

INFORMATION TO USERS

This reproduction was made from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this document, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help clarify markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark, it is an indication of either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, duplicate copy, or copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed. For blurred pages, a good image of the page can be found in the adjacent frame. If copyrighted materials were deleted, a target note will appear listing the pages in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed, a definite method of "sectioning" the material has been followed. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. For illustrations that cannot be satisfactorily reproduced by xerographic means, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and inserted into your xerographic copy. These prints are available upon request from the Dissertations Customer Services Department.
5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases the best available copy has been filmed.

**University
Microfilms
International**

300 N. Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

8222927

Bernstein, Barbara A.

**OEDIPAL TRANSFORMATIONS OF PRE-OEDIPAL DEVELOPMENT:
IDENTIFICATION**

City University of New York

PH.D. 1982

**University
Microfilms
International** 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Copyright 1982

by

Bernstein, Barbara A.

All Rights Reserved

OEDIPAL TRANSFORMATIONS OF PRE-OEDIPAL
DEVELOPMENT: IDENTIFICATION

by

BARBARA BERNSTEIN

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.

1982

COPYRIGHT BY
BARBARA BERNSTEIN
1982

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.

4/22/82.
date

Herbert Nechin
Herbert Nechin, Ph.D.
Chairman of Examining Committee

April 23, 1982
date

Herbert D. Saltzstein
Herbert Saltzstein, Ph.D.
Executive Officer

Anneliess Riess, Ph.D.
Laurence J. Gould, Ph.D.
Brian Evan Levine, Ph.D.
Seymour Slovik, Ph.D.

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my deepest gratitude to the people who provided the assistance without which I could not have conducted this study. To the members of my committee, Dr. Herbert Nechin, Chairman, Dr. Anneliess Riess, and Dr. Laurence Gould, for their steadfast support, encouragement, and clinical wisdom. To my colleagues, Bill Fischer, for interviewing the parents, and Muriel Frischer, for psychological testing and for her insightful work on the developmental profiles. To my readers: Dr. Seymour Slovik who gave so generously of his time and Dr. Brian Levine who also shared his clinical expertise so graciously in supervising my diagnostic work. To Dr. Louise Kaplan for introducing me to the topic of identification and for providing data collected at the N.Y.U. Mother Infant Research Nursery. A special note of gratitude to Nargis Alexander for so carefully typing the manuscript.

And to the person whose had the most pervasive influence and who has seen me through this task from conception to completion, my husband, Jonathan.

Table of Contents

	Page
Introduction to the Dissertation Problem.....	1
Statement of the Problem.....	4
Rationale.....	6
Methodology	
A. Description of the Subject.....	8
B. Description of the Instrumentation....	10
C. Analysis of the Data.....	23
Review of the Literature.....	27
Definition of Terms.....	64
Results	
A. Descriptive Material.....	67
B. Postdictions.....	81
C. Comparisons Between Postdictions and Observational Data.....	110
Discussion.....	164
Reference List.....	184
Appendices.....	191

Introduction to the Dissertation Problem

The influence of the child's early experience and interactions upon maturation, development, structuralization, and personality formation have been a focus of psychoanalysis since its inception. In early theory, attention was centered primarily on the oedipal complex, its resolution or lack thereof, and its effect on subsequent development. More recently however, attention has been focused upon the role of pre-oedipal experience in shaping the oedipal conflict as well as its long lasting influence on personality formation (Silverman, Rees, Neubauer, 1975).

Specifically, Margaret Mahler, based upon her observations of normal mother-infant pairs has postulated a four stage separation-individuation process which precedes the unfolding of the oedipal complex (Mahler, Pine, and Bergman, 1975). The unique separation-individuation experience of an individual is thought to shape the oedipal experience and subsequent development.

The course of separation-individuation occurs along with and is interdependent with the development of psychic structure (Parsons, 1971) and object relations (McDevitt, 1979). Both Parsons and McDevitt emphasize the importance of internalization and identification during the period of separation-individuation.

As the focus of psychoanalytic thought has shifted toward the importance of pre-oedipal experience, so has the conception of identification evolved. From a view of identification as a reaction to loss of the object (Freud, 1917) identification is now "conceived, at least in part, as growing out of primarily active, relatively conflict-free individuating processes, and as contributing to ego structures ("strength") required for the gradual relinquishing of the more primitive object ties" (Schechter, 1968, p. 63).

This study will examine the relationship between the unique course of a child's separation-individuation development (i.e., the pre-oedipal period) and the nature of psychic structure and object relations at age 5, approximately during the transition from the oedipal period to the latency phase. This study will focus primarily upon the nature of internalizations and identifications at the two phases of development and the continuities and discontinuities between them.

Further, this study will add to the growing literature which uses reconstructive data, i.e., postdictions, as a means of validating theories of development. As indicated by Rubinfine (1959) "the validation, amplification, and extension of psychoanalytic theories of earliest psychic functioning can be expected from meticulously observed and

collected developmental data on the one hand, and the reconstructive work of child and adult analyses on the other" (p. 575).

Statement of the Problem

The problem that this study addresses is that of determining the nature of the relationship between pre-oedipal development, i.e., the course of separation-individuation, and structure and functioning at approximately age 5, particularly with respect to the role played by processes of internalization. The problem may be clarified by asking the following questions: Is it possible to infer the course of an individual's separation-individuation from structure and functioning at age 5? Specifically: Which aspects of separation-individuation development will be directly reflected in the structure and functioning of a 5 year old? Which aspects will be transformed by later developmental issues? Is it possible to identify those issues and to trace the course of the transformations?

These questions may be re-stated with specific reference to identifications: Will identifications formed during separation-individuation be directly reflected in the structure and functioning of a 5 year old? Which identifications will be transformed by later developmental issues? Can those issues be identified and the fate of the early identifications traced?

This study is important as it will add to the growing literature which attempts to clarify the nature of the

relationship between the pre-oedipal and oedipal periods of development. Secondly, it will explore the reliability of inferring the specific course of an individual's separation-individuation from their personality at age 5. Thirdly, it will add to the literature regarding the role of processes of internalization in the development of psychic structure and object relations.

Rationale

This study is based upon the theoretical viewpoint that development is best understood as a series of progressions, each increasingly complex, influenced by a natural tendency toward integration and cohesion. Progressions occur at particular critical points of development and both incorporate and restructure the individual history of the child.

It has been established that by age 3-4, previously (relatively) independent components of personality have coalesced, forming a stable "central psychic constellation". This constellation has persistent and far-reaching effects on all future development, including the oedipal conflict (Silverman, Rees, and Neubauer, 1975).

Mahler et.al. (1975) also found that by the third year of life, aspects of separation-individuation development which previously had been studied independently could no longer be conceptualized in that way. Rather, with development, the data dictated that they be regarded in a manner which would respect the integration of previously separate characteristics and modes of functioning. This integration was seen as the beginning of consolidated personality structure which would have great impact on subsequent development.

McDevitt (1979) has emphasized the importance of the resolution of the rapprochement phase of separation-individuation for later development, particularly for resolution of the oedipal conflict.

Given that these pre-oedipal experiences shape and influence later experience, particularly the oedipal period, it should be possible to study a child at the later stage and trace the impact of earlier experience. Further, it should be possible to focus the study on one specified aspect - such as processes of internalization. Indeed, McDevitt (1979) has traced the impact of internalization on the development of one child during her separation-individuation and its sequelae at age 8.

The idea set forth herein is that by studying personality at age 5, the nature of earlier indentifications can be deduced. It should be noted that this approach emulates that which is typically done in clinical practice.

Methodology

A. Description of the Subject

Conceived as a clinical case study, this dissertation focuses on one five-year old girl and her family. This girl, "Helen", and her parents, "Mr. and Mrs. H." were chosen from a pool of five girls and their families who comprise the sample of a related study. In each case, the girls and their mothers had participated in a long-term naturalistic study of separation-individuation development at the NYU Mother-Infant Research Nursery during a period between the child's 6th and 30th months of life. The children who attended the Nursery were girls born between April 1 and August 14, 1974, and who lived in the Gramercy-Greenwich Village-Chelsea area of Manhattan, and whose families responded to posters and/or ads seeking volunteers for the study.

In July, 1979, the director of the NYU Nursery contacted several of the participant families and requested that they take part in a follow-up of the earlier study. Data were collected on the five families who expressed their desire to be part of the research. The selection of Helen as the focus of the present study was made after data were collected on the five families and preliminary

analyses completed. Two families were excluded from the study as the girls' development could not be considered to be within the average range. Of the remaining three, Helen most clearly approached the expectation for average development at this age. She therefore was chosen as the subject of this study. Such exclusion is justified as this study is a clinical case study focused on a specific aspect of normal development and does not rely upon the random selection of subjects.

B. Description of the Instrumentation

Data about the girls and their families were collected using interview techniques, observations, intelligence and projective testing as described below. To prevent the data collected from one source (e.g., mothers) from biasing observations or testing of others, data collection was divided among three individuals - myself and two colleagues. The three researchers worked independently and did not share their findings or impressions until all the data had been collected and organized into developmental profiles, described in Section C.1.

Parents gave their informed consent for testing, school observations, and interviews with current and previous teachers.

B.1. Observations and Interviews

Parent Interviews

Mothers and fathers were interviewed independently in a series of meetings, over approximately 8 hours. Questions dealt primarily with their views of the child's development, their feelings and fantasies about the child, their views of the family interactions and how they saw their roles as parents. Interviews with all parents were structured to deal with essentially the same issues. A sample of the questions asked may be found in Appendix 1.

Within the structure, the interviews were intended to be flexible, to capture the complexity and unique features of each child and her family. To some extent, therefore, interviews were shaped by the nature of the material reported by the parents.

School Observations

With the consent of the school principal and the child's teacher, each child was observed in the classroom on four occasions, usually within a two to three week span of time. Typically, the teacher would introduce the observer to the class as a visitor who would spend time with them. The study child had not previously met the observer and was unaware that she was the focus of observation.

Observations were recorded using a method of time sampling. A time sample is an immediate and complete recording of everything that a child (or other subject) does within a specified length of time. This "sequential, unselective, plain, narrative description of behavior with some of its conditions" was chosen as a method which would yield maximum information with minimum interference or inference (Wright, 1960, p. 86).

Specifically, all behavior was recorded for each alternate five minute segment. Brief impressionistic

descriptions of the events which occurred between the time samples were recorded to give greater continuity and readability to the observations. These were necessarily rather selective and therefore subjective.

The length of each observation was partially dictated by the class schedule and the teacher. Observations covered a period of at least one hour, twenty minutes. They were typically longer and often spanned the entire school day. Following the completion of each observation, an impressionistic summary was written. The scope of the summaries varied from one observation to another and from one child to another. Typically they included an initial impression of the child, description of the child's mood, interactions with peers and with adults and similarities to or differences from previous observations. Questions that occurred to the observer about the child were also noted. A sample of an observation may be found in Appendix 2.

Teacher Interviews

With the consent of the parents, the child's current teacher was interviewed as was any adult in charge of a previously attended day care group. (Two teachers who had taught one of the study children while her family was living in a different city were unavailable for interviews).

Discussions with the current teacher provide a current description of the child's development, adjustment to school, strengths and weaknesses, and modes of interaction with others. Teacher descriptions could also be compared to the samples of behavior seen by the observer.

The interviews with previous teachers provide a picture of the child's development year by year and capture the changes which are inherent in growth and development. As the questions asked both current and previous teachers were essentially the same, a child's development in a specific area could be studied across time.

As with the parent interviews, teacher interviews were structured to explore a specified set of questions and developmental issues. Here too, to capture the complexity of each child, and what is special or unique about a child, the questions asked and the relative emphases vary somewhat from one interview to another. The format of the interviews may be found in Appendix 3.

B.2 Psychological Testing

A battery of tests was administered to each study child, parent, and sibling. The battery consisted of a standard selection of diagnostic tests (WAIS or WPPSI, Rorschach, TAT, and Bender) with some additions (CAT, House-Tree-Person, Kinetic Family Drawings, and Despert Fables). The additions

were made in accordance with the children's ages and to increase the material pertaining directly to intra-familial relationships. The battery was modified as necessary to suit the ages of the siblings. Testing was usually conducted in two or more sessions in the subject's home. The specific tests are discussed below.

Intelligence Testing

An intelligence test was administered to each study child, parent (except for one mother who refused this test) and sibling. The Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS) (Wechsler, 1955), "the most widely used test of intelligence with adults" (Rapaport, Gill, and Schafer, 1968) was administered to parents. The WAIS allows an examiner to compare an individual's performance to that of the general population as well as to determine an individual's own relative strengths and weaknesses. The standard administration of the test (Wechsler, 1955) was used.

The WAIS was standardized on a population of 1,700 adults ranging in age from 16 to 64 years. The standardization sample was chosen to reflect the population of the United States as determined by the 1950 census. The WAIS manual does not describe the validity of the test. The reported reliability coefficients are: Full Scale: .97; Verbal IQ: .96; and Performance IQ: .93-.94. (Wechsler, 1955).

The Wechsler Preschool and Primary Scale of Intelligence (WPPSI) (Wechsler, 1967) was administered to each study child. The WPPSI was standardized on 1,200 children aged 4 to 6½ years chosen in accordance with the 1960 United States census data. Reliability coefficients for the Verbal, Performance, and Full scales are reported to be .94, .93, and .96 respectively. Validity is discussed minimally in the manual. It has been reported that "for the age and ability range covered the WPPSI is the best standardized and most up-to-date individual test available" (Eichorn, reported in Sattler, 1974, p.211).

As the three siblings in the study did not fall within the 4 to 7½ year range they were given tests suitable for their ages.

The Stanford Binet (1960 Revision) was administered to one child, aged 3 years, 2 months. Although many inadequacies of the Stanford Binet have been identified it has proven to be "extremely reliable and valid" and "remains as one of the standard instruments for the assessment of children's intelligence" (Sattler, 1974, p. 104, 105).

The Bayley Scales of Infant Development (Bayley, 1969) were designed to measure the developmental progress of infants in the first 2½ years of life. The standardization sample, consisting of 1,262 children, reflects the composition of the United States population aged 2 - 30

months as determined by the 1960 U. S. Census.

The median split half reliability of 14 age groups is reported to be .88 for the Mental Scale and .84 for the Motor Scale. Minimal discussion regarding the validity of the test is presented in the Manual.

The Bayley Scales were administered to one study child's sibling, aged one year, eight months at the time of testing. This was the only test administered to this child.

The Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children - Revised (Wechsler, 1974) was designed for use with children aged six years to sixteen years, eleven months, to assess the capacity to understand and cope with the world. The standardization sample, consisting of 2,200 children, reflected the composition of the United States population as determined by the 1970 U. S. Census. As reported in the Manual, the average reliability coefficients for the Verbal, Performance, and Full Scale IQ's are .94, .90, and .96 respectively. The WISC-R was administered to the eldest sibling in the study, aged 10 years, 6 months - 10 years, 7 months at the time of testing.

Rorschach

The Rorschach test, "the most useful tool of its kind, and...the most widely used tool in diagnostic personality

testing" (Rapaport, Gill, and Schafer, 1968) was administered to all study children, their parents, and the oldest sibling. Reviewing the extensive literature which assesses the reliability and validity of the Rorschach is beyond the scope of this paper; these topics are covered in the papers by Holzburg (1977) and Weiner (1977) among others. The Rorschach has been used to assess the personality of children aged three (Ford, 1946) and even age two (Halpern, 1960).

TAT, CAT

The Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) was devised by Morgan and Murray in 1935 to assess the "dominant drives, emotions, sentiments, complexes, and conflicts of a personality" (Murray, 1943 p.1). Despite a wide range of interpreter reliability (.30 - .96) reported in the literature (Tomkins, 1947, p. 5), it is one of the two most frequently used projective tests (along with the Rorschach) (Bellak, 1975). In reviewing studies of the validity of the TAT, Tomkins (1947) points to the difficulty of the task and concludes that the past history and dream life of an individual are represented in the TAT stories.

A selection of TAT cards were administered to the parents, study children, and the oldest sibling, following standard procedures described by Murray (1943). A

description of the cards used may be found in Appendix 4.

The Children's Apperception Test (CAT), a direct descendent of the TAT was devised by Bellak in 1949 for use with children aged three to ten to facilitate the understanding of a child's interpersonal relationships, drive constellations and the defenses against them (Bellak, 1975). The C.A.T. was administered to the study children.

Bender-Gestalt Test

The Bender Gestalt Test (Bender, 1938) was introduced as a test of visual motor integration. The perception and reproduction of the figures are determined by the subjects' maturational level as it interacts with any organic or functional pathological state (Tolor and Schulberg, 1963). This test has been "used as a maturational test of visual motor gestalt function in children to explore retardation, regression, loss of function, and organic brain defects in both adults and children, and to explore personality deviations, especially where there are regressive phenomena" (Bender, 1946). Although there has been controversy regarding the uses to which this test has been put and the lack of established validity (Tolor and Schulberg), it was found to be the third or fourth most frequently used psychological instrument (Sundberg, 1961 as reported by Tolor and Schulberg). Koppitz (1964) has developed a

developmental scoring system designed to differentiate between distortions on the Bender which reflect immaturity, perceptual malfunctioning and emotional attitudes. This system is intended for use with children aged five to ten years. Hutt (1968) has proposed the use of the Bender as a projective technique.

The Bender was administered to all study children, parents and the oldest sibling following administration procedures described by Bender (1946).

House-Tree-Person

This technique introduced by Beck in 1948 was designed to obtain information regarding an individual's sensitivity, maturity, flexibility and degree of personal integration (Burns and Kaufman, 1970). It is based upon the belief that an individual's drawings will reflect his views of the world, what is important to him, his traits, characteristics and self perceptions (Hammer, 1960). The subject is asked to draw, on separate 8½" X 11" sheets of paper, a house, a tree, a person, and a person of the sex other than the first figure drawn. The drawing of the House tends to elicit feelings and perceptions concerning the home and family life. The drawing of the person tends to elicit a self portrait, an ideal self, a depiction of one's perception of significant others, or a combination of

these (Hammer, 1960).

According to Hammer, the child's drawing of the 'other' is usually a version of the parental figure which foretells the elements with which the child later identifies.

The drawing of the tree elicits feelings about oneself which are deeper and perhaps more disturbing than those represented in the drawing of the person. This occurs as the tree drawing is experienced less as a self portrait and the individual is more likely to project upsetting or more primitive material into this drawing.

The House-Tree-Person was administered to all study children, parents and to one sibling, aged 10-6.

The Despert Fables

The Despert Fables (originally the Duss Fables) are used to elicit feelings regarding a variety of conflictual issues (e.g., sibling rivalry, aggression, attachment to parents) in children of various ages. Schwartz (1950) has found that, as compared to the Rorschach and House-Tree-Person, "the Fables present more concretely the direction of aggressive drives and the interrelationships within the family" (reported in Wursten, 1960). Duss found the fables to be most useful with children 3-7. The fables were administered to the study children and the 10-6 year old sibling.

Kinetic Family Drawings

Introduced by Burns and Kaufman in 1970, this technique is designed to assess an individual's perception of himself in his family setting. It is felt to elicit more dynamic and valid material than is elicited by a static drawing task (Burns and Kaufman, 1970).

The child is given an 8½" X 11" sheet of paper and told to "draw a picture of everyone in your family, including you, doing something. Try to draw whole people, not cartoons or stick people. Remember, make everyone doing something - some kind of action". (Burns and Kaufman, 1970, p. 19-20). Whereas in a standard procedure the examiner leaves the room while the child draws, in this study the examiner remained with the child. This was done to maintain continuity with other testing procedures and also as the children tended to spontaneously verbalize what they were drawing. Impressionistically, the verbalization and drawing seemed to mutually free and enhance each other.

The Kinetic Family Drawing was administered to each study child, parent, and the oldest sibling. It was felt that if a kinetic drawing would add to a child's test battery, it would similarly enhance an adult's. Further, it provided another means of tapping the adults' views of their families as well as another dimension on which to compare the children's perceptions with those of their

parents.

A complete listing of the tests administered to the study children, parents, and siblings may be found in Appendix 4 A.

C. Analysis of the Data

C.1. Developmental Profile

As can be seen from the preceding section, a wealth of material was collected on each study child and her family. To achieve a comprehensive and meaningful integration of the data, the intention was that the data would be used to prepare a developmental profile for each child. The outline of the profile, which is adapted from that proposed by Anna Freud (1965) may be found in Appendix 5. However, discussion between the three investigators, based upon preliminary review of the data, led to the decision to exclude two families from the study. This decision was based upon the shared opinion that these two girls could not be considered to fall within the range of average development.

Using the data of the remaining three families, each of the three investigators, working independently, and unaware of the data collected by the others, prepared profiles based on the material he/she collected. Material was then pooled to form profiles which provide a comprehensive picture of each child's ego functions, object relationships, drive development, and defense constellation.

As noted above, the present investigator, upon review of the data collected on the three families chose to use

"Helen" as the subject of this "N of 1" study. This decision was based upon the belief that Helen most clearly illustrated average development of a five year old girl.

C.2. Comparison to Earlier Data

Based upon the current profile and informed by the literature on separation-individuation and identification, postdictions were made as to the nature of Helen's practicing and rapprochement subphases. Discussion was focused on the nature of the emerging identifications. At that point, the data collected during Helen's attendance at the NYU Nursery was made available to the investigator. The earlier data consist of observational time samples, as described above, as well as observational data organized in terms of specific orienting categories (Mahler, et. al., 1975). These categories include such areas as emerging ego functions, mood and affect, approach-distancing, etc.

For an earlier study (Migden, 1979) the data had already been rated to judge Helen's separation-individuation development - that is, to identify the span of observation days during which she was judged to be in each of the subphases. Ratings were performed by two students who had not participated in data collection and who were not fully informed of the purposes of the study until the work was completed. The students were knowledgeable in the area of

separation-individuation theory and had been specifically trained in the use of criteria developed by Migden to differentiate between the subphases. "The data were presented to the raters in chronological order, with each day of observation consecutively numbered. Working independently, each rater determined the set of consecutive days during which each child was judged to be in a given developmental period... Differences were resolved by the two raters, and the compromise ratings served as the final developmental period ratings used in this study" (p. 56).

The ratings are as follows:

	Rater A	Rater B	Compromise Ratings
Early Practicing	1-11	1-11	1-11
Practicing Proper	12-21	12-22	12-21
Beginning Rapprochement	22-37	23-29	22-33
Rapprochement Crisis	38-40	30-40	34-40

Upon reviewing the ratings for purposes of the present study, this investigator strongly agreed with the judgments of Rater A, and felt that the compromise ratings did not adequately reflect the differing qualities of the sub-phases which were apparent in the data. For these reasons, the ratings of Rater A were used herein to

distinguish between subphases.

Once the earlier data was made available to this investigator, it was studied to assess the accuracy of the postdictions. In the following discussion, in which the postdictions are compared to the earlier data, quotations from the latter will be changed in two ways: the child's earlier code name will be replaced by the name "Helen", and any abbreviations in the early data will be spelled out. These changes are made in order to eliminate confusion which might result from the use of two code names and for the improved readability of the data.

Review of the Literature

Perhaps the greatest concensus in the psychoanalytic literature regarding the concept of identification and the related concepts of internalization, imitation, incorporation, and introjection, is that there is no concensus. Indeed, as Koff (1961) has pointed out, each author uses identification in his own way to mean just what he chooses. A survey of the literature reveals a plethora of discussions, clinical illustrations and definitions which attempt to conceptualize and distinguish between processes that are considered similar in essential aspects. The definitions offered are often idiosyncratic and contradictory. It is clear that the words are being used in a variety of ways to refer to a variety of psychic phenomena.

The discrepancies in definitions of these terms arise from: (1) the evolution in psychoanalytic thought since the first introduction of the terms and the effort to integrate them with the structural model, (2) the stage of development of the individual who is said to identify, (3) the relations between adaptation and defense as they apply to identification, (4) the relation between a process or mechanism and its result, and (5) a legacy of ambiguity left by Freud.

The following is a survey of the literature with an attempt to clarify the concept of identification. As identification cannot be discussed without reference to internalization, imitation, incorporation and introjection, a discussion of those terms is included.

Meissner (1970) presents an excellent review of the evolution of Freud's thinking regarding identification. Such a discussion is outside the scope of this paper. The following is, rather, a brief summary of Freud's ideas regarding identification as ideas which have shaped the subsequent literature.

In 1921 Freud noted three meanings of identification:

First, identification is the original form of emotional tie with an object; secondly, in a regressive way it becomes a substitute for a libidinal object tie, as it were by means of introjection of the object into the ego; and thirdly, it may arise with any new perception of a common quality shared with some other person who is not an object of the sexual instinct. (p. 39-40).

Later, Freud extended the notion that in melancholia object relations can be replaced by identifications. He noted that

this kind of substitution has a great share in determining the form taken by the ego and that it makes an essential contribution towards building up what is called its character. Indeed, it may be that this identification is the sole condition under which the id can give up its objects (1923, p. 18-19).

Through these identifications, the ego comes to be "a precipitate of abandoned object cathexes and...contains the history of those object choices" (p. 19). However, there are also instances of simultaneous object cathexis and identification, through which the object relation is conserved. Further, the transformation of object libido into narcissistic libido implies a desexualization, a sublimation. This change may be the sole mechanism of sublimation.

With the introduction of the structural theory, identification is explicitly linked to the formation of the ego ideal i.e., the superego. The identification with the parents which "is a direct and immediate identification and takes place earlier than any object cathexis" (p. 21) forms the core of the ego ideal. Later object choices result in further identifications which reinforce the primary one. The outcome of the oedipal phase is the formation of the superego which contains identifications with both parents.

Freud later described identification as:

the assimilation of one ego to another one, as a result of which the first ego behaves like the second in certain respects, imitates it and in a sense takes it up into itself. Identification has been not unsuitably compared with the oral, cannibalistic incorporation of the other person (1932, p. 63).

This brief summary highlights some of the questions raised by Freud and left unanswered: What is the temporal relationship between object cathexis and identification? Does identification replace the object relation or do they exist concurrently? How are identification, introjection, imitation and incorporation related? What is the role of identification in development? How are early direct identifications related to later ones? Attempts to answer these questions are found in the literature.

Internalization

That aspects of the external world are assimilated by and build psychic structure has perhaps been most thoroughly studied in the context of superego development. It has, however, come to be used in a more general way: "We would speak of internalization when regulations that have taken place in interaction with the outside world are replaced by inner regulations" (Hartmann and Loewenstein, 1962, p. 48). Presumably this includes incorporation, introjection, and identification as processes which result in internalization. This was made explicit by Schafer (1968) who emphasized the active nature of the process and extended the notion of what is internalized to include regulatory interactions as well as real or imagined characteristics of the environment.

Somewhat differently, Ritvo and Solnit (1960) state that internalization is the process whereby the ego forms object representations. Internalization describes a continuum from perception to imitation to identification. The more developed the internalization, the more does the internalized attitude or characteristic become an integral part of the ego, able to function in the absence of the object. A similar view was expressed by Axelrod and Maury (1951).

A conceptual ambiguity arises in these formulations as they confound the development of object representations with the development of psychic structure: a problem found throughout the literature on identification and the related concepts.

Meissner (1973) reserved internalization to refer to the process by which external relationships, interactions or forms of regulation become part of the psychic structure. Internalization is thus distinguished from development or modification of the representational world. Changes in psychic structure will, however, be reflected by changes in the self representation.

Loewald (1962) uses the term in a similar way and introduces the notion of degrees of internalization, which somewhat resolves the discrepancy between the representational and structural views. This concept

implies shifting distances of internalized material from the ego core and shifting distances within the ego-superego system, as well as transformations in the character of the introjects according to the respective degrees of internalization. The superego is conceived as an enduring structure pattern whose elements may change and move either in the direction of the ego core or in an outer direction toward object representations. Thus elements of the superego may lose their superego character and become ego elements, or take on the character of object representations (externalization) (p. 503).

