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1975

A PSYCHOSOCIAL STUDY OF GROUP MEMBERSHIP IN THE LIVES OF FOUR WOMEN: REVEALING AND REVISING THE FAMILY METAPHOR

by

ELSIE CHANDLER

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

1975

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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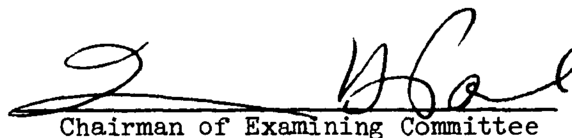
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Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Abstract

A PSYCHOSOCIAL STUDY OF GROUP MEMBERSHIP IN THE LIVES OF FOUR WOMEN: REVEALING AND REVISING THE FAMILY METAPHOR

by

Elsie Chandler

This is a study of personality development and its relationship to group membership. The lives of four adult women have been examined, using the clinical naturalistic method, in order to describe each woman's history with regard to her position and role in groups. Emphasis has been placed on comparing and contrasting the original family group with extra-familial groups. The family's organized conceptions of group life, themes, were analyzed. These themes, often expressed in metaphor, were traced through each woman's life course to her contemporary performance as a member of a work group.

PREFACE

Two years ago, Scotty Embree told me that writing a thesis was like throwing an anchor ahead, into the quasi unknown. As you pull yourself toward the anchor, you see where it landed with increasing clarity. Still more unsettling, you see beyond, to the next step. My thesis represents a step away from my family group and into membership in the adult world of work. For this reason, I dedicate my thesis to my women's writing group. For the past year, we met weekly to read, edit, criticize, and enjoy each other's articles and chapters. The group consisted of Drs. Scotty Embree, a sociologist, Karen Spaulding, a historian, and myself.

Dr. Peter Newton began to work with me two years ago. He read several drafts carefully, listened to hours of tapes, and persevered through my obstructions in respecting my delight in writing.

In my family group, I was the outside observer: alternately a clever jester and a raving Cassandra. Peter Newton helped me reappropriate my capacity to observe from the familial role. As I wrote and rewrote, his criticism was always in the direction of increased compassion, broadened perspective, and fuller membership in the adult world of work.

I would also like to thank the other members of my committee, Drs. I. H. Paul and David Ricks, for their guidance. Their own writings and their discussions with me gave me courage to begin and carry through

this project, to conceive of the problem and methodology in a theoretical context.

Other friends read transcripts and drafts of chapters: Drs. Sue Harris, John Mack, Kalman Rabinowitz, and Terry Martin, M.S.W. Their enthusiasm for the language and lives of the women interviewed multiplied my ability to really listen to each woman.

Many have read chapters and given time to discuss and share thoughts with me. In particular, Drs. Larry Gould, Daniel Levinson, Helen Moses, and Teri Phillips each offered a unique perspective and responded generously to my requests for help.

Two friends currently writing vivid fictional accounts of life in the family, Jeannie Friedman and John Raymond, read my case example chapters and shared their own chapters and stories. I learned about the depth and complexity of the grotesque and the nightmare in banal everyday life, as well as the relief in clarity without contempt.

Finally, I am indebted to Rosalyn, Danielle, Ann, and Evelyn, who were so brave and generous as to offer their memories, dreams, and thoughts to a stranger.

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I.--INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

The central question raised here concerned the meaning of group membership in the lives of four adult women. The four women interviewed each stated a choice to make membership in a work group a focus of their professional lives. In order to understand that choice and to clarify the contemporary quality of group membership for each woman, their lives were studied in a developmental context. Membership in the first group, the family of origin, was contrasted with subsequent extra-familial group experience up to the present. Thus, it was necessary to elicit as vivid and clear a picture as possible of each woman's life as a group member: in the family and in extra-familial groups.

The transition from the family of origin into the adult world of work is made via membership in a work group. Group membership, in its richest sense involves a feeling of belonging. The concept of work group will be more fully described below. Suffice it to say that this writer follows the Newton and Levinson (1973) definition of a small group created by the organization to carry out some parts of the larger system's labor. In our technologically sophisticated society, all organizations function through work groups. The work group (1) is established by the organization to carry out some part of the organization's task, and (2) links the individual worker to the larger organization. The task often may be vague at the outset and the group will need to clarify both the task and the ways that the larger organizational structure either

facilitates or impedes the task. The work group is a rational mode of social organization.

The participants in the study were four staff members of a Tavistock Group Relations Training Conference. Tavistock method and theory are discussed at length below. The Tavistock Conference is a group experience designed to study the ways people function and resist functioning as group members.

Peer group membership is briefly touched on by a few bodies of literature, specifically: the family and society, women and work, developmental theory, and Tavistock theory. Here, the phenomenon itself has been analyzed. The basic question is: What does it mean to be a woman in the process of choosing to be a fuller member of a work group? An examination of some at first apparently divergent areas of literature will serve to bring this question more clearly into focus.

I studied the roles of these four women within their families of origin. How did their families function as a group and what were the roles of each woman within that group? In what ways did the original dyad with the mothering one facilitate or impede extrafamilial peer group membership? In following the development of these four lives up to the present, the presence (and/or absence) of significant changes from familial patterns was investigated.

This study placed particular emphasis on early experiences in the family in an attempt to understand the attitude of parents toward group membership and work groups. In what ways did the actual experiences of the women in learning how to be members of their families and of peer groups affect current mastery of the skills needed for group membership and work? In what ways did each woman use her past history to change

and to actively choose in the present to be a member of a work group? The literature on the family in society provides a partial framework for dealing with these issues.

The Family as the First Group

In our culture, the nuclear family provides the first group experience. The family is a social institution in an historical context. The specifics of the four cases were viewed as examples of and variations on the general cultural pattern described below.

Certain sociologists and historians (e.g., Sennett, 1970; O'Neill, 1969) have described the family as having become an isolating and restrictive institution in the context of the consolidation of the industrial revolution at the turn of the century. At this juncture, an inherent contradiction manifested itself. On the one hand, industrialization made community life a lively possibility. On the other, the family became a secure island to which individuals retreated for "real" or private life. The family was enshrined and entrusted with the task of infant socialization.

In the new technology, work had to be done in groups. The resulting urban centers provided opportunities for extra-familial networks. In the factories with the assembly line, workers were thrown together and experienced work as a commonly shared or parallel phenomenon. Pubs, mutual aid societies, and social clubs prevailed as common evening activities. The machine politics that dominated urban life at the turn of the century can be seen as an attempt to carve a community out of a hostile and impersonal environment.

In the new urban centers, many divergent social groups and classes were thrown together. The family functioned to fragment this larger community. Sennett (1970, pp. 59-60) holds that the very disorder of city life pushed middle-class families to turn in on themselves, as a defense against the diversity. Families became "safe places in the city at the cost of becoming suffocatingly dull. The striking historical character of these families was . . . their isolation [p. 60]." Sennett contends that since the turn of the century families have undergone a progressive ossification, stuck in a supposedly secure order. Important, or real life started after work, at home. The family came to represent the only valid source of intense experience. As an island of security, the family could not tolerate any division within itself. In a desperate attempt to create order, conflict had to be stifled. A family that fought openly was not "happy." Sennett (1970) describes the family quietly torn by ". . . longings for communion and fears of internal divergence, generating in turn all kinds of tension and hidden guilty feelings . . . and a myth of solidarity . . . born out of an inability to accept ambiguities of a painful unknown [p. 66]." Thus, over the last three quarters of a century urban life has been marked by the growing rigidity in family patterns and a concomitant decline in multiple contact points and associations.

Thus, in the present, when work groups are a technological necessity for efficient production, society paradoxically has developed a socializing institution, the family, that trained people to function poorly in non-familial groups. In isolated families, the members feel

beleaguered. They experience pressure to be united, or to act as if they are without conflict, stress, or serious disagreement. In addition, there is no reason to leave the family since no "important" or "intense" interpersonal involvement occurs outside the family boundary.

Thus, while on the one hand the family may well have become an obsolete form, a counter-productive mode of social organization, on the other hand, it wields increasing power. Following Sennett's description, contact between the members of the family and the larger society are restricted and their importance minimized.

If one uses Sennett's sociological description to approach the four lives studied here, several questions present themselves. In what ways did the women have "intense" family lives? In other words, did their families of origin emphasize control and order within, as protection against a chaotic external world? Were their families isolating agents, and if so, how specifically did isolation occur? Also, what effect did the isolation have on these women?

Like Sennett, Erik Erikson (1950) also attempts to understand the dynamic of isolation and its effect on children. Erikson contends that children in our culture are compared to adults, not to each other. In contrast with other cultures where children are given age-appropriate tasks, in our culture:

> A child does not make any contribution of labor to our industrial society except as it competes with an adult; its work is not measured against its own strength and skill but against high-geared industrial requirements. Even when we praise a child's achievement in the home, we are outraged if such praise is interpreted as being of the same order as praise of adults . . . the child acquires no sensible standard by which to measure its own achievement [pp. 325-26].

Here the cost and counter-productive nature of socialization by the nuclear family is brought into stark relief. In order to maintain social

control, the child learns that the family is the only trustworthy group. Insofar as the culture limits opportunities for the child to compare himself to other children, the child has difficulty feeling that there are viable alternatives to his position in the family. Therefore, in the family group, the child feels inadequate and focuses on the superior skills of adults. The process of learning is too often not recognized as being of value in itself and so the child cannot possibly accomplish the adult skills necessary for self-sufficiency. As a result, children enter adulthood in industrial society unprepared to work, and without the basic social skills of group membership. We go through life with the aura of childhood: feeling that our real accomplishments or products are insignificant. One experiences one's position as that of a child among adults, rather than as a human being among other human beings.

Erikson describes the gap between adults and children within the family. Writers dealing with women in the family and at work see a further division along sex lines. Women are seemingly powerful within the family, but often feel trapped and helpless. The literature on women discusses the implications of traditional female roles.

Women in the Family and in the Work Group

Women in our culture are at the crux of a poignant contradiction. They are powerless outside the family and encouraged to exercise power within the family. Yet the power they exercise functions to trap all members of the family group, including themselves, in infantalized, unproductive, and empty positions. Men are permitted more often to have dual allegiance: to the family group and to the work group. Women's

loyalties are supposed to be with the home. Judith Bardwik, for example, in her Psychology of Women (1971), says:

> I regard women who are not motivated to achieve the affiliative role with husband and children as not normal. . . . When these needs are absent, denied, or defended against, my clinical observation is that there is evidence for pathological levels of anxiety, a distorted sexuality, and a neurotic solution [p. 162].

Women in our culture who have chosen to become members of a work group are forced to struggle with dilemmas that hit home with even greater force than they would for a man. Often work group membership is experienced as an assault on their current family. The push to become a member of a group and to that degree leave one's current family may be accompanied by the childhood moods of dread.

As the literature on sex roles shows, typing is a procrustean bed for both sexes. Men and women both lose by trying to fit into the molds created by the culture. However, there is no disputing that women are educated for the less enviable and less powerful place. They are considered less mentally healthy, less mature, have lower self-images, and typically fill low prestige positions. Women are supposedly naturally "compassionate" and "expressive" (that is, better at "feelings" rather than action) and are therefore trained from childhood to seek "helping" jobs with low status. It has also been suggested that, as in the case of physicians in the Soviet Union, when women fill positions that previously had high status, the status of the position decreases (Hoffman, 1972; Broveman, et al., 1972; Horner & Adams, 1971; Epstein, 1970).

Women have been trained to feel that they must marry in order to have a meaningful existence. That is, although the literature suggests that women are less happy than men in marriage and reap fewer benefits,

they feel a greater urgency to marry (Bart, 1971). As several authors have pointed out, women are offered the pseudo-power of the home, as if the home were an encapsulated universe, and are encouraged to dominate and possess their children as if they were objects (O'Neil, 1969; Bart, 1971; Bernard, 1971a). When the economy requires it, they are temporarily drafted into the labor force--for example, during wartime--and then discarded. Their work outside the home is then considered "extra." In the larger economy, they are an easily expendable, easily manipulated surplus. The ideology of the feminine woman and the homemaker, in addition to being crippling psychologically, functions in society at large to exploit both men and women workers. Women work for lower wages. They are amongst the last hired, first fired. Elaborate rationales have been devised to support this pattern, and these rationales are woven into the fabric of ideology used to oppress women. "One of the major barriers to the full utilization of women in the labor force has been the perpetuation of myths and fallacious generalizations about women as a group [Report to the Secretary, Health, Education, and Welfare, 1972, p. 59]."

Juliet Mitchell and Jesse Bernard discuss the functions of women (reproduction, sexuality, socialization of children, and production) and their current contradictions. Women are specially isolated at home as well as on the job. Mitchell (1971) writes:

> The relationship of women workers is simply the counterpart of the loneliness at home. . . . Because the economic role of women is obscured (its cheapness obscures it) women workers do not have the preconditions of class consciousness. Their exploitation is invisible behind an ideology that masks the fact that they work at all--their work appears inessential. . . . Cut off from other women at home, going to work "for the company" she yet brings--at times of crisis--the isolation of the family to bear on the collective possibilities of the work situation, she does not have even a divided loyalty for where dependence is intrinsic to the situation, loyalty is redundant. Separated from her work companions by her dependence

> on her family, within this family she experiences a yet more fundamental division: that of herself and her husband--the original unity.
>
> . . . this division between the roles of a man and wife is not simply a "division of labor," it is the denigration of one job to service and the elevation of the other to "production." A division --like all divisions--predicated on inequality [pp. 139-40].

Mitchell offered a painful example of a woman telephone worker driven by the husband (literally as well as figuratively) through her picketing co-workers. The husband maintained that the family could not do without her "extra" wages. The woman was desolate. She did not want to turn against her fellow workers, yet she felt that she had no choice. Clearly not just her wages, but the security of her marriage, its psychological equilibrium, was at stake. In a pinch, the woman felt that her husband's emotional support was more crucial to her survival than that of her co-workers.

Although married women supposedly work for peer contact and "extras" around the house, research shows that basically women work because they need the money. Their families could not subsist without their incomes (Report to the Secretary, HEW, 1972)..
The average American woman increases family income by 25 percent. In addition, "women's status as 'secondary workers' is largely the result of their roles as mothers and their lower earnings [p. 63]." Presumably, if there were less sex bias in employment opportunities, women's income would be less marginal.

One phenomenon discussed by current writers is that, although more women today are working, they are less likely than they were thirty years ago to seek high-level positions (Farmer & Bohn, 1970). The authors offer the somewhat lame explanation of "cultural lag" (an ambiguous term

at best). Certainly the data tell us that the family as the most immediate institutionalization of sexism is self-perpetuating and regressive. The women who are the most likely to work are either not married, or, if married, needing the money, or, have husbands who are actively supporting their careers by participation in child care and housework as well as offering emotional support (Kaley, 1971; Entwisle & Greenberger, 1972; Farmer & Bohn, 1970). Such married women are in the minority, and even with special help do not escape the larger cultural stresses.

As Bernard (1971) explains, the functions of women in our society are at odds with one another. Women are still expected to be expert in homemaking, child-rearing, glamour, emotional support, and industrial production. Bernard notes that the most pervasive and subtle conflict is between the productive and supportive functions. The supportive function is performed at enormous psychological (as well as material) cost to women. Specifically Bernard (1964) cites the anxiety, depression, and self-denigration experiences by professional women who are expected to be the "stroking" appreciative or "expressive" member of a dyad or group. All the modes of behavior in this function (passive agreement, giving help, complying) disqualify women for jobs that require a more assertive or competitive stance. If a woman refuses to perform this supportive function, she faces powerful censures. She is accused of being unfeminine, bitchy, or worse (pp. 88-15). It is assumed that women work for love and duty (in the office as well as the home). This is an anachronism in the cash nexus where it is otherwise assumed that work is done not for honor or status but by contract. (Popularizers of the women's movement have in part raised this issue with talk of

"marriage contracts." This might be viewed as an obsessive, round-about, attempt to deal with the stultifying effects of "love and duty.")

The literature (Maccobi, 1972; Rossi, 1972; Horner, 1972) amply documents the difficulty females have in taking their work commitment seriously, allowing themselves to care about success, to overcome their fear of being competent, self-reliant adults. One author wonders how any women have managed to succeed at all (Rossi, 1972). Interestingly, many writers point to the mother-daughter relationship as central to to the problem. The tie between mother and daughter is found generally more binding than between mother and son. Not only do mothers tend to be more protective of daughters and more restrictive, but, in addition, the sex similarity forges a stronger identification between mother and daughter (Hoffman, 1972). We shall examine some of the ways in which each woman's connection with her mother has enabled or impeded her mastery of the functions necessary to be a competent, effective adult member of a work group.

Of special interest here is the literature on "role innovators," women who work in male-dominated fields (Tangri, 1972; Hoffman, 1972). Tangri found that women who were successful in such fields had achieved "cognitive distance" from both parents. The women Tangri studied perceived themselves as more similar to their fathers. If the mother was educated and had a career, the daughter would be more likely to take her as a role model. However, Tangri found that often there was jealousy and conflict between mother and daughter, especially if the mother worked in a noninnovative role. The mother would perceive the daughter as having rejected her life style (p. 193).

In general, successful women (women whose careers are important to them) are perceived as less dependent on parents and family and more autonomous (Hoffman, 1972; Tangri, 1972). Hoffman notes that girls who were "high achievers" had "hostile mothers." As Hoffman points out, it is unclear whether or not this means that the girls were "rejected" by their mothers or simply were without "smother love."

The literature suggests three possible answers to the question of how women manage to succeed. (1) The female child had adequate but not overprotective mothering and was not trained to be timid and dependent. (2) The female child was encouraged or allowed to identify with her father. (3) The child was permitted to explore non-familial alternatives. In general, current authors feel that it is important to notice the complexity of the problem and the multiplicity of solutions individual women have found. There is no one "career woman" (Helson, 1972; Bernard, 1964).

Although the literature studies the problem from divergent angles, it shows that the further daughters move from their mothers, the more committed they are to their work and the less fearful they are of succeeding in it. The four women studied here vary along a continuum of success in their careers. (There are important differences in experience, credentials, and level of accomplishment. However, they are all "role innovators" in that they work in positions often reserved for men. In addition, they have all willingly, even enthusiastically, involved themselves in attempting to make membership in a work group central to their lives. In these two ways, they are culturally deviant.

Personality Development and Group Membership

In this study, the choice to be a member is viewed in terms of the life history, in a developmental and social context. Such a choice is one that the culture makes difficult. We are trained to see ourselves as family members who study and work in a world of strangers. We often move through non-familial groups without fully engaging in them. Women are doubly discouraged from choosing to be a member of a non-familial work group, and the question then arises of why anyone particularly a woman would want to choose to be a member of a non-familial group. This question is approached in later chapters with interview material. Here, let us simply note that H. S. Sullivan's developmental theory views peer group membership as a pressing need.

Childhood Development and Group Membership

Psychologists, notably Erikson (1950) agree that in order to mature, the individual needs to become autonomous from the mother. Erikson states that this should begin between the ages of 1 and 3. Erikson describes the ways the family structure in our culture make it difficult to accomplish an authentic differentiation from the mother. He also stresses that this is an important process and a serious deficit when it does not occur. Erikson suggests that in order to become autonomous, we would have to value learning and development of social skills in the context of equals. He shows how this seldom occurs in families in our culture.

This study follows the developmental theory of H. S. Sullivan, a major psychoanalytic theorist who discusses the development of group membership skills as an aspect of personality development. Sullivan

(1953) says that group membership is a function of a specific developmental era, the juvenile era. The hallmark of this era is the recognition of a pressing need for peers. Children begin at about the age of 4 to learn the social skills of competition, compromise, and cooperation with groups of children their own age. They begin to try to communicate with their peers--to speak in a less idiosyncratic, more consensual, mode. It is at this stage that one first begins to have feelings of group membership. Juveniles are able to allow others, non-family people, to represent real alternatives for them. This occurs both in peer groups and in situations where there are non-familial authority figures who may or may not agree with their parents. According to Sullivan, unless one has the experience of membership in a peer group, one suffers an arrest of development, and the "freedom and velocity of constructive changes are markedly reduced [p. 218]." One is less able to make use of new opportunities. Sullivan notes that in our culture, few of us enter the stages following the juvenile era without such an arrest. We are stuck in childhood (the stage before the juvenile), with our parents as our only legitimate audience. We experience our peers as if they were our parents. They seem larger, more powerful, and essential for our survival. We are unlikely to feel that we are members of a group of equals, people like ourselves. To the extent that we do notice that we are among people like ourselves, we feel that they are malevolent. Which is, after all, just another way of making ourselves feel alone and beleaguered--the mood of a lonely, frightened child. The only way, Sullivan contends, for a person to develop a sturdy identity as a member of the human race, a person who can exist distinct from mother, it to be able to take pleasure in the company of a variety of people like oneself, a peer group.

Sullivan's theory describes the mothering one as the socializing agent. From the first days of infancy, the child responds empathetically to the mother's shift in moods, thus actively maintaining the connection to her. This is a matter of survival for the infant who quickly learns to act in ways that will not arouse the mother's anxiety. Mother's anxiety controls the infant's behavior. Preoccupation with the avoidance of anxiety prevents the satisfaction of needs. (For example, it is commonly known that many infants will not nurse if the mothering one is anxious.)

Forbidding gestures are also used by the mothering one to control the child's behavior. This could be a change in inflection, a facial or body expression, or any non-verbal cue. Sullivan describes other ways that the child learns cultural proscriptions of overt behavior, for example, "Moral tales" (i.e., bedtime stories, family legends, fairy tales) that are either a part of the general culture or may be more idiosyncratic inventions of the parents representing their particular values. Sullivan indicates that these tales are especially influential in early childhood (p. 220).

Sullivan's concept of the moral tale is evocative. In the course of my study, I found myself leaning heavily on it and extending its meaning. I defined a moral tale as a parental command, given in the form of a metaphor. For example, one story repeated frequently by Evelyn's mother was about how the mother fell and damaged herself rather than drop the infant Evelyn on the church steps. The story implies that Evelyn as an infant had hurt her mother. The parental command, later reinforced by a serious illness, was that moving about in the world is dangerous,

that the mother sacrificed herself to protect Evelyn, and that Evelyn is therefore obligated. The moral tale contains a conception of the world and a demand that the child tailor her perceptions to fit the familial view. The concept of the moral tale is developed more fully in the case example chapters. I found it to be an important tool in socialization and that parents often used a moral tale to convey their image of group and collective life.

In these various ways--the empathic communication of anxiety, forbidding gestures, and moral tales--the child learns to limit its overt behavior, to mold it to socially approved values, as interpreted by early childhood parenting figures. It is important to note that these communications take place in the earliest stages of development and so are associated with the most powerful prohibition--the threat of disconnection from the mothering one and hence death.

This study attempted to elucidate the moods, attitudes, and feelings of each woman regarding her mother's attitude toward group membership. We may assume that, since the choice for women to be fully a member of a work group is an aberrant one in our culture, there is a cultural proscription against membership. This study attempts to determine the ways each woman's parents participated in this general proscription and the specific methods of transmission. Sullivan states that alternative mothering figures and the later juvenile experience with peers and non-familial authorities provide the individual with alternatives. I have also examined the ways each woman used non-familial individual and group experience to enhance her capacity for satisfaction of needs, with special emphasis on the need to be a member of a group.

The Tavistock Approach to Group Membership

If one follows Sullivan in understanding group membership as a developmental social skill, one that needs to be learned among people, then groups lose much of their mystery. There are ways of learning to become a member. If one typically does not feel like a member across a variety of group settings, there would be historical reasons for it, and, theoretically, one could acquire the capacity. Although Tavistock theorists provide us with a working basis for comprehending the group as a process and entity, their articles and books are infused with metaphors of terror and dread of the group. One striking example is Margaret Rioch's ("The Work of Wilfred Bion on Groups") image of the group as the Sphinx--a monster who poses the riddle and throws those who answer incorrectly to their death. Within her metaphor, Rioch suggests that knowledge about the group is equally dangerous. Oedipus was the first to answer the riddle of the Sphinx. His quest for knowledge led him to an equally terrible fate. It is jarring to discover this metaphor toward the end of Rioch's clear, precise article.

What is striking about Bion's and Rioch's approach to groups is that in fact the theory lacks a sense of developmental continuity. Entering a group, the individual is thrust from adulthood into the primitive and horrifying recesses of infancy. At any moment, the individual is subject to being overwhelmed--as if he were an infant confronted by the bad breast. Not only is this a pervasive mood, it is explicitly stated by Bion (1959).

Bion posits that you cannot carry out an investigation of group dynamics without arousing primitive defenses and experiences. In the study of behavior in a group one encounters "psychotic anxiety," thought

to be inherent in the nature of groups. Members may feel as if their very lives are at stake, just as an infant feels in the presence of an angry, anxious, or withholding mother. In an attempt to avoid these dreadful feelings, participants of groups develop and use shared defenses that Bion calls "Basic Assumptions." In the Tavistock Group Relations Training Conference, the consultant to the group (the staff member) interprets the Basic Assumptions. However, the defenses are never erased, only made more conscious. In fact, they are necessary to somehow help the group navigate around the "instinctive" undertow toward the deep waters of primitive regression. This is a discouraged and conservative perspective on the possibilities of group life.

Bion defines a "work group" as the moments when the group is effectively channeling its defenses to avoid psychotic anxiety and to accomplish the task set for itself. More recent writings (Newton and Levinson, 1973), in attempting to more explicitly conceptualize the "work group" have also questioned Bion's theoretical acceptance of the inevitability of Basic Assumption life and its mysterious ebb and flow. They agree that group defenses (or Bionian Basic Assumptions) operate, but insist that the work group remains a work group no matter how the group's efforts are divided between the pursuit of its defined task and the pursuit of other aims. There is a current feeling in our culture that so-called real work gets done in privacy or by one or two top men and then the group meets to rubber-stamp. Newton and Levinson argue that to accept as inevitable the corruption or ineffectuality of work groups is inherently conservative and involves in effect, if not in intent, a complicity in preventing social and organizational change.

Here, these authors indicate one of the contradictions of our culture. Work must be done by groups and so work groups are established. However, as a member of such a group, the individual at the interface of his own job and the larger organization, may experience his powerlessness and alienation at first hand. The visceral experience of helplessness had both individual psychological and organizational origins. Often the organizational structure is oppressive and the opportunities provided subordinates to share in power, illusory. At the same time, individuals may defensively avoid opportunities to influence superordinates out of infantile concerns and attachments to authority. In their case study of a work group in a psychiatric hospital, Newton and Levinson attempt to clarify and distinguish between the two. They imply that by such clarification one can delineate the real lines of legitimate delegated authority and illegitimate power. Understanding the interaction of psychodynamic and social structural forces in the work group, and between the work group and the larger organization, creates the possibility of an authentic experience of membership and constructive action aimed at organizational change.

Adult Development and Group Membership

This study also explores adult as well as early developmental aspects of group membership. Each of the four women were members of Tavistock Group Relations Training Conference staff groups. Here I have used the individual case history approach to illuminate the contradictions described above. In what ways is it possible for adult women to have an experience of membership in a group?

