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Ego Identification of the Preschool Child in the Divorced Single-Parent Family (1960-1980)

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EGO IDENTIFICATION OF THE PRESCHOOL CHILD IN THE DIVORCED SINGLE-PARENT FAMILY (1960-1980)

by

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The topic of this dissertation focused me on the many children of divorce in this country. The responsiveness of divorced single-parents to this research was a source of great encouragement to me. In sharing the journey with them during this study, I came to admire even more the quiet valiant courage of divorced single-parents and also to realize

that indeed children of divorce have "God on their side."

Finally, the authoress expresses much gratitude to her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Timothy Ryan who, though deceased, instilled in her a love and continual search for truth and wisdom.

VITA

The authoress, Loretto Catherine Ryan (Sister Frances) is the daughter of Timothy Joseph and Margaret Frances Ryan. She was born on November 30, 1937, in Chicago, Illinois.

She obtained her elementary and secondary education in Chicago, Illinois, attending St. Paschal School and Alvernia High School where she graduated in 1955.

In June, 1955, Loretto entered the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent dePaul, St. Louis, Missouri. In 1957, she completed her Seminary training and received the name Sister Frances. She was awarded the degree of Bachelor of Arts with majors in English and History from Marillac College, St. Louis, Missouri, in June, 1959.

After finishing her undergraduate work, Sister Frances began her graduate work in Social Work at Loyola University, Chicago, from 1959 to 1960. She then went to St. Louis, Missouri, where she received the degree of Master of Social Work with a major in Child Welfare Administration from St. Louis University in June, 1961.

Sister Frances, serving in the Daughters of Charity, worked at Catholic Charities, St. Louis, Missouri, in day care casework services for Guardian Angel Settlement and Stella Maris Day Center from 1961 to 1963.

In 1963, she became Intake and Family Service supervisor for Catholic Social Service in Covington, Kentucky. She also received her

A.C.S.W. (Academy of Certified Social Workers) from the National Association of Social Workers. Sister Frances remained in that capacity until 1971, serving in the eastern section of Kentucky.

In 1971, she went to Saginaw, Michigan, organizing a pastoral ministry plan for five inner city parishes. With three other Daughters of Charity, Sister Frances, in 1972, went to a new mission in the Appalachian Mountain region called Seton Home Health Services, London, Kentucky. She served as social worker on the team developing a service for the sick and dying.

Afterwards, she want to Jackson, Mississippi, as Pastoral Administrative Assistant in the Diocese of Natchez/Jackson. For two years she was assigned to develop and implement a Regionalization plan comprised of four regions in the State of Mississippi.

From the middle of 1974 to 1977, Sister Frances went to Evansville, Indiana, and worked at Catholic Charities and St. Vincent Day Care Center. She did an extensive survey on the needs of the aged and the role of the Church in the Diocese of Evansville. She was coordinator of Cherry St. Center, a satellite day care center near an inner city housing project. In 1974, she was appointed to the National Catholic Disaster Relief Committee, and has served to the present time as a consultant to disaster work in Catholic dioceses. Sister Frances was the authoress of the Manual for Diocesan Planning in Disasters.

In 1977, Sister Frances came to Chicago and was Director of Child

Abuse Services at St. Vincent dePaul Center. The following year, she was appointed Director of Early Childhood, a program mutually sponsored by St. Vincent dePaul Center and DePaul University.

In 1978, she entered the doctoral program in Counseling and Counselor Education at Loyola University of Chicago. While in the Counseling program, Sister Frances did her psychologist internship at St. Joseph Hospital in the Community Mental Health Center from 1981 to 1982. She was selected as a member of Alpha Sigma Nu, the Jesuit Honor Society of Loyola University, in June, 1982.

Sister Frances is currently Assistant Professor in the Division of Human Development, School of Education, DePaul University. She is Program Director for Early Childhood Education and teaches in the graduate division of Human Services and Counseling.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

With divorced families headed by women in the United States rising 181% between 1970 and 1981,[1] divorce became a societal reality. This phenomenon of divorce emerged so dramatically that research is still being gathered regarding the effects of divorce on the American family and particularly children.

