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Effect of parents' unresolved childhood conflict on their child with special emphasis on the mother-child relationship.

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EFFECT OF PARENTS' UNRESOLVED CHILDHOOD CONFLICT ON THEIR CHILD
WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE MOTHER-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

A Thesis

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CHAPTER I

Purpose, Method, Scope and Background of Study

A mother comes to the clinic because she is worried about her child. What causes her to worry? Sometimes her feeling of anxiety is justified: the child is disturbed and needs help. Sometimes it is the mother who needs help with her disturbance. There are also times when the mother's concern is about situations and behavior which are normal in a child's growing up.

Whom do we help? And when do we help? Certainly the mother who brings her child to us expects us to be equipped to understand her and her child and to give help which is based on such understanding. Child guidance clinics have drawn on such understanding of parents, children and their relationships as science has developed it, in order to help their clients; and in turn the clinical material and experience of child guidance clinics has been important for testing such understanding, modifying it, and establishing its application in more specific ways and in relation to specific needs. This relationship between understanding a concept and using it clinically has been fruitful.

Our study is a clinical study. We are interested in one particular situation, that of parents with unresolved childhood conflicts, and we raise the question of what such a situation does to their child. Our major purpose in raising
this question and in searching for an answer on a clinical basis is to increase our understanding of parents and children in trouble and to be able to help them better. We want to meet such a purpose within the limitations of our specific questions and of our clinical material, to be stated later on.

A child has needs. He is part of an environment from which he seeks satisfaction of his needs. He uses his capacities to deal with his environment in the light of these needs. We can understand a child and his behavior if we see how he deals with his environment and why. The emotionally disturbed child is not different from the "normal" child in this respect. Under certain conditions it is normal to be disturbed. We can understand a child's disturbance as his way of dealing with his environment in the light of his needs. The disturbance is a response to unfavorable conditions; it is also a method of the child to deal with his response to these conditions so that he can retain or regain his emotional equilibrium and continue to meet his basic emotional needs.

A child's emotional relationship to his environment is complex. Many factors go into it on the child's side and on that of his environment. We do not intend to consider all these factors in our study of emotional disturbance and parent-child relations. Our topic: "Effect of parents' unresolved childhood conflict on their child with special emphasis on the mother-child relationship" selects out of this multiplicity of factors the one of unresolved childhood
conflict of parents and we want to concentrate on its effect on the child. From this there follow several questions:

1) What is father's unresolved childhood conflict?

2) What is mother's unresolved childhood conflict?

3) How does the child experience this reality of unresolved parental conflict? How does the child deal with this reality? What purposes does the child's behavior serve?

4) Is the effect of the mother's unresolved childhood conflict on the child so that it deserves special emphasis? Does the mother's conflict have a more important share in the child's conflict and in the child's method of dealing with his conflict? We have a special interest in the mother-child relationship within the over-all family and social and cultural setting that confront a child in his early life experience. We want to focus on the mother's relationship to her own mother as it seems to find expression in her relationship to her own child, and we want to see whether and how this grandmother-mother problem becomes reflected in the child's problem.

5) What is the modifying effect of siblings and of economic, cultural and social factors on the major factor we are concentrating on? We are thinking of lack or instability of a home environment, economic trouble and instability, the effect of war, service in the armed forces, association with a church. We are interested especially in how the members of a family use these situations or institutions for their
emotional purposes, and what bearing such use has on their conflict.

6) We raise the question of the implications such understanding has for treatment method. Who needs treatment if we are to effect a child's disturbance and his method of handling such disturbance? What is the focus of treatment? Who needs to give this treatment? What cooperation is required between them?

We want to limit our study to emotional disturbance that has emotional causation. We are not concerned here with emotional reactions to organic trouble or to mental retardation and malfunctioning.

We are using the method of case analysis. The advantage of this method is to permit us an individualized presentation and individualized understanding of the factors involved in such a situation and their relationships. We are applying the questions outlined above to a particular case situation, and we are trying to explore the case situation in the light of these questions. This permits us to give consideration to a large number of specific factual data and to see what bearing these data have on the child's problem in the family. The relative influence of such data on the child's problem appears from such an individualized consideration of a clinical situation. Our special interest in the contribution of the mother's unresolved childhood problem on her child's problem is served if we can see the mother as part of the overall panorama of
such a case situation and if she assumes her weight in this whole through our consideration of the various parts that go into such a panorama. Our understanding of treatment method may also be furthered by this relationship of the various parts to the whole. The disadvantage of this method is in the limitation of the number of cases we are able to use. For this reason statistical methods are not useful, and we are not applying them.

While we apply the same questions to each case situation, we have varied the clinical picture of childhood disturbance that appears in a situation. Case I gives us a child refusing obedience, the "rebellious" child. Case II centers on a child that is inhibited and controlled. Case III brings to us a fearful child, locked in a dependent relationship to her mother. Case IV reveals a child who moved toward social isolation. We have selected some of the major clinical pictures that the practice of child guidance work acquaints us with, major in frequency and significance. This variation will enable us to look at the parent-child, especially the mother-child connection in emotional problem against the background of some major syndromes of disturbance. Apart from a more thorough exploration of our major question this selection will enable us to see whether not only the reality of emotional disturbance and conflict but also the formation of a pattern of symptoms and their utilization is something that is transmitted from parent to child as part of that relationship and of the process of
internalization that accompanies it.

The cases selected are four in number. They were selected on the basis of containing adequate material on father's background, mother's background, marital relationship, relationship with child, and treatment received.

They are from the closed files of the West End Child Guidance Clinic and the Quincy Child Guidance Clinic, two of the six child guidance clinics functioning under the Massachusetts State Division of Mental Hygiene. In both settings the teamwork approach is being practiced, and cooperation between psychiatrist, psychologist, and psychiatric social worker will appear in this material. The potentialities that this teamwork approach has for study and treatment purposes has been widely discussed in professional literature. This material may in some way add to the data available to the profession in this respect.
CHAPTER II

Relationship Between Parental Environment and the Child's Developing Personality

The child's developing personality is formed to a decisive degree by his relations to his parents. This recognition flowed from the fundamental revolution wrought by Freud in the understanding of human personality and in the approach to the treatment of emotional problems which could be reduced to and interpreted as disturbances in fundamental human relationships. Before Freud, there was much less security about factors responsible for personality development and for pathological forms of such development. The question of "environment" versus "constitution" was often handled as if one excluded the other. Through Freud and since then we have developed more and more strongly the approach of multiple causation.

Within this, the family environment has held a central place in our understanding and professional handling of a child's developing personality. Freud defined a strategic situation, as it were, in the family setting, the oedipal situation, which epitomized the essential elements needed

1 S. Freud, A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis.
       An Outline of Psychoanalysis.

       New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis, Chs. 3 and 4.
       An Outline of Psychoanalysis, Chs. 2 and 3.
for the development of a "normal" human personality as well as the conflicts and problems inherent in this basic situation which face the human personality in its quest for integration and identification.

Since Freud our understanding and appreciation of the meaning of the parental environment for the development of human personality has been on a much secure basis, theoretically and in clinical application. Freud has used the concept of "internalization" or "incorporation" to account for this formative influence of parent on the child. The child meets in his parents an at first external reality of feelings and social directives, and then the child makes some of these feelings and social directives "his own" by taking them into himself, as it were. There is a process of selectivity in this incorporation. The child adopts certain parts of his parents and rejects others. This process of psychological selectivity has been of fundamental interest to the professions geared to the understanding and handling of human relationships. Freud contributed his interpretation of what motivated this process of emotional assimilation. In pointing up the child's need for love, he found a motivation sufficient to explain why the child would take into himself "social discipline" and would relate himself to the parents' emotional world by patterning his own emotional responses in relation to theirs (by being a "good" and/or "bad" child) for obtaining love and directed by the need for love. It is a trade nearly, not on a conscious,
rational basis essentially, but effective in its instinctual purposiveness, and it is in this "trade" that originally more undifferentiated human strivings turn into a "social" personality, become identified with patterns of feelings, of behavior, of ideals, and become object-related in most of these respects. All these are essential elements of what creates for us the concept of the "individual" as a human personality if we consider the ego as an integrating capacity which strives for balance between all these elements and their coordination in relation to purposes and needs of the reality world.3

Since Freud one of the major developments in personality study has been in understanding the relationship between parental environment and the child's developing personality more specifically. We have moved away from assigning to any factor an exclusive role. We have gained considerably through studying the impact of influences on the parental environment itself which find their expression in the patterning and directive influences of culture and other contents of society. As far as the interrelationship between parent and child is concerned, the oedipal situation has remained important, but other phases of the child's early experience have gained in importance. Recent literature, on a clinical basis, has attempted to clarify the intensity of the parental influence on the

3 S. Freud, New Introductory Lectures, pp. 82-112.
E. Erickson, Childhood and Society, pp. 207-231.
child in its earliest stages (Margaret Ribble, \textsuperscript{4} Anna Freud, \textsuperscript{5} René Spitz\textsuperscript{6}).

The conclusion to be reached from these studies is that the earliest relationship experiences of the child are the most intensive ones. The child's dependence upon parental support and parental emotion is greatest then, and the effect of this emotional relationship, whatever its character, is the greater the stronger the child's dependence on it.

These studies have paid more attention to the mother's role in these earliest experiences of the child.\textsuperscript{7} This role is central. The mother-child relationship is the only deeply meaningful relationship of the child during a crucial stage of his emotional development. Depending on this one all-meaningful contact with the socio-emotional "world", the child will or will not be able to spread out to other social "objects" in his emotions, and the way he will and can do it will also depend on the character of this first emotional object and its relationship quality.\textsuperscript{8} It is a relationship which is indis-

\textsuperscript{4} M. Ribble, \textit{The Rights of Infants}.


\textsuperscript{7} Ibid, p. 274.

pensable and unsubstitutable, whatever else following relationships might be able to provide for at their own time. A lack of this relationship or a considerable disturbance of it in the months immediately following birth of the child has been found by clinical observation to result in loss of intellectual and emotional development which may become irreversible at a certain point, even if the most favorable relationship conditions can be provided later on.

In addition to clarifying more specifically the degree (or the intensity) of the parental contribution to the developing human personality and the central meaning of the mother-child relationship in the earliest stages of the child's life, these studies have also gone more specifically into some of the aspects of the enormously important process in human development that we call "internalization" or "incorporation". Again the earliest stages of the child's emotional experiences and the central position of the mother-child relationship acquire a more essential meaning for our understanding of the internalization that takes place and the pattern it assumes (that is, whether the child takes in a relationship at all, whether it is governed by trust or distrust in doing so, etc.).

We are intrigued with Melitta Sperling's conception that the


10 Erickson, op. cit., pp. 219-222.

child, in these early stages, is so much a part of the mother yet, emotionally spoken, that, while he is biologically separate, he functions as a part of and, to a considerable degree, for the purpose of the mother's emotional household rather than as a separate individual relating to another separate, though very important, individual directed by his own needs and for the sake of his own basic purposes. The child acts out the mother's unconscious, represents the mother rather than himself in his feelings and behavior. His emotions, his behavior follow directions that come from the mother. The implication of this conception can be looked upon to mean that the conception of the "trade" between love and social behavior and its meaning for the processes of incorporation needs to be modified. The child starts out not only with instinctive strivings and uses his parents as "objects" for these strivings, in relation to which and for the sake of which he experiences formative change in himself which appears as feelings, behavior, etc.; the child starts out also with remaining a part of the mother's emotional personality for a while, acting out the mother's wishes and needs, especially representing mother's unconscious in such representation. This is different from internalization as it has been understood so far. It has not developed on a "selective" basis, it seems, whatever the mechanism of selection may be; it may be considered a primary reality rather than a selective process. Only in later stages of his growth does the child differentiate himself from this
primary reality and acquire an individuality of his own through processes of selectivity.

While this conclusion of the initial incorporation as a primary rather than a selective reality on the child's side needs to be tentative the studies have shown that the mother-child relationship at the very early stages of the child's life have a central meaning for facts and patterns of incorporation. The mother's emotional constitution, as it were, becomes a very important concern for us if we want to understand the development of the child. An emotional problem of a mother, a conflict that is unresolved would have a more central meaning for what the child "incorporates" and begins to develop as "his own" than the problem would be encountered in relation to an unsatisfactory "parental object".

Especially, too, the mother's relation to her own parents becomes essential for our understanding of the "problem" that may be inherited from generation to generation through this process of emotional osmosis. Does the mother carry in herself an unresolved conflict in relation to her own parents, especially in relation to her own mother, or has she been able to meet the conflicts in relation to her parents in a normal way and to separate from them through developing her own individuality?

We see that Freud's original conception of the strategic role of the child-parent triangle (in the oedipal situation) has led quite normally to extensions. The purpose of this
study is to consider these extensions in a critical way and through the use of clinical material.
CHAPTER III

Clinical Material and Its Interpretation

Case I; The Disobedient Child

Data on Family:

Father, age 31, construction worker; graduate from high school; Protestant.

Mother, age 26, graduate from high school; Protestant.

Siblings: 1) Sandra, age 4½, referred by pediatrician; 2) Bob, age 2½

Others in Household: none.

On advice of her pediatrician, mother approached the clinic for help with her daughter Sandra, age 4½. Chief complaints about Sandra were her resistance to obedience, frequent temper tantrums, and sexual interest in her younger brother, age 2½.

Mother reported that Sandra got along well until mother's second pregnancy when she started to have temper tantrums. She began to throw up meals and screamed to get her way. After her brother was born, she began to wet the bed again for about five months. She developed a fear of loud noises. She is a fussy eater and a nervous sleeper. For the past four to five months she has been getting into her parents' bed and lies between them. She persists at this though the parents try to get rid of her. She will eat all the pills she can get and has had to have her stomach pumped twice. She is interested in her brother's genitals and likes to undress in front of him. Engaged in sex play and undressed without hesitation for a boy when he offered her a piece of gum for it.

For the past month, Sandra has been stealing money and candy. Sometimes she gathers the morning mail, tears it to bits, and scatters it around the yard. She does not socialize well, reacts poorly to the slightest teasing and will come home screaming every day. She fights with her brother all day long. She makes passes at him for no reason at all and knocks him over; throws temper tantrums when he comes downstairs in the morning. Recently Sandra went to play
with a neighbor's child and when told nicely that this child was sick and therefore couldn't play with her, Sandra took a stone and heaved it through the neighbor's garage door window. She kicks her mother; mother says that she would like to wring Sandra's neck many times during the day.

She feels desperate and as if she had come up against a blank wall in her knowledge of how to handle children. Spanking and deprivation did not seem to be effective. Mother realized that she herself had been very inconsistent in handling Sandra, often indulgent and overlooking something that she will punish the next day.

The parents had thought of sending Sandra to a nursery school, but could not afford it.

Mother reports uneventful full-term pregnancy and normal delivery with Sandra. Sandra sat up at 6 mos., walked at 14 mos., talked early. Was not toilet trained until the age of three. Had no illnesses, no T & A.

Mother describes Sandra as having been a high-strung baby but happy until the second part of her first year. According to mother up until Sandra was 6 months old everything had been peaceful and then Sandra began to show some aggression. Mother immediately decided that there was not going to be another spoiled brat in the family (mother has often been reminded by maternal grandmother that she had been defiant as a child, a "spoiled brat who couldn't control herself") and "clamped down hard". Sandra began to balk during feeding and mother forced it into her.

Sandra's temper tantrums started during mother's pregnancy and she began to wet the bed again and to display the other aggressive and regressive symptoms mentioned above after her brother was born. Mother states that, when she was nursing Bob, Sandra became so upset that mother lost her milk and could not continue to nurse brother.

Mother at first attributed Sandra's symptoms to sibling rivalry. In subsequent interviews she came to see, however, that Sandra's behavior was a reflection of constant tension in their home and that the basic problem was one of a rather serious
maladjustment in the marital relationship.

Both, father and mother, were born in Dorchester and graduated from high school. They are Protestants.

Father, age 31, is a tall and attractive man, poised, intelligent, with a very keen sense of humor. His parents were English. He is a construction worker, working for a construction company on roads. Army test showed him to have high intelligence and mother wishes he would study and make something of himself, but father spends most of his time sleeping when not at work.

Father's childhood was an unstable and upsetting one. His parents were divorced when he was about three or four years old, and since then he was cared for by various relatives. At one time he lived with his great grandmother, another time his grandmother and then with his mother. He claims he has lived with everyone else but his father, and he feels that he has been brought up by females too much and that his role was affected by this: the women "spoiled and pampered" him and made a sissy out of him. According to father, this was straightened out later when he joined the army.

Father went to Northeastern University for about a year and took up courses related to mechanics, but gave this up and joined the army two months before Pearl Harbor because he felt that the armed services might offer him something. He was with the Air Corps; scored 144 on the Army Alpha Test.

Mother, age 26, is small, slender, young looking, girlish with an alert, attractive face. She has grey-blue eyes, fine features, black hair, white skin. She talks very easily and expresses herself well. During the intake interview with the psychiatrist she was facetious and half laughed most of the time, even when telling of Sandra's misbehavior and saying, "I could gladly wring her neck."

Mother is the youngest of five children and the daughter of an English mother and Italian father.

Her father, a lawyer, was out of the house six days and quite often six nights a week so that mother only saw him on Sundays. When home, his word appeared to be law although he was a very quiet man.
Maternal grandmother, on the other hand, did a good deal of yelling and slapping to no avail.

Maternal grandmother, half deaf, jokingly remarked that having five children around got her deaf when mother asked how she was able to raise five when mother is unable to handle two. Mother thinks that she is handling situation in the same way maternal grandmother did: simply blocks her ears to things that she doesn't want to hear (father has to say things two or three times to her before she seems to hear him) and that, though she doesn't want to, she repeats the pattern set by maternal grandmother in general.

Father met mother when she was only sixteen years old and still a student in high school. They were engaged the following year during which time father was stationed in Texas. Shortly thereafter he wired her to marry him whereupon mother flew down to Oklahoma where the marriage took place. After five days of married life, father was sent overseas. He spent two and a half years overseas, most of the time in England. While mother remained faithful to him, father had extra-marital affairs in Texas as well as in England.

Sandra was conceived after father came back from the army. Since they had no place to live and since the husband of mother's sister Anne was overseas, they moved into Anne's house. Mother was quite advanced in her pregnancy then. This was the time when father fell in love with Anne whom he describes as very womanly, warm, and easygoing as compared to his wife's short-tempered personality. They began to have sexual relationships which have been carried on up to the present time.

Anne's husband does not know about it. Anne isn't happy with her husband since he is an alcoholic, has ulcers, and is a withdrawn and antisocial person.

Mother, however, knows about father's relationship to her sister. Though it has bothered her a great deal, it has not affected her relationship to her sister. Mother is said to have attempted suicide by taking sleeping pills about two years after father returned from the army because she was "fed up" with everything.
It was father himself who told mother that he was in love with Anne, and mother professed to feel that this was understandable—sister was "beautiful," "lovable," "to know her is to love her". She was unable to express any hostility toward her sister throughout the clinic contact.

She complained bitterly, however, about father, about his laziness, his lack of ambition, his excessive sexual demands, and his complete disinterest and non-cooperation in regard to home and children. "Although he makes promises verbally, he doesn't follow through." Sometimes mother feels she would like to get rid of her whole family for several days and just relax but on occasions when the children have been sent off to visit relatives, she finds that she misses them after a few hours.

Mother works hard all day long caring for the children, doing her own housework, priding herself on well-cooked meals she can serve on their limited income. She is exhausted by the time she gets dinner ready and out of the way and the children bathed and settled in bed. Husband doesn't help with anything. When he comes home from work, he does not want to have anything to do with the children and tells mother to keep them away from him. He eats a very hearty dinner, spends the evening sleeping in his chair, but when he and his wife go to bed he is "very eager". Father is very active sexually, and mother can't make him compromise to sex every second or third night. Also, he won't meet her halfway in caring for their property, he leaves everything to her.

When first married, mother learned that it didn't do to lose her temper with her husband. He simply would walk out on her. As a child she used to work out her anger by pounding on the piano; now she tries to work out her anger by furiously scrubbing the kitchen floor and windows.