It is problematic to what extent adult female developmental stages correspond to those established by Levinson (Roff and Ricks, 1974) for males. If there were an exact parallel then women between the ages of 22 and 28 would be occupied with the developmental task of Getting Into the Adult World. For example, they might be moving out of their parents' house, experimenting with various social and work roles. Between the ages of 28 and 32, women would be in The Age Thirty Transition and moving toward Settling Down (33-39). In these years, they might experience a turning point at which they would re-evaluate their life in terms of an earlier "dream" or ideal expectation. They might have a "mentor," someone 10 to 15 years older who functioned as a model and who gave assistance. By 40, the woman would become her own person, have relinquished or broken with her mentor and have settled into a permanent life style, or have failed to do so. In examining the lives of these four women, it was of interest to keep Levinson's categories in mind. As yet, no similar research has been done on adult women. Much of the feminist literature suggests that things may well be different for women. For example, a woman in academic and professional life will not easily find an older woman to be her mentor. What might the implications be of having a male fill that position?

While I have not used Levinson's age-linked developmental stages in any systematic way, his thinking has had a profound influence on me. Levinson writes about the process of adult development in terms of movement away from the family of origin and into the world of work. This is implicit in his study, for he has chosen his subject pool according to occupational groupings. More explicitly, Levinson asserts that finding

work that is (or is not) congruent with one's earlier "dream" is a significant indicator of adult development. If one fails to find satisfying work, one's adult world is less rich. Levinson says that the process of leaving the family takes many years of adult life, and by the nature of his writing testifies that he thinks the process is worthy of respect. By his writing, he validates the importance of an area that psychology and sociology generally leave untouched: the psychosocial vicissitudes of becoming an adult, via membership in the world of work.

II.--RESEARCH SETTING AND METHOD

This study examines the process of leaving the family to become a member of the adult world of work. In the first chapter, I stated that, although this is a common developmental challenge, it is one that the literature and the culture does not usually hold in focal awareness. Here the process is recognized as worthy of study. The primary question asked was in what ways has membership in a work group been influenced (if at all) by the quality of membership in the first group, the family. The first chapter stated the problem and discussed areas of the literature and theories concerned with peer group membership. In the following case example chapters, I present the data. In this chapter I explain how and where I obtained the data and why I chose to present it in the form of the case example.

In the case example chapters I have tried to share my understanding of the four women interviewed with clarity and with as much humanity as they offered to me in my work with them. Therefore I have, changed those identifying details regarding both the participants and the research setting necessary for the protection of their anonymity. I did not change the ages, their positions in the Tavistock group relations training, nor any other facts that would affect the analysis or conclusions of this study.

The Research Setting

Each of the four women was a member of staff groups of Tavistock Group Relations Training conferences. There were two separate conferences observed. Each conference lasted for a weekend, beginning on a Friday afternoon and ending Sunday evening. (I added the second conference essentially because I wanted to add another woman to my sample, Ann, someone who had more experience as a Tavistock consultant than the other three research participants.) Both conferences were held at Johns Hopkins University, and the mood of the university community permeated the event. Therefore, although the naturalistic setting for the research was the Tavistock Conference, the university community was also part of the field. In addition, there was an informal Tavistock network consisting of mental health professionals, many of whom work at the university and the university hospital, but who have social and work ties to Tavistock consultants in other major cities. Therefore, the naturalistic setting for the work group could be summarized as the Tavistock conference, the university community, and the Tavistock network. The case example chapters reveal the flavor of life in a sophisticated and prestigious university town. Here I will briefly describe the structure of the Tavistock Conference so that the reader can more fully comprehend the actual work of each participant.

The first Tavistock Group Relations Training Conference was held in this country in 1965 at Mt. Holyoke. Tavistock conferences are structured and viewed theoretically as organizations in themselves. The staff of a Tavistock Conference consists of an administrator and consultants. The director is in a position of primary authority responsible for

managing the conference as an organization. There are precisely scheduled group exercises. Three of the women interviewed (Evelyn, Ann, and Rosalyn) were consultants: one, Danielle, was an administrator. Ann and Rosalyn were consultants to the large group exercise. In the large group exercise, the membership as a whole (often fifty to sixty people) sits in concentric circles. Three staff members consult to the large group. Evelyn worked as a small group consultant. In the small group exercise the conference membership is divided into groups of eight or ten. The small groups meet for an hour and a quarter or an hour and a half at a time with one consultant. Consultants offer interpretations of group process but do not otherwise participate in the group.

The staff itself forms a group that meets in between the exercises. I was an observer of the staff group for the first conference. For the second conference, I observed Ann work as a consultant to the large group. The staff group meets to share information and offer assistance and supervision. There is an attempt to understand the conference as a whole, to notice themes and trends.

As the one who observed the staff group, I was placed in a position psychologically equivalent to the observing ego: I observed the observers. Particularly in the first conference, members of the staff group reported that they felt I understood most about the meaning of the conference. In part, this was the case. As the most distant observer, the one least actively participating in any group process, I was able to note overall themes and conflicts.

I was most interested in the ways that the women I was studying filled and gave personal definition to their positions (as consultants or as administrator). In each position, the staff member actively created a

role for herself. This role was viewed as a function of the interaction between social structural definitions of the position and the individual's personal history. For example, Danielle, the conference administrator, was the daughter of Jewish parents who lived through German and Italian camps during World War II. This aspect of her past was very much in her awareness before and during the conference. In the case example chapters, I examined the specific ways that Danielle brought her family past into her contemporary work group experience, as well as the ways that she transcended these patterns. In my examination of Danielle and the others' roles, I follow Levinson's (1959) distinction between role and position. The position is the place in the organization to be filled. The role is the individual's active way of defining the position in an attempt to combine social requirements and individual predilection.

As observer of the staff group, I was able to observe each of the women studied in a work group. However, I found that the interviews with each woman yielded a richer source of information. In the next section, I describe the interview method.

The Interviews

When I first planned the study, I asked several women's work groups to participate before I was finally accepted by the Tavistock Conference staff group. The objections the women's groups offered stemmed from a reluctance to be interviewed in depth. I had explained that I would want to ask them about their first memories and about their early childhood through to their current lives. By the time the women on the Tavistock conference staff group accepted, I had nearly despaired of anyone willingly disclosing such extensive private information.

Each of the women, Rosalyn, Danielle, Ann, and Evelyn, was interviewed three times for about an hour and a half to two hours each. Thus I had a total of about six hours of interviews with each woman. The interviews were taped and the tapes were professionally typed. The transcripts total nearly 750 double-spaced pages.

The first interview took place just before the Conference was to begin. I began by asking each woman why she had decided to work at this particular conference. I attempted to learn as much as possible about the current interpersonal context. I asked about fantasies and dreams and whether there were any conscious projects in mind concerning work. I asked for associations to early history. Each woman was able, even in the first interview, to recall and share memories from childhood, and family myths that served as referents for group experience. I tried to be sensitive to each woman's language, noting idiosyncratic words or phrases. Often these were clues to significant early memories.

In the second interview, just after the Conference ended (within a day or two), I was interested in the impact of an intense group experience. I elicited dreams, marginal thoughts during and after the conference, associations and memories evoked by the experience.

In the third interview, a few weeks after the Conference ended, I asked for a developmental history in a more structured manner. I was most interested in eliciting a history of group membership, first in the family and then in extra-familial groups. I tried to evoke enough detailed interactions, memories, and dreams. I wanted to get as close as possible to each person's experience, to see the world through her eyes. On the other hand, it was difficult for the women to remember and

find consensual language for their group experience. None of the women had thought about her past in such detail. In addition, since peer group membership is not commonly valued in the culture, people do not generally share their memories about such experiences. At the end of the interviews, Evelyn remarked, "I never thought anyone but me would be interested in these details."

The interviewer functioned as a participant observer. One who, as Erikson (1950) says, "in committing himself to influencing what he observers becomes part of the historical process which he studies [p. 16]." Erikson argues that this is the appropriate mode for study of individuals, since each of us is enmeshed in our social or interpersonal context. My position as interviewer enabled me to serve as audience. In some instances I provided the women with an opportunity to share for the first time important memories, thoughts, and perceptions.

As Kenniston (1964) has noted, in the attempt to study someone's "significant thoughts, feelings, and conceptions of themselves, it is necessary to create conditions that will encourage effective involvement and willing self-disclosure [p. 122]." Current researchers in the area of the study of life histories agree that not only is a "humanistic" research design useful, but that it needs to be a "human encounter between two equals. . . [Ricks, 1972, p. 651]." In fact, the information collected consists of "episodes, themes, and learning sequences of his life as he understands it, organized into a coherent sequence or style of life [p. 651]."

In such an encounter, one should, as Ricks writes, compensate the person studied with helpful insights and assessments. In addition, working in such a fashion, that is, in studying lives, in itself

contributes to a sense of "living a coherent, meaningful life," something which many are currently recognizing as problematic.

Willems and Raush (1969) outline general assumptions providing a summary of the clinical naturalistic method (pp. 134 ff.). First, that "we are all pretty much alike." Given that, it is legitimate to study a single life situation. Second, change is a constant condition of human existence and can be conceptualized and studied specifically. Third, the context is a major influence, and in fact, "some psychological phenomena are best studied in an interpersonal and sometimes intimate context." Fourth, that "events occur over time and a sequence is analyzable." That is, the fabric of events and themes in human lives can be analyzed in a historical context.

Basically, this study explored the ways in which individuals used their life histories in making current choices, which may or may not be in the service of change. In other words, I examined each woman's life course as she used it to encourage and/or discourage herself from choosing to be a fuller member of a work group.

Method of Analysis of the Data

When confronted by the raw data, the tapes, and transcripts, I felt overwhelmed. I began to organize the data by listening to the taped interviews as an analyst listens to an analysant. I then read the transcript while playing the tapes, not only to check for error, but also to note voice change, tone, pauses, cigarette lighting, giggles, stutters, and the like. The mood often emerged more clearly on the tape than in the transcript. Next, I constructed a chronology of each woman's life. Working with the transcript and file cards. I tried to decide which event

preceded what. This is never a simple task. Many therapists have had the experience of listening to how the history changes as the person's present life shifts.

Then I added my conceptual perspective and my focus on group experience. I organized the data into what I defined as themes: the criteria for belonging in the family group, the original role requirements, and the familial conceptions of group life. By organizing the chronology into themes, I thought I could convey more of the complexity of life as well as my emerging sense of cause and effect in each person's life course. The case examples that follow reflect my understanding of the way four individual women developed (and failed to develop) a capacity for peer group membership. In writing each case example chapter, I remembered that I had picked an arbitrary moment in each woman's life, and that each woman's life is more than a development of group membership.

III.--THE FIRST CASE EXAMPLE: *ROSALYN*

Rosalyn was 20 years old and had been married for two years. Her husband Dan was a psychiatric resident at the Johns Hopkins Medical School. Rosalyn spent one year at Bennington (her mother's alma mater) after which she dropped out to marry Dan. As Rosalyn described her current experience:

> . . . I don't have a job now. I sit at home a lot. We have a very nice house in the woods, two acres of land around it and there are miles of woods behind it. And big windows with a stream running through my backyard. So I spend a lot of time just by myself all day and there's days on end when I basically don't go outside the house even. (#1, p. 58)[1]

The house was near the home of her parents, and Rosalyn was in daily contact with her mother. When alone, Rosalyn would run "down the road," knit, weave, read, and "just sit around and think." (#1, p. 25) She often played tennis and went shopping with her mother.

Rosalyn said:

> I don't like to check into . . . unconscious things with myself too much because . . . checking into it could interfere with the process. (#1, p. 59)

Two years ago she had begun to pay more attention to her thoughts,

> and I ended up being afraid . . . of the world. . . .

When asked for examples of fearful thoughts, Rosalyn mentioned

[1]Number 1, 2, or 3 designates the first, second, or third interview. The page number refers to the page in the typed transcript. The transcripts, with identifying details deleted, are available upon request at the Psychological Center of the City University, 3322 Broadway, New York City.

car accidents on the road. You know they could happen to anybody so you realize they could happen to you at any time and I actually was in a car accident during that time so it got into my beliefs that there was something to worry about. And I worried about fires. . . . For the first time in my life I had a gas stove. I'd grown up with electricity. . . . And during that time a church (nearby) blew up from a gas explosion. (#1, p. 59)

Although Rosalyn said that she had unconscious thoughts like this all the time, she dated their onset to age 18, two years ago. This was the time she married. Rosalyn concluded that the past two years had been a "period of growing up." She was referring to a specific incident in her family of origin.

Rosalyn's father was a successful corporate lawyer. Her mother had worked in early education since before her marriage. Rosalyn, the youngest of four children, believed that she received most of the attention in the family. Despite the fact that her father "hated babies" (#2, p. 31), she explained:

I think my father thought I was more attractive . . . he thought my personality was more attractive . . . just a friendlier more relaxed child than . . . my sisters . . . much happier, less of a problem. (#3, p. 149)

Just before Rosalyn met Dan, she learned that her father

was having affairs with other women behind my mother's back. (#2, p. 49)

I mean, it's now come out. And this is something that I think everyone, all three girls . . . my brother stays out of this sort of thing, are very upset about. . . . My father has an apartment in Washington . . . and he's furnishing it, without ever letting my mother know. (#2, p. 49)

Although she seemed preoccupied with it, Rosalyn said:

. . . I haven't thought about it too much, because I just, I don't know what to do about it. . . . (#2, p. 49)

She added:

. . . of course my mother knows something. I mean, there's no way she can't, so she feels very hurt about it. (#2. p. 50)

Rosalyn said that she was "just so disillusioned. Like. . .my parents . . . got along better than anybody . . . else's parents I knew. . . ." (#2, p. 51) She felt frightened:

> . . . my father just doesn't know what he's doing. I mean if my mother ever left my father he'd be destroyed. (#2, p. 52)

Rosalyn seemed to mean this much more concretely than she explicitly stated. She began to wonder, "what would happen if my father died suddenly for whatever reason. . . ." (#2, p. 50) Her train of associations went quickly from that to her parents' new home and then:

> By then World War III may have happened or something so I won't have to worry about it anyway.
>
> . . . We are one of the number one bombing targets for Russia . . . . (#2, p. 61)

For Rosalyn, the task of "growing up" involves dealing with these fearful thoughts. She said that she hoped her marriage would help her in

> knowing that things happen but not being afraid of them all the time. (#1, p. 64)

She wanted "security" from her marriage. (#1, p. 63)

Recent Group History:

Tavistock Group Relations Training

Rosalyn explained that she ". . . got into Tavistock through Dan. . . ." (#2, p. 64)

> He had gotten into Tavi and sort of for the first two years I knew him that's about all I heard. . . . (#1, p. 3)

Thus, Rosalyn's participation began within the last year. The current conference was the first she had worked without her husband also being a member of the staff group. However, Rosalyn spoke as though she had more experience.

As she spoke of the conference, Rosalyn was particularly focused on authority figures and the prestige system. For example, she said that the director of the conference had asked her to join the staff group as a large group consultant because:

> I gather he asked Evelyn first, I guess because he wants to give her training and then he wanted someone who could do large group consulting on a large basis and had the experience to do it and I do. I think he asked . . . Ann first and she was gonna be out of town so I was just one of the few other women in Baltimore who has experience with large group consulting so he asked me. He knows my husband. (#1, p. 1)

Rosalyn's preoccupation with status hierarchy suggests that she experienced herself as a child in the adult world. In fact, she told the interviewer that the director perceived her as a "daughter," while he saw her husband as a "peer." (#2, p. 66)

Rosalyn was acutely aware of her husband's absence during the conference. At the end of each session she felt impatient to rush home and "tell Dan everything. . . ." Together they "reviewed the whole conference." (#2, p. 39) Rather than experience herself as a member of the staff group, Rosalyn kept herself psychologically in an exclusive dyad with her husband. It seemed that Rosalyn felt she could only be involved in the adult world through her connection with her husband.

Rosalyn said that it "bothered" her to be in a "large group" (anything more than three or four). That is, she could not tolerate the unstructured ebb and flow of human interaction.

> . . . one of the reasons I like Tavi where I have my own specific role and I know exactly what are the bounds of that and I don't have to give any more or take any more than what is defined by the role. So I can sit with people for a lot longer and I don't have to be giving and taking with the group a lot. (#1, p. 6)

The interviewer understood this to mean that the peer groups were painful for Rosalyn. In order to be in a group, Rosalyn required rigid boundaries; that is, she wanted to control the group from a position of power.

At age 20, Rosalyn was faced with the challenge of leaving her family of origin. As many in our culture, Rosalyn may have been attempting to use her marriage to separate from her family of origin and make her own way into the adult world as an equal.

Most of Rosalyn's thoughts were of a fearful, even phobic nature. As shown above, her stream of consciousness was replete with fantasies of explosions, fires, wars, etc. Another predominant concern was keeping track of who is where in the power hierarchy. The themes of violence and power pervaded Rosalyn's experience. Since Rosalyn had not fully left her family of origin, the interviewer assumed that Rosalyn's thoughts were linked to the family group's world view.

Rosalyn's life course offers an example of one who is negotiating the challenge of leaving home. She has not had the experience of feeling that she belonged to any group other than her family of origin. In addition, as will become evident, Rosalyn presented her family of origin as a large group (including the extended family) that was the only group. The outside world was acknowledged only as it approached the gates of the family estate. The family was startlingly xenophobic, although it did engulf some of the strangers that approached. Thus, there was a single theme that pervaded Rosalyn's account of the history of her family group: the Family as Imperialist Nation.

Early Group History:

The Family as Imperialist Nation

In Rosalyn's presence, the interviewer felt Rosalyn's predominant mood to be empty, vacant. I assumed that this was a familiar mood, one that had its origins in Rosalyn's family group. A dream Rosalyn shared in the interview elucidated this mood. Rosalyn introduced the dream with:

> It was not a nightmare. It was a very pleasant dream. That has to be qualified first because it sounds like a really hellish nightmare.

Indeed, the dream that followed sounded like a nightmare:

> . . . for some reason I had a gun. And I put it to my head and I shot myself. And I could feel the bullet going into my head, into my brain. And then I was dead and I knew I was dead. . . . I literally died in the dream. And they laid me out on a bed. Stretched me out and it was as if I was in a glass box. I couldn't move and my eyes were closed. But I could see everything that was going on about me. The people moving around in the room about me, and I could see and hear as if through a glass box . . . what they were saying in a low murmur. I couldn't hear specific words but . . . I could tell . . . that I was lying there very, very peacefully and very comfortable. Dead. Stretched out on the bed. With people moving around me and I don't remember who they were. . . . It was very peaceful. And there was no pain involved in it ever. In fact, almost no feeling.

Rosalyn explained that to be encased in a glass casket felt like

> a sense of being inside something. Not being a part of what surrounds you, but observing it.

She said that this was how she continually experienced herself with other people.

> I always had a feeling of being somewhat of an observer. Sitting back from other people. That's probably why it's easy for me to be a Tavi consultant. It's the same sort of thing, and it's something I enjoy doing. (#3, pp. 170-176)

Rosalyn's dream says that to be in a feelingless state is pleasurable, comfortable. The dream equates the vacant, empty mood with suicide.

Rosalyn had this dream when she was in the eleventh grade, a time when many adolescents are approaching the transitional period of leaving the family. She told the dream to the interviewer at the end of the interviews, after she had revealed a substantial amount of information about her family and herself. Therefore, the interviewer heard the dream as a metaphor for her family group's membership requirement. Membership in Rosalyn's family group required "no feeling," distance from human beings and their emotions. The dream states that this degree of isolation is tantamount to suicide.

In this moodless vacuum, the family group promotes violent rage and a preoccupation with power. As Rosalyn narrated her family history, there were many examples of the physical and emotional brutalization enacted and endured by members of her family group. The powerful position of "sitting back from other people" had its roots in the family's social and economic position in the world, as well as in its emotional tenor.

Early Childhood

Major foci in Rosalyn's early childhood experience involved a fear of death and a preoccupation with violence and power. These foci were communicated by two moral tales, a cautionary tale and a tale of violence, and by Rosalyn's early memories; these will be examined below.

A Cautionary Tale. Rosalyn said that she assumed her mother wanted to have four children two years apart. The mother did not remember anything about Rosalyn's infancy, although she did remember the other children's. Rosalyn shrugged it off: "I was the last child and that may be part of the reason. . . ." However, the mother did remember an incident from when Rosalyn was just two:

> . . . we went to the beach. And I started walking up into the lake and kept walking until I was over my head. And I just kept walking. And my mother had to go and fish me out of the water. (#3, p. 2)

The mother's memory represents a cautionary moral tale regarding independence, or steps away from the mother. As Rosalyn walked away from her mother, she walked toward death. Implied is the assumption that had the mother not been watching, Rosalyn would have drowned, that no one else would have pulled her out of the water. The memory may have been a rationalization for a controlling mother--if she did not watch Rosalyn's every step, Rosalyn would die.

A Tale of Violence. Another tale from Rosalyn's early childhood was told to Rosalyn by her older sister Lorna. Lorna said that she pulled out Rosalyn's hair until Rosalyn was two. (#2, p. 47) Lorna stopped pulling out Rosalyn's hair

> . . . because I was old enough to interact with her so we could become friends. And she began to look at me as another being like herself and not a terrible thing that had taken her place. . . .
>
> We've always been great sibling rivals. . . . (#3, p. 48)

Rosalyn implied that this kind of fighting was habitual. The interviewer though it would be unusual for a two-year-old to be allowed to continually attack her infant sibling in such a way. Whether or not the incident happened once, several times or at all, the interviewer thought the memory itself attested to the presence of violent rage in the family group. Siblings do not commonly fight with such acrimony unless they are enacting aspects of their parents' covert feelings toward each other and their children.

Early Memories. Several of the early memories Rosalyn recalled in the interview center around power issues. Her first memory was of her third birthday party, a lavish celebration held at her maternal grandparents' estate. Rosalyn said: "I was born on my grandmother's sixtieth birthday." Rosalyn was referring to her maternal grandmother, the "dominant" member of the extended family. (#3, p. 58)

> . . . we celebrated my third birthday . . . at my grandmother's and I was three years old. And she was 63 years old. And I remember the party very clearly. I got a Ginny doll and we had ice molded ice cream plates and it was a fun party. The grown-ups had --all the aunts and uncles and grandmother and grandfather are the grown-ups. And there's all the cousins and they're the kids and we had a chocolate cake and they had a vanilla cake. And then the next day . . . we sailed for Rome. To spend the year. My father had a grant. . . .
>
> I have an image which would have a hard time describing of what the rooms looked like. They were like two big rooms with folding doors between them and so there was a higher table in our room . . . my sense of it is that they had a higher table than we did. (#1, p. 47)

In this family gathering, memories of interactions and emotions are strikingly absent. This is the first of many subsequent leave-takings Rosalyn remembered, all with the same moodless quality. What is remembered has to do with authority and power. Symbolically, the grown-ups had the "higher table." In addition, what seems to be important to Rosalyn is that her birthday magically links her with the most powerful member of the extended family, her maternal grandmother.

Rosalyn had a dream at age ten that explicitly described her grandmother as a powerful matriarch. The dream took place at her grandparents' estate:

> We were down on the beach which is surrounded by fir trees and I was there and all my cousins were there and my parents and everybody and all of us were chickens. And my grandmother was a hen. So

> that very much symbolizes my grandmother for me too. . . . She was very dominant . . . very, very dominant person and even my parents were chickens in the dream. We were all chicks. And my grandmother was the hen looking over this huge group of chicks. (#3, p. 57)

From childhood, Rosalyn remembered a preoccupation with authority and power. Another example of Rosalyn's identification with power is from Rome at age three:

> I grew up in the Midwest. You get snow every winter. So for a three-year-old it was traumatic not to be getting snow in the winter. . . . So I prayed for snow and the next day Rome got the first snowstorm they had in fifteen years. And the worst one in fifty years. So it gives you a sense of omnipotence after a certain point. (#1, p. 48)

This can be viewed as a wistful example of how a preoccupation with power erases feelings. There was no sense of delight at the snow, nor of terror at the foreign environment. Rosalyn could only remember her determination to control and dominate even the weather.

The year in the beginning of the juvenile era for Rosalyn (age 3-4) is remarkable for its isolation. Rosalyn remembered her mother and siblings as though they were encapsulated, had only each other. The mother became the central, and only, authority. A memory that Rosalyn had from age three illustrates the role of a magically powerful mother: Rosalyn and her sister played in the snowstorm by burying clothespins in the yard.

> I kept on digging and digging and I couldn't find it, and finally I had to call my mother and she came out and found the clothespin for us. . . . I have no idea why, but it must have been important in some way. I couldn't find my clothespin. (#1, p. 49)

This memory suggests that, rather than playing with peers, Rosalyn could only look to her mother for comfort. The memory contained no sense of Rosalyn taking pleasure in the game, only a frantic search. Since the memory dates from an age when it would be appropriate for Rosalyn to have begun exploration in the world of peers, the memory indicates the

intensity of the focus on the mother. That is, Rosalyn continued to behave as though authority figures, primarily her mother, were central, at an age when it would have been more appropriate to begin to turn to peers.

School offered an opportunity to find alternatives to the familial pattern. However, Rosalyn's school experiences were particularly unfortunate. Even before she was in Rome, Rosalyn had been sent to nursery school in Michigan. It was a nursery school where her mother taught and her two older sisters also attended.

> I went to nursery school with my sisters. . . . I wasn't really . . . enrolled in the class or anything. (#3, p. 35)

Here the school experience had been organized in a way that reinforced the family group pattern. It was merely an extension of home, rather than an opportunity for experience with peers and non-family authority figures.

In Rome, Rosalyn's mother kept the older brother out of school and spent all her time with him, tutoring him and taking him with her on shopping trips. She sent the three girls to the same strict convent school. Rosalyn was again placed in a class with her older sister. Thus, Rosalyn was in school as a member of her family group, rather than having a chance to be in a structured group with children of the same age. In addition, the mother said that she was sending Rosalyn to school because

> she thought I'd be lonely since my sisters would be away during that time of the day. . . . (#3, p. 36)

The mother's assumption seems to have been that there would be no children outside the family for Rosalyn.

Rosalyn's presentation of her convent school experience was like a surrealist nightmare. Rosalyn remembered having to fill a graph-paper

notebook with Xs and Os while sitting still all day on "formal" long wooden benches.

> . . . if your X or your O went outside of the square you got rapped over the knuckles with a ruler.
>
> . . . My sister who was in second grade was having a lot of problems . . . she didn't understand what other kids were saying to her. . . . If you misbehaved at all or caused trouble you were put at the back of the room and that's where the stupider people sat, at the very back of the room. And there were a lot of boys . . . who . . . should have been in fourth or fifth grade . . . who had stayed back several years. And liked to cause trouble. . . . They teased Julia . . . would throw things at her and . . . they'd knock her bottle of ink . . . over her book and she'd be the one who got in trouble. And she couldn't explain anything clear enough. . . . I have an image of her sitting on a stool with a dunce cap on her head. (#3, pp. 37-38)

What is remarkable in its absence are memories of other children, either from school or the neighborhood. Even the teachers are vague and forbidding authorities, no real alternative to the mother. The feeling conveyed is of the family as a closed unit. Thus, in the absence of relationships with peers and extra-familial adults, Rosalyn remained emotionally stuck in her family of origin where her mother and maternal grandmother held the power.