Similarly, Schafer, in his representational view notes that internalization is a matter of degree and internalizations are mobile in the continuum of inner and outer worlds. Meissner (1971) notes that his definition by implication "refers to the movement of structural elements in the direction of integration with that part of the psychic structure that is seen as most central to its inner identity - the ego" (p. 281).

The opposite of internalization is externalization, a process by which structural elements move farther away from the ego core and in the direction of object representations (Meissner, 1971). Projection is one type of externalization.

Loewald distinguishes between primary externalization and internalization which precede I-non-I differentiation and through which externality and internality are established; and secondary externalization and internalization. In

secondary externalization, something that was internal becomes external, as in secondary internalization, something that was external becomes internal.

Incorporation

Incorporation is a process of internalization whereby aspects of the external world are created in the inner world and become part of the psychic organization.

Incorporation is patterned after the process of oral ingestion. That incorporation is an oral instinctual activity of physically taking in is proposed by Greenson (1954) and supported by Grinker (1956) and Sandler (1960).

Closer to Freud's original view, that incorporation of the object is the sexual aim of the oral phase, is that expressed by Hartmann and Loewenstein (1962). They regard incorporation as an instinctual activity primarily of the oral phase and as a genetic precursor of identification. Incorporation fantasies are often associated with identification and identification may reactivate incorporation fantasies.

Similarly regarding incorporation as a psychological mechanism, Loewald uses it to refer to the oral aspects of all internalizing processes. Brody and Mahoney (1964) suggest that incorporation be used to refer to the alteration of the ego in melancholia and is thereby distinct from

introjection and identification. They criticize the physical formulation of incorporation for ignoring the associated fantasy, memory, affect, etc.

Jacobson (1964) states that the frustrating experiences which lead to differentiation of self and object also lead to fantasies of (total) incorporation of the object which aim to re-establish the lost unity. The fantasies of merging are the basis on which all object relations and later identifications are built.

Schafer suggests that incorporation refers to the primary process idea that part or all of another person has been taken into the self which results in certain impulses, feelings, and actions of one's own and of changes in one's experiences of the environment. Incorporation is usually unconscious, or if conscious, is usually repudiated by non-psychotic individuals due to its primitive content. Incorporation is said to indicate a retreat from activity with the external world - it implies a de-emphasis on the boundaries between inner and outer worlds. It is a mode of relation between objects and may be experienced as a means of destroying and controlling or conserving and loving the object. It may contribute to, but is distinct from, identification and introjection. Incorporation refers to a specific wishful set of ideas.

Meissner (1971) notes that incorporation involves a primitive wish for union with an object such that the object is completely assumed into the inner world of the subject. The boundaries between the inner and outer worlds are dedifferentiated. Incorporation is seen as a primitive, total, global form of internalization in which the object loses its distinction as object. It is distinct from more evolved forms of internalization and from mature identifications.

Imitation

Imitation and identification are two distinct, although intimately related processes. They are perhaps most closely related during infancy.

Jacobson (1964) suggests that "early reciprocal affectomotor identifications between mother and child precede and usher in the child's imitations of the parents' functional activities" (p. 42). She also states however, that primitive identification develops from imitation of the love objects, and further, that active imitation of the parents represents a transition to ego identifications. The ambiguity may be resolved by considered that affectomotor identifications arise prior to the differentiation of self and object and therefore refer not to a process of identification but to a state i.e., non-differentiation. Subsequent to self-object differentiation, identifications

may arise from imitation.

Schafer defines imitating as behaving as another person with whom one has been in contact. The relationship with the model may be impersonal or highly personal. Imitation is often but not necessarily conscious and may refer to a specific limited behavior or to a complex sequence. Although imitation involves the coordination of self and object representations, it does not necessarily result in internalization or in any enduring change. It may occur in the context of clear boundaries between self and object. Imitation is used as a descriptive term and is considered to be an aspect of identification and a particularly important component of infantile identifications.

Hendricks (1951) stresses the importance of imitation in early identificatory processes. Imitation of the object's behavior may initiate identificatory processes which contribute to the development of partial functions of the ego. These partial functions are later developed and integrated into the fabric of the personality.

Meissner (1971, 1974) regards imitation as a change in behavior to become like a model. Imitation is independent of identification but the two processes interact in complex ways in the course of development. Primitive mirroring imitations seek to re-establish the sense of unity

with the object. From the time of self object differentiation and the capacity to represent and imitate the object, imitation is paralleled by primitive identifications which enhance structural development. With the development of self and object boundaries and secondary process thought, imitation becomes integrated with internalizing processes to build object relations, establish mastery, and to defend against the anxieties of separation and loss. Imitation is used to do for the self what the object had previously done. When the early relation to the mother is positive, imitation facilitates identification and structuralization of the ego. When the relationship is troubled, imitation is used for defense. Normally, increasingly complex patterns of imitation become increasingly linked with identifications to facilitate the child's becoming more like his objects. Although imitation facilitates and sets the pattern for identification, imitation is not itself a structuralizing process.

Introjection

Many writers, suggesting that Freud used the terms introjection and identification interchangeably, have attempted to distinguish between the two processes. Introjection has been regarded as the psychological analogue of the physical act of incorporation (Fenichel, 1945;

Greenson, 1954; Grinker, 1956; Koff, 1961). Fuchs (1937) suggested that early in development, introjection was a mental incorporation based on an oral impulse whereas later it was a response to object loss through which an object representation was included in the ego or superego. Introjection was used to refer to the process and identification to the result. Identification referred to the ego aspects and introjection, based on the oral impulse, to the id aspects of this act. Greenson added that introjection, an attempt to take objects from the external world into the self, was motivated by the desire to retain pleasurable feelings associated with the object. Grinker suggested that what is internalized is a subject-object transaction, whereas Koff suggested that introjection implied the incorporation of an object representation. Unlike Fuchs, Loewald used introjection to refer to the ego as distinct from the instinctual aspects of internalizing processes.

Brody and Mahoney (1964) suggested that following dissolution of a relationship to an object or need, introjection creates an introject. Object and need are not distinguished as introjection is a phase specific process occurring before need and object are experienced as different. The quality of the relationship to the parents determines the quality of the introject which in turn

determines the quality of later identifications and object relations.

Sanford (1955) regarded introjection as a response to loss of an object which is loved ambivalently as are all objects during the oral and anal stages during which all introjections occur or have their antecedents.

Thus, differences exist regarding what is internalized by introjection, and whether introjection is a phase specific process of the oral stage or is a continuing process patterned after the mode of response of that stage.

Meissner (1971) states the Freud did not use introjection and identification interchangeably but used the former only in reference to situations of object loss, therefore presuming self object differentiation. The use of introjection to refer to a phase preceding self object differentiation is merely confusing.

Hartmann and Loewenstein (1962) while questioning the need for the concept of introjection note that one common distinction between identification and introjection is the degree to which that which is taken in is integrated. This view however fails to account for the mobility that introjects have in the intrapsychic structure (i.e., Loewald's concept of degrees of internalization) as well as omitting the structuralizing aspects of introjection. The omission of the role of introjection in the structuralization

of the superego is a criticism which Meissner (1971) applies to Jacobson who suggests that introjection is a process by which self images assume characteristics of object images. Introjection is rooted in infantile incorporation and, along with projection, is the basis of identification.

Sandler (1960) suggested that introjection, which presumes a certain degree of internal organization and of object representations, refers to a process by which the superego is formed. Following dissolution of a relationship to an object, the introject, developed from the object representation which is colored by the child's projections provides points of crystallization for the superego. The introject acquires autonomy which allows it to substitute for the object as a source of gratification or aggression. It is this capacity which distinguished it from the representation.

Schafer (1968) regarded introjection as the process by which an object representation is changed into an introject - "an inner presence with which one feels in a continuous or intermittent dynamic relationship" (p. 72). The introject is experienced as existing within the individual's mind or body but not, as an identification, as an aspect of the self. Introjection refers to internal

relations with an object which is represented as such. Identification which also implies a continuing relation does not depend as heavily upon the representation of the relation. Introjection represents an attempt to modify distressing relations with the object and usually reduces the influence of the external object.

Meissner (1972) regards introjection as a taking in from the external object in the interest of preserving union and/or defense. By "taking in", the transitional object relation (i.e., the relation colored by the child's projections) is sacrificed and a new relation is constructed from the interplay of further introjection/projection. Introjection occurs in response to instinctual pressures and is an important mechanism for mastery of instinctual forces. Introjection provides a template for what is available for integration through identification. Unlike introjection, identification is not directly motivated by instinctual pressure. Rather, it operates in response to the ego tendency toward increasing differentiation and integration and builds ego structure.

Following Sandler (1960), Meissner regards introjection as the mechanism of superego formation. Introjection is a structuralizing process through which the introject becomes a source of intrapsychic influence that can substitute for

the object as a source of narcissistic gratification or aggressive impulse. The self is modified so that it acquires characteristics of the internalized object. Introjection is distinguished from identification by virtue of its drive dependence and derivation, the primary process character of introjects, their susceptibility to regression and to projection, and its specific structuralizing influence on intrapsychic integration. Identifications are drive independent and autonomous secondary process structuralizations by which the ego is organized and stabilized (Meissner, 1971).

Identification

Primary identification which refers to the period prior to self object differentiation is not always explicitly distinguished from later identification. Primary identification is the most primitive form of internalization and plays a significant role in the life of the pre-oedipal and early oedipal child (Meissner, 1972). Desires to re-establish the original sense of unity with the object experienced during this time probably continue to play an important part in adult life (Jacobson, 1964). It has been suggested that the term not be used as it refers to a state - i.e., lack of differentiation, rather than to a process (Fuchs). However, it is a useful term when used to

explicitly distinguish this stage of development from later stages.

As distinct from primary identification, secondary identification (hereinafter referred to as identification) assumes some stability of self object differentiation and an attempt to become like an object in some aspects. Perhaps failure to distinguish between primary and secondary identification has led to confusion regarding identification as process or result. In an attempt to clarify the situation, it has been suggested that identification refer only to a result (Fuchs, Grinker). Others suggest that it refers to both process and result (Hartmann and Loewenstein, 1962; Sandler, 1960; Schafer, 1968; Jacobson, 1964) and that the two are intimately related (Axelrod and Maury, 1957) and impossible to distinguish as process and product complement and complete each other (Meissner, 1972). Discussion of the result of identification should probably refer to the content of what has been internalized.

Identification serves both defensive functions, often in response to loss of an object, and important developmental functions. Defensively, identification is motivated by conflict. The specific form of the identification is determined by the specific conflict and the extent of what is assimilated depends on many factors.

However, it involves the renunciation of an object and its replacement by an identification. This formulation includes the process by which the oedipal conflict is resolved (Axelrod and Maury). Brody and Mahoney suggest that identification defends against the anxiety of separation and loss. Hartmann and Loewenstein and A. Reich (1954) suggest that in the formation of the ego ideal identification with the aggrandized parent mitigates the lost sense of omnipotence that comes with increased reality testing. The best known defensive use of identification is identification with the aggressor (A. Freud, 1966) in which the subject "introjects some aspect of an anxiety object... transforms himself from the person threatened into the person who makes the threat" (P. 113). This is a normal stage of superego development in which the child internalizes the prohibitions of those around him. Meissner (1972) suggests that the behavior described by A. Freud is, in his use of the term, introjection followed by imitation. He questions whether defensive identification is a meaningful concept. Rather, what is defended against, e.g., aggression, is primarily handled through introjection/projective processes. In a derivative way, identification, as a structure building process, adds to the stability of defensive structures.

The close relationship between defense and adaptation is noted by Hartmann, Kris, and Loewenstein (1946) who suggest that identification may be the major mechanism contributing to personality formation and that secondarily, under the pressure of danger may be used for defensive purposes. The two functions can hardly ever be sharply distinguished. Also noting the interplay of defense and adaptation, Loewald states:

separation from love objects, while in one sense something to be overcome and undone through internalization, is, in so far as it means individuation and emancipation, a positive achievement brought about by the relinquishment and internalization of the love objects. The change of function taking place here is that a means of defense against the pain and anxiety of separation and loss becomes a goal in itself (1962 p. 491).

Axelrod and Maury suggest that both the defensive and adaptive functions of identification are reflected and modified by the stage of the development of the individual. While there is a genetic continuity between stages, new qualities are acquired which in turn influence the process itself.

Grinker notes that of the many variables affecting identification, the level of maturation is perhaps the most important one, a view also expressed by Hartmann and Loewenstein. Ritvo and Solnit suggest that early

identifications are influenced by early interaction between mother and child and reflect constitutional factors, state of development, and degree of frustration or satisfaction experienced by the child. Loewald distinguishes between two stages of identifications: Early identifications occur when ego and objects are not clearly differentiated and are themselves constituents of the ego but serve as precursors of later identifications. Later identifications with differentiated objects constitute the superego. There is considerable overlapping between the two stages.

Hendricks (1951) also differentiates between superego identifications which refer to the resolution of the oedipal complex and earlier identifications which contribute to the formation of the ego. These identifications occur at a stage of primitive development and derive from the mother's way of doing things, whereas superego identifications derive from her prohibitions. Unlike superego identifications which arise in a triadic situation, ego identifications arise in the dyad of child and primary object. The image of the mother is derived from sensory experiences and becomes associated with satisfaction and frustration. She is therefore both loved and hated and the infant is faced by ambivalence. To avoid the experiences

of helplessness and frustration, the child develops skills and abilities to perform functions for himself which previously had been done to or for him. The specific ambivalence conflict and type of function attained are primarily determined by the child's stage of emotional and ego development. Imitation may initiate identification which initially refers to some partial function of the mother's complex behavior which the infant is capable of reproducing - e.g., finger movement or tone of voice. The development of these and increasingly elaborate levels of integration provide the individual with capacities for effective work and control of his environment and are essential to the development of the ego. Identification originates in the wish to be like another in some way and results in the assimilation of certain attributes into stable and permanent elements of the personality.

Jacobson presents a similar view of the child's developing distinction of self and object based on frustrating experiences. These result in the wish to re-establish the lost unit and are the basis of identifications. Gratification results in the merging of self and object representations (a primitive form of identification) and frustration in their separation. This situation continues past full awareness of the self as individual due to the child's dependency on mother for satisfaction of needs and

execution of ego functions. Desire to be one with the object gradually yields to the desire to be like the object. This is achieved through selective identifications - the modification of the ego. As identifications become enduring and selective they become integrated, become part of the ego, modify it and support the defensive system. Identifications which originate in enduring emotional object investments fortify the feeling of continuity of the self. A balance between libido and aggression is essential for this development.

Meissner (1972) regards identification as a major mechanism of ego development. It arises from non-instinctual and relatively conflict free tendencies of the ego toward self integration and the capacity for relatedness. As the ego becomes structuralized through progressive identifications and other developmental processes, identificatory processes become more selective and better organized. Identification is not primarily a defensive process but a developmental one which enhances the structuralization, synthesis and integration of the ego. It does however also serve mastery of instinctual forces: by stabilizing and structuralizing the ego it promotes consolidation of autonomous functions and results in the integration and utilization of id derivatives. The model of the identification may be an

introject or an object representation. As transitional object relations yield to more realistic object relations, introjective mechanisms become less prominent and identification functions more autonomously.

Freud applied the model of narcissistic identification to the formation of the superego. Following renunciation of the oedipal attachments to the parents, the child introjects the parents and establishes in the superego the barrier to instinctual expression as had previously existed in the parents. Hartmann and Loewenstein note that "the role which identifications play in the superego structure itself is an essential part of Freud's clinical and theoretical conceptions; it is generally accepted among psychoanalysts. More uncertain is our knowledge of the extent and the ways in which earlier identifications in the ego determine superego formation" (1962 p. 48).

Several authors have presented theoretical formulations of the formation of the superego (e.g., Reich, 1954; Jacobson, 1964; Sandler, 1960; Hartmann and Loewenstein, 1962). While a detailed review of these writings is beyond the scope of this paper, important points are noted in the discussions of introjection and identification. What is relevant to this study is that the superego is formed through identification or a related process of internalization such as introjection; and that identifications

formed early in development affect that later formation of the superego. Several authors have addressed themselves to this issue specifically and Ritvo and Solnit have conducted a longitudinal study designed to show how early identifications influence later superego formation.

A basic discrepancy in the definitions of identification arises from the difference between representational and structural perspectives. Thus, Jacobson regards identification as a partial fusion of self and object representations. Along the same lines, Schafer defines identification as the modification of one's motives, behaviors, and the corresponding self representations to be like, the same as, or merged with representations of the object. Sandler also defines identification as a modification of the self schema on the basis of a perception of an object.

Consistent with his view, Meissner (1972) criticizes representational definitions for omitting the structuralizing aspects of identification. He differentiates between the internal structural world and the inner representational world - an intrapsychic map of the external world. Identification is specifically an ego structuralizing process. Its product, psychic structure, may be subject to

representational integration into the representational world through a different process subsequent to identification. Identification is distinct from introjection which is involved in structural modification of the self. Introjects do not lose their transitional object status through internalization. In contributing to the constitution of the superego they intrinsically modify psychic structure but do not directly affect ego structure. In the course of development both introjection and identification interact with intrinsic maturational factors - the former with instinctual factors and the latter with ego factors. Introjection is most influential early in the course of development and identification later. Both processes increase the capacity for internal regulation and therefore increase adaptive capacity. Whereas Schafer regards the wish to be like, the same as, and merged with the object as concurrent aspects of most identifications, Meissner regards the degree to which boundaries are maintained to be a major distinction between identification, introjection, and incorporation.

Separation-Individuation

Based upon her studies and observations of childhood psychosis as well as the development of average infants and toddlers, Mahler (Mahler, Pine, and Bergman, 1975) has

described four consecutive yet overlapping stages of the "psychological birth of the human infants". The successful resolution of these subphases of separation-individuation, allows the child to develop as an autonomous individual, separate from, but related to her world and love objects.

The period of separation-individuation is crucial for the child's development of object relations (McDevitt, 1979), psychic structure (Parsons, 1971) and sense of self. As Mahler stated in the paper in which she named the "separation-individuation phase":

The aim and successful outcome of this individuation process is a stable image of the self. As Edith Jacobson (1954) has described, the stable image of the self depends upon successful identifications on the one hand, and distinction between object - and self-representations on the other (Mahler and Gosliner, 1955, p. 197).

Following the normal autistic period and then the symbiotic relationship with her mother, the child progresses through the separation-individuation phases of differentiation, practicing, rapprochement, and the development of libidinal object constancy. Separation and individuation are conceived of as two independent yet interdependent processes: the former pertains to the child's emergence from the symbiotic union with the mother while the latter describes the child's development of her unique characteristics and

personality constellation. This complex unfolding and development of personality takes place in the presence of, and requires, the emotional availability of mother. As Pine and Furer (1963) state:

The normal separation-individuation process involves the child's achievement of separate functioning in the presence of the mother while the child is continually confronted with minimal threats of object loss. In contrast to situations of traumatic separation, this normal separation-individuation process takes place in the setting of a developmental readiness for and pleasure in independent functioning made possible by the continual libidinal availability of the mother (p. 326).

That the child's earliest experiences of her world, as mediated through her experience of mother function as a leitmotif around which psychic structure and patterns of adaptation and defense are subsequently organized has been well established (Mahler, et. al. 1975, Mahler and Furer, 1963, Ritvo, 1971, McDevitt, 1971, 1979, Settlage, 1971 and others). In a manner which is complex and unique to each individual the "problems accumulated in previous phases of development may magnify the phase-specific problems arising at each successive developmental level and thus hinder or prevent their solution" (Harley, 1971, p. 400). Even in instances of near-optimal development, the specific conflicts of a given developmental phase may be expected to be revived

by the stresses inherent in subsequent developmental tasks and to partly shape those subsequent phases. Specifically, the course of separation-individuation has been found to be recapitulated during therapy (Bergman, 1971, Kupferman, 1971), in a child's reaction to entrance to nursery school (Speers, McFarland, Arnaud, and Curry, 1971) and especially to color the oedipal period (McDevitt, 1971, Settlege, 1971, Mahler, 1972, Haley, 1971). This latter point is of particular significance for the present study. Successful resolution of the separation-individuation phase is essential for successful resolution of the oedipal crisis. Identification with the parents is essential for resolution of the separation-individuation subphases. Thus, the specific identifications formed during separation-individuation may be expected to be evident during and to influence the child's oedipal experience.

As conceptualized in this paper, the capacity to identify and the resulting identifications reflect an increasingly complex developmental achievement which has regular and therefore predictable characteristics at each subphase of separation-individuation. The changes in psychic structure and object relations at each phase enrich the development of identification and in turn are facilitated by the emerging identifications (McDevitt, 1979, Schecter, 1968).

The following is a discussion of separation-individuation with specific regard to the inter-relationship between separation-individuation and developing identifications, as well as the impact of that period upon later development - i.e., of the effect of pre-oedipal upon oedipal development.

The Symbiotic Phase

While the present study will focus on the development of identifications during the subphases of separation-individuation, a discussion of the preceding symbiotic period is necessary, as it is during this period that the foundations upon which later identifications are built are established. It is during this phase that the infant becomes increasingly attentive to stimuli emanating from the external world, without yet being aware that there is an external world. She begins to establish "memory islands" but does not yet distinguish between inner and outer, self and other (Mahler, 1974).

As noted above, Jacobson (1964) emphasizes the importance of repeated and limited frustrating experiences, such as hunger, for the growing differentiation of self and object. These experiences serve not only the increasing capacity to distinguish between self and other, but motivate fantasies of merging with the object to

re-establish the lost feelings of pleasure. These wishful fantasies are the foundation upon which all future object relations and identifications are built.

The principal achievement of the symbiotic phase is the development of a specific bond between mother and infant. The establishment of "basic trust" or "confident expectation" during this phase enables the child to begin to rely on an intrapsychic representation of the mother's availability, rather than on her actual presence. As such, the development of basic trust during this phase is a prerequisite for the normal and gradual development of self-object differentiation, object cathexes, self-object representations, and therefore identifications (McDevitt, 1971). Trust that the parents are affectively available "is the emotional nutriment for adequate identification and individuation" (Schechter, 1968 p. 71). It is during this period,

when the body becomes the object of the infant's secondary narcissism, via the mother's loving care, does the external object become eligible for identification... Identification enables the infant to separate from the mother gradually, and to leave her outside the hitherto "omnipotent common orbit" by cathecting the "self boundaries" (Mahler, 1961, p. 335).

Similarly, Parens (1971) states:

In normal development, these assimilative processes (internalization and identification) are employed in and make possible the resolution of the symbiosis with the mother. That is, as "I" and "not-I" become psychically differentiated, the symbiotic partner, the "not-I" external part of the self, is gradually "given up" as a component of the actual self. Progressively it achieves representation in the psychic organization where it makes many contributions to psychic development (p. 102).

Behaviorally at this stage the beginnings of identification are seen in the child's "imitation without mental content" in which mother's actions are assimilated and reproduced at an age at which ego identification is not yet possible (Mahler, 1963). This is similar to Hendricks' (1951) view noted above. These imitations develop within the context of mirroring and "mutual cuing" as the mother selectively responds to her infant's cues and the infant in turn alters her behavior in a characteristic way.

As noted, the foundations upon which later mature identifications will be built are established during this phase. Failure to achieve basic trust during this time and to experience gradual and repeated separations results in overwhelming fear of separation. This extreme fear is unrelieved by the more typical rudimentary and partial identifications with mother. Overwhelming fear hinders the child's natural push toward separation and interferes with

the gradually emerging self-object differentiation and the development of self and object representations. This fear is reflected in the child's stranger anxiety and absence of curiosity and secure inspection of strangers in the next subphase.

The Differentiation Subphase

It is during the differentiation subphase that the infant takes her first steps toward breaking out of the symbiotic orbit. The task of differentiating between self and object and establishing corresponding mental representations continues even as the representations gain stability. Yet, the boundaries remain sufficiently fluid for the images to continue to merge and separate. During this time the infant begins to "distinguish between contact perceptual experiences and those originating in his own body and to single out experiences of the hitherto completely coenaesthetic global sensory experiences of mother's and his own bodies". He begins to compare mother to others (Mahler, 1974).

During the differentiation period (and continuing into the practicing subphase) the child may be seen to imitate her love objects in a rather more sophisticated way than the previously observed "imitation without mental content". McDevitt (1971) describes these imitations of the object's

"gestures, tone of voice, affects, behavior and actions" which are founded upon a close emotional tie to the mother and usually occur in her presence. It is herein believed that these active imitations are forerunners of later more structuralized identifications and represent the child's attempt to re-establish the feeling of unity with the mother.

Stressful situations during the later differentiation and practicing phases are believed to result in fantasies of a merging incorporative relationship to mother (Mahler and McDevitt, 1968, Mahler, 1974, McDevitt, 1979). During mother's absence, the child typically withdraws into himself and becomes preoccupied with what Mahler and McDevitt hypothesize is a feeling of the previous state of oneness with mother. This period of low-keyedness represents the infant's attempt to maintain emotional equilibrium in mother's absence. McDevitt states:

We assume that in the phenomenon of "low-keyedness" a sensorimotor and affective memory of the mother in interaction with the baby is consolidated at times of need, promoting the earliest internalizations and emotional ties to the mother (1979, p. 329).

It is suggested that this phenomenon represents the child's evoking and holding onto the increasingly available yet still tentative representation of the mother. Later, this representation will enable the child to continue to

function in mother's absence. The repeated separations and low-keyed experiences (within tolerable limits) facilitate the development of that representation.

The Practicing Subphase

The early practicing phase is characterized by the infant's ability to physically move away from mother - an ability which is used to explore an increasingly large world. The infant continues to use mother as a "home base" to which she returns for "refueling" (Mahler, 1972). The practicing phase proper is marked by the achievement of upright free locomotion which places the world in a new perspective. "How this new world is experienced seems to be subtly related to the mother, who is the center of the child's universe from which he gradually moves out into ever-widening parameters" (Mahler, 1972 p. 491). Toward the end of this phase the beginnings of deferred imitation and symbolic play, indicative of the change from sensorimotor to representational intelligence (in Piaget's sense) are seen (McDevitt, 1975, 1979; Mahler, 1971, 1972). As McDevitt states:

This is the beginning of identifications that are patterned on a representational model....Symbolic play based on identification serves as an intermediate step between the actual mother-child relationship and the transfer of that relationship to the child's inner world.

It is striking how often such play appears to be an exact replication of the actual mother-child relation and its significant qualities (1975, p. 725).

Spitz regards these deferred imitations as evidence of identification proper as "there is modification of the ego's structure based on the perception and memory of "actions observed in the libidinal object" (Schechter, 1968, p. 67). Further, the development of representational intelligence increases the range of objects and attributes with which the child can identify.

These beginning identifications allow the junior toddler to maintain a continuing relationship with mother in her absence and to function with greater ease during those times. The toddler takes pleasure in games and symbolic play rather than regressing to the low-keyed behavior of the earlier phase.

During this phase not only does the child take great delight in her exploits and mastery, but has elicited similar admiration from mother. Mother's mirroring admiration facilitates the child's ability to mirror the object which, in conjunction with rapidly advancing cognition "leads to internalization processes of the now fully born ego. Eventually these results in true ego identifications in Jacobson's sense (1954)." (Mahler, 1974, p. 100).

Rapprochement

As a result of the child's free upright locomotion and the spurt in the development of autonomous functioning during the practicing phase the child is increasingly aware of her separateness from mother. This period is characterized by the ensuing conflict between the child's desire to maintain the symbiotic union and her desire to exercise her independence and autonomy. As the self and object representations are distinguished and consolidated, the child also painfully and gradually renounces belief in her own and her mother's omnipotence (Mahler, 1971, 1972, 1974). The ambivalence of this period threatens the stability of the intrapsychic representation of the mother. The actual continued availability of mother is therefore crucial during this time and continues to foster the child's growing imitations and identifications. The ambivalence begins to be resolved toward the end of the third year when the libidinally cathected representation of the mother is available for "sustenance, comfort and love" (Mahler, 1968, p. 222) regardless of the child's prevailing state of frustration, need, or satisfaction. Identification is important in effecting these developments (McDevitt, 1975).