She feels that father demands instantaneous obedience (which reminds her of her own home situation). He usually smacks either child after he said something once and has not been obeyed. Mother, on the other hand, tries to reason through a great deal and then loses her temper completely and slaps the children. She feels very guilty about the slapping, especially
strongly about losing control of herself so completely, and thinks she is a total failure if she can't reason Sandra out of any behavior.

Father admits that he prefers Sandra to Bob. He refers to Sandra's erotic appeal and would like to "get very close to her" but feels that he can't because Sandra is too independent.

Mother told the clinic psychiatrist about the "blow up" with her husband: mother was getting ready to go to a concert to which maternal grandmother had invited her on the occasion of mother's birthday. She had gotten children fed, bathed, and ready for bed before husband came home, but while she was changing her clothes she remembered that Sandra had not been given her cough medicine. She told Sandra to ask father to give it to her, but father didn't want to be disturbed and said that mother should take care of it. Mother sent Sandra back to father, father sent her back to mother. Mother, thereupon, became furious, made a scene, and told father to "pack and go". Father packed and went to her sister Anne. Mother consulted her private psychiatrist who advised her to get her husband back "dead or alive". Whereupon mother contacted husband and asked him to come back home. "It was like a second honeymoon".

Data on Treatment:

No. of interviews of patient with psychiatrist 20
" " " " " " psychologist 2
No. of interviews of mother with social worker 26
" " " " " " psychiatrist 1
No. of interviews of father with social worker 13

In addition parents have been seen by mother's psychiatrist in Providence for a period of time.

Psychological tests showed patient to have an I.Q. of at least 122. The psychologist describes her as a very bright little girl who despite her exasperating behavior maintains a tremendous amount of charm and appeal and shows a great deal of femininity in her behavior. Response to her mother's unconscious, especially need to control, sibling rivalry, ambivalence about her sex are major results of the psychological testing. Need for treatment was indicated for patient. Assignment of mother to male social worker and of father
to female social worker was arranged to help them work through problem of masculine and feminine roles and relationships which operated strongly in marriage.

Treatment of patient was handled by psychiatrist. Play therapy was used in which patient brought out resentment to sibling. Patient could live through a great deal of family tension in therapy. In the ninth interview patient could use interpretation by therapist that she is envious of her brother's penis, but that she has something that her brother does not have. Treatment is helpful in encouraging identification with feminine role and in reducing tension in relation to parental conflict. Parents report different, improved attitude to sibling and parent.

Father uses his interviews to have worker bolster his ego. He brings out his seductive pattern in relation to worker at first. He shows ability to show some change in this, however, and to have respect for her as a married professional person.

He is conscientious about his interviews. As a whole, he relates in a very infantile and immature way despite his intelligence. There is some change to the better in the home as he shows more interest in the home and in the children. Father's worker, a second-year student, left the agency at the end of her school term. Father seemed upset about her leaving. He had promised to come back and see a different worker. He did not do so, and his treatment had to be discontinued earlier than planned.

Mother had difficulty articulating and was inhibited in interview situation. She tried not to get involved in treatment, especially when her feelings about sex came up. Mother can use interpretation concerning her part in Sandra's behavior, especially her inconsistency and how this ties up with her experience in relation to her own mother. Mother can also use help concerning her relationship to her husband. She can make changes in relation to child and husband so that she can be more firm and consistent, can also feel free to get a part-time job (X-ray technician at hospital) which gives her a good deal of satisfaction.

Mother works out a good deal of her own conflict around crisis which comes up in the beginning of
her contact, in which she experiences separation from her husband and reunion.

Mother ended her contact when she realized that patient's sex play brought up disturbed reactions in her about her own childhood. She was not able to get into this. She used for ending that things had improved greatly in patient's behavior at home and in school (kindergarten) and that her relations to her husband were better.

Father and mother were seen by mother's private psychiatrist in Providence. He pointed out behavior to father and mother that makes for conflict and encouraged modifications that would enable them to get along.

Final evaluation by clinical psychiatrist finds child improved, finds father unpromising concerning use of help and advises long-term therapy for mother.

Interpretation: In considering the data of this case, one notices the wide range of symptoms in this child's behavior. There are symptoms of regression, such as bedwetting; resistance to parental control, such as active disobedience, poor eating habits, demands made on parents in sleeping with them, eating pills, vomiting; delinquent and aggressive behavior, such as stealing money and candy, beating up her younger brother, kicking mother, socializing poorly because of aggressive behavior towards playmates and neighbors; attention-getting, seductive devices, such as undressing in front of her brother and her friends, interest in brother's genitals, sex play with other children (undressing in front of a boy).

The reason for seeking help is mother's upset over inability to manage child and home situation as a whole. She attributes child's symptoms to sibling rivalry. Objectively,
most of these symptoms have actively developed since mother was pregnant with sibling. We would agree with mother that, taken as a whole, she has reason to be concerned over the child's behavior. Often a parent's concern over a child's behavior is unfounded in reality. Parents' ignorance, guilt, projections get into the way of their judgment. This mother's concern about patient's sex play is a projection of her own unresolved sex fears; however, the symptoms of aggression and regression in performance and relationship spell a warning signal. The child has troubles, but besides the child's troubles the mother faces the question of her adequacy as a mother. She has experienced her inability to handle her child. This is a serious experience, and a mother unable to manage her child enables us to foresee more trouble for the child. It is not only the question about the child and about herself, it is also the question about her marriage she brings in. Will their marriage last? The mother, in bringing the child to the clinic, brings her as representing the family and the relationships of the family.

What we know about the background of the parents, of the birth process of the child and her early development gives no indication of inherited liability and of physical trauma as a basis of these symptoms. Tests and experience show a very well-endowed child, strong-willed, bright and intelligent, with much charm and ability to attract attention of people. Other things being equal, this child should get along well.

The reason that things do not work out right for Sandra
have to do with family relationships as a basis for her anxiety and the symptoms following from this anxiety. The birth of a sibling is often accompanied by severe anxiety of the older child who is afraid of losing her place with her parents to the younger sibling. Sandra was two years old when her brother was born. At that age the need for sharing parents creates a crisis for any child because they need to be the center of their family. This inability to share produces aggression, pushing the intruder out as it were and punishing the parent. Sexual development and the oedipal conflict later on inject guilt into this conflicted feeling about needing to share the parents. Sandra uses the male sibling for her conflict. She wants to be wanted by him as a male, undressing herself and engaging in sex play, and she punishes him for being a male and taking something away from her.

The birth of a sibling and working through basic needs in relation to parents is a traumatic change for a child even in a family of considerable stability. This family setting lacks stability to a considerable degree.

The picture of the war marriage is that of our family. Father and mother were young people who had not found a place in life for themselves yet and rushed prematurely into marriage. Anxiety about the future creates the urge to snatch a bit of

normalcy and happiness out of the jaws of war. They are married without living together, the shadow of war always hanging over their marriage. Returning from the army, there is the problem of starting a home and confronting the very different requirements of civilian living. Marriage, an experience so fundamental and one that requires such deep-readjustment, is thus burdened with the weight of other problems.

The father, a person with superior intelligence, functions below his equipment. He has conflict about his masculinity. He needs to make his role as man complete in his family living by domineering, autocratic, rather sadistic methods; on the other hand he feels that there is a strong streak of the "sissy" in him which he tries to fight but which wants to be pampered and to which he gives in. Divorce of his parents at an age of 3-4 was part of a very unstable upbringing in which he moved through the care of his mother and other women relatives and which, in his feelings and in reality, is marked by the absence of his father. At the time of his parents' divorce he had not established basic identifications with father and mother and had not resolved the oedipal situation. His emotional response to the childhood trauma is: mother kept father away from me. Mother is bad, father punished her by going away. Mother is good, she feeds me, takes care of me. Mother is more than one woman. Woman feeds me, gratifies my appetite. Woman is
unfaithful. She leaves me and gives me to another woman. He expects punishment from father (subconsciously); he incorporates this role of the father in order to protect himself. Thus, his identification with the masculine role is one of primitive strength, autocratic, punishing woman for her unfaithfulness. In relation to mother, he has not worked through identification with one woman as mother; woman is mother rather than mother woman. His relationship to his wife's sister has the quality of being married to two women rather than to one, in this way re-establishing the childhood situation of being related to a plurality of women rather than to one mother without a father. His basic emotional pattern does not provide for monogamy and will be a threat to a marriage in a culture and for a woman where monogamy is essential. This basic emotional identification with mother as a plural rather than a singular may be a basis of incestuous relationship. There is some of this in the way he comments on Sandra's attractiveness; he is seductive in relation to her rather than protective and proud.

Instability is very deep-seated in the father's emotional makeup. He is geared to expect instability and to produce it. He has known two basic situations and has developed his ego-strength along these lines: the situation of position of the sexless infant who develops seductiveness to appeal to the

maternal in the woman for getting her care and for being gratified by her; and the situation of the all-male person (the father) who keeps away from woman and who relates to her in terms of dominating her, punishing her, sensing in women a danger to masculinity.

This no-sex role and this all-male role means denial of the feminine in society and of a male role that accepts woman and the feminine as a complementation of manhood. The bisexuality which is characteristic of a stage in the developmental process, has not led to an integration of male and female in favor of a predominant identification.

Treatment possibilities for the father do not look promising. The psychiatrist prognosticates that, "he would sooner desert the family than change for their sake." The main reason for such pessimism is the lack of motivation for making a change in father. While there is tension and lack of integration in him, he has adapted his ego strength very successfully to provide for his main needs, those of gratification and domination in relation to women. He functions on a primitive level, but successfully in terms of his needs. His considerable potential insofar as his intelligence is concerned is of little moment when motivation is lacking.

What does father's emotional instability and the poor prognosis for change in this instability mean for Sandra? It means an experience of inconsistency in a basic relationship. The father is partly seductive in relation to her and
partly rejecting her as a woman. He encourages her exhibiting her sex and developing her attractiveness in a seductive way, but he discourages her sense of worth as a person who can expect to be wanted and to be given to. This separation of attractiveness from worth as a person is a split that puts the emphasis on the feminine as a means rather than as end in itself. Sandra may be on the way of repeating father's pattern, that is of developing her ego strength along the lines of seductiveness and to use this for gratification and domination in relation to the male (on a promiscuous basis). Physically and intellectually, Sandra is well endowed to adopt such a pattern successfully. Some of her present manifestations indicate the need for such seductiveness. While it is too early to say what pattern in relationships will serve Sandra in the long run (if the basic family situation does not change), we can be sure of the fact that the father's emotional problem is a serious problem for Sandra, confronting her with considerable disturbance and with serious choices concerning her femininity.

If we try to establish a thread between parent and child, we may say that father experiences his problem in relation to his mother because of his father's absence, which creates to him question about his masculinity, which he partly denies and partly over-emphasizes, and that he tries to solve this problem through the pattern of relationships to women which is seduc-
tively promiscuous and dominating. This mother-child problem is given over to Sandra through her relationship to father which makes femininity a problem to her, encouraging a split of both denying and over-emphasizing femininity and which establishes a possible direction for resolving this split by developing seductiveness for the double purpose of gratification and domination.

Mother's childhood situation nearly paralleled father's in one respect; that is, the near-absence of a father in the home. There the similarity ends. The father's absences from home are not part of separation and divorce through which father is removed, so to say. The father remains very much the dominating element in this family, and his absence is not due to divorce but to his establishing this as the pattern of home life he wants. One has the feeling that woman is very much the weaker part in this home. The father is mentioned as a lawyer. He is an Italian. His absences from his home (six out of seven days and usually nights, too) are mentioned without explanation or criticism. One has the feeling that criticism or giving explanations was not part of the relationship to his wife and children he would tolerate. He may represent a type of marital relationship which has been known in continental countries (France and Italy) in which a great

4 O. Fenichel, op. cit., p. 243.
respect for marriage as an institution is combined with little respect for the role of woman in marriage as a person. Woman serves the purposes of the institution rather than the institution serving her purposes as a person in such culture. Child-bearing and feeding are her major responsibilities. The man's word and acting are law in the home. Children are brought up in strict obedience. Inequality in favor of the man is given the premium rather than equality of mates in relation to a common purpose and goal and with equal respect for each other as persons.

Mother's mother seems to have carried the responsibility that is characteristic of such a home. Her husband has status and provides for the home, but he takes no part in it otherwise, keeping himself away and out of it, leaving the bringing-up of the five children and home matters as a whole altogether to his wife in a quite detached and disinterested way. Grandmother has never felt equal to this job. The children have been too many and too much. One has the feeling as if she had been forced into this role rather than that it was hers and that she wanted it. Grandmother faced a depressed status of woman in relation to man in her marriage, and she was not reconciled to serving the purposes of the institution without having a place for her own purposes and values as a person.

This conflict would be only too natural if one thinks of this pattern of marital relationship on the American scene
which has produced a very different cultural ideal of marriage. In the American ideal the emphasis is not so exclusively on the sacredness of the institution and on the sacrifice of personal needs and values to the institution. The American influence on this cultural ideal is to balance the rights and values of the person against those of the institution.

Grandmother's rebellion against her role in the home is encouraged by the ideal of her surrounding environment. Her rebellion is not strong enough to carry through against the domination of her husband, but it comes out in relation to her children. She develops a hard-of-hearing attitude which she herself and her children are wise enough to recognize as her resistance against her role in the home. She becomes short-tempered. This again is the reaction of somebody for whom things are too much or who means to say: this is all I am willing to give and no more. Her yelling and slapping make this resistance more emphatic. Grandmother does not feel wanted as a person in her marriage, and her rebellion against not being wanted becomes a rebellion against not wanting her role; and the major part of this role is bearing and rearing of children.

It is this unresolved rebellion against not being wanted as a person that feeds grandmother's aggression. Rebellion is closely related to aggression; and aggression is closely related to repression. How one incorporates cultural postulates
has a bearing on whether aggression or repression will result, and in what form. Grandmother's acceptance of the dominance of the male is not strong enough to repress her rebellion against her role. On the other hand, there is considerable cultural stake in being married and maintaining marriage, and this prevents her from resolving her rebellion in relation to her husband.

Her rebellion does not get resolved. She remains in a state of ambivalence. Her rebellion is displaced on her children, and this again not in the way of a total rejection but by limiting what she has to give and wants to give. It is not an aggression of feeling so much as an aggression of behavior. The meaning of this aggression is not to reject but to protest against rejection and to protect from abuse.

Mother is the youngest of five children in this home. The youngest is often the one that is most spoiled and gets the best break. There is reason to believe that this has not been mother's lot. Grandmother's rebellion against the role of child-bearing and rearing has been increasing rather than decreasing with the number of children born. Her childhood recollections emphasize this. This feeling about a child that is a chore, this need to protect one's self against the demands made by the child, this is what mother experiences as her mother's feeling about herself, and this is the feeling she brings to Sandra.
There is the fear of the demands made by the child on her, the resentment against it and aggressive action to clamp down on this demand through strict discipline. And there is the other side in mother: identification with the lot of the woman who is not wanted, a feeling sorry for her and feeling guilty about rejecting her, and this inhibits her impulse to use discipline.

Mother's inconsistency in relation to her child is deep-seated. She has incorporated her mother's ambivalence. She is identified with her mother as the woman who experiences rejection as a person and depression of her status, and she is identified with the rebellion against this. This means that she wants herself as a woman and that she loves herself. However, she has also taken in from her mother the other side of accepting her inferiority in relation to man and not liking herself as a woman, also of deserving punishment for her rebellion. Mother is good—mother is bad; mother is right—mother is wrong. These two sides of her mother did not get integrated; they have remained in conflict in herself.5

Mother's way of resolving this conflict in relation to her mother is to get married very young. This flight into adulthood (Helene Deutsch) is frequently a way out for adolescents who cannot resolve their conflicts which they face in a home situation. However, instead of a solution it means

shifting the scene of the inner conflict.

Mother's very selection of a mate not only demonstrates her lack of emotional maturity, it tragically repeats her mother's role in the home and her own ambivalence in relation to it. Having rebelled against her mother, she is now following into mother's footsteps, with the difference that she is marrying below her status (not a "lawyer", etc.) and thus expressing her self-deprecation.

Mother has incorporated the conflicted role of the woman as experienced in her own home and in relation to her mother: authoritative in relation to children, unauthoritative in relation to husband and subject to his domination. Ambivalence results toward both roles, and patterns of aggression, rebellion, etc., are inadequate to resolve this ambivalence.

Mother's self-deprecation as a woman is brought out most strongly in her acceptance of her husband's relationship with her older sister. Her toleration of this and her inability to bring out resentment against the older sister, her repeated emphasis on the warmth, motherliness of this sister go far beyond what our cultural practice would tolerate. It seems as if she would say: this sister is so much more of a woman than I that it is right for the man to prefer her to me. This sister seems to be the mother she wants and is identified with as positive, while her own behavior and pattern represent the bad mother who is short-tempered and ungenerous in relation to her children. The sister is married to a difficult husband.
who requires a great deal of patience from her. There is in this her identification with the mother who has had a difficult husband who gave her little and wanted much from her from which flows from her inner acceptance of the woman's right (as represented by her sister) to more happiness and satisfaction. She can permit this to her sister but not to herself. All through the treatment there is a complete lack of fighting her sister or having some negative feeling about her. This shows a considerable depth of her conflict in relation to her mother and a considerable degree of self-depreciation.

There is also rebellion against self-depreciation as a person in her role as wife and mother. This rebellion is more active in relation to her husband than it seems to have been on the grandmother's side. She is confronted with the superior right of the man in the marital relationship, a repetition of the pattern of her mother's marriage. This superior right and her own depressed status include extramarital relationships of her husband. She fights her husband, not on this issue, but on the issue of whether she has a right to demand something from her husband, if even so limited as handling some chore with Sandra. She also demands consideration for her right from her husband in regard to sexual relations in which she puts her needs against his. She does not have enough security in the feeling of her value as a person to raise the question of her right on the big issue; that is,
the issue of her husband's unfaithfulness, but she raises it on smaller issues. There is no demand to her husband or her sister to change their relationship. There is this need to get her husband back, "dead or alive", at any price, as it were.

This telling her husband to "pack up" seems to be a failure then. However, her demand for more consideration for herself, for thinking in terms of a right for herself is essential. It is not so much whether she carries through an issue successfully as how she sees herself and how she feels about herself that counts. While this right to demand something for herself and to be wanted does not carry through in her own home life yet to an appreciable degree it finds some resolution by carrying it outside the home. She gets a job, and in this she proclaims her partial independence from the complete domination by child and husband which has been characteristic of her mother's situation.

Mother's emotional growth had been delayed. Her dissatisfaction with a role of self-depreciation gives motivation toward growth. There is reason to believe that the treatment emphasis for mother needs to be on her need for further growth and on her right for such growth. This emphasis does not raise the issue of acceptance or rejection of her husband and his relationship to her. Mother is unable to resolve at present her problem in relation to her husband either way. This emphasis, however, means that she is a person who has
rights and value. The acceptance of growth is a most essential acceptance of the value of a person. This may find its expression in her going out to work, in social associations she establishes, etc. It stands to reason that experiencing this value as a person will help her in her marital relationship and will help the marital relationship.

Mother brings a conflict from her own mother to her husband; she also brings a conflict to her child. Accepting authority from the husband and rebelling against it; exercising authority over children and inhibiting one's self in such exercise are characteristic of this pattern. This inhibited, unsuccessful exercise of authority becomes an experience of inadequacy. Grandmother's slapping and yelling inadequacy in the midst of her five children stands out in mother's recollection. Mother repeats this pattern of inadequacy. It is based on ambivalence. This feeling that children are a chore, that motherhood represents a depressed status of herself as a woman, a denial of having a right to herself as a person comes very strongly from her own mother in relation to her. There is an acceptance of this self-depreciation ("woman is inferior"), and there is the rebellion against it. Mother re-enacts this conflict in relation to her daughter. When this daughter is six months old and makes demands for herself which are quite normal for an infant to make, mother slaps her down with a display of authority and discipline. This means carrying out the demand that woman is inferior and has no right to demand
something for herself. On the other hand, mother will be very permissive and do away with normally accepted discipline. For instance, Sandra is not toilet trained until the age of three although she is a healthy baby. It is as if she wanted to convey to the child that she had a right to demand something for herself. Giving and denying are carried through in an inconsistent manner which reflects mother's conflict about herself as woman: does she have a right to make demands for herself or does she not?