This dissertation focuses on the ego identification of the preschool child, both from psychoanalytic and cognitive viewpoints, and considers the crisis of divorce's impact upon the child's developmental processed towards ego identification.

Scope of the Study

Because the research tends to be scattered, the scope of this study is to review the literature and present a cohesive approach to the intrapsychic process of ego identification of the preschool child. This study focuses on a conceptual framework linking together relevant theories that shed light on the inner world of the child facing ego identification of the preschool child, both within the triadic relationship of mother-father-child, and within the dyadic relationship of single parent-child. This research does not include actual case studies or

[1]Arthur Norton, "Single-Parent Families," 1981 Census Report, Washington, D. C.: United States Census Bureau. Chicago Tribune, June 18, 1982.

treatment models for children of divorce. Patterns of variability in ego identification are proposed in understanding the child from the divorced single-parent family.

The first chapter introduces the extensive problem of divorce, examining it from both international and national perspectives. Previous research is reviewed regarding the topic of divorce and its effect on children.

The second chapter surveys the work of Jean Piaget and his insights into cognitive processes of the child, particularly from birth to five years old. Piaget's naturalistic, observational studies of his own three children, Jacqueline, Lucienne, and Laurent, present a unique contribution to better understanding the qualities that comprise the sensorimotor-preoperational period of the child's cognitive life. Piaget's lecture notes, translated from the French, include some relatively unknown insights regarding the subject of affectivity, intellectual unconscious, and his hypothesis for a 'Reaction Schema of Persons' developed by the preschool child.

Concurrently, between 1960 and 1980, the works of ego psychologists such as Anna Freud, Melanie Klein, René Spitz, John Bowlby, Jane Loevinger, Margaret Mahler, Gertrude and Rubin Blank were published. These authors contributed invaluable concepts identifying the intrapsychic process of how a child achieves basic personality structure reaching ego identification. This literature concentrates on the triadic relationship (mother-father-child) in the ego identification of the child. The third chapter of this study summarizes the main contributions towards understanding the child's ego identification made by these authors. Within the historical context of the structural theory of Ego Psychology related to the intrapsychic

processes of the child, main themes are developed to understand the child of divorce better. Some of these themes are: (1) the psychoanalytic understanding of 'mourning' in the child, (2) the origins of superego crucial to the child's identification, and (3) 'play' and its crucial role in the life of the preschool child. The third chapter also presents the psychoanalytic writings regarding the developmental processes of the child achieving ego identification and individuation in the triadic relationship (mother-father-child).

The fourth chapter concentrates on the dyadic relationship (parent-child) and surveys divorce and the variables that the child will encounter in the developmental process of ego identification. It includes an Oral History interview with Dr. E. James Anthony regarding children of divorce. Anthony has contributed valuable insights into the developmental processes of children, both from Piagetian and psychoanalytic vantage points. He was a colleague of Jean Piaget as well as a current associate of the British Psychoanalytical Society, London, England, an association whose membership comprises most of the ego psychologists previously mentioned in this chapter. Anthony helped establish a dialogue between Piaget's contributions in Genetic Epistomology and the British Psychoanalytic school in 1954.[2] Anthony, in his works both in America and Europe, shows that the works of the ego psychologists and Piaget are invaluable to the understanding of the child when one agrees that "affective and cognitive development are intimately and inextricably intertwined."[3] Twenty years later,

[2]E. James Anthony, "The Significance of Jean Piaget for Child Psychiatry," British Journal of Medical Psychology, 29, 1956, pp. 20-34.

[3]Sohan and Celia Modgil, Piagetian Research (Compilation and Commentary), Windsor, Canada: Humanities Press, 1976, p. 24.

