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**AN UNUSUAL SEPARATION EXPERIENCE DURING EARLY CHILDHOOD AND
ITS POSSIBLE EFFECTS ON THE ISSUE OF INTIMACY DURING
ADULTHOOD: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY**

City University of New York

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by

CARLTON JAMA ADAMS

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of
New York**

1986

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty
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Abstract

AN UNUSUAL SEPARATION EXPERIENCE DURING EARLY CHILDHOOD AND ITS POSSIBLE EFFECT ON INTIMACY DURING ADULTHOOD: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY.

by

Carlton Jama Adams

Advisor: Professor Arietta Slade

This study was an exploration of the psychological consequences of prolonged separation and later reunion between a sample of Jamaican mothers and their children. Separation which took place before the age of five lasted from six to twenty two years. The mother visited infrequently during the period of separation. however, material support was regularly provided by her. Eight subjects who had experienced such separation were interviewed. Four subjects who had not experienced such a separation prior to the age of sixteen were also interviewed. The ages of the subjects ranged from twenty one to thirty four. The interviews focused on the subjects' capacity to manage intimate relationships. Data was interpreted from the perspective of object relations theory and attachment theory.

Separated subjects experienced much difficulties in the management of intense affective states. This was manifested by disruptions in narrative when the subjects attempted to discuss painful material. It was difficult for such subjects to consistently reflect upon their internal psychological lives.

These subjects were unsure of themselves in the realm of intimacy and were preoccupied with fears of emotional abuse and rejection. At the same time they experienced strong needs for emotional nurturance. Given these opposing states there was much ambivalence around intimate relating.

Separated subjects tended to be either overly dependent or overly independent. This appeared to be a function of either negative or positive attachment experiences with the surrogate mother and with the biological mother upon reunion. Negative attachment experiences with both sets of caregivers resulted in inadequate development with regards to autonomous functioning. In addition there were difficulties around owning and experiencing intense affective states. Even when experiences with the surrogate mother and the biological mother were positive one still observed marked wariness with regards to intimate relating. These findings suggest that the separation experience makes its own contributions to these difficulties and such contributions are exacerbated by less than adequate caregiving ameliorates but does not eliminate these difficulties.

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Statement of the Problem

Since the end of World War II there has been a marked increase in the rate of migration from developing countries to the more developed countries of North America and Europe. Greeks, Turks, Pakistanis and West Indians are just a few of the many ethnic groups that have sought the economic and educational opportunities that are for the most part unattainable in their native lands.

For West Indians migration, and by extension, the separation of family members from each other has been a way of life for centuries. Africans were introduced into the Caribbean through forced migration by the Europeans who pursued a deliberate policy of breaking up ethnic and family units (Rodney, 1972). In the post-
emancipation period adult family members would detach themselves temporarily from the main family unit to pursue a living in other islands on the Central and North American mainland.

In the decade immediately following the end of World War II there was a strong demand for semi-skilled and unskilled labour in the developed countries (Lowenthal, 1975). Hundreds of thousands of West Indians migrated to Canada, America and Britain. Kuper (1976) stated that during the period 1950 - 1969 over 200,000 Jamaicans migrated to Britain. During the period 1966-1976 he estimated that in excess of 20,000 migrated annually, mostly to the United States. These numbers are at best rough estimates as they do not include the estimated thousands of undocumented aliens from the West Indies who live in the large metropolises of North America.

Within this large migrant population there are countless sub-groups. There are migrants whose stated intention is to make America their home. There are migrant workers and undocumented aliens who have no intention of living here permanently. They are here to earn sufficient money to maintain a decent standard of living in

the Caribbean and to eventually return permanently.

The particular sub-group that is to be studied here has the following characteristics. It consists of young single women from a lower working class background who through a variety of means are able to enter the United States and Canada and secure employment. Furthermore such women have left an only child, less than five years old with the maternal grandmother. The father of the child is not resident in the home, nor does he feature significantly in the the child's life.

For a variety of legal, socio-cultural and psychological reasons the separation is usually a prolonged one. It is not unusual to hear of ten and twelve year separations. A mother may take that long to achieve the necessary legal status that allows her to travel freely, and sponsor children and relatives to live in the United States. Equally important she may believe that it is in the child's best long term interest to remain separated from her so that he can acquire a good basic educational foundation in the Caribbean. During the period of separation the mother will maintain direct and regular contact with her mother – the child's biological grandmother and, by now primary caregiver. Quite often the primary caregiver is some other female relative of the mother such as an aunt, or sister. Again, in many cases the mother does not see her child for the duration of the separation and direct contact with the child through telephone calls and letters is irregular.

Upon the child's reunion with his mother there are many informal reports of serious problems in the relationship. These problems appear to centre around two issues:

- (a) the child's possible incapacity and/or unwillingness to interact on an intimate level with the mother
 - (b) the child's possible incapacity and/or unwillingness to be consistently assertive
-

in an age appropriate manner.

A vignette from a clinical interview with a mother and child will be used to illustrate these issues. John, a sixteen year old from a small West Indian island was left with his maternal great-grand-mother when he was 20 months old. His mother said she, had made an impulsive decision while on a visit to the United States to stay and attend school. She was eighteen at the time and not married. John's father who remained in the West Indies maintained intermittent contact with his son.

Due to her immigration status, as an undocumented alien, Audrey was unable to travel freely between the United States and her homeland. However, during the sixteen year separation she was able to provide regular material support for her son and spoke with him on special occasions such as birthdays and at Christmas. Shortly after his thirteenth birthday, John, according to his mother, "began to get too big for his boots". Audrey blames John's guardians for allowing him to develop such traits, These complaints about his behavior continued for the next three years. By the time he was sixteen Audrey's immigration status changed enabling her to bring John to the United States. He arrived to find an 8 year old half-sister, the result of Audrey's marriage to Black-American from who she is currently seeking a divorce.

Audrey's expressed much disappointment over John's behavior. She states "The only time he treats me nicely is when he wants something from me. Once he get it he doesn't have any use for me. He is disdainful of me and America, yet if he wants anything I have to do it for him. "John is no baby, he want me to hug him and treat him like a baby. Next minute you can't talk to him, him a go on as if him is a man". Audrey reports that she has difficulty in understanding and responding to her son's marked ambivalence towards her. She feels that he does not accord her the respect and the gratitude which is her due and yet he continues to be quite dependent on her.

John, by contrast, finds his mother to be a considerate if somewhat unpredictable woman. He strives to portray her in a positive light. However, when asked about whether he trusts women he states "Well there are times when a woman might tell a guy, "Well you are the only one that I really love and only one I'll ever love" and all of that. Then three weeks later somebody might come and tell you how they say your girlfriend or wife with this guy or how they were making out or some junk like that. You might even realize to yourself how she is using you then she will come up and say the same things she said before like "You are the only one she will ever love. There are times sometimes there are women who really love men but still another man might come along and steal that woman from that certain man and she will have that same love for the certain man she had before". " women mess up men most of all because there is something about a woman that just makes men, in fact most men, just fall for them and believe everything that they say and just them (the women) for trips, just like that and then the guy might get hurt or something and the guy might say, "This could never happen to me again by no woman" and then a few weeks later he might just find himself going with about ten different women and just using them like that."

Eighteen months after this interview, following poor academic performance, brushes with the law and a deteriorating relationship with his mother and half sister, John was evicted from the home by his mother.

Significance of problem

This problem poses interesting theoretical and clinical issues in large part because of the nature of the separation. There are no reported studies of the possible psychological effects of such a long but not final separation. In the literature mother-child separation refers to either a short-term separation due to

hospitalization or a permanent separation due to the death of a parent. Here we have a situation where the mother is alive and to some degree available - through gifts, calls, etc. - and yet is unavailable for every day emotional nurturance.

Objectives of the study

This study has two basic objectives. The first is to create a research instrument and analytic categories that will enable the investigator to approach the problem in a manner that is clinically sensitive and that is also systematic and rigorous. The separation experience under study here has not been formally studied prior to this. Therefore an important goal is to develop and refine a particular methodological approach that will shed light on this phenomena.

The second objective is to pinpoint themes that will facilitate the later identification of some of the major psychological consequences of this particular type of separation experience.

Psychological Background

It would seem that broadly speaking, good maternal care is comprised of two components: a psychological capacity and willingness to provide such care and a social environment that provides the material and emotional support for this role. To the extent that any of these components are deficient the provisions of maternal care is all the more difficult. Where the mother is unable to provide adequate care for her child there is the probability that such deficiencies will have an adverse effect on the overall development of the child.

In assessing the psychological health of the mother-child dyad one must grapple with the question of "good enough mothering" (Winnicott, 1965), in a particular social and cultural setting. Kerr (1953) in her observations of Jamaican

society argued that one must identify the parenting values that the individual holds to be important. One then assesses how well he or she measures up to the values of a reference group which a parent holds to be important. Less than optimal mothering would result from failing to meet certain agreed upon standards of parenting. It could also result from the parent attempting to adopt a style and standard of parenting that neither she nor her support group has the resources to practice and maintain. In either of these cases the child would be at risk to develop varying degrees of psychopathology.

A Psychosocial sketch of Jamaica

Jamaica is the largest and most heavily populated of the English speaking Caribbean island-nations. The bulk of the population of 2.4 million people is comprised of the descendents of slaves who were brought from Africa. There are also Caucasian, Chinese and Arab ethnic groups.

The country's economy is based on tourism, bauxite ore mining and agriculture. Unemployment hovers around 26% and underemployment is widespread. (National Planning Agency, 1982). There is a marked discrepancy between the life styles of the relatively few "haves" versus the many "have-nots". Educational opportunities are at best limited. There is widespread illiteracy which is in part a function of shortage of educational resources. Where there are opportunities for growth and the expression of creativity one will observe an outpouring of enormous talent. Jamaicans have had an impact in the fields of sports, music and art far out of proportion to their numbers.

The frustrations inherent in not being able to develop fully one's abilities finds expression in a variety of forms. Over the centuries Jamaicans have migrated to, or worked as migrant labour in the Western Caribbean, Central and North America, and

Europe. Mystical withdrawal facilitated through the use of marijuana is yet another wide spread technique for dealing with social stress. Anger resulting from such frustrations finds expressions in myriad ways at both the level of individual relations and also at the group level in the form of political warfare.

There are two intermingling cultural value systems in Jamaica. There is a Euro-American value systems that has its roots in the values of the British who were the colonial overlords in Jamaica until 1962. It continues in a modified form through the influence of North America values. One will therefore observe in Jamaica both the attention to style and appearance, and the apparent adherence to an idealized Victorian moral system, all of which are vestiges of the British colonizers, and the celebration of conspicuous consumption which is a feature of North American society.

The other cultural system is comprised of beliefs that were brought from Africa and modified by slavery and in addition, those that developed as a consequence of slavery. A significant feature of this value system, is its emphasis on cooperation and on the community as a means of achieving growth and autonomy.

It is difficult if not impossible to classify a Jamaican according to which of these system he subscribes to (Kuper, 1976). In a very general way one could say that the majority of poor Black Jamaicans subscribe to the world view that traces its origins to Africa. However, they also subscribe to some of the tenets of the Western value system. These two systems are often in conflict with each other as poor Jamaicans are denied the means to actualize the Western goals that the dominant and affluent class uses as its standards of achievement. The impact of such conflict on the individual is varied. It is not uniform across individuals and is not necessarily pathogenic. Where the individual can utilize those features of both systems that can promote growth and autonomy, one will observe a minimum of stress and conflict.

Such individual would have a realistic sense of what is attainable given his or her position in the social hierarchy. Over the centuries strategies have been developed that allow poor Black Jamaicans to maintain good psychological health and to actualize their potential within, and often times, despite the constraints of the competing value systems. Problems arise when an individual sets unrealistic standards for himself which, if not achieved result in self-devaluation.

The task for the psychologically healthy and socially astute poor Black Jamaican is to be aware that the admired features of the Euro-American value system cannot be attained by him using traditional Euro-American strategies. Such strategies require resources to which he is denied access. He must develop innovative strategies that draw on the strengths of his Afro-Jamaican value system to attain his objectives. These dual and potentially conflictual value systems are reflected in the pattern of family structure and style of parenting.

One can speak of many possible general trends of family structure and parenting. Some of the more evident ones are as follows: First, there is the family and parental values of the affluent middle and upper classes. These are idealized Euro-American values. The basic family unit is the nuclear family. It is structured based on an important economic reality: this is, the capacity of the husband to earn sufficient salary to provide for his wife and children (Clarke, 1957). The moral component of this particular family/parenting structure tends to be Victorian in tone (Kerr, 1953). The male is perceived as the head of the household and the arbiter of rules and regulations. The traditional role of the wife in such a setting is to run the household and defer to the wishes of her husband.

Child rearing practices are influenced by a combination of strict authoritarian values and varying degrees of permissiveness. This combination is probably a function of the attempts by parents to instill on one hand the traditional respect for

authority and at the same time to nurture independent thinking as a basis for later autonomy and independence. It should be pointed out that this is a generalization of middle/upper class parenting. In reality it is much more complex and exists in many more variations.

If one can view family structure and parenting on a continuum, the nuclear family model would be at one end. The single middle class mother with a child or children would be considered a variant of the basic nuclear family. At the other end of the continuum would be the normal extended family which is a common family structure among working class Jamaicans. In such a family two or three generations live together and consider themselves to be one family. Authority in such a setting tends to be more diffuse than in the nuclear family. Parenting is not limited to the child's biological parents. Older siblings, aunts, uncles and grandparents will share in the task of parenting. The extended family also requires a certain degree of economic stability to function optimally. By extension the absence of the economically productive male from any of these families weakens the economic and psychological strength of the unit. All of these structures are functional for the groups that utilize them and as a rule produce psychologically healthy individuals (Kerr, 1953).

For the Jamaican family at the lower end of the socio-economic ladder life can be quite economically marginal. Both male and female adults experience considerable difficulty in securing employment. This is due to the paucity of employment opportunities and the lack of training opportunities. It is difficult for such a family unit to remain intact when either of the parents, but more commonly the male defines his role primarily as that of bread winner. The father who perceives himself as not being able to take care of his family responsibilities might remove himself from the family. Such an individual might also refuse to become a

part of the family due to his incapacity to support them. One therefore observes the phenomena of the family headed by a single female, who while in reality supporting her offspring and often times their offspring, harbors the fantasy of a strong male arriving to help her shoulder the burden. This fantasy contributes to the woman's tendency to defer to any male who appears to be willing to take care of her and her family. It is in this context, of the single female parenting family, that the unmarried daughter has a son. Her son is at birth, usually without a father who can provide emotional and material support.

It is not clear what are all the factors that contribute to the mother migrating. Although economic factors play a significant part they are not the only ones. It is possible that given that it is culturally acceptable to leave one's child for an extended period of time, the birth of the child acts as catalyst for the decision to migrate, as many women report having left only one child in the Caribbean. It is possible that the advent of motherhood brings home to the mother the bleakness of her current lifestyle.

CHAPTER TWO

Separation is not merely "...a simple homogeneous aetiological factor" but is a term which refers to a wide range of events and an intricate complex of associated conditions which in different constellations may have different effects on the course of development" (Soddy in Wootton, 1955, p. 139).

In reviewing the literature on separation the sequence outlined below will be followed:

1. Separations in which there was no possibility of being returned to the parent. This category consists of two sub-groups. The first sub-group consists of those children who were separated from their parents due to abuse, neglect or some other failure of parenting. The second sub-group would consist of children whose parents had died.
2. The second category consists of separation that was long term but temporary. Such children were separated from their parents because of war. The separations lasted as long as five years.
3. The third category consists of children who were separated for short periods of time from their parents due to the hospitalization of either a parent or a child.

Separation due to a failure of parenting

As a rule when the psychological literature address the issue of separation it is to this category of experience that it refers. The pioneering and most influential works in this area were conducted, independently of each other, by Goldfarb, (1945), Spitz, (1945) and Bowlby, (1951, 1969).

Goldfarb was one of the first to explore the idea that children separated from their parents and placed "in the highly impersonal surroundings of an institution"

would show deficits in personality development. He observed and tested thirty infants. Fifteen had been placed in institutions from the age of two months. Fifteen had been placed in foster homes from the age of four months. The tendency was for the institutionalized infants to do less well than the infants placed in foster care even when such care was less than optimal. Goldfarb observed a constellation of behaviors that he associated with the absence of a maternal figure. These behaviors were superficial and promiscuous relating, inappropriate emotional responses, an impairment in the capacity to relate intimately, and poor school performance.

Spitz (1945) in his seminal work on Hospitalism studied 164 infants. They were divided into the following groups:

1. Sixty-nine infants were in a prison nursery with their young delinquent mothers. The mothers suffered from a variety of psychological disorders. The infants were in a stimulating environment with extended contact that provide for their mothers.
2. Sixty-one infants were in a foundling home. They came from a variety of homes with care ranging from adequate to inadequate. The infants were in a very unstimulating environment with fleeting contact with a nurse.
3. Twenty-three infants from a deprived socio-economic background with available mothers and evidence of good maternal care.
4. Eleven infants from professional homes with available parents.

Groups III and IV were the control groups. Infants were administered the Hetzer-Wolf baby tests. Spitz also developed additional tests to assess a variety of cognitive and emotional abilities. Spitz found a remarkable fall off in performance among the infants in the foundling home. They were very susceptible to infections and other physical ailments. Their mortality rate was quite high. Among those

children who survived, speech and locomotion was quite delayed. Age appropriate social skills were all but nonexistent. By contrast the infants in the nursery with their mothers had much lower mortality rates. Their cognitive and social development was adequate for their ages and in some cases advanced.

Spitz explained these findings in terms of the unavailable maternal figure. "... the perceptual world is emptied of human partners, so that their isolation cuts them off from any stimulation by any persons who could signify mother representatives for the child at his age" (p.69). While recognizing the serious limitations of the mothers and the setting in the nursery, Spitz, like Goldfarb, argued that it was good relative to the foundling home. Spitz and Wolf (1946) observed a marked affective response to loss of the maternal figure which they termed anaclitic depression. This loss which occurred in infants aged 6-12 months elicited a mourning like response in some infants aged 6-8 months whose mothers had been absent for at least three months.

Bowlby (1951, 1969) is not so much renowned for his actual research on this phenomena but for the interpretation of the significance of the data gathered by Goldfarb, Spitz and other pioneers. Bowlby sensitized the scientific community and policy makers to the importance of an uninterrupted mother-child bond during the early years of the child's life. He made telling arguments against institutional care arguing strongly for foster care and other nurturing arrangements that facilitated an intimate and on going relationship between a child and a special adult. Bowlby argued that there was as strong link between interrupted maternal care in childhood and later psychological problems. He too noted that separation that occurred after six months of age had a more detrimental effect than separation occurring prior to that age.

In most of the studies mentioned there was an absence of normal control

groups. Where control groups exist they are not adequately described or they were comprised of psychologically impaired children. These studies tended to suggest that any kind of maternal care was better than institutional care. The assumption which was probably correct at the time, was that forces inherent in the culture of the institution made the provision of good maternal care virtually impossible. An additional implication of these studies was that maternal care even when less than optimal was better than institutional care. There was no sensitivity to the debilitating effects of pathological maternal behavior or of the positive effects of considerate and nurturing institutional care. Despite these shortcomings, the findings of these studies made ground breaking contributions in two vital areas. First, they identified environmental conditions that had an adverse effect on psychological development. This in turn made more evident the importance of a consistent and available caregiver. A more subtle but no less profound effect of these pioneering studies has been that of providing a theoretical model with which to better explain this phenomena.

The basic thrust of subsequent research on separation has attempted to answer two questions: First, is separation per se the causal factor in disturbing psychological development or is it some other factor that culminates in separations? Rutter (1971, 1980) identified variables such as family discord and other destabilizing factors that resulted in separation. It would seem then that in some instances of separation the major contributing factor is probably the pre-separation environment. In such cases separation, rather than disturbing development, could signify removal from a growth-inhibiting environment (Rose and Sonis, 1959; Clarke, & Clarke 1976.)

The second question that researchers have focused on is the problem of pinpointing aspects of functioning that appear to have been adversely affected. The

tendency has been to focus on those aspects of functioning that satisfy one or both of the following methodological criteria: First that the aspect of disturbed functioning is directly observable. The Acute Distress Syndrome (Robertson and Robertson, 1971) satisfies such criteria. Second, the adverse effect must be inferable from some quantifiable behavior. The work of Tizard et al (in Rutter, 1980) on intellectual retardation is an illustration of this. There is a basic assumption underlying all of this work: where there are adverse effects associated with separation such effects will manifest themselves in spheres of functioning that lend themselves to traditional operationalization and quantification. This assumption probably has its roots in the fact that most of the populations studied have experienced debilitating separations, and thus as a rule display gross inadequacies in various realms of functioning. However, since the literature displays a paucity of studies of a longitudinal nature, the more subtle but less immediate psychological consequences of separation are often neglected. One gets an aggregate sense of the children as social creatures who are either functional or dysfunctional. Missing is any sense of the perceptions these children have of themselves and the world. Levy (in Bowlby 1951) commented on this problem when he observed that lesser forms of deprivation are far more frequent. He goes on to describe such cases: "Such examples are seen in such adults whose social life represents a series of relationships with older people every one of whom is a substitute mother. They may be single or in combination, the point being simple that the patient, must throughout life, be in contact with a person from whom the same demands are made that were thwarted in the original experience with the mother. The life experience then becomes dependent on maintaining such relationships. When one of them is broken there is a feeling of depression, or a feeling that "something is terrifically lacking" until another relationship is made. Another type

of relationship is seen in the form chiefly of excessive demands made on the person who is selected to satisfy the privation of life The problem is always the same excessive demands for food, money, for privileges" (p.49). The methodological emphasis on the observable and the quantifiable has lead to a neglect of the more subtle and intrapsychic forms of pathology that Levy commented on.

An alternative methodological approach is that of psychodynamic theory which has its central concern the individual's perception of himself and his capacity to establish and maintain a variety of types of interpersonal relationships. Such an approach examines a broader set of experiences in assessing the mental health of the individual. It also invokes a higher standard for assessing such mental health. It assesses how optimally an individual is functioning from intrapsychic point of view rather from just a gross social and intellectual level of functioning. Normality is not merely the absence of any psychopathology as reflected in social relations but is also the breadth and stability of the individuals intrapsychic functioning (Greenspan, 1981).

Separation due to Divorce

Here separation is a function of the failure of the relationship between the parents. Wallerstein and Kelly (1975) assessed a group of four boys and five girls aged 30 months to 3 1/4 years whose parents had been recently divorced. The children had no prior history of psychological problems nor were they in distress when they were disappeared after twelve months. Some of these symptoms are as follows:

- regressive behavior in the areas of toilet training
- loss of the control of aggression and loss of the capacity to respond calmly to mild stressors

- searching themes in their play alongside attempts to create order. In addition to this there were pronounced attempts to master distinctions, understand relationships and clarify boundaries
- acute separation anxiety alongside wooing behavior towards significant others and a marked investment in being good.

Wallerstein and Kelly noted that even after the above mentioned symptoms disappeared there was a persistent neediness in their manner of relating alongside a tendency to reach out and indiscriminately for physical contact. They made the important point that the quality of the post-divorce environment contributed greatly to ameliorating or exacerbating the child's symptoms.

Anthony (1974) argues that the child is socialized to believe that the permanence of his parents relationship is essential to his own security. The child might therefore idealize the parental relationship to the degree that it can withstand occasional oedipal fantasies of doing away with the same sex parent. He argues that the final separation of the parents come as shock to the child who not only feels less secure but entertains guilt over the break up and experiences grief as he mourns the loss of a parent. In the post- separation period the child might experience feelings of shame and also resentment which can be directed at the available parent upon whom the child displaces his or her feelings towards the absent parent. Among younger children Anthony points out, there was a consistent inability to comprehend that the absent parent was alive and yet not at home. They constantly denied the permanence of the separation. Where the child of divorce is a boy one might observe the development of a psuedo-masculinity to defend against real or imagined maternal attempts to have him identify with her.

Hetherington (1979) like Anthony points out that divorce is not a single event

but a sequence of events that are associated with separation and loss. The child will display a variety of coping mechanisms, not all of which will be successful to deal with the changing demands being placed on him. There is a fairly consistent set of responses that the child goes through. Anger, fear, depression and guilt are the more prominent ones. Given a reduction of tension in the post-separation period one will observe a good adjustment to the divorce.

The basic temperament of the child is to some degree a good predictive index of the child's response to divorce. The child who has in the past adjusted well to stress is less likely to be a victim of the remaining parents displaced anger or anxiety. The child's developmental level influences the mechanisms utilized to cope with the loss. Hetherington argues that younger children tend to blame themselves more for having contributed to the separation. One observes more distortion of the situation alongside fantasies of reconciliation and fears of total abandonment. Hetherington observed a decrease in symptoms after 24 months in both boys and girls. She also found, like Anthony, that boys experienced difficulties in utilizing their mothers for emotional support and empathy as they grappled with the loss.

All the above researchers stress the availability of support systems in helping divorced mothers cope with the increased emotional and financial responsibilities. The absence of such support often has the effect of forcing the child to take on some of the tasks of the departed father. This can elicit resentment and a feeling of the self as incompetent on the part of the child (Hetherington, 1979; Kurdek, 1981).

This literature looks at the child's attempts to deal with a stressful situation that eventually culminates in separation. It is often difficult to assess the degree to which the child is responding to the pre-separation stress rather than the separation itself, the post-separation transition period, or the on-going stress resulting from

being in a single parent family without sufficient support systems. A fairly consistent finding, is that as a function of their developmental level children are inclined to blame themselves for the separation. Furthermore they often indicate fears of being abandoned alongside wishes and hopes for the return of the divorced parent.