Mother's conflict in relation to Sandra becomes apparent partly in mother's inconsistent behavior in rearing the child, it partly is acted out on a deeper level.\(^6\) Mother assigns to herself the role of her mother and to her daughter her own role as a child. She enacts discipline and authority of a mother in order to encourage rebellion on the side of the daughter. Consciously she has accepted mother's authority, unconsciously she rebels against it. In having her daughter act out her unconscious self, she is siding with her. The rebellion of Sandra against authority is her own rebellion, and Sandra's successful defiance is her own success in defying authority.

This helps understand Sandra's choice of symptoms. Mother's deeper unconscious need is for rebellion. Sandra

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answers this need and helps mother carry out this unconscious rebellion. The child helps the mother in acting out the rebellion she herself has not been able to act out successfully.

When mother was 16 years old, she shifted the scene of her conflict from her own home to marriage. This flight has not helped resolve her conflict. Now there is again a shift of this conflict: from her mother to her child. We need not point up that this is not a way of resolving her conflict about herself, not helpful to herself and not helpful to her child.

Sandra faces a difficult situation before her brother's birth. There is the instability of war and post-war years which feeds into and is being used by the deeper emotional instability of father and mother. Their marital relationship, thus, faces adjustment problems on different levels. Marriage in itself under most normal social and personal conditions requires a great deal of adjustment from the marriage partners. Marriage under conditions of an unstable society is burdened with additional problems. Personality difficulties added to this establish a pyramid of stress and strain. This pyramid is true for father and mother.

Sandra and her need for help are affected on all counts: on that of a disturbed marital relationship, of personality difficulties of father and of mother each of which find their own reflection in relationship to the child.
The disturbed marital relationship with its unresolved threat of separation hangs as a suspense over the child. The threat of separation lies in the reality of conflict between father and mother rather than in any overt acts. The lack of resolution of this conflict makes for continuing tension. In the child this tension becomes incorporated. This constant threat of losing the home creates agitation which finds different expression. The little security Sandra has concerning having a home and having a place in it is seriously disturbed with the birth of her brother. Somewhat later mother asks father to "pack up" and the home is temporarily broken up. Sandra fights for a place in the home in fighting the sibling. Her agitation comes from the marital instability rather than from the sibling as a threat. Her needing to sleep with the parents might be a reassurance that the marriage still persists and that she has a place in it. Her regressive symptoms, too, have meaning in trying to produce more security for herself.

We do not believe that the crisis of temporary separation and reunion of mother and father has meant an essential change in this marital conflict. At the end of the contact prospects for a securer, emotionally less conflicted home situation are not bright. We have reason to expect continuation of this tension, with possible repetition of such outbreaks. The problem for Sandra coming from this source remains. However, the moderate shift there is in the father taking more interest in the home and the mother getting more satisfaction outside
the home may soften this basic emotional tension between husband and wife.

The other source of problem for Sandra is in her father's conflicted relationship to woman, rejecting woman as a threat to his masculinity and wanting her as a source of gratification. Father encourages seductiveness in Sandra as a way of gratifying men; he depresses her worth as a woman. Sandra responds to this emotional need of her father by using seductive practices, such as lipstick, etc.

Little change can be expected in father's basic pattern. We say this although father is responsible in his contact with his worker and seems to have respect for her as a married woman. He does not accept transfer though to another worker. Essentially, he does not have enough emotional motivation for a change. An emotional pattern of such depth would need a much more intensive and long-range help than so far contemplated. However, there is no motivation in father making the planning of such help feasible.

Mother's conflict about her worth as a woman seems more promising as far as helping her work it out and, thus, helping Sandra working through a sounder acceptance of herself as a woman. To have personal worth as a woman and not to have worth as woman for the sake of some other end (institution of motherhood, of marriage) or to have worth outside womanhood is the essential conflict. Mother's unconscious rebellion against
being depressed as a woman is essentially sound. It supplies also motivation for wanting to work on a change. Mother needs help to accept this rebellion as hers and not to shift it on to her child. She also needs help to see her need not so much as a rebellion against her mother as her justified demand for worth for herself as a person. Mother is too severe on herself in many ways. Her strong response to Sandra's sex play shows her feeling about the sexual in herself as unworthy and unattractive. Her already existing desire for a right for herself and for being worth something needs to be strengthened.

Helping mother grow up and accepting her own womanhood as a positive value and as attractive is the surest way of helping Sandra. Part of this has been done in this contact. Mother can use continuing help with this.

Sandra's treatment has also been in this direction. Its emphasis has been to put a positive value on womanhood and motherhood as something that she has and her sibling does not have. This is a good emphasis, not so much because of the threat that comes from her sibling brother as because of the conflicts about womanhood that come to her from both father and mother and because of the insecurity and agitation that comes from the conflicted marital relationship. If Sandra can find in mother a securer identification with womanhood she will be able to deal with father's conflict and its effect in relation to her more securely.
As far as treatment considerations are concerned, we have in this case treatment of father, mother and child with the clinic and simultaneously treatment of mother and father with a psychiatrist mother chose. This dissociation of treatment is unfortunate. However, shopping around for treatment at different sources occurs frequently. It seemed good to emphasize marital counselling just as well as individual help for each of them. Their marital relationship is disturbed, and to help them work out certain modifications in their relationship to each other and in their handling of home matters is constructive, even if this does not involve change of deep-seated personality patterns.

Treatment for the child in addition to treatment of the marital relationship seems here well advised. The child reacts to the disturbed marital relationship, but the child has also begun to incorporate conflicts from father and mother. She needs help with her own conflict, in support of the treatment of the marriage and beyond that to reduce agitation and increase security.

For the mother at least a deeper kind of psychotherapy would seem well advised. She has the problem of an emotional conflict which she cannot handle on her own. She has good equipment for the use of help, and she has motivation to use it. Such help would be constructive for herself and for the family. Her own selection of a psychiatrist seems to be an
indication of what kind of help she is striving for. Psychotherapy for mother, as related to her need for emotional growth and problem in it, would seem advisable.

Summary: This is the case of a "disobedient" child who rebels against parental authority and is agitated. We have traced her behavior partly to an unstable marital relationship of her parents. This produces temporarily breakup of the home and potentially a constant threat of separation with tension, insecurity for the child and inconsistency in treatment of the child by her parents. In father we find an unresolved problem about his masculinity which resulted from his experience of a broken home situation in his childhood. He has developed a method of seducing woman and dominating her in order to reassure himself of his masculinity. This affects marital relations, especially because of his promiscuous tendency which leads him to sexual relations with his wife's older sister. His pattern also affects Sandra by encouraging her to be seductive and experiencing her worth as a woman in this direction. Mother's childhood has created in her an unresolved ambivalence about her worth as a woman. This was in a home in which woman had little worth as a person as compared with man. Mother experienced maternal grandmother as having feelings of rebellion against this role, being unable to resolve them and displacing them on her children. Mother's conflict about her depreciated role as a woman remains unresolved, and Sandra acts out mother's unconscious defiance of
authority and rebellion against depreciation. The birth of a sibling means accentuation of insecurity.

Treatment is partly marital counselling by a private psychiatrist which helps reduce marital tensions. The clinic treats each parent and Sandra individually. Mother uses treatment to further her growth and increase her sense of worth as a woman. This reduces her conflict and her need to project her conflict on Sandra. Father shows respect for the female caseworker but otherwise there is no indication of a deeper change in his conflict and the way he acts it out. Sandra is helped with reassurance about the home situation and with gaining a positive sense of her worth as a woman.
Case II: The Inhibited Child

Data on Family:

Father, age 28, born in Baltimore, Md.; works for army; Congregationalist.

Mother, age 27, born in Puerto Rico; Congregationalist.

Siblings: 1) Diane, age 6, born in Puerto Rico; referred by F.S.S.
2) Kay, age 3, born in San Francisco

Diane, age 6, was brought to the clinic by her mother at the suggestion of a member of the F.S.S., who knew the parents through their church activities.

Mother's chief complaints about Diane were that she won't mind and lives in a world of her own. She described her as a physical coward, nervous, easily distracted, hot-tempered, a nail biter and a dreamer. Said that Diane and father get along well until mother comes into the room. Diane considers herself ugly and will continually ask her mother if she is or isn't. Mother tells her that she felt the same when she was a child. Diane was a thumbsucker until she was five. Mother used vinegar on the fingers which was ineffective. Bites her nails for the past year. Has frequent colds and earaches. Pregnancy and delivery are reported to have been normal.

Diane's second-grade teacher had no complaints to offer, rather felt that Diane was too grown-up, not carefree, and perhaps responding to too much strictness or too rigid training.

The psychiatrist's impression was that Diane's behavior, in contrast to mother's complaints of disobedience, was one of extreme inhibition and over-control of her feelings.

The psychologist described her as an extremely prepossessing little girl who immediately established a friendly relationship and who was just slightly gauche in her gross motor movements. She approached all problems with deep enthusiasm.

Test results revealed a superior youngster. Feelings of self-doubt and insecurity permeated the entire record as well as her wish to be a good, conforming little girl. Ambivalence prevailed on many different levels of
functioning: Diane strived hard to be independent one moment and the next moment yearned to be the unborn baby still in mother's womb; she vacillated constantly between the male and female role, and her attitude toward both her parents was ambivalent with hostility more marked in relation to her mother whom she saw as overcritical and sadistic and yet to whose wishes she tries to conform. She felt that her sister was treated much better than she was and that her sister was a more worthy person than she.

Healthy signs in the essentially neurotic picture Diane presented were in addition to her superior intelligence her rich and vibrant personality, her excellent capacity for imagination and introspection and her amazing amount of inner awareness.

Diane is the older of two sisters. She was born in Puerto Rico. Diane's father comes from Baltimore. Paternal grandfather was on the sea a great deal and father's upbringing was left to paternal grandmother, a "strong character", who "did too much for him and spoil him". At the age of 17 father, who is "crazy" about paternal grandfather, enlisted in the army. He was demoted several times. He met and married mother while stationed in Puerto Rico.

Mother, a small and attractive woman, apprehensive and anxious, was born and grew up in Puerto Rico. She was the youngest--"a fourth girl and one too many"--of four sisters, the next being six years older. Maternal grandmother was a Maine woman who looked down on the Puerto Ricans. She was much more interested in her older girls than in mother. Mother had to wear hand-me-down clothes and was left much to herself even after her sisters had left.

This lack of closeness to maternal grandmother arouses a strong degree of conscious guilt and resentment in mother. Maternal grandmother is described by mother as a cold, impatient person, reserved and dominant. Maternal grandfather, "the conformist", worked hard and had little to say. Her sisters were pretty and popular and mother, who felt inferior to them, partly resented and partly admired them. Mother never seemed to matter in the family; she felt unconsidered and always shut out of her mother's and sisters' emotional life.

When first married, father and mother lived with paternal grandparents who had moved to Puerto Rico from America. Father was not living at home when Diane was born. He had a part in a play in the army
and spent a lot of time rehearsing, considering this more important than Diane's birth. The parents remained with paternal grandparents during the first two years of Diane's life. Quarters were cramped. Paternal grandmother applied pressure in how to raise a child and mother went along with it. Diane would not go to the toilet, mother would spank her, and then Diane would wet herself. Mother also would force food on Diane for a year or so if Diane didn't want to eat. Diane is still a fussy eater.

When Diane was two years old, father left the army, and the parents moved from Puerto Rico to the U.S.A. Father was unemployed for periods of time, got various jobs in various parts of the country, including California. During this time Kay, the younger sister, was born in San Francisco. Father, after doing construction work for a year and a half, gave up in the West, returned to Baltimore and rejoined the army. Mother developed pneumonia while flying with the children from California to Baltimore to join father and on reaching Baltimore had to be hospitalized immediately for several weeks without having time to explain anything to Diane. Both children had to stay with paternal relatives who were strangers, one in one family, one in another. Father did not have time to visit Diane during mother's hospitalization and visited mother only once. When mother returned home, she gave what little time and strength she had to six months old Kay and neglected Diane.

Mother says that she knows she resents Diane, knows also that she resents her mother and that there is some connection. She contrasts her satisfaction with Kay and her dissatisfaction with Diane, asking, "Why must I push Diane?" Diane is often more punished than her sister. Mother gets upset and irritated about the fact that Diane forgets things easily, will dawdle, walk around aimlessly, not do "something constructive", eat slowly, or will want to talk or look at a book instead of getting washed up, getting through her lunch and getting to school. Mother thinks it is imperative "to keep a schedule" and wants Diane to attend in a disciplined and systematic way to her daily tasks which are, in addition to school, sweeping the cellar, making her bed, raking the leaves, setting the table and making a sampler for grandmother. In the evening father plays chess with Diane who picked it up very quickly and plays an excellent game. This is quite in contrast to her
performance with her psychiatrist who in response to her wish tries to teach her checkers: though playing it every time she comes to the clinic, she doesn't seem able to grasp the fundamental rules and plays a poor game throughout. Mother is especially aggravated about Diane's "abstraction". Diane is abstracted just like her father.

Father is "abstracted" all the time, "his mind is not on the present," and "he doesn't assert himself as a father". He seldom takes any responsibility, leaves everything to mother and is "indifferent" to the upbringing of his children. Paternal grandfather was indifferent, too. Mother feels that "everything is on me", including the responsibility for Diane's problem, father saying that there was maladjustment on mother's part that was affecting Diane and creating her problems. "Father doesn't help." Mother finds it hard to talk things out with husband that bother her because it is a deep habit for her to keep her questions to herself; also, because she is afraid of what he would think of her immaturity. She feels cut off and lonely. She can't relax, feels she must drive herself without rest, and expresses strong feelings of "unworthiness" and of being unacceptable. Her need is to feel that "father is backing her", is "with her", and her general distress is increased by the fact that she is expecting another baby and that father according to army rule is bound to be transferred any day.

Both, father and mother, are Congregationalists and very much interested in their church. Father organized a young couples' club in church "covering up his insecurity by arrogance and domination which brings him to the forefront in these young couple's activities". Mother speaks with feeling about the activities connected with their church, and the church carries a different and deeper meaning for her: it gives her "strength and courage to do her job".

Data on Treatment:

No. of interviews of child with psychiatrist 13
" " " " " psychologist 2
No. of interviews of mother with social worker 14
" " " " father with social worker 1
" " " " parents with psychiatrist 1
Treatment was started in September 1951, continuing until March 1952, Diane seeing a male psychiatrist and mother a female social worker each week.

Mother was on guard at the beginning of her contact, giving as little information voluntarily as possible. She was found to have an extremely close identification with Diane and also to be aware of her resentment against Diane and her own mother. She was unable for a long time to face the causes and to examine her feelings. Turning point in worker-client relationship comes when worker relates to mother's strong religious feelings. When mother distinguishes between "a Christianity which gives you strength and courage to do your job and that which demands a public show of conformity and good works", worker ties this in with a sermon which could be equally well stated in Christian or in psychiatric terms: "The truth is always the truth wherever you find it". This clicks, and mother's attitude changes visibly. She becomes able to examine her own overwhelming feelings of unworthiness and to separate out her own emotions from the reality problems she has to face.

Mother can relax her insistence on precision in daily tasks, and Diane in turn becomes lighter hearted and more outgoing. She becomes able to express her feelings to her husband: she can fight him on the issue of visiting a woman in the congregation and she can confide in him her feelings about the possibility of his being absent when the baby comes and her need to know "you are with us wherever you are". Father, in turn, shows understanding and is reassuring. He arranges a surprise shower for mother, and he discusses and plans his transferal to Puerto Rico with mother. Mother doesn't feel alone anymore. She feels that she and father have "grown up" and that she had been helped by the church and by the clinic to get a sense of her own worth. Mother goes through childbirth easily, and when the parents with Diane, Kay, and the new baby come for a final talk with the psychiatrist before leaving for father's new post in South America they all look happy and well, giving the impression of being a family unit.

The psychiatrist deals with Diane's severe inhibitions, encouraging her to express her feelings, especially in regard to her younger sister and the coming baby. Diane gradually becomes more easy and spontaneous, indicating rather openly her affection...
for her therapist. She displays a slight amount of aggression in playing with dart gun and punching bag but to the very end of the contact is unable to express any negative feelings. Therapist points out to her in her final sessions that she keeps feelings locked up within her and that she would feel better if she could express them. Has the final impression that she can go on being more free in her feelings than she has been in her past, especially since mother had been able to face her problem with some degree in her interviews with her social worker.

Points out to parents in their requested interview at the end of treatment that Diane's main difficulty was that she controls her feelings much too much and that the parents weren't allowing her to be a child.

Interpretation: Seeing this child as the mother brings her to the clinic, one has the feeling that the symptoms of the child have not been the determining factor for this step. Often mothers are forced by a child into declaring their inability to handle their child on their own. This was so in the first case under discussion. There the child was beyond "control", and she was putting her mother into a position where she had to go for support. It is as if the child's "behavior" constituted a mode of communication with the outside world, breaking through the isolation of the home, letting people know that something is wrong in the home and that some change is needed.

Diane's behavior is not beyond parental control. The problem is more at the other extreme. It is one of too much and not of too little control.

Mother comes for help. She uses her child's "disobedience" as a reason for her coming. Actually she comes for herself. The reason for coming is in feeling rather than in behavior.
It is difficult for clients to come for help with feelings. It is easier to refer to behavior as the reason for coming for help. Feelings are the problem for the mother--feelings are the problem for the child. The world that is disturbing is inside them. There is the constant nagging inside about not being worth enough and about needing to do something to acquire more worth.

This matter of using one's aggression against one's self is a distinct type of disturbance and of symptom picture. It has been difficult for us to understand and to learn of "man against himself".7

In this as in the first case we can say that mother's coming for help is quite justified. While she gives the wrong reason for explaining her disturbance, her feeling is right. Diane is more in danger than Sandra. Sandra fought for herself, she had much ability to use for this fight, and unconsciously her mother was with her in this "rebellion" against being misused and depreciated as a woman. Diane is much more handicapped in fighting for herself. She has gone a long way on the road of being against herself, and her mother's unconscious is against her.

How does the family situation bear on Diane's emotional problems? There is a good deal of instability in this family. The army is the father's profession, and the family follows the

7 Karl Menninger, Man Against Himself.
army. The normal instability that is considerable for living in and with the army for a family becomes intensified because the father uses the army in a way that increases changes for the family. This family lives in expectation of a change rather than for the purpose of settling down and taking roots.

This family, at a first glance, shows the father born in Baltimore, the mother and the first child born in Puerto Rico and the second child born in San Francisco. In the three years between the first and second child this family moved not only from Puerto Rico to San Francisco but they lived in various parts of the country. This family has obviously a lot of trouble getting settled down.

This picture of instability can be found in the economic area as well. Father joins the army where he works for Army Intelligence. When he leaves the army, there is a period of unemployment in the U.S.A., followed by various jobs in various parts of the country until he finally returns into the army. His attempt to separate from the army fails. And what is the future ahead for this family? The next step they expect is for father to be sent overseas.

It is only too natural that this picture of bewilderment should find its reflection in the home life. We learn that for the first two years of patient's life—and how important these years are for a child's development—they had no home of their own and lived with paternal grandparents in cramped quarters. Makeshift living arrangements during the period of father's
attempt to establish himself in civilian life must have been very marginal, indeed, as can be deduced on occasion of the episode in Baltimore when mother fell ill with pneumonia, shortly after flying with her children from California to join father who returned to the army there. Mother is hospitalized, the children--in different families--staying with paternal relatives not knowing where mother and father are, the father tied to his new responsibilities, not seeing the children at all and seeing mother only once in this time. This family feels like broken up and separated. What anxiety there must have been for the child in such confusion and break-up. While this is an extreme episode, it tells us something that is symptomatic of this family's marginal and makeshift way of home and living arrangements.

There is some attempt to make up for this instability by holding on to the church as a stable factor that both parents have in common.