Piaget was to express his own opinion about the relationship in Genetic Epistomology and the ego psychologists when he remarked, "What has been true for the study of affective development is also true of memory, perception and all mental functions; through their formation, we can study and understand their mechanisms. Here, there is a fundamental agreement between the field of psychology and my own work."[4] Besides establishing the dialogue between Piagetian and psychoanalytical thought, Anthony's unique contribution towards understanding children include his longitudinal Risk Research Project in St. Louis, Missouri, from 1967 to the present, including children of divorce. From this project Anthony, with Garmezy, coined the term, "Vulnerable-Invulnerable Child Syndrome."[5]

The fourth chapter also presents divorce, not as an event, but as a process, and attempts to define a process of divorce from the child's theoretical framework.

The fifth chapter shows a theoretical formulation drawn from the Piagetian and psychoanalytic frameworks and the variables of divorce affecting these developmental processes. It also identifies a mourning liberation process for the children of divorce.

Because 50% of children in the United States will be raised in a single parent family for a significant portion of their lives,[6] the hypothesis of this dissertation is that the triadic relationship (mother-father-child) is no longer a valid, single approach to explain all

[4]Jean Piaget, "The Future of Developmental Child Psychology," Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 3(2), 1974, p. 87.

[5]E. James Anthony, Julien Worland, Cynthia Jones, St. Louis Risk Research Project: Experimental Studies Comprehensive Progress Report (unpublished), St. Louis, Missouri: February, 1980, p. 2.

[6]Norton, "Single Parent Families," p. 9.

children achieving ego identification. Based on the concept of the internal image of the absent parent (parental imago), and the representational thought of the child (particularly expressed in the child's fantasy life) being a crucial component to the child's adequate resolvement in reaching ego identification, three patterns in the parental imago of the absent parent from divorce are hypothesized in this chapter.

Hypothesis I. There is a relationship between a lack of formation of parental image and the age of the child at the time of the divorce. If the child is under 15 months old at the time of the divorce, the child has no or little internal image of the absent parent. This lack of parental image allows the child to compensate in one's family, extended family, social and cultural contacts in reaching ego identification.

Hypothesis II. There is a relationship between a strong internal positive parental image and ego identification that parallels the triadic relationship of mother-father-child. If the absent parent has on-going communication with the child and parental conflicts on child-related issues are worked out adequately, then the child reaches ego identification within the triadic relationship.

Hypothesis III. There is a relationship between feelings of rejection, abandonment, and ambivalence of the child towards the absent parent and the formation of a distorted parental image. Consequently, the child creates a fantasy life surrounding the distorted parental image which can be a key to understanding the child's disrupted ego identification.

The fifth chapter suggests that further research is needed to define the third hypothesis because ego identification becomes unresolved until the ambivalence or splitting is worked through. A process of resolvement for ego identification needs to be explored in further research.

The sixth chapter looks at implications for further research and directions implicit in the present research for future projects regarding the impact of divorce on children.

This study is written with the assumption that the mother is the single parent raising the child of divorce, as in "nine out of ten cases, single-parent families are headed by a female."[7] The child of divorce is defined as pre-school, that is, from birth to 5 or 6 years of age.

Methodology of the Study

Because there is relatively little material related to the topic, there is a need of primary sources to understand better the theorists related to ego identification and the interrelatedness of the cognitive process in the preschool child with one's affective life. Research for this study has been conducted in Geneva, Switzerland, at the University of Geneva (Archives of Piaget), Internal Bureau d'Education, Catholic Bureau, archives of the Institut d'Rousseau, United Nations, and UNICEF. The unpublished and published works of Anna Freud, Melanie Klein, John Bowlby, Rene Spitz, and other unpublished papers by British psychoanalytical members considering the topic of ego identification have been studied at the British Psychoanalytic Institute in London, England.

[7] Ibid., p. 9.

Research has also been pursued at Washington University, particularly at the Division of Child Psychiatry located at the Harry Edison Child Development Research Center, St. Louis, Missouri, where Dr. E. James Anthony's thirteen year longitudinal study of the "Vulnerable-Invulnerable child" and "Children-at-Risk" Project, as well as an Oral History interview centering around children of divorce, were undertaken.

