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PART FOUR

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CHAPTER EIGHT

DEFENCE THEORY OF THE EGO

INTRODUCTION

Anna Freud's 'The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence'¹ is often held to be her "most celebrated publication"² and her "most significant theoretical contribution"³. These two statements are however by no means synonymous. In the present study, whilst the former statement is accepted as a matter of proven record, the latter viewpoint is rejected as no longer tenable in the light of the author's monumental contributions to the developmental field since 1960 (Chapter 9).

The scientific world's acknowledgement of the importance of Anna Freud's work on ego defence-mechanisms was virtually immediate, with important reviews in both German and English journals. In the International Journal of Psycho-Analysis the collected reviews amounted in effect to a critical symposium⁴, and other valuable articles exist from the same period⁵. The discussion has, over the years, continued to be one of the most productive in the analytic literature - the present study's master-index card on 'defence' lists over 40 authors who in the period 1938-1978 assess in detail this aspect of Anna Freud's work. In April 1973 the Philadelphia Association for Psychoanalysis included in its 20th Annual Freud Memorial Programme a special panel on 'The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence'⁶. Panel members were Arthur Valenstein, Erik Erikson, Hans Loewald, Jacob Arlow, Eli Marcovitz and Jenny Waelder-Hall, with Anna Freud as special guest.

Whilst it is thus a relatively simple matter to document the extent to which *The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence* is a 'most celebrated publication', the same is no longer true with regard to Anna Freud's

¹Anna Freud (1936a).

²Kaplan (1971).

³Pumpian-Mindlin (1966).

⁴Jones (1938), Fenichel (1938), Kris (1938).

⁵French (1938), Hendrick (1938), Reik ((1937)1941).

⁶See: SLAP (1974) for panel report.

'most significant contribution'. In particular, and since the publication in 1965 of her *Normality & Pathology in Childhood*¹, it becomes increasingly evident that a new 'contender' has emerged for the latter honour.

PRECURSORS

The term 'defence' is "the earliest representative of the dynamic standpoint in psychoanalytic theory"², and was first used by Freud in 1894. As is widely known, Freud soon 'abandoned' the term 'defence' - only a single citation is catalogued in the very thoroughly-indexed *Interpretation of Dreams*³ - and replaced it by the term 'repression'. When in February 1926 there appeared *Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety*⁴ Freud is said to have "reverted" to the term 'defence' "which for over twenty years he had replaced by that of 'repression' ..."⁵.

It must not be thought on account of the above that Freud's abandonment of the term 'defence' was total in the period c.1900-1926, nor that he had any particular loathing for the term. In his correspondence with Jung around 1908 - in which we find Jung suggesting that incurable psychoses "should probably be regarded as defensive encapsulations which have misfired"⁶ - Freud wrote telling his colleague that "your ideas about 'defence' are certainly correct, but not only for paranoia. I believe that they apply to all neuroses

¹Anna Freud (1965a).

²Anna Freud (1936a), in *Writings*, II, p.42.

³Freud (1900A), Strachey edn., 1954, p.260.

⁴Freud (1926D).

⁵Jones (1957), chap.4.

⁶Jung to Freud, 20th February 1908; Letter 72J, in McGuire (Ed) (1974).

and psychoses"¹. Later, in his notable 'Winter Lectures' of 1915-16 which were attended by the young Anna Freud, Freud spoke of the "principle of defence against unpleasant memory by forgetfulness"².

Following Freud's 're-introduction' of the discussion of defence per se in 1926, a number of authors contributed to the topic. In 1929 at the Oxford Psa. Congress - which Anna Freud attended - Sigmund Pfeiffer^{2b} presented a typically unsystematic early attempt to further develop Freud's ideas. Joan Riviere³ contributed 'Jealousy as a mechanism of defence'; and Melanie Klein⁴ observed that anxiety situations affecting the child "call out special mechanisms of defence on the part of his ego and determine the specific character his psychotic disorder will assume". Thirty years later Melanie Klein would quite legitimately claim to have been interested in defence issues since her 1932 book.

The massive study of primitive cultural types published in 1932 by Geza Roheim of Budapest⁵, included a long discussion of the ego in which was a section headed 'Defence mechanisms'⁶. There Roheim viewed 'displacement' as the prototypic transformation, and went on to discuss 'repression', 'regression' and 'projection'.

The work of Herman Nunberg on defence mechanisms - also published in 1932⁷ - is of such importance and interest as to merit fuller

¹Freud to Jung, 3rd March 1908; Letter 76F, in McGuire (Ed) (1974).

²Freud (1916X), Lecture 4.

^{2b}Pfeiffer, S., (1930), 'A form of defence', Journal, 11, 492-496.

³Riviere, J., (1932), in Journal, 13, 414-424.

⁴Klein (1932), p.202.

⁵Roheim G., (1932), 'Psychoanalysis of primitive cultural types', Journal, 13, 2-224.

⁶ibid., Chap.6, Pt. II, (a).

⁷Nunberg (1932).

consideration, and a detailed comparison with Anna Freud's work is deferred until the next section of this chapter.

On 5th May 1936 - one day before Freud's 80th birthday, for which Anna Freud hastened to complete her book 'The Ego and The Mechanisms of Defence' - Joan Riviere of London read before the Vienna Ps. Society a paper entitled 'On the genesis of psychical conflict in earliest infancy'¹. The author was apparently completely unaware of Anna Freud's imminent book, and although mentioning the early operation of defence-mechanisms Riviere's 40-item bibliography contains no citation of Anna Freud. The omission was corrected by Robert Wälder², who in his remarks on Riviere's paper included a somewhat premature and unsatisfactory use of Anna Freud's book.

MECHANISMS OF DEFENCE: A MISPLACED PRIORITY?

It is authoritatively stated that from its very beginning psychoanalysis "was concerned with the ego and its aberrations ... and ... the proper field for our observation is always the ego"³. Moreover, and as is in effect self-evident, "the ego itself is the object of analysis, in that the defensive operations in which it is perpetually engaged are carried on unconsciously"⁴. Thus Anna Freud seeks to focus upon the ego per se, and goes on to consider the defence mechanisms largely on the basis of their function in mediating the ego's tri-fold relations with the external world, the drives or id and the super-ego. With Anna Freud's allocation of priority to the ego the present study is in full agreement.

¹in Journal, (1936), 17, 395-422.

²Wälder (1937).

³Anna Freud (1936a), chap.1, 'The Ego as The Seat of Observation', pp. 3-5.

⁴ibid., chap.3, p.30.

A number of other authors however are here criticised in so far as they focus upon the defence mechanisms per se, and these same psychologists and others err even more in attributing by implication their own orientation in this respect to Anna Freud.

Goodenough's influential text on child development for example states that one of Freud's contributions was to identify and name many defence mechanisms, and the solitary reference to Anna Freud is to say that "his daughter Anna Freud elaborated them in some detail"¹.

MacKinnon & Dukes, in a distinguished article on 'Repression', say that "the fullest and clearest relegation of repression to a position of one among many mechanisms came in Anna Freud's book *The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence* ... Increasingly after the publication of this most influential book psychoanalysts focussed their attention upon the problems of defense"². Others³ similarly emphasise Anna Freud's contribution as being to a psychology of defence, at the expense of acknowledging any contribution to a more comprehensive and meaningful psychology of the ego.

This is not to ignore the fact that in her book Anna Freud does indeed make a contribution to the strict realm of defence. Even here though, what is most particularly due to Anna Freud is often missed or obscured, whilst that which receives acclaim is neither original nor particularly hers.

A widely recognised list of ten defence mechanisms - repression, regression, introjection, projection, reaction-formation, turning against self, undoing, isolation, reversal and sublimation - is for

¹Goodenough & Tyler (1959, p.486).

²MacKinnon & Dukes (1962).

³Miller & Swanson (1960), Mahl ((1969)1971), Toman (1972).

example even by psychoanalysts¹, and in addition to wide currency in general psychology, commonly attributed to Anna Freud. In actual fact the author of *The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence* attached little importance to the itemisation of the now celebrated 'list of defences', and relegated to a mere sentence 'in parentheses' the "nine methods of defence which are very familiar in the practice"². To these nine she then adds sublimation, "a tenth, which pertains rather to the study of the normal than to that of neurosis"². With her allusion to the familiarity of practising analysts with this material, together with the comprehensive locating of the sources for individual defences in the prior writings of Freud, Anna Freud underlines the fact that the chapter in question³ is in reality the least original and most recapitulatory of the entire book. The paradoxically great popularity and familiarity of this same section of her work is perhaps to be found in the 'convenience value' and 'nodal quality' of such neat listings.

An early reviewer of *The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence* warned against the "mere enumeration" of defence mechanisms⁴, whilst more recently the supposedly fundamental 'list' of defences has been criticised as staying simply "on the taxonomic level"⁵ and as having "a certain arbitrariness"⁶. The present study maintains that, in the light of the foregoing, there is no case here for the author of *The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence* to answer. Other authors are less fortunate in this respect. Hendrick⁷ extends the list of basic

¹French (1938), Wyss ((1961)1966, p.206), Rycroft (1968a, p.28), (1968b, p.73) Rangell (1975).

²Anna Freud (1936a, p.44).

³'The mechanisms of defence', Anna Freud (1936a), chapter 4.

⁴French (1938).

⁵Schaffer (1968).

⁶Suppes & Warren (1975).

⁷Hendrick (1938).

defences by adding 'flight from an object', 'avoidance of an object' and 'motor inhibitions', though without providing any further description of these suggestions. More recently, in attempting a major reclassification of defence mechanisms, Grete Bibring & Arthur Valenstein and their co-workers¹ list 26 'basic or first-order' defences plus 19 'complex or second-order' defences. Ludwig Eidelberg² describes 18 defence mechanisms. An extreme illustration of this enumerative progression is provided by a recent team who, using mathematical-combinatorial methods, generate 29 possible mechanisms of defence together with a further 15 'elementary mechanisms' specifically termed identification³. As with trait-listing and the later mathematically sophisticated studies of personality involving factorial analysis, such methods are here judged to be 'a priori' of fundamentally poor validity for the study of the individual 'person' in any dynamic and meaningful context. Such methods are of course recommended for the study of 'individual variation' and other population-related parameters.

It should here be mentioned that in a subsequent and general article on defence mechanisms written for *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Anna Freud does herself add the further defence 'intellectualization', and refers also to "other, minor mechanisms"⁴. However the author then criticises her own "foregoing enumeration", and points out that a further drawback is "that it includes under one heading a number of heterogeneous processes".⁴

With regard to the widely accepted 'list' of ten or so commonly found defence mechanisms, the criticism must be made of *The Ego & The*

¹Bibring et al. (1961).

²Eidelberg (1968), pp.92-95.

³Suppes & Warren (1975).

⁴Anna Freud (1964a).

Mechanisms of Defence that it nowhere explicitly acknowledges or considers the prior study of Herman Nunberg on 'Die Abwehrvorgänge' ¹. Not only does Nunberg's list of defences compare interestingly with Anna Freud's - cf. Fig. XXII where the first 8 comparisons are identical - but with his concept of "defence as narcissistic protection"² and elsewhere in the book Nunberg implies and utilises important notions of ego boundaries and stimulus barriers. A consideration and discussion of this work would inevitably have enhanced the value of Anna Freud's book, for example with regard to the nature of any fundamental process underlying defence mechanisms generally.

As a close friend and colleague of the Freud's Nunberg's ideas enjoyed wide currency in Viennese psychoanalytical circles, as did those of Paul Federn another pioneer of 'ego boundary' concepts. However, the theoretical ideas of both these men were in a particularly nascent and sensitive state in the early 1930's, which may well explain why the author of *The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence* preferred to defer their consideration. Erik Erikson³ who listened to Federn lecturing on ego boundary concepts around 1930, humourously depicts his teacher at the end of the difficult presentation quizzically gazing into the distance and asking aloud 'Now, have I understood myself correctly?'. Certainly in later years Anna Freud made good any such omissions, and frequently acknowledged the work of both Nunberg and Federn⁴.

To return to the question of Anna Freud's distinctive contribution to the realm of defence mechanisms per se, a discerning commentator⁵

¹Nunberg (1932), Kap.VII; transl., (1955), chap.8.

²"Abwehr als narzisstischer Schutz", op. cit.

³Erikson (1968), Preface.

⁴See: Appendix IX.

⁵Brown (1961), p.69.

FIG. XXII

COMPARISON OF DEFENCE MECHANISMS LISTED BY
HERMAN NUNBERG (1932) AND ANNA FREUD (1936)

NUNBERG (1932) Kapitel VII	ANNA FREUD (1936a) Chapter 4
Identifizierung Projektion Verkehrung in Gegenteil Die Verdrängung Regression Reaktionsbildungen Ungeschehenmachen und Isolieren	Introjection (Identification) Projection Reversal into Opposite Repression Regression Reaction-formation Undoing and Isolation
} Verschiebung (=Displacement) } Widerstände (=Resistances) } Übertragung (=Transference)	Turning against the self } Sublimation }

notes that essentially five mechanisms of defence are described in *The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence* viz. denial in phantasy, denial in word and act, restriction of the ego, identification with the aggressor and 'a form of altruism'. Otto Fenichel¹, an even surer guide, notes that the first three of these are "the first measures taken by the ego to avoid pain" whilst the remaining two - 'identification with the aggressor' and 'a form of altruism' - are "two new, that is, new as far as evaluation goes, types of defence"¹. Special attention is also directed in Anna Freud's book to the defences peculiar to puberty², and the 'new contribution' therefore approximates to the following:-

<u>Defence Mechanism</u>	<u>Area of Interest</u>
1. Denial in phantasy	} Preliminary stages of defence
2. Denial in word & act	
3. Restriction of the ego	
4. Identification with the aggressor	} Special forms of defence.
5. A form of altruism.	
6. Asceticism	} Defences characteristic of puberty
7. Intellectualization	

It would seem to be in the descriptive evaluation of these seven mechanisms of defence that the work of Anna Freud in this limited area of its overall scope should principally be known, rather than for any 'listing' of better-known defence mechanisms. Some commentators, including J. C. Flugel³ in an otherwise widely-respected work, present

¹Fenichel (1938).

²Anna Freud (1936a), chap. 11 & 12.

³Flugel (1945), pp.85-88.

"Anna Freud's 'mechanisms of defence'" without differentiating the old (such as repression) from the new (such as ego restriction). The concepts of 'preliminary stages of defence'¹ and of 'denial' as an early ego technique of this kind were present in the work of Freud, a point brought out by Edward Glover² in his paper to the Oxford Congress in 1929.

AN ERIKSONIAN CRITIQUE AND RAPPRÔCHEMENT

Erik Homburger Erikson (b.1902)³ undertook his training analysis with Anna Freud in Vienna, studied also with Aichhorn, Bibring, Helene Deutsch, Federn, Hartmann and Kris and graduated from the Vienna Psch. Institute in 1933⁴. In the same year he emigrated to the U.S.A., became influenced by cultural anthropology and in particular Margaret Mead, and came gradually to the presentation of a socially-orientated critique of orthodox psychoanalytic views. Erikson is undoubtedly one of the most gifted psychologists to have emerged from Anna Freud's 'Vienna School of Child Analysis', though the deep basis of his early training in child analysis is often ignored. He is widely acclaimed as belonging to the 'cultural psychology' school, and no studies appear to exist on the formal relationship between Erikson as an ego psychologist and Anna Freud. Pumpian-Mindlin's account of 'Anna Freud and Erik H. Erikson' is not acceptable in this sense, since it is really two separate and individual accounts in one. Also rejected is Pumpian-Mindlin's view that "Their foci and frames of reference complement each other, but do not overlap in the formal sense, at least at the present time"⁵. If it ever was

¹Anna Freud (1936a), Pt. II Caption.

²Glover (1930).

³Present address (1977-78): 1705, Centro West, Tiburon, California 94920.

⁴Letter of Erik H. Erikson, 1st Nov, 1977. See: Appendix XI.

⁵Pumpian-Mindlin (1966); Present writer's underlining.

true that the two authors in question showed no formal overlap this is certainly no longer the case. In point of fact, both Anna Freud and Erik Erikson can demonstratively be shown to have based their most important work of the past two or three decades securely in a 'psychoanalytical-metapsychological' and specifically 'developmental' framework (cf. Chapter 9).

The purpose of the following section is to examine closely Erikson's modification of Anna Freud's defence theory of the ego.

Already in 1945 after field work amongst the Sioux and Yurok, Erikson¹ questioned the term 'defence mechanism', sought to relate the implied process to wider areas of the personality and provided determinants in terms of adult models and wider environmental factors, in addition to the 'infantile drive' determinants of the classical-orthodox analytic view. A year later Erikson² had developed his critique of 'mechanisation' in ego theory to the point of seeing such descriptions of ego processes as reflecting not the ego processes themselves, but more nearly the contemporary historical dilemmas manifest in the discussion of those processes. Clearly, Erikson's approach is relevant to such modern technologically-accelerated tyrannies as the 'mechanization of man' and the 'dehumanization of industry'. In child rearing, writes Erikson, certain modern trends "seem to represent a magic identification with the machine, analogous to the identifications of primitive tribes with their principal prey. If modern man's ego seems to crave mechanical adaptation ... then we are not dealing with the nature of the ego, but with one of its historical adaptations, if not (one of its) dysfunctions"². The writer is also critical of the classical 'structural' view since "id, ego and superego are not static compartments ... they reflect three major processes the relativity of which determines the form of human behaviour"².

¹Erikson (1945).

²Erikson (1946).

The key word here would appear to be 'process', and others have approached a similar critical stance. Charles Rycroft¹ for example notes that "Defences are better regarded less as mechanisms than as techniques, manoeuvres, strategies or plays". Here we may note that all such reformulations imply a degree of conscious ego control, whereas the orthodox freudians are indubitably correct in emphasising the automatic, repetitive nature of unconscious defence processes. This whole question is thus part of the larger area of contention between 'metapsychology -v- personology'², between 'instinct theory -v- object-relations theory'³, or between 'classic freudian psychobiology' versus an 'interpersonal relations theory' in terms appropriate to man as a 'person' rather than as an 'organism'⁴ (cf. Chapter 9).

By 1950, in a study which has attained the status of a major classic in its own right, Erik Erikson clearly recognised his work as producing "a psychoanalytic book on the relation of the ego to society"⁵.

The author quickly distances himself from prior analytic formulations however, and essays to extend his reach "beyond the mere defensive aspects of the ego which have been so conclusively formulated in Anna Freud's *The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence*"⁶. The ego to Erikson is "an 'inner institution' evolved to safeguard that order within individuals on which all outer order depends. It is not 'the individual', nor his individuality, although it is indispensable to it"⁶.

¹Rycroft (1968b), p.72.

²Brierley (1951), (1969).

³Fairbairn (1952).

⁴Guntrip (1961).

⁵Erikson (1950). Forward to 1st edn.

⁶Erikson (1950), Pt. 3, pp.187-188.

In April 1950 Erikson and Anna Freud met in Stockbridge Mass., where Erikson was a senior staff member of the Austen Riggs Foundation. The occasion did not arise - indeed the conditions were not yet ripe - for any discussion or rapprochement between the two on defence theory, and over 20 years would elapse before such a valuable opportunity was capitalised upon.

In 1956 Erikson raised the issue of "whether the concept of identity is essentially a psychosocial one, or deserves to be considered as a legitimate part of the psychoanalytic theory of the ego"¹. In the same paper the author stands on identical ground with Anna Freud in viewing adolescence as a 'normative crisis' rather than an affliction.

More recently, and whilst in no way retracting any part of his own theoretical views, Erikson has looked with greater sympathy and insight at the work of his early teacher Anna Freud. Thus, in quoting from Anna Freud² the identical passage which in 1946 had spurred him to cogent criticism, Erikson³ now noted that whilst Anna Freud "describes a tendency which the ego has in common, in more than once sense, with the nervous system and the brain ... she certainly does not intend to advocate mechanical adaptation as the goal of human life. In fact, her 'mechanisms of defence', whilst a highly necessary part of mental life, render the person dominated by them impoverished and stereotyped"³. Here it would seem that Erikson has, at least to his own satisfaction, successfully and finally harmonised his own views with those of his early formative analytical training.

In April 1973 Erik Erikson and Anna Freud came face to face once more on a panel discussing The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence at

¹Erikson (1956).

²Anna Freud (1945), Writings, IV, p.29.

³Erikson (1968).

the 20th Annual Freud Memorial Meeting of the Philadelphia Psa. Society¹. There Erikson "took up the question of sharing of defences, and the relationship of that sharing to the inner economy of the individual"². In presenting examples of groups of children and others using the same defence mechanisms in similar circumstances, Erikson illustrates both his thorough grounding in the psychoanalysis of the individual and his own particular synthesis of this with group dynamics and wider social forces. For her part Anna Freud "responded that at first she was surprised when she learned that Professor Erikson was going to talk about the social aspect of defense, because it was her feeling that defense mechanisms were high individual matters; however, on reflection, she could see that he was correct"². With this memorable rapprochement of the two potentially conflicting viewpoints we may leave the 'Eriksonian critique'. It had, after all, sought 'not to destroy, but to fulfill', though at the present time it is not possible to predict the outcome of any future confrontation between formal studies of individual dynamics and group dynamics respectively. What is more certain is that the work of Anna Freud and of Erik Erikson each in its respective manner shows where some of the vital 'middle ground' lies. What now must also appear self-evident is that teachers have here a valuable role-opportunity, since they are ideally placed to make studies of a theoretical or of an applied nature concerning this hybrid psychosocial field (cf. Chapter 10).

DENIAL AND EXAMPLES IN NORMAL SCHOOLING

Particular importance has been attached to Anna Freud's elaboration of the 'preliminary stages of defence'³, and especially to the various

¹Panel (1974).

²Slap (1974).

³Zetzel (1971).

forms of 'denial'¹. 'Denial in phantasy' was described from a number of sources viz. (a) Freud's classic pioneering case of Little Hans, (b) a seven year old boy patient of Anna Freud's who imagined he tamed ferocious wild animals and (c) stories from folk-lore and children's literature². In the latter type of material- Anna Freud there cites Alice Hodgson Burnett's 'Little Lord Fauntleroy' and Annie Fellows Johnston's 'The Little Colonel' - children are depicted as 'taming' powerful bad-tempered adults, i.e. as reversing reality (denial). A further instance of this kind, and one which has more recently attained popularity as a televised cartoon-film, would be the story of 'The Giant's Garden' with its involvement of the 'christ-child' parallel.

So plentiful are the observations which may be made in relation to 'denial' in the normal school setting that these undoubtedly add weight to Anna Freud's view that such a process, aimed at the avoidance of objective (i.e. real outer world) unpleasure and objective danger, "does not come under the heading of the psychology of neurosis, but is a normal stage in the development of the ego"³. The defences proper are in this view distinguished as largely unconscious processes resulting in neurotic compromise solutions to internal dangers, e.g. to instinctual drives seeking gratification. Maurits Katan⁴, whilst agreeing that Anna Freud has "clearly pointed out that, in general, denial is directed against the outer world" nevertheless adds "this does not mean that denial of inner reality does not exist". It is not clear whether such 'denial of inner reality' would constitute a defence proper or a preliminary stage - a neurotic or a normal solution.

¹Hendrick (1938, p.482), Shevrin & Toussieng (1965).

²Anna Freud (1936a, chap.6).

³Anna Freud (1936a), Writings, II, p.102.

⁴M. Katan (1964).

The following examples are considered as demonstrating the efforts of the normal child's ego in reversing unpleasurable facts of the outer world by means of denial:

1. A boy R.D. aged 7 years had no father at home, and knew only the single relevant fact that his father had once served in the Royal Navy. When schoolfriends began continually to relate the alleged exploits of war, R.D. elaborated a whole series of daring exploits on behalf of his own father, culminating in the father's loss at sea in a torpedo attack.

To the extent that R.D. was thoroughly involved in the mental elaboration of these stories the appropriate process would be ^{'denial in phantasy', whilst the communication of these} psychological productions to peers would fall under 'denial in word and act'.

R.D. was of course the present writer.

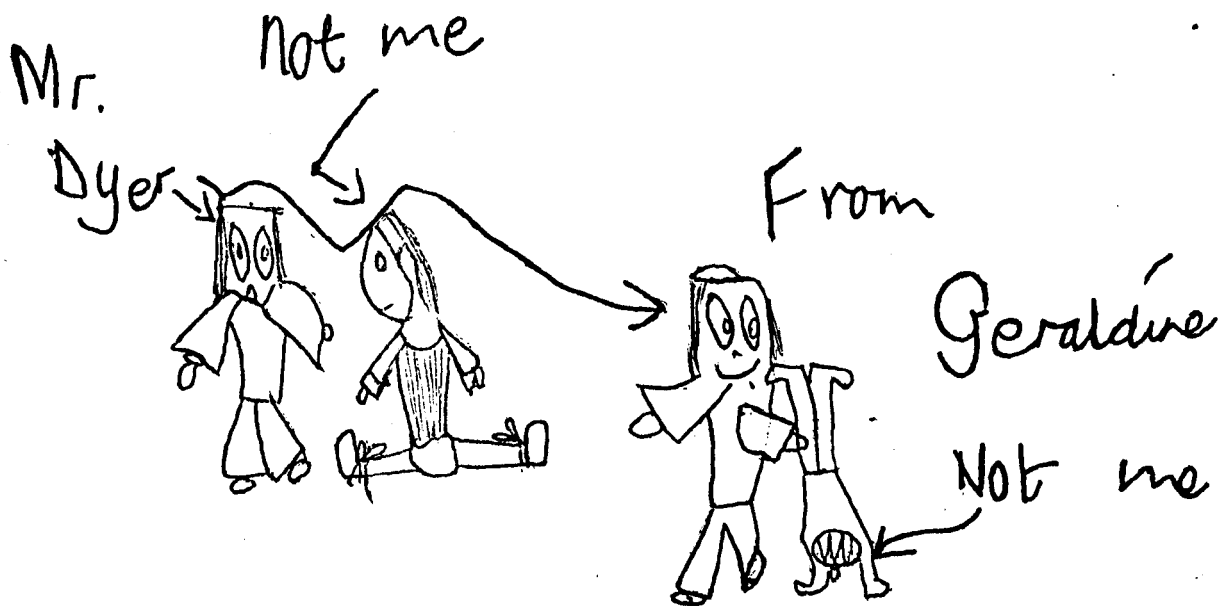
2. Children judged to be from materially less affluent homes, when mixing with peers from materially more affluent families, may frequently be heard up-grading their own family attributes and possessions to include imagined new cars, exotic trips abroad and so forth.

"Keeping up with the Jones" is clearly a variant of this in which the denial is acted out in the real world and is thereby reinforced, though at the cost of becoming dangerously close to a rigidly established defensive stereotype in itself.

Fig. XXIII.

Pictorial Example of Denial From Normal Schoolchild

Age 9 Years, December 1977.



may be placed 'logical or correct denial', as when the child correctly denies a self-evident untruth or injustice.

4. The example of denial represented pictorially in Fig. XXIII is particularly interesting, and was collected during the actual writing of this chapter.

The girl G. aged 9 years regularly attended gymnastics sessions and showed herself very accomplished in movement vocabulary. At Christmas she sent her gymnastics coach the card depicted, with the additional material inked in as shown. G's obvious pleasure associated with the gymnastics coach is denied as shown, presumably on account of either (i) a particularly strong (moral) super-ego or (ii) fear of an ego-dystonic rebuff (unrequited love).

When approached afterwards and humourously asked "Who is this then?" G's answer was consistent with her initial drawing - "I don't know, but it isn't me".

DEFENSIVE AVOIDANCE IN NORMAL SCHOOL BEHAVIOUR

Within the Primary School age-range 7-11 years one may encounter certain children who, whilst maintaining a consistent and positive attitude in general academic work-orientation, nevertheless manifest in relation to the class teacher certain avoidance behaviours. This is here termed 'defensive avoidance', and is differentiated from negative avoidance behaviour i.e. where the child is consistently hostile or markedly ambivalent.

Typically, in the 'defensive avoidance' here being conceptualised, the child makes relatively few direct approaches to the teacher. When an approach is required there is characteristic avoidance of

eye-contact. If approached by the teacher at their seating places such children will frequently lower their gaze, avert the face and generally reduce 'contact points' whilst responding verbally. Somewhat similar is the tactic employed in therapy sessions by certain children and termed 'double-distancing device' by Anna Maechen¹. Here the child-patient communicates with the analyst in writing and with eyes closed, thereby circumventing difficulties raised by free association and verbal response generally.

In some curricular areas forms of greater motor avoidance may appear. Two girls, S.D. aged 8 years and S.P. aged 10 years, were among a group of 12 who came regularly to a lunch-time gymnastics 'club'. Whereas S.D. spent a good deal of time in 'spectator behaviour' S.P. was more exhibitionistic and clearly enjoyed being watched. In one aspect of their behaviour however these two pupils responded in identical fashion. Whenever the coach (male) approached either pupil they would retreat away around the mat square. This item of behaviour was observed many times.

When the school situation restricts the child to its desk and requires expression in writing the following peculiarity was on rare occasions observed, and is suggested to ^{be} motivated by 'defensive avoidance'. M.C., aged 8 years and having entered a new class with his first male teacher, developed minute forms of handwriting and drawing as compared with his previous work, and attempted to compress whole pages of work into the tiniest corners. This was interpreted as reflecting a need to withdraw, hide and avoid some sensed danger.

All of the above examples are held to indicate the child's perhaps temporary need to avoid 'objective unpleasure' from sources in the external world. Flight and avoidance reactions are common in the

¹Maenchen (1970).

animal world, particularly when appearing in juvenile individuals, and one possible explanation for the behaviours described here is that the children in question are seeking simply to avoid any unpleasure associated with being subject to adult power and authority i.e. the child denies or reverses the adult's prerogative to control or manipulate him. The fact that some at least of the instances detailed here involve children recently deserted by their fathers suggests the further hypothesis that the 'defensive avoidance' may have been motivated by fear of a recurrence of the pain of desertion. 'Avoiding' the teacher by any means available would thus be a denial of the adult's emotional significance to the child, and a refusal to libidinally cathect the teacher as a significant interpersonal object. In such ways as this, certain susceptible children may be reflecting something analogous to 'auto-immunisation' and protection against future separation and distress.

With her important concept of normal pre-stages of defence Anna Freud opens up to the teacher's understanding a whole range of previously paradoxical and obscure behaviours. In *The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence* the forms of 'denial' are related to the avoidance of objective unpleasure. In the further examples offered here 'defensive avoidance' is related to the denial of certain unpleasurable aspects of outer reality. Clearly with the human child avoidance and 'denial' are closely related, in ways neither conceivable nor relevant to the simpler avoidance responses of lower animals.

EGO RESTRICTION & THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

With the concept of 'Ich-Einschränkung' or ego-restriction Anna Freud¹ offers a further preliminary defensive process, and one moreover with potentially great significance to learning situations and the school setting.

¹Anna Freud (1936a), chap.8; Anna Freud (1937b).

In the now classic description of 'ego restriction' a small child-patient is drawing on a writing block, notices the parallel productions of the adult-therapist, judges his own efforts to be inferior and thereafter refuses to produce any more drawings of his own¹.

Anna Freud adds similar accounts of a number of other children from varying situations. The following example comes from the present writer's childhood. At 9 years of age R.D. was first introduced to the game of football when the teacher organised a class game. Immediately recognising the superior skills of his peers, R.D. declared a total lack of interest in participating, and elected to be a spectator. This anathema to the playing of football spread and came to include as its resultants poor knowledge of clubs and their colours, lack of familiarity with famous players and so on. Physical sports generally were in some danger of becoming classed as 'boring', and the reversal of this undesirable trend required the powerful intervention provided by the advent of adolescence and the encounter with the quite different skills of rugby. Other examples exist in the literature².

So graphic and familiar-sounding are such observations that one cannot avoid concluding that similar phenomena must have been noted many times previously by teachers and others involved with youngsters. What differs in Anna Freud's observations however is that they are not made in isolation, but are integrated with a psychological theory of the ego. What might otherwise have been a relatively minor observation noted en passant is in the hands of psychoanalysis given clarity and depth of meaning. The single observation is wedded

¹Anna Freud (1936a), chap.8; Anna Freud (1937b).

²E. Klein (1949), Alpert & Krown (1953).

to significant theoretical points of reference such as 'ego', 'defence stage' and so on, which incidentally assist its memory retention and recall. The theoretical framework is enlarged, corroborated and strengthened. Such reciprocal interaction of theory and observation is typical of Anna Freud's approach to child study and psychoanalytic science.

Ego restriction has in the present writer's experience been observed only in the curriculum area of Art, in addition to the occurrence already noted for Sport & Games. In a class of 30 mixed 10-11 year olds, when it became known that a girl V.S. could draw extremely good likenesses of horses and other animals, the majority of her classmates thereupon 'discovered' that they were totally incapable of drawing animals at all. Whenever any illustration was required for topic work/nature study, class members would 'commission' the appropriate sketch from V.S. This practice continued even when the class-teacher prohibited it and instituted a scale of penalties for any future malpractice, so that it was not self-evident that children were simply taking a 'lazy option' in employing V.S.

No evidence has here been found to support a general 'ego-restriction syndrome' in basic academic areas such as Maths, English, etc., and this is at variance with suggestive evidence supplied by teachers of Anna Freud's acquaintance¹. However, it must be noted that following another Viennese, the philosopher Karl Raimund Popper², lack of evidence per se neither corroborates nor refutes an epistemological statement - 'negative evidence is no evidence at all' as others have said.

¹Writings, II, pp.95-96.

²Logik der Forschung, Vienna 1935, (The Logic of Scientific Discovery). B.1902; now in England.

The above discrepancy may well result from a difference in educational method and philosophy between analytically-orientated teachers of the 1930's and those of today such as the present author. As regards the former, Anna Freud¹ notes "kindergartens and schools run on modern lines, where less prominence is given to class teaching than to self-chosen, individual work ... the method used in the school is scrupulously to avoid criticism and blame". In such a school setting it was found that children of the 'type' described as manifesting ego restriction were "not at all rare ... (and) ... a new intermediate class of children has sprung up", someway between the intelligent-diligent and the dull-workshy².

It is suggested here that the analytical educators of the 1930's had moved too far towards passively understanding and tolerating, rather than actively educating the child. As a result, a school environment and psychological milieu was created in which the susceptible child could see as the greatest threat to his individual prestige and status a situation involving competition in which he was at an apparent disadvantage vis-à-vis peers. The choices available to the child in this particular educational situation included, paradoxical though it may seem, the choice of opting out of academic education itself when the latter offered relatively poor achievement prospects.

In contrast to this the present study favours educational and teaching situations in which the adult does not of necessity and on principle 'scrupulously avoid' criticising the child. Rather, attempts are introduced to make 'reasonable demands' of the child

¹Anna Freud (1936a), Writings, II, p.95.

²Anna Freud, op. cit.

in terms of what might - following D. W. Winnicott and Anna Freud - be termed his 'average expectable developmental level' or 'average age-adequate criteria'. Together with the achievement expectations generated by parents, this provides a psychological milieu and teaching environment in which the child has opportunities to sense as an ego threat his own potential failure to meet the academic hopes and expectations of school and parents. In Britain today such expectations centre largely in literacy, numeracy and general scholastic competence at Primary level whilst at Secondary level the 'examination success' is still, for better or worse, our major shibboleth. In situations such as this the individual tends to continue the task of improving his own academic mastery, even when confronted by peers with manifestly superior talents. Ego restriction, apparently, is avoided in the interests of obtaining higher grades, more G.C.E. passes, a worthwhile job and, inter-alia, parental approval and social acceptability.

It is undoubtedly correct to view the educator qua educator as having the narrower concept of the child's ego tasks, whilst the modern child analyst can claim the more comprehensive overview (cf. Chapter 9). Whilst the professional educator-teacher can rightly criticise philosophies and methods which are detrimental to academic achievement, it would be correspondingly unforgivable if the contributions of psychoanalysts to ego development and mental health were ignored. No educational philosophy or teaching approach can be accepted as sound if it endangers the pupil's wider personality development and psychological security in the interests of a merely academic curriculum. To that extent the present author's use of 'ego threat' as an educational technique must be viewed in relative terms (cf. Chapter 10).

EGO SYNTHETIC FUNCTION & ADAPTATION

By 'synthesis' we generally understand an integrative process, the opposite of 'analysis' proper. Nunberg¹ gives a comprehensive definition of 'synthetic function', which involves ego processes such as the assimilation of internal and external elements, reconstructing conflicting ideas, uniting contrasts and activating "mental activity". Clearly the ego synthetic function plays some considerable part in mediating internal conflict, psychological processes generally, and in shaping the defensive processes which characterise much of the compromise-formation of human personality and experience both in our relations with ourself and with others.

In *The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence* the ego synthetic function is noted - along with superego anxiety, objective anxiety and instinctual anxiety ('dread of the strength of instinctual drives') - as a further motive for "defence against instinct"². Elsewhere in the same work it is noted as an organising and unifying process which, for the maturer ego, opposes the use of the defensive 'denial' of reality³.

Despite the clear importance of such an ego function and its specific interest to educators and teachers, the attitude taken towards it in *The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence* is neutral to negative, and with good reason. In the first pages of her book the author⁴ clearly shows how inimicable is the ego synthetic function to the process of analysis per se. The observation of internal conflict is obscured by successful repression, but is made transparent by the 'return of repressed material' as happens in neurosis. As Anna Freud emphasises

¹Nunberg (1955), p.151. See: Nunberg (1932).

²Writings, II, p.60.

³Writings, II, p.90.

⁴Anna Freud (1936a), Chapter 1, 'The ego as the seat of observation'.

however, "owing to another function of the ego - its tendency to synthesis - this condition of affairs, which is particularly favourable for analytic observation, lasts only for a few moments at a time"¹. The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence could hardly therefore stress the significance of the ego synthetic function, since the book had as one of its principal aims the publication of a therapeutic and analytic technique - "from the psychic surface inwards" - designed to utilise and outflank the ego's resistances and defensive processes, and thus profitably to illuminate the compromise-formations and conflicts within the individual's personality. In emphasising 'defence' as a broader concept than 'resistance', Anna Freud is seen as advancing significantly beyond Wilhelm Reich's earlier-formulated 'character analysis' and 'permanent defence phenomena'². The further discussion of such technical-therapeutic aspects of child analysis does not however fall within the scope of the present work.

An early commentator³ made the following valuable observations on the apparently antithetical and opposed 'defense and synthesis' in ego functioning. The ego was viewed as a delicately-balanced organisation, which may lose its fine adjustment of "adaptation according to the reality principle" under conditions of great stress. In these latter circumstances a cruder adjustment process may operate, and "The normal synthetic activity of the ego must degenerate into a defense mechanism" (op. cit.). Thus, according to this view the more correct relationship between defence processes and the ego synthetic function is that the former are a more primitive - in the sense of being phylogenetically and ontogenetically earlier -

¹Anna Freud (1936a), Chapter 1, 'The ego as the seat of observation'.

²Sterba (1953), Waldhorn (1960), Van Der Leeuw (1971).

³French (1938).

form of the latter. Insofar as defences allow for some adjustments and compromises in reality-orientated behaviour, they could possibly be termed a 'sub-set' of all synthetic activity.

In the years following publication of *The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence* Anna Freud directed attention to the way in which the 'synthetic function', in attempting to unify and centralise mental processes, "is opposed to the free and easy manner in which the infant lives out his most divergent emotions and instinctual urges"¹. 'Splitting' of the personality, which is considered to be a defence method, is in the same paper noted as resulting in damage to the ego's synthetic function.

In 1950, and modifying her 1936 position, Anna Freud showed that therapeutically and analytically profitable situations may also be produced by the 'synthetic function', which latter sometimes brings about "painful opposition between incompatible urges such as love and hate, activity and passivity ... (etc) ..."². More recently the work of Nunberg³ on ego synthetic activity is acknowledged as "an exciting paper which inevitably arouses the envy of many other authors on the subject of ego psychology"⁴. In a paper on obsessional neurosis we find the view that "it is above all the failure of fusion and synthesis which determines the occurrence of an obsessional neurosis"⁵; and attention is also directed to 'functional regression', which includes lessening of the ego synthetic function. The 'synthetic function' may become a diagnostic criterion, since with the passing of early childhood "conspicuous absence of the synthetic function"⁶ indicates, as does the absence of reality testing,

¹Anna Freud (1945a).

²Anna Freud (1951a).

³H. Nunberg (1930), 'The synthetic function of the ego', *Journal* (1931), 12.

⁴Anna Freud (1969k), (first presented in 1964).

⁵Anna Freud (1966b).

⁶Anna Freud (1969d).

"that the borders of neurosis have been overstepped", (op. cit.). Many other references to ego synthetic function occur in Anna Freud's writings: in her major study of child development¹; in a technical discussion where it is shown how interpretations may lead to the return of repressed material to the ego's synthetic function²; and elsewhere³.

The foregoing review of the use throughout Anna Freud's publications of the concept of ego synthetic function is taken as sufficiently indicating that the author of *The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence* was and is above any criticism of having stressed a narrow, one-sided view of the ego. The early reviewers⁴ of the book certainly took just such a critical stance, but the present study suggests that Hoffer⁵ was the more correct when he pointed out that *The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence* implicitly accounted for adaptive measures taken by the ego, particularly during puberty. Sperling⁶ likewise is both percipient and correct when he observes that Anna Freud's book recognised the ego's prime integrative role, for example in establishing harmonious relations between id, superego and external world.

The alleged marked divergence frequently alluded to between the work of Anna Freud on defensive ego activity and that of Heinz-Hartmann⁷ on adaptive ego activity may now be seen in its proper context. Each author chose to follow in detail a relatively

¹Anna Freud (1965a).

²Anna Freud (1968a), *Writings*, VII, p.105.

³Anna Freud (1969a), *Writings*, VII, p.140; (1978a).

⁴Fenichel (1938), French (1938), Hendrick (1938).

⁵Hoffer (1946).

⁶Sperling (1958).

⁷H. Hartmann, 1939, *Ego Psychology & The Problem of Adaptation*, I.U.P. New York, 1958.

circumscribed approach to ego functioning. This reflects in fact a widely-accepted scientific approach to phenomena, where some degree of isolation and simplification is required from a more complex totality before the objects of study become fully amenable to effective scrutiny. In the recent Philadelphia 'Panel' discussion¹ on 'The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence', Anna Freud recalled that simultaneously with her giving the first chapters of the book before the Vienna Ps. Society, Heinz Hartmann presented his work on the ego's 'conflict-free sphere'. At that time Hartmann had said to Anna Freud that "Defence activity is not everything that can be said about the ego". Anna Freud conceded the truth of this remark, observing that the development of ego theory had gone off in two directions, namely the defensive activity and the ego building up its own organisation. "Somehow", she notes², "these two trends are apart and are never fully unified ... In my talk³ yesterday I tried to find a solution by showing that these two areas of phenomena ... belong to two different types of psychopathology". *Alternative aspects of unity have been indicated here.*

Kanzer & Blum⁴, in overviewing the important pre-war publications in ego theory of Anna Freud and Heinz Hartmann respectively, conclude that "Both were interrelated approaches to the total personality". The specific rationale which lay behind Anna Freud's preferred approach was apparently provided by the technical-therapeutic requirement of analytic progress, and the especial efficacy of that approach is indicated by the knowledgeable remark that "No ego function so sensitively reflects the balance between drives and

¹Recorded in Slap (1974).

²See: Slap (1974).

³Anna Freud (1974d).

⁴Kanzer & Blum (1967).

ego as do defences"¹. Not surprisingly then, the analysis of ego defences remains a quite essential part of orthodox freudian therapy².

In her work after 1936 Anna Freud would frequently return to clarify and augment her initial work on ego defences. War-time experiences with evacuee children provided much corroborative material, as with the case of 'Anne' 6 years old graphically and poignantly described attempting to defend herself against anxiety³; the many children variously defending themselves against aggressive behaviour from peers⁴; and individuals such as 'Peter', 4 years old, whose daddy though killed in an air-raid was "taking me to the zoo today"⁵. All these and related observations, as the author notes, reflect "inevitable defences against the inner feeling of loss and deprivation"⁶.