As the child previously dealt with the stress of separation by imitating mother, he

now resolves his actual and intrapsychic conflicts between his own wishes and his parents' prohibitions, as well as his feelings of helplessness and his wish to please his parents by selectively identifying with them (McDevitt, 1979, p. 333).

McDevitt suggests that the identifications which help resolve the rapprochement crisis are forerunners of those used to resolve the later oedipal conflicts.

On the Way to Object Constancy

The tasks of this open-ended phase include the consolidation of individuality and the attainment of object constancy. The establishment of a predominantly libidinal cathexis of the maternal representation (through the identifications which were employed in the resolution of the rapprochement crisis), along with integration of the previously distinct "good" and "bad" images of the mother, help establish object constancy. At the same time, object constancy is one of the necessary conditions for imitated actions and attitudes to be transformed into permanent identifications (Schecter, 1968), which occurs at this time (McDevitt, 1979).

These selective identifications form the building blocks of a unified self image (Mahler, et. al., 1975) as well as the means by which the relationship to significant persons is kept psychically alive (Schecter, 1968).

Definition of Terms

Consolidation of individuality and emotional object constancy: The fourth subphase of separation-individuation. It begins toward the end of the second year of life and is an open-ended phase. It is characterized by clearly separate self and object representations and a degree of object constancy. Previously discrete elements of the personality have coalesced into an integrated personality constellation.

Differentiation: The first subphase of separation-individuation, lasting from approximately the fifth to the ninth month of life. It is characterized by the maturation of locomotor apparatus and therefore decreased dependence on mother. Self and non-self begin to be differentiated. This subphase is particularly noted for the child's pleasure in emerging ego functions.

Incorporation: The most primitive process of internalization whereby the subject feels the object has been taken into the self. The use of incorporation implies a fluidity of self and object boundaries and typically occurs at primitive stages of structural development. Incorporation may be the most primitive mode of relation experienced by the infant.

Identification: The most "mature" process of internalization. It implies firm establishment of self and object boundaries and a perception of the object based primarily on reality, which is colored to a lesser degree by projective mechanisms. Following Meissner, as discussed in the Review of Literature section, identification is regarded as primarily a normal developmental process - a specific mechanism of ego development and structuralization during childhood. Identifications which occur later in life are viewed as modifying the already established ego. The subject may identify with any perceived attribute of an object and the identification is more integrated into the psychic structure than are products of other processes of internalization. Identification may also serve defensive functions. Identifications may be deliberate and conscious or unconscious.

Introjection: Following some of the ideas discussed in the Review of the Literature, introjection will be used to refer to that internalization process which is midway between incorporation and identification in terms of the extent to which that which is assimilated is integrated, is susceptible to externalization, and the perception of the object is determined more by reality than by the subject's need, and is governed by primary process. Following Meissner, as discussed above, introjection is seen as more drive dependent than identification and is viewed as the mechanism of superego formation. It appears to be clinically sound and theoretically useful to distinguish introjection from identification on the basis of the relative drive dependence-independence and the effects on structuralizing the superego and ego respectively.

Imitation: This is not regarded as a process of internalization which implies the development or modification of psychic structure. Imitation refers to behaving (including thinking or feeling) in some way like an object (as the object is perceived to be). An imitation may be transient and fleeting or enduring. It does not presume any particular relation between subject and object; or any particular condition of self and object boundaries. The behavior which is imitated may be limited or complex, overt or not.

Internalization: Refers to a series of psychic processes by which perceived attributes of an object, relation, or other aspect of the environment are assimilated by the subject. Internalization processes (incorporation, identification, and introjection) imply some degree of development or modification of psychic structure and the self representations as they reflect psychic structure.

Practicing: The second subphase of separation-individuation from approximately the ninth to fourteenth month of life. It is typified by more active movement away from mother. The major characteristic is the infant's exploration of the environment and the practicing of locomotor skills accompanied by pride in the emerging functions.

Rapprochement: The third subphase of separation-individuation beginning in approximately the fourteenth or fifteenth month and lasting approximately until the twenty-fourth month. During this phase, the mother is perceived as separate and outside, and the child feels vulnerable as the sense of omnipotence, experienced during the symbiotic phase is lost. This is a highly ambivalent period characterized by the conflict between the desire to be independent and autonomous and the desire to retain the experience of the symbiotic period.

Separation-Individuation: A normal phase of development, from about the fourth or fifth month to approximately two and half years. It includes several consecutive yet overlapping subphases: differentiation, practicing, rapprochement, and the consolidation of individuality and beginning emotional constancy. The tasks of this period include self-object differentiation and the establishment of boundaries, recognition and cathexis of mother, exploration and cathexis of the non-mother world, and development as an autonomous individual. It consists of two separate but interdependent tracks: separation involves awareness of separateness from mother; individuation involves development as a unique individual.

Symbiosis: A normal stage of development from about the first to the fifth month of life during which the child has not yet established representations of self and mother as separate beings. The infant's experience is of unity with mother and the relationship is based upon need satisfaction.

Results

The results of the study are presented in three sections: (A) description of Helen and Mrs. H. adapted from the material written by their respective examiners for the developmental profile. (Helen was tested by a colleague, Mrs. H. by myself); (B) a series of postdictions about Helen's separation-individuation development based upon data in the profile; and (C) comparisons of those postdictions to the data collected during the original phase of the study.

(A) Descriptive Material

Helen

Helen is an attractive and poised child of average height and weight who was invariably carefully groomed. She was friendly, warm, and talkative once she had spent a few minutes alone with the examiner. She was cooperative without being overly compliant. After a long stretch of testing, she enjoyed taking a "drawing break", following which she could easily return to the testing tasks. Her anxiety about doing well and her attempts to satisfy both the examiner's demands and her own extremely high standards were striking. Her pressuring of herself was steady and

painful, even when her work was quite good. It was as if she had a private standard of perfection of adult competency against which she measured herself. Coupled with this self-critical stance was a notable concern for my well-being and comfort. Helen worried about keeping me waiting for example. She would ask permission to stop trying to do some task. Yet overall, she was an extremely easy child to spend time with. Despite this self-critical tone, she was charming, spontaneous, and appropriately child-like in her behavior and demeanor.

While Helen was carefully attentive to the competitive threats posed by her highly competent and charming younger sister, on the whole, she dealt with her sibling's demands in a way that was appropriately assertive, yet also strikingly patient and tender.

Most of the testing sessions were held in Helen's bedroom. When the testing was over, Helen insisted that her things, especially those on her desk, be replaced in a highly specific, orderly array. This somewhat tense insistence on a "just-so" arrangement contrasted with her more relaxed, less controlled style in other areas.

The testing sessions occurred during a period of unusual strain for Helen. Several weeks before we began, Helen had become painfully constipated while at school.

Her mother was not at home and could not be located immediately and Helen became panicky and distraught. A bout of flu followed and when Helen was physically well enough to return to school, she was quite reluctant to do so, verbalizing the fear that she would again be constipated, need her mother, and not be able to have access to her. Helen returned to school, remaining somewhat anxious and insisting that her mother remain at home while she was at school so as to be easily accessible. Her mother had complied willingly with this for several days, but was becoming a bit restive. She was, however, quite concerned, especially because Helen had never before displayed such separation anxiety and palpable distress. Mother was anxious to handle the situation appropriately and had made an appointment to speak with a consultant at Helen's school. During this period, Helen had also stopped visiting friends at their homes, in contrast to her previous interest and pleasure in such visits. Interestingly, on two occasions, Helen was able to stay alone with the examiner at her home while her mother took Helen's sister to the doctor. Although at moments very anxious, Helen was able to tolerate her mother's absence. Her behavior during this difficult time illustrates quite well the considerable coping skills of this child and the extent of her trust in

and ability to make good and appropriate use of a helping person. She was clearly anxious about her mother's absence and was able to speak about this quite freely. She spontaneously shared the story of her recent frightening experiences, as well as the worried fantasies which preoccupied her in mother's absence. Helen was quite open about her distress but was able to be reassured and to continue her work on the tests. While she remained somewhat anxious, she did not become overwhelmed. She has found good and solid ways of dealing with painful feelings. Her firm expectations of being understood, of deriving comfort in such contact, coupled with her ability to be articulate and honest about her inner experience bespeak considerable strength.

When testing sessions were over, Helen was usually eager to share her "work" with her mother and sister. Helen expected (correctly) that her productions would be appreciated and clearly enjoyed sharing them. Much warmth and trust was evident among them. When I spoke alone to her mother or spent several hours testing her father, Helen was able to play in another room for impressive lengths of time. She had prepared things she wished to show me and clearly wished for me to spend time with her, but she could accept the briefer contact on those visits and

remained cheerful and friendly.

Helen is a solidly Oedipal-phase youngster who is involved in the struggles, rivalries, and triadic relationships that this implies. No major fixations or regressions were noted. For the most part, Helen's defenses were creative, varied and flexible enough to permit high-level resolutions without recourse to regression. Her character and defensive structure are becoming organized in an obsessional style, without real neurotic symptomatology at this point. This does suggest some tendency toward fixation at anal levels. It would seem that anal-sadistic and oral-aggressive phases posed relatively more difficulty for Helen. Some energy continues to be expended in the maintenance of reaction-formations and similar defenses against these impulses. These defenses work fairly well for her, most of the time, although not without exacting some price. Regressive pulls do not exceed what might be expectable in so young a child. There were evidences of a developmentally appropriate struggle between the wish to move forward and to separate more fully from mother, to be independent, to have a man of her own, etc. and a regressive pull backward toward babyhood and the different satisfactions of the earlier, symbiotic relationship with mother.

Helen's tolerance for frustration appears excellent. Despite the high premium she places on competent performance, she was well able to tolerate having to continue even when she was having little success, as was demanded on many of the cognitive tasks. Although she was very self-critical, even when her objective performance was excellent, she did not appear frustrated. She persevered in patient and resourceful ways. She came closest to irritability when her possessions were disarrayed. Perhaps this suggests some relative lessening of frustration tolerance specifically with respect to an assault on the defenses involved in the management of aggressive drives. Overall however, Helen maintained her poise and even equilibrium quite smoothly.

Helen has varied and healthy ways of coping with anxiety relating to external dangers, as well as with anxiety about internal issues. She is able to work on areas that are problematic, searching for resolutions and compromises that are acceptable to her. She is able to tolerate the considerable anxiety stirred up in the course of these efforts and do so without permanent recourse to phobic or other primitive or maladaptive mechanisms. Currently, her intense separation anxiety has been problematic, and has interfered with her school functioning,

as well as straining the relationship with her mother. However, her turning to another person, especially to mother, for help in management of her impulses, fears, etc. is a strongly positive trend. Helen expects to be able to cope and to receive help when she needs it and this expectation helps her to tolerate considerable anxiety. Where her defenses against anxiety fail, it is in ways that are developmentally expectable.

Helen's sublimation potential appears excellent. She is a child with well-developed resources both cognitively and emotionally. She is already deeply invested in achievement, particularly academic achievement, perhaps painfully so. I would predict that school success will be an important source of gratification and increased self-esteem for her. Sublimation of aggressive impulses seems more conflictual than sublimation of libidinal impulses. Helen is more fearful of aggressive expression and "bends over backward" as it were, to avoid hurting others.

Perhaps because of a particularly pleasurable and intense symbiotic relationship with her mother, separation and independent activity bring with them an awareness of the inevitable pain and loss involved in separation. Sometimes Helen also perceives separation as an aggressive act directed against mother and feels guilty about this.

When she imagines that mother will become angry and retaliate, this intensifies her conflict. Her unusual empathic awareness and concern for others' feelings coupled with the special, gratifying tie with mother combine to create some regressive pull back from these more independent wishes. Her efforts to stave off these pulls by pressing herself to maintain uniform high-level functioning are partially successful. However, their intensity may ultimately serve to augment the regressive pressure.

Overall, however, her excellent intelligence and extremely solid psychological development, facilitated by what would appear to be an optimal availability on the part of her mother, send Helen out into the world in a quite strong and steady way. Although she is able to articulate this conflict and is aware of the losses inherent in separation in a quite deep and poignant way, progressive forces are very much in ascendance. She is along in the task of reconciling the animal and more human aspects of herself. Thus far, ego control is being well-established without denying expression to more instinctual aspects of herself. While channels of sublimation are developing, she continues to experience occasional upsurges of more primitive aspects, as is appropriate to her age.

In sum, Helen appears to be a healthy child whose current difficulties represent what appears to be a transitory disturbance which reflects her attempts to resolve the developmental conflicts and tasks of the oedipal phase. They do not constitute pathology at this time.

Mrs. H.

Mrs. H. is an intense brooding woman who impressed me as someone who is always hurried, always harried, always moving at a somewhat frenetic pace. Indeed, the entire household seems to be in a state of more or less controlled and chronic chaos. On the first day I arrived to test Mrs. H. she apologized for their disorganization and for her not being ready to begin. First there were children to be readied to leave with their father, the shopping list to be given to him, breakfast to be finished, etc.

In contrast to her very well groomed and attractive daughters, Mrs. H. appears to pay little attention to her appearance. She dressed in an overly large man's shirt with tails flapping around her pants, wore her hair dangling with no particular style and no makeup. The impression created is of a woman who perhaps doesn't value herself very highly and feels she is not worth taking care of.

Indeed, Mrs. H. was quick to derogate herself and her abilities. After initially refusing all testing, she agreed to take any tests except an intelligence test. She is very unsure of and worried about her intellectual capabilities and referred to how badly she felt about herself vis-a-vis her first husband who was a member of MENSA. While denigrating herself, Mrs. H. also subtly derogated the examiner and the tests. She attempted to involve the examiner in a debate about the value and validity of psychological tests. Her attacks on the examiner and the tests provided the melody of all the sessions, second in intensity only to her palpable anxiety.

Perhaps what is most striking about Mrs. H. is that she is a woman who is very unhappy and very conflicted but insists on acting as though everything is as it should be. She is highly invested in creating and maintaining an image of herself and her family which is appropriate, joyful and perhaps a bit clichéd. However this is a facade superimposed upon a fairly shaky structure and one which Mrs. H. experiences as not altogether right. It is possibly this experience that leads her to double her efforts to maintain the illusion.

Mrs. H. is plagued by a very strong sense of "should" which provokes great anxiety and significantly hinders her

ability to enjoy herself. She experiences her emotions very intensely and her pain is therefore quite acute. This pain derives from her desire to be close to people which is complicated by her fear of intimacy; her inability to reconcile the view of herself as a sexual woman with her role as mother; her expectation of punishment for pleasure seeking; her conviction that harm will befall her children in retribution for her sexuality or other unacceptable fantasies or deeds; and questions concerning her competence and capabilities.

It is estimated that had Mrs. H. taken an intelligence test, she would have scored significantly above average. Undoubtedly, she would have been dissatisfied with her performance. Her sense of herself as incompetent pervades her entire world and colors her relationships with others. Consistent with her desire to maintain the appearance that all is well she attempts to hide the inadequacies by "putting on a good show" for others.

One senses that Mrs. H. desperately wanted to have a child hoping it would satisfy her need for contact and love. However, motherhood may have proven to be a severe disappointment to her. Currently she views motherhood as a role which is inherently depleting and depressing and one which prevents a woman from doing things "for herself". Mrs. H. feels subjugated and overwhelmed but duty-bound

to fulfill her obligations. She seems to get through her day by obsessively repeating to herself "just gotta get my work done, get my work done". Paradoxically, the degree to which Mrs. H. remains close to the child of her own past enables her to be very attuned to the needs of her children, to whom she is quite responsive. Given the degree to which she is identified with her children it is likely that she experiences the nurturance and love she gives to them as giving to the child within herself as well.

For Mrs. H. the roles of mother and sexual woman are mutually exclusive. The experience of her sexuality is quite threatening and must therefore be defended against. However, her attempts are often ineffective and her preoccupations emerge in ways which are often out of her awareness. At other times, she is so distressed by the experience of sexual impulses that she becomes disorganized and her perceptions are distorted to correspond to her internal needs. Further, Mrs. H. expects punishment for her sexual impulses - punishment which will be exacted either by damage to herself or to her children. She fears that as a result of her "badness" or wrongdoing her children will grow up to be disturbed or is some way bad.

For Mrs. H., sex and aggression are inextricably entwined. She views the penis as an organ of potential destruction and herself as a victim. That experience

mobilizes her aggression, perhaps in an effort to retaliate. Her aggressive impulses are also mobilized by the perception of criticism, to which, as already noted, she is hypersensitive. She shows little capacity to modulate the expression of aggression but presents the alternatives of submitting meekly or acting wildly. She seeks to suppress the explosion of raw untamed feeling but is only partially successful in stemming the flow. There is an undercurrent of aggression which pervades her experiences and relationships. One wonders about the degree to which Mrs. H. is likely to "explode" and how out of control she can be. It may be that a good deal of the aggression is directed inward resulting in her fairly significant depression. The depression is managed through a flurry of activity through which she denies the depression even as she perpetuates the myth that everything is all right.

Mrs. H. is an obsessive woman who uses her intellectual powers to deal with her anxieties and her mostly dissociated impulses. Her penchant is to think or talk about things rather than to experience them. Mrs. H. is obsessive to the point of being paralyzed by conflict and ambivalence. One can easily imagine her sitting and ruminating over some issue, being unable to reach a decision or to take action. At such times she is quite disorganized and will focus on

superfluous details at the expense of dealing with substantive issues.

One of the most striking aspects of Mrs. H.'s record is the extraordinary degree to which she is inwardly focused and involved in a world of fantasy. While the use of fantasy enables her to resolve some internal conflicts, many remain unresolved. Her tremendous reliance on fantasy and her wariness and difficulty dealing with the external world may cause her to misread external cues somewhat more than what is typical of most people.

Mrs. H.'s unresolved oedipal issues, her ambivalence about and guilt concerning her sexuality will certainly make it difficult for her to help Helen accept her sexual impulses and deal with her oedipal issues. Mrs. H.'s feelings of inadequacy may make her daughter's developmentally appropriate flirtatiousness, seductiveness, and rivalry untenable. However, Mrs. H.'s closeness to her own childhood and to child-like fantasy, as well as her high degree of empathy will probably go far to offset those difficulties.

(B) Postdictions

What follows is a reconstruction of the practicing and rapprochement subphases of separation-individuation as it is hypothesized they were experienced by Helen.

Although based upon an analysis of clinical data, the reconstruction is, by necessity, speculative. In a somewhat related study in which he sought to evaluate the role of pre-oedipal disturbances on a child's capacity to deal with the conflicts of the phallic oedipal phase, McDevitt stated that:

This discussion can only suggest hypotheses concerning the influence of early happenings on later outcome and demonstrate a reasonable continuity from the early to the later period. It does not constitute evidence, either in the sense of establishing a clear-cut causal connection between the two periods in this particular case, or in the more general sense of converting plausibility derived from the study of a single case into probability derived from the study of a large number of similar and dissimilar cases. (1971, p. 210).

One of the most valuable aspects of the current study is the opportunity to validate or invalidate the hypotheses (postdictions) by comparing them to data collected during Helen's separation-individuation development. For this reason, postdictions will be presented which deal with Helen and her relationship to her mother. These postdictions can be compared to data collected earlier. As

Mr. H. did not attend the nursery no observational data are available for corroborating or refuting hypotheses regarding his early interactions with Helen, and therefore will not be presented.

As noted in the description cited above, Helen emerges as a child, who, notwithstanding some areas of difficulty, functions in age appropriate ways. On intelligence testing, Helen falls solidly in a superior range. The tester noted Helen's clear and logical reasoning and ability to explain her thoughts; her superior fund of information and good recall; excellent attention span and ability to work for long periods of time in a self-directed way, her large vocabulary and ability to define words clearly and with a rich understanding of their meanings and usage; and good judgment and control of impulsivity. In the realm of interpersonal relations, it was noted that "Helen's social judgment is especially advanced. She is extremely sensitive to others' feelings. Particularly striking is her ability to articulate complex and varied feeling states. Also impressive is her ability to consider different points of view". Further noted was her ability to seek assistance from adults in a confident and age-appropriate manner.

Although there are areas of variable functioning which reflect some of Helen's internal preoccupations and

less successful adaptations, these occur within the context of essentially solid foundations within the range of normal development. This general picture, free of ego deficit suggests a favorable beginning between mother and child which allowed for adequate primary ego development and self object differentiation. It is against this background, assuming adequate development from the symbiotic through the differentiation phases that a discussion of Helen's practicing period will begin.

Practicing

This section will focus on the practicing period proper although a few brief comments will first be made regarding the early practicing period.

The early practicing period is typically a time when the infant, having developed a sense of security and confident expectation that her needs will be met, begins to use the newly emerging locomotive abilities (i.e., crawling) to explore her world. Based upon Helen's confident expectation, seen in behavior and in projective data, that her parents and other adults will be able and willing to satisfy her needs, it is hypothesized that Helen's early experience was of parents who were quite empathic and attuned to her signals and needs. Psychological testing indicates that Mrs. H. in particular is capable of

exquisite sensitivity to a child's state, and despite her unconscious fantasies of inflicting harm, would seek to respond appropriately to her child's needs. It is believed that this hypothesized early experience enabled Helen to develop the sense of basic trust and confidence to venture from mother in order to explore her widening world. It is expected that mother remained available to Helen as a stable base for "refueling". The H.'s encouragement and pleasure in Helen's activities, their not being frightened by her exploits and therefore restraining her, and their active participation in games that stimulated Helen's motor and ego development facilitated her increasing investment in motor and ego functions. These attributes helped Helen experience the conflict between attaining psychological separateness and independence and the relinquishment of closeness within a tolerable range. These attitudes are harbingers of their attitudes during the practicing period proper.

Practicing Period Proper

Helen and her mother are quite excited by and derive pleasure from Helen's emerging ego capacities. Helen has a strong inherent drive to mature and function independently which is (for the most part) encouraged by her parents. Consciously, Mrs. H. strongly wants Helen to

be independent and self sufficient as she feels she was not encouraged to be and which has caused her great pain as an adult. However, Helen and her mother share unconscious ambivalence about Helen's growing up. (This is discussed further below). Nevertheless, the predominant attitude is one of pleasure and, it is believed, encouragement of Helen's autonomous functioning. Indeed, projective tests reveal Helen's representation of her parents as responsive to her and supportive of her drive toward mastery and development. These attitudes, of parent and child, are believed to have characterized Helen's practicing period development. Helen's exuberance and delight in mastery of new skills currently points to an enthusiastic, pleasurable and productive practicing period. Indeed, it is probably Mrs. H.'s openness and closeness to the experiences of childhood that enabled her to empathize with Helen's needs and to facilitate Helen's practicing development. In her desire to promote Helen's independence, Mrs. H. probably remained just-close-enough and available without hovering or restraining. Mrs. H. is a mother who allows her child to struggle in order to accomplish something independently - even though it might be faster and easier for Mrs. H. to perform the task herself. Currently, she waits while Helen struggles to put on her own boots or zipper her coat. This attitude is expected to have been true of Helen's practicing

period as well (in an age-appropriate way, of course).

Helen is a persistent child who will work at something until she has mastered it. Assuming an independent attitude as fostered by her mother, she initially works alone and only when a skill is perfected does she demonstrate her new ability to others. This tendency is expected to have been evident during the practicing period. Currently, this attitude was manifested when, while waiting for her father to finish some chores, following which he would teach Helen to ride a bicycle, she taught herself.

The very high standards which Helen sets for herself may represent an identification with mother's equally high and rigid standards for herself. The precursors of these demanding internal standards probably played an important role in Helen's practicing period mastery of new skills. As well as reflecting an area of identification with mother, the imposition of such rigid standards may be indicative of some difficulty. The tester noted Helen's "strong internalized demand for thorough and comprehensive mastery of each task" as well as her tendency to struggle "hard to meet others' expectations, now well-internalized. At her highest levels of functioning, she is somewhat variable; yet she tries hard and is painfully self critical when she cannot always produce what she can sometimes attain. It is positive that she can allow herself some variability in

level of performance. Her occasional mild symptoms (brief, mild school phobia, separation anxiety, constipation) are further compromises between reality demands and her internal conflicts". The rigid standards which reflect a need to perform, to perform well, and to be good may represent a reaction formation against the wish to be bad, and it is likely, messy. Indeed, this tendency is consistent with Helen's somewhat exaggerated emphasis on neatness and orderliness which is also seen as a reaction formation of the desire to mess. This is all in accordance with the generally obsessive character style Helen is developing - especially with respect to her self imposed demands for productivity, the very positive valuation of ideational processes and the use of ideation for defensive purposes. Again, it should be emphasized that these areas of Helen's personality are seen as character traits within an essentially intact organization.

Helen takes great delight in physical activity - bicycling, roller skating, running and dancing. Again, this reflects the joy in activity and locomotor skills typical of practicing period behavior. Further, it represents an identification with both parents - especially with her mother who also delights in physical activity. Helen's interest in dance (seen as a practicing period investment in bodily and locomotor functions) is an

identification with mother who has been a professional dancer and singer. Currently, when asked what she would like to be "when she grows up" Helen replies that she wants to be a dancer, artist, or singer. All of these are identifications with mother's interests. Helen has identified with her mother's aspirations and hopes to fulfill the dreams her mother abandoned for the role and responsibilities of motherhood.

As noted above, Helen is believed to have had a satisfactory early period which allowed for exploration of the world around her with the confidence that mother would remain available to satisfy her needs. Helen is reported to have had a keen interest in the world around her and particularly in people. Indeed, the interest in people represents perhaps the most important area of identification between Helen and her mother. The examiner noted that projective material shows Helen to be "quite sophisticated and developmentally quite advanced in object relations. She is dealing with complex feelings, motives, rich, intense and multifaceted interactions. I think she is dealing with whole objects seen as separate from the self. Conflicts are internalized and for the most part experienced as internal. The range of compromises and possible solutions available to her are considerable, and can be deployed adaptively vis-a-vis her internalized parents and other

figures".

Thus, Helen and her mother are both very people-oriented and empathic in their responses to others. While this trait certainly is relevant to the developing interest in peers of the rapprochement phase, it is also important as a beginning interest in the other-than-mother world of the practicing period. Along with this interest in the other-than-mother world, the practicing toddler, enthralled with her expanding world, often becomes oblivious to the whereabouts of mother. Indeed, Mrs. H. recalls Helen exploring freely without clinging and recalls feeling that Helen did not need her at the nursery - that Helen was "one to venture out a lot, a lot of times I would go in there and feel I wasn't very necessary because with the other kids around her...".

Nevertheless a toddler needs to re-establish contact with mother, to "refuel". Typically, this is a time when the distance receptors - sight and hearing - increase in importance as a means of refueling. It has been observed that the preferred mode of refueling is related to mother's preference (Mahler, et. al., 1975). With Mrs. H.'s emphasis on independence and self sufficiency and Helen's eager acceptance of these values, one expects to find increasing use of the distance receptors. As Helen is quite attuned to both video and audio stimuli there is no compelling

reason to believe that one of these senses was employed more than the other during practicing. However, as tactile stimulation remains important to both Helen and Mrs. H., and appears to continue to serve a comforting function for Helen, it probably provided an important mode of refueling throughout the practicing period. Currently, one sees the continued importance of tactile stimulation in Helen's repeated twirling of her hair, her tendency to stroke and explore the textures of objects around her, for example, the carpet in her classroom, as well as in projective data.

It is significant that, according to mother's report, Helen needed to "snuggle" (a form of refueling) less at the nursery than at home. Perhaps in the presence of others Helen and Mrs. H. were less physically demonstrative, or more likely, the pull of the other-than-mother world was so great in the nursery (with observers and peers and toys in an other-than-home setting) that Helen was more invested in exploration, less concerned with mother's whereabouts and perhaps more likely to be satisfied with refueling at a distance.