Separation due to death of a parent

Bowlby (1960, 1973) is one of the prominent researchers on the issue of separation brought about by the death of a parent. He argued for a sequence of responses on the part of the child to the loss of the parent. These responses are as follows:

Protest

The child protests the loss of the parent by rejecting attempts by others to console him. Bowlby argues that this is an indication of hope; an expectation that the parent will return. At this point denial of the finality of the loss is quite evident. Bowlby postulates feelings of anger in the child which is directed at the lost parent for having left. This anger co-exists alongside the longing for the lost parent. Anger is also displaced unto the remaining parent whom the child might hold responsible for the loss. There is also anger at the self in the form of self blame, which results in feelings of depression and attendant guilt. The child feels in some way responsible for the loss.

Despair

The child continues to display longing behavior for the lost parent. There is however less protest as the child begins to lose hope that the parent will return.

There is still much ambivalent behavior towards available adults. The child appeals for help but then rejects it as ungratifying.

Grief

Here there is the acceptance of the loss as is manifested by the child's mourning behavior. One observes apathy, withdrawal. There is fluidity of affect with rage weeping and depressive reactions observable. There is a sense of hopelessness. The child begins to engage adults as he begins to cultivate a new relationship to replace the lost one.

Bowlby argued that this sequence which he observed in children aged 6-48 months was quite similar to adult responses to death and were an indication of the same underlying psychological processes. This position was not universally accepted. While accepting the observable sequence of behaviors there was disagreement on the nature of the underlying intrapsychic processes.

Anna Freud (1960) argued that prior to 30 months the child does not have sufficiently good reality testing abilities to understand the irrevocable nature of his loss. She goes on to state that as a consequence of poor reality testing, irrational wishes that the parent is still alive and will be available, tend to dominate the child's thinking. For Anna Freud the capacity to mourn the lost parent is a function of object constancy and a level of ego maturity that enables the child to understand the reality of the loss. Wolfenstein (1966, 1969) echoes this point, arguing that the ability to mourn suggests a capacity to tolerate painful affect and to exercise good reality testing in the face of strong wishes to deny the loss. She argues that this capacity is not evident until adolescence when the act of giving up the parent as the principal love object initiates the adolescent into the process of mourning. Prior to this one observes denial on an overt and/or unconscious level. Accompanying the

denial are strong fantasies of restitution and reunion. The denial serves the purpose of a defense against the painful affect that would accompany acceptance of the loss.

Wolfenstein makes the point, similar to Anthony's (1974) on the reaction of children to separation through divorce, that the child displaces unto the remaining parent the hostile feelings he had towards the lost parent. This is an attempt to deal with guilt feelings with regards to having caused the loss. It is this rage, rather than mourning that is the dominant childhood response to parental loss. In older children one observes, Wolfenstein noted, a splitting of the ego, with acceptance of the loss co-existing but never confronting denial of the loss and fantasies of restitution and reunion. This strategy can impair reality testing and lead to a repetition of losses in an attempt to undo the original loss.

Rutter (1972) argues that the child's response to the death of a parent has not been sufficiently distinguished from the child's response to a stressful pre-separation environment. He also points out that the post-separation environment makes its own contribution to compounding or ameliorating the child's response to the death. He cautions against attributing the child's responses solely to the loss of the parent.

Tennant, Bennington and Hurry (1981) in a review of the literature on parental death in childhood and risk of adult depressive disorders, found inconsistent results mainly as a consequence of methodological limitations in the studies they reviewed. Researchers had not controlled carefully enough for confounding variables. Although there does appear to be a relationship it is not a strong one and could possibly be a reflection of confounding variables. Although there is no clear cut evidence of psychopathology as a function of parental loss there is a consistent pattern of unresolved issues around accepting the loss. There is further suggestion that these issues are potentially disruptive of capacities in the

area of reality testing and the pursuit of intimacy.

Separation due to war

During the Second World War just under 750,000 British children were evacuated from their homes and placed in hostels in the English countryside. (Wolf, 1945). A. Freud and Burlingham (1943, 1944) were leaders of a team that studied groups of such children and provided psychotherapeutic services when necessary. The children ages ranged from two to fifteen years. As a rule very young children were not evacuated without their mothers. Parents were encouraged to visit frequently. For some children the separation lasted as long as five years. Some of their findings were as follows:

1. Regression among the younger children.

This was a transitory phenomena that " occurs while the child is passing through the no man's land of affection, that is, during the time the old object has been given up and before a new one is found" (1943 p.85,).

2. Feelings of guilt and the defense against them.

It is quite normal for a child to harbor angry feelings towards the parent. Such feelings may even involve the killing of the parent in fantasy. Such fantasy is tolerable to the child as the parent continues to be available and loving. However, when the parent disappears the child believes that he has been deserted and that this has been caused either by some action on his part or by his angry/murderous wishes towards the parent. The child defends against this anger and guilt by idealizing the memories of the missing parent. However in the presence of the parent the child is resentful and moody. The parent is loved only in her absence. Hating her at that time might result in her never returning. These angry feelings towards the parent are for the most part

repressed but find expression as mood disturbances and behavioral problems.

3. Maternal gifts as a substitute for mother.

Presents from the absent mother appear to be as important to the child as the mother herself. "This does not only signify that the present can be used as a symbol for mother, it also means that the mother-child relationship has regressed to the stage where the value of mother was still measured in terms of the material comfort derived from her person." (1943 p.77).

4. Age and Separation

The very young child experienced much difficulty in relating to an absent love object. Material and emotional need satisfaction are important components in the development of love on the part of the young child for the mother. In older children love can persist longer for an absent love object. However, as the absence becomes prolonged the child will form new primary attachments to available caregivers.

The A. Freud and Burlingham studies were not intended to provide general guidelines for assessing the possible effects of separation. These studies were more naturalistic observations in a setting where the primary task was maintaining the psychological health of the children. The population was not a homogenous one. Not much is known about the characteristics of the group prior to, during or after the war. However, despite these shortcomings the findings are quite consistent with more rigorous studies.

Separation due to hospitalization of child or parent

Henicke and Westheimer (1965) studied a group of ten toddlers aged 13 months to 32 months whose mothers had been hospitalized for periods ranging from 2 to 20 weeks, to have a baby. Fathers and other relatives would visit the children in a

residential nursery. They observed a sequence of responses quite similar to A. Freud and Burlingham (1943, 1944). There was a transient period of regressive behavior manifested by the loss of bowel control, autoerotic activity, temper tantrums and ambivalence towards the caretaker. Henicke and Westheimer stated that this distress response occurred irrespective of the quality of the substitute care. They also observed the displacement of the anger felt towards the missing parent unto available caretakers and inanimate objects associated with the missing parent. On being reunited with mother the children displayed a lack of affect. They would resist being close to mother. Henicke and Westheimer argue that the child's repressed anger retarded his ability to entertain positive thoughts and express positive feelings in the presence of the original cause of the anger. They also noted repeated activity by the child to test the fantasy that some shortcoming on his or her part would cause the mother to leave again.

In summary the following points can be made as to the findings common to these studies.

1. Separation from the maternal figure is a particularly painful experience especially for children aged 6 to 48 months.
2. Invariably there is an adverse response to this disruption of the mother-child bond. How intense the response is appears to be a function of the adaptive style of the child and his pre-separation experiences.
3. The adverse response usually consists of transitory regressive behaviors, such as feeding disturbances, loss of bowel control temper tantrums, autoerotic behavior and ambivalent relations with the surrogate caregiver.
4. The child has difficulty in understanding the loss as being either final or quite prolonged. He entertains fantasies that the lost parent will soon return.
5. Alongside this denial is an anger at the parent, that because of the guilt it

elicits, is repressed and co-exists alongside idealized memories of the lost parent and fantasies of restitution and reunion.

6. Inanimate objects associated with mother can become idealized and can also serve as a repository for the child's angry feelings towards the missing parent.
7. The remaining parent is initially responded to in an ambivalent manner. There is the need on the part of the child for an available and nurturing caregiver. At the same time there is a wariness due to fear of further loss.
8. Failure to work through the anger felt at being left by the parent retards the capacity to experience and express either negative or positive affect in an appropriate and growth enhancing manner.

A MODEL OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF NORMAL OBJECT RELATIONS

The model for normal development that will be used is that of Mahler et al (1975). This is a stage theory on the development of object relations. It is currently the most cogent and meaningful theory of early development that is based on naturalistic observations. In addition reference will be made to the works of Winnicott, (1965, 1971) and Kohut (1968, 1971, 1980). Reference will also be made to the work of attachment theorists which has contributed greatly to the identification of factors that contribute to less than adequate psychological development. (Ainsworth et al., 1978; Bowlby, 1969, 1973, 1980; Bretherton, 1980, 1985; Main et al., 1979; Main et al., 1985). These approaches are utilized to facilitate ways of predicting the effects of separation. Mahler makes the following basic points:

1. The child displays a dependency on the mother that diminishes as the child matures, but never really ceases. This is a universal phenomena that is a function of the human infant's biological inability to exist separately from the maternal caregiver.
2. In his relationship with his mother the infant considers her to be an extension of himself. There is no psychological differentiation between self and mother. A distinction is made between physiological birth that occurs when the infant leaves the womb and psychological which does not occur until mid-way through the first year.
3. This psychological birth is a gradually unfolding process that is comprised of two related developments. First, separation which is the emergence of the infant from a state of psychological fusion with mother. Second, individuation which is the assumption of characteristics that makes the child a unique person, with a sense of identity that is securely differentiated from that of the mother.

4. Successful communication within the mother-child dyad is essential for healthy development. Mahler sees both mother and child as playing an active part in communicating their needs, preferences, dislikes and fears. The capacity to communicate such states on the part of the infant and the capacity and willingness of the mother to notice and respond positively to her child contributes greatly to normal development.

Mahler's theory is based on work done with disturbed children and at a later point, the observation of normal children in a naturalistic setting. She postulates the following sequence of development:

1. Forerunners of the Separation-Individuation Process
 - (a) Normal Autistic Phase 0 - 3 weeks
 - (b) Beginning Symbiotic Phase 3 - 4 weeks
 - (c) Normal Symbiotic Phase 1 - 5 months
2. The first subphase - Differentiation 5-10 months
3. The second subphase - Practicing 10-15 months
4. The third subphase - Rapprochement 15-24 months
5. The fourth subphase - Consolidation of Individuality and Emotional Object Constancy 22-36 months

Normal Autistic Phase

During this phase the neonate utilizes innate abilities to organize and respond to internal stimuli. The task for the infant is "to actively participate in the maintenance of, in extrauterine life of homeostatic equilibrium which is dependent on mothering" (Mahler, 1983 p.5). The neonate through ordering these experiences, and in so doing adapting them to his own needs, is able to create a sense of

equilibrium.

In ordering his experiences the neonate is indicating a capacity to discern patterns and respond to them. One can observe two types of responses: regulatory ones where the neonate develops cycles of behavior around activities such as eating and sleeping. This early differentiation and regulation of the internal environment lays the basis for later differentiation and self awareness (Winnicott, 1965). Also observable are responses in relation to the behavior of the caretaker. The neonate displays the capacity to indicate some need state and also to indicate that the need has been gratified. Such behavior lays the basis for healthy dependence.

Both Erikson (1959) and Mahler et al (1975) make the important point that these early attempts to engage the world become associated with the affect state accompanying the result of the attempt. Where the attempts have met with success – that is, mother was successfully engaged – the action becomes linked with pleasurable affect. This has three benefits. It increases the likelihood of the behavior being repeated. It lays the basis for the awareness of self as active, causal and competent, and it predisposes the neonate to view the world as benign; to develop basic trust.

The main task of the primary caregiver, during this phase, is to provide an environment that can evoke the neonate's capacities for self-exploration and social responsiveness (Pine, 1982). The mother must learn the characteristics of her child that make him unique; different from all his peers. Such characteristics find expressions through a variety of cues. Not only must the mother adapt her behavior to that of the infant, she must at the same time, help the infant to adapt his behavior to hers. Consistent and empathic mothering facilitates such adaptation.

Symbiosis

The dominant feature of these phases is the "state of oneness" that exists between mother and infant. The mental representations of self are undifferentiated from representations of the mother. The infant therefore perceives the power and authority of the mother to be his as she is an extension of himself. By the same token the intimacy and pleasurable sensations that accompany mother's ministrations to his need states are again perceived by the infant as happening as a consequences of his actions. These feelings of omnipotence in the realm of assertiveness – that is, a willingness and a capacity to act, and in the realm of intimacy that is, a willingness to be the source of pleasure – lay the basis for a more mature and realistic capacity to act on the world and to be emotionally interdependent. The infant displays a bias towards interacting with the most familiar and comforting object, mother. New capacities such as improvements in fine motor control and better hand-eye coordination (Resch, 1979) are therefore tested out on her by the infant. The synchronicity within the dyad becomes even more refined. This speaks to a developing capacity on the part of the infant to detect causally related behaviors and to initiate such behaviors.

Such capacities centre around the infant's body. As yet there is little instrumental use of the body (Resch, 1979). Along with this is a developing capacity to experience and organize the affect that accompanies any behavioral interaction (Mahler et al, 1975). During this phase the mother's availability and willingness to interact with her infant are of crucial importance. The task of mutual adaptation within the dyad continues facilitating the broadening of the infant's behavioral repertoire and the development of more sophisticated interactions with mother. It is at this point that one observes the specific social smile, that is an indication of the specificity of the bond between the mother and infant.

Differentiation

At this stage the process of hatching is evident. According to Mahler et al (1975) and Resch (1979), the infant is much more attentive to his external environment and exercises much more selectivity as to what to attend to. The infant can now sit upright, a development that widens his sphere of possible exploration and allows for more activity with his hands. Resch points out that the body is now utilized in an instrumental manner – that is, to produce external events. The development of these secondary circular reactions is important for the later acquisition of object permanency. The infant derives much pleasure from these actions and tends to repeat them thereby consolidating them. These impressive cognitive developments mark the process of hatching, with the move away from mother into the larger world.

It is at the stage that one first observes a response to the temporary loss of the mother (McDevitt, 1975). One observes a withdrawal into the self and a temporary loss of interest in the surroundings. He argues that the child regresses to a symbiotic state of oneness so as to be able to maintain emotional equilibrium in the mother's absence (McDevitt & Mahler, 1968). This process consolidates the sensorimotor and affective memory of the mother and promotes identification with, an attachment to her. This capacity to miss the mother speaks to not only a specific attachment to the mother but also to the capacity to recognize her as being different, using visual and auditory discriminatory modalities. Towards the end of this stage the infant is able to anticipate the mother's absence and will try to prevent her from leaving through protest behavior (McDevitt, 1975). There is a beginning separation of the mental representations of mother and infant. There is also a beginning capacity to maintain a mental image of mother in her absence. These images are quite unstable and offer limited consolation during the mother's

absence. Following "the rejection of the lap" there is now more exploration of the non-mother world. However, all such activities use mother as a central reference point. These activities facilitate the infant having a more comprehensive awareness of the characteristics of mother. It also strengthens his mental representation of mother.

The infant gradually becomes more aware of his separateness from her. This occurs as the infant becomes gradually aware of the loss of synchrony between himself and mother. Providing she is available for reassurance this awareness is not overwhelming.

Practicing

The major features of this stage is the infant's heightened interest in the non-mother world and the joy experienced in exploring that world. The infant is now quite mobile. He can pull himself to an upright position, crawl quite efficiently and attend well to complex stimuli. His memory is much more stable and is less dependent on visual cues (McDevitt, 1975). Behavior becomes more purposeful at this stage and is more sustained. McDevitt points out that one can observe deliberate searching behavior for the absent mother. The dominant theme is exploration. The infant conducts a "love affair with the world" ranging far and wide from his available mother. He is quite persistent in his activities and appears impervious to knocks, falls and temporary set backs. The infant derives much gratification from these activities. It enhances his sense of competence and the general mood is one of elation. He is now able to maintain greater distance from the mother and can now utilize distal modalities to achieve emotional refueling. To the extent that the mother is available the infant displays little interest in her. These first extend separations help to facilitate greater differentiation and

individuation. Not only is the infant more aware of his separateness but he is also aware of his competencies. There is still a belief in the omnipotence of self as an extension of mother.

Developments in the area of memory enable the infant to derive greater consolation from the mental representation of mother when she is absent. He now has the capacity to realize that mother will return. During such a period one might see a slowing down of behavior which Mahler refers to as low keyedness. The infant might seek consolation by cuddling up to some inanimate object that is associated with mother. McDevitt (1975) points out that in the late practicing child one might observe the use of deferred imitation of some maternal behavior, to console, in the absence of the mother. The main task of mother during this phase is two fold: to maintain what Mahler refers to as an optimal distance. She should facilitate exploration and the child's experience of autonomy, of not merging with mother. At the same time mother's distance should not convey to the infant the sense that he is isolated and unable to draw on her for support. Ideally this period makes an important contribution to a sense of competence and assertiveness alongside a diminished sense of dependency.

Rapprochement

The toddler by this stage has usually mastered the art of walking and can better control his distance from mother. This stage ushers in for the toddler the awareness that he is separate from mother. It marks the onset of awareness on the part of both mother and child that they no longer function as a dual unit. The acceptance of this reality is important for the continued unfolding of the separation - individuation process.

Significant cognitive and affective achievements usher in this stage. Mental

representations are now more independent of need states and external stimuli. One can observe the beginning of representational thought, which speaks to a more sophisticated level of interaction among mental representations. These developments permit a more on going intrapsychic relationship with the mother that is not threatened by her absence.

Thoughts and affective states are also now more independent of the situations that gave rise to them. One also observes a heightened sensitivity to approval and disapproval. The toddler's interest shifts away from the practice of motor skills towards a greater interest in social interaction. He is more sensitized to the approving and prohibiting aspects of his parents behavior. The child's identification with these parental behaviors facilitates further differentiation.

At around eighteen months the toddler becomes acutely aware of his separation from his mother. This awareness presents him with a conflict. On one hand he is eager to exercise his new founded autonomy and independence. However, to do so is to be reminded of his loss of omnipotence and his need to depend on the mother. The toddler fluctuates between wishing to repossess mother as a way of dealing with feelings of helplessness and aloneness, and distancing himself from the mother as a defense against the fear of losing his new founded autonomy and independence. At the root of the fear of being separate is the fear of losing the mother. As a function of his waning omnipotence and hostility at mother for disobeying him, the toddler believes that his hostility will result in the loss of the mother as a punishment. Hence his sensitivity to criticism. Parental prohibitions internalized at this point lay the basis for later superego development. At this point the toddler is not yet able to integrate his good and bad percepts of mother. This lack of integration of the maternal representations allows the toddler to vent his anger against only the "bad" mother. The heightened ambivalence of this period

disrupts identificatory processes previously achieved. As a result one will observe regressive behaviors by the toddler. Stranger anxiety reappears, and there is much ambivalent behavior towards the mother. The toddler fluctuates between clinging to the mother and rejecting her.

The rapprochement crisis is resolved through the toddler's identification with selective parental characteristics such as their strength, interacting style and prohibitions. Mahler stresses the optimal availability of both parents during this period. Their capacity on one hand to tolerate the toddler's anger and bewilderment without giving in to his wish to regress to a state of oneness, helps lay the ground work for the resolution of the crisis.

Consolidation of Individuality and Emotional Object Constancy

The toddler is able to draw comfort from a stable and integrated mental representation of mother at this stage. Due to this development the toddler is now able to tolerate brief separations from the mother. He is also able to perceive the mother as being separate from him. As a function of cognitive and affective developments he begins to develop a concept of self. He is able to differentiate on the basis of gender. Due to the integration of the good and bad maternal representations the child ceases to either love exclusively or hate exclusively. The two representations in their integrated whole temper each other. The toddler now has the capacity to be displeased at the mother even while longing for her.

Mahler makes the point that the provision of prompt relief of tension states engenders a feeling of trust and confidence in the mother. These good feelings become associated first with mother and later are attributed to the mental representation of her. It strengthens the good mother representation and diminishes the intensity of the rapprochement crisis.

Comments on Mahler's theory of Separation-Individuation

Mahler's basic premises have been questioned in the literature. These criticisms are as follows:

Any attempt to get at pre-verbal affective states is at best speculative. This is especially the case when one attempts to infer the underlying psychological structures that give rise to affective behavior in infants. Peterfreund (1978) chides the psychoanalytic school of thought and Mahler in particular for the tendency to attribute adult like motives, and feeling states to the infant. He further argues that the reconstructive approach that Mahler and others have used lends itself too readily "to characterize early states of normal development in terms of hypothesis about later states of psychopathology". This valid criticism is probably a reflection of the reconstructive nature of psychoanalysis in general. In defense of Mahler it should be noted that her theory was one of the first to be based on the observation of normal infants. As more become known about early infant states it is probable that the language used to discuss them will become less problematic.

Stern (in press) has taken issue with whether or not there is an undifferentiated phase. He has also pointed out the lack of any supporting data on affective development for Mahler's theoretical position. He argues quite cogently for sophisticated neonatal capacities in the areas of attention to stimuli and differentiation between self and other. He concedes that cognitive differentiation is different from affective differentiation. Like Peterfreund he is suggesting that Mahler presents as fact what is in reality an educated hunch.

The theory reflects traditional perceptions and biases about the role of mother and father. Benjamin (unpublished manuscript) argues that the mother is portrayed as nurturing and possibly engulfing; she is a potential threat to the child's attempts to separate and individuate. The father, when he is fleetingly mentioned, is seen as

the aloof authority figure who through his role in the oedipal crisis forces the child to relinquish his fantasies of re-merging with mother. However, as compensation for this loss, the child through identification, shares his power and authority. The parental roles are portrayed as being antagonistic to each other rather than complementary. Parenting is given an authoritarian quality. This model suggests that nurturance is always opposed to authority. Benjamin argues that this approach is insensitive to the capacity and tendency of both parents to be nurturant and authoritative. She decries the sexist stereotyping underlying these perceptions.

Finally the theory does not delve sufficiently into the issues that the child must resolve in the post-rapprochement stage. The entire process of individuation is made to appear to be almost inevitable and therefore not worth discussing, given a good separation experience.

Contributions of D. W. Winnicott towards a theory of normal development

Winnicott addressed the conditions that contributed to the infant's awareness of himself as separate from others (1965; 1971). Initially self is an unintegrated set of experiences that begin to coalesce around the infant's perception of the mother's response to him. It is such maternal responses that set the groundwork for the infant's attempts to organize his own responses to the world.

As a function of empathic understanding the mother is able to respond in a sensitive and timely manner to her child's desires. Winnicott argues that such timeliness coincides with the infant's own fantasies about what he needs to satisfy a particular need state. This coincidence of need and its satisfaction leads the infant to believe he created the solution to the particular need state. This contributes to a belief in the omnipotence of the self which in turn is an important basis for the development of a sense of self. The mother's consistent and prompt satisfaction of

her infant's needs also facilitates the development of the capacity to recognize and own internal need states and fantasies.

As the infant matures and development becomes more complex, the mother is less able to anticipate and satisfy his every need. This maternal failure facilitates the infant's adjustment to reality and to the modification of its omnipotent stance towards the world. The sense of disappointment that he experiences in discovering his realistic but more limited impact on the world is softened by the discovery of his separateness from the mother and an increased capacity to impact upon the world.

Contributions of Kohut to a theory of normal development

Infant is not dependent, clinging or weak, but independent, assertive, strong - it is psychologically complete so long as it breathes the psychological oxygen provided by contact with empathically responsive self-objects and, in this respect, it is no different from the adult who is complete, independent and strong only as long as he feels responded to" (Kohut, 1980, p. 480-481).

Kohut (1968, 1971, 1977, 1980) argues that from birth, in a psychological sense the neonate is an active agent. One can readily observe the neonate's use of significant others. He outlines two types of relationships that the neonate has with others. In such relationships there is as yet no self-other differentiation. Therefore the significant other in such a relationship is considered a self-object. The first type of relationship with the self-object is one that allows for the expression and satisfaction of basic narcissistic needs. This according to Kohut is a manifestation of a normal grandiose sense of self; a sense of self, as being omnipotent and perfect. The "psychological oxygen" or maternal behavior that facilitates such neonatal perceptions is that of the mirroring self object. Here the mother through the generous voice of approval, confirms the child's sense of elation, his confidence

in himself and his belief in his capacity to effect his world.

The second type of relationship with the self-object is one in which the child idealizes the image of the parent. The parent – it can be either, although it is more often the father – is perceived as being powerful and perfect. The child considers himself a part of the parent and seeks to merge with him or her. The parent who is competent, empathic and calm is perceived by the child as a stable and dependable source of power and comfort. Kohut argues that the ability of the parent, through empathic understanding, to calm the child facilitates the toleration of tension and the development of the capacity to calm the self. At the same time the empathic mirroring of the parent also, through the increased capacity to tolerate frustration modifies the grandiose and exhibitionistic aspects of the self.

The mature healthy personality can be organized around either of these relationships. The parent through optimal frustration and also encouragement of the child's strivings modifies these ways of relating into forms that become internalized and lay the basic structure of the self. Such parental behavior also lays the basis for a more realistic perception of the self, the parents and the world. The parental role is crucial for the cohesion of a sense of self. A failure of parenting undermines the process of the laying down of enduring personality structures.

Attachment Theory

Separation has also recieved much attention from attachment theorists. Attachment theory is a reflection of the pioneering work of Ainsworth et al (1978) Bowlby (1969; 1973; 1980) Bretherton (1985) Main, Kaplan & Cassidy, (1985). The work of these researchers attempts to explain the factors that contribute to the quality of attachment between mother and child. In addition it seeks to construct a mental model of attachment that is thought to guide all attachment relationships. Finally researchers have attempted to ascertain the effects of brief separations

from the primary caregiver on a child's style of relating and their mental model of attachment.

An attachment system, according to Bretherton (1985), is a psychological construct that guides the child's attempts to be close to individuals – called attachment figures – who through their actions provide the child with a sense of safety and feelings of being secure. Such individuals are considered special by the child because of the feelings of security that the child experiences when around such individuals.