In fact, Rosalyn's family had more money and a higher social position than the families of the other women interviewed. Another crucial factor separating Rosalyn was her age, twenty. However, these two significant determinants do not describe the particular emotional climate of Rosalyn's family group. As shown above, the mood within the family group was empty. Jarringly violent outbursts stood out as isolated incidents against a background of studied elegance. Both felt unreal to Rosalyn. To the interviewer she seemed engrossed in a herculean attempt at pretense. In this way, Rosalyn was joining her family group's attempt to control and define the world. Rosalyn's memories, dreams, moral tales, language, and

mood suggest that although her family group felt dead to Rosalyn, she felt that her family was ultimately enviable. Rosalyn's family group viewed the world as an imperial power views its colonies. Relationships are power maneuvers. The mother country, in this case Rosalyn's family group, insists on the superiority of its culture and defines the outside world as barbarian at best. In an attempt to shore up its position, the mother country presents a glorified self-image. The self-image (or ideology), anchored in real wealth and power, functions to obscure the brutality inherent in imperial conquest as well as the severe psychological price paid by those engaged in brutalizing others. As we continue to examine Rosalyn's life course, we see how the emotional components of the family group as imperialist nation unfold.

The Juvenile Era Through Adolescence

In the childhood and early juvenile era, we have shown the early warning against leaving home, the presence of violence, and the way that a focus on authority functioned to isolate Rosalyn. The moodless quality of the early family group experience obscured the distress that might otherwise have been more evident. In the following years of Rosalyn's family group history, the motifs of violence and power endure. In Rosalyn's occasional frays outside the family, she carried the familial value system with her. She seemed to feel as if she, as member of her family group, was a jinx on her peers. She brought violence with her.

When Rosalyn was four, the family returned from Rome and lived for a year on the maternal grandparents' estate.

> I enjoyed living there as far as I know. I think there was a fire in the house when we were living there but I'm not sure. (#3, p. 50).

Rosalyn's memories from this year are replete with disasters. It is unclear exactly why Rosalyn was so frightened this particular year. The interviewer thought that it was not anything different, but rather a consolidation of the extended family as a group at the very time when Rosalyn would feel the need for contact with the outside world of alternative adults and peers.

Rosalyn was isolated. She did not go to school, and as far as she remembered there were no neighborhood children. During the day while her brother and sisters were at school, Rosalyn was alone on her grandmother's "resort." (#3, p. 54)

Rosalyn's mother

> was under a lot of pressure. She took the driver's test and there was some question about whether she should be checked out to see if she had a nervous disorder.

The mother manifested symptoms of

> shaking and . . . in not being able to talk and just real signs of extreme nervousness. (#2, p. 45)

Whatever was happening in the mother's life at this point, it does not sound as though she was available to help Rosalyn meet her needs.

The one memory Rosalyn had from this period that involves a friend was from age 5. The family had moved to their own home in Putnam County. Rosalyn had begun kindergarten and befriended a girl who lived next door.

> We got yelled at once . . . their house was across the street and there was a dirt road going back up to this hill. . . . And we weren't allowed on the hill without an adult because it was really steep and also we weren't allowed on it without wearing boots, high boots and heavy socks and jeans 'cause there were copperheads and rattlenakes living all over the mountain. . . .
>
> My brother had gone up with a friend . . . one day and we followed them up in our shorts and our bare feet and they found us halfway up the mountain. . . . Brought us back and we got yelled at for going up the mountain with bare feet and shorts without anybody's permission. . . . (#3, pp. 76-77)

This memory suggests that Rosalyn felt that it was a risk to play with a friend. That is, as a member of her family group, she created a dangerous experience, or at least a memory of dangerous play.

In the middle of the year, the family moved again to the Midwest where the father intended to join the office of a well-established corporate law firm. By the age of 5½, Rosalyn had already moved in and out of four different school settings. In each early school group until this Michigan kindergarten, Rosalyn was either the daughter of one of the school teachers or sent along with an older sister. She had not been placed in school classes where she could feel as though she belonged. Given these preconditions, it would be understandable that she would feel inexperienced and dread school. Rosalyn said that she "remembered getting sick at school a lot." (#3, p. 90) She said that she remembered the kindergarten as "strict." When she would come home from school her mother was "very sympathetic." However,

> As we got older she started telling us that we really weren't sick. We just didn't want to go to school. Which is probably true . . . . (#3, pp. 91-92)

Thus, at Rosalyn's first opportunity to experience a structured extra-familial peer group, she felt frightened. Her mother colluded with her in the avoidance of the new and frightening situation.

In their new neighborhood, Rosalyn felt that her family was singular. They viewed themselves as East coast sophisticated "liberals," "intellectuals," or "weirdos." They were the only non-Catholics in a Catholic neighborhood, and owned what sounds as if it were a mansion. (#3, pp. 94, 111-112) Rosalyn remembered that her older sister expressed a wish to be a Catholic so that she could feel more similar to the neighborhood children. This was the earliest explicit example of xenophobic attitudes and specific ways that the family group set themselves apart from their neighbors.

While separating themselves from their neighbors, at the same time Rosalyn's family group seemed adept at incorporating select individuals from the father's work life into the family group. One example of this pattern was the family friendship with the Jackson family. The fathers met at work. Rosalyn described them as

> . . . very kind of very Middle Eastern, Middle European, Eastern European, whatever that is. Hungary and places like that. And they're Jewish. . . . I remember that because they had really good foods that they got from their Kosher delicatessen. . . . Which we couldn't get. (#3, p. 117)

As Rosalyn continued to describe the "close friendship" between the families, she revealed that they had one "brain damaged" child, another who wore a six- to eight-foot blue snake "up his sleeve" and finally the Jackson's "financial difficulties." (#3, pp. 120-121) Her tone combined intrigue and contempt.

Another woman from the father's office rented a small home on the grounds of the family's estate. Rosalyn vaguely recalled visiting her: "I think we were friends with her. She played with us sometimes and she may have even babysat for us. . . ." (#3, p. 115)

Another example of the family group's imperialist annexation of the father's work group comes from Rosalyn's description of the annual office party. It was always held at the family home "because my family had the house that had the best facilities for serving that many people." (#3, p. 113) Rosalyn said that she remembered "there were about a hundred people at those parties." (#3, p. 113) Thus Rosalyn felt that her family could subsume the father's large work group. Not only was Rosalyn's family insular, they actively asserted that there was no group life outside its bounds.

Within the bounds of the family group, Rosalyn described "playful sibling rivalry" that included arguments between sisters over clothes, as well as bloody fights. (#3, pp. 6-9) One of several examples Rosalyn offered was from age five.

> Lorna had a friend who lived down the road at about the same time and we were playing down there and they had a big dirt driveway with pebbles and stuff and it was after a rainstorm and we had been throwing pebbles into the puddles. . . . And either my sister or her friend dared the other that they could not throw a pebble over, a rock over my head, from a certain distance away. And I don't remember which one threw the stone, it didn't go over my head. It landed right in the middle of it. . . . I have a scar on top of my head where I got this jagged cut. . . . I stood there while they threw the stone over my head. What else was I supposed to do? . . . So, it started bleeding and of course my hair turned all red and . . . we went home and my parents had guests visiting them.
>
> . . . I wasn't going to go into the living room with my hair all bloody and screaming and crying. So I was sort of crying silently and both Lorna and I hid in separate closets in the house until my mother came and found us. . . .
>
> . . . Then my mother washed my hair and looked at the cut and decided that it didn't need stitches. But I think there were some harsh words said about the way my sister and her friends played. . . . I think it was actually . . . her friend's fault. . . .

By age five, Rosalyn had learned to minimize and be the voluntary victim of violence. The memory suggested that saving face was more important to the family group than physical injury. Finally, the blame shifted to

someone outside the family, a friend. In the memory, Rosalyn was isolated, even from her sister, with the knowledge of inevitable brutality.

When she was in first grade, Rosalyn offered a memory of herself in the reciprocal role of the voluntary victim. In this memory, she is the one who knowingly hurts a potential friend:

> There was this guy in first grade who I think I kind of may have had a crush on but I'm not sure. I remember he had a crewcut. And my biggest memory about him was he used to play tag on the playground all the time. And he used to chase me all the time. Of course, I was thrilled. But one day I got really smart, and he was coming tearing after me, and I ducked. I stopped dead and went down, and he went over me, and he almost broke his arm, I think. I think he sprained an ankle or something when he did it. He just went flying right over me. Of course I never got into trouble for some reason. I don't think he wanted to admit what happened or something. So I remember being very frightened afterwards. I was very proud of it at the time 'cause I succeeded in totally fooling him and he never caught me as a result. I think he stopped chasing me after that (#3, p. 99)

In this memory, Rosalyn used violence to stop a friendship "dead." This is one of several examples Rosalyn offered of physical injury disrupting friendships. Later examples range from friends spraining their ankles while skating with Rosalyn (#3, p. 104), to a rider in a horse show being seriously injured when Rosalyn and her schoolmate were spectators. (#3, pp. 102-104). These memories indicate that Rosalyn felt as if she was a jinx: she obscured her own responsibility (or the lack of it, in some examples) and maintained the conviction that her presence magically produced disaster.

When Rosalyn was ten, the family moved again, back East to the suburbs of Washington, D. C. Her first memory of her father was from this age. The father told a story at dinnertime:

> The whole family was sitting around the dinner table and I must have been like say ten . . . just at about the time when my brother would be getting his driver's license. And my mother was there. And my father went around the table and fantasized, each, the car

> that he would give to each of us. And with all of the things there, of course, Mercedes Benzes and Rolls Royce and Lamberdinis and things like that and there was a lavender Rolls Royce with three telephones I think or something like that for my mother. What he gave me was a little red sports car which I could drive around the house. (#2, pp. 33-34)

If taken as a metaphor on the issue of mobility, the message to Rosalyn was that she should not go beyond the boundaries of home.

However, in the fourth grade Rosalyn had her first opportunity for a continuous experience with an extra-familial peer group. She went from fourth through twelfth grade with the members of the class. This implicit structure could have allowed Rosalyn to build relationships with peers. However, Rosalyn did not do so. She used her family values to isolate herself: she thought of herself as a "loner" and at the same time was preoccupied with power hierarchy. One example that Rosalyn obsessively discussed was the way that the class group was separated into smaller groups according to which language they elected to study. (#3, p. 132)

The relationships Rosalyn described with her peers in high school lacked substance. The one relationship that Rosalyn did relate that involved elements of shared experience was with Lynn. In tenth grade Lynn was "the new girl in school." Lynn saw Rosalyn as an "Eastern rich girl" and Rosalyn in turn characterized Lynn as a "typical Midwestern girl." Rosalyn said:

> . . . I had been the new girl in school so often. . . . I didn't have any very close friends . . . so as soon as I heard there was a new girl in school . . . I kind of adopted her. (#3, p. 135)

Despite the family imperialist mode implied by the "adoption," Rosalyn seemed to have some empathetic connection with Lynn. In describing the friendship, Rosalyn talked more openly about it than she did about any

other relationship, including her current marriage. Though she noted that Lynn's family was poorer and less well-educated than her own family, she remembered having fun at Lynn's house and enjoying her parents too.

> We used to spend all our time together. Uh, and in fact one year when my parents went somewhere during winter vacation, I didn't go for some reason and I stayed at Lynn's house for the week. (#3, p. 139)

In the interview, this statement was followed by a disaster memory:

> I gave her a cat which was the child of the cat of my sister's. And the cat died or somebody had put out rat poisoning. (#3, p. 140)

Rosalyn remembered consoling her friend by singing her songs.

Rosalyn and Lynn joined a special summer school program together. They wore the same raincoat and had a special slogan they would call out to one another. However, Lynn's family moved to Boston toward the end of the summer. Rosalyn helped the family with the move and then she and Lynn hosteled around Cape Cod for a couple of weeks. While she was vacatining with Lynn, Rosalyn's parents telephoned Lynn's house to say that Rosalyn should

> come home immediately and get ready to go to Paris (#3, p. 141)

to work in the office of a woman who was a business associate of her father's. Rosalyn returned and went to Paris. The interviewer thought that Rosalyn's parents were attempting to disrupt the friendship. Within the next year, Lynn and her family moved to Kansas. Rosalyn wanted to go to visit, but her

> parents didn't think it was worth the money to send me to Kansas. I said I didn't care about Kansas. I wanted to see Lynn, but they wouldn't accept that. (#3, p. 142)

This was Rosalyn's most directly stated feeling of interest in a friend. However, she never visited Lynn.

This is the period in her life when Rosalyn had the above cited dream of suicide. In the same year, eleventh grade, Rosalyn had the following dream, which she did consider a nightmare:

> Somebody's riding a horse across a slope and there's been an avalanche. And you take each step the slope slides and the dream was basically that. And never getting to the other side . . . being left in the middle of riding a horse across an avalanche with the ground slipping out from under you. (#3, p. 170)

The dream can be interpreted as an expression of Rosalyn's despair about moving into the extra-familial world using the metaphor of mobility. The ground is literally slipping out from under her feet. She is in danger of being crushed, killed. That is how fearful Rosalyn had become of moving outside of her family group.

In her last year of high school, Rosalyn, along with several other students, was allowed to create her own independent study program. Rosalyn described being perceived as "aloof and unfriendly" by the group. (#1, p. 25) She spent only two or three days a week at school. The rest of the time she spent with an older boyfriend (graduated from high school and not part of her school group) or by herself. (#1, p. 25)

When a classmate of hers ran away from home, Rosalyn learned about Community House, a crisis center for teenage runaways staffed by teenagers and Johns Hopkins University students. Her contact with Community House began when the House called the school regarding the girl who had run away. Rosalyn went to Community House

> as sort of the school newspaper team for our own personal interest to find out what Community House was all about before we gave them any information . . . 'cause we figured it was probably a good thing for C. at this point to have run away. Her father had beat her . . . and she had no reason to stay around and get hit. So we went down to find out what it was about and it was at Community House that I first got interested in doing groups. I went through a training for counselling session. (#1, p. 4)

At Community House, Rosalyn met her husband Dan. He had come to Community House for his field placement in community psychiatry. Rosalyn described her first encounter with Dan:

> I was sitting in a Community House meeting in a corner, just sitting there, my usual old self. And he walked in . . . and I was watching people come in . . . I used to do things with my eyes or something that made people very curious about me. . . .
>
> And he looked at me and we . . . shared this moment of smiling that was very, it was like I knew I liked him. And he knew he liked me and looked around the room and he came over and sat next to me. (#3, pp. 164-165)

Rosalyn said that she discovered that Dan owned the Austin Cooper automobile that she had noticed on the street.

> And I had been watching it for two months. And wanting to know who owned the car, and that just clinched everything.

They also shared birthdays, although they were seven years apart.

> So we decided that there were all sorts of great things going for us. And I told him all about how I'd felt about his car before I met him. (#3, pp. 167-168)

Rosalyn stopped going to meetings at Community House with the excuse that there were men there "trying to pull for my loyalties. . . ." She added that she was "disillusioned" by the way one of the leaders of the center "treated his wife," by which Rosalyn meant flirting with other women. (#1, pp. 7-9) She began to spend the major portion of her time with Dan.

The following year, Rosalyn went away to Bennington. Rosalyn presented herself to the interviewer as a student leader at Bennington and a crusader (for example, for better food in the cafeteria). However, she hinted that the experience was overwhelmingly frightening for her. She began to take long naps every afternoon and to have horrible nightmares. Actually, she spent four days out of the week with Dan. By the end of the school year Rosalyn had married and dropped out of college.

It is important to remember that Rosalyn's discovery regarding her father's life preceded her meeting Dan. Her accusation directed toward the leaders of Community House was similar to the one directed at her father. Rosalyn's brother and sisters all experienced a crisis in their lives when they were twenty. Each one had a major fight with the father, provoking his rage. (#2, pp. 41-43) (Rosalyn described her father's outbursts as "if he pounded in the face and destroyed. . . .") (#2, p. 43) The interviewer thought that Rosalyn, at twenty, was living in dread of a similar event. Rosalyn tied her siblings' altercations with the father to the junior year of college. The interviewer thought that Rosalyn hoped she might escape by dropping out of college. Rosalyn also hoped that her marriage would protect her from her father's rage. However, the interviewer thought that the more central content of Rosalyn's dread was the conflict surrounding leaving her family. As Rosalyn summarized in her glass coffin dream, she has the

> sense of . . . not being a part of what surrounds you . . . but observing it.
>
> (Is that a feeling you had with your family? . . .)
>
> . . . Not with my family. I think with the rest of the world, yes. . . . I've always been an outsider, I've been a loner. (#3, p. 174)

At twenty, Rosalyn was afraid to leave her family group. She was afraid that she could never join the rest of the world as an adult member.

IV.--THE SECOND CASE EXAMPLE: *DANIELLE*

Danielle was 27 years old and lived with her husband of five years in an apartment near Baltimore. Her husband, who was teaching mathematics at Johns Hopkins University until two years ago when his contract was not renewed, worked at a state psychiatric hospital and was planning to become a psychotherapist. Danielle herself was a research assistant in the Department of Psychiatry at Johns Hopkins. She interviewed women recovering from mastectomies in a study dealing with breast cancer and self-image. She had worked at this job for about a year.

Danielle was an attractive woman who considered herself independent and self-supporting. After her husband's contract was not renewed, Danielle borrowed "a huge parcel of money" from her father-in-law and got "into the investment game." She read the Wall Street Journal "for a couple of weeks straight," visited Merrill Lynch "to familiarize myself with the technology," and then invested. "I made a lot of money," she recalled, "and . . . wow! . . . you know, my whole image of myself changed. I was independently . . . self-supporting." With enough money to live "really well" for "up to seven years," Danielle remembered wondering, "what am I going to do?" She told herself that she didn't have "to do anything," and that she was "really living the ideal existence."

> I have the option of doing only what I want to do. That really is one hell of a burden, an existential dilemma. . . . (#1, p. 31)

At the same time, Danielle "decided" that her relationship with her husband was "too fused." Two years later at the time of the interviews

Danielle was still dissatisfied with her marriage. She said that it needed "reconstruction." She implied that she would be afraid to leave, yet she "can't say that I'm going to invest a helluva lot of energy or interest in that right now." (#2, p. 32)

Danielle was invested in and preoccupied with her past. Within the first few minutes of the initial interview, Danielle said tearfully:

> You know, my parents are from Europe . . . they really went through the whole Hitler business and that really mauled up their lives. . . . War came and they were interned in camps. And everything was taken, their identities were taken, their papers, everything. . . . we came to this country as displaced persons, so it's like we've been rootless and fragmented. Sort of like a history thing. . . .
>
> I was a foreigner and isolated in that way, and isolated 'cause I was an only child and my parents were never assimilated in any way. (#1, pp. 12-13)

The interviewer felt that Danielle's view of her own history was that it was a weight imposed on her that made her feel unassimilated, isolated.

Recent Group History

Leaving home and entering the adult world involves joining extra-familial peer groups. As we examine Danielle's experience, it becomes evident that she has had access to and been tentatively involved in a multiplicity of diverse extra-familial peer groups. Nevertheless, she remained marginal. Problematic themes from her family of origin have endured as the basis for organization of her perceptions of new groups.

The following section narrates the past ten years of Danielle's life--from the age when many young adults begin to leave home, 18, to the present. These years show the alternative group experience Danielle could use to build a sense of fuller membership. In the last section of the chapter, a lengthier historical description of Danielle's family of

origin will help to explain why it has been difficult for Danielle to make more productive use of her work group experience.

Leaving the Family and Finding a Group in the Adult World: A Developmental Task

Levinson (1974) found that at the onset of adult life, the task is to leave the family of origin and to begin to make one's way in the world. Generally, in the middle class, one formal opportunity presented is going away to college. For Danielle, this opportunity was lost. She had an outstanding academic record in high school and wanted to go to Sarah Lawrence College. She applied and was accepted, but instead wound up remaining at home and attending Carnegie Tech. As she explained:

> . . . I suspected that my parents didn't want me to leave and I really didn't want to leave them. We were very tight (laugh). . . .
>
> Yeah, we really, really needed each other a lot. We may have been a cruel little system but we were very tight. And I really needed that. I was just afraid of leaving home. But, nevertheless, I wanted to leave. . . . I had secretly applied to Sarah Lawrence and I wanted to go there and it was all set . . . for me to go. And I had this big thing with them . . . that I should stay home four more years and, and, I wanted to get into drama . . . they sorta used . . . to convince me that Tech was the place because Tech had a really good drama department. And, which it does. And so . . . I stayed around. . . . (#3, p. a-39)

Danielle makes clear that she was afraid to leave her family. It is important to consider why she was so intimidated, why she felt that her need for autonomy was an assault on her family's "tight system."

In college, Danielle was "really active" in drama and then "very involved" with poetry, as editor of the poetry journal. (#3, p. b-1) Potentially she could have used these situations to develop friendships and a capacity for membership. However, Danielle says that she "wasn't very close to people." (#3, p. b-3) In her position as editor, she felt

that she was a "workhorse" and a "powerful person." That is, she felt either exploited by the other members of the journal or superior to them. Therefore, in this "powerful role," the rewards were superficial.

> . . . by setting myself off . . . by thinking I was better than everybody else . . . more talented, and . . . could breeze through stuff . . . I got very pompous, very haughty. . . . And I used that in ways to compensate for all the other ways I felt very, really shitty and putdown and inadequate. (#3, p. b-3)

Because she did not connect to her peers the position felt empty to Danielle. She continued to feel as she in fact felt when she was a small child, without a real capacity to affect her surroundings. Thus, despite what appeared to be an involvement in group life, Danielle felt

> . . . contemptuous of having to deal with other people's problems. (#3, p. b-4)

In addition, when she felt "attracted" to another person, it quickly became problematic.

> I felt really pursued and . . . beset upon. . . . I really enjoyed a lot of my own privacy. . . . (#3, p. b-4)

It is as though her own need for contact with peers was an external and threatening demand, rather than a need. As we shall see, Danielle learned as a member of her family group to view the external world as barren, uninhabited.

Nevertheless, Danielle attempted to seek tenuous connections with peers. She would read her poetry to her co-workers on the journal,

> . . . like in really odd times I'd call up this friend. . . .

Danielle quickly adds that she "didn't get a lot" when she called.

> I really had my own techniques . . . I knew I was in control. (#3, p. b-1)

Danielle befriended a classmate, Muriel, who was also living at home. Muriel

> . . . was an only child, and she was very close to her family . . . so we had a lot of things in common. (#3, p. 41)

Through Muriel, Danielle met David, a graduate student in psychology. Danielle said that although Muriel was "heartbroken" because David chose Danielle over her for a girlfriend, the three of them spent "a lot" of time together. (#3, pp. a-42-43) Danielle began to "work a lot" with teachers and psychology graduate students she met through David. This "strong clique of people" "talked a lot about books and ideas" about "internal states" and "shared insights about other people. . . ." The quality of these relationships was unclear to the interviewer. They sounded abstract and distant. However, Danielle said that both Muriel and David helped her to have her first experience away from home, a summer in Aspen after her junior year. (#3, pp. b2-4)

The Aspen summer was significant for Danielle. Not only was it the first time away from home, but it was also the first time Danielle lived in a group. She "had to share" a room with four other women, "and that was very good." Danielle described the experience with her roommates:

> Nice. Uh, I had a roommate even more flipped-out than me. She was really, she was a little genius from St. John's University . . . was very heavy and very turned-off to guys and very hostile. And for the first time I felt there was somebody who was more into that role than me. Um and um, I defended her, I was sorta good at that. But then it turned out that she stole . . . a lot of things . . . at which point I ended up, I cut my bonds with her, I didn't associate with her. I was really part of a group. (#3, p. b8)

In terminating the relationship she referred to, she began to feel more like a member of a peer group. She discovered that she did not have to identify herself with the outcast, misfit. The summer in Aspen offered Danielle much more freedom from the confines of old patterns than ever previously experienced. She enjoyed painting, and the outdoors, and felt

like the world was open to me. (E3, p. b-8)

She did not write to her parents and felt "capable of living without" them. Danielle was less isolated from peers.

After college, Danielle went away to Wisconsin for graduate school in comparative literature. (#3, p. b-8) She

> left my family and became, uh, a leader in a lot of ways. (#3, p. b-8)

In graduate school, Danielle received a partial fellowship and became a residential advisor in the dorms. As an advisor, she had an opportunity to observe dorm life and to learn about living in groups. Danielle apparently enjoyed talking with the students but defiantly refused to be a disciplinarian. Instead of patrolling the halls and enforcing open door rules, Danielle talked to the students about their problems. However, Danielle began to flaunt her own new-found freedom.

> So I got to be seen as a very loose woman. And sorta sexy and sorta, uh open season to see if who else can have me. That hurt very much. (#3, p. b-9)

Danielle lost her job at the dorm. She said, indignantly,

> I really got used as the sex symbol in that dorm. (#3, p. b-9)

After Danielle was dismissed from her job at the dorm, she met a "very seductive teacher" of existential philosophy. Through him, she joined a small group of four people who were "very involved with Zen."

> And then I got very friendly with a woman and very friendly with her husband too. And got into another triangle thing. . . . (#3, p. b-11)

The husband

> supported me a lot of times and in a lot of little ways I think I really did play a little game with him against her. . . .
>
> I really enjoyed getting into competitive polemics with him that she couldn't enter into. . . . So I think I was threatening,

I made myself threatening . . . or enjoyed my expertise. . . . I really was into enjoying my power (laugh) in a lot of ways.

And . . . and using that to create some kind of sense of self-worth, strength. . . . Somehow it wasn't very effective because I ducked into marriage. . . . At the end of that year. (#3, p. b-14)

Danielle met her husband at the end of this first year of graduate school at Wisconsin. Her first impression of him was:

I really thought he was pompous and I wanted to . . . sorta blow the steam out of his sails, you know. . . . And I did! I did! I think that was the most forceful tactic that made him, uh, get into this, uh, whole disruption experience with me, and then get in love with me. (#3, p. b-16)

Thus, Danielle reported having an effect on another person's life as a "disruption," an assault on a guarded personality.

Shortly after Danielle and her husband met, they married and moved to Baltimore for his new job at Johns Hopkins. Danielle retrenched and became increasingly isolated. (#3, p. b-15) She shifted rapidly from circle to circle, group to group, in and out of a few graduate programs and finally to her current position.

In Baltimore as a "faculty wife" (#1, p. 3), Danielle disdained contact with other women in the same position. She "didn't want to identify with faculty wives." She enrolled as a doctoral candidate in linguistics, a new area for her.

. . . so I was in there driving and it was really . . . and at the end of the first year I was third in the class and felt really good . . . and it was really heavy for me to realize at some point that I just didn't want linguistics in spite of being third in the class. Success and all that shit. It was really heavy. (#1, p. 6)

After successfully competing against better-prepared fellow students, Danielle decided, "I really don't fit into academic Ph.D. programs very well." (#1, p. 6). She left the linguistics program, explaining:

. . . I wanted to get into psycholinguistics, and I dropped out of that scene when I realized that linguistics is such a new field that I'd have to do linguistics for the rest of my life without any

> real, you know, application that would be meaningful. So then I got involved in the idea of you know, defining an identity just from a philosophical point of view. . . . (#1, p. 2)

Unreal "philosophical" identities felt more comfortable. She thought of herself as

> . . . struggling with my own sense of who I was and to what extent I had freedom to define myself independent of all the destruction around me. (#1, p. 3)

Danielle viewed group life as dangerous. She assumed that at best she could keep herself intact, or, as she put it, "feeling the fragmentation without adding to it." (#1, p. 13) Danielle's language attested to her fear of group life.