Divorce: International and National Perspectives

The problem of divorce and its dramatic rise in society is examined in light of its impact on children. Statistics are used regarding children of divorce under 18 years of age.

As can be seen by Roussel and Festy's demographic studies, Paris, and the United Nations' demographic studies, Geneva (Appendix A, p. 237), the United States in the last twenty years "has the highest divorce rate among nations and the figures are increasing."[8]

The divorce phenomenon seems to have come later to other countries. For example, in England the steady annual increase in the divorce rate took a big surge upwards as the Divorce Reform Act of 1969 became law. In 1961, there had been 25,400 divorces granted; by 1971, divorces had risen to 74,400, while the 1972 figures show 119,000 divorces in England. Three-quarters of all divorces involve children under 16, and in 1972, there were 130,401 children affected by divorce. The majority of divorces occurred in the first 10 years of marriage so that a considerable number of young and particularly vulnerable children are

[8] E. James Anthony, "Children at Risk from Divorce, a Review," The Child in His Family at Risk: Yearbook of the International Association for Child Psychiatry and Allied Professions, 1974, p. 462.

affected by the crisis of divorce.[9] By 1980, in the United Kingdom "there were six father-less families for every one motherless family. Among the motherless families, half the breakdowns had been caused by divorce or separation and half by her death."[10]

A report in 1974 shows that nearly two-thirds of fatherless families in England had a gross income of less than 20 pounds per week, as compared with only 5% of two-parent families with one earner. Even lone fathers, though better off than lone mothers, were much poorer than two-parent families. If a lone parent earned more than 12 pounds a week, governmental aid was deducted accordingly. (In Denmark, only 50% of net earnings were taken into account.) Consequently, mothers who worked full-time were financially worse off because of their low earning ability.[11]

The "Poor Man's divorce," or separation without legal divorce, played a bigger role than actual divorce until recently when countries like England initiated reform laws to protect the mother financially who is raising her children alone.

In France, due to the irregularity of pensions owed to mothers who are the main caretakers of the children in 80% of the divorce cases, the Reform Act of 1975 was established to assure regular alimony payments.[12]

[9]"Children of Divorce," National Children's Bureau Highlight No. 13. National Children's Bureau, London, England, March, 1975, p. 1.

[10]"Fathers in the United Kingdom," Ideas Forum, UNICEF, Supplement No. 10, Geneva, Switzerland, June, 1981, p. 3.

[11]Jessie Parfit, "The Finer Report on One-Parent Families: A Summary," National Children's Bureau, Highlight No. 11, National Children's Bureau, London, England, July, 1974, p. 1.

[12]Jacques Cammaille, "Les Enfants du Divorce," Informations Sociales Families Monoparentales, June-July, 1979, p. 93.

It is estimated that in France between 540,000 and 600,000 children under 18 were receiving alimony payments after divorce.[13]

In 1980, Bombardier writes of the divorce crisis in Quebec, Canada, that "few would assert they do not like children and yet the fragility of the marriage-tie, in Quebec, points to one out of three marriages ending in separation or divorce." She further states:

> The monolithic Quebec of the pre-1960s, with its 95% of religious observance, has given way to a pluralistic society within less than 10 years. Truly, the children of separated or divorced parents no longer constitute a negligible minority of our school population.[14]

A study in New Zealand undertaken in 1978 shows that 'solo-parent' families are a fact of New Zealand family life. Over 65,000 children are being cared for in solo-parent families and the numbers, according to the study, are likely to increase.[15]

In the overall statistics of divorce per country, however, the United States leads the other nations. It seems that the United States is the only country that can afford divorce. Because of the large divorce population in the United States, many European countries look to this nation and Sweden for research regarding the divorce era they are now experiencing and its implications.[16] As Wallerstein and Kelly have pointed out, "in the late 1960s and early 1970s a truly extraordinary

[13]D. Silhol, Estimation des Pensions Alimentaires non Payées ou Mai Payées, Ministre de la Justice, Paris, France, 1978, p. 1.

