

Abnormal Psychology

A pair of black-rimmed glasses is the central focus, resting on a light-colored, textured surface. The background is out of focus, showing a person's arm in a blue sleeve and a book with the word 'Otherwise' visible on its cover. The overall color palette is muted, with blues, greys, and off-whites.

edited by
Kathleen J. Sexton-Radek

p e r s p e c t i v e s



perspectives

Abnormal Psychology

Academic Editor

Kathleen J. Sexton-Radek

Elmhurst College



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Interior design and cover design by Jeff Storm

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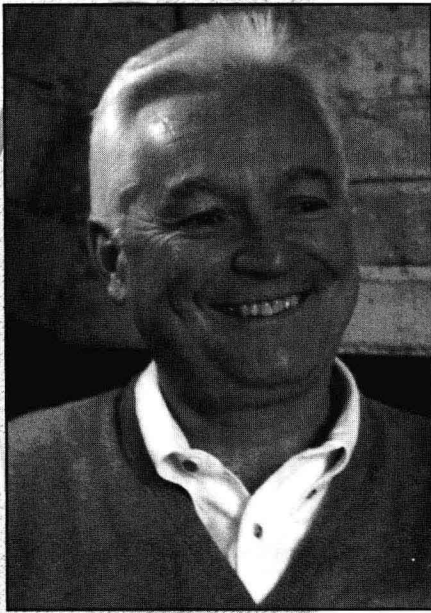
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 99-62701

ISBN 0-395-97198-5

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Printed in the United States of America by Coursewise Publishing, Inc.
7 North Pinckney Street, Suite 346, Madison, WI 53703

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1



from the **Publisher**

Edgar Laube

Coursewise Publishing

I admit to being completely clueless about abnormal psychology and issues pertaining to mental health. About the only time I think about such things is when there's a big news story about someone doing something bizarre or pleading insanity as a defense tactic in a courtroom. Such situations don't provide much context for understanding, though, because the story is really about something else—the act or crime—and not the mental condition of the person in question.

The other problem in understanding mental health issues is that they can be quite subtle. Sure, some people who are mentally unstable make the news. But many other people suffer silently, out of view, their afflictions taking a daily toll that is never measured and often unnoticed. This is so because many abnormalities are understood to be a matter of degree. It's okay to be a little bit compulsive or to be preoccupied with body fat or to drink alcohol some of the time. But it's not okay to be ruled by compulsive obsessions or to throw up after a big meal or to drink excessively. Understanding where the gray zone is, where normal starts to become something else, must be very difficult.

So I'm guessing that most people are as clueless as I am. And that's why I'd like to commend you students who are taking a course in abnormal psychology. Whether you intend to become some sort of health professional, whether you're a psych major and want (or need) to understand the science of psychopathology, or whether you're in the course out of curiosity about your own thoughts and feelings—or those of others—abnormal psychology is a worthy subject because it's so poorly understood. Whatever you can do to lift the shade and let some light shine on these various phenomena will probably benefit us all.

I'd like to extend a special note of thanks to Kathy Sexton-Radek for her hard work and persistence in pulling this project together. I wanted her to take on this project as soon as I realized that her primary focus was you students—what you learn, how you learn, and how to get more out of you than you thought you had. You'll feel her warmth and focus as you read through her introductions and summaries of the articles here.

Good luck with your studies! And remember, there's a great web site that supports this reader at www.courselinks.com. While you're there, please let Kathy or me know what you think of these selections and the electronic resources.



Kathleen J. Sexton-Radek received her Ph.D. in clinical psychology from Illinois Institute of Technology in 1988. She is a professor and chairperson of the Psychology Department at Elmhurst College. She teaches courses in undergraduate, industrial organizational graduate, and human services administration programs. In addition to teaching, Dr. Sexton-Radek is an allied medical staff member at a local hospital and a consultant to the sleep clinic, and also maintains a small private practice. She is the co-coordinator (with Peter Petrosian, Education Directorate, APA) of the Undergraduate Consulting Service. She is a member of the American Psychological Association, the Association for the Advancement of Behavior Therapy, and the Society for Behavioral Medicine. She is the author of approximately thirty-five professional publications, including three book chapters. She has approximately thirty projects/presentations that include the mentorship of student work. She and her husband reside in North Riverside, Illinois, with their three sons—Brett, Neal, and Ted. She enjoys watching her sons' baseball and theater participation.

from the **Academic Editor**

Kathleen J. Sexton-Radek

Elmhurst College

Abnormal psychology courses challenge you with their technical information, theory, and principles of behavior. In addition, textbooks present, to varying degrees, the practice of clinical work where abnormal psychology theory is applied. Given this complexity, you sometimes leave the course with only a partial understanding of this important area. I invite you to consider these readings as a means of strengthening your understanding. Experience tells me that your interest and desire to apply your knowledge of abnormal psychology is strong. I hope you will find these readings helpful in learning abnormal psychology.

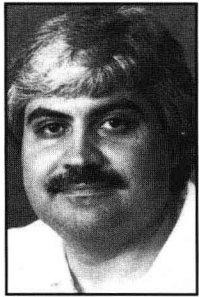
With the profound relevance of the topic of abnormal psychology, student interest has not been lacking in the enrollments in this course. In fact, health professional areas (that is, pre-medicine, nursing, pre-physical therapy) are classically represented in these classrooms. I think that the translation of material into its real-world applications is essential in the abnormal psychology course. I believe that you will learn “how to think” and “how to think about” psychology when such translations are done.

In selecting materials for *Perspectives: Abnormal Psychology*, I specifically searched for readings written by and for practitioners. First, I looked for materials that addressed major areas, such as diagnosis, assessment, and disorders. Then, I searched for articles exemplifying applied research—that is, the testing of a concept or measurement of a treatment effect. And finally, I selected articles that addressed themes that may not be addressed in your textbook and/or that represent contemporary issues necessitating study.

Because I am an experienced mentor and educator, my selection of section topics and readings always keeps students in mind's eye. This guides all of my work. Quite literally, I represented this notion with article summaries that are constructed to relate to the student of abnormal psychology. I sincerely hope that these readings add context to your understanding of abnormal psychology and provide you with a comfortable format for the application of abnormal psychology knowledge. I also hope that they motivate you in your learning and help you to focus on how to think about the issues in your textbook and classroom lectures/discussions from a prospective practitioner's perspective.

Editorial Board

We wish to thank the following instructors for their assistance. Their many suggestions not only contributed to the construction of this volume, but also to the ongoing development of our Abnormal Psychology web site.