For the next few years (age 24-26), Danielle took graduate courses in Japanese studies, comparative literature, and Zen. She found them all unsatisfying. She gave the interviewer the impression that she picked up and dropped a few jobs and hobbies as well. For examples, she was intrigued by the women's movement but after attending a few meetings, realized she didn't "like working in groups organized around a lot of anger." (#1, p. 12) Also, she felt "uncomfortable working with a lot of women." (#1, p. 9)

All the while, Danielle kept herself on the fringes of the community of mental health professionals. Her interests remained there and in the area of language. She briefly held a job at the university hospital studying schizophrenic communication, or, as Danielle called it, "abnormal linguistics." (#1, p. 4) Her current job on the research project gave her access to the segment of the mental health community involved in Tavistock group relations training. Danielle explained her invitation to participate as administrator in the staff group of the Tavistock Conference as

> . . . part of my job. They ask me to do something and you know, if I can fit it into my schedule and it can be worked out, you know, I say, okay. (#1, p. 1)

This noncommital answer contrasted sharply with her response to questions about the women she interviewed. There, Danielle's tone was sympathetic and she was interested in the women and clear that they needed more than their family groups could offer. It was easier and more familiar for Danielle to talk about interviewing than her group participation.

The Tavistock conference observed here was the first time Danielle had been asked to be a member of a staff group. It is generally considered an informal initiation and training for the position of consultant. The administrative position is singular, without peers. There is no administrative group. In this conference, it was a particularly difficult to be a competent administrator, since the research and consulting staffs had conflicting demands and there were times when Danielle was literally required to be in two places simultaneously. The administrator is on the boundary of the conference membership and staff groups. Danielle knew much of this, but nevertheless accepted. She hinted that part of her motivation was a desire for fuller membership or acceptance by the social network of people who do Tavistock consulting.

> But more importantly, it's because I've been around with Tavi, I'm a member. . . . (#1, p. 1)

The interviewer heard this assertion as a wish for fuller membership.

During the first interview, Danielle was asked what issues she anticipated in the upcoming weekend. Danielle replied:

> . . . it has to do with how well I work with the professionals. All sorts of questions about expertise about to what degree I deal with leadership. You know whatever leadership role I get assigned, you know, how do I come off in it. . . . How well can I survive is really what it is. That's always what I see in Tavi. . . . As for me, given that I have thrown myself into a group or into a hierarchy of some kind, you know, how well I can figure out what's going on and make it meaningful for myself, try to do something meaningful in it you know, and survive, um, doing it. If it means being, you know, in some way getting into a leadership function what always happens in those places, so I'm always flirting with leadership. . . . (#1, p. 12)

Here Danielle discussed peer group membership in the language of childhood: she focused her attention on "professionals," power authority figures, and on "survival." Again, Danielle's words offer evidence of her difficulty conceiving of herself as a member.

A dream that Danielle had during the weekend of the Conference offers a description of the violence in Danielle's family of origin. (In fact, Danielle reported during the weekend she had many dreams about her mother [#2, p. 26]. This was the one she remembered.) The dream captures the mood as well as some of the interactions in the family of origin. The dream began with the mother dying:

> . . . the dream has something to do, um, with her dying and my half-sister and me being there and . . . she refuses to talk to us . . . I'm crying and my sister is yelling at her which is really, you know, which is the way things are.

(Danielle's "half sister" was Nora, the mother's daughter by her first marriage.) Nora was about twenty years older than Danielle and would tell Danielle that she hated the mother. Danielle resented Nora's saying this. As far as Danielle was concerned, Nora's implication was that the mother had given more to Danielle and that Nora was jealous. In the dream, Nora was yelling that she had given the mother blood,[1]

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[1]During the war, Danielle's mother was badly wounded, "strafed." This will be discussed at greater length below.

> which is true. She did when my mother was hit. Uh, which is the only reason that she survived was 'cause my sister gave all, a lot of blood for transfusions and stuff. . . .

The dream continued:

> I'm sitting there crying and screaming and trying to talk to her, and she doesn't want to talk. . . .

One general aspect of the interpersonal family mode suggested by the dream is a substitution of dramatic storm and stress scenes for more direct verbal communication. In fact, the dream gave evidence of a prohibition against the use of words. The mother passively permits physical assault and incoherent screams, but she "won't talk" or answer. Danielle continued:

> . . . and, uh, my father's angry. Um, but at the same time he's got a terminal something or other, disease, and he's in the other room and he won't come in and visit her, and my sister is screaming and my sister starts doing to me what my mother did . . . slamming me up against the wall.

Here, Danielle was referring to an incident from her adolescence. She came home from school one day and without warning or explanation her mother physically assaulted her, slammed her up against the wall. After a few days, Danielle was told by her mother that a neighbor reported having seen Danielle in the park, walking with the boy.

> . . . because I've had everything, and . . . I'm like my mother, equally vain and all those things and I don't appreciate the fact that I've had a father and all kinds of . . . and that's it. And I'm just screaming and I'm asking my mother to tell my sister to stop. And . . . my mother just won't talk to us.

It is significant to note that this is the context for Danielle's identification with her mother.

The dream portrayed a moribund, brutal, and furious group. The enacted unspoken rage was the cement that bound the members. Everyone was angry presumably because there was not enough to go around; even the

member with the most power was dying. It was not just that one member gives "all . . . a lot of" her blood that another may live. The family did not have enough blood to sustain even one member.

The dream tells us that as a member of her family group, Danielle expected to be battered for even minor attempts to exit. No one will hear her cries for help. However, if she remained within the group, identified with her mother, she would die. This was the conflict Danielle formulated during the current work weekend. Danielle commented shakily:

> I always wake up feeling like a five-year-old terrorized kid. (#2, p. 33)

It is important that Danielle dated the feeling of terror to age five. At this time in her life she was enjoying attending a Montessori school. We discuss this at greater length below. Here let us briefly note that age five was a time when she had access to other children like herself and was taking pleasure in beginning to learn the social skills of peer group membership. Perhaps the work weekend evoked this earlier time for Danielle, a time when there was an alternative to the family group.

The simple fact is that by age 18, Danielle wanted to leave home and did not because she was afraid. This is not significant in itself: ordinarily leaving home involves some fear. What is significant is that Danielle chose to allow her fear to prevent her from leaving. This offers an indication of the extent and quality of Danielle's intimidation.

We have seen how Danielle provided herself with access to a wide variety of extra-familial group experiences over the past ten years. However, as she herself concludes, the felt that she has "never been a

part of any kind of . . . peer group." (#2, p. 34) In groups, Danielle repeatedly enacted the role of leader and/or victim, thus remaining marginal. With each group she approached, Danielle quickly found reasons to feel contemptuous of the group or that they were contemptuous of her. Danielle's contempt functioned to disrupt extra-familial peer relationships. Her primary emotional connection continued to be with her family of origin. We will now consider the history of that family as Danielle remembered it, and the development of her role in that first group.

Three Basic Themes in the Family of Origin: The Wanderer, The Persecuted, and The Paralyzed

Three themes occurred sequentially as Danielle related the history of her family group: *The Wanderer*, *The Persecuted*, and *The Paralyzed*. The Wanderer was the theme inherent in Danielle's prehistoric origins--her mother before Danielle's birth. The Persecuted explored the events just before Danielle's birth. Basically, the theme showed how Danielle's mother became the central focus of the family group. The theme of persecution and victimization itself functioned to enhance the mother's power. The Paralyzed described Danielle's transition from childhood to the juvenile era. As Danielle's need for peers matured, she attempted to move toward engaging with peers and experienced the familial prohibition. Danielle obscured the prohibition by enacting the role of one who is paralyzed, who cannot move toward the extra-familial world.

The Wanderer

As we look at the history of Danielle's mother and father, the reader should keep in mind that it represents Danielle's first attempt to organize a chronology of her family's history. She felt frightened and angry as she began. For Danielle it was a major and distressing insight to notice that she was repeating tales told her as a child, tales that she had never questioned.

Danielle's mother was born in Austro-Hungary in 1902, the youngest of four and the only girl.

> She had three brothers . . . who were all older than her and very protective of her and very strict and . . . like a little army. . . . (#3, p. 13)

Danielle's mother married a physician and then, after twelve years, "walked out on him and too, my sister Nora (then age 10) and got disowned by her family. . . ." (#3, p. 12) The mother left her first husband because

> . . . he was very cold, and that he was . . . an older man, and she, it had sorta been arranged, the marriage really wasn't a romantic thing. He was a doctor, and pretty well established business, and, she, probably just didn't love him and wanted to be, with someone she loved. (#3, p. 12)

The mother tried to return to her family of origin,

> but they wouldn't let her. And she was really just a shady woman for having left her husband. (#3, p. 13)

The mother may well have known that such a step would sever her connections with her family. In addition, the mother might have known that being Jewish in Hungary in the 1930s would prove to be deadly. Perhaps she had some plan that involved saving her and her daughter's life. In any event, Danielle's mother left her well-established husband for an uncertain future. She

> went to Belgrade. For awhile she did housework. And uh, you know, things that really must have hurt her to do. And uh . . . my sister was just very very very angry, very lost. . . .

It occurred to the interviewer that Danielle's fantasy was that her mother prostituted herself.

> And uh, my mother had a love affair for a number of years then to a man who was becoming a politician, and he dropped her just as he was getting into things and a short time after that she was deported. (#3, p. 13)

The interviewer suggested that the mother's lover dropped his Jewish mistress and that she, without his protection, was then deported to a German labor camp. However, Danielle demurred:

> No! No! she was just, she had a bad reputation as a woman without a husband who wasn't married, and who was. . . Like many times when I've talked with her about the possibilities of leaving my husband, she says 'you know, an unmarried woman . . . is . . . is prey for everything. So I feel she must have had a lot of really really demeaning . . . experiences with men. . . . And she wasn't the type that he wanted to marry and . . . he couldn't stay in a liaison with a woman like that. (#3, p. 14)

Danielle's mother has told Danielle that she wanted to be in camps with the rest of her family of origin.

> My mother wanted to get shipped out to a camp where she thought her other family, the rest of her family was. Because her idea was stick together, as many people as you still have with you, you should. (#3, p. 9)

This is an example of a moral tale (a family command offered in the form of metaphor): only your family group can help you survive. In fact, the mother's family was all killed, apparently in German camps. She and her 15-year-old-daughter Nora were shipped to the Italian camp. Here, the details become confused. Danielle does not know how many camps her mother was shipped to before she was sent to the camp in Italy. Danielle said the Italian camp was neither a death camp nor a labor camp. If this is so, the mother probably obtained some kind of political intervention.

When Danielle was asked how her mother managed to be shipped to a safer camp, she said:

> Yeah, uh . . . I don't know. I mean she was a beautiful woman, that's true, um . . . I really don't know . . . what she'd do, if she'd have to fuck with people or what . . . but, uh, I don't know what. But, uh, she was probably smart enough and charming enough to get a lot without having to . . . all that. I hope so for her. (#3, p. 10)

The mother told Danielle that in the Italian camp the inmates

> organized a symphony. . . . Every two days out of the week or something like that everybody would get together around the piano and would recite something or tell stories, or dance or do something.
>
> She often tried to tell me she was happy and joyous and very, uh, um . . . sort of rowdy and flirtatious and gay woman. . . and emphasized she was the center of attention. . . .

This is the first part of Danielle's mother's moral tale concerning life outside the family. In the following section, the command becomes more evident.

<u>The Persecuted</u>

Toward the end of the war, the camp in Italy was strafed and Danielle's mother was badly injured. The father, also an inmate of the camp, had known the mother before her injury, and had "made advances," but

> . . . she was turned off to him . . . but when she was injured he used to come and visit her a lot . . . he was really sympathetic. And I think, uh, that was where you know, genuine intimacy in their relationship started, and she got involved with him as a person. . . . (#3, p. 1)

Before the war, the father had been a Jewish "Berlin aristocrat."

> And my father inherited his father's business which was a huge European Johnson and Johnson establishment and had a law office. (#1, p. 13)

When the war came he was shipped to a German labor camp and then to the Italian camp.

> . . . his pride was just shattered. . . . (#1, p. 13)

Danielle depicts her father as empty. Without his business, his papers, his old life style, he had nothing.

> . . . there's this little anecdote that's famous in the family that he had a gold cigarette lighter that was the last thing he had, and he traded that for an egg . . . for my mother. Uh, food was really short and uh and uh, I guess that was his mode of courtship, showing the extent to which he would sacrifice his old value and the last of his remnants of his old identity and stuff like that for her and she must have been touched by it (at least I hope so). (#3, p. 7)
>
> And that's the story. Uh, they narrated and that's the way I interpreted it, what happened, and then they decided to get married . . . probably . . . they would've anyway because she was pregnant. (#3, p. 1)

Danielle implied that if her mother had not been injured in the strafing, she would never have been born.

When she discussed her mother's wounds, Danielle began to realize that her image of life in the camp was idealized. She had recently seen the film "Night in Fog" and had been shocked.

> I've always tried to really romanticize the whole thing and not really see. So my fantasy is that she's sorta the only one . . . and that they uh there are linens on the bed, and things like this. But uh, I think from what she says, she was one of the people more . . . more badly hurt and that who didn't get as much attention because she wasn't a terrific . . . there wasn't a terrific chance of her recovery. So it must have been pretty crowded, and it must really be a scene that would be very similar to some of the scenes in this film. But I just can't seem to connect that ever. (#3, p. 2)

Danielle's language seemed purposefully vague and inarticulate to the interviewer. She "romanticizes" her mother's war experiences. Danielle seems to maintain that concentration camps are the paridigm of extra-familial life. The preceding history can be heard as a moral tale asserting that life outside the family is very hard.

Within a year after the mother's injury, the war ended, and the family moved to Rome. There the father worked as a black marketeer.

The mother set up housekeeping. Nora and her husband moved to America. Danielle was born in Rome.

In Rome the family was part of a community of Middle European Jews who had survived the war. A few of these people in particular were remembered by Danielle with a great deal of fondness. However, even with extra-familial adults who were "incredibly nice" and "warm" Danielle had difficulty asking directly for things she desired. One example is a day Danielle spent with one woman friend of the family:

> . . . when my parents first decided that I could spend a day with her, and they told me, now don't let her buy you anything. And I was walking down some streets with her and you know, they have little Chianti bottles, mini bottles, and I must have been really charmed by them or something, so I sat and looked in the window, and I said, you know if some very nice lady asked me what I would really want, I would say that. And that was my way of not asking for something, so she bought it for me. (#1, p. 42)

Danielle's family was committed to the world view of paucity. In fact, probably many of the parents' friends in Rome had similar world views. Many of them came from camps and had survived the war. This community of survivors may have functioned to make Danielle even more certain that her family's mode was the only one.

Danielle remembered her father from these days with affection.

> On Sundays my father and I always used to go to Via Veneto and I sat in one of the cafes and . . . my fantasy of it is here I was a little girl surrounded by all these men and get together Sundays and talk things and my father would, the big treat was um whipped cream that was frozen. . . . I used to get this huge, thick, I'd sit there and gobble while everybody was talking, and he was just showing me off, he was so proud of me, and I had impeccable manners. I was always dressed up like a princess. His little Principessa. (#1, p. 44)

This is an early example of Danielle's fairy tale grandiosity, an intangible but pervasive quality. As her father's princess, Danielle was at once poignantly absent as well as imperious.

Another aspect of the memory is Danielle's victimization. Although Danielle views this as the best her family offered, it is also empty. The little girl becomes an object of display with "impeccable manners."[1] As we examine the next era of Danielle's development, we see her attempts to step outside her family. At this juncture Danielle experienced powerful prohibitions. As a three-year-old, she felt them first-hand, as we shall see from her earliest memories. Later in her life, she re-experienced these early prohibitions with a great deal of emotional force. Danielle continued to fear her mother, a woman she presented as so impenetrable that only a bomb could touch her.

The Paralyzed

The night before her third interview, several weeks after the Conference, Danielle had a dream that frightened her. It is a dream that is rich and complex and that would support many levels of analysis. For the purposes of this study, it has been analyzed as introducing Danielle's central problem in leaving home.

> There was some kind of congregation of people and it included a lot of people that I know . . . my family and a couple . . . and they were all there to listen to Virginia Satir. . . . It was like some kind of celebration. . . . The main thing that happened was there were rabbits all over the place, and um, I really like rabbits and I was playing with them and things and uh there was sort of this thing about them having been transformed from wood because there were a number of rabbits who were wandering around who were wooden. And, and at the end of the dream was one . . . I came up to um, one rabbit that didn't have any legs. And it was clear and wooden and

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[1]Clearly the triangle in Danielle's family of origin is a phenomenon that could be described as Oedipal. In the family, the father and daughter are paired; with sexual implications and Danielle competes with her mother. The triangle theme is repeated many times in Danielle's peer relations as well. However, the writer thinks that the Oedipal theoretical construct, while not incorrect, is insufficient explanation for the family group dynamics involved. Power, rather than sex, seems to be more central, although sex is often used in the service of power.

> he was painted and it was a polished wooden toy or something like that. And uh, his legs were unscrewed. And there was a pool of water and then I saw that his legs weren't screwed in and then I deduced. . . . And his eyelids were going up and down very slowly and then I thought that the pool of water must be his urine . . . and he was left there to die. And uh, and I wanted to find out who had his legs so he could move and get up. And that was when I woke up. That was really. . . . (#3, pp. 16-17)

Danielle said that the "congregation" included her parents, husband, girls from high school she used to help in their studies, and members of Johns Hopkins University community. In the dream, Virginia Satir, a writer on family therapy,

> had on a knit dress, uh and it had a rip! across the groin and uh, she had a bow pinned on there. . . . (#3, p. 18)

She was blonde, tall, and a little heavy. Danielle associated the following to Satir:

> There are a number of people I've known who have been invited to her parties. . . . The thing that I was the most impressed with in terms of her contribution, is the game that they played called Parts Party, where uh, it's a group exercise. . . .

participants choose books

> . . . and then they assign each member of the group one of the things. And they you have the party with one person as the director and you tell people what they're supposed to be in and how they're supposed to interrelate and stuff, and you can stop the action at any time. (#3, pp. 19-20)

Danielle perceived Satir as a woman who was "pretty successful and pretty powerful and . . . beautiful . . ." and who does a lot of family therapy. She was "really in possession of her own life. . ." but who felt flattered by people perceiving her as "a very touching girl." Danielle said that she "identifies with" this conflict in Satir: the successful woman who would like to be seen as a little girl. Danielle also viewed the Satir in her dream as "shabby." (#3, p. 21)

Danielle also hinted that she identified with the rabbits in the dream ("I took care of a lot of rabbits when we lived out in the

country.") Danielle viewed rabbits as "wonderful to touch." She felt especially drawn to their

> . . . being very, very uh wild . . . in the same sense that they're very difficult to get trust from. And, uh, I got a lot of trust from them, the little ones, that my cats brought in. And there was, I really enjoyed it. I really enjoyed getting close enough to them to very alien wild kind of things. (#3, p. 23)

Then Danielle continued in her association to discuss her identification with suffering creatures (for example insects trapped on the surface of a swimming pool [#3, p. 23]). When asked again about the rabbit of her dream, Danielle replied that "he looked like a Polish toy . . . I think it was a composite of things, you know, painted animals coming out of Eastern Europe."

On one level, the dream expressed Danielle's cynicism about group life. The "group exercise" is a "parts party." A "director" tells people how "they are supposed to interrelate and you can stop the action at any time." People interchangeably occupy positions and can suddenly disappear. This is Virginia Satir's message. Danielle's dream says that she, her family, her husband, her high school and current friends all celebrate devotion to power. There is even a hint of religious worship ("congregation")--of a powerful lady. The dream asserts that groups revolve around authority.

However, Danielle's attention was rivetted to the rabbit with its legs unscrewed. We may speculate that Virginia Satir is a combination of Danielle and the mother. The rabbit is also a combined image of both the mother and Danielle. Danielle, who is an "alien" creature whose history is out of Eastern Europe, is the nearly dead rabbit, her legs unscrewed, drowning in a puddle of her own urine. Danielle told the interviewer that when she was in Italy before the age of seven, she

would urinate in her pants when she was "hysterical with laughter." Her mother "had me so terrified that I used to put my wet panties in . . . the drawer. . . ." When the mother would discover them "she really shamed me." The mother said

> . . . how I always went out and was a tomboy and got dirty and everybody else was so clean and then on top of it all I was all pissy and stuff. . . . (#3, p. 29)

The rabbit in the dream was a wanderer; it originated in Eastern Europe. It was also damaged, fragmented, persecuted. The polish was intact, but that will not salvage the situation. The rabbit was "all pissy" and unclean. Most seriously, its paralysis was deadly. Unable to move, it will be left to die. As we shall see, this was reminiscent of Danielle's earliest memory and also of an important memory from age seven. It was not only that the rabbit was damaged or that fragments were missing, the legs were unscrewed and the rabbit couldn't move. That was why it was dying.

The rest of this chapter deals primarily with Danielle's attempts to engage in the world of peers. We see Danielle's attempts to build a basis for leaving home, to get herself in motion. When Danielle has her legs unscrewed, feels paralized, she re-enacts her mother's role, the victim of persecution. The only alternative presented in the dream would be to become the obscenely regal authority figure. These were the choices Danielle's family of origin offered.

Danielle's first memory (from age 3½) involved literally walking away from her mother. She and her mother would go to the beach during the summer vacations.

> I was thirsty and uh, she told me . . . you know, the beach was really a big stretch, just stretches. . . . And there was sorta a concession or something like that where you could get drinks. And

> I just decided to go there myself. Or else, she told me to get it myself, I can't remember which.
>
> And I got lost. I was pretty small. I just, it just seemed like I was walking on endless . . . I was pretty small . . . three and a half. I was just walking and walking all through the people. And uh, I couldn't see the place and I, I was really just distressed. It was just terrible and I broke down and cried on the beach. . . . And it took awhile for me to find my mother again and . . . everybody tried to find her for me. It was really uh, I was really, it was just horrible . . . on the beach with vast stretches of everything all around. (#3, p. 15)

Danielle described her mother's behavior when the strangers brought her back as "trying to be charming" but feeling "panicky." (#3, p. 15) The memory of a child's first excursion into the world, in an attempt to satisfy a basic need, is of a nightmare. She never gets a drink; instead she is lost on a desert. As Danielle at 3½ walks away from her mother, in the direction of satisfaction of a need, the world empties before her. Metaphorically, and in Danielle's memory, it becomes barren, devoid of people. A summer beach would not have been vast stretches of empty sand. In fact, Danielle told us that there were people around who helped her to find her mother. However, the distortion underscores the prohibition: if Danielle walks away from her mother, she will be lost.

The interviewer thought Danielle's unclarity as to whether her mother told her to go off by herself or whether she decided to go on her own, was an example of calculated confusion. That is, many childhood memories contain confusions, inversions, or blurrings at significant areas. Danielle kept herself uncertain as to whether or not she really wanted to walk out into the world of people. She acted as if she had

been sent out, as if she's a victim of a neglecting and cold-hearted mother. Indeed, Danielle's mother sounds as if she may well have been disinterested and cold. However, Danielle would need her independence regardless of her mother's character. Whatever the actual fact of the incident at three and a half, Danielle's subsequent and current attempts to leave her mother and to meet her needs for extra-familial peer relationships were described with similar confusions. Danielle viewed herself in the reciprocal role of a lost victim child or as an imposing angry authority.

A memory with a similar theme is from age seven with her father. Shortly after their arrival in America,[1] Danielle went with her father to look for an apartment.

> And my father and I went walking. And we were, we really walked . . . a helluva lot, uh because we couldn't afford cab fare, looking for an apartment. . . .
>
> . . . they were clearly on their way to a more respectable, groovy situation (whisper). And I got really tired and I sat down and my father has a way of running, you know, and I was very little and I couldn't keep up with him. And I sat down and he didn't . . . uh, realize and um, I had the feeling that I would catch up with him and it wouldn't be so bad and he thought I was running away from him.
>
> I really felt like a bad child.
>
> . . . that was the first time they thought I was disappearing . . . from them and was doing something destructive to them . . . by bringing them all this fear and terror.

Danielle remembered that when her father came back and found her he

> . . . came back and was really angry . . . it's a terrifying anger. It's a really, uh dramatic, stormy anger. (#3, pp. 5-6)

Danielle's "pausing to rest" was interpreted by the father as "doing something destructive to them." As a tired seven-year-old in a new

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[1]When Danielle was seven, the family "had to leave Rome." The father "lost his pants" on the black market and left to avoid paying his debts. (#2, p. 37)

country and an unfamiliar neighborhood, Danielle watched her father disappear over the horizon. Once again Danielle was alone in a hostile and strange world.

In both memories, Danielle was told that she was "destructive" because she left her parents. The focus was quite literally on motion, walking. This simple act evokes parental anger, and the threat of abandonment.

In terms of Danielle's psychological development, this has significance. In a preoccupation with the physical act of walking, Danielle's attention was diverted from the more appropriate developmental task: forming relationships with peers. The memories that Danielle has of interactions with potential peers are largely repetitions of familial patterns and themes. Basically, she has learned the reciprocal role of persecuted and persecutor. As such, she replicates her mother's role in the family group. Danielle is in motion only insofar as she is a rootless wanderer; involved with peers only to manipulate and be persecuted.

Danielle's first memory of extra-familial group experience was from a Montessori nursery school in Rome. Danielle said that she liked the teacher and remembered her as a warm person. She recalled school with delight. However, the one concrete example of an interaction with peers was fraught with family patterns.

> I had a really good friend, a best friend named Gisella. And we were in a triangle already. We had a boyfriend named Gian Carlo and the three of us were sort of like the Four Musketeers, and um, uh, we just did everything together. It was really fun. Um. I was a pretty sensitive, little kid, I was little, you know, a little too sensitive, so I got teased a lot, but it was all in good fun, it wasn't really cruel. (#2, p. 39)

Danielle presents a trio with herself as more fragile than her peers and at a disadvantage.

> I remember specifically one day after school when we had arranged for the three of us to be together and to wait for our parents together, and we were going to ask them for something or other, we had a little plot, you know and I um . . . they were waiting for me and I got changed . . . and then as I came out the door, they started running away from me. . . . It was something about it was supposed to rain that day . . . they had an umbrella. And I really got hurt and I ended up waiting on the park bench alone and felt like they had, you know, abandoned me, and I was crying, and I was hurt and I complained to my mother.

Danielle expected her mother to understand her hurt feelings, not her peers.