In her post-war work Anna Freud stressed the notion of 'age-adequate' behaviours⁷, and was then able to say of the ego's defensive activity -

"Formerly, educative and therapeutic measures were directed towards lessening or increasing the amount of repression. According to the view outlined ... educators and therapists should now be concerned with the question of whether the methods of defence used by a child's ego are appropriate to his age level, and adequate for dealing with his current problems"⁸.

Other references to and use of defence concepts are too numerous to catalogue, occurring as they do throughout the subject's published

¹Alpert et al (1956).

²Sterba (1953), Morgenthaler (1966), Hoffer (1968), Van Der Leeuw (1971), Lampl-de Groot (1957), Zetzel (1971) etc.

³'Report 24, January 1943', in Writings, III.

⁴Writings, III, p.570-571.

⁵ibid., p.642.

⁶Writings, III, p.642.

⁷Anna Freud (1945a).

⁸Anna Freud (1950a).

writings. A particularly valuable historical synopsis was provided in 1968 when the author discussed the emergence of ego analysis - sometimes referred to as 'defence analysis' - and placed The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence in harmony with the approaches of such contemporaries as Edward Bibring, Otto Fenichel and Heinz Hartmann¹. Space does not permit the further discussion of the following areas associated with ego defence theory:-

- (i) chronology or developmental sequence of defence mechanisms; Hartmann((1950) 1964); Brenner (1955, 1973), Beres (1956), Lustman (1957), Spitz (1961), Frankl (1963), Hoffer (1968), W. E. Freud (1975).
- (ii) 'negativism' and fear of emotional surrender to others - Anna Freud (1952d), (1968g, Pt. II).
Also:-
Mahler (1952, 1971), Fraiberg (1955), Sterba (1957), Freeman (1959), Spiegel (1959), Rosenblatt (1963), Khan (1965), Valenstein(1973).
- (iii) internal 'conflict' and the discussion of Anna Freud's contribution; Kris((1950) 1975), Hartmann((1951)1964), Walder (1937), Rosen (1955), Wallach (1961), Rangell (1963), Sandler (1974), Modell (1975b).
- (iv) 'identification with the aggressor'; Reik (1941), Thompson (1940), Sperling (1944), Tarachow (1945), Waelder-Hall((1930)1946), Grinker (1957), Racker (1957), Olden (1953), Sperling (1954), Green et al.(1959), Arlow (1969), Sarlin (1970), Kaplan (1965), Steingart (1969), Schowalter & Lord (1972), Kohut (1972).

¹Anna Freud (1969a), Writings, VII, pp. 142-144.

(v) the relation of Anna Freud's work to studies of major defence-mechanisms,

e.g. 'repression' - Johnson (1951), Brenner (1957)
Leveton (1961), Kernberg (1966),
Frank (1969).

'projection' - Novick & Kelly (1970), Sarnoff
(1972), Zinner & Shapiro (1972).

However, for 'sublimation' - See: Chapter 11.

CHAPTER NINE

THE DEVELOPMENTAL CHILD ANALYST

THE 'PRINCIPAL TASK' OF CHILD ANALYSIS

In a lecture to the Tenth Anniversary Celebrations of The Cleveland Centre for Research in Child Development on 4th May 1977 and later published in the inaugural issue of the Bulletin of The Hampstead Clinic, Anna Freud asserted 'the principal task' of child analysis. In a fashion which must inevitably signal to a wider audience the decline in pre-eminence of ego defence theory, this foremost child analyst stated that her specialist field should take as its specific goal "the vicissitudes of forward development and exploration of the ego's synthetic function"¹.

In stating this Anna Freud gave more dramatic form and impetus to the conclusion she had presented previously in the 49th Maudsley Lecture to the Royal College of Psychiatrists on 21st November 1975. There it was acknowledged² that reconstructive work with adults was largely responsible for the psychoanalytic view of psychopathology, but what specifically characterised child analytic observation was the ability to account for the normal as opposed to the abnormal course of development. The "chart of normal personality development" which Anna Freud alluded to on that occasion holds the greatest possible significance for teachers and educators, as also for paediatricians, parents, play organisers and others. It is to the detailed consideration of this key developmental 'tool' that we now turn.

Anna Freud's signal contribution to this area is her beautifully systematic and metapsychologically complete presentation of the psychoanalytical concept of 'lines of development'. Such a notion had of course for long existed, in psychoanalysis and elsewhere. However, and as noted by a number of child analytical commentators³,

¹Anna Freud (1978a).

²Anna Freud (1976c).

³Nagera (1963), Neubauer (1963), 'Panel' (1963).

it was left to Anna Freud's now celebrated New York lectures of September 1960 to first advocate the systematic formulation of 'lines of development'. Though the important 'Four Lectures' went unpublished¹ at the time, they resulted in the publication five years later of a major and now classic study in child development².

EARLY EMERGENCE OF DEVELOPMENTAL VIEWS

As early as 1922, in her first scientific contribution, Anna Freud had shown interest in developmental considerations, when she followed in great detail - albeit at that period by largely reconstructive methods - the development of a day-dreamer's phantasy from the child's fifth or sixth to her fifteenth year³.

Over the next decade or so, by contrast, pioneering technical considerations were to figure largely in Anna Freud's publications⁴, though an interesting and relatively little-known exception was her survey of 'Psychoanalysis and the child' written for Murchison's influential child psychology text. There, Anna Freud devoted much attention to early infancy and latency respectively, with the classic 'oedipus complex' accounting for the marked difference in drive intensity between the major developmental phases⁵.

In 1936 our subject's first large-scale theoretical contribution gave to many the appearance of emphasising structural and defensive aspects of the psyche, though an original contribution was also included on puberty and adolescence as being significant in development⁶.

¹See: Appendix II.

²Anna Freud (1965a). Also known as Writings, Vol.VI.

³Anna Freud (1922a).

⁴Anna Freud (1927a), (1928a), (1928c).

⁵Anna Freud (1931a).

⁶Anna Freud (1936a), chap. 11 & 12.

Thereafter, powerful methodological techniques of direct child-observation were increasingly brought to bear, initially in the Jackson Nursery in Vienna¹ and later with much greater rigour and longitudinal span as the wartime evacuee children arrived in the Hampstead Nurseries².

By 1945, and on the basis of what by then amounted to an immense experience with many children in all phases of development, Anna Freud was ready to publish the first of her major diagnostic studies of childhood based on developmental considerations. In the opening number of the new Psychoanalytic Study of the Child Anna Freud essayed a radical new approach to assessing the child's 'indications for analysis'. Such assessment, it was cogently argued, could no longer be based upon manifest neurotic symptoms and suffering but should be linked to observed disturbance or otherwise of normal development, its capacities and tasks. In discussing "the sequence of libidinal development", "the intactness of development", ego maturation processes and other aspects of her thesis, Anna Freud clearly demonstrated that emphasis was thereby shifted "from the purely clinical aspects of a case to the developmental aspect"³. This germinal scientific paper was reprinted a year later as 'Part III' of the author's republished technical lectures⁴.

THE SEQUENCE OF LIBIDINAL DEVELOPMENT (c.1905-c.1945)

As indicated elsewhere above⁵ psychoanalysis had, as early as 1905, elucidated a sequence, 'line' or chart of ontogenesis for psychosexual (libidinal) development. The classic account of the child's

¹See: Chapter 4.

²See: Chapter 5, and Writings, Vol.III.

³Anna Freud (1945a).

⁴Anna Freud (1946d), Pt.III.

⁵See: Chapter 2.

progression through 'oral', 'anal' and 'genital' phases was due largely to Sigmund Freud and later Karl Abraham, and in the earliest period of her work and writing Anna Freud had recourse to this sequence on several occasions in order to illustrate her own account of the child¹. After extending the sequence or 'line' with her own contribution to adolescence², the classical libidinal stages continued to occupy a central position³ to circa 1945, when radical new approaches became more apparent both in the work of Anna Freud and of a number of other leading theorists.

OBJECT-RELATIONS DEVELOPMENTALLY CONSIDERED

As an alternative - more correctly a parallel - approach to that based on libidinal considerations, psychic development may be followed and described from the viewpoint of emergent object-relations. A predominant stream of 'object-relations theory' is closely associated with the pioneering emphasis of Melanie Klein⁴, and with the vigorously pursued theoretical revisionism of Ronald Fairbairn⁵.

It would not be entirely unfair to characterise both these latter authors as reflecting a predominant orientation to and interest in endopsychic structure and function, i.e. to 'inner world reality' as opposed to 'outer world reality'. One consequence of such an inward-looking bias is that the resultant theoretical edifice is more suited to the needs of psychopathology than to the study of normal education. The parent-teacher-other, as an external construct

¹Anna Freud (1930a, Lect. 2), (1931a).

²Anna Freud (1936a, Chap. 11 & 12).

³Anna Freud (1944b), (1944c).

⁴Klein (1932).

⁵Fairbairn (1952).

with continued on-going significance for the mediational processes of the child's internal psychological milieu, merits little attention in such a theory.

No doubt considerations such as these were what prompted Willi Hoffer¹ to state explicitly that "the educational implications of the Kleinian concept are almost entirely negative ... the antithesis of educational psychology". The same cannot be said however of the later expressions of object-relations theory, as for example in the work of educationalists such as Ben Morris².

As an analyst-educator Anna Freud has always recognised the importance of both the internal mental object-representation e.g. superego, and the external real object or person. In her early technical lectures³ she used the example of infant bowel-training to illustrate the relative effect and importance of each of these influences - 'internal' and 'external' respectively - upon the child. Thus the child becomes 'clean' under the impress of the adult world around him, but a wealth of observation shows that separation of the child at too early an age from the person who toilet-trained him leads to regressive soiling and 'accidents'. Anna Freud clearly shows the complementary relationship between the 'internal' and 'external' psychological situations - "the impression that the child demanded cleanliness of himself was not altogether deceptive. The inner prompting exists, but it is valued by the child only for ^{as long as the person responsible for} the establishment of the demands is actually present in reality"⁴.

¹Hoffer (1945). Cf. Glover (1945).

²Morris (1966).

³Anna Freud (1927a).

⁴Writings, I, p.55.

These particular ideas centering upon the educational significance of the superego concept were pursued further in the earliest phase of Anna Freud's work¹, and a discussion along more educational lines is included below (Chapter 10).

Further elaboration of the developmental aspect of object-relations theory forms no small part of Anna Freud's post-war theoretical writings, though she nowhere cites or refers to W. R. D. Fairbairn by name. In her concern to conceptualise and understand the early infant-parent relationship in particular, Anna Freud makes a marked contribution to the understanding of the emergence of object-relationships. It is here too that her views differ significantly from Fairbairn's persuasive theorising.

It remains enigmatic as to why Anna Freud should have so completely ignored the work of Ronald Fairbairn. Such is the calibre and complementariness of both authors' work that a detailed comparison of their differing viewpoints is long overdue. Marjorie Brierley² has offered a wide-ranging survey of psychoanalytic personality theory which does embrace the two authors in question. However, Brierley finds "bewildering" the contrasting types of theory associated on the one hand with Fairbairn, Guntrip and others, and on the other hand with Anna Freud and Hartmann amongst others.

ANNA FREUD AND W.R.D. FAIRBAIRN: A COMPARISON

W. Ronald D. Fairbairn (1889-1964) was an immensely well-scholared academician, who at one time held lectureships in both Psychology and Psychiatry at Edinburgh where he worked with G. M. Robertson. Against his great breadth of learning must be set his corresponding isolation

¹Anna Freud (1930a, Lectures 3 & 4), (1934a).

²Brierley (1969).

as one of the few practising psychoanalysts outside of London, though Ernest Jones¹ viewed Fairbairn's geographical solitude as conducive to his great originality.

Beginning with Freud's classical work, and extracting from Melanie Klein her emphasis upon internalisation and 'good' and 'bad' object-representations, Fairbairn began around 1940 to publish a radical series of scientific contributions. In their conceptual-range and philosophic-epistemological sophistication these clearly reflect their author's monumental standing as an independent thinker. In the space of six years - during which time he also undertook military psychiatric service - Fairbairn drew attention to 'schizoid' phenomena as being of more fundamental significance than Klein's 'depressive' position in personality development (1940); presented a 'revised psychopathology' of psychosis and psychoneurosis (1941); formalised a scheme of 'endopsychic structure' (1944); and achieved a thorough-going and consistent 'object relations theory of personality' based upon a persuasively elegant psychology of 'dynamic structure' (1946)².

Fairbairn's enduring contribution is undoubtedly that, more than any other analytical author, he offers a truly psychological concept of personality as opposed to one based upon 'instinct', 'drive', 'impulse' or other psychobiological basis. This is particularly seen in the work of Fairbairn's pupil Harry Guntrip, who initially trained in the school of thought of John MacMurray and Martin Buber, and who develops Fairbairn's initiative in the field of individual psychology into the social-psychological field of 'human interpersonal interaction'³.

It has been stated that Fairbairn's theory 'has not replaced The Ego and The Id. His was an unsuccessful revolution ... (and) ... he has

¹E. Jones, 1952, 'Preface' to Fairbairn (1952).

²Fairbairn (1952).

³Guntrip (1961).

few adherents amongst contemporary psychoanalysts"¹. Nevertheless a number of prominent workers have made good use of Fairbairn's 'object-relations theory of personality', and include Anthony Storr, J. D. Sutherland, Henry Dicks, R. E. D. Markillie, Marjorie Brierley, Ben Morris, Masud Khan, Friedman, Wisdom, Kernberg and doubtless others.

Fairbairn's major source of data consisted of reconstructive analytical work with mainly 'schizoid' adults. With the point of view and interests of a psychopathologist he is led to emphasise the internalised, endopsychic situation of the individual. He attaches great importance to the process of 'ego splitting' as underlying continuing 'infantile dependence' and adult psychopathology. As a largely philosophical posit Fairbairn is led to assume the existence from birth of a pristine unitary ego, which then undergoes the various forms of 'splitting'².

It is in his assumption regarding the extremely early presence of an 'ego' that Fairbairn particularly differs from Anna Freud, and from a number of other 'orthodox' analytical authors, many of whom include direct child observation in their methodology of approach. In the light of the more empirically-based and rigorous theorising of this latter group of child analysis and related workers it is probably no longer tenable to maintain the apparent advantageous purity and simplicity of Fairbairn's 'pristine ego theory'. The ego it must now appear, in keeping with the observed development of its earliest phases, has a definite period of synthesis and emergence from an earlier undifferentiated state. Whilst in what follows attention is necessarily confined to the work of Anna Freud, much supportive

¹Modell (1975).

²Fairbairn, W.R.D., (1963), 'Synopsis of an object-relations theory of the personality', Journal, 44, 224-225.

evidence could be cited from authors such as Margaret Mahler, Ernst Kris and his co-workers, René Spitz and so on.

In a major paper which integrated existing orthodox psychoanalytical views with her own extensive wartime observations on early infant feeding behaviour, Anna Freud discussed the relationship between feeding and the stages of development of 'object love'¹. Feeding behaviour in the newborn manifests itself as an urgent though intermittent bodily need, and the very young infant "periodically establishes connections with the environment which are withdrawn again after the needs have been satisfied and the tension is relieved"². On the basis of observations such as this repeated many times on many infants - to which the present writer may add his own three offspring - Anna Freud is led to conclude that "the newborn infant is self-centred and self-sufficient as a being when he is not in a state of tension" (op. cit.).

On general psychological grounds it may be pointed out that in this earliest period of life neither visual acuity, nor other sensory facility, nor indeed time itself have usually permitted the awareness and introjection by the infant of 'objects'. It is accordingly very difficult to refute Anna Freud's contention that at this stage it is 'the pleasurable experience of feeding' per se which the infant libidinally cathects (loves), and only later with growth of awareness does the infant cathect the milk, breast, bottle ('part objects') and finally the mothering person.

At this early stage in development therefore the appropriate theoretical conceptual vehicle for an approach to these phenomena would appear to be best found in the orthodox freudian 'libido' orientation, rather than in 'object-relations theory'. The following synopsis may be made

¹Anna Freud (1946a).

²Writings, IV, pp.47-48.

of the development of 'pre-object' and object-relations as outlined by Anna Freud in her early feeding-behaviour paper¹:

<u>Stage</u>	<u>Behavioural Aspects</u>	<u>Inferred Dynamics</u>
1	Infant self-centred and periodically self-sufficient. Cathects pleasurable experiences.	Narcissistic love; Undifferentiated id-ego.
2	Growth of awareness. Infant cathects part-objects.	Transitional stage of libido attachments.
3	Perceives food-provider; cathects mothering person.	Object-love ('stomach love', 'egotistic love').
4	Infant still egotistic but less dependent on basic need satisfaction.	Object-love (non-material)
5	Less egoistic; cathects even non-beneficial aspects of mothering object.	Altruistic love.

On the grounds of ambiguity Pulver² criticises the term 'narcissistic' in Stage 1. of the above, and suggests 'pre-objectal' instead. The latter term is here accepted as both more precise and more consistent with the later object-relations stages proper.

In a subsequent paper³, Anna Freud noted deprivations which may lead in the infant's first year of life to irregularities in the smooth transition from 'primary narcissism' to 'object love'. Such early disturbances in the development of object-love, with the consequent weakening of ego and superego functions, lead to a wide variety of social maladjustments. These latter generally become evident from

¹Anna Freud (1946a).

²Pulver (1970).

³Anna Freud (1949a).

the early latency period onwards, when the child's "aggressive actions begin to direct themselves to the wider environment, outside the immediate family circle"¹. Clearly schooling would here be implicated.

With her later contributions Anna Freud has accepted and found use for significant concepts from other workers. Thus, she has advanced the account of the infant's progression from the first to the second stage of object-relationship: (a) in terms of Hoffer's progression from 'milieu interne to psychological object', (b) Hartmann's transition from 'need-satisfying object to object constancy' and (c) using Melanie Klein's 'part-objects to whole objects'². The contribution of Winnicott on 'transitional-object phenomena' is also gratefully harvested by Anna Freud³, thereby becoming indelibly associated with the storehouse of enduring analytical data and insights which she has set herself to amass. The emerging 'developmental line for object-relations' eventually employed in addition contributions from Mahler and Spitz respectively⁴, and the development of object-relations continues to attract Anna Freud's attention⁵.

The following synopsis is taken from a recent paper by Anna Freud⁶, and comparison of this with the synopsis presented above from her 1946 paper clearly shows some of the important theoretical advances in this area over the last 30 or so years.

¹Writings, IV, p.78.

²Anna Freud (1952e).

³Anna Freud (1967b). First presented 1953.

⁴Anna Freud (1963a), (1965a).

⁵Anna Freud (1967a), (1974d), (1976c), (1977c), (1978a).

⁶Anna Freud (1974d). Cf. also (1965a), Writings, VI, pp.61ff.

Synopsis for Development of Object-Relations

<u>Stage</u>	<u>Behavioural Characteristics</u>	<u>Dynamics</u>
1	Biological unity of infant-mother (Undifferentiated)	(a) Symbiotic (Mahler) (b) Autistic (Narcissistic)
2	Need-fulfilling relationships	Part-objects (M. Klein), Separation-individuation (M. Mahler)
3	Stable internal image(s); suffers brief separations longer, (Bowlby, Spitz)	Object-constancy
4	Ambivalent, pre-oedipal relations	Anal-sadistic
5	Object-centred.	Phallic-oedipal
6	Wider, extra-familial choices of objects	Latency
7	Return of Stage 2 & 4 relations	Pre-adolescence
8	Struggles over conflicts; Cathexis of objects of opposite sex outside of family	Adolescence

The above scheme is an attempt to 'rationalise' earlier presentations, and the categorisation of various aspects under 'behavioural' (observed) or 'dynamic' (inferred) headings is due to the present writer. In the original author's presentation¹ the various stages are presented in the same chronological sequence, which I have carefully followed, whereas the characterisation of each stage is for some in terms of 'behavioural' and for others in terms of 'dynamic' constructs. Thus, Anna Freud refers to stage 1 as the 'Phase of biological unity'

¹Anna Freud (1974d).

(behavioural), stage 2 as the 'Phase of need-fulfilling relations' (behavioural), stage 3 as the 'Phase of object constancy' (dynamic) and so on.

Only one other psychoanalytical psychologist has contrived a full chart of personality development which is known to the present study. In 1950 Erik H. Erikson published an 'epigenetic chart' showing 'Eight ages of Man'¹. Erikson employed socio-relational concepts such as 'trust' set against the orthodox freudian stages of psycho-sexual development. In his 'identity' and other concepts the author implies object-relational levels of experience and conceptual frame. The hallmark of Erikson's approach consists of visualising the individual as gaining in certain ego qualities, resulting from progress through the various psycho-social tasks appropriate to each successive developmental level. Steingart² accepts and extends parts of Erikson's 'epigenetic chart', which latter is very widely known in academic circles.

Anna Freud does not acknowledge Erikson's early scheme in her own subsequently much fuller outline of personality development. Erikson's contribution to adolescence is cited in Anna Freud's post-war study of adolescence³, and the schemes or 'charts' of developmental stages by both authors not unnaturally contain much in common from earlier psychoanalytical work. Further detailed comparison of Anna Freud and Erik Erikson was attempted above⁴ with respect to 'ego defence theory', though a full consideration of the interaction and divergencies between these two prominent child psychologists would inevitably comprise a major study in its own right.

THE DEVELOPMENTAL PROFILE

Following the above examination of the scheme(s) for the development of object relations - a scheme which Anna Freud has termed 'the proto-

¹Erikson (1950), chap. 7.

²Steingart (1969).

³Anna Freud (1958b).

⁴Chapter 8, ('Eriksonian critique and rapprochement').

type of a developmental line', and one which "has received attention from analysts from the beginning"¹ - we now draw attention to other 'lines of development', to problems of childhood task mastery and to Anna Freud's important Diagnostic Profile, which latter deserves to be more widely celebrated. The Profile is in fact a 'tour de force' of detailed conceptual synthesis and organisation, and offers for any stage of childhood a cross-sectional insight into overall development, with diagnostic indications for deprivations, deficits and failures.

The Profile as originally presented contained an extensive section on Lines of Development², which latter were then given additional prominence by their author³. Earlier, at the Ernst Kris Memorial Meeting in New York in 1957, Anna Freud had indicated the powerful influence of Kris's studies of prediction and diagnosis in orienting herself and others to the problems of re-classifying psychoanalytic diagnostic categories, and of formulating developmental-diagnostic schemes⁴.

The present section has taken as its heading one which best typifies its own emphasis upon the normal and developmental (educational) rather than the pathological and diagnostic (clinical). Hence, 'Developmental Profile' rather than 'Diagnostic Profile'. This in no way implies that the Profile's author herself over-emphasises pathological considerations to the detriment of normality. The very title⁵ of the major work in which the 'lines of development' and the Diagnostic Profile receive their fullest consideration is

¹Writings, VI, p.61.

²Anna Freud (1962c), Sect. V(c).

³Anna Freud (1963a), (1965a, Chap. 3 (II)).

⁴Anna Freud (1958c).

⁵Normality and Pathology of Childhood: Assessments of Development, See: Anna Freud (1965a).

sufficient to refute any such view. Anna Freud's fundamental contributions to the study of normality have also been stressed by others, though Lottie Newman apparently overstates the case when she insists that Anna Freud paved the way "without doubt" (eindeutig) to a psychology of normality¹. Anna Freud herself indicates that the child analysts associated with her were by no means the first in the field, and extended their interest gradually from abnormal to normal psychology "In line with developments in adult analysis, and as Melanie Klein, D. W. Winnicott and their followers had done from the outset"².

Anna Freud's Profile, whether termed 'diagnostic' or 'developmental', is in fact a thorough-going and psychologically elegant "comprehensive metapsychological profile of the child, i.e. a picture which contains dynamic, genetic, economic, structural and adaptive data"³. It is the total view of the child as presented by the complete 'profile' which matters, since "it is basic to analytic thinking that the value of no single item should be judged independently"⁴. Bodily malformation for example would be weighed against the child's environmental circumstances and mental capacity, whilst anxiety would be assessed against the ability of the ego to cope and defend itself.

The productive heart of the Profile is found in Pt. V, Assessments of Development⁵, and a much-abbreviated outline is included here as Fig. XXIV. Even this brief scheme is sufficient to indicate the conceptual range and metapsychological elegance of the device.

PLAY AND GAMES CONSIDERED DEVELOPMENTALLY

Of particular note for teachers are 'lines' (v) and (vi) as presented

¹Newman (1975)

²Anna Freud (1966e), Writings, VII, p.57.

³Writings, VI, p.119, (1965a).

⁴ibid.

⁵Writings, VI, pp.120-121, and 61-76.

FIG. XXIV

Brief Scheme for Anna Freud's Metapsychological Profile

- A. DRIVE DEVELOPMENT
- LIBIDO: Phase, distribution, object level
 - AGGRESSION: Presence/absence, quality, direction
- B. EGO & SUPEREGO DEVELOPMENT
- (a) ego apparatuses for perception, memory, motility etc.
 - (b) ego functions - memory, reality testing, synthesis, control of motility, speech, secondary-process thinking etc.
 - (c) defence organisation - age adequacy, balance, effectiveness
 - (d) secondary losses of ego due to upkeep of (c)
- C. LINES OF DEVELOPMENT
- (i) from dependency to emotional self-reliance and adult object-relationships
 - (ii) from suckling to rational eating
 - (iii) from wetting & soiling to bladder and bowel control
 - (iv) from irresponsibility to responsibility in body management
 - (v) from egocentricity to companionship
 - (vi) from the body to the toy and from play to work

(Cf. Anna Freud, 1965a, pp.120-126).

in Fig. XXIV. Indeed, one of Anna Freud's earliest published pronouncements on 'developmental lines' - involving the progression 'from play to work' - occurs in a presentation aimed at teachers¹.

The two 'lines' in question may be presented in further detail as follows:-

- (v) Egocentricity to (Sociable) Companionship developing through these stages: 1. Narcissistic-Selfish; little perception of others; asocial. 2. Viewing others as inanimate objects ('toys'); asocial. 3. Viewing others as helpmates; brief co-operative partnerships. 4. Seeing others as partners and objects in own right; Peers.
- (vi) From Body to Toy and Work to Play progressing through these stages: 1. Auto-erotism.
 2. Transitional object phenomena; exclusivity.
 3. Symbolic object phenomena; indiscriminate ambivalence.
 4. Toys proper, without object status, and serving ego needs -
 (a) emptying, filling, opening-shutting & 'messing' toys (body orifice substitutes),
 (b) movable toys (motility pleasure),
 (c) building materials; construction-destruction (Anal-sadistic phase),
 (d) toys serving male-female sex roles in situations of (i) solitary play, (ii) oedipal display, (iii) group oedipal situations.
 5. Displacement of pleasure from play activity per se to the finished product (Task completion, Problem Solving, etc).
 6. Play ability becomes work ability; requires -
 (a) inhibition of destructive impulses; controlled, positive, constructive orientation,

¹Anna Freud (1952b), Cf. also (1960b).
 WRITINGS, IV, p. 568.

- (b) postponement of immediate gratification; tolerance of intervening frustrations; maximisation of goal-seeking,
- (c) change from primitive instinctual gratification to sublimated pleasure; high level of neutralisation of drive energy; transition from 'pleasure principle' to 'reality principle'¹.

Daydreaming, games and hobbies may also be considered in terms of their relation to the latter 'developmental line'. On the question of the origin and dynamics of games in particular Anna Freud is worthy of close attention when she says:

"Games derive their origin from the imaginative group activities of the oedipal period, from which they develop into the symbolic and highly formalised expression of trends towards aggressive attack, defence, competition, etc. ... Games may require equipment ... Since this is in many instances of symbolic-phallic, i.e. masculine-aggressive significance, it is highly valued by the child. In many competitive games the child's own body and the body skills themselves play the role of indispensable tools. Proficiency and pleasure in games are thus a complex achievement, dependent on contributions from many areas of the child's personality ... endowment and intactness of the motor apparatus; a positive cathexis of the body and its skills; acceptance of companionship and group life; positive employment of controlled aggression in the service of ambition ..."².

Correspondingly, as the author notes, the area of physical activity and

¹Writings, VI, pp.71-76.

²Writings, VI, p.75.

games is open to an equally large number of disturbances, inadequacies and inhibitions.

A great many clinical and theoretical applications have been made of Anna Freud's 'developmental lines' - the present study's Master Index card (Developmental Lines) lists over 20 such contributions¹ - though few are specifically orientated to the educational field. Of particular interest is a developmental line for musical ability² which has been further refined and extended to include early autoerotic babbling, transitional lullabies, organised musical 'play' and finally 'working' at music³. Most recently and as an alternative application, the instance of school phobia has been used to illustrate the essential difference between 'description' and 'diagnosis'⁴. Here, three different children all presented identical symptoms in refusing to go happily to school, but detailed analysis showed these same symptoms to be the product of three different underlying disorders. Clearly the developmental-diagnostic 'Profile' promises to be a valuable instrument, not only in the application to individual study but also in relation to groups (classes schools), populations (age bands inter-sex) and to variational studies of normality generally.

It is probably fair to accept that educationalists have for decades been interested in some sort of social and academic 'profile' on pupils. As regards formal assessment Binet & Henri⁵, working on

¹Blau (1962), Gould (1970), Kestenberg (1971), Neubauer (1967), Pulver (1970), Wiedeman (1964), Schwarz (1977), Yorke (1977), Ekstein & Caruth (1969), Frankl (1963), W. E. Freud (1975), Joffe & Sandler (1965), Kleeman (1966, 1967), Lopez (1974), Nagera & Colonna (1965), Newman et al (1973), Oremland (1973), Ross (1965), Shane (1967), Spitz et al (1970), Tolpin (1971) etc.

²Noy 1968.

³McDonald (1970).

⁴Hayman (1978).

⁵Binet, A. & Henri, V., (1895-96), *La psychologie individuelle*, L'Année Psychologique, 2, 411-465.

behalf of the Paris school authorities of the 1890's may be said to have introduced the practice of rigorous, standardised 'profiles' of intellectual abilities, and the later 'Mental Tests Manual' of Whipple¹ shows how the range of abilities sampled had increased by the First World War period. Despite much subsequent work, often of great mathematical sophistication, in areas such as the cognitive-factorial domain (Spearman, Terman, Burt), the personality field (Cattell, Vernon, Eysenck, Allport), divergent thinking (Guilford, Torrance, Hudson), concept development and emergence (Piaget, Inhelder, Peel, Lovell) and diagnostic testing (Rorschach, Despert, Goodenough), a meaningful and comprehensive individual 'profile' still proved elusive if not indeed illusory. Only the metapsychologically complete Profile which has emerged from Anna Freud's school of child analysis appears to offer the required insight into, and conceptual co-ordination of, the individual's drive-behaviours, ego-behaviours and moral tendencies. The strength of the psycho-analytically-based scheme lies in its ability to differentiate and present dynamic, structural and economic aspects of the total self, together with their genetic-developmental unfolding and environmental-adaptive characteristics. The drawback of this scheme from the teacher's viewpoint is its lack of coverage of specific cognitive abilities (I.Q.), though workers in schools are of course familiar with the availability of separate instruments for the provision of I.Q. assessment.

A particularly good instrument (i.e. test-battery) for early general intellectual and developmental abilities appears to have existed in Vienna in the 1920's-1930's, in the form of the 'Bühler-Hetzer Profile'². More recently, at an educational conference held in

¹Whipple, G. M. (1915), Manual of Mental & Physical Tests, 3rd edn., Baltimore, Md.

²Jackson ((1952)1955), Spitz (1965).

Bradford, England in 1977, Mr. Clifford Morris an executive member of the National Union of Teachers warned against the introduction of ever more tests, but admitted that "some kind of profile for each child" would be welcomed as helpful by most teachers¹. Also in 1977 the Headteachers Association of Scotland published results from a 'prototype profile' which had been screened in 8 schools. The instrument covered basic skills, achievement in school subjects, personal qualities (perseverance, creativity) and was recommended for the provision of a broad assessment spectrum three times yearly². In a letter published in the Times Educational Supplement the present writer noted the essential complementarity between the 'profiles' of on the one hand the schools-based workers, and on the other hand the Hampstead group centred about Anna Freud.³

The present study, at the moment of writing, would recommend a child-profile built up from the use of a battery of instruments incorporating the following 4 major elements:

1. An all-round standard I.Q. test (culture-valid).
2. Attainment tests in Maths and English (NFER or similar).
3. A divergent-thinking test composed of both visual and verbal stimuli, but scoring only verbal (i.e. non-pictorial) responses⁴.
4. A personality-developmental screening along the lines of The Hampstead Diagnostic (Metapsychological) Profile⁵.

As regards timing of the test-presentation in the school year the

¹Reported in 'The Teacher', 4th March 1977.

²Pupils in Profile, Hodder & Stoughton, 1977. Reviewed in Times Educational Supplement, 4th March 1977.

³Dyer (1977).

⁴For fuller rationale etc., See : Dyer, R., (1974), Scoring procedures, external criteria and effects of variables on divergent-thinking tests, M. Phil. thesis, University of Leeds.

⁵Anna Freud (1965a), pp.120-126.

following two basic periods are suggested as essential:

- (a) between 4 and 8 weeks after commencement of the new school year (Autumn). This allows children to settle into their new class and teacher relations, and provides a 'baseline' comparison for a second assessment at -
- (b) between 4 and 8 weeks from the completion of the old school year (Summer).

Each assessment should provide separate and valuable 'on-going' data for teachers, whilst comparison of the two - assuming reasonable 'standardisation' etc. - should be useful for assessing (a) the child's long-term development over each school year, (b) the efficacy of each year's teaching and (c) the interaction of these two areas of major interest. A more general emphasis upon child-profiles would also reduce the negative impact of such educational 'diagnostic name-calling' as is implied in terms such as 'remedial', 'gifted' and so on.

Another area of great interest to teachers and based upon developmental progression or stages concerns the structuring of curricular material. Numeracy and related areas have justifiably received much attention, and continue in recent years to attract concern from various sections of the social order. Attention is here directed to the 'Guidelines in School Mathematics' of the Department of Mathematics of Manchester College of Education¹. The Junior sections of the guide present separate developmental progress-lines for concepts in area, length, weight, time, money and number. 'Number' for example is derived as a structural-cognitive element, and shown as emerging from the child's environmental exploration. Use of language is implied for simple sorting and ordering, and then a more earnest step-by-step 'line' begins with 'one-to-one correspondence' (Step 1), proceeds to a short 'ordinal

¹Guidelines in School Mathematics, Rupert Hart-Davis Educ. Publ., (c.1969).

number track' (Step 6) and continues successively to introduce notation and 'operations'. Discussion with other teachers has indicated that the Manchester scheme's Step 1 to Step 10 may be sub-divided even further, in keeping with Infant children's observed early arithmetical performance.

EGO REGRESSION IN DEVELOPMENT: EXAMPLES FROM SCHOOL

It is to Anna Freud's undoubted credit that as a psychologist she is able formally and rigorously to account for a phenomenon with which teachers have long been familiar, namely that pupils do not progress in a uniformly regular forward or 'upward' direction, but on the contrary often suffer pauses and may temporarily lose previously acquired skills and insights.

Anna Freud began early as a student of regressive phenomena¹, and more recently has indicated that her interest and observations date from as early as her own schooldays².

In a major paper devoted to the topic, Anna Freud accounted for regression both in terms of metapsychology and also in terms of common folklore³. She also further advanced her father's earlier classification⁴ of 'three types of regression'. Of particular note to teachers are the regressions in ego development.

Unlike emotional (drive, libido) regressions, which involve return to definite fixation points acquired earlier in the individual's development and which manifest "stubborn adhesion of the drives to all objects and positions which have ever yielded satisfaction"⁵, ego

¹Anna Freud (1936, Unpubl.). See: Appendix II.

²c.1912. See: Anna Freud (1965a, p.90, (c)).

³Anna Freud (1963b), also (1965a, Chap.3 (III))

⁴Freud (1900A), addenda to 1914 edn. See: Strachey's 1954 edition, p.548.

⁵Anna Freud (1965a, p.87).

regression on the contrary shows no such characteristics.

The classic picture of the child's ego "deteriorating gradually and failing to perform one function after another"¹ is obtained by watching a young child at bedtime. Tiredness is similarly emphasised as an important factor in school situations as also is the age of pupils, with younger pupils showing a faster "regression rate" i.e. a shorter time during which optimal secondary-process thinking can be maintained.²

A number of examples are included by Anna Freud to illustrate the replacement of the logical 'secondary process' by the affective 'primary process' in the child's thinking. In art work for example one child drew a battleship which gradually bristled more and more guns until it was entirely covered. In dramatic acting one group's phantasy elements such as aggression gradually became increasingly divorced from reality, until everyone began attacking everyone else and even pieces of furniture battled furiously³.

The present study finds similar ego regression phenomena to show an average incidence⁴ of 1% or 2% for a cumulative population of some 200 nine-eleven year olds studied in normal school situations and collected over a period of several years. The following examples were observed:

- (a) S.A., boy aged 10.6 of above-average I.Q. (115+). When writing an essay on a 17th century naval battle the incidents involving bodily mutilation and goriness gradually multiplied above any realistic level, until eventually the entire ship was smothered in limbs, heads,

¹Anna Freud (1965a, p.87).

²Anna Freud (1965a), p.90, after E. Kris.

³ibid., p.89.

⁴i.e. 'observed incidence' as opposed to any 'true incidence'.

intestines etc., all rolling and careering madly about the decks. When the story was read aloud the peer-group (N=30) showed obvious enthusiasm and 'secondary concordance' with the regressive elements.

- (b) J.H., boy aged 10.9, average I.Q. (101) with some learning problems; above average originality and aesthetic abilities. Having produced a fine pictorial collage out of autumn leaves and matching ochres and other paint, J.H. decided that sporadic patches of pure white would add highlights to the work. The technique rapidly deteriorated into excess, and the entire collage disappeared under a 'mix' of white plus ochres. The previous subdued pleasure in aesthetic 'creativity' was then visibly replaced by elated pleasure in manual messing and daubing, until a more or less homogeneous pale-brown canvas remained. Peer-group observers showed a mixed reaction, the same individuals being both amused at the messing to excess but critical of the end product.
- (c) J.D., N.G., A.A., J.C. and A.H., girls aged 9.9 - 10.3, academically and socially average. In presenting a short dramatised play to their classmates, the group chose a setting in late 19th century 'board school'. Beginning with a tightly-disciplined teaching situation involving demonstration, rote learning and simple multiplication tables, the mild physical punishments doled out by the 'teacher' rapidly escalated into a situation where the script was forgotten and all the actors began freely extemporising and madly attacking everyone else, but especially the 'teacher'. The audience (N=27) showed intense delight at the débâcle, and were later unconcerned over both the historical licence and the sudden and irreversible departure from rehearsal!

Observations such as these - which presumably would show a higher incidence with younger age-groups - firmly corroborate Anna Freud's contention that having accepted regression as a normal process then during the whole of the growth process "it has to be considered legitimate for children to revert periodically, to lose controls again

after they have been established, to reinstate early sleeping and feeding patterns (for example in illness), to seek shelter and safety (especially in anxiety and distress) by returning to early forms of being protected and comforted ..."¹.

That the normal, age-adequate coping ego so beloved by educationalists is subject to regressive phenomena seems now to be beyond dispute, and a number of valuable studies could well be performed in this area. Any future work of that kind will undoubtedly be best served by basing itself, at least in part, upon the developmental and metapsychological framework provided by child psychoanalysis.

A NOTE ON AGGRESSION & 'DEATH INSTINCTS'

In 1920, with his *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, Freud abandoned his tentative conception of 'ego instincts' which in the case of aggressive behaviour had given rise to the "so-called 'frustration theory' of aggression", and he now ascribed an "instinctual nature and origin to the aggressive manifestations, and thereby gave them in his evaluation equal status with the manifestations of sex"². From this radical theoretical initiative arose the now widely-known 'theory of the life and death instincts'.

The applied study of aggression as anti-social 'acting out' and delinquency formed the life-work of Anna Freud's close colleague and friend August Aichhorn³. Anna Freud's own studies in this field make valuable contributions to early childhood states, instinct transformation and so on⁴, and subsequently to legal and diagnostic

¹Anna Freud (1965a), p.94.

²Writings, IV, p.66.

³Aichhorn (1925), Anna Freud (1951k).

⁴Anna Freud (1947b), (1949a), (1949g), (1949f).

aspects of early failures in socialisation¹.

More recently on the occasion of her first post-war return to Vienna, Anna Freud presented an important and highly-acclaimed 'main Congress-summary' on the theme of aggression². In her concluding remarks it becomes clear that as regards the relationship between aggression and the notion of 'death drive' Anna Freud stands essentially upon the same pessimistic ground as her father before her. She cites the recent work of Kurt Eissler, written with the avowed intent "to lend support to Freud's theory of a death drive"³. Where Eissler gathers material from the physiologist Rudolph Ehrenberg, Anna Freud adds the poet Rainer Maria Rilke "who sees the move towards death as one of the main purposes of life"⁴. Anna Freud accepts and maintains the view that there are "two supra-ordinated biological forces with contrary goals", and she sees 'libido' and 'aggression' as each pursuing "their own limited and mundane aims while serving at the same time the vaster biological purposes of life and death"⁴. Inevitably, her final sentence reflects an inverted priority when she writes that "on the higher plane, death cannot be attained except via the vicissitudes of life" (ibid). Re-phrased, this should say that life as we know it cannot be attained except by paying the price of mortality for the individual. Our philosophy thus becomes consistent with that of the optimistic biologist Julian Huxley.

The present study cannot advocate death as an 'aim' of life. All theorising which tends towards such an illogical conclusion is symptomatic of the plight of human intellect when faced with the inevitability of man's ultimate individual fate. There are no 'death-instincts'.

¹Anna Freud (1965a), Chap. 5 (II).

²Anna Freud (1972a).

³Eissler (1971).

⁴Anna Freud (1972a).

Life has only a single 'supra-ordinate' biological aim, namely its own continuation. All instinctual drives evolved by living organisms are thus classifiable as 'life-instincts'.

Max Schur and his co-workers, approaching this question from a behaviourist-psychoanalytical frame, have explained Freud's fundamental mechanism of 'repetition-compulsion' in terms of the biologist Schneirla's 'approach-withdrawal' of animal behaviour, and are thereby also able to refute the necessity of postulating a 'death drive'¹. In point of fact child analysis had for decades accepted that "The development of aggression is inseparably bound up with the developmental phases of infantile sexuality ... (and) ... Without this admixture of aggression, the sexual impulses remain unable to reach any of their aims"². It is one of the paradoxes of modern observation-centred child analysis that such clear indications of the positive-striving and life-fulfilling nature of aggression are nevertheless interpreted as reflecting a 'death-drive'.

In a Universe apparently everywhere subject to thermodynamic degradation life is apparently unique in being able to avoid entropic trends. There are two main methods by which this occurs, viz.

- (i) by the constant intake and expenditure of energy and materials in complex and largely self-renewing cellular structures it is possible to temporarily evade the 'law of entropy trend', at least for the viable life-span of the individual organism,
- (ii) by the transmission of germ-plasm in a process which is potentially inexhaustible it is possible to permanently evade thermodynamic degradation in terms of the species.

¹Schur & Ritvo (1970).

²Anna Freud (1949a), Writings, IV, p.67.

Life thus continues to survive and propagate to the limits of its capacities. Life is inherently positive and self-sustaining, and its unique emergence required the pre-formation of methods capable of evading an otherwise universal and inevitable 'thermodynamic death' or ultimate stasis.

Freud¹ on the other hand postulated a group of non-libidinal instinctual forces - 'death instincts' - which actually propel the organism towards return to the inorganic-inanimate state, and he attempts to support this with experiments reported by biologists working with simple unicellular forms of life. However, Freud goes too far in dragging into his theory a knowledge of chemistry and of pre-biological states. Admittedly by 1920 the error of attempts to 'reduce' biology to chemistry (and inter alia chemistry to physics) had not yet been exposed, and the non-reductionist 'organismal' views of J. B. S. Haldane, Woodger, E. S. Russell, Bertalanffy and others² were still some years away. But no such mitigation is available for authors who still advocate the 'death instinct' misconception today. Thus 'instinct' is a biological concept. It is therefore applicable only to a biological order of theorising i.e. to whole organisms. 'Instinct' can have no meaning in relation to pre-biological states. No instinct can therefore from this viewpoint be accepted as tending to return living organisms to the inanimate i.e. merely complex, chemical and macromolecular state.

