Perceptual object constancy remained threatened as the mothering object never came to be perceived as someone who could be both gratifying and frustrating, good and bad, simultaneously; i.e., the normal course of development that detoxified or fused the good and bad part-objects never had
an opportunity to occur due to the massive anticathexis restraining the aggressive drives and the bad part-object in the unconscious.

The black, inner-city child thus faced severe handicaps in his drive development and ego maturation from the earliest stages of his life due to the nature of the traumatic impingements he sustained as a function of the erratic, inconsistent, and ambivalent mothering he received. As the mothering of the child was often left to many people in the environment and the neonate was subjected to many traumas by the very nature of the chaotic, potentially depriving world he lived in, the mothering object could be seen in a broader context as the social-cultural milieu itself with the attendant child rearing practices and cultural values that the mother, as its representative, espoused.

The mental activity of thinking, remembering, and even concentrating comes to represent a threat to the developing child, as the possibility looms that he will remember these traumatic experiences -- and hence the repressed aggressive drives will break through into consciousness. A pattern of cognition is established out of both the need for defensive adaptation and the fixation of primitive defense mechanisms at these early, preverbal levels. Unpleasant events which occur long after this early stage may be thus poorly remembered, easily forgotten, or substantially altered by denial. Further vicious cycles of the fixation to the use of this primitive
defensive functioning and its manifestations in later behavior (e.g., learning, remembering, achieving) will be discussed later in this paper.

VI. Working for the Mother: Ego Interest and Narcissistic Identification

Identification has been singled out as one of the most important mechanisms which contributes to the formation of the infant's personality (Hartmann, Kris and Lowenstein, 1946). This mechanism is complexly related to object relations; on the one hand necessary for its establishment, on the other, at least in pathogenic situations, replacing it altogether (Provence and Ritvo, 1961). By transformation of the self into the "lost" object by complete identification with it, the "lost object" is replaced by the self. This defensive process is well known clinically in cases of bereavement, where the individual need not mourn the deceased because he has made a primary identification with this individual. Hence, by becoming the deceased, the individual does not need to mourn his passing. However, it is only through our ability to at least partially empathize with another that we come to know them; i.e., we are able to identify with their situation and affective experience. Thus, paradoxically, identification by allowing us to understand the objects and therefore become more personally invested in them is a critical part of the establishment of the object relationship itself.
By at first introjecting and later identifying with the mother, the infant has the mother inside him where she can safely provide him with gratification while he gains and controls her magical powers. Unable to exist omnipotently unto himself, the infant regains his status and forestalls disillusionment by enveloping the mother within his milieu; they become the mother-child dual unity or early symbiotic unity. In keeping her inside himself and both partners as one dual unity, the infant is enabled to participate in her reactions and her accomplishments. As he grows older, her methods of solving problems, her affective expressions, and her ways of dealing with emergencies are acquired through this identificatory process. When the infant is threatened, an incorporation or identification with the object may be used as a defense.

The roots of identification and incorporation are extremely primitive (Hartmann, Kris, and Lowenstein, 1946), traceable to instinctual impulses in the id which press for incorporation into the personality. Identification may be a correlate of this id-striving, utilizing this striving as a model to structure itself.

For incorporation and the later process of identification to take place, the part-object or object must be assimilable to the organism. As the infant cannot tolerate pain, he will tend to project from his primary narcissistic sphere any unpleasurable perception or sensation, taking in or absorbing
into his protective barrier pleasurable sensations and perceptions. As explicated at some length in the previous section on aggression, the part-object will be split into its good and bad part-components, with the "bad mother" rejected from the infant's awareness. The mothering-object facilitates active incorporation of herself and the external environment by minimizing traumatic impingements to the stimulus barrier, thus maximizing infant pleasure and allowing her "good mother" ministrations to smoothly and normally penetrate the protective shield. If she does not provide adequate protection for her infant by reason of her absence, deprivation, or the presence of her own needs which draw her full attention away from the infant's needs, tension may rapidly accumulate and the "good part-object" memory representation may be threatened with denial or the negative hallucinatory process in the face of the onrush of the infantile rage. If the mother cannot be fully available to her infant, pathology in varying degrees may result:

"It is the intrusion of her personal needs (mother's) and conflicts that I characterize as her failure in respect of her role as a protective shield. The mother's role as a protective shield is not a passive one but an alert, adaptive and organizing one. The protective shield role is the result of conflict-free autonomous ego functions in the mother. If
personal conflicts intrude here, the result is a shift from the protective-shield role to that of symbiosis or rejective withdrawal. How an infant will react to these features depends upon the nature, intensity, duration, and repetitiveness of the trauma (Khan, 1963, p. 295)."

The pattern of behavior most commonly associated with ghetto mothering, erratically timed doses of overstimulation and "loving behavior" followed by periods of relative neglect or active hostility, or actual physical or emotional abuse, is precisely that kind of behavioral manifestation that has been identified by Winnicott (1949) as initiating a premature over-activity of the mental functioning, a split between psychosoma and mind, and a false personal growth or development of the "false-self" as the infant's own mental functioning takes over the mother's role as caretaker. Winnicott described the kind of mother that a woman who had herself been raised in this pathogenic milieu might become, a description startlingly similar to those mothering characteristics of the ghetto mother earlier described in discussion of "working for the mother." While this type of mother appears to be extremely adaptive to the infant's primitive needs and may thus present herself to an observer as a concerned and perhaps even excellent mother, this is in actuality a manifestation of her propensity to establish a rapid identification with any environmental aspect of a relationship which involves
dependence. However, a true capacity for identification with the dependent individual or infant himself may be weak or nonexistent. For this mother, a "...breakdown threatens or occurs, because what the individual (mother) is all the time needing is to find someone else who will make real the good environment concept, so that the individual may return to the dependent psyche-soma which forms the only place to live from (Winnicott, 1949, p. 247)."

Ultimately, the infant is compelled to adapt to the mother by becoming more and more independent from her; by himself assuming the role of mother, he develops the "false self." Mahler et al. (1975) reported on just such a development in the mother-child pairs they observed:

"We also observed children who had a rather unsatisfactory symbiotic relationship because of the mother's great ambivalence toward her child and toward her own role as mother. In these children disturbed symbiosis was not caused by indifference or depression on the part of the mother, but by her unpredictability. These infants, as if compensatorily, knew their mothers rather early; their relationship improved when greater distance made it more comfortable and when new sources for pleasure in their growing autonomy and in the outside world became available. What we seem to see, then, is a very early adaptive
ability on the part of the infant (p. 55).

Thus, the precocious development of self-controls, self-sufficiency and early adaptability noted by Meers and Gordon (1972) can be traced to the unpredictable nature of the mothering-object's quality of care given to her infant. Disruptive ego integration (Khan, 1963), inadequate body image development, ego development which is characterized by a reactive and defensive quality (James, 1962), and a defensive precocious watchfulness (Meers and Gordon, 1972), are all attributable to the inadequacy of the early maternal holding environment. While the mothering object as a source of reliable gratification and protection is decathcted, the cathcted mental representation of the mother as the fantasized and wished for provider of infantile satisfaction remains (James, 1962); i.e., the splitting off of "good part-object" continues to be preserved and is idealized by the infant. As the "good maternal object" is fixed in the infant's psyche and the "bad maternal object" with its associated rage is repressed, the passage of time and the inroads of experience are ineffective in proving to the infant that the mother can be simultaneously good and bad. Nagera (1964) described the phenomena wherein the child's ego must adapt to the mothering object's demands as this was the only type of relationship which the mother could tolerate, in view of her own psychopathology. It would appear that the ghetto mother's inability to tolerate and
act as a container for the infant's aggression, due both to her own barely repressed rage which constantly threatens to break through and her needs to have the infant to make a premature and pathogenic identification with the mothering role. The only way in which the infant can sustain the image of the "good mother" and gain what gratification he can from her is to precociously take over not only his own care, but her care also. By incorporating and assimilating the "good mothering role," the infant becomes the good mother.

Khan (1963) believed that the first clear evidence of this pathogenic organization emerged fully only during the late symbiotic phase, although it would appear that the pathogenesis of this situation lay within the first weeks and months of life. The ongoing nature of the mother-child interaction pattern was reinforced and solidified by repeated impingements (i.e., cumulative trauma) throughout the first five years of life:

"Clinical experience shows that the phases of maturational development where these impingements from the mother's failure in her role as protective shield tend to get organized into an active collusive relationship between mother and child are the late oral, anal, and phallic phases -- the phases where the emergent instinctual process and the maturational ego process test the mother with their full need and demand. It is also these
stages where the stimulus hunger asks for maximal psychological adaptation, response, and restraint from the mother in her role as protective shield. The chief psychic process involved in such collusive relationships is identification as Kris (1951) and Ritvo and Solnit (1958) have stressed. This identification remains essentially of an incorporative and projective type, interfering with internalization and assimilation of new object representations, and thus confuses a proper differentiation and growth of internal psychic structure. This holds true also of the distortion of the libidinal strivings and object relations of the Oedipal phase.... (Khan, 1963, p. 301)."

The maternal demands, deprivations, and traumas focused on the infant compel him to become not only extremely reactive to the environment so as to be "fully available" to the mothering object, but also sensitive to those occasions of impending frustration when he must rapidly erect his defenses against the possible perceptual emergence of the bad mother, and also to develop a facility for narcissistic identification with her (James, 1960). Further, a precocious reactivity to the environment is demanded by the need to accommodate oneself to the developmentally premature act of anticipation of the mother, and to "work for the mother" by being hypersensitive to her cues, as she must be gratified
by the child before the child can expect to receive gratification from her (Hunter and Babcock, 1967). This leads to a reinforcement of the narcissistic process of identification with the mother and later significant objects. The mother is viewed in this context as being unable adequately or selectively to respond to the infant's cues, only responding to those aspects of her baby's behavior which unconsciously meet her demands to be mothered by the infant. The child's own innate potentialities and unique personality characteristics go largely unheeded by the mother, the end result being a gross distortion of the mirroring frame of reference envisioned by Mahler (1967).

The child's emerging sense of self is severely threatened as it must prematurely adopt a mothering position thrust upon it by its mother, a developmental demand to which it is unable to wholly accommodate itself. The mother's "primary preoccupation" is not with her infant's needs, but with her own. Her mirroring function consists of a fluctuating projection of a distorted maternal image of an "all-giving, symbiotic mother," a frustrating, sadistic, withholding mother, and/or a demanding greedy mother. The infant becomes the receptacle for these hostile or demanding projections. The infant is compelled to incorporate and later identify with the mother position which the mother thrusts upon it, if it is to receive gratification from the mother. This wholesale incorporation of the mothering
role at the expense of the actualization and cathexis of its own innate potentials locks the infant into a distorted and tenuous state of symbiosis. The only reliable frame of reference which the child is provided with is the narcissistic demands of the mother to become a mothering object for her. A fundamental disturbance in the infant's primitive self-feeling is incurred as it must give up its own self-differentiation to work for the mother by becoming the gratifying maternal object which the mother lacked in her own experience. The proclivity to give up one's own self integrity to gain another's love is later manifested in a tendency to acquire promiscuously and unselectively the mannerisms, postures, accents, and interests of those around one. In the ghetto this is evidenced by children as young preschool and early elementary school age exhibiting the "strut" of their elders, speaking hip talk with all the accompanying inflections of speech and gesticulations of the body, and precociously engaging in such activities as smoking, drinking, or sexual acting-out. In the words of James (1960), a character is formed which is "full of attributes," as if personality structure which is severely deficient in the capacity for true object relations.

This capacity to narcissistically cathex, incorporate, and later identify with the mothering-object's position and function (in this case, becoming the mother to the mother), lies not in some highly rarified and unique area endemic only
to the black ghetto dweller, but instead lies disturbingly close to these processes of infantile identification with unconscious maternal wishes which have been found in normal infant development. What we observe here is an exaggeration, while undoubtably a pathological one, of the earliest processes of introjection and identification at work. In 1949, Spitz addressed himself to this issue in the following manner:

"...the question of the child's identifying itself with the mother's unconscious wishes is not at all problematic at this age (0-12 months).... The ego of the infant in the first year is rudimentary and is able only to subsist thanks to the circumstance that it is supplemented by the mother's personality. As a result of this circumstance which we have described as the "mother-child dual" most of the infant's functions take place in closest concomitance and interaction with the mother's actions and attitudes, either as their prolongation, or as their origin, or paralleling them all along the way such a function will of course amount to something which (if we wish at this early age to avoid the term of identification which implies a specific mechanism) could be called a practical identity, a lack of differentiation between ego and environment. If we add to this
that at this period, conscious and unconscious, ego and id are not delimited in the infant, it is easy to imagine the infant enacting unconscious attitudes of the mother (p. 117-118)."

During the initial phases of the disillusionment of the mother-child dual unity in the symbiotic stage, brought about by the mother's optimum, sensitive dosing of environmental impingements and her graduated failure to provide a complete holding environment spurring the child to make active adaptations and structuralization in the face of frustration -- the infant simultaneously experiences rage and disillusionment with the mother. While his rage may have prompted splitting of the object into good or bad part-objects in the earliest days and weeks of life, the later gradual integration of the perception of the mother as a whole object does not permit the "bad" part to be split off and dealt with separately. The infant is faced with the prospect that this aggressive outburst may actually hurt the mother, initiating a feeling of guilt and an attempt to make restitution to the object. This latter formulation is very much in line with the British School of Psychoanalysis, as represented by M. Klein, Winnicott, and Fairbain. Winnicott (1945) conceived that the capacity to assume personal guilt for the damaged maternal object and the desire to make restitution to it, constituted one of the most important milestones in healthy development.
However, if the gradual integration of the good and bad part-objects is impeded by the development of a false self, and the bad part-object is repressed along with the aggressive feelings directed toward the mother, the infant never realizes the opportunity either to feel the guilt or to initiate the needed reparation to the maternal object. The infant "falsely" and tenuously loves only the "good part-object" who becomes the unrealistically idealized whole object for the child. The barely checked unconscious rage and perception of the just as unrealistically perceived bad part-object threatens to break through into consciousness. Further, the infant continues to experience a false identificatory oneness with the "good mother" as he has never made the adequate move from the mother-child dual unity to the first perceptions of separateness initiated by developmentally appropriate maternal dosed frustrations (e.g., that part of the mother that the infant splits off as bad, is enraged at, but must consequently deny or negatively hallucinate away). What results for the infant is an ego attitude of concern for the mother and an "excessive craving" for concern from her. Khan (1963) conceptualized this pernicious development as the establishment of a special responsiveness to the mother's mood, an ego interest which comes to take the place of true object cathexis:

"The involvement of precocious functions with the mother's collusive response militates against de-
velopmentally arriving at a differentiated separate "coherent" ego (Freud, 1920) and self. This in turn leads to a dissolution through which an archaic dependency bond is exploited on the one hand and a precipitate independence is asserted on the other. A specific result is that what should have been a silent, unregistered dependency state now becomes an engineered exploitation of instinctual and ego dependence, with a precocious narcissistic cathexis of the mother (p. 295)."

The perpetuation of generational psychopathology to a point approaching the proportions of a psycho-socially determined constitutional element or trait, is hypothesized to exist as a function of the collusive, pathognomonic mother-infant interaction found among inner-city, poor black populations. The relative failures the mother experienced in her own early upbringing establishes a compulsion in her to realign her own developmental deviations and to correct the imbalances and dissociations in ego integration she herself experienced. Placed in the situation where her own mature ego capacities are taxed while she must fully adapt herself to the needs of the primitively organized, totally dependent infant, she succumbs to the regressive pull exerted by the infant while being "seduced" into overidentification with the child's dependent position: Desperately attempting to give the infant all that she never had, an impingement-free
infantile existence and the historic, unconscious experience of being held in a good enough holding environment by her own mother, she escapes an ego-capitulation into an unconsciously wished for completely dependent state and fantasised corrective emotional reliving of her own infancy by identifying with the omnipotent, sadistic, depriving mother of her own childhood, i.e., an identification with the aggressor. In this way, she is able to ego syntonic modulate her own repressed rage, stemming the threatened breakthrough of her own unconsciously repressed anger at her mother and confrontation with the bad part-object while simultaneously expressing this rage in a disguised manner. However, her unconscious wish to be the infant rather than the mother continues to exert its influence in its demand that her own infant take care of her.

This ambivalent position is manifested in a periodic bout of overprotectiveness and overindulgence of the infant, followed by swings to the opposite pole through reliving with the infant what was done to her. The former position is noteworthy for its attempt on the mother's part to give the infant what she herself never experienced, the consequent provision of gratification awakening the memory of her own intolerable deprivation and rage as an infant. Giving to the infant without being given to in return recapitulates her own frustrating infantile experience; extreme jealousy and rage is then displaced onto her own infant. This latter
swing, having its roots of mastery of the mother’s own frustrated dependency needs by identification with her own depriving mother, is marked by deprivation, emotional and physical abandonment, and a pathologically induced desire to punish the infant and to avoid “spoiling” it through gratifying its normal dependency needs. This pattern becomes increasingly manifest throughout her infant’s development, as will be explicated in preceding sections of this chapter.

One corollary to the infant’s early sensitivity to the mother’s mood and/or narcissistic process of identification with her may take the form of manifest depressive reactions in these infants in later childhood or in their adult life. A. Freud (1965) has found that a maternal depression in the first two years of the child’s life may potentiate a proclivity for depression in the infant, “harmony” and a sense of “unity” with the mother being achieved not through maturationally advancing libidinal object relations, but through a reproduction of the mother’s depressed affective state within themselves. Incorporating and “becoming” the mother’s mood thus serves to establish a strong emotional link between mother and child. Undoubtedly, while myriad environmental, nutritional, and personal factors may significantly contribute to depressive reactions in later life, we cannot ignore the possible ontogenetic influence that early libidinization of the mother’s mood may
have in later propensities for depressive reactions.

VII. Failure in Body Integration: Ramifications for Later Object Cathexis

During early life, the psyche and soma are more closely intertwined than in any other period of development, psychological disequilibrium being expressed and experienced directly as somatic, organismic distress (Spitz, 1949). Prolonged homeostatic instability will affect not only maturing ego functions, but may also lead to unstable deautomatization. It is the contention of James (1960) that such a process may contribute to an organismic vulnerability to later anxiety states, in particular psychosomatic disorders. This latter class of illnesses is highly prevalent among the lower-class black population.

McDonald (1970) has made an extensive study of the way skin sensations and maternal handling affect infants in the first year of life, an important issue that psychoanalytic thought has given little attention despite the known link between maternal libidinization of the infant through ordinary, loving handling and later promoting libidinization of the skin surface by the infant himself. Normal, healthy body surface ministrations by the mother contribute to a healthy core of narcissism in the infant, a primary sense of well-being, and facilitate the infant in both realizing his own separateness of self and in the development of object
relations. However, McDonald found that excessive, inadequate, or aggressive stimulation of the infant's skin could significantly disrupt these processes, leading to disturbances in primary narcissism, identity formation, or early fixations which promoted a possible regression to the "safety" of a merger with the mothering-object. If the actual handling itself becomes associated with painful skin stimuli, hence evoking pain and anger in the infant, the gradual differentiating process between mother and child would be interfered with. The result might be a too rapid, slow, or incomplete separation of the child's self representation from that of the mother, the very sense of separateness and personality integrity being threatened; the child remains vulnerable at this point in development due to a fixation.

In terms of later consequences, McDonald warned that such a disturbed process might well lead to the skin continuing or reacquiring some of its earliest psychological significance, a loss of self or identity threatened as the skin might again become the "incorporator" of the mother. The infant or individual might be threatened with a loss of self by a merger with others, as, in McDonald's terms, the "mental skin" between the self and object representations fails to separate, instead incorporating the object with the self. Anxiety arousing situations in later development through adulthood might revive these early developmental interferences, with resultant disturbances in body image, self representation,
and object representation. We are tempted to view two later behavioral manifestations as possibly related to this early disturbance, chief among them heroin abuse which is rampant in the ghetto. The intrusion into the skin surface of the external object, the needle, which brings a blissful feeling of "loss of self" and omnipotent "merging" with the world may well represent the regressive merger between the individual and the maternal object representation. Further, one wonders about the role of skin contact in the ghetto as not so much a sign of friendship but as representative of a complete confluence of interest and feelings (i.e., brotherhood), as epitomized in remarks following an action or statement which brings group approval, e.g., "give me some skin." These remarks are, obviously, quite speculative.

Excessive external stimulation or inadequate stimulation arising from the mothering object's failure to provide an adequate holding environment has been linked to a propensity for premature cathexis of the boundaries of the self, as has been discussed at length in earlier sections of this chapter. Rubinfine (1962) also found this circumstance, as well as painful internal stimulation which was experienced for long durations, as contributing to the precocious differentiation of aggression in the infant. The latter instance of prolonged internal stimulation is also related to inadequate skin libidoization and poor mothering, as it is through such
channels as the tactile and proprioceptive modalities that the mother acts to relieve internal tension in the earliest months of life.