According to Bowlby (in Bretherton, 1985) as a function of the child's environment and the availability and responsiveness of the attachment figure, the child uses these perceptions and experiences to construct and continuously modify, "increasing complex internal working models of that world and of significant persons in it, including the self. (Bretherton, 1985, p.14). This model is not only a reflection of the child's sum total of attachment experiences, but acts as an important but often unconscious, guide for present and future responses to attachment situations (Craik in Bretherton, 1985) (Main, Kaplan & Cassidy 1985). It should be therefore evident that the internal working model of attachment is a relatively accommodating one, that grows increasingly complex and subtle as it both adapts to and adapts new experiences with the attachment figure (Main, Kaplan & Cassidy, 1985).

The child's internal working model of attachment according to Bretherton (1985) is inextricably bound up with that of the primary caregiver. The model reflects not only the child's perceptions of himself in relation to the primary caregiver, but also the child's sense of how he/she thinks he/she is perceived by that caregiver.

Ainsworth et al, (1978) noted three classes of attachment between mother and

child, (1) securely attached children were those who had easy emotional and physical access to their respective mothers. (2) The second class of attachment is insecure-avoidant. The third class of attachment is insecure - attached. Children in these last two classes experienced either limited emotional and physical access to the mother or such access was not consistently available. As a consequence of this one might observe an avoidance of the primary caregiver by the child or a preoccupation with her. As a result of these findings, Main, Kaplan & Cassidy, (1985) suggest that the mothers of insecurely attached children are struggling with their own issues around attachment. This is consistent with Bowlby's (in Bretherton, 1985 p. 14) point that what the mother brings to her relationship with her child " derives not only from her biological makeup, but from a long history of interpersonal relations with her family of origin and from absorbing the values and practices of her culture".

Main, Kaplan & Cassidy, 1985) make the important point that these models of attachment are not constructed solely as a function of events experienced in the presence of the primary caregiver. The mental representations that constitute the model also includes representations of attempts and their outcomes to gain the primary caregiver in her absence.

In addition, Main, Kaplan & Cassidy (1985) point out that these models provide rules for not only the direction of behavior but also the appraisal of experience. Such rules, which might be unconscious can also limit access to classes of information pertaining to the various permutations of self and the attachment figure.

Finally, Bowlby (in Bretherton, 1985) makes the point that the child may have more than one internal working model of the same attachment figure. Which particular model is dominant appears to be a function of the child's ability to

tolerate representations of the attachment figure that might be accompanied by painful affective states. It is likely that the model that is least painful will be permitted to remain in consciousness. The more painful model will be excluded from consciousness, along with its representations of pain-eliciting experiences with the primary caregiver. According to Bowlby such exclusion prevents the integration of painful experiences of the primary caregiver into the conscious model that the child feels is guiding his/her behavior. However, at the same time, the repressed model continues to exert a powerful, but unacknowledged influence on the child's pattern of relating.

METHOD

SETTING

Ideally subjects should be interviewed in a neutral setting such as CUNY-Graduate Center, King's County Hospital or City College. However, the potential subjects either live at considerable distances from these facilities or are only available at times when such facilities are closed. It might therefore be necessary to interview subjects in their own homes or some other mutually convenient location.

SUBJECTS

There will be twelve subjects in this study who will be divided into two groups. Group One will have four males and four females. The characteristics of these subjects are as follows:

1. The subject should have been separated from his/ her mother before the age of five.
2. The subject should be currently between the age of 21 to 34.
3. The subject should be Jamaican.
4. Separation should occur as a result of the mother migrating to live in another country.
5. The subject should have been separated from the mother for a period of at least eight years, or until after his/her twelfth birthday, whichever comes last.
6. The subject must have been reunited with his/her mother and have lived with her for at least two years subsequent to the reunion.
7. During the period of separation the mother should not have returned to live with the subject for any one period of more than nine months.

8. During the period of separation the subject should have had only one primary surrogate caregiver prior to the age of eleven.

Characteristics of Subjects in Group Two

1. The subject should not have been separated from his/her mother for a period greater than three months, prior to the age of sixteen.
2. The subject should be between the ages of 21 to 34.
3. The subject should be Jamaican.

Group Two which will act as an informal control group, will have two males and two females. It is felt that the data collected from this group will assist in clarifying the nature of the hypotheses. In addition it will increase the strength of such hypotheses.

No formal sampling technique was used in the construction of the subject pool. Subjects will be either self referred or will either recruited through community contacts.

Procedures

1. Each subject is sent a letter formally requesting them to participate in the study. See Appendix A for a copy of this letter.
2. Prior to the interview beginning, the subject is asked to read and sign a consent form. See Appendix B for a copy of this form.
3. The subject is then requested to orally supply certain biographical information. See Appendix C for a copy of the "Individual Data Sheet".
4. The formal interview is then conducted and recorded on audio tape. See Appendix D for a complete copy of the questionnaire.
5. At the end of the interview the investigator will answer any questions the subject may have.

Data Analysis

A qualitative approach will be used in the analysis of the data. The orienting concept that will guide the examination of the transcripts will be that of intimacy. *Intimacy is defined as the ability to comfortably engage in an emotionally close and sharing relationship with another individual. In addition the individual experiences much gratification and minimal amounts of anxiety in such a relationship.*

The ability to be intimate is a process that gradually evolves over a long period of time. In its most perfect state it is a feeling of psychological oneness with another individual, even as one experiences oneself as still being psychologically separate (Mahler et al; 1975; Kohut, 1977). At the other extreme, in its most pathogenic manifestation, the individual is unable to understand, much less respond to the overtures of a potentially intimate other. (Kohut, 1980).

There is a two-fold rationale for focussing on intimacy: Informal discussions with clinicians who have done therapeutic work with this population suggested that problems around intimacy were prominent in the treatment. However, the patient rarely perceived this as being the presenting problem. In addition studies in the separation literature (A. Freud & Burlingham, 1944; Spitz, 1945) point to serious compromises in the ability of the individual to engage in intimate relationships, when the relationship with the primary caregiver had been disturbed.

So as to more precisely evaluate the capacity for intimacy among the subjects, the following approach will be used. Dimensions designated in the literature as *making a significant contribution to the capacity for intimacy* will be precisely defined. Each subject's transcript will be examined, so as to determine their respective positions on each of these dimensions. Those dimensions facilitate a structured analysis of the transcripts, and the generation of precise hypotheses.

In addition transcripts will be examined for the presence of recurrent themes.

This will be done from the perspective of intra-subject themes and also inter-subject themes.

The four dimensions are as follows:

Coherence of narrative, ego capacities, introspection, and empathy

1. Coherence of Narrative

Bucci and Freedman, (1981) and Main, Kaplan and Cassidy, (1985) argue that painful affective states can have a disruptive effect on the coherence of narrative and other cognitive processes.

Bucci and Freedman also argues that such disruption is a matter of degree and appears to be a function of two factors: The intensity of the material that seeks expression, and that is giving rise to the affective state. In addition the individual's capacity to modify or tolerate painful affective states without resorting to denial of the state. Such denial could lead to ego failure.

Gill and Hoffman (1982) in their study of transference analyzed the transcripts of therapy sessions. They paid particular attention to the disruption of narrative and the nature of such disruption when the patient attempted to elaborate on *potentially important events in the relationship with his/her mother.*

Dahl and his associates (1978) analyzed the syntax of transcripts of therapy sessions. They identified, among other features, a variety of delaying tactics used by the patient as he/she sought to articulate painful affective states.

Isay (1977) argues that one observes the overuse or incorrect use of pronouns without clear reference in individuals who have experienced "*..... a profound disruption in the relation with their mothers, [and] whose mothers may have been psychotic, severely disturbed, physically and psychologically absent or depriving.* He goes on to argue that such pronominal ambiguity reflects the individuals failure to

attach to a mothering person early in life with a resulting inadequate development of identificatory processes. These sub-categories reflect for the most part categories of text analysis developed by the researchers cited above. The features of this dimension are as follows:

Sub-categories for Coherence of Narrative

1. Simple Repetitions

The subject repeats a word or phrase two or three times in succession.

For example: "I I mean I mean that".

2. Subtle Repetitions

The subject repeats the same idea or meaningful statement in relatively close proximity to each other. For example: "I guess my mother loved me, yes, now that I think about it I think I would say that she loved me."

3. Long Silences

The subject begins to respond to a question and then lapses into a long period of silence. During this period the subject may attempt to say something, however, such remarks are either incoherent or repetitious.

4. False starts

The subject begins to respond but before he/she has expressed a meaningful statement he/she begins to modify the statement or becomes repetitious.

The listener has a partial sense of what it is the subject is attempting to communicate. For example: "I would say I love well maybe that's not the right word, I guess I should say love its just that " (long silence).

5. Incoherence

It is virtually impossible to understand what the subject is trying to communicate. For example: "Well it's just that she she, ..."

certain ways maybe its because"

6. Lack of Spontaneity

The subject responds in a very terse manner. He/she does not spontaneously elaborate on his/her original statement.

7. Contradiction

The subject contradicts him/herself when responding to the question. For example: "Yes my mother loved me. She would beat me quite often".

8. Denial

The subject resorts to denial when responding to the question. For example: "I do not despise her for having left me".

9. Rationalization

The subject gives a plausible explanation that in of itself is acceptable. However, when it is examined within the context of other statements it appears to be either untrue or is of no major significance. For example: "If it were not for my father coming back home things would be fine with my mother and me". The subject has spoken, prior to this, about long standing tensions between herself and her mother.

2. Capacity of the ego to tolerate ambivalence

Mahler et al (1975) argues that one of the major achievements of the rapprochement sub-phase is the integration of good and bad mental representations of the mother. This speaks to the development of the ego capacity to simultaneously tolerate good and bad feelings towards the mother. The child can be angry at mother and yet at the same time be aware that she has good and endearing qualities.

This ability to tolerate ambivalent feelings, according to Mahler, develops quite

gradually. An available and consistent mother, through her ability to continue to demonstrate love towards her child, despite frequent rage reactions on his part, provides a good model for the child to internalize with respect to coping with intensive affective states.

The loss of the mother, or inconsistent mothering on her part seriously retards the development of this ability. The child cannot draw on the ego strength of the mother to help in the containment and appropriate expression of intense affective states. Equally important the child may associate the disappearance of the other with the demonstration of such states. The features of this dimension are as follows:

Sub-categories for Ego Capacities

1. The subject makes unqualified positive statements of praise about his/her mother. There is a distinct emphasis on her good qualities. She is consistently described in respectful, endearing and admiring terms.
2. The subject makes unqualified negative statements about his/her mother. There is a distinct emphasis on her negative qualities. She is consistently described in critical, sarcastic and denegatory terms.
3. The subject makes carefully explained remarks of a respectful nature about his/her mother. He/she strives to portray the mother in a way that leaves her blameless for whatever circumstances he/she is describing.
4. The subject makes positive comments about his/mother which focus on her skills and abilities in non-interpersonal areas of functioning. She is described in terms such as "hardworking", "determined", "shrewd", an "responsible".
5. The subject makes positive comments about mother's willingness to help him/her with material things such as money, clothing, and accommodation.

6. The subject speaks about the inability of his/her mother to understand the emotional needs of the subject and/or the emotional needs of significant others in the mother's life. The subject might make statements such as the following: "She (the mother) never understood how much I wanted to be with her: she could never put herself in my shoes, and understand what I was going through". or "She could never understand how difficult and upsetting it was for my little sister".
7. The subject speaks about the inability of his/her mother to satisfy the emotional needs of the subject. For example: "I can't turn to her when I'm having a hard time with my man. She's just not there for you". The subject also speaks about the mother's ability to satisfy the emotional needs of significant others in her life. For example: "She was never for my sister. I mean, she would feed her and give her money but that was about it. She just wasn't there for her".
8. The subject makes positive statements about the mother in both interpersonal and non-interpersonal areas of functioning.
9. The subject is able to express ambivalent feelings about the mother.
10. The subject perceives mother as being willing and able to give him/her emotional support.

3. Introspection

Thoughts are generated as a result of experiencing frustration due to one's inability to satisfy some need state. The thought is an initial attempt to deal on an intrapsychic level with some experience to which no immediate response is possible (Bion, 1962).

For, the neonate, with a caring and available mother whom he perceives as an

extension of his omnipotent psychological self, need satisfaction tends to be fairly immediate. At the same time there is little tolerance of frustration and there is also little ability to mediate frustration through mental activity. Therefore frustration in the neonate invariably leads to some immediate motoric response, which is a crude attempt to remove the source of frustration.

As the infant matures he is able to tolerate increasing amounts of frustration even as his mother finds it increasingly difficult to satisfy immediately, the complex needs of her child. At the same time the infant is able to pay more sustained attention to both internal and external stimuli. These twin developments facilitate the examination - through thinking - by the child of his responses to the variety of stimuli to which he is exposed. He is particularly sensitive and responsive to the affective responses of the mother. With the continually developing ability to think one observes a greater ego capacity to experience, analyze and respond to the environment in an increasingly sophisticated manner.

This evolving ability is highly dependent on the infant's ability to be aware of his actions, their effect on the larger environment and his affective responses to those effects. An action that results in a positive affective response not only leads to the repetition and refinement of that action, but as a precursor to acting, results in reflection or thought about the action that resulted in the experience of a positive affective state.

This sequence of action - response - good feeling - reflection - action, is quite dependent on actions on the part of the mother that shield the child from negative environmental responses that would in turn trigger intense and possibly intolerable affective states. Such states discourage exploratory behavior and weaken the ability of the ego to reflect on prior actions and their consequences as such reflection triggers memory of painful affective states.

Only gradually, and in the context of a consistent and available mother, and a reservoir of positive experiences with the environment, is the child gradually able to reflect upon prior experiences that elicited painful affective states. In the face of such states the tendency is to avoid thinking about them and the actions that gave rise to them. Such avoidance therefore places limitations on the range of activities that the individual reflects upon or becomes involved in. The features of this dimension are as follows:

Sub-categories for Introspection

1. The subject indicates, in a spontaneous manner, some awareness of feeling states, fantasies, ruminations and ways of thinking.
2. The subject describes his/her internal life in rational, logical and/or intellectualized terms.
3. The subject describes his/her motives for acting with an emphasis on internal psychological states.
4. The subject describes his/her motives for acting with an emphasis on factors external to himself/herself.
5. The subject makes connections between his/her affective states and perceptions of the world, and prior significant events in his/her life.
6. The subject makes some connection between current affective states and perceptions of the world, and prior significant events in his/her life. The connections are of a poor quality. It may involve rather obvious rationalizations.
7. The subject makes accurate connections. However, he/she is unable to elaborate on them.
8. The subject makes accurate connections, with a minimum amount of effort,

and is able to elaborate on these connections.

Empathy

The infant at birth, and for a considerable period of time thereafter experiences the mother as his total world. The infant pays particular attention to her responses and mood states as a way of understanding the external human environment. The affective states and responses of the mother are also used by the infant to help him organize his own affective states. Initially the infant makes no distinction between his own affective states and those of the mother. From the infant's normal narcissistic perspective there is no psychological other. The mother is experienced by the infant as another aspect of the self.

Gradually as a result of the exploration of the mother – this other aspect of the self – the infant becomes aware of differences between himself and her. In the face of this reality the infant relinquishes some of his belief in the oneness between himself and mother. He is gradually able to differentiate his responses and affective states from those of the mother. However, in the context of an optimal relationship with the mother, which is characterized by consistent and regular attending on her part, the infant develops a sense of being understood by her. This sense of being understood lays the basis for greater exploration of the mother. In this second type of exploration the objective is to understand the mother as a psychological entity that is separate from himself.

This second type of exploration combined with diminished but still potent fantasies of being in a state of oneness with the mother lays the basis for an empathic understanding of the mother and significant others. It is being with a consistent and available mother that allows the infant to not only begin to understand his own emotional states but to differentiate them from those of the

mother. He is also able to perceive similarities between his own affective responses and those of the mother. In addition he gradually becomes aware that he experiences affective responses to whatever affective state the mother is experiencing.

The unavailability of the mother either in a physical or psychological sense results in a disruption of the process of exploration of the mother. This in turn retards the process of differentiation, self definition and the understanding of the mother, as a separate psychological entity.

Where there was a sureness about self/mother there is now doubt. Where there was confidence based on a sense of being understood, there is now wariness as a consequence of uncertainty. This uncertainty stems from a poor definition of the self and how to respond. The features of this dimension are as follows:

Sub-categories for Empathy

1. The subject spontaneously refers to the psychological life of significant others. Such references can be of a positive or negative quality. For example: "When she is unhappy she cleans the house."
2. The subject attempts to give a rationale for the emotional state that he/she perceives the significant other as experiencing. For example: "She is upset when I do not call."
3. The subject expresses affect about the psychological life of the significant other. For example: "I feel depressed when she is upset."

CHAPTER FOUR

Presented in this chapter are the main differences between the two groups of subjects on the dimensions, coherence of narrative, ego capacities, introspection and empathy. Included in this chapter are a brief summary of the results, followed by a detailed explication of the subject's performance on the four dimensions. In addition a biographical table on the subjects is included as is a table of words used to describe significant others.

Brief Summary of results

With regards to coherence of narrative, the nonseparated subjects demonstrated few disruptions of narrative, By contrast the separated subjects, as a group experienced marked difficulties in maintaining a smooth, detailed flow of narrative.

With regards to ego capacities, the nonseparated subjects demonstrated consistently high levels of functioning. They felt essential good about themselves, had a realistic sense of their capabilities and were healthily dependent. Additionally, they were able to demonstrate appropriate management of aggression. The separated subjects did not maintain consistently high levels of ego functioning. They were unsure about how they felt about themselves, quite sensitive to their shortcomings and experienced difficulties around dependency. The separated subjects also experienced difficulties around the management of aggression. Nonseparated subjects described their respective mothers in realistically positive terms and also as the person to whom they felt most closely attached. They also perceived them as being emotionally and materially supportive. The separated subjects by contrast, described their respective mothers in either denigratory or idealistic terms. None of these subjects felt that the mother was the person to

whom they felt most closely attached. All of the separated subjects felt that they could rely on their respective mothers for material support. However, they were much more equivocal about the mother's emotional availability. Separated subjects gave realistic descriptions of their respective surrogate mothers'. When the experience was a positive one she was described in terms similar to those used by the nonseparated mothers to describe their respective mothers.

With regards to the management of intense affective states, the nonseparated subjects appeared to be less defended against such states and were better able to manage and express them than the separated subjects. Separated subjects often resorted to denials, contradictions, psychological and physical distancing as techniques for managing intense affective states. Both groups of subjects had some concerns about committing themselves to an intimate relationship or being rejected in such a relationship. The separated subjects appeared to be more preoccupied with issues around commitment and rejection, than the nonseparated subjects.

With regards to introspection the nonseparated subjects were consistently able to make appropriate connections between their internal psychological lives and prior significant life events. This was not as evident in the separated subjects who struggled to make appropriate connections. More typically they gave rationalized responses in their attempts to make sense of prior experiences. In a few cases separated subjects actively sought to avoid making accurate but painful connections.

With regards to empathy, the nonseparated subjects appeared to be comfortable speculating about and responding to the internal psychological lives of significant others. By contrast the separated subjects limited empathic comments to those internal states that were accompanied by some overt behavioral cue.

In summary the nonseparated subjects appeared to have a large and stable reservoir of good affective experiences and therefore did not have to invest as much

emotional resources in the restraint, management and expression of painful affective states.

The separated subjects had a paucity of positive affective experiences, and an overwhelming amount of painful affective experiences in the context of a generally inadequate ability to manage and express affective states. This inadequate ability resulted in the disruptions of narrative, the inadequate introspective style and a general discomfort and wary stance towards the affective sphere that was so typical of the separated subjects.

TABLE I
BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON SUBJECTS

Name	Current age	Age at which separated	Length of separation	Type of Surrogate Caregiver	Frequency of maternal visits	Father in home? If no - Available?	Amount of siblings	Sibling rank	Occupation/ Education
S E P A R A T E D S U B J E C T S									
Maurice	21	5yrs	9yrs	maternal aunt	one visit at age 12	no/no migrated with mother	1	eldest	full-time undergraduate
Winston	24	4yrs	12yrs	maternal grand-parents	annual visits	no/yes	2	youngest	health services
Kenneth	26	18 months	14yrs	maternal aunt	one visit at age 14	no/no	1	youngest	full-time graduate student
Roy	34	3months	22yrs	Father	monthly until age 12 once between age 12-22	raised by father	4	second oldest	construction industry
Donna	24	3yrs	6yrs	maternal great grand-mother	annual visits from ages 6-9	no/no	1	eldest services	merchandise
Michelle	27	2yrs	14yrs	maternal grand-mother	annual visits from ages 12-16	no/visited from US 2-3 times a year	1	youngest	legal services
Deneise	26	3months	16yrs	maternal grand-parents	one visit at age 14	no/no	-	-	financial services
Carol	30	5yrs	12yrs	aunt-in-law	one visit at age 14	no/no	4	youngest	full-time undergraduate

TABLE 1 (continued)
NON SEPARATED SUBJECTS

Name	Current age	Age at which separated	Length of separation	Type of Surrogate Caregiver	Frequency of maternal visits	Father in home? If no - available	Amount of siblings	Sibling rank	Occupation/ Education
Egbert	27	-	-	parents	-	yes/yes	3	second oldest	architectural services
Dante	26	-	-	mother	-	died when subject was 7	2	youngest	financial services
Jennifer	24	-	-	mother	-	no/ irregular communication	3	second oldest	full-time undergraduate
Vinette	24	-	-	parents	-	yes/yes	3	eldest	full-time undergraduate

TABLE II
WORDS TO DESCRIBE THE MOTHER

							<u>NOTES</u>
1. Maurice	S	___ B	___ B	___ B	___ B	___ B	
2. Winston	S	QUESTIONS NOT ASKED OF THIS SUBJECT					
3. Kenneth	S	quiet	kind	cold at times	___ B	___ B	
4. Roy	S	very kind	forgiving	sympathetic	understanding	loving	Mother evicted him 6 yrs ago. She has not spoken to him since
5. Donna	S	going (always on the go)	soft-hearted	intelligent	persistent	moneymaker	
6. Michelle	S	stubborn	loving	scared	"says the worse"	generous to a fault	
7. Deneise	S	tough	kindhearted	bully	cold	mean	
8. Carol	S	hardworking	"not understanding"	kind	"cross between a beauty and a beast"	___ B	
9. Egbert	NS	determined	aggressive	gentle	unpredictable	go-getter	
10. Dante	NS	proud	caring	sensitive	wavering	competent	
11. Jennifer	NS	tough	stubborn	kind	gentle	giving	
12. Vinette	NS	kind	considerate	loving	strong	protective	
B = Could not come up with a word E = Relationship ended F = Female G = Best Friend H = Husband I = Not Legally Married L = Lover M = Male NS = Never separated from mother S = Separated from mother							

TABLE III
WORDS TO DESCRIBE HUSBAND/LOVER/BEST FRIEND

								Category of described person	Notes	
1.	Maurice	S	conscientious	intelligent	bright	understanding	comical	M, E		
2.	Winston	S	QUESTIONS NOT ASKED OF THIS SUBJECT							Lover lives in Jamaica
3.	Kenneth	S	very kind	caring	sensitive	very strong	___ B	F, L, E		
4.	Roy	S	unusual	loving	kind	"sense of humor"	"similar likes - sports"	F, G, E		
5.	Donna	S	hustler	provider	"not understanding"	"willing to help his friends"	___ B	I, H		
6.	Michelle	S	big beaded	"very loving"	not very structured	adventurous	impatient	M, L		
7.	Deneise	S	kind	"loving protective"	"very, very ambitious"	charming	boastful	H	Husband lives in Jamaica	
8.	Carol	S	"very kind"	"not much understanding"	"well mannered"	"very nice"	"take care of home..money-wise"	I, H		
9.	Egbert	N	feminine	argumentative	opionated	determined	idealistic	F, L		
10.	Dante	N	beautiful	passionate	bright	competitive	conniving	F, L		
11.	Jennifer	S	understand-ing	kind	compassionate	"strong willed"	"goal oriented"	M, L		
12.	Vinette	N	possessive	loving	kind/generous	"very ambitious"	"very friendly"	M, L		

B = Could not come up with a word
E = Relationship ended
F = Female
G = Best Friend
H = Husband
I = Not Legally Married
L = Lover
M = Male
NS = Never separated from mother
S = Separated from mother

A detailed description of the results, illustrated with excerpts from the subjects transcripts will be presented in this section in the following order:

Coherence of narrative, ego capacities, introspection and empathy

COHERENCE OF NARRATIVE

As a group the nonseparated subjects were consistently able to maintain a coherent line of narrative, displaying few disruptions. By contrast the separated subjects experienced much difficulty in maintaining a coherent flow of narrative. They demonstrated all the types of previously described disruptive techniques. However the subjects can be placed in two distinct sub-groups as a function of the degree of coherence shown.

One sub-group, comprised of Carol, Winston and Maurice demonstrated consistently poor levels of coherence. Their narrative was difficult to follow even when they attempted to answer even seemingly innocuous questions. They became virtually incoherent when they attempted to respond to anxiety arousing questions. 1) The first sub-group appeared to experience generally high levels of anxiety. In addition they demonstrated inadequate skills in the management of affective states; 2) The second sub-group comprised of Roy, Kenneth, Deneise, Donna and Michelle only become incoherent when they attempted to describe painful material.

Listed below are examples of the varied types of disruptive techniques that the group of separated subjects demonstrated. In addition disruptions of narrative will be pointed out whenever they appear in any excerpt that is used to illustrate a point in this chapter.

Examples of disruptions of narrative

- (1) Simple repetitions

When Carol was asked to state where she was raised in Jamaica she made the following opening statement: "Well I grew up in (pause) well (pause) I grew up in Harbour View in Kingston."

(2) Subtle repetitions

In the statement below Maurice is explaining what in particular made him recall his childhood as being pleasant:

"They were just good times, fun times, you know you forget about everything else, you did not have to think about anything else, I did not have the time to worry about anything"

(3) Long silences

In the statement below Carol is explaining who initiated her current intimate relationship:

"Who initiated it (long pause) let's say (pause) its just something that happened between the two of us."

(4) False start

In the statement below Winston is attempting to explain what his difficulties are in an intimate relationship:

"Ah my own difficulties (pause) I think ah (pause) let's see (pause), perhaps not been able to ah (pause) I don't know."