> . . . and they were obviously feeling sort of guilty because they came around the corner and she and it was sunny, in sort of an attempt to make up and to get me to laugh . . . she had opened the umbrella and was twirling it and pretending it was raining.
>
> . . . (Gisella) was with Gian Carlo, they had just taken a dash around the park. . . . I was obviously really hurt, you know. I refused to talk to them. And there was nothing they could do to get me to be friendly with them, but the next day, I was very happy again. (#2, pp. 39-40)

The interviewer took Danielle at her word, that she was indeed "very happy" to be with her friends. Perhaps this memory of exclusion and manipulation was a drama for her mother.

In addition, Danielle replicated her mother's victim role with her playmates. Danielle described her mother as one who used supposed weakness as a means of control.

> She really terrorized my father and me around her . . . dramatics, and her helplessness, and her sickness and her migraines and her . . . wounds and her transcendence. And I've always been so incredibly loyal to her. . . . (#1, pp. 26-27)

It may be that Danielle had experiences with peers that were less "loyal" to her mother that she did not recall in the interview.

Another example of Danielle's isolation expressed in terms of a preoccupation with mobility is from age eight. As a relative newcomer in America, Danielle said:

> . . . I looked sort of queer, you know, braided hair, braided over my ears, and things and um . . . I could talk, but it was really clear that I had an accent. And I needed help, you know. Just finding out, you know, what to pay a bus. You know, little mundane things like that. . . . I found myself getting ripped off every place, you know, like people would give me the wrong information, or they would, you know, steal my purse and I'd be stranded, and I wouldn't know what to know . . . or . . . I would be in the middle of school and I wouldn't have money to get home, and I wouldn't know how to walk home. (#1, pp. 14-15)

Danielle talked about her problem with travel. It did not occur to her that she was a lonely child who might have more profitably occupied herself thinking about how to get along with classmates.

In America, the family group became even more isolated. Danielle remembered her parents as Old World aristocrats unfortunately fallen on hard times. When they first arrived in Pittsburgh, they settled on the boundary of a lower- and upper-middle-class neighborhood. Shortly after their arrival (as Danielle's memory from age 7 with her father suggested), the family began to seek better lodging. The family continued to use class comparisons to feel separate from the neighbors, wherever they lived. Not even a business-owner could match the family of aristocrats. This stance served to encapsulate the family in bitterness. For example, Danielle's description of her father's "best friend" and their landlord in the new neighborhood:

> He left Germany before . . . things really started happening. He came at the last moment. He came into a lot of money and he established his own little plant here. . . . (#3, p. a-9)

The focus on social status as well as the family assumption that the outside world was dangerous functioned primarily to isolate the

family. For Danielle, the effect was double. Within the family she was the weakest. The mother, herself "aloof," "untouchable," and "forbidding" (#3, p. a-31), told Danielle that the strange outside world would "corrupt" Danielle:

> To watch all these alien things entering my life and to be suspicious about what they would do to me. . . . That she would lose her power over me. I mean, I think that was it. . . . (#3, p. a-32)

Thus, Danielle was isolated within the family yet felt she ought to stay home alone.

Another example of Danielle's duplication of her mother's role in a group of potential peers comes from age eight. A group of neighborhood boys poisoned Danielle's cat. (#3, pp. a-10-11) The same boys also forced Danielle to watch a spider eat a fly. Danielle cried as she told the interviewer about these incidents. She said that she

> . . . was just an incredibly intimidated little girl who was beset upon by all these people. And . . . I was really victimized very easily. (#3, p. a-10)

In her role as victim, Danielle held power over the boys. She also reported that she played with the boys for all of the five years she lived on the block. She would go to their house and watch television.

> When I got a little older I became the checkers champion. . . and I played badminton better than they did. . . . (#3, p. a-13)

In Danielle's school experience in America, these themes were repeated. She was the unique one, smarter and younger than the rest of her classmates, but also the persecuted one.

Her parents' concern for upward mobility has been mentioned above. As Danielle discussed her school life, it becomes more explicit. Danielle was apparently required to excel in school to fulfill her

parents' requirements for an exceptional and high status child. As Danielle expressed it:

> I was exceptional because I could pull together being smart. (#3, p. a-33)
>
> I was a . . . distant, smart person. So there was a little fear around me. (#3, p. a-34)

Later in high school as newspaper editor, Danielle says:

> . . . I had my own power, but I was never, I never felt warm and coziness with the people I worked with or that I studied with. And I just became smarter and smarter and smarter. (#3, p. a-35)

As she became older, Danielle used more sophisticated terminology for her splendid isolation. She began to describe herself as

> . . . work leader. That's what I've always been. I was the work leader. And, um, I was really set apart from the groups I was in. But I felt all right about it. Although a lot of times I think I saw it as a rejection. I seem to be comfortable with, you know, that. And I started becoming a little haughty. . .really. And, and uh, I got into my pompous little trips. . . . (#3, pp. a-36-37)

As Danielle advanced in school, she apparently covered her discomfort and sense of strangeness with a pseudo-superior or "pompous" attitude. However, in her description of her first and second grades in America, she felt out of place. Danielle had finished the equivalent of first grade and the beginning of second in the Montessori school in Italy. When she came to this country "they shoved me back into first and I had to learn the language. . . ." (#3, p. 36) Danielle emphasized that she learned the language "very fast."

> My mother wanted me to be, you know, back where I belonged and to go through the school system as fast as I wanted to. And. . . .
>
> She used to come to school a lot and find out what was happening and also argue with the . . . uh, the principal that I wasn't being taken care of very well. . . .

Danielle was transferred out of the first school and into a "better" one:

> The school was in a . . . upper-middle-class Jewish. . . . And . . . the kids were really much nicer, and uh, I got skipped. I went into the third grade. (#3, p. 37)

Supposedly, Danielle changed schools because the children in the first school had been making fun of her and stealing her bus fare. Danielle suspected her mother's motive had to do with prestige.

In the third grade, Danielle reported that she was ill for a long time. She wrote a "thirty-three chapter novel."

> It was about a little girl in an orphanage. And her name was Betsy. . . . It was an adventure story . . . you know, chapter headings like "Betsy's Doll is Stolen" and stuff like that. And she was very close to a little boy. And the teacher was very much like the teacher in the Montessori school. (#3, pp. a-19-21)

The illness followed the move to the new school and being placed with older and probably wealthier children. Danielle began to talk about how she

> . . . had a lot of fun when I was by myself, when I could just be alone, when I could fantasize, when I could do my own little trips. And then things were okay. (#3, p. a-19)

It was interesting that even in fantasy of an orphanage, which is one way of conceiving of a group experience, Danielle rivetted her attention to victimization. The one chapter Danielle remembered was "Betsy's Doll is Stolen." Also, the relationships that Danielle imagined were a romance with a boy, and a teacher. Peer group experience was strikingly absent, although the fantasy seems tailor-made for one. Danielle commented:

> I don't know where I got the fantasies about orphanages and dormitories and stuff. (#3, p. a-19)

From a distance, Danielle's idea of group life was a collection of homeless waifs. Her heroine was the victim among victims. Nevertheless, they had all left home.

By fourth grade, Danielle chose a friend that seemed to be reminiscent of her image of her mother. Danielle described her friend Robin as

> very protective, and seemed to be very competent and in control. (#3, p. a-24)

Robin was Danielle's closest friend from the fourth through seventh grade. In high school, the friendship ended. Robin

> was one of the non-Jewish girls whose parents were from the wrong side of the tracks and she began . . . wearing sweaters that buttoned down the back, and, um, make-up a little too soon and stuff like that. And um, so she became sorta hard, fast woman. . . . So we weren't friends any more. And I was trying very hard to be, uh, part of the cashmere set. (#3, p. a-23)

It seemed that as Danielle was accepted by the cashmere set her competitiveness broke up the friendship with Robin.

> She was into gymnastics and I was into dancing, and part of dancing was gymnastics. And we got into a whole thing around the gym teacher. . . . In the sixth grade. I became a better gymnast than her . . . I guess I was really competitive, yeah. I was very. So I became very smart and I became very good at practically everything I did. And it wasn't much of an effort. Or maybe it was. Maybe that was really, I just had to do it. . . . That was my one way . . . of being worthwhile. I don't know. (#3, p. a-25)

What had initially attracted Danielle was Robin's capacity to "pull it together" (#3, p. a-27). When Robin was no longer a social asset, Danielle dropped her. Initially, Robin had helped Danielle learn about the school ("She was sorta a little . . . informant about the system" [#3, p. a-26]). Now that Danielle didn't need information of that sort, she focused on her mother's early warnings and suspicions of Robin "not being Jewish" and her mother's "suspicions" that "sex was going on" (#3, p. a-28). The interviewer felt that Danielle was seeking membership in a group that her mother would find more acceptable, the "cashmere set." The "competitiveness" that Danielle described does not appear to be a

variety that would promote intimacy between peers. Rather, it appears designed to disrupt relationships. This is the reverse side of Danielle's experience of herself as a victim. In learning to be a victim, Danielle has also learned to be a persecutor. It was uncomfortable for Danielle to recognize this. She attempted to tone down and disguise her acts of meanness. However, every once in awhile she hinted that she won a prize or a boyfriend that a friend had desired. As Danielle herself sadly commented, her efforts "were my one way of feeling worthwhile. . . ."

V.--THE THIRD CASE EXAMPLE: *ANN*

Ann was thirty-six. She had been married for sixteen years and she and her husband have two sons: they are eight and ten years old. Ann was trained as a psychiatric nurse and had been a senior faculty member at the University School of Nursing. She resigned two years ago from that position in order to return to school in clinical psychology. At the time of the interviews, she was finishing her second and last year of course work for her doctorate. She said that a doctorate would be "essential" if she were to stay at Johns Hoplins. Ann thought that a doctorate would provide her with the "freedom" to do the work she "enjoyed the most," teaching, research, and administration. (#1, pp. 16-18)

In addition to her course work, Ann frequently worked as a free-lance consultant in Tavistock Conferences. She is well known and respected in the field, particularly as a consultant to the large group exercise. She is sought after for most of the important conferences. Ann alluded to her reputation as a "superwoman" and part of a "magic" pair with her friend Hanna, another consultant. (#1, pp. 24-25) She protested that her prominence in the field was due to her being "in the right place at the right time." (#1, pp. 24-25) In fact, Ann's introduction to Tavistock group relations training was fortuitously close to its inception in America. She attended her first conference in 1965. Since she began at a time when it was new, she quickly became one of the few women consultants. However, Ann thought the Tavistock approach was

particularly congruent with her "intuitive" sense of group life. Ann said that Tavistock theory offered her a framework for her previously unorganized and unverbalized thinking, or what Ann called her "organizational nose." (#1, p. 2)

Ann said she felt "committed" to Tavistock work. The nature of her commitment was expressed in life-and-death terms. Not only did her work as a consultant provide "access" to people she "liked" (#1, pp. 18-19), but her colleagues were "the only people" she "could count on for support." (#3, p. 142) She implied that her investment in Tavistock work prodded her into the realization that her nursing career was a "dead end." (#1, p. 16) As a result, Ann decided to enter the doctoral program in psychology. Just after this decision and just before she was to work as a consultant at a nationally important Tavistock Conference, Ann had a near-fatal accident. Ann said her Tavistock colleagues "literally saved" her. (#3, p. 142) The theme of being saved or rescued is a recurrent one in Ann's life. The contemporary enactment of the theme of rescue was played out in the context of her Tavistock work.

Ann described her life as two concurrent but disconnected worlds: her work and her family. As briefly noted above, her work life was presented as central to her survival. In her marriage, Ann said she was "angry." She felt that she had narrowed her "options." (#1, p. 13)

Ann met her husband when they were both students at the University of Nebraska. They had both been raised on farms. Her husband Bob, a "passive man," had been "working . . . for years" on his doctorate in European intellectual history. Ann said that she and her husband were both due to take their doctoral exams the following year. She didn't

know what she would do if he was not ready to take his. She feared that it might be "destructive" for her to finish her degree before Bob. Ann said that both her doctorate and her work in Tavistock were a "challenge" to her marriage. She implied that her marriage would not last if she continued to work and if she got her degree. (#1, pp. 12-15) Although Ann complained that her husband was "very dependent" on her, she was frightened to consider life without him. (#3, p. 142)

Ann said that her husband and her mother (Ann's mother lived with Ann and Bob for two years) were "paired," or "ganged up." She felt that Bob was actively pulling her back to her childhood on the farm. (#1, p. 32) Bob had originally been the one who was going to "continue the rescue" of Ann, help her leave home. (#3, p. 131) Now, sixteen years later, Bob is experienced as restrictive. Ann spoke of her husband and her mother as though they were merged, both of them seeking to control her. She regarded her doctorate and her Tavistock work as though they were escape plans.

Ann gave the impression of being in the midst of a developmental crisis. She was considering leaving her marriage, and separating from her mother. However, Ann spoke as though she might leave her husband and still not make a "radical change." She assumed that she would need to be rescued from her husband and mother. In fact, Ann hinted she was considering entering analysis to change the basis of her life. (#2, p. 78; #3, p. 136) Ann seemed aware of how embedded she was in her familial values and assumptions (e.g., The Rescue Operation).

Ann was preoccupied with the automobile accident of two years ago and with problems at home. She said that it was a very bad time for her to work at a conference because her "psychic energy" was "going

into . . . issues around" her "school phobic" younger child, the "anniversary" of her automobile accident and of her mother's leaving her home one year ago to remarry. As Ann's family history unfolded, the ways these issues were connected for Ann became understandable.

Early Group History

Ann's parents both offered moral tales regarding the significant and restorative nature of extra-familial group life. (In this respect, Ann is uniquely fortunate among the four women interviewed.) Two major themes emerge from the parents' moral tales: the peacemakers and the rescuer. These themes continue to be important in Ann's childhood group experience both in the family group and in extra-familial groups. First we will explore Ann's parents' group experience as Ann related it.

The Peacemakers

Both Ann's mother and father told Ann about their extra-familial group life before her birth as though it was a uniquely liberated time for each of them. As Ann related her history, her parents emerge as peacemaking stars, with a group the setting for their performances. Thus, Ann's legacy included specific moral tales regarding group life.

Ann's mother was born in 1898, the daughter of a "well-to-do mortician." She went to Juilliard School of Music where "trumpet was her major instrument." (#2, p. 71) She went from Juilliard to an all-girl orchestra on the Orpheum circuit in Chautauqua. Ann said that her mother still had a "spark that was there from the kind of life she had led . . . where she really enjoyed being." (#2, p. 71)

Ann said that her mother often told her about her life as a band member.

> . . . one of her fondest things, and actually mine, as a child, was getting out the pictures and looking at them.
>
> Because they were really magnificent. . . . And she was an absolutely beautiful woman. . . .
>
> . . . And she was indeed the most striking person in the band.
>
> . . . And she would . . . talk . . . sleeping late in the morning getting up for rehearsals and having a very light lunch and then they often were taken out by men in the circuit. . . .
>
> And it was . . . a very gay . . . exciting life. (#2, p. 75)

Ann said that her mother enjoyed the travel and meeting new people.

In addition to her beauty, Ann's mother was "the most versatile musician" in the band. (#2, p. 75) As a child, Ann had asked her mother's best friend in the band, Mirabelle, about her mother as a member of the band. Ann remembered:

> . . . painfully modest person, so that she was very well liked. . . .
>
> . . . mother's the person who . . . kept the light going in the group. . . . If there were tensions, if there were arguments, it was mother who could . . . smooth over the waters.
>
> . . . general peacemaker was her kind of role. . . . (#2, p. 76)

The mother was valued by the group because of her capacity to dilute conflict. Here we have an example of a moral tale: the survival of the group depends on reducing the intensity of conflict. Ann's mother was valued for her capacity to mute the expression of angry feelings.

Another moral tale of group life is that it abruptly terminated. Ann's mother left the orchestra in her late twenties when her own mother died. "She went home to take care of her father for three years." Ann said that her mother told her, "If a mother died, the . . . daughter was responsible for taking care of the household." (#2, p. 71) Ann noted that her mother "stopped her life to come home. . . ." (#2, pp. 71-72)

The instruction of the tale was that extra-familial group life is allowed only at the family group's sufferance. If the family called, it had first priority. Thus, extra-familial group life had no permanence. The family group was the only group that endured.

Ann's mother met her future husband while travelling with the orchestra. Her best friend Mirabelle introduced her to the father. (He was a friend of Mirabelle's fiance and worked as a foreman in the fiance's factory.) The mother and father corresponded for ten years. A year before they married, an oil tank fell on the father:

> crushed his chest and I guess he had some questions about whether he would ever be able to function the same way he had before.

In addition:

> . . . the arthritis set in about that time, and . . . one of his views (was) that he had to go to the farm to be able to survive. (#2, p. 73)

Thus, Ann began the contradictory narrative of her parents' marriage. At first she implied that they married and moved directly to the farm in order to save her father's life. However, in the course of the interviews, it became clear that the mother and father married and moved to Kansas City where the father continued to work in the oil-tank factory. The mother's best friend Mirabelle also lived in Kansas City. The mother taught music and became involved "in the life that she was used to," with friends. (#2, p. 73) They had a son, Ann's older brother. Then after four years:

> . . . Daddy came home from work one day and said . . . 'I'm going to buy a farm,' or 'I have bought a farm,' I'm not sure which, but mother felt she had no choice in the matter. . . .
>
> . . . So she went. Hating his guts. (#2, pp. 73-74)

Ann's childhood sounds nightmarish. Her mother is described as a "bitter" woman (#2, p. 88):

> She didn't want kids, didn't like kids--anything we did was an annoyance to her. (#2, p. 70)
>
> . . . mother was taking out on us the fury she had at my father. . . . (#2, p. 70)
>
> We were just another albatross around her neck. . . . (#2, p. 83)

Ann said that her mother did not take care of her when she was a child: ". . . she was immobilized by her fury." (#2, p. 83) The mother did most of the maintenance chores on the farm, for the father was chronically ill. He was fifty when Ann was born, and, according to Ann, was hospitalized almost once a year. In addition, his arthritis was progressively crippling. However, the father did hold positions of authority in the community: he taught the adult Bible class on Sunday and was chairman of the county school board. Ann remembered him with warmth and fondness.

In Ann's earliest memories, she is sitting on her father's lap and listening to him tell stories about the Sioux Indians. His own father had deserted the family when he was ten, and two years later, when he was twelve, he ran away from his mother to live on the Sioux reservation. The stories from childhood were significant as moral tales with specific reference to group life. The father was vague about his running away until Ann was twelve. He chose that time to make it clear that he knew about the Sioux because he had lived with them, not just that he was brought up in their vicinity. The timing of the disclosure indicated that the father's message contained an implicit directive. At age twelve, Ann would be ready to run away. In fact, age twelve was a major turning point in Ann's life, which is discussed at greater length below. When

Ann was a young child her father's stories told the "history" of the Sioux as a large group:

> . . . what it meant to be a nation. What the difference was between the Sioux nation and the Sioux tribes and the rings that were broken, that dissolved the nation . . . they had . . . concentric circles, chains, or rings as they called them, that made the nation. And they saw the white man as breaking the rings of the Sioux nation, which is essentially pulling tribes off and giving special deals with those tribes, and then getting them fighting among themselves . . . destroyed by breaking the rings of the nation.

It was striking that Ann, now an expert in the large group exercise where the chairs are ritualistically set in several concentric circles, was told this moral tale by her father in childhood. Again, the tale indicated that internal strife destroys group life. The implicit moral is similar to the mother's morals; the group's survival depends on controlling and minimizing conflict. Internal strife destroys the group, but it is inherent in group life.

Ann viewed her father as a heroic iconoclast who tried to use his authority to liberalize or humanize the groups he led: the Sunday Methodist Bible class and the public school board. Yet the examples Ann offered show the father as an isolated, rigid, and moralistic person. He appeared to have set up situations where conflict was inevitable and insoluble. He would then use an obsessive concern with principle to obscure his isolation. One of several examples will suffice. The father was chairman of the local school board. Then he spent fifteen years trying to convince the rest of the board to accept black children on the basis of transportation cost. (Busing the black children to the one black school iin the county was expensive.) All the while, the teacher, Mrs. Rogers, held firm. Each time the issue was raised, she simply refused. The black children did not attend the school until she retired. The father had the authority

to fire Mrs. Rogers, but never tried. (#2, p. 54) Thus the father maintained the assumption of inevitable conflict; he kept Mrs. Rogers as teacher when he knew she would oppose integration, meanwhile continuing to pose the possibility each year. He set up a situation with a built-in conflict, thereby justifying the necessity of a peacemaker. Thus we have seen the parental roles in their own peer groups. In the following section, Ann's role as the rescuer is developed within her family group.

The Rescuer

Ann as a small child in her family group was isolated on a farm, miles away from the nearest neighbor. Her mother was openly resentful and overwhelmed with work. Her father was chronically ill and progressively arthritic. Her older brother was disliked by both parents, overweight, and slow at school. (#2, pp. 88-90) In addition, the father's mother, who had "become psychotic" when the father left for World War I, came to live with Ann's parents for the first few years of Ann's life. At the same time the father brought his mother to live with the family, he also brought his sister, who was dying of cancer. The ostensible rationale for bringing the grandmother was that "she had been kicked out of a nursing home . . . because she was so crazy." As the aunt was dying, the grandmother decompensated. The grandmother

> would blame my mother for killing her daughter and . . . I'm sure (it) had a tremendous impact on me . . . 'cause my aunt did literally starve to death in my house . . . she couldn't swallow . . . and we couldn't afford hospital treatment. (#2, pp. 57-58)

After the aunt died, the father and Ann, age four, took the grandmother back to the nursing home "because we couldn't handle her." There were many questions raised by the sequence and rationales presented by Ann

here. However, let us simply note that there must have been intense emotions and conflicts engendered in the family group.

By the time she started school, Ann had already learned to join the family in diluting intense conflict. Her particular role was the nurse. She felt responsible for "walking the farm" with her father, so that he would not be totally bedridden with arthritis. Ann remembered

> whenever he would get very stiff . . . he would say 'let's go walk the farm' . . . I can remember crying and saying . . . 'No, it hurts too much.' And his response to that was 'If I ever go to bed, I'll never get up.' (#2, p. 63)

Ann learned to be the strong and intact nurse. She reported the facts of illness, death, and isolation in a bland and wry tone that was chilling. The one point in the interview Ann made a verbal slip was when she told how she at age four and her father brought the paternal grandmother back to the nursing home. She said, "And then we took my <u>mother</u> back to, my <u>grandmother</u> back to, the home." Ann's slip raised several issues. Perhaps the psychotic grandmother did have a mothering function for awhile. Perhaps Ann wished her emotionally absent mother gone in fact. In any event, Ann's role as nurse-rescuer was learned at an inappropriately early age. She learned the role in order to survive in her family group and she clings to it with tenacity in the present.

Other memories Ann told from the pre-school years were only slightly less grim. She said that she did not "remember feeling the need for other kids." (#2, p. 93) The only child that Ann played with before she started school was her brother. Ann told of one memory:

> It had to be four because I started school when I was four. My brother and I were running up across the pasture naked. We had been playing in the creek and my parents were having visitors . . . and my mother being absolutely furious. . . . Actually I, I still tease her about that because she didn't like it when our kids were naked,

> saying 'You're just remembering being embarrassed by us running across the field carrying our clothes and feeling very gay.' (#2, pp. 60-61)

As this is the only memory Ann could capture about pre-school play, the interviewer was struck by the mother's fury. According to Sullivan, four is the age of the onset of the need for peers. She says that there were not any children in the vicinity

> except some tenant farmers and we weren't allowed to play with tenant farmers. I'm sure they weren't

Ann continued:

> . . . my earlier memories, you see, all relate to animals. . . .
>
> I always took care of the . . . young animals. We had enough cats to choke a horse. I can remember being very upset any time one of those cats got their necks broken by . . . trying to scoot into the house and the screendoor slammed on them. . . .
>
> I can remember crying my heart out for those kittens. . . .
>
> And also, daddy's system from I guess the time I was three or four, was that if a ewe died, when she was having her lambs, we got the lambs. . . . There was one stipulation. You lose the lamb if you don't take care of him, even once. If you forget to feed him, whatever you're supposed to do, then they're no longer yours. If you take care of them, then when it's time for market you can sell them. (#2, p. 93)

Even here, Ann's focus is on the requirement of caretaking and the eventuality of loss.

The more fortunate experience Ann had was with a few "surrogate mothers" (#2, p. 79), two of whom were neighbors and the third, Mrs. Rogers, her teacher in grammar school. The women enabled Ann to "develop some kind of . . . self-concept that allowed me to function . . . ." (#2, p. 89) As soon as she was able, Ann began to walk five or six miles to visit these women. Mamie, Maude, and Mrs. Rogers were "upper class farm women" who would keep what seemed to Ann to be "gorgeous" homes (#2, pp. 84-86) and

> spruce me up. Because I really looked like a little urchin. All the pictures . . . I have of me when I was little. . . . It's the most God-awful-looking little urchin you've ever seen. (#2, p. 86)

The women all "grommed" and "rescued" Ann. (#2, p. 87)

One of the happier memories in Ann's childhood involved the community as a group (with one of the surrogate mothers playing a leading role), helping with the planting and harvesting. When Ann's father was in the hospital, Maude's husband "organized the rest of the community"

> all of the men do the planting and all the women come into the house and cook the meals . . . with no feeling that one's obligated. It's a very different kind of . . . atmosphere.
>
> . . . one of the things that happened was that the older daughters of these women . . . made me . . . three or four dresses during the day.

Ann added that

> mother never . . . made me dresses on the basis that she didn't have time. She had to do so much of daddy's work. But I think there was more to it than that. (#2, p. 82)

The community was organized more than once to help Ann's family and so Ann had some sense of a larger and actively friendly world outside her family of origin.

Nevertheless, when Ann started school at age five, she could not function. She blamed it on a "really bad teacher" and did not specify her problems. However, it is understandable that Ann's isolated and unfortunate childhood would ill prepare her for a structured peer group experience. She would have been held back for a year, but her father hired Mrs. Rogers who "rescued" Ann. (#2, p. 89)

Mrs. Rogers took a special interest in Ann and "groomed" her to become a teacher. Ann remembered that she was "always a good student" and "did exactly what I was told." She "never was rebellious. . . ." (#2, p. 84)

> the school teacher . . . became very attached to me. . . . I think a part of it was I knew very early on how to behave to get the kind of . . . attention that I felt I needed. (#2, p. 84)

Since she was neglected by her own mother, Ann actively sought alternatives. The difficulty was that Ann was thereby fixed on looking for mothering figures, rather than being free to interact with peers.

However, Ann does remember some play experience during grammar school. It was a one-room schoolhouse and Ann remembers playing in the snow, building huge forts, having snowball fights, fox-and-goose, and baseball. ". . . the littler kids were always taken care of by the older kids." (#2, p. 94) It sounds as though Ann was happier at school than she had been before.