The possible ramifications of inadequate bodily stimulation go far beyond self-other differentiation and ego development, playing havoc with later investment of the environment, both animate and inanimate, as well as establishing primitive defenses as those means in which the infant will come to deal with his world. Without the mother's active libidinal investment in the infant, the baby will largely reach out into the world without benefit of maternal support or that fusion between the infant's achievement and the mother's pleasure which acts to 'energise' and libidinise the world for the infant. The world is just not as exciting a place to grow into without the mother's active interest in it. Lacking pleasure and support from the mother while risking the threat of being overwhelmed by the external environment with no reliable sense of being "saved" by the mother if he is caught in this situation, the child progressively withdraws into himself and away from the external world. By means of self-stimulation or autoerotic gratification, the infant provides himself with comfort (Robertson, 1962) while protecting himself from unduly strong stimulation from without. He sets up a secondary stimulus barrier by creating a high level of internal stimulation or "white noise" which blocks external impingements from breaking through.
into awareness (Zacalona, 1963). In view of our previous discussions of the propensity to regress to those primitive and intense forms of gratification that have been previously experienced when the organism faces overwhelming frustration (Nagera, 1964), it becomes clear that the infant may well utilize the combined defensive maneuvers of self-stimulation and withdrawal when faced with painful reality situations in later life; the ramifications for drug abuse and alcoholism are obvious.

Provence and Ritvo (1961) have found through their study of infant development that an imbalance in the comfort-discomfort ratio of infantile experience might lead to an impedace in the laying down of memory traces of the external object and an inadequate cathexis of this object. This has extremely important consequences in terms of future development, particularly in the cognitive and memoric spheres. If primary narcissistic cathexis were to build to such levels as a result of inadequate protection of the infant's homeostatic state, fluid cathexes of external objects would be blocked (Brody and Axelrad, 1970). An insufficiency of cathexed representations of the human object, the mother, would thus interfere with the later displacement of cathexes to inanimate objects, the entire mechanism of displacement being inadequately structuralized and libidinized. Empirical studies conducted by Decarie (1974) lend suggestive lines of evidence for this position, the objectification of
the human object found to precede the objectification of the inanimate object. Bell (1970) reported that "person permanence" can significantly affect the development of inanimate object permanence. If, as we are proposing, the maternal failure to provide the infant with a stable and protective environment leads to inadequate cathexis of inanimate objects and a propensity to turn inward in the face of external stressful situations, then active mastery of the environment through attempting to understand it and control it will be significantly hampered. A corollary of an inadequately cathexed external environment would be that the infant would have less investment to learn about it or the ability or desire to master it. This would undoubtedly affect later cognitive and academic growth. Murphy (1964) added that active exploratory manipulation of the environment and mastery would not be the only processes to suffer as a result of the need to keep stimulation artificially at low levels, reality testing itself would also ultimately be impaired.

VIII. A Precocious Choice and Solidification of Defensive Processes

While the defense mechanisms may be partially traced to inherited factors, the choice and development of these mechanisms in large part is a function of the manner in which originally primitive processes and autonomous preliminary stages of ego functions have been employed to protect the infant
and facilitate his adaptation to the environment. The utilization of the autonomous functions of perception, sensation, and motoric expression are of particular import in this regard, as they can serve as fore-stages of later defense mechanisms when they are called into play at an early time. Hartmann (1950) expanded on this theme:

"...it might well be that the ways in which infants deal with stimuli -- also those functions of delaying, or postponing discharge... are later used by the ego in an active way. This active use for its own purposes of primordial forms of reaction we consider, as you know, a rather general characteristic of the developed ego (p. 83)."

The tantalizing environment to which the infant is exposed has compelled him to precociously take over the caretaker role normally assumed by the mother, thus leading to a premature exploitation of those primitive processes available to him, specifically perception and motoric expression. It is hypothesized that this overutilization of these processes for defense leads to the establishment of these primitive mechanisms as the infant's major mechanisms of defense in later life. This not only affects defensive choice, as Hartmann, Kris, and Lovenstein (1946) pointed out, but the entire structure of the personality may come to be permanently modified as the pre-ego's reaction to early danger. Leitch and Escalona (1949), Bergman and Escalona (1949) and Khan

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(1964) all reported the premature and selective acceleration of specific ego functions over others when the infant must precociously defend himself. Pockets or islets of advanced ego functions reside side by side with areas of gross under-development and deviancy; ego development itself was generally brittle and liable to regression under stress.

In light of the fact that those defensive mechanisms which are particularly vulnerable to exploitation have already been discussed at length within this chapter, it would be redundant to review them in detail. However, as we examine the developmental progress of the infant in later stages, we should remain cognizant that the child continues to rely inappropriately on these defensive processes which have their origin in fixations to this early ego state: The primitive mechanisms of introjection, projection, splitting, denial, avoidance, autoerotic stimulation, negative hallucinatory processes, and overreliance on gross motoric discharge channels.

IX. Patterns of Mothering in the Ghetto in the First Two Years of Life: Effects on Infant Development

The effects of the infant's socio-economic ethno-cultural milieu can have a profound influence not only on the structure of the infant's developing ego and drive development, but can also shape the responses a mother makes to her baby. Neers (1972) found a mutual collusion between the pernicious
conditions of ghetto life and the "benign neglect" of the larger society in contributing to variants of pathology found in this population. This section will draw together various lines of research and theory concerning the effects of typical patterns of mothering found in the ghetto and in other societies which bear directly on ghetto child-rearing patterns; a psychological profile of the ghetto mother during her infant's first years of life as it effects the child's development, and possible effects these variables may have on the child's development. (For the reader unfamiliar with the psychoanalytic conceptions of the later symbiotic phase, the practicing subphase, and the rapprochement sub-phase; refer to Appendix B).

Neubauer (1960) cited evidence from cultures in which "multiple mothering" was the norm, many caretakers attending to the infant's needs in a consistent and healthy manner. He speculated that these children seemed to be able to tolerate separation more easily than single-mothered infants, reacting to the trauma of separation in a far more balanced fashion as they seemingly trusted more people; children of the Israeli Kibbutzim perhaps have come under the most scrutiny in this regard. However, Neubauer cautioned that all the evidence was not yet in, as in previous studies such as A. Freud and Dann (1951) who examined concentration camp children, a breakdown of functioning was found to occur at puberty -- a precarious normalcy maintained up to that point.

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This collapse of functioning might well have been due to object relations which were based on primary ties to group companions, as opposed to ties which were formed to parents.

Winnicott (1948b) is representative of the most conservative lines of thought in psychoanalysis. He stated emphatically that only the consistent mother was in a position to know her infant well enough to respond to it with that exquisite sensitivity which was essential for healthy development. Huensterberger (1974) applied the psychoanalytic model in his cross-cultural study of the effects of multiple mothering on early child care, attempting to ascertain whether a stable, consistent mother was really of such prime importance for the child's development, particularly in those cultures where a number of "good" multiple mothering objects were typically involved in the child's care. He raised the central question regarding the psychoanalytic conception of object constancy in the first years of life, if this was a hypothesis which had true scientific validity, or if it was bound within our ethno-specific cultural ideologies and culturally biased normative categories. This issue also underlies much of hypothetical constructions in the present paper, whether multiple mothering by itself -- irrespective of whether it can be judged good or bad -- affects the child's development. Does the extended family of the ghetto, where many people are responsible for the child's early care, ranging from the mother to her younger children,
the grandmother to relatives, acquaintances, and home-based
day-care offered by neighbors, in some way shape the child's
development? Further, are consistent object relations
necessarily "good," and are multiple, inconsistent object
relationships necessarily "bad?"
Let us examine Muensterberger's cross-cultural findings to
try to answer these questions.

In those societies which normatively provided multiple
caretakers, children were found to have diffuse libidinal
investment in many people, as opposed to a strong relationship
with any one object. As basic bodily needs were often
attended to by many people, the mother herself as an object
representation was found to be neither firmly nor unambiva-
antly established. Unstable object representations and
object cathexes were found to become embedded in the uncon-
scious, leading to unstable or "casual" relationships with
others at later stages of development. A firm sense of self
differentiation and ego boundary formation was not achieved,
as the mothering object was not consistent enough during the
early months of life to "survive" the infant's initial
splitting of the maternal image into good and bad part
objects. It was only by the mother's continued, consistent
presence that the infant was enabled to fuse these split
object representations and maintain the mother's perceptual
presence as a whole object; a consistency to which these
infants were not exposed. The issue of ambivalency was never
adequately resolved, manifested in the often noted mood swings which provided a simultaneous expression of good and bad feelings. The child’s psychic integration was found to be far more primitively organized than would be expected in our society; Meunsterberger (1974) concluded:

"The indications are, as far as multiple care-takers are concerned, that instead of relying on stable object representations the individual will cling to a more archaic structure of introjects; that adaptive measures and instinctual forces are more affect prone and directed, to a large measure, by identificatory, narcissistic-dependent fixations (p. 76)."

This analysis is by no means meant to imply that the development of these children is not syntonic with the goals and structure of their own society; indeed, where the culture stresses group or tribal affiliation over individual familial ties, this pattern of child rearing ensures the continuation of these particular societal structures. However, the question arises whether this different set of child rearing variables and consequent unique intraphychic structuring would be optimal for functioning in a society which places a high valuation on individual initiative, competition, "post-ambivalent maturity," and the ability to maintain a nuclear family; i.e., modern western society. Meunsterberger commented regarding this difference in personality functioning
that:

"The fact that, under the prevailing socio-cultural ambience, the manifest constellation of defenses is culture-adequate -- think for example of the conventional 'machismo' behavior in South American countries -- it is not necessarily a sign of effective and dependable balance but evidence of the ego's use of behavioral options (p. 74)."

Ghetto society, however, cannot be conceptualized, except in the loosest descriptive sense, as an extended-kinship society. The very conditions of ghetto existence with its transient sense of permanence in regard to both living space and provision of one set stable people who make up the community (e.g., broken homes, many living-together arrangements, frequent moves), do not fit this model: The chaotic living conditions and anomie which characterize these communities are a far cry from the societies Muensterberger studied. Further, and of particular consequence to this analysis, is the fact that child caring practices are often situationally-contingent, or perhaps better conceptualized as crisis-reactive. The inconsistency of the ghetto mother's child-rearing practices are most important in this regard. However, the overall effects of multiple mothering to which the child is often exposed remain, as do the consequences for adaptation to ghetto society. What becomes evident in this analysis is
the fact that these child-rearing practices do not prepare
the child for optimal adaptation to the larger society. In
an earlier section on the failure of the mother to adequately
maintain the infant's stimulus barrier, it was hypothesized
that it was the intrusion of her own needs which led to early
disruption and impingement on the infant (Khan, 1963). Case
material was cited in which this disruption appeared to be
due to the mother's rage towards the infant because her child
represented a rival for the attention she might receive
from her spouse, and the speculation that it was indeed the
mother's wish to be and not to have an infant; the ministra-
tions she grudgingly gave to her infant acting as a constant
reminder of the gratification she may never have received
as a baby, the caring for situation reactivating her own
passive and infantile wishes (Kris, 1962). In essence,
the mother was envious of her infant's dependent position
and the gratifications she felt compelled to minister to
him. The mother was found to harbor extremely ambivalent
feelings towards her infant, desiring to consciously give
him the love and attention she felt she never received, but
unconsciously frustrating the infant's needs as to give
to the infant what she longed for herself only provoked her
further resentment and anger. Through identification with
the powerful frustrating mother of her own past, the new
mother was able to master her own feelings of dependency
and helplessness.
From the standpoint of the ghetto mother's experience, to form any close attachment is to court only disappointment and pain. Despite the mother's wish to "make it different this time," her unconscious tendency to over-identify with her child's helpless dependency and the associated feelings this brings out in her may counteract her desires to alter her behavior. Furman (1959, 1975) found that this type of mother could not care for her child consistently as she related to the child on a primarily narcissistic basis, the child in this case representing that part of herself (i.e., the helpless, vulnerable, dependent part) which she hated. Thus, the mother may care for the child's physical needs in the strictest sense, but often was prevented from loving the child in his own right. Further, the mother's fears that the child might grow up to "go astray" of appropriate behavior or to be exploited as she was, may well reflect her projection onto and narcissistic identification with her baby (Meers, 1972).

The unconscious ambivalent feelings the ghetto mother harbors towards her infant manifest themselves behaviorally in erratic and inconsistent patterns of care. The mother may alternate between lavishing her infant with love and attention followed by periods of deprivation and harsh treatment; when the mother's guilt over her frustration of her infant's needs reaches an intolerable level, she may then reassert the chole of overglorification based on these

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guilty feelings. Spitz (1949) examined a number of mother-infant dyads in which the mother's pattern of behavior was strikingly similar to the one described above; these mothers were generally controlled by the emotions governing them at any moment, were highly inconsistent in their child-caring practices, and often failed to have any clear insight into the possible future consequences of their contemporaneous actions. The babies, in their turn, often proved to be the major outlet for the mother's emotions, exposed to all encompassing, "smothering" love alternating with outbursts of untempered rage and anger. Spitz compared the development of these children to the description of the impulsive character as conceptualized by W. Reich. He believed that the constant alteration between extremes of permissiveness and hostility on the part of the parents, and the mother in particular, make it difficult if not impossible for the child to introject a consistent parental image. As the parents and their qualities were not internalized, the roles and prohibitions of the parents were also not internalized, resulting in faulty super-ego development in its precursor stage during the rapprochement period, and in the later Oedipal phase. The children do partially incorporate an unreliable and inconsistent image of the parents as the parental representation, the children later becoming as unpredictable and inconsistent in their dealings with others as their parents were with them. With no internalized
prohibitions to inhibit him, the child is likely to impulsively act on his feelings without regard to the consequences. Further, the lack of a strong object relationship with the parent might later cripple the child's ability to trust or form an object relationship with another object. In Spitz's conceptualization, the experience the child has with its original libidinal object creates an expectancy pattern of all future relationships; if this relationship has been impaired because the primal object or mother has been so contradictory in perception and experience as to obviate adequate formation of the object relationship, every new object will be approached with trepidation and peril.

Patterns of inconsistent maternal behavior similar to those described of the black ghetto mother, were further found to be linked with character development associated with inconsistent mothering as described by Sandler, Danton, and Schnurmann (1957). The apprehensiveness upon encountering new situations, increased separation anxiety in early life, and an inability to know how to respond to the behavior of others -- all noted in the population of black children under study -- were found by these investigators to be due to inconsistent mothering. In the cases they studied, they found that the child often identified with the mother's unpredictability and mood lability; they, like their mothers, would often be impulsively and destructively angry to be followed by bouts of undoing, reconciliation, and over-
indulgence. During the oral stages of development, the mothers were not only inconsistent in their gratification and approach towards the infant's oral demands, but also alternated between being overly seductive or unreasonably restrictive. These child-rearing practices eventually led to oral disturbances of many kinds, prolonged fights over eating, and a propensity for oral fixations and regressions.

One is struck by how this description of the development of these children in regard to their inconsistent mothering patterns parallels the maternal child-rearing patterns of the ghetto mother. In the latter case, the mother is often found to institute fierce discipline and deprivation at an inappropriately early age so that she will not "spoil her child," yet follow this with lavish overindulgence of affection and sweets; here, too, we find the propensity for oral fixations and regressions to oral dependency as evidenced by the high incidence of alcohol and drug abuse in the ghetto, the large proportion of poor black women who are significantly overweight, and the existence of multigenerational families who have been dependent upon public assistance and welfare for their support. Further, impulsivity, low frustration tolerance, lack of anticipatory planning, outbursts of aggressive violence followed by rapid reconciliations and a disarming reinstitution of congeniality, are all endemic to ghetto life as described in previous chapters.
Sandler, Danton, and Schnurmann also noted a number of other mother-child interaction patterns and behavioral sequelae which are directly relevant to our understanding of the black child-mother dyad. They found that in the population they studied, the effect of inconsistent mothering on these children was manifest in the child's demand for immediate, direct instinctual gratification from those they dealt with, literally a throwback to the infant's demand for immediate gratification from the good part-object. This instinctual neediness was most apparent in regard to the demands they made upon their mothers. As a consequence of this interaction, these children found it almost impossible to detach themselves from this type of relationship with their mothers at later stages of development. Again, the parallel is striking with the black ghetto population as evidenced in the matrifocal home, where grandmother, mother, and daughter often live together, as well as the propensity for black mothers to return to their own mother's home during episodes of hardship or crisis. This is particularly evident in the female, whose primary confidant remains the mother or other close female relative. The ghetto male generally gravitates to male peers, a topic to be discussed later in this paper.

The mothers described by these researchers experienced tremendous difficulty in adapting their child-rearing techniques to the child's appropriate stage of development;
it was hypothesized that their own narcissistic cathexis and fantasies concerning the child blocked their ability to support their children through progressive stages of development. Much as has been described repeatedly throughout this paper, Sandler et al. found these mothers to treat their children alternately -- and inappropriately -- as either helpless infants or expected them to behave as adults. The child, in his turn, was extremely confused and anxiety-ridden, particularly regarding being treated far younger than they were. At times they anxiously tried to prove to their mothers that they were "big grownups" capable of managing grownup affairs, while at other times they collapsed into passivity and inappropriate oral demandingness.

While the mother's dual standards often confused the child, the restrictive attitudes of the mother were nonetheless internalized. A primitive, punitive, but brittle super-ego formed, which severely punished the child for his "bad instinctual thoughts." Sandler et al. observed that the very real fear of the mother's punitiveness and inconsistent behavior in regard to seductive and aggressive attitudes, combined with the rigid archaic super-ego formation of the child, led to a state of neurotic and real anxiety as the child was constantly threatened by the super-ego's harsh reaction to instinctual demands and his inability to adequately foretell what the mother's reaction might be. These children were observed to discharge their heightened
anxiety through motoric channels of bodily excitement and highly developed body skills. The investigators hypothesized that this form of pleasure and discharge behavior was the only pattern of behavior which did not evoke unpredictable responses of approval or disapproval from the mother. As this was one of the few avenues of discharge permitted, it may thus have become conflict free. This precocious body skill was commented upon earlier in regard to black children. It would appear that the analysis offered by Sandler et al. is highly congruent and applicable to the black child's development in the face of inconsistent mothering.

The accumulation of unabated tension which was not lessened by the mother's timely saving of the infant in the symbiotic phase was also commented upon in regard to earlier phases of development. These infants are characteristically seen to precociously develop specific ego functions such as heightened alertness or sensitivity, but to lag in overall cognitive development and ego integration (Leitch and Escalona, 1949). Mahler et al. (1975) have also found this precocious activation of fragments of the ego nuclei in the early symbiotic phase, manifest in hypersensitivity to touch, gustatory sensation, visual hyperalertness and startling at noises.

Deiser (1965) noted that among black children living in disintegrated communities, a basic sense of trust -- one of the major developmental tasks of the first year and a half of life -- is often not established due to the inconsistency
of maternal care, as well as the general environmental disruption and instability. The infant never comes to learn to trust anyone as a result of this, his entire sense of rootedness in the family and inner feelings of goodness which come from being unqualifiedly loved are never established. Ultimately, the child becomes suspicious of everyone's intentions toward him, fearing that he will be exploited or abused further for their own purposes. As a firm sense of contiguity which optimally derives from consistent mothering and love is not available, the child is handicapped in the development of the sense of temporality; he has not had the experience of being able to confidently await gratification in the future that he can be sure will be forthcoming. This later situation also frustrates the establishment of the ability to defer gratification and thereby weakens impulse control. Beiser speculates that the black individual may become particularly invested in peer relationships at a later time, as peers tend to offer less demand for reciprocation of affection than a spouse, require less emotional commitment, and often tend to be more supportive than those who supposedly are closest to them and love them.

Inconsistency and unpredictability of the mother's behavior may have profound effects on the infant's entire conceptualization and integration of the world. Khan (1963) hypothesized that precocious hypercathexis and external and internal reality disrupts the ego's subjective awareness and
experience of itself as a whole entity; Decarie (1974) stated that the frustrating object might ultimately have the child's libidinal cathexis withdrawn from it, this cathexis then becoming diffuse drive energy. The child may desperately search for a new love object to replace the frustrating mother, a process already marred by the infant's suspiciousness and fear that he may also be rebuffed in the new relationship. The resulting situation is one in which the baby's achievements are not fused with the mother's pleasure, her absence in the child's existence ultimately showing itself in the infant's diminished interest in the environment with less reaching out behavior (Robertson, 1962). The symbiotic relationship itself may be disrupted at any early point, or it may prove to be skewed in its developmental course. Mahler et al. (1975) commented:

"We found this longing for the state of well-being and unity or closeness with mother to be peculiarly lacking in children whose symbiotic relationship had been unduly prolonged or had been a disturbed one.... It seemed diminished and irregular in children in whom the symbiotic relationship with mother was marred by the unpredictability and impulsivity of a partly engulfing and partly rejecting mother (p. 75)."