If psychoanalysis is correct in asserting the existence of a group of instinctual drives tending to return the organism to an earlier state - e.g. as manifested in the 'repetition-compulsion' - then the earliest state which is biologically relevant is the initial state at which the new individual came into being. Irrespective of whether one takes this to be conception or birth, the essential point is that here the individual is closest to being a thermodynamically 'open' system with maximal capacity for evading the 'law of entropy trend'. From this viewpoint the 'repetition-compulsion' becomes based upon a vigorous 'life instinct', and Freud's gloomy picture of it as presented in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* is reversed.

¹Freud (1920G, Pt. VI).

²Cf. Bertalanffy, L. von, *Modern Theories of Development*, Oxford 1933.

Alternatively, phenomena such as the 'repetition-compulsion' need not be instinct-driven at all, but may reflect the absence of biologically-driven behaviour i.e. the inevitable non-biological tendency to revert to a condition of inertness and stasis. The ultimate in repetition would after all be the absolute stasis of 'entropic death', when the entire Universe had as thermodynamically predicted 'run down' to a condition of absolute zero energy . The only known tactics for evading this universal process are those methods evolved by biological organisms. Lack of such evasion implies lack of biological capacity or, in living organisms themselves, lack of operation of biological drives - an 'instinct free sphere' dominated by universal processes tending towards 'repetition and ultimate homeostasis', though this of course is extremely conjectural.

It may be further noted that the mere fact that the individual dies need not imply any involvement of biological drives either. The processes of increasing structuralisation and rigidity, which lead organisms into being 'closed' as opposed to 'open' energy-transfer systems until a point is reached at which actual entropic degradation ensues, are essentially pre-biological processes occurring in the component macromolecular 'fabric' of tissues and cells, and subject to laws of a chemical rather than of a biological order. The biological concept of 'instinct' is thus not applicable to the cellular ageing processes which eventually cause 'death', though Eissler ¹ apparently believes that the reverse is true. He therefore misguidedly gathers much evidence of a chemical order with which to support his gloomy and ill-conceived 'death instinct' notion. Contrary to Eissler and his unwarranted use of Rudolf Ehrenberg's work, the English neurophysiologist Charles Sherrington², after

¹Eissler (1971).

²Sherrington, C. S., Man On His Nature, 2nd Edn., Cambridge U.P. 1950.

epochal discoveries and long reflection noted that the "conservation of self" is a principle in psychology as real and as important as the physicist's principle of "conservation of energy". It is to the 'conservation of self' (or higher ideals and beliefs) that all biological drives are ultimately linked. There is no logical basis for the notion of a biological 'death drive'.

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The use made by educators of psychoanalytic work on aggression - especially insofar as this led to the 'freedom from aggression' concept of child rearing - is discussed elsewhere below (Chapter 10).

CHAPTER TEN

BASIC EDUCATIONAL APPLICATIONS

INTRODUCTION

There are three major areas in which Anna Freud may be said to have contributed to the educational field, namely:-

- (i) as a practising schoolteacher during a period of social upheaval and transition when, as she herself points out, important innovations were witnessed in schools (Chapter 3),
- (ii) as a psychoanalytic educator and training analyst who for half a century or more has been closely associated first with the official training institutes, then with an independent parallel scheme and course and most recently with the jointly co-ordinated schemes run by certain 'independent' child analysis centres and the local I.P.A. branch institutes. (Chapters 4, 6 & 7).

In her capacity as training analyst and teacher-lecturer Anna Freud's outstanding giftedness has frequently been noted as pertaining particularly to the ability to systematise, integrate and rigourously clarify that which was previously unintelligible or obscure. This is well attested both by close colleagues and students¹ and by others in the wider world of psychoanalysis². A prominent pupil of Otto Fenichel's has compared Anna Freud's lucidity to that of his own notable teacher³. Even in such outstanding company as that of August Aichhorn and Siegfried Bernfeld, it is Anna Freud's "clarity of thinking and lucid simplicity"⁴ which marks her out.

Anna Freud's great strength as a training analyst rests uncompromisingly upon a lifetime of continuous analytical practice with patients and

¹ e.g. Dorothy Burlingham, Anna Maenchen (Appendix XI); Maenchen (1970).

² Rangell (1970), Heiman & Valenstein (1972).

³ Greenson (1966).

⁴ Buxbaum (1969).

with students in training, and only against this essential day-to-day professional background could there be the proper evaluation of the current theoretical advances of her science. Such a thorough-going and long-standing recognition of the fundamental inter-relation between theory and practice - between the 'pure' and 'applied' aspects of a discipline of study - is apparently lost to many contemporary educational 'experts', who frequently champion novel ideas and techniques without having personally validated them in practice.

- (iii) The third area in which Anna Freud contributes to Education is as a developmental psychologist (Chapter 9).

It is the application of Anna Freud's contributions in this third area which forms the content of the present chapter. Appendix VI lists 20 published and 4 unpublished titles which comprise Anna Freud's major works dealing specifically with educational issues in the period 1928-1978.

The earliest period of the applications of psychoanalysis to education c.1905-1925 was dealt with earlier (Chapter 2).

FATHER-FIGURES & TEACHERS: USING THE PUPIL'S SUPER-EGO

In the major work of her Vienna period addressed specifically to teachers Anna Freud¹ deals with a number of areas of interest from contemporary psychoanalytic theory, such as 'Infantile amnesia and the oedipus complex' (Lecture 1), 'The instinctual life of early childhood' (Lecture 2) and 'The latency period' (Lecture 3). Metapsychologically speaking the framework employed - as with most of that which is important in the author's Vienna-based writing - leans heavily towards the new 'structural' approach of Freud's post-1920 era.

In the lectures to teachers Anna Freud drew attention to certain well-known behavioural aspects of the schoolchild, and later clarified

¹Anna Freud (1930a).

them in terms of Freud's super-ego theory. In particular the author notes that:-

- (i) children bring with them to school certain preformed behaviours, and may "approach the teacher with the suspicion, defiance or wariness which they have acquired in their earlier dealings with other adults"¹,
- (ii) children give little or no information about their past i.e. about their distant emotional past, and "their recollections stop, or at any rate they lack the ability to tell about them"².

In order to account for these apparently simple, directly observable and widely encountered phenomena, Anna Freud draws out a scheme of child development which beginning with early dependence on the mother comes to include rivalry and aggressive responses to siblings, a crucial love-hate relationship with the father and repression of early conflicts at the 'oedipal stage', this latter occurring largely as a response to fear of parental rejection. What teachers later see being enacted in front of them "are really only repetitions and new editions of very old conflicts of which (the teacher) is the target but not the cause"³. Thus we obtain an educational paradigm of the fundamental psychoanalytic proposition dealing with the 'infantile roots of behaviour', i.e. the 'genetic' proposition that later behaviours are based upon earlier.

The father is of great importance in pre-war analytical child theory.

"He is hated as a rival ... But he is also loved and admired"⁴.

The 4-5 year old child's classic response to this dilemma is twofold,

¹Writings, I, p.76.

²ibid., pp.78-79.

³ibid., p.88.

⁴ibid., p.86.

both to repress negative ambivalent attitudes and to introject and set up within himself an admired 'father-figure' representation. This 'superego', noted by Freud as "the heir to the oedipus complex"¹, is given by Anna Freud a quite particular value and importance to teachers. Thus, between the ages of 5 or 6 years and puberty the child confronting his teacher is now "divided within himself"² - i.e. his personality is viewed as comprising an id, ego and super ego - and "his super ego, the successor to his parents, is on the side of the educators"².

When set against the great prevalence and multifariousness of discipline and related problems in many schools, and especially in working with large groups of pupils, it is difficult to overestimate the value of such information to teachers. Anna Freud recommends teachers to recognise this split within the child, to assume for each child the role of super ego and thus to become for the class group "the ideal of the group"³. The advantages which she sees as following upon this are that (a) "compulsory obedience" changes to "voluntary submission" and (b) ties are encouraged between children who then form a united group. Similar views were presented by the author at the 1932 Congress of Early Childhood Educators⁴ and on both occasions Anna Freud's advice to educationalists followed precisely her earlier advice to child analysts, which latter group were also encouraged to "assume the place of the child's ego-ideal for the duration of the analysis"⁵.

The teacher behaviours which follow from such recommendations have in the present writer's experience great efficacy and validity,

¹Freud (1926E), Chap. 5.

²Writings, I, p.119.

³ibid., p.120.

⁴Anna Freud (1934a).

⁵Anna Freud (1927a), Writings, I, p.60.

particularly when situations occur where children 'en masse' are disruptive and troublesome. In attempting to settle a noisy dining-hall, playground queue or class-group between lessons, the most valuable technique will clearly be one which does not cease to have effect the moment the teacher leaves the scene. By verbalising to groups some doubt as to their parents credulity on hearing of their behaviour; by touching upon the group member's feelings of guilt, shame, remorse; by effecting a displacement from 'you have let your parents and families down' to 'you are also letting your teachers and the school down' - it has frequently and reliably been found that the desired effect is maintained for some time afterwards, and even in the absence of the actual figure of the teacher.

Needless to say certain 'progressive' educationalists have, and in some quarters continue, to reflect the antithesis of this. A. S. Neill for example "raged against the father-principle" on account of his own unhappy childhood relationship, and with his pupils he became "one of the gang"¹. Neill's professional activities were all heavily determined by childhood fear of his father and by neurotic anxiety of anything symbolising 'father-figures'. His emphasis upon curriculum areas involving handicrafts, games and stories reflects the habits of a prepubertal boy¹, whilst the extreme so-called 'democracy' in his teaching was really 'anti-authority of any kind' and inevitably bordered on anarchy. That freedom may become licence and expression mere acting out should be of consequence to any teacher, and the dilemma of 'freedom versus authority'² lies at the very heart of our professional dealings with the schoolchild. The problem for the school is really the same as

¹Ilan (1963).

²Bantock, G. H., Freedom and Authority in Education, London, Faber, 1952.

for society at large, namely that each individual needs and seeks a certain 'freedom of personal expression' which can only be permitted within an overall framework of acquiescence to a common authority or legal-moral law. The particular professional concern of the school then becomes that of translating this philosophical formula into the developmentally-appropriate and situationally-appropriate forms for each phase and aspect of the child's education.

THE GENERAL PROCESS OF EDUCATION

Anna Freud has usefully distinguished 'child care' and 'child education'. Whereas in the former the 'mothering person' fulfills the infant's needs with nothing expected in return, education on the contrary "always demands something of the child"¹. Whilst both culturally and historically educational aims have varied in detail, nevertheless "The universal tendency of education is always to turn the child into a grown-up person not very different from the adult world around him"¹. Elsewhere in the same work the author asserts that "The aim of the school is above all else instruction, i.e. the development of the intellect, the imparting of new knowledge and the stimulation of mental capacities"². Here again education per se assumes a role different to that of child care, though the two approaches must clearly be interrelated.

It may be that in her early juxtaposition of 'education' and 'child care' Anna Freud does less than full justice to the multiple-role assumed by the modern school. In addition to the instructional function of school, others have emphasised provision for the development of the child's own expression through physical and social skills³. It may well be that the authors in question were addressing

¹Anna Freud (1930a, Lect.2), in Writings, I, p.94.

²ibid., Lect. 3, p.115.

³Isaacs (1933, p.405f). Cites Nina Searl (1932).

their views to different age-levels of schooling, with Anna Freud initially taking into consideration the older latency child whilst the group around Susan Isaacs leaned more towards the infant and nursery-ages. In a more recent account of the Nursery Unit of the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic, Anna Freud¹ defines the educational task as that of making good any and all gaps in the child's development. Examples given included play, motor behaviour, speech, social interaction, mental stimulation and so on. Ever earlier in her 1932 address to the Congress of Early Childhood Educators our subject had 'corrected' any one-sidedness in her views, when she stated that "Education has obviously two cardinal functions"². These she understands as being the "allowing and forbidding" of children's spontaneous expression, and the "putting in" of culturally viable knowledge, attitudes, skills and so forth.

It is clear from the above that Anna Freud has a teacher's understanding of teaching. She is a pragmatic psychologist par excellence who always insists on drawing from theoretical models as much as possible which is of practical-applied value. Her aims are ultimately those of the psychologist i.e. to impart psychological knowledge and greater understanding, but her manner suits her particularly well to the needs of the teacher-educator.

In the fourth and last of her early lectures to teachers - 'The relation between psychoanalysis and education'³ - Anna Freud made a direct contribution to the hybrid conceptual area which provides the 'raison d'être' of the present study. Earlier students of the theme had preceeded her⁴, and it seems likely that Anna Freud's

¹Anna Freud (1975a).

²Anna Freud (1934a), Writings, I, p.179.

³Anna Freud (1930a, Lect 4).

⁴Ferenczi ((1908)1949), Jones (1910), Bernfeld (1925), Low (1929).

publication played some part in stimulating a subsequent flurry of similarly-titled contributions in England around that time¹.

Whilst maintaining that the time, 1930, was too early yet for "a detailed description of (the) new analytic type of education"² which by and large was still restricted to a small group of analytically trained teachers and parents, Anna Freud nevertheless identifies three major contributions which psychoanalysis makes to education, namely:-

- (i) psychoanalysis is capable of cogently criticising existing methods in education,
- (ii) psychoanalytic theory extends the teacher's working knowledge of pupil-teacher (i.e. child-adult) interactions,
- (iii) as a therapeutic method psychoanalysis may "repair the injuries which have been inflicted upon the child during the process of education"³.

If we were to extend this list in the light of the ensuing 4 or 5 decades of psychoanalytic work it would certainly come to include the following:-

- (iv) a thorough-going developmental theory, with educational implications at all stages of the child's growth (Chapter 9),
- (v) a multi-stage 'hierarchical' model of mind, with great relevance for studies of learning theory and cognitive function. (Chapter 12),
- (vi) an increasingly exhaustive coverage of what may be termed the 'pathology of normal schooling' - studies of school phobia, learning failures and so on ('Addenda' below).

¹Searl (1932), Isaacs (1933, Pt.II, chap 1).

²Writings, I, p.128.

³ibid., p.129.

Prior to circa 1930 psychoanalysis had according to Anna Freud "stood for limiting the efforts of education by emphasising some specific dangers connected with it"¹. A number of examples follow, taken from the two large groups of educational 'excesses', namely those associated with extreme repression and resulting in neurotic inhibition, and conversely those associated with extreme permissiveness resulting in delinquent acting out and failure to continue development. The former error is illustrated by the case of a small boy, greedy for sweets, who was transformed into a grown man who could not eat chocolate without blushing; and a young girl, fond of displaying herself naked, who was similarly changed into a young woman incapable of undressing at all in the company of others. The converse situation is shown by the case of a young boy whose mother permitted him every kind of sexual gratification. Having been allowed to 'short-circuit' his adult development he stubbornly refused to accept any adult responsibilities, and remained troublesome, dependent and delinquent.

THE 'MIDDLE ROAD'

As a result of considerations such as those detailed above Anna Freud is led to recommend to teachers and educators a 'middle road' or balanced view, though she does not specifically employ these terms. In her language of psychoanalytic metapsychology the task before the exponent of educational aims and methods is "to find for each stage in the child's life the right proportion between drive gratification and drive control"². It is the child's and future adult's sanity and equilibrium which is essentially at stake, and the teacher must be clear "which educational goals are compatible with mental health"³.

¹Anna Freud (1930a), Writings, I, p.123.

²Anna Freud (1930a, Lect.4), Writings, I, p.128; (1934a), Writings, I, p.182.

³Writings, I, p.179.

Here with Anna Freud we stand on much the same ground as Henry Dicks, who has more recently and cogently criticised alike both the 'individuation' concept of mental health and the 'social adjustment' concept. The true 'middle ground' lies in personal integration and adequate forms of maturity in social relations¹.

In a similar manner it is possible to criticise the polarisation of educational approaches - typified by Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Montessori and others on the one hand and the traditional and strict parent-adult on the other hand - whereby the child is viewed from the start as either wholly 'good' or wholly 'bad'. Anna Freud humourously illustrates the latter approach with the anecdote of a mother, who tells the nursemaid 'Go and see what the children are doing and tell them to stop at once'². Again Anna Freud finds some justification for both points of view in relation to the influence of each upon the growing child's drives. Elsewhere, the dilemma and potential polarisation for educators is phrased in terms of the child's 'need to accommodate reality' versus 'the facility for constructing a world of phantasy'. In general "children are expected to keep the enacting of their phantasies within well-defined limits", and the indulgence of the adult world is withdrawn as soon as the child fails to move rapidly from phantasy back to reality i.e. "the moment his phantasy activity ceases to be a game and becomes an automatism or an obsession"³. Such a criterion would appear to have application in gauging the excesses in certain dimensions of those teaching methods and philosophies of approach which tend to maximise the pupil's 'freedom of expression'. Even in art, drama and literature the teacher must have due regard for the child's reality sense.

¹Dicks (1950).

²Writings, I, p.180.

³Anna Freud (1936a), p.85.

It was demonstrated above¹ that some at least of Anna Freud's work as an ego psychologist could be looked upon as occupying a 'middle ground' between the formal study of 'individual psychology' and of 'group psychology' respectively. Attention was then drawn to the valuable role-potential of teachers in furthering the study and applications of this inter-disciplinary area. This contention can now be taken a stage further.

THE VILLAGE SCHOOL AS A FOCUS OF APPLIED STUDY

What is actually implied here is not of necessity a school confined to a village, though many village schools are typically of the following type - vertically or 'family' grouped, some 20-50 pupils, and 1-3 or 4 teachers including a headteacher who also teaches full-time. The rural county of North Yorkshire in which the present writer works is well provided with such schools, and during the writing of the present study one or two village schools and other small infant departments were visited for purposes of comparative observation².

It immediately becomes clear that the fully-practising 'teaching head' of such a small, integral, educational establishment is in many ways ideally placed to become the authority par excellence with regard to the general educational development of youngsters prior to their transition to the specialised educational approach of the Secondary School. A teaching role such as is indicated here capitalises upon several of the key indications drawn out of half a century of the theory and practice of the subject of this study. Such a teacher, assuming adequate academic preparation and professional giftedness with pupils, might reasonably be expected to pioneer further advances in the following areas amongst others:-

¹See: Chapter 8, 'Eriksonian critique & rapprochement'.

²Cf. Chapter 7, 'Educational unit and Montessori nursery'.

- (i) the construction, application, interpretation and validation of individual 'profiles' on children, together with evaluation of methods of 'individual teaching',
- (ii) description and evaluation of small-group dynamics, and the interactions of (i) and (ii),
- (iii) longitudinal studies, of 4 to 7 years duration, on (i) and (ii) and their interactions.

For the 'village-school teaching head' as described here, such wider professional concern as is itemised under points (i)-(iii) could readily be undertaken in a manner which does justice to both the 'pure' and 'applied' aspects of study. Similarly, numbers of pupils are such that both 'clinical' and 'statistical' factors and methods could be variously integrated¹, and the ultimate value to the education service is that teaching per se and research on teaching are in this set-up at least no longer divorced from each other.

UNPLEASURE AS MOTIVATION: THE 'PROBLEM OF ANXIETY'

The great work of Anna Freud's Vienna-phase was her analysis of the ego's methods of defending itself against an incursion which Freud had earlier highlighted as 'the problem of anxiety'². In drawing out for educators and teachers the implications of this work, Anna Freud is led to emphasise the relatively neglected aspect of "avoidance of unpleasure" in the mental economy (motivation) of the child. Modern educational methods and approaches which allow the child a great deal of self-selection of curriculum elements, freedom of activity and so forth, are based upon a positive motivational rationale. In other words we assume that for each activity chosen the child receives some gratification of instinct, direct or indirect - which latter would presumably include the 'second order' or 'higher order' rewards and

¹Cf. Meehl, P.H., Clinical versus Statistical Prediction, Univ. Minnesota Press, 1954.

²Freud (1926D); Anna Freud (1936a).

reinforcements of cognitive and learning theories - and further, that ego development is thereby enhanced and that 'sublimation' occurs of crude drive forces into the culturally-viable teacher-provided activities and outlets. It now seems that the psychological basis of such an educational approach was too incompletely defined.

Thus, it was "To the surprise of educators" as Anna Freud points out, that the result of such freedom of choice is in certain instances "not the blossoming of personality but the impoverishment of the ego"¹. The particular defensive adaptation involved - ego restriction - was considered in some detail above², and the reason behind the implied educational failures is found in the observation that "children in the latency period may attach more importance to the avoidance of anxiety and unpleasure than to direct or indirect gratification of instinct"¹. To return again to 'curriculum language', the susceptible pupil chooses an activity in order to avoid other anxiety-provoking activities. The chosen topic is 'the lesser evil', and carries little or no positive motivational stimulus. Hence the work is often badly performed even though self-chosen from a range of alternatives. The complete removal of teacher-induced or 'objective' anxiety is in Anna Freud's view unlikely to result in much educational improvement, and any such hopes are considered "illusory"³. There would still remain the inevitable 'dread of the strength of the instincts'⁴, which developmentally is earlier and more fundamental than anxiety arising from either conscience (super ego anxiety) or from the

¹Anna Freud (1936a), p.103.

²See: Chapter 8.

³Anna Freud (1936a), p.56.

⁴ibid., p.58.

environment (objective anxiety). An educational gain may nevertheless arise from such sources of anxiety. Using a number of examples Anna Freud shows that "instinctual danger makes human beings intelligent"¹. From longitudinal studies carried out at the Yale Child Study Centre, the group centred about Ernst Kris found support for Anna Freud's contention that anxiety makes us react more cleverly and motivates us to achieve goals².

The educational system for better or worse intrinsically incorporates elements of 'motivation by anxiety', particularly at the Secondary and Higher levels with the widespread drive towards success in examinations. Teachers, parents and other sections of society all collaborate in inculcating the 'fear of failure'. As far as we know, no studies have differentiated in detail the various psychological levels of anxiety characteristic of different teaching methods or of different stages of education. Such data would be of obvious value on humanitarian as well as educational grounds, and particularly when considered against a given child's 'anxiety profile'. A number of relevant questions might then be capable of some resolution, e.g. are different stages of schooling characterised by particular sources of anxiety, internal and external? Is there a lower age-limit in development below which it is unprofessional to employ teacher-induced anxiety? To what extent is it possible in practice for the teacher to separate his various 'active' and 'passive' anxiety-inducing aspects?

SUMMARISING APPLIED PSYCHOANALYTIC PERSPECTIVES

In 1956 in Cleveland, Ohio, Anna Freud presented a lecture originally entitled 'Emotional factors in education' which was re-written and published over a decade later³. Here the author noted the "un-

¹Anna Freud (1936a), p.163f.

²Ritvo & Provence (1953).

³Anna Freud (1969e). A mimeo-copy of the original 1956 paper is filed in the Library of the Hampstead Clinic, London.

-reasonably high hopes" generally entertained by the lay public with regard to the applications of psychoanalytic knowledge. In place of the expected "revolutionary but systematic, well-integrated guide to the rearing of a new, healthier and happier generation", what were in fact received were merely "isolated, hard-won insights ... frequently transmitted without the relevant guidance to their proper application"¹. The author further noted that certain "significant successes" were matched by an almost equal number of "significant failures and disappointments", (*ibid*).

Four major phases were here distinguished by Anna Freud, and these covered the first half-century or so of psychoanalytic knowledge applied to educational fields:-

- PHASE I The sexual enlightenment of children.
- PHASE II Recognition of the role of conflict, conscience and anxiety. Limiting of parental authority.
- PHASE III Freedom for aggression.
- PHASE IV The mother-infant relationship.

'Phase I' stemmed of course from the enlightenment of adults concerning the sexual-libidinal aspects of child development, and was dealt with separately and historically circa 1905 onwards in a previous section (Chapter 2). Aspects of 'Phase II' concerned earlier sections of the present chapter, and occurred under headings relating to the 'super ego' and 'the problem of anxiety' (c.1926-1936) (Cf. Chapter 8 also).

With regard to 'Phase III' - more correctly, with regard to the underlying psychoanalytic data on the potential harmfulness of the complete repression of aggressive drives - Anna Freud admits that the analytical fraternity should have anticipated that "this was a dangerous piece of

¹Writings, V, p.267.

knowledge to leak out to parents"¹. Somewhat humourously she euphemistically adds that whereas children became a little happier "their parents became definitely more unhappy".

The above Phases I-III may be said to cover the period c.1905-c.1940, though of course 'residues' continue in vogue even to the present day. 'Phase IV' is related to "more recent years", and to "a new trend in psychoanalytic work"². Anna Freud's own Second World War studies of evacuee-children played a notable part in establishing the basis for such a 'new trend' in child study (Chapter 5), and the early educational implications of that work are discussed in the following section below. Again, errors of interpretation and application abound at the hands of others. Mothering per se may be pathogenic as well as beneficial, and losses and seductions (over-stimulations) are among the potential trauma.^{2a}

Finally Anna Freud approaches "the current scene" with the radical concept of 'the mother as auxiliary ego'³, but due consideration and application of this work is here deferred until later (Chapter 12). Such modern work is here suggested as forming a 'Phase V' of applied (educational) psychoanalysis, and may be termed the 'Phase of dominance of a thorough-going developmental theory and model of mind' (Cf. Chapters 9 and 12.).

MOTHERS, MOTHER-SUBSTITUTES & NURSERY-INFANT SCHOOL

Having established herself during the 1920's and 30's as an authority on the psychology of latency-age children and adolescents, Anna Freud had by the early 1940's also prepared the scientific basis for a reputation of a different though fundamentally complementary kind.

¹ Writings, V, p.274.

² *ibid.*, p.275. ^{2a} Cf. the 'rejecting mother', (Anna Freud, 1955b).

³ Anna Freud (1969e) first presented in 1956; Writings, V, pp. 278-280.

This was of course as a foremost authority on the psychological development of the earliest stages of infancy.

Largely on the basis of experiences gained with very young infants and toddlers in the early days of the Hampstead War Nursery, Anna Freud was in 1941 invited to speak at the 'summer school' of the Nursery School Association of Great Britain¹. The invitation was extended again in 1960², and clearly demonstrates Anna Freud's long standing as an authority on early infancy.

The workers of the Hampstead War Nursery found their most difficult challenge to be the satisfactory replacement of the mother relationship for the traumatised infants in their care. To meet this task 'nursery workers^{were} wherever possible made responsible for one particular group of children. These groups, moreover, were limited to 'natural family' sizes. In this way the on-going education of these children was able to be carried on without recourse to threats, bribes and drilling - "all methods unsatisfactory in their results"³ - and reliance was placed instead upon the child's valuing of the parent-substitute's love in return for the continual demands that the child become toilet-trained, control his aggression, restrict his sexual curiosity and so forth.

Educational success in the earliest stages of development largely centres upon whether nursery workers and teachers "can succeed in creating or in conserving for the children their proper emotional relationships with the outside world"⁴. Laretta Bender, in discussing child analysis

¹See: Chapter 5, and WRITINGS, III, p.125.

²Writings, V, p.315. Anna Freud (1960b).

³Writings, III, p.128.

⁴Writings, III, p.131.

work, noted Anna Freud's views as having become "increasingly realistic" after work carried on with the "war children"¹.

The general attention devoted to 'mothering' has since the War Nursery days remained a consistent hallmark of the work of Anna Freud, as also of a number of others in the child analysis world (Spitz, Mahler, Greenacre; Hoffer, Bowlby, Winnicott). On the basis of wide-ranging practical observations wedded to powerful and influential trends in psychoanalytic theorising, these workers produced throughout the 1950's and 1960's an extremely valuable literature covering virtually all aspects of 'mothering'². These contributions amply refute a statement made by the Institute of Family and Environmental Research, who in a survey commissioned by the D.H.S.S. (London) noted in passing "the impermanence of the value content of the most influential psychoanalytic writings of the 1950's"³. The work of Anna Freud is scarcely considered, beyond mere citation, by this independent research group, though that of Bowlby and of Winnicott receives some emphasis. Despite this incomplete recognition of 'the most influential' psychoanalytic contributions, together with a general antipathy towards that which is considered, the survey does nevertheless manage to reach out and identify certain reasonable and humane conclusions. Here however, as with the plea for a greater tolerance of a "multiplicity of models for living"⁴, endorsement is unwittingly given to similar views voiced by child analysts. In arguing for example

¹Bender (1952).

²Anna Freud (1953c), (1955b), (1961a), (1962d), (1965a, Pt.V), (1968f), (1969e), (1969i), etc.; Bowlby (1958, 1960), Greenacre (1960, 1962), Hoffer (1952), Mahler (1952, 1958, 1961), Spitz (1951, 1954, 1959, 1965), Winnicott (1958, 1960, 1963, 1965).

³Rapoport & Rapoport et al., (1977), p.45.

⁴ibid., p.365.

for a relaxation in the high standards of family 'completeness' applied to prospective adopters, Anna Freud had pointed out that many previously 'unadoptable' children could thereby become adoptable by being placed with single unmarried women and so on¹.

Some of the more pertinent areas to which 'mothering' concepts are applicable in the educational services would include, at the Primary School level:-

- (a) size of 'reception infant' classes (5-6 years) ,
- (b) staffing of these same classes, with consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of such 'teaching styles' as -
 - (i) team-teaching (multiple teachers)
 - (ii) extra non-teaching-assistant provision
 - (iii) morning -v- afternoon 'additional adults' ((i) or (ii)),
- (c) advisability of frequency/infrequency of staff-changes in younger infant classes in particular; and localisation of teacher-resignations etc. to late summer wherever possible ,
- (d) use of occasional parent-helpers and the proper psychological preparation of these 'involved' adults.

The issues involved in (a) and (b) clearly overlap, and even a large (25-30+) infants class could by the generous provision of adult help manage an 'in-class' ratio of around 8 children to 1 adult. At these staffing levels the 'sublimated-mothering' aspect of the teaching adults could be viably maintained. Now however, the issue must be raised as to how this 'sublimated-mothering' of value in school situations differs from the natural or 'biological-mothering' of the

¹See: Panel ((1973)1974), and Kolansky (1974) reporting Anna Freud's panel presentation.

home and family situation.

As with all applied psychoanalytic knowledge the great danger is that it will be used out of context and interpreted too simply. With the concept of 'mothering' the danger is that of the teacher facilely adopting a direct mother-role, and attempting to usurp biological (i.e. psycho-phylogenetically and ontogenetically primitive) aspects, as opposed to sublimated culturally-refined and socio-phylogenetically advanced aspects of the protective, trusted, all-knowledgeable adult-figure.

Nothing could be further from the intent commissioned here. Already in 1949, Anna Freud had criticised the formerly well-known "kindergarten-tante" figure who made precisely this mistake; and she had then gone on to note the different approach of the modern nursery school. Here, by contrast, the teacher-adult "refrains from playing a mother-role", and instead of offering affection and kindness only "she offers the child interesting and fascinating occupations of a more subtle, indirect (sublimated) kind"¹. The teacher thus interacts not with the child's emotional longing and striving for instinctual gratification ('id-level'), but rather with the child's 'higher' ego interests.

Identical advice was offered more directly to teachers in 1952 when Anna Freud informally 'answered teacher's questions' at Harvard Graduate School of Education. On that occasion the speaker pointed out that if teachers attempt to directly play the role of mother they must expect from the child the reactions appropriate to this, i.e. "the demand for exclusive attention and affection, the wish to get rid of all the other children in the class-room"². The negative

¹Writings, IV, pp. 82-83.

²Anna Freud (1952b), Writings, IV, pp. 563-564.

educational implications of this error are very clear, and only too painfully so to anyone who has ever misguidedly attempted to 'mother' schoolchildren in too direct a manner. Having once accepted the wider notion of 'sublimated-mothering' as outlined here, other issues raised would include:-

- (a) infant class organisation: 'allocation' or 'free-choice' adherence of children to particular adults,
- (b) avoidance of 'personal interest' of adults - whether lay or professionally qualified - in certain children only,
- (c) the question of complementariness versus conflict between 'optimal mothering' (i.e. same adult staying with same group of children) and 'optimal teaching' (i.e. adults moving freely from group to group in accordance with their own particular skills and the children's particular interests). This leads to such further questions as -
- (d) is there, in the Infant School, an age-range below which the positive educational value of 'team teaching' is undermined by negative aspects of even the partial 'transference' of infant-mother relationships?

It would be necessary here to consider the negative potential of both the child and the adult, though the latter study would of course overlap with (b) above.

No doubt more questions would occur to others. A recent author has found application of a similar Nursery 'model' to small groups of disturbed and disruptive adolescents in secondary school remedial units¹.

THE 'WIDENING SCOPE' OF PSYCHOANALYTIC EDUCATION

In a paper significantly entitled 'Psychoanalysis and education' given

¹Wilson (1978).

in New York in 1954, Anna Freud employed the term 'education' in what she saw as "its wider sense, comprising all types of interference with the spontaneous processes of development (i.e. of the child)"¹. The term 'interference' is, naturally, to be understood in purely empirical rather than emotive-moral terms. What is in effect here being manifested is the post-war emergence of Anna Freud as an authority on all the developmental stages of childhood psychology, upbringing and education, as studied by the specialist methods of child analysis. Anna Freud is in effect a childhood non-specialist par excellence, and many of her more recent endeavours have been aimed at "counter-acting specialisation"².

With regard to the earliest phase of development - the infant's 'need satisfying' (pre-objectal, anaclitic) phase - although this may appear to be very distant from the material encountered by teachers of even the youngest children in normal schools, Anna Freud points out that the attitudes of this phase "never become completely extinct (and) continue to underly the object-libidinal relationships"³. Important consequences of this are noted for ego structure, some rudiments of which emerge in the first six months of life.

A number of important questions are directed at teachers and educators, and Anna Freud asks:-

- (i) How conversant need teachers be with analytical child psychology? Is there a minimum requirement? Optimum requirement?
- (ii) Should teachers be left to pursue their own studies in this respect? Where will the basic grounding in sources be obtained?
- (iii) How much importance attaches to the question of personal analyses for teachers?

¹Anna Freud (1954a), Writings, IV, p.317.

²Writings, V, p.378.

³Writings, IV, p.324.

As regards (i) above, the view maintained here is that analytical child psychology provides teachers with probably the best-systematised and meaningful kind of applied psychology. By no means all the field of psychoanalysis is appropriate however, and emphasis would best be given to the following:-

- (a) developmental-genetic aspects of metapsychology,
- (b) object-relations and 'interpersonal-relations' work¹,
- (c) studies of normality, learning, 'creativity' etc.,
- (d) ego psychology, with the ego mediating between id-drives and the environment,
- (e) the general 'model' of mind and personality.

Conversely, little interest need be shown by educationalists and teachers in the following areas of psychoanalysis - psychopathology and clinical aspects generally; technique of analysis; diagnostic indications in their more specialised forms; biographical 'analysis' and certain other applied areas.

With regard to (ii) above it would appear valid to argue for teacher-training establishments as being the obvious source of such preparative study. To this end parity would have to be given between the various 'educational psychologies', with the material noted in (a)-(e) above receiving coverage comparable to that more generally accorded to Piaget, Learning Theory, Psychometrics and so forth.

The crucial teacher-pupil relation would in particular be open to greater understanding and enhancement by such an approach. Teaching, from the first encounter, is pre-eminently an activity centering upon a 'personal' medium, and it remains doubtful whether any approach based upon cognitive or learning theories can attain consistent practical results in the absence of adequate and mutual 'rapport' between teacher

¹Including Melanie Klein's pioneering work in this area, which thus comes to have a significance for educators beyond that acknowledged in Chapter 9 (above).

and pupil, adult and child. Psychoanalytical constructs such as ambivalence, denial, reaction-formation, displacement, transference, counter-transference and so forth, have in the present writer's experience always proved most valuable and powerful instruments for elucidating the various aspects of the teacher-pupil relationship, based as it is upon the earlier parent-child relationship.

It has been the experience of the present writer that children between 7-11 years of age will frequently address the teacher with "Dad, is this alright?", or some variant thereof. The child has made an error in terms of fact, intellect and 'outer world' reality, but the teacher would compound that error with one of his own if he were to treat this 'error' of the child's in the same manner as he would correct an error in numeracy or spelling. The affinity to the teacher which the child has unconsciously felt and inadvertently disclosed requires gentle and sincere handling, at the same time that the 'real facts' are being correctly aligned.

No psychology which stands genuinely independent of Freud appears capable of handling these 'dual' aspects of the child's thought and behaviour as well as does psychoanalytic child psychology.

The above does not, however, preclude the possibility that certain empathically-intuitively gifted 'natural' teachers have previously succeeded in effectively handling such situations.

This raises the following issue.

ALTERNATIVES TO THE PSYCHOANALYSIS OF TEACHERS

To have undergone a personal analysis - even a successful one - could never in itself become a criterion of teacher adequacy. A more correct criterion could however be the view that "teachers should have learned to know and to control their own conflicts before they begin educational

work"¹. Barbara Low and Agatha Bowley² are just two among many whose views coincided on this issue. The major criteria for teaching as a vocation may then well be the following:-

- (a) personal-emotional stability, with adequate forms of conflict-resolution and preferably good 'rapport' with pupils,
- (b) academic competence with 'something to teach',
- (c) professional competence with an adequate grasp of the best available methods & techniques for presenting(b).

An added (though optional, non-obligatory) 'bonus' would naturally be possession of the enigmatic 'charisma', or of some lesser form of projection of oneself and one's message.

Whilst it may be accepted that a personal analysis under the best circumstances may be expected to markedly further (a) above, it is the purpose of the present section to argue also for the efficacy of certain alternative approaches to the same goal. Such alternatives may for example become available through the following agencies:-

1. Exceptional Talents. In all historical periods the vocation of teacher has attracted certain innately gifted and environmentally fortunate individuals - 'exceptional persons' - who prove capable of meeting the particular needs and pressures of their era as expressed in the teaching relationship. Socrates may be taken as the proto-archetype, though unknown others must have existed before him.
2. Spiritual Experience. The historical validity and efficacy of certain forms of 'spiritual experience' is too well-documented to ignore. For millenia now, untold numbers of human beings have shown the ability to surmount appalling obstacles on the strength of faith in what is, to science, not demonstrable. From Moses, the Prophets and Jesus, through centuries of Apostles, Mystics and others, to our own period and figures such as Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Martin Luther King, vast personal energy reserves and insights have been thus made available for the service of others.

¹Anna Freud (1929a), (1930a, Lect.4), Writings, I, p.131.

²Bowley, A., (1948), 'The teaching of psychology in training colleges', New Era, 29, (7), 150-152.

3. Exceptional Models. Occasionally an individual of exceptional ability, however produced, may stimulate similar achievement in pupils. The classic example would be Socrates, who taught Plato, who taught Aristotle. In our own time one thinks of examples of close co-operation in sciences - for example the brilliant physicist pair of Lawrence Bragg and his father, and the brilliant biochemist pair of J. B. S. Haldane and his father. Also included here - though cf. 5 below - would be Anna Freud and her father.
4. Other 'Psychic Organizers'. (See: Chapter 12).
5. Combinations. Any of the above with perhaps further involvement of 'self analysis', didactic analysis, serious and extended study of psychoanalytic child psychology *etc.*

Thus the possible ways of attaining the goal of mature, adequate functioning as a teacher become, at least in the above analysis, diverse and theoretically plentiful. The personal experiences, attitudes and inclinations of the individual teacher will probably continue to exercise the over-riding part in selecting the most appropriate path. It would therefore be erroneous to rigorously advocate any one method or approach, as also to exclude any of the possible methods which are variously available.

THE ROLE OF TEACHER AND RELATIONAL 'SETS'

In a talk before student-teachers and given during one of her early American lecture-tours, Anna Freud warned that "There are three great dangers that threaten the schoolteacher"¹. These dangers were then noted as:-

- (a) working with a single, narrow age-range of children, and thereby failing to properly understand or relate to the developmentally earlier and later stages together with their differing educational needs and peculiarities,

¹Writings, V, p.560.

- (b) loss of adequate perspective between the adult world and the world of children, particularly by losing adult values and proportions,
- (c) becoming too attached to individual children.

This latter error may then lead to a 'hardening' of personality defences against the pain of repeated separation, for example at the end of each school year; and to conflict with parents, who are the rival though legitimate guardians of the child.

The teacher's role in its relation to the child should not be such as to encourage the home situation to develop to any large extent in school, and "It is the privilege of the teacher to introduce the child to a new experience ... not merely to duplicate his experiences within the family"¹. The teacher is thus neither 'mother' nor 'therapist', and the proper teacher role has its limits transgressed as soon as the teacher seeks a relationship with the child as close as that between parent and child.

These valuable insights into the constraints operating upon the teacher's role reflect, inevitably, the constraints of the underlying discipline of child analysis i.e. we are still largely within the framework of a psychology of the individual, or perhaps of the 'dyadic couple' to use Henry Dick's interpersonal-relations term. The teacher must seek additional perspectives on his role, multi-faceted as this is. From a sociological viewpoint for example the teacher's role is clearly endangered by:-

- (i) role-fragmentation: teachers serve many masters and must face many directions - pupils, curriculum, headteacher, school governors; L.e.a. and D.E.S., each with their requirements, advisers and inspectors; parents, liaison committees and society at large,

¹ Writings, V, p.564.

- (ii) bureaucratisation: increasingly in complex societal institutions roles tend towards stereotypy and repetition, with consequent impoverishment and loss of flexibility, originality, role-satisfaction and other aspects.

A social-psychological (group) perspective provides not only an alternative view, but also a necessary corrective to any over-emphasis upon the teaching role as being dominated by individual pupil-teacher relations. From experiences largely gathered in class groups of the order of 30 children, with sub-grouping in terms of table-groups of 6 children each in 5 inward-facing groups, the following distinct 'sets' of relationships are noted:-

- I : a set of teacher-child relations (30 members)
- II : a set of teacher-group relations (5 members)
- III : a set of teacher-class relations (1 member)
- IV : complex sets of fluctuating members, consisting of teacher-small group (<6 children) relations; and of course all the varying inter-relations between children themselves.

These various 'sets' of interpersonal-relations are by no means merely theoretical, and are arrived at by observation of such behavioural indices as prolonged eye-contact (pupil to teacher) and persistent approach patterns (pupil to teacher). The various predominating inter-relations can be sensed readily; are subject to such external influences as are commonly structured into school work; and should constantly be taken into consideration by the teacher as the following chart shows (Fig. XXV).

FIG. XXV

Inter-Personal Relational 'Sets' Predominating
Through Typical Primary Schoolday

Phase of Day	Major Activity	Predominant Relational 'Set' ¹
Before 09.00 hrs	Arriving at school, cloakroom, classroom	I
09.00 -09.15 hrs	Registration; task allocation	III, then II
09.15-09.30 hrs	Morning Assembly	III
09.30-10.30 hrs	Group Work	II then I
10.30-10.45 hrs	Break. Playtime	I & IV
10.45-12.00 hrs	Classwork	III then I
12.00-12.30 hrs	'Family-group' lunch	I & IV
12.30-13.00 hrs	Break. Playtime	I & IV
13.00-14.30 hrs	Individual-choice work	IV then I
14.30-14.45 hrs	Break. Playtime	I
14.45-15.45 hrs	Games (out doors)	III & II

¹ See text for description of Sets I-IV.

The suggestions contained in Fig. XXV are naturally neither exhaustive nor exclusive of other possibilities. 'Games' for example could be organised on the basis of individual work followed by small-group work, (Set I followed by Set II), as opposed to small-group practice followed by class game (Set II followed by Set III). What is important is the wide range of possibilities observed in any one teaching day.