Salvatore Cullari

Lebanon Valley College

Salvatore Cullari received a Ph.D. in psychology from Western Michigan University in 1981. Currently, he is a professor and chairman of the

Psychology Department at Lebanon Valley College, where he teaches courses in the clinical/counseling concentration. Prior to his teaching career, he coordinated psychological services in several large psychiatric hospitals and centers for developmental disabilities. In addition to teaching, Dr. Cullari is a consultant and maintains a small private practice. He is president of the Institute for Psychotherapy (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania) and a member of the American Psychological Association for Advancement of Behavior Therapy, the Society for the Exploration of Psychotherapy Integration, and the Pennsylvania Psychological Association. He is the author of approximately fifty professional publications, including four book chapters and two videotapes. His books include *Treatment Resistance: A Guide for Practitioners* (1996), and *Foundations of Clinical Psychology* (1998), both published by Allyn & Bacon.



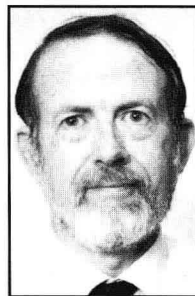
Robert Cwierniak

Triton College

A licensed clinical psychologist, school psychologist, and licensed professional clinical counselor for more than twenty-five years, Robert Cwierniak has extensive experience

in both clinical and educational settings. Dr. Cwierniak is a faculty counselor and a member of the Behavioral Science Department at Triton College, where he has been teaching abnormal psychology and personality theory since 1985. In addition, Dr. Cwierniak is a member of the

Psychology Department at Dominican University, where he teaches personality theory and industrial/organizational psychology. He is available for consultation to disability programs and for student support services programs. Previously, Dr. Cwierniak was a senior staff psychologist at the clinical counseling center at the University of Wisconsin at Stevens Point for six years, providing individual and group counseling and anxiety and stress management training to the university community. He retreats to his Wisconsin farm whenever his schedule allows.



James L. Pugh

Georgia Southern University

James L. Pugh obtained his doctorate in counseling psychology from Georgia State University in 1984. He is licensed to practice psychology in

Georgia and is a member of the National Register of Health Service Providers in Psychology. He has fifteen years of experience in applied psychology and ten years of experience in teaching graduate-level psychology and counseling, including courses at both the graduate and undergraduate level in abnormal psychology and psychopathology. Dr. Pugh's research and publications have been focused in the areas of stress and stress management. Dr. Pugh is currently an assistant professor of psychology at Georgia Southern University.

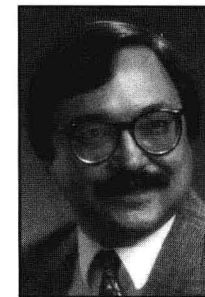


Patricia J. Slocum

College of DuPage

Patricia J. Slocum has been teaching courses in psychology for twelve years in a community college setting. Focusing on abnormal psychology, adjustment, and educational

psychology in the classroom, she also develops and teaches courses in all distance learning formats and coordinates the distance education courses for the Social and Behavioral Sciences Division at the College of DuPage, Glen Ellyn, Illinois. Prior to teaching, Dr. Slocum worked in state and private psychiatric hospitals and in private practice for over seventeen years. Her areas of specialty are community psychology, cognitive psychology, and adult psychiatric populations.



Michael C. Smith

Concordia University-River Forest

Michael C. Smith earned his Ph.D. in clinical psychology from Illinois Institute of Technology in 1991. He is currently an assistant professor

in the Department of Psychology at Concordia University-River Forest, where he teaches undergraduate psychology courses and graduate courses in counseling. His teaching interests are varied, focusing on abnormal psychology, counseling, health psychology, diversity issues, and cross-cultural issues. He has an outpatient clinical practice and serves as a consultant to schools and police departments. Research interests include clinical child psychology and health issues, particularly cross-cultural issues. In his spare time, Dr. Smith is learning the intricacies of soccer while helping to coach the soccer teams of his sons Matthew and Mark. He enjoys any time spent with his wife, Mary. He serves on a number of boards in his community.

WiseGuide Introduction

Question Authority

Critical Thinking and Bumper Stickers

The bumper sticker said: Question Authority. This is a simple directive that goes straight to the heart of critical thinking. The issue is not whether the authority is right or wrong; it's the questioning process that's important. Questioning helps you develop awareness and a clearer sense of what you think. That's critical thinking.

Critical thinking is a new label for an old approach to learning—that of challenging all ideas, hypotheses, and assumptions. In the physical and life sciences, systematic questioning and testing methods (known as the scientific method) help verify information, and objectivity is the benchmark on which all knowledge is pursued. In the social sciences, however, where the goal is to study people and their behavior, things get fuzzy. It's one thing for the chemistry experiment to work out as predicted, or for the petri dish to yield a certain result. It's quite another matter, however, in the social sciences, where the subject is ourselves. Objectivity is harder to achieve.

Although you'll hear critical thinking defined in many different ways, it really boils down to analyzing the ideas and messages that you receive. What are you being asked to think or believe? Does it make sense, objectively? Using the same facts and considerations, could you reasonably come up with a different conclusion? And, why does this matter in the first place? As the bumper sticker urged, question authority. Authority can be a textbook, a politician, a boss, a big sister, or an ad on television. Whatever the message, learning to question it appropriately is a habit that will serve you well for a lifetime. And in the meantime, thinking critically will certainly help you be course wise.

Getting Connected

This reader is a tool for connected learning. This means that the readings and other learning aids explained here will help you to link classroom theory to real-world issues. They will help you to think critically and to make long-lasting learning connections. Feedback from both instructors and students has helped us to develop some suggestions on how you can wisely use this connected learning tool.

WiseGuide Pedagogy

A wise reader is better able to be a critical reader. Therefore, we want to help you get wise about the articles in this reader. Each section of *Perspectives* has three tools to help you: the WiseGuide Intro, the WiseGuide Wrap-Up, and the Putting It in *Perspectives* review form.

WiseGuide Intro

WiseGuide Intro

In the WiseGuide Intro, the Academic Editor introduces the section, gives you an overview of the topics covered, and explains why particular articles were selected and what's important about them.

Also in the WiseGuide Intro, you'll find several key points or learning objectives that highlight the most important things to remember from this section. These will help you to focus your study of section topics.

At the end of the WiseGuide Intro, you'll find questions designed to stimulate critical thinking. Wise students will keep these questions in mind as they read an article (we repeat the questions at the start of the articles as a reminder). When you finish each article, check your understanding. Can you answer the questions? If not, go back and reread the article. The Academic Editor has written sample responses for many of the questions, and you'll find these online at the **Courselinks™** site for this course. More about **Courselinks** in a minute. . . .