(5) Incoherence

In the statement below Maurice is attempting to describe the possible effects of the separation from his mother:

"I developed a kind of perception (pause) especially me separating and then not being able to understand and to perceive then (pause) and then coming back later on to look back, and being able to correlate everything, you know, somehow I developed that ability, you know, to perceive those things".

(6) Lack of spontaneity

In the exchange below Roy is discussing his mother:

Jama: "Is she any different now from what she was like when you were in Jamaica?"

Roy:

"Yes. She is different."

Jama: "How?"

Roy:

"I think, you know, she been living in Canada for these years, it has some change on her."

(7) Contradiction

Winston in discussing the effects of the separation makes the following statement:

" physically we were separated but we knew she cared, we knew she was always there, we knew that no matter what she was she was always available to us"

(8) Denial

Donna in the statement below is discussing why she felt her mother left:

Donna: "That was the in thing in those days."

Jama: "The in-thing?"

Donna: "No, what I mean (pause) why she had to leave? I guess for a better future, you know, I don't really know."

(9) Rationalization

Deneise had tentatively expressed some concerns as to whether her relationship with her husband, - who has always lived in Jamaica - would work if they lived together permanently. However, when she was asked to elaborate on this she

stated that her husband was not with her primarily because he might not be able to find suitable employment in New York. As a consequence of this she was afraid he might vent his frustration at her. While this is not an unrealistic scenario, Deneise later speaks with much conviction about her "need for space" and "to be myself". It would seem as if her fears around intimacy are the major reasons why she maintains this distant style of relating.

In addition the separated subjects demonstrated four other classes of disruptive techniques not previously described.

(1) Incomplete statement

The subject fails to complete a statement. In the excerpt below Carol is attempting to describe how she feel about her mother:

"I love my mother, but, it's like (pause) I just (pause), you know. I just can't really show the love, really, you know?"

(2) Referential Ambiguity

It is not clear as to whom or what the subject is referring.

Maurice: "I was about three and a half to four, so when I went to boarding school the principal, somehow she sighted, you know, that kind of thing and believe it or not, I am the older person and knowing, (incomplete statement) and I am more easy to see and remember things and understand things better than my sister because she was only like two years old so she (he is here referring to his boarding school principal) kind of nurtured me a great deal, a great deal, so from that, (incomplete statement) for about two and a half years, I didn't do too well and after that I started picking up, from then on I started being an excellent student."

(3) The taking back of a critical comment

The subject makes a critical comment about a significant other. When he/she asked to elaborate on the comment he/she attempts to withdraw the comment, as a way of avoiding the anxiety that the comment triggers. Carol did this repeatedly as she struggled to articulate critical comments about her mother.

The act of making the comment appeared to make her feel so guilty that she repeatedly stated that she should not have made that comment. Winston on one occasion was even more blatant in his attempt to avoid elaborating on a statement. The initial statement was:

"Maybe I must learn not to expect so much from (a relationship).

When he is asked to elaborate on this he stated:

"Ah I I (false start) I don't think, I don't think, I expect too much because I think that ah (incomplete statement) (pause) I give of myself in the way in which ah (pause) I would like to be given to and I think I display the same amount of emotion and the same amount of caring that I expect in return."

In his elaboration he denies his initial assertion. He avoids grappling with what might have lead him to conclude that his expectations with regards to intimacy were unrealistic.

(4) Demand for clarification

The subject uses a request for clarification as a delaying tactic, as he seeks to formulate a response.

Jama: "Can you think of five adjectives that best describe your mother?"

Maurice: "Five adjectives that best describe my mom? How can you describe your mom? I described her so many times."

Jama: "Can you think of five adjectives that describe her?"

Maurice: "Give me one."

Jama: "You know her."

Maurice: "You give me one and I will tell you."

Jama: "No, I'd prefer you tried."

Maurice: " (long pause). I'm short of words."

The difficulties of this first sub-group of separated subjects can be attributed to the larger problem of a general difficulty around the management of intense affective states especially those of a negative or potentially upsetting nature. In the second sub-group this difficult was also present but it appeared to manifest itself in more circumscribed situations.

In attempting to describe her mother as vulnerable, Michelle made the following statement.

"Because she sets (false start) (pause) as far as I am concerned (redundancy) she sets herself up to be hurt, abused, I mean you (referential ambiguity) set up these expectations, you know of what you, (incomplete statement) of how things should be but most of the times its not in reality so when it comes down you know you hurt, you know you are thrown off balance and sometimes she is just (incomplete statement) she is a big heart, lots of time she thinks the best of people so you have to (incomplete statement) you have to (repetition) really totally mess up with her before she realizes what's going down. You can take advantage of her, you know and whatever principles she has always has certain reasons (long pause) (and mom will say) well I know they doing this but you know do it."

The last third of this statement is difficult to make sense of.

Deneise experienced much difficulty in giving an initial description of her mother.

Deneise: "One word (long pause) she is tough, she is kindhearted (long

pause). Can't come up with the other three."

Jama: "Words that you think best describe her."

Deneise: "More like a bully (long pause). I still need two more. She is cold (long pause). One more (long pause)."

Jama: "What do you mean by tough?"

Deneise: "Tough (long pause). Can we go to the next one and we'll come back to tough (long pause). Your tape is running out."

Here there appears to be much resistance to the attempt to make a critical comment about the mother. This resistance is manifested by the long periods of silence, during which the subject apparently struggles to formulate a coherent line of thought for articulation. When such a thought is articulated one can observe the need to move away from the critical comment.

In the following statement Kenneth struggles to convey a sense of how his mother was strong.

Kenneth: "When I say strong, you know, I think she was both, you know, in the sense that she was you know, (incomplete statement) I see her as the father figure in a sense and also, you know, a mother, you know, but like my aunt, (shifts focus to aunt), for years I grew up with my aunt, you know, I was very close with my aunt, I call my aunt mother and I call my mother aunt, but I see her (referential ambiguity) as strong you know, because of the way she was, you know, she took care of us, you know, she bear the responsibility for my (incomplete statement) not only really for my say sister, but for my cousins too who benefited, you know from her hard work."

Kenneth uses the term "you know" in the manner that the other subjects uses silent pauses; as a means of gaining time in which to formulate his next comment.

These instances of disrupted coherence are also evident when the separated subjects attempted to discuss such topics such as their emotional partners; their difficulties around intimacy; and the possible effects of the separation.

Only one of the separated subjects avoided resorting to the more overt types of disruptive techniques such as repetition, pauses, incomplete statements, etc. However, the price of such fluency appeared to be a marked tendency to blame himself for just about everything that went wrong in his intimate relations. Alongside such fluency was a marked avoidance of introspection: a preponderance of denials, contradictions and rationalizations. Ever present in this subject was a harsh and powerful superego, that appeared to preclude any attempts at being critical of significant others.

The nonseparated subjects were for the most part quite coherent. Their narrative was smooth and well elaborated. However, on infrequent occasions nonseparated subjects did demonstrate incidences of incoherence as they struggled with painful issues in ongoing or previous intimate relationships. Nonetheless they demonstrated few incidences of incoherence and such incidences were also far less disruptive. In the statement below Vinnette attempted to describe the relationship that has been most meaningful for her.

Vinnette: "Ah (false start)."

Jama: "As an adult."

Vinnette: "As an adult (pause) it's very meaningful to me (delaying). I mean we do have our problems, but even besides that, I mean, we're still best friends. I mean I know he'll be there for me, and another relationship that ah (incomplete statement; pause) it's my sister that bothers me. (shift of focus). We reason a lot, unlike my second sister, she is as they

say giddy headed, she's kind of worldly, you know, unlike my second sister, that's the one that follows me, (referential ambiguity) she goes to college too and you know, we share a lot of things. It's like my other, she doesn't know what goes on in the world apart from worldly stuff you know."

It is clear that Vinnette has difficulty talking about her current relationship and appears to displace her frustration unto one of her sisters.

Frequency of occurrence

Although the separated subjects demonstrated all the types of disruptive techniques some types were utilized more frequently than others. The extent to which the separated subjects, as a group manifested the types of disruptions is illustrated below.

<u>Degree of Utilization</u>		
<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Moderately</u>	<u>Infrequently</u>
simple repetition	contradiction	incoherence
long silence	subtle repetition	demand for clarification
false start	referential ambiguity	taking back of a critical
incomplete statement	lack of spontaneity	comment
rationalization	denial	

As a group the separated subjects appeared to have resorted to passive delaying tactics on a regular basis. Only when such tactics failed did they resort to more active, and more disruptive tactics as a way of creating breathing space in which to come up with a coherent response.

CAPACITY OF THE EGO TO TOLERATE AMBIVALENT FEELINGS, AND OTHER EGO CAPACITIES

In discussing the ego capacities of the subject the following approach will be used. First, the way subjects appear to perceive themselves and significant others will be discussed. Emphasis will be placed on how comprehensive or selective, a perception they have of themselves and of important individuals in their lives. Secondly I shall describe the defensive style of the subjects as illustrated in the manner in which they manage intense affective states. Integrated into this material will be a discussion of the subjects approach to intimate relationships given that the capacity for intimacy and the capacity to tolerate ambivalence are closely interwoven.

(1) Perceptions of self and significant others will be discussed in the following order: 1) perceptions of the self; 2) perceptions of the mother; 3) perceptions of the surrogate mother; 4) perceptions of lover. Before laying out the findings it might be helpful to clarify the source of the data for self-perceptions. There are two sources of data. The first source of data in the subjects' actual descriptions of themselves; observations that they have made about themselves and the manner in which they interacted with individuals whom they care about. In addition inferences were drawn about the subjects' perception of themselves from material in the interviews in which they either failed to draw conclusions or drew inaccurate conclusions about how they perceived themselves.

Perceptions of the self

There were marked differences between the nonseparated subjects and the separated subjects. As a group the nonseparated subjects were comfortable and competent in the sphere of interpersonal relations. They had a realistic sense of their strengths and weaknesses. They demonstrated good skills in the management of aggression. One could observe in their descriptions much evidence of appropriate

assertiveness. Rarely did they mount aggressive attacks on others or turn their aggression against themselves. They also appeared able to tolerate both good and bad feelings towards significant others.

The nonseparated subjects perceived themselves as being in control of their intimate lives and believed, that in consultation with significant others, they could exert control over the direction that their intimate lives might take. Although they voiced concerns around commitment to intimate relationships, they believed that they could manage any difficulties that a relationship might present. In addition they felt strongly that they could and would eventually commit themselves to an intimate relationship if they had not done so already.

Following are some excerpts from the transcripts of the nonseparated subjects that illustrates the points just made. In the following excerpt Dante is speaking about his hopes with regards to intimacy:

"I think my expectation of it is broadening whereas intimacy at the beginning of my involvement with women was basically sexual (pause) now a lot of it I feel is sort of emotional, spiritual it (pause/incomplete statement). I mean the type of woman that I wanted to be involved with now has to be sort of soulful"

In the excerpt below Jennifer is describing how she felt when a previous intimate relationship ended upon her migration to the United States:

"Heartbreaking the usual (pause) okay you know we were pretty close. We had a good relationship. He was really nice, a very open person, you know and so forth and I used to spend so much time with him that when I came it was almost as if a whole, you know a whole (repetition) part of me was missing then 'cause he wasn't around and so forth and it took me quite a while to get used to the fact that he wasn't around."

In the excerpt below Egbert is discussing his difficulties in an intimate relationship:

"Understanding how the other person feels at times because
(pause/incomplete statement) I sometimes don't understand how I feel so
it's hard for me, I think, to understand how the other person feels, and
communication I think isn't always the best because you can never have
two people who communicate totally, blisfull blisfully understanding each
other"

The separated subjects, as a group, were much more unsure of themselves. Their competence in the interpersonal sphere appeared limited to superficial relationships. They tended to have an unrealistic sense of their strengths and weaknesses, and tended to focus on the latter. There were major difficulties around the management of both aggression and pleasure. These difficulties will be discussed in the following section. Two self-percepts that were quite strong in this group: 1) a tendency to blame the self; 2) difficulties around autonomy and dependence.

There was a consistent tendency to blame the self; to perceive the self as having been at fault. This was evident with Carol who felt that she must have done something wrong to warrant being sexually molested. It was also evident with Winston who blamed himself for the failure of a relationship stating that he had wanted too much from the relationship. When Deneise was asked to comment on the effects that the separation may have had on her, she stated:

"You will always keep wondering in the back of your mind: did you really do something why your mother had to leave you for so long or was it because of you she had to leave (repetition) and you know, (pause), what did you do and what will happen when you come and live with her cause you

always wondering is it gonna be better; or is it going to get worse so you really don't know (pause) it leaves you wondering."

Donna and Kenneth feel that many of the problems they have experienced in their respective relationships were due primarily to immaturity, lack of experience and insensitivity to the other person's needs. Roy also expressed similar feelings.

The separated subjects could be divided into two groups with regards to dependence and autonomy issues. Carol, Maurice, Winston, Donna and Roy tended to perceive themselves as being unassertive, incapable of sustained independent actions and unable to influence others. It was difficult for them to exercise initiative and to perceive themselves as being healthily dependent.

Although Carol could perceive similarities between the pattern of her own life and that of her mother's, she did not feel empowered, by that knowledge, to break out of the pattern. Instead she wondered whether she was destined to repeat the mistakes her mother had made. Donna despite her dissatisfaction with her current relationship was afraid of branching out on her own. She stated:

"..... I might be a bit scared, I think I am a bit scared but I am trying to develop my self; make myself strong to say, well you can break away, you can go and try it and see how it feels, see what it's like."

Maurice adopted a rather extreme attitude, refusing to even think about situations that he perceives himself as having to accept.

"How do I feel about accepting it (turning to others for comfort) now?
When I (incomplete statement/pause) you don't think of those things you just accept it. I really don't think about it I just accept it."

The other three subjects Kenneth, Deneise and Michelle put a high premium on initiative and being independent. In the excerpt below Michelle is describing her response to being hurt as a child:

- Michelle: "Usually my (pause/incomplete statement) but I learnt to be independent real fast you know."
- Jama: "Do you have any thoughts about that?"
- Michelle: "You come into this world by yourself, and you leave by yourself and (long pause)you virtually live by yourself you know. I don't think I had anybody particularly to talk to."

The first sub-group reported many negative experiences with their surrogate caregivers. One could speculate that such experiences further undermined an already tenuous perception of the self as competent and assertive. The second sub-group reported positive experiences with their caregivers. Such experiences would contribute greatly to undoing the narcissistic injury experienced by the departure and prolonged absence of the biological mother. However, the separation leaves its mark in terms of the overstress on independence, built on the sense of self as competent due to the positive experiences with the surrogate caregiver.

Perception of the mother

The major distinction that could be made between the two groups with respect to perceptions of the mother was the degree to which they could integrate different aspects of the mother's personality to present a comprehensive percept of her. Attention was especially paid to the degree of integration of good and bad percepts of the mother. In addition subjects were rated on their ability to integrate or give equal weight to affective as well as cognitive aspects of functioning in the mother.

As a group the nonseparated subjects were able to convey a comprehensive and realistic sense of the mother that was essentially positive. There was an absence of either idealizing or denigratory comments about the mother. At the same time these subjects could be critical of their respective mothers, however, such comments were tempered by an abundance of pleasant and appreciative comments.

These subjects were also able to convey an affective as well as a cognitive understanding and appreciation on their respective mothers. The mother was admired for her cognitive skills that enabled her to satisfy the material needs of her family. She was also loved for her emotional strength and availability. All four of the nonseparated subjects felt that their respective mothers was the person to whom they felt most closely attached. Following are excerpts from the transcripts of the nonseparated subjects:

Vinnette: "..... (long pause) well, I see (her as) possessing my best friend ah (pause) she (pause) well (pause), I know she cares deeply for us and ah (pause,) she's always worrying about us. You're O.K?; You're alright?; very caring not only toward us but towards other people and constantly giving and a hardworker."

Jennifer: "She was just really caring, supportive to an extent (pause) she was always there (pause) old fashioned and strict and sometimes overbearing but, if you needed someone to talk to, you could go to her. For the most part she allowed me to make my own decisions and was supportive of them and perhaps that the thing I'm appreciative of at this point in time; the support and the encouragement."

Egbert: "I think some people can be mothers, but they don't know what it is like to be gentle (pause) in the sense that they are very (incomplete statement) they want to be gentle but they can't show it or they can't express it, whereas I think my mother went through a hard time as a child and she therefore learnt compassion and expressed it and it is (incomplete statement, pause) I mean I think she could be very tough at times, but there was also a hint of gentleness no matter how strict a reprimand was given. There was always a "hey,

well this isn't right but maybe (incomplete statement) you know, I mean she was (pause, incomplete statement) she gave you some kind of hint of being, ... (incomplete statement) she thought of you of having made the mistake but she could sympathize with you, because you made it and you had learned from making the mistake."

As a group the separated subjects experienced much difficulty around conveying a comprehensive and realistic sense of their respective mothers. Generally speaking there were two opposing styles evident in the subject's descriptions. It should be noted, however, that there were variations with regards to the degree that any single subject adhered to the particular style being described. One sub-group, as a rule, described the mother in terms that were either critical of her affective qualities or made no mention of such qualities. The subjects in this sub-group are Kenneth, Deneise, Carol and Michelle. The mother was described as being emotionally distant and unsupportive. As a rule these subjects did not regard the mother as being emotionally available. None of the separated subjects considered their biological mothers as the persons to whom they felt most closely attached.

Positive comments about the mother by this sub-group were limited to three types of activities on the part of the mother. Firstly, there was admiration for the mother's cognitive skills. The subjects consistently expressed admiration at their respective mothers ability to successfully negotiate the demands of living in a foreign society often with little or no social support. Secondly, much appreciation was expressed for the consistent material support that the mother provided. In addition most of the separated subjects felt most comfortable, calling upon the mother for material, but not emotional assistance. Thirdly, positive comments about the mother's interpersonal skills were limited to her interactions with persons other than her children.

Following are excerpts that illustrates some of the points made above:

Kenneth: "When I say cold, I mean she (incomplete statement) she could just be cold at times, when I say cold, (repetition), I mean she could be insensitive, you know, towards what you might say"

He goes on to illustrate this by pointing out that his mother evicted his sister from the home due to the fact that they could not get along.

Deneise: "Oh I got a lot of resentment boy. Okay (pause) I feel not because she left me, right, but because when I got to meet her she was really cold. She is not the kind of person you can really get close to. She does not like to hug and kiss."

In the excerpt below Carol conveys both a positive appreciation of her mother as a provider of material goods, while at the same time she expresses her dissatisfaction at her mother's inability to understand her as a person.

"Well I mean if she (pause/false start), if you ask her for money, I mean if she have it she will give it to you, you know, and (long pause) pay the rent, I mean (while) she were there she never seem unkind to me, it's just that I say she never really have any understanding"

The second sub-group consisting of Maurice, Winston and Roy, as a rule, described the mother in idealizing terms. She was perceived as to be virtually without any shortcomings. There was virtually no criticism of her. Despite their wish to idealize the mother, all three subjects had difficulty providing elaborated descriptions of their respective mothers. In addition, there were incidents in their transcripts that suggests that not only was the mother far from ideal, but that the subject's idealization of her may be a way of defending against the feelings elicited from perceiving her as a more realistic and at times flawed individual. Roy for

example was raised by his father and internalized the father's harsh superego style. When he was in his early twenties he migrated to live with his mother. She evicted him and his brother after discovering them using marijuana, a practice that she had warned them against indulging in. According to Roy his mother broke off all contact with him since this occurred eight years ago. Below are two descriptions by Roy of his mother:

1. "Well she is a firm believer in bringing up her kids the right and proper way, you know in that she say she try to do any work in order to send us to school and stuff like that. She said she would clean any mess in order to raise money to send us to school, you know, she was a hard worker and believe in, you know " (incomplete statement).
2. "Well she is kind in that there is nothing too good for us that she wouldn't give us, although she was away, she would send stuff for us and stuff like that you know. I can remember writing to her for things and she would always let us have it, whatever we needed, although she was away."

Maurice would give excellent positive initial descriptions of his mother.

However, he was consistently unable to elaborate on these descriptions in any detailed manner. It appeared that he could only be idealizing if he limited himself to global statements. When pressed for details he either repeated his initial statements or confessed to not being able to respond. He was the only subject who, when asked, was unable to produce five words that best described his mother. Below is one of his description of his mother:

Maurice: "How can I describe (very long pause) well I'd say she is a very loving person, very loving and she will put her last dime on you, she'll put out investment (pause, incomplete statement) whatever it takes. She makes sacrifices (pause) that much I can tell you (pause) she

makes a great deal of sacrifices.

The major differences between these two sub-groups appeared to be the degree to which they were willing to come to terms with negative and painful perceptions of their respective mothers. The first sub-group appeared more willing to attempt to convey a realistic sense of the mother. To a certain degree they could be critical of her. For those whom this was too painful, they resorted to a passive condemnation, making no comments about the mother's affective qualities. The second sub-group could not tolerate even not saying what they probably felt, but instead resorted to active denial and contradictions and the creation of an unrealistic idealized image of the mother as a defense against her less than ideal performance in reality.

In addition to the already mentioned recurrent themes evident in the descriptions there were others that were either articulated by relatively few of the separated subjects, or were only mentioned in passing. Some of these themes are worth noting as they shed important light on some of the variables at work in the entire separation experience. These themes are as follows: 1) The tendency of the mother to work through her own issues through her relationship with her child; 2) Reunion behavior of the mother. 3) Attachment patterns among the separated subjects. The first of these themes is the perception of the mother as attempting to deal with some emotional problem of her own through her relationship with the subject. Deneise and Carol were quite convinced that the difficulties they had with their respective mothers were related to the mother's own emotional difficulties. It is possible that the other subjects' mothers also struggled with issues that were exacerbated by their relationships with their children. However, as a group, the separated subjects lacked the empathic and introspective skills necessary to perceive and elaborate on such a possible connection. Two excerpts illustrate

efforts on the part of the separated subjects to explain their mothers' behavior.

Deneise: "I try to understand where she is coming from because she told me this story that was supposed to get married (to my father) before I was born and it didn't work out so (pause) that I try to understand and put myself in her place, how she would feel and then I said, Okay, after the incident happened I was born and everything was over (i.e. the relationship between her parents) to me she should forget about that, although it's not easy to forget, but try to forget about it and go on, but I don't think she did. I really don't. She still has it in the back of her mind and hold it against me for some reason."

In a long statement describing the effects of the separation on her relationship with her mother Carol stated:

" but she never really show that love for them (her grandchildren), for the kids to really, you know, appreciate her. So it's coming from deep down within her, she probably had a lot of experiences in life why she can't even show much love. Maybe it's the same pattern with her because my (maternal) grandmother, she had about ten kids you know and it was basically the same thing, so even when I really check it out it's coming a long way you know. She never really have much love for her mother, so that's why she is like this now"

As has been already noted none of the separated subjects perceived mother as being the person to whom they felt most closely attached. Four of the eight subjects - Carol, Deneise, Winston and Kenneth - felt most closely attached to either a sibling or cousin of their own age group. In the case of Carol and Deneise who were not only left by their respective mothers but also suffered at the hands of the surrogate mother; their attachments were to male relatives of their own age

group.

The other four separated subjects - Michelle, Maurice, Donna and Roy felt most attached to surrogate caregivers. Both Michelle and Maurice had difficulty choosing between their respective biological mothers and their respective surrogate mothers. Michelle who currently has an excellent relationship with her biological mother was unsure as to whether she felt more closely attached to her surrogate mother. Maurice initially stated that he felt most closely attached to everyone. Despite his idealization of his biological mother, when pressed he could not decide whether he felt most attached to her or to his aunt who fulfilled the role of surrogate mother. It is interesting to note that those separated subjects who felt most closely and positively attached to their respective surrogate mothers did not speak in any great detail about these individuals. This relative silence probably speaks to the attraction of, and preoccupation with the physical absent but psychologically present biological mother. The period of reunion between child and mother appeared to have a significant impact on the separated subjects perception of the mother. Unfortunately this was not explored in depth in the interviews. It is, however, striking that the two subjects who reported having close on-going relationships with their respective mothers also stress their belief, that during the reunion period and ever since, the mother has made considerable efforts to be available, understanding and supportive. Michelle is clear in her belief that while these efforts on the part of her mother cannot undo the past, it makes for a certain level of understanding between them that she appreciates. Similarly Donna still strongly believes that her surrogate mother is better at mothering than her biological mother. However, she feels that due to her mother's tolerant attitude during a tumultuous reunion period and the uncritical support she provided during Donna's unplanned pregnancy she can turn to her for some degree of understanding.

In addition, Donna still has immediate access to her surrogate mother. Carol and Deneise by contrast report that despite their efforts their respective mothers were unempathic and unsupportive during the reunion period and remain so to this day.

No similar pattern is discernible in the male separated subjects. Maurice reports an excellent relationship with his mother with whom he lives. One could speculate that with his avoidant superficial style of relating and his need for his mother to meet his educational bills, that it is an unexamined and psychologically undemanding relationship. Winston and Kenneth live away from their respective mothers and have infrequent contact with them. Roy has no contact with his mother.

Perceptions of the surrogate mother

The separated subjects descriptions of their respective surrogate mothers appear to be either realistically positive or realistically negative. Michelle, Donna, Kenneth, Winston and Roy (re his father) described their respective surrogate caregivers in realistically positive terms. Their descriptions were similar to the descriptions that the nonseparated subjects used to describe their respective mothers. They felt that they could turn to the surrogate mother for emotional support and that it would be forthcoming. In addition, they felt understood as a person by this individual. By contrast Carol, Deneise and to a lesser extent Maurice described their respective surrogate mothers in consistently negative terms. They felt they were exploited as child labour, were not loved and were discriminated against by their respective surrogate mothers. This treatment heightened their longing for their mothers.