In a study of the transformations of the adequacy of separation-individuation subphases and their imprint upon oedipal organization, Kaplan (1980) stated that:

Normally, in the symbiotic and differentiation subphases, healthy narcissism is sponsored from within by a predominance of inner sensations of satisfying pleasure, and from the external world by mirroring admiration and experiences of bodily contact. During early practicing, the emotional availability of the mother as a home base for emotional refueling enhances the narcissism derived from the child's explorations of the world outside the mother-infant orbit. From the autonomous achievements of the practicing period the inner sources of narcissism are derived - self love, the sense of mastery and valuation of accomplishments, and phase appropriate omnipotence... Throughout separation-individuation, narcissistic enhancement from within must be balanced by the availability of bodily libidinal supplies from significant objects, particularly the mother. (p. 41).

It is the healthy narcissism of Helen's accomplishments balanced by the libidinal supplies from mother that are so evident in her functioning today.

The early specific attachment to father described by Abelin (1980) is probably truer of Helen's early experience than is typical. The early relationship with father, separate and different from the relationship with mother, is attributed to Mr. H.'s presumably larger than usual role in Helen's early care. Mr. H.'s long period of unemployment beginning sometime between Helen's 6th and 15th month (the history is contradictory) and lasting 21 months enabled him to be an active participant in Helen's care and

development. As typically occurs (Abelin, 1980) Mr. H. was, by his report, more tuned in to the "wild exuberance" of the practicing period, the tickling, running, chasing, and throwing games, than was Mrs. H.

Beginning Rapprochement

The rapprochement period is expected to have been a stormy and difficult one for Helen and her mother. The hypothesized difficulty of this phase is inferred from the areas of functioning which currently are problematic for Helen. Specifically, the character style and symptomatology already described point to difficulty resolving the issues of the anal period of development, which is roughly simultaneous with the rapprochement phase. The expected difficulty of this time is further indicated by Mrs. H.'s intense conflict and ambivalence about growing up, and Helen's identification with this conflict. The problems which could potentially result from this conflict are, however, believed to have been ameliorated by Mrs. H.'s continued availability to Helen throughout this period, and probably (although this speculation cannot be evaluated) by the interactions with Mr. H. It is thought that Helen's relationship with her father served to mitigate the intensity of her relationship with her mother as well as the identification with mother's ambivalence about growing up.

During this time, the mother's capacity to empathize and identify with her child is of paramount importance. However, if excessive, it can blur the boundaries between self and other, limit the mother's ability to recognize her child as a separate person and to respond accordingly. In their relationships with their children, parents identify with their same-sex parent as well as with their child. This revives old, unresolved conflicts which also interferes with accepting the child as a separate individual (McDevitt, 1971). Mrs. H. is a woman who, at times, has difficulty maintaining appropriate self and object boundaries. One would thus expect that at times she had difficulty experiencing Helen as a wholly separate object but would tend toward excessive identification with her daughter, resulting in a somewhat merged representation of herself and Helen. This might have been evidenced by her "knowing" (or thinking she knew) Helen's experiences and by her ability to anticipate Helen's needs. (It may not be possible in reviewing the observational data to distinguish between manifestations of Mrs. H.'s experiences of Helen as part of herself and instances of her fine-tuned ability to read others' signals). Despite this tendency in Mrs. H., Helen's current representation of herself as a fully separate individual with continuity over time as well as her ability to deal with others as whole objects indicates that she

indeed was helped to view herself as an independent being and to develop appropriate self and object boundaries. While father and other adults were undoubtedly important in facilitating this development, the relationship with mother must also have allowed for this. Thus, while mother thought she knew what Helen wanted, perhaps she was able to recognize when she'd misread a cue and appropriately alter her behavior, or, as Helen's use of language increased, perhaps Mrs. H. helped Helen learn that she had to verbalize her wishes, feelings, etc. in order to be understood. On balance then, it would be expected that Mrs. H.'s tendency to identify with her daughter during this period fluctuated within the range from just-enough to excessive.

The degree of closeness implied in the exquisite preverbal empathic understanding which Mrs. H. is believed to have demonstrated, while appropriate and necessary for adequate development in earlier phases, becomes developmentally inappropriate. It is believed that this may have hindered Helen's ability to accept the knowledge (which comes with the recognition of separateness from mother) that her own and her mother's wishes might differ and even conflict. As Mahler, et. al. note, this recognition "greatly challenge[s] the feeling of grandeur and omnipotence of the practicing period, when the little fellow had felt

'on top of the world' " (1975, p. 90). Indeed, traces of the expectation that mother will be available whenever desired may be seen in Helen's severe stress when mother was unavailable during her recent distress at school.

Helen is a child who, by history, had strong needs and demanded instant (preverbal) understanding and satisfaction of those needs. As difficult as it was for Helen to accept that her needs and wants might differ from her mother's, that mother might no longer understand her through the previously successful gestures or preverbal empathy, in short, that they could no longer function effectively as a symbiotic unit, so was it difficult for Mrs. H. Mrs. H.'s unresolved conflicts with her mother about separating and individuating were in all likelihood reactivated and expressed as ambivalence about Helen's growing up. In addition, one would expect that Mrs. H.'s unconscious fantasies about harming her child were activated. These fantasies continue to pervade all of Mrs. H.'s reactions to and dealing with her children and are likely to have been significant determinants of her behavior during Helen's rapprochement. That is, by not understanding or not responding appropriately to Helen's needs, Mrs. H. is likely to have felt that she was harming Helen. This fantasy, in conjunction with the sometimes

blurred boundaries between mother and child may have led Mrs. H. to feel responsible for the (normal) miscommunications of this period, the toddler's relative unhappiness (especially in comparison to the elation of the practicing period), mood swings, irritability, etc. Further, in a circular fashion, the ensuing difficulty in the mother-child relationship probably exacerbated Mrs. H.'s already reactivated conflicts regarding separation from her mother.

Mahler, et. al., (1975) describe the toddler's shadowing or darting away from mother which they found to be a hallmark of the rapprochement phase. The behavior is understood to derive from the beginning sense of self as a separate person and to express the toddler's conflict between seeking re-union with the love object (shadowing) and the related fear that reunion will lead to engulfment by the object and hence, loss of the developing and as yet fragile sense of self. It is hypothesized that Helen probably evidenced some mild darting away or shadowing behavior. That shadowing behavior was probably more prominent is indicated by Helen's later reactions to stressful situations. During a period of intense stress already described Helen experienced intense separation anxiety and insisted upon remaining with her mother. This behavior is seen as derivative of the earlier shadowing behavior. That this behavior is expected to have remained within the

average range is based upon Mrs. H.'s hypothesized continued availability to Helen and Helen's good ego achievements. Ego functions would have been compromised had Helen's developmental energies been significantly diverted into attempts to obtain mother's attention during this phase.

One of the hallmarks of the beginning rapprochement subphase is the shift from the toddler's primary investment in her body that characterized the practicing phase to a focus on peers. Given Helen's enormous interest in people this is expected to have been an important focus of her beginning rapprochement phase and perhaps an interest which helped ameliorate the sadness engendered by the waning of the symbiotic relationship with mother.

Current data indicate that one of the most significant ways in which Helen has identified with her mother is in her interest in people. Helen appears to have transformed her experiences of being understood and appropriately responded to into a capacity to tune into the needs and feelings of others to a remarkable degree. Both Helen and her mother are exquisitely sensitive to people and to their environments. This interest is expected to have become evident during the beginning rapprochement phase - a time typically characterized by expansion of the social world to include peers, other adults, and

increased interest in father.

It is during this stage that symbolic forms of communication - language and play - first become important. Indeed, Helen's rich fantasy life probably provided a means by which she could begin to deal with some of the issues of the period. Given Mrs. H.'s similarly rich fantasy life they probably shared a great deal of symbolic play. Perhaps this marked the beginning of a tendency toward ideational means of dealing with conflicts - a tendency which Helen shares with her mother.

During the beginning rapprochement period the expression of aggression begins to be specific and goal directed. Helen is seen as a child with constitutionally strong aggressive drives evident throughout her infancy. Although Helen is quite successful at sublimating her aggressive drives and directing aggression into academic and other achievements, the question of perhaps excessive inhibition of aggression is raised. The degree to which Helen currently inhibits the direct expression of aggression might have its roots in difficulty expressing goal directed aggression in the rapprochement phase. The defense against experiencing and expressing aggressive impulses is understood as an identification with mother. Mrs. H. is a woman for whom aggression remains a pre-eminent component of her personality - perhaps at a

level just out of her consciousness. Mrs. H. has difficulty accepting this aspect of herself and expressing it in controlled and modulated ways. Although one would expect that her difficulty would hinder Helen's ability to learn that aggression is indeed acceptable and can be modulated, Helen appears to have surpassed her mother in this regard. Nonetheless the management of aggression remains an area of relative difficulty for Helen. Perhaps she has identified with her mother's fear of her own aggressive impulses and has dealt with this through a combination of sublimation and inhibition.

The close of the beginning rapprochement phase is marked by harbingers of the coming rapprochement crisis. For Helen, a child with a history of temper tantrums and bouts of impotent rage, these behaviors typical of this period are expected to have been in evidence.

Rapprochement Crisis

Subphase development occurs as a continuous overlapping process without arbitrary divisions. There is no clear distinction between beginning rapprochement and the rapprochement crisis. However, for purposes of discussion, the phases will be treated separately, with recognition of the continuity and overlap.

This period is expected to have been a particularly difficult one for Helen and her mother primarily because of the intrinsic conflicts of this phase, and secondarily, as the effects of these conflicts were exacerbated by events which it is hypothesized, resulted in Mr. and Mrs. H.'s decreased libidinal availability to Helen. These events are believed to include Mrs. H.'s pregnancy and miscarriage which were followed by another pregnancy; as well as the demands of toilet training.

As Helen moved into the rapprochement crisis the conflict between wanting to be magically understood and cared for and being autonomous and independent is expected to have intensified. During the rapprochement period the toddler's experience of the world shifts from her view-point of grandeur and omnipotence to a cognitively advanced view in which she begins to apprehend her vulnerability and dependence. Demands now placed on her exacerbate her feelings of vulnerability, helplessness and dependence. The toddler becomes angry and enraged at the parents who, she feels, fail to protect her from physical harm, frustrate her heretofore mostly unfrustrated desires and make demands such as in saying "no" and in toilet training. The anger toward the object she loves and realizes she needs results in separation concerns and threats of loss (Settlage, 1980).

These inherent conflicts are believed to have been intensified by Mrs. H.'s conflict about growing up and Helen's identification with this conflict. For Mrs. H., every positive achievement and sign of maturity was something to be relished and enjoyed but, it is believed, was also shadowed by a sense of sadness and destruction. It is expected that Helen was intensely conflicted by her desire for autonomy and the realization of her need for mother. Observations are expected to indicate difficulty coming to mother for assistance, and perhaps also to show a preference for obtaining help from other adults - e.g., in learning a new skill. Such behavior would result from the interaction of the normal conflicts of this stage with Helen's sensitivity to Mrs. H.'s fear that her teachings and actions were potentially harmful to her child.

Separation anxiety and difficulties with leave taking are typical for this stage. Given Helen's later intense oedipal concerns which at the time of the follow-up study crystallized around an incident of constipation in school and resulted in a short lived but painful inability to leave mother, separation concerns are expected to have been quite evident during Helen's rapprochement crisis phase. Indeed, Helen's ways of dealing with her oedipal concerns are thought to be highly reflective of the rapprochement crisis phase of development. The intensity and difficulty of the

later period, ongoing concerns about toileting, regressions in toileting behavior, as well as Helen's cognitive style point to difficulty in resolving the issues of the earlier period. As Blos states:

ego regression lays bare the intactness or defectiveness of the early ego organization, which derived decisive positive and negative qualities from the passage through the first separation-individuation phase. (quoted in Kramer, 1971, p. 435).

Perhaps one event which added to Helen's difficulties in dealing with separation concerns, and may have impeded the development from anxiety regarding loss of the object to anxiety regarding loss of the object's love, was Mrs. H.'s second pregnancy which resulted in a miscarriage and hospitalization during this time. Helen probably experienced Mrs. H.'s normally increased investment in herself and in her pregnancy as a decreased interest in her (Helen). This aggravated the separation concerns typical for this period. Questions about why mother wanted another child may have resulted in doubts about mother's love, feelings of not being good enough, etc. With the logic typical of this age, Helen probably connected these feelings to her increased ambivalence and anger toward mother. Helen may have experienced mother's miscarriage and hospitalization as resulting from her own angry thoughts.

The separation caused by Mrs. H.'s hospitalization may have confirmed Helen's fear that she was losing mother as well as mother's love. One wonders if mother's return was followed by an increase in clinging and shadowing behavior.

That Helen's oedipal concerns crystallized around an event of constipation is significant in terms of the issues prevalent during the rapprochement period - e.g., separation concerns, demands for socialization, and discovery of the anatomical sexual difference between boys and girls. Helen's long history of constipation and the degree to which issues regarding toileting remain prevalent suggest that the rapprochement phase (which coincides with the anal period) was a difficult time for Helen. There is abundant literature on the meaning of constipation during separation-individuation. Constipation is often discussed as a girl's reaction to the discovery of the boys' penis and her lack thereof (Mahler, et. al., 1975, McDevitt, 1971). While Helen probably discovered the anatomical difference much earlier, given her almost life-long friendship with a male peer, that knowledge probably became psychologically significant during the rapprochement phase. She was about two years old when she showed keen interest in watching her father urinate, following him around the toilet and later trying to imitate him by standing to urinate. Mahler, et. al., (1975) describe the girls' reactions of anxiety, anger,

and defiance, and the search for the "hidden penis" in response to their discovery. Settlage (1971) describes the unconscious equation of the penis with feces and the retention of stool as an attempt to ward off accepting the absence of a penis. Helen's constipation might indeed have been a symptom developed in her efforts to deal with this issue. Further, it is hypothesized that Helen's early interest in hair (she is reported to have habitually held onto and played with mother's hair, and currently, frequently toys with her own) was transformed and used in her attempts to deal with her lack of a penis. Specifically, her terror of shampoos might have been related to fantasies of the penis being hidden in hair - the hair on her head being a displacement from pubic hair. This hypothesized fantasy may also have contained the germ of a sexual theory which she later verbalized: that the man cuts off his penis and leaves it in the woman after penetration.

The literature also describes the toddler's experience that mother's failure to provide her with a penis indicates mother's lack of love. This period of Helen's development is believed to have coincided with Mrs. H.'s pregnancy and its implications as described above - particularly with respect to the child's questioning of mother's love. The two events (discovery of the boys' penis and mother's pregnancy) occurring simultaneously could only potentiate

each other and intensify Helen's concerns about her own value and her fears of retribution for angry thoughts. This situation set the stage for later oedipal concerns.

Constipation as a symptom is related to fear of injury, inhibition of aggression, separation anxiety, and mother's difficulties with separations and with aggression (Settlage, 1980). Helen's separation anxiety has already been described as an identification with her mother's difficulties. Her constipation may also be understood as an inhibition of aggression, particularly as it seems to indicate a reversal of earlier behavior. That is, Helen's parents report that as an infant, when enraged, Helen would vomit and defecate all over her bed. This expulsiveness, while one way to rid herself of tensions and restore homeostasis (Mahler, et. al., 1975) is quite a contrast to the later retentive style.

Helen's inhibition of aggression is expected to be evident in her dealing with peers. There is, as already noted, an expanded social world and growing interest in peers during this phase. It is expected that for the most part Helen enjoyed peer interaction and that she had difficulty asserting herself when conflicts arose (e.g., over a toy) and had difficulty dealing with more aggressive physically acting out children. It is hypothesized that Helen would be upset by others' aggressive behaviors and

that she would respond passively, perhaps "taking it" perhaps withdrawing from the situation.

Perhaps what is being discussed as Helen's inhibition of aggression is also related to her need to please mother and to see herself as a good girl. Her image of the good girl is one who does the right thing and who is not aggressive. Currently, Helen is very upset by any implication that she is behaving in a less-than-virtuous way. Precursors of this attitude are expected to have been evident as she developed the cognitive ability to learn what was expected of her. This behavior is also understood as related to fear of loss of the object's love if she did not behave in acceptable ways and is probably also tied to mother's difficulty with her own unacceptable impulses. The need to be seen as good as it reflects the broader concern with how she appears to others is seen as an identification with mother's preoccupation with appearances. Although Mrs. H. rails against her mother's investment in appearances, Mrs. H. shares this concern. The content of what is desirable differs but the concern spans the three generations.

Helen's constipation is also understood as a manifestation of her concerns regarding what was/was not part of her body and concerns about bodily damage. These concerns, as well as her ambivalence about growing up were

expressed, for a period of time, in her request to defecate in a diaper although she had already been toilet trained. Thus, when needed, Helen would notify her mother who would exchange Helen's panties for a diaper in which Helen would have a bowel movement.

One of the conflicts of this stage lies in the toddler's valuing and therefore wanting to retain the feces while also wanting to please mother by complying with her demands for toilet training. Helen's use of the diaper is seen as a compromise to this conflict. It is interesting that Helen would request permission to behave in a regressive way. Whatever other meaning this behavior may have had for her, this rather impressive compromise allowed her to gratify an evidently strong need while remaining a good girl (i.e., it is acceptable to dirty one's diaper, but not one's panties). That Helen wanted to please mother and was sensitive to concerns regarding loss of mother's love has already been noted. Further, Helen's constipation may have been in response to her hypothesized perception of the loss of mother's love. Settlage (1971) describes a case in which the little girl's attacks of constipation were related to instances of mother's upset and diminished libidinal availability.

Given all of these issues as well as Helen's tendency to experience her affects very intensely (as mother does)

her rapprochement behavior is expected to have been quite intense and painful. With her tremendous capacity for fantasy, an abundance of play symbolizing these issues and her attempts to work them through is expected to be evident. For example, following the difficulty in school already described, Helen was observed playing in a tunnel-like toy. Her play was understood as a means to work through the frightening experience and her feelings about it. This is the type of play expected to be found in observations of the rapprochement period.

Currently, Mr. and Mrs. H. complain of Helen's inability to accept "no" in response to a request (e.g., for mother's immediate attention, for candy, for a specific story). Helen's response is to persist in her request and to badger her parents. Mrs. H. sees this behavior as just like her mother's behavior - she feels that both mother and daughter wear her down. It seems quite likely that Mrs. H. herself acts in this way and that Helen's behavior may be an identification with her mother (who perhaps adopted this behavior in identification with her mother). The difficulty accepting "no" and the provocative fighting with mother point to difficulties resolving the issues of the rapprochement (and in terms of libidinal development; the anal) phase.

All of the above issues indicate some weakness in the resolution of the conflicts of the rapprochement period.

This results in ongoing vulnerability and therefore in the tendency to regress to behaviors typical of this stage during times of stress. Again it must be emphasized that all of the difficulties are believed to fall within the average range of development.

It is believed that had the events which occurred around the time of Helen's third birthday occurred during the rapprochement period, they would have had quite significant and possibly detrimental effects on Helen's development.

These events include the birth of her sister, the family's move to another state (leaving behind a friend whom Helen had seen almost daily), and father's Monday through Friday absence as he accepted employment in another city. These events certainly had significant psychological impact, but of a different order than they would have had they occurred earlier.

(C) Comparisons Between Postdictions
and Observational Data

Early Practicing

It was noted above that the Early Practicing Period would be discussed as a means of "setting the stage" for the periods which will be discussed in greater detail. The postdictions regarding the Early Practicing Period are reviewed with respect to the observational data of that phase:

It was speculated that having experienced a satisfactory relationship with parents who were empathic and responsive to her needs, Helen was able to develop a confident expectation that her needs would be met, and was able to exercise her newly developing capacities to explore her world. It was further speculated that her mother's and father's attitudes were such as to encourage Helen's investment in ego and motor functions.

It is quite striking that on the first day of attendance at the NYU Nursery, at a time when Helen was judged to be in the Early Practicing subphase, she was described in the following way:

From the moment of her appearance at the nursery, Helen freely engaged in exploratory behavior. Before she was released from her stroller, she visually explored her surroundings, smilingly examining adults, babies, and the physical environment.

In the nursery room proper she normally maintained at least a half room's distance from her mother, rapidly crawling about, pulling up with support and standing unaided. For the first 3/4 of the session there was very minimal physical interaction between mother and infant, but in terms of Helen's independent exploratory functioning and general exuberant mood, this appeared to be a good fit of needs.

In general mother did not intervene in Helen's activities, neither spontaneously assisting when Helen's explorations led her into an uncomfortable position from which she could not readily extricate herself nor in spontaneous game initiation with her daughter... She [Helen] functioned extremely well, actively and independently, frequently crowing with pleasure in the exercise of her locomotive skills.

It was further noted in the observation that, as Helen became fatigued and more easily distressed, mother demonstrated her flexibility in responding to Helen in a variety of ways, corresponding to her daughter's level of distress. Perhaps what is most significant is the success of these strategies which bespeaks Mrs. H.'s ability to "read" Helen's cues, to respond appropriately, and Helen's ability to use mother's comforting ministrations. Following her mother's comforting responses, Helen was able to resume independent play.

Of course, a child's pleasure in practicing new skills, the degree of contact with mother and the pleasure

in the interaction with mother vary from day to day (indeed, from observational sequence to observational sequence) and observations from one day do not substantiate postdictions regarding an entire developmental phase. However, it is felt that the observations cited are representative of Helen's Early Practicing subphase. It is of particular note that Helen's joy in this period, her freedom to explore, and the good fit between mother and child were seen so clearly on their first day in a new environment, faced by previously unknown babies and adults. Indeed, two weeks later, an observer noted that the comfort Helen and Mrs. H. feel in the nursery setting seemed to reflect their comfort with each other.

Speculations about mother's continued availability as a "home base" from which Helen could venture forth to explore the world were also borne out. For example, during the 8th session of the nursery, when Helen was 10 months, 3 weeks old, it was noted that:

During this time of exploration she appears primarily goal directed towards investigation but simultaneously, though secondarily experiencing pleasure in her increasing effectiveness in mobility. She rarely looks to her mother while she is in the act of locomotion, even when exhibiting increasing mastery of some new skill e.g., walking. At these times her own experiences are sufficient satisfaction. When she has accomplished her goal and is quietly sitting playing with a toy she occasionally checks back to her mother visually AND BASKS in a shared smile between the two.

Of particular note is mother's explicit awareness of Helen's need for her to remain available and mother's attempt to do so even when she had other preferences. Thus, on the second day of the nursery, the following was observed:

At one point, mother started to distract Helen with a toy and then stopped herself, saying, "Oh you're really doing fine; I don't know why I should interrupt you." She seemed to recognize that her own need for contact with Helen was not appropriate to Helen's present state, and she was able to turn her attention to the other mothers instead.

Two weeks later, on the 6th day of the nursery, it was noted that Helen was far more interested in physical comforting than was her mother, who seemed to prefer conversation with the other mothers. "However, she [Mrs. H.] was no less warm with Helen, and she was readily able to gratify her needs".

It was noted throughout the observations of the Early Practicing phase that when Helen appeared to be in need of mother's presence, Mrs. H. would curtail her absences from the nursery and remain physically available to Helen, at times even remaining in one area of the room to facilitate Helen's finding her.

The observations of the 8th day of the nursery sum up Helen's Early Practicing subphase quite well:

Helen and her mother continue to show a very adaptive reciprocity in fit of needs with each other. In general this mother does not intervene in her daughter's activities. Her daughter seems to thrive on her concentration on the exercise of her newly expanding locomotive capacities. Normally Helen visually notes her mother's exits and entrances from the nursery but overt effects on her behavior are not strongly evident.

However in this session Helen revealed a strong need for frequent physical contacts with her mother, which her mother accepted and responded to without reproach or contrast. As suggested by her continual thumbsucking, this regression may be stimulated by the stress of her newly begun weaning.

The mother's behavior was directed towards the satisfaction of her child's need and no effort was made to set time limits on the comforting response. Helen was allowed to remain lying on her mother's lap as long as she wished while her mother continued in her animated conversation with the other mothers.

Practicing Phase Proper

It was speculated that Helen and her parents derived great delight from Helen's developing skills and capabilities and that her parents encouraged Helen's mastery of new skills. These attitudes were already noted during Helen's Early Practicing phase. However, what became quite clear upon reviewing the Early Practicing data was that Mrs. H.'s encouragement was primarily implicit, similar to the offering of "moral support". On only one

occasion during the Practicing Phase Proper was Mrs. H. seen to either initiate or play a game with Helen. The expectation that she would be an active participant in games-playing, perhaps initiating, but certainly teaching Helen how to use certain toys, develop a wider range of exploratory behaviors, teach her to use a slide etc. was not borne out. Rather, Helen typically explored the nursery playing with toys, climbing on the slide, rocking on the horse or curiously watching other babies while Mrs. H. sat chatting with other mothers or watching the babies' activities. Mrs. H. was quite sensitive to and warmly accepted Helen's initiations, but Mrs. H. rarely initiated contact herself. The overwhelming number of physical interactions between mother and child revolved around Helen's drinking a bottle (usually while held in her mother's arms in a manner reminiscent of a nursing infant) or diaper changes.

The exuberance and soaring pleasure that were expected to have been characteristic of Helen's Practicing Phase Proper were not fully supported by the data. Rather, Helen's delight in her developing abilities and her total immersion in practicing those skills to the exclusion of nearly all other concerns was tempered by an earlier-than-expected concern with her mother's whereabouts. The concern with mother's proximity/presence/absence might have been

heightened during this time by Helen's weaning from the breast and with teething. Nevertheless, throughout this period, observations indicate that Helen's periods of delight in the accomplishments of this time alternated with seemingly distressed, dissatisfied, unfocused times.

These latter times seem to be related to separations from mother and observations show Helen actively trying to master issues of separation. On Day 14 (age 1 year, 12 days) the participant observer wrote that Helen's early walking seemed to increase her awareness of separateness from mother and that her departures from the room seemed to be her way of checking that out. Further, Helen took pleasure only in those separations which she could initiate and control.

As in the Early Practicing phase, Mrs. H. was less involved in actually teaching Helen to use any of the toys or in practicing her skills than was expected. Yet Mrs. H. was attuned to Helen's distress and remained available to Helen for contact, a bottle or a hug, as Helen "requested". Mrs. H. rarely initiated these contacts. On occasion, when Mrs. H. did play with Helen on the horse or in some floor play, Helen would be delighted and her good mood lasted for several minutes beyond the actual play sequence. However, Mrs. H.'s level of involvement was not uniform across all activities. For example, as Helen became increasingly verbal Mrs. H. seemed to be more involved in encouraging verbal

activity than she was in other types of activity. This seems to reflect Mrs. H.'s personal preference for verbal rather than motoric activities as found during the psychological testing and by her report during the follow-up study that she did not like "rough-housing" with her children.

Mrs. H.'s ambivalence about Helen's increasing independence was seen during the Early Practicing phase. Her initial denial of Helen's having taken her first steps (which occurred in the nursery) and her wish that Helen would wait "til the warmer weather" gave way to Mrs. H.'s wanting Helen to practice walking with her aid, and later, her "setting Helen up" to walk, as though she were performing for the observers (Day 11). It seems that Mrs. H.'s behavior during that time reflected her own difficulty with separations and with issues of dependence/independence. On Day 14, Mrs. H. was so engrossed in a magazine about baby clothes that she was unusually unresponsive to Helen. Mrs. H. was aware of this and remarked, "I know I should pay more attention to you but I'm just dying to look at this magazine". Mrs. H. then "took Helen in her arms, assured her that she had only two more pages and let Helen finger the pages herself". It may be that just as Helen was trying at this time to control the separations and reunions with her mother through physical distance, Mrs. H. was

doing the same through the establishment of psychological distance. Mrs. H.'s sense of pride in Helen's achievements was not as pronounced as was expected.