On the whole, and by way of 'consolation' to the teacher, children tolerate quite wide-ranging variations and 'contradictions' in the manner in which the teacher variously relates to the class, class-groups and individuals within groups. Even an individual who has behaved perfectly will accept criticism of his otherwise badly-behaved table-group, and may be heard afterwards repeating to his peers the teacher's admonition that "such things will not be tolerated". As an example of Anna Freud's mechanism of 'identification with the aggressor', this would seem to be one indication of how normal children manifest a 'set' of internal object-relations which corresponds with their experienced 'set' of external personal relations.

EMOTIONAL INVOLVEMENT & PHYSICAL CONTACTS:
INDICATIONS & CONTRA-INDICATIONS

With the great weight of her authority behind her Anna Freud has stated that "On the whole, bodily contact should be left to the mother. This is true for children of all ages ... The communication between teacher and child should take a form different to that of physical contact"¹. The teacher should take 'an objective attitude' which is 'warm' without being 'involved'. In this way, "emotional involvements cannot develop to a dangerous extent"¹.

Now there is a great deal of hard-earned truth and professional wisdom in such advice, particularly when aimed at the younger or less-experienced

¹Anna Freud (1952b), Writings, IV, p.565.

teacher, who in general lacks (a) the ability to correctly interpret children's behaviour, (b) the ability to adequately control or usefully divert his own responses and (c) an established professional 'image' and parental confidence. On the other hand the experienced teacher might well ask in exasperation 'How then, are we to teach such accepted areas of curriculum as modern gymnastics, contact sports such as rugby and even handwriting?' if all physical contact is prohibited.

It is probably correct to interpret Anna Freud's 'prohibition' as referring more to day-to-day and moment-to-moment (spontaneous) interpersonal-relational contact, than to the more or less universally accepted teacher-applied contacts necessitated by certain aspects of school curriculum and organisation. In addition to those examples questioned above, these latter areas might range all the way from assisted 'dressing' and lining-up of small infants, to carrying a fallen child off the playground, to manhandling the break-up of an older pupil's group-fight or similar incident. Nevertheless, the potential 'dangers' of physical contact are nowhere more clearly seen than in a physical education field such as **Modern Olympic gymnastics**, as the following indicates.

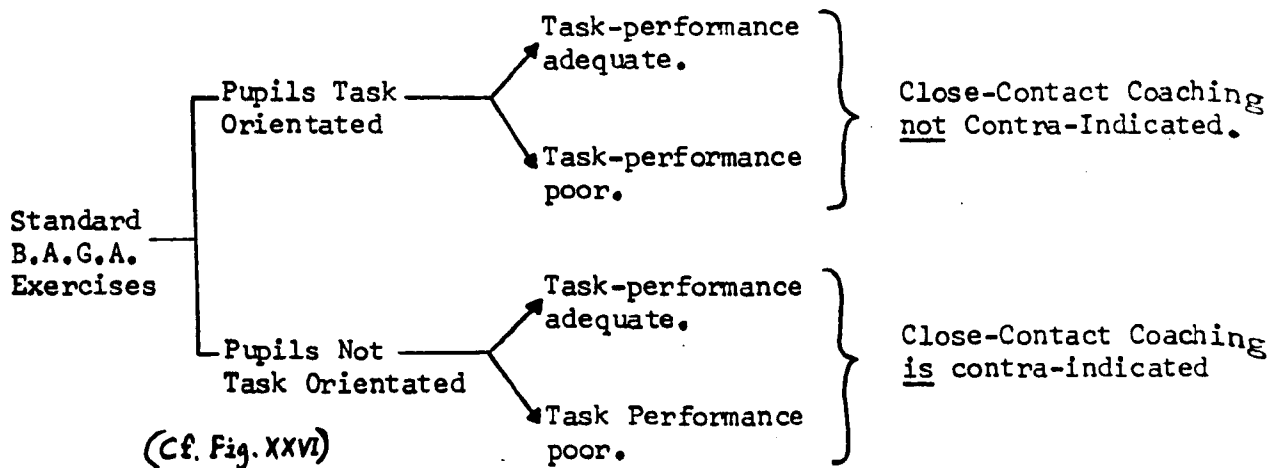
Whilst many Primary schoolchildren can in gymnastics be taken on to an adequate and fulfilling stage of attainment by methods - i.e. verbal and demonstration techniques - involving negligible physical contact with an adult, substantial numbers of other pupils are by no means so easy to cater for. In particular, and in keeping with their immediate task-requirements and 'second-order' (sublimated) task satisfaction, these more advanced pupil-gymnasts demand methods of assistance often requiring much strenuous physical preparation and manipulation of joints and limbs.

GYMNASTICS: A PRELIMINARY APPLICATION OF THE 'METAPSYCHOLOGICAL PROFILE' APPROACH

Over a coaching period of 5-6 years, reliance was placed on the pupil's own motivation and interests to bring forward a self-selected group

requiring more advanced coaching. This group (N=60-70) was composed almost entirely of girls aged 8-11 years, who were initially identified as having passed B.A.G.A. Awards '4' and '3' of the scheme¹ for Primary Schools, and were now preparing for B.A.G.A. Awards '2' and '1'.

It was found that the responses of these pupils to what is here termed 'close-contact-coaching' could be classified into 4 major groups, by use of both educational (task) criteria and criteria provided by the Hampstead Metapsychological (diagnostic) Profile. In each category-group there are important differences in the recommendations for further educational practice (Fig. XXVI). These various indications and advices may be summarised as follows:-



The question of any potential symbolic significance attaching to even the reduced level of physical contact acceptable in certain teaching situations presents an important area of professional concern. Though the issues involved are complex, the above is clearly indicative of the possible value of psychoanalytic-diagnostic criteria in clarifying courses of action for teachers.

¹B.A.G.A. Awards Scheme (British Amateur Gymnastics Association, Slough, Bucks).

FIG. XXVI

Classification of Pupil-Responses to Gymnastics Coaching:
Applied Diagnostic Profile Approach

- A: { PUPIL RESPONSE: task-orientated but poor task-performance; manifests disappointment, opts out of further exercise.
DIAGNOSIS: premature task-selection; lacks reality judgement or has enhanced need of ego-gains.
RECOMMENDATION: return to simpler exercise-gradient; postponement of advanced work; utilise any appropriate teaching methods.
- B: { PUPIL RESPONSE: task-orientated with adequate task-performance; manifests pleasure related to actual attainment.
DIAGNOSIS: optimum task-level; good ego control & reality-sense.
RECOMMENDATION: continue carefully to successive skill-levels; utilise any appropriate teaching methods.
- C: { PUPIL RESPONSE: non task-orientated, poor task-performance; smiling, giggling and other facial behaviours suggest manifest pleasure unrelated to task-attainment.
DIAGNOSIS: inappropriate task-selection; lack of ego-control, permitting undisguised gratification at libidinal-erotic (id) level.
RECOMMENDATION: return to simpler exercise-gradient; postponement of advanced work; avoid close-contact coaching methods.
- D: { PUPIL RESPONSE: partly task-orientated; adequate task-performance, but facial behaviours suggest manifest pleasure unrelated to task-attainment.
DIAGNOSIS: optimal gymnastic skill-level and task-selection, but close-contact coaching has symbolic-libidinal significance; ego reality-sense immature.
RECOMMENDATION: continue to successive skill-levels, but avoid close-contact coaching methods for time being.

It may be pointed out, more generally, that if the school wishes to do full justice to its curriculum obligations then it cannot afford to consider any 'problem of physical contact' wholly from the psychoanalyst's viewpoint. If the school failed to provide a full curriculum, the outerworld might well judge that the general normality and 'average expectable developmental level' of pupils should have induced us to be more professionally 'daring'.

'REAL' RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TEACHER AND TAUGHT

In following up the advice regarding the general inadvisability of physical contact between teachers and pupils, Anna Freud goes on to say that from a viewpoint grounded in psychoanalytic child psychology the teacher "will look at the individual child in terms of his personality structure, i.e. not as a unified being but as a being consisting of several parts"¹. The 'several parts' are of course conceptualised as the three classic agencies of orthodox psychoanalysis, namely the drives, the ego and the superego.

Examples are illustrated which have direct relevance to teachers and normal schooling, e.g. 'surface' remnants of drives are still clearly visible in the average 6 year old's behaviour as shown by thumb-sucking, rocking, masturbation, aggressiveness, showing off, 'dirty' language and interests; the nursery-teacher deals more or less directly with the child's drives whereas the schoolteacher deals largely with the child's ego; the older child, having a more developed super-ego, requires greater scope for self-solution of moral dilemmas.

Despite the excellence of these examples and the demonstrable applicability of the drive-ego-superego 'model' to teaching problems, there is a potential drawback to the above-quoted phrase 'not as a unified being, but

¹Anna Freud (1952b), Writings, IV, p.565.

as a being consisting of several parts'. The danger here is that the incautious, uncaring or otherwise ill-advised teacher may actually relate or attempt to relate to such a 'part-child', and thereby will risk losing or never experiencing the 'real child'. The problem would seem analogous to that of the therapist-child analyst who relates predominantly to the patient's transference aspect, and risks losing the 'real relationship' and perhaps also the 'real' patient-person. The implications here are wide, and would impinge upon the validity of any model of personality which one chose to employ.

From a psychoanalytical standpoint Anna Freud has in fact argued for "the realization that analyst and patient are also two real people ... in a real personal relationship to each other"¹. The subsequent qualification of this and related remarks as being "technically subversive thoughts"¹ has however led some authors to object².

It will be recalled that the question of real versus phantasised relationships formed the discussion-content to the seminar paper delivered at the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic during the present writer's visit there in 1977³. On that occasion, and with a subtlety which probably few could follow in practice, Anna Freud distinguished between a 'real' real-relationship and a 'phantasised' real-relationship. Such delicate distinctions may in themselves become counter-productive, and in the hands of opponents of a different theoretical persuasion could lead to concept assassination. In the absence of any widely-accepted criteria relating to finer distinctions of 'real' and 'phantasised' relationships, it would be difficult to refute further elaboration and reversal of any conceptual status quo.

¹Anna Freud (1954c), Writings, IV, p.373.

²Stone (1975).

³Cf. Chapter 7.

A fuller consideration of these problems from a technical-analytical stance is given by Ralph Greenson¹, who indicates the relevance of the 'total object-relations' views of authors such as Ronald Fairbairn and Leo Stone.

My own view is that the teacher should not ignore even such markedly provisional conceptual models as are discussed above, particularly when these theoretical ideas promise application to the central area of concern subsumed under the heading 'teacher-pupil interpersonal relations'. After any concept-analysis however, we should strive to regain a fuller synthesis. More than that, we should seek never to lose contact with that complex synthesis we term 'the person', even though with childhood we must acknowledge that the synthesis within the individual is as yet incomplete and possesses aspects of transitoriness. Our criteria do not as yet exist to enable us to define further or to offer greater precision. In the personal-relational sense teaching probably as yet remains an art rather than science, and the teacher needs to develop sensitivity, aesthetic and personal qualities, in addition to enhancing intellectual strategies and augmenting reproducible professional knowledge.

In suggesting that the Primary schoolchild presents a 'real person' as the fundamental focus of our educational efforts we enter the realm of educational philosophy. The views maintained here are quite possibly incompatible with the model offered by classical-orthodox psychoanalysis, though less so with the conceptually richer 'object-relations' theories of personality and social interaction. On this particular issue the present study perhaps leans more to the spirit of Martin Buber's 'I and

¹Greenson (1971).

thou'¹ than to the letter of Freud's 'drives-ego-superego' . A 'real relationship' approach will naturally reduce the professional 'distance' between teacher and taught, and thereby bring greater emotional-social difficulties to all. The teacher therefore must look carefully at his own emotional and social vulnerability.

ADDENDA: SCHOOL PHOBIA & OTHER 'FAILURES'

The notion of 'inhibition' is very old in psychoanalysis, and gave rise to many observations on learning failures, on intellectual conditions of 'imbecility', 'pseudoimbecility' and so on and the school phobias and similar conditions. Anna Freud early distinguished 'ego restriction' from ego inhibition², and has more recently shown a thorough grasp of the accumulated literature in the area of learning problems³.

A number of the more important contributions in this area have made use of Anna Freud's concepts and innovations⁴, whilst colleagues of Anna Freud's at Hampstead have also made independent contributions of their own⁵. Most recently, the Hampstead Diagnostic Profile has been employed to illustrate and differentially diagnose apparently similar cases of school phobia⁶.

¹Buber, M., (1937), I and Thou, Edinburgh & New York.

²Anna Freud (1936a).

³Anna Freud (1975c).

⁴Blanchard (1946), E. Klein (1949), Pearson (1952), Rosen (1955), Buxbaum (1964), Sperling (1964), Newman et al. (1973).

⁵Hellman (1954), Berger & Kennedy (1975).

⁶Hayman (1978).

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 10

1. Anna Freud has contributed to Education (a) as a schoolteacher, (b) as a training-analyst and curriculum organiser and lecturer, (c) as a developmental psychologist. The contributions derived from (c) offer the most valuable help to latter-day Primary specialists.
2. The super-ego concept in Freud's revised structural theory was from the 1920's onwards shown to be a valuable ally to teachers in their dealings with the child. This was particularly the case in situations requiring the judicious use of authority and discipline.
3. The super-ego concept was rejected both in theory and in practice by certain educators, and anarchical educational situations resulted.
4. The 'general process of education' is viewed as being best served by a 'middle road' approach, which effects a balance between the child's biological nature and the needs of the socio-cultural environment. The pragmatic psychoanalytical grounds for such a view are closely aligned with a particular stream of moderate educational philosophy.
5. The 'new education' provided by psychoanalytic thinking in the 1930's was useful to educators by (a) offering criticism of existing method, (b) offering insight into teacher-pupil relations based as these are upon earlier parent-child models, (c) offering therapeutic 'repair' to children deemed in need.
More recent analytic contributions were identified as stemming from (i) a thorough-going developmental theory (cf. Chapter 9), (ii) a multi-stage 'model' of thinking processes (cf. Chapter 12) and (iii) a detailed coverage of educational 'pathology' (cf. note 14, this Summary).
6. Attention was drawn to the particular efficacy of the small, vertically-streamed school as a source of observation and study in both individual and group dynamics.

7. Freud's later work on anxiety was shown by Anna Freud to have definite application to 'free-choice' learning situations. The pupil may in certain circumstances be motivated by fear of anxiety, rather than by the positive appeal of curricular materials.
8. Other instances of the educational manifestations and 'uses' of anxiety are considered.

9. Attention was drawn to Anna Freud's great clarification of applied (educational) psychoanalysis into 4 major chronological phases.

These were:-

- I: Phase of sexual enlightenment.
- II: Phase of consideration for conflict, conscience, anxiety.
- III: Phase of freedom for aggression.
- IV: Phase of mother-infant relationship predominance.

A fifth and recent phase was here suggested as being discernable, and was termed 'Phase of dominance of a thorough-going developmental theory and model of mind'.

It is now also noted that the above-phases may be further and more generally characterised as reflecting a predominance of:-

↓	(c.1905)		A: Trieb (Drive) Psychology	...		(Phase I)
↓	(c.1925)		B: Ego Psychology	...		(Phases II & III)
↓	(c.1945)		C: Object-Relations Psychology	...		(Phases IV & V)

10. An attempt was made to align Infant School practices with wartime and subsequent work on evacuee-children and mother-substitutes.
11. The recent 'widening scope of psychoanalysis' has from the 1950's identified new areas of application and interest to teachers and also renewed some older arguments. Included here were discussions of (a) the definition of education, (b) the kinds of psychology and particularly the areas of psychoanalysis of most relevance to teachers, (c) the question of the 'training in analysis' of teachers.
12. Alternatives to the psychoanalysing of teachers were listed and briefly discussed. All were held to be of enduring potential validity.

13. Detailed observational data and discussion were presented on certain poorly-researched areas which it is felt become more amenable to insightful study with the application of recent child analysis concepts and theories. Topics covered included:-
- (a) the role of teachers,
 - (b) the various inter-relational 'sets' between teacher and pupils,
 - (c) the question of emotional involvement and physical contact between teachers and pupils,
 - (d) application of metapsychological diagnoses to educational prognoses in a specific curriculum area (gymnastics and physical education),
 - (e) the question of a 'real' relationship between teacher and pupil,
 - (f) educational philosophy in 'personal' or 'professional' frameworks. Whether these two are necessarily dissonant remains unanswered.
14. An 'addenda' briefly indicates the wealth of psychoanalytic work available on such aspects of schooling as school phobia, backwardness and pseudobackwardness, differential diagnoses and so forth.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SUBLIMATION-NEUTRALISATION VERSUS EGO REGRESSION:

A NEW LOOK AT AN OLD PROBLEM

THE PROBLEM AND A FALSE DETOUR BY STUDENT-TEACHERS

To noviciate student-teachers in training the great problem on their professional horizon assumes very different shape and form when compared both before and after the 'baptism of fire' lightly referred to as 'first teaching practice'.

Prior to actual experience of facing alone one's first class of children the professional concern of greatest moment is seen as the need to develop expertise in curricular material and method. In other words, the intending teacher needs to know with confidence that he or she has marshalled an available repertoire of 'things to teach'. To this end and particularly in the case of the average non-specialist Primary teacher, short courses by all departments of the colleges are avidly attended, and usually take in Art-Craft, Science, Geography, History, R.E., English or their variants. Much time and effort are also spent in the manufacture and systematisation of work-cards, visual-aids and untried specimen lesson-plans, whilst potentially-useful paraphernalia of all kinds is eagerly amassed. Matchboxes, tea-cards, pressed flowers, magazine pictures, books of poems, famous people, inventions and so forth were just a few of the materials gathered by this particular student.

Great peace of mind then befalls the as yet uninitiated student-teacher when, by dint of herculean labour, he is finally satisfied that now he can teach because now he has something ready to teach. All that remains is to be brought into the presence of some fortunate class of pupils.

Thus prepared, the expectant novice proceeds to the 'first teaching practice'. At this point, and unless one is extremely unfortunate, the rude shock of this primal encounter with a class of school-children will ensure that nothing will ever again be quite the same in the manner with which children are approached as objects of our teaching efforts. For children are simply not the passive-receptive audience we deceived ourselves into expecting them to be. The idol of curriculum-orientation lies shattered. Can it be replaced?

THE PROBLEM RESTATED AFTER FIRST TEACHING-PRACTICE

Following experiences such as those indicated above the student-teacher is forced to re-assess his professional priorities, if not indeed the actual choice of vocation. Since it is now realised one cannot teach anything to children who refuse to be quiet, attentive and generally positive in attitude, the new problem becomes that of motivation and work organisation, of discipline and personal relations, of the child as an INDIVIDUAL rather than merely a member of a class.

In the language of educational philosophy the problem is that of the dilemma between 'child-centred and subject-centred' teaching; of 'permissive -versus- restrictive' educational practices; of 'freedom and authority'¹ in school; of encouragement versus coercion and of polarisation -versus- mutual accommodation of all these alternatives.

In the language of everyday experience it is the problem of what to do about the child's spontaneous expression - particularly of aggressive and negative kinds - before being able effectively to present prepared curricular material and work strategies.

In the language of psychoanalysis it is the problem of the child's instinctual drives and wishes versus his ego-syntonic attitudes and socialised behaviours.

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This dilemma which faces the contemporary student-teacher has been well-known to educators throughout the centuries. Indeed, the enduring quality of the social-educational problem is further indication - if any were needed - of the enduring (i.e. psycho-biological and instinctual) source of the difficulties encountered in teaching children.

Fortunately for us great artists have on occasion captured classroom scenes from earlier centuries. A convenient collection of some of these art-works is available under the auspices of UNESCO, and this forms the

¹Bantock, G. H., (1952). Freedom and Authority in Education, London, Faber.

library source for the following observations¹.

Peter Breughel the Elder's 'A Donkey at School' painted in Belgium in 1556 (op. cit. Plate 14), and Albert Anker's 'The Village School' painted in Europe in 1896 (op. cit. Fig 20b) both show identical situations separated by three and a half centuries. In each one there is a central, authoritative, cane-wielding adult attempting by coercive means to gain the attention of a large class of pupils. All around, meanwhile, are the varied responses of individual children - some cowed and intimidated, some bored and distracted, some rebellious and defiant - and far from having any homogeneity, still less a purposeful heterogeneity, these scenes are inevitably chaotic and educationally subversive. They graphically symbolise the arrogance and peculiar tyranny of those who attempt to teach solely on the basis of what they themselves have learned and intend to dispense to others irrespectively.

Alphonse Legro's 'The Geography Lesson' (op. cit. Fig. 20c) from the late 19th century, depicts a small group of seven children clustered about a large central globe and their teacher. The atmosphere is "warm and personal", and the female teacher radiates an aura of intense dedication to her subject. Nevertheless, even here close inspection reveals that "the pupil's interest is as diffused as it could be in any other classroom". Three girls are gazing into far distances, the boy nearest the mistress is looking up at her in a manner which suggests that he sees her as a woman rather than as an academic, and only one of the seven is actually concentrating upon the teacher's hands on the globe.

In complete contrast to the above we find a number of art-works depicting what is undoubtedly the ideal teaching situation, involving a one-to-one relationship of complete trust and wholehearted absorption in the subject of study. Four in particular deserve close scrutiny: a Roman fresco

¹Man Through His Art, Vol.4, 'Education'. Unesco-Paris and Educational Productions Ltd., London 1966.

painting of the 1st-century B.C. depicting a mother instructing her young daughter in the reading of ritual texts (op. cit. Plate 2); an early 16th century stone sculpture from France, 'St. Anne Teaching the Virgin' (op. cit. Plate 13 and Figs. 13a, b) depicting a young child studying the psalter at the side of an older woman; Jacques de Gheyn II's early 17th century drawing from Holland showing 'Mother and Child' intent upon a picture-book (op. cit. Plate 16); and Renoir's study in oils c.1888, of 'A Child Drawing' (op. cit. Plate 20), which portrays a small boy "completely engrossed in the patterns he is creating for himself".

To the extent that teachers can approach the individual-orientated learning situations alluded to in the description of these last four art-works, to that extent will they best harness the energies and interests of their pupils. Teaching thus becomes, ideally, a relationship in which "the child is taught through the engagement of its own interests by a teacher sensitive and sympathetic to the nature of the individual mind"¹.

Large classes and groups clearly present their own problems in this respect, though a study of so-called 'modern teaching methods' can assist the beginner. Other difficulties stem from the very nature of the child's 'individual mind', and it is to this that we now return in order to assess the contribution of child psychoanalysis.

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND THE 'PROBLEMATIC ID'

As a psychology of human motivation and behaviour, psychoanalysis began with a theory of unconscious instinctual drive-forces². For his age, laden down with restrictive social attitudes and individual repressions, we can with hindsight see that for many Freud represented - as did in

¹Man Through His Art, Vol.4, op. cit., p.62, Unesco (Paris & London).

²Freud (1900A), Chap. VII.

their own way the 'Fauves' such as Matisse in the world of painting - an avant garde which held out the promise of a new look, a new hearing not only for the more individual but also for the more 'natural', the biologically-closer, the less culturally-refined and even the more immediate and cruder aspects of human personality and behaviour.

For the present purpose the central concept of this early psychoanalytic approach is taken to be Freud's use of 'instinctual impulse' or 'instinctual drive' (Ger. 'Trieb'). It is characteristic of 'Trieb' that it is "a powerful, striving, imperative force within a living organism"¹. Such forces are the impulsive source behind all the 'unwanted', uncontrolled or unrefined outbursts and behaviours which children can and do manifest in school situations.

The great problem, in both the philosophical and practical senses for the teacher, is the enduring quality of these biological drive-forces underlying all later structural levels of psychological and social (inter-personal) functioning. Freud himself stated the matter most succinctly, pointing at the same time to the poor efficacy of repression as one widely employed 'remedy':-

... "the repressed instinctual impulse never ceases to strive for complete satisfaction, which would consist in the repetition of a primary experience of satisfaction. No substitute or reaction formations, nor sublimations will suffice to remove the repressed instinctual impulse's persisting tension"².

Subsequently, and following the emergence of psychoanalytic 'structural theory' in the 1920's, that part of the personality which contains the instinctual drive-forces became known as the 'Id'. It is characteristic

¹Edelberg, L., (1968), Encyclopaedia of Psychoanalysis, p.197, Collier-MacMillan, London.

²Freud (1920G), p.56.

of the 'Id' that its manifestations, in addition to the enduring, imperative, striving quality emphasised above, are marked by illogic, timelessness and lack of general conscious quality; are dictated by the 'pleasure principle' rather than the 'reality principle'; and operate via such 'primary processes' as reversal, condensation and generalised displacement.

This then is the 'problematic Id' confronting childhood educators and schoolteachers. Its properties clearly place it in opposition to the best efforts of the school. Its energies apparently persist as long as the organism continues to function. Most importantly, both theory and practice lead us to the conclusion that the 'Id' is refractory to many of our teaching media and educational tools - such as logic, demonstration, rationalisation and verbalisation, external conformity and compromise. The hopeful suggestion is held out that the refractoriness of the Id is less evident in the face of deflection, sublimation and indirect ego-mediated approaches.

The attitude and policy of society when faced with the 'problematic Id' in whatever form it is described has - with a small number of outstanding exceptions - been to mobilise coercive discipline and repressive restrictions. More recently, since circa 1920, an avant garde of progressive and liberal philosophers and teachers has recommended and practised forms of schooling which are both tolerant and encouraging to the manifest expression of the content of the child's Id, and it is to these that we now direct a critical look.

EXPRESSIONISM IN MODERN EDUCATION. A PHILOSOPHY OF EXCESS?

According to the influential and well-informed Plowden Committee of the late 1960's, the progressive educational thinkers of the 18th and 19th centuries - writers such as Rousseau (1712-1778), Pestalozzi (1746-1827) and Froebel (1782-1852) - exercised only a limited and indirect influence

upon general teaching styles in schools¹. In the 20th century the progressive - in some cases almost libertine - educationalists who first attempted to rationalise the use of early psychoanalytic ideas - workers such as Lane, Neill, Russell, Pyke and others in England, and Bernfeld, Hoffer and others in Austria² - had still to face great testing times and disappointments. What is suggested here is that the child's 'problematic Id' lay at the root of the differing troubles of all these educational philosophies, and largely explains the 'cool' or even hostile attitude of other sections of society when presented with strongly 'child centred' notions and theories.

If we take as the over-riding criterion of these various 'progressive' approaches the fact that the children were involved in situations where they "acted on impulse with the teacher indirectly suggesting what they should do"³, then it is indeed a relatively simple matter to formulate a damaging critique of the teaching methods presumed to be in vogue.

Thus, teaching approaches which actively encourage the child in the direct expression of undisguised Id-material appear to have accepted as their principal rationale the following 'equations':

A: Expression = Educational Progress = Good Practice

B: Repression = Lack of Progress = Poor Practice

It is undoubtedly to the credit of such a view that it recognises the dangers and poor educational efficacy of repression, and of those social-educational paradigms complementing repression proper. On the other hand Id-expression itself is an unpredictable and dubious ally, and to court it runs the risk of failing to recognise also the validity

¹Children and Their Primary Schools: Report of The Central Advisory Council for Education (England), Vol.1, Sectn.510. London, H.M.S.O., 1967.

²Cf. Chapter 2.

³Armytage (1975b), Pt.II, p.323.

of the following equations:-

C: Expression = Gratification of Impulse

D: Gratification = Danger of Fixation and Rejection of
Further Development/Progress

Additionally of course, and particularly in the case of aggressive impulses, such gratification (expression) may lead to all manner of destructive and controversial or unacceptable social consequences.

A classic example of the above danger is neatly illustrated by a boy described by both Aichhorn and Anna Freud, who from his sixth year was permitted the immediate gratification of every sexual wish - including coitus with his mother! His development was thereby stunted and fixated, since "By the actual fulfillment of his childhood wishes he was saved the necessity of traversing the whole laborious path towards adulthood"¹.

A further example from Anna Freud's early case-material is the six year old obsessional girl patient, who on being allowed to openly express her anal interests at home thereupon ceased to make any further progress or contribution in her analytical hour². This latter case is especially valuable as it also illustrates a further intervention by the analyst, who actively prohibited the unwelcome Id-expression then being indulged in at home. This later intervention resulted in a rapid resumption of therapeutic (re-educational) work in the prescribed analytical hour.

Psychoanalytic observations such as those described above seem to concur well with statements by psychologists of differing theoretical background. Maslow³, for example, notes that "gratified needs are not active motivators". More pertinently, and citing Anna Freud's work closely,

¹'Short-circuiting' of development; Anna Freud (1930a), Writings, I, pp. 127-128.

²Anna Freud (1927a), Writings, I, pp.62-64.

³A. H. Maslow, (1943), 'A theory of human motivation', Psychol. Rev. 50, 370.

James Anthony sees the school disciplinary failures of A. S. Neill - whose approach was "more appropriate to pathology, therapy and the clinic than to normal schools and children"¹ - as resulting from the out-of-context use of piecemeal psychoanalytic ideas, the failure to emphasise the ego as the central, reasoning mediator and the failure to solve the problem of producing a 'free child' who was still lovable. As Anna Freud herself had earlier noted when reviewing the fate of certain of the major 'phases of application'² of psychoanalysis to education, "children with their aggression and destructiveness let loose were less lovable as human beings than they had been before"³.

UNACCEPTABILITY OF EGO-REGRESSION IN TEACHING SITUATIONS

A further damaging and educationally-relevant criticism of any 'philosophy of excessive expressionism' may now be put forward. An earlier section (Chapter 9) noted the crucial importance to educators of that part of the developing child known as the ego, and further the significance and negative quality for normal school situations of regression in ego functioning. In terms of the critique being discussed here it is now suggested that where the child is allowed to directly express Id-material, ego function inevitably suffers a regression - "where the Id is in expression, there the ego is in regression" would seem to neatly present the reverse of the freudian dictum regarding the positive course of mental development⁴. A similar and deleterious situation may be presumed to exist when the ego is subject to excess super-ego demands. In both instances processes of reasoning, insight into structured tasks, and problem-solving abilities generally - much of what we hold to be the child's educational requirement - would be severely hampered or obliterated.

¹Anthony (1969).

²Cf. Chapter 10.

³Writings, V, p.274.

⁴"Where Id was, there ego shall be", Freud (1933A), Lect. XXXI.

As an educational argument the above is naturally implicit in most of Anna Freud's work as an ego psychologist, and most particularly in her major post-war publication on childhood development¹.

The over-riding importance of the ego, to which we as teachers address ourselves in virtually all communication with the child, suggests that regression of the ego is in all instances unwelcome and unacceptable in school-based learning situations. Inevitably the school will, in meeting its accepted wider role, encounter childhood regressions e.g. in accidents, illnesses and such anxiety-provoking situations as occasionally arise alongside of learning proper (such as visits by the school dentist!). These latter regressions will require a provisional degree of acceptance and sympathy. What will remain as educationally unacceptable however is any regressive phenomenon which is judged inappropriate or non-'age-adequate'.

Certain psychoanalytically-based therapies, such as those associated with Michael Balint, D. W. Winnicott and Guntrip, have employed when necessary a form of 'regression in the service of the ego' as a short-term goal. One may enquire however as to where and how in schools one could provide the privacy, security and one-to-one relationship which are essential for such a technique, even if valid? Moreover, the teacher would then be dangerously close to assuming a therapeutic-contrainformational role, and as noted earlier² Anna Freud has largely refuted the validity of any such therapeutic role for teachers.

Most recently, and basing his views upon illuminating observations made in the remedial class of a London comprehensive school's fifth form, the analytic-educational adviser of the Hampstead Clinic has argued for at least a partial acceptance or "allowance for regression"³ in the special arrangements made for small units of disturbed and

¹Anna Freud (1965a); also (1963b).

²See: Chapter 10.

³Wilson (1978).

disruptive adolescents. No doubt other 'special instances' could be adduced for including regression in the overall psychology of education, though the phases on either side of the Primary School age-range seem particularly open to such 'wider applications'.

It is suggested that the above several considerations amply demonstrate the inadmissibility of any favouring of the child's id compared to the child's ego. Any educational philosophy of approach based upon expressionism is thus refuted.

If as teachers we cannot trust the use of repression, nor accept the regressive or anti-social aspects of unrestrained expression, what then does our 'middle way' ideally consist of?

SUBLIMATION & NEUTRALISATION: AN EGO-DIRECTED ALTERNATIVE

In her very first analytical contribution Anna Freud presented as part of her case-material a clear illustration of the then-current concept of 'sublimation'. A young adolescent girl's beating phantasy (Schlagephantasie), representing gratification of her sexual drives, was contrasted with her creative literary productions or 'nice stories', which latter¹ represented a form of gratification of what Freud had earlier referred to as the 'aim-inhibited drives'. By means of this adolescent girl's 'nice stories' the analyst was able to detect in her patient "the sublimation of sensual love into tender friendship"(ibid).

In Anna Freud's 'technical lectures to child analysts'² it is clear that sublimation is the third method - perhaps also the most elusive method - by which the infantile sexual impulses are commonly dealt with³. The small child is, under the best circumstances, captivated by 'related pleasures', by 'substituting' sand and water play for bodily products and so forth:

¹Writings, I, p.153; Anna Freud (1922a).

²Anna Freud (1927a).

³The two other major methods being 'repression' and 'gratification', ibid, Lecture 4, in Writings, I, p.60.

... "In each of these socially approved and often useful activities, the child enjoys some portion of the pleasure originally experienced. To this refinement of an impulse, and its deflection to a more highly valued aim, psychoanalysis has given the name of sublimation"¹.

Anna Freud provides a number of further examples of school-based sublimations and 'deflections' to more highly-valued aims, as with the transformations of sexual curiosity into love of learning in letters and numbers². Elsewhere the same author advocates educational practices such as those developed by the English inspector of schools J. C. Hill (b.1888), who with the aid of psychoanalytic insight transformed history, geography, chemistry and so on "from formal subjects into food for the insatiable curiosity of the young child"³.

Clinical evidence early suggested that the child's sublimations, together with the repressions and reaction-formations entailed in the normal child-upbringing process (kindererziehung), "are paid for at the price of (the child's) originality and spontaneity"⁴. Sublimation, in the general course of development, is a 'middle road' to healthy growth of mind and concepts, an acceptable outlet lying mid-way between the dual extremes of on the one hand unrestrained expression, and on the other hand complete repression of expression. As regards a reduction in spontaneity and originality due to the defensive activity undertaken by the child's ego, this would appear to have some experimental corroboration as indicated by reduced originality scores obtained by children after 4-5 years of age⁵, i.e. after the important defensive 'learning' and ego modifications of the 'oedipal phase' or thereabouts.

¹Anna Freud (1930a, Lect 3), Writings, I, p.108.

²Writings, I, p.111.

³Anna Freud (1944a), Writings, III, p.621.

⁴Anna Freud (1930a), Writings, I, p.112.

⁵Andrews, E.G., (1930), The development of imagination in the pre-school child, Univ. Iowa Studies in Character, 3, (4). Cf. E. P. Torrance's 'fourth-grade slump' in originality around nine years of age.

In 'The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence' sublimation is listed as the tenth in a series of ego defence-mechanisms, and one "which pertains rather to the study of the normal than to that of neurosis"¹. Chronologically speaking (i.e. ontogenetically) sublimation manifests itself relatively late in development when compared to projection or introjection. Like repression it pre-supposes the existence of the super-ego, together with a knowledge of the 'higher' social values which provide the pressure for drive deflection². Further insight into the metapsychological aspects of sublimation occurs in the concluding pages of 'The Ego & The Mechanisms of Defence', where it is pointed out that in the modification of instinctual processes the particular characteristics of the instinctual process play a contributory part, and "the readiness with which such processes can be displaced assists the mechanism of sublimation"³. Augusta Alpert⁴ has criticised the generally poor coverage of the topic of sublimation in psychoanalytic literature, including Anna Freud's defence mechanisms book. Alpert does however view the discussion of defences such as 'altruistic renunciation' and 'intellectualization' as overlapping the sublimation topic proper.

On 30th June 1939 Anna Freud presented a lecture, not published at the time, entitled 'Sublimation and sexualisation'⁵. Some years later, and illustrating the importance of this general topic, a further short paper was published on 'Sublimation as a factor in upbringing'⁶. In

¹ Anna Freud (1936a), Writings, II, p.44.

² *ibid.*, p.52.

³ Writings, II, p.175.

⁴ Alpert (1949).

⁵ 'Report of the British Psa. Society', Journal, (1940), Vol.21.

⁶ Anna Freud (1948a).

the latter communication - appropriately made available through the pages of the Health Education Journal - it was pointed out to what extent the young infant is at the mercy of his powerful drives. Without an ever-present parental help the child cannot cope with the insatiable demands of the instinctual strivings. The attitude and response of the child's 'mothering person(s)' is now seen to be crucial to his development of sublimation and other ego-mediated processes.

The parental dilemma of whether to offer the very young child 'self-regulation' or 'educational guidance' is solved by Anna Freud on the basis of discrimination of instinctual drives. Thus, evidence from close observation showed that where EATING was concerned most infants are quite capable of exercising self-regulation in the face of freedom of choice; and postponement of bowel-training to the second year of life had similar beneficial results for sphincter regulation and control¹. With the infantile SEXUAL and AGGRESSIVE drives however, these were found to be "in a high degree pliable and ready to accept substitute satisfactions where the original aim of the instinct is out of reach", (ibid). Educational guidance in its widest sense is thus indicated.

As examples of the latter substitutive process Anna Freud¹ notes the following transformations - anal smearing into clay modelling and painting; sexual exhibitionism into acting, dancing and demonstration of intellectual skills; sexual curiosity into a general attitude of 'wanting to know'; aggression into hammering, cutting and, as further developments, into constructive rather than destructive uses; and self assertion against others into struggles against the dangers and obstacles of life.

Whilst from an id-viewpoint sublimation implies a loss of pleasure, from an ego and social standpoint there are definite gains. Behaviours

¹Anna Freud (1948a).

become socially adapted; scope of interests widens; otherwise dull tasks assume aspects of fascination and enhanced interest, since sublimation permits a partial gratification by means of the displaced (i.e. not totally prohibited) aim¹; and the child's work capacity and functional intelligence² are thereby enhanced³.

It is Anna Freud's view³ that both constitutional factors and environmental experiences limit the individual's capacity for sublimation. In the educational sphere we may only offer appropriate opportunities at appropriate times - as Margaret Harries⁴ agrees - so that whatever potential for sublimation exists in the child may undergo optimal development. It follows that "No individual should ever be expected to be able to sublimate all his instinctual wishes"³, and life without any direct gratification is probably not compatible with mental health.

The educational implications of this would suggest that teachers should (a) encourage sublimated forms of expression ('refined expression') and the ego growth associated with this, (b) permit certain only child-specific and situation-specific forms of more direct gratification, though the home and other out-of-school contexts may reasonably be expected to offer the child more indulgence here, (c) employ multi-dimensional (inter-sensory) and widely varying teaching techniques and learning situations, to permit the widest possible range of sublimations to all of our varying pupils. These recommendations would appear to be particularly well suited to modern Primary School practice.

Elsewhere, and in a manner entirely lacking in 'Kleinian' approaches to the child, Anna Freud again valuably emphasises the powerful influence of parental affection in encouraging the child and supporting him in

¹Anna Freud (1948a). A similar point is made elsewhere: (1947b), Writings, IV, p.475.

²Presumably 'actual intelligence' (Hebb's 'intelligence B') as opposed to inherited potential (Hebb's 'intelligence A').

³Anna Freud (1948a).

⁴Harries (1952).

the sacrifices entailed in renouncing direct gratification¹. The parents, or 'mothering persons', are thus assuming the role of a 'psychic shield' between the developing child's ego and the external environment (Cf. Chapter 12).

During the late 1940's the theme of sublimation also figured in several of Anna Freud's major clinical contributions. It was shown how the transformation of destructive aggression to constructive aggressive forces takes place by means of fusion with the erotic (libidinal) impulses². Conversely such fusion and sublimation may be absent, as indicated in the development of delinquents³.

In a wide-ranging survey of the interactions between psychoanalysis and genetic psychology⁴, we find Anna Freud illustrating and dismissing misconceptions concerning 'sublimation' held by certain academic and experimental psychologists. Thus, one experimenter⁵ found evidence against a supposed concept of "sublimation" on the grounds that the 40 subjects - all intellectually gifted and aesthetically superior males - nevertheless resorted habitually to direct genital masturbation. Anna Freud points out that the experimenter in question has misunderstood, and indeed disregarded, the concept of sublimation as understood and defined by psychoanalysis. The latter discipline had never sought to connect sublimation with the asexuality expected by the experimenter, and the drives which contribute most to sublimation "are not the genital sex urge, but its primitive infantile pregenital components, which are for the most part excluded from fulfillment when normal adult genitality

¹Anna Freud (1946b).

²Anna Freud (1949g), Writings, IV, p.73.

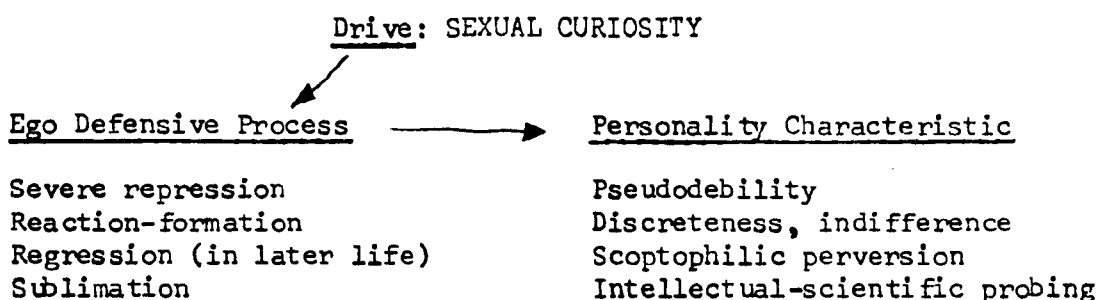
³Anna Freud (1949a).

⁴Anna Freud (1951a).

⁵Taylor, W. S., (1933), 'A critique of sublimation in males: a study of 40 superior men', Genet. Psychol. Monogr., 13, No.1, 115.

has set in"¹.

An illuminating comparison may be made between the mere displacement and the actual sublimation of drives. Using as material the example of oral wishes and impulses, Anna Freud notes that these may be "merely displaced from their crude original aims to a special interest in activities such as eating, kissing and smoking"², or they may be more completely sublimated into "thirst" for knowledge, "voraciousness" in reading and so forth (ibid). Similar instances are given for other drives, which produce varied personality characteristics depending upon which ego defensive process has interacted with them. The following possible outcomes are noted for sexual curiosity for example³ -



NEUTRALISATION

Increasingly, from the early 1950's onwards, the psychoanalytic concept of sublimation was powerfully augmented by Heinz Hartmann's ideas on the 'neutralisation of instinctual energy'. Anna Freud in particular found Hartmann's ideas on "a change from instinctual to neutralised cathexis" in object relations the more far-reaching of the then current assumptions

¹Anna Freud (1951a).

²Writings, IV, p.132.

³ibid., p.133.

newly-emerged in psychoanalysis¹. Later, in a tribute written for Hartmann, Anna Freud would point out that "His work on sublimation and neutralisation of sex and aggression added the dimension of qualitative energy change to that of displacement of aim"².

In an important memorial lecture in honour of Hartmann's associate Ernst Kris, Anna Freud further touched upon the metapsychological refinement of the sublimation concept, noted the deep involvement of Kris in sublimation problems and pointed out that Hartmann and Kris together share the recognition for the modern concept of 'neutralisation of energy' which is now implicit in the theory of sublimation³.

From the point of view of educationists the implications of the concept of neutralisation are positive and beneficial. In terms of ego-function for example the following positive change becomes evident. Under the earlier theory of simple drive displacement the ego could be envisaged as still being dominated ('flooded') by instinctual energy, whereas with the later refinement of qualitative energy change - desexualisation and neutralisation of libido for example - it is increasingly plausible to visualise the undisturbed on-going maintenance of higher-order ego-syntonic processes. To put the matter otherwise, a change in energy status as described "places the activity maintained by it under the domination of the ego"⁴ rather than vice-versa.

Further metapsychological refinements have been theorised on⁴, such as Hartmann's 'reservoir' of neutralised energy permanently available to the ego and Kris's 'flux' of transitorily-experienced displaced drive-forces. It is however difficult at the present time to translate these

¹Anna Freud (1952e).