WiseGuide Wrap-Up

Be course wise and develop a thorough understanding of the topics covered in this course. The WiseGuide Wrap-Up at the end of each section will help you do just that with concluding comments or summary points that repeat what's most important to understand from the section you just read.

In addition, we try to get you wired up by providing a list of select Internet resources—what we call R.E.A.L. web sites because they're **Relevant, Enhanced, Approved, and Linked**. The information at these web sites will enhance your understanding of a topic. (Remember to use your Passport and start at <http://www.courselinks.com> so that if any of these sites have changed, you'll have the latest link.)

Putting It in *Perspectives* Review Form

At the end of the book is the Putting It in *Perspectives* review form. Your instructor may ask you to complete this form as an assignment or for extra credit. If nothing else, consider doing it on your own to help you critically think about the reading.

Prompts at the end of each article encourage you to complete this review form. Feel free to copy the form and use it as needed.

The Courselinks™ Site

The **Courselinks** Passport is your ticket to a wonderful world of integrated web resources designed to help you with your course work. These resources are found at the **Courselinks** site for your course area. This is where the readings in this book and the key topics of your course are linked to an exciting array of online learning tools. Here you will find carefully selected readings, web links, quizzes, worksheets, and more, tailored to your course and approved as connected learning tools. The ever-changing, always interesting **Courselinks** site features a number of carefully integrated resources designed to help you be course wise. These include:

- **R.E.A.L. Sites** At the core of a **Courselinks** site is the list of R.E.A.L. sites. This is a select group of web sites for studying, not surfing. Like the readings in this book, these sites have been selected, reviewed, and approved by the Academic Editor and the Editorial Board. The R.E.A.L. sites are arranged by topic and are annotated with short descriptions and key words to make them easier for you to use for reference or research. With R.E.A.L. sites, you're studying approved resources within seconds—and not wasting precious time surfing unproven sites.
- **Editor's Choice** Here you'll find updates on news related to your course, with links to the actual online sources. This is also where we'll tell you about changes to the site and about online events.

WiseGuide Wrap-Up



<http://www.courselinks.com>

- **Course Overview** This is a general description of the typical course in this area of study. While your instructor will provide specific course objectives, this overview helps you place the course in a generic context and offers you an additional reference point.
- **www.orksheets** Focus your trip to a R.E.A.L. site with the **www.orksheets**. Each of the 10 to 15 questions will prompt you to take in the best that site has to offer. Use this tool for self-study, or if required, email it to your instructor.
- **Course Quiz** The questions on this self-scoring quiz are related to articles in the reader, information at R.E.A.L. sites, and other course topics, and will help you pinpoint areas you need to study. Only you will know your score—it's an easy, risk-free way to keep pace!
- **Topic Key** The online Topic Key is a listing of the main topics in your course, and it correlates with the Topic Key that appears in this reader. This handy reference tool also links directly to those R.E.A.L. sites that are especially appropriate to each topic, bringing you integrated online resources within seconds!
- **Web Savvy Student Site** If you're new to the Internet or want to brush up, stop by the Web Savvy Student site. This unique supplement is a complete **Courselinks** site unto itself. Here, you'll find basic information on using the Internet, creating a web page, communicating on the web, and more. Quizzes and Web Savvy Worksheets test your web knowledge, and the R.E.A.L. sites listed here will further enhance your understanding of the web.
- **Student Lounge** Drop by the Student Lounge to chat with other students taking the same course or to learn more about careers in your major. You'll find links to resources for scholarships, financial aid, internships, professional associations, and jobs. Take a look around the Student Lounge and give us your feedback. We're open to remodeling the Lounge per your suggestions.

Building Better Perspectives!

Please tell us what you think of this *Perspectives* volume so we can improve the next one. Here's how you can help:

1. Visit our **Coursewise** site at: <http://www.coursewise.com>
2. Click on *Perspectives*. Then select the Building Better *Perspectives* Form for your book.
3. Forms and instructions for submission are available online.

Tell us what you think—did the readings and online materials help you make some learning connections? Were some materials more helpful than others? Thanks in advance for helping us build better *Perspectives*.

Student Internships

If you enjoy evaluating these articles or would like to help us evaluate the **Courselinks** site for this course, check out the **Coursewise** Student Internship Program. For more information, visit:

<http://www.coursewise.com/intern.html>

section

1

Learning Objectives

- The student will become aware of cultural factors that influence the expression of symptoms.
- The student will develop knowledge about the correspondence between assessment and treatment.
- The identification of symptoms, their severity, and their duration will provide the student with a fuller explanation of diagnosis in applied settings.

Questions

Reading 1. Briefly describe what Lacanian psychoanalysis is and identify one implication relevant to the Latino culture.

Reading 2. Explain how “temperament” is addressed with respect to the integrative psychobiological approach.

Reading 3. What is comorbidity and why is it important to study?

Reading 4. What is the most prevalent disorder in the United States? Include the demographic correlates in your response.

Assessment and Diagnosis



WiseGuide Intro

The theoretical groundwork to the study of abnormal behavior is laid out in this first section. Various means to

assess symptomology and thereby determine a diagnosis are addressed in this section. Of particular note is the attention paid to cultural diversity issues.

As you will read in the Moncayo article, the focus on culture and diagnosis represents a strong challenge. To complicate the circumstance, a psychoanalytic approach that is in itself very abstract presents unique conceptual challenges. At the heart here is the issue of how generalizable psychoanalytic conceptualizations are to cultures other than the white affluent class they were designed from. Moncayo reconciles this issue with a clear presentation of clinical practice issues, using a Lacanian (type of psychoanalytic application) approach.

The second article in this section introduces you to the biological approach to assessment and treatment. Drs. Cloninger and Svrakic present their views, using patterns of development (temperament) as an important clinical feature to include in assessment. The psychiatrists write how this approach will provide the necessary sensitivity to connecting the correct diagnosis to treatment that will work. The third article in this section provides a scope to the types and amounts of diagnosable conditions in the United States. Although it is dated from *DSM III-R* diagnoses, the thorough review has not been done with the *DSM IV* to date. In reading this work, you will be able to get an idea of the number of individuals presenting with a diagnosed disorder. Your study of the textbook material about the specificity of the symptom being presented, the severity of the symptom, and the length of time the person has been experiencing it will come into application with the reading of this article. As you read, glance back at the tables to obtain a quick conclusion of what disorders are diagnosed in the United States.