One has an immediate association that connects the unstable home situation of this family with father's childhood experience. Father comes from an unstable home. He was brought up by a "strong" mother, the father being out on sea. He is described as having been pampered by his mother and as being "crazy" about his father. At the age of seventeen he joins the army. This joining of the army by an adolescent has certain undertones to it. It feels like an identification with a masculine ideal by a boy who has been missing his father in the home and who has
been maintaining loyalty to his father under adverse conditions. The father who goes out to the sea, the son who joins the army show a good deal in common.

There is not only the masculine ideal for this adolescent motivation in joining the army, there is also the element of flight, of escape from a hopeless situation. The overall picture is that of a person inadequate in social living. He was demoted several times in the army, he does poorly in civilian life.

How does this tie up with his childhood experience? Father's glorification of paternal grandfather is contrasted by a reality in which maternal grandmother is the man in the house, is the head of the household. This contrast is a clash of considerable magnitude. Father is not only the "hero", out there on the high sea, he is also the inadequate person right in the home. Father's glorification of paternal grandfather then means not only identification with him, it means also his protest against maternal grandmother.

Culturally the reversal of roles in a home is meaningful for the child's formation of identification. The reversal of roles can produce in the child the identification with the "passive" man or of the "dominating" woman.

Father's process of identification in his relationship experience with his parents has produced the integration of the "passive" man. He wants to be identified with his father, and he glorifies him. Thus, the male identification becomes
established sexually. This glorification serves also as a protest against paternal grandmother. However, he is not able to take the decisive step, i.e. to show to his mother that he is a man after all and to take the power from her. In reality, he lets her baby him—in phantasy, he is the strong man.

His strength does not go into aggression, not into winning over reality difficulties, but it goes into phantasy. When he is faced by a clash between reality and phantasy, his solution is the method of escape. His joining the army is an escape out of a conflict. It permits him to evade the reality situation of male inferiority, of his inferiority in the home, and at the same time to make himself believe that he has lived up to the ideal of masculinity.

Of course, there is no sound solution in an escape, and the relief remains temporary. The continuing reality is this clash between having a superior role in phantasy and an inferior role in reality, and the continuing method of handling this is the method of escape. Father is noted for his "abstraction". He is there, but in his mind he is away, he is somewhere else. This "abstraction" serves both the purpose of protecting him from an unsatisfactory reality and the other purpose of giving in to his phantasy. Where he can in reality, father builds up his role to something glorious and superior. He uses the church to give himself the status of leadership in a social group, small in reality but of great meaning to him. Father uses the prestige of established institutions to meet his
phantasy needs.

This experience of clash between phantasy and reality, the situation of failure, the method of escape is acted out on the family scene. The family represents responsibility, it represents the social status of a head of a family. In getting married, father moves back from the safety of the army and creates the potentially dangerous reality of social responsibility for himself. Meeting the challenge of the male role produces failure, especially when father tries to give up the army security entirely. The method in meeting this conflict is running from job to job, with a mounting need to run away from the family, with a final compromise of returning to the army without breaking up the home entirely.

What does the child represent to the father? The child having a problem confronts him with his failure as a father. He meets this partly by putting this on his wife. The child, however, means also support for him. The oedipal situation of the girl child seeking out the father's affection is used by him to feed his phantasy of self-glorification. This secret inner understanding between father and daughter that is broken up when mother enters the room, this typical oedipal scene here in this family, does not give Diane an experience of giving love to a man and finding love from him. While there is for the child the gratifying reality of their secret inner understanding (not with but against mother), the child experiences on the other hand the father's escape, and in this she senses his
rejection of her. Thus, the child is in conflict. She loves her father, she wants to serve and help him, but she also feels unwanted. Feeling sure of her father's need for her, she takes the responsibility for being unwanted upon herself. She is ugly, she says, unattractive. Why should father want her? There is constant doubt about herself: am I really good, attractive, intelligent, or am I not the coward, poorly disposed and mean, as my mother finds me to be?

The key to understanding mother may be seen in her request for help which is her complaint about Diane's "disobedience". We know from the psychiatrist that Diane is not a disobedient but an inhibited child. Does mother distort reality? Mother's complaint is honest subjectively. She is deeply troubled by Diane having a will of her own. The existence of such a will is tantamount to disobedience. Disobedience is frightening. This fear again goes beyond a rational evaluation of what is socially accepted and useful.

What threatens the parent? It is hardly the child and what the child does. This is not a rebellious child who is beyond control. Is it something in herself that threatens mother? What does the child stimulate in the mother's emotions so that the danger signal sounds and she mobilizes emotional energy to keep these dangerous feelings repressed?

In keeping Diane in check she is keeping something in herself in check. She needs to protect herself not from Diane but from herself. Her experience has been with a mother who
rejected her and by whom she felt rejected. There have been emotional reactions of resentment and death wishes in response to this rejection. This has become deeply repressed. She did so mainly by means of taking the guilt upon herself and doing penitence. Maternal grandmother's coldness and hardness she took into herself and turned against herself. She did not rebel against maternal grandmother and assert her worth and her right as a personality. The other part there is in such self-denial comes from the need for self-punishment, the need to make good for the original death wish. This sense of worthlessness is characteristic of such punishment; worthless persons are ready to receive punishment, and the punishment is in the sense of worthlessness.

Mother's restriction of Diane means mother's identification with maternal grandmother as a good mother. The child is wrong and mother is right: rebellion needs to be repressed and punishment is due for it. However, there is the relationship also to the bad mother. Seen this way, the discipline imposed upon Diane has the meaning of punishing maternal grandmother and to provide protection from her.

Diane has this two-sided meaning to mother, and it is the re-experience, the re-enacting of the maternal grandmother-mother relationship that we see in mother around Diane. Diane

8 K. Menninger, op. cit., pp. 54-55.
0. Fenichel, op. cit., pp. 496-497.
is the mother and Diane is the maternal grandmother (in mother's feelings).

Whatever mother's conflicted internalized identification means in terms of object (self or mother) or in terms of the purpose of the emotion (protection or punishment for one or the other object) the results are the same for Diane. Protection for Diane means strict discipline for her, and punishment of Diane means strict discipline for her. It means denial of childhood.

Mother's problem of worthlessness becomes accentuated by father's neurotic fear of responsibility; on the other hand, father's problem and his ability to handle it become markedly affected by mother's sense of worthlessness. Father's inner fear of being shown up as inadequate, his need to protect himself through flight re-creates for mother a crucial childhood situation: it is the deep feeling of having nobody who is "with her". That has been her basic experience in her parental home, separated from three older sisters by age, separated even more by the feeling that these sisters lived up to mother's requirements and were wanted and that she was not. Thus, she did not have the feeling and the experience of having siblings who were "with her". The maternal grandfather is described as a person who was not given a place in the home and who had not understood to maintain his place in the family. This means again the absence of a support and of an emotional value which is of
special meaning for the growing up of a girl.9 Love for her father has the meaning of identifying with somebody who has an inferior value in the home; it means to assume that value for herself; it also means to assume the role of opposition to the dominant maternal grandmother and to live in fear of her punishment. She remains in an isolated position facing maternal grandmother alone. Maternal grandmother is described as a cold person, looking down upon other people, feeling the superiority of her cultural origin (northern New England) to the Puerto Rican social environment, being a person who wields power in the home and over her family and who does not permit this power to be questioned. She represents the "masculine" woman. Mother was isolated in this home, and the person who dominated it had no warmth to give. There was no sense of acceptance, no sense of belonging. This was a deeply depriving experience. Maternal grandmother permitted and encouraged the masculine ideal of dominance and power, but she prohibited the feminine ideal of emotional responsiveness, of opening up to the other person, of maternal protection and warmth for the young growing plant. Mother identified with this prohibition of the feminine and she represented it. She did not become the "domineering" woman, she became the "worthless" woman, the feminine person for whom there is no value, for whom there is no place in the home. She internalized this role and this value.

Mother's basic childhood experience is that of "isolation" and of having no worth as a woman. Her repeated expressions of fear and of panic about her husband not "being with her" are so expressive of a child's feeling when it is isolated, without protection and support. We can sense in this emotional release of the grown-up woman the feeling of fear and of panic the child has been under in her home, isolated from father and from sisters, being dependent upon maternal grandmother who rejected the maternal and the feminine which she, the child, was to represent in this family.

Her husband's flight from his family (which stems from a very different set of emotional needs) confronts mother with her crucial childhood experience of having nobody who is "with her", and it releases the panic and fear which are part of this childhood experience. Mother's need is not to dominate father but to find support from him and protection which she has been missing in her childhood. Father's emotional inability to take this role of protection and support for his family brings up in mother the feeling that she is not worth enough, that her husband will leave her and that she will be isolated.

Father's conflict is also affected by mother's sense of worthlessness. Father grew up with the experience of a "strong woman, the paternal grandmother who knew her value and could give him orders. Mother's inner conflict becomes translated unto the social scene in the following way: on one hand is the command to do and to give with no right to demand for herself;
at the same time there is a tremendous need to be given without demanding and a reaction of pain and resentment about not being given. Both sides feed into father's neurosis enabling him to live in an unreal relationship. Mother's giving without demanding for herself protects him from facing the demand that comes to a man normally in and through his home, and it protects him from the need to adjust himself to the reality of such a role. Her inner need for being given in an unconditional way partly flatters his need for the heroic and romantic role, and partly it arouses fear in him of the debt mother is building up for him through her giving.

Here are two people, each of them deeply uncertain of and conflicted about their own role as man and woman, and because of this uncertainty weakening each other in the struggle to assume this role. If mother were certain of her role as a woman and of her worth as a woman she would not only give to father but she would also demand something for herself. Father's feelings about his own role in his home then could be related to something that is certain and real. It would not need to be the fear of the demand to come and the mounting anxiety related to it.

Marital relationship and the emotional conflict of man and wife are often strongly interrelated. The marital relationship may prove stabilizing and may be beneficial for the emotional functioning of the individual. However, it may also increase the individual conflict and set up a vicious cycle of increasing
both the problem of the relationship and of the individual conflict. In the case of this family the facts indicate that there has been the effect of such a vicious cycle until treatment interrupted it and turned it into the opposite direction.

The data show that the church played an important role for both parents. For father the association with the church had a meaning of satisfying his need for status and prestige. For mother her association with the church has a deeper meaning. She puts this in a deeply felt and beautiful way when she brings out that there is a "Christianity which gives strength and courage to do your job and that which demands a public show of conformity and good works." The church meets a number of needs which derive from mother's sense of worthlessness and her conflict about her role as a woman. It meets her need for penitence. For a person who carries in her a deep sense of guilt about herself prayer becomes one of the most meaningful and effective means of penitence. Another basic need the church meets for mother is her need for protection. This is especially true in the sense that she is constantly (subconsciously) alarmed by the evil in her (which goes back to repressed resentment about the rejecting maternal grandmother and death wishes against her) and the need to overcome the evil. The church is an outstanding symbol of the good fighting the evil, of God checkmating Satan. In being with and of the church mother's strength to repress the evil is increased, and she gains in inner security. The church meets mother's need for salvation.
Salvation can come only from something which has more worth than one has on one's own. Again, the church is an outstanding symbol of worth. It symbolizes the spiritual, the ideal in man's living, the aspiration in the human which goes beyond the human. For mother the existence of the church and her association with it strengthens a deeply needed hope that there will be a future of release and relief from the prison of her conflict and the pangs and sufferings associated with. Beyond hope in a different future, mother has through the church the experience of an immediate present which goes deeper than any of the above, and this is the experience of faith. In experiencing faith, mother loses the isolation and aloneness which has been enveloping her and she is able to become part of a human community and to be in it of equal worth among others. It is a community which sees itself and which conveys a sense of being unlimited in time, eternal, and not being limited by national and other differences of human existence, thus erecting powerful anchors for the security and peace of the individual who is part of such community. In faith mother has an experience of sublimation. Her worthlessness is turned into a higher kind of worth. The philosophy and practice of Christian religion have been deeply imbedded with the thought that those who amount to little on earth amount to much in the eyes of God. There is an element of "justice" in religion which equalizes and balances the realities of worth on earth.

It is significant and meaningful that this strong anchor in mother's life, which gives her "strength" and "courage"
assumes the character of a turning point in mother's treatment. When the worker is able to use this area of security in mother's personality and to relate it to other areas through the expansion into "The truth is always the truth wherever you find it", mother can expand her strength from the religious into the generally human, and her sense of worth can spread from the community of God to the community of men. Mother is able to grow, and the worker can help mother grow by using something that is already in her, by responding to it with warmth and understanding. In the worker's sharing with mother of what is basically "the truth", mother has the experience of her worth in God becoming a human experience in worth and acceptance. In this way the beginning is made for something in her that is strong and deep to expand and to bear fruit in the general areas of her living.

One of Diane's outstanding symptoms is self-doubt, confusion about her role, especially about male and female, uncertainty in her behavior and movements. Diane is living with parents each of whom are uncertain and conflicted about their role. This uncertainty becomes expressed in their relationship and accentuated thereby. Parental relationship is an important basis for a child's internalization. Emotional experiences such as: stability, security, consistency come to expression in the relationship situation more strongly than in the individual behavior of each parent. In Diane's home the essential roles of man and woman are not represented with enough certainty
by father and mother. Thus, Diane is confronted by a gap in her home. This is different from the situation, for instance, in maternal and paternal grandparents' home where man and woman carry the wrong roles, and this wrong distribution of roles becomes the basis for the internalization mother and father formed.

Diane internalizes a parental relationship which is characterized by a deep-going insecurity and conflict about their roles. Diane's doubt about who she is is easily understandable in this home in which nothing is well defined and consistent so that the child can form his own identification around it and through it. The child forms a fuzzy pattern of identification. This fuzziness applies not only to the man-woman pattern, it applies also to the child-adult pattern. She either performs brilliantly (chess with father) or poorly (checkers with psychiatrist). In a home where the parents have difficulty being adults, the child has difficulty being a child. This lack of a childhood for Diane is again one of the outstanding characteristics in this family picture. It is a serious deprivation for Diane. It denies this child conditions which are essential for emotional maturing. It encourages the development of defenses and substitute mechanisms (as through sickness or withdrawal into herself) which make possible the gratification of dependency needs which are legitimate for childhood and for which no normal social channels have been left open.
In this fuzzy pattern of identification which Diane internalizes certain features stand out. Mother's sense of worthlessness is transmitted to Diane. She partly accepts this role of the woman whose femininity has no worth. Being a pleasant and very superior girl, as the contact with the clinic bears out, she feels to be ugly and unattractive, she bears herself poorly, her movements are gauche, and the like. She also accepts this role of worthlessness by carrying out chores in the home which a child would normally resist and which give her life a joyless quality of drudge and misery. In the description of her day-to-day living there is much work and little play. Even in her chess play with father one gets a feeling of a child who works hard to please her father so that he will love her.

Diane, however, fights also this role of worthlessness. This is not an open rebellion. Diane has too much fear and too little security in relation to her parents to dare an open rebellion. This need to hide her rebellious feelings comes out in her symptoms. She forgets, she dawdles, she daydreams. These are the favorite defenses of a child who cannot bring out her fight into the open. Early difficulties around toilet training, thumbsucking may have had a similar meaning of the resistance of a child who is described to have been pushed and pressured toward taking care of herself and being independent.

If all these symptoms add up to a girl that does not dare to bring her fight against worthlessness into the open, it is
easy to understand the internalization of hostility, the excessive degree of control and inhibition which psychiatrist and psychologist emphasize as so important for an understanding of Diane. This is a very fearful child, a "physical coward", who comes out on certain occasions with a hot temper to quickly retreat into the safety of her phantasies and defensive symptoms. This control is not caused by excessive punishment, it is caused by excessive insecurity which causes any open manifestation of fight and hostility to be associated with the danger of losing parental love. This need for guarding hostility, with its constant drain on emotional energy, produces as the most effective protection the taking of hostility into oneself and upon oneself. If hostility is taken upon oneself, there is no danger of it hitting another object, such as a parent. Internalization of hostility is a protection on one hand, but on the other hand it causes constant damage to the child's personality.10

The child's symptoms serve also the purpose of substitute gratifications. This is true of the daydreaming, of sickness, etc., all of which make possible pleasures for this child who feels shut off from the normal pleasures of childhood.

As an over-all conclusion it can be said that control and inhibition have a pivotal role in Diane's symptom picture and that they are basically related to the maternal grandmother-mother line of psychological inheritance. Into this problems

10 O. Fenichel, op. cit., p. 392.
of family relationships and of father's problem enter with certain modifications.

These modifications become particularly meaningful when we consider treatment. Mother gains a great deal in her treatment which becomes helpful for the family situation. We mentioned above worker's use of her religious faith as a strength in her personality and that treatment helped mother to broaden this strength and use it in her relationships. Mother is able, with the worker's help, to resist father's command to go visit a woman in the congregation. This situation threatens her greatly, but around it she can experience much greater freedom in bringing out her feelings instead of being inhibited. Mother obtains a sense of worth and of being wanted. This helps her to understand father and Diane. She gets a sense of being needed. Being needed is tantamount to being wanted.

Mother's greater security about her husband (which she gains through treatment) encourages in him his own drive to take his role in his home and family. Father shows more concern about his family and is able to make important decisions for the family in a responsible way (such as moving to Puerto Rico). All this indicates an increasing security in taking his role as head of the family. Mother's increasing confidence in father being with her is based not only on what she gains for herself out of her own treatment, it bespeaks also a reality of change in father.

The vicious cycle of the other person's problem stirring
up your own becomes halted and turned into the opposite direction. The marriage and the home, instead of producing for mother further evidence of her worthlessness, becomes a place in which she is needed and wanted. She is beneficial to her family, and her family is beneficial to her. This interrelation between individual conflict and family conflict is most important.

For Diane the change in her parents' relationship is essential. The change is basic to where Diane's problems originated. The parents learn to assume their own role with more effectiveness, confidence, and positiveness. There is more stability for the child, less confusion about parental roles and less need on the parents' side to use and misuse the child for their own needs.

This change in parental relationship is helpful for Diane's treatment and it may be the more important part of the treatment she needs for herself. A good deal of the relaxation and increasing security that is described in her treatment can be attributed to the positive change in the home situation. Diane benefits from her contact with her therapist. In this she has an experience which means to her love for her own sake and not for the purpose of meeting the adult person's need. She can afford to let go, perform poorly in playing checkers without the inner threat of not being good enough for the adult person's love. This is a precious kind of relaxation. Diane's superior intelligence and fine over-all ego equipment
are promising in helping her deal with her inhibitions. Treatment is partly successful in this direction. Diane is able to engage in some aggressive playing, and she has this experience without punishment for her aggression. Partly, the treatment serves to interpret to Diane the reality of her inhibition and sets up as a helpful goal for her to try to express her feelings. This is done especially by the therapist in pointing up her relationship to her younger sister and in preparing her for the coming baby. At the end of treatment Diane is still threatened by a free expression of her feelings. However, she has learned to be aware of her problem, and she feels encouraged in using her fine ego equipment for dealing with her problem. The vicious cycle between sense of worthlessness and internalization of hostility has been halted, and Diane is going in the right direction.

For purposes of the child's treatment it is hard to imagine a separation of parental treatment from that of the child. They are all of one piece. In all the dangers, weaknesses and threats there are in and to their individual personalities, there is something strong in their wanting to be a family. This wanting their family enables them to hold it together against all these weaknesses and threats and makes it something to build on from which they can draw more strength for themselves as individuals.

Summary: This case presents the problem of an inhibited, controlled girl who is confused about her worth and has
internalized aggression against herself. The home environment is unstable because of marginal economic conditions and because of a poor marital relationship. Father experienced a dominating paternal grandmother and a weak paternal grandfather with whom he identified. His conflict between himself in phantasy (strong man) and reality (passive man) leads to methods of escape. This becomes strengthened by the experience of marriage and parenthood with increase in responsibility and anxiety.

Mother is brought up by a masculine maternal grandmother and a passive maternal grandfather. She internalizes the feminine role as worthless through rejection by maternal grandmother. Father's need to escape strengthens her sense of worthlessness.