One wonders if Mrs. H. was more involved and more active with Helen at home. It may be that one of the effects of the presence of observers and of the other mothers was to both provide a positive pleasurable distraction for Mrs. H. (i.e., wanting to converse with other mothers) and also to constrain and inhibit her. It may also be that at home where Helen did not have the stimulation of peers, a large well-equipped nursery, and the attention of observers that Mrs. H. was more likely to provide that stimulation. Although no data are available, it may be that Mr. H. provided much of the delight in Helen's accomplishments which is evident in the data of the follow-up study. In this light, it is interesting that in the nursery Helen sometimes turned to another mother, Mrs. G. (whom she also saw outside of the nursery) for active play. Helen's interest in Mrs. G. is probably related both to issues of exploring the other-than-mother world and finding adults who would provide active physical stimulation (e.g., swinging in the air) much as Mr. H. is reported to have done at home.

The clinical impression gained from the data supports the hypothesis that Mrs. H.'s closeness to the experiences of

childhood enabled her to be empathic and responsive to Helen's experiences. There are few observations however which explicitly illustrate this view. One incident which may bear on this speculation occurred on Day 11, the last day raters judged to be part of Helen's Early Practicing phase. On this day when Helen was noted to be "spending more time in an up-right position" but would revert to crawling when she wanted to reach her mother, Mrs. H. would often meet Helen halfway "usually running towards Helen in quick, little steps and laughing. On occasion, she crawled to meet Helen to the absolute delight of the baby". This seems to indicate Mrs. H.'s empathy with Helen's dealing with her shift to the upright and her alternation between walking and crawling. On Day 12, the first day rated to be in the Practicing Phase Proper, a participant-observer noted Mrs. H.'s awareness of Helen's discomfort in reaction to weaning. The observer noted that Mrs. H. "wants to help her daughter mature but is also aware there is pain associated with leaving the security of one stage and moving on to a higher level. She appears to empathize strongly with her daughter's experiences".

As previously noted, Mrs. H. did not often initiate play with Helen or distract Helen from her activities. (Most notable exceptions fall into the category of appropriate limit-setting - keeping Helen within the confines

of the nursery or interrupting a potentially dangerous activity). On Day 12, two weeks before Helen's first birthday, the participant-observer noted that "In general, Mrs. H. seems non-structuring and non-demanding. She readily follows her baby's lead adapting to her baby's changing needs and abilities. Helen is thus molding her mother for now; her needs are, in the main, readily fulfilled and she is a happy, thriving child".

Similarly, on Day 17, about five weeks later, the participant-observer noted that Helen tended to alternate between very independent, almost "little girlish" activity and "close, warm almost infantile contact with her mother... [her] refueling stops are quite clear and sustained and she seems to be literally energized by the time she spends in her mother's arms. Mrs. H. watches Helen attentively when she is on her independent forways; she frequently talks to her from a distance, smiling and commenting favorably on her activities. Mrs. H. is quite receptive to Helen's needs to be held; in fact she seems to welcome them".

On that same day it was observed that when Helen was climbing on a chair, Mrs. H., from her seat on the couch, called to Helen to be careful. Helen responded by lowering to her knees on the chair. Following that, one of the other toddlers approached Helen and pushed her in the face. Mrs. H. rushed over and took Helen in her arms "apparently afraid"

that the toddler would push Helen off the chair.

Two weeks later, on Day 20, Helen had been demanding more contact with mother than was typical. Mrs. H. not only responded readily to Helen's initiations but began to increase her initiations to Helen seemingly in reactions to and anticipation of Helen's need.

The participant-observer's notes of Day 21, the last observed day of Helen's Practicing Phase Proper (observations were disrupted by summer vacation) summarize Mrs. H.'s attitude during this period:

Helen was a very active explorer today, while Mrs. H. tended to remain on the couch, watching her attentively...She [Helen] spent considerable time climbing up the slide from a standing position. Mrs. H. remarked that when Helen first began doing that, she would hold her breath and stay close by; now she feels more confident with Helen's ability, and she watched, with pride, from a distance. When Helen attempted to walk down the slide she became slightly more concerned, but she stayed in her seat because an observer was helping Helen. This incident illustrates Mrs. H.'s non-intrusive but very available, style of interaction with Helen today. Helen would approach her whenever she wanted more contact and Mrs. H. was always ready to give it.

The observation continues to describe Helen's independent play, followed by an approach to mother and sucking her thumb. Mrs. H. provided Helen with a bottle and after "one of her revitalizing rests on her mother's lap" Helen again played independently for an extended period of time.

The observer then noted that:

Mrs. H. played less with Helen today than has been observed on other occasions, possibly because she recognized Helen's contentment with her independence and did not want to interrupt her. Later in the morning, she wanted to change Helen but she held off until Helen became less engrossed with the ball she had been playing with. Mrs. H.'s ability to keep her distance when appropriate seemed like a development which respects Helen's growing self-reliance.

The conjecture that Helen was a child who would quietly and persistently work at a task until it was mastered without calling attention to her efforts was corroborated by observations during the Early Practicing and Practicing Proper phases. During the earlier time, it was noted that Helen's "long attention span and concentration on the mastery of standing alone" occurred with relatively infrequent initiations of contact with mother (Day 2); and that during the next nursery session she would take one or two steps without external support, "without calls for her mother's attention, who at these times, was engaged in conversation with the other mothers". It has already been described, on page 97, how Helen would revel in a shared smile with mother after independently working at and accomplishing a task.

Toward the end of the Practicing Phase Proper, on Day 20, despite Helen's low-keyed mood and relatively

greater and more frequent distress reactions, she was described as expending "considerable attention" and "intense concentration" on climbing the slide. Similar concentration was observed on Day 21, a happier and more productive morning for Helen. Her sober look on that day was attributed to her "intense concentration":

Her practice in climbing up the slide took no small effort (particularly when she tried to walk down it as well) and she displayed the same kind of concentration when she was practicing throwing a ball. Her gross motor development was accompanied by increased small muscle agility as she carefully fingered the activities on the Busy Box. In between such activities Helen often walked about the room with a look of alert interest and a small smile.

It was expected that the very high standards Helen currently sets for herself would be evident in her Practicing period approach to the mastery of new skills. Indeed, the intense concentration referred to by observers may reflect Helen's desire to realize a skill and to do it well. In view of the belief that Helen's struggle for a perfect performance, seen in the follow-up study, is an identification with her mother's attitude, it is interesting that Mrs. H. was less involved than expected in helping Helen achieve mastery. Mother's attitude toward perfection seems to have been conveyed without her active participation in Helen's practice of new skills.

Helen's delight in physical activity has been discussed as an identification with the active mother and it was speculated that this high level of activity would be evident during the Practicing Period. It is therefore striking that on their first day at the nursery (during Helen's Early Practicing phase) the participant observer described the couple in the following way:

Both mother and baby members of the pair reveal an eager, friendly, outgoing manner and rely on motor expression in dealing with new situations. Baby actively explores her surroundings, crawling about; mother restlessly moves in between nursery and anterooms. Both are energetic and decisive in their movements; baby in her crawling, mother in her quick speech and body movements.

Similar descriptions are found throughout the observations of this period. Most notably, on Day 8 (at age 10 months, 20 days) it was noted that:

Helen's characteristic mode of behavior in entering a situation is to actively but methodically make use of the entire space. She rapidly (sometimes creeping other times toddling shakily but independently for 4-5 steps) goes from one location to another but not in a haphazard manner.

Throughout the Practicing Phase Proper, with the advent of walking, Helen remained quite active. On Day 17 it was observed that Helen and her mother were quite similar with respect to activity level and temperament. Despite the

fact that mother and child had slept little during the previous night (due to Helen's teething discomfort) their fatigue was not evident in their physical appearances or behavior. The observer wondered whether, for both Helen and her mother, fatigue was overcome by the stimulation of the nursery. There were of course times (e.g., Day 21) when mother's and child's activity levels were not as evenly matched. Those times seem to represent daily fluctuations within an overall setting of great similarity in this area.

It was stated that perhaps the greatest area of identification with her mother would be seen in Helen's interest in other people and in her empathy toward others. Indeed, observers were immediately (within the Early Practicing phase) impressed by the pair's extroversion and sociability. Throughout, the observations bespeak Helen's interest in the adults and other babies in the nursery. For example, on Day 12 Helen was found to have discovered a secretary in the hall outside the nursery proper and was enthralled with her - following her, imitating her movements etc. On Day 13 Helen was found to be "her generally alert, lively, appealing self today, taking most pleasure in approaching people, looking, smiling, and vocalizing or walking around, checking everything and everyone out". The observer also noted that Helen "always

showed great interest in people's faces, reacting to another's smile with a wrinkled up flirtatious look, an expression frequently used by her mother as though she were imitating Helen".

Perhaps the clearest example of Helen's interest in peers is taken from the Early Practicing phase, Day 8 (11 months, 20 days). Helen has had many previous interactions with Guy, another toddler, and they have even been referred to as "a couple". On this day, her mother had tried to interest Helen in playing with the "tunnel" but Helen was not interested. Then,

Helen looks around the room, and sees Guy. She smiles, squeals, laughs, hides her face from Guy. Looking happy, she pulls herself up on mother's leg. Guy is at one end of the tunnel and Helen is at the other. She reaches for his hair. Mothers decide that they should move tunnel and Mrs. H. walks Helen over to slide where Mrs. G. has placed the tunnel. Helen walks carefully and unsteadily, holding onto her mother's finger. She moves up the slide briefly, falls on her seat, and crawls back to mother...She sits briefly at her feet, then goes back to the tunnel. She looks in tunnel at Guy smiles and sits back, waiting for him to come through, watching him very closely. Pulling herself up on the tunnel with one hand, she reaches in at Guy with the other. She moves up and down, sort of bouncing, and laughs briefly. She looks around, goes down on her knees, hits the tunnel, squeals and then laughs. She then hits at Guy in play. He cries she stops and moves over to Fay near slide. She looks at mother, looks around. She starts to whimper, crawls toward mother. She turns and looks a couple of times pulls

herself up on mother's knees, and reaches for her coffee.

Helen's interest in peers and adults continues to be notable throughout the Practicing phase, but one notes that as her mood becomes increasingly low-keyed, her activities become less focused and her enthusiasm for toys and social interaction wanes. This is particularly true during mother's longer absences from the nursery.

As expected, the degree of empathy toward peers which Helen demonstrated during this time was notable. Several examples illustrate Helen's empathic reactions to another child's upset or pleasure: On Day 15 Guy began to cry upon noticing his mother's absence:

Helen was watching him closely, with a very disturbed look on her face, tears even began to well up in her eyes. Guy was comforted by his mother, who had returned to the room, but lo and behold, Helen began to cry. She ran to her mother who comforted her quickly.

Similarly on Day 19, Helen carefully watched as Jane, another toddler, took her first independent steps:

When Jane reached her mother and was engulfed by her, Helen squealed with delight. When Jane did it again, and all the adults cheered, Helen too cheered standing up on the slide and raising her arms high in the air. She was laughing and screeching happily over Jane's new skill, and when Jane saw this she walked toward Helen and then back to her mother. She did this a number of times. Later, all the

adults remarked on how Jane was willing to walk toward only two people - her mother and Helen.

During the next session the participant-observer noted that Helen:

became distressed in reaction to the cries of another baby. She would immediately focus on the child who was upset, stare at him soberly, look as if she were about to cry herself, and then run to her mother for comforting. Her empathy was striking and she seemed to need both her mother's holding and the quieting of the other baby in order to return to her former contentment... Mrs. H. is quite alert to the actions of the other babies, and Helen is amazingly empathic. In the past few weeks, her empathy has been particularly striking with respect to the walking of other babies and she has shared their pleasure in a way which is quite similar to Mrs. H.'s exuberance.

In the following session the observer noted that although Helen displayed great interest in a crying baby during her own mother's absence from the room, Helen did not cry. The observer felt that Helen's empathic reactions were encouraged by mother and were greatest when mother was available to share in the emotion.

One area related to Helen's interest in social interaction, about which no postdictions were made, merits discussion - her pleasure in and search for an audience. This pleasure appears repeatedly throughout the data. Observers noted Helen's pleasure in the approving glance

of an adult but also noted that her pleasure in activities was not dependent upon such attention. However, on Day 21, observers felt that Helen's interest in practicing a skill for its own sake (here, climbing a slide) became transformed into pleasure in performing for observers. The sense that Helen was performing for others parallels the observer's sense, on other days, of Mrs. H. performing for them - either in walking Helen around the room or seeking approving glances as she spoke with other mothers about her child rearing philosophy. The feeling that Mrs. H. is performing for an audience is certainly in line with her choice of profession (acting) and is consistent with the sense of her obtained during the follow-up study. Furthermore, in retrospect, Helen's current behavior of repeatedly calling her teacher's attention to her good behavior and good work is probably related to this earlier search for an approving audience.

It was expected that, as a practicing toddler, Helen's enthusiasm for exploring the world around her would lead her to be unconcerned with and even oblivious to her mother's whereabouts. While this was true some of the time, the data paint a picture of great variability in this respect - both from day to day and within the course of a single day. To a greater extent than was expected, Helen generally became increasingly concerned with mother's presence as the

nursery session wore on, ostensibly due to fatigue. Other factors also caused her to seek out mother - e.g., being hurt, or, as previously noted, observing another child's distress. During the Early Practicing phase, Helen typically played independently and at a distance from mother during the early part of the morning. Her play is punctuated by frequent visual contact or returns to mother for physical contact and/or a bottle. As noted, the returns to mother increased as the morning continued. At times, Helen became quite upset upon mother's leaving the room, but would usually delight in her return. Helen was rarely oblivious to mother's absence. During the early part of this phase, mother reported that Helen became so upset when left with a babysitter at home that the H.'s had temporarily suspended use of a sitter.

During the Practicing Proper phase the pattern continued with perhaps even greater sensitivity to mother's location. Helen continued to visually check back with mother while playing and to approach frequently. On most occasions when mother was out of the room Helen would become quite distressed, sometimes, but not always able to be comforted by the ministrations of another adult. On Day 14 the participant-observer wrote:

Helen's awareness of her mother's absence is quite striking, she scans the room carefully once, then double-checks it again,

and then starts for the door. She responds briefly to the efforts of other adults to distract her but never forgets where she was going. If she does not find her mother almost immediately, and if no one is helping her to look for her, she becomes quite upset.

Following her consultation with the psychologist directing the nursery regarding Helen's separation difficulties, Mrs. H. reported (Day 21) that Helen was able to cope with separations with less distress. Indeed, in the nursery on that day, Helen sobered upon noticing her mother leave the nursery, and went to the gate, ostensibly to look for mother, but was not overtly distressed as on previous occasions. She did not notice mother's second departure from the room as she was immersed in playing with blocks. When Helen did become aware of mother's absence she gazed around the room soberly, then alternated play with the Busy Box with visual scanning of the room. Again engrossed in play, Helen did not notice her mother's return and third exit, but then saw mother re-enter the room and greeted her with "a squeal of delight, a wide smile and a clap of the hands".

It is likely that Helen's greater than expected concern with mother's presence at this stage reflects the early emergence of rapprochement issues related to the increasing comprehension of separateness and its implications. It is also likely that Helen's concern

reflects Mrs. H.'s difficulties with separation and that Helen was acting out mother's conflict (although, as noted, this was somewhat precocious but essentially developmentally appropriate behavior for Helen). In this light it is striking that after the consultation, when Mrs. H. felt less conflicted about separations, Helen was also able to tolerate them more easily.

It was expected that along with the increasing use of distance receptors for checking back to mother, Helen would continue to seek tactile stimulation. Indeed, it was noted that Helen would rely on visually checking back early in the session and would then increasingly seek cuddling from mother. Observers described Helen's variation from functioning like a little girl to almost melting into her mother's body like an infant. Helen increased the tactile stimulation of cuddling by clutching mother's hair as she drank her bottle. Further, she showed great fondness for a plush teddy bear, even on occasion using it as a substitute for mother's less available than usual attention.

It is striking that Mrs. H. reported that Helen snuggled less at the nursery than at home in view of the great deal of cuddling that did occur.

Regarding the development of narcissism, briefly discussed in the section on postdictions, it appears clear that the interaction of mother's continued availability

with the pleasure inherent in autonomous functioning have promoted Helen's positive valuation of her accomplishments. Her pleasure in performing for an audience is probably derived from the pleasure of mother's admiration and reflects a healthy narcissism and investment in her accomplishments. Again it may be noted that her pleasure was not dependent upon having an audience.

No observational data were available regarding Mr. H.'s participation in Helen's Practicing period. Given the speculation that he provided much of the active stimulation (e.g., tickling, rough-housing, etc.) it is interesting that Helen sought adults other than mother to fulfill this function at the nursery. Specifically, she sought other mothers to tickle her, swing her in the air, or rock her on the horse (although the last was an activity mother sometimes shared with her).

Beginning Rapprochement

The Beginning Rapprochement phase which lasted from Helen's return to the nursery following summer vacation at age 17 months, 1 day (Day 22) until age 20 months, 19 days (Day 37) was somewhat less stormy than expected. The data clearly illustrate Helen dealing with the developmentally appropriate issues of this period in a manner which is quite consistent with average development. The clearest

evidence of distress during this time was unobserved but was reported by mother. Specifically, Helen was refusing to sleep alone and would cry until mother took Helen into bed with her. Sleeping disturbances are typical of the rapprochement period and have been related to concerns with separation (Mahler, et. al., 1975). Further, Mrs. H.'s inability to deal with this issue in any way other than by sleeping with Helen (and apart from Mr. H.) in part illustrates Mrs. H.'s difficulty setting limits and saying 'no' to Helen. This will be discussed further with respect to Helen's identification with this difficulty.

Perhaps the reason that this period was less turbulent than expected was due to mother's continued availability throughout this time. Although it was postdicted that mother's availability would ameliorate some of the difficulties which are inherent in this phase, the extent to which this was so was not anticipated. Indeed, the degree to which mother and daughter continued to function in harmony during the Beginning Rapprochement period is quite striking and differs from what has been considered typical of this period of development (Mahler, et. al., 1975).

Thus, Helen's Beginning Rapprochement period was characterized by a continuation of closeness with mother and mother's continued ability to read her signals accurately. On Day 36 an observer noted that the closest

Helen had come to evidencing distress

was during the few times that she interrupted her play to incessantly call her mother with a "mommy, mommy, mommy". These incidents could have been more distressing had not Mrs. H. responded to her daughter's calls so quickly; Mrs. H. does not seem to give Helen the opportunity to become distressed, especially over issues of mother-child contact. Clearly both mother and child are invested in short-circuiting the anxiety accompanying Helen's separation-individuation.

A description of one of their interactions also illustrates this point:

Helen was turning, scanning the room as if looking for something. Her mother said, smiling, "Here it is, is this what you wanted?" and held out Helen's bottle. Helen took it and immediately reached up with her free hand. They stood transfixed for a moment, Helen stroking her mother's leg and Mrs. H. stroking Helen's hair. Mrs. H. then said quietly, "Let's sit. You want to sit on my lap for a little while?" They sat, Mrs. H. looking through some photographs and Helen gently pulling on her mother's hair and drinking absorbedly. She seemed quiet and contented, and although she did scan the activities in the room she was primarily involved in the nursing and contact with her mother. (Day 28)

Such instances are typical of this time but as the Rapprochement period continued to unfold, they become entwined with instances in which Mrs. H. was less completely available to Helen, where she would for instance, continue a conversation with another adult while rocking Helen on the

horse. Helen's reaction was to become lower keyed and to intently watch mother but she did not attempt to interrupt the conversation or otherwise demand mother's attention. On Day 30 while Helen was riding the horse with her mother standing beside her, it was noted that:

Mrs. H.'s attention, however, was more directed towards animated conversation with any adult in the immediate vicinity. Thus she was often looking away from Helen. Helen's face lost its radiance on these occasions. At one time she began to rock herself quite vigorously on the horse. Shortly thereafter she began to look alertly, but patiently, and expectantly from one conversant to the other appearing to want to be noticed and included in the engagement. Her face became transformed with joy each time her mother's attention was directed back to her but she was never intrusive or coercive in obtaining this attention.

It was expected that given the extent to which Helen had experienced that her needs and wishes would be understood and satisfied, it would be quite difficult for her to accept that her desires might differ from and even conflict with those of her mother. Helen had little experience of her wishes not being satisfied. One day when the rocking horse was unavailable Helen:

was absolutely devastated; she cried bitterly and helplessly, only somewhat comforted by mother's anxious expressions that in a few moments it would be her turn. She could not turn to another activity at this time nor did she express anger at Guy or the horse or even mother who 'failed' to satisfy her wish for the rocking horse.

This type of distress then is rather intense for Helen and in contrast to her usual happy relaxed attitude which is in part based on her clear expectations that her wishes in fact will be quickly and substantially satisfied. She did however recover from this disappointing episode quite quickly and was able to make full use of the nursery for the rest of the morning (Day 34).

Helen's assuredness that her wishes would be gratified was described by one of the participant-observers at the time:

While mother and Helen both function well on a social level and appear to enjoy other people to a very high degree it appears that Helen's sociability and the very positive reactions she gets from others serves mother's narcissistic needs as well as her own...Her [mother's] feelings about herself appear not to be anywhere near as positive as her feelings about Helen, and Helen in fact may at some level be experienced as the best part of herself.

This in part may help to explain mother's sudden anxiety and sense of helplessness when Helen has been frustrated and is in distress. Thus when early in the morning Helen was usurped by Guy in her bid for the rocking horse, she burst out into tears and mother vainly trying to comfort her looked as though she were about to cry herself. Mother often mentions how unhappy she feels when she cannot understand something Helen is babbling, describing this in a way that suggests she experiences a tinge of failure vis-a-vis her efforts to always fully satisfy Helen's needs and wishes. This may help to account for mother's acquiescence to Helen's demands that she remain cuddled with Helen at bedtime, despite the strain this involves for her. Helen's high expectations then that she will have her needs and wishes satisfied, that she will be positively and

happily responded to even by those other than mother, emanates from this highly intuned highly satisfying relationship with mother. Therefore a point blank, though temporary, frustration of a wish (i.e., for the rocking horse this morning) can bring forth great distress in Helen. Therefore mother and child both share the same expectation of satisfaction of Helen's wishes and find it difficult to tolerate frustrations around this issue. (Day 34)

As noted, Helen's expectation of being understood and her wishes accommodated flavored her interactions with adults other than mother as well. On Day 36 she was observed to approach an observer, ask for a pen, and then use it to scribble in the observer's book; and then to approach Mrs. F. to join her in looking at a book. The observer recorded that:

Adults are consistently perceived as additional sources of nurture. She initiates interactions in a friendly, confident manner with expectations of positive outcomes. She responds to their initiations in the same manner.

Based upon psychological testing in the follow-up study it was speculated that Mrs. H. tended to blur the boundaries between herself and her child, to feel Helen's experiences as her own, to experience Helen as part of herself. It is therefore of note that observers felt that Mrs. H. regarded Helen as the best part of herself. This was noted in the quotation from Day 34 (quoted on P. 137)

and can be found elsewhere in the data. The contrast between Helen and her mother in terms of self-esteem and confidence is illustrated by the following observation. The observation also gives some corroboration to the speculation that Mrs. H.'s fantasies of doing things incorrectly and thereby harming her child were also operative. Thus it was noted that whereas Helen's mood was usually joyful; that she took great delight in her appearance, particularly in mirror play and in prancing in front of observers wearing a variety of costumes, and seeming to want their approval and admiration,

Mother on the other hand has little confidence in her appearance and looks in fact less well cared for and groomed than her daughter. She is quick to make self derogatory remarks about her appearance or to get a laugh by putting herself down. Mother's constant need for reassurance and validation gives her a somewhat anxious style which at present is not observable in Helen. During the course of the morning she will report about an article she read about parenthood and children, showing both a lively interest as well as a feeling of insecurity, i.e., perhaps she didn't get as much out of the article as she should have, particularly if someone else mentions a different aspect of it, she must read it again, etc. (Day 26)

Mrs. H.'s difficulties with occasionally being unable to satisfy Helen's desires as well as her attempt to alleviate the anxiety inherent in separation-individuation have been described. These are thought to reflect Mrs. H.'s

own difficulties with separation as well as her fears that not to satisfy Helen would be to harm her in some significant way.

Helen's Rapprochement period was a difficult time for Mrs. H. On one occasion, during a circle game Helen did not stand next to her mother initially. When the circle broke and re-formed Helen sought out her mother and Mrs. H. was happier. In reading the data one senses that she had felt rejected. Similarly, on another occasion Mrs. H. brightened when Helen suddenly interrupted play and ran to her, but became visibly disappointed when she realized Helen had sought her out to calm an upset.

As expected, shadowing/darting behavior was observed although not to an exaggerated degree. What was not expected however was that the shadowing form would be virtually unseen and that darting behavior would predominate. For Helen, this behavior took the form of initiating running games in the hallway - seeking to entice another (preferably mother, but substitutes were acceptable) to chase her. On Day 37 it was noted that Helen:

will often dash into the hall and wait beside the door until Mother calls to her or comes looking for her. Only at that time will she begin to run down the hall, stopping and looking back frequently to make sure someone is behind her. Helen at this point rather consistently expects mother to be "with her" either in close proximity or through much eye contact and conversation, and mother readily accepts and enjoys this situation.

The expectation that Helen's "shadowing" behavior of the later (i.e., oedipal) time was in some way a continuation of rapprochement shadowing was not borne out. It may be that Mrs. H.'s continued closeness to Helen - both physically and empathically - obviated the need for the typical shadowing. It seems that Helen was so sure of her mother's presence that she did not need to reassure herself in this typical way. However, at the later time mother's unavailability when Helen needed her and expected her to be available precipitated a period of "rapprochement-like" shadowing behavior. It is as though, at that point, the stress which Helen experienced interfered with the representation of the permanent (and hopefully, constant) mother.

The expectation that Helen, like her mother, would evidence keen interest in social interaction and would also demonstrate an unusual capacity for empathy was borne out. As anticipated, Helen's social orientation was viewed during their attendance at the nursery, as a developing identification with mother. That these qualities were among Helen's most striking attributes is underscored repeatedly by observers' notes. These characteristics were captured by the observer on Day 26:

Helen's exuberance in her play, her enjoyment of people and her absolute delight in interactions with the other children give her a rather joyous, good natured expression which is quite pervasive and a delight to

behold...While playing alone she shows an absorption in the task which is broken only when social distractions capture her attention...She is extremely aware of the activities of the other children in the nursery and enjoys initiating play with them...Helen seems quite delighted when another child is happy and laughing and can sober easily if she seems to see another child showing distress. Helen enjoys other people and children to a degree which is at this point noticeably different from the other children.

The description of a game which evolved between Helen and Kris, another toddler, further gives the flavor of her social interactions. Kris has been playing with the tunnel and Helen walks to the opposite end of the tunnel facing Kris.

They begin playing peek-a-boo. Delighted with seeing Kris in the tunnel, Helen squeals. Kris does also, and they squeal loudly in unison several times. They then hit on the idea of making each other appear outside the tunnel. The rhythm of the game is established - they'll both look in the tunnel and squeal - one will come out first and pause, waiting for the other to come out, then the second child will emerge, and they will both squeal in unison. (Throughout the game they will alternate who leaves the tunnel first). This is repeated several times, to the great delight of everyone in the room...Now Kris goes all the way through the tunnel and they resume the game at different ends - Helen has quickly run to the other end. Again, the rhythm of squealing inside, reappearing and squealing outside. (Day 26)

The similarity between Helen's emerging style and that of her very socially oriented mother was also noted:

Helen is becoming increasingly socially oriented. She is interested in any baby that becomes distressed and will follow them to observe the mother's response.