Her last year of grammar school, Ann at eleven had read "absolutely everything" and academically was prepared for high school. Rather than send her off to high school, Mrs. Rogers got individual work for Ann to do and encouraged Ann to become her "assistant teacher." Ann taught the smaller children to read and helped them with their work. (#2, p. 86)

The onset of adolescence brought a crisis for Ann despite the restorative influences of the helpful family community, her surrogate mothers, the friendly teacher, and children at school. At 12, Ann was told the truth about her father's running away from home. She knew that the following year she would be sent to Lincoln to the University Laboratory School, where she would be one of the few farm girls among a sophisticated class of sons and daughters of university professors. She had a burst appendix and nearly died:

> . . . literally the only time I was sick as a child was with appendicitis. . . .
>
> . . . my mother's view was it was excitement, it was you know, we had been running a lot, so. And I didn't think it was any more than

> that either . . . our household wasn't one . . . where complaints were allowed. . . . So I just curled up on the couch, and wasn't eating. I knew that I was in a great deal of pain, but if I stayed still . . . it wasn't quite so bad and didn't say much about the amount of pain I had on my side. . . . My mother said later that she realized that I had appendicitis in the middle of the night when I'd been very restless and crying a lot in my sleep. Finally I complained of pain and then the pain was suddenly relieved, and I went to sleep. Uh, and it's quite clear that the appendix ruptured at that point. . . .
>
> (They took you to the hospital in the middle of the night?)
>
> No, they didn't take me until the cows were milked in the morning. And then, as they were preparing me for surgery, what I'd been told was that a serious auto accident came in and the surgeon was tied up with the auto accident. So I was operated on something like three in the afternoon, which, you know, looking back on medically was just incredible. That, no question, I lay for about twelve hours with a ruptured appendix which resulted in peritonitis and a mess. (#2, p. 64)

At the age of twelve, Ann had learned to innure herself to matters of life and death. In the context of her family group, Ann was so worthless that her survival could wait until after the cows were milked. This gross neglect contrasts with Ann's developing sense of herself as a member of her high school class. As will be shown below, Ann's classmates recognized her and valued her contribution to the group.

High School: An Experience in Peer Group Membership

At age 12, Ann entered the University Laboratory School, essentially a private school for the sons and daughters of the town's professors, lawyers, and doctors. Ann felt frightened and out of place.

> The first week of high school was one of the most traumatic weeks of my life . . . it was just absolutely awful. (#2, p. 99)
>
> And most of the girls had incredibly gorgeous figures . . . I really felt out of it. Had culture shock, to put it mildly.
>
> By the end of the first week at school I went home in a rage to my parents, I had to take a bus twelve miles. . . . I went home and demanded that daddy sell the farm. Because I wasn't going to be a farmer's daughter. (#2, p. 100)

However, after the first few weeks of school, where she felt as if she were an "outcast" (#2, p. 101), Ann was elected secretary of the class and president of the pep squad. Ann had a somewhat magical view of how this occurred.

> And my view, which was one I also maintained in (nursing) training, was that it was easy to spot me because of my frizzy red hair; nobody else had frizzy red hair. (#2, p. 103)

Ann's father had an additional genetic theory regarding Ann's desirability. He told Ann that she

> had something in my bones, that uh, couldn't be taken away from me.
>
> (What was it?)
>
> That those kids couldn't get, which was some kind of very deep feeling for people, an automatic response to people . . . caring about people at a level that he didn't feel people in the city environment were able to have. . . . (#2, p. 102)

Ann said that she thought this answer was "a bunch of horse-shit." Still she was clinging to the form if not the content of her father's view of group membership. One either has it or not. One was chosen to be a member because of an arbitrary special quality: whether it was "something in my bones" or "frizzy red hair." Ann maintained this version of how she was accepted by the group. It is another form of rescue. In so doing, she obscured the process of becoming a member, not only from the interviewer, but from herself. It was a significant limitation. If Ann could not attend to how she became a member of one group, it would be difficult for her to use the experience to be a member of other groups.

She described a friendship with Joanie, a girl that Ann felt was similarly marginal.

> But very quickly I developed a relationship with another girl in the group who also wasn't a part of the popularity and you know group that was very sexy, and early on when there were things after school I would stay at her house overnight. . . .
>
> Both of us were interested in nursing. . . . Both of us very much wanted to date, very much wanted to be with boys, but our, our defense against that was to get involved in studying. (#2, p. 104)

This friendship apparently helped both girls to feel more comfortable in the group.

By the tenth grade, a group seemed to have consolidated of about ten kids who "combined work and fun" (#2, p. 105) and who "took control over the class. . . ." (#2, p. 106) They organized election campaigns to become class officers, ran dances, and spent evenings together listening to records and talking. Ann began to date Chris who seems to have been a leader within the group.

One example Ann offered of the group's cohesiveness and activity was of the campaign for Chris' election to be student council president:

> . . . for Chris' campaign, for, uh, student council for president, we uh, made up buttons with his picture on it. And, one of the places, one of the kids had a darkroom, uh, and all of us had been in the camera club, so we you know, developed all of this film and, you know, had these buttons, we had enormous posters of him all over the school. (#2, pp. 106-107)

Ann herself had traditional subservient female leadership positions within the group. She was Chris' campaign manager. While Chris was editor of the school paper, she was assistant editor. Ann was secretary of the student body while Chris was president. He was editor of the yearbook and she was assistant editor.

> . . . so you know, it was a strong work affection pair all the way through. Which is a part of the whole view that, you know, the only way I can be with men and have close relationships with men is through work. (#2, p. 107)

It appeared that Ann's relationships with peers both male and female, were in work settings. The following interaction, which Ann offers as an

example of "ferocious competition" offers a clue to Ann's capacity to function as a group member. She and Joanie were on the committee to organize the Sadie Hawkins dance:

> . . . she knew that I was going to ask Chris to the Sadie Hawkins dance and she knew when I was going to do it, and she asked him first.
>
> (What happened?)
>
> Well he said yes, that he would go with her. Uh, and uh, I just asked somebody else, and we double-dated. But Chris and I held hands. (#3, pp. 108-109)

This was a significant example for the interviewer, because it showed Ann compromising with a friend for the sake of the group. Ann presented herself as a person with strong feelings, willing to negotiate so that the group can continue to function.

> . . . I exploded at her for asking Chris, uh, and she didn't come to the meeting and then she said to me, uh I got word from other people that she said I didn't want her on the committee, and, I went to her and said, 'Now this is a bunch of crap.' You know, 'Yeah I'm mad at you, but we've got to get this decorating done and I'm not going to do it all by myself.' (#3, p. 115)

It appeared that Ann felt comfortable enough with her peers to let her feelings show and to see them productively. She did not pretend that she was disinterested and above it all, but she also did not divert the group.

This was an example of Ann, transcending her mother's role of the "one who kept the light in the group going." In Ann's description of her mother's mode, her mother was cold and controlling. The mother denied her own feelings in order to manipulate the group. Here Ann feels her need to be a member of a functioning group and so makes an effort to deal with the impulse to control and possess her friends. In Sullivan's developmental theory, this is an example of an important juvenile function, compromise.

One way that Ann built relationships with her peers in high school was to stay overnight at the homes of her various friends. In her first year of high school, she rotated homes, telling her family that the twelve-mile bus ride back to the farm made it more convenient to stay with friends. Ann's mother disliked this arrangement.

> They didn't like the fact that every time I stayed at somebody's house I left something so that I had clothes spread all over town. You know, didn't like not knowing where home base was. (#3, p. 111)

The interviewer thought that Ann's family noticed, with displeasure, that Ann was attempting to leave home via her connections with friends from school. In effect, her high school peer group was the new "home base." In an attempt to squelch this move, the year after her freshman year

> mother found a really very nice room as I look back on it. In this elderly lady's house, and she knew the elderly lady sat and watched out the window and knew everything that happened, so she probably felt that I would be at least watched. (#3, p. 111)

Ann stopped spending the night at friends' homes.

> In a peculiar way I was more isolated. But somehow didn't mind it, because I wasn't, you know, there were two or three nights a week when there was a school newspaper meeting or a camera club meeting, or you know, something like that. Plus, I could just lose myself in reading. (#3, p. 112)

Ann described the old lady as "rigid, paranoid." (#3, p. 112) However, Ann did not allow her to disrupt her group experience. She stayed with her high school group of ten friends, each of whom took courses in the summer so they could continue to associate. (#3, p. 113). The group apparently took pleasure in working on issues of membership. For example:

> . . . most of us, interestingly enough, played down you know, who was chairman or what not. It was probably one of the best work groups in terms of, uh, differential tasks. There were some kids who were very good at writing; there were others who had the photography, etc. So everybody had something. . . . And all the chairman did was chair the meeting. (#3, p. 114)

It sounded as though members shared skills and taught each other. The group was probably important to Ann, since she continued it despite her parents' objections and attempts to isolate her.

In addition to her group membership, Ann continued to find rescuers. The woman Ann encountered in high school probably had the most dramatic impact on her career. She was the one who eventually helped Ann to leave her home state and go to Western Reserve for nursing training. In her decision to become a nurse, Ann chose a profession congruent with her family role. However, by becoming a competent professional, Ann provided herself with the basis for transcending the confines of her family group. The following section shows the process of using the roles learned in childhood as a vehicle to leave the family.

Leaving the Family: The Professionalization of the Rescue Operation

The summer following her freshman year, while Ann and her mother were looking for a room for Ann in town, Ann began to do volunteer work in the maternity unit of the county hospital.

> I was a nurses' aide, and what happened was the key physician, the key obstetrician, and the head nurse, took me under their wing, and decided that, if I was going to be a nurse, that I had better learn something, so as I look back on it I did all kinds of things as an aide that were questionable. . . . I was always in the delivery room. . . . (#3, pp. 116-117)

Ann said that she learned advanced skills eagerly. It is no wonder that she was noticed and encouraged. However, Ann's view was that she elicited the response of being "tucked under their wing" as though she had nothing to do with it.

One of the women that Ann cared for through labor, delivery, and postnatal care was the wife of the assistant minister of the Episcopal church.

> And she raved about me to the rector's wife, who, marvelous lady, and they had a place in Vermont. And Mrs. P. is a Smith graduate, very, very interesting lady, bishop's daughter, had had, you know, all kinds of opportunities in her life. (#3, p. 118)

Mrs. P. took Ann on as a mother's helper and brought her to their summer house for four summers. She was the one who "decided that I didn't belong at the U. of Nebraska" and who "did the work of seeing to it that I got into Reserve." (#3, p. 118) Ann was, from the start, intrigued by Mrs. P. She told the interviewer about her first trip East with Mrs. P. and her children. Mrs. P. showed Ann Washington and New York City. They stayed at Mrs. P.'s club. Ann felt "overwhelmed." (#3, p. 135) Everything seemed larger than life and lavish.

> . . . as she, as we put it together later, one of her major things was, she saw me as, as someone who, if given some opportunities would go someplace, as she put it . . . she felt that she wanted to give me those opportunities . . . and could afford to do it. And so she did. (#3, p. 126)

Ann added poignantly:

> And she's a very important person, there's no question about it. And but again, you see, even with her, she was doing all of this, but there always is this thing of, it's so you can achieve. It's because I think you can achieve. I mean the total lack of me as a person being liked. (#3, p. 127)

In Ann's senior year of high school, her parents moved into town, and Ann moved back home. Her social life was drastically reduced. During her last year of high school and her first two years of college at the University of Nebrasks, Ann's high school group disintegrated. Ann spent most of her time babysitting for Mrs. P. or alone at the library. Her future husband, whom she met in her first year of college, Bob, became

almost her only peer contact. Bob, who "was supposed to continue the rescue of me" (#3, p. 131), and Mrs. P. became the central figures in Ann's life.

Ann described Bob as good-looking and "low-keyed." Currently, Bob's passivity and dependence annoy Ann, but at the time she found it attractive. "I was terrified of men. Mother convinced me that you didn't . . . trust them any further than you could throw them." "I never felt threatened by him." (#3, p. 131) She chose a husband she could easily overpower, just as her mother before her chose a crushed man.

At the end of Ann's first year of training at Western Reserve she married Bob. She took a leave of absence from training and joined Bob in an overseas Army stint. She returned with him to Cleveland and finished her training. She followed him to New York for a few years where he studied and she worked. Then his lectureship was not renewed and she got a job offer at Johns Hopkins. The family moved to Baltimoore because of Ann's job. This event, in 1965, was the first time that Ann ever asserted the importance of her career over her family--family of origin or her marriage. In so doing, she broke a pattern.

In 1965, just before the move to Johns Hopkins and Ann's initial participation in Tavistock group relations training work, her youngest son was born. This was the child, eight at the time of the interview, who was "school phobic."

> He's behaving like a child who's having his first separation from his mother. (#1, p. 37)

Ann associated this child with her relationship with her friend from work, Hanna. She designated Hanna godparent and Hanna gave this child a dog. Ann said that this son had "taken on the anxieties" for the rest of the family. He

> takes more bombardment in terms of tensions between Bob and me. . . .
>
> he's more sensitive to the covert stuff that goes on. . . .
>
> Because he has . . . exquisitely sensitive antennae.
>
> . . . he's very sensitive to whether or not you'd really want to do something with him. (#1, p. 37)

Ann denied it in the interview, but it seemed clear that her youngest son embodied Ann's conflict. She said that she was so preoccupied with him that she found it difficult to accept the position of consultant at the conference. Thus, although Ann had dissociated her work group and her family, the separation was increasingly difficult to maintain.

When Ann was 34, her mother came East to live with her. Ann felt that her mother was having a "negative" effect on her children. (#1, p. 30) She thought her strong reaction to her mother was due to memories and feelings from her own childhood.

> . . . reawakening a lot of stuff I had put aside . . . I was more tense . . . it built up. (#1, p. 30)

Once, when Hanna found Ann crying at work they

> talked . . . a lot . . . shared . . . what it had been like having mothers living with us. . . . (#1, p. 30)

This was also the time when Ann was deciding to leave her position at the School of Nursing and enter the doctoral program. She was driving home around midnight after a seminar on group relations when the above mentioned automobile accident occurred.

> . . . That night, for some reason, who knows why, I didn't fasten my seat belt. And I probably would have been killed had I fastened my seat belt . . . 'cause it was an old VW with the lap belt and with the door open I would have just hung out and been crushed.
>
> . . . some papers started to fall on the floor and I grabbed for them. And apparently pulled the wheel of the VW . . . apparently hit one of those deep drains on the Parkway. Threw the car across the road . . . into the guard rail and flipped the car . . . fortunately flipped me out . . . it was an old VW and the door came open and the weight of my body and then the door slammed on my elbows so . . . that it crushed the elbow. (#3, p. 139)

Ann was tossed unconscious into the middle of the highway where she lay until

> apparently the first car that came along stopped . . . fortunately since I was laying in the middle of the highway. . . . It was a dark, rainy night . . . so it was scary you know. The fact that I wasn't on intensive care doesn't mean that I couldn't have been killed. . . . (#3, p. 142)

At this point, Ann felt that the people in the Tavistock "network" stepped in and saved her life. They stayed with her in the emergency room and visited her in the hospital. She contrasted their "supportive" stance with her husband's and mother's frantic "dependent" response. (#3, p. 142) Ann's accident can be viewed as a dramatic communication. Wanting to leave her mother and her husband would be equated with risking her life.

At the end of the conference, Ann had a nightmare depicting an abduction. In it, she was a consultant to the large group and was pulled off stage.

> I'd been in the absolutely most gigantic auditorium that you could imagine. I mean it was enormous. . . .
>
> It was kinda like Severance Hall in Cleveland--the enormous concert hall there. And you know, plush seats and all of that. But there were these masses of people out there. And uh, if there was anything I repressed it was what I was doing. But I was on the stage alone. Trying to talk to these people. And these figures came from behind the stage, you know, grabbed me and whisked me away. And I was, you know, 'NO NO NO don't take me!' . . . and I woke up. (#2, p. 39)

Ann said that Severance Hall in Cleveland was where she ushered while she was in nurses' training at Western Reserve. The dream can be interpreted as a statement of conflict concerning the issue of leaving home, severing the emotional ties to the family of origin. In the dream, Ann was not an active participant. She was "whisked away." It seemed that the mysterious figures were her parents, pulling her away from the world of work and friends. If so, then she has been left alone vulnerable on stage.

She is unable to prevent the kidnapping precisely because psychologically (developmentally) she is not yet fully _in_ the world of work. She is still, in part, giving a performance, role playing. Ann's fear was that no one would be able to help her, that she would be left alone and on stage, conspicuous, and required to perform. Ann said:

> . . . some day people will find out what I know . . . that I'm not that bright, that I'm not that competent, that I'm not that good, and that's a constant gnawing thing. . . .
>
> . . . once that's found out, I won't have . . . I won't have people around anymore. . . .
>
> . . . my behavior's almost counterphobic to the way I feel inside.
>
> . . . always feeling that you had the potential at any moment if you goofed of losing favor . . . that's very much part of my whole upbringing. (#1, pp. 78-49)

Ann's inner conviction was that there was nothing in her that was worthwhile. She thought that if she performed well, she would be rescued as she was, for example, by Mrs. P. However, as she said, she felt that she has never been helped for any of her intrinsic human qualities.

VI.--THE FOURTH CASE EXAMPLE: *EVELYN*

Evelyn was 38 years old, and is the only woman psychologist and unit chief at Johns Hopkins University Hospital. She joined the staff of Johns Hopkins three years ago, immediately after completing her doctorate in clinical psychology. Within a year and a half, she became head of the community psychiatry division.

Evelyn was thirty when she divorced her husband and within months had entered the doctoral program in clinical psychology. At the time she had a master's degree in psychological testing and was working with disturbed children. In her marriage, she had two small children (then ages two and four) but felt that she was "the only adult in a family with three children." (#1, p. 9) She "hated being a housewife . . . stuck in the suburbs. . . ." (#1, p. 6) Actually, she and her husband had recently moved to the suburbs and her husband had begun work on his doctorate in education. Evelyn got a part-time job working with disturbed children. She befriended a neighbor who was divorced and "very supportive." (#1, p. 10) The neighbor had been a concert pianist and given up her career when she was twenty. She was an "insulated" person, but nevertheless, in retrospect, Evelyn thought her neighbor was a "major influence" in helping Evelyn leave her husband. Evelyn began to have recurrent tachicardia attacks at night. She entered therapy, realizing that she was dissatisfied with her marriage and her job:

> . . . my work with disturbed children had made me think about the whole area of prevention rather than treatment.
>
> . . . feeling that I was bailing out the ocean with a teaspoon . . . if there was any way to stop the . . . malignant pathological process . . . before it started. . . . It seemed to me putting an effort in that direction made more sense than waiting until people cracked up and came in and found me. . . .
>
> But just in general, the work of patching kids up after they'd been bent out of shape just wasn't appealing to me. (#1, pp. 8-9)

Evelyn wanted to work in an administrative position where she could have a voice in the organization of mental health services.

Evelyn's initial interest in clinical psychology began in college. She said that she was tested by a counselor who told her that she was capable intellectually of anything she wanted to do. She had thought that she would be an English teacher (#3, p. 149), but found herself "bored" and "disgusted" by the Education Department at the University. (#3, p. 150) She thought of becoming a clinical psychologist because it was

> . . . a way to find out a lot about human behavior that maybe I had no other way of finding out. I had a very sheltered protected life . . . I was fascinated by some of the deviant kinds of behavior that I knew existed. (#3, p. 153)
>
> . . . wanting to know more about what people were really like . . . with their abnormalities. . . . (#3, pp. 153-154)

Evelyn's curiosity about "deviant" and "abnormal" human behavior can be viewed as her desire to know more about the extra-familial world. As she said, her life had been "sheltered," "Methodist," and "repressed." (#3, p. 155) She added, "I have a history of being a good child." (#3, p. 161) In the following section we will show how Evelyn, a "good child" curious about "what people were really like," became a unit chief at a prestigious university hospital.

Early Group History

Evelyn offered an example of a successful career woman who has achieved some psychological distance from her mother. As Evelyn described her early family group, it seemed to fit Sennett's (1970) model of intense and restrictive group. However, in childhood Evelyn had access to extra-familial adults and peers who represented alternatives to her family group. In exploring Evelyn's childhood, we must therefore examine both her family group and the significant alternatives to it.

No Exit: Evelyn's Early Childhood Family Group

Evelyn was born in Milwaukee in 1935. Her sister was born three and a half years later. Her father was an efficiency expert.

> . . . He didn't have a college degree . . . one of his jobs during the Depression was to travel around to various Sears stores . . . and help them decide who could be dispensed with . . . and he hated it. (#2, p. 99)

Evelyn's mother was a housewife who sang and directed the Methodist church choir. The mother's parents lived nearby, the maternal grandfather was a physician. The paternal grandmother lived with Evelyn's family until she died (when Evelyn was four) of tuberculosis.

Evelyn's mother has told her that "it was difficult" having the father's mother live with the family.

> I know that she was a small woman. I'm supposed to be rather like her, physically. . . . She was a schoolteacher. She seemed to be rather sharp . . . somewhat difficult and testy . . . concerned with the intellectual kinds of things. . . . (#2, p. 90)

Evelyn's mother described the paternal grandmother as a

> . . . dominant little lady . . . who . . . liked to run things . . . sort of an intellectual at a time when not too many women were. (#3, p. 115)

In fact, the paternal grandmother as well as the maternal grandmother had both completed normal school (vocational training to be teachers).

Evelyn's mother complained that her husband, Evelyn's father, never could "get away from" his own mother, that he was a "mother's boy." (#2, p. 90) Although Evelyn's mother resented having her mother-in-law live with her for the first years of married life, she also did not move out of her own parents' neighborhood.

However, Evelyn had pleasant memories of both the paternal grandmother and her mother's parents. She remembered her paternal grandmother reading poetry to her, particularly that of Edgar A. Guest.

> . . . I thought they were great and later when I could read I would go and read those lines. . . . . They were sort of nice cozy things. . . .

Evelyn added, in retrospect

> not too much to do with the real world. . . .

However, as a child, Evelyn enjoyed the "cadence." (#3, pp. 115-117)

Evelyn also "loved" her frequent visits to her maternal grandparents' home. She thought her grandmother's potato soup was "wonderful." Evelyn's mother described the grandfather as a "tyrant, that she hated him, feared him." Evelyn commented

> I was very startled when she first began to tell me that . . . because to me he had always been benevolent. . . .
>
> . . . he would carry me on his shoulders and sing to me and read and play. (#3, pp. 125-126)

Evelyn's mother told her that when she was a child

> at every meal, all through her childhood, he ran through every operation he had done that day and every ailment. . . .

In retrospect, Evelyn thought

> . . . evidently . . . he was very focused on his work and was able to give very little to his family, except, I felt that he gave something to me. It's funny how sometimes it skips a generation. 'Cause my mother also says to me that her mother is better with me than with anybody else. . . . (#3, pp. 126-127)

Thus, although Evelyn's mother disliked her mother-in-law and her own parents, she did not sever her connections. Evelyn's parents were tied to their own parents until death. Evelyn's mother made it explicit that she had always found it "difficult" in her own family of origin. Recently, Evelyn wrote her mother about a child who had attempted suicide. The mother responded in a revealing letter:

> . . . she wrote back in great anger, 'I don't understand why children nowadays do this kind of thing. Many of us grew up under very difficult situations and we never thought of suicide or any such thing. . . . My parents were for much of my life . . . hardly civil to each other. They spoke only about business-like things. My mother and father didn't even sleep in the same room for many years . . . I didn't even know how my brother and I were created because they never seemed to relate to each other sexually. . . . My brother and I just knew that we had to live with this and we did.' (#3, p. 124)

Evelyn found her mother's letter an "amazing . . . revelation." The letter verbalizes what appears to have been a previously unspoken command: it should be inconceivable to separate from one's family of origin.

While Evelyn enjoyed her grandparents and received warmth from them, she knew that her mother despised these same grandparents. Nevertheless, Evelyn's mother chose to live nearby and visit frequently. Also, although the mother ridiculed the father for being a mother's boy, she colluded with him in allowing the grandmother to live in their home. Thus, whatever affection Evelyn received from her grandparents was undercut by her mother's attitude. In addition Evelyn learned that in order to leave your parents, they must die. In fact, in later years as a

preadolescent, Evelyn had a recurrent fantasy family "that had no mother or father. They were both dead." The fantasy family Evelyn described was a lively group of teenagers, patterned after contemporary movie stars. (#3, p. 118)

Although Evelyn was encouraged to view her family group as one from which there was no exit, she was also exposed to neighborhood children and a housekeeper, Eva. Evelyn remembered a "sense of freedom" with Eva. She enjoyed the "unusual" foods Eva introduced for lunch, for example, banana and peanut butter. In retrospect, Evelyn thinks that Eva was "less repressed" than her "rigid, moralistic, repressive" mother. (#3, p. 114) However, Evelyn's mother derogated Eva, "scoffed at" Eva's speech and emphasized that Eva came from a lower social class, and lacked education. (#3, pp. 113-114). Nevertheless, Evelyn remembered Eva with fondness.

Evelyn remembered playing with neighborhood children before she started school. She described some juvenile peer experience:

> I remember playing with some of the kids, the little boy next door was my best friend. (#2, p. 95)

With Timmy, her first friend, and other neighborhood children, Evelyn remembered roller-skating, playing in the snow, going to birthday parties, and going over the back fence to play. One memory with Timmy was of going under the house

> . . . we showed each other how we urinated differently. (#2, pp. 95-96)

Timmy's parents were friends with Evelyn's parents so it was "acceptable" that they played together. (#2, p. 95)

Evelyn remembered that she was a "good child" except for her difficulty of bed-wetting.

> . . . this was sort of beyond anyone's control . . . it made for extra laundry and it was a distressing kind of symptom for all of us. But there was nothing they could do about it, really. (#3, p. 112)

Evelyn wet her bed through elementary school and until the onset of menstruation. She remembers that it was a "battle" where she was humiliated but succeeded in humiliating her mother and causing her extra work. Her bed-wetting also isolated her because she could not spend the night at a friend's house for fear she would wet the bed. (#3, pp. 110-112) Bed-wetting was one inerasable evidence of discord and silent anger in Evelyn's family group. Otherwise, Evelyn presents a picture of a relatively fortunate and normal childhood until the age of five.

One year after her paternal grandmother died of tuberculosis, Evelyn's life changed radically. For one, her father bought a citrus grove in Florida with the legacy his mother left him and prepared to move the family South. In fact, when Evelyn was six, the family did move to the citrus grove in Florida. For another, Evelyn was stricken with osteoporosis juvenilis deformus, a bone disease. This childhood disease literally immobilized Evelyn for two years, ages five to seven. Of the four women interviewed, Evelyn had the most severe restriction on her physical mobility at an age when it would be appropriate to be learning skills of peer group membership through physically active play. The following section explores this aspect of Evelyn's experience, exploring the development of Evelyn's role as a damaged person.

The Damaged One

In her family group, Evelyn learned the role of the damaged one. The first example of this theme is a tale Evelyn's mother often told about Evelyn's infancy:

> . . . she was coming out of the church when I was a baby and I was in her arms and she fell on the steps rather than drop me. She just sat down very hard and sort of bounced down some of the stairs and felt for some years some pain for that. She naturally didn't break anything, but there was some kind of continuing damage. And the way the story was told was that to save me she had endured this. (#3, p. 108)

The role of the damaged one was a reciprocal role. If we take the story at face value, Evelyn could have been hurt had she fallen on the concrete steps. However, the mother's emphasis is on the "pain" and "damage" she "endured." Thus, from infancy Evelyn's role is the one who is at least potentially damaged. However, this family story reveals an underlying assumption. Evelyn, even as an infant, was responsible for damaging the mother. With the onset of osteoporosis, the reciprocal roles taken by Evelyn and her mother, the damaged and the cause of damage, was elaborated and entrenched.