This case situation offers a good opportunity to study the meaning and development of inhibition in a child. The sense of worthlessness is being transmitted by a conflicted parent who re-experiences in this child her own conflict in relation to her own mother. Her father needs to be loved by the child and cannot give her his love. The child is too fearful to bring her resistance against this role of worthlessness out into the open, and she, therefore, has to develop symptoms which meet the purpose of protection and of substitute gratification. The most important defense mechanism, helping her to make sure of not bringing out her hostilities and incur the loss of paternal love, is internalization of her hostility and directing it against herself. This sets the pattern of self-hate.

We also learn from this study the importance of the
relationship between the social and the individual for the origin of emotional problems as well as for their treatment. We have seen that the experience of the marital relationship strengthened the individual conflict of each parent, and we saw a change in their marital relationship to be beneficial for the individual conflict of each. The same is true of the effect of the parental relationship on Diane. Quite apart from the individual problem each parent has in relation to Diane, the fact that their own relationship is devoid of meeting securely certain roles which are basic for the functioning of a family in our culture, confronts Diane with a fuzzy pattern of roles in a family. This makes for a process of identification which, apart from all other difficulties in relation to father and mother, reproduces the fuzziness and fluidity of the parental relationship with respect to their roles. A change in this parental relationship produces an important change for Diane.

There is a cycle in the relationship between the social and the individual, both in a negative and in a positive way. This case helps us to study this cycle in its diagnostic and treatment implications.
Case III: The Child with Symptoms of Fear

Data on Family:

Father, age 36; Baptist.

Mother, age 34; Baptist.

Siblings: 1) Pamela, patient; 6½ years; second grade school.
2) Victoria, 4½ years

Mother had heard of the clinic through a local pediatrician and was quite concerned about her child's fears which came out in relation to her going to school, being afraid of boys and going anywhere beyond their immediate neighborhood. Pamela is afraid when mother asks her to go to a nearby store; she will shake and tighten up if she sees a person she doesn't know, and, though she loves school and her teacher, she tenses up about an hour before time to go to school, has difficulties eating breakfast, has loose bowel movements every morning and is very pale.

Parents date Pamela's fear symptoms back to the age of 4½ when she used to sob and cry when going to Sunday School; she kept on crying if put later on with the other children to ride in the beach wagon to kindergarten. Mother, who was and is very anxious about her child's fears, observed that it was easier on her if mother herself would take her to kindergarten. Now mother tries to divert Pamela for at least an hour before it's time to go to school, walks her to school and takes her into her room. The teacher states that Pamela, a second grade and superior pupil, will stop crying very soon after mother has left the room and that the teacher has no difficulties shifting her attention to something else.

Pamela, described as a lanky, slender and sensitive girl, is the older of two sisters. Pregnancy, delivery, and early developmental stages are reported to have been normal. There is some suggestion of allergies; Pamela was allergic to eggs, would gag on them, and is bothered by the consistency of food. Mother felt that she had been inconsistent with Pamela; pick her up one time and scold her another, be lenient one day and angry the next, and that Pamela didn't know how to take this. Mother would watch Pamela all the time for fear she might fall or hurt herself. Mother is never relaxed unless the
children are right under her eyes. She worries excessively, gets a stomach pain when she sees the child climb over a soft armchair. Pamela, in turn, worries about her 2 years younger sister who is described as being independent and just the opposite of Pamela. She is very solicitous of her and becomes "hysterical" if her sister has only a small cut or scratch.

When Pamela was about 3 to 4 years old, she was pushed off a bicycle by two boys; following this, she was terrified for a year, but these boys are her good friends now and playmates. She dislikes dolls, prefers the bike, football, baseball, and likes to wrestle with boys once she gets to know them. She is a brilliant student, has an "A" in all school subjects with the exception of music ("C") and physical education ("B") though she loves singing and dancing.

Pamela's parents are Baptists and reported of being fond of each other. Father, who agreed with mother in asking for help with their child's problem, is a tall, thin young man with a lean, intelligent face who looks more like a college instructor than the television repair man he is. As he talks about his work, his dissatisfaction concerning it comes out strongly. He speaks with some pride about the numerous occasions when his coworkers "blow their tops" while he remains calm. At times he gets the impulse to tell a customer what he really thinks of them but brushes it off. Also, he enjoys the irritation he causes when he sits motionless, keeping his temper while others lose theirs.

Father dates his self-control from the time of his nervous breakdown he had at the age of 24 while in college. "He knows what it is like to have nerves". He had been a precocious student; had hypertension from the strain of competing with students older than himself; then was out of the picture for a year and a half, apparently under the care of a psychiatrist. Father decided at that time that the safest course was to impose rigid controls on his emotions.

Father realized that the foundation of his breakdown was laid long before college. He described his early home life as an unhappy one. His mother, a pleasant, attractive woman, was dominated by an authoritarian husband. Father feels many points of identification
with his mother and calls himself the mamma's boy.

Paternal grandparents were divorced when father was about 13, the grandfather having become a religious fanatic who was unable to tolerate any laxity in his own and other peoples' moral code. Father feels that there was never anything about his father which he could admire or wanted to imitate.

Father recalls growing up pretty much on his own. Both parents worked and he was in charge of a baby sitter most of the time. Remembered vividly a day when his baby sitter suddenly deserted him in the middle of the street and never reappeared. Since father was always sickly, he learned to outrun and outwit his opponents rather than to outfight them.

Father feels that Pamela's expressed fears are a cover up for other deeper fears which trouble her. He disapproves of mother's overprotectiveness and the way mother as well as patient will screech and scream and react way out of proportion to the slightest hurt. Father feels that all children must learn to take knocks. He admits to enjoying Pamela's tomboy activities while at the same time he seems to feel guilty about encouraging them.

Mother, the only one of the family born outside of America, comes from Nova Scotia. She is an attractive looking woman. She has a sister 10 years older than she whom she enviably describes as being independent, very sure of herself, able to express her feelings freely, whereas mother holds things in, cries easily, is fearful, dependent and unsure of herself and worries a lot.

When mother was about 5-6 years old, maternal grandfather, a laborer, immigrated to the U.S., taking along her older sister while mother had to stay behind with maternal grandmother who had come down with TB and during this time had to be taken care of by maternal grandmother's mother. They joined father and older sister after maternal grandmother's recuperation.

Mother tells that she had been maternal grandfather's girl. She describes maternal grandmother as having been "quiet but getting her way". Mother felt always tied and very close to her, worried constantly about her and was "never able to emancipate from her".
mother found an article about emancipation when one marries and cut it out to show maternal grandmother. The article went into mother's drawer and maternal grandmother never saw it.

Like Pamela, mother had school problems and fears. When starting school, she cried for weeks and had to be dragged to school. Mother states that at that time she had worried very much about maternal grandmother but had never been able to tell her about this.

Mother felt overprotected by maternal grandmother; complains that she never gave her sex information: "It is a wonder I did not get into trouble".

She hates fights, can't express or tolerate anyone else's expression of hostility, always feels the need to control her feelings, and, contrasting herself with her "independent" sister who "can explode" while mother can't, she wishes on the one hand she could be like her sister while on the other she disapproves of it.

Mother had a severe grief reaction (depression) when maternal grandmother died about a year ago. She expressed many death wishes, and father and sister had to keep close to her for a period of time.

Mother has a fear of cancer and various psychosomatic symptoms.

Mother feels that patient is like her, while Pamela's younger sister and mother's older sister are the opposite of them. She expresses concern about her fear and overprotectiveness of patient and the wish that "Pamela should not have the same feelings that mother had toward her mother".

Data of Treatment:

No. of interviews of patient with psychiatrist: 8
No. of interviews of patient with psychologist: 1
No. of interviews of mother with social worker: 10
No. of interviews of father with social worker: 5

Impression was of patient repeating the pattern of her mother in acting out the mother's unconscious. It was felt that treatment of both, parents and child, would be beneficial, and father therefore was assigned to a male worker, mother to a female worker, and
Pamela to a female psychiatrist. Also, on recommendation of the psychologist who had found Pamela to be of superior intelligence, Pamela was referred to occupational therapy.

Father represents a thinking, active and mature part in his treatment relationship with his worker. He develops insight into Pamela's fears. The only time he seems threatened by treatment is when worker picks up father's remark about patient being a tomboy and father enjoying her tomboy antics. Feeling that this is a touchy area with father, worker, however, does not go into it. Worker, in general, by his very attitude reassures father of his masculinity and his role in his home. Father feels at the end of treatment that he as well as mother and child had gained a great deal from coming to the clinic.

Mother takes a more passive, dependent, immature role in treatment, displaying resistance all along.

Worker, in helping mother express feelings about her child, helps her see what these stir up in relation to her own experiences (her dependent relationships with maternal grandmother and sister). Worker emphasizes older sister's behavior (independence, freedom of expression of feelings) as normal and natural; reassures and praises mother for wanting to have different relationship with Pamela than she had had with maternal grandmother.

Mother shows changes in her attitude; is less protective of Pamela, encourages child's independence through dancing lessons and enrollment in Brownies and is able to let Pamela show more freedom of expression.

Pamela relates in the beginning in an infantile way, later on can bring out that what she dreads is not school but the fact that boys chase girls when they come out of school. When therapist points out the normalcy of this, Pamela can admit that she likes it when some boys chase her. She becomes increasingly relaxed and mature in her relationship with therapist, discusses plans to go to a Brownie camp and states that school is less dreaded.

School reports that Pamela improved in her social adjustment to school a great deal in the past few months.
Because of Pamela's improvement and parents' feeling of being able to cope with situations from now on without becoming anxious, treatment is discontinued at this point on advice of the psychiatrist.

Final evaluation: Improved parents' attitudes and patient's attitude.

Interpretation: This mother brings Pamela to the clinic on the advice of a local pediatrician. She is an over-anxious, worrisome woman. Her child has shown many fears around going to kindergarten and, later, going to school. Pamela shows excessive fears not only in relation to school but as soon as she leaves the immediate environment of her home. Going to the store, playing with other children in the neighborhood, etc., constantly bring up situations to which Pamela reacts with anxiety.

This fear of the outside world gets carried into the home, too. Mother needs to spend much time with Pamela to quiet her fears about going to school and prepare her for it, taking her by the hand, negotiating with the teacher about it, conditioning the social environment inside school and outside it so that it might treat Pamela most leniently. Pamela's fear means a disturbance in relation to father and the younger sibling. Pamela does not only worry for herself, she worries for her younger sister as well. Fear means a disturbance in relation to other children in the neighborhood and in school. Fear means excessive crying. There are also somatic disturbances. Pamela is described as having loose bowel movements and allergic reactions to certain foods.
At first glance the symptom picture seems to show a large variety of somatic and behavior and relationship reactions. However, in reality relationships to school and neighborhood are not disturbed. The normal rough-and-tumble of child's play assumes on occasion for Pamela and her family the character of a tragedy, but this does not keep Pamela from continuing her good relations with her friends and her playing. As a matter of fact, she prefers the playing of boys' to that of girls' games, ballgames and the like, at the same time that she expresses a great fear of boys. In the school setting her fear does not cause a disturbance in relationship, either. The teacher handles Pamela's crying without difficulty. Pamela is a bright girl with superior intelligence, and there is no trouble for her in meeting scholastic requirements.

If the reason mother brings for her coming to the clinic is without reality, if there is no real disturbance in Pamela's relations to school and neighborhood, should we say that here is an overanxious worrisome mother who needs some reassurance? Leaving the protective shelter of the home and entering kindergarten and school is an important change for a child. It is natural that a child would react to such change with anxiety. Parents can be taught to handle such situational disturbance.

The real trouble for Pamela, though, is not in school and in the neighborhood, the real trouble for her is in the home. Parents cannot be expected to get to the core of their child's trouble. Feeling troubled is in itself a good indication of
the need for help. Pamela's fears have not yet produced a disturbance in her relationship to school and neighborhood. However, if nothing is done, these fears have a way of getting intensified and to finally disturb relationships. There is the immediate reality of the strain there is on the child in such anxieties and the disturbance for her family about her strain. We also know that Pamela's excessive reactions started before kindergarten. She is described as having had a normal birth and training experience. However, she gagged at food intake, she had allergic reactions to foods, and there was difficulty for mother in handling this.

Pamela's fears go beyond the situational change of a child beginning her school experience. They go back to early relationship experiences in the family. These set a pattern of fear in Pamela, and this pattern responds to the various social situations and demands mother describes when she brings Pamela to the clinic. What is the nature of Pamela's fears? All these fear reactions add up to one great fear: it is the fear of growing up. This is, indeed, a serious trouble for a child. Growing up is the main business for children, and the fear of growing up will present them constantly with threatening situations and demands. There is no end to growing up. Pamela is certainly in need of help and so is her family to enable her to grow up in a normal way. This fear of growing up normally produces regressive symptoms, emotionally and socially. In Pamela we can see the tendency toward regression in the
difficulty there is for her in relating to social demands which are normal for her age although she is a well-endowed girl and quite capable of meeting these demands. Emotionally, there are no direct manifestations of hostility, but there are indirect manifestations, especially in her relationship to her mother, which will be discussed later on. Thus, if we evaluate the situation at the point of coming for help, we can say that the problem for the child is her fear of growing up, that this fear produces symptoms of regression and that treatment is needed for child and family.

The family gives the impression of social stability. This is quite different from the preceding case histories in which family life was characterized and threatened by much social instability. In this family both parents show a similar social background. They have the same religious affiliation, have been brought up in a similar social environment and have not changed this environment. They were in their middle twenties when getting married, mother being two years younger than father. This agrees very much with social expectations of normalcy. Father is a television repairman. He is described as being dissatisfied with his vocation, but he is very well in control of his dissatisfaction, and it does not become a source of instability and anxiety for the family. There are no financial troubles we hear of, no problems of management, no problems of disagreement and conflict in relation to cultural background, in-laws, interests, etc. Whatever
criteria we choose, be it home life, job, social associations, cultural background, etc., this family shows social stability and cohesiveness. From what they bring to the clinic about themselves, one would not be able to tell that during the years they got married and had children most families and individuals in this country experienced the war years in different ways, very often as a considerable factor on family living.

The emotional and relationship problems that exist between the members of this family cannot be seen as caused or accentuated by the threat of social instability, the strain of financial insecurity and the fear of family breakup. We can see a problem for Pamela in the very stability and security of this home. Her fear of growing up and of the social situations that represent the reality of growing up becomes accentuated by the precious protection that the home represents. Once the pattern of fear is established, a child normally tends to hold on to what is familiar and secure and to shun what is unfamiliar and new. The very stability of the home can, therefore, feed into a child's neurotic fear of growing up. Social factors do not have a quality in and by themselves. It depends on how they fit into the emotional picture and how they are being used by and for emotional purposes.

What has Pamela's father to do with her fear of growing up? Father has known a good deal of fear and conflict in his life experiences. The home he has had as child was threatened
by conflict between paternal grandfather and paternal grandmother which led finally to divorce. His very deep personal experience with "what it is like to have nerves" have given him a strong motivation for making life different for himself and his family. He had a nervous breakdown when he was 24 years old, was sick for a year and a half, and he acquired through this experience a good deal of control over his emotions. He has learned that uncontrolled emotions mean the danger of sickness. He wants to help his family with his own experience. He sees mother and Pamela given to an excessive amount of emotional reaction. He wants them to learn what he has learned to be able to function socially and emotionally.

Father, with his very positive motivation, wants to teach Pamela to repress her emotions which adds fuel to her trouble. Father has had much difficulty in internalizing his experience with his parents. He felt close to paternal grandmother, "a pleasant, attractive woman", describing himself as "the mama's boy", and he resented authoritarian paternal grandfather who dominated his wife, was a religious fanatic who could not stand any deviation from his moral code. Father identified with paternal grandmother against paternal grandfather. Left on his own most of his childhood because both parents worked, and being a sickly boy besides, father knew a good deal of the fear of growing up in his own childhood. "He learned to outrun and outwit his opponents rather than to outfight them." He did not adapt the normally aggressive behavior of the boy, and he ran
away from the requirement of developing such aggressive masculinity by eluding competitive masculinity where he met it through wit or the speed of his feet. Father was "the mama's boy", afraid of masculinity and of growing up to masculinity, developing defenses against such growing up.

While one part in father was mama's boy, feared and disliked authoritarian paternal grandfather, another part of him, of which he was not conscious, was identified with paternal grandfather, that is, drove him to compete with paternal grandfather and to reach high standards of masculinity. In such need for competition there can come to expression a great deal of aggression. Father put his aggression into competing with other students in college. He was a precocious student. Competition put such strain upon him that it resulted in hypertension\textsuperscript{11} and in his nervous breakdown.

Father's ambivalence concerning growing up to masculinity goes back to his unresolved conflict in relation to paternal grandfather. He produces two excessive patterns to deal with this conflict. There is the pattern of running away from aggression, of being a "mama's boy"; and then there is the pattern of too much aggression in competition with others which becomes a danger to his physical and emotional safety. Father finally settles down to avoiding the stress of aggression because this is not good for his adjustment. He has

learned that through his very control of his aggression he has a certain advantage over other people who get irritated by such excessive control because they are accustomed to and expect a certain amount of give and take in aggression.

Father has made his adjustment under unusually difficult conditions, and it stands him in good stead. His adjustment ideal, which is to avoid the stress of aggression, is different from the adjustment ideal which is to enable an individual to meet conditions of stress without losing his balance. However, father’s practice is sound if one considers the experience of a man for whom active aggression means always excessive aggression and complete loss of control. There is a reference to father’s hypertension in his college days. This may mean that father, unable to put his aggression into his social living, experiences the tension of it in somatic reactions.

We see father with his unresolved conflict about masculinity and the practice of evading the stress of aggression he developed as his major defense to deal with his conflict. What does he want his child to be? Does he want Pamela to be a boy or a girl? Pamela is described as a tomboy in her preference for boys’ games. Father is confused about whether to be proud of her lack of fear in masculine competition or whether to want her to be more feminine. Pamela is doing as well as a boy, and then again she is excessively afraid of boys. In her schoolwork, too, she is excellent in all intellectual disciplines—father was a precocious student and still looks more like a college
professor than the mechanic he is--and is average in dancing and singing (although she likes these), and in this emphasis on the intellectual development there is also identification with father.

Father's conflict about masculinity becomes expressed in Pamela's developing her ego strength in masculine directions (the "tomboy" and intellectual performance), and denying her ego strength in feminine directions (her fear of boys and her relatively poor performance in dancing and singing). Father's defense of denying the stress of fear, of being "tough" to one's feelings, means his approval of Pamela's "toughness" as a tomboy and his disapproval of her dependency fears and her need of dependence which, quite apart from what a child needs, is more characteristic of the feminine personality.

Mother's emotional need is to encourage Pamela's need for dependence, quite contrary to father, at the same time discouraging her growth toward femininity which agrees with father's influence, although with very different motivations on his side. Mother is rather clear about her problem in relation to maternal grandmother. She describes her as a quiet woman who nevertheless got her way. Mother's ambivalence in her feelings about maternal grandmother is near the surface of consciousness. There is on one hand her excessive grieving on the occasion of maternal grandmother's death, her sense of guilt about this death which produces a temporary depression and a phobic fear of cancer. All this is a reaction of guilt. On the other hand
she feels free enough to criticize maternal grandmother, mainly for not having prepared her sufficiently for womanhood ("...it's a wonder I did not get into trouble...") and for having made her too dependent. The offshoot of this is mother's conscious wish of not having Pamela repeat the same dependency relationship to her. Mother has had a dependency relationship to maternal grandmother which has not come to resolution and which is still erupting into a state of crisis on certain occasions--see maternal grandmother's death. This relationship is the result of an unresolved oedipal situation. Mother's ambivalence is expressed also in relation to her older sister. There has been an age difference of about ten years between her and her older sister. She represents this older sister as having what she would like to have for herself, that is, freedom from dependence upon maternal grandmother. This freedom takes the form of being free to express her feelings while mother does not have this freedom. It is also a freedom of separating from maternal grandmother. For instance, when maternal grandfather moved from Canada to the U.S.A., the older sister accompanied him while she stayed behind with maternal grandmother who was ill and was being cared for by her own mother. This feels like a preference by maternal grandfather of the older sister, and one can imagine the feeling of envy, mixed with admiration, mother had at the older sister's independence.