She is generous in her affection to the babies, frequently appearing to take on a mothering role gently patting and attempting to kiss them. She seems to have assimilated her mother's pattern of mothering and ease with physical closeness. (Day 30)

Also:

Helen's play is noticeably social; she rarely plays alone. Thus she will climb through the barrel with the other children, peeking out to excitedly scream 'mama' so that mother would call to her and acknowledge her activity. She will ride around on the scooter, but appear less interested in the scooter than she is in all of the interesting goings-on she notices along her route, and will not hesitate to stop and join in from time to time...there is at times a quality of wanting to share something good, as with Jane and the dolls, that appears to be part of an identification process with her very good mother. Thus sharing, whether it is happily feeding me cookies, or creating a game with the other toddlers, is an important element in her play. (Day 34)

Similarly:

Both Helen and her mother are outgoing, sociable, active and rather exuberant people. They both seem to enjoy social interaction, with Mrs. H. and her daughter both constantly engaging the mothers, children, and even the observers in interactions. Both mother and child are rather loud in their verbalizations and vocalizations.

The observation continues, describing Helen and her mother as generally being:

quite theatrical and showy, each engaging in much "mugging" with and for the entertainment of others. (Day 36)

During the follow-up study it was observed that Mrs. H. is a woman who is exquisitely tuned into her environment - aware of subtle nuances, people's expressions, etc. It is therefore of note that Helen was reported to be similarly oriented:

her intunedness to other people's expressions is quite apparent. Thus when she was holding the goldfish cookies and I asked her for one she quickly said 'no', but when I frowned a bit she reversed her decision and gave me a cookie and then another and another, delighted as I smiled and thanked her very much. She is quick to recognize Jane's annoyance at times with her attempts to engage her in activity and sobers somewhat during these episodes. (Day 34)

It was expected that symbolic play would become increasingly important during this time, and further, that such play would provide a means for dealing for distress and/or conflict. The data support these suppositions. A relevant description is provided by the observer's notes of Day 23:

Helen displays considerable enjoyment of her fantasy activity, particularly as it is related to experimenting in role-identity play. Thus she delighted in mirror play

as she tried different positions of her cowboy hat. First she became coy and playful with her reflection in the mirror. Then she walked to the center of the room and slowly revolved drinking in the vocal admiration of the adults. Finally she strolled over to her mother on the couch and stood directly before her, to receive her sole and important admiration...

She appears to prefer the more ambiguous play object which lends itself more easily to fantasy-pretense to the concrete toy. Thus her eyes sparkled with mischief as she "play-combed" her hair with a flat stick. This delight and interest was not sustained, however, when a child's comb, brush, and mirror was offered to her, instead she related to the hand mirror by mouthing it and then dropped it. (Day 23)

Similarly, the data include instances of Helen "feeding" a puppet, pretending to eat, pretending to make phone calls, and holding dolls in a manner very reminiscent of the way in which mother had held her.

One of the most graphic illustrations of Helen's use of symbolic play to work through a distressing situation occurred following Kris' fall from the slide and his subsequent comforting by his mother:

Helen has witnessed the whole event, and stands now riveted with attention at Kris and his mother, next to the slide, clutching her teddy bear. She remains fixed in this position for approximately one minute, and then climbs up onto the slide with the teddy. At the part of the slide that Kris fell off of, Helen positions the bear exactly at the edge, in a precarious position, as if considering whether or not she will save him from that fate. After about 30 seconds of this, she apparently

decides against the disaster for teddy, sits down in position to slide down with teddy between her legs. When they reach the bottom, she gently bounces the bear up and down, and then mimics the same action with her own body. She picks the bear up, turns him around, and smiling broadly, she gives him a huge hug. (Day 31)

Consistent with the finding of few instances of play between Helen and Mrs. H., referred to above, there were few examples of shared symbolic play. This was contrary to expectation.

As expected, there is evidence of Helen's difficulty with the expression and modulation of specific, goal directed anger. Upon reading the data one is impressed by Helen's tendency to "give in" too easily, to fail to assert herself, or, when she does assert herself, to seem frightened by her actions. One observer noted that Helen:

is very good at saying 'no' as when a child wants to take her toy, but she will easily relax this position and give in. When Fay wanted a music toy Helen was playing with, Helen after a few moments let her play with it, and Helen sat there stroking a cuddly toy, watching Fay all the while. (Day 26)

Similarly:

Helen is standing holding onto the horse making get-on request sounds 'anh, anh' and signalling by putting her hands on the handles on the horse's head. Fay sees her and comes over. They stand beside the horse facing one another. Fay audibly complains. Helen reaches out and squeezes

a protesting Fay's arm. Fay ups the ante by crying; sounds more angry-determined and less despairing. Helen upstaged, walks backward, slowly, a little stunned, giving up. She makes no further protest. (Day 30)

Two sessions later, the morning is characterized by a series of interactions in which Helen alternates between "standing her ground" (for the first time observed in the nursery) and backing off. For example, Helen had indicated to mother that she wanted help mounting the horse, and mother had begun to approach.

Fay meanwhile has noticed too that Helen wants the horse. Fay gets up on horse, and poor Helen is shunted aside. Helen backs off and diverts herself by walking up the slide...Her face looks very sad and tearful. She sits down at the top of the slide and then walks back down. Kris, accidentally steps on her hand, not very hard. Helen, though, starts crying very loudly. Mother picks her up and tries to comfort her.

The observation continues with Helen being comforted by mother and by the cookie she is offered by the observer. Fay had dismounted from the horse and Helen had approached the slide and called for her mother. Mother joined her,

and it becomes a game of Helen going down slide and when reaching the bottom part walking down slide, hand in hand with mother. Jane comes over and Helen's mother plays the same game with her. Helen's turn is next and she walks down with mother's hand. Now Fay wants to try it. Helen's mother helps Fay down. To

this Helen screams 'no' (don't help her). This time as Helen nears the bottom of slide, she crawls down instead of walking down so that mother would not help her. End of game. (Day 32)

It is also of note that after Helen cried and was comforted, mother, in conversation with the observers "bemoaned" the fact that Helen was not more assertive.

The examples of Helen refusing to relinquish a toy are outnumbered by those in which she backed away from a confrontation. In light of the belief that Helen's difficulty expressing aggression represents an identification with Mrs. H.'s difficulty in this area, the following illustration is significant:

Helen has certainly learned that 'love and niceness' get generous attention and approval from mother. Thus this morning when she demanded mother's presence with her at the little table she quickly satisfied mother's request that she say please (the annoyed demanding tone used to originally call mother was now gone) and self assuredly waited for mother to join her. When the children were being dressed to leave Helen playfully approached Kris and on noticing a watchful and appreciative audience (including her mother) kissed him and attempted to hug him while the adults look on. Mother's focus on being sociable and nice is then strongly mirrored in Helen's behavior. But while mother is much less sure of her own ability to be the center of attention and approval, Helen by now is not only certain that just about anything she does will win approval from mother but also from other adults as well. She is the only toddler that easily and often engages

the observers through eye contact and smiles, or by going right up to them and 'talking' and she does so in a very self assured and relaxed manner...

However, there were clashes between Helen and Kris that morning, usually over a toy:

Helen was easily diverted to another toy and the anger evoked in the 'confrontation' quickly abated. Helen got angry at Kris later in the morning when he attempted to look at the picture book Helen was reading with her mother. Helen said 'no' and pushed him away, relenting somewhat when her mother quietly told her to allow Kris to look at the book also. Helen is usually quickly over these episodes and appears to be strongly affected by mother's disapproval of such expressions of anger. At one point, while sitting on mother's lap she was about to lightly hit Kris who ventured too close to them. Mother's expression showed sadness/disapproval at this and Helen turned the gesture into a pat/caress, and looked up at mother for her approval which she quickly received...

She is far less relaxed when expressing possessiveness or anger towards another toddler, urgently checking mother's reaction and quickly switching from anger (i.e., ready to hit Kris) to lovingness (instead of a slap Kris received a pat/caress) but more importantly Helen smiles and looked as if the previous frown and intention to hit had never even happened, and the smile and pat/caress was absolutely 'genuine'. (Day 37)

The same nursery session included the following event:

Helen has been wandering around with a zweibach in her hands which Kris has decided he wants. At first she pulls it away from him, but he pursues and she

relinquishes it. Then she takes the musical push toy and indicates that she would like to knock him over with it but she controls her anger.

Contrary to expectation, there were no instances, during this phase, of temper tantrums or bouts of rage. It may be that mother's usually successful attempts to short circuit any frustration that Helen might experience, as well as the ongoing close tie between them served to forestall such tantrums. On Day 37, the last day judged to be in the Beginning Rapprochement period, they were described in a way that could easily typify a much earlier developmental period:

there is a love affair going on between them and in each contact, whether it be for play, or diapering or just a moment's hug, both mother and Helen's facial expressions become heightened. The snuggle bottles are very much an expression of the ongoingness of this close tie and when mother strokes and cuddles Helen in her arms at such times and Helen plays quietly with a lock of mother's hair they both seem peaceful and content, rather apart and in their own world.

It is likely that this relationship, in interaction with Helen's seemingly inhibited expression of aggression, resulted in the absence of the expected temper tantrums.

Rapprochement Crisis

Reading the data suggests that Helen's Rapprochement Crisis was precipitated by Mrs. H.'s learning that she was

pregnant with her second child. Of course the effect of the pregnancy on Helen would have been very different had Helen not been developmentally ready for the onset of the Rapprochement Crisis. What seems to have occurred is that with the knowledge of her pregnancy, Mrs. H. immediately began to interact with Helen in a very different way. Mrs. H. now appeared to be significantly less responsive, less tolerant, less willing to cater to Helen's every whim, as Helen had experienced until that time. Despite this rather dramatic change, it is important to note that Mrs. H. continued to behave in an appropriate and seemingly responsive manner - it was the contrast from her former behavior that proved to be so distressing to Helen. There is a sharp difference in the quality of their interactions prior to the time Mrs. H. announced her pregnancy (i.e., through Day 37) and their interactions thereafter. It should also be noted, however, that there was a period of five weeks between Observation Days 37 and 38, with mother announcing her pregnancy two weeks after Day 37. It is quite possible that had the H.'s attended the nursery continuously during that time, the transition from the Beginning Rapprochement to the Rapprochement Crisis phase would have been less marked and would appear to be more an intrapsychic developmental phenomenon than a response to Mrs. H.'s clearly lessened attention.

Helen did have a very difficult time during this period as expected. However, the degree to which that distress was linked to her mother's pregnancy was not anticipated. Indeed, it seems impossible to discuss Helen's upset unless it is in the context of the change in mother's behavior.

The shift in Mrs. H.'s behavior is illustrated by an event sample recorded on the day she informed the nursery participants of her pregnancy - a day between Observation Days 37 and 38.

Helen whose mother has just announced her pregnancy and has been acting more tired and preoccupied than usual, has been getting much less attention than usual. She picks up a ball and stands about 2 yards from where mother is sitting, holding the ball over her head and loudly says 'MOMMY'. Mommy who is talking about how Helen kisses boobos continues talking and Helen screams 'MOMMY' louder and louder in a very cross tone. Mother responds and giggles a little and says 'What?' Helen looks at mother and mother at Helen but all she does is wave the ball in the air above her head. Mother turns away and continues her conversation. Helen screams 'MOMMYYYYYYYY' even louder and with a more frustrated tone than before - almost of tantrum proportions. Mother giggles again and says 'What?' Helen once again waves the ball in the air, then walks toward the toy chest and throws it down - frustrated and annoyed.

Helen's increased distress reactions and low mood were understood at the time as being in response to mother's

relative inaccessibility:

Helen's mood was quite subdued this morning and had a low-keyed quality, as did mother's. Mother's pregnancy appears to have precipitated an inward turning and hence she was much less available to Helen throughout the course of the morning. Helen evidenced many distress reactions as a consequence of mother's lessened availability to her this morning.

Distress was thus quite observable when Helen's shrieks of 'momma; momma' met with no response...

In general then distress was prevalent as a general tone and pleasure in play seemed somewhat diminished, almost bland. The few moments of heightened excitement as when mother put her on the horse and she screeched with delight again seemed overdone and affected, almost as if Helen through efforts to show high excitement thought she could woo her mother's attention. When mother was dressing her to leave Helen struggled in her clothes as mother continued to chat about the new baby. Mother made a remark about the difficulty of dressing one child and what an effort it will be when she will have two. At that moment Helen slumped down in mother's lap and lay absolutely still, as if in some way she sensed the meaning of mother's statement.

Of particular interest also this morning was Helen's increased use of calling daddy which she directed not only at mother sometimes but also at the adults, both male and female. She often called daddy after mother did not respond to her or as she was running towards the reception room, as if her wish were that he would be there when she got there. (Day 38)

The changes in Mrs. H.'s behavior are further illustrated by the following samples. Helen:

is calling to her mother who is still on the couch, to get her attention. Helen goes to the gate by the hallway and calls out 'Run...run...' Mrs. H. looks up and sees what her daughter wants. She quietly confirms her understanding to the participant-observer saying that Helen wants to go out and run. (Quietly, as if she is trying to keep Helen from knowing that she knows what she wants). Helen remains at the gate. She is lifting her feet in a rapid rhythmic motion, as if she is running in place. She hits the gate. Helen looks back at her mother. But Mrs. H. just looks up, and then turns her attention back to the book of maternity clothes she is looking at. Helen continues hitting the gate and lifting her feet. Now she is saying 'Run...run...' more softly. (Day 38)

One of the observers then joins Helen and they share a run down the hall. The observer returns Helen to the nursery where Helen runs toward her mother, stops before reaching her, walks away from mother and towards the horse, which she mounts with help from other adults.

Similarly, Helen has been sitting at the table drinking juice,

and suddenly begins to yell 'mommy', about seven times in increasingly heightened pitch and urgency, until she reaches the point where she is screeching. Mrs. H. walks over to the middle of the room about half-way to the table and says 'What honey?' Helen says something that sounds like 'offie', but Mrs. H. has

begun to talk to the mothers again,
across the room - facing away from Helen,
now returned to the couch. (Day 38)

As noted above, the snuggle bottle had been a time of almost palpable intimacy and warmth for Helen and her mother. It had been a time during which all others appeared to have been excluded. It was therefore notable that on Day 39 when Helen was upset that mother told her she'd have to wait until Jane was finished to ride the horse, she requested a bottle which she drank sitting straight up, not melting into her mother's body as had previously been so characteristic.

During this time Helen was also jealous if her mother paid attention to another toddler. One example of this has been cited on page 148, describing Helen's Beginning Rapprochement phase.

Despite the obvious pain of this time, one sees a mixture of Helen trying to demand that things continue as before along with her working out adaptations to the new situation. On Day 40 the participant observer noted that Helen was initiating more snuggle bottles,

which gets Helen the physical closeness
which she craves while leaving mother
free to continue her conversations as
she holds Helen.

On that day Helen frequently requested to be picked up.

While mother picked her up some of the time in response to Helen's request, it was clear that she was not going to do so each and every time. While leaving the nursery at the end of the morning Helen said 'uppy' and mother responded to the effect that 'you have your own two feet, why don't you walk, honey'.

Helen will also use her word 'down' in an extremely commanding tone to indicate she wants mother to join her while she's drawing at the little table. Mother's response is 'why don't you finish your picture and then bring it to show me'... after mother refused to join her she threw a toy down, then a few moments later ran to the horse, got up, shrieking in an excited way (which has been very effective in getting mother's attention in the past) and she screamed 'off'. Now mother had to get up to take her off the horse and from the look of satisfaction on Helen's face it was clear she had gotten what she wanted.

On the same day Helen was observed to mount the horse for the first time unaided. This was quite an accomplishment, a skill mother had been trying to teach her for weeks. What was also unusual was that Helen did not immediately call attention to her feat.

She finally shared it with her mother by saying 'down'. Her mother turned to her from her seat on the couch and said 'Do you want to try to get down yourself?' Helen resumed rocking without a sound. Mrs. H. came over to the horse and verbally encouraged her to come down and almost simultaneously, she affectionately lifted her down to the floor. Helen followed Mrs. H. back to the couch. Helen

sprawled out in apparent ecstasy, lying on her mother's lap with her hands up in the air. She did not budge for several minutes, until another mother called across the room to her own child to be careful.

As noted, the development of Helen's Rapprochement Crisis seems to be inextricably entwined with her mother's pregnancy. One wonders how and when the Rapprochement Crisis would have unfolded had Mrs. H. not become pregnant at this time.

It was postdicted that as Helen moved into the Rapprochement Crisis the conflict between wanting to be magically understood and cared for and being autonomous and independent intensified. The data however illustrate less of a conflict than was expected. Rather, it appears that in response to her mother's suddenly lessened attention Helen attempted to restore their relationship to its previous level of equilibrium. She seemed to want to continue to be immediately understood and to have her wishes gratified without qualification. Learning that that was not possible was difficult for Helen.

Helen's growing self awareness then also is expressed in her diminishing sense of shared magical omnipotence with Mother. Helen is aware that Mother can in fact be angry with her when Helen struggles as Mother attempts to get her outer clothes on. Mother will also go to the ladies room without her. And she is learning that calling 'momma, momma' does

not necessarily mean mother will be there a second later. (Day 38)

It was also noted that:

Helen easily communicates her wishes through language and seems to have some words tinged with magical qualities. When she makes the command 'down' she appears to expect (or wish) that mother will be by her side a moment later. When she shrieks with excitement Mother is expected to immediately respond and Helen seems at times to be perplexed and confused when her shriek goes unheeded. Words are then charged with the same expectations her early signalling behavior with Mother could easily elicit. So it has been hard for her to tolerate Mother's more spotty responsiveness to all her demands, though once again mother remains in general, quite responsive to Helen. (Day 40)

Thus Helen seemed less to fear the experience of merging with mother that can result from having one's wishes anticipated and/or verbalized, from being so exquisitely understood, than to try to demand that that kind of relationship continue. The expectation that Helen's conflict between the desire for autonomy and the cognitive realization of her need for mother would cause her to prefer assistance from adults other than mother was not borne out. Rather, she made it clear that she would allow other adults to substitute for mother only when her mother was unavailable. Although not seeking assistance for a specific task, Helen did however turn to other adults to compensate for mother's decreased

attention:

In contrast to Mother's inward turned preoccupation and the somewhat removed quality of her social interaction, Helen spent much of the morning moving from toddler to toddler, imitating the play of each and then moving on...She then turned towards people, using the sociable qualities (which are qualities her mother possesses in general also) to deal with the lessened availability of mother. (Day 38)

Throughout the data one sees examples of symbolic play through which Helen attempted to work through issues related to separation. These primarily took the form of loading and unloading people into a toy bus, saying "bye-bye" at various points in her play, identifying objects as "mine", seeming to resent the attention mother paid to other toddlers, continued attempts to get mother and others to play chasing games, and Helen's sad reaction when another child left the nursery for the day. There was no symbolic play which would either refute or corroborate the hypotheses about Helen's interpretations of mother's pregnancy - e.g., that Helen was not good enough, that mother did not love her enough, etc. Mrs. H.'s miscarriage and hospitalization occurred after the period judged to comprise the Rapprochement Crisis and so the effects upon Helen could not be evaluated.

Surprisingly, there is nothing in the observations up to this point regarding Helen's problem with constipation.

Therefore, speculations regarding that issue cannot be evaluated. There was similarly little indication of her discovery of the boy's penis. During this time, Helen was seen to mount a large stuffed bear and move up and down on it in a way that led one observer to comment that Helen might be reenacting some primal scene activity. There was no more direct evidence however of her discovery of the penis, and no evidence of fears of bodily damage.

As expected, Helen was a child who inhibited the expression of aggression - particularly in order to be seen as a good girl or to be pleasing to mother. This is not to imply that Helen never expressed anger, but that the expression was less frequent and more restrained than one would expect. Anger was more characteristic of her behavior during the Rapprochement Crisis than during other phases. For example, on Day 38:

When at one point Fay tripped in front of Mrs. H. and Mrs. H. helped her up and gave her a bit of a hug, Helen watched from a few feet away, a somber, almost hurt expression on her face. A few moments later when Fay passed by Helen pushed Fay for no other 'observable' reason, and thus perhaps expressed her anger at Fay for having taken some of Mother's attention. When Mother in an effort to prevent a 'fight' over the pushing called to Helen, Helen for the first time I have ever seen, angrily turned away from Mother for a few moments and only slowly approached her after maintaining this stance for several moments.

The hypothesized link between Helen's difficulty expressing aggression and mother's difficulty being aggressive, assertive and even setting limits for Helen was noted during the original study:

Mother's increasing efforts to put limits on her own accessibility to Helen's demands has apparently helped Helen to be able to say 'no' more forcefully also. Helen is now quite adamant with her 'no's' in an assertive, direct, often angry way. Mother in turn seems delighted with her daughter's assertiveness and related the story of how Helen forcefully said 'no' to a barber who was about to cut her hair. One wonders if mother's pleasure has to do with her own difficulty in saying 'no' directly. For example it is clear that Mother is not particularly interested in the story of Dr. X which is so important to Mrs. I. But she professes great interest each and every time the story comes up, in an effort to please Mrs. I. (Day 40)

The clearest example of Helen's active attempts to be seen as a good girl occurred on Day 37, the last day judged to be in the Beginning Rapprochement period. That observation, quoted on page 127, describes how Helen, upon noting her mother's look of disapproval, quickly converted an intended slap for another toddler into a caress, and acted as though the anger and desire to hit had never occurred. This illustrates Helen's exquisite sensitivity to mother's disapproval of the expression of angry feelings and her subsequent inhibition of angry behavior.

It was speculated that there would be many instances of symbolic play clearly illustrating Helen's attempts to deal with the issues of this period. The data indicate, however, a decrease in the occurrence of symbolic play during this phase. This may have been due to a temporary diversion of Helen's developmental energies away from progressive development and toward the wooing of her mother. Nonetheless, there are noteworthy instances of symbolic play: her play with a toy bus and its passengers has already been described. In addition, on Day 38, she repeatedly carried toys to one of the observers seated in the nursery office and vocalized "mommy, daddy". The participant-observer noted Helen's concern about mother's relative inaccessibility and her newly expressed concern about father's whereabouts. On at least one occasion, Helen's attitude toward toys seemed to reflect her experience of being "ignored" by mother:

Interestingly, her attitude towards soft toys and dolls which have always been rather gentle, was altered this morning. She almost looked like she did not have the patience to be nice. She wanted to get in the high chair so she threw the dolls which was on the seat right off with a fling of her arm and without a backward glance. She later picked up another stuffed toy and threw it down again after a moment's consideration. (Day 38)

Another significant event was Helen's use of language to control an impulse:

Helen sights a bottle sitting on a nearby chair. She walks toward it, hand outstretched. A dialogue between her and Mother follows. As Helen approaches it carrying her own bottle, Mother points out that the other bottle is Jane's bottle. Helen stands her bottle about 8 inches away and stands in front of them talking about them with Mother - to the effect in full sentences, that 'this is my bottle'; 'that's other bottle'. 'Other' was not used by Mother. 'Jane's bottle', 'my bottle'. Mother affirms her statements after each couplet. By talking about the bottles, it appears that Helen has been able to control her original impulse - to grab the other bottle.
(Day 39)

Discussion

The fundamental question addressed in this study is to what extent are a girl's pre-oedipal experiences and developing characteristics discernible in development at the oedipal stage. The question is addressed by looking specifically at the nature of the developing identifications with mother at these two phases of development. If, as believed, pre-oedipal experience shapes oedipal experience and development at the time of the oedipal conflict, then it should be possible to postdict from the structure and functioning of an oedipal age child to her pre-oedipal, separation-individuation, experience.

This was accomplished by compiling a developmental profile based upon psychological testing of the study child, "Helen" and her parents as well as observations in school and interviews with her parents and teachers. The contents of the profile form the basis of speculations (i.e., postdictions) about Helen's experience during the practicing and rapprochement subphases on the role of identifications with mother. The postdictions were then compared to observational data collected during Helen's separation-individuation development. The following is a brief review, by subphase, of the accuracy of the postdictions as determined by the degree to which they correspond to the earlier data.

The extent to which the postdictions are corroborated by the earlier data will support the hypothesis that the unique course of a child's separation-individuation development can be discerned from a study of that child during the oedipal phase.

Helen's Early Practicing phase was discussed briefly to describe the nature of the experiences with which she entered the Practicing Phase Proper and the Rapprochement Phases. It is quite striking that based upon Helen's current experience of her world and the people in it as caring, as wanting and being able to satisfy her needs, and to take care of her, it was possible to accurately characterize her experiences during the Early Practicing phase. Thus, Helen's fundamental sense of trust in her environment bespeaks the experience of parents who were adept at reading her cues, and who responded appropriately. Free from discomfort and concern about the gratification of her basic needs, Helen was able to quite confidently explore her world, secure in the knowledge that mother would remain available to her as needed. Helen's ability and willingness to obtain help from others in an age-appropriate way (e.g., when in distress, in the management of impulse life, etc.) may derive from this period, and be reinforced by her ongoing experience with a highly attuned and responsive mother. The roots of Helen's trust in her

world are clear. What is so striking is the difference between Helen's and Mrs. H.'s fundamental experiences of the world: whereas Helen approaches her world with confidence, Mrs. H. views her world warily and experiences it as fraught with danger, threat, and potential violence. Despite Helen's unusually developed capacity to empathize with mother's experience and her tendency to take on mother's attitudes and styles as her own, this is one experience with which Helen did not identify. It would seem that the power of mother's ministrations and overt behavior here outweighed the power of her unconscious attitude in the development of Helen's experience of the world. It would, of course, be important to know how Mr. H.'s relationship with Helen influenced this aspect of her experience.

The speculations concerning Helen's Practicing Proper experiences were, with one significant exception, substantially confirmed. That exception will be discussed first: It was expected that Helen's exuberance in the exploration of her widening world and in the practice of new skills would render her oblivious to mother's whereabouts. This hypothesis was grounded in Helen's confidence in mother's availability along with her ongoing delight in the mastery of new skills. However, the observational data describe Helen's somewhat precocious concern with mother's whereabouts which alternated

with periods of unconcern. Helen's attentiveness may be attributed to cognitive precocity and her earlier-than-expected apprehension of separateness from mother. Indeed, it appears that the storminess which had been expected to characterize Helen's Beginning Rapprochement period was perhaps less intense but of a longer duration than anticipated. The data indicate that Helen perhaps experienced a greater overlapping between the Practicing Proper and Beginning Rapprochement phases than was expected, and than allowed for by the methodology. The overlapping of phases and the concurrent manifestations of concerns appropriate to different phases was lost in the treatment of the data as representing wholly independent, consecutive and non-overlapping phases. It was acknowledged that the subphases are in actuality overlapping but for methodological clarity, the data were treated as though they are not. The inaccuracies which result from this treatment underscore the degree to which the phases are entwined and overlaid upon each other, and to treat them differently is to violate an intrinsic quality of the spiral of development.

The expectation of Helen's joy in her developing skills and behavior was verified. However, as previously noted, Mrs. H. was somewhat less involved in Helen's practice and mastery of new skills than was expected. It may be that mother's ambivalence about Helen's growth and

maturation resulted in a less active than expected role in teaching Helen new skills and less manifest pleasure in Helen's achievements than was anticipated. Mrs. H.'s fantasies of harming her child may have further limited her tendency to teach Helen new skills. It is a tribute to Helen's ability to use the resources around her that she was able to obtain the active stimulation she sought from other adults - such as other adults in the nursery and (by his report) father.

Although few examples were found to directly corroborate the hypothesis, it was felt that, as expected, Mrs. H. was quite open to the experiences of childhood and could certainly empathize with Helen's experiences.

There were of course instances in which Mrs. H. seemed to be responding more to her own needs than to those of her daughter. However, consistent with the postdiction, she was for the most part neither too intrusive nor too distant. She remained available for Helen to use as Helen needed to. It is Helen's ability to trust and seek assistance from others that is one of the most consistent themes though the two sets of data.