While the infant may experience a mood of elation during the practicing subphase, if his motoric development has been
precocious he may separate "too far" from the mother, bringing
on a premature awareness of his real separateness from her
long before his internal regulatory mechanisms can cope with
the anxiety attendant upon this awareness. It is during this
period that the ghetto mother may prematurely believe her
child to be less needful of her enveloping attention, believ-
ing instead that her child is finally on the road to independ-
dence and self-management. Turning her full attention away
from the child, she may become preoccupied with the more
mundane tasks of household management and, in the all-too-
infrequent case of families with multiple, closely-spaced
children, to the needs of a new baby who may already be
present. Mahler (1967) spoke to the psychological correlates
of what is tantamount to an emotional, premature abandonment
of the infant:

"Many mother, however, take the very first aided
step of their toddler, who is, intrapsychically
speaking, by no means yet hatched, as heralding:
'He is grown up now.' These mothers may be the
one who interpret the infant's signals according
to whether they feel the child to be a continuation
of themselves or a separate individual. Some
tend to fail their fledglings, by 'abandoning'
them at this point, more or less precipitously and
prematurely, to their own devices. They react with
a kind of relative ridding mechanism, to the
traumatization of their own symbiotic needs (p. 1190).

The very anticipation of being "sloughed off" by her child
through its relative obliviousness to her during the practicing
subphase may precipitate another pregnancy on the mother's part
in an attempt to recapture the wish for a symbiotic merging
with yet another infant. The mother may react with unconscious
rage as the temporary desertion of her toddler rekindles
memories of being sloughed off by her own mother; this may
partially account for the incidence of closely-spaced children
in relatively large families, so prominent in the ghetto.

In attempting to discriminate between those cases from
a black ghetto which would respond successfully to psychoanalyti-
cally-based psychotherapy and those cases which would not,
Spurlock and Cohen (1969) arrived at a similar conclusion
regarding the use of pregnancy by black mothers to allay their
feelings of desertion by the practicing-subphase child. They
observed:

"...that in all the unsuccessful cases with the
children whose diagnoses were schizophrenia,
schizoid character, borderline or passive-
aggressive personality, there was an intense use
of the child for the mother's pregenital need
gratification, with a new pregnancy repeated
each time the youngest child reached the state of
motoric autonomy.... These mothers...defended
themselves against experiencing loss by a constant use of the children to fill up their emptiness (p. 25)."

The continuing pattern of maternal overindulgence followed by frequent, aggressive outbursts and deprivation also has relevance in this stage of development. While the aggressive episodes of the mother clearly act to arouse her own anxiety and may lead to guilt-ridden self-reproaches, they are at the same time gratifying to the mother (and to some extent the child also) as it provides a reinstatement of the physical contact with the child and control over the child which the mother may fear she is losing. Fights over eating often provoke defiance on the part of the child, promoting fixation to the oral stage of development and strengthening pre-oedipal attachments to the mother (Sandler et al., 1957). Scare (1953, reported in Thomas and Sillen, 1972) reported cases of three lower-class males whose immaturity and infantilized behavior appeared to be related to what was conceptualized as a "regressive family structure," wherein the mothers were highly overprotective and overindulgent on the one hand, but often prohibitive, demanding and threatening on the other.

In reporting on mother-child interaction patterns in a Southern, urban ghetto, Thompson (1974) found that it was often those very mothers who complained most frequently about the sacrifices they felt they had to make for their
children, and who were most likely to indulge and pamper them. It would appear that this "indulging" behavior may spring from a reaction formation on the mother's part to the hostility engendered in giving to the child what she herself felt she never received -- a hostility which must be repressed and the opposite inclination (to gratify the child) acted upon. However, this repressed rage breaks through into consciousness during periods of external or internal stress, and the mother then acts out punitively and aggressively towards her child. Not only do these erratic periods of overgratification disturb the child's optimal equilibrium, accompanied by increased tension states in the infant (Leitch and Escalona, 1949), but they also hinder the child's development of frustration tolerance and undermine his anticipatory planning ability; the inconsistency with which the gratification occurs acts to weaken his sense of security and view of the world as a pleasant place to live in. Comer (1975) also commented that for many black mothers (and white as well), overindulgence and overprotectiveness may actually be a disguised form of exploiting the infant, projecting their own needs onto the infant and deriving a narcissistic gratification from the child's pleasure.

The second eighteen months of life represent a period of increased vulnerability when the infant's inflated sense of ideal self may be severely injured. The "senior toddler"
becomes aware, quite suddenly, of his growing physical separateness from the mother. The relative obliviousness of the child to the mother which so characterized the practicing subphase now rapidly diminishes. An increased need to turn back to the mother, a wish to share with her every new accomplishment, acquisition, and skill, marks the final subphase of separation individuation, the period of "rapprochement." The mother's emotional or physical unavailability to the infant during this crucial period may precipitate a severe developmental trauma. The child is literally threatened with the possible loss of the mother as the primary object. He reacts with confusion, bewilderment, traumatic apprehension, and probably consequent depression, if the threat is actualized.

The normal strains of the rapprochement period may be exacerbated by the ghettto mother's rage at her infant and subsequent rejection of him as "he turns back to her." Just as she has begun to experience a newfound freedom from the demands of the infant during the practicing subphase, the infant heightens his demands on her for a return to what may appear to her to be the regressive relationship of the past, with the attendant reinstitution of infantile demands and an anticipated severe curtailment in her own drive for independence from the child. Faced with a new set of overburdening demands and the revival of her own unconscious memories of being "sloughed off" by her own mother in her infantile state of neediness, the mother turns from the child in a bewildered
state of self-righteous rage. The "sloughing off" of the child by the ghetto mother can only be viewed as a major developmental trauma.

The child's already tenuous relationship with the mother is further strained as the threat of her unavailability and fantasized complete loss now appears to become actualized. The child is impelled to desperate attempts at regaining the lost, blissful, symbiotic unity which he fears has been lost to him forever. Further, repeated attempts at reunion with the symbiotic mother are now likely to be met with only continued rejection and a deepening, forlorn sense of loss.

What effects does this have on the child's further development? Much as with trauma victims who are impelled tirelessly to repeat the fantasy of the traumatic incident to gain mastery over it, with the attendant fantasy that a successful resolution will occur if they can only magically undo the original situation and consequently magically change it, so too with the ghetto infant or child who becomes locked into a pattern of needing to recreate the original situation with other significant objects, magically believing that he can ultimately resolve the crisis and reunite himself with the symbiotic mother. A life-long search for blissful reunion is instituted, the child -- and later the adult -- initially idealizing every new relationship in the expectation that this relationship, at long last, may prove to be the end of his state of paralyzing "unrequited love." As no
relationship based on such infantile, regressive needs could ever be fulfilled, the child or adult finds himself gravely disappointed time and time again.

All close relationships ultimately come to be viewed as inherently disappointing and frustrating, the expectancy of being "sloughed off" by the object assured by the repetition of the prototypical traumatic situation. The child or adult is compelled to recreate a situation where the object must slough him off; or, in other cases, in identification with the sloughing-off mother, the child severs the relationship himself in an attempt at mastery through identification with the aggressor. The child, to use Fenichel's term, becomes traumatophilic, driven to create and recreate situations where he will only be traumatized again and again. Magical thinking, already inadequately resolved during the period of infantile omnipotence in the practicing subphase, is regressively resorted to to disavow the helplessness the child feels in the face of further abandonments. As external reality proves itself to be unamenable to change, the child is driven to become increasingly reliant on magically changing his internal reality through whatever means are at hand. In the ghetto drugs and alcohol are typically resorted to to effect this change. What is particularly debilitating about this symptomatic expression is that external reality never is affected; the chance for even a compromise resolution never occurs. Wish fulfillment and drug-induced
reveries come to take the place of action based on realistic expectations.

The sustained nature of the trauma, occurring first when the mother fails adequately to protect the infant from stimulation during the first months of life, and later when she sloughs off the returning infant during rapprochement, interferes with the initial fusion and blending of good and bad images of both self and object. What occurs instead is a fused and confused coupling of part-images which may have a debilitating effect on the child's growing reality orientation. As "hatching" is premature and separation faulty, the infant never optimally individuates from his mother. Concomitant with the desire regressively to merge with the lost symbiotic mother at the inception of rapprochement is the threat that the regression will go too far -- the infant being re-engulfed into the "whirlpool" of the primary undifferentiated symbiotic stage. The child is caught in an unresolvable dilemma, to regain the lost primary object he is compelled to regress to a symbiotic merging with the mother and narcissistic identification with the mothering role (i.e., work for the mother), while the very panic involved in this regression brings with it the dread that he will lose his own hard won self-differentiation.

The inconsistency and unavailability of the maternal object during the practicing subphase has left the infant subdued and low-keyed, his exploratory forays abbreviated.
Constantly fearing the loss of the mother, the infant is compelled to return and check back on her with increased intensity. In the words of Mahler et al. (1975), the infant becomes "preoccupied" with the mother, constantly "shadowing her" out of his concern that she may leave him. In order to rescue the mother from his rage, her image is split into good and bad objects, as may his own self-representations. A mirroring identification is made with the mother as other primitive defenses such as projection are invoked to maintain the fragile bond. If these primitive defense mechanisms fail, the above investigators hypothesized that the infant may resort to masochistic surrender. The energy bound in these defenses drains the environment and the infant's very own functioning of its libidinal investment.

The deleterious effects of maternal inconsistency becomes increasingly pronounced as the child enters the rapprochement subphase. The barely restrained, unconscious ambivalent feelings towards the mother may surface during periods of stress when the repression of the "bad maternal part-object" and its associated rage threaten to split the entire object world into good and bad parts. Mahler et al. noted that the infant's precocious, painful awareness of his own separateness in the practicing subphase not only deflated the infant's sense of magical omnipotence, but punctured the sense of omnipotence he would share with his mother. The child's own sense of self-esteem is crippled in the
process, and the image of the real mother, stripped of her all-gratifying nurturant goodness and magical omnipotence, constantly becomes disappointing. Away from the physical presence of the mother, the child in later life may be able to maintain the fantasy or fiction of an all-giving mother, but in her direct presence reality and experience erodes the idealized image. Evidence of the search for intimate relationships which vibrate with highly exploiting relationships and the concomitant fear of being exploited, and reports of the felt contradictoriness of the mother's care abound in studies of ghetto populations, grim testimony to the future consequences of the processes initiated in these early stages of development. The difficulty in forming and maintaining close loving bonds develops further roots during this period. Mahler et al. commented:

"...the less gradually, the more abruptly, intrapsychic awareness of separateness occurs, or the more intrusive and/or unpredictable the parents are, the less does the modulating, negotiating function of the ego gain ascendancy. That is to say, the less predictably reliable or the more intrusive the love object's emotional attitude in the outside world has been, the greater the extent to which the object remains or becomes an unassimilated foreign body -- a 'bad' intraject, in the intrapsychic emotional economy..."
(the infant) seems to develop an increased proclivity to identify the self-representation with the 'bad' introject or at least to confuse the two. If this situation surfaces during the rapprochement subphase, then aggression may be unleashed in such a way as to inundate or sweep away the 'good object' and with it, the good self-representation (p. 117)."

X. The Third Year of Life: Ramifications of Maternal Abandonment in the Anal Stage of Development

During the twenty-fourth through the thirty-sixth month of life the ego becomes highly structuralized, the maturing self-image reflects the increasing internalization of parental injunctions and true ego identifications. Threats to the child's self-esteem are optimally contained and ameliorated by the love the parent has for the child; because the child feels himself to be loved by the parent, he perceives himself as lovable and valued. The parent's love buoy the infant over the periods where his lack of mastery of the environment fails to confirm his inflated image of himself and allows him to "accept defeat gracefully." If the child finds himself in the parent's displeasure because of his mischievous or misdirected actions, his knowledge that they will continue to love him for whom he is allows him to
spring back from his momentary state of panic that he may have possibly lost the parent's love.

The emotional object constancy which has been established as a result of the long, gradual process of internalization of the consistent love object allows him to progressively strike out on his own without fear of possible abandonments. Progressive detoxification of the aggressive drives by the permanent libidinal cathexis of the love object facilitates the fusion of the good and bad maternal objects into the unambivalently loved whole object representation which can withstand the brunt of the infant's intense anger without his having to resort to his previous, primitive defense of splitting. In Mahler et al.'s (1975) conceptualization, the absent or otherwise frustrating libidinal object is longed for rather than rejected during this higher stage of development, another person can no longer be substituted for the mother; the maternal imago maintains stability wholly independent of the infant's internal state of discomfort or instinctual needs. These investigators believed, however, that irregularities in early development which may have intensified both libidinal and aggressive ties to the mother, hence interfering with the process of detoxification and necessarily maintaining splitting, may manifest themselves in relatively rapid attainment of the permanent representation of the libidinal object at a precocious age, but this precocious representation may prove to be less fixed and more liable to disruption than would otherwise be expected in
normal, healthy development.

The anal stage of psychosexual development has been detailed by so many psychoanalytic writers that only a brief discussion is included here. This period roughly parallels the later rapprochement subphase and encompasses the fourth subphase. It is during this time both that the baby's sphincter muscles have reached the level of necessary development to retain the stool, and his psychological development is such that his parents have become separate libidinal objects whom he wishes to please. A. Freud (1965) conceptualized the anal-sadistic stage as a period of ambivalent feelings towards the libidinal objects, the child wishing to control or torture his parents by retaining his feces and frustrating them in their wishes to toilet train him, while simultaneously wishing to please them by passively acquiescing to their demands. The child enters into a struggle with the forces of the environment and receives one of his first tests of "socialization." It is at this stage -- the terrible two's -- that obstinacy, rebelliousness, and the omnipotent, defiant "no" make their appearance as the child struggles for autonomy over his body and the world.

It is also during this period of time that verbal communicative skills blossom; the child no longer uses words merely as designations for objects that he wants, but now begins to entertain a dialogue with those around him. Eanan
(1961) found that the early development of language is notable for its lack of labels for feeling states; the child often has no name for how he feels inside. The parent is often at a loss to what the child is experiencing and must often fall back on their own empathetic intuition of the child to "guess at" what emotions the baby is experiencing. Only later in this period do names become fixed to the emotional states.

Through the process of verbalization of his own feelings, the child comes to delay his emotional expression as he judges the situation (e.g., the baby who hesitates before crying to ascertain if the mother is near so she may optimally benefit from his oft-produced, histrionic act.) When the child is able to verbalize his feelings, he is able to master them and is consequently less apt to resort to primitive defenses to keep them out of consciousness.

Katan commented that when the child is not taught to label his feelings, a situation ensues in which the strength of the emotion is discrepant with the child's ability to express it. The delaying of action on the feeling is hindered by this lack of verbalization ability; even at later dates when the verbalization of feeling does become actualized, the pattern has already been established for immediate action upon feeling states rather than through verbal mastery.

This "spontaneous" behavior of the child will ultimately set him at odds with the environment; the fixation of ego at this stage of acting rather than verbalizing leads to
the child being overwhelmed by his affects, leading to his fearing further emotional intrusion or stimulation from the environment while promoting early feelings of guilt for his often inappropriate uninhibited responses to situations. A preverbal cognitive style becomes established, language reflecting the more immediate, action bound concreteness inherent in this action-oriented style at the expense of the development of higher abstractual concepts embodied in the language. Language itself becomes a weak adjunct to problem solving; motoric-sensory expression and manipulation of concrete objects failed to succumb to the developmentally advanced verbal mediational processes. An impulsive, expressive style becomes predominant, the ready discharge of energy through action thwarting the development of higher autonomous ego functions involved in memory, judgment and reasoning. The containment of aggressive drive expression is most hindered in this regard, words often becoming merely the preface to its manifest overt discharge.

While the black subculture is unfairly and rather irresponsibly labelled as "nonverbal" or as possessors of a more primitive language style, it is notable for the high valuation it places on the "spontaneous action style" and a pragmatic, concrete, manipulative approach to the environment. In his analysis of black ghetto "street talk," Kochman (1972) made the fascinating observation that most of the varieties of contextual speech are not related to primarily communicating
information, but are rather directed for expressive-directive purposes; i.e., successfully controlling and manipulating people and situations. Language behavior appears to serve wholly narcissistic ends; the manner in which one comports himself linguistically has the purpose of projecting one's personality, establishing control over the situation, evoking emotion in the audience, or manipulating the other so that he will give up or do something which the speaker desires. Even in that variant of language behavior known as "running it down" where information is imparted, the personality style of the speaker, the performance he puts on, constitutes a major part of the message. Kochman referred to the intrusive "I" of the speaker, his style of performance, as being central to the process of speech patterns in the community.

As the section on language development of the black ghetto children indicated, it is incorrect to conceive of this child as linguistically destitute or language deprived. However, from our knowledge of the ghetto mother-child interaction in the first five years of life, we come to realize that the child may be exposed to a much more subtle type of deprivation, a lack of teaching of the verbalization of feeling or affective states. This may derive from many sources: 1) not really viewing the child as an individual until he is far older; 2) the limited amount of time the mother may actually have to spend with the child due to other, perhaps more pressing needs of the household; 3) leaving the
child's care to an older sibling; 4) the multicaretakers of the infant with their varying child-rearing styles hindering the development of an adequate empathetic response to the child's idiosyncratic signals of his affective state and; 5) the ghetto mother's style of interacting with her infant and young child, often telling him what to do or doing it for him rather than engaging the child in a learning dialogue. While the last source has been spoken to most directly by such researchers as Hess and his associates and Kamii and Radin in the context of the teaching of cognitive skills and problem solving behavior, it is not unreasonable to extrapolate from this that the "shutting down" of verbal behavior by the mother and her directive style rather than reciprocal style with the child may also come to hinder the full development of the affective dimension of language. The emphasis on compliant, "good mannered" behavior as seen in the ability of some of these children to sit silently next to their mothers in church for long periods of time, the admonition against "back talk," the clear message that what the mother says goes without comment, and an overgeneralized and perhaps age-inappropriate conception of what constitutes "good discipline," all act to keep the mother-child verbal interaction to a minimum. The emphasis placed on motoric skill development and fending for one's self also biases against this type of verbal behavior development.

In terms of the behavioral outcome seen at later stages
of development, problems with impulse control and delay of action, "spontaneous," unreflective motoric behavior, the explosive affective expression, particularly apparent on physical aggressing against peers, and an action-oriented style, the very behaviors attributed to deficits in the adequately timed ability to verbalize feelings are all apparent in the ghetto population. As Katz (1961) stated, it is not the case that these verbal behaviors are never learned, but that they become established too late. What is being proposed regarding the black ghetto child is that although the verbalization of affective states is learned, for a variety of culturally held beliefs concerning child-rearing practices, child conduct, discipline and for a variety of environmental contingencies created by poverty such as overcrowding, multi-caretaking of the infant, older sibling child-care responsibility, and the overwhelming demands placed on the mother, the verbalization of feelings is realized at a later and developmentally less propitious moment with serious consequences for future psychological maturation. Speech is employed in the service of the individual's ability to control and manipulate people with largely narcissistic ends, as outlined by Kochman (1972).

The accumulation of trauma sustained through repeated although not necessarily severe separations, deprivations, periods of excessive gratification, and inappropriate physical handling may culminate in a situation where libidinal object
constancy cannot be maintained. Mahler et al. (1975) considered the anal and phallic stages particularly vulnerable to the effects of this cumulative trauma, interfering with the child's consolidation individuality and blocking the gradual process of neutralization of aggression. The child's experience of being previously "sloughed off" in the rapprochement period may well spill over into the main anxiety that the child harbors during these later periods, the fears concerning abandonment, loss of love and castration anxiety. This may have particular ramifications concerning the black child's equation of himself with his flushed away body product, the stool, a normal apprehension of this period as all children worry that they too may be discarded. This subject will be discussed shortly.

McDonald (1970), in her discussion of "skin color anxiety," expanded on the special difficulties that the black child faced in separating and individuating from its mother. She underlined the critical importance the mother played in libidinally cathecting the infant through her loving handling, contributing to the healthy narcissistic primary cathexis of the infant. If the mother failed to provide the optimal libidinization of the skin, disturbances might ensue in primary narcissism and the essential core of personality development. When the mother fails to recognize the growing separateness of her infant from herself through her
unavailability to the infant, or her own reluctance to allow the infant to grow away from her, a painful state of tension and anxiety is produced in the infant which may cause fixations or a desire to regress to the safety of a merger with the mother. Anxiety-provoking situations in later life may revive these early conflicts, inviting the individual either to give up his own personal integrity for the promise of a merger with the symbiotic object, or defensively to reject any close relationship which acts only to remind the individual of the painful experiences to which he was subjected when he encountered his first and most important object relationship.