Separation from maternal grandmother is good for sister, separation from maternal grandmother is bad for herself. Mother
has split her ambivalent feelings about separation and independence in the way that the older sister becomes the object of that part of her feelings which associate separation with the meaning of approval while she takes on herself these feelings that associate separation with the meaning of disapproval. Mother approves of the older sister and disapproves of herself. This disapproval of herself, this hostility internalized and directed against herself, protects her from the danger of being aware of her hostility toward maternal grandmother and also toward her older sister. To take hostility upon one's self is safer than to give it to the original object and be punished for it.

Death wishes against a parent are strong in the oedipal situation. They are repressed and soundly balanced by positive feeling for the parent especially when separation from parent and maturation is worked through successfully. Mother's death wishes toward maternal grandmother (with some displacement on the older sister) have been too close to the surface of consciousness for comfort. Dependency on maternal grandmother remained, and it kept the feeling of anger and the wish to free herself agitated, especially around situations such as the older sister moving away with father and she being left with sick maternal grandmother. The very anger, however, produces a recoil effect that prohibits moving away from dependence to independence. As soon as the anger begins to burn its way up to the consciousness, the association of the danger it carries,
that is of death, stimulates the force of repression.\textsuperscript{12} Separation is an experience so dangerously associated with death that repression affects not only the anger but also independence as the goal this anger moves toward. A taboo is laid on independence, and dependence is the safe situation—until another situation arises which brings separation closer with another crisis and the emotional cycle accompanying this crisis. Maternal grandmother's death as a final separation certainly would stir up such a crisis.

Too much dependency produces anger, but it also produces the antidote to anger. This antidote is partly taking hostility upon one's self and partly denial of independence as a desirable goal and accepting dependence as desirable. Mother remains tied to maternal grandmother.\textsuperscript{13} She is close to her, and here is where the worrying comes in. One of its emotional purposes is to demonstrate to yourself and to maternal grandmother that you are close, that you are not separating. Another emotional purpose of worrying about a parent is to worry the parent. There is the quality of punishment about too much closeness. Closeness has also the additional purpose of protecting oneself from danger from the other person by means of being close

\textsuperscript{12} Karl Menninger, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 55.  

\textsuperscript{13} Robert White, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 249.  
and watching out. Protectiveness then has three emotional functions we see operating in mother—maternal grandmother relationship as well as in mother—Pamela relationship: a) protectiveness as showing one's love for the protected person, showing this to the other person and to one's self so that the superego can be satisfied, b) protectiveness as a punishment for the other person. This applies especially to the nuisance value of being close to the other person and worrying about her. It is a quid pro quo, as it were: you don't leave me alone, so I don't leave you alone; c) finally there is the meaning of protecting one's self from the other person, from the danger of punishment which is so real in the subconscious as a response to the hostility which becomes expressed in a mild form under b, and which in its most serious form of death is kept repressed. On certain occasions it requires much more stringent counter measures than watching the other person and showing one's love to her; it requires taking punishment on one's self (as in the form of sickness) and internalizing hostility against one's self.

A dependency relationship between parent and child is a social result which has complex emotional roots and which is produced in the form of a complicated emotional process. There is a correspondence between the needs of maternal grandmother and mother which results in dependence. On the side of maternal grandmother the need is to keep mother from becoming a competitor as a woman so that she keeps her from growing up through protectiveness. On mother's side there is the need of protecting
herself from the danger of doing away with maternal grandmother, which becomes emotionally expressed by taking her place as a woman. The answer to this is dependency. Because of their mutually corresponding needs they remain locked in this dependent relationship. This is being reflected in their keeping a tight balance emotionally in the cycle of dependence—resentment against it—repression of resentment—moving back to dependence as a safety measure.

Mother has been able to handle her emotional conflict rather successfully in her marital relationship before the birth of her children stirs up in her again her conflict around mother-child relations. Father and mother have each a very similar need, that is, to keep aggression in check. They have arrived at this in different ways and have developed different methods of accomplishing this. Still there is this commonness in their basic need so that their relationship strengthens each of them in maintaining the individual balance which is emotionally best for them. Mother's need for dependence means that she could not possibly want the role of masculine domination in this marital relationship. A woman who needed such a role would be very threatening to father who has so much inner insecurity about his masculinity. Mother cannot only permit father to take the role of authority in the home and to, thus, strengthen him in his masculinity, she has a need for having somebody in authority over her so that her role can remain a dependent one. This is dependence on a man instead of a woman,
and this takes the sting of conflict out of dependence which the experience of relation to maternal grandmother has had for mother.

Father and mother strengthen each other. Their relationship helps each of them to function better individually. A marital relationship may intensify an individual emotional conflict (as we have seen in preceding case situations), or it may reduce and stabilize the individual emotional conflict. The marital relationship has been helpful to father and mother individually. The record mentions that they are fond of each other. This experience of mutual helpfulness would surely contribute to such fondness.

The experience of being a parent changes this, however. We have seen this to be true for father whose conflict about masculinity and about his method of controlling his emotions becomes activated to some degree around Pamela's fears and his wife's method of handling them. Mother's conflict gets activated in a deeper and more meaningful way. Mother was the younger of two sisters, and her own experience in relation to maternal grandmother involved her relation to her older sister as a necessary corollary. The older sister represented to her that part in herself that wanted independence. In relation to her own daughters mother reverses the roles of dependence and independence. Pamela, the older daughter, is given the dependent role, and the younger daughter is given the independent role. In reversing the roles mother seems to aim subconsciously at two results: 1) it partly is as if she meant to tell maternal
grandmother "it is the older girl that is dangerous and needs to be kept in check. I am the good girl; it is my sister who is the bad one"; 2) in giving the younger child the role of independence she is doing something which she as younger child has wanted but has not been able to carry out. In relation to her two daughters mother is partly solving the conflict she has been having in relation to maternal grandmother and to her older sister. She is doing this by reversing the roles of older and younger sister. Partly mother is re-living her own problem, especially in relation to Pamela.

Pamela meets mother's emotional conflict and need to keep her dependent partly by accepting this role of dependence. In doing so, Pamela is carrying out her mother's subconscious need rather than mother's conscious endeavor which is to keep Pamela from repeating the experience mother has had in relation to maternal grandmother. Pamela accepts the role of dependence and is, thus, safe from mother's anger and punishment. Pamela has begun to internalize fear of independence, and her intense reactions to these situations which mean separation from mother are genuine. She needs a great deal of approval from mother to accept the danger of separation (that is, of leaving the home for various purposes). This intense reaction, which is produced partly somatically and partly by behavior, has the subconscious

meaning of reassuring mother that she does not mean to leave her. It partly expresses her fear of the forbidden thing, that is, of growing up to be a woman by leaving mother, and behind this, the fear of doing away with mother. The best protection from this is holding on to mother's skirt. Partly Pamela uses dependence in order to punish mother. There is a great deal of hostility in Pamela's expression of dependence. The mother, being disposed to worry anyway, sees her worry intensified when Pamela has these intense emotional and somatic reactions on occasions of leaving the home (which, of course, feeds into mother's subconscious need to have to protect and watch the child). Pamela quiets down pretty soon in the classroom and, all told, is having a successful and good time there. The same is true of her playing with friends in the neighborhood. However, Pamela shows mother only the bad and not the good in her separation experiences. Thus, mother sits at home thinking of Pamela in school as the intensely frightened youngster and worrying about her. Such worry is punishment. Pamela gives mother the worst end of separation and keeps the good end to herself. To keep mother worrying seems the most usual form of punishment in such a dependence relationship. Pamela balances this hostility partly by taking mother's role in relation to her younger sister. This shows identification with mother and permits to release hostility to the younger sister. Pamela's fear of growing up to womanhood is strengthened through the experience of her attachment to father. The oedipal
situation makes mother's need for control of Pamela much more emphatic in Pamela's emotional responses. Pamela, therefore, uses father's subconscious wish for himself to excel in masculine aggression, and she enjoys the rough-and-tumble of boys' games which father has not been able to do in his childhood, in addition to excelling intellectually. In carrying out father's subconscious wish Pamela acquires an added protection from the danger of replacing mother as a woman. Thus, father's and mother's subconscious needs complement each other in their effect on Pamela. If father had the more normal wish to find in Pamela the feminine quality and to enjoy it, her attachment to father would increase the danger to Pamela that comes from her relationship to her mother. Father's influence helps to reduce the danger there is in the oedipal attachment to him.

Pamela's symptoms show partly a mildly regressive behavior, particularly around specific situations, such as school, etc. These regressions have not developed to a serious degree yet, and they have not yet become stabilized. Pamela gets over her panics pretty well and with relatively little help. Pamela has begun to internalize her fear of growing up as a woman, but her symptoms and her behavior indicate that this internalization is in a beginning stage. We see no indications of it having reached the stage of hostility internalized and directed against herself, especially in the form of sense of worthlessness and of self-hate. Pamela's disturbance, at this point, is more reactive than internalized. Pamela's disturbance is reactive
to her mother's conflict and to her mother's need to keep her dependent. It is in mother's company especially that she manifests reactions of anxiety. When she is away from mother, she acts like a rather well-adjusted child. Pamela's symptoms mainly function as a defense against mother, with a strong quality of punishment for mother. We have mentioned the interplay between father's and mother's neurosis and the effect it has in directing Pamela's considerable ego strength toward goals of intellectual accomplishment and tomboy activities. All in all, this is a basically well-adjusted girl in a stable home with a reactive disturbance toward her mother, which is intensified by the oedipal situation, but with considerable ego strength to develop goals and satisfactions for herself.

The treatment of a reactive disturbance quite normally involves the same environment to which the child reacts. It also involves the child, both for the purpose of reducing her disturbance as well as to prevent further disturbance. We see treatment carried on along these lines with mother, father and child. No deep therapy is attempted with mother or father. Deep therapy with either of them would produce considerable risks (mother's repressed death wishes present a considerable risk to her equilibrium if brought up), and they would require intensive therapy of considerable duration (father's conflict about his masculinity goes very deep and to bring it up would be risky). There is no need to take such risk and to go to such length in investing therapy either for the sake of the
parents or for the child's sake. The treatment is short-term and not intensive. It reassures mother in where her real strength lies, that is, in being a good wife and mother, in loving her home and family, and it reduces her feeling about Pamela's growing up being a danger. This is done especially by references to mother's older sister and her relationship to maternal grandmother as compared with her own. If the older sister's behavior becomes more natural and acceptable, mother's sense of danger around independence becomes reduced, and this change applies itself to her feelings about Pamela's growing up to independence. Father, in his treatment, is reassured of his masculine role in his home. The worker gives credit to his thoughts and ideas. Father, thus re-enforced about himself, has less need to have Pamela excel in masculine ways. This again means a relaxation of what is being put on the child from the side of the parents. Pamela is helped in treatment to review the situations that create fear, such as, going to school or boys chasing girls. She can use that easily to accept this as normal and to find reassurance in her not really being so different by having anxiety. She also can admit that there is an element of pleasure in being chased. While Pamela at first relates to the (female) psychiatrist in an infantile way, she changes this quickly and can relate to this mother substitute in a more grown-up fashion without needing to fear about not being an infant anymore. The psychiatrist refers her also to occupational therapy to actively encourage her self-confidence
in groups. Pamela participates well, though shyly at first. All this produces enough improvement for parents and child to let them try going on on their own for the time being.

Summary: In this case we are helped to study a dependency relationship which transmits itself from maternal grandmother to mother to child. We can see that Pamela's disturbance is a reaction to mother's unresolved problem in relation to maternal grandmother. This chain of relationship disturbance is based on fear of the feminine role which accompanies the oedipl situation. Dependence as an expression of this fear leads to regressive symptoms and interferes with the growing up to mature independence.

The emotional purpose of these dependence and regression symptoms is: to protect the child from growing up to womanhood and do away with mother as competitor; to protect one's self from the danger and punishment of the powerful mother through remaining a small child who is showing constantly how pitifully dependent she is on mother's strength; and finally to punish mother through the burden that such dependence creates.

One can study the influence of modifying relationships within the major chain of maternal grandmother-mother-child relationships. Mother uses her relationship to the (independent) older sister to re-enforce her own protection: this is the meaning of selecting her older daughter and pointing her up as the "dangerous" one while the younger sister (and this
is her own role) is not dangerous and need not be watched. Pamela uses her younger sister to be protective of her and in this way to bring out how good she herself is.

Pamela functions quite well in all social situations, except those where she is with her mother, and she is a well-endowed girl. Pamela reacts to her mother’s need rather than out of her own need. In this Pamela faces her hostility to mother’s dependency needs as her major problem. She acts out this hostility in various ways toward mother. Still, Pamela has begun to internalize the fear of the feminine role which is fraught with the disturbing emotional experience of hostility. Her intense reaction to separation experiences from mother is an indication of such beginning internalization. Dependence functions as a protective mechanism in relation to mother but has not interfered, by and large, with her taking a normal role in school and in the neighborhood.

One could see in this case the strengthening effect of the marital relationship on husband and wife. Each of them had had their emotional growth difficulties and had worked out a precarious adjustment. Mother strengthened father’s emotional adjustment through her need for a dependency role. In this way she is not stirring up his fears about his masculine role. Father’s method of controlling and repressing masculine aggression strengthens mother’s adjustment because it reduces her subconscious fear of competition with her mother. The birth of the children means a re-awakening of these subconscious
needs and fears, for father the need for masculine aggression and for mother the need for womanhood, and for both the fears and conflicts stimulated by these basic needs because of their early relationship experiences in their childhood.

As far as treatment is concerned, we could study the meaning of both parents being involved in treatment together with the child. We can also study the selection of treatment methods which are appropriate to the need for treatment. The fact that the child's disturbance is to a major degree reactive rather than internalized means a major emphasis in treatment on what the child reacts to, that is, the parental environment. Therefore, both parents are involved. The deep layers of father's and mother's problems are not touched on. Father and mother have been able to handle their problems, and their marriage has added to their strength. Treatment is reassuring and supportive. Mother's feeling about her older sister is handled, and, thus, her need to watch and control Pamela is reduced. Father is reassured in his masculine role in relation to mother, and this reduces his inner need to have Pamela act out the kind of masculine aggression which he has not been able to do. This relaxation of disturbing influence on the side of both parents is being supported and maintained through the psychiatrist's work with Pamela. Economy of treatment is an important goal which is well-documented in its usefulness in this case.
Case IV: A Case of Social Isolation

Data on Family:

Father, age 35, college graduate;
Mother, age 32, college graduate; agnostic;

Siblings: 1) Arthur, age 6, first grade public school
2) Bob, age 4½.

Arthur, age 6, was brought to the clinic by his mother originally it was thought because of his inability to do first-grade school work and because of his being non-cooperative. However, in the first interview mother stated that she was more concerned with his lack of social adjustment. It became immediately apparent that Arthur's problem was the same as mother's. Arthur isn't interested in other children and can't get along with other children. He has few playmates besides his younger brother and no friends in school or neighborhood.

Since the age of 1½ he has pulled out his hair. He makes funny noises in class in order to get attention and in spite of very superior intelligence fails in his first-grade work.

He has "a morbid fear of death"; will "explode" from time to time. For about the last three years he has been getting cramps in his legs and feet while asleep. Result of a recent physical examination was negative.

He used to be deceitful and lie a lot, but when mother told him one time that if he would tell her the truth she would not punish him but let him pick his own punishment, he has been truthful with her since.

He shows extremely independent attitudes on certain occasions and though mother apparently does not like it, she is at the same time very proud that such a small child can do as many things as he does. One day, for instance, she told him he would be punished if he was not home by a certain time as he always dawdles on the way from school. When the time came, patient pulled up to the house in a cab. Did not ask his parents for money to pay the driver, but took it from his piggy bank.

Mother feels that Arthur's early development was accelerated, but is very vague as to the times he started talking, etc. Arthur and mother lived with
paternal grandparents until he was three because father was in the service at that time.

Arthur is the older of two brothers. Both his parents are college graduates; both engineers. Both are also only children. Mother feels that both, she and father, had had unhappy childhoods and that they had gotten together pretty much like "a couple of derelicts".

Father is a tall, rather nice-looking man, seemingly calm and assured in his appearance. He comes to the clinic just once, according to mother "to be polite", and keeps himself otherwise apart from family and treatment. His attitude is one of passive aloofness.

He feels that patient is different from others; admits that he doesn't like him much, explaining that he had been in the services when he was born and had seen very little of him when he was small: "I was a stranger". He resents the time children take and feels more so in regard to Arthur.

Father doesn't like work particularly, says that he would rather hunt and fish.

Father was brought up by paternal grandmother and her mother. Paternal grandfather had gone overseas while grandmother was pregnant with father, and during the time he was away, grandmother's mother had the marriage annulled. Mother who told about father's background said that the two women raised him as a girl until he went into the second grade in school. She emphasized that she did not mean to say that he was treated as a girl but actually raised as one. She had seen pictures of him as a child with long curls and dresses on. Paternal grandfather never took any interest in him in his earlier years. About the time father was old enough to enter prep school, paternal grandfather took father to live with him and his second wife. According to mother, father has aggressive feelings toward his late father.

Mother met father in the office where they worked together. Mother is a tall, blond, very attractive woman, extremely intelligent and intellectual, manifesting a very superior attitude.

She regards herself as the strong member of the family. She has a great fear of emotions, states that she had always run their home on an intellectual basis, trying to be logical all the time. She doesn't trust people; said three or four times in her life
she had trusted someone and "each time this trust was interrupted by violent means". She is particularly suspicious of other women. She has built a shell around herself, lives in physical and emotional isolation. She is frightened by her power to foresee events which will happen (death, etc.) and states that her parents had taken her to a psychiatrist at one time because of this her ability. She feels that people regard her as queer and different. Expresses fear of psychosis, explaining that she had two great grandparents who had been psychotic. She shows strong emotional reaction when the worker wants to discuss her background, she is afraid that things would be as terrible today as they were when they actually happened. She tells her family story going back to maternal grandmother's father, expressing strong dislike for him and at the same time great admiration and pride.

Mother's grandfather was from Scotland and the son of a noble family. He got into some difficulty there and came to America to escape the consequences. He married after being here a short while. They had one child, a boy, and then grandfather's wife died in childbirth when mother's mother was born. The children were sent to live in the East with a woman whom maternal grandmother described as having been very cruel to them. When mother's mother was seventeen, she and brother left this woman and made their own home. Their father used this as a base of operation but was actually with them very seldom.

In her late teens, maternal grandmother, whom mother pictures as reclusive and as having paranoid trends, fell in love with a boy and while making plans for her wedding this man was killed. Then, for ten years, she became a recluse. Ten years later, she met mother's father and married him against her father's wishes. He threatened to break up the marriage if the opportunity was ever presented to him. Though he did not live with the family, his powerful personality was constantly felt.

Mother describes her mother as a dominant, masculine woman who stifled her. Mother who says that she had been very fat and unattractive as a child and a juvenile delinquent could never do anything for herself. Parties were planned and activities carried
out in mother's name, but actually she had no part in the plans. Her father was a weak and passive man who left the family when mother was twelve years old.

At twenty-one, mother left her mother's home. By this time she had finished her education—she had chosen a college farthest away from home and was working as an engineer for G.E. where father was employed also. Around the beginning of the war, she decided to join the Waves. She soon found that this life was not what she wanted and she felt unhappy. Father had enlisted in the Navy the same time she had. He knew of her unhappiness in the service and came to see her on leave. They were married.

Mother says that choosing her husband was really a coldblooded plan on her part. She married him only because she was drifting; also because she wanted children. She had purposely planned it so that she would get pregnant and conceive six weeks after their marriage. When she told father that she was pregnant with patient, he was surprised and said, "Why did you let it happen?"

Mother sleeps in a separate room from her husband. She prefers it this way. She has her children which is what she wanted. Can't imagine that there are other reasons for having intercourse besides producing children; says that intercourse wasn't pleasurable for her. Feels that this was a satisfactory arrangement for husband also, basing this on the fact that father hadn't said anything. Since marriage had been her doing, mother wants to stay with it now even if it was a bad bargain.