The expectation of Helen's usually persistent and intense concentration on a task was corroborated. The exceptions, i.e., when she was unable to focus on activities usually occurred when she seemed to be preoccupied with

concerns about mother's whereabouts. Essentially however, Helen is currently and was then able to focus on a task free from obsessional worries and distractions in a way that mother is not. Perhaps Helen's sense of confident expectation in the world which has been referred to repeatedly has helped Helen develop a sense of basic security which has enabled her to explore her world and practice new abilities in increasingly complex and sophisticated ways. In an area in which Helen might have identified with her mother, she has instead avoided her mother's anxious, disorganized and largely unproductive style.

Related to Helen's persistence, the expectation that she set high goals for herself and strove to attain them was also verified. Here too one sees an ongoing characteristic perhaps first evident during the practicing phase.

Another characteristic which, as anticipated, may be traced to this time is Helen's keen interest in other people and her sensitivity to others. This quality is seen as representing an identification with mother's similar interest and indeed may reflect a transformation of the experience of being understood into the experience of understanding others.

Regarding the final hypothesis of this phase, it was corroborated that Helen's pleasure in tactile stimulation would be evident.

Although no postdictions were made about Helen's search for and pleasure in the admiring looks of an audience, the data which pertain to this search were described in the Results section. Helen's need for admiration and approval was not prominent at the time of the follow-up study and hence was not postdicted. In retrospect however, there are continuing reverberations of this need seen, for example, in Helen's repeated search for approval from teachers. The decreased intensity of this need may be attributed to several factors: (1) It is assumed that the earlier practicing before a mirror, trying on costumes and modeling for others probably illustrated Helen's emerging sense of self, body sense, fascination with and pleasure in the ability to change her appearance as well as the need for admiration from others. As her body sense became internalized there was no longer a need for mirror play. This behavior ended when it was no longer needed to help master developmentally appropriate tasks. (2) As noted above, Mrs. H.'s continued availability along with Helen's pleasure in autonomous functioning have provided her with sufficient internal supplies of narcissism and therefore she no longer needs to continually seek the admiration of

others. In addition to being developmentally appropriate behavior, Helen's behavior may be understood as having been an enactment of mother's unconscious quest for admiration from others. Mrs. H. is a woman who has little confidence in her value as an individual and who, experiencing Helen as part of herself, basked in Helen's receipt of the approval and admiration of others. This situation clearly depicts that described by Miller (1981), that parents, searching throughout their lives for that which they never received as children seek to satisfy their unmet needs through their children. The child intuits the parents' needs and to assure herself of the parents' continuing love, assumes the roles and characteristics which have been assigned to her. In this case, Helen obtained for her mother the adoration that she so desperately craved, but could not solicit (or elicit) on her own behalf.

As already noted, there is significant overlap between Helen's practicing and rapprochement phases, a time which was characterized by Helen's pleasurable, exuberant moods in alternation with dissatisfied times. The expected storminess was not evident during the Beginning Rapprochement phase although it was found during the Rapprochement Crisis. The relatively temperate quality of the Beginning Rapprochement is probably due to mother's

continued availability to Helen. This continued availability did, as expected, make it very painful for Helen to accept that her needs and wishes did at times differ from her mother's. This was also, as anticipated, a painful time for mother - painful because of her reactivated separation conflicts, her sense of being abandoned by her increasingly independent daughter and her fear that not catering to Helen's every request was tantamount to harming her.

Postdictions about Helen's shadowing/darting away behavior were partly confirmed. As anticipated, the behavior was not prominent, but unexpectedly, there was darting away but virtually no shadowing behavior. It may be that in darting away, Helen was initiating and taking control over separations from mother, "playing" with the establishment of distance between them. However, remaining confident of mother's ongoing presence, there was no need to anxiously shadow her.

Helen's interest in people and her capacity for empathy were, as speculated, quite notable during this time. This keen social orientation is one of Helen's most prominent qualities, now as then, and is one area in which she has identified with mother's interest. Helen's relationships with others seem however to be based upon a more secure foundation than are mother's. Helen derives great

pleasure from the interactions whereas mother remains somewhat anxious, expecting criticism and slight.

Helen's rich fantasy life and her use of fantasy to work through conflicts was confirmed. However, the expectation that mother would be active in shared symbolic play was not. This is consistent with mother's less participatory than expected role, as discussed above.

Helen's ongoing difficulty with the expression of anger was, as anticipated, evident during this phase. One can clearly see how she responded to mother's preference for non-aggressive, non-confrontational relationships, even at the expense of "swallowing" one's anger. It may be that the inhibition of aggression, along with mother's attempts to forestall any frustration that Helen might experience resulted in the absence of the expected temper taumtrums.

It was expected that Helen would have great difficulty during the Rapprochement Crisis due to the developmental tasks of the period in conjunction with Mrs. H.'s second pregnancy, which was speculated to have occurred while Helen was in the Rapprochement Crisis phase. Helen's difficulty was quite evident but was tied to Mrs. H.'s pregnancy and dramatically decreased availability even more than had been anticipated. It was speculated that during this time Helen would be conflicted by the desire for increased autonomy and the desire for continuing immediate

understanding by mother. Perhaps had mother's attention not been so dramatically diminished, this conflict would have occurred, growing out of Helen's continuing attempts to deal with separateness from mother. What actually did occur was that Helen strove to retain the previous level of mother's understanding and responsivity. The expectation that Helen would seek assistance from other adults in favor of assistance from mother was not corroborated. Perhaps here too she was seeking to hold onto mother's attention and so accepted others only as substitutes.

Consistent with earlier phases, Helen's rich fantasy life was of use in helping her deal with developmental issues. However, there was a decrease in the frequency of such play, perhaps representing a temporary diversion of Helen's energies from ongoing development toward the wooing of mother. As noted earlier, mother was consistently less involved in Helen's play than was expected.

Also consistent with earlier phases and with expectations, Helen's inhibition of aggression was evident as was its connection to mother's difficulty with the expression of aggression. That this characteristic was related to Helen's desire to be seen as a good girl was also verified.

Postdictions about Helen's understanding of mother's pregnancy, and about her constipation could not be

evaluated due to lack of data. There was no data about toilet training in the observations through the Rapprochement Crisis.

In the previous section, the postdictions and whether or not they were corroborated were briefly reviewed. Where the postdictions were not substantiated by the earlier data possible explanations of the discrepancies were presented. The following is a discussion of the implications which can be drawn from these results.

As anticipated there was no exact one-to-one correspondence between events/experiences of the oedipal period and events/experiences of the pre-oedipal period. Development does not consist of exact replications of earlier events, but rather of the integration of earlier experience with succeeding experiences, tasks, and developmental concerns. What was expected and found was that the impact of pre-oedipal experience is integrated into a child's personal history in a manner which reverberates through subsequent development and is discernible during the oedipal phase. As the literature describes, an integrated personality, a "central psychic constellation" (Silverman, Rees, and Neubauer, 1975) is indeed formed by the close of the pre-oedipal period, and one is impressed by the continuity of that constellation over time.

On the basis of this study it does seem plausible to, with a fair degree of accuracy, reconstruct the essential features of a child's pre-oedipal experience based upon her oedipal functioning. It should be noted, however, that postdictions dealing with form rather than with content, with somewhat abstract qualities and characteristics rather than with more concrete specific behaviors tend to be more accurate. This finding is of course consistent with the notion that at the time of the oedipal conflict there will not be direct manifestations of specific early events but echoes of the early experience whose shape is determined by the transformations to which those experiences have been subject.

Since the development of Mahler's schema of separation-individuation, much attention has been paid to relating specific types of pathology to specific failures during separation-individuation - especially to the relationship between the rapprochement phase and subsequent borderline structure (Kaplan, 1980). In this context, particular emphasis has been placed on the residua of unresolved pre-oedipal conflicts upon later, especially pathological, development. Mahler notes that it is the "deficiencies of integration and internalization which will leave residua and thus may manifest themselves in borderline mechanisms, which indicate a degree of failure of the

synthetic function of the ego" (1971, p. 414).

Unlike previous studies, the current one focused upon average development in which conflicts and their resolutions are reasonably well integrated in the personality. This study provides an example, within the framework of average development, of the use of residua of pre-oedipal experience to reconstruct salient aspects of an individual's personal history. It is not only deficiencies which are clearly depicted, but also aspects of successful development and personality formation, such as attitudes and identifications, which are reflected in the residua.

The complementary roles of reconstruction based upon psycho-analyses and observations of development in the genesis and evolution of theory is abundantly discussed in the literature (for example, Mahler, 1971; Kernberg, 1980). Just as knowledge of development informs the framing of reconstructions, so too do the data gleaned from reconstruction inform and enhance theories of development. The integration of psychoanalytic reconstruction with direct observation of child development is held to be a key to further understanding of ego development and disturbance, character formation, and pre-oedipal determinants of oedipal conflict (Blum, 1980). In the course of an analysis, reconstructions can be used as working hypotheses, repeatedly modified and

refined as information becomes available to patient and analyst. Reconstructions evolve over a period of time based upon transference, therapeutic alliance, quality of the patient's object relations, and his use of the analyst and analytic setting, among other considerations (Blum, 1980). Kernberg (1980) proposes that reconstruction of all developmental phases in the course of an analysis is a feasible task.

Although not emerging through the mutual endeavors of patient and analyst in the course of an analysis, the postdictions used in the present study are in many ways similar to reconstructions and have loosely been referred to as such. What is perhaps of greatest interest is the fact that these postdictions do not derive from a therapeutic context but are based upon diagnostic testing, observations, and interviews. These postdictions derive from information gathered from a variety of sources at a particular point in time rather than from information which becomes available in the analytic setting over an extended period of time. It is of note that this data, collectible over a (relatively) short period of time can be so useful in the reconstruction of a child's pre-oedipal experience. While usually not as extensive as the data collected for this study, data obtained during clinical evaluation of a child often include psychological testing, observations, and

interviews with parents. This data could be quite useful in the tentative reconstruction of a child's pre-oedipal experience.

In the present study postdictions regarding the Practicing phase were somewhat more accurate than those pertaining to the Rapprochement phases. Whether this is an artifact specific to this child or a generalizable finding cannot be determined on the basis of this study. It is interesting that it was possible to reconstruct the Practicing phase more accurately as this is a time which is cognitively less sophisticated, less complex and less prone to conflict than are the succeeding Rapprochement phases. It may therefore, in the case of average development, be possible to reconstruct this phase more accurately. It is also of note that the bulk of the literature which pertains to the relationship between separation-individuation and later pathological development focuses on the Rapprochement phase to the virtual exclusion of the Practicing phase. In her argument against the simplistic notion that difficulty during a specific subphase is pathognomic for a specific disorder, Kaplan (1980) cites the equation that symbiosis vulnerability implies schizophrenic vulnerability whereas Rapprochement vulnerability implies borderline disorder. What is significant for the present discussion is that the Practicing phase is omitted from the

equation. . Is the implication that the Practicing phase is a less important one in terms of its impact upon later development or that its impact would be less discernible? The findings of the current study indicate otherwise.

It was acknowledged that development does not occur in discrete stages, each period yielding to the subsequent one. However, for purposes of review, the data were treated as though they comprise sequential, non-overlapping yet interdependent phases, each one defined by its prominent tasks and concerns. While it was possible to postdict the major concerns of each phase, to treat the data in this manner is to lose some of the richness of a child's development, to lose the complexity obtained by the imposition of the characteristics and tasks of one phase upon another. Several of the inaccuracies in the postdictions arose from treating the data as non-overlapping. It is not clear whether and in what ways the overlap of the subphases could have been anticipated. However, to be able to do so would certainly add a great deal of richness and accuracy to a clinician's thoughts about an individual's past based upon his present.

An interesting sidelight of this study was the reconstruction not only of the child's pre-oedipal experiences, but also mother's behavior during that time.

Based upon a knowledge of mother's personality it was possible to speculate about her behavior during the subphases, about the conflicts which were likely to be salient for her at those times, and about the phases of her child's development which she most enjoyed. As with speculations about her child, those pertaining to form rather than to content proved to be most accurate and ultimately probably most significant for her daughter's development.

The role of identification as a primary mechanism of ego development can clearly be seen in the data. It is possible to trace a multiplicity of ways in which a little girl becomes like her mother as her personality and character are formed. From the earliest practicing behavior in which she carefully scans the room, to the increasingly sophisticated attention to and reading of facial expression one sees the development of a style akin to mother's sensitivity to the minutiae of her surroundings. From the experience of repeatedly being sung to by mother, one sees the girl begin to assume this function for herself. This activity, presumably evoking some memory trace of preverbal undifferentiated mother-child experience of satisfaction is later used as a means of comfort and of working through conflicts. One sees that mother's disapproval of aggressive behavior becomes the child's own disapproval of such behavior

and results in her inhibited ability to express aggression, much like her mother. One sees the child's apperception of mother's unfulfilled aspirations and, presumably, to be pleasing to mother and to assure herself of mother's love she takes these interests as her own. In these and in many other ways one sees the development of the little girl, to a large extent in her mother's image. The role of the father, also crucial to the girl's development unfortunately could not be addressed in detail in this study.

Indeed, the absence of greater detail about the father's role in the little girl's development is probably the greatest limitation of this study. Although conceived as focusing upon a girl's development and her relationship to mother, the study would have been greatly enriched by data about the father's contribution to development. It would be important to study the ways in which the relationships with mother and father (the other primary object of identification) interact to influence the child's development, and to trace the roots of qualities which cannot be found in the mother-daughter relationship. It would be of particular interest to study the ways in which the child is influenced by parents' conflicting attitudes - e.g., where one is basically trusting and the other is not. How does that type of experience become integrated into a developing personality?

It would be important for future research to include observations in settings other than the research setting. By widening the range of observational settings the data would encompass more of the many dimensions of the child's life and would yield a more complete picture of her experience. Observations in the home and in settings such as a playground would be particularly important as they would provide data collected in a naturally occurring situation.

It would also be important to focus not only on the role of the father in a girl's development, but also to study the role of identifications with mother and father in the psychic life of a boy. In what ways does a boy identify with the mother and how does that affect the establishment of gender identity?

Also of great importance would be a comparison of the role of identifications with mother formed by a relatively healthy child with those formed by a less integrated one.

Reference List

- Abelin, E. L. (1980), Triangulation, the Role of the Father and the Origins of Core Gender Identity During the Rapprochement Subphase. In: Rapprochement, eds. R. J. Lax, S. Bach, & J. A. Burland. New York: Jason Aronson.
- Abrams, S. (1977), The Genetic Point of View: Antecedents and Transformations. Journal of the American Psycho-Analytic Association, 25:417-425.
- Axelrad, S. & Maury, L. (1951), Identification as a Mechanism of Adaptation. In: Psychoanalysis and Culture, eds. G. B. Wilbur & W. Munsterberger. New York: International Universities Press, pp. 168-184.
- Bayley, N. (1969), Bayley Scales of Infant Development. New York: The Psychological Corporation.
- Bellak, L. (1975), The T.A.T., C.A.T., and S.A.T. in Clinical Use. New York: Grune & Stratton.
- Bender, L. (1938), A Visual Motor Gestalt Test and its Clinical Use. Research Monograph No. 3, American Orthopsychiatric Association.
- (1964), Instructions for the Use of Visual Motor Gestalt Test. The American Orthopsychiatric Association.
- Bergman, A. (1971), "I and You": The Separation-Individuation Process in the Treatment of a Symbiotic Child. In: Separation-Individuation Essays in Honor of Margaret S. Mahler, eds. J. B. McDevitt & C. Settlage. New York: International Universities Press, pp. 325-355.
- Blum, H. (1980), The Prototype of Pre-Oedipal Reconstruction. In: Rapprochement, eds. R. J. Lax, S. Bach, & J. A. Burland. New York: Jason Aronson.
- Brody, M. W. & Mahoney, V. P. (1964), Introjection, Identification and Incorporation. International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 42:86-96.

- Burns, R. C. & Kaufman, S. H. (1970), Kinetic Family Drawings (K-F-D). New York: Brunner/Mazel.
- Fenichel, O. (1945), The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis. New York: Norton.
- Ford, M. (1946), The Application of the Rorschach Test to Young Children. University of Minnesota Press.
- Freud, A. (1965), Normality and Pathology in Childhood: Assessments of Development. New York: International Universities Press.
- (1966) (revised ed.) The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense. New York: International Universities Press.
- Freud, S. (1917), Mourning and Melancholia. Standard Edition, 14:239. London: Hogarth Press, 1957.
- Freud, S. (1921), Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego. (1959 ed.) New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- (1923), The Ego and the Id. (1960 ed.) New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- (1932), New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis. Standard Edition 22: 5-182. London: Hogarth Press, 1964.
- Fuchs, S. E. (1937), On Introjection. International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 18:269-293.
- Greenson, R. (1954), The Struggle Against Identification. Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 2:200-217.
- Grinker, R. (1957), On Identification. International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 38:379-390.
- Halpern, F. (1960), The Rorschach Test with Children. In: Projective Techniques with Children, eds. A. I. Rabin & M. R. Haworth. New York: Grune & Stratton.
- Hammer, E. (1960), The House-Tree-Person (H-T-P) Drawings as a Projective Techniques with Children, eds. A. I. Rabin & M. R. Haworth. New York: Grune & Stratton.

- Harley, M. (1971), Some Reflections on Identity Problems in Prepuberty. In: Separation-Individuation Essays in Honor of Margaret S. Mahler, eds. J.B. McDevitt & C. F. Settlage. New York: International Universities Press, pp. 385-403.
- Hartmann, H., Kris, E., & Loewenstein, R., (1946), Comments on the Formation of Psychic Structure. Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 2:11-39.
- Hartmann, H., & Loewenstein, R., (1962), Notes on the Superego. Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 17:42-81.
- Hendricks, I., (1951), Early Development of the Ego. Identification in Infancy. Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 12:561-565.
- Holzburg, J. (1977), Reliability Re-examined. In: Rorschach Psychology, ed. M. Rickers-Ovsiankina. Huntington, New York: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company.
- Hutt, L. (1968), The Projective Use of the Bender-Gestalt Test. In: Projective Techniques in Personality Assessment. New York: Springer Publishing Company.
- Jacobson, E. (1964), The Self and the Object World. New York: International Universities Press.
- Kaplan, L. (1980), Rapprochement and Oedipal Organization: Effects on Borderline Phenomena in: Rapprochement, eds. R.J. Lax, S. Bach, & J.A. Burland. New York: Jason Aronson.
- Kernberg, P. (1980), The Origins of the Reconstructed in Psychoanalysis. In: Rapprochement, eds. R.F. Lax, S. Bach, & J.A. Burland. New York: Jason Aronson.
- Koff, R. (1961), A Definition of Identification: A Review of the Literature. International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 42:363-370.
- Koppitz, E. (1964), The Bender Gestalt Test for Young Children. New York: Grune & Stratton.
- Kramer, S. (1971), The Adolescent Recapitulation of a Childhood Psychosis. In: Separation-Individuation Essays in Honor of Margaret S. Mahler, eds. J.B. McDevitt & C.F. Settlage. New York: International Universities Press.

Kupfermann, K. (1971), The Development and Treatment of a Psychotic Child. In: Separation-Individuation Essays in Honor of Margaret S. Mahler, eds. J.B. McDevitt & C. F. Settlage. New York: International Universities Press.

Loewald, H. (1962), Internalization, Separation, Mourning, and the Superego. Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 31:484-504.

Mahler, M. (1961), On Sadness and Grief in Infancy and Childhood: Loss and Restoration of the Symbiotic Love Object. Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 16:332-351.

-- (1963), Thoughts About Development and Individuation. Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 18:307-324.

-- (1968), On Human Symbiosis and the Vicissitudes of Individuation. Vol. 1: Infantile Psychosis.

New York: International Universities Press.

-- (1971), A Study of the Separation-Individuation Process and its Possible Application to Borderline Phenomena in the Psychoanalytic Situation.

Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 26:403-424.

-- (1972), Rapprochement Subphase of the Separation-Individuation Process. Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 41:487-506.

-- (1974), Symbiosis and Individuation. The Psychological Birth of the Human Infant. Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 29:89-106.

& Furer, M., (1963), Certain Aspects of the Separation-Individuation Phase. Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 32:1-14.

& Gosliner, B., (1955), On Symbiotic Child Psychosis: Genetic, Dynamic, and Restitutive Aspects. Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 10:195-212.

& McDevitt, J. (1968), Observations on Adaptation and Defense in Statu Nascendi: Developmental Precursors in the First Two Years of Life. Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 37:1-21.

Mahler, M., Pine, F., & Bergman, A., (1975), The Psychological Birth of the Human Infant. New York: Basic Books.

- McDevitt, J. (1971), Pre-oedipal Determinants of an Infantile Neurosis. In: Separation-Individuation Essays in Honor of Margaret S. Mahler, eds. J. B. McDevitt & C. F. Settlage. New York: International Universities Press.
- (1975), Separation-Individuation and Object Constancy. Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 23:713-742.
- (1979), The Role of Internalization in the Development of Object Relations during the Separation-Individuation Phase. Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 27:327-343.
- Meissner, W. (1970), Notes on Identification I. Origins in Freud. Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 39:563-589.
- (1971), Notes on Identification II. Clarification of Related Concepts. Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 40:277-302.
- (1972), Notes on Identification III. The Concept of Identification. Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 41:224-260.
- (1973), Identification and Learning. Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 21:788-816.
- (1974), The Role of Imitative Social Learning in Identification Processes. Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 22:512-536.
- Migden, S. (1979), An Exploration of the Relationship Between Physical Proximity Seeking and Mahler's Periods of Separation-Individuation. Diss. Abs. v. 40 No. 3B.
- Murray, H. (1943), Thematic Apperception Test Manual. copyright by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- Parens, H. (1977), A Contribution of Separation-Individuation to the Development of Psychic Structure. In: Separation-Individuation Essays in Honor of Margaret S. Mahler, eds. J.B. McDevitt & C.F. Settlage. New York: International Universities Press.
- Pine, F. & Furer, M., (1963), Studies of the Separation-Individuation Phase. A Methodological Overview. Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 18:325-342.
- Rapaport, D., Gill, M., & Schafer, R. (1968), Diagnostic Psychological Testing. (Revised ed.) ed. R. Holt. New York: International Universities Press.

- Reich, A. (1954), Early Identifications as Archaic Elements in the Superego. Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 2:218-228.
- Ritvo, S. (1977), Margaret S. Mahler; Scientist, Psychoanalyst, Teacher. In: Separation-Individuation Essays in Honor of Margaret S. Mahler, eds. J.B. McDevitt & C.F. Settlage. New York: International Universities Press.
- & Solnit, A., (1960), The Relationship of Early Ego Identifications to Superego Formation. International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 41:295-300.
- Rubinfine, D. (1959), Some Theoretical Aspects of Early Psychic Functioning. Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 7:561-576.
- Sandler, J. (1960), The Concept of Superego. Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 15:128-162.
- Sanford, N. (1955), The Dynamics of Identification. Psychological Review, 62:106-118.
- Sattler, J. (1974), Assessment of Children's Intelligence. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company.
- Schafer, R. (1968), Aspects of Internalization. New York: International Universities Press.
- Schechter, D. (1968), Identification and Individuation. Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 16:48-80.
- Settlage, C. (1971), On the Libidinal Aspect of Early Psychic Development and the Genesis of Infantile Neurosis. In: Separation-Individuation Essays in Honor of Margaret S. Mahler, eds. J.B. McDevitt & C.F. Settlage. New York: International Universities Press.
- (1980), The Psychoanalytic Understanding of Narcissistic and Borderline Personality Disorder; Advances in Developmental Theory. In: Rapprochement, eds. R.J. Lax, S. Bach, & J.A. Burland. New York: Jason Aronson.
- Silverman, M., Rees, K., & Neubauer, P. (1975), On a Central Psychic Constellation. Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 30:127-157.

- Speers, R., McFarland, M., Arnaud, S., & Curry, N. (1971), Recapitulation of Separation-Individuation Processes when the Normal Three Year-Old Enters Nursery School. In: Separation-Individuation Essays in Honor of Margaret S. Mahler, eds. J.B. McDevitt & C.F. Settlage. New York: International Universities Press.
- Tolor, A., & Schulberg, H., (1963), An Evaluation of the Bender-Gestalt Test. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas.
- Tomkins, S. (1947), The Thematic Apperception Test. New York: Grune & Stratton.
- Wechsler, D. (1955), Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale. New York: The Psychological Corporation.
- (1967), Wechsler Preschool and Primary Scale of Intelligence. New York: The Psychological Corporation.
- (1974), Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children - Revised. New York: The Psychological Corporation.
- Weiner, I. (1977), Approaches to Rorschach Validation. In: Rorschach Psychology, ed. M. Rickers-Ovsiankina. Huntington, New York: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company.
- Wright, H. (1960), Observational Child Study. In: Handbook of Research Methods in Child Development, ed. P. H. Mussen. New York: Wiley.
- Wursten, H. (1960), Story Completions: Madeleine Thomas Stories and Similar Methods. In: Projective Techniques with Children, ed. A. Rabin & M. Haworth. New York: Grune & Stratton.

Appendix 1

FIRST INTERVIEW: Developmental (birth to 2½ years)

What do you remember about the days in the nursery? (original
N.Y.U. S-I
nursery
study)

Was ---basically the same in the nursery as at home?
In what ways was she the same or different?

What were ---most enjoyable qualities at that time? I'm
sure there were good days and bad days. When was the most
difficult time for you? For ---?

Were you sometimes sad when she was happy?

Describe ---most difficult period. Other difficult periods?

Were there certain problems that persisted? Describe. Which
problems were only temporary?

What kind of play did --- prefer before one year? At around
one year? In her second year?

When and how toilet trained? Child's response.

When and how feeding? Weaning? Child's response.

How would you describe---temperament/disposition as an infant?
As a toddler? Was she basically the same since birth? What
sort of changes in temperament did you observe? When?

When did --- begin to say words? What were they? Sentences?

Do you think being in the nursery helped you? How? Do you
think you might have been different if you had not been in
the nursery study? What ways?

Did --- have a special object, toy (pacifier, bottle) that
she used to comfort herself? When? Describe attachment. If
no transitional object, how would --- emotionally refuel?
Comfort herself when tired? Comfort herself when you weren't
available?

Did you work or go to school when --- was an infant? When ---
was a toddler? Describe.

In the first year, did you notice qualities about --- that were like you? Different from you? How about in the second year? Describe.

When in the first 2.5 years did you and --- get along best? Worst? Describe.

Was --- aggressive? How did she express it? Specific examples?

When did --- become aware of gender differences? How? When do you think she realized she was a girl? Describe incidents if possible. Did she have a name for parts of her body? Her genitals? Did you notice masturbation? Your reaction. Describe child's attitude towards masturbation and her body in general during this early period.

For the fathers only:

How did you see your role in the first few months. Did you diaper? Feed? Put the baby to bed? How did you feel about it? How did you see your role evolve at one year? At two?

What did you like doing best during this period?

Upon reflection, would you say your view of Mrs. --- changed after her pregnancy? The birth? At any points in --- development? Describe.

When did you think that Mrs. --- was most happy? Most unhappy? During --- development.

In what ways is Mrs. --- like your own mother? Different from her? Describe. In what ways are you like your mother and different from her?

Are you like your father? In what ways? Different? Describe. How about just in regard to how you rear your children?

For Both Parents Again

Were you ever very uncertain about what to do in regards to --- during this early period? Describe. Any other times, up to the present?

What was the birth like? Any complications? What did you think about when you first saw her?

Who was --- named after? Or how was the name selected?
What qualities are associated with her name? Is --- like
her name?

For Fathers Only

In the first couple of years, under what circumstances would
you do the caretaking? In the first few months? First year?
Second year? Third year?

Did you roughhouse with ---? When did it begin? Child's
response. Describe the physical games you would play with
---. (also for mothers)

SECOND INTERVIEW: Intervening Events (2½ to 5)

Note: The questions from the interview about the child's
current status were adapted to this period.