Long before even the pioneering work of Kenneth and Mamie Clark in the forties and fifties, researchers had been aware of the often conscious desires of black Americans to be white, a product of America's history of slavery and racism. The concern with light skin, thin nose and lips, and straight hair has been somewhat diminished by the campaign in the last decade aimed at black pride and convincing blacks that "Black is Beautiful." However, despite this recent development, the pervasive higher valuation on "white" physical characteristics has remained a potent force, making its mark on generations of blacks. In a recent study including black ghetto children from Baltimore, Rosenberg and Simmons (1971) found that while none of the youngsters identified "white" physical characteristics as more attractive
than black physical characteristics, the overwhelming majority of the children choosing the lighter shade of black skin color as more attractive than the darker shades. Grier and Cobbs (1972) commented that this finding cannot be confined to children alone, as the large number of black males choosing spouses of a shade lighter than themselves points out the connection that exists in the mind of the black male between fair skin and beauty.

Comer (1975) has found through his clinical and personal experience that many blacks have a real difficulty in accepting their blackness, often harboring secret desires to be white. McDonald (1970) cited the work of McLean (1946, 1949), the latter writer finding all her black patients hated their skin color as it was this which marked them as social outcasts and pariahs, hating their black peers while wishing instead that they themselves were white. It was from the deep, unconscious fear that their hostility towards whites might surface that the rage was suppressed and later repressed, then turned against the self to manifest itself in hostile guilt, self-hate, anxiety, and self-loathing.

Goodman (1954), again cited in McDonald, found that as early as four years of age black children became manifestly concerned about their skin color, at times consciously denying it or attempting to wash it off. These children, much like the nursery school children examined by McDonald, presented a picture of uniformly low self-esteem and envy of the
white-skinned children. Harrison-Ross and Wyden (1974) offered provocative examples of how the mother may transmit to her very young infant her own ambivalence, shame, and embarrassment about being black, the mother's "stiffening up" and discomfort around whites creating an apprehensive atmosphere which the child comes to associate with being black; the ability to discriminate between colors and shades is well established by six or seven months of age. The following illustration was offered:

"...little Sara, a pretty, dark-skinned (7 month old) little girl, closer to her father in skin color than her mother, was learning to associate black skin with discomfort, loud noises, and unhappiness. What Sara sensed was that her black skinned father was making her mother angry and unhappy (Don't forget, at this age it is difficult for an infant to understand that he or she is not part of his mother -- particularly when the infant is sick). Sara now has an early association linking black skin with pain and sickness, angry voices, loud noises and being separated from mother (Harrison-Ross and Wyden, 1974, p. 63)."

Meares (1973) added that although much of the deprivation and suffering the child is exposed to during his early, formative years may be laid directly at the doorstep of societal racism and discrimination, the child is not privy to this
larger socio-political analysis nor is he capable of understanding it. For the young child, his only or major contact comes from interaction with the victims of this situation, the parents. As the child comes to recognize and discriminate color differences and is exposed to white children who seem to have everything (due in part to the abundance of television shows which portray white suburban, middle-class home settings), he may conclude that if he were white things would be different, an analysis perhaps not too far removed from the truth. His anger over having black skin may come to be directed at the parents and their blackness.

The roots of the subservience, lack of assertiveness and drive, and passivity found in many black males were explored in an earlier chapter which offered a historical analysis of the slavery and postslavery black mother. She instilled in her male child a subservience to white society so as to insure his survival -- a survival which would certainly be cut short if he were to be assertive or aggressive. Comer (1975) felt that black women have come to despise the black male, his blackness being equated with weakness and failure. She expects her son to fail in everything he does, an expectation derived from her own past experience with males and the very child-rearing practices she employs to stifle his assertiveness; she in turn warns her daughters that they had best be careful as undoubtedly the man they will marry will be as incompetent and irresponsible as their own father or brothers. In part retaliation against the
mother and in part out of a love for her, the son may well
accede to this self-fulfilling prophesy. Also spoken to in
an earlier part of this paper was the black male's percep-
tion of the black female as a deprecated object, a feeling
which undermines his own sense of masculinity and competency
in possessing her, and the concomitant degradation experienced
by the black female in being viewed in this way by her husband.
Grier and Cobbs (1972) speculated that these feelings may well
stress and ultimately tear asunder the fragile bonds of many
black marriages.

The "in-joke" that black parents, often regardless of
social status, first appraise their new baby's skin color
before concerning themselves whether the baby is physically
intact, sensitizes us to the importance their skin color
observed: "Once they've checked out the color, the black
parents turn their attention to looking at the baby's fingers
and toes and making sure he's normal and looking to see which
side of the family he looks like. But it's color first (p.
43)." Coles (1964) also found this phenomena in the parents
and children he studied; he related the child's color as a
powerful determinant in how well the child may come to be
accepted by the parents:

"What is often said about color-consciousness
in Negroes (their legendary pursuit of skin
bleaches and hair straightening lotions) must

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be seen in its relentless effect upon the life of the mind, upon babies and upon child-rearing. A Negro sociologist -- involve in, rather than studying, the sit-in movement -- insisted to me that 'when a Negro child is shown to his mother and father, the first thing they look at is his color, and then they check for fingers and toes.' I thought such a remark extreme indeed, until two years later when I made a point of asking many parents what they thought of it -- and then found them unashamedly in agreement (p. 337).

McDonald (1970) found that among the black families who had their children enrolled in the Hanna Perkins Therapeutic Nursery School, many parents had the unconscious wish to be white. This dissatisfaction with their own skin color led to an impoverished narcissistic investment in themselves, and, hence, a diminished parental self-esteem which was offered to their children for identification. If the child was a dark complexion and the mother felt her infant to be inferior by virtue of his color, her investment in the child could not fail to be ambivalent. Her libidinal cathexis in the child was thus reduced and the infant's initial source of healthy narcissistic cathexis diminished. McDonald commented that at times it appeared that all of the children's lives were touched by this narcissistic conflict. She drew implications for the child's development in every phase of
psychosexual development, perhaps the most fascinating one
in regard to the effects this has during the anal phase.
During this phase the color brown temporarily becomes associated with all that is dirty, bad, and worthless for both black and white children alike; the feces which must be de-valued and rejected by the infant as a worthless part of himself. Brown comes to symbolize the parentally forbidden anal-pleasurable excitement; the threatened loss of control over anally tinged feelings and anal contents; and the sadistic, aggressive feelings characteristic of this period. The child must be sustained by the parents' healthy narcissistic evaluation of both themselves and their valuation and loving support of the child's own bodily functions if he is to "maintain his own necessary narcissistic investment in himself."

When the child's ego control suffers a periodic, normal lapse, he is faced with the temporary feelings of being bad and rejectable, like his feces. In particular, if the black parent fails to value the child in view of his own unresolved conflicts regarding his skin color or his child's skin color, the child becomes, in essence the dirty stool which the parent flushes away, while he suffers the coincident traumatic loss of his body content or part of self. The parent may fail to compensate for this loss by neither reinvesting parental cathexis in the child's mastery over his sphincter muscles and body, nor discriminating adequately between the constantly valued child and his devalued anal product. McDonald (1970)
summarized the dangers of this period:

"To a small child, in or recently through his anal developmental phase, his major concern in life has been a separation of himself from his feces and all the conflicts that emanate from this body loss. The main developmental danger for him during this period has been his fear of losing the love he receives from his love object. If he experiences any extended separation from loved and loving persons during this stage, he easily feels totally abandoned -- unwanted and discarded, like his feces. Whatever his color is in reality, to have a brown skin would confirm his worst fears that he has no value, no control, and is just a dirty person to be left, flushed away like his feces, and forgotten about (p. 135).

A central thesis of this paper concerns itself with the rejections and sloughing off of the infant when it attempts to return to its mother during the beginning stages of this period of rapprochement, the second eighteen months of life. This period also commonly marks the inception of toilet training and the conflicts that ensue from it between parent and child. It would appear that the child may interpret the maternal rejection as an indication that he is worthless and bad, that he is being pushed/flushed away because he is as bad as he perceives his feces to be. The everpresent but
training may foster an identification with the brown, evil, smelly feces which the parents also view and reject with disgust. This may lead the child to develop a crippling self-image of himself as being worth little more -- or perhaps less -- than his fecal matter. This may provide us with some insight into the origins of a particularly malicious ghetto put-down: "Nigger, you ain't shit."

The confusion of brown skin with dirt and feces and the child's propensity to overgeneralize the parental admonition that everything that is dirty or related to feces is bad, has special poignancy for the black child because of his skin color. The need for black parents to be aware of this "hidden equation" and how they might circumvent the unique problems that it raises, was thought to be of such significance to Harrison-Ross and Wyden, (1974), that they included a lengthy discussion of this topic in their handbook of black child care directed to the black lay public.

In a sociological analysis of ghetto blacks in a housing project in St. Louis, Rainwater (1970) found a particular technique used by the residents to control each other's behavior and to prevent any one family member, including the parents, from gaining unquestioned respect and authority. There appeared to be a pervasive fear of being "viciously unmasked" by one's own family members, of having one's pretenses exposed and transgressions or failings called up as proof of one's incompetence or lack of worth as an individual.
The mechanism employed to bring about this painful state of affairs is known in the vernacular as "shaming," i.e., to be exposed for what one really is -- not the collection of attributes one claims to be or to have demonstrated that your bravado is all "front." "Ain't you shamed" expresses the contempt that others hold the person in, exposes the individual to the ridicule and unkind glare of others, and tells him that he is really worth nothing and can never be anything more. The intense vulnerability to being shamed, to being dismissed with contempt and stripped of any claims of being valuable as a person in one's own right, and to have others turn their backs on you in light of this knowledge, seems to capture the early experience of being rejected (or flushed away) by the mother at the very time the infant strikes out autonomously on his own in the practicing-rapprochement periods. The wish to control one's own body, be that through the exercise of the sphincters or through locomotion, is condemned and undermined. The social modality of "letting go" during the anal phase carries with it the message that to "let go" is to be flushed away and discarded as worthless and disgusting. Further, the sense of trust needed to sustain the infant during this period, originally derived from the earliest experiences with the mother protesting the infant even in the face of the infant's rage and oral sadism (a product of a successfully resolved oral phase), has been subverted previously by the mother's abdication of the role.
of protector and the infant's consequent need to develop premature ego functioning in the first weeks and months of life.

The self-doubt as to one's own competency and ability effectively to accomplish anything which is so pervasive among ghetto residents (Erikson, 1966; Charnofsky, 1971; Mosby, 1972), may be in part attributable to the rejection which occurs during the anal phase and practicing-rapprochement subphases of development. Erikson (1950) considered doubt to be the "brother of shame," a consciousness of having a behind whose products could be dominated and denigrated by others. It is as if the powerful adult can magically transform all the child's valued products and achievements into dirty, smelly fecal matter which must be flushed away. If the child can also be so easily sloughed off, indeed he can be no better than (and may in fact be identical with) that which is discarded.

Rainwater (1970) observed that many ghetto residents had the fervent belief that human nature was basically bad, a belief which manifested itself in a labelling process which constantly held up to the child his own badness and mocked the possibility that he would grow up to be any less bad than anybody else. Eventually the child came to believe that indeed, something was very wrong with him for which he was totally responsible and yet powerless to change. The ultimate result encouraged the child to believe that he deserved
everything bad that occurs to him as punishment for his own inherent evil, and to come to accept his "culture's conception of being in the world, a conception that emphasised inherent evil in a chaotic, hostile, destructive world. (Rainwater, 1970, p. 306)."

Passivity becomes a regressive adaptation to the threat of maternal abandonment which was precipitated by autonomous mastery and active moving away from the mother. The child receives the message that to dare to be independent and strike out masterfully is to risk all chance of returning to the maternal fold, no matter how little gratification is realistically forthcoming from her. The warning that mastery and autonomous striding forth is dangerous, that it is safer to remain enmeshed in a symbiotic milieu where one's personal ego integrity is sacrificed for the accumulation of maternal/peer group-approved attributes, manifests itself in later life as resentment that ghetto dwellers feel for those who have, or who are attempting to "make it" and break out of the ghetto. Those individuals who refuse to subjugate their own identity to the culturally approved life style (being cool or being compliant), and those who refuse to replace their own personalities with a grab bag of "street" attributes, are seen as "uppity niggers." The rage these individuals evoke in their less fortunate ghetto peers may be due in part to the unconscious recognition that these successes are attributable to an adequate separation-individuation from
the mother with concomitant maternal gratification of infantile needs. The ghetto bounded individual is confronted with and reminded of his own incomplete, frustrating, and painful attempt at individuation from his own mother, an attempt which ended in failure. In impotent rage, the ghetto dweller claims the successful black is nothing but an "oreo cookie," black on the outside but white on the inside. He chides his former peer who believes he has divorced himself from the ghetto for good with: "Nigger, you ain't nothin!" These epithets draw their power from the implicit threat that to break away from the ghetto fold and "disavow one's ties" is to risk becoming unrecognizable by one's group, to change literally one's skin color and become white — hence ultimately unrecognizable and abandoned by one's mother. With the abandonment by the mother/ghetto peer-group because of uppity independence, gratification is denied and individual integrity is threatened; one risks becoming "no-thing.

The unresolved struggle to break free carries with it the implicit threat that to leave is to risk total abandonment, to relinquish any hope that the mother may yet offer the gratification she was so incapable of giving in the individual's childhood. While certainly not discounting psychosocio-historical analyses of the genesis and continued existence of the multigenerational, matrifocal home, it is interesting to speculate that the seeming recalcitrance of this phenomenon to change may be attributable in part to the
anxiety inherent in suffering an additional threat of abandonment by leaving the maternal home. Another manifestation of this conflict appears to take place in the nursery, where the separation anxiety experienced by both mother and child is so overwhelming that they both must completely deny or avoid it. Pavenstedt (1965) observed that neither the child nor the mother seemed to be perturbed during the first days of nursery school, the mother readily abandoning the child to the staff with little hesitation, while the child was seen to be "unconcerned" about being so abruptly left, rapidly making a seeming adjustment to the situation.

The issue of self-esteem is a critical one during the anal phase, if the child lacks sufficient libidinal investment in his self, his control over his body, and his ability to meet and master the world; his sense of autonomy will be severely drained while his ineffectualness and "smallness" in the environment will be heightened, thus increasing his feelings of doubt and shame. From McDonald's study (1970) it would appear that many of these mothers were plagued by their own sense of inferiority and diminished self-esteem in themselves, and their concern that their child too was somehow inferior by virtue of his skin color. This resulted in a somehow ambivalent cathexis in their child, with a consequent failure adequately to "fuel" the child's developing narcissistic investment in himself. McDonald commented that there were few if any cases where narcissistic conflicts related to skin
color did not significantly affect the children she studied.

Clearly, the parent's own sense of inferiority derived from the larger society's denigration of blacks and their own personal histories has depleted their narcissistic investment in themselves and the availability of narcissistic cathexis for another, long before the child is born. Kardiner and Ovesey (1968) hypothesized that the parent as ego ideal for the child may be partially spoiled in that the parent may see them as a member of a socially discriminated against, denigrated, and inferior group (particularly at a later age), the child may well be ambivalent in identifying with the supposedly "omnipotent" parent who can barely meet the subsistence needs of the family and one whom the child cannot be safely dependent upon.

The literature on blacks is replete with references to poor or damaged self-concept. Grier and Cobbs (1972) stated that society prepares a "bottomless pit of self-deprecation" into which the black adult could drop when depressed. Comer (1975) asserted that at the very root of the Black Power movement is the search to define a proud black consciousness, a consciousness which must be achieved if black Americans are to attain a healthy self-concept. In Comer's view, the elimination of poverty alone is not enough to restore the damage done to the black psyche under slavery and the 100 years of segregation and discrimination to which blacks have been subjected.

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The overwhelming evidence of poor self-concept in black children found by K. and M. Clark in the 1940's and 1950's continues to receive confirmation in the literature, although recent studies have correlated self-concept scores with additional variables beyond racial identifications alone. Dill (1976) reported that there were some indications that the black child's self-concept is changing to the good, with higher self-esteem scores reported as the child grew into pre-adolescence and adolescence. Spurlock (1969) found that children from stable homes fared better than their counterparts from unstable backgrounds and lower socio-economic group membership. She observed that this latter group of children often "mouthed" phrases such as "Black is Beautiful," but in actuality had rather negative feelings about themselves. This led Spurlock to speculate that these children tended to use such pat, hollow phraseology as a reaction formation against their own self-perceived feelings of worthlessness.

Poor self-esteem deriving from the mother's inadequate or ambivalent cathexis of her child may also lead to an institution of defenses against the rage felt towards the mother, a turning of aggression towards the self. McDonald (1970) is quoted at length describing the situation, when the mother has failed to instill in her child a high enough valuation of himself to overcome the taunts of white children in the nursery:

"These children were at first unable to defend
themselves against aggression directed at their skin color because they accepted the cruel pronouncements of other children about their color as realistic judgments. The rightful anger they should have felt for the child who insulted them they instead turned upon themselves, blaming themselves for being the wrong color. Where the equations, brown = dirt = feces, prevailed so strongly, the Negro child was trapped. To be angry at someone threatened his loss of control of a seemingly useless feeling; to lose control would be like soiling, being dirty, and losing more ground in his battle to maintain his healthy narcissism. By turning this aggression to another child back upon himself the Negro child gave himself what he regarded as a deserved punishment and rejection. He grabbed the reins and took charge of his own rejection. In doing so, the Negro child also made an appeal to his attacker to befriend him, on the basis of their mutual rejection of brown skin. Were the Negro child to settle for this mechanism as a character trait, his ambivalence toward his own color could never be resolved and he would become a Negro with a prejudice against Negroes (p. 131-132).

McDonald further explicated another defense the black
child may utilize in this situation, particularly if the child has already had a history of rejection by his parents. Anticipating only rejection from his peers or adults, the child turns the previous passively experienced situation of being rejected into one in which he is the active party; he unconsciously provokes rejection by his behavior. This behavior pattern coincides with behavior often seen normally during the anal phase, the child bolstering his own self-esteem by lowering the esteem for the other child. The less developmentally advanced child is denigrated and scoffed at as he has not attained the body mastery that the "anal" child has achieved. The black nursery school children were often observed to be "too busy" to play with the white children, thus rejecting them before they themselves were rejected while artificially heightening their own self-esteem by perceiving the other child as worthless.

Through personal observation of nursery school and clinic populations of inner-city pre-school black children, the author has often been struck by the care and meticulousness with which these children have been dressed by their mothers. Particularly among those parents actively aspiring for working class or lower middle class status, one finds their children immaculately clothed. One cannot avoid speculating about the meanings and consequences of these actions, as in many of these situations the children would be more appropriately
dressed in less elaborate, play-oriented clothing. Sending a child to a nursery school where he will engage in all manner of gross motor activities and "get his hands into" such materials as paints, clay, paste, and the like -- while expecting him to return home unpotted and unsoiled -- is bound to create mother-child conflicts over cleanliness. The author has often seen three and four-year-olds worried and frightened of joining in the group activity as they might become dirty and thus court a severe physical reprimand from their mothers.

A parallel can be drawn with the findings of Sandler et al.'s (1957) study of inconsistent mothers and their children; these mothers also demanded a very high level of cleanliness in their children with frequent consequent fights between them when the child failed to comply. Anal conflicts became fixated at this early level; not only did the fights become gratifying for both partners, but the mothers increased anal eroticism by being very concerned for the child's bowel movements, often giving laxatives for supposed constipation. While certainly not wishing to generalize these findings to all ghetto mother-child pairs (and this may actually apply to very few), one wonders whether these fights over keeping the clothes of the child clean in situations where most middle class mothers would deliberately send their children to school in play clothes as they expect them to become normally dirty, the attempt to initiate early toilet training
if only to relieve the ghetto mother of even more work, and the liberal use of patent medicines by some mothers for relief of the child's "constipation" (The author drew only on his clinical material and the observations of other clinicians in regard to the last statement), may not enhance the possibility that anal concerns may be highly eroticized and/or conflicted, thus enhancing the possibility that a fixation may occur at this stage of psycho-sexual development. The inconsistencies of the maternal behavior may also promote in the child a search for direct instinctual gratification, causing a further binding attachment to the mother, again paralleling Sandler et al. The consequent failure of the sexualization of ego functions may significantly hinder future cognitive growth as such activities as looking or finding out information may retain a high sexual charge, thus interfering with academic tasks such as reading. The inability to play, noted by many observers of black inner-city pre-schoolers, may, following Sandler et al., be related to the fear of the child of becoming dirty and ultimately destructive. Painting and manipulation of messy material may be avoided as it may tantalize the child to regress and make a "mess of everything."