To build the idea in a broader sense, the final article in this section was chosen. The World Health Organization administers the General Health Questionnaire on a regular basis to determine the scope of diagnosed problems in the world. Ormel and associates carefully point out the cultural differences in symptom presentation as it is then reflected in prevalence figures. This issue is advanced by the concept of higher-order human capacities, in which factors such as expression of emotion and motivation are considered as determinants of a disorder.

Briefly describe what Lacanian psychoanalysis is and identify one implication relevant to the Latino culture.

Cultural Diversity and the Cultural and Epistemological Structure of Psychoanalysis:

Implications for Psychotherapy with Latinos and Other Minorities

Raul Moncayo, Ph.D.

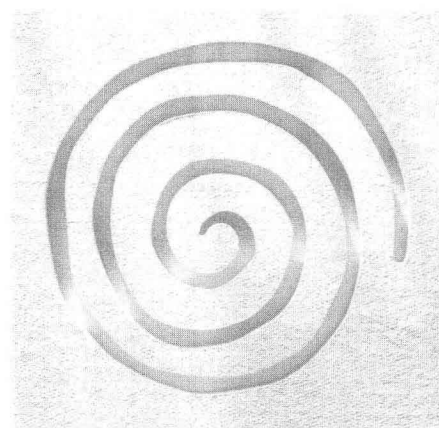
*Mission Mental Health and California
School of Professional Psychology*

This article offers a critique of assumptions made by both the majority psychoanalytic culture and minority groups regarding the suitability of psychoanalysis for Latinos and other underserved ethnic groups. Both sides of the aforementioned controversy are rooted in the larger conflict between modern and traditional paradigms as well as in the epistemological and political contradictions of the "master's discourse" prevailing within educational institutions. The proposed theory articulates intrapsychic and extrapsychic dimensions into a single theoretical framework. The proposed reconceptualization includes a redefinition of the psychoanalytic concept of insight more in keeping both with the concept of the unconscious and with the conception of knowledge found in traditional cultures.

It is important to periodically examine the assumptions that, consciously or unconsciously, determine the course and results of psychoanalytic work; unexamined and unrecognized assumptions establish the parameters of what may be possible or impossible within the scope of our professional practice and activity as psychotherapists and analysts. Minorities have shown high underuse of services as well as high dropout rates. Thus, the question regarding the role of culture in psychotherapy and in the field of mental health has arisen around the practical problem of providing effective mental health services to ethnic minority populations. Within the majority, dominant culture, the stated or unstated assumption is often made that many ethnic minority groups, as a result of economic, cultural, and educational deficits, are simply not "good candidates" for the mental health ser-

vices available within Western culture (i.e., "insight" forms of psychotherapy or psychoanalysis). Within psychoanalysis, such an assumption has followed from the criteria of "analyzability," whereas, outside psychoanalysis, it has found confirmation in psychotherapy outcome research data that support the view that intelligent, verbal, attractive, and successful upper-class individuals tend to benefit the most from psychotherapy. It goes without saying that White majority subjects are overrepresented within those defined as ideal candidates for psychotherapy. In addition, until recently the psychoanalytic literature in the United States has not been known for addressing the concerns of the minority mental health literature or those of minorities in general.

In contradistinction to this perspective, literature on minority mental health produced by minorities for



"Cultural Diversity and the Cultural and Epistemological Structure of Psychoanalysis: Implications for Psychotherapy with Latinos and Other Minorities," by Raul Moncayo, *Psychoanalytic Psychology*, 15(2), 1998, pp. 262–286. Copyright © 1998 by the Educational Publishing Foundation. Reprinted with permission.

minorities comes to the different conclusion that mental health services have to be provided by bilingual and bicultural professionals to more effectively deliver services to underserved groups. Here the assumption is made that most therapists are not familiar with the cultural backgrounds and lifestyles of diverse ethnic groups because they have received training primarily developed for treating Anglo Americans (Bernal & Padilla, 1982; Sue & Zane, 1987). Western insight-oriented forms of psychotherapy and psychoanalysis, as a whole, are often summarily dismissed by minority researchers and clinicians as being appropriate and effective only with majority or mainstream individuals. For example, it is said that Latinos cannot benefit from psychodynamic treatment because they like to focus on the present, want the direct guidance of authority figures, can conceive only of medical-physical symptoms, or cannot self-disclose regarding their experience (Cortese, 1979; Meadow, 1982; Ruiz & Padilla, 1987; Sue & Zane, 1987; Szapocznik, Santisteban, Kurtines, Hervis, & Spencer, 1982).

From the ideological underpinnings of both dominant and minority groups, many inaccurate clinical observations and generalizations have been derived regarding the kinds of interventions that may benefit the various cultural groups. I argue that both sides need to be held responsible for a portion of the responsibility for what has led to the historical misunderstanding between minorities and psychoanalysis in the United States. The risk one always takes, in attempting to link and place two sets of independent discourses into a relationship with one another, is that neither side will accept modifications of their basic assumptions. However, the dominant European culture can no longer afford not to listen to the concerns of cultural minorities, and it may have to reconsider and develop some of its own assumptions. Minority groups, on the other hand, may be neglecting and underusing many points of convergence between psychoanalytic theory and practice and their own emancipatory interests.

Carefully designed research studies would not necessarily be helpful in debunking faulty assump-

tions of this kind, as the empirical research literature recommends; from my perspective, what is also needed is a congruent and coherent theoretical and epistemological critique and not merely more empirical research. Empirical evidence and clinical practices are at least codetermined by the conceptual assumptions made in the research and therapeutic process. After many years of working with Latinos within a Latin American psychoanalytic frame of reference, I want to argue that inaccurate assumptions about Latinos or psychoanalysis stem not from Latino culture or Latino populations but from the dualisms and conceptual-political contradictions of the "master's discourse" that rules clinicians as well as institutions of higher education. In this article, I address critical issues regarding the definition of social science; the relationship between social science and traditional culture, interrelationships among culture, class, and psychotherapy; and the practice of psychodynamic interpretation and its cultural significance.

Although the literature on minority mental health has explained the difficulties encountered in providing effective mental health services to minorities in terms of differences between Western culture and various other cultural traditions, I want to argue that the problem is rooted not solely in relative cultural differences but also in the larger conflict between modern and traditional paradigms as well as in the epistemological underpinnings of empiricist social science culture. In this article, I elucidate why I place social science in the category of a relative cultural phenomenon. I begin with a discussion of traditional and modern approaches to knowledge. I then describe an alternative postmodern epistemological framework that could prove more effective in the understanding and treatment of ethnic minorities. The final section focuses on the application of this framework to the clinical process, using Lacanian principles, and includes a redefinition of the psychoanalytic concept of insight more in keeping both with the concept of the unconscious and with the conception of knowledge found in traditional cultures. The fact that Lacanian theory is very influential in Latin America

(because of its historical focus on social and political theory) makes it specially relevant for the task at hand. This is not to say that other schools of psychoanalysis do not exist in Latin America or that the same task could not be undertaken from other vantage points within psychoanalysis. Unfortunately, as would also be the case with other possible formulations, every process of knowledge throws some light but also some darkness on other modes of understanding.