In addition the parent's were questioned about the following.

What was happening in the family when --- was 2.5. How did
she react? Other events involving the whole family from
2.5 to present? How did she react?

Experience with babysitting. Child's response. Any changes
over time?

Describe --- entry into playgroups, nursery school. Would
--- talk about her experience? Describe.

Reactions to separations from mother? Father? Both parents?
From friends? Describe.

What was --- mood, reaction to her 3rd birthday? 4th? 5th?

THIRD INTERVIEW: Current Description (5 to present)

How would you describe --- now? Her temperament, disposition,
appearance and so on?

How persistent is ---? When --- does not get her way, does
she persist? Give in? How does she react to frustration?
Describe specific instances.

In what ways is --- like you?

What qualities does she have that you admire? What qualities do you hope she grows out of?

In the qualities you spoke of that you admired, in which ones does --- resemble you?

How about those you wish she would grow out of?

How would you describe the form of childrearing in your family?

(If sibling) How is --- like ---? How are they different? Describe their relationship now. How do they get along? What do they fight about? What do they do together?

Who are --- friends? What kind of children is she attached to? Describe what her friends are like? What sort of games do they play?

How does --- play now? What are her favorite games? What is the extent of her fantasy life? Describe fantasies if you can? Does she involve you in them? Does she prefer fantasy play with dolls? Artwork? Activity?

What kinds of things does --- do that are disobedient? Describe incidents. How do you handle this? Child's response.

Does --- resemble your mother or father or anyone else in your family? In what ways?

How would you describe --- type of intelligence? Is she most interested in language? activity? What kind?

Has --- ever told you her dreams? When? Describe. Has she told you any dreams recently? Describe. Has --- ever had nightmares? Describe them if possible and what happens on those occasions.

What problems does --- have now? Is this recent or longstanding? Describe history?

Describe eating habits now. Any problems? History of feeding problems.

What makes --- happiest now? Describe instances, context.

What makes --- sad now? Describe instances, context.

What makes --- angry now? Describe instances, context.

Describe instances where --- is anxious, uncertain. Is she persistently upset about anything in particular? Describe anxieties that you've noticed her struggle with and master. Describe those situations she retreats from.

When you are in an unpleasant mood how does --- respond?

When you are feeling ill how does --- respond?

When you are upset how does --- respond?

How does she respond when her friends are unpleasant, sick or upset?

Could you describe the kinds of things you think --- worries about? How have they changed over time?

Who do you think --- likes best in the family? Why?

When --- is in trouble who does she go to for help? Exceptions?

Has --- ever expressed concerns about her body? What were they? Then? Now? How do you think she feels about her body? Could you give some examples of how --- expresses her feeling about her body?

Describe the current, regular activities around --- going to bed? What is your role? Your spouse's? How has this changed and evolved over time?

FOURTH INTERVIEW: Comparisons (infant, toddler, nursery age stages compared to current kindergarten age child)

Note: Parent's were asked to compare their current descriptions of the child given in the third interview with what their child was like as an infant, toddler, nursery school child. For example: You said _____ makes --- happiest now. What made her happiest then? (Same for sad, angry, anxious and the rest of the relevant questions adapted from the third interview format).

This was also done in regard to the family relations. For example, if there is an older sibling, we would focus on how they relate now and then on the history, back to the older sibling's reaction to the pregnancy of birth. If there was a younger sibling, the current status was also compared with the history of reactions to the younger sibling, back to our subject's reaction to the younger sibling's birth and the pregnancy.

Appendix 2

Jan. 29, 1980 Classroom Observation "Flo"

This is the second day that the class, as a whole, has switched from afternoon to morning session. I arrive as Miss L. is leading class into their room. This is the same T. they have had, only the schedule is different.

- 9:00 Class is sitting in a circle, general conversation. It seems people are relating what has happened since yesterday. Two of the children had minor accidents and are telling abt. them. T. asks one if his mother used ice as soon as he hurt himself; that school nurse tells them to do that in case of injury. Flo is sitting and listening, her hands are crossed in front of her and she is sucking fingers of both hands simultaneously. Then begins to pick her nose. Then raises one hand and when not immediately recognized, begins to wave it around. Looks around room. Is called on. Smiles somewhat shyly and coquetishly. Tells abt. a toy that she has that requires hitting a ball, but yesterday she got hit in the eye w/ the ball. (There is no mark) T. asks where and if it hurt. F. says yes. T. asks if she used ice. "No." T. takes attendance - the count is not right and F. shouts out that they are only 16 now as Thomas remained in the afternoon. Laura says (as part of group discussion) that it has been a long time since F. invited her to come over and visit and would she please invite her. L. goes on to say "We had a good time together, didn't we? Please invite me." (This was directed at F. but said in circle at large.) F. replies that one time L. was fussing abt. F.'s not coming over to L.'s house. T. suggests that the mothers should speak and make plans for the girls to get together. Mary Beth then invites F. to sleep at her house tonight. F. replies "maybe sometime". Another girl issues the same invitation to Flo. T. remarks on her popularity. Flo says that Kim's mother already made plans and that K. was visiting Flo that afternoon. Listens as someone else begins to talk, then calls out T.'s name as others talk. Conversation turns to snowflakes - each being different shape and size. Flo shouts out "But not different color." T. asks what color they are and F. replies "White". T. comments it is white until it gets dirty and F. says "until people walk their dogs." F. then watches as Pam shows a graph from an audiometer test that the doctor gave to her.
- 9:05 Sucking her fingers.

1/29/80 Flo

Talking to girl sitting next to her. Tapping her finger into her chest as she talks. Looks at the graph as Pam shows it around.

- 9:10 Watches Pam pass graph around. F. asks T. if they can do pledge. Scratches her nose. Talking to Hero (boy next to her). Stands and walks across circle to T. Says something which I couldn't hear. Returns to her seat and sits. T. tells class to stand. F. does so, scratching herself through the fabric of her skirt, and seems to hike up her underwear. Stretches her arms behind her head. Class does their exercise routine. F. follows along. They then turn toward flag for pledge of allegiance. Flo has no trouble deciding which is right hand (some others do) and recites along w/class. Class sits and they recite a poem abt. being an American. Flo doesn't join in for the first line, but says the rest. Stands in front of her chair briefly. Walks over to T. Says something abt. T.'s pearls and says that she also has pearls. T. says she'll have to wear them to show.
- 9:15

Following a conversation abt. the school buses and their drivers during which T. described one driver as having a long beard, F. is sitting and stroking chin and drawing her hand down toward her lap, as though stroking a beard. Does this repeatedly. Then bends and stretches from chair. T. tells class they will go to gym with new gym T. F. says she has to change her shoes. T. asks if she has her sneakers. F. says yes and gets up to get carton in which class keeps their sneakers. Returns carrying it with assistance of one of the boys. She finds hers, sits and begins to put them on.

- 9:20 Tying her laces, able to do so herself. Conversation generally abt. tying laces; seems many just learned how. F. says "I already know how to tie, only single knots." Then gets up to show T. the job she did. Tells T. that someone changed the label on the side of the carton with the sneakers - the label differentiated between a.m. and p.m. classes. T. then has each child in the class introduce themselves to me. One of the first boys uses his middle name and they all follow suit, including F. She says her full name and then says "My middle name is ___". She interrupts introductions two times to
- 9:25 interject something.

1/29/80

Flo

Stands and goes over to T. Talks abt. her mother's name and how when she got married her original name became her middle name. Standing. Listens as T. reads out list of jobs for the day. They line up to go to gym. F. is in rear of line, jumping around. Walking to the gym, F. asks T. if she should take her sneakers home so that next time they have gym she can wear them to school. T. says no, better to leave them in school and wear heavy shoes during winter.

- 9:30 Class meets new gym T. who then tells them to find spots on floor. F. sits up front, cross-legged. Watches as gym T. puts things away from last class. She then asks children to introduce themselves. F. then sits with her legs bent and feet directly on floor. T. tells them how to find a spot in gym, keep distance from others, etc. Then has class run and stop. F. running with class listens to directions. T. tells them abt. the difference between stop and freeze. Trial "freeze" and F. assumes a very exaggerated caricatured pose.
- 9:35

T. continues to have them run, stop, run, freeze, etc. Each time, F. takes on a very exaggerated pose. Arms outstretched, legs far apart, slightly off balance. Is more exaggerated than if she actually froze in the position she was in. They then skip. F. seems to be enjoying the activity.

- 9:40 She gallops around with class, then hops on one leg to direction. Then jumps. Is very exuberant. T. tells them to jump on their strong foot and F. says "My right." She jumps on it. When told to jump on weak foot, changes to left. T. says they have been going in forward direction, what other direction is there? F. yells out, "Sideways." T. has class sitting down but F. gets up and jumps around.
- 9:45

Walking backward, running backward, jumping up and down. Follows along w/class. Does jumping jacks. As she does so, she counts out loud, shouting out each number. Is pretty coordinated. T. then has them do bear walk - two feet and two hands on floor and walk. F. practically walks across the T.'s feet.

- 9:50 Doing crab walk, then running. Her run is controlled, not full out as some others. They then skip, run, gallop. T. tells them to freeze and F. assumes a very exaggerated pose and falls. They do jumping jacks, hops. She is smiling as she does them. When T. tells

1/29/80

Flo

9:55 them to stop she lies down on floor, spreadeagled. While the others are still lying down, she stands and walks around. Several ask for water and T. has them line up to get drink. As she is walking out, F. says to one of her friends, "I don't have very much energy."

Takes a small sip of water and walks back to floor spot slowly. Listens as T. tells them not to run and slide. F. stands, skips around, swings around in a circle, lies down on floor. Lying on her back, she pushes herself around. T. then has them stand and touch various body parts; starting at head and working down toward ankles. Has them re-do it w/eyes closed. F. follows along w/ no problem.

10:00 Touching body parts, shoulder, elbow, tummy, chest, waist, backside, legs, knees, ankles, toes, stand up. Do it again with eyes closed. As she follows along she doesn't just touch each part, but rubs or pats it. Is very dramatic. Class lines up to return to classroom.

10:05 She puffs up her cheeks and pats them as she walks.

Return to class. Takes off her sneakers then takes them to T. to have her unknot them. Throws them into box and walks around room. Picks up wooden toaster, takes it to T. as something is stuck in it. Goes to housekeeping corner.

10:10 In the housekeeping corner. Is rearranging things and moving them around. Holding the wooden slices of "toast". Pam is playing w/ a large doll and talking to F. F. is playing w/ the wooden toaster, pushing the toast in and out, moving the lever up and down. Walks around the space. "Fixes" her hair by pretending to wet her hands and slicking it down. Picks up a broom and "sweeps" with short choppy strokes. Says something abt. "fixing up the house so no one will trip." Continues sweeping. Picks up the wooden arm of the rocking chair. It is broken and comes off the body of the chair. Then picks up the telephone and says, "Operator, I need (rest is inaudible)". Hangs up. Picks up phone again. Says, "All right, 100 pounds of it." Puts down phone and picks up several watering cans. "Got 100 pounds of glue here - fix the chairs." Lifts the seat of one chair and "pours" glue from the

10:15 coffee pot. Replaces the seat.

1/29/80

Flo

Does the same with the arms of the rocking chair and for a smaller rocking chair. One of the boys says "You're gluing chairs with coffee." Flo says, "Got it from the glue department." One of the other girls says, "No you didn't. Got it from the hospital." Flo says "That ought to fix it" as she is gluing things down. Glues the hood on a large baby carriage. Pam is washing dishes nearby. F. turns to me and says "This looks like a real one" referring to the carriage. I agree. There are several others(children) in the area. For the most part she is not interacting. Glues the foot part of the carriage. Picks up "toast" saying, "I need a break." Pretends to eat it and fixes her hair as before. Wets her hand and slicks down her hair. When finished with the toast, returns it to the toaster. Picks up phone and talks. Kim asks F. if she had seen the green bag. F. says, "No", I didn't." She then takes a mat out of the smaller carriage and says "It's dirty." Runs across the room. Sees T. is carrying a large valentine and stops, looks at it, then gets dust cloth from T. Returns to carriage and wipes it out. Is really cleaning it. Shakes out the cloth and skips across the room to return it to T.

- 10:20 Returns to housekeeping corner. Goes to a toy chest, pulls out green bag and says "I got the green bag." Runs across the room and gives it to Kim. Returns and puts on a pink dress over her clothes. Asks me to zip it up. I do and she walks around the area. Kneels down and takes clock out of the closet. Picks up broom. Puts both in small carriage. Then lifts the clock and winds it. Puts it on table, goes to cabinet. Lifts the toast out of toaster. Laura grabs at it. F. says no and holds onto it. T. intervenes, seems to think Laura is in wrong and gets Laura away from the area. Laura is looking for food for her trip to Monsterland (it takes 20 days to get there). F. overhears L.'s conversation w/T. and says "There's no food in the frig. No food in the hospital except toast." Goes to a cabinet, is sorting out the contents - pots, vegetables, etc. Puts some of the items into an adjacent cabinet. Things fall out. She retrieves them and puts them into cabinet. Then takes things out of the larger cabinet.

10:25

Moves to the stove cabinet. Takes out pots. "Getting out some food, can't you guess." - said to no one in particular. T. plays piano and says 5 min. to cleanup. F. continues rearranging pitchers and pans. T. sounds cleanup.

1/29/80

Flo

- 10:30 Picking up vases, etc. from floor. Placing them on top of the cabinets. Kim says something to Flo abt. the watering cans. F. seems to be saying no to something. Then finally she says "before we get into trouble." The two of them go off to the water fountain carrying a watering can and bowl. F. seems to be hiding the can behind her as she skips across the room. T. says that the housekeeping corner needs to be cleaned up. She then calls Pam and F. by name. She returns to the area carrying the watering can. It seems to still be empty. She closes the cabinets. T. asks who else had been playing there. F. is putting away cups and moving things around on the shelves. I get the impression she is moving things around more than actually cleaning up. Puts pan back into cabinet. Picks things up from the floor. Places them on top of cabinets. T. tells her to take off the dress and unzip it for her. Helps her take it off and tells her to put it away. F. does so and T. then calls her to come get her milk. F. walks across the room, picks up carton of milk and sits down at the long table w/ rest of class. Then gets up and gets a straw. Sits and unwraps the straw. Is sitting and sucking on the straw, her milk unopened.

10:35 Opens the milk container slowly. Sits w/ straw in mouth, head resting on her elbow. Doesn't seem to be drinking. Someone passes out cookies. She fingers them. Is quiet. Nibbles on one cookie. Holds the other in other hand. There is conversation around her, and suddenly she interjects "Who cares" echoing something that has been said. Seems to be a bit out of it. As T. walks by, F. tells her that the cookies don't have much taste. T. asks what kinds of cookies she prefers. Says she likes the kind that's chocolate w. vanilla on the inside. T. says those are Oreos. Has stood to talk to T. Now sits. Makes exaggerated chewing motions.

10:40 There is some conversation at the table, all I hear is that "all the girls except F." Someone says they don't like F. This goes on for abt. 1-2 minutes. F. seems uninvolved, as though she doesn't hear the conversation around her. Pam then says "I like Flo." The conversation continues, but I can't hear it. I think it may have centered on the fact that F. is always last to finish milk - is very slow. Then someone seems to be passing a message around the table and F. says "Pass it on" to person sitting next to her.

1/29/80

Flo

Is sitting w/ head resting against her hand, elbow on table. Straw is in her mouth, again doesn't seem to be drinking. Most others have already finished and are walking around room, taking out mats for resting. F. walks across the room carrying her milk. Stands near carton in which the containers were delivered. Is walking around, then Laura calls her. F. goes over to L., who invites F. to her house to see her new _____. F. replies that she already saw it - saw it at L.'s birthday party. Then says something abt. L.'s house being hard to find. Drinks her milk and walks across the room.

10:45

Hero is crying. The T. walks over to him and so does F. She then follows both T. and Hero halfway to sink. Standing apart from the group, drinking milk. Follows T. Still drinking. Laura tells her to drink faster. Walking around room and drinking. All others are on floor, resting. (T. walks by me and says it takes F. forever to drink her milk, just can't drink it). F. walks around the now-empty long table, drinking. Laura follows her and says something abt. the milk. F. asks T. if she can put it away (i.e., throw out rest of it). T. says yes. She does so and then skips around the room, out of sight. Returns abt. 1 min. later. Walking around room. Everyone else is lying down and the lights are out. She skips back to the closet and returns with her mat - a towel, with a smaller towel stitched onto it as a pillow.

10:50 Unfolds mat and spreads it out on floor. Lies down. T. is singing as they rest. Lies quietly for a moment, then sits on hands and knees with rear end pointed up, patting it. Sitting quietly. T. then begins to call

10:55 names for people to put their mats away.

When she is called, jumps up, straightens hair (not in pretend way as before) and folds mat. Walks across the room to put it away. Returns to the circle where people are now sitting. T. tells her to get her chair and join the group. F. does so and sits down. Tapping her feet up and down as she sits. Christopher has brought in popcorn which T. asks him to distribute. T. fixes shoelaces of person sitting next to F. who comments on how long they are.

1/29/80

Flo

- 11:00 T. sits to read a story. F. is fixing her hair, rubbing her eyes. Looking forward at T. Rubbing her feet back and forth across floor. T. talks abt. ceramic animals, collections of them, that they're breakable, etc. F. shouts out that she has ceramic horses. T. asks her to bring them in. T. says to wrap them in tissue and put them in a shoebox, won't break. F. says no, as they might break. Listens to T.
- 11:05 and banging her feet together.

Watches T. as she reads story. Flo shouts out answer to question if she knows it. Story is abt. different kinds of houses - treehouse, houseboat, townhouse, etc. As T. shows illustrations, F. stands to see them, walking up to the book. Plays w. sole of her shoe after she sits again. Looks at T., rubs eyes, yawns. Plays w. hair, twirling it around her finger. Looks tired. Stands again as T. shows illustration. Sits, swinging her legs. Holds her knees and listens.

- 11:10 Stretches arms behind her. Leans forward as T. shows picture. Shouts out asking why the little pig in the story was too young to make gingerbread. T. says maybe the little pig was too small to reach the counter and wasn't there a time when F. too small? F. says she stood on a stool, jumping up and down as she says so. T. ends story and goes to piano to play songs. Tells Chris to give out remaining popcorn. Plays "This Old Man". Class sings along. Flo also does accompanying hand motions - one of few who does. Then plays patty-cake in rhythm of song with Kim who is sitting next to her. As they sing, T. stops and asks what number is next. F. jumps up and excitedly says
- 11:15 "9". Sits again and plays patty-cake.

- Laura asks class to guess her favorite number. They are all guessing. F. leaps out of her chair and guesses '6'. She is jumping up and down in front of L. and keeps guessing until she gets it. Is very excited. T. tells hers are 5 and 45. (T. had said that hers is 5). Chris gives her 2nd portion of popcorn. She eats it. Is sitting again. Then leaps up, walks across the circle to the T. and says she can count to one million and twenty-two. Jumps back to her seat. Sits. Puffs up cheeks and holds fists against them. Jumps up. Twirls around, then sits w. her legs over the back of her chair. T. tells them to put chairs away. F. does so and then jumps and skips around room. Fixes her socks
- 11:20 and continues to jump around.

1/29/80

Flo

11:20 Is on line with others to play River Rat. Jumping around. Steps on mat quickly. Once she is out, she jumps around as she watches others play. Jumps up and down. A girl wins and F. joins all the other girls in jumping up and down around her, congratulating her. They then go for their coats and line up to go home.

1/29/80 Flo Overall Impressions

Flo is a very thin, even skinny child with short blonde hair. She wore a striped sweater, skirt and knee socks. She was the only girl in the class to wear a skirt. She is very exuberant and energetic. She seems to find it difficult to sit for any length of time. The teacher seemed manic to me and the class pace, frenzied, but I think Flo would have been as hyper in a calmer setting.

She involves herself in almost every conversation and interaction, often intrusively, and often talking abt. herself and some irrelevant topic.

It was striking that when one child told of being hurt, Flo immediately thought of an incident in which she was hurt - it certainly was minor and seemed that it was told in identification with a victim or a hurt individual, as a way to gain attention and perhaps sympathy. I wondered if she equates being sick or hurt with gaining attention. During the time in the housekeeping corner she was concerned with damaged things and repairing them. I wonder if hurt and damage are important issues for her, and the repair a way of undoing the damage. *

She seemed to be very popular, judging by the invitations extended to her. She seemed reluctant to accept those invitations. She also seemed to devalue some of the invitations as they were offered. I wonder if she is generally that popular, if there was a 'bandwagon' effect in operation once the first invitation had been issued, and why she was singled out. This display of popularity was in contrast to the incident later on during snack time, when she was singled out and ostracized for drinking so slowly.

She is continuously seeking T.'s attention and calling attention to herself. In addition to this was her "identifying" herself with the teacher by saying that she had the same kind of pearls. As mentioned she continuously approached the T., intruded into conversations, etc., yet did not engage in much prolonged interaction w/ any of her peers. Mostly she seemed to say something abt. herself and then not listen to other people talking.

She seemed to become increasingly manic during the day, except during snack which was certainly a low period for her. It will be important to find out if she has general difficulty with food, and what her trouble is with the snack period. Today's behavior was evidently typical for her.

*A similar theme was revealed in the interaction abt. the ceramic animals and possible damage if they were brought to school.

1/29/80 Flo Overall Impressions (Cont'd.)

She called attention to herself during the gym period through her clowning, caricatured poses. They were dramatic and overdone and seemed contrived. She did seem to enjoy the gym activity.

Her imaginative play involved others only peripherally. Others initiated interactions with her, but not vice versa. She essentially initiated interactions with the T.

She seemed to be competitive in her bids for attention and in her statement that she already knew how to tie shoe laces, did not learn that in school.

Kim was able to convince Flo to do something they knew they should not be doing. Flo knew it was wrong and tried to hide it. In the long run I think they did not carry through as T. told them to clean up.

She was adamant abt. holding onto what she was playing with when Laura tried to take the toast. She seemed to want to play by herself and was not abt. to be sidetracked or to give up what she had.

Following the low period of snack time, she became increasingly manic as T. read a story. Indeed she jumps up to look at each illustration.

The most striking feature was the overall time that she spent in interaction with the T. and not with peers. There was a great deal of interaction initiated by the T. (which may have been motivated by my presence), but it seemed to be their pattern.

As the class was leaving to go home, and I was putting on my coat, Flo walked by me and said, "You hardly even told me your name." It seemed entirely inappropriate for a 5 year old to use that kind of expression, and I also wondered if she had wanted some direct attention from me. As far as I know she did not know that I was there to observe her.

Appendix 3

Developmental Questions Used in Teacher Interviews

The following questions were used as a guide in interviewing teachers. Each interview varied as a function of the material provided by the teacher.

- How would you describe the girl? Her temperament, persistence, appearance, mood, and so on?
- When she did not get her way, how did she deal with it? Did she persist? Give in?
- How did she react to frustration? competition?
- What kinds of children was she attracted to as friends?
- How did she play? What were her favorite activities? What was she best at? worst at? When she was good at something would she try to teach her skill to others? flaunt it? ignore it?
- Do you remember any of her made-up stories? Can you describe her fantasy play with dolls? What roles did she usually take in dramatic play? What kind of mother or child was she?
- What was her art work like?
- What kinds of things did she do that were disobedient? How did you handle this? How did she react? How did she generally react to limit setting?
- How would you describe her type of intelligence? Was she mostly verbal? mostly interested in activity? a balance?
- Did she ever talk about dreams? nightmares? daydreams?
- What made her happy? sad? angry? What disappointed her? scared her?
- When she was unhappy did she approach anyone for consolation? Who? What were her self-comforting mechanisms? What actions or attitudes from others would comfort her?

Appendix 3 (Cont'd.)

Developmental Questions Used in Teacher Interviews

- What situations tended to elicit her aggressiveness?
How did she express it?
- Did she talk about gender differences? Did she talk about herself as a girl?
- Did she like animals? Which ones?
- Would you describe her as a competent child? In what way?
- How do you think she saw herself? How would you describe her self image? Her self-esteem?
- What role did she play in the group? How did she relate to peers? Was she able to share things?
- If another child was upset, did it seem that she could place herself in their position? How did she react?
- How did she relate to teachers and to other adults?
- What kinds of things would she say about her mother? father? other people at home?
- How did her parents describe her?
- How was she like/unlike her mother? father?
- What was snack or lunch time like for Sarah?
- Was she toilet trained? Were there any problems?

Appendix 4

List of TAT Cards Presented to Subjects

Card No.	Description ¹
1.	A young boy is contemplating a violin which rests on a table in front of him.
2.	Country scene: in the foreground is a young woman with books in her hand; in the background a man is working in the fields and an older woman is looking on.
4.	A woman is clutching the shoulders of a man whose face and body are averted as if he were trying to pull away from her.
5.	A middle-aged woman is standing on the threshold of a half-opened door looking into a room.
6GF.	A young woman sitting on the edge of a sofa looks back over her shoulder at an older man with a pipe in his mouth who seems to be addressing her.
7GF.	An older woman is sitting on a sofa close beside a girl, speaking or reading to her. The girl, who holds a doll in her lap, is looking away.
8BM.	An adolescent boy looks straight out of the picture. The barrel of a rifle is visible at one side, and in the background is the dim scene of a surgical operation, like a reverie-image.
11.	A road skirting a deep chasm between high cliffs. On the road in the distance are obscure figures. Protruding from the rocky wall on one side is the long head and neck of a dragon.
12BG.	A rowboat is drawn up on the bank of a woodland stream. There are no human figures in the picture.

¹Descriptions of the cards are taken from Murray, 1943.

Appendix 4 (Cont'd.)

List of TAT Cards Presented to Subjects

- 13B. A little boy is sitting on the doorstep of
 a log cabin.
- 13G. A little girl is climbing a winding flight
 of stairs.
- 17BM. A naked man is clinging to a rope. He is
 in the act of climbing up or down.
- 16. Blank card.

Appendix 4 A

List of Tests Administered

To Study Children:

Bender Gestalt Test
Beery-Buktenica Developmental Test of Visual
Motor Integration
C.A.T.
Despert Fables
House-Tree-Person
Kinetic Family Drawings
Rorschach
T.A.T. (Cards 1, 2, 4, 5, 6GF, 7GF, 8BM, 11, 12BG,
13B, 13G, 17BM, 16)
Three Wishes
WPPSI

To Parents:

Bender Gestalt Test
House-Tree-Person
Kinetic Family Drawings
Rorschach
T.A.T. (same cards as administered to study children)
WAIS

To Siblings:

10-6 year old Sibling:
Bender Gestalt Test
Beery-Buktenica Test
Despert Fables
House-Tree-Person
Kinetic Family Drawings
Rorschach
T.A.T. (same selection as listed above)
Three Wishes
WISC-R

3-2 year old sibling:
Stanford Binet, Form L-M

1-8 year old Sibling:
Bayley Scales of Infant Development

Appendix 5

Outline of Developmental Profile

- I. Description of the Child
- II. Personal History of Child and Family Background
- III. Probably Significant Environmental Circumstances
- IV. Assessment of Development
 - A. Drives
 - 1. Libido
 - 2. Aggression
 - B. Ego Development
 - 1. Apparatus
 - 2. Ego Functions
 - 3. Quality and Type of Anxiety Reactions
 - 4. Defense Organization
 - C. Superego Development
 - D. Self Esteem Regulation
 - E. Object Relations
 - 1. Internal
 - 2. External (i.e., relationships)
- V. Assessment of Fixation Points and Regressions
- VI. Assessment of Some General Characteristics
 - A. Child's Frustration Tolerances
 - B. Child's Overall Attitude toward Anxiety
 - C. Child's Sublimation Potential
 - D. Progressive Developmental Forces vs. Regressive Forces
- VII. Diagnosis