²Anna Freud (1965g).

³Anna Freud (1958a).

⁴Writings, V, p.123.

into educationally relevant ideas.

The case of N.W. usefully illustrates the main aspects of the psycho-analytic concept of sublimation in its educational, school-based application.

N.W., now in her eleventh year, has been a pupil at the present writer's school since the age of five. Taller than average, extrovert and advantaged both in natural looks and social dress, N.W. tended always to stand out visually from her peers. In addition to this however N.W.'s most prominent characteristic is her exhibitionism.

N.W. first came prominently to this author's attention during her sixth or seventh year whilst taking part in an Infant Department choral service. N.W. and one other infant girl came forward to sing a duet, and the second child serves usefully as a 'control' against which to assess N.W.'s behaviour. Whereas N.W.'s small companion showed both in her facial behaviour and overall stance the effort and concentration required to meet the requirements of their joint-singing role, N.W. by contrast was unable to prevent her exhibitionism from completely swamping her contribution to the duet. Beginning from an appearance of 'shyness' with small sideways glances, N.W. rapidly 'blossomed' in the attention she was receiving, developed a huge smile which persisted throughout the activity, glanced regularly across the whole span of her audience, and showed clearly in her mouth movements that she was no longer singing particular words - and certainly not the words her companion was singing - but was rather simply 'crooning' in harmony whilst her ego-concentration was submerged by manifest drive-gratification.

Observation of N.W. was facilitated over the ensuing years by the fortunate chance that movements of child and teacher within the school coincided, and during N.W.'s 8th-9th year and 10th-11th year she was taught full-time by the present writer. During this period of some 4 to 5 years it was possible to witness the gradual development ('sublimation') of N.W.'s exhibitionism, from forms directly and simply involving personal

gratification to more sublimated and ego-directed forms of greater social value. In particular, her delight in bodily exhibitionism and dress manipulation became transformed into a great interest in all dramatic arts and related activities, including the accumulation of an extensive and extremely useful theatrical wardrobe. At present this sublimated interest appears to be in process of further refinement, to an interest in serving the needs of others. To this end N.W. has on occasion made items of her costume collection available to others in her class who were having difficulty obtaining reasonable garments. Such actions by N.W. are accompanied by much enthusiasm and pleasure, and she will take great pains over assisting others to make-up ('display').

Whereas at a younger age N.W. developed a habit of making 'dramatic entrances' into the classroom ('acting out'), the slightly older N.W. seems to be satisfied with humorous reminders and jokes concerning her previous behaviour, and has not in the past year been noticed to revert to much exhibitionistic acting out.

In general N.W.'s development illustrates first a direct gratification through a bodily channel, with this then increasingly being controlled and transformed by adequate ego development. What now meets the eye is a cultured bodily expression, largely devoid of overt selfish gratification and increasingly becoming available for socially useful and altruistic purposes. As such, this child may be said to demonstrate much of what it is felt is reasonable to expect the individual to achieve in terms of the 'middle way' of education and personal development being essayed here.

THE CURRENT SYNTHETIC VIEWPOINT

Shortly after having delivered her important Ernst Kris Memorial Lecture in 1957, and during the same U.S. lecture tour, Anna Freud cautioned educators against a too single-minded application of sublimation concepts or indeed of any other psychoanalytic data¹. The sublimation work must be

¹Anna Freud (1960e).

harnessed to developmental ideas, particularly insofar as these concern the progressions from play to work and from 'pleasure principle' to 'reality principle'. Only by this "integration of the knowledge of sublimation with the more intricate knowledge of mental functioning at the various stages of development"¹ will the schools receive the full benefit of modern psychoanalysis in its educational applications. The important and readable study of sublimation in schools by the analyst-educator Lili Peller² may also be noted at this point.

The present study has presented the essential historical and biographical background (Chapters 2 to 7) necessary for an understanding and appreciation of our subject's contributions to ego processes (Chapter 8), to developmental stages (Chapter 9) and educational applications (Chapters 10 and 11). In this way it has been possible - at least in partial form - to follow Anna Freud's own edict that the utilisation of psychoanalytic data should not be piecemeal, but should rather proceed in a multiple-integrative fashion in keeping with wider analytic theory. The modern psychoanalytic educational field - particularly insofar as this has Anna Freud as its chief representative - has certainly demonstrated just such an integrated-applied-developmental approach, which extends far beyond what one author has ascribed to it as being "chiefly a paedagogy of the super-ego"³.

It now remains for Chapter 12 to express in as original a form as is here at present possible the shape and content of the psychological teaching approach which appears to be the natural heir to much of what has preceded it in these pages.

¹Anna Freud (1960e).

²Peller (1956).

³Khan (1969).

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE SCHOOL AS PSYCHIC ORGANISER:
A PHILOSOPHY OF APPROACH

INTRODUCTION

The focus and essential ground for school-based educative effort is the psychological 'organisation' known as the ego¹. Such a view is by no means new, and traditionally educators have always sought to captivate and enhance what they saw as the co-operative, rational, reality-oriented, adaptive, integrative, cognitive-logical part of the pupil. Even a wider view of the importance of the ego in association with the other areas of the total personality is not new, nor restricted to educational approaches borrowing heavily from psychoanalysis². What is relatively new is the vastly enriched insight and understanding available here from a study of the ego, and this is largely the result of the fundamental researches of Anna Freud. Perhaps one enthusiastic follower does not err in describing our subject as "die grosse Erzieherin"³.

We have rejected any over-riding importance for the direct expression of biological drive-behaviours⁴, mental representations of which constitute the id of psychoanalysis. To the educator and teacher such a psychological world is largely refractory to modification or impress. The domain of morality and conscience - the super-ego region of psychoanalytic theory - is likewise not amenable to much of what passes for teaching technique. Direct 'word-of-mouth' teaching for example, may be expected to have little real significance to psychological organisations formed rather by processes of unconscious (non-

¹Cf. Chapters 8, 9, 10 & 11.

²See: Chapter 10.

³Newman (1975).

⁴Cf. Chapter 11.

cognitive) identification and assimilation of adult models and behaviours, extending over a period of years, and largely completed before the primary schoolteacher meets the child.

Accordingly, the teacher finds that "what remains as the main recipient of education is the child's ego"¹. It is this ego, as a synthetic-integrative psychological organisation emerging from a previously undifferentiated state dominated by instinctual drive-forces, that the present study has examined. There remains the requirement of psychologically justifying the role of the school in the on-going emergence of the child's ego.

THE 'AUXILIARY EGO' AND THE 'CARETAKING MOTHER'

Beginning with the early psychoanalytic concepts of 'stimulus barrier' and 'trauma' Anna Freud views the ego as "the central victim in the traumatic event", further notes that protective 'barriers' exist against both external and internal danger situations and concludes that "the entire defence organisation of the ego is endowed with the characteristics of a protective shield"².

Before any well-developed defence organisation exists the young infant is assailed by both the outside world and his own insistent instinctual drives. At this earliest phase of extra-uterine life the 'mothering person' is pre-eminent as "the only protective shield available to the infant"³. Later, as the young child struggles to develop its ego organisation with which to mediate between the often conflicting demands

¹Anna Freud (1969e), Writings, V, p.279.

²Anna Freud (1967e), Writings, V, pp.222-3. Cf. also, (1936a).

³Writings, V, p.224.

of id, superego and environment, the mother can be seen to function as an "auxiliary ego" assisting the child in this formidable task¹. In an adequate infant-mother relationship it is the mother's judicious selection of fulfillment, frustration and postponement for the child which serves as "a prototype for the childish ego's own later dealings"¹. Even time sense, memory and orientation are enhanced by early mothering procedures involving familiar routine and regularity.

Elsewhere Anna Freud writes of "the caretaking mother"² who provides or withholds satisfaction, and who is thus not only the infant's first need-fulfilling object but also "the first external legislator"².

Without this ever-present auxiliary ego and protective maternal shield the very young infant would constantly be flooded with tension and excitation, and would be incapable of adequately forming stimulus-barriers, ego boundaries and that later psycho-social organisation which others recognise and accept as a consistently-present 'self' or 'person'.

DEVELOPMENTAL 'ORGANISERS'

It cannot escape our notice that in her use of certain concepts Anna Freud is influenced by René Spitz. This would appear to be the case with the notion of a maternal auxiliary ego, which Spitz employs in his account of 'Jessy' from 3 months to 14 months, and which he apparently introduced as early as 1951³. It is equally true of course that Spitz is influenced by Anna Freud's works, and his many illustrative uses of and sympathetic comments upon our subject's publications are scattered throughout his own writings. Anna Freud's references to

¹Anna Freud (1969e), Writings, V, p.279.

²Anna Freud (1965a), pp. 142-3.

³Spitz (1965).

Spitz are collected in Appendix IX, though two of particular note may be indicated here¹. In particular Anna Freud has drawn attention to Spitz's notable contributions on hospitalism, anaclitic depression, observational studies, early ego development and the mother-infant relationship.

René Spitz (1887-1974) was for several decades a toweringly independent researcher and theoretician in the field of psychoanalytic child psychology. The aspect of his work which is of relevance here is his concept of the role of developmental 'organisers' in ego formation, as presented in his important book 'A Genetic Field Theory of Ego Formation'².

Born in Vienna, Spitz had worked in Budapest with Sandor Ferenczi until the latter arranged for Spitz to go to Freud in 1910, for what was probably the first didactic training-analysis. Spitz shared with Anna Freud membership of the Vienna Psycho-analytic Society in the 1920's-30's before moving on to Berlin, Paris, New York from 1938 and Denver, Colorado from 1957. As seen earlier³, Spitz was involved from the start with the important Psychoanalytic Study of The Child (1945-), as was Anna Freud.

Spitz shares the view - of an earliest, undifferentiated mental state in the newborn - held by Anna Freud, Hartmann, Margaret Mahler and other prominent authors, preferring only to substitute the term 'non-differentiation' for 'undifferentiated'. Spitz makes it clear that his own ideas on differentiation and ego integration go back to a paper presented to the Vienna Psa. Society as early as 1936. He relies heavily on embryological formulations, and finds parallels in his own work and

¹Anna Freud (1965f), (1967a).

²Spitz (1959).

³See: Chapter 6, above.

that of Erik Erikson on 'epigenesis'.

Seeking to ground his work in metapsychological concepts which will not be antagonistic to their better-known embryological precursors, Spitz first considers the "epigenetic landscape" diagram of the biologist C. H. Waddington¹. Modifying Waddington's diagram slightly, Spitz² notes that it usefully illustrates the relationship between (i) the 'organiser', (ii) dependent differentiation and (iii) the direction of development. The consequences of such embryological analogues for individual ego development are enormous, and Spitz's diagram is here reproduced (Fig. XXVII).

In this diagram the cones represent the successive steps in development, each step being related to the previous one by an 'organiser' which latter is represented by a small solid circle. The 'first organiser' is initially in labile equilibrium, but can then assume any one of a potentially infinite number of positions at the base of the first cone. There it gives rise to a 'secondary organiser', which in turn can roll down to any point at the base of the second cone. However, the alignment of the first and second cones is irreversible once the position of the 'first organiser' is fixed. Any degrees of freedom in this model are thus successively reduced as the developmental process progresses. The 'secondary organiser' repeats the process, leading to the formation of a 'tertiary organiser', again with certain irreversible connections with what has gone before.

Other possible 'paths of development' are indicated in the diagram.

From his studies of large numbers of normal well-babies Spitz is able to correlate the above embryological model with his own observations on

¹C. H. Waddington, (1940), Organisers And Genes, C.U.P., Cambridge.

²Spitz (1959).

Conceptual Scheme For Developmental 'Organisers'.

EGO DEVELOPMENT

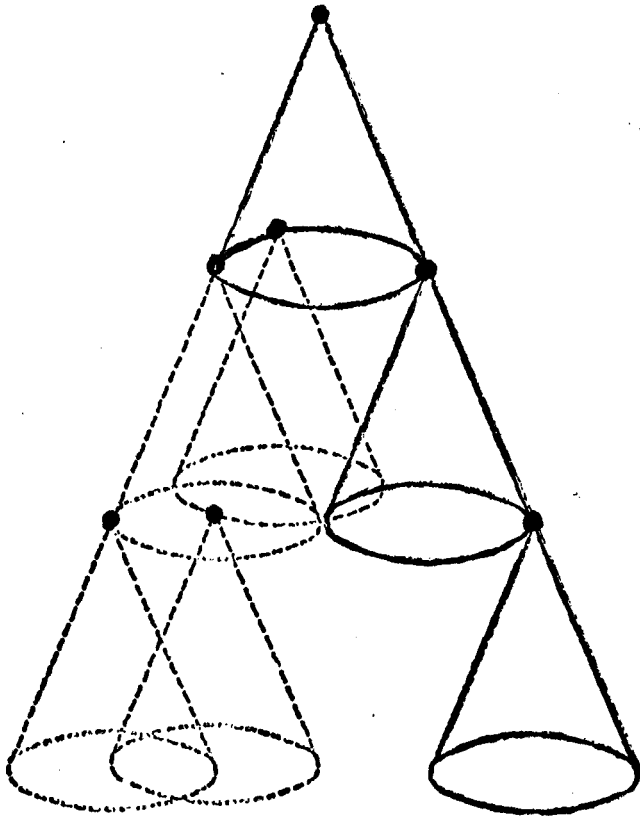


Fig. 2

[55]

(R. A. SPITZ (1959, after C. H. Waddington)).

psychological development. In particular he identifies three prime 'organisers' in the development of the infant's psychological make-up.

1. A FIRST PSYCHIC ORGANISER appears in the first three months of life after birth. It is indicated by the infant's smiling response, and shows the establishment of rudimentary reality testing.
2. A SECOND PSYCHIC ORGANISER appears between six and ten months, is indicated by anxiety reactions replacing the smiling response to strangers and shows the establishment of 'the libidinal object proper' which is henceforth distinguished from all other objects (persons).

Anna Freud¹ and others refer to this as the stage of 'object-constancy', which is preceded by marked narcissism with ego-centricity continuing for some time afterwards.

3. A THIRD PSYCHIC ORGANISER in the second year after birth is indicated by speech acquisition, and shows the ego's facility for manipulation of symbols.

No doubt other key 'organisers' could be identified in these crucial early stages, e.g. in terms of the psychological parallels to neural 'centering' in the infant's oral, anal and phallic phases.

In his later work Spitz indicated how the gradually emerging ego of the child successively appropriates to itself certain functions of the mother's role of 'auxiliary ego'. Thus, at around 8 months of age the ego of 'Jessy' was "a central steering organisation", controlling access to motility and replacing the mother in achieving the infant's immediate strivings². At the phase noted earlier as THIRD PSYCHIC ORGANISER the ego had assumed a protective function³, and signalled

¹Anna Freud (1965a, p.56). Cf. in this respect Piaget's scheme of ego development. Cf. Chapter 4, ('Piaget').

²Spitz (1965).

³Cf. Katan(1972).

danger (anxiety) when strangers approached.

Significantly, Spitz and his co-workers soon came to recognise a close correspondence between their own concept of 'psychic organisers' and Anna Freud's work on the convergence and interaction of 'developmental lines'¹. Any physiological or psychological prototype or component element of these latter "will inevitably mesh with various other developmental processes, progressively converging ... to form what we have called an 'organiser' of the psyche"². Spitz's conclusions were based upon extensive data gained from an impressive methodological battery, including studies of neonatal sleep and REM states, behavioural responses, effects of stress on physiological parameters, EEG recordings and so on.

More recently, workers at the Child Development Centre in New York have drawn together a great deal of related work on the theme of 'organisers', which they discuss in terms of a "central psychic constellation"³. These authors note "the tendency within the developing psychic apparatus towards periodic regrouping of central tendencies and characteristics into a new central organisation, which incorporates the previous one into it as it supercedes it as a central, guiding, developmental constellation"³. Their basic methodological design involved a longitudinal in-depth study of 8 children from age 3 years to age 6 years. Each child was assessed twice yearly using the Hampstead Developmental Profile⁴, and there was further once-yearly follow-up.

The New York group relate their findings and conclusions to a number of current theoretical developmental 'models', and notably the following:-

¹Anna Freud (1965a), pp. 76-79.

²Spitz et al., (1970).

³Silverman et al., (1975).

⁴Anna Freud (1962c), (1963a), (1965a).

- (i) Anna Freud's concept of an "early psychosomatic matrix" arising from the interactions developing between infant and mother¹.
- (ii) Anna Freud's concept of the multiple² convergence and divergence of 'developmental lines'.
- (iii) Sybille Escalona's work on the evolution of "patterned modes of functioning"³.
- (iv) René Spitz's work on 'psychic organisers'⁴.

The authors⁵ conclude that it is by no means a new idea to suggest that certain developmental strivings coalesce into stable dynamic groupings. Whilst we may agree and point out that it was possible to derive an identical conclusion from earlier works of ego psychologists, it should not escape the reader's attention that due in large part to the efforts of the above widely-scattered analytical authors, the concept of the ego and its early developmental emergence is now much more rigorously grounded in a reproducible and scientifically respectable psychosomatic matrix of discernable and measurable correlates. On such a strong empirical basis, even the more esoteric ego-theorists and 'personologists' can find comfort and support for the validity of their constructs.

Certain other authors have approached the idea of stable developmental groupings underlying the ego construct of psychoanalytic theory and of

¹Anna Freud (1971a).

²Anna Freud (1965a).

³Escalona (1963).

⁴Spitz (1959).

⁵Silverman et al., (1975).

psychology generally. Irving Steingart¹ for example discusses character, "the development of a psychic apparatus", the emergence of ego-ideal and superego constellations within the personality, and aligns his views closely to the work of Anna Freud. Another interesting approach is that of Annemarie Weil² with her notion of a "basic core" to personality and the individual.

All the studies discussed here share a general development concept, of successive levels of psychological structure and organisation being based upon previous levels. As such they correlate significantly with a further and more systematic concept of 'hierarchical' or 'multi-stage' psychological development and functioning. Seymour Lustman³ in particular has attempted to define the 'hierarchical model of the psychoanalytic theory of the mind'. In Lustman's brilliant synthetic essay the 'hierarchical-suprastructural' approach, as an epistemological strategy shared alike by Freud and biology, is valuably linked to Anna Freud's developmental 'Profile', thus permitting us to see more clearly the individual as an interrelated complex organisation functioning on different levels and at different ontogenetic stages.

A MODEL OF MIND

The purpose of this section is to develop in diagram form a convenient representation which will do justice to the psychological and meta-psychological insights provided by child psychoanalysis in its investigation of the child's mental make-up. The need for a *diagrammatic schema*

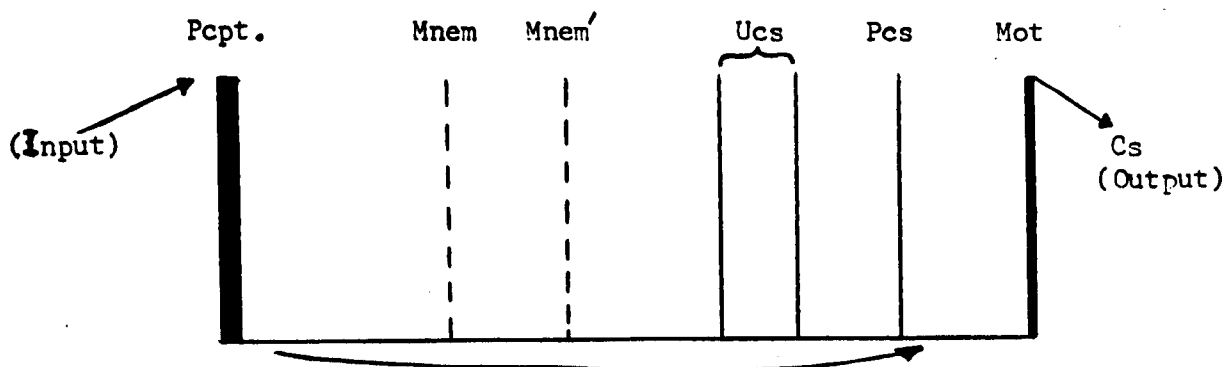
¹Steingart (1969)

²Weil (1970).

³Lustman (1967).

is suggested by the marked dearth of such pictorial-conceptual precedents in the psychoanalytic literature generally. Lustman (op. cit.) makes no attempt to develop such a useful tool, though he does write illuminatingly on the 'process' rationale of such models. Central to this is his view that the model as such must permit further work irrespective of whether it is 'right' or 'wrong', and this posit is wholly endorsed here.

The basic and fully 'dynamic' psychoanalytic model of the mind was in fact presented in diagram form as long ago as 1899, in a much-neglected series of three figures¹ included in Freud's 'Interpretation of Dreams'. Quite simply the model comprised a linear representation of the neural system, with a series of potential 'events' and 'filters' between the sensory-perceptual and motor-discharge extremes:-



(Adapted from S. Freud¹ fig. 3)

In the representation, shown slightly-modified above, Pcpt = perception (and more generally cognition); 'Mnem, 'Mnem' = memory storage; Ucs = the unconscious (considered here a 'filter' threshold); Pcs = the preconscious (considered here a second 'filter threshold'); Mot = motor discharge;

¹Freud (1900A), Chap VII(B); Strachey edn., 1954, pp. 537-541.

Cs = consciousness.

The similarity between this early model and more recent multi-stage models of memory storage and recall¹ is quite striking. A 'filter-model' of consciousness developed in the 1950's and 1960's² also showed more than a passing resemblance to Freud's early figural representation.

With the emergence in the early 1920's of the next psychoanalytic 'model' - namely Freud's 'structural' or 'topological' scheme, outlining the relationships between id, ego and superego - it would seem that many commentators saw this as the demise of the 'dynamic' view of mind in terms of unconscious, preconscious and conscious aspects. Nothing could be less appropriate, particularly with regard to psychoanalysis itself, which was henceforth able to utilise both earlier 'models' simultaneously. Although ~~no~~ such diagram is known to exist, it would be a simple matter to superimpose a 'dynamic-filter' axis upon a 'structural' division of the psyche, and this is clearly what happened in the thinking of analysts themselves. The great value of the new model was immediately apparent, and resulted in such insights as the realisation of the fact that large areas of the ego could be more or less permanently unconscious - an overthrow of any facile view which equated 'ego' and 'consciousness'. Moreover, psychoanalytic psychology could now more thoroughly comprehend and account for the fundamental phenomena of psychological conflict. The classic and vivid account of this 'dynamic-structural-conflict' model is indubitably Anna Freud's picture³ of the ego, id and other psychological 'institutions' as potentially warring "powers" - making "hostile incursions"

¹Talland, G. A., Disorders of Memory and Learning, Penguin Behav. Science, London 1968.

²D. E. Broadbent, M.R.C. Experimental Psychology Unit, Oxford.

³Cf. Pederson-Krag (1956), commenting on this.

into each other's territory, attempting to "overthrow" by "surprise attack", becoming "suspicious" with "counterattack" and "invasion"; and of course the celebrated account of "defensive measures" by which the ego in particular attempts to "secure its own boundaries"¹.

The potential axes for a psychoanalytic 'model' of mind would now number five, i.e. in keeping with the metapsychological definitions currently available to psychoanalysis viz. dynamic, economic, structural, developmental, adaptational². In fact, as Anna Freud has on occasion pointed out in defending the rights of analysts to pursue ego analysis, "from its beginnings, psychoanalytic metapsychology was intended to embrace all the agencies within the mental apparatus, plus their interactions"³.

Any adequate visualisation of such a conceptually rich 'model' is, in the present writer's view, quite beyond the imaginal grasp of the human brain. This is suggested, for example, by difficulties encountered in visualising the fourth dimension in Einstein's relativistic model of space-time. The addition and superimposition of a fifth dimensional-axis is therefore not attempted in what follows. This in no way detracts from the basic contention that metapsychology is the language par excellence of psychoanalysis⁴, and that analysts should think metapsychologically⁵ and as completely as possible at that.

¹Anna Freud (1936a), Writings, II, pp. 6-7.

²Writings, VII, p.153.

³Anna Freud (1966a), Writings, V, p.206. Writings, VII, pp. 154-155.

⁴Anna Freud (1966f), Writings, VII, pp.70-71.

⁵Writings, VII, p.159.

The 'model of mind' developed here is represented in diagram form as Fig. XXVIII. The basic schema utilises the acceptable ploy of representing three axes on a flat two-dimensional surface, with a fourth axis superimposed as a transparency and neatly encompassing all three underlying axes. The fifth axis - which here would be the ADAPTATIONAL - is omitted, and it is left to the reader to make the necessary adaptational extrapolations, e.g. in applying the age-appropriate endopsychic situation of the individual (as provided by the four-dimensional model) to interpersonal relations in the 'dyadic couple', to group dynamics, and to social psychology and adaptation generally.

In Fig. XXVIII the vertical-ascending axis falls naturally to the DEVELOPMENTAL dimension, whilst the horizontal and multi-sectioned axis occupies the STRUCTURAL dimension. The third axis bisecting the other two is incorporated by means of area-shading, though it must be stated that no precise quantification is thereby implied. These approximate quantitative changes naturally serve the representation of the ECONOMIC dimension. The fourth dimension is here the DYNAMIC, which with its series of 'filters' and qualitative variations in psychological function overlaps as a transparency the other three dimensions, just as in the reality depicted by the model psychological events and their energy changes, in any hypothesised region of the mind and at any age level, are subject to those variations in psychological 'tone and quality' indicated by the categories 'unconscious', 'preconscious' and 'conscious'.

The actual details of the model, particularly with regard to the 'developmental axis' and the corresponding 'economic changes', are of course averages. Even then, others might legitimately prefer to substitute other numerical data. With regard to the 'structural axis', additional categories would be required for example by those of an 'object-relations

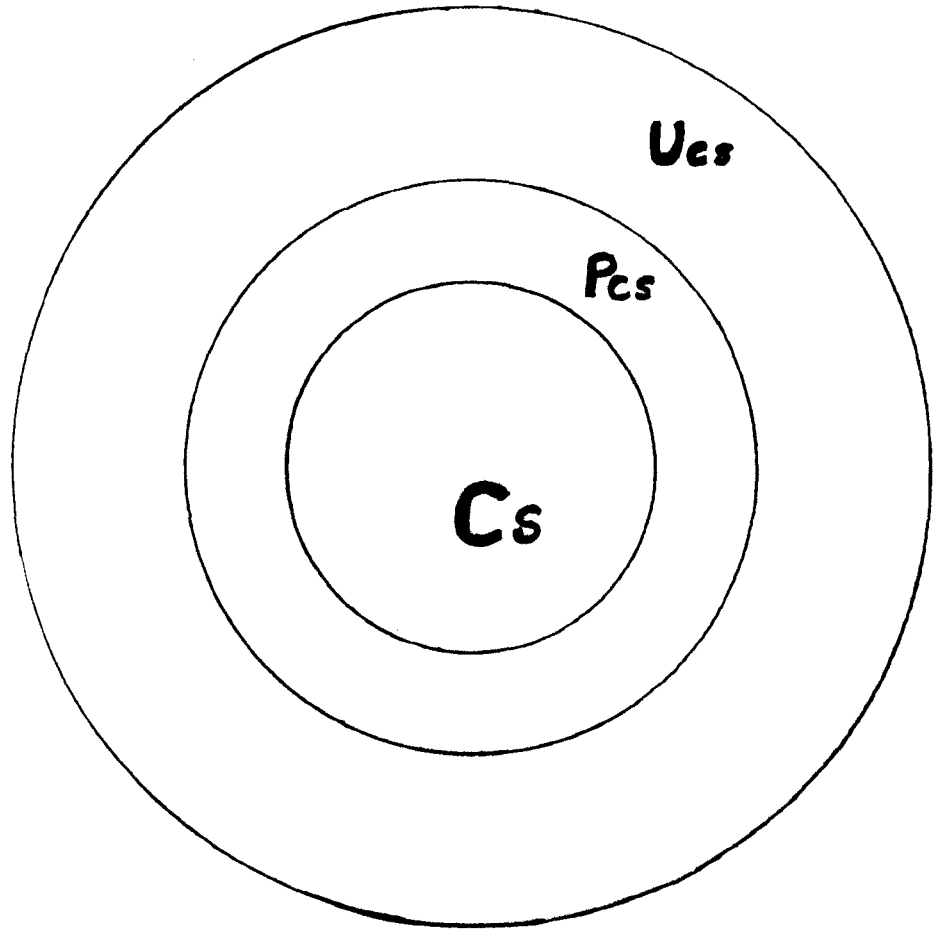
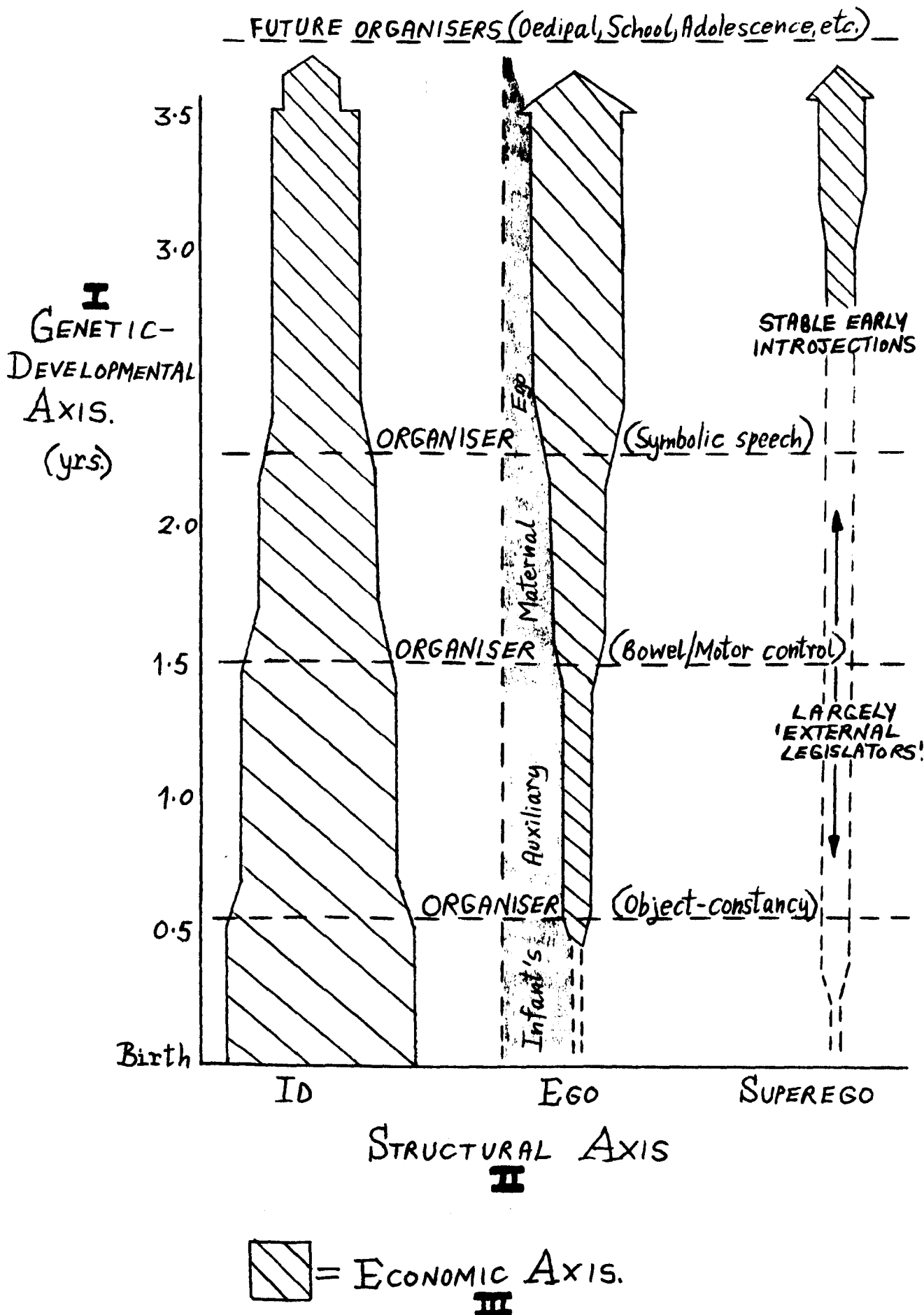


Fig. XXVIII.

Hierarchical, Multi-Stage Metapsychological
'Model of Mind'.



theory' persuasion. This would lead to necessarily greater complexity in the 'economic' and 'dynamic' inter-relations between axes. No doubt other variations to the basic scheme are possible. What is recommended therefore at this point is not so much the particular model depicted but the type of model-construction, which demonstrates that the complexities and insights of psychoanalytic metapsychology are amenable to elementary figural and mathematical representation. Such mathematical grounding would seem to have value (a) in enhancing the scientific acceptability of psychoanalytic 'models' which may now more nearly assume comparability in this respect with other 'models' in psychology, and (b) in facilitating conceptualisation of the extremely complex states of affairs pertaining to the individual psychology of human persons. From a consideration of (b) we may expect to derive hypotheses more closely structured in terms amenable to empirical scrutiny and re-test.

As opposed to the above theoretico-mathematical justification it must be re-emphasised that in practice - i.e. in therapy, the 'caring professions' and human interpersonal interaction generally - mathematical approaches are contra-indicated. Human beings in interaction are ideally not motivated by, nor experienced as, mathematical-analytical constructs of any type or genre. Actual human experience will, hopefully, always remain subject to what are essentially non-scientifically reducible processes - empathy, intuition, spontaneity, creativity, love, compassion, altruism, faith. Therefore as students of human personality and mental function we should be careful to avoid confusion between (i) our desire to investigate in order to better conceptualise and comprehend and (ii) our need to experience and be involved. There can be a science of human experience, but it errs greatly in trying to make all human experience 'scientific'.

A further advantage of the 'model' depicted in Fig. XXVIII is the clarity with which it highlights the crucial ORGANISERS in development.

Other authors¹ have suggested that psychoanalysis fulfills the major requirements of "a theory of human psychology" for those health care professions which need a "comprehensive model" about which to organise their observations. Such a standpoint is of course entirely synonymous with the whole corpus of the work of Anna Freud, and finds its fullest and most valuable expression in the comprehensive 'developmental profile' and in the major work² built around that theme.

As a theory of learning, psychoanalytic metapsychology particularly in its 'structural' aspect has recently been presented as a 'combinatorial-hierarchical model', whereby increasing levels of psychological structuralisation proceeding within the general development of the individual produce enhanced possibilities for problem-solving and adaptation to external reality³. The discussions of trial-and-error learning and of more systematic (intelligent) strategies show much in common with approaches from other fields of psychology (cf. Thorndike, Mowrer, Gleason, Gagné), and education is, among other things, "the system devised to teach children in a condensed and simplified manner the means by which they can build complex psychological ego apparatuses capable of dealing with the complexities created in our world. All education does is to exercise a number of mental capabilities in special directions and combinations until the ego learns to perform a number of complicated functions in interaction"⁴.

Figural representations of these and related psychoanalytic 'models' continue to be few and far between. However, Elizabeth Zetzel published some 'curve models', and her fig. 1 in particular is of interest⁵.

¹Solnit & Stark (1961).

²Anna Freud (1965a).

³Nagera (1967).

⁴Nagera (1967).

⁵Zetzel (1965).

Sandler & Joffe¹ employ a regulatory feedback principle in a scheme depicting a balance between 'drive input' and 'sensory input', and their fig.2 has particular merit. No doubt at a future date there will be achieved a much more satisfactory 'model' which employs elements of most of those described here.

THE PRIMARY SCHOOL AS PSYCHIC ORGANISER

It is the position maintained here that the school should view itself as a formative agency in the on-going psychological organisation of the child. This will hold even for the so-called 'latency phase' between the ages of five years and the onset of puberty, i.e. between the 'oedipal organiser'² on the one hand and the dramatic and far-reaching 'pubertal organiser' on the other hand. Whereas the two classic developmental 'watersheds' alluded to may be expected to fundamentally re-organise and shape the individual's personality and mental structure, it need not follow that the latency phase child is completely dormant in this respect. In particular, and given a medium of satisfactory relations and adequate curriculum initiative, the child should continue to successively - albeit less dramatically - re-organise emergent psychological constellations, with subsequent development profoundly affected i.e. in terms of altered 'degrees of freedom' viz-a-viz. choice, aspiration, motivation and so forth.

The writer's own observations of children progressing through the Primary School age-range seem to lend support to the above view. These observations cover a period of seven years continuous teaching (not including the writer's 'probationary' year) spent in one Primary School which has both Infant (5-7) and Junior (7-11) departments. All ages

¹Sandler & Joffe (1969).

²Rangell (1972).

between 7-11 were taught, and at the time of writing nearly all the children (N=150) in the school's Junior classes have been known for the whole of their Primary School lives. With regard to the writer's present class (N=30) of 10-11 year olds, many of the children have been known continuously for periods of five years and more.

Thus, in passing from year to year in their systematic progression through the school children do present appearances of outwardly (and by inference inwardly) 'organising' their psychological 'status quo', e.g. towards a new (i.e. older) class, a new teacher, developmentally harder tasks demanded of them and so forth. Wide variations occur between individuals, as would be expected within a developmental framework. Whereas some children already at the start of a new school year are energetically and successfully striving to 'wear well' their new 'older pupil' image, others present much the same image as they did at the close of the previous school year. Moreover, the latter pupils also seem unaware of any conflict or disharmony in their dual (i.e. internal-external) situation - they have not yet recognised or accepted any new 'organiser' or higher-order motivator. Teachers may be heard to remark that such children are "still babyish".

Towards the end of a school year also, some children are early and visibly growing into their next role, for example that of 'secondary school pupil'. By means of their significant questioning, requests for voluntary homework and so on, they seek to acquire the 'feel' of the new and as yet unknown world beyond their local Primary School. Other pupils in the same 'school leavers' or 11-plus category are meanwhile still struggling to find satisfactory solutions and syntheses to the phase they currently find themselves in. Some of this latter group, in the final weeks of their Primary School life, may be seen to renounce all efforts to consolidate any "fourth year Junior self", and from then on they concentrate on matching their better-prepared classmates, by superficially adopting the psycho-social apparel of intending secondary-level pupils. It would seem to be of value in the induction-year of

large Secondary Schools to recognise these educational 'chameleons', who have merely changed the colour of their external psychic 'skin' without having effected a genuine, underlying, endopsychic 'organisation' which is age-adequate. It may be noted further that such individuals typically mobilise great resistance against any attempt to 'slow down' their development viz-a-viz their peers, and any special efforts made on their behalf would need to emphasise the de-fusing of the relevant pressures and anxieties of their situation.

Thus, at both ends of a school year it is particularly evident that children are subject to internal re-structuring and psychological re-organisation. The 'rites de passage' of school life are therefore probably more frequent than would otherwise have been apparent.

AN EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

The view which the present study has now come to assume is really a very old established one, albeit that now it appears in a much more rigorous empirical-technical guise. This view is the following:-

'The school and the teacher within it is quite literally shaping and organising the child's mind and personality in a continuous, mutual-interactive process which at fairly frequent intervals organises itself in an integrative and synthetic fashion around certain significant events - internal (endopsychic) and external - with the result that successive and appropriate hierarchical levels of psychological functioning and social adaptation are regularly achieved .

'The child's developing ego is the crucial 'steering organisation' in this process, and any educational approach disproportionately favouring other structurally-defined areas of personality (e.g. id, superego) is subversive and loses any hope of attaining the harmony and purpose of the 'middle way' approach, (cf. Chapters 10 & 11).

If we wished to represent in diagram-form this 'Philosophy of the School as Psychic Organiser', it could well assume the following shape shown as Fig. XXIX. Developmentally only a "thin section" is shown, appropriate to a particular educational phase viz. the middle Primary years when the child normally presents a definite ego and superego.

The 'model' depicted in Fig. XXIX is metapsychologically elegant with regard to 'structural' and 'dynamic' interrelations.

The 'economic' aspect is nominally apparent with regard to its approximate area-cover, but would be more apparent when progressing to successive developmental 'sections', when the economy of the ego would enlarge at the expense of the other structural components, which latter would be successively represented by a lesser area-cover. Such a scheme is naturally subject to all the modifications and qualifications noted earlier for that shown as Fig. XXVIII. The model shown does nevertheless appear to satisfy the fairly elementary requirement of showing the place of the school in the general range of psychosocial forces. It also draws out graphically the implied crucial role of the ego as an inner organising entity, and in this respect is superior to the model shown in Fig. XXVIII. The previous model however is metapsychologically more comprehensive, particularly with regard to the interactions between the structurally-defined components.

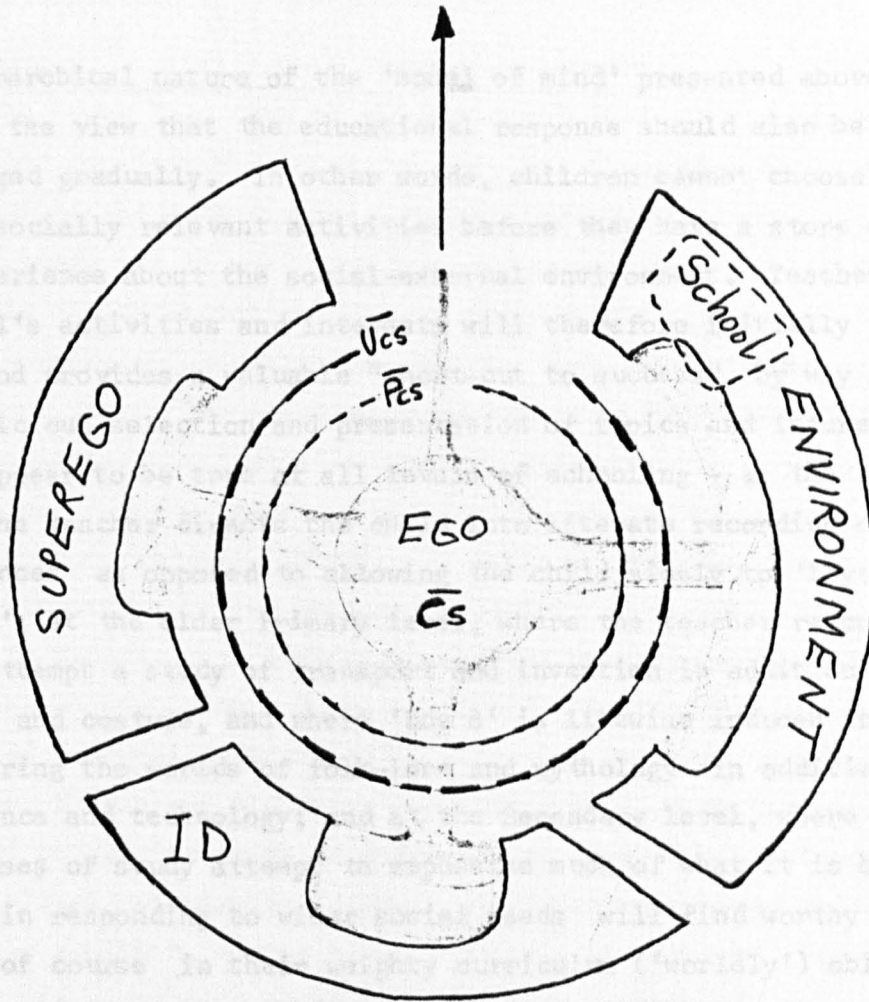
The teaching methods and curricular approaches required to complement the above would themselves need to reflect the comprehensiveness of the psychological models, in order to do justice to the variation in individuality of our classes and groups of children. It is unlikely that any single teaching method will suffice for numbers of children, though methods approaching the ideal of 'individual teaching' would appear to have the best rationale and prognosis. This is true both on theoretical grounds and in the present writer's practical experience. Much of the problem in teaching class-size groups of children thus becomes that of

Fig. XXIX.

Developmental 'Section' of The Child's Personality Profile
At The Primary Age-Range, To Show The Place of 'The School
As Psychic Organiser'.

so organising the work that children are progressively able to maintain the following aspects:-

- (a) their individual
 - (b) their individual
- SUCCESSIVE LEVELS OF FUNCTION & ADAPTATION.