[14]Denise Bombardier, "The Young Child, a Full-Fledged Citizen?", World Organization for Preschool Education Papers, Quebec, Canada, August, 1980, p. 6.

[15]"Families in Special Circumstances: Solo-Parent Families," Social Development Council, Department of Social Welfare, Wellington, New Zealand, December, 1978, p. 40.

[16]"Children of Divorce," London, Highlight No. 13, p. 2.

rise in the incidence of divorce took place - each year from 1972 to 1979 over a million new children below the age of 18 experienced the divorce of their parents."[17]

By 1978, nearly 4 out of 10 marriages in the United States ended in divorce. Statistics show the highest divorce rate during the early years of marriage, with "the victims of divorce tending to be young children."[18]

In 1980, 12 million children under 18 had divorced parents.[19] The National Institute of Mental Health study has found that because of the rising divorce rate, 45% of all children born that year would live in a single-parent household for some period before reaching 18.[20] This statistic is further substantiated in another report: "hence approximately 46% of United States' children, under the age of 18, have experienced or are experiencing a single-parent family home."[21]

The United States Census Bureau recently released 1981 population statistics that show "single-parent families have doubled in 11 years and that nearly 75% of the men and women maintaining single-parent families were either separated or divorced."[22] The divorce

[17]Judith Wallerstein and Joan Kelly, Surviving the Breakup: How Children and Parents Cope with Divorce, New York: Basic Books, 1980, p. 5.

[18]Nancy Schoyer, "Divorce and the Preschool Child," Childhood Education, September-October, 1980, p. 3.

[19]"Children of Divorce," Newsweek, February 11, 1980, p. 58.

[20]"The Children of Divorce: How to Cope with Their Psychological Problems," Businessweek, 2579, April, 2, 1977, p. 102.

[21]Helen Raschke and Vernon Raschke, "Family Conflict and Children's Self Concepts: A Comparison of Intact and Single-Parent Families," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 41(2), May, 197-, p. 373.

[22]Norton, "Single-Parent Families," p. 9.

phenomenon affecting children is well summarized by the statement of Dr. Albert Solnit, when he comments that "divorce is one of the most serious and complex mental health crises facing the children of the 1980s."[23]

Review of Previous Research

The review of previous research on this topic shows research in divorce and the single-parent family and/or ego identification in children, but no research has been found that treats the topic of this study in its total consideration.

Dr. Judith Wallerstein in her Erikson Lecture in Chicago in 1981 stated that "there is little or no research related to how divorce affects children under two years of age."[24]

Dr. Marion Tyson, in her Ph.D. dissertation, considers a psychoanalytical developmental approach to children by examining a large body of psychoanalytic material, concentrating mainly on the constructs of Anna Freud and Ferenczi. She also considers the works of ego psychologists such as Mahler, Spitz, Kohut, Jacobsen, and Hartman and does an excellent piece of work synthesizing their work into a 16 developmental line framework. However, she differs from this study in two areas: (1) she does not treat ego identification in the dyadic relationship of parent-child, except within the normal process of the pre-object constancy stage of the child, and (2) she only mentions the importance of Piaget's work regarding the cognitive processes of the child, but does not try to interrelate them with psychoanalytic theory in her

[23]"Children of Divorce," Newsweek, p. 58.

[24]Judith Wallerstein, "Children of Divorce: After Divorce, the Children or the Car?", lecture at Erikson Institute, Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois, April 16, 1981 (tape).

developmental framework. She states:

> Previous attempts have been made (e.g., Wolff, 1960, and Decarie, 1965) to correlate aspects of psychoanalytic theory with Piaget's theory, but these efforts have not been entirely satisfactory. For example, Decarie attempted a comparative empirical study. However, she concluded that her results were only an approximation, feeling that psychoanalytic theory was more difficult to validate empirically because of the much larger part played by inference as compared with Piaget's theoretical formulations.
>
> However, one must take care not to 'throw the baby out with the bath water.' The knowledge of how a child develops in one area may add a previously unavailable depth to our understanding of other areas. Anne-Marie Sandler (1975), for example, illustrates how knowledge of Piaget's theory can help us understand the way in which the relevant stage of a child's thinking may contribute significantly to his oedipal difficulties.[25]