Evelyn said:

> The myth in the family is that I fell on roller skates and it sort of initiated the process, but, but, nobody knows. . . .

Evelyn suggests that she does not believe the family version; she calls it a "myth," yet she has not clarified the etiology for herself.

> A fall would only perhaps start the process by inhibiting blone, blone, blone, blood to the bone. (#1, p. 26)

The slip, "blone, blone, blone, blood to the bone," revealed the difficulty Evelyn had in discussing the osteoporosis. In addition, the interviewer thought the slip was evidence of what a blow it had been to Evelyn as a child, and how vulnerable Evelyn felt even in retrospect.

According to current medical texts (which Evelyn could easily have read, since she has been working at a hospital for three years), a fall would not initiate the softening process. At most, it might call attention to an already weakened bone. However, Evelyn did explain to the

interviewer that osteoporosis is a softening of the bone of the hip joint. It is painful.

> And so they have to immobilize this until the healing takes place which it does sort of spontaneously. And then there's no treatment for it other than immobilizing the hip and . . . taking calcium and things like that, whatever is good for bone growth as far as diet. . . . (#1, p. 27)

Thus, for the years five to seven, Evelyn was in bed with an eight-pound weight hanging off the end of her leg which was wrapped in bandages, except for brief outings in a wheel-chair.

In fact, according to contemporary medicine, the cause of osteoporosis is unknown. In adults, it may be caused by malnutrition, specifically of protein and Vitamin C.

Evelyn said that in response to traction, she was a "little soldier." She had no visible emotional reaction.

> My mother tells me that when I've asked her, 'What was my response to being put in traction?' Also, 'how did I understand that at age five?' And she said, 'Well, of course we tried to tell you, and you seemed to be accepting and there were no really emotional scenes . . . but,' she said, 'You stopped eating. It was very hard to get you to eat,' she said. 'And . . . I remember trying to make food look more attractive and making patterns with strips of toast so that maybe you would eat a piece of toast.' (#2, p. 40)

In the interview, Evelyn associated her time in traction with the period just before her divorce. She said that they were "equally difficult" times. In describing her feelings about leaving her husband, she said, "I had the feeling I was going to die." (#1, p. 42) For Evelyn at age five, the experience of osteoporosis was probably equally horrifying.

The osteoporosis disrupted Evelyn's previously ongoing peer experience. Suddenly she was immobilized. She reported that she did not have many visits from friends after she was put in traction. She was

> Pretty much by myself. Little kids in the neighborhood would come in occasionally. But what's a five-year-old going to do with you. . . . (#1, p. 28)

Thus Evelyn was encapsulated within the family group. The mother emerged as the one chiefly responsible, in that she undertook the "primary burden" (#3, p. 106) of caring for Evelyn. She became the sole liaison with the outside world. Evelyn described her mother as full of "resentment" (#3, p. 127) but nevertheless "very good at taking care of people who are somehow handicapped even briefly." (#1, p. 29) Evelyn remembered her mother's nursing as "total care." The mother fed her, bathed her, wheeled her wheel chair. The mother taught Evelyn the basic elementary school skills and went back and forth to school herself to pick up workbooks, assignments, etc. Evelyn remembered that suddenly she began to read "without any particular tutoring." (#1, p. 26) In any event, Evelyn does not remember the process of learning with her mother. This is significant for it provides a contrast with Evelyn's first memory of school, as we shall see below.

One example of overprotective and restrictive care-taking could be of the mother taking Evelyn down to the beach in a special chair, after the family had moved to Florida.

> I do remember the radio, as being a primary social source of social contact during the many hours when I was of necessity by myself. . . .
>
> . . . when we moved South they would take me down; they rigged up a beach chair contraption. I would go in the water and she would spend hours sitting there. She didn't swim herself, but she would go down every afternoon and take me down there. (#1, p. 29)

As Evelyn described this, her voice became angry. The interviewer thought that the memory of the isolation was as painful as the physical disease. For two years of the juvenile era, Evelyn was thrust back into an infantile and exclusive dyad with her mother.

Evelyn specifically stated that her time in traction was a period of "deprivation" meaning isolation. (#1, pp. 22-25) The interviewer also wondered if this was an indication of the quality of maternal care, both during traction and infancy. However, it is not speculation to say that Evelyn experienced her mother as resentful. The interviewer thought that Evelyn met her mother's resentful and martyred position with silent resentment and rage. Evelyn experienced the traction as a punishment. She thought

> I've done something bad in order to be so punished.

Evelyn added

> . . . it was certainly not presented that way, I mean, never in their wildest dreams would they have made that explicit. (#3, p. 106)

However, Evelyn did not understand what she could have done that would merit such a punishment. Evelyn must have been angry.

The mother also claimed that she was damaged by Evelyn's osteoporosis. In addition to having the extra work, the mother said that she had become pigeon-toed from wheeling the wheel chair. (#3, p. 108) This "martyred" and "oppressed" (#3, pp. 108-109) woman never communicated these thoughts directly to Evelyn. In addition, the "family myth" asserted that Evelyn's sister did not learn to run until Evelyn got out of the wheel chair (Evelyn was about seven and the sister about four). One assumption would be that the sister had no other model. (#3, p. 132) Thus, Evelyn's illness had a negative and damaging impact on the family group. Evelyn's immobilization made the mother pigeon-toed, stopped the sister from learning to run, and symbolically curtained the family group's mobility. Here is a clear example of the reciprocal nature of the role.

Evelyn was damaged and damaging. Her mother was silently, resentfully martyred. Evelyn was silently resentful as a martyr. This important early experience helped the interviewer to understand why Evelyn was currently conflicted about holding a "nurturant" or "depriving" position at work and in her family. (#1, pp. 23-24)

Next we shall examine Evelyn's experience as she emerged from traction. Her legs were still badly scarred from the bandages, and at first she used crutches to walk. She was a newcomer from the North in a small Southern town, and also began school in the second grade. However, despite these potentially isolating circumstances, Evelyn enjoyed school and made productive use of the renewed access to peers.

Restorative Experiences in the Extra-Familial World: Deviance

As briefly noted in the first section of the chapter, Evelyn used the word "deviant" to describe experiences that would not have occurred within her family group. This would probably include the direct expression of rage, open quarreling, display of tenderness, physical attraction, in fact, any explicit or blatant emotions. As we have seen, Evelyn received some experience with more open emotions from extra-familial adults and peers before her immobilization in traction. As soon as Evelyn was released from traction she entered second grade as a "new kid on crutches." (#1, p. 21) She was not only a curiosity because of her physical condition, but also because her family had recently moved from Milwaukee. Her family was one of the few that lived outside the small Florida town. (Evelyn's family group lived on the citrus grove.)

Although Evelyn was new, on crutches, and a school year ahead of her chronological age (she had done well academically by herself at home), she felt accepted by the group of students. Evelyn must have been eager for this experience outside the home. She said:

> I had no trouble with friendships, made a group of friends . . . very quickly and we stayed friends all through high school, graduation. (#1, p. 32)

In fact, Evelyn still has reunions with her friends. Evelyn recalled her entry into the group on her first day of school:

> I could only print. Somehow or other, whatever home tutoring my mother had been doing and there was never an official school tutor . . . we hadn't quite gotten around to that. So I can remember being horrified because I didn't know, and it's the first day of class or something and the teacher said, 'Now write, do not print, your name at the top of the page.' And being paralyzed because I couldn't write.

Evelyn said that her terror paralyzed her. Perhaps she took her inability to write as proof that she could not be a member of the class. In fact, at home she had thought that skills were acquired "suddenly" as though there were no learning process: for example, her experience with reading. Perhaps she thought that since she could not write, there would be no way she could learn.

> And I remember the girl next to me, whose name I still remember, showed me how to write my name. . . .
>
> And I haven't seen her for years, but that was, that was the kind of acceptance that was really quickly people were helpful and they began to integrate me into the group. (#1, pp. 32-33)

Evelyn experienced the girl's friendly act as coming from the group as a whole. It is remembered as an invitation to membership which Evelyn eagerly accepted. Significantly, the memory also contained the suggestion that the process of learning occurs in a peer group. A peer is her first teacher after her mother.

Evelyn described her group of friends that she kept through elementary school and high school as "pretty close." They were "Southern middle class children." They took elocution lessons together, shopped in town on Saturdays, went for cherry cokes in the drug store after school and on weekends. They had pajama parties which Evelyn joined after she stopped wetting her bed. (#3, pp. 121-123) In later years, the high school girls would go away for vacations with two of the more "liberal" mothers as chaperones.

> . . . my mother never went with us. And I never wanted her to go with us. But there were two mothers who were very youthful. Very accepting and very, you know, much closer to us in a lot of ways. (#3, p. 136)

Evelyn apparently allowed the group to help her gain a perspective on her own mother.

Evelyn remembered two ways that she felt separated from the group:

> Living in the country was the most difficult, the most separating factor because I couldn't just go to somebody's house when I wanted to. I had to arrange all the transportation. (#3, p. 134)

Evelyn meant that either she had to depend on her mother to drive her or depend on her friends' mothers. In fact, one of the "younger" mothers, the mother of a close friend of Evelyn's did drive.

In addition, although Evelyn said she felt "pretty much part of the group"

> . . . in later years. . . they frequently called me 'genius.' . . . but it was said in a kind of affectionate somewhat derogatory but a kind of affectionate way. And I was not really excluded. (#3, p. 134)

She explained:

> . . . the emphasis in my family on intellectual attainment was different from most of theirs. (#3, p. 134)

Here, Evelyn noted that the conditions established by her family group: the location of home, and the emphasis on being "school teacherish" were the two things that reduced the intensity of her membership in extra-familial peer groups.

In her school group of friends, themselves school leaders, Evelyn was a cheerleader, president of her junior class, member of the honor society, and had leading roles in the sixth grade and high school plays. (#1, pp. 36-37) She used her leadership positions as opportunities to widen her emotional horizons. However, in loyalty to the family group, Evelyn also retained aspects of her insularity. In the role of leader she was particularly pulled to experience the status and the power rather than membership of a team.

One example of insularity in the position of leader was from the sixth grade musical play, <u>Hansel and Gretel</u>. Evelyn was chosen to be Gretel. Her sister got the measles and so that she would not catch them, Evelyn was allowed to spend two weeks at the music teacher's home. Evelyn enjoyed the experience:

> . . . it was really exciting to be with another family. They had no children.

Presumably, Evelyn got a lot of attention.

> . . . he was the principal of the high school. So it was a very prestigious family. And, but I took my rubber sheet. (#3, p. 131)

Evelyn spoke of the glamour and the humiliation, but did not offer memories of membership in the cast, or her class. Her focus was on the ways she was separated: by prestige and by humiliation.

Evelyn also viewed the outside world as "deviant" and "abnormal." She remembered the family of her best friend Penny. Penny's mother was one of the two "younger" and more "liberal" mothers who chauffeured the

girls and went on their vacations with them as chaperones. Penny was particularly important to Evelyn, as we see later, for she helped Evelyn go to the university of her own choosing. However, Evelyn described Penny's family as "unusual." The father committed suicide when Penny was in high school. The mother "became an alcoholic," and Penny's brother a "paranoid schizophrenic." The family was "actually very sick, as it turns out."

> . . . you know, it was just . . . pathology incarnate . . . but at the time it seemed marvelous, the freedom that the family had, the lack of restraint, rules, regulations, was the part I enjoyed. (#3, p. 137)

Thus, although Evelyn felt restrained by her own family, the most vivid alternative to it was "pathology incarnate." This dichotomy left Evelyn feeling as though her options were drastically limited. Either she was stuck in her family, or she was pathological or deviant. Evelyn's mother

> . . . never told us that Penny's mother was unacceptable. There's much more tolerance in a small town. . . . In fact, they make room for, for the very kind of deviant people without excluding them. . . . As long as they don't do anything illegal or totally immoral, blatantly immoral. (#3, pp. 139-140)

The interviewer heard this as subtly derogatory. Under the cover of a liberal "tolerance" Evelyn suggests a pervasive mistrust of other families.

In reviewing Evelyn's childhood and adolescence, she emerged as a determinedly outgoing person, despite her two years of physical immobility. She actively involved herself in building relationships with peers. In the following section, the developmental task of leaving the family is discussed, and we see how Evelyn used her friendships to facilitate work on

this task. Evelyn's pull to restrict and isolate her own life, to paralyze herself, is also continued. The themes that have been discussed above, the damaged and the deviant, continue in the more recent group history.

Recent Group History

Evelyn's life course offers an example of one who used the college experience to leave home. In the following section, we explore this literal and psychological step in terms of Evelyn's group life.

Young Adulthood: Leaving Home

College for Evelyn was in some ways a major attempt to leave home. Instead of attending the small girls' school that her parents desired, she and Penny organized and succeeded in going to the state university. This was a large school and Evelyn felt "quite unprepared for it." (#3, p. 141)

> We were unprepared for the size of the campus, the level of sophistication. We came from a small town, we were very protected, uh, we were the big frogs in the little pond. And then we went to a campus which had ten thousand people. Out of a high school class that had fifty-three people. . . .
>
> We were very naive, very kind of country, quite unsophisticated in dress, and uh, in actions. And, uh, I guess our sorority did some shaping of us right quick. (#3, pp. 141-142)

Evelyn contrasted herself with Penny, who won acceptance on a social level. Her friend was pretty and dated the right kind of men. Evelyn felt out of place in a sorority "known for its beauty queens." (#3, p. 142)

> I did different kinds of things. I kept up the academic average of the sorority and I was Phi Beta Kappa, which no one in the whole sorority had ever been in the history of the sorority. Uh, and I was, uh, tapped for Trianan which was the mortarboard chapter, their women's leadership. And I was the one, one woman in the president's cabinet. I was secretary of women's affairs. So that was my contribution to the sorority. (#3, p. 143)

In the huge state university, the interviewer thought that Evelyn must have actively chosen a sorority where she was the only one in its history ever to achieve academic honors. Perhaps Evelyn joined the sorority to underscore her conflict about membership in a peer group. Evelyn wanted to belong, but felt that as a member of her family group, she ought to be insular and distinct by virtue of her intellect. In addition, Evelyn obscured, even in retrospect, how actively assertive she must have been to have been invited to the sorority or "tapped" for the honor society. A more open acknowledgement of need and desire for group membership would have been a statement of wanting to leave home.

Another important experience in group membership occurred every summer of Evelyn's life from age ten until marriage, when she went with her family to a summer community on the Great Lakes. Evelyn had friendships with a few girls that involved talking, playing the piano, and singing together, swimming, lying around the beach, having sleep-overs, visiting in each others' houses. When asked about her role in the "summer crowd" Evelyn replied:

> . . . I was the oldest, by one whole year. At the time that made a difference. . . . I think in general there was a sense of equality. No one of us was the leader all the time. (#3, pp. 177-178)

The relaxed summer atmosphere also gave Evelyn the opportunity to visit in other people's houses. In a description of a home she enjoyed visiting, Evelyn contrasted it with her own:

> . . . it was somewhat more sloppy, because they didn't have much money. . . . But . . . it was usually pleasant. It wasn't always sweetness and light, but when there was friction, there was open friction. Her mother would just blast all of us. If, you know, something was wrong or if she was arguing with her husband she would argue with her husband no matter who was there, and it was very clear what people liked and didn't like and what you were supposed to do, and yet there was a lot of leeway for going in and out, and uh, doing a lot of things. You never felt like you were imposing. (#3, p. 176)

The interviewer thought that Evelyn was revealing her discomfort in her own family group in this comparison. In her family group there were tensions of unspoken anger and covert fights. Evelyn felt constrained and as though she had to be "good," or a "little soldier." (#1, p. 40)

Another woman that Evelyn admired was Mrs. Scotwaite, an "amazing woman" who got a master's degree when she was fifty. A friend of Evelyn's mother, Mrs. Scotwaite was viewed by Evelyn and her mother as "kooky" and ahead of her time." (#3, p. 168) Mrs. Scotwaite sounds similar to the paternal grandmother Evelyn enjoyed.

> The freer kind of bohemian way and the way they lived, she was not a good housekeer, she was a messy housekeeper, and that was different from the other people I knew. And she was always exploring, uh, ideas or going on trips, and if her husband didn't want to go, she would go by herself. . . . (#3, pp. 168-169)

This was a direct contrast to Evelyn's mother, who did not travel because her husband did not enjoy it. Mrs. Scotwaite was mobile and active.

> . . . . the last time I saw her was last summer riding her bicycle. (#3, p. 170)

She was "iconoclastic" but "fiercely independent." By this, Evelyn meant specifically that Mrs. Scotwaite, a white, Republican politically, was "bohemian" in her personal life.

> . . . whereas my family was very rigid, very structured, meals on time, house picked up, sheets ironed. (#3, p. 172)

Evelyn first met Mrs. Scotwaite when Evelyn was twelve, and she became an important extra-familial alternative for Evelyn. Significantly, Mrs. Scotwaite was not a full member of any group. Evelyn reported her mother "liked Mrs. Scotwaite very much" and "wished she could be more like her." (#3, p. 168) The interviewer thought that Evelyn's mother wished Evelyn would at most become a Mrs. Scotwaite, successful but insular.

In the summer community and in college, Evelyn felt that she was a failure socially, in terms of dating men. Thus, the summer after her junior year at college when she met her future husband at the summer colony, she was taken by his "sophistication."

> . . . I saw him as a sophisticated, witty kind of person, who was very kind and considerate, very affectionate, and very easy to be with. And I had, uh, a lot of regard for, he was three or four years older, he had been in the service and had been in Europe and, uh, was more sophisticated than I; knew a lot about music.
>
> And we came from the same kind of family, the same social class, the same kind of educational background. (#3, p. 159)

Thus, she found someone who would be acceptable to her family. In addition, as her mother and grandmother before, she found a husband with whom she felt secure. As she described her ex-husband, her tone became contemptuous and bitter:

> His role in life is a, is as a nice guy. And that was very appealing to me, very unthreatening. And he, I think he was very dependent on me, uh, he openly adored me, and that was, you know, very hard to resist. (#3, p. 160)

In adult developmental terms, the interviewer viewed this marriage as both a way-station and a compromise of Evelyn's dream. Evelyn seemed in retrospect to agree. She says, "If women have a dream, then the housewife thing is threatened." (#3, p. 148) In the marriage Evelyn gave up her career, dropped out of a doctoral program six months pregnant. She felt that she was tired of the strain of being a graduate student and wanted to have a quiet home life. After a few years, it began to grate on her. Shortly after her husband entered a doctoral program, Evelyn made plans to re-enter a doctoral program in clinical psychology. Within months, she separated and divorced her husband, keeping custody of their two sons.

In the interview, Evelyn rushed past the married years of her life. She referred to them in passing as "the most difficult years for me." She

said that she felt "locked in" and that when her marriage was breaking up she felt the same kind of terror that she experienced as a child in traction. Her night-time attacks of tachicardia date from this period. (#1, pp. 4-10) Evelyn currently seemed to feel that her decision to leave her husband and re-enter graduate school was made in a vacuum. However, the interviewer thought that Evelyn was encouraged indirectly by her husband's choice to return to school, and supported by a friendship with the woman pianist who lived next door. She also entered therapy at this juncture. Evelyn felt discontented with her marriage and her work. She discussed this change in terms of wanting adult credentials and the capacity to have a career that would allow her to do more than "patch up kids who'd been bent out of shape." (#1, p. 9)

If Evelyn's marriage was half an attempt to leave home and half an attempt to recreate a familiar pattern, her decision to leave must have been exciting as well as frightening. She said that she was the first member of her extended family to divorce. She also reported that the tachicardia stopped after she left her husband (#1, pp. 41-43)

The events that occurred in Evelyn's life at age thirty produced a radical change. The interviewer viewed this change in Evelyn's life as a result of a major re-evaluation. It can be understood in terms of an "age thirty transition" described by Levinson (1974).

<u>Age Thirty Transition</u>

At thirty, Evelyn entered graduate school, a divorced woman and the mother of two small boys (ages four and two). Once again she felt singular. She was older than most of the other students and the ones who were her age and older came from a higher social class. Nevertheless,

she became friendly with a group of women her age and began dating Tom, a man in his forties who had come back to school after a successful career in business. She felt that there was a social gap between her and Tom as well. He was "very impressed by my intellectual abilities." She was "his shicksa." She felt out of place with his friends. In fact, although there was a circle of people at school that Evelyn socialized with, she felt out of context and alone. Everyone else was either older, younger, richer, a professor, a housewife, etc. (#1, pp. 12-15) After a year's romance with Tom, she met her current lover, a man who was a retired civil servant and not pursuing an academic career. At the time of the interview, Evelyn was still dating this last lover, although he obviously was out of place with her professional colleagues. The interviewer felt that Evelyn used her current lover to keep herself partially isolated and uncommitted to her current career. She kept up the possibility of leaving her work and going away to marry her lover. (#3, p. 193-195) It seemed as if this was not what Evelyn really wanted, but rather, she was afraid to truly commit herself to finding membership in a satisfying work group.

Work Group Membership

At 38, Evelyn had chosen to work in Tavistock group relations training where she felt "mutual respect" and as though she was "working with a team." (#3, p. 198) Evelyn was ambivalent about this project. On the one hand, she said that her sons and her lover represented a priority. She cherished time with her current family and would reject activities that would cut into her time at home. (#1, p. 17) On the other hand, she wanted to gain experience in being a group member. She seemed to wish

for more participation and acceptance in the social network that the Tavistock community offered--despite the fact that she kept herself aloof. She declared her interest and felt expectant, hopeful, but behind the others. She felt crippled by the lack of experience. It was as if she was once again starting school on crutches. She was a member of a work group at the hospital, but felt marginal as its leader. She wished she could feel more fully a member. She hoped that her work as a Tavistock consultant would offer her membership skills, experience, and a social network of colleagues with "common goals." (#3, p. 198)

The night after the Tavistock Group Relations Training Conference weekend, Evelyn had a dream that illuminated her conflicts regarding extra-familial peer group membership:

> And last night I had some kind of dream about being paired with a black male whom I'd never seen before. I don't know who this guy was, but I remember he was large and uh, we were beginning this, uh, very lovely kind of romantic attachment to each other, was just at the beginning of it, and it was also something about a museum. We were in a museum and it was somewhere back in my home town, because I remember thinking what are, these are the people from my old church, from my childhood and what are they going to do seeing me with a black man. They're going to have fits. Only they didn't. And they were very nice. And we went into this some kind of museum and the thing I remember about the museum is that there was, we opened a door and there was a big, large room like museums have an exhibit hall kind of thing, appeared to be a whole herd of I think elephants coming in. . . . And I knew that it was an illusion, that was set up by the museum. . . .
>
> I knew immediately that the elephants were not coming and that it was just a very realistic illusion in that room. And so. . .I didn't experience fear of all these elephants because I was quite clear that it was an illusion. (#2, pp. 64-65)

Evelyn associated the strange black male to a "black researcher also in the conference." The interviewer hypothesized that the black researcher represented to her a deviant, abnormal, extra-familial peer. The elephants reminded Evelyn of the conference membership. (#2, p. 68) Museums evoked

a sense of "impersonal learning," for Evelyn. The interviewer thought that the dream was about Evelyn's family in the perspective of her participation in the staff work group and in reaction to the interview. She was going back to look at her family, the museum. In the stillness and artificiality of the family, extra-familial life would be as frightening and destructive as a herd of trampling elephants.

During the weekend as a member of the staff group, Evelyn had felt excited and hopeful about membership. She enjoyed the sense of "mutuality." She had a brief dream that she did not fully recall, but that entailed "closeness" with one of the staff group members. (#2, pp. 56-63)

Prior to the weekend, Evelyn anticipated problems she might have during the weekend in terms of "decision making," "taking authority," and being "firm." (#1, p. 46) The interviewer thought, in retrospect, that Evelyn was attempting to describe her need to learn integrity as a group member.

The dream communicated Evelyn's familial assumption that in order to be a member of an extra-familial group, she would have to be a deviant ("sick" or identified with a black person). The interviewer thought that the dream represented the contrast between Evelyn's prior fearful assumptions about extra-familial peer group life and the reality of membership on the staff group. In my observations, I noted that Evelyn was at times withdrawn and unobtrusively retiring. However, she did at other times assert her perceptions with courage. To have done so, she must have had a sense of membership. The herd of trampling elephants was an illusion in the dream. As a member of the staff group, Evelyn had an opportunity to see that her family group assumptions need not apply to extra-familial work group life, and in that sense, are illusions.

VII.--DISCUSSION OF THE CASE MATERIAL

The central finding was that patterns of role relationships within the family group have a causal effect on later extra-familial group membership. As each woman revealed her experience as a member of her family of origin, it became clear that she had been required to learn certain roles in order to be accepted as a group member. Each woman repeated these roles in subsequent groups, whether or not the group actually required such a role. Further, and more basically, each woman's perception of what a group was and could be was heavily influenced by the nature of her family group. Each family group provided its members with a set of instructions of how to view any group.

This is a cultural as well as a private phenomenon. As Sennett (1970) has shown, the family of origin trains its members to remain emotionally tied to it. Families are designated secure retreats from the world of work. There, in privacy, family members seek "intense" meaning and unified emotional expression. In reality, no family is without conflict. However, we are encouraged to feel that it is due to our own private shortcomings that we cannot measure up to the cultural ideal of family life. To deny the disparity between the ideal and the real, family members collude in secrecy.

Each of the women's life course studied was a testimony to how disabling such a pretense at happy solidarity has been. For example, Rosalyn's family considered itself "happier than other people." Yet it seemed to provide a violent and bleak emotional climate for its members.

Evelyn's mother cautioned her that families ought not to consider separation or publicly acknowledge problems to outsiders. Yet, in the same letter, Evelyn's mother hinted that she had been so unhappy in her own family of origin that she privately thought of suicide. Danielle said that her family was a "tight" although "cruel" "system" that "needed" each other. Ann described her isolated farm family as consisting of a chronically ill father, a psychotic grandmother, an openly despised older brother, a dying aunt, and a bitterly frustrated mother. However, for Ann as well as all the other women it was difficult and anxiety provoking to admit to themselves that their families had been strife-ridden, dissatisfying, frightening, and isolating.

The family group binds its members by asserting that it is the only enduring group. Rosalyn's family group represents the most extreme assertion of the proposition that the family group is the only group. Rosalyn's family group is sufficiently wealthy and powerful to enforce such a proposition. This is the most common set of instructions given by the family in our culture. In fact, it is so common that it is taken as "obvious," too obvious even to mention. As R. D. Laing (1973) wrote:

> What is obvious to me might not be obvious to anyone else. The obvious is literally that which stands in one's way, in front of or over against oneself. One has to begin by recognizing that it exists for oneself. . . .
>
> Someone whose mind is imprisoned in the metaphor cannot see it as a metaphor. It is just *obvious* (italics in original) [pp. 178-181].

The case example chapters showed that each family had its own "obvious" worldview. I defined these "obvious" conceptions of group life as themes. For example, in Danielle's family, a group was a collection of individuals around an imposing victim. In Evelyn's family, the group focused on the issues of "total care" and "damage." For Ann, she was to

rescue and be rescued from her family group. Rosalyn's family maintained its one basic theme: it was the imperial group. Her family's various homes were outposts of an empire whose metropolis was the maternal grandmother's estate.