The terms *traditional*, *modern*, and *postmodern* are used here not merely as words but to designate specific conceptual structures. The common use of these terms merely designates a temporal reference: *Modern* is synonymous with contemporary, new, or current, whereas *traditional* refers to the old and the past (i.e., the often-mentioned reference to "traditional" psychotherapy). Within the present postmodern paradigm, *modern* refers to modernity as the secular scientific paradigm with all of its accompanying aesthetic and ethical values, whereas *tradition* or *traditional* refers to cultural traditions existing before and outside the Western scientific paradigm. *Postmodern* points in the direction of a new cross-cultural paradigm that permutes and combines traditional and modern conceptual structures.

Modern and Traditional Epistemologies

The so-called Western scientific paradigm developed in Europe, beginning with the Renaissance and culminating in the 18th and 19th centuries with the social, cultural, and political movement known as the Enlightenment. Out of this period came most of the values and ideas we associate with the modern world. However, the European scientific tradition, which rules most learning institutions in developed as well as developing countries, is not a single and unitary phenomenon. Basically, within the social or human sciences there are two European traditions or discourses: empiricism and various forms of rationalism, some of which include the transrational (what is beyond the a priori categories of reason) in their perspectives.

Empiricism is the tradition associated with Anglo-Saxon or English culture, whereas what, for the moment, I am calling rationalism is associated with continental Europe, including romance language cultures and certain aspects of German culture. Marxism and critical social thinking developed out of this latter tradition and led to the critique of oppression of minority or disempowered groups, whether through political or cultural forms of colonialism.

The Frankfurt school (Adorno, 1978; Habermas, 1968; Horkheimer, 1978) proposed that political domination is ingrained within the epistemological structure of empiricism. According to empiricism, science, as the presupposed superior form of knowledge, is the sole arbiter of truth, and anything that cannot be empirically and atheoretically demonstrated is false or an error. From this kind of misleading assumption developed the modern and current dualistic distinction between modern scientific facts and traditional mythological beliefs.

Out of this dualistic conceptual structure that regards the mythological thinking of traditional cultures as a prescientific form of knowledge develops the condescending attitude of regarding other different cultures as primitive, inferior, or incapable of benefiting from the light of scientific culture. Because empiricist culture resists knowledge and cognition to narrow formal logical structures, members of other cultures that are based on broader, more intuitive, more right-brain forms of cognition will continue to fail "normative" expectations. Concurrently, the empiricist paradigm also discredits and invalidates the ways of knowledge of traditional cultures. This has become a political reality in contemporary society.

Nevertheless, despite the strength and momentum of the empiricist world view, trends can be found in modern culture that contradict the view of rational thought as superior to mythical or intuitive thought. This is seen not only within spiritual quarters and the works of Jung (1964) and Campbell (1967, 1968) but also within the discourse of the social sciences. The writings of anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1949/1969) would be an example. Although a social scientist

and the founder of structuralism in anthropology, he rejected the notion that mythical thought is somehow less rigorous and demanding than scientific thought. The difference between the two is not based on the quality of intellectual operations but found in the nature of the object or the dimension of reality being studied. Mythical thought is not without a conceptual language but is used to describe a reality that cannot be fully captured by language. Myth simultaneously organizes a historical and timeful perspective, on the one hand, and a timeless-eternalist and ahistorical perspective, on the other. The perception of the mythical mentality as a primitive, false, pathological, or infantile consciousness is a dogmatic and ethnocentric bias of empiricist science. In taking this stance, science becomes the very shadow of the dogmatic theological paradigm it rose to supplant.

Despite any actual claim to ethical and political neutrality, epistemology has definite political consequences in terms of the socioeconomic power and authority that comes from establishing criteria regarding credible or legitimate knowledge. In addition to the political issue involved in the relationship between power and knowledge across cultures, however, the question still remains as to whether empiricism is the only adequate and valid paradigm for the social sciences. Can the structural complexities of culture and of the human subject be adequately approached, interpreted, and explained with purely behavioral, descriptive, and "objectivistic" references? Are there entire levels of social, psychological, and subjective reality that remain unaccounted for within the structure of logical empiricism? Conversely, could it be that, despite their inferior political and economic status, traditional epistemological forms are more adequate than empiricist social science in this regard?

Toward a Postmodern Epistemology

In contrast to traditional, intuitive forms of knowledge that are based on becoming intimate with what one knows, empiricist scientific knowl-

edge remains separate from the object. In the guise of being objective and nonsubjective, the scientist misses something essential to himself or herself and the object. Knowledge in science is intrinsically associated with the split between subject and object. This split may result in dualistic views regarding the nature of reality because the scientist and the technocrat think they are manipulating an object that is separate from themselves.

It is true that the fallibility of a scientific hypothesis (to use Popper's concept) serves as an antidote against human beings projecting their own wishes and expectations onto the world of nature. Such is the usual empiricist critique of mythical thought as distinguished from the world of facts. However, traditional cultures also contain vehicles for the reality testing of perceptions or for bridging the symbolic and the real, theory and reality. It could be argued that the process of differentiating between true and false knowledge seems to be similar for both traditional culture and social science. It is misleading to think that intuitive knowledge is subjective and scientific knowledge is objective. The scientific approach seeks an objective knowledge that describes phenomena independently from personal and subjective beliefs (i.e., values, attitudes, opinions, sensations, impressions, and feelings). It strives to describe things in themselves "just as they are," free from subjective distortion. However, although empiricists believe that true knowledge comes from the senses, they fail to realize that the senses, as something different from subjective "sensual" desire, derive their "sense" from a rational-symbolic function. Following Lacan (1975), any symbolic-cultural system can be understood as providing an objective mediation between social cultural reality and subjective desire.