Michael J. Nester examines "Role Change and Dysfunctionality in Single-Parent Families" in his dissertation. The problem of his study is that there exists a number of dysfunctional single-parent families in the United States with adolescent children and there is a paucity of data concerning family role changes within this group. Using the Single Parent Family Questionnaire (SPFQ) and the State Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI), he concludes from his findings that single parents intensify their "expressive leadership" after divorce and perceive their children as having assumed a more instrumental leadership role as a function of changing from a two-parent family to a single-parent family. The findings of this study suggest that therapists may have to include an evaluation of family role changes and inter-role relationships when dealing with the single-parent family.[26]

[25]Marion Phyllis Tyson, Developmental Lines of Personality Growth: A Psychoanalytic Developmental Approach to Assessment and Treatment Planning, The Fielding Institute, 1979. University Microfilms International (unpublished), pp. 9-10.

[26]Michael J. Nester, Role Change and Dysfunctionality in Single-Parent Families, United States International University, 1980. Dissertation Abstracts International, 41, No. 3, September, 1980, p. 1121-B.

Mallery's study regarding single-parent preschool children deals with separation and adjustment to school. This study examines differential adjustment to preschool by single-parent and intact-family children. It is posited that single-parent children would have difficulty adjusting, manifested by greater separation-related behaviors. The theoretical base is the separation-individuation theory of Mahler, Pine, and Bergman (1975) and the related theory of Abelin (1971) on the role of the father's presence. The results reveal that all hypotheses are rejected. Interestingly enough, the study shows that it was the intact-family children demonstrating greater separation anxiety. The conclusion is that further research is needed to see how children of single parents do manifest separation anxiety when adjusting to preschool. Mallery suggests a re-examination of the six-year exploratory study of Speers, McFarland, Arnoud, and Curry (1971) on children facing unbearable situations who manifest difficulties by 'repression in service of adaptation'. This study shows that, while these children demonstrated significantly less separation anxiety adjusting to preschool, they later developed pathological symptoms. As Mallery's study deals with two-and-one-half year olds to three-and-one-half year olds, the data suggest that children whose fathers left prior to the infant's seventh month do not experience the traumatic loss that older children would.[27]

Wilkinson's study treats elementary school children of divorce through group counseling (1977). There are 24 children in the control group and 26 children in the experimental group. The hypothesis is posited

[27]Berrell E. Mallery, Single-Parent Preschool Children: Separation and Adjustment to School, Yeshiva University, 1980. Dissertation Abstracts International, 41(4), October, 1980, p. 1514-B.

that there would be no difference between children of divorce group and control group regarding self-esteem, divorce attitude and school attendance. The author identifies fifteen dependent variables, including 'sex of child' and 'use of group process'. The Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory and Divorce Attitude Measure are used. Wilkinson's study shows no significant difference between the children of divorce group and the control group regarding divorce attitude, self-esteem and school attendance, though the author chose for both groups children who were exhibiting academic behavior problems in the classroom.[28]

These studies show the need to identify the variables that affect the behavior of children of divorce, but lead to a deeper question: What intrapsychic changes take place in the child of divorce?

The study that is a pivotal turning point in the study of children of divorce was done by Judith Wallerstein (1978) for her Ph.D. dissertation from Lund University, Lund, Sweden. The study is based on the first stages of a five-year longitudinal study in Northern California. It is designed to explore and assess the psychological responses of 131 children from 60 divorcing families. Wallerstein's research, in collaboration with Kelly, is primarily 'hypothesis-generating' in that it represents a first attempt to examine directly the responses of children of divorce in a normal population.