\overline{Ucs} = Unconscious ('Filter Level')
 \overline{Pcs} = Preconscious ('Filter Level')
 \overline{Cs} = Conscious

COMPARISON WITH OTHER EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHIES

It is suggested here that the general philosophy of teaching evolved at above by a synthesis of psychoanalytic child-theory, with

so organising the work that children are progressively able to maximise the following aspects:-

- (a) their individual work preferences,
- (b) their individual contact with the teacher.

The hierarchical nature of the 'model of mind' presented above would lead to the view that the educational response should also be hierarchical and staged gradually. In other words, children cannot choose environmental-socially relevant activities before they have a store of knowledge and experience about the social-external environment. Teacher-direction of pupil's activities and interests will therefore initially play a part, and provides a valuable "short-cut to success" by way of discerning and judicious selection and presentation of topics and interests. This would appear to be true at all levels of schooling - at the Infant level, where the teacher directs the child into literate recording of certain experiences as opposed to allowing the child simply to 'live them through'; at the older Primary level, where the teacher recommends 'Girl A' to attempt a study of transport and invention in addition to that of history and costume, and where 'Boy B' is likewise induced into considering the worlds of folk-lore and mythology in addition to those of science and technology; and at the Secondary level, where the various syllabuses of study attempt to emphasise much of what it is believed the pupil in responding to wider social needs will find worthy of mastering. It is of course in their weighty curriculum ('worldly') obligations that teachers are most evidently seen to need a philosophy and orientation - a vision and message - altogether wider than that provided by the data and 'Weltanschauung' of psychoanalysis, or indeed of any other child science or academic discipline.

COMPARISON WITH OTHER EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHIES

It is suggested here that the general philosophy of teaching arrived at above by a synthesis of psychoanalytic child-developmental rigour with

the practical and professional wider obligations of the school as a source of useful learning, fits in well with certain other philosophic arguments and standpoints such as are available from amongst the best-informed and more reflective of modern educational theorists.

For example, working from a basis of non-mathematical philosophising which he terms "the form of the personal", the psychologist-educationalist Ben Morris attains criteria for discriminating the most relevant of the many diverse psychological disciplines. Not surprisingly he is even more soundly appreciative of current psycho-analytic 'object-relations theory' than is the present study, which has of necessity concentrated upon the 'orthodox' theory associated with Anna Freud. We stand on identical ground with Ben Morris however when he states his 'mutual-reciprocal interactional view' that "At the level of the personal, education is neither doing things to people, nor for them, but with them"¹. It follows then that teachers should strive to attain better personal relations, both with their pupils and with others. Our particular obligation - as perhaps with other professions involving a 'caring aspect' - is to "achieve more adequate forms of personal integration"². Clearly, teachers as adults must not consider themselves above further endopsychic re-organisation, and some of the various ways of attaining at least a minimal-appropriate professional endopsychic 'organisation' were discussed above (Chapter 10). In addition, we may now emphasise - in terms of 'psychic organisers' - that in our choice of marital or other partner, in our relation to a revered headteacher or other professional mentor and in our quest for a personally-satisfying and adequate concept of God or meaning to life, we are being successively and hierarchically structured as

¹Morris (1966), p.149.

²ibid., p.171.

meaningful functional persons. Ideally we should at least in part be able to monitor and encourage our own periodic convergencies of 'patterns of experience', and for the rest of our lives we may reasonably expect to meet further 'psychic organisers'. It may well be the lack of such continuing endopsychic organising processes, and of the hierarchical growth resulting from them, which leads some persons into early senility and the onset of rapid and largely irreversible deteriorative processes, first of a psychological and then of a psychosomatic nature, and finally of a markedly somatic kind leading to death.

It has not escaped notice here that the views of Ben Morris appear to carry also the implication that it is the 'real' child and the 'real relationship' which pre-eminently govern our educative efforts¹. The teacher then is no mere 'technician' or piecemeal psychosocial 'engineer', and we do not see ourselves as dealing with 'immature intellects', 'lopsided characters', nor even 'egos', 'ids' or other part-pupils. Nothing short of the 'whole individual person' must be accepted as our professional touchstone and raison d'être.

John Wilson is another writer who blends his views on education with meaningful psychological frameworks. Wilson draws out interesting parallels between 'educating' and 'curing', emphasises childhood as being replete with 'deficiencies' and exhorts teachers to strive to improve the rationality of their young charges².

C. M. Fleming draws upon those psychologists and analysts who pioneered inter-personal and group therapy, and goes on to illuminate valuably group processes in the classroom. The teacher's function is seen as 'serving' his class-group, and the quality of group membership and relations affects both the adult's deeper need-fulfillment and the

¹Cf. Chapter 10, 'A real relationship between teacher and pupil'.

²Wilson, J., Education & The Concept of Mental Health, Routledge, London 1968,

mental health of the children involved¹.

J. J. Figueroa highlights the question of the intending-teacher's priority, i.e. between curriculum-orientation and inter-personal relational skills. Teaching, suggests Figueroa, is an art which demands a certain style of conduct, and we must become "the kind of person who can so deal with other people that they learn"².

As with the other author-educators cited here, Figueroa's work appears to carry the implication of a necessary, successive, internal restructuring and personal-psychological re-organising on the part of both teacher and taught.

What we do with others we must do also unto ourselves!

¹Fleming, C. M., Teaching: A Psychological Analysis, London, 1958; rev. edn., Methuen, London, 1968.

²Figueroa, J. J., (1964), On becoming a teacher, Brit. J. educ. Stud., Vol.13, p.41

Suggested areas of future study.

1. The earliest period of child analysis and twentieth century educational pioneers - particularly insofar as this includes or concentrates upon German publications.
See: Chapter 2.
2. Comparisons between Anna Freud and Erik H. Erikson.
See: Chapter 8.
3. Studies of ego regression in normal school settings.
See: Chapter 9.
4. Developmental 'lines' or progressions for particular curricular materials viz-a-viz the 'average expectable child', or on an 'absolute' basis insofar as logical subject-matter can be said to have such inherent regularities.
See: Chapter 9.
5. Study of anxiety manifestations and dynamics at different age-levels and in varying normal school settings.
See: Chapter 10.
6. Further study of educational and psychological 'models' and paradigms for pupil-thinking and experiencing.
See: Chapter 12.
e.g. the relative efficacy and validity of 'mathematical'-versus-'personal' forms of model making.

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- Journal = International Journal of PsychoAnalysis
PSC = Psychoanalytic Study of The Child
Quarterly = Psychoanalytic Quarterly
New Era = New Era In Home And School
Association = Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association
JPAP = Journal of The Philadelphia Association for Psychoanalysis

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APPENDICES

Appendix I.Bibliography of The Complete Published Works of Anna Freud, 1922-1978.Introduction

The material presented here has been compiled after the manner of Tyson and Strachey's 'A chronological hand-list of Freud's works'¹. As such it is probably both the completest and most readily useful of any available lists concerning our subject, and has the further advantage of offering methodological standardisation for bibliographies of the writings of Sigmund Freud and of Anna Freud respectively.

The present list is based upon a systematic ordering of titles by year of first publication. Entries are given a date (year), and suffix letters (a, b, etc) then distinguish titles within the same year. Wherever possible the reference source is given to *The Writings of Anna Freud*². Since these latter volumes contain full bibliographic data on all entries therein, such information is not reproduced in the present list. For those titles which do not occur in *The Writings of Anna Freud*, a full bibliographic entry is given here, insofar as this could be ascertained.

For all titles up to c. 1952, entries were compared with those in *The Index of Psychoanalytic Writings*³. For titles up to 1962, entries were further checked against those in the Menninger Clinic's 'Anna Freud Number' list⁴. For more recent titles, valuable assistance was gratefully received from Miss Gertrud Dann, Librarian to the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic in London, who for many years has maintained her own unique card-file index on the published and unpublished works of Anna Freud.

For the period 1922-1952 the Grinstein Index³ shows 54 titles for Anna Freud, whereas the present list has 64 titles (not including unpublished ones). For the period 1922-1962 the Menninger List⁴ has 75 titles, and the present list 95. Altogether the present chronological handlist has 200 titles, plus 'Supplements' of some at least of the unpublished materials, (lectures, papers).

The systematisation of chronology is particularly difficult in the

¹Tyson & Strachey (1956).

²Hogarth Press, London; I.U.P., New York, 7 vols, 1968-74.

³Grinstein (1956).

⁴Menninger Bulletin (1963).

case of our subject's writings, owing to their author's not infrequent tendency of delaying publication until long after the first presentation of the material. In such instances year of actual first publication is still strictly adhered to, but with the following further refinement to the handlist. At the earlier date - i.e. the year of first verbal presentation or of actual writing - a minor entry in starred* brackets is included, together with a forward reference to the major and fuller entry at the year of actual publication. This major entry then also contains a retrospective indication of the earlier entry.

Abbreviations used

- Writings = The Writings of Anna Freud, 7 vols, Hogarth Press, London; I.U.P., New York, 1968-74.
- + = Doubtful or untraced title. Such entries usually have an indication of their 'secondary source' of reference.
- PSC = Psychoanalytic Study of The Child
- Journal = International Journal of Psychoanalysis

The 7-volume 'Writings' of Anna Freud.

Brief detail is here offered on the composition of these volumes:

<u>Volume</u>	<u>Period covered</u>	<u>Bibliographic entry</u>
I	1922-1935	Anna Freud(1974e)
II	1936	(1936a)
III	1939-1945	(1973a)
IV	1945-1955	(1968h)
V	1956-1965	(1969u)
VI	1965	(1965a)
VII	1966-1970	(1971j)

- (1922a), Schlagephantasie und Tagtraum, (Transl., Beating phantasies and daydreams), Writings, I, 137-157.
- (1923a), Ein hysterisches Symptom bei einem zweieinvierteljährigen Knaben, (Transl., A hysterical symptom in a child of two years and three months), Writings, I, 158-161.
- (1927a), Einführung in die Technik der Kinderanalyse, (Transl., Four Lectures on Child Analysis), Writings, I, 3-69.
- (1928a), Zur theorie der Kinderanalyse, (Transl., The theory of child analysis), Writings, I, 162-175. Cf. (1946d), Pt. II.
- (1928b), Report of the Tenth International Psychoanalytical Congress, Journal, 9, 132-159. (Edited by Anna Freud).
- (1928c), Die Einleitung der Kinderanalyse, (Transl., Preparation for child analysis) . Cf. (1927a), Lecture 1.
- (1929a), Die Beziehung zwischen Psychoanalyse und Pädagogik, (Transl., The relation between psychoanalysis and education). Cf. (1930a), Lecture 4.
- (1929b), Ein Gegenstück zur Tierphobie der Kinder, (Transl., A counterpart to the animal phobias of children), Int. Z. Psa., 15, 518. Not published separately in English, but Cf. (1936a), Chapter 6(part).
- (1929c), Report of the Eleventh International Psychoanalytic Congress, Journal, 10, 489-526. (Edited by Anna Freud).
- (1930a), Einführung in die Psychoanalyse für Pädagogen, (Transl., Four Lectures on Psychoanalysis for Teachers and Parents), Writings, I, 73-133.
- (1931a), 'Psychoanalysis of the child', in C. Murchison (Ed), A Handbook of Child Psychology, Clark Univ. Press, Worcester Mass. (Transl., Psychoanalyse des Kindes, Z. für Psa. Päd., (1932), 6, 5-20).
- (1932a), Erzieher und Neurose, Z. für Psa. Päd., 6, 393-402.
- + (1932b), Child analysis, Survey-Graphic, (Sept.). Untraced and unconfirmed. Cited in Grinstein (1956) and Menninger Bulletin (1963).
- (1933a), Report of the Twelfth International Psychoanalytic Congress, Journal, 14, 138-180. (Edited by Anna Freud).
- (1934a), Die Erziehung des Kleinkindes vom psychoanalytischen Standpunkt aus, (Transl., Psychoanalysis and the upbringing of the young child), Writings, I, 176-188.
- (1934b), Report of the Central Executive Committee of the International Psychoanalytic Association, Int. Z. für Psa., 20, 125-126. (Editor).
- (1935a), Ich und Es in der Pubertät, Z. für Psa. Päd., 9, 319-328. (Transl., The ego and the id at puberty. Cf. (1936a), Chapter 11).
- (1935b), Introduction, to Child Analysis Number, Psychoanal. Quarterly, 4, 1-2.
- (1936a), Das Ich und die Abwehrmechanismen, (Transl., The Ego And The Mechanisms of Defence). Writings, II. Cf. (1966h).

- (1937a), *Ich-Einschränkung*, Almanach der Psa., 82-93. (Transl., *Restriction of the ego*). Cf. (1936a), Chapter 8.
- (1937b), *Triebangst in der Pubertät*, Almanach der Psa., 94-114. (Transl., *Instinctual anxiety during puberty*). Cf. (1936a), Chapter 12.
- (1938)* Unpublished until 1950. See: (1950b).
- (1941-45)* Unpublished until 1973. See: (1973a).
- (1942a), *Young Children In Wartime: A Year's Work In A Residential War Nursery*, Writings, III, Pt. 1, Chapter 12 (with Dorothy Burlingham). Cf. (1973a).
- (1942b), *What children say about war and death*, New Era, (December), 23, 185-189, (with Dorothy Burlingham). Cf. (1973a), Chapters 20, 21.
- (1942c), 'Tony', in New Era, (June), 23. Cf. Writings, III, Chapter 16.
- (1944a), *Infants Without Families: The Case For And Against Residential Nurseries*, Writings, III, Part 2, (with Dorothy Burlingham).
- (1944b), *Sex in childhood*, Health Educ. J., 2, 2-6.
- (1944c), *Difficulties of sex enlightenment*, Health Educ. J., 2, 81-85.
- (1945a), *Indications for child analysis*, Writings, IV, 3-38. Cf. (1946d), Part III.
- (1946a), *The psychoanalytic study of infantile feeding disturbances*, Writings, IV, 39-59.
- (1946b), *Freedom from want in early education*, Writings, IV, 425-441.
- (1946c), *Problèmes d'adaptation posés par l'éducation des enfants qui ont souffert de la guerre*, Psyché-Paris, 1, 181-188.
- (1946d), *The Psychoanalytic Treatment of Children*, Imago P.C., London. With new Preface. Cf. (1927a), (1928a), (1945a), (Parts I, II and III respectively).
- (1946e), *Bulletin of the International Psychoanalytic Association*, Journal, 27. (Edited by Anna Freud).
- (1947)* Unpublished until 1968. See: (1968e).
- (1947a), *The establishment of feeding habits*, Writings, IV, 442-457.
- (1947b), *Emotional and instinctual development*, Writings, IV, 458-488.
- (1948)* Unpublished until 1953. See: (1953d).
- (1948a), *Sublimation as a factor in upbringing*, Health Educ. J., 6, 25-29.
- (1948b), *Forward to Sachs (1948)*.
- (1949)* Unpublished until 1968. See: (1968f).
- (1949a), *Certain types and stages of social maladjustment*, Writings, IV, 75-94.
- (1949b), *Some clinical remarks concerning the treatment of cases of male homosexuality (Summary)*, Journal, 30, 195. Cf. (1951c), (1952d), (1968g).
- (1949c), *Forward to Buxbaum (1949)*, in Writings, IV, 610-613.
- (1949d), *Nursery school education: its uses and dangers*, Writings, IV, 545-559.

- (1949e), Über bestimmte Schwierigkeiten zwischen Eltern und Kindern in der Verpubertät, (Transl., On certain difficulties in the preadolescent's relations with his parents), Writings, IV, 95-106.
- (1949f), Aggression in relation to emotional development: normal and pathological, Writings, IV, 489-497.
- (1949g), Notes on aggression, Writings, IV, 60-74.
- (1949h), Report of the Sixteenth International Psychoanalytic Congress, Journal, 30, 178-190.
- (1950a), The significance of the evolution of psychoanalytic child psychology, Writings, IV, 614-624.
- (1950b), Probleme der Lehranalyse, (Transl. The problem of training analysis), Writings, IV, 407-421. (Cf. (1938)*).
- (1951a), The contribution of psychoanalysis to genetic psychology, Writings, IV, 107-142.
- (1951b), Observations on child development, Writings, IV, 143-162.
- (1951c), (Abstract), Some clinical remarks concerning the treatment of cases of male homosexuality, Bull. Amer. Psa. Assoc., 7, (2), 117-118. Cf. (1949b).
- (1951d), (Abstract), Psychoanalysis and the everyday problems of childhood, Bull. Amer. Psa. Assoc., 7, (2), 118-120.
- (1951e), (Abstract), Child psychiatry, Bull. Amer. Psa. Assoc., 7, (2), 123-124.
- (1951f), (Abstract), Infantile disturbances of feeding and sleeping, Bull. Amer. Psa. Assoc., 7, (2), 124-5. Cf. (1946a), (1947a), (1968e).
- (1951g), (Abstract), The role of sickness and hospitalisation in the life of a child, Bull. Amer. Psa. Assoc., 7, (2), 127-8.
- (1951h), (Abstract), Variations of psychoanalytic technique, Bull. Amer. Psa. Assoc., 7, (2), 128-9.
- (1951i), (Abstract), Present problems of child analysis, Bull. Amer. Psa. Assoc., 7, (2), 129-130.
- (1951j), An experiment in group upbringing, Writings, IV, 163-229, (with Sophie Dann).
- (1951k), August Aichhorn: July 27th 1878-October 17th 1949, Writings, IV, 625-638.
- (1952)* Unpublished until 1968. See: (1968g).
- (1952a), The role of bodily illness in the mental life of children, Writings, IV, 260-279.
- (1952b), The role of the teacher: answering teacher's questions, Writings, IV, 560-568.
- (1952c), Visiting children - the child, Writings, IV, 639-641.
- (1952d), A connection between the states of negativism and of emotional surrender (Hörigkeit), Journal, 33, 265. Cf. (1968g), Pt. II.
- (1952e), The mutual influences in the development of ego and id: Introduction to the discussion, Writings, IV, 230-244.

- (1953)* Unpublished until 1967. See:(1967b). Cf.(1954e)(Abstract).
- (1953a),James Robertson's 'A Two Year Old Goes To Hospital': film review, Writings,IV,280-292.
- (1953b),Introduction to A.Balint(1953), Writings,IV,642-644.
- (1953c),Some remarks on infant observation, Writings,IV,569-585.
- (1953d),Instinctual drives and their bearing on human behaviour, Writings,IV,498-527. Cf.(1948)* .
- (1954)* Unpublished until 1974. See:(1974c).
- (1954a),Psychoanalysis and education, Writings,IV,317-326.
- (1954b),Problems of infantile neurosis:contribution to the discussion, Writings,IV,327-355.
- (1954c),The widening scope of indications for psychoanalysis - discussion, Writings,IV,356-376.
- (1954d),Problems of technique in adult analysis,Writings,IV,377-406.
- (1954e),(Abstract),About losing and being lost,Journal,35,283. Cf.(1967b).
- (1955a),'Social experiences of young children:particularly in times of social disturbance', in K.Soddy(Ed),Mental Health And Infant Development: Proceedings of The International Seminar,World Federation for Mental Health,Vol.1,Routledge,London,1955.
- (1955b),The concept of the rejecting mother, Writings,IV,586-602.
- (1956)* Unpublished until 1969. See: (1969d) and (1969e).
- (1956a),Comments on Joyce Robertson's 'A mother's observations on the tonsillectomy of her four-year old daughter', Writings,IV,293-301.
- (1957)* Unpublished until 1969. See: (1969f) and (1969g).
- (1957-1960)* Unpublished until 1969. See:(1969h).
- (1957)* Unpublished until 1971. See:(1971f).
- (1957a),Introduction to Casuso(1957), in Writings,V,473-475.
- (1957b),Introduction to A.M.Sandler et al.(1957), in Writings,V,476-478.
- (1957c),'Die Kinderneurose' in Federn & Meng(Eds),Das Psychoanalytische Volksbuch,Huber Verlag,Bern & Stuttgart.
- (1957d),Forward to Milner(1957),in Writings,V,488-492.
- (1958)* Unpublished until 1969. See:(1969i).
- (1958a),Child observation and prediction of development:a memorial lecture in honour of Ernst Kris, Writings,V,102-135.
- (1958b),Adolescence, Writings,V,136-166.
- (1958c),Preface to Freeman et al,(1958), in Writings,V,493-495.
- (1958d),Clinical studies in psychoanalysis:research project of the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic,Proc.Roy.Soc.Med.,51,938-942. Cf.(1969h).
- (1959a),The concept of normality,Mimeograph,San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo,California.
- (1960a),Discussion of John Bowlby's paper on 'Grief and mourning in infancy and early childhood', Writings,V,173-186.

- (1960b), Why children go wrong, in Wall, W.D. and Freud, A., The Enrichment of Childhood, Nursery School Association of Gt. Britain. Cf. Writings, V, 315-335, (revised title).
- (1960c), Introduction to K. Levy (1960), in Writings, V, 479-482.
- (1960d), Forward to M. Ruben (1960), in Writings, V, 496-498.
- (1960e), The child guidance clinic as a centre of prophylaxis and enlightenment, Writings, V, 281-300.
- (1961a), Answering paediatrician's questions, Writings, V, 379-406.
- (1962-1966)* Unpublished until 1969. See: (1969j).
- (1962a), The emotional and social development of young children, Writings, V, 336-351.
- (1962b), Clinical problems of young children, Writings, V, 352-368.
- (1962c), Assessment of childhood disturbances, PSC, 17, 149-158. Cf. (1965a), Chapter 4.
- (1962d), The theory of the parent-infant relationship: contribution to the discussion, Writings, V, 187-193.
- (1963a), The concept of developmental lines, PSC, 18, 245. Cf. (1965a), Chapter 3(II).
- (1963b), Regression as a principle in mental development, Bull. Menn. Clin., 27, 126-139. Cf. (1965a), Chapter 3(III).
- (1963c), The role of regression in mental development, Writings, V, 407-418.
- (1963d), Preface to H. Meng & E. Freud (Eds) (1963).
- (1963e), Observations (on the Topeka Psychoanalytic Institute), Bull. Menn. Clin., 27, (3), 148-9. (Anna Freud Number).
- (1964a), Defence Mechanisms, in Encyclopaedia Britannica, Chicago & London.
- (1964)* Unpublished until 1969. See: (1969k) and (1969l).
- (1965a), Normality And Pathology in Childhood: Assessments of Development, Writings, Vol. VI. Cf. (1962c), (1963a), (1963b).
- (1965b), Diagnostic skills and their growth in psychoanalysis, Journal, 46, 31-38.
- (1965c), Preface to Bolland & Sandler et al. (1965), in Writings, V, 483-485.
- (1965d), Forward to Lampl-de Groot (1965), in Writings, V, 502-503.
- (1965e), Children in the hospital, Writings, V, 419-435. Cf. Bergmann (1965).
- (1965f), Preface to R. Spitz (1965).
- (1965g), Heinz Hartmann: A tribute, Writings, V, 499-501.
- (1965h), Metapsychological assessment of the adult personality: the adult profile, Writings, V, 60-75, (with Humberto Nagera & W. Ernest Freud).
- (1965i), Some recent developments in child analysis, Psychother. Psychosomat., 13, 36-46.
- (1965j), Three contributions to a seminar on family law, Writings, V, 436-459.
- (1966)* Unpublished until 1971. See: (1971g).
- (1966a), Links between Hartmann's ego psychology and the child analyst's thinking, Writings, V, 204-220.

- (1966b), Obsessional neurosis: a summary of psychoanalytic views, Writings, V, 242-261.
- (1966c), Interactions between nursery school and child guidance clinic, Writings, V, 369-378.
- (1966d), Forward to H. Nagera (1966), in Writings, V, 486-7.
- (1966e), A short history of child analysis, Writings, VII, 48-58.
- (1966f), Some thoughts about the place of psychoanalytic theory in the training of psychiatrists, Writings, VII, 59-72.
- (1966g), 'Forward' to Sex And The College Student, Group For The Advancement of Psychiatry, Atheneum Press, New York.
- (1966h), New Forward to Anna Freud (1936a), Writings, II.
- (1967a), Eine Diskussion mit René Spitz, (Transl., A discussion with Rene Spitz), Writings, VII, 22-38.
- (1967b), About losing and being lost, Writings, IV, 302-316. Cf. (1953)* and (1954e).
- (1967c), Residential-v-foster care, Writings, VII, 223-239.
- (1967d), Forward to H. Nagera, Vincent Van Gogh: A Psychoanalytic Study, Allen & Unwin, London.
- (1967e), Comments on psychic trauma, Writings, V, 221-241.
- (1967f), Doctoral Award Address, Writings, V, 507-516.
- (1968a), Acting out, Writings, VII, 94-109.
- (1968b), Contributions to Panel Discussion, Journal, 49, 506-512.
- (1968c), Indications and contraindications for child analysis, Writings, VII, 110-123.
- (1968d), Willi Hoffer, M.D., Ph.D., PSC, 23, 7-9; Journal, (1969), 50, 265-266.
- (1968e), The sleeping difficulties of the young child: an outline, Writings, IV, 605-609. Cf. (1947)*.
- (1968f), Expert knowledge for the average mother, Writings, IV, 528-544. Cf. (1949)*.
- (1968g), Studies in passivity, Writings, IV, 245-259. Cf. (1952)*, (1949b) etc.
- (1968h), Indications For Child Analysis And Other Papers, 1945-56, The Writings of Anna Freud, Vol. IV, New York, I.U.P.: London, Hogarth.
- (1969a), Difficulties in the path of psychoanalysis: a confrontation of past with present viewpoints, Writings, VII, 124-156.
- (1969b), 'Forward' to The Hampstead Clinic Psychoanalytic Library Series, in Writings, VII, 263-267. Cf. Hampstead Library Series (1969-70), Nagera (1969).
- (1969c), Introduction to Numberg (1969).
- (1969d), The assessment of borderline cases, Writings, V, 301-314.
- (1969e), Psychoanalytic knowledge applied to the rearing of children, Writings, V, 265-280. Cf. (1956)*.
- (1969f), The Hampstead Child Therapy Course and Clinic, Writings, V, 3-8. Cf. (1957)*.
- (1969g), The contribution of direct child observation to psychoanalysis, Writings, V, 95-101. Cf. (1957)*.
- (1969h), Research projects of the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic, Writings, V, 9-25. Cf. (1957-60)*.

- (1969i), Separation anxiety, *Writings*, V, 167-173. Cf. (1958)*. See also, (1960a).
- (1969j), Assessment of pathology in childhood, Parts I-III, *Writings*, V, 26-59. Cf. (1962-66)*.
- (1969k), An appreciation of Herman Nunberg, *Writings*, V, 194-203. Cf. (1964)*.
- (1969l), Psychoanalytic knowledge and its application to children's services, *Writings*, V, 460-469. Cf. (1964)*.
- (1969m), Psychoanalysis and family law, *Writings*, V, 76-78.
- (1969n), Services for underprivileged children, *Writings*, V, 79-83.
- (1969p), Adolescence as a developmental disturbance, *Writings*, VII, 39-47.
- (1969q), Film review: 'John, seventeen months - nine days in a residential nursery', by James and Joyce Robertson, *Writings*, VII, 240-246.
- (1969r), James Strachey, *Writings*, VII, 277-279.
- (1969s), A 75th birthday tribute to Heinz Hartmann, *Journal*, 50, 721.
- (1969t), Remarks on the 50th birthday of the International Journal of Psycho-Analysis, *Journal*, 50, 473.
- (1969u), Research At The Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic and other Papers, 1956-1965, The Writings of Anna Freud, Vol. V, New York, I.U.P.; Hogarth, London.
- (1970a), The symptomatology of childhood: a preliminary attempt at classification, *Writings*, VII, 157-188.
- (1970b), Forward to B. Gordon (1970), in *Writings*, VII, 268-271.
- (1970c), New Forward to Zehn Jahre Berliner Psychoanalytische Institut, Berlin Psa. Inst. Commemorative Number. Privately printed and distributed, See: *Journal*, (1971), 52, 506-507.
- (1971a), The infantile neurosis: genetic and dynamic considerations, *Writings*, VII, 189-203.
- (1971b), Child analysis as a subspeciality of psychoanalysis, *Writings*, VII, 204-219.
- (1971c), Forward to J.C. Hill (1971).
- (1971d), Forward to M. Gardiner (1971), in *Writings*, VII, 272-276.
- (1971e), 'The seventieth birthday: a letter to Max Schur', in Kanzer (Ed) (1971).
- (1971f), Problems of termination in child analysis, *Writings*, VII, 3-21. Cf. (1957)*.
- (1971g), The ideal psychoanalytic institute: a utopia, *Writings*, VII, 73-93. Cf. (1966)*.
- (1971h), Painter-v-Bannister: postscript by a psychoanalyst, *Writings*, VII, 247-255.
- (1971i), Address at the commencement services of the Yale Law School (1968), *Writings*, VII, 256-260.
- (1971j), Problems of Psychoanalytic Training, Diagnosis and The Technique of Therapy, 1966-1970, The Writings of Anna Freud, Vol. VII, New York, I.U.P., Hogarth, London.
- (1972a), Comments on aggression, *Journal*, 53, 163-171.
- (1972b), Muriel Gardiner, *Bull. Phil. Assn. Psa.*, 22, (2), 103
- (1972c), The child as a person in his own right, *PSC*, 27, 621-625. Cf. (1973e), pp. 9-13.

- (1973a), *Infants Without Families. Reports on The Hampstead Nurseries, 1939-1945, The Writings of Anna Freud, Vol. III*, New York, I.U.P., Hogarth, London.
Cf. (1941-45)*. See also: (1942a), (1944a).
- (1973b), *Forward and Acknowledgements to (1973a)*.
- (1973c), *Forward to H. Beck (1973)*.
- (1973d), *Forward to S. Bernfeld (1973)*. See: Bernfeld (1925b).
- (1973e), *Beyond The Best Interests of The Child*, Free Press, New York, 1973; Times Lit. Suppl. (1975), (with Joseph Goldstein & Albert Solnit).
- (1974a), *Forward to E. Furman (1974)*.
- (1974b), *On Hilda Abraham's biography of Karl Abraham*, Int. Rev. PsychoAnal., 1, 15.
- (1974c), *Diagnosis and assessment of childhood disturbances*, J. Phil. Assn. Psa., 1, 54-67, (Anna Freud Number). Cf. (1954)*.
- (1974d), *A psychoanalytic view of developmental psychopathology*, J. Phil. Assn. Psa., 1, 7-17, (Anna Freud Number).
- (1974e), *Introduction to Psychoanalysis, Lectures for Child Analysts and Teachers, 1922-1935*, *The Writings of Anna Freud, Vol. 1*, New York, I.U.P., Hogarth, London. Cf. (1946d) etc.
- (1974f), *Bibliography of early child analysis pioneers*, in (1974e), pp. 189-194.
- (1975a), *'The nursery school of the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic'*, in *Hampstead Clinic* ((1972) 1975).
- (1975b), *Forward and Acknowledgements to Hampstead Clinic* ((1972) 1975).
- (1975c), *'Forward' to M. Berger & H. Kennedy (1975)*, in PSC, 30, 279-282.
- (1975d), *'Forward' to L. Newman (Ed), Selected Papers of Ernst Kris*, Yale U.P., New Haven.
- (1975e), *Introduction to 'Sigmund Freud Gesellschaft'*, Sigmund Freud House Bull., 1, (1), 2.
- (1975f), *On the interactions between paediatrics and child psychology*, Hexagon-Roche, 3, (7), 1-5.
- (1975g), *Forward to H. Nagera (1975), Female Sexuality & The Oedipus Complex*, Jason Aronson, New York.
- (1975h), *The Rights of The Child*, Association of British Adoption & Fostering Agencies, London, 1977.
- (1976a), *Changes in psychoanalytic practice and experience*, Journal, 57, 257-260.
- (1976b), *Forward to H. Nagera (1976)*.
- (1976c), *Psychopathology seen against the background of normal development*, Brit. J. Psychiatry, 129, 401-6.
- (1976d), *Forward to A.D. Hofman, R.D. Becker & P.H. Gabriel, The Hospitalised Adolescent: A Guide to Managing The Ill and Injured Youth*, Free Press, Macmillan, New York and London, 1976.
- (1977a), *Preface to The Vienna Symposium on Work in The Hampstead Clinic*, Sigmund Freud House Bull., 1, (2), 12-13.

- (1977b), Forward to Sara Rosenfeld, Beyond The Infantile Neurosis, Hampstead Clinic, London.
- (1977c), Forward to A. Freud et al, (Eds), Psychoanalytic Study of The Child Anthology, : Psychoanalytic Assessment: The Diagnostic Profile, Yale U.P., New Haven & London.
- (1977d), Forward to P. Wilson (1977), in PSC, 32, 479-481.
- (1977e), Fears, anxieties and phobic phenomena, PSC, 32, 85-90.
- (1978a), The principal task of child analysis, Bull. of the Hampstead Clin., 1, (1), 11-16.
- (1978b), On The Hampstead Bulletin, Bull. of the Hampstead Clin., 1, (1), 5.
- (1978c), Edith B. Jackson: In Memoriam, J. Amer. Acad. Child Psychiatry, 17, (4).

(1979a), The role of insight in psychoanalysis and psychotherapy: Introduction, J. amer. psa. Assoc., vol. 27. (Supplement).

(1979b), Personal memories of Ernest Jones, Journal, 60, (3).

(1979c), Obituary: Agi Bebe-Moses, Bull. Hampstead Clinic., 2, (3).

(1979d), Forward to, The development of blind children, PSC, vol. 34.

'Addenda' to the bibliographical hand-list of the works of Anna Freud:

The following authors - see: Bibliography - include in their own papers valuable unpublished/verbatim comments made by Anna Freud during case conferences, seminars, discussion groups and so on:

Glover(1945)

Bowlby et al(1952) Harries(1952) Lampl-de Groot(1957)

Wangh(1962) Waelder(1963) Kairys(1964) Nagera(1966) Thomas(1966)

Lustman(1967) Rangell(1967) Hoffer(1968) Kohut(1968) Fraiberg(1969)

Maenchen(1970) Nagera(1970) Katan(1972) Freedman(1974) Pine(1974)

Kolansky(1974) Shapiro(1974) Slap(1974) Kris((1956)1975) Holder(1975)

Sandler et al(1975)

Appendix IIA Partial List of Unpublished Papers of Anna Freud.

Titles up to c.1938 were generally available from the Reports of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society, published regularly in the I.P.A. Bulletins of the International Journal of Psychoanalysis. For titles after that date the card-file indexes of the Library of the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic (London) proved most useful, in addition to other sources from the literature.

No fully systematic notation is attempted in the present list.

As indicated by the subject in her first letter to the present author¹, these and other unpublished materials (lectures, papers, letters and correspondence) will eventually be deposited in the Library of Congress, Washington D.C. under the auspices of the Sigmund Freud Archives Inc. of New York. The latter organisation is currently active in the preparation and publication of many of the materials in its care, and it is reasonable to assume that at some future date much else from the pen of Anna Freud will be made available to the scientific world.

¹ See: Appendix X below, Letter of 11th May, 1976.

- (1928), Child analysis: a review of the 'Symposium on Child Analysis' published in the International Journal of Psychoanalysis, (1927). Presented to the Vienna Psa.Soc., 25th January.
- (1928), Report of a discussion held in Berlin on the psychoanalytical training of teachers, (with Siegfried Bernfeld). Presented to Vienna Psa.Soc., 16th May.
- (1929), Paedagogy. Public lecture at opening of Frankfurt Psa.Institute, (Feb.).
- (1932), Neurotic mechanisms under the influence of education. Presented to the 12th International Congress of Psychoanalysis (Wiesbaden). Cf. Anna Freud (1936a), Chapters 6, 7, 8.
- (1933), Infantile methods of overcoming anxiety. Paper to the Vienna Psa.Soc., 11th January. Cf. (1936a).
- (1934), The problem of puberty. Presented to the 13th International Congress of Psychoanalysis (Lucerne). Cf. (1936a), Chapters 11 and 12.
- (1935), The application of analytic technique in the examination of psychic institutions, Parts I and II. Presented to the Vienna Psa.Soc., January-February. Cf. (1936a).
- (1936), An address in celebration of May 6th 1936. Read before the Vienna Psa. Soc., 6th May.
- (1936), Phenomena of disintegration in the waking thoughts of children. Read before the Vienna Psa.Soc., 16th December.
- (1936), A contribution to the analysis of teachers. Presented to Vienna Psa.Soc., 17th June.
- (1937), A review of psychoanalytic paedagogy. Paper to 2nd Four Countries Conference, Budapest, 15th-17th May.
- (1939), Sublimation and sexualisation. Paper to joint-meeting of British and French Psa. Societies, 30th June.
- (1947), Transformation of instinct in early childhood. Presented to Meeting of European Psychoanalysts, Amsterdam, 24th-27th May. Cf. (1947b) (Part).
- (1959), The nature of the therapeutic process, Paper to Los Angeles Psa.Soc., 30th March.
- (1959), The therapeutic process. Presented to San Francisco Psa.Soc., 6th April.
- (1959), The problem of research in psychoanalysis. Paper to San Francisco Psa. Society & Institute, 8th April.
- (1959), The Edward Bibring Memorial Meeting Lecture, Read before Boston Psa. Soc., 14th April.
- (1960), Four contributions to the psychoanalytic study of the child. Lectures to the New York Psa.Soc., 15th-18th September. Cf. (1965a).
- (1966), The effects of bodily illness on the child. Lecture to Guy's Hospital Medical School, London.
- (1966), The interaction between body and mind in the child's physical illness. Lecture to Amsterdam University.
- (1966), Some aspects of the relation between neurotic pathology in childhood and adult life. Lecture to Chicago Psa.Soc., December.

- (1971), The widening scope of psychoanalytic child psychology, normal and abnormal. Read before the Dutch Psa. Soc.
(A mimeo copy in the Library of the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic in London is dated '1970'. The I.P.A. Bulletin, Journal, (1972), Vol. 53 reports the Dutch lecture as '1971').
- (1973), Sara Rosenfeld: Tribute. Read to the Memorial Meeting, Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic, London, 3rd. October.
- (1978), Inaugural address. Hebrew University Chair of Psychoanalysis, Jerusalem and London (read simultaneously).

Appendix III.Published Works of Anna Freud Not Included in The Writings of
Anna Freud(7Vols).

(1928b) (1929c)
 (1931a) (1932a) (1932b) (1933a) (1934b) (1935b)
 (1944b) (1944c) (1946c) (1948a) (1948b) (1949h)
 (1951d) (1951e) (1951g) (1951h) (1951i) (1955a) (1957c) (1959a)
 (1963d) (1963e) (1964a) (1965f) (1965i) (1966g) (1967d) (1968b)
 (1968d) (1969c) (1969s) (1969t)
 (1970c) (1971c) (1971e)

See: Appendix I for full titles etc. Also not included in The Writings of Anna Freud at present are all publications from 1972 onwards - but cf.(1973a) and (1974e) which are volumes of the Writings.

Appendix IV.Editorships Held By Anna Freud.

- 1924-1934 : Gesammelte Schriften von Sigmund Freud, 12 vols, Vienna
(with A.J.Storfer).
- 1927-1934 : Bulletin of The International Psychoanalytic Association,
International Journal of Psychoanalysis.
- 1931-1937 : Zeitschrift für Psychoanalytische Pädagogik, (Vienna),
(with Paul Federn, Heinrich Meng, Ernst Schneider and others).
- 1932-1938 : Psychoanalytic Quarterly, (New York), (contributing editor - but
see special Child Analysis Number, (1935), vol.4, (1), January, edited
by Anna Freud).
- 1935-1936 : 'Child Analysis Symposium', (Special Number), No.7, Psychoanalytic
Quarterly Library, New York.
- 1940- : Sigmund Freud, Gesammelte Werke, 18 vols, London.
(with Marie Bonaparte, Edward Bibring, Ernst Kris, Willi Hoffer and
Otto Isakower).
- 1944-1949 : Bulletin of The International Psychoanalytic Association,
International Journal of Psychoanalysis.
- 1945- : The Psychoanalytic Study of The Child, New York and London.
(with Ernst Kris, Heinz Hartmann, Edward Glover, Willi Hoffer et al).
- 1950 : Sigmund Freud (1887-1902), Aus den Anfängen der Psychoanalyse,
London. (with Marie Bonaparte and Ernst Kris).
(Trans. The Origins of Psycho-Analysis. Letters to Wilhelm Fliess,
Drafts and Notes, 1887-1902. London, 1954).
- 1953- : The Standard Edition of The Complete Psychological Works of
Sigmund Freud, 24 vols, London.
(with James Strachey and others).
- 1965- : Monograph Series of The Psychoanalytic Study of The Child,
New Haven and London.
(with Ruth S.Eissler, Marianne Kris and Albert J.Solnit).
- 1978- : Bulletin of The Hampstead Clinic, London.
(with Joseph Sandler and others).

Appendix V.Translations by Anna Freud.English into German.

- 1918 - Ernest Jones, 'Anal-erotic character traits', J.abnorm.Psychol., (1918), 13, 261-284. (Transl., 'Über analerotische Charakterzüge', Zeitschrift für Psa., (1919), 5, 69-92).
- 1921 - J.Varendonck, The Psychology of Daydreams, London, Allen & Unwin. (Transl., 'Über das Vorbewusste Phantasierende Deuten', Leipzig, I.P.Verlag, 1922).
- 1922 - Ernest Jones, 'Some problems of adolescence', Brit.J.Psychol., (1922), 13, 31-47. (Transl., 'Einige probleme des jugendlichen Alters', Imago, (1923), 9, 145-168).
- 1924/25 - Israel Levine, The Unconscious: An Introduction To Freudian Psychology, London & New York. (Transl., 'Das Unbewusste', Int.Psa.Bibliothek, no.20, (1925); I.P.Verlag, Vienna, 1926).
- 1934 - Dorothy Burlingham, 'The urge to tell and the compulsion to confess'. (Transl., 'Mitteilungsdrang und Geständniszwang', Imago, (1934), 20, 129-143).

French into German.

- 1938 - Marie Bonaparte, Topsy, Chow-Chow au Poil d'Or, Paris, 1937. (Transl., 'Topsy, der Goldhaarige Chow', Amsterdam, Allert de Lange, 1939). (with S.Freud).

Many translations and re-translations of the author's own works were also undertaken by her, and rendered into French and Spanish as well as mainly into English. In particular, note -

German into English.

- Writings, Vol.I - Cf. Anna Freud (1927a), (1928a), (1930a) etc.
 Writings, Vol.II - Cf. Anna Freud (1936a).

Other translation labours centred upon the correspondence of Sigmund Freud. See the detailed notes and acknowledgements in McGuire (Ed) (1974).

Appendix VI.Publications by Anna Freud Dealing Specifically with Education and Teaching.

(1929a) (1930a) (1934a)
(1944c) (1946b) (1946c) (1949d)
(1952b) (1954a)
(1960b) (1960d) (1960e) (1966c) (1966g) (1969e)
(1971c) (1973c) (1973d) (1975a) (1977d)

(See: Appendix I for full titles and bibliography)

See also the following unpublished papers(Appendix II) -

(1928) (1929) (1936) (1937)

Appendix VII.Literary Citations in Anna Freud's Works.

<u>Anna Freud</u>	<u>Literary material</u>
(1931a)	Diderot, 'Le neveu de Rameau'
(1936a)	Alice Hodgson Burnett, Little Lord Fauntleroy. Annie Fellows Johnston, The Little Colonel. A.A. Milne, When We Were Very Young. Edmond Rostand, Cyrano de Bergerac. Moliere, Swift; folklore.
(1952a)	Lionel Trilling, The Middle of The Journey, 1947.
(1972a)	Rainer Maria Rilke, Poems. (Cf. Note 1 below).
(1973e)	L. Hellman, An Unfinished Woman, Penguin Books, 1972.

Notes.

1. Anna Freud's familiarity with the poems of Rilke is also alluded to in correspondence between Sigmund Freud and Lou Andreas-Salome in the period 1915-1917, See: Chapter 3 above (p.56).
2. ... "as a young teacher Anna Freud liked to read occasionally from Kipling's Jungle Book to her small pupils... after the death of Freud... volumes by Kipling, Meyer and Macaulay in which Anna Freud had a special interest went on to her collection" ...
Lobner, H., (1975), 'From our archives: some additional remarks on Freud's library', Sigmund Freud House Bull., 1, (1), 18-29.