XI. The Phallic-Oedipal Period: Overstimulation and Inadequate Identification

The Phallic-Oedipal stage of psychosexual development
occurs roughly from the 36th months of life through the sixth year, depending on the child's rate of physical growth, psychological maturation, and developmental history. As this period may also be well known to the reader, only a few general comments will be made about it before looking at it from the perspective of the black ghetto child. A. Freud (1965) spoke of this period as being completely object centered, the child often being overtly exhibitionistic, making bids for admiration, and extremely curious, particularly in regard to his opposite-sexed parent. The child becomes increasingly possessive of this parent, viewing the same-sexed parent as a potential rival. It is only during the later period of this stage that a "reconciliation" is made with them, resulting in the solidification and internalization of the superego. It is out of the child's fear of retaliation from the same-sexed parent who might somehow find out about this child's plotting and seek revenge (castration), that the child gives up his wish and settles on becoming "almost" as powerful as this parent by identifying fully with them.

This is the age of "initiative," the child actively moving out into the world with a clear, pre-planned idea about what he wants to do. Cognitive and language skills develop rapidly; the child no longer sees himself as a baby but one who can do for himself. A sense of powerlessness and purposiveness, a real consciousness of growing up and of desiring to play at adult roles pervades this stage.
Hartmann, Kriss, and Lowenstein (1946) underscored the importance of the desexualization of libidinal energies directed, in the boy's case, to the mother (in the girl's case, to the father). A large part of this neutralized energy becomes sublimated, being made available for further development of the ego functions; another part is utilized in the idealization of the mother. Aggressive attitudes directed towards the father are partially internalized, being transformed into the energy with which the demands of the super-ego are enforced; other aspects of the aggressive drive manifest themselves as competitiveness, exhibitionism, and active mastery of the environment.

While future development, particularly adolescence, can have a profound and lasting effect on personality formation, it is safe to say that the general consensus of analytic thinking would be that the essential elements of personality structuralization have occurred by the fifth or sixth year of life in Western civilization; events occurring after this time may enrich or modify the personality, pathological circumstances can act to restrict the existing structure (Hartmann, Kriss, and Lowenstein, 1946). However, the most important points in the actual structuralization and formation of both the ego and the super-ego occur during the first five years of life.

Beiser (1965) found that the poor black child may have particular difficulty in making adequate identifications and
meeting age-appropriate developmental tasks because of the situational context of poverty and social disintegration in the community. The child may fail to be supported in his belief that he too will grow up to be strong, powerful, and a successfully functioning adult in the work world; indeed, the adult male he may see around him may well convince him of the futility of his desires long before he can cognitively come to grips with the effects of racism and discrimination. The father, often even if present, may present a weak model of competency and strength to the child, his unemployed status being the focus of the mother’s complaints that the father is a poor provider and only a further burden on the family.

Difficulties with future authority figures may also have their ontogenesis during this time according to Beiser; the inconsistency in the home, particularly in regard to discipline, may hinder the establishment of a firm sense of what is right and what is wrong, and a sense of confusion as to how to handle disputes. Authority comes to be seen as arbitrary and rather capricious; at times the child is punished severely for the smallest of infractions, and at other times major transgressions may be met with an indulgent smile. The latter case may be particularly evident in regard to physical aggressive acting out, where the family may look with pride on the child’s response or his motivation for fighting. The proclivity to impulsively and violently act out exists within adults also; words are often used as weapons and serve
only as a preface to a physical fight, rather than being employed in a problem solving manner. The sudden flare up of feelings and aggression with a rapid return to an atmosphere of a conviviality can only act to confuse the child and provide him with a poor model for his future behavior.

Comer (1975), in speaking of black child development, pointed to the need for all children to have dependable adults around them who can hold and maintain a job if the child is himself to develop these skills. The consistency that such adults provide affects many areas of cognitive development and the establishment of maturational sets, including time orientation, goal setting, goal directedness, and problem solving behavior. Comer criticized those who would romantically view the pseudo-independence, aggressiveness, and "street-wise" capabilities of many inner-city children as a positive adaptation:

"There are people who point to the independence and aggressiveness of such children as evidence that they are not as seriously damaged as some claim. This is wishful thinking.

Children who do not enjoy the opportunity to establish good relationships between the ages of three and six may never develop the internal controls, the sense of right and wrong or of responsibility necessary to modulate and channel the expression of aggression and sexuality. These drives, un-
channeled into depth relationships, curiosity and intellectual pursuits, are manifested in excessive anger and hostility and appear to go into what could be called survival energy: doing whatever must be done to survive in a frightening world without the care and protection of a reliable adult. This may be bullying, bluffing, manipulating, exploiting, provoking others, and so on. Such behavior may not provoke a negative feedback in the home, neighborhood or subculture where it is common or even needed for survival — 'you got to look out for yourself in this world, ain't nobody gonna look out for you.' But it is troublesome in school, in work, in love, and in play (p. 53-54).

The son's relationship with his mother has been the topic of much discussion and takes on added significance during the Oedipal period. Rather than being the idealized object which the boy wishes to possess, the nature of the ghetto mother-son relationship seems to weigh heavily against this development; she may well have been "partially spoiled" as an attractive object long before the child enters this phase. Grier and Cobbs (1972) believed that in the process of preparing her son to meet the hostility of the white world, the mother "wounded" him so deeply that she might forfeit his love for her. Harrison-Ross and Wyden (1974) observed that the woman the child loved the most, the mother, is often the
one who is most punitive and restrictive in her love for the child. In the male patients interviewed by Kardiner and Ovesey (1968), a predominant theme was respect for the mother, but not particularly love.

Later inhibitions to succeed in any number of adult endeavors was found to have its roots in the maternal injunction not to excel, but to instead be modest and self-effacing (Grier and Cobbs, 1972). The blunting of the son's intellectual potential and assertiveness was observed to be an unconscious, but nonetheless deliberate pattern of child-rearing. While the boy may later come to relinquish his dreams of achievement to please the unconscious demands of the mother, this is bought only at the price of barely unconscious rage and anger at her. The denigration of the son by the mother at this time, literally telling him that he is not worthy of her love nor does she see him as anything of importance, may well wound the boy's still fragile state of narcissism and heavily contribute to a consequent lowering of his self-esteem. Further, even if a stable male were to be in the home, what the mother does, in effect, is truncate the normal Oedipal phase by never allowing herself to become the desired object. Thus, psychossexual development may be significantly curtailed or hindered at a precocial period, the mother continuing to be perceived as the hostile, punitive "phallic woman." The boy may have no other choice to align himself with other males at this point. The absence of a
father in the home may facilitate a premature turning to other
like-aged boys, peers, with whom he can share his affection
and look for support. This occurrence may have important
bearings on later development, and may somewhat explain why
male ghetto adolescents and adults generally turn to their
peers ("running buddies" or "my main man") to discuss per­
sonal issues of importance, and not their wives or other
women. What is being proposed is that many ghetto males
never fully enter into the Oedipal phase, and are instead
either stopped at the very margins of this conflict and/or
compelled to defensively regress to safer, earlier stages of
psychosexual development where fixation points may already
be established, i.e., the oral and anal stages. The failure
to resolve the Oedipal conflict may well significantly
interfere with the capacity to form loving relationships
with women at a later point in time, disrupt the process
of neutralization of energy which would be later utilized
for sublimation (e.g., cognitive development, achievement,
etc.). This failure of resolution could also prevent adequate
identification with the powerful male adult and interfere
with super-ego formation. Further, the maternal object
would continue to retain her sexual allure for the son, although
this would be cast in pre-genital terms. The rage the son
has harbored all along for his mother will be repressed
lest he threaten his position with her even more, resulting
in a costly energetic expenditure to keep his anger out of consciousness. Thus, despite his unconscious anger, the male may only voice positive feelings towards her, the result of defensive idealization.

The inconsistency with which the mother often treats her son keeps the unconscious wish alive that there is still hope of pleasing her and gaining her unqualified love and support in his development. This very inconsistency prevents the boy from coming to any realistic appraisal of the situation; he is thwarted from grasping the painful fact that his mother does not wish him to grow up and become strong and successful. The boy may consequently fail to look for other sources of gratification or support as the "carrot on the stick," the possibility that the mother may yet gratify him as she sporadically does, is still waved in front of his face. Grier and Cobbs (1972) reported this insidious pattern in their clinical work with black males:

"When black men recall their early life, consistent themes emerge. For example, the mother is generally perceived as having been sharply contradictory. She may have been permissive in some areas and punitive and rigid in others. There are remembrances of stimulation and gratification coexisting with memories of deprivation and rejection. There is always a feeling that the behavior of the mother was purposeful and de-
liberate (p. 51)."

It has been mentioned in an earlier section that the child-rearing patterns observed in infancy were remarkably similar to child-rearing patterns noted by other researchers in regard to the development of impulse disorders. In reporting a "Developmental Profile" of the impulse disorder, Michaels and Stiver (1965) enumerated characteristics of the family background and personal history of their cases which contain remarkable parallels with the black ghetto male's upbringing. The inconsistent, fluctuating pattern of maternal behavior towards the son, parental discord, father-absence, low I.Q., and emotional disequilibrium are traits common to both types of child-rearing environments. While this is not meant to imply that all ghetto males are to be viewed as characterologically impulsive, it does suggest that this type of child-rearing may heavily influence the development of "expressive," non-verbal, perhaps impulsive style in ghetto males. While the author was not aware of any figures regarding a breakdown in terms of diagnostic classification of black, inner-city children in clinic populations, one would speculate that one of the major presenting complaints of these children would be actions of an inappropriate and impulsive nature, particularly in latency through adolescence.

The deprecated status of the father in the ghetto home has been the subject of much research and conjecture; most
observers believed that the low esteem afforded him by the mother because of his inability to support or protect the family leads to the "masculine ideal" being sizably diminished for the young boy. This problem has previously been discussed in terms of the historical context of slavery and post-slavery conditions, but economic conditions also have a tremendous impact on the psychological development of the boy vis-a-vis his father's role within the family. Thompson (1974) spoke to the well known correlation existing between the father's status in the home and his ability to assume economic support for his family; as his financial position becomes more important for maintenance of the home, the likelihood of the mother acknowledging him as the head of the household, with its attendant privileges and status, will increase. If his economic support is unstable or minimal, the father may well be demeaned in front of his children and afforded little more courtesy than a bothersome guest who has outstayed his welcome. However, Thompson believed, as did many sociologists, that the role of the father is weakened only by the societal conditions of unemployment, and has little to do with the black female:

"...according to available information, it is the chronic economic inadequacy of a majority of Black men -- not the inherent dominant personality of Black women -- which has compromised and weakened the role of the Black father in the socialisation
process (p. 98-99)."

The father's inability to take his needed place in the socialization of his child is seen to ultimately contribute to the high rates of deviance among black youth, statistical studies showing a strong correlation between fathers who have low education and economic status and the incidence of academic retardation, delinquency, and "school-dropoutism" among their sons.

It has been the position of this paper, or course, that the black female prepares her son for failure and expects no more from him; this has been traced in both a historical context of the black American experience as well as the psychological development of the child. Grier and Cobbs (1972), among others, viewed the boy as looking outside his home for a model to emulate and with which to identify. The very epitomy of "maleness" may be contained within the image of the "bad nigger," a man who is known, respected, and feared for his violent, explosive capabilities as well as his charm with women. It is this image, the aggressive man whom "no one messes with," the exploiter of women, and one who can "beat the system" or "beat the man" through his cunning, that is often held up as the idealized male image for the boy.

The little girl seems to fare little better than her male counterpart, although she is also subject to an overall lowered self-esteem. This appears to have its inception in the black mother's own view of herself, often seeing herself
as little more than a depreciated sexual object. Grier and Cobbs believed that the black woman has "dismalizing prospects" for ever achieving a healthy, mature sense of femininity. This self-image and lack of hope is then projected onto her daughter, in Grier and Cobb's words:

"...the first measure of a child's worth is made by her mother, and if, as in the case with so many black people in America, that mother feels that she herself is a creature of little worth, this daughter, however valued and desired, represents her scorned self. Thus the girl can be loved and valued only within a limited sphere, and can never be the flawless child, because she is who she is — black and inevitably linked to her black, depreciated mother — always seen to be lacking, deficient, and faulty in some way (p. 32-33)."

One overt manifestation of the difficulty in accepting the little girl for whom she is concerned itself with the mother's preoccupation with her daughter's hair. Nearly every writer in speaking about black Americans described the painful, daily ritual in which the mother combs and plaits the child's hair, bemoaning the fact that the child does not have "good" (i.e., straight) hair. Even after the process is completed, the child does not become beautiful, but is only viewed as barely acceptable from the mother's point of view. The child will come to view her own hair as a sign
of her ugliness and blueness, dreaming of the day when she too can have her hair "fixed" or straightened like her mother.

McDonald (1970) found that the black pre-school girls she observed tended to displace their castration conflicts about their genitals to their hair. Thus, the mother's concern over the little girl's hair not being "good" or being ugly only heightened the child's sense of fantasised loss of that which would make her "better"; thus her penis envy was exacerbated. Crier and Cobb (1972) postulated that because of the mother's dissatisfaction with her daughter's physical appearance, compensatory narcissistic investment in her own attractiveness may be stunted in the girl. The child's feelings of mutilation are reinforced by the ready fund of already existing poor self-concept and body-concept feelings. In later life, the feelings of being internally "lacking" in that "something" which would make her more desirable may fix upon feelings of unattractiveness because of her blueness. The black woman may thus become enmeshed in the quest to become more attractive by becoming white, as white women appear to be so highly esteemed by both white and black men — as well as by black women. They are the ones who really do seem to enjoy the "good life." The black woman thus turns to the never ending quest to make herself "less black" by utilizing various bleaching creams and hair straighteners.

The boy may also become overtly concerned about his
hair, the apparent ashamed feelings that boys display after receiving their own closely cropped haircuts possibly reflecting a recognition on their part that the parents wished to cut off that "inferior" part of their black bodies, their kinky hair -- in essence disavowing the child's blackness (McDonald, 1970). The haircut may thus come frighteningly to represent the boy's fear that the parents do indeed wish to castrate him, particularly if his sexual conflicts have been displaced to his hair. Further, wrapped up in this displacement is the child's thought that the parents are displeased with his growing, phallic-exhibitionistic tendencies and feelings, and wish to cut them off as they are naughty, deserving of destruction, and uncontrollably wild -- much like his healthy crop of hair.

Directly relevant to this discussion of development during the phallic-oedipal period are the psychodynamic consequences of parental loss or absence during this phase. Neuberger (1960) provided an excellent discussion of this situation in the one-parent home; only a few of his many hypotheses will be highlighted as they relate directly to black child development. It was Neubauer's contention that characteristic, pathologic phallic fixations occur in these children, regardless of whether the same or the opposite sexed parent is missing from the home. A constellation of pathological manifestations is observed, including super-ego
disturbances of either a harsh, pre-oedipal quality which may be rather severe and sadistic (deriving from the anal-sadistic level), or deficiencies in super-ego development which may predispose the child to incestuous acting-out.

Fantasies about the missing parent, and in particular a fantasied replacement of the missing parent, were found to be ubiquitous to the Oedipal development of these children. Whether the absent parent is extremely idealized or fantasied as a punitive character, or a mixture of both, may well relate to the nature of the child's relationship with the surviving parent, the time the loss occurred in the child's development, whether the missing parent is totally unavailable or partially unavailable, and both the child's sex and the sex of the surviving parent. If the remaining parent maintains a healthy, non-seductive relationship with the child, Neubauer believed the typical pathological consequences of this situation might be counteracted.

Idealization of the missing parent acts to deny the disappointment, aggression and frustration felt by the child toward the missing parent, while concomitantly maintaining a positive bond with them. If the loss occurs during the Oedipal period, the entire conflict may be intensified. Fenichel (1931), cited in Neubauer, believed that guilt is the outcome when the same-sexed parent dies or is lost, while a "fantastic idealization" of the opposite-sexed parent may occur on the basis of unsatisfied Oedipal longings.
As aggressive feelings are repressed which are directed toward the absent parent, and aggression against the surviving parent may be too dangerous to maintain as the child fears the loss of his only remaining relationship, castration grievances and all pre-phallic conflicts which encompass angry feelings may remain unresolved. The surviving parent, on their part, may shift their libidinal cathexis from the missing partner to the child and an overly seductive relationship may ensue between parent and child, thus highly sexualizing this bond. The repression of all anger felt towards the remaining parent may act to heighten the possibility of incestuous acting-out, or drive the child away from the family in pursuit of displaced sexual objects.

Further, the repression of aggression towards both the absent and remaining parent may render an Oedipal identification with either parent impossible, as the child never enters into "competition" with the same-sexed parent for the love of the opposite-sexed parent, and thus consequently never fears that the same-sexed parent will retaliate -- a circumstance normally giving rise to the child's giving up his Oedipal tie to the opposite-sexed parent and identifying with the same-sexed parent. In brief, an Oedipal-love relationship is not fully established to the opposite sexed parent, nor does fear of castration, consequent renunciation of the love object, and identification with the same-sexed parent occur.

Neubauer summarized:
"When a parent is absent, there is an absence of Oedipal reality. The absent parent becomes endowed with magical power either to gratify or to punish, aggression against him, and the remaining parent as well, becomes repressed. The cases reported in the literature show that existing Oedipal conflicts are intensified when a parent leaves during this period (p. 303)."

Neubauer described various outcomes of this situation which are relevant to our understanding of black children. One outcome may be that the child becomes developmentally arrested at a primary homosexual level, an identification being made by the child with the absent parent to guarantee him the love of the remaining parent. Thus, the pre-school aged girl may come to identify with the idealized fantasy of her absent father to gain the love of her mother. Neubauer cited this example:

"An example of Fenichel's (1930) illustrates the familiar distortion of development due to the persistence of a girl's pre-Oedipal tie to her mother. In this case, an ambivalent, disappointing mother and a totally ungratified child may present conditions opposite to those previously described, but with similar effects — the child's longing for love was frustrated on all levels; her aggression against the mother was repressed, she turned to
an identification with the idealized fantasy of the father who had died the day she was born, only to be always disappointed since no man could be the right one. Her sadistic relationships to real men ultimately concerned the primary unfulfilled wishes for her mother (p. 292).

It would appear that the frustrating mother-ungratified child situation so well described above may capture the essence of the black female pre-schooler's experience as she enters into the phallic-oedipal period. The very inconsistency of the mother's erratic frustration and overgratification of the child's needs may sustain the pathological bonds to the mother, while the inability of any man to really satisfy her in later life and her often sadistic, manipulative, and exploiter-exploitee relationship with them, may underline her feelings that it is really the mother's love she is seeking. The events of the rapprochement period, with its "sloughing off" of the female infant by the mother and the child's consequent desperate search for reunion with the mother, may well set the stage for this development.

The situation with the male appears to be somewhat different from his female counterpart. Neuhauer described another developmental resolution of the absent parent situation in which the child evades the Oedipal conflict through a premature flight into latency as an escape from possibly unendurable phallic ambivalence. While the boy may undoubtedly
be exposed to men through both the mother's personal involvement with them as well as being told how he "should" act as a male by the various females he comes in contact with, this does not obviate the fact that there is likely to be no stable, consistent presence of a man in the home with whom he can form the attachment necessary to enter into and adequately resolve this phallic-oedipal conflict. Further, the very transience of the presence of the man in the home could only reinforce his age-appropriate fantasies that it is indeed his "fearful omnipotence" which drives them away and secures for him the sole possession of the mother. The boy's development may thus be disrupted in a number of areas. The idealization of the absent father or the rage felt at the father who only sporadically makes an appearance initiates a repression of aggression towards him. This repression acts in concert with normal developmental pressures during the pre-oedipal period to precipitate an even more idealized, loving fantasy of the father with a heightening of the normal homosexual bond to him. A pathological pre-oedipal relationship with the mother begins to form, the fantasies of her castrating, aggressive nature unmitigated by the presence of the benevolent father whom the boy can take as his love object and protector. If the boy remains fixated at this level, a primary homosexual orientation may result. While a number of researchers have often spoken to the possibility of this occurrence, the author hypothesized that they have
overlooked the function of the peer group and cultural pressures which may have tended to act against a fixation at this level.