It is a mistake to think that reality is translucently reflected in human analytical consciousness, as a naive empirical realism would have it. Empiricism fails to notice how a theory and the logic of the experiment or the technical procedures involved determine or at least interact with the nature of the data produced. Facts and theory belong together

because facts do not exist on their own without theoretical elucidation or interpretation. If no theory can be declared true, neither can any fact for that matter. Moreover, knowledge (as rational theory or empirical fact) and truth can never completely coincide because, as Lacan (1975) has argued, truth can be only half-stated or half-said. In other words, whatever is said beyond the medium point fails to hit the mark, because the other half is beyond theory and measurement.

From a postmodern perspective, "what things are" does not signify an external object for a separate subject. The practice of observation, experimentation, and concentration produces mutations in people's subjectivity that allow a phenomenon to be simultaneously revealed as it is outside and inside the mind. In addition, what things are does not mean either a singular, univocal signification such as they are only this and not that, as would follow from the identity principle of formal logic prevalent in logical empiricism. Within the arena of the social sciences, what things are unfolds within a dialectical, polyvocal, and symbolic system in which things being what they are can also be something else or more.

Lacan (1959) pointed out that all things of the human world are structured by language. In the subjectivization of the external world symbols, as representations, memories, and images, color and screen the perceptions and impressions coming from the external world. In this view, the world is not perceived naturally, spontaneously, but is interpreted according to one's desires, languages, and culturally guided theories. The symbolic structure is interposed between perception and consciousness. The something out there as a phenomenon in the external world, which has objective existence in reality, is found there by human endeavor and purposive action only to be used for some utility that exists within a world of subjective expectations and goals.

Finally, that so-called objective discoveries are corrective subjective experiences or a rectification of one's subjectivity (Bachelard, 1975) does not mean that, ultimately, one is left with pure objectivity and no subjectivity. This is still a dualistic view

representing a partial perspective. If an objective discovery changes one subjectively, this means that both the object and the subject are changed. Thus, one arrives not at a position of no subjectivity but at a position of true, rectified-corrected subjectivity. Thus, the difference between false beliefs and authentic knowledge, whether in science or traditional culture, is not that between objective and subjective knowledge but that between true and false subjectivity.

Culture, Lacanian Psychoanalysis, and Clinical Practice

In addition to cultivating a cultural critique of social oppression based on both Judeo-Christian and Marxist sources, the continental European tradition also developed a psychoanalytic and hermeneutic tradition. These latter two have in common an incorporation of myth, interpretation, and the "beyond reason" into the structure of a social or human science. It is only here that it becomes possible to conceive of a continuity and compatibility between what Lyotard (1989) called the narrative knowledge of traditional ethnic cultures and the culture of Western science. The hermeneutic tradition is associated with the philosophy of science of Dilthey and, more currently, with that of Ricoeur (1970) and Habermas (1968). Both Habermas and Ricoeur define psychoanalysis as hermeneutic science operating through the medium of language and interpretation of meaning.

Freud's twin concepts of the unconscious and of a symbolic order were meant to account for what is beyond rational measurement and what was traditionally associated with intuition and nonlinear, paralogical metaphoric thinking. However, there are also positivistic elements running through Freud's thought in that he accepted the modernistic assumptions of his time regarding the advancement of culture from animism to religion to science. Thus, only the work of Lacan provides a postmodern interpretation of Freud that allows for a more sympathetic understanding of traditional culture.

Although many of Freud's views on ethnology, as outlined in

"Totem and Taboo" (1913/1953) and "Moses and Monotheism" (1939/1964), have been criticized as inaccurate, they are so only insofar as they are presented to be positivistic, objective, and scientific historical facts. I follow Lacan in his conception of these Freudian works as modern mythological structures. The two works aforementioned contain truths not as facts but as myths and metaphors. In this area of his work, Freud's texts ironically become akin to narrative biblical or traditional stories describing events that need to be interpreted symbolically and hermeneutically, as opposed to literally or objectively. Nevertheless, it should also be recognized that Freud's myths reflect certain key concerns and characteristics of modern Western culture (e.g., the importance and meaning attributed to sexuality and to parent-child relationships).

Following Freud, who, in *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (1901/1965), called psychoanalysis his psychom mythology, Lacan taught that psychoanalysis is half-science and half-metaphor or myth. This field is neither completely one or the other nor a symmetrical complement of the two. Moreover, this state of affairs is consistent with the aforementioned Lacanian aphorism that truth can be only half-stated or half-said (whatever is said beyond the medium point fails to hit the mark, because the other half is beyond knowledge and measurement). In this sense, metaphor or myth may be the preferable symbolic medium needed for accessing a dimension of reality and of human experience that cannot be grasped by reason or scientific method. In addition, metaphor leaves one with the echo and evocation of something that is beyond words and logic. Lacan's work differs from the school of hermeneutics in that his theory also includes a register of experience that is beyond words and the symbolic order. This has important consequences for the practice of interpretation in psychotherapy. I return to this later.

It is important to note that the United States also developed a particular psychoanalytic tradition and a psychoanalytically influenced psychiatric culture that, in my opinion, increases the gap between modern psychiatry and traditional minority

groups. This is a pivotal point, because it again underscores the fact that one cannot speak of a single and monolithic Western culture. Moreover, certain aspects of Western culture blend better with traditional non-Western cultures than others.

The North American psychoanalytic school has produced a culturally guided reformulation of psychoanalysis. In the land of empiricism and pragmatism, psychoanalysis partially moved away from the unconscious and from those symbolic intangibles that cannot be measured. More important for the purposes of this article, however, psychoanalysis was adapted to the popular North American ideology of individualism and the self-made entrepreneur. North American psychoanalysis developed the school of ego psychology out of this cultural juncture. In lieu of the unconscious, the emphasis shifted to the problem of adaptation to society. The latter can lead to a dichotomy between adaptive and normal-normative behavior and maladaptive and abnormal behavior. The problem with the concept of adaptation is that one has to ask "Adaptation to what society?" One possible answer is the society of dominant Anglo-Saxon ego-based individualism. Thus, it is no accident that those from different cultural groups could fail to function within certain cultural imperatives. Entire groups may fall out of the "norm" and the "normal" and into pathology and deviance. In contrast to this, the concept of the unconscious is non-dual because it is found in both normality and pathology. For example, the Oedipus myth is involved in the production of both functional states. Moreover, primitive symbolic logic constitutes the logic of the unconscious and, as such, establishes a continuity between abnormal and normal and between primitive and developed mental phenomena.