Appendix VIII.Prefaces, Forwards, Introductions contributed by Anna Freud to other authors.

<u>Author(s)</u>	<u>Anna Freud</u>
Hanns Sachs	(1948b)
Edith Buxbaum	(1949c)
Alice Balint	(1953b)
Gabriel Casuso	(1957a)
Anne-Marie Sandler, Elizabeth Dauntton and Anneliese Schnurmann	(1957b)
Marion Milner	(1957d)
Thomas Freeman, John L. Cameron and Andrew McGhie	(1958c)
Kata Levy	(1960c)
Margarete Ruben	(1960d)
Sigmund Freud and Oskar Pfister	(1963d)
John Bolland and Joseph Sandler	(1965c)
Jeanne Lampl-de Groot	(1965d)
René Spitz	(1965f)
Humberto Nagera	(1966d), (1967d), (1975g), (1976b)
(Group for Advancement of Psychiatry)	(1966g)
Hampstead Library Series	(1969b)
Herman Nunberg	(1969c)
Bianca Gordon	(1970b)
Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute	(1970c)
J.C.Hill	(1971c)
Muriel Gardiner	(1971d)
Helen Beck	(1973c)
Siegfried Bernfeld	(1973d)
Erna Furman	(1974a)
Marion Berger and Hansi Kennedy	(1975c)
Ernst Kris	(1975d)
Sigmund Freud Gesellschaft	(1975e)
A.D.Hofman, R.D.Becker and P.H.Gabriel	(1976d)
Vienna Symposium	(1977a)
Sara Rosenfeld	(1977b)
Psychoanalytic Study of the Child Anthology	(1977c)
Peter Wilson	(1977d)

Appendix IX.An Alphabetical list of Authors and Certain Others Cited in Anna Freud's Publications.

The following list is not claimed to be complete and exhaustive, but it has taken into account all the published works of the subject - including minor pieces - which are known to the present study (Cf. Appendix I).

Each entry consists of the name/author cited, together with a strictly chronological listing of those works by Anna Freud in which the named person is mentioned. No indication is given of the occurrence of multiple references in the same work.

For ease of reference, page numbers are given for those citations taken from works which do not carry their own author-index. In the main this was only necessary for those papers etc. which are not collected into the Writings of Anna Freud, since all entries into the latter are comprehensively author-indexed.

Abbate, Grace	: 1954b
Abraham, Karl	: 1931a, 1946a, 1974b, 1975c
Abraham, Hilda	: 1974b
Aichhorn, August	: 1927a, 1929c, p. 510, 1930a, 1931a, 1936a, 1944a, 1949a, 1949e, 1951k, 1954c, 1955a, 1954d, 1958a, 1958b, 1960e, 1965a, 1966e, 1968a, 1968d, 1969l, 1971b, 1974e, 1974f, 1976c, 1977a, 1978b
Alexander, Franz,	: 1928b, p. 153, 1929c, p. 518, 1933a, 1936a, 1954d, 1965a, 1966e, 1971b
Alpert, Augusta,	: 1963a, 1965a, 1969u, 1974d
Anderson, John E.	: 1951a
Andreas-Salome, Lou	: 1922a
Angel, Amy	: See Katan, A.A.
Anthony, E.J.	: 1955b, 1973e
Apley, John,	: 1962b
Balint, Alice	: 1953b, 1965a, 1966e, 1974f
Balint, Michael	: 1933a, p. 173, 1953b, 1958b, 1962d, 1968c, 1969a, 1971f, 1974d, 1976a
Balken, E.R.	: 1951a
Barnes, M.J.	: 1969u
Barron, Arthur T.	: 1969u, 1973a
Beck, Helen	: 1973c

- Behn-Eschenburg, Gertrud, : 1974e, 1974f
 Behn-Eschenburg, H. : 1933a
 Bell, Anita : 1954b
 Bene, Agnes : 1975b
 Benedek, Therese : 1955b, 1971g, 1973e
 Bennett, Ivy : 1973a
 Beres, David : 1968b
 Bergen, Mary E. : 1958a, 1967e, 1969u
 Berger, Maria : 1975c
 Bergler, Edmund : 1965a
 Bergmann, Thesi : 1952a, 1958a, 1960e, 1965e, 1969u, 1973e, 1974f
 Bernfeld, Siegfried : 1922a, 1934a, 1935b, 1936a, 1946a, 1951a, 1958b,
 1965a, 1968d, 1966e, 1969a, 1971b, 1973d, 1974e,
 1974f, 1977a
 Bibring, Edward : 1936a, 1965a, 1969a, 1969k
 Bibring, Grete L. : 1946a, 1949h, 1958b, 1960e, 1965a, 1966f, 1969a,
 1969k
 Bion, W.R. : 1969i (1958)
 Blanchard, Phyllis : 1975c
 Bleuler, Eugene : 1936a
 Blom, G.E. : 1952a
 Blos, Peter : 1969u
 Boehm, Felix : 1949h, p. 187, 1965a
 Bolland, John : 1965c, 1969u
 Bolterauer, Lambert : 1949a
 Bookhammer, Robert : 1967d
 Bonaparte, Marie : 1933a, 1949h - cf. Introd. to 1946c
 Bond, Douglas : 1954d, 1969m, 1975b
 Bonnard, Augusta : 1955b, 1960e, 1965a, 1967a, 1969u
 Bornstein, Berta : 1935b, 1936a, 1965a, 1966b, 1966e, 1971b, 1974f
 1975c
 Bornstein, Steff : 1935b, 1971b, 1974f
 Bowlby, John : 1949g, 1951a, 1952a, 1953a, 1954a, 1954b, 1955b,
 1958a, 1960a, 1963a, 1963b, 1965a, 1966e, 1965i,
 1969i, 1973e
 Bouvet, M. : 1965a
 Braun, E. : 1974f
 Bray, Percy : 1961a
 Brenner, Charles : 1969a, 1972a
 Breuer, Joseph : 1936a, 1965a, 1968h, 1969a, 1969k, 1969u
 Briehl, M. : 1966e, 1974f

- Brill, A.A. : 1929c, 1933a, 1951a
 Brody, W.M. : 1965a
 Brunswick, Ruth Mack : 1971d
 Bryan, D. : 1965a
 Bühler, Charlotte : 1929c, p.519, 1963a, 1965a, 1969u
 Burke, M. : 1954d
 Burlingham, Dorothy : 1935b, 1942a, 1944a, 1949a, 1951a, 1951b, 1951j, 1952e,
 1953d, 1954b, 1955b, 1955a, 1958b, 1957b, 1960a, 1960c,
 1960e, 1963b, 1965a, 1967a, 1967c, 1969f, 1969h, 1969i,
 1969u, 1974e, 1974f, 1975b
 Burnett, Alice Hodges : 1936a
 Butler, A.M. : 1952a
 Buxbaum, Edith : 1935b, 1949c, 1958b, 1966e, 1974f, 1975c
 Bychowski, Gustav : 1954b

 Calder, Kenneth : 1966b
 Caldwell, Betty : 1967c
 Cameron, John L. : 1958b, 1958c - cf. Freeman, T.
 Caplan, Gerald : 1969p
 Casuso, Gabriel : 1957a
 Chapman, Bertha : 1952c
 Clarke, A.D.B. : 1962b
 Clarke, Mrs. Ralph : 1951j
 Cobliner, W.J. : 1971j - cf. Spitz, R.
 Coleman, R.W. : See Lipton, R.
 Colonna, Alice : 1965h, 1969u
 Colton, N.H. : 1954d
 Coriat, Isador : 1928b, p.151
 Corneille, P. : 1936a
 Currier, Mr. & Mrs. : 1975b
 Curzon, Mrs. A. : 1969f

 Daltroff, W. : 1952a
 Daly, C.D. : 1965a
 Dann, Sophie & Gertrud : 1951j, 1955a, 1965a, 1973a
 Danzinger, Lotte : 1951j
 Daunton, Elizabeth : 1957b, 1969u
 Davis, C.M. : 1946a, 1947a, 1973a
 Davison, Charles : 1954b
 Dement, William : 1969a
 Deming, Julia : 1966e

- Dershowitz, A.M. : 1969u, 1971j
 De Saussure, Raymond : 1951a
 Deutsch, Helene : 1928b, p.137, 140, 1929c, 1933a, 1936a, 1958b, 1969k
 Diderot, Denis : 1931a
 Dubo, S. : 1952a
 Dubovitz, M. : 1936a
- Ecker, Paul : 1974d
 Ehrenberg, Rudolph : 1972a
 Eissler, Kurt R. : 1949a, 1954c, 1954d, 1951k, 1958b, 1965a, 1969a, 1969u,
 1972a, 1975b
 Eissler, Ruth S. : 1965a, 1968h, 1969u, 1971j
 Eitingon, Max : 1928b, p.132, 1929c, p.489, 1933a, 1950a, 1969k
 Ekstein, Rudolph : 1971c
 Ellis, R.W.B. : 1947a, 1947b
 Engl, Hanna : See Kennedy, H.E.
 Entenman, Edith : 1966e
 Erikson, Erik Homburger : 1935b, 1951a, 1958b, 1966e, 1974f
 Escalona, Sybille : 1952a, 1954b, 1967c
- Federn, E. : 1969k
 Federn, Paul, : 1928b, p.132, 1929c, 1933a, 1936a, 1951k, 1954c, 1954d,
 1958b, 1966e, 1969d, 1969k, 1969u, 1971b
 Fenichel, Otto : 1946a, 1958b, 1965a, 1969a, 1975c, 1976b
 Ferenczi, Sandor : 1927a, 1928a, 1928b, p.140, 1929c, p.504, 1931a, 1933a,
 1949a, 1950a, 1952d, 1954b, 1954c, 1954d, 1958b, 1960e, 1965a,
 1968g, 1969t, 1971j
- Ferguson, R.w. : 1960b
 Fischer, H : 1974f
 Fisher, Charles : 1969a
 Fleming, J. : 1969u, 1971g
 Fleischmann, O. : 1969u
 Fliess, Wilhelm, : 1958a, 1969k
 Flugel, J.C. : 1929c, p.489, 1949g, 1951a, 1953d, 1965a
 Folkart, Lydia : 1969u
 Foss, B.M. : 1969u
 Fraiberg, Selma : 1958b
 Frank, L.K. : 1951a
 Frankl, Liselotte : 1951j, 1960e, 1960c, 1965a, 1969h, 1969u, 1973a
 Freedman, Abraham : 1967d
 Freeman, Derek : 1972a
 Freeman, Thomas : 1958b, 1958c

- French, Thomas M. : 1954d
- Freud, Sigmund : 1922a, 1927a, 1931a, 1936a, 1945a, 1946a, 1948b, 1949b, 1949c, 1949e, 1949g, 1950a, 1951a, 1952e, 1954a, 1958a, 1958b, 1962d, 1963b, 1963d, 1964a, 1965a, 1965i, 1966a, 1966b, 1967a, 1967b, 1967d, 1967e, 1968a, 1968c, 1968g, 1969a, 1969i, 1969j, 1969k, 1969t, 1971a, 1971b, 1971d, 1972a, 1971e, 1971g, 1973e, 1974f, 1975d, 1976a, 1976b, c, 1977e, 1978b
- Freud, W. Ernest : 1965h, 1967a, 1969u
- Friedjung, J. : 1928b, p.152
- Friedlander, Kate : 1951k, 1969u, 1975b
- Friedman, M. : 1972a
- Friedmann, Mrs. M. : 1969f
- Friedmann, Oscar : 1951j, 1954b, 1960c, 1960e, 1965a, 1969u
- Fries, Margaret E. : 1951a, 1952a, 1953a, 1954a, 1954b, 1958a, 1966e, 1974f
- Froebel, F.W. : 1936a
- Fromm-Reichmann, Frieda : 1965a
- Fryling-Schreuder, C.M. : 1967b
- Fuchs, Hertha, : 1949a, 1974f
- Furman, Erna : 1960e, 1967e, 1969d, 1974a
- Furman, Robert A. : 1960e, 1966e, 1969u
- Furst, Sidney S. : 1967e, 1968a, 1969u
-
- Gairdner, D. : 1961a
- Gardiner, Muriel : 1971d, 1972b
- Garma, Angel : 1933a, p.169, 1949h
- Gauthier, Y. : 1969u
- Gaurin, J. : 1967c
- Gavshon, Audrey : 1965a
- Gedo, J.E. : 1969a
- Gelberd, Elisabeth R. : 1958b, 1965a, 1966e, 1974f
- Gerard, M. : 1966e
- Gesell, Arnold : 1946a, 1947a
- Gilchrist, W. : 1973b
- Gill, M.M. : 1965a, 1969a
- Gillespie, W.H. : 1965a, 1969u, 1972a
- Glasser, M. : 1972a
- Glover, Edward : 1929c, p.489, 1933a, 1946b, 1965a, 1975c
- Gitelson, Maxwell : 1958b, 1962d
- Goldberger, Alice : 1951j, 1954b, 1957b, 1960c, 1960e, 1965a, 1969u, 1973a
- Goldfarb, W. : 1973e

- Goldstein, Joseph : 1965j, 1968h, 1969u, 1970a, 1971h, 1973e
- Gordon, Bianca : 1960e, 1970b
- Gosliner, B. : 1965a
- Green, Andre : 1976a
- Greenacrs, Phyllis : 1951j, 1952a, 1954a, 1954b, 1958b, 1962d, 1965a, 1965i, 1967a, 1967e
- Greenson, Ralph R. : 1965a, 1968c, 1969a, 1975b
- Gruenberg, S.M. : 1949d
- Guttman, Samuel A. : 1967d
- Gyomrei, Edith L. : 1965a, 1968h, 1969i
-
- Hahn, Maxwell : 1975b
- Hall, G. Stanley : 1951a
- Hall, Jenny W. : See Waelder-Hall, J.
- Halsmann, P. : 1965a
- Harlow, H.F. : 1969q
- Harnik, J. : 1958b
- Hartmann, Dora : 1954d
- Hartmann, Heinz : 1946a, 1949h, p.187, 1950a, 1951a, 1951b, 1952e, 1952d, 1953d, 1954a, 1954b, 1958a, 1958b, 1963a, 1965a, 1965g, 1966a, 1967d, 1968c, 1968g, 1969a, 1969k, 1969s, 1975d
-
- Hawkins, Mary O'Neill : 1954b, 1954c, 1954d, 1966e
- Hazen, Mrs. Lita : 1975b
- Heinicke, C.M. : 1969i, 1969u
- Heimann, Paula : 1969a
- Hellman, Ilse : 1944a, 1960c, 1960e, 1965a, 1968h, 1969h, 1969u, 1973a, 1975c
- Hendrick, Ives : 1952a, 1954a, 1954b
- Hermann, Imre : 1928b, p.140, 1929c
- Herzberg, Martha : 1973a
- Hilgard, E.R. : 1951a
- Hill, J.C. : 1944a, 1946b, 1958a, 1971c
- Hindley, C.B. : 1961a
- Hitschmann, Eduard : 1928b, p.149, 1929c, 1969k
- Hoffer, Willi : 1949f, 1951a, 1951k, 1952a, 1952e, 1954a, 1954b, 1958b, 1960a, 1963a, 1965a, 1966e, 1967b, 1968d, 1972a, 1974e, 1974f, 1977a
-
- Holder, Alex, : 1969u
- Hollos, Istvan : 1928b, p.154
- Homburger, Erik : See Erikson, E.H.
- Horney, Karen : 1928b, p.140, 152
- Hug-Hellmuth, Hermine : 1927a, 1931a, 1945a, 1966e, 1971b
-
- Hunt, J. McVickers : 1951a, 1968h

- Hurwitz, R. : 1966e
- Hyndman, Fini : 1973a
- Ilg, F.L. : 1946a Cf. Gesell, A.
- Inman, W.S. : 1961a
- Isaacs, Susan : 1958a
- Isakower, Otto : 1949h, 1965a
- Jackson, Edith B. : 1946a, 1952a, 1955b, 1961a, 1966e, 1974e, 1977a, 1978c
- Jacobson, Edith : 1954b, 1954c, 1969u, 1965a, 1971j
- James, Martin : 1962d, 1963a, 1965a, 1965i, 1969a
- Jekels, Ludwig : 1929c, 1933a, 1969k
- Jelliffe, Smith Ely : 1929c, p.504, 525
- Jensen, Ellen : 1971d
- Jessner, L. : 1952a
- Joffe, W.G. : 1969u
- Johnson, A.M. : See - Szurek, S.A.
- Johnson, Mrs. S.L. : 1972a
- Johnson, Virginia : 1969a Cf. Masters, W.
- Johnston, A.F. : 1936a
- Jones, Ernest : 1928b, p.140, 1929c, p.489, 1933a, 1936a, 1949h, 1949e, 1958b, 1965a, 1969t, 1971j, 1975c
- Jones, Katherine : 1929c, p.489
- Jung, C.G. : 1969k
- Kaplan, S. : 1951b, 1952a
- Kardiner, Abram : 1928b, p.151
- Katan, Anny A. : 1935b, 1936a, 1958b, 1960e, 1965a, 1966e, 1969n, 1974f
- Katan, Maurits : 1954d, 1958b
- Katz, Jay : 1965j, 1968h, 1969u, 1971h, 1973e
- Kempner, Salomea : 1928b, p.132
- Kennedy, Hanna E. : 1951b, 1973a, 1975c
- Kestenberg, E. : 1972a
- Kestenberg, Judith S. : 1954b, 1969u
- Khan, Masud R. : 1965i, 1967a, 1967e
- King, Truby : 1961a, 1965a
- Kinsey, Alfred C. : 1969a
- Klatskin, E.H. : 1969u
- Klein, Emmanuel : 1975c
- Klein, Melanie : 1927a, 1928a, 1929c, p.510, 1935b, 1936a, 1945a, 1946a, 1949a, 1949g, 1950a, 1952a, 1952e, 1954a, 1954b, 1955b, 1956a, 1958a, 1958b, 1963a, 1965a, 1966e, 1967b, 1969a, 1971b, 1974d, 1974e, 1974f, 1975c

- Kluckhohn, Clyde : 1951a
 Knight, Robert P. : 1954c, 1954d
 Koch, E. : 1969j
 Kohut, Heinz, : 1969a, 1971g, 1978a
 Koltes, John A. : 1967d
 Koupernik, C. : 1961a
 Kris, Ernst : 1950a, 1951a, 1951b, 1952e, 1953d, 1954a, 1954b, 1955b,
 1958a, 1958b, 1965a, 1965i, 1967a, 1966e, 1969g, 1969h,
 1969q, 1971g, 1975d
 Kris, Marianne : 1954b, 1954d, 1958a, 1965a, 1966e, 1967e, 1974f
 Kronold, E. : 1954d
 Kut, Sara : See Rosenfeld, S.K.
- Lacan, J.M. : 1954d
 Laforgue, Rene : 1928b, p.151, 1929c, 1936a, 1965a
 Lagache, Daniel : 1965a
 Lampl-de Groot, J. : 1936a, 1949h, 1958b, 1965a, 1965d, 1969u
 Landau, A. : 1974f
 Landauer, Karl : 1933a, 1958b, 1975c
 Lantos, Barbara : 1949h
 Laufer, Moses : 1965h, 1969u, 1972a
 Lebovici, Serge : 1969p
 Levy, D.H. : 1951a, 1952a
 Levy, Estelle : 1966e, 1974f
 Levy, Kata : 1960e, 1960c, 1965a, 1968h, 1969u, 1974f
 Lewin, Bertram D. : 1936a, 1954b, 1954d, 1965a, 1969i, 1971j
 Lewin, Kurt : 1951a
 Lipton, R. : 1955b, 1968h, 1971j Cf. Coleman, R., 1958a
 Lipton, S.D. : 1968h
 Little, Margaret : 1965a
 Loewenstein, Rudolf M. : 1951a, 1953d, 1954a, 1954b, 1954d, 1958b, 1965a, 1966a,
 1971j, 1972a.
- Lorand, Sandor : 1949h, p.186, 1969i, 1969u
 Lorenz, Konrad : 1972a
 Lussier, A. : 1957b, 1960e, 1965a, 1968h, 1969u, 1972a
 Lustman, Seymour, L. : 1966e, 1969a
- MacCarthy, Dermond : 1961a
 McDonald, M. : 1969i
 MacKeith, R. : 1961a, 1968h
 McGhie, Andrew : 1958b, 1958c

- Maenchen, Anna : 1966e, 1969u, 1974f
 Mahler, Margaret S. : 1952a, 1952d, 1954a, 1954b, 1954d, 1955b, 1963a, 1965a, 1966e,
 1968c, 1968g, 1969i, 1974d, 1975c, 1976c, 1978a
 Main, Tom : 1958a
 Marcovitz, Eli : 1954d
 Marriott, T. : 1973a
 Martin, W.E. : 1951j
 Mason, M. : 1968c
 Masserman, Jules : 1951a, 1967e
 Masters, W. : See - Johnson, Virginia
 Meers, Dale R. : 1969u
 Menaker, E. : 1966e
 Meng, Heinrich : 1933a, p.159, 1949e, 1969u
 Menninger, Karl A. : 1969k, 1970a, 1972a
 Michaels, J.J. : 1965a, 1969a, 1970a
 Middlemore, Merrell P. : 1946a
 Milne, A.A. : 1936a
 Milner, Marion : 1957d, 1958a
 Minor, Zaruba E. : 1974f
 Mittelmann, Bela : 1954b
 Model, E. : 1969u
 Mohr, G.J. : 1946a
 Moliere, J.B. : 1936a
 Monchaux, Cecilie de : 1969h
 Montessori, Maria : 1934a, 1936a, 1965a, 1973a
 Morrison, Adele : 1975b
 Mowrer, O.H. : 1951a
 Muggerridge, Eric : 1942a
 Muller-Braunschweig, C : 1928b, p.145, 1933a, 1949h, 1966e
 Murchison, C.M. : 1931a, 1951a, 1968h
 Murphy, Lois B. : 1965a
 Murray, Henry A : 1951a
 Myerson, P.G. : 1966b

 Nacht, S. : 1952e, 1965a
 Nagera, Humberto : 1965a, 1965h, 1966a, 1966d, 1967d, 1968a, 1969h, 1969p, 1970a,
 1971a, 1975g, 1976b, 1978a
 Neale, Victor : 1961a
 Neubauer, Peter B. : 1967e, 1969a, 1969i, 1974d, 1977e
 Newman, Loettie M. : 1966a, 1971j
 Noshpitz, J.D. : 1958b

- Novick, Jack : 1968c
 Numberg, Herman : 1928b, p.153, 1965a, 1969c, 1969k, 1975b, 1976b
- Oberndorf, Clarence : 1928b, p.140, 1929c, 1933a, 1975c
 Omwake, E. : 1958a, 1971j
 Ophuijsen, J. van : 1928b, p.140, 1929c, 1933a
 Oppe, T.E. : 1961a
 Orr, J. : 1946b
- Paret, I. : 1965a
 Pasche, F. : 1965a
 Pavenstedt, Eleanor : 1966e, 1967c
 Payne, Sylvia : 1929c, p.489
 Pearson, Gerald : 1952a, 1975c
 Peck, N. : 1965a
 Pensimus, K. : 1935b, 1974f
 Peto, Andrew : 1946a
 Pfister, M. Amende : 1949e
 Pfister, Oskar : 1949e, 1963d
 Piaget, Jean : 1951a
 Pickard, Miss ? : 1962a
 Plank, Spira E. : 1974f
 Poffenberger, A.T. : 1951a
 Poincard, Paul : 1967d
 Portl, A. : 1935b, 1974f
 Prager, Daniel : 1968a
 Provence, Sally : 1955b, 1963c, 1958a, 1966e, 1967c, 1968h, 1973e
 Putnam, J.J. : 1951a
 Putnam, Marian C. : 1951b, 1952a, 1966e
- Rado, Sandor : 1928b, p.137, 140, 1929c, 1933a, 1936a
 Rangell, Leo : 1965a, 1967e, 1971j, 1972a, 1976a
 Rank, Beata : 1951b, 1952a, 1953d
 Rank, Otto : 1936a, 1948b, 1954c, 1969t
 Rapaport, David : 1951a, 1969a
 Read, Herbert : 1946b
 Redl, Fritz : 1974f
 Reich, Annie : 1954d, 1958b, 1965a
 Reich, Wilhelm : 1928b, p.140, 1936a, 1954c, 1969k
 Reik, Theodor : 1962d, 1965i
 Rexford, E.N. : 1969u

- Rheingold, H.L. : 1973e
 Ribble, Margaret A. : 1951a, 1958a, 1966e, 1973e
 Rickman, John : 1928b, p.140
 Rilke, Rainer Maria : 1972a
 Ritvo, S. : 1958a, 1966b, 1966e, 1968h
 Riviere, Joan : 1929c, p.489, 516
 Robertson, James : 1952a, 1953a, 1955b, 1960a, 1963b, 1965a, 1966e, 1965i, 1969q,
 1973a, 1973e
 Robertson, Joyce : 1956a, 1962d, 1965a, 1969q, 1969u, 1973e
 Robinson, Halbert : 1967c
 Rochlin, G. : 1969i
 Roheim, Geza : 1928b, p.140
 Rorschach, Herman : 1945a, 1947b, 1951a, 1968h
 Rosen, J. : 1968c
 Rosenblatt, B. : 1969a
 Rosenfeld, Herbert : 1969a
 Rosenbluth, D. : 1952a, 1965a, 1965i, 1969u
 Rosenfeld, Sara Kut. : 1969u, 1973a, 1977b
 Ross, Helen : 1958a, 1966e, 1969u, 1975b
 Rostand, E. : 1936a
 Rousseau, Jean Jacques : 1934a
 Ruben, Margarete : 1960d
 Rycroft, Charles : 1958a

 Sachs, Hanns : 1928b, p.137, 140, 1948b, 1968h
 Sadjer, J. : 1965a, 1966e
 Sandler, Ann-Marie : 1957b, 1969u
 Sandler, Joseph : 1961a, 1965a, 1965c, 1965i, 1966a, 1967a, 1968h, 1969f, 1969u,
 1977e
 Sarasin, Philippe : 1928b, p.132, 1929c, 1949h
 Sarnoff, C. : 1965a
 Sartre, Jean Paul : 1951a
 Scharl, A.E. : 1969i
 Schilder, Paul : 1967d
 Schmaus, M. : 1974f
 Schwideberg, Melitta : 1946a, 1969u
 Schmidt, Vera : 1930a
 Schneer, H. : 1969u
 Schnurmann, Anneliese : 1957b, 1969u
 Schopenhauer, Arthur : 1972a
 Schur, Max : 1954b, 1966a, 1969i, 1971e

- Schwarz, Hedwig : 1970a, 1973a, 1977e
- Scott, W. Clifford : 1952e
- Sears, R. R. : 1951a, 1968h
- Senn, M. J. E. : 1952a, 1963c, 1971j, 1973e
- Shambaugh, B. : 1969i
- Shepherd, E. : 1960c, 1960e, 1965a, 1969u
- Silverman, D. : 1954d
- Simmel, Ernst : 1928b, p. 140, 1929c
- Singer, M. B. : 1969d, 1969u
- Sissermann, Hilda : 1923a
- Skeels, H. M. : 1952e
- Sloane, P. : 1954d
- Soddy, Kenneth : 1955a, 1968h
- Solnit, A. J. : 1958a, 1960e, 1963c, 1966a, 1966e, 1968h, 1969u, 1971j, 1972a, 1973e
- Spender, S. : 1973a
- Sperling, M. : 1965a
- Spiegel, L. A. : 1958b
- Spitz, R. A. : 1951a, 1953a, 1954a, 1954b, 1955b, 1958a, 1960a, 1963a, 1965a, 1965i, 1966e, 1967a, 1968b, 1969a, 1969u, 1973e, 1974d, 1976c
- Spock, Benjamin : 1952a, 1961a
- Sprince, Marjorie : 1960c, 1965a, 1968h, 1969u, 1975c
- Staub, H. : 1966e
- Staver, N. : 1975c
- Stein, Martin : 1972a
- Sterba, Editha : 1935b, 1946a, 1966e, 1974e, 1974f
- Sterba, Richard : 1965a
- Stoddart, W. H. B. : 1929c, p. 489
- Stone, L. : 1954c, 1965a, 1972a
- Storfer, A. J. : 1928b, p. 150
- Strachey, James : 1946a, 1965a, 1968a, 1969a, 1969r, 1969u, 1975c
- Stross, Josefina : 1952a, 1958a, 1973a, 1974e
- Stuart, Mr. Justice : 1971h
- Sylvester, E. : 1946a, 1952a
- Swift, J. : 1936a
- Szondi (Test) : 1951a
- Szurek, S. A. : 1975c
- Tamm, Amhild : 1933a, p. 170
- Taylor, W. S. : 1951a
- Teuns, J. P. : 1966e

- Thomas, Ruth : 1965h, 1969u
 Trilling, L. : 1952a
 Tynes, Harriet : 1967c

 Van der Leeuw, P.J. : 1967b
 Van der Waals, H.G. : 1951a, 1952e
 Van Gogh, Vincent : 1967d
 Veeneklaas, N.G.M. : 1965e

 Waelder, Robert : 1936a, 1954b, 1954d, 1965a, 1967a, 1967d, 1967e, 1969k, 1974c
 Waelder-Hall, Jenny : 1936a, 1954d, 1966e, 1969d, 1974f
 Wagner-Jauregg, J. : 1967d
 Waldvogel, S. : 1952a
 Weigert, Edith : 1965a
 Weinreb, J. : 1960e, 1969u
 Weiss, Eduardo : 1933a, p.169, 1965a
 Weiss, Julia : 1973a
 Weiss-Statthagen, A. : 1954c
 Wenger, Martha : 1951j
 Wenger, Sidney : 1954d
 Werner, H. : 1951j
 Westheimer, I. : 1969i
 Wills, Doris M. : 1969u
 Wilson, Peter : 1977d
 Winnicott, D.W. : 1953a, 1954b, 1955b, 1961a, 1962d, 1963a, 1965a, 1966e, 1967b,
 1969a, 1969i, 1973e, 1974d,
 Witmer, H.L. : 1967c
 Wittels, Fritz : 1958b
 Wolf, Katherine : 1951a, 1958a, 1971j, 1973e
 Wolfenstein, M. : 1969i
 Wolfson, M. : 1951j
 Wood, Ben S. : 1961a
 Wright, Elsie : 1952a
 Wulff, Moshe : 1928a, 1965a, 1974f
 Wutsch, Sofi : 1973a

 Zetzel, Elizabeth R : 1965a, 1969i
 Zimmermann, R.R. : See Harlow, H.F.
 Zulliger, Hans : 1929c, p.510, 1949e

Appendix X.

Correspondence of Anna Freud to this Archive-Study.

20, MARESFIELD GARDENS,

LONDON. NW3 5SX.

01-435 2002.

11th May, 1976.

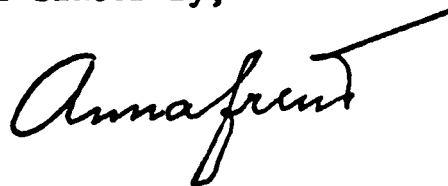
Mr Raymond Dyer, B.Ed., M.Phil,
Education Dept.,
North Yorkshire County Council,
Harrogate.

Dear Mr Dyer,

Thank you for your letter of 1st May, which quite surprised me. I never thought anybody would think it worthwhile to establish something like an archive for me. In any case, I have promised my correspondence and whatever papers are left to the Sigmund Freud Archives in the Library of Congress in Washington D.C. so they are together with my father's.

But in any case I am grateful for your suggestions and of course I am very ready to answer any questions which you put to me.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Anna Freud". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name "Yours sincerely,".

20, MARESFIELD GARDENS,

LONDON. NW3 5SX.

01-435 2002.

14th June, 1976.

Mr Raymond Dyer,
Education Department,
St Peter's C.of E. Primary School,
Belford Road,
Harrogate, N. Yorkshire.

Dear Mr Dyer,

Your letter of 12th June arrived just now
and I understand your worry about the delay in
my answer to yours of May 17th. But I am going
to answer, I am only waiting for a lull in work.
You will hear from me soon.

Yours sincerely,

Anna Freud

20. MARESFIELD GARDENS

LONDON. NW3 5SX.

01-435 2002.

29th July, 1976.

Mr Raymond Dyer,
St Peter's Primary School,
Belford Road,
Harrogate,
North Yorkshire HG1 1JA

Dear Mr Dyer,

Please excuse my answering so late to your letter of May 17th. The reasons for this are that our summer term in my Clinic here has been an especially busy one and it is only now that I can return to my correspondence.

I shall now try to answer your questions as best I can.

(i) Material enclosed.

(ii) I have received the following honours:

LL.D., Clark University, Worcester, Mass., U.S.A., 1950

Sc.D., Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, Pa.,
U.S.A., 1964

LL.D., University of Sheffield, Sheffield, England, 1966

Sc.D., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A., 1966

Sc.D., Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A., 1968

M.D., Vienna University, Vienna, Austria, 1972.

C.B.E., London, England, 1967.

(iii) You ask about Dr Edith Jackson and what I can tell you is the following: She is an American paediatrician who had her training as a psychoanalyst in Vienna before the second world war. After this she became a member of the International Psycho-Analytical Association and worked first in Boston, Mass., from there she moved to Denver, Colorado. She worked in both places very actively not only as a psychoanalyst, but also in

Mr R Dyer - 29.7.76

2

maternity hospitals and she made a name for herself through advocating the so-called "rooming-in" scheme, namely the plan not to separate the new born baby from the mother, but to leave the mother/infant couple together from the first moment.

You ask whether the Hampstead Nurseries modelled themselves on the Vienna Nurseries. Naturally what we had learned there about early development was applied later to the active work with children, but the organisation of the two Nurseries was completely different. The Vienna Nursery was a day Nursery for 20 children between 1 and 2 years. The Hampstead War Nurseries were residential, i.e. the children stayed with us for the whole length of the war and their ages ranged from 10 days to 7 years.

(iv) I collected the material for my first paper already as a psychoanalyst.

My early teaching lasted from age 19 to age 24. After that time I trained as a psychoanalyst and began to practise.

(v) I am sorry that I cannot give you exact data about the positions held in Vienna. I began as a candidate of the Society, became an ordinary member after presenting the first paper mentioned above and a few years later, held official positions in the Society as well as in the Training Institute. But it is difficult to remember exactly when I was what.

Certainly I shall be glad to see your thesis when it is completed, and I do not mind if you send me further questions.

Yours sincerely,

Anna Freud

St. Peter's Primary School,
Balford Road,
HARROGATE
North Yorks.

7th. November 1976.

Dear Anna Freud,

whilst patiently awaiting your esteemed reply to my letter of September 9th. I thought I might usefully indicate to you certain of the issues of importance which have thus far occurred to me regarding the application of your (*earlier*) work to Education:

1. Parent-involvement in school - a recent political debating issue; your views (1931 et seq.) most instructive, whilst 'Kleinian' views wholly negative. Child analyst's relation to parents a part-model for teachers, who are often confused regarding their professional standing with parents.
2. Role of super-ego in 5-11 age-range - many observations available to teachers, suggesting that the child's super-ego is still relatively weak (A. Freud), rather than all-powerful from early age (M. Klein). Thus,
 - (a) apparently well-behaved pupils, who 'know the rules', will occasionally misbehave when left unsupervised; other pupils will misbehave even in the presence of a lesser authority figure (dinner-assistant, etc.),
 - (b) certain situations of the 'rite de passage' type, such as leaving class, progress to next educational level, passing an attainment award - often characterised by lowered standards of behaviour generally, after, or as the event approaches. (In the old 11+ days, our 11 year old school-leavers became predictably rude and self-possessed with their class teachers once they were officially told, a few weeks before term ended, which Secondary school they had been assigned to).
3. Teachers as observers, vs. theorists - over-emphasis on new theories in modern education, to detriment of attention to trained observation related to framework of existing, corroborated theory. Approach of S. Freud and A. Freud most instructive here...

20. MARESFIELD GARDENS

LONDON, NW3 5SX.

01-435 2002.

28th March, 1977.

Mr Raymond Dyer,
St Peter's Primary School,
Belford Road,
Harrogate, North Yorks.

Dear Mr Dyer,

At last I am responding to the questions which you submitted to me at various dates.

First your letter of September 9th 1976:

1. I did attend the Budapest Congress of 1918. My intention to become a psychoanalyst preceded this.
2. I attended the Berlin Congress of 1922. As far as I remember my father was prevented by illness. I had no dealings with Dr Piaget of Geneva, and I don't remember meeting him there.
3. To the best of my knowledge, I did not attend the Salzburg Congress in 1924 because of my father's illness at that time.
4. I read my father's paper at the Paris Congress in 1938 in German.

As regards your letter of November 7th 1976, I can say the following: Paragraph 1.: quite correct; 2.; para 1., quite correct; 3. also correct.

Does this help ?

Yours sincerely,

Anna Freud

St. Peter's Primary School,
Belford Road,
HARROGATE, North Yorks.

19th. June 1978.

Dear Dr. Anna Freud,

my appreciation of the first issue of your new Bulletin of The Harpstead Clinic was marred by what I can only believe is a typographical error and distortion, which occurs in your own article on 'The Principal Task of Child Analysis' (p.11). Since the correct interpretation of your professional thought is crucial to my research work, I would be most grateful if you could find the time to indicate to me whether or not I am correct in what follows.

In the second paragraph of your paper you discuss the tasks of psychoanalysis, which include the application of a general theory of mental functioning to "a large number of disciples concerned with human beings" (Anna Freud, 1978, Bull. Harpstead Clin., 1, (1), p.11). Having studied over half a century of your professional and scientific thinking in your published works, I cannot believe that you intended the use of the word DISCIPLES. Nowhere, to my knowledge, have you publicly proclaimed a 'messianic' role for psychoanalysis, its notable founder, or yourself. What would, however, be perfectly in keeping with your many published statements is the view that psychoanalysis has increasingly applied its particular general theory of mental functioning to "a large number of DISCIPLINES concerned with human beings". Now, one thinks immediately of psychiatry, paediatrics, paedagogy and teaching, education and child development, family law - and again, anthropology, art, mythology, biography, criminology, neurophysiology, personality theory, semantics - and many more!

I do hope you will not feel that this is all unimportant or a waste of your time. The particular type of scholarship which I am endeavouring to apply to your work demands precisely this kind of clarification,

Yours most sincerely,

R. Dyer, B.Ed., M.Phil.

20, MARESFIELD GARDENS,

LONDON, NW3 5SX.

01-435 2002.

21st June, 1978.

Mr R. Dyer,
St Peter's Primary School,
Belford Road,
Harrogate, North Yorks.

Dear Mr Dyer,

I am very grateful for your letter of 19th June. I do believe that the printing error that you point out is a very important and rather horrible one. Of course it should have read "disciplines". Why did not proof reader spot it before ?

Yours sincerely,

Anna Freud

Appendix XI.

Material submitted by Anna Freud's Associates.

(Interviews, Questionnaires, Correspondence)

In addition to the named persons whose submissions are here presented in alphabetical co-respondent order, the following notable individuals were also considered but for various reasons proved "non available" -

Jenny Waelder-Hall	not traced in time
Helen Ross	"
Maurits Katan	deceased
W. Ernest Freud	declined
Kurt Eissler	"
Ruth Eissler	"
Helene Deutsch	untraced/deceased?
James Robertson	not traced in time
Joyce Robertson	"
Thesi Bergmann	untraced
Edna Oakeshott (prev. Balint)	declined

Several persons named in Appendix XIV, particularly from the Ann Arbor and Philadelphia groups,

	untraced in time
Rudolf Ekstein	untraced
Dale Meers	correspondence insufficiently developed
Humberto Nagera	not traced in time
Martin James	"
Edith B. Jackson	deceased
Edith Jacobson	not traced in time
Joseph Sandler	correspondence insufficiently developed

(Co-respondent - Dorothy T. Burlingham)

QUESTIONS FOR THE ANNA FREUD INDEX (Sheffield-Harris, etc.).

Contributor: Dorothy Burlingham

1. Year in which you were born, 1891
2. Date and circumstances of first serious encounter with psychoanalytical ideas, Through friends 1924
3. Occasion and date of first meeting with Anna Freud, Brought my son for consultations September 1925.
4. (optional question) Person(s) with whom you trained in psychoanalysis/child analysis; year in which training began, Training Prof. Freud. No special training in child analysis at its beginning but continued discussion with Ginnipend & went to all meetings; when child analysis discussed
5. Year, venue, occasion of any especially memorable meetings with Anna Freud, (International Congresses, etc.), All meetings where Anna Freud took part were important in that they cleared the subject under discussion.
6. Last occasion (date, place) when your work brought you and Anna Freud together, ~~do you envisage seeing her again?~~

20. MARESFIELD GARDENS

LONDON, NW3 5SX.

01-435 2002.

21st March, 1977.

Mr Raymond Dyer,
St Peter's Primary School,
Belford Road,
Harrogate, N. Yorks.

Dear Mr Dyer,

You are certainly writing a thesis on an interesting subject - "The Contribution of Anna Freud to the Theory and Practise of Education", and I am glad to give you the information you want for the Index of persons involved with Anna Freud's work.

1. The addresses you ask for are as follows:

Dr J. A. Lampl-de Groot,
Haringvlietstraat 39,
Amsterdam.

Drs Anny and Maurits Katan,
2550 Arlington Road,
Cleveland Heights, Ohio 44118.

Dr Marianne Kris,
239 Central Park West,
New York, N.Y. 10024.

2. I have answered your question sheet, and to this I would like to add that

- 1) I was involved in psychoanalytic teaching seminars for the Nursery Schools of the City of Vienna;
- 2) I took part in the running of the Jackson Nursery for children between 1 and 2½ years whose parents were on the dole;

Mr R. Dyer - 21.3.77.

2

- 3) I was co-director in the Hampstead War Nurseries;
- 4) I am Trustee and co-worker in the Hampstead Child-Therapy Course and Clinic and co-ordinator of its Study Group for the Blind.

My connection with Anna Freud is a simple and direct one. When I was myself convinced of the benefit of psychoanalysis, and heard that Anna Freud was analysing children, I brought my son for a consultation and he became one of her first patients.

In many discussions with her on child development, my own interest grew and I was fortunate to be at the first discussion groups which she organised on child development and child psychoanalysis, and from then on I became part of the growing child analysis movement. I consider this to be my child analysis training.

3. When you are on a visit to the Hampstead Clinic, I shall be glad to see you.

With best wishes for success with your thesis,

Yours sincerely,

Dorothy Burlingham

Dorothy Burlingham

THE ANNA FREUD INDEX (Harrogate and Sheffield, England).Contributor: **EDITH BUXBAUM, Ph.D.**1. Year born: **1902** 2. Place: **Vienna, Austria**

3. Date and circumstance of first serious encounter with psychoanalytic ideas:

I encountered psychoanalytic ideas in 1916, when Otto Fenichel presented them to a youthgroup. It was decisive for me to become an analyst.

4. Date and circumstance of first meeting with Anna Freud:

I met her when I applied to study psychoanalysis, probably 1925

5. Did you ever meet Professor Freud? **yes**

Year:

Occasion:

between 1928
and 1937

- casually and in a
meeting at his house

6. (Optional question) - Person(s) with whom you trained in psychoanalysis/child analysis:

Training in analysis with Dr. Nimbberg; child analysis with Anna Freud. Training with Gestalt, Jellus Federer, Wilhelm Reich, etc.

7. Scope of involvement with Vienna Psyc. Society, Child Analysis Seminars etc., 1920s, 30s

Member of Society, Assoc since 1928, member 1932.
With Anna Freud's Child Analysis Seminars 1927-37.
Gore seminars for teachers.

8. Year of emigration to U.S.A. **1937**

9. Important meetings with Anna Freud since 1945 - Int. Congresses, U.S. lecture tours, other visits etc.

YearOccasion

{
etc.