Perceptions of lover

It was not possible to clearly distinguish between the two groups of subjects on the basis of their descriptions of the individuals with whom they are or were

romantically involved. The responses of the twelve subjects can be placed in three broad categories. The first group was comprised of Egbert and Vinnette from the nonseparated subjects, and Michelle, Kenneth, Deneise Winston and Roy from the separated subjects. They described their respective partners in realistically positive terms. The second group comprised of Jennifer from the nonseparated subjects and Donna and Carol from the separated subjects and they described their respective partners in ambivalent terms that oftentimes became quite critical. The third group consisted of Dante from the nonseparated subjects and Maurice from the separated subjects. They were put into a separate group because of their current perception of intimate relationships as being too demanding.

The first group gave comprehensive descriptions of their lovers. There was an abundance of positive comments, while critical comments were few. The subjects felt that they were perceived as being special by their partners. Following are two excerpts that is illustrative of how these subjects describe their partners. In the first excerpt, Vinnette is elaborating on her initial description of her lover as being generous.

"He'll do almost anything for me, almost. I can't say he'll do everything for me, but he'll do almost anything for and he strives to make me happy, you know that's his thing (pause) you should be happy, even if I'm not happy you should be happy (pause) and he does a pretty good job of that most of the times."

Michelle: "You know physically, the way he holds you, he is always surprising you with something you know, you just get the feeling he genuinely cares, you know, past all the words and the bullshit you know, you feel that, you mightn't be the person that he loves most in this whole wide world, but you still get the feeling that you know that you're

important and he cares."

Jama: "What is it you like about her?"

Egbert: "All the things I said in terms of the adjectives, that have described her. All rolled in together I think she still (incomplete statement) she is a whole person and she decided she is not going to be just a wife, a mother or so but she wants to have a career.

It is interesting to note that three of the subjects in this group - Dante, Winston and Roy, gave descriptions of individuals to whom they have only limited access. In the case of Deneise and Winston who both reside permanently in New York, they are involved in serious, ongoing relationships with individuals who currently and for the foreseeable future reside permanently in Jamaica. In the case of Roy the person described is a former lover with whom he had a child. Roy is currently married and has two children and refers to his wife as "mummy". He described this relationship as being quite stable.

The second group of subjects was more equivocal in the manner in which they described their respective partners. They felt that the relationship no longer satisfied their needs. In some instances they could recall positive attributes about their respective lovers. However, the general tone was one of dissatisfaction. It is interesting to note that both Deneise and Carol pointed out that in terms of providing material goods their respective lovers were first rate. It was in terms of satisfying their emotional needs that these men came up short. Excerpts from statements by Donna and Jennifer illustrate their ambivalence.

Jama: "Could you think of five adjectives that best describes him."

Donna: "Oh please (pause) I know am being difficult (pause) Five adjectives that describe him."

Jama: "Best describe him."

Donna: "Best describe him. You wouldn't want them on your tape (laughs)."

Jama: "Feel free to...I'd appreciate it you could be as free as possible. (Much laughing by Donna.)"

Donna: "Ah...I won't get into that. Five adjectives that include.....(pause/incomplete statement.)"

Jama: "Use any words that you want...but try to give as realistic a sense as possible."

Donna: "It's hard."

Jama: "Try."

Donna: OK he is a good father. Is that good enough. I'm trying to be good."

A comment by Jennifer illustrate her reservations about the relationship.

Jama: "How does this relationship make you feel?"

Jennifer: How? Well I suppose happy. There are turbulent times you know. I think it's sort of a typical relationship. Sometimes you're happy, sometimes you're sad. But I think it has helped me in a lot of ways and I sort out things in terms of what I really want and so forth. Right now things are not working too well and I am still at the decision making stage in terms of whether I really want to keep the relationship going or whether it would be better for me to you know, get out, so (incomplete statement).

In the third group, Dante is currently not engaged in an intimate relationship. This he attributed to a particularly bittersweet "first" love affair.

Dante: "I see a couple of girls but you know how it is, you know. I think if you're involved with someone you have to give a lot of yourself to it (the relationship), and it takes a lot of work and its not something that I (incomplete statement,pause)...I feel too selfish now to devote a lot

of my time to, you know, one woman, so there are girls I go out with."

Maurice is currently involved in a relationship that is by his own account quite gratifying. The excerpt quoted below is typical of Maurice's unreflective style.

Maurice: "Most of these relationship are usually just for satisfying sexual desires...(long pause). Usually there is a mutual understanding its not me alone.....(pause). I mean I don't pack up anybody's mind with lies, you know, they know the case (pause) I'm not going to make no promises, but if I (pause,incomplete statement) if you feel like taking a chance. If you want to come and get involved with me and if you want it to turn into a (pause, incomplete statement) you want to have a sexual relationship that's (pause,incomplete statement) I would accept whatever comes, but I will never make any promises that's gonna end up in a long term (incomplete statement), I mean kind of relationship, intimate relationship. I will never make such promises, no way. If it develops, it develops and I think that's what happened to the one I have."

Although there are no clear cut distinctions between nonseparated and separated subjects the approach to intimacy appears to reflect the subject's experiences with the biological mother. To the extent those relationships were good, one observe a fairly positive approach to intimacy.

The handling of intense affect states

The major distinction between the two groups with regards to their defensive styles was the defenses that were utilized to handle impinging affective impulses. In an attempt to manage intense affective states three broad defensive styles were demonstrated by the subjects. First repression and various splitting mechanisms were used. Secondly, affect was channelled often inappropriately through such

mechanisms as displacement, rationalization and the turning of anger against the self. In the third and perhaps most drastic approach subjects resorted to either repeating an experience as a way of controlling the feelings associated it with or utilized psychological and physical distancing techniques as a means of handling the affective states engendered by an intimate situation.

In the nonseparated subjects there was generally a lower incidence of blatant and inappropriate repressive activity. There were no evident lapses in memory which are usually an indication that material has been excluded from consciousness. As a group the nonseparated subjects gave comprehensive explanations that integrated affective and other memories. Neither did one generally observe opposing sets of ideas existing independently of each other leading to contradictory statements on the part of the nonseparated subjects. Among the nonseparated subjects there was a tendency among the male subjects to separate an affective state from its accompanying idea. This would often find manifestation as an overly intellectualized statement.

By contrast the separated subjects resorted heavily and often unsuccessfully to repressive activities. Routinely they were unable to recall crucial and painful aspects of their separation experience. On numerous occasions, for example, these subjects would describe in detail preparing for the departure or arrival of the mother and yet would be unable to recall in any detail the actual event itself. One routinely observed the apparent co-existence of opposing sets of ideas. At any given period only one set of ideas would be conscious allowing the subject to make statements that in the long run would stand in contradiction to each other. This difficulty in synthesizing was most dramatic in the general failure among the separated subjects to integrate opposing perceptions and feeling states about significant others. Whereas the nonseparated subjects were able to tolerate the

ambivalent feelings that contradictory integration engendered in them, the separated subjects found such feelings difficult to tolerate. One observed them either separating affect from idea; idealizing or denigrating the person being described, or rapidly shifting from positive to negative descriptions.

The nonseparated subjects were much more successful in their attempts to express both pleasure and aggression. As a group they were able to appropriately express strong affective states towards significant others. Rarely did they attempt to rationalize away their feeling states. With regards to aggressive feelings was there not much of a tendency to turn aggression against the self. There were also few attempts to displace their anger.

The separated subjects perceived the expression of strongly felt affective states to be an inherently risky exercise. One approach to diffusing such states was the attempt to rationalize away the situation that gave rise to the affect. The subject appeared to reason to himself or herself that if he or she could perceive what was originally an affectively disturbing situation in a more benign manner then there would be diminution of the accompanying affect. To hold on to the original percept on a conscious level would be to also have to deal with the accompanying disturbing affect. This was evident with Deneise who on repeated occasions stated how distant and physically unaffectionate her mother was. However, when her mother failed to hug and kiss her upon their being permanently reunited, Deneise made the rather bald rationalization that maybe because of their prolonged separation her mother had forgotten how to greet her. Kenneth argued that he currently does not have a lover, as such a commitment is incompatible with studying. Earlier he had spoken about how hurt he was that his former lover had ended the relationship due to his intransigence over a matter.

Also quite common was the tendency among the separated subjects to turn their

anger against themselves. As was described in the section on self-perception, these subjects were quick to blame themselves and denigrate their efforts at self expression. On rare occasions rather than attack the self the subjects would displace their anger unto a significant other whom they perceived as being unlikely to respond or whose response was not considered important. Carol on occasion would displace her considerable anger at her mother unto her step-father.

This failure of appropriate assertiveness was also demonstrated in the realm of pleasure. The separated subjects, as a group were wary about making intimate overtures. Many stated a preference for their own company, rather than that of others, as a way of deriving pleasurable feelings. The pursuit of pleasure was often perceived as being inherently and prohibitively risky.

Some of the subjects from both groups used the regulation of physical and psychological distance between themselves and the significant other as a way of managing intense affect states elicited by intimate situations. The underlying issue appeared to be one of ambivalence with regards to intimacy. Ideas about intimacy as a gratifying activity existed, in an unintegrated form alongside fears of intimacy as a painful experience in which one might suffer abuse. In the case of Dante, who was raised by a strong, widowed mother, his ambivalence about committing himself to intimate relationship was perhaps a result of his equating intimacy with being dominated.

The most dramatic manifestation of this ambivalence was a style of relating evident in Deneise and Winston, both of whose intimate partners live at great distances from them. They both described themselves as being quite comfortable with the long periods of separations punctuated by short and intensely gratifying periods of intimate togetherness. In this style of relating both sides of the ambivalence find expression. The fear of hurt is satisfied through long periods of

avoidance of the significant other. This is often rationalized as being beyond the control of the individuals. The need for intimacy is satisfied through infrequent and short periods of intimate togetherness.

A less dramatic and less compromised way of handling the ambivalence is demonstrated by Carol and Michelle. Both have with varying degrees of success committed themselves to on-going intimate relationships. However, they both perceive such a commitment as one which makes them vulnerable to emotional abuse and possible rejection. For them the price of access to a possible consistent source of emotional supplies is a strong sense that they might be subjected to emotional abuse.

In terms of defensive style this ambivalence manifests itself as a marked wariness around commitment to intimacy. The expression of wariness on the part of all the separated subjects suggests that the ambivalence expressed by Carol and Michelle is a common feature of the separated subjects. This wariness around commitment to intimate relationships appeared to ease somewhat when the significant other demonstrated particularly strong positive affect to the separated subject. Such a display appeared to lessen but not completely eliminate whatever fears the subject had around the risks inherent in committing him or herself to an intimate relationship.

Following are excerpts from the transcripts that illustrate some of the above issues. In the first excerpt, Winston demonstrates both the isolation of affect from its related content and a rationalized/intellectualized approach to handling feelings of disappointment.

" If I was disappointed, then it was probably for a good cause or if I was denied something or I couldn't get something then its maybe that I just had to wait for it or maybe it was not the right time. I think I

had a very ah (pause, incomplete statement) rational approach to disappointment. I didn't think I got particularly ah (pause, incomplete statement) crazy about not getting something or being disappointed. I don't think I ever, you know, responded in that negative kind of way."

In these excerpts the subjects elaborate on the perceived twinning of pleasure and pain.

Michelle: "I didn't like that part of me, you know, 'cause (pause/false statement) (the) best times is when I open up but then there comes the hurt, you don't want to (pause incomplete statement) especially if (pause, incomplete statement). I tended to busy myself with a lot of things so I don't have to get deep into relationships."

Carol: " (long pause) I just (pause, incomplete statement) you know like as a teenager you see somebody that you like and you know the person and you know the person never really (incomplete statement). I mean although the person is there with you and you are making love or whatever and giving yourself to him and deep down he is just abusing you and you don't know it until, you know he just leaves and you just figure that as time goes by you never really have much confidence in a relationship.

In this excerpt Deneise elaborates on her tendency to be wary:

"Okay with the relationship I was talking to you about, at first when I got into it, like, you know, I was dreaming, to put it that way, dreaming and we were pretty close for a while and then, you know, I started pushing myself away, okay, I keep telling everybody that I have this protectiveness of myself that even if something is not wrong with

the (pause) inside of the relationship I'll start an argument for this friction to be there."

Winston in this excerpt, speaks about his need for strong displays of affect on the part of the significant other.

" I don't feel comfortable with the fact that the person cares about me, in the way which I need to (pause incomplete statement). Sometimes I feel that you know (pause, false start) feel that they need to make very, very strong indications of how they are about me personally "

In summary the separated subjects appeared to lack the emotional strength to tolerate intense affective states emanating either from within themselves or as a result of an intimate interaction. Invariably they would resort to some evasive activity as a means of coping with such states. Paradoxically, however, many of the separated subjects stated their need for strong affective displays by their intimate partners. Such displays were perceived as a sign that the individual cared about them.

(3) INTROSPECTION

In this section I shall describe the manner in which the subjects reflected upon past experiences. These introspection styles will be illustrated with material regarding the links that the separated subjects established between their separation experiences and their current psychological functioning, and more specifically any perceived links between their separation experiences and those around intimacy.

As a group the nonseparated subjects were able to spontaneously speak about their internal lives. They were able to speak to both affective and cognitive aspects of their psychological selves. They perceived themselves as being primarily

motivated by internal psychological states.

The capacity of the nonseparated subjects to make appropriate well elaborated connections between current perceptions and attitudes, and prior events in their lives varied from subject to subject. Jennifer and Egbert were consistently able to make connections of a high quality. Jennifer, for example, could link difficulties in her relationship to her need to be assertive and to avoid some of the mistakes her mother made.

Dante and Vinnette were not as adept at making such connections. Dante, despite his clear articulation of the need to be emotionally uncommitted at this point, could not link it to a sense of ambivalence around a still significant emotional commitment to his mother. Vinnette also could make no connection between her infrequent, and by her own admission, inappropriate rage responses at her lover and her own stated wish not to be physically abused, as her mother was by her father.

The separated subjects tended as a group to demonstrate low levels of introspection. It was difficult for them to speak in a spontaneous and elaborated sense about their internal lives. There was wariness and in some cases outright refusal to speculate about their affective selves especially as it related to issues of intimacy. They were often confused as to whether their motivation to act originated from internal psychological needs or were imposed by their external psychological environments.

As a group the separated subjects struggled to make appropriate, well elaborated connections between their current perceptions and attitudes and prior events in their lives. There was a much wider range of performance between the subjects in this group. Most of the subjects made adequate connections which they could not elaborate on or made rationalized connections. In other cases there was an absence of any connection being made between apparently related ideas. In rare

cases one would observe attempts to actively block the process of thinking that lead to the accurate connection of ideas.

As has been outlined in the section on the coherence of narrative the nonseparated subjects as a group were able to speak in a spontaneous and elaborated manner about their experiences in general. This was not the case for the separated subjects. The process of reflecting upon and speaking about their experience of their respective internal lives was much more difficult a task. As a group they tended to be more uninformative than the separated subjects. Those subjects who did not have to be coaxed and cajoled into speaking about internal experiences and who did not respond with demands for clarification or with terse answers, gave vague, meandering responses whose essential content was difficult to pin down. The separated subjects were much more articulate in speaking about the cognitive aspects of their lives. However, there was rarely any spontaneous expression of factors that might have affected their choices of careers and the other goals that they articulated.

There appeared to be general reluctance to delve into motivational states among the separated subjects. When pressed they were able to express internal motivational factors, but even while doing so questioned whether their subjective hopes and wishes could withstand the onslaught of external factors. Carol for example was highly protective of her children, motivated mainly by her own experiences as a child. However, she also seriously questions her ability to prevent the possibility of separation and alienation from her children that she and her siblings experienced with regards to their mother. Even when there is insight the separated subject questions his or her belief to use such insight to make a difference.

Four classes of links were made by all the subjects between current

perceptions, attitudes and feeling states, and prior experiences. The class of connection made by a particular subject was a function of the material been examined. Subjects of either group made good connections between a current particular outlook and some experience as a child. However, those same subjects may make a poor connection between that same outlook and their attitude to intimacy.

In the first type of connections one finds a solid well elaborated connection been made. It is free of rationalizations or contradictions and generally speaks to some affective experience. Jennifer for example, is able to state clearly that she does not enter into casual relationships as she finds that they tend to be frustrating to both partners, on an emotional level.

In the following excerpt, Donna speaks about what she has learned from her separation experience:

Donna: "Well (the) only think I really see (pause, false start) when I had Carol (her four year old daughter), like couple times like if and but (she was undecided) and send her to Jamaica, but then I look back and say maybe if I do, it would take she and I as long as it took me and my mother like to get close, so like that's a bit (incomplete statement) so that's why I would worry."

In the second type of connections, the links are more tentative and less well elaborated. Within them one can see the beginnings of a good connection between experiences and its effects on functioning. It, however, is never clear as to what are the essential features of the ideas being connected. Two excerpts from separated subjects illustrate this type of connection.

Jama: "From time to time as a child you might have been quite upset or very disappointed about something. How would you deal with it?"

Maurice: "I really lock it in."

Jama: "What do you mean by lock it in?"

Maurice: "You mean in terms of any situation as a child what would I do." (The demand for clarification.)

Jama: "You said you would lock it in, what do you mean by lock it in?"

Maurice: "I just behave as if anything never happen but it was always there."

Jama: "What effect do you think the separation from your mother had had on you?"

Michelle: "Separation from my mom (long pause). I don't know (pause) just (pause, false statement) I don't know, I know, I have been told that, you know, ... (pause, incomplete statement) remember when I told you that you come into this world and you leave alone? I've had one or two people tell me that. You know they laughed when I said it, but, you know, they have a feeling I really believe it. Sometimes I think I do, you know, you (pause) come and you pass people along and you get different things from them and you move on but you are basically individuals, you know, just moving along and you don't depend too heavily on any one side, you know, it's (pause, incomplete statement) I don't depend too heavily on people."

The third type of connection can be termed as unsuccessful introspection. It appeared when the subject was attempting to explain some anxiety arousing experience. On one hand there is a need to attempt to make sense of the experience. On the other hand there is much resistance to making the connection because of the emotional pain it triggers off. The compromise connection is replete with contradictions, rationalization and denials. It is often embedded in an

incoherent statement. In the following excerpt Roy resorts to a rationalization so as to avoid criticizing his mother.

Jama: "What effect do you think the separation from her (mother) from the age of three months has had on your intimate relationships.

Roy: "Well I think it started to leave a slight selfishness in that, you know, being without her from three months, you know, you miss a woman's tenderness. You know, so I think it have some slight effect on me you know."

In the excerpt below Winston makes the following rationalized connection to his separation experiences.

"..... people have to leave in order to be appreciated, I think a little more (incomplete statement) you know, it's like absence makes the heart grow fonder (pause) that kind of thing."

For some of the subjects linking related ideas, even in a weak form was too painful a task. In these subjects there were no attempts to connect well articulated and related islands of thought. This failure at synthesis appeared to protect the subject from facing certain realities and their attendant painful affective components. This particular type of avoidance of introspection is difficult to illustrate with direct quotes, as any given statement is internally consistent and reasonable. It is only when it is examined in relation to other thoughts that one can observe that a possibly enlightening but also painful connection was deliberately not made. A few brief summaries will be used to illustrate this style of introspection. Deneise stated that her mother did not like to get emotionally close to people, nor did she like physical displays of affection. However, Deneise makes no attempt to connect these observations to the fact that she too, in her own words, does not like to get emotionally close to people, nor is she particularly fond of physical displays

of affection. In addition, she makes no comment on the striking parallels between the separation she experienced from her mother and that which she is currently experiencing from her husband.

Maurice stated that he had no adjustment problems on being permanently reunited with his mother. He also denied that the separation had any effect on his intimate relationships. However, at other points in his interview he stated that for many months subsequent to his reunion with his mother he was quite "shy". He would not speak to her and it was only after persistent overtures on her part that he began to interact with her. In addition, he stated that he avoids intimate relationships perceiving them as a form of entrapment.

In summary, adequate introspection appeared to be a function of two factors. 1) the intensity of painful affective states that this activity triggered. (2) The capacity of the subject to manage such states.

Perception of the separation

The separated subjects linked their separation experiences to certain current perceptions and attitudes. Although some have already been mentioned, they are restated and highlighted here. Such observations are also a reflection of the introspective ability of the subjects. The observations are as follows: 1) lack of closeness to the mother; 2) a sense of the self as tough/independent 3) separation as having no negative effects 4) Effects on the capacity for intimacy.

(1) Roy, Deneise, Kenneth and Michelle stated that because of the separation they were not particularly close to their respective mothers. Two excerpts illustrate this point.

Deneise: "Okay (long pause) negative ones because right now we cannot sit and talk to each other. Okay if I have a question or ask her sometimes I am afraid to go and ask her. I am afraid to tell her certain things.

Like I have a problem right, I'll be able to call up one of my friends or my cousin in Jamaica and talk to her about it which I can't do with my mother."

Roy: "It sort of affect the relation in that as a mother, you know, she say she would like to have me and share her love and do stuff with me, and do stuff with me, she wasn't able to do that only a few days or a couple of days."

Jama: "So you are saying is not as much love?"

Roy: "Is not as much love (pause) the thing generated from her to me (pause) within that first three months."

2. Some of the subjects perceived themselves as being more tough, perceptive and independent as a consequence of the separation.

Michelle: "Separation from who? My mom. I learnt how to take care of myself, without having to depend too heavily on other people which also messes me up sometimes in relationships. I tend to be too independent sometimes, and (incomplete statement).

Maurice: "It had not much (pause, incomplete statement) I tried to search for any (pause, incomplete statement) (are) you referring to any negative hypothesis. There hasn't really been any negative results. I cannot think of any real negative results that come out of this, that had any negative results on me. Positively mostly. I have (pause, incomplete statement) I have learned to be an independent person, too shy; to help myself. I have learned how to understand and perceive the (pause, incomplete statement) I developed a kind of perception

..... (pause) especially my separating and not being able to understand, and then coming back later and being able to look back and correlate everything, you know, somehow I developed that kind of ability to perceive those things.

(3) A few subjects saw no negatives effects to being separated from the mother. They can be divided into two groups. In the first group, Michelle and Roy argue that the separation had no effect because they don't consider the mother from whom they were separated, to be their emotional mothers. They felt much more attached to their surrogate mothers. In the case of Roy, his father fulfilled this role. Although Carol and Donna do perceive the separations as having some effects on their relationships with their respective biological mothers, they argue that they were better off growing up with their surrogate mothers. In both cases they question the mothering skills of their biological mothers. In Carol's case this is a major contradiction, as other points in her narrative she condemns her surrogate mother as being unloving and unprotective.

Winston is in the singular position of not only denying that the separation had any negative effects, but also appears to argue that in a psychological sense there was no separation.

Winston: " We did not have any particular separation (pause) we had initial separation anxieties for her physical leaving. We know she was always available no matter what happens. Ah (pause) she came back frequently (approximately once a year) from the time that we were separated from her, we did see a lot of her so in that sense it is not even a separation (long pause) a separation seems to being apart from and not physically being with and not hearing from each

other or anything, and we did hear from her and we did see her. So we were always reminded that she was there."

In examining their intimate relationships the separated subjects made a variety of connections to their separation experiences. Three of the subjects - Donna, Kenneth and Maurice - perceived no link between their separation experiences and their intimate experiences. Donna like Roy conceded that she had difficulty separating out her own contributions to difficulties in intimacy and those that the partner might be contributing.

Carol became agitated, started crying and refused to speculate on this issue while Winston stated that his separation experiences had helped him to deal with his current separation from his lover.

Michelle linked her separation to a sense of being guarded in relationships while Deneise linked the separation to a sense of being able to rely only on herself. She also feared that she might duplicate in an intimate relationship her current ambivalent relationship with her mother.

(4) EMPATHY

It is not possible to make any substantial statement about the subjects with regards to their empathic abilities. Owing to shortcomings in the protocol sufficient data was not generated, making it difficult to speak with any accuracy about definite patterns.

There was one distinct difference between the two groups of subjects that could be properly called an established pattern. The separated subjects invariably linked empathic comments to some overt behavior on the part of the significant other. They appeared unable or unwilling, as a group, to rely mainly on their own emotional responses to a situation to determine what the significant other might have been

feeling. This is not to say that the separated subjects lacked empathic abilities. At times they did make sensitive comments about the internal life of the significant other. However, this tentativeness about making empathic comments suggests that in the absence of overt behavioral cases they experience difficulty in gauging the internal psychological state of the significant other. Following are three excerpts that illustrate this difficulty.

Roy and Kenneth are describing how they think their respective his mothers felt on her first visit back to Jamaica.

Roy: "Well she felt very good, very happy to see me."

Jama: "What made you think that."

Roy: "yeah from the response, you know, you could tell that she was very happy, she was very happy to be home, to see her family and stuff part of her family."

Jama: "When your mother was there, seeing and greeting you, do you think you felt."

Kenneth: "I think she felt good, you know about seeing us."

Jama: "And when she was leaving home how do you think she felt than."

Kenneth: "I think she felt sad."

Jama: "What makes you say that/"

Kenneth: "You know, the expression on her face."

Maurice is being asked about the first time his mother left him:

Jama: "How do you think your mother felt about having to leave you to go and live in the U.S.?"

Maurice: "I don't know. I don't know how she felt at the time."

In summary the nonseparated subjects as a group demonstrated excellent coherence of narrative. They had a realistic sense of their abilities, had essentially positive perceptions of significant others and felt comfortable in intimate relationships. They experienced little difficulty around the management and expression of intense affective states. They were able to reflect upon prior experiences and were sensitive to the psychological experiences of significant others.

As a group the separated subjects did not fare as well as the nonseparated subjects. Coherence of narrative was at best fair and at worse, quite inadequate. They were unsure of their abilities had ambivalent perceptions of significant others, and were wary and uncomfortable avoid initiating relationships. They experienced persistent difficulties around the management and expression of affective states and demonstrated an inadequate ability to reflect upon prior experiences. Their empathic abilities were somewhat limited.

Case Summaries

In this section are two case summaries of subjects who were separated from their respective mothers.