In some respects, this critique could also apply to more current schools of psychoanalysis. Although the object relations and self psychology schools cannot be identified with ego psychology, they share an interest in ego development and use a developmental model to differentiate normal from abnormal behavior. It can be argued that linear developmental models that establish tempo-

ral norms to differentiate normal from abnormal behavior—and that therefore reify culture-bound norms into so-called objective criteria—run the risk of either pathologizing individuals from other cultures or imposing on them behavioral standards of the dominant culture. Finally, wittingly or unwittingly, the three schools mentioned earlier (with the exception of the Kleinian school of object relations) lose sight of the unconscious and its symbolic and cultural interpretation. In doing so, they inevitably disregard atemporal dimensions of experience. Mythical, metaphoric, and linguistic mediums have the advantage of simultaneously organizing both time-bound and timeless dimensions. In contrast to this, developmental models are always bound to culturally relative conceptions of time.

Under the influence of Lacanian thought, socially informed psychoanalysis in Latin America has continued to center psychoanalysis around the therapeutic task not of ego adaptation but of interpreting unconscious desire and undoing repression. This latter treatment task establishes a different therapeutic relationship with oppressed minority groups. The undoing of psychological repression resonates in unison with the emancipatory social interests of minority groups, whereas adaptation to culture-bound norms is analogous to a process of assimilation in which a core of desired values is lost or repressed. This point can be elaborated further by using the contrast that Levi-Strauss (1955/1965) made between two basic mechanisms of cultural organization: anthropophagy and anthropemy. The former refers to the tendency of a culture or society to expel or exclude differences from the social or public body, and the latter refers to the tendency to include and welcome differences and foreign influences into the social body. Thus, the social movement toward including differences can be compared with the psychological task of undoing repression and incorporating the "other" into the core of one's being. In contrast, the movement toward expelling differences can be seen as analogous to the task of adaptation to a normative environment by conforming and excluding differences to the norm. Finally, the

focus on ego adaptation is consistent with an assimilationist or melting pot model of acculturation.

Lacan often pointed out the danger that ego psychology constructs can reinforce an implicit master's mentality or attitude in which the ego is the master or rider and the id is the servant or the tamed animal. This equestrian metaphor shares formal similarities with the political relationship whereby a dominant majority group governs over a dominated minority. This relationship, in turn, can be replicated within the psychotherapeutic relationship with ethnic minority individuals. Lacan's critique of an ego-mastery ideal does, in fact, coincide with how North American values and cultural standards are scrutinized within the minority mental health literature. However, most minorities in the United States are not aware of this possible and plausible way of combining psychoanalysis and social theory. Making these points explicit, I think, can help bridge the gap and misunderstanding between these two sets of human discourses.

Lacan argued that Freud invented a new relationship and situation that subverts the normative discourses of both government and education. By using language non-conventionally and occupying a different psychological position than that emanating from the master's discourse of the ruling or governing classes, the discourse of psychopathology may be understood and healed in the psychotherapeutic process.

Thus, this framework purports to address concerns raised within the minority mental health literature regarding how the psychotherapy process can be impeded when individuals and their psychotherapists are members of different socioeconomic classes or possess different sets of cultural values. This has been considered an important issue in work with working-class Latinos because the majority of Latinos have lower incomes, fewer years of education, and overrepresentation in menial occupations that nevertheless sustain and support the upper structures of the North American economy. Many Latinos are literally working as servants, maids, janitors, gardeners, and in-home child-care workers.

However, although the literature on psychotherapy with Latinos has emphasized the importance of extrapsychic factors of class and culture, it has not articulated extrapsychic and intrapsychic factors into a coherent theoretical model (Ruiz & Padilla, 1977). The proposed theory combines these dimensions into a nondual framework: What is intrapsychic can become extrapsychic, and vice versa. Thus, in the metaphor used earlier, the extrapsychic social relationship between master and servant—the ruling majority and the ruled minority—finds its correlate and equivalent process at the intrapsychic level in the relationship between the ego and the unconscious. From the perspective of this parallel process, it then becomes possible to understand how extrapsychic and intrapsychic, social and psychological elements may impede or facilitate the psychotherapy situation.

When a psychotherapist is a member of a racial or cultural minority group, he or she will, at minimum, belong to a higher socioeconomic stratum than the lower-class minority patient, and class differences will arise secondary to educational differences. Altman (1995) pointed out that the social location of psychologists and psychoanalysts is in the professional-managerial class and that “they have nothing more tangible by way of capital to hold on to than their knowledge and expertise” (p. 81). On the other hand, when psychotherapist and patient belong to different racial, cultural, and linguistic groups, class differences will be subsumed or expressed through these categories. In the latter case, cultural and language barriers will prevent the therapist from understanding and communicating with the minority patient. In the former case, although a therapist may be knowledgeable about language and culture, a class barrier may lead the therapist to impose his or her own class-bound values, therapeutic or otherwise, on the lower-class individual. Thus, from my perspective, beyond a mere recognition of the existence of a class difference, what is required is the neutralization of the class-bound “master” position and discourse of the psychotherapist; this needs to be distinguished from the psychotherapist’s professional credibility.

Sue and Zane (1987) identified credibility and giving as two basic processes that are important to consider in doing psychotherapy with members of ethnic minority groups. Credibility refers to a patient’s perception of the psychotherapist as an effective and trustworthy helper, whereas giving is the perception that something was received from the therapeutic encounter. According to Sue and Zane, because of skepticism toward Western forms of treatment, the minority individual needs to perceive, almost immediately, a direct benefit from the treatment.

From my vantage point, the credibility of the psychotherapist is based on two elements: (a) the fact that the psychical symptom is something unknown and uncontrolled by the subject and (b) the fact that the patient attributes a certain knowledge to the doctor regarding the symptom. In the Lacanian school, these elements are understood as the basis for a positive transference relationship. The latter is what functions as a structural basis for the perceived credibility of the psychotherapist. As such, it provides the initial immediate gratification (benefit) needed to engage an individual in a treatment relationship. In fact, a reduction in symptomatology is often reported in the very early phase of psychotherapy. Within the psychoanalytic field, this phenomenon is known as a “transference cure.”

Thus, I want to argue that, on the one hand, the analyst-therapist needs to establish his or her credibility on the basis of knowledge regarding psychopathology, psychical structures, and psychotherapeutic processes; on the other hand, to satisfy the aforementioned considerations of class as well as the ingredients of effective psychotherapeutic use of the transference relationship, the therapist-analyst needs to renounce the power and privilege given to him or her by educational class differences as well as the transference of the subject. Here the curative factor comes not from the class-bound knowledge of the analyst (the master’s discourse) but from an unconscious knowing not based on formal education that the suffering subject (the client or analysand) does not know that he or she knows. When the analyst renounces the ego

knowledge or expertise of the master’s discourse and functions out of an attitude of not knowing (in the non-dual sense of a not knowing that includes knowing by the subject and not the ego), he or she becomes a vehicle for the nonrepressed “unknown knowing” and understanding contained within the symbolic, or what Lacan calls the treasure chest of the signifier. “Unknown knowing” here includes both the repressed signifying chain of the analysand and the participation of the analyst in the larger unknown (unconscious in a descriptive sense) structure of language and the symbolic. On this side of the dialectic, credibility is achieved by a symbolic horizontal leveling of the ego-based authority of the analyst-psychotherapist in favor of the transformative power of the unconscious.