She says that husband isn't a father but that she has three children. She refers to him as playboy. He gives her those jobs which she considers are the man's, for instance handling the check book. She feels she shouldn't have to, but nevertheless does it and so competently that father does not have to worry. Mother complains about father's irresponsibilities. He buys things beyond their income. Until paternal grandfather died he always matched what father made on his job with an equal amount of money, and father does not seem able to accept that this is now gone because of grandfather's death. Recently father had wanted to buy a red convertible. Mother had said flatly no since she felt that they couldn't afford it. Father thereupon had gone to
his boss, had gotten a $1,000 raise and had bought the car.

Mother says that she would be glad to let father be the boss but that she can't very well until he does better. She expresses that she thinks she is like her mother and maternal great-grandfather and that patient's social isolation and feelings were a reflection of her own.

**Data on Treatment:**

No. of interviews of patient with psychiatrist 15
" " " " " psychologist 4
No. of interviews of mother with psychiatrist 3
" " " " " social worker 14
" " " " " father 1

Psychological tests show Arthur to be of superior intelligence with creative ability, but over-intellectual, full of violent emotion, with a high degree of inhibition of emotional expression.

He presents to a very large degree the picture analysts associate with the anal character. Psychologist feels that toilet training must have been early and forced and a tremendously frustrating experience for him for he has reacted with repression of his basic impulse of aggression in an attempt to win his mother's love. This has resulted in tremendous inner tension and anxiety. With his emotional needs thwarted, Arthur had no recourse but to adopt the intellectualism which came easily and was part of his mother's pattern and emphasis.

When inner tension becomes too great, Arthur reacts with obstinacy and opposition. At the time of examination, he is "exploding". This produces satisfaction and also increases anxiety and tension which has lowered ego control.

Projectives also indicate the intensity of the conflict of identification—the father is seen more as an obstacle than a strong male figure with whom he can identify—and his extreme feelings of inadequacy at times, resulting in periods of depression.

Arthur is seen by a male psychiatrist who describes him as a tall, nice-looking boy, pseudo-adult in manner, speaking in a way quite suggestive of his
mother. He vacillates being feeling "bad" and being a "smart boy"; looking at hair at doctor's arm says he doesn't want any, wants to have "nice, soft skin". He is resistant to expression of aggression, particularly to doctor's proposal to roughhouse together, until doctor has a talk with mother.

Mother had expressed suspicion about this idea of roughhousing to her worker. Doctor points out to mother that he feels that mother's fear of what would happen in the office had infected patient, therefore his reluctance. When mother shows increasing resentment, Arthur, who is present at this "encounter", draws away from the doctor. During this time, doctor examines mother's resentment with her. As Arthur is leaving, he leaves his hand in doctor's grasp for a moment. Doctor points out to mother the rapid change in emotional reaction Arthur showed following parallel to her emotional reactions from the beginning of their talk to the diminishing of her resentment as doctor explored it with her and it became dissipated.

After this, Arthur roughhouses with his doctor freely and extensively. He experiences love and acceptance from his doctor to whom he says, "I can make believe you are my father, can't I?" and can accept the doctor's setting limits on expression of aggression.

Mother reports great improvement in patient: he stopped pulling out his hair, goes better to school, plays much more with other children and seems to enjoy himself.

Mother is seen by a female worker. It was felt that her basic conflict seemed to be unconscious homosexual wishes and that she was castrating in relation to her son.

Worker helps mother to become able to accept herself more as a woman. This is done in a meaningful relationship experience in which worker helps mother accept the importance of emotions and unconscious motivations in her behavior, pointing out her intellectual defenses whenever they were recognized. Allowing herself expressions of feelings and relating to a woman in an emotional way involves a period of confusion and anxiety for mother. She is able,
however, to handle it with the support of the worker upon whom she becomes very dependent.

At the end of contact mother had begun to accept the role of a woman, recognizing father as more of a man than she previously had.

Case was closed because father was called back to active duty in the Navy and the family was going to accompany him to his base.

**Final evaluation:** Patient's and mother's attitude improved.

**Interpretation:** Mother brings Arthur, nearly 7 years old, to the clinic because he is a school problem. At first the reason given is his failing in first grade school work, his disturbing the class and his lack of cooperativeness. However, right in the beginning of her treatment mother brings out that she was more concerned with Arthur's lack of social adjustment. Mother stating this as a major symptom is close to the core of Arthur's problem. This is different from many occasions when parents come to the clinic. Their emotional concern about the child usually proves meaningful while the reason they give for coming for help may be far from the real source of trouble.

In this mother we see an emotional concern in regard to her child and the home situation and this combines with the objective quality of a trained professional person. Mother is an intellectually high standing person who feels secure in her intellectual than in her emotional expressions. Her clearness is not the same as security. In whatever way she presents herself to us intellectually, she comes to us because of her anxiety of what is happening to her child and because of her
inability to deal with this on her own. She shares this with other mothers that being a mother is her real reason for coming for help. The emotional concern has a truer ring than the intellectual objectivity.

There is good reason for her concern for her child. The symptoms brought out are numerous. We mentioned his trouble in school. He is of superior intelligence. He shows this considerable intelligence on certain occasions. This is true, for instance, when he decides to take a taxi to be home on time. His ability to master the problem of a social situation in an independent manner, with good planning and judgment is considerable. He is said to play well with his younger brother but to have no friends as a rule among his peers, in school or in the neighborhood. Being a lonesome and withholding child, he is also reported to disturb other children by making "funny noises" in class and not to get along with other children. He is said to be given to feelings of inadequacy and of depression. Obstinacy and opposition are mentioned. His occasional emotional explosions are disturbing. Since the age of a year and a half he pulls out his hair. Lying and deceitfulness are mentioned in his early age which then changed to a high degree of truthfulness. On occasions he brings out fear of death. There are somatic expressions without organic basis, i.e., cramps in legs and feet while he is asleep.

Any one of these symptoms would be sufficient reason for the mother to want to have help. It is difficult to find in
this child's symptomatic behavior something that has an overall connecting quality. Arthur disturbs class and does not get along with playmates, but he is obviously not the "rebellious" child. As a matter of fact, on important issues and occasions there is a high degree of conformity in his behavior. This is true, for instance, when mother suggests a deal to him which is to stop him from using lies. He is not the "fearful-dependent" child; he is on his own in a remarkable way on occasion. He is not withdrawing from communication with his social environment and into himself because of a sense of worthlessness and inferiority. He has his episodes of depression and of feeling inadequate, but he has also a very sure feeling about himself of being "a smart boy" who knows more about life and living than others.

He does not want to withdraw from communication so much as that he communicates in the wrong way. His "funny noises" in class are a method of communication that is all his own. It is a "strange" way of communicating. He is building up symbols of his own 15 which are known to him but not to others. He wants to communicate to others and with others, but he also wants to protect himself from being found out. He is isolating himself through the very way he is trying to keep in communication with his environment.

This isolating quality of his behavior may be the most characteristic overall expression of his various symptoms. This seems to be in the mother's mind when she refers to "lack of social adjustment." Isolation produces behavior which is difficult to understand, does not make sense, is outside the norm or different from it. It makes sense, however, if we see Arthur not having taken a part in the world of his age and his environment and orienting himself around the norms of this world. Not having a part in them, his norms would be different. They would be at times above and at times below "his age" (and this is so true of Arthur); they would be difficult to understand (emotional outbursts, etc.); they would seem queer and make people uncomfortable with him (his peculiar method of communication).

Isolation is a serious problem for a child. How can we account for Arthur's development? The test results show that there are no physical or mental reasons responsible for his problem. As far as other contributing factors are concerned, we find that Arthur did not know his father for the first three years of his life. Father was in the armed services. Mother lived with parental grandparents. Mother and father were both in the service when they decided upon marriage. They met before then. Sharing the same education, the same profession, work in the same office made mother and father have a lot in common. However, it took the stimulus of war and their separation through war in the armed services to have them get
married. Mother expresses clearly the increased sense of loneliness, the feeling of misery in the armed services, the threat of separation from an accustomed environment which motivated her, as so many others, to meet this threat through marriage. She believes the same to have been true for father. She also expresses the feeling, otherwise heard so often, that to have met this need in this manner may have been a "mistake", but that she wants to make the best of it.

There is this added strain which the insecurity and separation of war put on the beginning of this marriage. There is an added strain in not having a home of their own. This becomes true especially when a baby is born. The pressure there is on a mother normally in relating herself to the needs of a firstborn becomes aggravated if the mother has to consider other people in the house. A baby demands so much from its environment that the availability of privacy in an own home becomes even more meaningful and necessary than otherwise.

Psychological and psychiatric findings are that Arthur's early and rushed toilet training produced a good deal of hostility which became troublesome to the child. We cannot assess what the added strain of war marriage and of lack of privacy in an own home contributed to this early upbringing of the child. This added tension and this lack of privacy made

occasions like toilet habits even more difficult for a mother who had her emotional difficulties about it anyway.

Father's absence from the home for the first three years of the child's life was a contributing factor to Arthur's problem. Father states that the child was a stranger to him when he came back from service. There is more in this than the reality of physical separation and absence. On the other hand, this living together with one's child, this seeing him grow up, being part of his growing up is essential for the growth of the emotional quality which we call that of a parent. This sense of strangeness between father and child has remained, and it is one of the important characteristics of the home situation when mother comes to the clinic for help.

Mother complains about the financial situation in the home, but more in the sense that father lets her worry about things he should worry about. One does not get the sense of a real economic threat to this home and of emotional strain on that basis. Educationally as well as occupationally both parents have social status and show accomplishment. Religion and other cultural aspects of their situation do not represent difference from their environment or source of tension and instability. Mother being an "agnostic" is an expression of her own emotional need to separate, "isolate" herself from her social world.

There are strains in the social environment which affect Arthur's early upbringing and his early relationship experiences.
However, the emotional make up of father and mother and the quality of their relationship have a much greater bearing on Arthur's problem.

Father has many attributes normally associated with masculinity. He is tall, good looking. He is calm and self-assured. He can show educational and vocational accomplishments. While there are these attributes of masculinity, father has considerable conflict about being a man. He is not ambitious. He would rather "hunt and fish," he says, than devote himself to his profession and his job. He shows the same kind of passivity in regard to control of finances. He not only permits mother to handle the check-book but obviously wants her to do so, and this is symbolic of not wanting to be the head of the household. It is true that he works and provides the income for the family. However, he does not feel responsible for it. When grandfather stops being an additional source of income for the family, he acts as if nothing had happened to the family and lets mother take responsibility for adjusting to this change, hindering mother rather than helping her in this. Mother is the man in the house, and father does not contest this and has no inclination for the responsibility of a man. Father can sometimes show remarkable initiative as, for instance, when he wants to buy himself a car and family finances do not permit it. Wanting to have this pleasure, this hobby, is a motivation for him to get a raise in salary and not the need of his family. Mother says that marrying father
was a "cold blooded plan" on her side. The same, mother says, was true for wanting and planning for children. Father had no part in it. He was surprised hearing that mother was pregnant with patient and showed resentment. Mother says bluntly that father is not a man, not a father, that he is "one of her children".

Is he a child then? Yes and no. It is true that he does not take the part of head of household in his family. He has no direction and control. At the same time he does not obey like a child. Mother brings out that father is a non-conformist. He puts a formidable degree of strength into non-cooperation. A passive person is not the same as a compliant person. If father is a child, he is a difficult child, indeed. Father asserts himself both by non-cooperation and by getting what he wants for himself. This non-cooperation comes out in the treatment of the family. Father takes a minimal part in it, coming for one interview only. Father assures himself of his independence by separateness from his family. Coming closer to his family might threaten his independence—and it truly would considering mother's need for masculine control. However, father does not let it come to a test. He says to mother: go ahead, it is yours, and he keeps himself outside and apart from his family. Father concentrates all his strength on defending his masculinity from attack from outside. Isolation and non-cooperation are essential methods of defense. They help him avoid test and competitive situations. Father wants
to have a will of his own and in this an experience of independence. However, it is not the independence of the mature man, taking his share and his role; it is the independence and strength of denying this role rather than affirming it.

In father's childhood there is good reason for this conflicted relationship to masculinity. Father's home was broken before he was even born. He was brought up by paternal grandmother and her mother without a masculine figure in his home. Paternal grandfather took no interest in him in these years. Moreover the two women who brought him up "raised him as a girl" until he was about seven years old. He wore long curls and had dresses on. There was an abrupt change when father was at the age of going to prep school. Paternal grandfather then took him into his home. This sign of interest became as excessive as it had been lacking before. Father's family experience had been atypical and most difficult.

His manhood was denied when he grew up. Paternal grandmother and her mother wanted him to be a girl. In relation to them he had to act as a girl, and his manhood was a secret which he needed to keep to himself and which he could not share with anybody. This pattern of keeping his manhood to himself and protecting it from relationships is well set before father moves into the home of paternal grandfather.

One can well understand father's resentment of paternal grandfather because he did not get the support of a man in developing his manhood nor in protecting it. He was left alone
as a man, deserted and had to carry on as a girl.

Father is conflicted in relation to woman. Being altogether cared for by women in his childhood he is dependent upon their care, and there has been a strong identification with the feminine. On the other hand, his manhood was threatened by this feminine environment hostile to man, and he learned to keep his manhood to himself and not to give it to woman.

It makes emotional sense that father marries a woman who is masculine and who does not require him to relate as a man to her. This marriage enables father to show certain attributes of masculinity to society and at the same time continue his protection of his manhood by keeping it out of relationship rather than by using it in relationships.

Father is absent in more than a physical sense from Arthur. Father is not competitive with patient so much as that he is unrelated to him. He is keeping his manhood to himself, isolated, keeping it out of his relationship to patient.

Arthur does not find a male figure relating to him and for him to relate to. He is left alone. There is fear and guilt about such aloneness. There is also confusion. Where there is no limitation through a male figure, it is difficult to develop norms. Arthur can jump ahead and be very grown-up and independent, or he can stay very small and quiet. The lack of goals and standards to help find orientation starts early for Arthur. From father he learns methods of unrelatedness.

Through mother he acquires motivations for using such
methods so that he can communicate without being found out. The form comes from father, the content, the motivation of his behavior come from mother.

Mother sees herself as "queer and different". There is a constant reference to herself as pathological. She mentions her fear of psychosis, basing this partly on mental sickness in her ancestry. She describes herself as "fat and unattractive" as a child, as a "juvenile delinquent", as "derelict", "drifting". This is not a statement of facts but an expression of feelings. Mother ascribes to herself a magic power of foreseeing death. She is afraid of this power in her. She has been taken to a psychiatrist for this reason by her parents. Her stories are full of this fear of death and violence, as if death and violence were associated with her. When her worker brings up wanting to discuss her background, mother has the strong emotional reaction that this background is out of the ordinary and quite unacceptable by normal standards. She tells the tale of her family on her mother's side going back into generations. It is a tale full of conflict, cruelty, death, abnormalcy. Mother's feeling about the abnormalcy of her family background conveys something similar to the Greek legend of the Atreus family in which fate doomed this family to a monstrous, abnormal condition from generation to generation. Her story centers mainly around a maternal great-grandfather. She describes him in a strangely romantic way. He comes from "a noble family" in Scotland. He came to this
country because he got into difficulties there and had to escape. No specifics are mentioned, and this gives the nobility, the crime and the escape a nearly legendary quality, as something that needs to remain hidden. Mother continues to describe this figure in this romantic, strange way. He is a roving figure, a buccaneer type. He does not have a home but a "place of operations". His exact whereabouts and business dealings remain misty. Maternal grandmother's birth brings with it her mother's death. She and her brother are being sent by maternal great-grandfather to a woman who was "very cruel" to them. They live there until maternal grandmother is 17 years of age, then establish a home of their own. Maternal great-grandfather sees them very rarely before and after they establish their home. However, he uses their home very freely and takes upon himself a very full control of their lives. Death comes into maternal grandmother's life again when her fiance gets killed in her late teens. She becomes a "recluse" for ten years, continuing living with strange, unsettled, authoritarian maternal great-grandfather. When she finally marries, it is against her father's wish, and he threatens to "break up" this marriage. This marriage started with the opposite of blessings. Maternal grandmother is described as having paranoid trends, continuing to suffer from her father's influence. Mother expresses strong dislike for maternal great-grandfather and at the same time great admiration for him.

This quality of being different from the norm to an
excessive degree in ways that are illegitimate, disastrous and strange mother brings out about herself and maternal grandmother. There is a strong identification in this. Maternal grandmother's fate is hers, she means to say. Maternal grandmother has been brought up by a "cruel woman" without the help of a father who remained absent as a reality and existed as a romantic figure. Mother experienced maternal grandmother as a "masculine" person who did not permit her any room for herself, maternal grandfather having no influence in the home, being "weak and passive", and leaving the home altogether when mother is 12 years old. Mother was unhappy in her home and struggled to emancipate herself, just the same as she describes maternal grandmother's childhood.

There are two different kinds of male figures in mother's and maternal grandmother's life. One is the male figure that is present and real, and this man is "weak and passive" (see father and maternal grandfather) or "gets killed" (fiance), has no influence and authority. The other is the male figure that is not present, a romantic figure, rather legendary, full of authority and strength, a strength that is both admirable and fateful, something to be wanted and to be feared.

The male figure is being split into the weak and the strong. The weak male figure is associated with the real and present man, father, etc.; the strong male figure mother and maternal grandmother incorporate into themselves. They capture the strength of this legendary absent figure. The only way to bring
him close is to take him into oneself and hide him there.

The romantic quality about maternal great-grandfather is characteristic of the attachment to be found in the oedipal situation. He was real enough in maternal grandmother's life for her to function as object of such romantic attachment. He was not real enough for her to experience father's love and also its limitations and, thus, to work through to sound object identifications. To be rejected by father as a woman, at the same time to admire him, to experience his strength as unlimited, unconditional and all-embracing from a distance is the integration maternal grandmother internalized. There was no love of a father for a mother and, therefore, there was no basis for competing with a mother for a father and, thus, developing as a woman.

Mother competes with maternal grandmother for this romantic figure of maternal great-grandfather. She is not displeased about great grandfather having been cruel to maternal grandmother. Maternal grandmother deserved this punishment because she has been cruel to mother. In competing with maternal grandmother not for the real father but for this legendary figure, mother repeats the internalization of maternal grandmother. She also repeats the protective system that follows this internalization. Mother's sense of power (a power that can kill) is the expression of her feeling of possessing the male strength. From the same basis follows the feeling of her being so very different from the norm and the need to hide this difference.
Repression is necessary to hide mother's subconscious strivings which are at variance with the socially accepted. Repression takes the form of denying oneself sexual gratification. Mother is frigid. She controls her sex strivings because they are the wrong strivings. Mother's subconscious sex strivings are toward women (because her internal picture of herself is that of a man). She avoids this situation of danger by being "suspicious" of women (projecting her own subconscious wishes on other women and, thus, acquiring a conscious rationale for keeping away from them), and by developing a "shell" in relation to women and isolating herself from them. Mother avoids also the danger of another perverse sex gratification, that of castrating the male. She marries a weak man and, thus, avoids the dangerous situation of masculine strength fighting with masculine strength. She rationalizes the lack of sexual attraction to her husband by making herself believe that her purpose is motherhood rather than sex. The subconscious association of this wanting to be a mother with a man who does not want to be a father, has not been admitted by her as a father and does not represent father as male strength is that she is really taking the place of father as male strength. This means gratification in a very disguised form.

The denial of sexuality through repression, through avoidance of dangerous situations, through the mechanisms of projection and disguise leaves no avenue open to sexuality. 17

What happens to it? It is being sublimated to a considerable degree. Intellectualism is not only part of mother's defense mechanisms helping in the denial and repression of the emotional, it is at the same time a sublimation of the male strength in mother in a form in which it is socially acceptable. Mother's going to college, choosing engineering, a distinctly masculine profession, are expressions of such sublimation. Her choosing armed services and war are a further expression of selecting socially accepted forms of the masculine. Her feeling of unhappiness in the Waves may to a great degree be due to the fact that she got closer to a danger situation, that is, a female environment. The sense of danger in her leads her to move away from this danger by getting married, marriage being in addition a further disguise of her basically masculine quality and strivings. In her marriage mother finds again socially acceptable reasons for exercising masculine control. The reality of father's lack of interest in being the head of household lends force to her rationalization that she has to take on this role although she would really wish that father was more of a man.