As development proceeds and the mother becomes the sought-after love object, a paradoxical situation may ensue. The rage which has been repressed regarding the mother, as detailed throughout the child's very early development, has set the stage for idealization of the mother and the inability to feel anger towards her -- as this would threaten the impulsive release of all the child's repressed rage at her and hence threaten her existence. The fear of the mother during the pre-oedipal period may remain (i.e., respect), but the anger felt towards her may be drawn into the general nexus of the repression of rage initiated in early life. The seductive overtures of the mother towards the child (e.g., "my little man"), the sense of Oedipal triumph the boy may have regarding his having driven the real father from the home, primal scene observations the child may be subject to between his mother and her male companions, and the fantasied retaliation from the idealized father-image may make the boy's position untenable. Under these various pressures, he may be compelled to renounce his Oedipal-strivings and regress to a safer developmental position; the pre-oedipal level, even earlier pre-phallic levels of psycho-sexual development, or uneven fixation points throughout his early development. Particularly in regard to a regression to the
pre-oedipal level, the lack of a father within the home and 
the consequent irregularities in the child's object-relationship 
with him may preclude a homosexual attachment to the 
father. The peer group, however, may provide a safe haven 
for the boy to escape to, his "safe" attachment to his friends 
allows him to escape the pressures of the home while being 
culturally sanctioned and encouraged. It is at this point that 
we may see Neubauer's hypothesized "flight into latency" where 
peer group formation occurs. The author would modify 
Neubauer's position to adding that the evasion of the Oedipal 
conflict in the black male will manifest itself in not only 
a premature flight into latency, but also concomitant re-
gression to pre-phallic levels of psycho-sexual development. 
In this conceptualization, the peer-group would act to 
partially gratify pre-phallic needs in its provision of 
support and protection for the boy, serving needs which go 
far beyond those needs normally served by the latency-aged 
peer group. We are again reminded of A. Freud and Dann's 
(193] findings that those children they studied in con-
centration camps who were raised by many "others" established 
a "precarious normalcy" on the basis of object relationships 
to their group companions, yet often suffered breakdowns in 
their psychological integrity during puberty. 
Roers (1974) spoke directly to the issue of the fear 
and active discouragement by adults of any signs of passivity 
or effeminacy in the male child, whether these traits be
attributable to the pre-phallic love of the father or a defensive identification with the mother. The fear of homosexual behavior in the ghetto cannot be underestimated, adults severely punishing any behavior which might be conceived of as clinging or regressive in boys as young as five or six years of age. Meers stated that the family members and relatives of the child might attempt to sustain the boy's precocious maleness at any cost, even when this involves encouraging him to openly deride his mother or sisters. The peer group also functions to provide the boy with protection and support for controlling his sexual feelings, favorite games involving denigration of the mother as a desirable sexual object (i.e., mother-naming or the "dozens") and the ridicule of "queers."

The concern that phallic impulses and the thoughts associated with it may become uncontrollable, are incontrovertibly bad (McDonald, 1970), and may well lead to mental illness poses an almost insurmountable obstacle to the practice of age-appropriate, childhood masturbation in the ghetto. Meers (1974) explicated the psychoanalytic position that childhood masturbation is essential for healthy maturation, high self-esteem development, and the later capacity for sex and love. This activity is frowned upon if not completely blocked by ghetto adults. McDonald commented that the shearing of the boy's hair not only has ramifications for negative black self-identity, but may be seen by the child as
punishment for his phallic-masculine strivings. The child's shame and consequent attempt to hide his shaven head reflects his concerns over being discovered and may provoke guilt for having masturbatory urges. The maternal rejection of this activity may ultimately facilitate the displacement of erotic gratification to oral modalities.

Orality as a masturbatory displacement in the ghetto is extensively discussed by Meers (1972, 1974). The driven quality of many of these young children in the later preschool years and during latency, their constant search for a release of instinctual tension, often finds culturally condoned expression through oral channels. The remarkable lack of concern, tolerance and even rationalization of oral addictive behavior patterns found among ghetto adults, including alcohol and drug abuse, obesity, pill-popping and smoking, persists despite it being generally recognized how dangerous these behaviors are. When very young children indulge in these behaviors the adult often responds with a mixture of anger and pride, pride that the boy is growing up so quickly and imitating adult behaviors. This culturally determined push toward acceptance of and reliance on oral channels for gratification may prepare the way for later drug addiction and alcohol abuse.

Meers (1974) concluded by hypothesizing that the absence of the normal progression of childhood masturbation in the
ghetto may be attributable to the chronicity of the trauma the
cchild is exposed to, a view highly congruent with the
position of this paper. In combination with the very real
sexual exploitation, overstimulation and preconious seductions
to which the child is subjected, as well as the severe early
deprivation which occurs to the child, these circumstances
can explain the prevalence of ego-inhibitions, adult sexuality
which is characterized by its sado-masochistic character,
and aggression turned back on the self, which is observed in
this population.

The skin-color conflicts described by McDonald (1970)
in the anal stage appear to have their counterpart in the
phallic-oedipal stage. Concerns over the inferiority of
their dark color become displaced to concerns over their
worth as individuals and invades the area of narcissistic
sexual conflicts. The experienced inferiority of his skin --
and then his body -- comes to have overtures of the inferiority
of his sexual apparatus for the boy; dark skin and femininity
are equated. For the girl, being black and penis-less is to
be doubly inferior, particularly when she is not compensated
for this narcissistic blow by parents who value her highly
for herself.

The constant overexposure to sexual activity to which the
child is subjected, exacerbated by environmental conditions
of overcrowding in slum apartments, the activity of the
street, and the pressures of the peer group, excites the
child's incestuous fears while consolidating a view of sexuality not as shared mutuality, but of drive release, aggressive expression, and exploitation of women. To the pre-schooler, intercourse appears to be a savage attack a man makes on a woman; the sounds and actions associated with coitus only strengthen this perception. Dire warnings to the little girl to avoid contact with boys and men as they will only use her, reinforce this view of sex as bad and hurtful. Sexual and aggressive feelings become further mixed up and fused, impulsive hostility often appearing in later life in situations which might ordinarily be considered sexual (Beiser, 1963). Meers (1974) believed that the constant search for "action" among ghetto boys, usually associated with fighting, also reflects on this substitution of aggression for sexual discharge traceable to the child's chronic over-exposure to sexual overstimulation.

Fearing an impulsive expression of his own forbidden feelings, while constantly exposed to adults who must seem both uncontrollably aggressive and sexually driven, the child is compelled to develop an archaic super-ego which functions to constantly watch and control his impulses. The fantasies and feelings which all children experience during this stage, as well as the normal transgressions they often commit, are poorly tolerated by the black child's primitive super-ego, and leads to unrealistic feelings of shame and guilt. The
rather concrete, stern prohibitions they are subjected to by their mothers, and the harsh physical discipline that follows a wrong-doing, further cripple healthy and flexible super-ego development while reinforcing its primitive character. However, in the midst of the mother's injunctions, the child quickly perceives that what she means is "do as I say and not as I do." The flagrant violations of the mother's code of right and wrong by the mother herself, observable in periods of desertion from her child, drinking bouts, many male companions with obvious sexual play between them, and the high rates of illegitimate children, punch a wide hole in the child's brittle super-ego formation. The way is paved for the development of super-ego lucunes.

Further, super-ego development has been previously hampered by disturbances in ego development residing in earlier phases of development. During the Oedipal period, the lack of a consistent male figure to both strengthen super-ego development while providing an adequate ego-ideal acts to undermine cohesive super-ego development. The hypothesized "skewing" of development during this period with a flight into latency circumspects the final structuralization of the super-ego that can only come with an adequate resolution of the Oedipal conflict itself.

In his discussion of why the Oedipal conflict and genital masturbation are not central to the ghetto child's problems with sexual identity, Meer (1972, 1974) stated that
the integration of erotic and object-related experience is stymied by the over-stimulation, traumatization, and deprivation rampant in the ghetto. The fears of emotional closeness and attachment so often observed in ghetto youngsters and adults are related to characterological defenses against dependency stemming from disruptions and distortions in early bonds to the mother. Ultimately, the problem resides in the formation, structure, and course of object relationships. McDonald (1970) made much the same point, but within the broader context of race relations:

"It would be a mistake to hold forth a psychoanalytic view of our current racial conflicts merely as oral or anal or phallic conflicts, or even skin color conflicts. They are conflicts in object relationships. They are struggles between people, trying to protect and preserve their own identities, trying to appreciate and value other's different identities and trying to build and maintain bonds between each other (pp. 143-144)."

XII. Development in Later Childhood

As the child enters into latency he becomes increasingly involved in "doing things," manipulating the tools and instruments of the adult world for his own purposes, i.e., he plays with them. The external world becomes an exciting
place where he can construct and utilize material for his personal enjoyment. His peer group becomes very important to him; the child is now very invested in being accepted by them while simultaneously wishing to escape the intrusion of his family in everything he does. A. Freud (1965) conceptualized latency as a period where the drives lesson in their urgency, libido which was formerly invested in the family is shifted to peers, community groups, impersonal ideas, teachers, and aim-inhibited, sublimated interests, e.g., hobbies. The gradual disillusionment with the family is given psychic representation in the proliferation of fantasies endemic to this age group, such as the family romance and twin fantasies.

Latency is the age in which the child becomes socialized into the larger world outside the home; his interests in school and achievement pave the way for his later ability to work as an adult. Reiser (1965) found that the child's involvement with doing things with others develops a "technological ethos" in the child, an involvement which is reinforced by parental pride in the child's accomplishments and peer group consensual validation that the child's activities are worthwhile. However, if the child were to be discouraged from becoming industrious in this sense, if his developing interests were discouraged by the peer group or few successful models existed for identification, the child
may need to give up his needs to master the world as it brings him only the ridicule and jealousy of his friends or the indifference of adults.

For the inner-city black child, the accumulation of developmental traumas and developmental deviations manifests itself during this stage in areas of brittle super-ego structuring, islets of precocious ego development, other ego functioning which appears defensively regressed if not developmentally impaired (Meers, 1975), and generalized gross deficits in many areas of autonomous ego functioning. The findings of Michaels and Stiver (1965) regarding impulsive children can be seen to be applicable to the black child's developmental status. In regard to drive development, libido distribution is basically pregenital with the self remaining primarily cathexed rather than the environment, as would be age-appropriate during this stage. Despite the high narcissistic investment the child has in himself, self-concept and self-esteem are generally low; the child is constantly searching for activities and people who can help bolster his precarious sense of aggrandized importance. In essence, the child is still decidedly egocentric. As hypothesized earlier by Meers in a number of his papers, objects are cathexed in a manner reminiscent of the need-fulfilling, anaclitic part-objects cathexis typically found in the very young child. These cathexes are largely pre-oedipal and narcissistic in their aims and objects. The gratification
a child can receive or manipulate from another person remains far more important than the person himself; when one individual fails to gratify the child he is easily discarded and the child actively searches for another to satisfy his needs. Again, we see the parallel with the young infant who cathexes the object (or part-object) only as long as gratification is forthcoming from them.

The ego apparatus of the child remains vulnerable to disruption, and there appears to be little ability to either tolerate or bind anxiety. Impulsive, action oriented expression is highly ego-syntonic, the ego functions being unable to inhibit expression beyond a low threshold for reception of internal or external stimulation. Much as with the cases described by Michael and Stiver, the observing function of the ego is weak; a thin line exists between it and the experiencing ego. Thus, these children appear to have little capacity for insight into why they are feeling or experiencing an event in a particular manner, or how they might change their reactions in the future based on previous experience. Super-ego functioning remains brittle, primitively punitive, and is subject to periodic lapses under pressure (particularly from peers) wherein the child may impulsively become involved in anti-social behavior.

Action is the main defense utilized by the ego; any accumulation of tension, painful affects, or anxiety is immediately discharged through motoric-expressive channels.
Action also serves as a depressive equivalent, the child being largely unable to tolerate feelings of sadness or longing. This over-reliance on activity is further facilitated by the ego's acceptance of most impulses, and the weakness of the super-ego to contain them. Other defenses in the child's defensive armamentarium include avoidance or denial of the situation altogether, or a reliance on projection. The latter defense is culturally syntonic as the child must realistically be watchful and suspicious of other's motives, but the defensive mechanism is overplayed, resulting in the child's ridding himself of his own unacceptable feelings by projecting them onto others. The world not only is a dangerous and potentially hostile place, but is made even more dangerous by virtue of the child's fear that others will act as impulsively, unpredictably, and aggressively as he feels himself to be at times. "Cultural paranoia" thus becomes a mixture of the realities of the environment and the internalized fears of the child.

Historically, black people have been compelled to develop a variety of "survival" techniques or strategies which have allowed them to live in a basically hostile, racist environment. Thompson (1974) warned researchers that in evaluating empirical research on this population, the larger context in which this behavior appears should always be taken into account. He believed that many of the social responses made by blacks are either consciously or unconsciously
conditioned by their need to struggle against and to adapt to the dangerous environment they have found themselves in by virtue of their racial membership. However, the question must again be raised whether these survival techniques, as necessary as they have been and continue to be, may fundamentally interfere with the child's healthy maturation. While the individual becomes shrewd, adjustable and "street-wise," this may only be achieved at the cost of mistrusting others. The need to keep oneself constantly vigilant, to maintain a culturally supported "paranoid stance," can only act to develop the idea in the child that the entire world is out to use and exploit him, and if he is to survive, he must be a better manipulator or "operator" than his peers. Further, a great deal of energy must be invested in this constant watchful stance established by the child; maintaining his "cool" calls for a large investment in keeping up his social facade as well as controlling his anxiety and anger in stressful situations. It is little wonder that these children appear to have little interest in learning or exploring their environment for mastery's sake alone, as they must be constantly vigilant to the possibly exploiting motives of the adults around them.

In his study of day-care centers for lower-class children, Lilleskov (1974) found that these children make a rapid adjustment to this situation by an early and strong identification with the caregiving role. He raised the question,
pertinent to our discussion, as to what extent this may represent a premature and possibly pseudo-independence, reflective more of a brittle ego development often associated with children raised by depressed mothers rather than stable ego formation. It would appear that for the black child the emphasis is always on adaptation to a potentially dangerous environment with consequent premature independent functioning achieved at the expense of age-adequate functioning. The child cannot allow himself to be threatened in any way, as he knows that it is he alone whom he can depend upon.

Dill (1976) underlined the finding that a number of factors associated with inner-city behavior radically influence childhood socialization, including the vulnerability to disaster faced by ghetto residents, their sense of powerlessness, the rather restricted range of alternatives open to them, and their low esteem in the eyes of society. He stated that a distinction has yet to be made between that which could be attributed to cultural traditions as opposed to that which is attributable to adaptational styles. As discussed by Muensterberger (1974) and Meera and Gordon (1972), the culture can significantly shape the mother's response to her infant, affecting not only child-rearing practices but later child development. In the case of the black, inner-city ghetto, the culture has in many ways become indistinguishable from the adaptational, survival techniques employed by its residents, poverty and the culture co-
existing for so long that it may well be impossible to really
distinguish one from the other at this time. It is for this
reason that we have termed the inner-city milieu a distinct,
black culture of poverty.

Mears (1975) has made the almost surprising observation
that he saw little manifest psychiatric symptoms in children
whom he knew to have been either severely traumatised or
deprived. Upon reflection, he concluded that the cultural
norms and experiences of the child may have shaped the symp­
tomatic expression of conflicts; parental and cultural intol­
erance of particular types of symptoms may have acted to
push down specific varieties of symptomatic conflicts, while
allowing drives and conflicts to be expressed through modes
culturally syntonic to the black ghetto, but perhaps unaccep­
table to other groups of people (e.g., aggressive acting out,
substance abuse, precocious sexuality, various anti-social
activities).

The experience Mears had in screening children for his
study appears to reflect the experiences of many clinicians
who work with black, inner-city children: the children seen
often failed to manifest the typical neurotic personality
characteristics and symptoms observed commonly in other
groups of children. They did not appear to have phobic
concerns, obsessive preoccupations, or suffer from hysterical
anxiety states. Rather, as indicated above, these children
were often referred for incidents of impulsive acting-out, or, conversely, depressed, apathetic withdrawal. These "impulse disorders," however, upon careful scrutiny appeared to mask the similar neurotic symptomatic configurations as typically found in middle-class patients. The behaviors associated with these neurotic configurations had been earlier given up under pressure from the child's environment, the cultural and parental environment selective in its acceptance of particular behavior accommodations. In treatment, these children failed to exhibit those characteristic symptomatic expressions associated with impulse disorders, but instead were constricted and inhibited in their functioning. Despite the fact that the often chaotic, disruptive and traumatic conditions of these children's lives drew towards symptomatic responses which appeared to be diagnostically attributable to situational disorders, Meers believed that careful diagnostic assessment would find that the basic disorder was an underlying neurotic character disorder.

Meers raised an important challenge to the thesis presented in this paper in his attribution that the pathology found among ghetto children is basically neurotic in nature; this position is also a significant shift from his earlier works where he hypothesized that the fundamental pathology observed in this group could be attributed to very early traumatization and deprivation resulting in developmental
deviations, as well as his observation that the Oedipal con-
lict was not central to the psychic structuring of the
ghetto child.

It was Meer's contention that the symptomatic expression
seen in ghetto youngsters and adults is not attributable to
neurotic pathology alone, but represents accommodations to
reality conflicts and traumatization. As a result of the
latter external events, ego regressions and somatization
of anxiety may occur, reflecting the individual's biological
and developmental endowment as well as his adaptation to the
stresses of the very real dangerous situations he may find
himself in. However, these conflicts are not representative
of the internalized, structural conflicts that would define
a typical psychoneurotic process. Meer continued that not
all of these adaptations would necessarily be written off
as pathological. The evident danger in the child's environment
may promote a discrimination capability in the child mani-
ifested in a preconscious, subliminal scanning of the environ-
ment concomitant with a hyperalertness and attentiveness to
fight or flight. However, Meer concluded that this ex-
penditure of energy or attention cathexis could drain other
ego functions, introspective and imaginative ego processes,
as an example, being depleted of the energy needed to allow
them to function optimally. In spite of all of this, the
chaotic, disruptive life of the ghetto home may be far less
deleterious to the child than had previously been suggested.
by outsiders.

Meers based his explanation for the presence of symptomatic expressions in the ghetto on reactions which have been observed in victims following extensive traumatization. Regressive responses often occur in those who are exposed to overwhelming anxiety due to situations which present actual or anticipated danger. These responses or "symptoms" are conceived of as phenocopies as they only mimic symptoms which are associated with severe pathology. In reviewing the literature on American soldiers who survived the Korean Prison Camps, Meers found a common reaction among some of these men; a deep, resigned apathy and in some cases a giving up of the will to live in the face of a seemingly endless, tortuous internment where death was a real possibility. Much like Jews who survived the Nazi concentration camps, the overpowering malignancy of the environment was enough to precipitate an entire range of pathology in a basically normal population. Meers cited evidence which showed that the survivors of the Holocaust quickly lost the pre-existing physical and psychiatric symptoms they had manifested while in the concentration camps, the overt expression of neurotic symptoms being very much related to conditions where survival was an all encompassing question. These findings are then related to the black ghetto family's situation:

"...In the many families who remain in the ghetto, are tied to it, however, there appears a fatalistic
despondency and apathy that has similarities with POW syndrome. Such black families evidence a loss of autonomy over sensory inputs. The sensory-deprived subjects suffer from an inundation from their own drives, while ghetto residents appear to be subjected to a flooding by an externalized, "environmental id." Excess of stimuli and not infrequent traumatization, then, appear to induce massive defenses and ego regressions as a price for psychological homeostasis (Meers, 1973, p. 3760.

In his final analysis, Meers did not find evidence that early, severe recurring trauma had significantly deleterious effects on ego autonomy. While ego restrictions and inhibitions were found which appeared to derive from both internal and situational conflicts, and an overreliance on the defense mechanisms of repression, denial, and misperception were evident, they were conceptualized as "survival characteristics." These ego functions and defense mechanisms were seen to give the individual some semblance of equilibrium in the midst of instinctual overstimulation. Further, they were related to possible future ramifications such as impediments in intellectual functioning which might be evident in the poor school performance so often associated with black ghetto children.

Despite his linking of pathology seen in the ghetto with adaptations to traumatic events and a basic neurotic
conflict remaining at the core of many of these children's problems, Meers was not hopeful in his prognosis for amelioration of these problems:

"...I can only conclude that the best of social remedies is already too late. The existing miseries of the inner city, I am increasingly convinced, are nurturing severe psychopathological neurotic character disorders. The defensiveness of ghetto children against care for others, the depersonalization of their relationships, and their sadomasochistic resolutions of hurt and despair appear to prepare them for retaliation against their own communities and with a potential for indiscriminate destructiveness of themselves or others. As our new generation of disadvantaged blacks assimilates its ghetto education, and as it comes of age, I would revise Kardiner's prediction and question whether we will not see new forms of pathology that synthesize atypical neurotic configurations with that afterward seeking for trauma that Fenichel described as the 'traumatophilic neurosis (1945, p. 543, p. 384)."