"WINSTON"

Winston is a 25 year old Black Jamaican male, who works in the health services field and is studying for a bachelor's degree in that area. He is the third of three children for both parents whose relationship produced a daughter and two sons. He is intimately involved with a twenty-one year old male sophomore who resides in Jamaica. Winston visits him twice to three times annually.

Winston was separated from his mother in 1964 when he was 4 1/2 years old, at which time she migrated to the United States. Along with his siblings, a male cousin, his aunt and uncle, he lived with his maternal grand-parents for the greater part of the separation from his mother. For six months, prior to coming to live permanently with mother in 1978, he lived with his father. Although his father did not live with the family, Winston reported seeing him quite frequently. He describes his father as an authoritarian and abusive man for whom he does not care much. During the period of separation - 1964 to 1978 - Winston reported seeing his mother approximately once a year when she would visit for 3 - 4 weeks. In the mid-seventies she came home for six months. During her time in the United States he reported that she wrote and telephoned regularly, in addition to sending numerous packages of clothing, toys, etc. Upon being reunited in 1978, Winston lived with his mother for 3 1/2 years before she moved to live on her own.

Growing up with his grandparents appeared to have been a gratifying experience for Winston. He experienced his surrogate mother - his maternal grandmother - as an emotional available and supportive caregiver. There are references to incidents

that suggests that the biological mother may have routinely deferred to the surrogate mother with regards to Winston's upbringing. However, Winston, although appreciative of the surrogate mother's caring for him, appeared reluctant to acknowledge that she was the primary caregiver. In the following statement Winston is describing the surrogate mother.

"She (grandmother) had she had, (repetition) 11 children so she is very experienced in what it is to raise children, to bring children up, that sort of thing. As a matter of fact even when we were living with her you know my mother was still in Jamaica, - she would still be taking over a lot of things because my mother did have to go to work in the days and I would get home with her that kind of stuff you know so it was basically a situation where I felt very comfortable".

The recognition of the surrogate mother's role appears to be an anxiety provoking idea for Winston. The probable reason for this is the frequency with which the biological mother visited, and departed. This type of maternal relating, it would appear makes it difficult to firmly consolidate representations of experiences with one figure as the primary caregiver. This difficulty is partially resolved, in two ways by Winston. First he identifies as his primary love object - the person to whom he feels most closely attached - his elder sister. Up until this point in time she is the only individual whom he has had uninterrupted access to, and from whom he has never been separated. In the statement below Winston is describing his sister:

"O my sister is what I would say, very understanding of me personally and of people generally. I think she was (incomplete statement) ah the fact that being the older person you know, she is the oldest of the three of us, she (incomplete statement) ah had a very, (incomplete statement/pause) you know, a lot of impact and (pause) ah her

personality is such that she is very (incomplete statement/pause) she is easy to get along with me and she had a somewhat protective role of me being the youngest and being her younger, you know, younger brother.

'Cause there are two brothers and its myself who is the younger one. She was very protective of me in that respect and (incomplete statement/pause) ah I find that (incomplete statement/pause) ah we just somehow manage to get along very well with each other. Yeah you could say she was understanding".

Second, he currently tends to idealize the biological mother and makes only passing reference to the surrogate mother. It was difficult for Winston to convey a comprehensive sense of his mother. His description of her reflected his positive experiences of her. He tended to define her in terms of her abilities as a provider of material goods: "She'll" come over to my apartment and she'll go on. You need this and that, and she'll bring things over for me and she is still maternal in that respect". At the same time it is difficult to give any well elaborated affective descriptions of the mother. Neither is Winston able to make any critical comments about her. There is an idealized quality to how he describes her. This is probably a defense against feelings of anger towards her for having left him. In the statement below, Winston is describing his mother:

Winston: I would say very positive thoughts because she has always been supportive of us, you know just by the fact that she has (incomplete statement) when she left it wasn't a situation where she left and we didn't hear from her for years and years. She left in '64 ah (incomplete statement/pause) of course she had to get the business of getting her visa, her status all straightened out so she came back in '66. She was back in '67, she came back in

'69, she was back in '70. So I (incomplete statement/pause) we saw a lot of her and because I especially corresponded with her frequently. You know we would send cards, she would send letters, or would call and I really ah (incomplete statement/pause) I would say very positive images come to my mind you know I always remember her as being that person who provided for us no matter what because I mean if we wanted a pin we just had to write or call and say we need a pin and we would get it. So in terms of that she was always very supportive and very much there, you know although not physically with us"

Winston demonstrates much difficulty around experiencing, managing and expressing affective states. He consistently disassociates the affect accompanying an experience from the experience. This particular strategy is resorted to only after attempts at giving a rationalized and/or intellectualized response to a situation have failed. Even then his statements tend to be incoherent, strongly suggesting that he is defending against painful aspects of the experience that he seeks to describe. Given such difficulties around his affective life, both the capacity to introspect and the capacity to maintain a coherent narrative are less than adequate. The above points are evident in the following statement by Winston where he attempts to explain how he deals with disappointment.

"I I well I guess when I was much younger I probably cried and maybe threw a temper tantrum. But as I grew up I realize (incomplete statement/pause) ah 'cause my grandmother was a very (incomplete statement/pause) she was a disciplinarian but at the same time she would always offer the reason why she had to discipline you or the reasons why you shouldn't do a particular

thing. It was not the selfless kind of beating you know (pause) in the sense of kind of chastising for no reason at all without offering some kind of explanation and I think as a result of that I eventually started growing up realizing that ah (incomplete statement/pause) if I were disappointed then it was probably for a good cause or if I was denied something or I couldn't get something then its maybe that I just had to wait for it or maybe it was not the right time. I think I had a very (incomplete statement/pause) ah rational approach to disappointment. I didn't think (incomplete statement/pause) get particularly (pause) ah crazy about not getting something or being disappointed. I don't think I ever, you know, (incomplete statement/pause) responded in that kind of negative way".

In the above statement, one can observe how invested Winston is in strictly controlling his affective states. He is also very quick to downgrade the significance of any feelings he might experience. The loss of coherence is even more evident in the statement below where Winston attempts to describe his response to his mother's departures.

"I think (false start) I think I felt very (incomplete statement/pause) I I think I was just initially, (incomplete statement) I was somewhat surprised and ah (incomplete statement/pause) I guess maybe even fascinated, because you know there is a (incomplete statement/pause) a there is a lot of that excitement, everybody is coming around to visit but I think eventually I became a bit (pause)..... a bit depressed and I started wondering when is she gonna come back and I think more

than anything else I was, (incomplete statement) where (pause) where is she going, what is this place, because you know at the time there was a lot of migration going on and (pause) America was such a big place".

Winston is predisposed to view the world from a rational/intellectualized position. Such a position places a premium on reasoning matters through while de-emphasizing affective spheres of experience. By relying on logic rather than memories, with their attendant affective components he avoids the emotional pain that such memories might trigger. This is evident in his recollections of his mother's first departure for America. They are quite detailed, given that he was 4 1/2 years old at the time. One could argue that there is always some padding of memories using logic and reason to fill in where necessary. What is, however, telling in Winston's case is what is elaborated on and what is missing. There is a progression of pleasant cognitive states - surprise, fascination, excitement before he is able to admit to an affective state - depression. Later when he is asked to describe his feelings upon seeing his mother leave, he responded as follows:

"I was I was very sad about that. Very ah (pause) you know I was (incomplete statement/pause) I don't think I was angry, but I was sad because I knew, there she was, (incomplete statement) she was leaving and you know (pause) she may never come back and I guess I probably didn't understand (incomplete statement/pause) I didn't understand everything. I don't think I had the full impact of it and then as she started coming home more frequently you know with her comings and goings we because very accustomed to her leaving".

Here there is much more uncertainty, a willingness to admit to not under-

standing so as to avoid having to make sense of his pain. He is quick to point out how her frequent visits made him "accustomed to her leaving" and also accustomed to the pain that such leaving elicited. It is possible that although he could not examine the pain, he drew some comfort and perhaps experienced less pain because it was now familiar and predictable. Missing from his descriptions are any integrated and elaborated affective perspectives on the situations being described. One either gets a tortured, heavily rationalized statement or a terse, somewhat incoherent affective statement.

Winston's affective style is reflective of an essentially insecure sense of self. This makes him over-reliant on the affective responses of others as a guide to his own feelings. He, however, tends to take identification with significant others a step too far. He overidentifies with the position of the significant other which obviates the need to deal with his own negative affective responses to a situation. This denial of the validity of his own subjective states contributes significantly to the tendency to both blame the self and to play down the significance of such feelings.

Difficulties in managing affective states contribute significantly to Winston's approach to intimacy. Also, consistent with his introspective style he describes his lover in terms that lack affect. Instead there is a stress on the intellectual and the physical attributes.

"He is very artistic, he's very ah (incomplete statement/pause) a lot of fun to be with, he has a wonderful sense of humor and I think one of the positive things about him is that he's very bright, very intelligent and that's what I think I am primarily attracted to. But that (incomplete statement/pause) academically (false start) not only academically but you know he's ah (incomplete

statement/pause) you know the potential (false start/pause)
..... he has a lot of potential there in terms of his, (incomplete
statement) you know, ah, he could go (incomplete statement) do
a lot of things with that mind of his."

Much to his credit Winston is able to articulate an emotional agenda with regards to this relationship. Paradoxically this might be happening due to the lack of any emotional demands being placed on him by his lover who lives in Jamaica. The distance gives Winston sufficient space to work out his feelings towards his lover. At the same time the infrequent but pleasurable reunions, reawakens his need for emotional nurturance and wariness around the risks that such needs might entail.

He spoke with some intensity about the manner in which the infidelity of a previous lover might have affected him. He, however, does not link the statement below to his separation experiences.

"Certainly not to be able to ah (pause) foster as much trust as I would normally and certainly to feel very ah (pause) afraid that it might happen again, you know to feel very (incomplete statement/pause) to dread the thought of it happening again and to always have that paramount thought, almost to be paranoid of it happening again".

It is possible that despite his reservations, which are a consequence of his repeated separations, Winston will be able to engage in an emotionally gratifying relationship. Despite his separations, he does have a reservoir of good enough experiences with both biological mother and surrogate mother, to offset his painful but unacknowledged separation experiences.

Winston has, for the most part, not reflected upon his separation experiences. He therefore has not speculated on their emotional consequences. When confronted

with these experiences he either attempts to give a positive rationalization of such experiences or worst yet denies that from a psychological perspective there was any separation. He makes the following connections between separation experiences and his current level of functioning.

1. Although people he cares about leave they do come back and while they are away they do remember him. Despite the fact that they are physically separate from him, there is a psychological bond, that negates the physical distance. Such a bond appears to be a communication link through which the absent person met his basic material needs and conveys that they are 'psychologically available in a complete sense'. Winston is arguing here that from a psychological perspective the separation did not take place. He does not accept that physical separation of the sort he experienced has any effect on the psychological relationship between himself and his mother.

2. In fact separation can enhance such a relationship:

"I think you also learn that sometimes when you leave you have to people have to leave in order to be appreciated a little more, you know its like absence makes the heart grow fonder that kind of thing".

Winston is willing to do considerable violence to conventional ways of thinking and feeling about relationships so as to avoid dealing with his considerable pain. These blatant rationalizations on the positive attributes of separation are again demonstrated when he stated:

"Ah I think ah she (false start) her having to be away has had a very positive impact on us in that we have somehow grown up without the traditional parents, parents (repetition) traditional parent role, traditional parent setting, where there is a

mother and father and ah (incomplete statement/pause) I think we have all grown up to be pretty much productive adults without saying well (pause) maybe if they had parents they would certainly grow up to be a lot more productive."

Here his statement borders on the distortion of his historical reality. He created the impression that his home environment was not traditional which is not the case. In addition he again studiously avoids linking the separation to his affective life.

3. In a more realistic, if still relentlessly upbeat manner, he believes that he has learned to function independently as a result of the separation.

Jama: "What effects do you think the separation has had on your relationship with your mother?"

Winston: I think ah (pause) it has allowed her to (incomplete statement/pause) allowed us to realize is that ah (pause) we are separate, you know we are all separate individuals and ah (pause) we can (pause) we can function (pause) We don't have to necessarily function with each other as a group".

Later in the same statement he goes on to say:

"I think we have been able to function pretty much independently and realize that ah (pause) the support is there, it may not be physically there, you know, you may not be able to go home to it, but at least you know it exist (pause) that the group (incomplete statement/pause) that cohesiveness (pause) that family structure does exist (pause) It may not exist physically in the home, but at least its available.

4. This difficulty in conceding that the separation took place appears to be a consequence of having to protect his mother against his anger at her unavailability.

He paints a picture of her as a farsighted woman who went to America so that her children would later have access to better educational opportunities. At the same time despite this sacrifice there was no separation and therefore no emotional price to be paid by the children for the mother's absence.

"We did not have any particular separation we had initial separation anxieties for her physically leaving. We knew that she was always available no matter what happens. Ah she came back frequently from the time that we were separated from her, we did see a lot of her, so in that sense it is not even a separation A separation seems to me being apart from and not physically being with and not hearing from each other and anything and we did hear from her and we did see her. So we were always reminded she was there".

There are chinks in this armour of resistance, that he exhibits, to reflecting on the less than positive effects of the separation. When asked to reflect on other possible effects of the separation he states:

" I was able to realize this (realize that although mother was not there she cared) there is a mother figure there, our grandmother pretty much care to represent her, maybe I don't know if that has any negative implications that you know maybe we might have had to ah you know put our feelings and our emotions into our grandmother and she represented our mother because our mother wasn't physically there I don't know if that had some kind of negative ah implications but I don't think any gross negative implications I mean gross negative effects. I couldn't say. I don't think so".

Despite previous denials, Winston appears to be saying here that his grandmother fulfilled some needs that an absent mother could not satisfy by virtue of being physically absent. Due to his reluctance to reflect on these issues, these two points stand in apparent contradiction to each other, outside of Winston's awareness.

He appears to sense that the separation may have had some effect but is unsure, although still inclined to deny this. However, the mere fact that he can concede the possibility of a negative effect is a major step for him. It is almost as if the possibility that the separation could have had a negative effect on him is an issue that he is reflecting on for the first time hence the tentativeness, contradictions and poor coherence.

"I don't think for one minute that the separation has had any adverse and long term effects. I'm sure it had some effects, but I think we have resolved ah those effects, whatever they are and we realize that we just continue and ah I think experience which because (of what) we have gone we know how to deal with to you know I think we just dealt with it pretty much as it came"

In summary Winston is an intelligent young man who is articulate when speaking about issues about other than intimacy, and his separation experiences. He describes his mother in idolizing terms, however, he makes little references to her affective attributes. He is most effusive about her abilities as a provider of material goods although he is appreciative of the role that the surrogate mother played, he has difficulty conceding any significant attachment to her. Winston perceives his elder sister as the person to whom he most closely attached.

He consistently attempts to distance himself from his affective life relying

heavily on repression, denial and the isolation of affect from its accompanying idea. As a consequence of such an affect management style introspection and coherence of narrative were difficult to maintain; being constantly disrupted by affective states seeking expression.

Winston is quite wary with regards to intimacy. He is currently engaged in a relationship that in one respect is a remarkable recreation of his relationship with his mother. Winston's lover lives abroad but they visit each other regularly for short but intensely gratifying reunions. Such relating appears to satisfy Winston's needs for emotional nurturance and permits control over the painful issue of access to such nurturance. It also obviates the need to grapple with commitment, relating in an on going manner and fears of loss that such a commitment would trigger.

"CAROL"

Carol is a 30 y.o., Black, Jamaican woman,, currently living with the father of her two young children and is studying for her first degree in the health services field. She is quite dissatisfied with her common-law husband and is currently involved in an intimate relationship with a male friend. She is the third of four children for both parents whose relationship produced three daughters and a son. This son who is two years older than Carol is the person to whom she felt most attached when growing up. He is the only person she was continuously with during childhood and early adulthood:

"He's a very nice person. He's somebody I could confide in a lot you know. He's always there for me. He's closer to me than my mother and father is, ... closer than anyone else".

Prior to her relationship with Carol's father, her mother had three sons and two daughters. Carol's surrogate mother - Granny - was the aunt of the wife of Carol's eldest half-brother, who is sixteen years her senior.

Carol was separated from her mother at four years of age when she went to live with Granny. The reason for the separation appears to be economic as Carol's mother, at the time, appeared to be living in close to poverty conditions. The mother visited Carol approximately once weekly and when Carol was seven years old, her mother migrated to England. She returned briefly in 1969, when Carol was fourteen years old. Carol migrated to the United States to live with her mother permanently in 1974, living with her for three years. During the period of separation - 1962 to 1974 - Carol reports regularly receiving - through Granny - letters and packages with clothing, shoes, etc. Granny's household consisted of an assortment of nieces, nephews grandchildren and unrelated adult boarders. In addition many children in the neighborhood also had parents who where living abroad.

Carol is quite ambivalent in her general assessment of the years spent with her surrogate mother. However, she does not acknowledge this ambivalence, but instead struggles to make unequivocally good statements about a period in which her most vivid and evocative memories were of unpleasant and hurtful experiences.

"Well I grew up in (false start) well I grew up in (repetition) in Kingston. (long pause)..... well ah I mean (false start) I experienced you know pleasantness, I experienced, you know sadness".

" it was good in some ways but its just that I always wanted to leave I always wanted to go where my mother was. You know that disturbed me a lot you know but I still have to understand that I couldn't go, so I just had to accept the situation as it is you know".

It soon became evident that the source of her "sadness" and part of the desire to be with mother stemmed from an incident of sexual molestation and Granny's response to it.

Carol was sexually molested by an adult male boarder, who apparently had molested other girls in the neighborhood. When she finally summoned up the courage to tell Granny about the incident, Carol, in the presence of numerous relatives and her molester was closely questioned by Granny who at the end of the interrogation accused her of lying and chased her away from her presence.

Carol always felt that Granny demonstrated more love for her brother than for her. In addition she felt that she was not trusted by Granny and was overworked. She questions whether Granny loved her at all. Despite these strongly held beliefs Carol experiences great difficulty in acknowledging any anger towards Granny.

"... It's just that we had good times, we had bad times you know ... I mean I don't have hatred for her in any way, but it's just that I think that I wasn't (incomplete statement), you know, its an injustice".

Carol's responses to this set of painful and humiliating experiences will be explored in some detail as they are demonstrative of a style of responding that she repeats at other stages of her life. The first response is that of self-blame: "Like when I think about it and I'm wondering if its my fault". This self blame must be understood in the context of Carol's astonishment at Granny's outright refusal to believe her. There appears to be at best, a tenuous belief in the self; a belief that was not strong enough to reject the possibility that the molestation was a reality that had nothing to do with her behavior. It is also a self that is not strong enough to vent, even in fantasy, anger towards Granny for her lack of support. While Carol does acknowledge that she was unprotected, she does not directly express anger at anyone for this, but instead expresses the belief that maybe she should have been strong enough to resist. Again one observes the turning of the anger against the self.

On repeated occasions Carol indirectly links her sufferings to the absence of her mother. However, she says this, not as a conscious attack on her for being absent but as an expression of the belief that if her mother had been there she would have been alright. This idealization of mother appears to serve as a buffer against the narcissistic blows suffered at the hands of Granny. However, the idealization is also a defense against the anger experienced at being left to the mercies of Granny. This splitting behavior is manifested in a peculiar manner in Carol. Whereas mother is the idealized object, for a time, both Carol and Granny became the bad objects. One can observe the direct devaluation taking place of Carol's perception of herself

and with only an occasional, and for the most part indirect, devaluations taking place of Granny.

Carol, for the most part denies that she is angry at her mother. This is in direct contradiction to the pronounced rage that appears to underlay just about every comment that she makes about her mother. The presence of this rage, in the context of an almost blanket denial, manifests itself in a variety of ways. One manifestation is that of an indirect expression of anger towards the mother. On the occasions when this occurs Carol attempts to suggest that it is not as intense as it was overlooking the fact that she has never conceded any anger, intense or otherwise towards her mother. The following statement by Carol illustrates this indirect expression of anger:

"I don't feel, ... (false start/pause) I don't despise her as much as I used to, now that I am more, you know, understand a little better you know".

A second manifestation of her difficulty in handling intense affect towards the mother is her inability to either make a completely coherent statement, or where she is reasonable coherent, an inability to spontaneously elaborate on her comments. She appears to need to marshal much resources to make an initial statement of her anger and then becomes anxious and is unable to complete the statement or spontaneously elaborate on it. In the statement below Carol is attempting to describe her reunion with her mother in 1974.

"You know we had an argument and I told her that I didn't like (incomplete statement/pause) that it was terrible to have so many kids for so many different (incomplete statement/pause) you know is what was inside of me all these years and (incomplete statement) you know, I mean growing up without her being around

me and (incomplete statement".

This ambivalence about being angry also manifests itself in Carol's attempts to make descriptive comments about her mother and to a lesser extent about her husband. Carol is unable to make unqualified positive comments about her mother. She strives to make spontaneous positive comments, partly as a defense against the enormous guilt she experiences when she attempts to make critical comments that are fueled by her anger. However, her anger is so intense that it quickly contaminates and spoils what would have been an unqualified positive statement. Three statements by Carol illustrate the above point:

- (1) "..... O.K, I mean, before my father came she was alright, I mean although I mean she have her dirty ways".
- (2) "One thing I can say about my mother she is hard working, you understand me, but at the same time she is not an understanding person".
- (3) ".....(long pause) She is a kind person (long pause) She can be a nice person but (laughs) (long pause) but I think (long pause) she is a cross between a beauty and the beast".

It would seem that Carol's closest and least ambivalent relationships were with her brother and with the children whose parents were also living abroad. Her statement describing what she likes about her brother is coherent, smoothly narrated and not spoiled by any criticism of him. It is the only such statement she ever makes about any of her intimate relationships.

When Carol is asked to elaborate on one of her complimentary/critical comments about her mother the following pattern of responding is observed: Initially she goes through a period of marked incoherence, she is then able to make a fairly coherent indirect criticism of mother. Attempts to get her to draw any conclusion from the criticism invariably results in a rash of rationalizations,

displacement and even attempts to withdraw the critical statement. Space does not permit an unedited example of this pattern, however, a precis of such a pattern might convey its essence.

- (1) "Well I mean if she I mean if she (repetition, incomplete statement), if you ask her for money (starts over), I mean if she have it she will give it to you, you know (long pause – the struggle to maintain the line of thought intensifies, hence the silence) pay the rent, we were there, she never really, she never really (repetitious) she never seem unkind to me (note the phrasing) its just that I say she never really have any understanding (the criticism breaks through) I'm still on that word again (guilt is hard on the heels of criticism).
- (2) She then elaborates with two concrete fairly coherent criticisms of her mother's insensitivity or lack of understanding.
- (3) She is asked to elaborate on how is mother nice – a description she had used earlier – she ignores the question and continues to give examples and rationalizations of mother's insensitivity.
- (4) When pressed for an elaboration again she gives a critical comment about mother's inability to change from being insensitive. The statement is somewhat incoherent.

The almost constant disruption of narrative speaks to a powerful countervailing superego force, to her considerable anger. These two opposing forces take an almost constant toll on the ability of Carol to maintain a coherent narrative.

Although she is evidently quite enraged at her mother, the enormous guilt she experiences also finds clear expression when Carol attempts to be critical of her mother. One response to such guilt is an attempt to "take back" the critical statement.

Jama: "You said she is not an understanding woman".

Carol: "Maybe I shouldn't say not understanding, maybe I've never really you see I really never open with her, you know in a sense, for me to really say a thing like that, so you should probably eliminate that".

Not only does she attempt to withdraw the criticism, but turns it on herself with a rather blatant if unspoken, rationalization. "It was I who made myself unavailable, therefore mother could not understand me". This pattern of strong anger followed by equally strong guilt is vividly illuminated by Carol's response to her mother at the airport.

"Maybe deep down I wanted to lash out at her, maybe that's the reason why I wanted to come to America so that I could give her a piece of my mind, you know why she left me all these years. I know she told me I was going to join her and I never did is a lot of things building up inside of me any child that really, you know, grow away from their parents".

Carol: Is just like she (mother) was another woman, you know cause I didn't greet her with a kiss, I just walked past her, you know I didn't greet her with a kiss I mean a child, a daughter not greeting her mother that was terrible that was terrible you know".

The dominance of guilt in Carol's intra-psychic constellation makes her quite wary of introspective activity as it more often than not leads her to feel angry/guilty. At the same time the anger is too strong to be completely repressed. In addition Carol's current life circumstances add considerable fuel to her long standing anger. Her mother distances herself from Carol, and her common-law

husband is openly promiscuous and engages extensively in illegal commercial activities.

Given these realities Carol is quite tentative in the links she makes especially with regards to the actions of significant others in her life and how it impacts on her. For example Carol makes a tentative link between feeling upset, things going wrong and her parents not being there. She does not elaborate on this but instead shifts to a denial of having any "hatred" towards Granny. Not only does she displace the anger at her parents for not being there unto Granny, but also denies that she is angry at Granny. There is however, a sense that she has been wronged but she fails to link this to anyone. It is left dangling "....its an injustice". She makes marginally better links when she is observing her mother interact with others. Carol was able to spontaneously link her mother's difficulties with her last child to the fact that "..... she have nine kids and all of them somebody else grow up, you know, had to take care of them". She senses that this means something and with a bit of prompting is willing to explore this issue a bit further, but without much success.

She doesn't really show her love, because she have so many grandkids and you know its like even when (incomplete statement/pause) she is not close with any of her grandkids, you understand, I don't understand why you know. It has to be some problem with her also, because she just not open you know boy!".

Here she elaborates with another example but is able to express only the most brief comment - "..... she just not open" - about what these examples illustrate about her mother.

As a function of having ventilated angry feelings about mother and the

empathic support of the interviewer she was able to make connections of a high quality. She was able to link the current state of her relationship to her mother, with the absence of any closeness between them which This was in turn linked to her mother not being with her.