The relationship between mother and father is best characterized by the fact that it serves each of them for the purpose of avoiding danger and for obtaining gratification in disguise. Considering that each of them had to work out a very complicated emotional adjustment, this marriage helps each of them to maintain this adjustment. New problem in maintaining this emotional balance arises for each of them through the child.
and there is difficulty for the child in the fact that this is their individual emotional makeup and that this needs to be their relationship.

The similarity of Arthur's problem and symptoms to that of his mother is striking. Mother's basic feeling of doom and death finds its parallel in Arthur's strong fear of death; his sense of being funny and acting funny is an expression of mother being different from the norm (and this in an illegitimate way); Arthur's having few and poor social relations is so like mother's need and reality of isolating herself; the emphasis on the intellectual and the denial of the emotional hold true for both of them.

Arthur, in his feelings and in his behavior, reflects mother's conflict about male strength. She admires male strength and wants it subconsciously, and on the other hand she carries the feeling about it as an illegitimate, forbidden quality, something bad that needs to be denied and disguised. Thus, Arthur finds encouragement on his mother's side to want to be a male, and he shows a high degree of independence and maturity in certain situations which require intellectual ability and judgment. On the other hand Arthur incorporates from his mother that the male strength he represents is bad, dangerous, shameful, and needs to be denied and disguised. Thus, Arthur shows repression of emotions, especially those of aggression (which represent male strength). When it comes out in form of an explosion, the recoil effect is sure to set in, that is,
anxiety about the danger situation, fear of consequences which appears in the form of depression. He disguises male strength. His failure in first grade school work is a reaction to the dangerous situation of competition.\textsuperscript{18} Competition has a masculine quality. He, thus, avoids it, being highly mature, disciplined and intelligent in situations which do not require competition. Arthur's need to deny his masculinity and to disguise it comes out strongly in his pulling his hair. Hair is a sexual symbol.\textsuperscript{19} Arthur professes dislike for the hairy skin of the male psychiatrist, wanting his own skin to be soft and nice. Growth of hair is a situation of danger. He corrects this situation, denying his masculinity and punishing himself by cutting off the faulty growth. Apart from these specific expressions of denial and disguise, Arthur adapts disguise as an overall mode of behavior. Like mother, he isolates himself from people, has trouble in communicating with them and develops his own modes of communication, such as funny noises, which serve the purpose of preventing complete isolation by bringing about a response from his environment (and this is a relief).

Mother exercises control in the home. She represents the masculine strength. Arthur admires her. Mother's strength becomes for Arthur his ego ideal, the same way a boy would

\textsuperscript{18} Melitta Schmideberg, "Intellektuelle Hemmung und Aggression," Zeitschrift fuer Psychoanalytische Pedagogie, No. 4, p. 477, 1930.

\textsuperscript{19} Charles Berg, The Casebook of a Medical Psychologist, pp. 222-226.
normally admire his father's strength and try to emulate him. Arthur incorporates from his mother that this strength can be used only under certain conditions and in certain specific forms, and that it is surrounded with taboos otherwise. This leads to sublimation in the direction of the intellectual and of strong self-discipline; it also means great difficulty in relating to other people, and, if relating at all, to do so in a complicated, guarded, self-protective way. This emphasis on ego ideal in mother-child relations is accompanied by the simultaneous lack of feminine warmth and emotion for the child. Mother keeps her emotions under control and she is unable to give a normal feminine feeling to the child. Arthur does not receive normal libidinal supplies, and he is emotionally deprived. This deprivation finds in Arthur's feelings its justification in being bad and not deserving love and warmth.

On the ego level Arthur reflects mother's admiration for male strength and her pattern of circumscribing this dangerous strength with taboos and sublimating it to certain specific forms and uses; libidinally Arthur reflects mother's wish for being the man in this relationship by castrating himself (pulling out his hair), assuming the quality of a woman and, thus, make possible the homosexual relationship mother desires libidinally. This conflict between ego and libidinal strivings lead to an enormously complicated job in trying to integrate

the male and female components in his personality. The result is anxiety, confusion, tension, resulting either in the denial of this emotional conflict through emphasizing the intellectual and holding to its security, or expressing the reality of the emotional situation which is that of an explosion and quite inadequate as a basis of social relationships and as a pattern of behavior.

Father's absence as an adequate male figure strengthens this dilemma considerably for Arthur. Instead of needing to integrate the male and the female components of personality through the experience of relationship in which mother and father are there as two different personalities, Arthur experiences the male and the female in one person, the mother, and from there he incorporates it as a conflict. The very process which is socializing in the development of personality because it is based on needing more than one person for oneself and being able to take their difference into oneself in the way of complementation, leads Arthur away from socialization because mother's way of relating to Arthur excludes father. Father, in accepting the role mother gives him, promotes Arthur's internalization of conflict. Father is not part of the parental relationship situation, he only interferes with it mildly insofar as he resents mother's giving time to Arthur. This interference is not essential in Arthur's relationship experience. It is not the vital experience that a father means to the son if he takes the role of a father. To Arthur mother is father and
mother, and father has no part in it. The marital relationship which meets some basic emotional needs of father and mother and helps them to carry on in their present emotional adjustment as individuals, means an accentuation of the problem situation for Arthur.

Father's strength goes into non-cooperation, and this is different from Arthur's which goes into sublimation, where permitted. However, father's non-cooperation leads to separateness and isolation. This means non-interference and partly promotion of Arthur's pattern of isolation although it is based on a different emotional pattern.

The birth of the sibling seems to have increased Arthur's impulse toward the feminine because he began to pull out his hair since then.

Father's non-participation in the treatment plan is part of father's role in the family which is that of non-participation. Father participates indirectly as mother involves him in a discussion of her contact at the clinic. Toward the end of her treatment she can express some positive feeling about father and his initiative as a man. Thus, mother's treatment means some change for father and his role in the family.

Mother's and Arthur's treatment are very similar. Treatment is geared to help relieve their feeling of badness about their own sex. For mother to be able to accept herself more as a woman, and for Arthur to accept himself as man is the major purpose of treatment. This is partly accomplished through
the experience for mother of a relationship to a woman worker and for Arthur that of a relationship to a male psychiatrist. For both of them this is a unique experience, and it starts them off to accepting themselves differently and, therefore, being able to relate differently.

For mother this leads to her relating to a woman and with a woman in an emotional way. Permitting emotions brings up anxiety and confusion for mother. The closeness of another woman means a danger situation for mother. The worker's support enables mother to handle this danger situation differently. She need not run away from it through projecting her fears on the worker or using other methods of disguise and denial. She is able to continue her relationship and to, thus, experience that there is no danger in being a woman and being related to women. There is less need for using her system of repression and disguise, less need especially for strict control of emotions.

This shift in her feeling about herself as a woman does not occur without a significant tangle of mother with the male psychiatrist. Mother fights with the male strength of the psychiatrist who is taking her son from the feminine to the masculine pattern. In fighting him, mother has a deeply therapeutic experience. This other cardinal danger situation for mother, that is, castrating male strength, takes a very different turn. Instead of overcoming and destroying the psychiatrist's relationship to her son, she experiences the helpfulness of a
strong and authoritative male personality. She is able to
give her son to him voluntarily. This means her emotional
acceptance of the masculine in its own right without her
needing to fight it. This emotional permission of mother to
her son to become a man by following a man, this release of
her control over him by sharing him with the father figure is
the key stone for the success of Arthur's treatment. Without
this release of her control, without mother's emotional accept-
ance of a father figure and her permission to follow a father
figure Arthur would be barred from having the key social expe-
rience of integrating the male and female components into his
personality as a creative, friendly and complementary integra-
tion. Mother herself needs this integrative experience, and
she has it in the clinic. The roles of the woman worker and
of the man psychiatrist correspond very much to mother's need
for an integrative experience.

Mother's experience of dependence in relation to her
worker is significant. She has not permitted herself the
dependence of a woman before she came to the clinic. The expe-
rience of dependence means the experience of a woman for her.
This brings about a sense of inadequacy. As a whole it is a
distinctly pleasurable experience, and it encourages her accept-
ance of herself as a woman.

Arthur finds in the experience with his psychiatrist the
acceptance of his aggression. He does not need to control it.
Being a man and being rough is not badness. The psychiatrist
uses himself very directly by "roughing" it with Arthur. When mother contests the psychiatrist, Arthur holds back from him, but this contest is resolved in the man maintaining his strength, and Arthur, in being permitted to turn to him, moves toward society and away from isolation. Arthur experiences very meaningfully that there is a limitation to male force, and his experience of love for the psychiatrist helps him to recognize and accept a discipline which is very different from the strict control of guilt and denial he has known before. This treatment sets a turning point for the emotional direction of mother and son and for their relationship.

**Summary:** This study is concerned with the case of a child whose problem is that of isolating himself from society. We have seen the manifestations of such isolation, especially in the methods of denial and disguise. The emotional dynamics motivating such isolation with its accompanying social and emotional abnormalcy show a close resemblance of patterns for maternal grandmother, mother and first-born son. Essentially this pattern is that of an abnormal integration of the male and female components in personality so that it leads to the wish for perverse social application of this integration. The defense against this perversion and its gratification in a disguised form go into a large part of the behavioral mechanism and find their major expression in the reality of social isolation. This pattern of abnormal integration is caused by a constellation in family relations (for generations) in which
male strength and authority is absent in the (real) father in
the home and a woman (variously designated as "cruel", restrictive, etc.) exercises control and does not permit the growing-up child the experience with man and the woman to be a social and acceptable experience in their different roles and to be able to integrate the experience of these roles as meeting his/her own basic emotional needs. A legendary figure of a father and male strength is built up which, however, remains outside the home and serves to justify exclusion of the male by female and incorporation of male strength by the female. The woman in the family (in these generations) represents both the masculine and the feminine and through its control does not permit socialization of the personality and a socially normal use of sexual identification. In Arthur's family the reversal of roles for father and mother enables each of them to better maintain his/her own complex emotional adjustment. The same relationship constellation produces problem for the child in continuing the pattern of perversion and isolation. There are added strains for the child because the war marriage means lack of stability and privacy in the early years of the child and, thus, an increase in restrictiveness for him, especially where toilet training is concerned. The birth of a male sibling adds to the strain, too, to some degree. The outstanding factor, however, in the child's problem is the mother-child relationship based on mother's unresolved problem in relation to maternal grandmother. The treatment involves mother and child.
Roles are given to a woman worker (mother) and a male psychiatrist (child). The purpose of the treatment is toward acceptance of one's own sex by mother and male child. This is accomplished through a meaningful relationship experience which helps mother to release her control over her child and to permit him emotional development along normally socializing channels. A contact with the psychiatrist helps mother in accepting the masculine in its own role and permitting her child identification with a father figure. The child's treatment shows the course of this identification, the change from social isolation toward socialization, and the change from restrictive and negative self-control to acceptance of positive and sound discipline based on an experience of parental love.
CHAPTER IV

Conclusions

The purpose of this study is to see, on the basis of four case studies, how the unresolved problem of parents affect a child's problem who is known to the clinic. In this we want to give special attention to the effect mother's unresolved problem has on her child.

The child in these four cases finds a father-mother relationship which is characterized by unresolved problems in father and mother. Mother's part in this problem stands out. She has an unresolved problem in relation to her own mother, and she tries to work out this unresolved problem between herself and her mother through the child. This affects the child's basic attitude toward his parents and the means he needs to adapt to make possible his growing up. The major difficulty for the child in growing up is his trying to integrate the man-woman relationship into his own personality. In his/her experience of integration each of these children faces a major danger to himself. The child deals with the danger he finds in his experience of integration, and the two major purposes the child's behavior, especially his symptoms serve are to enable him to make the best functioning integration possible under the conditions he finds in his home and to reduce the danger the child meets. While the results of such integration may not be what we find desirable in an individual situation, we need to face that growth is not possible for the child.
without handling this question in some way.

In Case I the child experiences a man-woman relationship which is full of tension, conflict and carries the suspense of instability. The child refuses a man-woman relationship which carries the danger of depreciation of herself. In this the child carries out her mother's protest against such depreciation by man. The mother in her turn has taken this protest into herself from her own mother. Maternal grandmother and mother are not able to work this problem through. They handle it partly through using their child to demonstrate and carry out this protest against depreciation. For the child this problem is accentuated by a father whose need is to depreciate her as a woman. The child's answer to this danger is non-acceptance of her parents. She, thus, averts the greater danger of being depreciated by choosing the lesser danger of being asocial in behavior.

In Case II the girl child finds a man-woman relationship in which roles are filled poorly and diffusely. From the mother she experiences deep doubt about her worth as a woman. Maternal grandmother did not accept the role of a woman for herself, and mother internalized deep insecurity about her worth as a woman. This doubt about her worth as a woman means for the child a role of serving and not having any demands for herself. The danger is of needing to give love without receiving it. The resentment which follows such refusal of love would make it impossible to integrate a man-woman relationship
which carries this role. By turning this resentment against herself the child is enabled to give without demanding for herself. The father, an inadequate and dependent personality, needs to exploit his child's need for giving love without receiving it because of his own need and in this way strengthens the child's problem and her method of dealing with it.

In Case III the girl child experiences a stable man-woman relationship where roles are well filled. Maternal grandmother instilled fear of woman's role associated with the need for carrying it out in a dependent fashion into mother, and mother in turn needs to keep her daughter small and does not permit her to grow up to womanhood because of her unresolved oedipal conflict. This fear of womanhood becomes strengthened by the father. His own subconscious need for more masculinity becomes displaced on his child whom he encourages to be a tomboy. The girl thus finds a relationship in which the emphasis is on fear of womanhood and desirability of masculine activities. Being a girl, the child finds the danger of not being in agreement with her parents if she wants to grow up toward femininity. She handles this danger by directing her ego toward masculine activities and showing that she does not mean to grow as a woman.

In Case IV the boy child experiences a man-woman relationship which is stable but which is lopsided and perverse. The marriage is used by both parents as a disguise, and as a disguise the marriage helps father and mother stabilize their
individual adjustment which for each is very complex and difficult to maintain. Mother's repressed homosexuality goes back to her experience with her mother who had the same unresolved problem. Mother's repressed perversion includes her need to castrate the male and to take the male strength into herself. The boy meets the danger of castration from his mother which is not counterbalanced by support from his father. He meets this danger by denying and disguising his manhood in various ways. The man-woman roles are mutually exclusive in this home. Mother does not permit father to function as a man so that the woman role functions as excluding the man role in their relationship. At the same time mother's wanting to be a man excludes the role of the woman from the home. This mutually exclusive character of the man-woman relationship creates another danger for the child; that is, that of an explosion in him of these incompatible components. He handles this danger by denying emotions and emphasizing intellectualism.

Is the effect of the mother's unresolved childhood conflict so that it deserves special emphasis? We believe that our data show that the mother's conflict has a more important share in the child's conflict and in his methods of dealing with it. This is especially clear in Case IV where the child's problem and his method of handling it is so similar to his mother's. There is no difficulty, however, in seeing how the dependent, fearful girl of Case III repeats the pattern of a dependent, fearful mother, the girl of Case II follows her
mother in her sense of worthlessness, and that even in Case I
the girl's complete disobedience against her mother is in
reality a carrying out of the mother's subconscious rebellion
against her depreciation as a woman. There is no difficulty,
either, in seeing that mother's problem closely reproduces the
major problem pattern in attitudes and relationships of her
own mother. Thus, seeing the problem being given from grand-
mother to mother to child establishes a pattern of maternal
determination in growing up.

Why does the mother have this special influence? We
believe that mother's much greater closeness to the child in
his infancy and the child's receptivity which is the greater
the younger he is and which is enhanced by the infant's depen-
dence on the mother are a reasonable explanation of why the
child is so ready to take in feelings and attitudes from the
mother. This is true even where the mother's feelings and
attitudes are so deep that the mother is not aware of them
herself and that it seems to her that the child is against
her rather than with her. The same is true of the child who,
being in conflict with a parent, is really carrying something
out that comes from the parent. Into the child's growth there
go these basic feelings and attitudes of the mother. We be-
lieve also that the mother has a great influence on whether
and how the child relates to the father. In Case IV, for
instance, the child is able to develop an emotional relation-
ship to a father figure only after the mother has been able to
work through her own problem sufficiently to give her child emotional permission to have a father figure in his own right. Thus, when a mother has an unresolved problem it would be a reasonable assumption to look to her childhood experience with her own mother as a basis of her problem, and it would also be a reasonable assumption to expect this problem to have an effect on her child's growing up, both in terms of the problem the child finds and in his ways of dealing with this problem.

What are modifying factors? We can see the modifying effect of siblings in accentuating an already existing problem for the child. The sibling is also being used to project a major problem.

The effect of war marriage, of economic troubles, of instability of a home environment is difficult to assess. With exception of Case III we meet such factors in all of our cases. It may be a coincidence that the child in Case III has the least severe problem, or it may be not. If the mother is aggravated by economic worries, if she is under pressure because she does not have a home of her own and lacks privacy in meeting an infant's many needs, if she is worried and tense about father being in the armed services or his troubles in settling down vocationally and otherwise, we have reason to believe that this affects the child. There is another aspect to this which is that the social situation may be a result of a parent's emotional problem. In using the armed services or the church for his own needs the parent's situation is different.
from what it would be if he was prevented from doing so. We can say that these modifying factors may have an effect on the child's problem the nature and extent of which is closely tied up with other individual factors in a family situation.

As to our questions concerning treatment: In all our cases we have seen the child and at least one parent receiving treatment. Our study indicates the importance of the parent-child relationship, especially the mother-child relationship for the child's problem. Even where the child's conflict has become internalized, this internalization is not so rigid yet and his need for his parents is still so great that a change in the parent's problem can be expected to affect the child's problem. In all of these cases therapy brings about improvement of the child although in none long-range deep psychotherapy is given. The emotional fluidity of a child and the effect of a combined parent-child treatment process make it possible to have significant therapeutic results with such means even where the child, as in Case IV, has a rather serious problem.

The focus of treatment depends partly on the development and seriousness of the child's problem, the treatability of the parent, and partly on what aspects of the situation seem particularly promising for treatment results. In general, it is on situations and occurrences of the present situation and to have around these a sharing of one's feelings with the worker which is to lead to a better understanding of oneself and of one's relationships. This use of the present to learn to understand
oneself is different from help in re-living one's basic experiences in the past. The method of using the present events as material to work over is more economical in terms of therapeutic time required. This is an important consideration in our time of therapeutic shortages. We have reason to believe that it is also a method more related to the requirements of the problem at hand, that is, dealing with the actual relationship situation of parent and child.

Since the members of a family who are in treatment are so closely interrelated and there is so much interaction between them, the team of professional persons must also be closely interrelated so that the interaction between members of a family can constantly be taken into account in the process of treatment and for its purposes. It is this combination of great individuality and great interrelatedness which gives the team method its particular character. Assignment considerations are important in all these cases. Each person in treatment has a worker for himself.

In conclusion we want to say that the integration of the man-woman relationship into a personality stands out as the major factor for the development of personality from our study. No growth can take place without meeting this basic experience. The mother has a special place in this process of a relationship integration into a personality because she is closer to the child when the child needs to be most receptive. The child absorbs not only the mother in her feelings and attitudes, but
in the mother's feelings the child absorbs her relationship experience with her own mother and the relationship quality which she has integrated for herself. It is important for the child to experience the mother's emotional permission for growing up. Growing up means to transfer and apply basic relationship values and feelings from the mother to other relationship objects. Thus, the child's base for living becomes broadened, and his personality can become enriched and modified by his experiences with meaningful relationship objects. This makes possible his integrating these various experiences. The process and the experience of a child's socialization can never be separate from this basic mother-child relationship experience. On the other hand, socialization makes possible modification of this original relationship experience. Thus, the experience with the father or with other meaningful persons may possibly introduce such modifications. This tie-up between the mother-child relationship and the process of the child's socialization emerges for us as a professional subject of primary and absorbing interest. The mother-child relationship forms the emotional basis for socialization. The child's connection with the mother is organic—he carries out the problem of the mother through what he has absorbed from her. However, this connection is fluid and allows for change.

Approved:

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