The author would take issue with Meers (1975) on a number of points. The issue most central to this discussion is his conceptualization that the major disturbances be labelled neurotic in nature, with concomitant temporary
ego regressions occurring under the press of environmental overinstinctualization or traumatization. As this paper has attempted to demonstrate, disturbances can be traced to the very inception of the early mother-infant relationship. These disturbances were found to compel the infant to make a number of psycho-physiological accommodations which facilitated the premature development of a number of ego functions, while delaying if not blocking the normal progression of others. From the beginning, developmental deviations, developmental skewing, or an atypical pattern of maturation are evident, rather than the precursors of neurotic development. Significant areas of fixation have been delineated in these children, specifically pre-genital. Further, in some areas of functioning, developmental failures or arrests exist. Evidence also was found for incomplete development of the Oedipal period; many of these children never adequately experience the conflicts during this stage, while others seem to "leap over the Oedipal phase into latency" as a defense against the overwhelming incestuous stimulation in the home. This position, at least insofar as the Oedipal phase not being central to the black inner-city child's development, was raised by Meer's himself. The issue is raised as to how extensive some manifestations of the neurotic process may be with failure to experience the conflicts of this period, as well as significant deviations and arrests in pregenital development. The author would reiterate his concurrence with
Meer's earlier position that the conflicts of these children can be traced to their early development, particularly during the first two years of life.

Meer's discussion of trauma is a fascinating one, and one which cannot entirely be dismissed as having profound effects in later life. However, there remain some areas in which Meer's conceptualisation may be lacking. First, he does not appear to take into account the effects of cumulative trauma throughout the child's early life, with its gradual taxing of the infant's resources and the accommodations it compels in the infant's psychic structure. The silent massing of trauma and its consequent effects in later life are also not discussed by Meer. Instead, he compared the traumatic experiences of POW's and concentration camp victims with the black ghetto child. This analogy may be strained for the following reasons: 1) the victims examined in these studies were by and large adults at the time of their internment, their psychological integrity was relatively fixed and their ego functions fully formed and operative — as opposed to the children we are studying who are exposed to these conditions from birth onward; 2) the interned adults were placed in a highly ego-dystonic and culturally-dystonic situation; they recognised their plight and were well aware of the injustice of the situation, whereas the child in the ghetto faces extreme conditions which are culturally-syntonic; it might be recognised as unfair, but it is he who is expected
to adapt as his parents and their parents before him adapted; 3) the interned adults had no patterns to fall back upon; therefore they had to devise survival strategies to meet the crisis situation. The child grows into a culture which supplies him with and teaches him the survival tools needed to make it in the ghetto. The child feels very comfortable with his world and becomes adept and proud of his survival skills and; 4) the interned adults were very much in a hopeless position and liberation by others was the only thread they had to cling to, whereas the child is in a much different position, as the implicit promise is made that if he learns his survival skills well, he may have the opportunity to become rich by his often illegal activities. Failing this, he can turn to self-solace in drugs or alcohol, the major point being that the child has a far greater sense of autonomy, realistic sense of his own responsibility and potential for action than the interned adult ever had. Continuing this analysis, Neers stated that the interned adults often reverted "back to normal" after they were freed, their symptoms disappearing at that time. However, the child from the inner-city has developed his "symptoms" from birth onward. They become etched into his personality and are reinforced by a culture which views them as syntonic with its goals. The very ego functions themselves have been shaped by this process; the mold has hardened by the time the child reaches his fifth or sixth year of life. Merely removing the
trauma surrounding the child is not enough to alter the structural, dynamic, defensive, and economic modifications that have taken place as a result of his accommodations and assimilations to this environment. In this regard, we must question whether the hyperalertness Means spoke about has its origins in the child's realistic assessment of his potentially dangerous situation in later life, or whether it has its ontogenesis during the first months of life as a result of the mother's failure to provide an adequate stimulus barrier.

In regard to the results of studies examining concentration camp victims, we are reminded of the findings of A. Freud and Dann (1951) that children who were raised in concentration camps developed a precarious sense of normalcy through latency, yet suffered breakdowns in functioning during their adolescent years. Further, not all victims of the Nazi holocaust "dropped" their symptoms after liberation; indeed, Israel has special mental institutions which are filled with those who suffered severe mental collapse, and continue to this day to be severely disturbed. Much the same can be said in regard to American POW's from the Korean and Viet-Nam wars, although probably on a smaller scale. Recent studies have also begun finding that the children of the Nazi concentration camp victims are manifesting peculiar and atypical psychological development, traceable to the disturbances of their parents which often include diminished
affect and feelings of depersonalization.

The author would agree with Meers that further traumatization and overinstinctual experiences precipitate ego regressions in these children, but would add to this analysis that these children are highly vulnerable to these regressions, if not predisposed to them by virtue of their deviant development. Further, the draining away of energy from autonomous ego functions involved in learning and academic achievement to defensive processes designed to facilitate the child’s adaptation to a hostile environment is another point of mutual agreement. However, as stated earlier in this paper, this "draining" process can be traced to very early development although its overt manifestation may not occur until later periods of life. While the removal of the child from the chaotic situation may well lead to a lessening of the pathology commonly associated with ghetto children, the developmental deviations and arrests remain. Beneath the surface pathology and even the subsurface “pseudo-neurotic character formation” significant evidence can be found for pre-genital (primarily oral) fixations, premature ego development, brittle ego and super-ego structuralization, over-reliance on primitive defense mechanisms, developmental deviations and atypical development. The extent of this pathology may often be masked by the pervasiveness of the cultural acceptance and selection of some forms of symptomatic
expression over others.

The amount of energy expended in maintaining the child's defensive structure and fueling his precocious ego functions, as well as his ego inhibitions and restrictions, act together to thwart the child's optimal receptivity to material to be learned. Constantly bombarded by overstimulating and traumatic events in his own life, while realistically fearing assault or exploitation at the hands of others, the child develops an automatic filtering system which blocks out information which is irrelevant to his physical safety or does not specifically involve him, while remaining paradoxically hyper-alert to other extraneous events and people whom he may perceive as potentially dangerous, suspicious, or perhaps containing the possibility of gratification in an almost analectic, need-satisfying part-object manner. While the preschooler may hold the fervent belief that he can still find someone who will love and care for him, the latency age child has come to a more realistic appraisal of the situation. Abandoned by his family to the street because they can no longer control or monitor his activities, the school reinforces the child's view of being rejected by its cold indifference to him. Marked as an underachiever who can never fulfill his "limited" potential before he even enters the school building, the school resignedly accepts its role as a glorified babysitter whose function is only to hold the
child until he is old enough to drop out. A self-fulfilling prophecy emerges; the school expects the child to fail so it takes little pains to seriously attempt to teach him. Thus the child learns very little, which only acts to confirm the school's view that "culturally deprived black children" just do not achieve.

It is observed in this context that the school is not willing to teach, and the child may be psychologically handicapped in his capacity to learn. McDonald (1970), as noted earlier, described how even the highly motivated teacher who believes he or she can reach the child through love and encouragement may fail, feel bitterly disappointed and ultimately reject the child. This appears to be attributable to the failure on the teacher's part to realise that the internalized conflicts of the child may prevent him from learning, specifically the unconscious defense of denial, avoidance, misperception, and repression which keep the child from knowing about the unbearable reality that confronts him. It is as if the child's filtering system overgeneralises to encompass knowing about the entire world or learning anything; the fear that the child will only be further stimulated or traumatized reinforces his view that the "less one knows, the happier one is." Further, the little energy left over after defensive investment leaves the autonomous ego functions of learning, remembering, judgement, etc., exhausted. The child is truly frustrated in his ability to
learn from the moment he sits down in class.

Divorced from even the psychological theory expounded above, it seems reasonable to believe that a child who comes to us from a chaotic home situation where he might fear severe beatings for any transgressions, has sometimes no firm assurance that his mother will be there when he gets back or what person may have moved in with the family, or even if the family must suddenly move from their home, can hardly be expected to give his full attention to the learning process. Further, the effects of malnutrition, poor eating habits, and inadequate medical and dental treatment all chip away at the child's attentional and concentration abilities.

The defense of action impedes learning; any tension or anxiety the child may experience in his school work is not siphoned into mastery-oriented activities, but may be expressed through motoric actions, "clowning around," or talking to his school mates. This rapid impulse discharge further interferes with the child's ability to develop patience or persistence in the task until its completion. Denial, suppression, repression, and avoidance inhibit the ego's ability to absorb and evaluate new information, the child often defensively day-dreaming or preoccupied with his thoughts when he should be attending to his work. Memory itself is affected, so much that the child has experienced having been so painful that except for those things which the child must know to survive, he has no inclination to
remember. Remembering information in school may also be associatively linked to remembered past traumas, this new information being drawn into the general repressive nexus of the original traumatic event.

Michaels and stiver (1965) highlighted an area in the development of the impulsive personality which appears to be relevant for the black child's development. In speaking to the capacity to work, they found the children they studied tended to refuse to take tasks seriously and to avoid any situations which might prove difficult for them, as this only produced the anxiety states which they wished to avoid. This appears to be the case with many ghetto children; school work and academic achievement is typically denigrated as being of little value, and thus their poor performance in school generally has little meaning to them. Additionally the heavy investment in defensive processes and hyperalertness allows little energy to be available for sublimatory activity, further impeding the development of academic interests and achievement. What is important is that one has the knowledge to survive in the day to day world of the street, not that one knows the capital of Greece!

The findings of Sandler et al. (1957) are also important in this context, findings which have been discussed at length in an earlier section of this paper. In their examination of children who were subjected to inconsistent mothering notable for erratic shifts between overgratifying maternal
behavior and harshly punitive, frustrating behavior, they found these children to be constantly in search of direct gratification while having ego functions which had been impeded in their desexualization. Reading was later an area of difficulty for these children, as the act of looking remained so highly sexualized, and with ghetto children we would add that "to look" is also to be traumatized. Playing and painting activities were also inhibited, as the fear of loss of control resulting in ultimately destructive, messy behavior always threatened. We are reminded in this context of those observations made of ghetto children in day-care settings who often appeared unable to play or work constructively.

The school system in general has tended to emphasize the lack of skills which are manifested by ghetto children (Beiser, 1965), and has therefore taken the position that there is little it can do to ameliorate these problems. Coles (1967a) spoke to the devastating effects this preconceived notion has on the child, formerly exuberant, vital young children coming to school eager to learn, but quickly finding out the schools have no desire to teach them. He observed that these children were quick to lose patience, sulk, or feel wronged as they came to understand the contradictions inherent in the world they lived in, and the near impossibility of achieving that which they sought.

Dukes (1976) raised the issue of underlying framework
of the research that has been conducted in the ghetto which has contributed to the school system's view of black children. This research has often assumed that the child-rearing methods of the poor and minority groups must inevitably result in cognitive deficits, with the implicit assumption that only the child-rearing practices of the middle-class can lead to effective cognitive growth. Baratz and Baratz (1972) went further in their assessment of black intellectual functioning. From an anthropological framework, viewing the black child's IQ score neither as the child's intellectual potential nor his capacity to adjust himself to the larger social system, but as an indication of the extent to which the child had "bought into" or learned the mainstream culture. Dill (1976) suggested that the black child's socialization process be examined from a positive standpoint, referring to studies (cited earlier in this paper) which have shown the child to have good functioning in terms of verbal abilities and spatial conceptualization skills. Dill raised the question as to what unique experiences in the child's life might contribute to his excellent perceptual-conceptual abilities.

Clearly, as long as the school views the child as irreparably damaged by virtue of his development and does not take into account the psychological, anthropological, and sociological factors enumerated throughout this paper, they will continue to offer the child programs and material inappropriate for his optimal development. From a sociological
perspective, Thompson (1974) found that inner-city black parents were often unable to provide their children with adequate formal or informal instruction before the child even entered the school, ultimately contributing to the large percentage of black children who reach the first grade already a year or two behind their middle-class peers. Further, Thompson believed that the rigid pragmatism of the parents is also a serious handicap for the child; learning is never encouraged for its own sake, but is rather only seen as a tool to get a better job or to make more money. In schools which demand that the child "enrich himself" through exploring a liberal arts curriculum, the child easily becomes frustrated and bored as he feels this material irrelevant to furthering his career. The reality-oriented world of the ghetto child where things must be immediately useful clashes head-on with a school system -- and an economic system -- which demands a "well-rounded" person.

The possible psychological dynamics behind these findings have been thoroughly discussed. As one example, considerable time has been spent explicating just why it is that black children have the excellent perceptual skills noted by Dill (1976). Why the child behaves in this manner must be understood before programs can be initiated to strengthen his skills and ameliorate his problems. It is extremely important for researchers and educators to be cognizant of the entire meaning of the school experience to the child if
We ever hope to help change the low motivation for academic work seen in these children. McDonald (1970) commented that many black children have unrealistically high aspiration levels which are reinforced by their parents, aspirations which far exceed the capabilities of that child as an individual. This appears to represent an ego ideal which is still infused with infantile wishes, which, concomitant with prejudice and segregation, have stunted mature ego-ideal development in the black child. These factors do not facilitate the child's healthy development but guarantee him failure and disappointment when his realistic capabilities do not match his unrealistically high goals. The frustration thus engendered may alienate the child to the entire learning process, keeping him from realistically fulfilling his capabilities.

As was noted in the previous discussion of "sloughing off" in the rapprochement subphase, for some blacks achievement becomes equated with being severed from the home and the maternal fold. To be successful carries with it the implicit threat that in mastering and becoming autonomous, there may be no home to which to return. These fears were traced to the infant's "return" to the mother after the practicing subphase, with her consequent rejection of the infant's demand for a temporary re-institution of the close mother-infant relationship. From the stance of intellectual and educational achievement, Grier and Cobbs (1972) gave yet another example of this phenomena while highlighting the
cultural and psychological pressures weighing against the black child's occupational success:

"Intellectual achievement is regarded as elevating oneself to a higher plane and removing oneself from the black brotherhood. The tie to blackness here is rarely perceived as the militant self-conscious pride of being black but rather as the deeper, sweeter, more profound tie to beloved figures of childhood. Such a conflict partly explains why so many gifted black students achieve academic distinction but fail to fulfill their vocational promise. Accomplishment in school can be seen as simply carrying out the wishes of the family, whereas accomplishment in a career may represent a major move beyond the family -- a move to another level out of contact with those whose love is life itself. (p. 120)."

The peer group plays an important and integral part in ghetto street culture from the early latency years well into and often past adolescence. Meunsterberger (1974) believed that the peer group replaces the partial loss of the mothering figure when the child "leaves the home" at an early time. Those qualities of affection, protection and guidance formerly provided by the mother are now provided by the child's peers. The early loss of infantile omnipotence is also

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compensated for by the group, the powerless, vulnerable child feeling he has powerful protectors who will come to his defense, and whom he may be able to lead against those who threaten him. Meers (1975) viewed the peer group and the larger street culture as an avenue of escape from the highly sexualized and instinctualized family relationships, the group psychological interaction supporting the individual while obscuring his own conflicts. Liebow (1967) commented that the street exerts such a strong pull on the ghetto resident that even the youngest children become enticed by it; the bonds which develop among group members rivaling and often surpassing the ties in the immediate family.

The over exposure to sex and violence begins in the home and spills over into the street. Meers (1975) registered his bewilderment that despite the prevalence of this openly expressed instinctual material, the children appeared to blithely ignore, deny, repress, or reverse in fantasy the scenes of violence and sadism to which they had been exposed. These children often appeared to be almost casual in their concern over their own safety and well-being. Meers speculated that the street peer group may serve as the displacement for aggressive and incestuous drive discharge from the home, the street culture itself provocatively courting open sexual and aggressive acting-out. In an earlier paper, Meers (1974) stated that the ritual of "playing the dozens" (i.e., "joining," "sounding," "your mama) and mutual, rhymed sexual
insults reflect the counterphobic management of the pre-adolescent's concerns over his own incestuous feelings and his fear of emotional attachment to any woman.

The peer group becomes the agency through which the child can find support in rejecting these intolerable feelings, denigrating the mother, sisters, and all women in the community as little more than depersonalized sexual objects, not worthy of the boy's emotional or sexual investment. Meers (1972) pointed out that "the dozens" not only served as a reaction formation against the boy's incestuous wishes, but also enabled him to categorically reject any feelings of passivity, receptivity, feminity, and to deny his considerable concerns of mature sexuality and emotional attachment. Within the confines of the peer group, there is a strong push for the boy to become sexually active to prove he is a "man," which is in actuality a counterphobic defense employed by both the boy and the entire group against their feelings that they really might not be men, that indeed they might in some way be "queer." Further, to have intercourse with a girl is to prove that you are not afraid of having intercourse — which is of course the paramount fear. Thus, it is not unusual for ghetto boys to become sexually active around eleven or twelve years of age, often with girls somewhat older than themselves.

Abraham (1972) traced the practice of "mother-rhyming" or mother-sounding back to its roots in Africa where it was
practiced by adolescents as part of their training for adult performances of what was (and remains in many parts of the world) truly a conversational art-form. The functions it served in Africa are still being served in the inner-city, but in Africa it arose out of a stable community atmosphere with well defined limits of civility and acceptable behavior. This particular ritual is meant to demonstrate to the community that the son’s bond is primarily to his assigned clique or peer group, the denigration of the mother clearly relegating her to secondary importance in the scheme of things. In Africa, as well as the inner-city, the ability to perform "sounding" was a statement of group solidarity as well as a "trying on" of later adult roles.

By the time the young boy reaches pre-adolescence and early adolescence, the peer group has become further defined and delimited. The peer group in some cases becomes the gang. Thompson (1972) contrasted the highly individualistic orientation in the male gang where every boy must prove his manhood before full acceptance, and where mutual aid is limited to the "matriarchy," the women and girls being drawn together out of feelings of mutual affection and the challenges of survival. Thompson cited reasons for the formation of the male gang similar to those already discussed in regard to the peer group; the fear of women, a complete disavowal of anything feminine, and the constant need to prove that one
a man and not acting like a "sissy," or not being feminine. Further, the gang harbors bitterness and hatred against all established authority, particularly the police and all women who are authorities (e.g., principals, teachers, social workers, etc.). Middle-class standards are generally held in contempt, white males are objects of particular hatred — especially if they are in authority, as this is seen as a challenge to the young black's masculinity. The activities the gang typically engage in (drinking, gambling, fighting, sounding, etc.), are viewed by Thompson as the completeness by which the ghetto male must reject anything that is feminine. It would appear that Meers' analysis of the young peer group can be safely extended to gang membership at a later period of development.

The large size of many ghetto families with the concomitant scarcity of supplies for each of the siblings, particularly in regard to the mother's attention and affection, acts to promote intense sibling rivalries which often become violent physical altercations as the children grow older. There is often a disparity among the siblings in terms of development. Dill (1976) noted that he was "impressed" with the consistency and inconsistency he found among siblings. He went on to state that in some families only a few of its members gained any measure of success or stability, while in other families the children seemed to be uniformly successful.

The aggressive outbursts and impulsive displays of
violence the child is surrounded by act to erode his own sense of controls, while providing him with countless aggressive models with which to identify. Meers (1972) found that the child's fear of his own repressed aggressive impulses are heightened by these expressions, the child's own projections consonant with his external reality. A. Freud (1974) commented in her discussion of the developmental line "from animate to inanimate objects" that the child must have appropriate objects towards which he can discharge both his libidinal and aggressive drives. If the child failed to be provided with these objects, these drives may be discharged on inappropriate objects. As the black child has been found to repress his aggressive feelings from early infancy to preserve the "bad-part-object", the mother, from destruction because of her failure to provide adequately for his needs, we must wonder where these drives may be discharged in later development. A. Freud indicated that if there is a propensity for impulsive discharge arising from a low tolerance for frustration, two distortions in this developmental line may occur. First, the idealization and later rejection of the mother, particularly among ghetto boys, may shunt libidinal attachment from close emotional attachments to people to an overvaluation of material goods. The black child and adult may expend a great deal of energy acquiring possessions culturally indicative of their value as "persons of worth" while leaving emotional relationships barren of investment.
Regarding aggression, A. Freud commented that this type of child may be unusually destructive of his toys or cruel to animals. While there is no empirical evidence in the literature pertaining to black children as to this occurrence, her final comment that we may later see a “massive destructiveness turned against inanimate objects” does appear to ring true for ghetto boys and male adolescents. The rampant vandalism and wanton destructiveness of property in the ghetto often directed against fellow ghetto dwellers appears to serve not only as a displacement and expression for aggression, but may also indicate a disruption in this developmental line as explicated by A. Freud.

The philosophy that guides discipline for the ghetto parent is often a negative one, “keep out of trouble,” based on the fear that the child will be unable to keep himself from becoming involved in the seductive anti-social activities of the street. Thompson (1972) spoke to the ubiquitous temptations and opportunities present to the child, the entire social system of the ghetto geared to reward the very behavior that would be condemned as immoral or criminal in the suburbs. The mother is the dispenser of punishment, corporal punishment used frequently to discipline the child for his wrong doings or to “motivate” him to do better in the future. In Thompson’s sample, fathers only intervened in the role of disciplinarian in the most serious of offenses, although they were more than likely to shift responsibility to their protesting
Early adolescence is a time of turmoil and upheaval for any child, but this period appears to be particularly difficult for young blacks. The individual must break the ties on the home while still remaining very dependent upon it. He must create a new future and identity for himself while his personality represents the sum of his past experiences. Beiser (1965) believed that the adolescent must have a "core system of values" which can provide him with a sense of stability during this time. The black child, however, is not seen to have these values to cling to as the morals often preached by adults in his environment prove lacking; they do not work in the adolescent's every day struggle to survive where morality becomes equated with expediency, and those who profess them are found to have little real commitment to them.