There is an apparent paradox with regards to Carol's effort to reflect on her thoughts and feelings: On one hand there is a persistent effort on her part to make sense of her experiences. One observes her articulating many painful and perceptive thoughts, yet at the same time there is a marked wariness in making the connections necessary to throw light on those experiences. Carol's relationship with her common-law husband bears some striking similarities to her relationship with her mother. It is interesting to note that she makes no links between the two relationships. She makes very qualified positive statements about her husband and at the same time criticizes him.

"He's a very nice person he's not much of an understanding person (long pause) he's well mannered, he's (incomplete statement/pause) I could tell you a lot of things he's (pause) on the whole a very nice person, he's well mannered, he takes care of his household, you know, financial wise but then that's about it, you know, he figure that since he is taking care of his household and they are never in really any wants then you know he thinks that's it."

She also experiences much guilt about loving her husband less than wholeheartedly:

" it's not that I don't love but is like I don't love him wholeheartedly like I used to, you know, and if he knows this it would be, you know, a terrible I guess".

She is, however, able to express more anger directly at him, than she was able to direct towards her mother.

"Everything is a problem you know he is just he'll be nice this minute and the next minute he just gets on miserable, everything you know upsets him he's driving me crazy. I'm telling you he's driving me nuts, and he don't even realize it".

Although she does not make this explicit, or even imply it, it appears that her angry feelings towards her husband have all but obliterated not only her good feelings towards him but memories of the positive qualities that attracted her to him.

Jama: "What is it you like about him?"

Carol: What is it I did like about him or now? He's polite, he's kind, you know he helps me out where money is concerned, you know financial wise, you know what it is I like about him or love about him? What did you say, like?"

Jama: "Like if you want to put love".

Carol: (long pause) he is easy going I mean (long pause) so many things I don't even want to say it we can go on to the next (question) please

Jama: "No, no, please summarize it."

Carol: "I don't feel like getting into that part. I don't even, I don't know I can't say why either maybe probably there is nothing deep down, maybe deep down I probably have no feelings for men, how about that one?"

Throughout the record Carol makes comments which suggest that she perceives similarities between her life and that of her mother's.

"You know I always wanted to have this perfect relationship and I always say I would never want to be in the same position that my mother was in, you know, having kids and they have to be for you know different men and not having to grow the kids them, and having the kids you know in different, different homes".

Later in the same statement she says "..... but then nobody is perfect so, you know", implying that she was perhaps fated to repeat her mother's pattern of child-rearing. Carol is also able to speak in an evocative manner about her mother having to cope in England without support, and also the unfairness of her mother having to subordinate herself to her husband when he returned to the family home. The first example resonates with Carol's own sense of being on her own in Jamaica, while the second bears striking parallel with Carol's own subordination to her mother when she migrated to live with her in 1974. She however, rarely make these parallels explicit, neither does she speak to the identificatory processes underlying them.

Carol demonstrates a marked tendency to denigrate herself and her wishes for a better life. She is quick to turn her anger against herself. Her belief that the molestation took place because she was not strong enough; the repeated labeling of her thoughts as terrible; her feeling guilty about angry thoughts towards significant others, the sense that relationship with her mother is poor, because she, Carol, "..... never really open with her."

With this self-denigration comes a need for external validation of her actions. This was again evident when she was molested. It was only subsequent to a peer validating the action, by telling Carol that the man had a reputation for such behavior - that she was able to approach Granny. It is again evident when she explains why mother had to migrate. She shifts from an accurate subjective

viewpoint to an objective, verifiable rationale.

"Well you know she had it rough, so you know she wanted to leave so that you know, she could I mean, that, well things wasn't so easy for her and she had so many kids plus I mean a lot of people wanted to leave Jamaica so that they could better themselves and even support their relatives, that's basically the reason why she left.

This need to anchor her viewpoint to something external to herself makes it very difficult for Carol to speak about purely subjective phenomena that does not lend itself to such validation. As a consequence of her inadequate belief in her abilities she often adopts a fatalistic attitude to life; a sense that she has little or no control over the direction of her life; a lack of faith in her ability to realize her dreams.

"Well it's just that I must have been dreaming all my life and now that it's come to a reality that you can't expect a perfect marriage, you know, so that has shattered me somewhat"

Her difficulties around assertiveness and initiative comes across strongest in her assessment of her separation experience. She is quite clear that she does not wish her children to be separated from her and is able to give good reasons, and yet despite this, fears that she will repeat the separation pattern with her own children. She is not clear what might bring this about but argues that the growing difficulties in her relationship with her husband might somehow lead to this. Carol experiences much difficulty in conceding that she feels closely attached to anyone. She perceives her mother as distant, unavailable and emotionally unsupportive. She felt strongly disliked and abused by Granny and can admit to no current positive emotional feelings about her husband.

She feels strongly that she is a misunderstood person. Specifically she believes

her husband has no understanding of her needs to develop and grow outside of the roles of mother and wife. This is a long-standing theme for Carol. She appears to believe that love and abuse are inextricably bound to each other and therefore while one looks for love, one must at the same time be wary or "coldhearted". Two statements by Carol illustrate this:

"I guess maybe when I was younger I used to cry so much and it has hardened my heart, so is like I don't really (incomplete statement/pause) I never expect (incomplete statement/pause) I always expect the worst so that way I can deal with any situation because I always expect the worse, (repetition) you know so nothing comes as a shock."

In speaking about her difficulties in an intimate relationship she states:

"..... I just (false start) you know like as a teenager you see somebody that you like and you know the person never really, I mean although the person is there with you and you are making love or whatever and giving yourself to him and deep down (he) is just abusing you and you don't know it until you know he just leaves and you just figure as time goes by you never really have much confidence in a relationship, you know ".

Even in her relationship with her lover there is the sense of being exploited.

When asked what was gratifying about this relationship, she states:

"Because he understands it's somebody you know that I mean, I am going to school and he encourages me to go to school and if I need any help in my school work he would help me out, you know we can talk you know somebody that I can talk to. Maybe that's why I am saying whatever took place should never have taken

place because you just need somebody to confide in and it end up just".

Carol was able to reflect to some degree on the possible effects of the separation on her. She thinks that it has made her insecure and lacking in confidence, but tries to think positively as a way of overcoming these deficits. She perceives an unsettling pattern with regards to mothering in her family. She points out that her mother was unloved, as she was and wonders about the implications of this pattern for her relationship with her children. She is not able to elaborate on these connections, instead she becomes incoherent, very defensive and on one occasion began to project. She also pointedly refused to speculate on any possible relationship between her separation experiences and her intimate relationships.

Trying to make overall sense of the separation experiences she resorts heavily to rationalization. Despite her considerable anger at mother for having left her she argues that she was better off not growing up with her as she is not good at mothering. She goes on to express appreciation that she was brought up in a strict environment overlooking the fact that it was in this environment that she was overworked, unloved and sexually molested. She strongly suggests that this environment protected her from being wayward and promiscuous, like her younger sister. This need to be protected against the self is yet another reflection of her inadequate self-esteem. She appears to identify with the more punitive self depreciating aspects of her personality.

In summary Carol experienced less than adequate care at the hands of her surrogate mother. In addition her biological mother was intolerant of Carol's anger upon reunion and was generally emotionally unavailable. As a consequence of these experiences, Carol has a paucity of good intimate experiences around which to organize positive internal representations of others and of the self. Alongside

dissatisfied longings for emotional nurturance are marked fears of abuse and rejection. In addition, because of those longings and fears these are difficulties around affective experience, management and expression. This manifests itself through the almost constant disruption of introspection and coherence of narrative.

CHAPTER FIVE

Brief summary of results

This study is an exploration of the psychological consequences of prolonged separation and later reunion between a sample of Jamaican mothers and their children. Through migration the mother is separated from her child for many years, after which they are reunited. The mother will usually pay short visits to the child who is usually left with a female maternal relative. Contact is also maintained through phone calls, letters and the frequent sending of material goods and money by the mother. Twelve subjects are the focus of the present study. Eight subjects were separated from their respective mothers prior to the age of five, for periods ranging from six to twenty-two years. The other four subjects did not experience any prolonged separation from their respective mothers prior to age sixteen.

This study attempted to assess how well the subjects were able to manage intimate relationships. Interview data was assessed on five dimensions which clinical experiences and theoretical writings suggested were major contributing factors to the ability to engage in intimate relationships. These dimensions are as follows:

- (1) Coherence of narrative. This is the capacity to maintain a clear and uninterrupted flow of narrative.
- (2) Ego capacities. This refers to the quality of perceptions of the self, and of significant others. In addition, it also refers to the capacity to experience, manage and express intense affective states.
- (3) Introspection. Namely the individual's ability to reflect on prior experience and adapt ways of thinking and acting as a consequence of such reflection.

- (4) Empathy. This is the capacity to understand, in an affective sense, the psychological state of a significant other.

The non-separated subjects were able to maintain an uninterrupted, coherent and well elaborated flow of narrative. The separated subjects experienced varying degrees of difficulty around coherence. This was especially evident when they struggled with material that elicited intense affective states.

With regards to ego capacities in the context of self-perception. The non-separated subjects felt essentially good about themselves, were healthily dependent and appropriately assertive. In describing their mothers the non-separated subjects did so in realistically positive terms, felt most closely to the mother and perceived her as being emotionally and materially supportive. Separated subjects gave unrealistically positive or negative descriptions of their respective mothers. None perceived her as the person to whom they felt most closely attached to. Some perceived her as materially supportive but emotionally distant. Other separated subjects tended to idealize the mother. Separated subjects described the surrogate mothers in realistically positive or realistically negative terms. No clear distinctions could be made between non-separated and separated subjects on the basis of their perceptions of the individuals with whom they are currently involved.

The non-separated subjects were better able to experience, manage and express intense affective states. Separated subjects were distinctly uncomfortable with such states, and tended to use physical and psychological avoidance techniques as a way of managing such states. With regards to intimacy separated subjects appeared overly preoccupied with issues around commitment and fear of emotional abuse and rejection.

Non-separated subjects were able to make adequate connections between their

internal psychological lives and prior significant experiences. Only rarely could separated subjects conduct a comprehensive evaluation of prior experiences especially when such experiences triggered painful affective states. For the most part their connections were inadequate. They were insufficiently elaborated, heavily reationalized and often embedded in contradictory and incoherent statements. With regards to empathic abilities the results are inconclusive. One tentative finding is that separated subjects limit their empathic comments to those internal psychological states that are accompanied by behavioral cues.

DIFFICULTIES AROUND INTIMACY: THE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

On examining the data certain essential differences were observed between the group of non-separated subjects and those subjects who had been separated from their respective mothers at an early age. In this chapter those differences will be discussed from an object relations perspective and also, from that of attachment theory. Differences in the following areas will be discussed:

- (1) The experience of significant others, and the experience of the self;
- (2) The experience, management and expression of intense affective states;
- (3) Introspection and coherence of narrative.

(1) Experience of significant other and the experience of the self

In discussing the experience of significant and the experience of the self, the following sequence will be observed. First the ways the mother was perceived by each group will be outlined. In addition, in the case of the separated subjects there will also be a discussion of how they described the surrogate mother and supportive peers or siblings to whom they were closely attached. The descriptions of both

groups with regards to their respective lovers, and of themselves will then follow. Finally, there will be discussions on the manner in which these various relationships have contributed to the separated subjects' current perceptions of self.

Experience of the mother

With regards to the perception of the mother, the essential difference between the two groups was their capacity to convey a realistic, comprehensive and integrated sense of the mother. The non-separated subjects came closest to giving such a description. They were able to speak of both affective and material experiences of the mother. They were sensitive to her strengths and weaknesses across a wide range of situations. As a consequence of such breadth they could tolerate a range of affective feelings towards her. It was not unusual to hear these subjects make clearly articulated criticisms of the mother. Non-separated subjects felt most closely attached to the mother, and felt that she was emotionally and materially supportive.

Separated subjects, by contrast, found it difficult to convey an essentially positive and comprehensive sense of the mother. Their greatest difficulty lay in attempts to convey a positive affective sense of her. One sub-group of separated subjects experienced the mother as emotionally distant, and uncomfortable with being emotionally supportive. This subgroup spoke positively if somewhat reluctantly and tersely about the support that the mother routinely extended in the area of material support. In a less extreme version of this theme, other separated subjects while still critical of the mother's emotional qualities were able to express greater amounts of appreciation for the material support she provided. In addition they were open in their admiration and respect for the trials and tribulations the mother must have experienced to provide such support.

A second subgroup of separated subjects expressed much love for the mother and perceived her as being emotionally available. They also were quite effusive in their praise of her, with regards to the material support she provided. Yet, when asked to elaborate on their experiences of the mother as being emotionally giving these subjects invariably described feelings associated with the provision of material goods on the part of the mother.

These findings support the position of both object relations theorists (Erickson, 1959; Kohut, 1977; Mahler et al. 1975; Winnicott, 1965, 1971) and attachment theorists (Ainsworth, 1978; Bowlby, 1969; 1973; Bretherton, 1985; Main, Kaplan and Cassidy, 1985) with regards to the importance of a consistent and available caregiver for adequate physical and emotional development. The separated subjects' uneven and unintegrated experience of the mother is consistent with the findings of Mahler and her colleagues. Here one can observe that the less than adequate experience of the mother has disrupted the process of internalization and consolidation of representations of the mother.

It is not surprising that the two strongest experiences of the mother are the mother as emotionally unavailable and the mother as materially giving. These accurately reflect the mother's on-going relationship with her child. There have been consistent experiences and therefore have been internalized and consolidated. These findings are also consistent with those of A. Freud & D. Burlingham, (1943,1944) who found that the child's most vivid and most cathected experience of the absent mother was that of the mother as a provider of material goods. The separated subject had other positive recollections of the mother. Subjects spoke evocatively of brief reunions and shared times with the mother. However, such experiences with her were fleeting and infrequent and therefore did not constitute a basic core perception of the mother that could be integrated into other internalized

representations of her.

Four sets of factors appear to contribute to the current experience of the mother. (1) the pre-separation experience of the mother; (2) the experience of the surrogate mother; (3) the experience of the mother during the period of separation, and (4) the experience of the mother after reunion.

1. Not much is known about the pre-separation experiences of the separated subjects. Some subjects were separated before their second birthday. Other subjects had regular access to the mother until their fifth birthday. Despite this variance it would appear that all subjects were separated from their respective mothers without an opportunity to discuss and come to terms with her eventual departure. Denise recalled being visited in the hospital at age three by her mother who despite promising to return to visit her on the following day, left the country, without either warning or farewell.

If one can assume good enough mothering up until this point the departure of the mother triggers feelings of both anger at being left and hope that the mother will return.

2. The degree of anger experienced would be a function of the degree of attachment to the biological mother. For at least four of the separated subjects – Kenneth, Roy, Donna and Michelle – it would appear that the surrogate mother was the primary caregiver. Not surprisingly these separated subjects were all separated from their respective biological mothers prior to the age of three. In addition, they all reported positive experiences with the surrogate mother. In cases such as Carol and Denise, where surrogate care was less than adequate, the subjects spoke of the surrogate mother in condemnatory terms.
3. During the period of separation, through occasional visits, frequent sending

of material goods and probably frequent mentioning by the surrogate mother, the biological mother was very much represented in the intrapsychic world of the separated child. Michelle speaks fondly of "this sweet smelling lady who would bring gifts". Donna refers somewhat sarcastically to "this well dressed lady who is always going somewhere." Subjects who experienced adequate care spoke of a curiosity about this person and a material interest in her. Subjects who had received less than adequate surrogate care spoke of a longing to be with the mother. Perceptions of the mother, in her absence, were essentially positive.

4. The experience of the mother following reunion with her made a significant contribution to the current experience of the mother and the nature of the relationship growing out of such an experience. All separated subjects reported an adjustment period upon being reunited . For some of the subjects this was a period of either withdrawal from the mother, or a period of giving vent to their anger. Both responses were an expression of anger at being left.

These findings are consistent with those of others studies on separation (Ainsworth, 1978; Bowlby, 1969, 1973; A. Freud & D. Burlingham, 1943, 1944; Main, Kaplan & Cassidy, 1985; Robertson & Robertson, 1969; Wolfenstein, 1966, 1969). The capacity of the mother to tolerate her child's anger and to respond with empathy and love appeared to go a long way to ameliorate the child's anger. This experience also was the child's first sustained affective experience with the mother, that could be internalized and consolidated. Subjects such as Donna and Michelle maintained that the tolerance and emotional support offered by their respective mothers' forced them to re-evaluate their perceptions of her. Ironically, these and other subjects never admitted to any anger or negative feelings towards the mother

prior to being reunited with her. Other subjects, such as Carol, Denise and Kenneth found their respective mother' intolerant of their anger and quite unempathic. In some cases the mother would mount punitive attacks on the subject accusing him/her of ingratitude. This response by the mother appeared to trigger previously unacknowledged perceptions of the mother as emotionally ungiving and unempathic. These findings validate the argument of object relations theorists that the child believes that his/her anger might have been the cause of the original separation, and might prevent a subsequent reunion. It is only when he/she is safely with mother that that the child gives vent to his/her anger. It is also consistent with the assertion of the attachment theorists that internal working models of attachment undergo constant evaluation and modification.

In summary, the current experience of mother is a function of the four factors discussed above. As a consequence of the interaction of these factors three clear groupings of separated subjects can be observed with regards to their perception of the biological mother. The first group can be thought of as the denigrating sub-group, which is a reflection of their attitude towards the affective capabilities of the mother. They described the mother as uncomfortable with physical contact and emotionally unsupportive. However, they continue to experience much longing for a better relationship with the mother even while condemning her affective style. Subjects in this group also experienced less than adequate caregiving at the hands of the surrogate mother. In addition the reunion experience with the mother was an alienating experience.

The second sub-group were not not as critical of the mother. Although quite aware of her affective shortcomings they were sensitive to her attempts to reach out to them, no matter how inadequate such attempts were. In addition, subjects in this group received adequate surrogate care. At the same time there is not much

evidence of longing behavior towards the mother. The reunion experience with the mother appeared to be cathartic. The positive experiences with the surrogate mother in addition to the empathic response on the part of the mother upon reunion appears to have taken the keenness off the anger of this second group. By contrast the first group, emotionally battered by the surrogate mother, found little relief or understanding from the biological mother.

The third group can be considered the idealizing group. For them the mother could do no wrong. If she had committed any punitive act it was perceived as justified owing to some unacceptable action by the subject. These subjects appeared to attach enormous emotional meaning to the material goods provided by the mother. The mother's material role was used as a substitute for her lack of emotional availability. Subjects in this group were consistently vague about their affective relationship to both surrogate and biological mother. In the case of Roy the primary caregiver was a loving but harsh father. It was difficult for both Roy and Maurice - the other subject in this group - to experience and express anger towards significant others. One could attribute this to the internalization of a harsh superego as a result of their experiences with their respective surrogate mothers. These two subjects tended to express their anger at the mother indirectly. One subject had no relationship with his mother while the other had a "wonderful" relationship that he could only describe in terms of its material advantages. Idealization can be therefore thought of as a defense against anger at the mother which these subjects find difficult to tolerate. One can also speculate that idealizing subjects still experience a strong longing for the mother which in combination with their moralistic styles makes the expression of anger all the more difficult.

Experience of the surrogate mother

In their experience of the surrogate mother, the separated subjects can be placed in two groups. The first group gave realistically positive descriptions of the surrogate mother. They felt understood by her and perceived her as being emotionally available and supportive. These descriptions were quite similar to the manner in which the non-separated subjects described their respective mothers. On the other hand such descriptions of the surrogate mother often lacked the affective detail evident in the non-separated subjects' descriptions of their mothers. This first group corresponds to the critical group of separated subjects. The second group gave realistically negative descriptions of the surrogate mother. They felt emotionally and physically abused by her. She was perceived as emotionally unavailable and unempathic. Subjects in this group did not feel understood, loved or protected by the surrogate mother. Subjects who made denigratory comments about the biological mother belong to this second group.

In addition to the age at which separation took place and the quality of surrogate are, two other factors appear to influence the experience of the surrogate mother as primary, as against secondary, caregiver. One of these factors, about which not much is known, is the willingness of the surrogate mother to accept the child's attempt to attach to her. This raises the question of the meaning of the child to the surrogate mother. Carol, for example alluded to the fact that her surrogate mother considered her, at best an unpaid worker and at worst a burden. Kenneth, by contrast, felt that he was truly loved and treasured by his surrogate mother, as a special person. It would seem that two factors would influence such diverse outcomes. The first would be the surrogate mother's own attitude to intimacy and mothering. To the extent that the surrogate mother is uncomfortable in a nurturant role then one might observe the emotional distancing that some of the

separated subjects complained about in the surrogate mother. On the other hand where the surrogate mother was comfortable with intimacy, the separated subject tended to perceive her as the primary caregiver.

An equal important factor influencing the attitude of the surrogate mother towards the separated subject is the surrogate mother's relationship with the separated subject's biological mother. Very little is known about this relationship. One could speculate, however, that where the surrogate mother is also the maternal grandmother, unresolved issues between mother and daughter will play themselves out in the relationship between surrogate mother and separated subject. For example, anger at the daughter for having gotten pregnant could exist alongside gratitude at her for the material support she is able to provide as a result of having migrated. Alternatively the maternal grandmother might have had a good enough relationship with her daughter that could accommodate to the daughter's unplanned pregnancy. Comments by the separated subjects suggest that adverse experiences with the surrogate mother occur when this individual is someone other than the maternal grandmother. One could speculate that such individuals experience less of an emotional attachment to either the child or his/her mother. Such caregivers might view the child as an unwanted obligation with modest economic benefits.

The second factor influencing primary attachment would be the meaning of the child to the biological mother. There is not much solid data in this area. However, it would seem that subjects who had unsatisfactory reunions with their respective mothers were also separated for the longest periods and were visited the least by their biological mothers. In addition, subjects alluded to the fact that they felt they triggered uncomfortable feelings in the mother. Denise pointed out that her father had jilted her mother and that she, the mother, had never come to terms with it, but instead maintained an emotional distance from her daughter as a way of dealing

with such feelings. In a less specific sense it is possible that these distant mothers had their own unresolved issues around intimacy and mothering. Carol alluded to this when she pointed out that her maternal grandmother was distant and emotionally withholding, and that as a consequence of this, her mother "did not know how to show love." Although none of the separated subjects felt most closely attached to the biological mother, when she visited regularly and was tolerant and empathic upon reunion, such subjects had greater difficulty choosing between her and the surrogate mother as the person to whom they were most closely attached. One would argue that for these mothers the child had much more positive meaning than those who stayed away and were intolerant and unempathic upon reunion.

Frequent visits of the mother made a significant contribution to the child developing a more realistic and stable sense of her and appeared to pave the way for a tumultuous but eventually growth enhancing reunion. Consistent with object relations theory and attachment theory old ways of perceiving the mother and feelings about the mother, in the light of experiences with her, underwent positive modification. What these visits engendered was not so much drastic change in the way she was perceived - the visits were too short for this to occur - but instead engendered thoughts and feelings about what was possible with respect to actions towards the mother. Perceptions of the mother appeared also to have been enhanced or retarded by the experience with the surrogate mother. Separated subjects who had less than adequate surrogate care described themselves as being quite tentative towards the mother right throughout her visit. Conversely separated subjects who had experienced good surrogate care, reported that after a brief period of tentative behavior, they were quite persistent and successful in their attempts to get close to the mother.

In summary then the experience of the surrogate mother was a function of

many factors. The quality of care extended by the surrogate mother and the attitude of the biological mother as manifested by visits and her emotional availability upon reunion, appear to be the most influential of these factors.

Experience of siblings/peers

Separated subjects who experienced less than adequate caregiving reported feeling most closely attached to either a sibling or cousin, usually of the same age group or slightly older. Subjects described this individual as either being protective of them or being able to assist them materially. Where the subject was a sibling he/she was usually the only person from whom the subject had not been separated.

This finding is consistent with the position of both object relations theorists and attachment theorists who both speak of a powerful need within the child to be attached to a nurturing figure. More specifically it is consistent with the findings of A. Freud and Burlingham, (1943; 1944) who observed that in the absence of an available adult figure, the child will attach to, and develop a close, emotionally gratifying relationship to his/her peers. This study did not focus on these special peer relationships, nor did the subjects speak at any length about them. It would be interesting to explore the degree to which the peer relation was used as a surrogate caregiver and what particular needs were met by this individual. One subject - Michelle - whose brother was reunited with the mother before she was, reported a heightened sense of aloneness. Another subject - Carol - reported walking past her mother at the airport to greet a peer with whom she had grown up, and who had migrated shortly before she did.

Experience of the self

With regards to a sense of self there were distinct differences between the two

groups. The non-separated subjects demonstrated a comprehensive well integrated, positive, sense of self. They were adept at the experience, management and appropriate expression of intense affective states. They were, for the most part, healthily dependent and demonstrated adequate skills with respect to autonomous functioning.

Separated subjects by contrast lacked a realistic sense of their strengths and weaknesses. They consistently demonstrated difficulties around experiencing, managing and appropriately expressing both aggression and pleasurable affective states. They also demonstrated difficulties around dependency and autonomy.

Object relations theorists (Erickson, 1959; Kohut, 1977, 1980; Mahler et al, 1975; Winnicott, 1965, 1971) all emphasized that the child's conception of the world and of the self is for the most part a function of the relationship with the primary caregiver and to a lesser extent, of significant others. Self perception therefore is a reflection of one's on-going relationship, within the larger context of experiences with the primary caregiver. Relationships subsequent to the one with the primary caregiver, even though they might modify self-perception are heavily influenced, in terms of object choice and styles of interacting, by this first on going relationship with the primary caregiver. Mahler and her colleagues pointed out that confidence in the primary caregiver as a reliable and an available love object not only leads to good feelings about the self for having successfully engaged her, but fuels further autonomous strivings. This was quite evident with the non-separated subjects who because of their internalized and stable representational sense of the mother and their ability to engage her, felt generally confident about their ability to engage in interpersonal relations. Gradually differentiated relations with the mother, according to Mahler, also permits the accurate location of causality with regards to actions with an intimate other. Not only did non-separated subjects have an

accurate sense of their strengths and limitations, but they could also differentiate their own contributions to some particular relational issue from that of a significant other.