I met her in U.S. and at Intern. meetings,
and in Hampstead.

THE ANNA FREUD INDEX (At Harrogate & Sheffield Univ.)Contributor: *Gertrud Dann.*

1. Year of birth: *27-5-1908* 2. Place of birth: *AUGSBURG, GERMANY*

3. First serious encounter with psychoanalysis - *1941*
 Year: *1941*
 Circumstances/Place: *HAMPSTEAD NURSERY*

4. First meeting with Anna Freud -
 Year: *1941*
 Place: *HAMPSTEAD NURSERY*
 Circumstance: *EMPLOYMENT*

5. Did you ever meet/see Professor Freud? *NO*

6. Circumstances and date of early involvement with Hampstead Nursery/Clinic -
 How did you become involved? *Employed as sister 1-6-1941 \ 8-1-1958*
in charge of Junior Toddlers Department.
 Nature of first post: (from/year) to: *1941* to *1945*

7. Work role/occupation from c. October 1945 to 1951/52?
1945-46 Bulldogs Bank (Home for grungest orphans from Concentration Camps)
1946-47 Home for Refugees' Children
1948- (1957) Lingfield House (Home for orphans from ")

8. (Optional question): no: own training analysis - *None*

Person(s) with whom you trained:

Period of training:

Signed *Gertrud Dann*

THE ANNA FREUD INDEX (At Harrogate & Sheffield Univ.)Contributor: *Sophie Dann.*1. Year of birth: *1900* 2. Place of birth: *AUGSBURG* *Bavaria*

3. First serious encounter with psychoanalysis -

Year: *1941*Circumstances/Place: *Hampstead Nursery*

4. First meeting with Anna Freud -

Year: *31. 12. 1940*Place: *20 Maresfield Gardens*Circumstance: *Applying for a nursing job in his Freud's family!*5. Did you ever meet/see Professor Freud? *No*6. Circumstances and date of early involvement with Hampstead Nursery/Clinic - *1.6. 1941*How did you become involved? *Employed as Sister in Charge of Babies*Nature of first post: (from (year) to): *1941 to 1945*

7. Work role/occupation from c. October 1945 to 1951/52?

*1945-46 In Charge of Guilds Bank, Home for Orphans
rescued from Concentration Camps. 1946-47 Home for
Refugees' Children. 1948-52 Private Nursing.*8. (Optional question): re: own training analysis - *None*

Person(s) with whom you trained:

Period of training:

Signed *Sophie Dann*

THE ANNA FREUD INDEX (Harrogate and Sheffield, England).Contributor: **ERIK H. ERIKSON**

1. Year born: 1902

2. Place: Frankfurt am Main

3. Date and circumstance of first serious encounter with psychoanalytic ideas:

After having met the Freuds and members of their circle (see 4)

4. Date and circumstance of first meeting with Anna Freud:

As a tutor of the Burlingham children during the summer of 1927 on the Semmering, where the Freuds and the Buringhams had adjoining houses.

5. Did you ever meet Professor Freud?

Year: 1927-1933 Occasion: On a variety of informal occasions (see 4)

6. (Optional question) - Person(s) with whom you trained in psychoanalysis/child analysis:

My training analyst was Anna Freud; my supervising analysts were August Aichhorn, Helene Deutsch and Edward Bibring.

7. Scope of involvement with Vienna Psa. Society, Child Analysis Seminars etc., 1920s, 30s.

I took part in required seminars, including Anna Freud's Kinderseminar, Helene Deutsch's "adult" seminar and Hartmann's and Kris' seminar on theory. I graduated in 1933

8. Year of emigration to U.S.A 1933

9. Important meetings with Anna Freud since 1945 - Int. Congresses, U.S. lecture tours, other visits etc.

YearOccasion(a)
(b)
(c)
etc.

Besides a few meetings on public and private occasions in the U.S. and England, at the anniversary discussion of defense mechanisms in Philadelphia; at a discussion of psychoanalysis with Yale students; at a seminar at Hampstead on the occasion of my presenting some of the Freud lectures in University College.

QUESTIONS FOR THE ANNA FREUD INDEX (Sheffield).

Subject: DR. LISELOTTE FRANKL (Psychiatrist)
 Ph.D. (Vienna) M.B. B.S. (London) F.R.C. Psych.

1. Year of birth: 1910

2. Town of birth: VIENNA

3. Circumstances and date of first serious encounter with psychoanalytical ideas/concepts:

I lived opposite AUGUST AICHORN and went to his work with Adolfsen's and Klein parents besides reading S. Freud's publications. (Student of Psychology in Vienna) Early Rinfics

4. Occasion and year of first encounter with Anna Freud: ? 1936

Interview in order to be accepted for Training in Psychoanalytic Institute, Vienna

5. Did you ever meet Professor Freud?

Year? 1936 Place? Consulting Suite

I only saw him going through the waiting room.

6. (Optional) Supervisor with whom you trained in psychoanalysis/child analysis:

ERNST KRIS

W. HOFFER

D. BURLINGHAM, A. FREUD

Year training began: ? 1936

7. International Congresses at which you witnessed Anna Freud deliver paper or answer panel questions:

Most Congresses after the War
 (and Psychosomatic Research, Royal College of Physicians May 1959 vol. Dr. K. H. Sunkel)

8. Any U.S.A. visits/lecture tours on which you accompanied Anna Freud:

9. Any further suggestions (persons, topics, questions) to be included in my 'Anna Freud Index':

Dr. A. Haenchen, 10 GREENWOOD COMMON
 BERKELEY, CAL 94708

Dr. Heilmann and I wrote for the Nursing World, not Anna Freud as far as I know
 Jackson Nursing in Vienna was organised by Anna Freud (for toddlers) if Dr. Strauss
 worked there did not say much about it, Mrs Elizabeth HARDING, 31 THE GREEN,

THE ANNA FREUD INDEX (Marrogate V. Sheffield).Contributor - Dr. L. Frankl. (Further questions).

9. How did you come to be involved with the Hampstead War Nurseries?

Date: ? When preparations were made for the War Nursery. (As student of Institute of
 Circumstances: sorting out clothes. (Psychoanalysis)
 later - attended meetings when I was in London.

10. What happened to staff-members when the Nurseries closed in 1945?
 Where did you go to work/train?

I was not a staff member, I worked in a hospital after the war.
 Some staff members trained as Social Workers after continuing their
 general education. Some worked for Diplomas in Psychology before
 or simultaneously with the Child Therapy Training. At least one went to the
 USA.

11. How and when were you re-involved in the new Hampstead Clinic?

When plans were made for the training of Child Therapists
 The training started before the first house was obtained (in 1952)
 Involved in teaching and Psychiatrist in charge of the Clinic.

12. Can you give any relevant data on the following, when I am unable to contact -

Link LENN HENRATH, (19__ to 19__) Born in:

Met psychoanalysis: In Vienna, worked at 'PSYCHOANALYTISCHER
 VERLAG' (Psychoanalytic Publishing Company) In England worked at
 Institute of Psychoanalysis. I believe as secretary.
 Trained with: Dr. J. Hoffer Was extremely knowledgeable
 about S. Freud's papers.

SOCIETY de MONTMARTRE,

Department of Psychology
 University College London
 Gower St
 London WC1

Psychoanalyst

teaching at University College

as far as I know - not connected with Hampstead
 War Nurseries

THE ANNA FROUD INDEX (Harrogate & Sheffield Univ.)

Contributor: Miss Alice Goldberger.

1. Year of birth: 1899

2. Place of birth: Berlin, Germany

3. Year and circumstances of first encounter with psychoanalytic ideas:

During training in Berlin in a seminar for education
Two state examinations, first Hortnerin (like Kindergarten -
second leader of any kind of work with teacher children or
Adolescents.

4. Year and circumstances of first meeting with Anna Freud:

During my internment on the Isle of Man I opened a Kindergarten
for the children of internees and trained young girls to work
there. Miss Freud heard about it and sent me a telegram,
I came to Hampstead from the Isle and met Miss Freud 1941.

5. Work role in Hampstead War Nursery:

Superintendent of the country house, New Barn in ESSEX
until the end of the war, when the children from
concentration camps came to Windermere.
I was in charge of this home in Lingfield, Surrey.

6. Activities from 1945-47:

Training in the first group of psycho-
therapists while having the children's home at Lingfield, later at Dale
north Middlesex. Treating fosterchildren with problems in
homes, later on blind children.

7. (optional question) Person(s) who provided training analysis/supervision from 1947-49:

Miss Anna Freud.

8. Main activities in Hampstead Clinic, 1952-1977.

care for retarded blind child, other blind children at Hampstead,
Regular visits at Dorton House, school for the Blind, seeing
disturbed children at the school. After care for the first blind
girl, now 18, 11 years. Visiting a partially sighted child and
helping mother. — — — — — the former children from K. C.

Ise HELLMAN

- Interviewed 19.2.1977, near Harrogate.
(Saturday, 11.0 a.m. bright spring day).

b. 1908, Vienna

'not a theoretician'; always wanted to do practical work with children.

Trained with Charlotte Bühler's 'child-psychology' group,
Vienna Univ., 1927-1929; general tone anti-psychoanalytical.

Worked in Paris, Vienna; London from 1937, initially with Bühler
Ph.D., Vienna (study of mongolism).

1st encounter with Anna Freud: December, 1940.

Flu outbreak amongst staff of Hampstead War Nursery; telephone request
to I.H. to fill-in for a day at the nursery (11, Wedderburn Rd., near Maresfield
Gdns.; small house only); I.H. working amongst group of infants, when Anna
Freud came in and observed her; later that day offered her job of
Superintendent of new (larger) nursery (no. 3, Netherhall Gdns.)
[house nos. were 13 and 5 respectively]

I.H. initially sceptical of 'freer' feeding schedules of nursery; very easily
won, told (with all staff) to observe, record on index cards etc.; behaviour
related to theoretical views.

After a year's work, Anna Freud approached I.H. with idea of undergoing
formal analytical training; Jan. 1942, applied to London Institute, and
began training analysis (Dorothy Burlingham). Reluctant to advise me as to who was
in analysis with A.F. at this period.
(generally felt to be a private matter)

1946 - Assoc. membership; lectured at London Univ. Institute of Education
(Not aware of any A.F. public lectures in war period). ('Teaching' interest)

MONTESSORI - Anna Freud very pro-Montessori; involved in training Montessori-trained
teachers in Vienna; many attended her lectures etc. (Thesi Bergmann).

Recommended (for meeting/interviewing) - Edna Oakshott

James Robertson

Hanna Kennedy (let her check your thesis for
accuracy).

1945-1952

Private practices contd.

Kate Friedlaender (Berlin trained; assoc. with nursery during war; friend of
Anna Freud's) suggested continuation of training, ~~and~~ teaching
programme; first class, all ex-helpers/staff of wartime nursery,
classes held in Anna Freud's home, other people's homes.

Kate Friedlaender, Anna Freud, Dorothy Burlingham, Josephine Stross and

not (mimeo) circ. by Yorke & Kennedy, re: early phase of clinic. } I.H. offered to search out
 aspects on Centenary Celebration (1956), committee members etc } and forward.
 file 'blank' (duplicated only). - only knew of T. Freeman (in Ireland) using them, with
 Psychotics.

Present Hampstead Course (child-therapists) incorporated with London Institute
 of Psycho-Analysis; after basic course in adult analysis, students now have
 choice of pursuing child-analysis at Hampstead or London Institute.

Write to Mrs. Francis Salo, 21, Maresfield Gdns, for visit.
 Wednesday - General Clinic Seminar, 2.00 pm., Anna Freud Chairwoman.

and Centenary Celebration: no Anna Freud lecture likely,
 ('she does not like to push herself forward').

Tea-party at 20, Maresfield Gdns; James Robertson filmed it (recently
 shown to Hampstead students) → 'odd-job man' in original
 wartime nursery; moved to Tavistock.

well I.H. knows Anna Freud:

'I know her as a boss and as a teacher'.

For fuller accounts, recommended Jeanne Lampl-de Groot

('they know everything') Anny Katan, Matianne Ktis

Over coffee, or at lunch, 'we still talk about the Clinic', sometimes cooking.

CHIVE.

A.F. had not spoken of it; I.H. thought of Washington Archive
 edited Works. → Above as follows. I.H. commented that she was enjoying reviewing her whole life as it were; she had
 not done so before in so thorough a manner; I suggested perhaps A.F. had felt the same in
 publishing her collected writings - "Oh, no!"

A.F. Pressed into it - by K. Fessler and Lottie Newman.
 ('that woman who edits the PSC').

Iranian Controversy.

'Gentleman's agreement'; committee's now always 'two and two'.

Bitterness of early years not carried on amongst next generation;

energetic arguments, but no personal animosity.

I.H. thought Glover's (1945, PSC) paper 'did not need to be stated so

forcefully' - Glover, then, wanted Anna Freud to form separate,

independent Society; Anna Freud declined; Glover

resigned from British Soc., joined Swiss (out of it all!).

Glover's paper publ. 'because the issues had not been stated until then',

and because Anna Freud's publication 'wanted it published'.

Answers 12.4.77: Pentel Kline now gives illustration of British PSC + + + "

31 DRAYTON GARDENS
LONDON, S.W.10
TELEPHONE 01-373 1416.

Raymond Dyer Esq.,
St. Peter's C. of E. Primary School,
Belford Road,
Harrogate HG1 1JA

11th April, 1977.

Dear Mr. Dyer,

The report on the Anniversary Meeting of the Hampstead Course and Clinic was published under the title: Studies in Child Psycho-Analysis Pure and Applied. Monograph 5 of the Ps. Study of the Child. Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, London 1975.

As I told you over the telephone there are no printed forms for the Profiles. They have been published in the P.S.C.

Have you come across Dr. Tom Freeman? He has adapted the Profile for psychotic patients. He was a student of Mrs. Buntingham's and now lives in Ireland.

Please let me know in good time which Wednesday you will choose for your visit to Hampstead.

Yours sincerely,

I. R. Hellman

I. R. Hellman, Ph.D.

P.S. Please write to my home address.

(Co-respondent - J.C.Hill)

1. 1895
2. The first book I had by Miss Freud was her Introduction to Psychoanalysis for Teachers. I think Miss Freud gave me this copy. I have dated it 1938. She gave me several books written by her father, and I had already studied many of Freud's works before 1938.
3. I had no contact with the Institute of Psychoanalysis.
4. The Chief Inspector of Schools in London knew of my great interest in Freud's work, and when Freud arrived in England we considered asking him to give a few lectures to our teachers. I said I would make enquiries. I wrote to Ernst Freud, the architect, telling him what we wanted, and asking if I could make contact with his father. He explained that his father could no longer lecture, but suggested that his sister, Anna Freud, might lecture for us, and gave me her address. I wrote to her and she invited me to call. She agreed to give three lectures, and I got official permission to arrange these. The three lectures were very well attended, and enthusiastically received. A very favourable report of the lectures was published in the Council Magazine. There had been no discussion about the content of the lectures. Miss Freud had a free hand.
5. I do not remember any. [*Public Lectures by Anna Freud, 1939-50*]
6. I have no information on this point, but as an Inspector of Schools I was continually spreading abroad the educational importance of Freud's work, and many teachers were very interested.
7. I do not remember any discussion of Miss Freud's work, but I did not read much educational literature.

J.C.Hill

QUESTIONS FOR THE ANNA FREUD INDEX (Sheffield-Harrogate).Contributor: **Amy Katan, M.D.**

1. Year in which you were born, May 1, 1898 1(a). Maiden name, Rosenberg
2. Date and circumstances of first serious encounter with psychoanalytical ideas.
My father, Dr. Rosenberg, was a very good friend of Sigmund Freud's. I knew about psychoanalysis when I was a child.
3. Occasion and date of first meeting with Anna Freud,

I played with her as a child.
4. (optional question) Person(s) with whom you trained in psychoanalysis/child analysis; year in which training began,

I was enrolled in the first child analysis seminar that Anna Freud gave.
5. Year, venue, occasions of any especially memorable meetings with Anna Freud, (International Congresses, etc.),

All International Congresses. I also met with her at conferences which I attended at the Hampstead Clinic in London.
6. Last occasion (date, place) when your work brought you and Anna Freud together,

Do you envisage seeing her again? We are in constant contact by letter and personally about teaching and research in child development and child analysis. I see Anna Freud every year.
7. Any further global remarks you would like to have included with your abstracts in an 'Index of Anna Freud Commentators',
8. Any other persons you would suggest for detailed follow-up contact,

Amy Katan M.D.

Amy Katan, M.D. - March 15, 1978

(Co-respondent -- Hansi Kennedy)

THE HAMPSTEAD CHILD-THERAPY COURSE AND CLINIC

12, 14, 21 MARESFIELD GARDENS LONDON NW3

TEL 01-794 2313-4-5

CORRESPONDENCE TO: 21 MARESFIELD GARDENS LONDON NW3 5SU

Director: Anna Freud CBE LLD ScD MD (Hon)

Psychiatrist in Charge: Clifford Yorke MRCS LRCP MRC Psych DPM

HK/MB

Mr. Raymond Dyer,
St. Peter's Primary School,
Belford Road,
Harrogate,
N. Yorks.

28th April, 1977

Dear Mr. Dyer,

Thank you for your letter of April 25th. The questions you want me to answer are relatively straight forward unless you really want full details about the students who took part in the first training course, which might be easier to fill in for you in a personal conversation.

1. (a) Whereas Miss Freud and Dr. Kate Friedlander were instrumental in starting the Hampstead Child Therapy Course inasfar as official negotiations were concerned with professional bodies etc., Mrs. Dorothy Burlingham certainly fully participated in training and supervision as training analyst, as supervisor of casework and as seminar leader. Of course there were quite a few other senior psychoanalysts participating in these capacities as well as, for example, Dr. W. Hoffer and Mrs. H. Hoffer.
- (b) I believe there were 6 students who had worked in the Hampstead War Nurseries in this course in addition to one who had long been associated with psychoanalysis in Vienna. This group was later joined by one extra person, an Australian psychologist who at that time had trained for work with adults at the Institute of Psycho-Analysis.

/ 2

- 2 -

(c) In view of the fact that most of the members in this group had basic introductory courses during their training in the Hampstead War Nurseries and were already engaged in their personal psychoanalysis, they were permitted to start with Year 2 of the Course and most of them qualified in the Summer of 1949. In the beginning the course was only a 3 year Course.

(d) Seminars and lectures took place in individual lecturers' homes and continued to do so until the Clinic was opened in 1951. The first books acquired by the Course were housed on a book-shelf in Anna Freud's home. These students saw their patients in the Clinics where they were working as psychologists or therapists at that time. In fact, this was the West Sussex Child Guidance Service directed by Dr. Kate Friedlander and the East London Child Guidance Clinic directed by Dr. Augusta Bonnard.

2. Regarding your question about Theodora Alcock and her review in the 'New Era'. She was a very well known psychologist at that time working mainly at the old Tavistock Clinic during the War years and after. I think you will find her listed as a member of the British Psychological Society. I do not think that she was a psychoanalyst and she retired some years ago ? and I don't even know if she is still alive.

I look forward to meeting you on June 1st when you visit the Clinic.

Yours sincerely,

H. Kennedy
(Mrs.) Hansi Kennedy
Director.

QUESTIONS FOR THE ANNA FREUD INDEX (Sheffield-Harrogate).Contributor: **Marianne Kris**

1. Year in which you were born, 1900 1(a). Maiden name, *Rie*
2. Date and circumstances of first serious encounter with psychoanalytical ideas,
Around 1920 began reading Psychoanalytic literature. Known some of the ideas earlier.
3. Occasion and date of first meeting with Anna Freud,
Families had social contact with each other; therefore have known A.F. all my life. Special friendship established during the late twenties.
4. (optional question) Person(s) with whom you trained in psychoanalysis/child analysis; year in which training began,
Training began 1925 in Berlin with E. Hekander. Supervision with Dr. Eisinger, child analysis supervision with Anna Freud. Child analytic seminar chaired by A.F.
5. Year, venue, occasion of any especially memorable meetings with Anna Freud, (International Congresses, etc.),
A.F. fostering the founding of the Association for Child Psychology and her participation at its first meeting, Moscow 1966. All congresses in which A.F. participated.
6. Last occasion (date, place) when your work brought you and Anna Freud together,
London 1976 meeting of the European Ancients of the Assoc. for Child Psychology.
Do you envisage seeing her again? *yes*
7. Any further global remarks you would like to have included with your abstracts in an 'Index of Anna Freud Commentators',
8. Any other persons you would suggest for detailed follow-up contact,

Dr Kurt and Ruth Essler

March 31, 1977

QUESTIONS FOR THE ANNA FREUD INDEX (Sheffield-Harrogate).

Contributors: Jeanne Lampl-de Groot

1. Year in which you were born, 1895 . 1(a). Maiden name, Jeanne de Groot, M.D.
2. Date and circumstances of first serious encounter with psychoanalytical ideas,
1913-1914, reading "Traumdeutung" a.o.
3. Occasion and date of first meeting with Anna Freud,
1922, Meeting of the Vienna psychoanalytic Society
4. (optional question) Person(s) with whom you trained in psychoanalysis/child analysis; year in which training began,
Training in psychoanalysis with Sigmund Freud, 1922
5. Year, venue, occasion of any especially memorable meetings with Anna Freud, (International Congresses, etc.),
Courses and Seminars in the Vienna Society 1923-1925,
All congresses, with the exception of the Oxford Congress 1928 and the Paris Congress 1933 - Seminars with Anna Freud 1933-1938.
Visits Hampstead Clinic (several times)
6. Last occasion (date, place) when your work brought you and Anna Freud together,
London Congress 1975
Do you envisage seeing her again? *yes*
7. Any further global remarks you would like to have included with your abstracts in an 'Index of Anna Freud Commentators',
Seminars for psychoanalysts, child-analysts and pedagogues in Vienna were excellent. In International Meetings of the Int. Childanalytic Association A.F. played a prominent role.

QUESTIONS FOR THE ANNA FREUD INDEX (Sheffield, England).

Subject: **ANNA MAENCHEN, Ph.D.**

1. Year of birth 1902 2. Town of birth: Western Russia
3. Circumstances and date of first serious encounter with psychoanalytical ideas:
Lectures by Dr. Siegfried Bernfeld for a private group of teachers while I was a student at the University of Vienna.
4. Occasion and year of first encounter with Anna Freud:
Referred to Anna Freud for psychoanalysis, probably in 1922 or 1923.
5. Did you ever meet Professor Freud? Year/Place/Circumstance:
Yes, I saw Professor Freud in the house (Berggasse 19) during my analysis with Anna Freud. Also in 1929 when I visited Anna Freud with my little boy and she asked her father to meet us. Professor Freud did not give lectures at the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society (or Institute).
6. (Optional question) Person(s) with whom you trained in psychoanalysis (child analysis & year training began):
Anna Freud and Siegfried Bernfeld
Supervisors: Jeanne Lampl de Groot, Marianne Kris, M.D., Dr. Federn, Dr. Helene Deutsch in Vienna and Berlin (with an interruption of 3 years after my marriage) ending, I think, in 1935.
7. International Congresses at which you witnessed Miss Freud deliver paper etc.:
I attended many International Congresses starting with the Congress in Lucerne, Switzerland in 1934. The highlight of every Congress was Anna Freud's papers and discussions.
8. U.S.A. visits/lecture tours on which you heard/met Miss Freud:
The same is true in hearing her speak on her lecture tours in U.S.A. (New York, Topeka, San Francisco, Stockbridge, Cleveland, Washington, D.C.)
9. Any further suggestions (persons, topics, questions) to be included in my 'Anna Freud Index':
You probably have a complete bibliography of her work and also articles about her work, for instance, Dr. Seymour Lustman's article in the Psychoanalytic Study of the Child.

THE ANNA FREUD INDEX

Contributor: Dr. Anna Maenchen (Berkeley)

1. Were you one of the very first child-analysts to train with Anna Freud? Can you name any others contemporary with yourself? (If to do so, would offend living persons, I shall understand).

No, I do not think that I was one of the first child-analysts trained with Anna Freud. The others (Marianne Kris, Jenny Waelder Hall, Edith Buxbaum, Editha Sterba and others) started before me. In the early twenties I was in personal analysis with Anna Freud which later turned into training analysis. I married in 1927 and left with my husband for 3 years. In 1930 - 31 I resumed my training this time at the Berlin Institute (1930 - 1933) after which time we returned to Vienna because of Hitler's getting into power.

2. Presumably you would have attended the well-known 'Child Analysis Seminars' conducted in Vienna from c.1926. Can you say who attended regularly?

I do not know which seminars you mean; there was a seminar for young analysts called jokingly a child seminar and there was of course also a child analysis seminar in Vienna conducted by Anna Freud and devoted to presentation of child-analytic cases. I did join the Child Analysis seminar held in the waiting room of Freud's house in Berggasse 19 during 1933 - 1938. The others there were: Marianne Kris, Jenny Waelder Hall, Edith Buxbaum, Editha Sterba, May O'Neil Hawkins, Erik Homburger Erikson, Frits Redl, D Jackson, Willie Hoffa (I think) and many American colleagues in training in Vienna at that time.

3. Which older analysts referred, somewhat disparagingly, to these seminars as 'Infant Seminars', implying a youthful state of learning on the part of members attending?

I do not remember who of the older analysts referred "somewhat disparagingly" as "Infant Seminars". This must have referred to the seminar of young analysts.

4. When did you emigrate to the U.S.A.?

I emigrated from Vienna to the U.S.A. in the spring of 1938 (2 months after Nazi's invasion of Austria on March 13th of that year). I settled with my family in the San Francisco Bay Area, part of which is Berkeley.

EVA ROSENFELD.

Interview; London, Tuesday, 31st. May, 1977,
4.00 - 5.15 pm.

Born in New York, 1892. Family moved/returned to Berlin, c. 1895.

- 1908 - cousin/fiance, lawyer, came from Vienna - told of Freud and psycho-analysis, and meetings he had attended.
- 1911 - married and moved to Vienna
- 1918 - began 'home' for difficult children (war-orphan, etc.) - informal, middle-class venture (earlier work with young children); mother helped at S. Bernfeld's 'Kinderheim Baumgarten'.
- 1924 - First seminars of Anna Freud - attended by Bernfeld etc. - Anna Freud asked Bernfeld if he knew any suitable woman/family to take in 'Minna', a difficult 15yr. old girl patient. Bernfeld recommended Eva Rosenfeld, 13th. District (Vienna).
- ... 'One Sunday morning, in November 1924 ... she arrived at my door, [and] explained what she wanted ... This was the turning point of my life ... I knew then that [my friendship with Anna Freud] "This was for ever" ...' ... 'I have never altered my views about Anna Freud' ...
- 1926 - Peter Blos visited the Rosenfeld's in Vienna - qualified teacher, had not yet decided on career - Eva Rosenfeld introduced him to Dorothy Burlingham & Anna Freud:
- ... 'At that meeting ... no one knows by whom ... it was decided to go ahead and form a nursery school' ...
- Dorothy Burlingham built a timber-house in Eva Rosenfeld's garden; Blos brought along Erik Homburger - school had about 15 pupils, children mostly in analysis [with Anna Freud, Jenny Wälder, Marianne Kris, Edith Buxbaum, Mrs. Burlingham, Aichhorn]
- 1927-31: 'Project' method used by teachers [Blos, Homburger; Mrs. Briebl, American analyst, also taught for a short time]

[Sanatorium Schloss Tegel]

1931 - called by Simmel to work in Tegel (Berlin)

Nursery school carried on for another year or so under August Eichhorn - closed with advent of Hitler in Germany⁽¹⁹³³⁾ - teachers emigrated, pupils taken over by state, prep'd for early matriculation, etc.

1933-1936: worked in adult analysis with Eitingon at Wichmannstrasse Institute (Berlin).

1936 - emigrated to England - [Elm Tree Court, London, NW8].

BRITISH PSA SOCIETY - 'There was the big controversy over Melanie Klein's work - Jones and Glover were virtually

at each other's throats... we [younger members] all sat listening and watching... [Assoc. member, 1936 - later gave paper for full Member].

Dr. Paula Heimann, 'a student of Mrs. Klein's', first introduced Eva Rosenfeld to Klein's work - Mrs. Klein attended argumentative meetings - 'her worst enemy was her own daughter, Melitta Schimideberg, who, under the protection of Dr. Glover, criticised her mother's work'...

1938 - When Freud family moved to England, Eva Rosenfeld visited them frequently, at 39 Elsworthy Rd., and at 20 Maresfield Gardens. ['I went, naturally, as a close friend'].

Eva Rosenfeld had by this time developed the desire to approach Mrs. Klein, find out more, have further analysis, etc.

... 'I wrote to Prof. Freud about it first... he felt he ought to keep out of it... I went to see them and discussed it... with Anna... yes... She was very understanding... She knew I had only had a year or so of analysis with Prof. Freud'...

June 1938 - Sept. 1939: Eva Rosenfeld in analysis with Melanie Klein; interrupted by outbreak of war (Mrs. Klein went to Scotland).

WEDNESDAY SEMINARS - at 20, Maresfield Gardens - ... 'I attended them regularly... bombs or no bombs...'

[also, Kate Friedlander, Barbara Lantos, Barbara Low, etc.]

Oxford - involved in some work with evacuees - Miss Clare Brittain [later Mrs. Clare Winnicott] took Eva R. around houses where evacuated children housed

Did not attend 'Controversial (1943-44) Discussions' of British Ps. Soc.

Trained R.E.D. Markillie (Leeds) ... 'I have visited Leeds, and Hattogate ... A student of mine works there' ...

[Comment from me: 'He seems to lean, with Harry Guntrip, more to Ronald Fairbairn's "object-relations" theory now']

'Well, I don't expect my students to keep to one 'place' ... Their training is a beginning ... they go on from there' ...

ROAZEN BOOKS/INTERVIEW:

... 'He wrote a book on Freud's social-political thought ... We all thought, Ah, a serious student ... He appeared here one day to interview me ... When his other books came out ... Oh, how mischievous. They were written with malice ... Malice leads to misrepresentation, distortion. His 'Tausk' book really harmed Helene Deutsch ... The man is unstable ...

[Comment: 'He gives the impression that the Freud family broke completely with you when you went to Mrs. Klein for an analysis']

'Yes, he says there was a letter from Freud [to that effect] ... It's a damn lie! ...' ... 'He's a mischief-maker' ...

Eva Rosenfeld visited the Hampstead Clinic often 'as a guest' - but [I had stood with the [British Ps.] Institute, and did not feel I could belong to both' ...

Speaks regularly to Anna Freud by telephone - 'I ring her on Thursdays ... she goes to the country house Fridays + week-ends ... we talk about everything ...'

'There is no end to my friendship with Anna Freud?'

Contributor: Anneliese Schnurmann,
Lic. és Sciences Sociales (Geneva), corresponds to B.A.

1. Year of Birth: 1908 2. Town/Place born: Karlsruhe, Germany.
3. Year and circumstance of first encounter with psychoanalytical ideas:
In the early thirties (before the advent of Hitler).
I was then studying Sociology at the University of Frankfurt am Main. Psychoanalytical ideas were discussed in seminars.
4. First encounter with Anna Freud:
Date: Some time during 1942
Circumstances: I was at the time working for the W.V.S. (Women's Voluntary Service) as an assistant nurse in a hospital for evacuated children in Shattermill nr. Haslemere, Surrey. There I got very interested in the psychology of children. When I heard through friends of the Hampstead War Nurseries I visited Anna Freud, hoping that I would be able to work there.
5. Involvement with Hampstead War Nursery:
Year(s): 1942/45 Role: Trainee
How I became involved: see above. Subsequent to my meeting with Anna Freud, I started work with the Hampstead War Nurseries in November 1942.
6. Activities in period 1945-1947:
Studies at L.S.E. and Institute of Education (Univ. London)
7. When did you train with Hampstead Child-Therapy Training Course? & (optional question): Can you name any fellow-students contemporaneous with yourself?
I was one of the first group of students, training for the Hampstead Child-Therapy Course. (starting 1947)
My fellow-students were: Mrs. Joanna Benkendorf (née Köhler)
Miss Alice Goldberger, Mrs. Ivy Bennett Gwynne-Thomas,
Mrs. Hanna Kennedy, (née Engl), Mrs. Lily Neurath (deceased)
Mrs. Lizzy Rolnick, (née Wallentin), Mrs. Sara Rosenfeld,
née Kut (died 1973).
8. (optional question) Persons with whom your actual analytical training was undergone:
Personal analysis with: Dr. Kate Friedlander (dec.)
Mr. C.D. Gomperts. (dec.)
Lecturers, supervisors, seminar-leaders:
(I am not sure whether this list is quite correct or complete)
Mrs. Dorothy Burlingham, Dr. L. Frankl, Dr. K. Friedlander, (dec.)
Miss Anna Freud, Miss Ilse Hellman-Noach, Mrs. Hedwig Hoffer. (dec.)
Dr. Barbara Lantos, Mrs. Margarete Ruben, Miss Ruth Thomas,
Miss Hedwig Schwarz.
9. Date at which you became a staff-member of new Hampstead Clinic (after 1952)
I am not quite certain about this, I was treating children at 12 Maresfield Gardens from July 1952. One case was still a training case, the second one was not.
10. Where and how often, did Miss Freud hold seminars for workers in Education and Child Guidance in 1946 period?
This question I can not fully answer. There were still - I believe regular meetings - at 5, Netherhall Gardens all through 1946. I read the paper you referred to there in December.
Perhaps Mrs. Kennedy will be able to give you information

QUESTIONS FOR THE ANNA FREUD INDEX (Sheffield).Subject: **DR. JOSEPHINE STROSS (Paediatrician)**

1. Year of birth: *1901* 2. Town of birth: *Vienna*
3. Circumstances and date of first serious encounter with psychoanalytical ideas/concepts: *As medical student*
4. Occasion and year of first encounter with Anna Freud:
Lectures by Paul Schilder at Vienna University 1923?
5. Did you ever meet Professor Freud? *yes* Year? *1931* Place? *Vienna*
1934, 1937 and 1938 during his doctor's journey to England and for the first weeks in London.
6. (Optional) Supervisor with whom you trained in psychoanalysis/child analysis: *Dr Willie Hoffer but only for my paediatric work. (No analytic cases.)*
Year training began: *1933?*
7. International Congresses at which you witnessed Anna Freud deliver paper or answer panel questions: *Maribor, London, Vienna, Geneva (adult analysis)*
8. Any U.S.A. visits/lecture tours on which you accompanied Anna Freud:
Geneva to the Medical Lecture Washington 1965.
9. Any further suggestions (persons, topics, questions) to be included in the 'Anna Freud Index':

QUESTIONS FOR THE ANNA FREUD INDEX (Sheffield).

Subject: RUTH THOMAS, B.A. (Psychol.)

1. Year of birth: 1902

2. Town of birth: Sydney

Australia

3. Circumstances and date of first serious encounter with psychoanalytical ideas/concepts:

Aged 17 years at University of Sydney.

4. Occasion and year of first encounter with Anna Freud:

1939 when I opted for training at the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, London - close to Mrs Freud as my Analyst

5. Did you ever meet Professor Freud? No Year? Place?

6. (Optional) Supervisor with whom you trained in psychoanalysis/child analysis:

Anna Freud, Ella Sharpe, Willi Hoffer.

Year training began: 1942

7. International Congresses at which you witnessed Anna Freud deliver paper or answer panel questions:

1949 Zurich Switzerland
1951 Amsterdam - Holland
1953 London
1961 Edinburgh
1975 London

8. Any U.S.A. visits/lecture tours on which you accompanied Anna Freud:

No

Appendix XII.Opening Remarks; Anna Freud's Membership Paper to Vienna Psa. Society.

Meine Herren und Damen!

Ich nehme schon seit einer Reihe von Jahren Ihre Gastfreundschaft in Anspruch, habe mich aber bisher noch durch keine Art von Mitarbeit bei Ihnen bemerkbar gemacht. Nun weiss ich zwar aus guter Quelle, dass die Vereinigung ein solches untätiges Zuschauen ihrer Gäste im allgemeinen nicht billigt. Aber ich meine, ich wäre auch heute noch bei meinem Verhalten geblieben, wenn Ihre Strengen Regeln nicht jedem, der sich um die Mitgliedschaft bei Ihnen Bewirbt, auch vorschreiben würden, vorher etwas von sich hören zu lassen. So ist also mein Ansuchen um Aufnahme in die Wiener Vereinigung der Beweggrund und gleichzeitig die Entschuldigung meines heutigen Vortrags.

Imago, (1922), 8, 317.

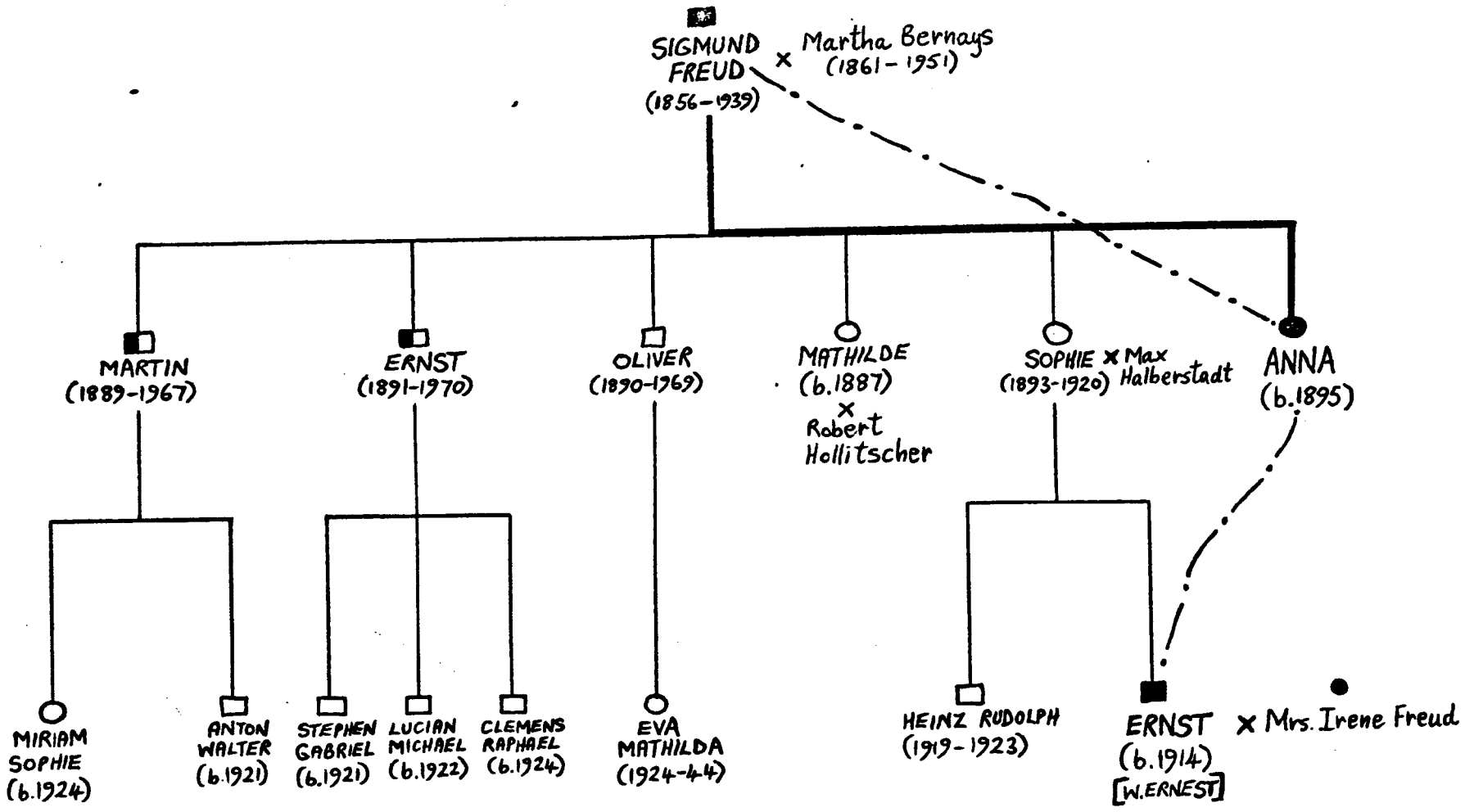
Ladies and Gentlemen,

for several years I have enjoyed your hospitality, though I have not presented any contribution here so far. I know from a very good source that the Society is not very keen on inactive guests who only observe. I suppose I might have continued to be inactive if your strict rules and regulations had not demanded a direct contribution from anyone applying for membership. Thus, my application for membership of the Vienna Society is the motivation as well as the excuse for my lecture today.

(Transl. assisted by Gertrud Dann)

(Unauthorised translation).

Three Generations of Anna Freud's Family Tree.



■ = Psychoanalyst or analytical child-therapist
 ■ = Involved with analytic publishing etc.
 -.- = Probable training-analyst/analysand relation.

Appendix XIV.

Child Therapists Trained at Hampstead, 1947 - c.1970.

<u>Therapist</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Therapist</u>	<u>Location</u>
Mrs E.M.Anderson	London	Mrs C.Kearney	Ann Arbor, Mich.
Mrs P.Antonis	"	Mrs H.Kennedy	London
Mr A.Barron	"	Mr E.Koch	Cleveland, Ohio
Miss A.Bene	"	Miss E.Landauer	New York
Mrs H.Benjamin	"	Miss C.Legg	Ann Arbor, Mich.
Mrs H.Benkendorf	Cleveland, Ohio	Mr T.W.Lopez	New York
Mrs M.Berger	London	Mrs S.A.Lundberg	Ann Arbor, Mich.
Mr B.Biven	"	Mr A.Lussier	Montreal
Mrs L.Biven	"	Mrs V.Machtlinger	Berlin
Mrs M.Bradley	Berkeley, Calif.	Miss R.Markowitz	Los Angeles
Miss A.M.Bry	Boston, Mass.	Mrs E.M.Mason	London
Mrs M.Burgner	London	Mrs S.Mason	Ann Arbor, Mich.
Mr D.Campbell	"	Mr D.Meers	Washington D.C.
Mrs M.Caplan	New York	Mrs B.Mehra	London
Miss B.Carr	California	Mrs E.Model	"
Mrs P.Cohen	London	Mr J.Novick	"
Miss A.Colonna	Conn., U.S.A	Mrs K.Novick	"
Mr C.Corrie	Miami, Florida	Miss R.Oppenheimer	Baltimore, Md.
Mrs E.Dansky	California	Mrs B.Oxford	Rugby, Warwicks.
Miss E.Daunton	Cleveland, Ohio	Mrs I.Paret	Stanford, Calif.
Miss R.Edgcumbe	London	Miss R.Putzel	London
Miss I.Elkan	"	Miss P.Radford	"
Miss E.Furst	New York	Mrs S.Ramsden	"
Mrs M.Flumerfelt	Bethseda, Md.	Miss K.Rees	New York
Mrs L.Tischler	London	Mrs M.Robinson	London
Mrs I.Freud	"	Mrs A.Rolnick	Cleveland, Ohio
Mrs E.Furman	Cleveland, Ohio	Dr B.Rosenblatt	Mass., U.S.A
Mrs A.Gavshon	London	Mrs F.Salo	London
Miss A.Gehr	Ann Arbor, Mich.	Mrs A.M.Sandler	"
Mrs K.Gilbert	Los Angeles	Miss A.Schnurmann	"
Miss A.Goldberger	London	Mr I.Sherrick	Ann Arbor, Mich.
Mrs B.Gordon	"	Mrs M.Singer	Cambridge, England
Mr K.Guettler	Sweden	Mrs M.Sprince	London
Mrs I.Gwynne-Thomas	Kansas	Mrs J.Stevens	Wellington, N.Z.
Mr T.B.Harmanup	London	Miss N.Stewart	Western Australia
Mr C.Heinicke	Los Angeles	Mr P.Totzek	Frankfurt
Mrs M.Hodgson	Banbury, Oxon.	Mrs P.Tyson	London
Mr A.Holder	London	Mrs L.Leibman	Malibu, Calif.
Mrs A.Hurry	"	Mr W.Wheeler	Los Angeles
Mrs R.Joffe	"	Mr P.Wilson	London
		Miss D.Wills	London