Thus, two different forms of credibility can be postulated: vertical and horizontal. Vertical credibility would refer to credibility based on the professional knowledge of the clinician, whereas horizontal credibility would refer to credibility flowing from a subjective position of not knowing or “unknown knowing” on the part of the analyst. This is the meaning that should be assigned to the aforementioned symbolic renunciation on the part of the analyst-psychotherapist. This latter form of credibility would be associated with unconscious and subjective dimensions of experience (the subject) and would be a direct function of the degree of conflict and resolution within the clinician’s own psychical structure.

Consistent with Hegel’s philosophy, within this model the true subject is found in the position of service and servitude. True mastery is attained not by the ego but in relationship to the unconscious and through a process of benevolent ego deconstruction. Mastery, thus defined, allows the psychotherapist to renounce his or her own desire to obtain ego gratification through the patient’s idealization of him or her in transference. This kind of subjective maturity on the part of the psychotherapist would constitute a central characteristic of the horizontal type of credibility. It can be argued that this secular symbolic type of subjective position is very much consistent and congruent with key

properties of traditional and symbolic cultural systems (e.g., Chinese Confucianism and Taoism, Chinese or Japanese Buddhism, Native American shamanistic traditions, or Western Judaic and Christian traditions).

In line with this, Lacan reformulated and redeployed Freudian principles regarding the process of the cure. In "The Direction of the Treatment and the Principles of Its Power," Lacan (1966/1979) outlined how the two elements of direction and power are correlated and how, if there is to be a direction to the cure, the analyst has to renounce the power granted to him or her by the analysand's transference. Lacan in France, along with his followers in Latin America, has emphasized the need to call the analysand *analizante* instead of *analizado* (analyzed). The English word *analysand* implies a position of empowerment, analytical activity, and responsibility. The unconscious of the analysand knows the textual truth (the signifying chain of symbolic language resembles a latent text) manifesting through the symptom; as a result of repression and concomitant disguises, however, the subject appears to ignore it. From this place of ignorance, the analysand searches for a master in the analyst.

It is the unconscious of the analysand, and not the ego of either analyst or analysand, that directs the process of the cure. Thus, the autonomy granted to the subject of analysis is not so that he or she may become a repressive master of another colonized part of the self or of yet another more vulnerable subject or social group. Emancipation is achieved by bracketing and renouncing the traps and allures of the master's discourse. Especially when working with individuals of a different culture or a lower socioeconomic class, the analyst has to renounce being a representative of the ego ideals of the ruling classes, instead operating out of a position of not knowing or "unknowing knowing" and letting the culturally and linguistically ciphered unconscious of the analysand speak in its own true voice. Conversely, the analysand has to surrender not to the class and status-bound ego of the analyst or to his or her own imaginary ego demands but to the voice of his or her

own symbolic language and culture. From a social cultural perspective, the idealizing transference to the analyst as an ego ideal can be regarded as a movement toward searching for assimilation: to want to be and speak with the words of the White upper-class master (of the rulers) rather than with one's own.

The therapeutic task of undoing repression and the concept of cure direction (as defined earlier), constitute key elements of psychotherapy in general but also have a special importance and meaning essential to doing psychotherapy with minority groups. Both point in the direction of empowerment of the subject and reconciliation with and inclusion of otherness. Lacan used the term *the Other* to designate the Freudian unconscious. This term has the advantage of simultaneously conveying both the symbolic and social meanings of the unconscious. Given that otherness encompasses the subject of the unconscious and the presence of a different social other (i.e., an ethnic minority individual or group), acceptance and reconciliation with the Other of the unconscious will lead to a qualitative change in the nature of the social link and nexus with other subjects.

The relational or intersubjective school of psychoanalysis (Altman, 1995) argues that psychoanalysis has neglected social or class issues because the "one-person" conceptual framework, with its emphasis on intrapsychic drive processes, does not lend itself to an analysis of intersubjective social phenomena. However, from a Lacanian perspective, the problem is not drive theory per se but how the drive is defined. In the United States, the mainstream ego-psychological psychoanalytic view of the drive has been that of the model of a biological instinct. Lacan, following Freud, postulates that the drive, as opposed to a biological instinct, can be known only through psychical representations that are organized within a cultural symbolic order. The symbolic order immediately places the drive not only within a dyadic dual or "two-person psychology" but within a triadic "three-person psychology." The symbolic is analogous to the category of the social, linguistic, and cultural dimensions of experience.

The unconscious as the Other encompasses the place of a repressed symbolic drive and the psychosocial space of the socially different. The social other of a same race or class represents the general social other—will of society, the nurture side of the nurture–nature relationship. For the master class (the class in power), the place of minorities, of the socially different by virtue of race and class, symbolically represents the place of forbidden satisfaction (*jouissance*), the natural *jouissance*, the place of the lack of discipline that the law demands. Thus, minorities, the masses, people of color, and the lower classes have been classically perceived and defined as representing the other of the primitive mentality found in nature, passion, and drive. Finally, the exceptions to and failures of the law produce a reinforcement and a heightened awareness of the law. What the servant is seen as wanting or doing is what the master cannot have or do. This also explains, in my view, how the other of social difference is metaphorically held responsible not only for representing the drive but also for reminding members of the master class of what they cannot do or have.

The ego psychology school also differentiates between defensive and nondefensive forms of ego functioning. For Lacan, the category of nondefensive ego functioning is associated with the subject of the unconscious, from which stems the capacity to experientially and not necessarily rationally know the unconscious. The objection could be raised that the distinctions between the ego and the unconscious, master and servant, and the repressive and the repressed are not absolute given that, for Freud, the ego also had an unconscious dimension. Nevertheless, I do not think that Freud's ideas regarding an unconscious part of the ego refer to a distinction between defensive and nondefensive ego functioning. For Freud, the nondefensive ego was the rational conscious ego. Freud's unconscious part of the ego refers to the source of unconscious repression and therefore is bound up with a defensive function of the ego. Freud (1923/1953) believed that the unconscious part of the ego, as the unconscious source of repression,