Reliable access to an available mother according to Mahler et al (1975) and McDevitt (1980) makes a major contribution to the child's ability to experience, manage and express affective states. The mother not only screens the child from situations that will create overwhelming amounts of affect but assists him/her in modulating such states and expressing them appropriately. Again one could observe among the non-separated subjects their ability to tolerate intense affective states and where necessary modulate them and express them in an appropriate manner. One of the subject's - Vinnette - who experienced difficulty around the management and expression of affect grew up in a home where both parents were given to physically and verbally abusing each other. It was this affective management style that the subject internalized.

Self perception in the separated subjects appeared to be a function of the interaction of two sets of experiences. (1) The experience of the biological mother; 2) the experience of the surrogate mother. Three combinations of these factors were observed in the separated subjects. 1) adequate surrogate care followed by adequate maternal care; 2) adequate surrogate care followed by less than adequate maternal care; 3) less than adequate surrogate care followed by less than adequate maternal care. Each of these variations will be discussed from the perspective of self perception. The one subject - Michelle - who experienced adequate surrogate and maternal care, demonstrated the following characteristics. She tended to have positive and realistic feelings about herself with regards to her capacity to progress in non-affective areas of functioning. She was much more unsure of herself in the affective realm. She appeared overly sensitive to criticisms and tended to by way

of affectively stimulating situations. She was quite wary about committing herself to an intimate relationship with fears of abuse and rejection. There was a pronounced stress on self-reliance and she appeared to be overly independent. The second group of subjects comprised of Donna, Winston, Roy and Kenneth, experienced adequate surrogate care but inadequate maternal care. They differed from the first group in the following ways. They tended to be much more likely to blame themselves, and were very ambivalent about entering intimate relationships. They were either extremely independent or very dependent.

The third group of subjects, comprised of Denise and Carol experienced inadequate surrogate and maternal care. Denise however, was able to draw on the emotional resources of her peers. To some extent she discounted the negative self images directed at her by the surrogate caregiver. As a result of this she is similar to Michelle in terms of strengths and weaknesses. However, Denise is far more desirous and yet wary of intimacy than Michelle. She appears to have resolved this paradox by marrying a man who resides permanently abroad. She visits him frequently for short periods of time. Denise experienced difficulties around placing blame sometimes blaming the self at other times blaming others. Carol is quite unsure about her capabilities across both affective and non-affective areas of functioning. She was extremely sensitive to real and imagined criticism and had difficulties around impulse control. She was very ambivalent about intimate relationships. Although she wished to be independent, she was in reality quite dependent and found it difficult to function in an autonomous manner.

It would seem then that the subjects' experience of the surrogate mother and the biological mother is an accurate predictor of self perception. As the quality of psychological care decreases there appears to be a corresponding impairment with regards to dependency and autonomy, and affective management. From an

intrapsychic perspective inadequate care translates into a paucity of successful representations for internalization and consolidation of interactions with the significant other. This in turn results in a relative paucity of good feelings about the self and perceptions of the self as assertive and effective. This was present in all the separated subjects in varying degrees.

Two related factors appeared to influence whether the subject handled feelings of inadequacy by becoming overly dependent or overly independent. 1) The availability of an adequate surrogate mother and the extent to which the separated subject could attach to her; 2) the degree of preoccupation with the unavailable biological mother. To the extent that the separated subject had access to, and could attach to the adequate surrogate mother he/she demonstrated a more stable perception of the self as assertive and autonomous. Preoccupation with the return of the biological mother appeared to compete with, and make less effective attempts to attach to the surrogate mother. In the best of cases, such as Michelle's and to a greater extent Winston, regular visits, gifts and phone calls by the mother served to undermine the attachment process to the surrogate mother. Such maternal actions evoked longings for the mother and unacknowledged rage at her, for being absent. However, the availability of the surrogate mother meant that the subject had experiences around being assertive and autonomous that could be internalized and consolidated. The experiences with the surrogate mother appeared to be stronger than the episodic experiences with the absent biological mother. However, the separated subjects who longed for the absent biological mother even while experiencing substantial, but not always acknowledged, attachment to the surrogate mother make an important intrapsychic adjustment to their situation. Feelings of assertiveness and autonomy are enlisted in the service of lessening dependency on others. This appears to be a defense against fears of further object

losses.

To the extent that the surrogate mother was less than adequate one would observe an increase in longing behavior in the subject. The surrogate mother's unavailability meant that the subject lacked the experience with the caregiver around which assertiveness and autonomy are built. Instead one observes a heightened dependency on the absent mother to rescue the child, alongside increased unacknowledged rage, by the child, at the absent mother for having been left in such an ungratifying situation. These subjects appear to have no choice but to be dependent. Nevertheless it is a reluctantly adopted position especially after the inadequate reunion experience with the mother. One therefore observes dependency alongside rage at the love object the subject is dependent on.

In summary then self-perception among the separated subjects reflected their capacity to attach to an adequate surrogate mother and to discount the seductive quasi-presence of the unavailable biological mother. Where this was possible one observe adequate self perception in the non-affective sphere and a marked stress on independence in the interpersonal sphere. To the extent that the surrogate mother was unavailable one observed increased dependency on the absent biological mother. Such subjects tended to be less assertive in both affective and non-affective spheres.

THE EXPERIENCE, MANAGEMENT AND EXPRESSION OF INTENSE

AFFECTIVE STATES

With regards to the experience, management and expression of affective states the separated subjects demonstrated the following differences from the non-separated subjects. The separated subject were quite uncomfortable experiencing intense affective states. Introspective abilities and the general level of coherence was disrupted by the experience of such states at the same time separated subjects found it difficult to experience less than intense affective states of a pleasurable nature.

Separated subjects demonstrated inadequate psychological mechanisms for the management of intense affective states. They appeared to be over-reliant on repressive and splitting mechanisms that would obviate the need to confront intense affective states. In addition, psychological and physical distancing was often resorted to as a means of managing such states. As a consequence of such a management style one often observed the absence of any modification and integration of conflicting perceptions of significant others.

Separated subjects also demonstrated difficulties around the expression of intense affective states. All separated subjects appeared to be overly controlling and parsimonious with regards to the expression of pleasure. Issues around control were also extended to painful affective states by subjects classified as overly dependent. Such subjects experienced difficulties around controlling the expression of painful affective feelings.

According to Mahler et al (1975) and Stern (1977) the available and consistent mother modulates the amount of stimulation her child is exposed to and also facilitates the modulation of his/her affective response to such stimulation. Ideally the child is stimulated, but not overwhelmed. Over time the child is gradually able

to experience increasing amounts of stimuli and the increasingly intense affective responses to such stimuli. For the separated subjects the absent mother plays a peculiar role with regards to the experience of intense affect. On one hand she is the source of stimulation for the intense and extreme states he/she experiences; gratification and pleasure for her material gifts and at her infrequent visits. Alongside such feelings is rage at her for being absent and also intense longing to be with her. On the other hand the child lacks ongoing access to the mother to assist him/her in modulating these intense and overwhelming affective states. Mahler et al (1975) and McDevitt speak about the role the mother plays in assisting her child in developing the necessary psychological mechanisms to manage affective states. Central to this process is appropriate limit setting on the part of the mother and toleration of the child's rage responses to her limit setting. Such maternal behavior enables the child to develop a repertoire of coping skills that allow for the healthy expression of affect within the limits of a loving relationship. The mother's stance permits the expression, and because of their importance, relinquishment of the belief that his/her rage can be harmful to the mother. This in turn facilitates the development of an integrated sense of the mother and by extension the foundations of a more comprehensive sense of the affective self are laid down.

For the separated subject who experienced less than adequate surrogate care and who long for the absent mother, conflicting feelings towards her remain unresolved and unintegrated. This absence of any sustained opportunity to work through such feelings results in the persistence of the belief in the power of angry thoughts to harm the absent mother. In addition, there are few opportunities to develop the necessary mechanisms to manage such intense states. For the separated subject who is able to attach to the available and tolerant surrogate mother there are more opportunities to develop the appropriate mechanisms. However, while

such subjects are better at managing intense affective states the underlying modifying and integrative work still remains undone owing to the lack of ongoing access to the absent mother.

The reunion with the mother afforded both groups of subjects an opportunity to work through angry feelings toward her. Equally important it was also an opportunity to finally develop an integrated and stable sense of the mother. This in turn would diminish the disruptive intensity of affect experienced in relation to the mother while permitting the development and refinement of more appropriate coping mechanisms.

The degree to which this period of affective adjustment was successful appeared to hinge on three sets of factors: 1) the age at which the child was reunited with the mother. The earlier this occurred the more time there was to work on adjustment issues and the less preoccupied the child was with non-family intimate relationships and disengagement issues; 2) the degree of control the subject could exert over their affective expressions which in turn appeared to be positively correlated with adequate surrogate care; 3) the capacity of the mother to tolerate the child's anger and general ambivalent style of relating. Subjects in early adolescence who could exercise some degree of affective control and had tolerant mothers were successful in their negotiation of the reunion period. Subjects who were in late adolescence, had poor impulse control and an intolerant mother, continued to be enraged at the mother while longing for a rapprochement with her. In subsequent relationships such subjects continued to experience difficulties around experiencing, managing and expressing affective states.

Both the overly independent and overly dependent groups of separated subjects experienced difficulties around expressing anger and pleasure. With regards to anger both groups, but especially the dependent subjects, held on to archaic beliefs

that their angry thoughts could do harm to significant others. At the same time the overly dependent subject would often give vent to their feelings and then experience much guilt and remorse for having done so. At other times they would turn their anger against themselves. Overly independent subjects demonstrated a strict control over the expression of anger. Michelle alluded to the fact that to be more expressive would be to run the risk of losing control.

The discussion with regards to the experience of pleasure will take place in the context of difficulties that the separated subjects experienced around intimacy. For the separated subjects the experience of pleasure through the pursuit of intimacy appeared to be a bittersweet experience. For all of these subjects pleasure, and by extension intimacy, triggered fears of abuse by, and rejection and loss of the love object. All the separated subjects demonstrated a need to be involved in an intimate relationship although this was not always acknowledged or successfully achieved. Such behavior probably speaks to ongoing attempts to satisfy unfulfilled needs for emotional gratification. However, the style of relating to the intimate other reflected the separated subjects' experience of the biological mother. Alongside strong wishes to be emotionally close to the significant other were frequent incidents of physical and psychological distancing from such an individual.

This style of relating bore a striking resemblance to the relationship between the rapprochement child and his/her mother. In addition to the need for the love object separated subjects demonstrated a strong need to control the distance between themselves and their respective intimate partners. This was done in a variety of ways. Winston and Denise are currently engaged in relationships that places them at considerable physical distance from their respective intimate partners. They each visit these individuals periodically for short but affectively intense exchanges. Other subjects such as Roy and Carol spoke of a need to

withdraw into themselves periodically. One could speculate that the intense affective states engendered by intimate relating, although pleasurable, were difficult to modulate using psychological techniques. Distancing had to be resorted to as a means of modulation. Such modulation was necessary to avoiding triggering equally strong fears of abuse and rejection. One could speculate about an optimal psychological distance that the intimate other had to maintain to engender feelings of intimacy without provoking flight. Should the intimate other remain too distant then he/she is merely facilitating the recreation of the relationship with the mother. This was evident in the case Denise. Should the intimate other attempt to close the psychological gap prematurely the subject will flee.

Separated subjects also spoke of the need for clear strong signs of affection from the intimate other before they would consider committing themselves. This need speaks to the paucity of internalized experiences around affection that these subjects could draw on to evaluate the affective behavior of the intimate other. Less than explicit affective signals appear to engender feelings of ambivalence rather than feelings of curiosity. Consistent and unambiguous affective responding on the part of the intimate other appeared to augment and consolidate the separated subjects' tenuous experience of the self as being affectively assertive. At the same time fears of abuse, rejection and loss which are powerful remnants of relationships to the biological mother and surrogate mother continue to exert a cautionary influence upon intimate commitment and the experience of pleasure.

It would seem then that the prolonged separation from the biological mother makes its own contribution to the difficulties subjects experienced. This contribution appears to be a marked wariness around emotional commitment. This was present even among subjects who had experienced adequate caregiving from both surrogate mother and biological mother. Inadequate caregiving appeared to

exacerbate existing difficulties around intimacy. The nature of the separation experienced by these subjects, even in the presence of adequate caregiving appears to have a chilling effect on the capacity for intimacy.

(3) INTROSPECTION AND COHERENCE OF NARRATIVE

Non-separated subjects were able to make spontaneous, well elaborated comments about their internal life. In addition, they could speak to both cognitive and affective experiences. These subjects made accurate connections between prior experiences and current functioning. With regards to coherence of narrative these subjects could maintain a smooth and uninterrupted flow of narrative even while experiencing intense affective states.

Separated subjects by contrast found it difficult to reflect upon and comment on their internal life. This was especially difficult with regards to affective issues. These subjects were somewhat more expansive about experiences in the cognitive sphere but were reluctant to delve into motivational issues. Connections between prior experiences and current functioning were less than adequate. With regards to coherence of narrative separated subjects experienced frequent disruptions as they struggled to speak about painful issues.

The quality of introspection and the degree of coherence demonstrated by the separated subjects was very much a function of two factors: 1) the material under consideration or discussion and the intensity of its accompanying affect; 2) the separated subject's capacity to mobilize appropriate resources to modulate the affect.

These findings are consistent with the work of Bucci & Freedman (1981) and Main, Kaplan & Cassidy (1985). Alongside a need to make sense of experience are strong tendencies to avoid examining such experiences because of the painful affective states they trigger. Both the pressure to grapple with experiences and the

escription of narrative caused by intruding affective states were observed in the separated subjects. The strategies used by separated subjects and to a lesser extent non-separated subjects, to manage intense affective states were consistent with those described by Dahl, et al, (1978) Gill & Hoffman (1982) and Isay (1977).

Although high level coherence of narrative speaks to adaptive ways of dealing with intense affect, it could also be an indication of major repressive activity and a tendency to avoid introspection on painful issues. Non-separated subjects were able to speak in a coherent and thoughtful manner about painful experiences. By way of contrast, Roy, the separated subject who maintained a comparable level of coherence did so at the price of introspection. His responses were terse, unelaborated and replete with rationalizations.

What was more common among the separated subjects was that when there was an initial attempt to think about a particular affect laden topic, the intense affect released would make their responses all but incoherent. And yet consistent with Bucci & Freedman's (1981) findings there appeared to be a pressure to examine and make sense of pain eliciting experiences. Lack of coherence was therefore often a reflection of an effort to examine some painful experience, albeit for the first time.

Other separated subjects such as Roy and Maurice, due in part to their inability to tolerate intense affective states, found it difficult to think about painful issues. This was especially evident around issues having to do with object loss, and intimacy. These subjects were singularly unreflective and uninformative around such issues. Interestingly enough the subjects who did not make sense of their painful experiences were all males. There are two, possible explanations for this. Male subjects reported frequent aggressive acting out as children and young adults. This inclination to act rather than think in the face of frustration and pain casts doubts on the individual's ability to tolerate unpleasant affective states and reflect

on their possible causes. A second related reasons lies in the relative ease, from a cultural perspective, that males can indulge in sexually promiscuous behavior. They are also less expected to reflect on their experiences. Such behavior, that was evident on the part of Winston and Maurice, obviates the need to reflect upon issues of commitment and fears of rejection. At the same time it probably in a rather regressed way partially satisfies the need for emotional nurturance.

In summary introspection and coherence of narrative are closely related. The latter can be considered adequate only when accompanied by sustained attempts to articulate well elaborated integrated statement on material that one presumes generates intense and usually painful affective states. The absence of such statements and the accompanying impoverishment of narrative suggests that much resources are being devoted to blocking rather than facilitating the process of introspection.

It would seem then that as a group the separated subjects demonstrated the following difficulties. They were less sure of themselves from two essential perspectives. Firstly, it was difficult for them to examine and make sense of their internal experiences. As a consequence of this it was often difficult for them to develop a perspective on their internal lives.

Secondly, they were quite wary about relationships that required intimate attachments. Alongside pronounced needs for nurturance were equally strong fears of emotional abuse and rejection. This uncertainty about others resulted in the separated subjects overvaluing overt and materialistic manifestations of love. Ambiguous or less than clear signals from significant others triggered flight rather than clarifying responses.

These subjects bear striking resemblance in their behavior to subjects classified

as insecurely attached to their respective mothers, by Main et al (1979). Such a finding would suggest a generational phenomena in which patterns of attachment are being passed on from insecurely attached mothers to their offspring. It is therefore highly likely that the separated subjects will raise offspring who will be insecurely attached to them.

FUTURE RESEARCH

An exploratory study such as this generates more questions than it answers. Following are some issues that warrant further research. A more comprehensive study with a larger and more representative pool of subjects is necessary to produce generalizable results. This study, for example, assessed functioning around intimacy in a self-referred fairly high functioning group of non-separated subjects. Comments by subjects suggests that there are other individuals who are not functioning nearly as well as those in the current study. Dante, for example, stated that his brother who experienced a prolonged separation from their mother was "permanently enraged" at women. Subjects also suggested that women had more painful experiences than men. This is probably a function of both lack of autonomy and intolerance of acting out behavior. A larger, more comprehensive study would throw much light on such issues. Many of the separated subjects are now parents. Although all subjects felt that they did not wish to be separated from their children, not all felt it was within their control. It would be instructive to explore their representations of parenting given their own experiences as children.

CLOSING SUMMARY

In summary two groups of Jamaican adults were interviewed with regards to their experiences around intimacy. One group of these subjects who had experienced prolonged separation from their respective mothers were also interviewed at length about their separation experiences. The data was interpreted from the perspective of object relations theory and attachment theory.

The essential finding was that the separated subjects had major difficulties around the experience, management and expression of intense affective states. These difficulties manifested themselves across a wide range of functions, such as

introspection, intimacy and coherence of narrative. Separated subjects routinely avoided grappling with affective states or the material that gave rise to them. As a consequence their capacity to reflect upon their experiences in an adaptive manner was seriously compromised. At the same time a persistent wish to make sense of their subjective experiences meant that one observed ambivalence across many functions including introspection and intimacy. Relating to significant others was also a difficult task for these separated subjects. They were similar in their behavior to the "insecurely attached" subjects described by the attachment theorists. Alongside a wish for nurturance were pronounced fears of emotional abuse and rejection. In conjunction with their less than adequate introspective capacities this contributed to much ambivalence around intimacy. Alongside wishes for autonomy one observed either overly dependent behavior or overly independent behavior. The degree of difficulty experienced by the separated subjects appeared to be a function of their experiences with the surrogate mother and the biological mother. Even when such experiences were positive one still observed insecure attachment. This suggests that the separation experience makes its own contributions to these difficulties and such contributions are exacerbated by less than adequate caregiving. At the same time adequate caregiver ameliorates but does not eliminate these difficulties.

Appendix A

779 Riverside Drive, B-12
New York, N.Y. 10032

Dear

I am a doctoral student in the Clinical Psychology program at the City University of New York. I am currently doing a study on the experience of being separated from one's mother due to migration. I am interested in how people have experienced and dealt with such a separation.

Most studies of migration deal with social and economic factors. The psychological consequences of migration are not clearly understood. In addition little work has been done on this kind of separation. By participating in this study you will be making a valuable contribution to the understanding of these issues.

If you agree to participate in the study we will set up a meeting time. During our meeting I will ask you to describe your experiences in the Caribbean. How things were then and also about your coming to the States and your current life. The entire process should take around two hours. All of the information you provide will be confidential; you will be identified only by a code number. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time if you wish to do so.

Should you have any questions or reactions to the matters we discuss please feel free to ask me during the meeting or call me at (212) 923-7579.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely

C. Jama Adams

Appendix B

I agree to participate in C. Jama Adams' study on the effects of migration.

I understand that my participation will involve approximately two hours of my time during which I will answer questions.

I also understand that all material is strictly confidential and that I may withdrew from participation at any time. In addition I reserve the right to request access to any data collected on me.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix C

INDIVIDUAL DATA SHEET

1. Age _____ Date of birth _____
2. Sex _____ MALE _____ FEMALE
3. What was the highest level of schooling you achieved:
_____ Primary
_____ Secondary/High School
_____ College
_____ Postgraduate/Graduate School
4. What do you do for a living?

5. Do you have any plans to be trained or to receive further training in a particular field? Please explain briefly.

6. Counting all periods of more than 3 months, how many times were you separated from your mother? Please list the dates and length of these separations. e.g. 2 separations - June 1961 - May 1964 - 3 years
July 1964 - June 1970 - 6 years

7. Please list the ages and sex of your siblings. (brothers and sisters).

Indicate if they are not for the same mother and father, e.g. 27 year old brother - different father.

8. Who did you grow up with?

9. How many years did you spend with this person/these persons (e.g. aunt - 10 years 1962 - 1972)

10. Where is this person now?

11. List the persons - adults and children - who lived in the home in which you grew up.

12. Did your father live with the family?

13. If not, were you able to see him on a regular basis?

14. Around what time - month and year - did you come to live with your mother in the US permanently?

15. What are your current living arrangements?

16. If you no longer live with your mother when did you cease to live with her?

Appendix D

The Convent and 138th Street Intimacy Interview

INTRODUCTION

As you might know I am talking to people who were separated from their mother and grew up in Jamaica while their mother went to work in America. I am interested in how you experienced the situation. I will be asking you questions about childhood. How things were then and also about you coming to America and your current life. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. Feel free to give whatever answer comes to mind. Let me say again that whatever you say to me will be treated in a strictly confidential manner. "Is there anything you would like to ask before we start?".

(1)

Let's start by talking about your early years in Jamaica.

- (a) Thinking back as far as you can where did you grow up?
- (b) Who did you live with at that time? (Strive to get an accurate picture of intra and inter family movement from subject's earliest memory up to migrating to the U.S.).

(2)

- (a) Of all the people you grew up with, which one do you feel closest to?
- (b) Could you describe what this person was like? (Probe for memories associated to the words used to describe the individual. For example, "you said she was a kind person, can you think of anything she did or said with you that shows this?").

(3)

- (a) We often have strong memories of our childhood years. Is there any

particular memory - good or bad - that you have of your childhood years?

(Probe for feelings)

if not present in the description).

- (b) How did you feel about this? (Probe for meaning attached to incidents).
- (c) What makes you remember that particular incident?

(4)

- (a) When you think of your mother, what comes to mind? (Probe: "What makes you say that" for each statement).
- (b) Can you think of five adjectives that best describes your mother? What makes you say _____ Use this probe for each word.
- (c) Can you think of any incident that best describes what she is like? (Probe).
- (d) How do you feel about this?
- (e) Is she any different now from what she was like when you were in Jamaica?
Can you think of any incident that shows how she has changed?
What do you make of this change.

(5)

- (a) From time to time as a child you might have been quite upset or very disappointed about something. How would you deal with it? (If no solace seeking response then ask:)
- (b) As a child can you remember any situation where you turned to an adult for comfort?
- (c) Could you describe that situation?
- (d) How did you feel?

(6)

- (a) What kind of preparation did you have for the separation from your mother?

How were you prepared for the fact that she was going to be leaving? (Probe for details of the preparation for the separation).

- (b) Do you remember who told you, what was said, how you felt?

(7)

I would like you to think back to the first time you were separated from your mother when she migrated.

- (a) Do you remember the actual separation (goodbye's etc.) Could you describe it for me?
- (b) How did you feel?
- (c) How do you think your mother felt? What makes you say that?

(8)

- (a) During those years in Jamaica what did you think were the reasons that your mother had to be away from you?
- (b) What made you think that?
- (c) Now that you're an adult what do you think were the reasons? (Probe for change in rationale).
- (d) What do you think about this change on your part? (If mother visited briefly during the separation ask: "I would like you to think back to the first time mother returned home for visit").
- (e) Do you remember the actual reunion greetings, etc.
- (f) Could you describe it for me?
- (g) How did you feel?
- (h) How do you think mother felt?
- (i) When mother was leaving, how did you feel?
- (j) How do you think she felt?

(9)

- (a) What kind of preparation did you have for being reunited with your mother in the States? How were you prepared for the fact that you would soon be leaving Jamaica and joining her in the States?
- (b) How did you feel about the idea of joining mother?
- (c) Could you describe what the reunion with mother was like? How did you feel when you saw her?
- (d) How do you think she felt?
- (e) What makes you say that?

(10)

How would you describe your current relationship with your mother? What makes you say _____?

Do you have any thoughts on what makes the current relationship with mother the way it is? (Probe: could you explain a bit more?)

I'm going to ask now about close relationship you have been involved in or are currently involved in.

(11)

- (a) Who would you say in your adult life you have felt closest to? Could you describe the relationship that has been most meaningful for you?
- (b) What has made this relationship most meaningful to you?
- (c) Who initiated this relationship?
- (d) Could you think of five adjectives that best describes your lover?
- (e) What made you say _____?
- (f) What was it you liked about him/her?
- (g) How did this relationship make you feel?

- (h) How do you feel about this?
- (i) How do you think the other person felt?

(12)

- (a) Where is this relationship now?
- (b) Could you describe how this relationship ended?
- (c) What did it feel like for you when it ended?
- (d) (If relationship has not ended ask:) Could you describe how a previous intimate relationship ended? (Then ask 12C).

(13)

- (a) What do you feel your own difficulties are in an intimate relationship?
- (b) Could you tell me an incident that shows this issue?
- (c) How did it make you feel? How do you think the other person felt?
- (d) What makes you say that?
- (e) Since this is a problem, how do you go about dealing with it?

(14)

- (a) What would you say was the worst thing that happened to you in a relationship with an intimate friend?
- (b) How did you feel?
- (c) Can you think of ways it might have affected you?

(15)

Looking back on your separation experiences, is there anything in particular that you think you've learned from the experience?

(16)

What effect do you think the separation from mother has had on you?

(17)

- (a) What effect do you think it has had on your relationship with mother?

(b) What effect do you think it has had on your intimate relationships?

(18)

Could you speak for five minutes about what you think has been important about this separation experience?

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