One of the major ways that each family communicated themes was through the moral tale. The moral tale was defined here as a command issued implicitly via metaphor. For example, Danielle's mother told Danielle about her own experience as a "loose woman" and as a victim in the concentration camps after she left her family. The moral was that living outside the family was unsavory and led to a struggle for survival. Ann's mother told Ann about being the one who "kept the light going" in the all-girl orchestra. Here the moral was that in order to belong to a group, Ann must be a star who dilutes conflicts. Evelyn's family told her that life outside the family was "deviant" or "abnormal." Rosalyn's mother told Rosalyn that if Rosalyn walked away from her, she would drown. Family moral tales translate emotionally into imperatives. Each woman learned in childhood the familial proscriptions on group experience in the extra-familial world.

Each woman, therefore, was drawing certain conclusions about group experience based on her own early family group experience. In the case examples, the device of the "theme" was used to represent the manner in which the diverse extra-familial world was rendered more familiar. New experience that threatened family patterning was often distorted, ignored, or forgotten. Each of the four women had one or more familial metaphors for group membership. The family theme represented a mixture of irrational distortion, self-fulfilling prophecy, and some consensual perceptions of

reality. While each woman maintained her familial theme as a blinder, she could profit only in a limited fashion from extra-familial group experience.

The case examples provided evidence of the specific ways four families of origin extracted an enduring psychological loyalty from their members. The theme, a metaphorical description of familial group process, asserts the "obvious." The case examples were organized according to these themes, which are viewed as being a function of the family group. I think that all psychological themes, although they may appear to be individually determined or a function of a dyad, are in fact derived from the family as a group; i.e., they are group themes. The theme represents the metaphorical description of experience as a member of the family group from the position of the child. The infant and young child is forced to become a member of the family group for survival. Membership requires conforming to acceptable familial roles. These roles range in ostensible desirability; for example, Rosalyn is the beautiful one, Evelyn the damanged one. However, the roles are a function of the group life of the family.

The family has a profound impact on society. In loyalty to the family group, members maintain their childhood roles. Thus, as perpetual children in a world of adults, we can at any moment be "whisked off" the stage of Severance Hall, separated from our peers in the world of work. Familial roles, however fortunate, continue to be limiting since they were learned from a powerless position. To change and leave a familial role or self-image, one would have to risk anxiety (for example, Evelyn's tachicardia when she was considering separating from her husband). By maintaining one's psychological loyalty to the family group, one avoids anxiety. However, at the same time, one is choosing to limit experience

to socially conventional modes. Thus the family is the instrument of society in reproducing the existing status quo. When individuals risk anxiety and transcend their familial roles and in this fashion become less loyal family members, they are likewise choosing to live less conventional lives. If the family were to change structurally, society would also be different.

The themes contained traditional definitions of roles. Each case example, then, was also an opportunity to understand the ways that the family as a social institution trained women to lead conventional lives, not to question a society that defines women as second-class citizens. In order to be a fuller member of an extra-familial work group, each woman had to choose to be unconventional, to assert herself as an adult who cherished work. In this way, to be a fuller member of a work group, each woman had to choose to psychologically disconnect from her family of origin, to change her audience to a peer group. Each woman had to decide to learn the skills necessary to leave the family and join a group in the world of work.

Membership in a work group is thus a statement of an attempt to graduate from the family to a world of adult peers. In order to leave the family and enter the adult world as a peer, both emotionally and economically, one must work. Therefore, the work group is an important arena to learn membership skills. The literature concerned with women at work is replete with the special difficulties women encounter finding successful and satisfying work.

Basically, I concur with Mitchell's (1971) formulation of the difficulties women face at work. As noted earlier, Mitchell says that all members of our society are alienated at their labor. Work is not to

be experienced as genuinely productive, part of human experience. Women are doubly isolated at work. Women are not supposed to work for money, that is not to meet real needs. Women work for "extras." In addition, women work for "sentiment." That is, women, naturally "expressive" or "nurturant," belong basically in the family, in private life. If they enter the work world with their skills in "helping" or "compassion" (Adams, 1971), then it is inconceivable that caring could be an authentic human emotion; it would simply be role playing. Women working in social service or mental health professions often feel that they did not choose their careers, that basically all they were capable of was formal care. In this mode, women feel angry and then hyprocritical in their work.

Ann was a poignant example of the compassionate role player. She has worked for over ten years as a psychiatric nurse. She was raised in her family group to be the healthy nurse, one who rescued her father and was never sick herself. (When Ann did fall ill, she almost died.) She was to dissociate any anger she might have about an inappropriate task (that is, being a little girl designated to care for an old, sick father) and to act as if she could perform. Consequently, she continued to feel inadequate and required to present a mask of competence.

Evelyn, a clinical psychologist and unit chief, was another example of a successful career woman who has difficulty with her "nurturant" feelings. Evelyn basically assumed that her compassion was only the restrictive and controlling "total care" her mother offered while she was a child in traction. Evelyn felt compelled to act as though she was nurturant, meanwhile fearing that she was only controlling.

Danielle experienced work as exploitation. She followed her mother's moral tale: a woman outside the family is subject to anything degrading. Thus, at work, when Danielle was required to meet human needs, she experienced the work requirement as an exploitation by authorities. Perhaps this is one reason why Danielle has not been able to form an enduring career commitment.

Perhaps at bottom, each of the women feared that the one who helps is the one who destroys. Evelyn feared she would destroy by "total care." It is a typical fear in our culture where women are depicted as restrictive and controlling to the extent that they are assertive.

Another difficulty at work has been discussed by Bernard (1964) in examining the problems of sex stereotypes in a community of working professionals. As a member of a mixed sex work group, or even a looser social network, women are suspect. Ann was particularly sensitive to this. She was afraid that if she talked to men at work she would be seen as seductive. Actually, all the women talked about how difficult it is to form relationships with their colleagues, men and women. Only Ann said that she had at one time felt close to a woman colleague. Ann and Evelyn have made use of male colleagues for advice and support at work. Both feel ambivalent about friendly work relationships, as though they were illicit.

Thus the case material presents the various compromises the women have made with familial roles and work group membership. Each woman was in conflict about issues of independence and work group membership. The most striking empirical finding involved the expression of this conflict: each of the four women employed the metaphor of motion as an unconscious symbolization of her need for fuller membership in the world of work.

The Metaphor of Motion

Leaving the family involved membership in a work group. Each of the women studied stated an interest and commitment to the project of becoming a fuller member of a work group. Much of the content of the interviews concerned the process of leaving the family and intensifying peer group membership. Each of the women relied heavily on metaphors and symbols of motion, mobility, to express this developmental challenge. It seemed that each woman was saying that she could literally walk away from her family of origin and into the adult world. However, the interpersonal skills of peer group membership are more sophisticated than the physical act. Thus, the metaphor of motion, just as the familial themes, obscures the interpersonal process of learning to become a member of a peer group. If the need for peer group membership were publicly acknowledged, metaphor would not be used defensively and the difficulties would be expressed more directly.

The more I studied the case material, the more I was surprised and struck by the prevalence of symbolic and metaphorical references to motion. Symbolic and metaphorical references to mobility abounded. A poetic description of a social phenomenon contains the strengths of poetry: a few lines can convey many levels of thought and emotion with a great deal of power. However, poetry and metaphor can obscure the developmental task. I shall analyze the metaphor of motion as it appeared in the case material.

In some respects, leaving home does begin with physical mobility. Culturally, female infants and children are more restricted in this area than males. Female children are not encouraged to be active and curious

physically. Girls that persist are considered unusual or "tomboys." (This is a finding common to the literature on sex role typing of male and female infants and children; for one example see Broverman et al., 1972.) Female children are expected to move gracefully and carefully, if at all.

Anyone who has watched an infant learn to walk notes that the process is arduous and certainly not without its own beauty, including many awkward and unstudied attempts. Let us employ the infant's learning to walk as a symbol for steps toward peer group membership. Moving toward the world as a member of a peer group is an awkward business that requires a willingness to be assertively curious, to explore, to take risks, and at times fall flat on one's face. There is no graceful, choreographed solution.

Each of the women interviewed was concerned with her image or public appearance. All of them wanted to appear comfortable in anxious situations, to look composed, and to be physically attractive. This is such a common cultural expectation one could hardly call it a research finding. Yet, in the interviews, the debilitating aspects of this preoccupation became more obvious.

Danielle's vivid dream image of the rabbit drowning in a puddle of its own urine illustrates this point. The rabbit in the dream is a self-image. It is highly polished and brightly colored, but wooden. Within the dream, Danielle was trying to find the rabbit's lost legs. She wanted to screw the legs back on so that the rabbit could mobilize himself, get out of the puddle, and live. Her despair, expressed in the dream image, is that *if* survival was her main concern, the most she could expect was to be polished and wooden emotionally.

The dream image presented the emotional interpersonal problem in symbolic form: the rabbit with its legs unscrewed was dying. In more direct language, the problem for the dreamer, Danielle, was in the area of mobility: she equated immobility with dying. Yet, her dream brilliantly tells us that this is a chimera. If Danielle were to allow herself to be deluded into conceiving of her real problem as life and death, then her emotional existence would indeed be wooden. If we extend the image we might say that as long as Danielle, for example, would remain preoccupied with life and death she would feel justified in a concern with polish, with appearances. I think that this was very much the issue for Danielle and all the women studied. It is possible to look good, to put on a good show, to have an unblemished appearance, as long as one is not confronting a real (authentic) developmental task. This is one of the more destructive defensive functions that the preoccupation with appearances serves: masking more honest concerns. No infant learns to walk without falling. Real learning involves trial and error.

The metaphor of motion involves the capacity to feel free to walk away from the mother-infant dyad, and from the family of origin, and into the world of alternative adults and peers. For the infant, life and death are more pressing concerns. However, by the era of childhood, which Sullivan puts at two and a half years, the authentic task is learning to interact with peers. In order to have the freedom to learn, each child needs psychological distance from the mother and, I think, from the family group. The distance is necessary, not because all families are bad, but because all family groups are limited: membership is by ascription; we are born into our families and have no choice, at least as an infant and child. Families are also limited because they are a social institution

and are established along authority lines. Within the family group there is a vast power discrepancy between parent and child. Finally, the need for a mother and family group is real, but it is simply different from the need for peers. The need for a family group involves issues of survival; infants and children need to be tended or they will die. In our society, the family is the social institution that is generally designated to meet the survival needs of children. However, even under the best of circumstances, the family cannot meet a child's need for playmates, although a loving mother would organize her child's life so that the child has access to peers. In any event, by the onset of adulthood, no matter how loving our mothers or family groups, the individual's need is to take responsibility for her own life. This includes providing restorative experience to make up for unfortunate gaps in life experience. All four women in this study have a lot to learn, as do most of us, about group membership. In order to learn about group membership, each woman risks looking foolish. However, at some points, the women sounded as though they felt they were risking death.

A fear of death pervaded Rosalyn's dreams and memories. She reported a moral tale from age two, of walking into the lake and nearly drowning. The implicit message was that had her mother not been there to stop her, she would have died. This first tale said that death lurked outside the family circle. As a ten-year-old, Rosalyn was told that she could only move freely within the house: she remembered her father telling a story at dinnertime giving each member of the family a fantasy car. Hers was a red sports car to drive around the house. By high school Rosalyn reported having a dream of riding a horse over an avalanche, the ground slipping out from under her feet. I thought that this image

conveyed Rosalyn's phobic thoughts about leaving her family. Rosalyn, who visited her mother daily, also went for long-distance runs. She reported that the first thing she noticed about her husband-to-be was his sports car. At twenty, Rosalyn had just begun to confront the development task of leaving the family. Symbolically she suggested that she hoped her husband would offer mobility. At age twenty, Rosalyn had not established much psychological distance from her family of origin and had not made a continuing connection to any work group. In this, Rosalyn would not be considered unusual among a sample of twenty-year-olds. What is striking about Rosalyn is the tenacity of her pretense at experience she could not possibly have accrued. The combination of Rosalyn's phobic symbolism and the strength of her pretense was evidence of a strong familial prohibition against participation in the adult world of work. Her dread of extra-familial group life and of separation from her family of origin were communicated in many ways, but significantly in her metaphors of motion. There she expressed the prohibition against leaving home, her fear, and her desire to try.

Danielle's mother was described as a wanderer, one who left her own family and first husband for an uncertain future. The moral Danielle inferred from her mother's history was that life outside the family was very hard: for example, a woman alone on the road may have to prostitute herself in order to survive, and even so may not escape near fatal injury (the strafing). Danielle said that she romanticized her parents' past, that it frightened her to think of the horror of concentration camp life. Certainly, Danielle's mother's life course would not promote excitement about the challenge of leaving the family. However, for Danielle, it was at least recognized as a possibility. Unlike Rosalyn, Danielle could

imagine life away from her family of origin and had herself had a fortunate experience living far away from her family when she was Rosalyn's age (the summer in Aspen).

However, Danielle's first memory was also one that cautioned against walking away from mother. That was the memory from when Danielle was three and a half, with her mother on the beach. As Danielle began to walk away from her mother to get something to drink, the beach became a barren desert in her memory. She got lost and badly frightened before strangers helped her find her mother. Using the memory as emblematic of Danielle's emotional conflict, we might say that psychological distance between mother and daughter was prohibited. Danielle would be lost if she walked away from mother. The memory was strikingly similar to Rosalyn's early story from the beach, but in Rosalyn's case the threat was literal death. With Danielle, the threat was emotional abandonment, that the world would be barren without her mother. Danielle had a later memory (age 7) of her father walking away from her and then being angry that Danielle supposedly tried to run away. For Danielle, the punishment for walking into the world was that she would be emotionally desolate.

At twenty-eight, Danielle had managed to provide herself with a variety of positive experiences, although she was not currently committed to any profession. However, she did have a part-time job that seeme important to her, and she was financially independent. She was secretive about long-range goals, and perhaps really did not know them herself, but seemed to be genuinely interested in pursuing an involvement with the mental health professionals and in particular the Tavistock network in Baltimore. In these ways, Danielle had provided herself with real

access to peers in the world of work where she could build a more intense involvement.

Ann's automobile accident of two years ago linked motion and psychological change. The near-fatal accident came at a time when Ann was on the one hand becoming much more involved in her ongoing work and, on the other, soon after her mother had moved in with Ann and her family. Ann was at a point of intense psychological conflict. Her mother's proximity was reawakening unpleasant early memories. Ann saw her mother treating her own sons as she herself had been treated. After the accident, Ann experienced her colleagues from work as life saving.

Ann's central metaphor for emotional development, the rescue theme, implied motion. She had a nightmare where she was whisked away by two figures behind the scenes. She awoke screaming "No! Don't take me!" This false rescue suggested that Ann could imagine abduction but not driving off in control of her own life. The dream illuminated the content of a chronic dread.

Ann used her family role, the psychiatric nurse, as a vehicle for becoming a competent and well-recognized professional woman. Her career gave her access and continuity with a large circle of mental health professionals. However, at the time in her life when she chose to solidify her commitment to her career by entering the doctoral program, Ann nearly killed herself while driving home one night. The accident was evidence not only of the serious nature of her psychological conflict, but also of her limited resources. That is, if she had been able to communicate her panic, excitement, and/or rage in language, she may have spared herself the accident. Although she tried to talk to her close friend Hanna, she may not have had the language to express her life crisis. She was

negotiating, claiming her work as an adult. Ann, two years after the accident, was still groping for words to express this conflict.

The woman whose life course offered the extreme example of motion as a metaphor for psychological change was Evelyn. Evelyn was in traction from age five to seven, supposedly because osteoporosis began when she fell while roller-skating. This "family myth," as Evelyn called it, implied that motion with friends (roller-skating) brought a horrible punishment: two years in traction and being thrust into an isolated dyad with mother. In addition, Evelyn's family claimed that Evelyn's paralysis immobilized the family. The sister could not learn to run and the mother became pigeon-toed from pushing Evelyn's wheelchair. The moral was that Evelyn's attempts to move in the world were damaging to her and to her family.

For Evelyn, psychological growth, for example her divorce at age thirty and beginning graduate school, was explicitly associated in her mind with the image of physical motion (and emotional stagnation and isolation with stuckness). Her language was replete with references to motion and paralysis. For example, when she first went to school, a "new kid on crutches," she was asked by the teacher to write her name in script. Evelyn had not learned script at home, and remembered that she felt "paralyzed" by the teacher's request. Later, as a teenager, Evelyn remembered admiring Mrs. Scotwaite because she would "travel," unlike her own mother. Evelyn respected Mrs. Scotwaite for riding a bicycle, although she was in her sixties. When Evelyn tried to describe her angry feeling about her marriage, she said that she felt "locked in." Even the tale Evelyn's mother told about Evelyn's infancy, of how, in order to prevent herself

from dropping Evelyn, the mother fell down the church steps, employed the metaphor of motion.

Evelyn's dream image of her family conception of group life was a herd of trampling elephants. Evelyn feared motion, physically and psychologically. She was on the verge of making an enduring commitment to the world of work. At times she might have felt as though her family group would trample her for her active attempts to explore the world of peers. Nevertheless, she persisted. She described herself as a fearful person, and talked about ski trips and ferris wheels. She said that she wanted more friendly relationships with co-workers and wanted a sense of fuller membership in work groups. During the Tavistock conference she had the dream about the herd of elephants and her association was to the membership.

Evelyn associated her fear of psychological growth with physical motion. The metaphor of motion was also used to represent a deepening commitment to work and to the work group. For example, as noted above, Evelyn symbolized the Tavistock conference membership as a herd of trampling elephants. Membership in the staff group was the concrete referent that impelled the use of metaphor.

Metaphor can be used creatively, to represent a pressing need as well as defensively to avoid feeling anxiety. In the interviews, the metaphor was predominantly used defensively. However, even in this mode, each woman was expressing a partial if unconscious recognition of a potentially positive experience. For example, Rosalyn's wish to leave the family group via marriage; Evelyn's divorce at age thirty; Danielle's first experience as a member of a staff group; Ann's acceptance in a

doctoral program. The description of each event relied heavily on metaphors of mobility (or paralysis) in the interviews.

Mobility is more forbidden for women than for men. This is a social as well as a psychological reality. For example, an increasing but still small number of women find work as Tavistock consultants. Even fewer become conference directors. By employing the metaphor, the women were complying with a strong cultural prohibition that had been internalized in their families of origin. The need for extra-familial peer group life received disguised metaphorical expression in order to avoid anxiety. Nevertheless, the attempt to communicate at all suggested that each of the women was challenged to examine the familial and cultural restriction. For example, Evelyn's herd of elephants in the family museum suggests that the family views group life as clumsy, destructive, and panicked. (Elephants run when frightened.) However, the dream puts this formulation in the family framework, suggesting that an alternative exists.

The use of metaphor to discuss extra-familial group experience also prevented the women from remembering that aspect of their lives. For example, at the end of the interviews, all of the women had intense reactions. They commented that I had asked them questions they never thought anyone would want to know and that they had told me things about themselves that had been unspoken for years. Danielle called me hours after the last interview to thank me and to tell me that she had spent the intervening hours crying. All of the women invited me to their homes. I thought, in part, the women felt that I had allowed them to reappropriate an aspect of their own pasts. That is, by recognizing the existence of extra-familial relationships, I was encouraging each woman to remember

specific details and interactions that previously had been lost to conscious memory.

The use of the metaphor of motion to express change and specifically the emotional change entailed in leaving the family and connecting to a peer group was evidence for the lack of consensual language for that process. If psychology and the social sciences studied the phenomena of leaving home and becoming a member of a peer group, we would have more words for the process. However, in our culture it is commonly thought that one ought to maintain an enduring psychological loyalty to the family of origin. Therefore, in order for each of us to experience our need for extra-familial relationships and to remember our extra-familial experiences, we resort to metaphor. Our metaphors betray our compliance to the traditional norms. However, the same metaphors offer tantalizing clues to hidden experience. The curious listener, if so motivated, could help to find the concrete referent for the metaphor. Through this process, the restriction can be transcended and discussed in everyday language. The defensive use of metaphor is the language of frightened children, speaking to their mothers. When the intention is to obscure, metaphor is the language of the schizophrenic: private and directed to the awesome mother of infancy, but also secretive and designed to hide restorative experience. In order to communicate experience outside the family group, we need to learn consensual language, speech directed to peers. Thus, consensual language presupposes the courage to state unconventional thoughts simply and directly and to experience the anxiety that attends leaving the family and becoming a fuller member of a peer group.

VIII.--SUMMARY AND THOUGHTS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study explored the process of leaving the family group and becoming a member of a peer group in the world of work. I found that the family group had an enduring impact on subsequent extra-familial group experience. The family was viewed here as a social institution. Thus, leaving the family is not only a challenge in the individual's psychological adult development, but also has societal ramifications.

Peer group membership becomes a pressing need in the juvenile era. According to Sullivan, that is at about the age of four. However, since our culture derogates peer groups and denies the need for extra-familial relationships, many adults are without the social skills necessary for a rich sense of peer group membership. Therefore, the age of 18 through the early 20s is often a particularly difficult one in our society. We are expected to leave home formally, but feel that we have nowhere to go. (In fact, we have often had more peer group experience than we remember.) At age 18, we are therefore confronted with what feels like an overwhelming challenge. Adults take years to leave their family of origin and establish an independent life.

Here, the lives of four adult women were studied in an attempt to understand how women psychologically leave their families of origin and join the world of work as peers. The women ranged in age (20, 28, 36, 38) and in commitment and competence in work. All of them said that they wanted to learn about group membership, and in fact worked in Tavistock group relations training.

I found that the family of origin, the first group experience, had a formative impact on subsequent extra-familial group experience. I saw this as themes emerged and repeated themselves. Themes were defined as familial modes of patterning and describing group life. For example, Rosalyn's family emerged as an imperialist nation, conquering and annexing strangers who ventured near. Danielle's family was a collection of victims clustered around a central imposing victim, the mother. Ann's family organized itself to be rescued by the community and to have Ann function as a waif and nurse-rescuer within the family group. Evelyn's family was organized around the mother's martyrdom to Evelyn's damage. The familial themes were mandated conceptions of group life. Each woman was pulled to re-enact her familial role and to view extra-familial groups as similar to her family group. The families used moral tales, commands issued implicitly in stories or in metaphor, to socialize the children. These moral tales were useful in understanding the nature of the family.

The family as the socializing agent of the larger society, trained the female children to enact traditional roles. The roles that each of the four women learned were in fact variations on common female roles: the nurse, the victim, the prostitute, the damaged, the helpmate. Each of the women had aspects of all these roles.

In summary, the culture asserts that the family provides the basis for emotional satisfaction and that women belong in the family. Also, since the family is the main socializing institution in society and women are supposedly powerful agents within that institution, women are doubly bound in the family. In the course of the interviews, I began to understand more fully why women needed experience as members of extra-familial

peer groups, particularly at work. In order to feel that they could be human, peers in the adult world, women needed an alternative audience. That is, even Ann, whose mother was a member of an all-girl orchestra, could not use her family of origin for sufficient support to work productively in the world of peers.

Insofar as each woman is attempting to create a more fully human experience in a work group, she is asserting that the family group is not sufficient, that she needs peers. In considering the possibility of feeling as though she is an adult among adults, a person with responsibility for the conditions of her life, she is leaving the family group. In our culture, we learn to fill positions in hierarchies without feeling. Work life is in opposition to "free time" where we may feel. The female, the "expressive" one in the psychological division of labor, belongs in the realm of home. It is profoundly radicalizing for a woman to try to be more fully human, feeling, at work. In order to be more adult, more feeling, at work, each person needs to experience herself as a member of a peer work group.

The women studied here (with the possible exception of Rosalyn) all placed an emphasis on emotional connectedness to their work group and to the Tavistock network. They did not experience their work as simply an exercise in rational development of intellectual skills. Emotional involvement and competence seemed to correlate with developmental accomplishment in the women studied. It may be that their male counterparts would place more emphasis on the rational technical mode. However, it is in no way clear that this is a more productive orientation to work.

In an attempt to discuss leaving home and joining the world of work as an equal, the women used the metaphor of motion. They dreamed about

mobility and had memories of what happened when they tried to walk away from their mothers. One woman, Evelyn, actually spent two years (5 to 7) in traction with a bone disease.

I assumed that much of peer group experience was hidden by the unconscious use of metaphor, but that it was possible to work backward from the metaphor to the concrete social interaction. In a culture that is disinterested in the existence of peer groups and that denies the need for peer groups, members of the society would have difficulty remembering and describing their experience. However, the women were able to remember and willing to recount a great deal of information about familiar and extra-familial group experience.

Since the study was limited to the lives of four adult women, I did not presume to test any hypothesis. However, I was guided by the early developmental theory of H. S. Sullivan and by the adult developmental theory of D. J. Levinson. Although I did not attempt to apply Levinson's age-linked developmental periods, his thinking was seminal to this study. Levinson found that development and change continues throughout adult life and that leaving the family and becoming one's own person is a process that takes between fifteen and twenty years of adult life, perhaps from 18 to 38. Levinson also found that this process is linked to the world of work. This investigation shares Levinson's conception of the world of work as being a significant, if not the primary, arena for the development of extra-familial adult group life.

A larger sample than mine would be needed to explore the relevance of Levinson's age-linked categories to women. In some cases, I found congruence; for example, Evelyn's age 30 transition. However, I could

not ascertain whether it was fortuitous or whether in face female adult development was on a similar time schedule to males in our society.

It would be of interest to do further studies on peer groups that are less hierarchically structured than the Tavistock Group Relations Training Conference staff. In the Tavistock conference, there is a director. In the community at large, there is a Tavistock network, professionals who work at Tavistock conferences and who may teach group relations at the university. This network is unclear on its status as a group. Members vary in their claims and expectations. It would be important to study members of a peer group that was without a hierarchical structure and was more fully motivated to live as a group. For example, a member of a living commune, or a work group within the women's movement, or a street theatre group would have less traditionally structured lives than the women I studied. It would be of interest to ascertain whether less conventional women had more memories of extra-familial group experiences. It would also be important to understand the family of origin of such people. Would their mothers be rejecting, provide alternative peer experience and encourage exploration, or be smothering and intrusive?

Such groups are rare in our culture and where they do exist, they feel vulnerable and are suspicious of a professional who would study them. Some professionals (E. Newton and S. Walton Fischler, 1971) have studied peer groups that they belong to, and assert that this is scientific. I agree with Newton and Fischler, and their study of women's groups encouraged me in mine. Unconventional groups have good reason to be suspicious of the "uncommitted" observer. It takes courage for anyone to tell one's

life history. The less traditional one's life, the less protected one feels by society.

My most important finding was that the family as the first group does influence subsequent group experience, but it does not explain it all. In addition to understanding the family group, and the power of the family as an institution, each of the women I interviewed had significant emotional experience outside their families of origin. I was not their first alternative audience. I thought that with longer interviews I might have learned even more about alternative experience in extra-familial groups as well as learning more about the family of origin. After studying over 700 pages of interview transcripts, I noted how much more I had to learn about each of the women who generously shared their life histories with me.

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