Khan (1963) found that the child who had maintained a collusive bond with an inadequate mother who failed in her role as protective shield often becomes acutely aware of the disruptive ties to her at adolescence. These children are often found to react dramatically by rejecting the mother and the past cathexes of her. The child may attempt to integrate his personality around a willful negation of all past libidinal investments, ego interests, and object ties. Khan believed this resulted in a tortuous process of integration with personality collapse into futile hopelessness threatening. Another outcome of this conflict may be a desperate search on
the adolescent's part for new ego interests, objects, and ideals. This has direct ramifications for the inner-city black child, who has been subject to a number of traumas throughout his development attributable to maternal failure to protect his physiological and psychological integrity. During later latency, puberty and adolescence, the formerly “good, obedient, passive and compliant child” seems to “turn bad,” rejecting the mother and largely forsaking the home. For the majority of black adolescents, a desperate search for the new ego interests, objects, and ideals of the gang takes place; for some, however, collapse into futile despair, apathy and often eventual drug abuse may occur.

XIII. Methodological Considerations: Criticisms of Past Research and Limitations of the Present Theory

Black researchers have long decried the failure of their professional colleagues to account adequately for the methodological complexities inherent in any psycho-sociological research conducted in an interracial context (Gardner, 1972). The naivete of many researchers concerning black culture and history has led to the erection of theoretical straw men which capture the attention and interest of scientists and educators alike. Numerous programs were initiated and an enormous amount of time and money were spent on “teaching black children how to speak,” because the child’s language
seemed unintelligible to the white listener. It would seem almost incomprehensible that sophisticated researchers could be so culturally naive regarding blacks, or perhaps culturally chauvinistic regarding white, middle-class values, that they could ignore the evidence of the nonstandard form of English spoken in the ghetto. But ignore it they did. Thus, programs were developed to teach these children to speak "good English," a questionable skill to expend that amount of effort on, and in any case a skill which only acted to isolate the child from his peers and family. To talk like "white people talk" alienated the child, other children thinking the child was trying to be better than others or was attempting to "cop" the ways and mannerisms of whites.

There is a far more malevolent implication in this type of research, however. What in essence the teachers says to the child is that his language and the language of his culture in unacceptable, deficient, culturally deprived, or even laughable. In either case, it must be replaced by something "better," i.e., the language of the white culture. It is with good reason that many blacks have viewed programs such as Head Start as "white Cultural Imperialism."

Gardner (1972) also raised the issue of experimenter and subject bias and the effects this may have on the outcome of research. This subject has been addressed throughout the first chapters of this paper in which studies of achievement, cognition, and language were examined. Repeatedly, researchers
have found that the race of the experimenter often radically affected the ultimate findings, very different findings achieved by black and white experimenters. Gardner also raised an objection from which the present author is not entirely immune -- cultural stereotypes of American blacks which were rampant in the earlier psychiatric, psychoanalytic, and psychological literature, and were attributed to constitutional or genetic inferiority, were often disguised and couched today in more acceptable dynamic-experiential terms. The stereotypes of the past have given way to similar stereotypes, but "manifest behavior" has been explained as resulting from the oppression, segregation, and discrimination that blacks have suffered. Undoubtedly, the point Gardner raises cannot be dismissed in an ad hominem fashion as a reflection of his own sensitivity to the subject (Gardner is a black psychologist and psychoanalyst). For this reason, the present author has attempted to document the conclusions very carefully, and has relied heavily on the work of black professionals for additional substantiation of the findings. Further, sociological, anthropological, historical and cultural factors were integrated into the theory, with psychological conclusions firmly grounded in the work of normal child development and childhood psychopathology. The majority of these studies were not involved with studying black children specifically.

Thompson (1974) and Thomas and Sillen (1972) attacked the
notion of "cultural deprivation," finding it to be based on the implicit assumption that all behavior is to be judged by white middle-class standards. When black behavior has been judged by these terms, the very legitimacy of a unique "black experience" is questioned. This cultural and economic bias denies the history, experience and cultural heritage of blacks; it fails to recognize specific behaviors as situationally adaptive, viewing it only as pathological when measured against culturally acceptable standards. Thomas and Sillen found that many researchers have erroneously concluded that poor, ghetto blacks live as they do because they prefer it to other behavior patterns, rather than that a narrow range of behavioral options have been forced upon them by the conditions of their existence:

"In the first case, blacks are seen as disfigured victims of the oppressive society. In the second, the failure to grasp the social context of behavior results in interpreting behavior as deviant even when it is realistic and normally adaptive. The black man's justified suspicion of white people is mistakenly identified as paranoia pure and simple. His bitter protest against a boss or slumlord is seen as an expression of 'oedipal hostility' (Thomas and Sillen, 1973, p. 57-58)."

Thomas and Sillen also took issue with the current
terminological substitution of "culturally deprived" for poor. What may be implicit in this shift is a focus on poverty as a personal trait as opposed to a social condition, the attention of the researcher drawn away from the concrete, devastating realities of the conditions of poverty to an emphasis on the impoverished individual himself. These investigators warned that this orientation tends to "blame the victim" and engenders programs aimed at somehow changing the personality of the ghetto black, rather than concentrating on the elimination of the blight of poverty itself. Mears (1972) made the important distinction, however, that although poverty is certainly relevant to the behavior of impoverished blacks, it is not wholly sufficient to explain the cultural phenomena of ghetto life. What is psychologically relevant is not poverty in and of itself, but the black subculture's response to the discrimination and economic privation which may hinder it from sharing in the national wealth.

A number of works about blacks have come under particular attack in recent years; perhaps the most criticised is Kardiner and Ovesey's (1968) The Mark of Oppression, originally published in 1951. Their central thesis centered around the basic black personality being merely a caricature corresponding to the white personality. Because of the stress blacks have been subjected to by a racist society, they have turned all their aggression back on themselves and consequently suffer from uniformly low self-esteem and self-hatred. The black's
only option is to identify with whites, but his inability to really become white only provokes added self-hatred and a "foundering on the rock of the unattainable white ideal."
The rage engendered towards whites through this ordeal could not be expressed for fear of its social consequences; this anger is then displaced to other blacks resulting in violence among blacks, or it is internalized to manifest itself in self-hatred, psychosomatic illness, passivity, and an incapacity on the part of blacks to have any feelings at all.
Kardiner and Ovsey listed a series of typical black personality characteristics which are barely disguised versions of the racial stereotypes of the black as a sexually promiscuous, fun-loving, lethargic, childish creature who is distrustful of learning and highly superstitious. Gardner (1972) took these researchers to task for describing an entire race of people in terms of a "modal personality pattern," describing this venture as "no less than methodological recklessness."
Kardiner and Ovsey indiscriminately lumped all blacks together, making rash generalizations from a small sample of blacks of relatively homogeneous socio-economic, environmental, occupational, and educational status.

McDonald (1970), a psychoanalyst, stated that in no way could the conditions established by Kardiner and Ovsey be taken as a serious or valid psychoanalytic investigation. She cited the confusion between cultural and intrapsychic
facors, the evident failure on the part of Kardiner and Ovesey to understand that a defense against intimacy and emotional closeness is not synonymous with a lessened capacity to feel; their obfuscation between constitutional differences and vulnerabilities on the one hand and distortions in personality development on the other; and overall conclusions which seemed to strongly suggest discrimination and prejudice on their part. She disposed of their conclusions concerning the unconscious dynamics and personality structure of blacks by stating that it could not be considered valid as it never met the criteria for a methodologically sound psychoanalytic study.

Thomas and Sillen (1972) also found this study to be inadequate by almost any scientific criteria, only twenty-five subjects being examined with eleven of these paid, another twelve receiving "psychotherapy" in exchange for their life histories. In twenty-four of the subjects, there were obvious symptoms of psychological disturbance. The only control utilized by Kardiner and Ovesey was the "American white man." Thomas and Sillen pointed to the obvious lack of an acceptable scientific control group, as well as the skewed, small, and highly unrepresentative sample of blacks used in this study, most of them emotionally unstable. They continued by stating that any conclusions which are drawn from patients in psychoanalytic treatment cannot fail to have a bias towards psychopathology and that Kardiner and Ovesey failed even to
distinguish between that which was deep-seated pathology as opposed to that which was remediable with treatment. Thomas and Sillen also cited the response of many black professionals who countered Kardiner and Ovesey in 1951, their central criticism directed at the irresponsible overgeneralizations of all blacks as a crippled and crushed people, and the curious blindness these researchers exhibited regarding anything that was healthy in all of black life and culture.

Thomas and Sillen also took to task many other psychoanalytic investigators who have studied blacks utilizing specific psychoanalytic case studies as a model for the historical investigation of all black people. They referred specifically to Hunter and Babcock (1967) who examined only one black patient, their contention being that an appeal was not made to historical evidence, but to the structure of the psychodynamic theory which arose out of this one clinical case study. Gardner (1972) also criticized this study, finding the assertions undocumented, paternalistic, and ethnocentric.

A disregard for historical context, cultural integrity, and situational adaptational responses was found in a number of the psychoanalytic studies reviewed by Thomas and Sillen. They commented:

"Also characteristic of psychoanalytic explanations is the misvaluation of the objective causes of black
anger -- the real oppression. This is not seen as the main feature of the individual's situation but as an instrument for rationalizing an emotional need. The black man does not want to struggle; he wants to submit. His militancy is a facade. Such explanations of the black man's rebellion reduce it to a mere posture. And the longing for an 'omnipotent perfect father whom he can trust implicitly' would appear to echo the creaky stereotype of the childlike Negro (p. 62-63.)"

Thomas and Sillen also criticized Grier and Cobbs (1972) for their bias in examining only psychiatric patients who were brought to their attention because of these individual's adaptive failure. The issue raised by black professionals regarding Kardiner and Ovesey's (1968) book is again relevant here; blacks who were successful and adjusted were ignored while the behavior of the disturbed blacks studied was abstracted and then generalized to cover an entire race of people.

The issues raised by Thomas and Sillen (1972), Gardner (1972), and others have direct relevance to the present study. Their major disagreements with the previous psychoanalytic and psychiatric literature involve the following points: 1) only psychologically maladjusted blacks were studied and the findings from these patients then generalized to the entire black populace regardless of psychological adjustment, socio-
economic status, or occupational success; 2) sociological, historical, cultural, and situational variables were not taken into account in explaining the behavior of blacks; previous researchers making the black experience conform to the clinical psychodynamic findings of their small samples; 3) the blacks studied typically were members of the lowest socio-economic class, therefore unrepresentative of all blacks; 4) a confusion between intrapsychic and cultural factors; 5) a failure to differentiate between constitutional, genetic differences and developmental distortions, resulting in behavioral differences being attributed to "genetic inferiority theories," and 6) an exclusive focus on pathology to the exclusion of all that is healthy in black life and culture.

Regarding the theory proposed in this paper, the author considered that the valid criticisms raised by these investigators should be addressed. First, through the use of sociological, anthropological and other data an attempt was made to present a normative picture of life in the black, inner-city ghetto. The findings of these studies were generally congruent with the descriptions made by clinicians working with inner-city black populations. The findings of these various research projects presented a bleak and uninviting picture of life in an inner-city ghetto, with repeated references to inconsistent mothering patterns, hostile, violent and often sadistic verbal and physical attacks made by one family member on another as well as one ghetto dweller.
upon another, an atmosphere of mistrust, suspicious and "cultural paranoia," high instances of broken, chaotic homes, high rates of crime, juvenile delinquency, vandalism, and drug abuse. Many references were made to widespread evidence of low self-esteem and academic failure, inappropriate child-rearing techniques characterized by erratic overgratification and deprivation and neglect, ranging to out-and-out instances of child abuse, crippled male self-esteem and depressed, traumatized females who felt little sense of self-worth, and a generalized state of anomia and normlessness. Obviously, this list could be expanded. No attempt has been made to romanticize the ghetto or the brutal street life that characterizes it. The author does not feel that the precocious self-reliance and "street-wisdom" seen among many of the children of the ghetto is a strength; it has been described as an understandably adaptive survival mechanism which ultimately functions to hinder optimal development. While there may be positive, seemingly healthy attributes which arise from ghetto life, it is the author's contention that the price that is paid for them in terms of pathological personality development and developmental distortions is far too high.

Second, the development of the black ghetto child has not been viewed in the context of one or two case studies; it has been examined methodically in terms of what mental health professionals have conceptualized as normal, healthy development
of all children, regardless of cultural, racial, or socio-economic status. It is the author's admitted bias that children develop and mature in roughly the same manner as their counterparts all across the world, affective and cognitive development following a prescribed and certain pattern of development regardless of the culture they are brought up in. Obviously, the child-rearing practices which are themselves a function of the particular culture and society may have a profound effect upon the child, but these differences will not to produce variations in this inexorable line of development; it will not produce a different line of development.

Blacks develop in a manner similar to whites, or to Oriental children. This particular bias, incidentally, is also shared by most developmentalists.

Admittedly, some of the theory presented is just that — theory; this encompasses both the normative and pathological child development explicated in this paper. However, this theory has proved itself both heuristic and parsimonious in explaining normal and pathological development. As with all theory, its ultimate validity awaits the test of time. Further, empirical findings have been integrated into this theory whenever possible (e.g., motoric activity level in black, lower-class infants) and these findings have tended to complement rather than contradict the thesis presented.

Third, the theory presented is meant to address itself
specifically to inner-city, Black American children of poverty; no attempt has been made nor is it implied that these findings can be generalized beyond this defined, delimited population group. Further research may prove that the applicability of this theory should be delimited to an even smaller group with more concretely defined characteristics. While parts of this theory may have applications to the development of children of poverty, in general, it cannot be applied to them in an overgeneralized, wholesale manner. Their unique cultures, environments and adaptations, must be taken into account before this can even be attempted.

Fourth, an attempt has been made to delineate, separate and demonstrate the interaction of intrapsychic and cultural factors which are involved in the development of the black, inner-city child. The cultural factors which predispose the child to make the psychological accommodations and assimilations which are hypothesized to occur are deliberately kept apart from the psychological, developmental manifestations which are later linked to these environmental variables. The adaptations that the child makes to his environment must be viewed first and foremost as an understandable, realistic accommodation to traumatic and overstimulating conditions of his every day life. The child has no choice; to survive in his environment he must adapt to its demands — no matter what the cost. Ultimately, the psychological development of the inner-city, black child of poverty can only be understood
in the context of the organism's will to survive and adapt to the environment he exists in. The developmental distortions, deviations, and arrests that occur as a function of this psychological adaptation have no relevance to genetic or constitutional factors.

Fifth, an attempt has been made to understand the development of the black child — as well as the function of his family and the larger community — in the context of the Black American experience. It is for this reason that historical data has been incorporated into this analysis. Further, the cultural, sociological, and environmental milieu in which the child resides has been discussed at some length, as it is in this context that the child grows into adulthood.

XIV. A Closing Note

Many white people continue to feel that black people represent a major threat. In spite of the many advances in civil rights legislation, de facto segregation, discrimination, and racism continue to be potent forces within the white community. There are many who believe that circumstances have changed little for blacks in the last decade; indeed, for many blacks conditions may have become worse. Gardner (1973) cited Starba (1947) in speaking to the symbolic meaning that the thought of "blackness" evoked in many people, stating that it continues to be associated with sin, evil,
inferiority, emotional abandon, sexuality, aggression, badness, ignorance, faces, power, magic, and man's fall from grace (among other meanings). From his own and other psychoanalysts' work, Gardner found that white patients often make an unconscious association between black men and the Oedipal father, the hated sibling, or the phallic-sadistic rapist. Another image which is evoked is the popularized "Aunt Jemimah" stereotype, the indulgent overgratifying mammy. Gardner concluded on a somber note, finding that it may well be many generations before blacks are truly accepted by many whites:

"Even in those individuals who experience very little conscious racism, some racial stereotypes will likely continue to exist at unconscious levels and will gain subtle expression in behavior and thought. It could hardly be otherwise considering the nature and history of the black-white relationship in this country (p. 51)."

Grier and Cobbs (1972) reached similar conclusions, but from the perspective of the black individual. They found that the effects of slavery were still very much evident in the black personality, the dependency, deeply conscious feelings of inferiority, self-depredation over being black, and an awful fearfulness of whites that existed in black slaves centuries ago which is still a potent force for blacks today. The historical experience of slavery in conjunction with current societal conditions continues to wreak havoc in
the black populace, particularly its most vulnerable members, the poor inner-city black:

"...we must conclude that much of the pathology we see in black people had its genesis in slavery. The culture that was born in that experience of bondage has been passed from generation to generation. Constricting adaptations developed during some long-ago time continue as contemporary character traits. That they are so little altered attests to the fixity of the black-white relationship, which has seen so little change since the birth of this country (Grier and Cobbs, 1972)."

"Under slavery, the black male was a psychologically emasculated and totally dependent human being. Times and conditions have changed, but black men continue to exhibit the inhibitions and psychopathology that had their genesis in the slave experience (Grier and Cobbs, 1972, p. 51)."

In consideration of the generational, cyclic pathology that has been explicated in this paper, it would appear that neither new laws, additional federal infusions of monies into the ghetto, nor more periods of benign neglect will systematically alter the conditions of life or the hopes of the future of many poor, inner-city Black Americans. To assert
that the pathology resides solely within the black family, i.e., to blame the victims, not only raises the justifiable ire of blacks, but misses the point altogether. We are indeed looking at a self-sustaining system; the larger society continues covertly to deny blacks that which is their birthright as American citizens, the unencumbered pursuit of peace, prosperity and happiness. By maintaining the conditions of ghetto life, it helps guarantee that many blacks will be unable to enter the mainstream of American life. The continued existence of the ghetto and conditions that it breeds maintains the cycle of pathology and poverty that often results in a crippled personality.

While it would be unrealistic to propose that any one program or series of programs can solve problems which are intricately woven into the fabric of the larger society's racism, it is believed that for some children and their families a beginning can be made. The rationale for the development of a psycho-dynamic profile of the inner-city child has been to isolate those interaction patterns in early development which may lead to future disturbances and impediments to healthy psychological functioning. The reconceptualization of behaviors such as learning difficulties or aggression, previously thought to have their sole determinants in cultural factors or inadequacies of the environment (e.g., the schools), may now be viewed in a wider and more meaningful context. It is hoped that this profile may illuminate new
methodologies for effectively working with these children, and perhaps lead to our understanding of why previous programs have failed.

Despite all the work which has been done on the development of the black child, we are currently no closer to answers than we were a decade or more ago, when the "War on Poverty" was initiated. While first reports on the Head Start program were encouraging, later follow-up studies showed that these children often lost the educational advantages they had gained through attendance in these programs. Researchers were at a loss to explain why these results occurred, attributing their failure to the techniques and curriculums they had employed. New techniques and curriculums followed, one researcher isolating an area of cognitive development and labelling it as deficient or indicative of cultural deprivation, another researcher isolating yet another area, and the development of curriculums which spoke to these isolated areas proliferated. Recent research has uncovered evidence that if we only follow these children long enough, increased scholastic and intellectual performance in intelligence tests will be found. Paradoxically, the earlier reports of failure occurred despite the diverse programs employed, and, again paradoxically, new evidence of the success of these early education programs is found despite the diversity of programs. In either case we are left with no clue as to why these programs succeeded or failed. Clearly, a new potpourri of "techniques" will bring
us no closer to the answer.

Commonalities in these various programs have been de-emphasized, researchers understandably interested in those differences in their curriculums which made their programs unique or successful. The variables of intense adult-child interaction and the enthusiasm of well-trained, highly motivated staff personnel participating in an exciting research project have not attracted the attention they may well deserve. From the developmental scheme presented, it would appear evident that this must have profound effects on the child's psychological well-being, motivation, and possibly his future growth.

Clearly, programs that are constructed for children would be most efficacious when directed toward the very young. Further, the mother cannot be ignored in any attempt at intervention as she remains the most important person to the child. If these mothers can themselves be reached by counselling, economic, nutritional, medical and dental assistance, and programs to maximize their potential as mothers, not only will the identified child in the program be helped, but his siblings will also substantially benefit.

Early childhood intervention is obviously not the only answer, nor may it be the best answer to problems endemic to a society which has so scarred an entire group of people. However, armed with an understanding of how and why these
problems have come into existence, as well as a conceptualization of how these children develop, we may be able to focus our skills and knowledge more effectively to maximize the potential for the black inner-city child of poverty to develop to his fullest capacity.
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