The Children of Divorce Project was formally established in 1971 in the Children's Division of Marin County, California. It is a research and pilot intervention program designed to illuminate the needs of

[28]Gary S. Wilkinson, Small Group Counseling with Elementary School Children of Divorce, Dissertation Abstracts International, 37(10-A), April, 1977, p. 6287-6288.

children and adolescents caught in the stressful process of family dissolution and to provide psychological interventions and social and educational recommendations.[29]

Wallerstein acknowledges the concern of normal ego identification with the child of divorce in her consideration of 'theoretical frameworks' in her study. Her use of psychoanalytic theory refers to the triadic relationship of mother-father-child as 'the triangular attachments of family life' and she considers the role of 'the absent parent' causing imbalance in the child negotiating the complex tasks of developmental stages. She sees the child experiencing 'psychic hazards' and compares the 'absent parent' to the death of a loved one or at least a 'transitory loss' with consequences of the grieving process for the child of divorce.[30] She does not treat this topic in depth, but rather as a theoretical basis to better understand the psychological responses of children of divorce from preschool age through adolescence. Her study, however, is the first to study a normal population of children rather than children in therapy or being treated in psychiatric clinics.

Two other studies seem counter-indicative of negative effects suffered from divorce. Both studies have as their population school-age children or adolescent children and do not focus on preschool children regarding ego identification. The Raschke study (1979) collected data from 289 third, sixth, and eighth grade children concerning self concept, family structure and family conflict. Using the Pier-

[29]Judith S. Wallerstein, Psychological Responses of Children and Adolescents to Divorce: Findings from the First Stage of a Five-Year Longitudinal Study in Northern California, Unpublished dissertation submitted for Ph.D. degree, Lund University, Lund, Sweden, November, 1978, p. 3.

[30]Ibid., pp. 5-8.

Harris Children's Self Concept Scale to measure self-concept and self-reports for family structure and family conflict, no significant differences in self-concept scores of children from intact, single-parent, reconstituted family or other types of families are found. Self-concept scores are significantly lower for children who reported higher levels of family conflict:

> These findings have important implications for those professionals working in various ways with families. They do not support those previously-cited studies (e.g., Landis, 1960; Westman, 1972; Houston, 1973; Hetherington, 1973; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1974, 1975, 1976) generally showing a negative impact on children caused by marital separation of their parents.[31]

It is to be noted that of 289 school-age children given questionnaires in Raschke's study, 61% were black children and 39% were white children. "Single-Parent family" is not necessarily defined as a "post-divorced family." This distinction is not clarified in the study.[32] It also did not treat the critical period of ego identification of the preschool child and the variable of family structure.

The Berg and Kelly study (1979) examines three groups of children, including children of divorce, those from intact but rejected families, and those from intact and accepted families. These three groups are evaluated for self-esteem levels on the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale. Contrary to current clinical impressions, children with divorced parents are not found to evidence self-esteem levels lower than those of intact-accepted families. Children from intact-rejected families, however, evidence self-esteem levels significantly lower than

[31] Helen J. Raschke and Vernon J. Raschke, "Family Conflict and Children's Self-Concepts: A Comparison of Intact and Single-Parent Families," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 41(2), May, 1979, p. 373.

[32] Ibid., p. 374.

those of the two other groups. The fifty-seven subjects tested in the study are from nine years old to fifteen years old. The Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale is used. The authors conclude that there is a need to investigate the various circumstances of children in the family structure.[33]

Summary

The rise of divorce in the last 20 years emerged so dramatically in the United States that research is still being gathered as to its effects on families and children. Internationally, divorce is becoming a reality, but at a slower pace than in the United States due to the financial factor of being a single parent in Europe. Other nations look to the United States for research regarding the effects of divorce on children.

This research focuses on ego identification of the preschool child, both from psychoanalytic and cognitive viewpoints, and considers the crisis of divorce's impact upon the child's developmental processes towards ego identification. It does not include experimental studies, treatment models, or case studies, but through a review of the literature hopes to add to theory-building research regarding the child of divorce.

A review of previous literature shows no research to be found that treats the topic of this study.

[33] Berthold Berg and Robert Kelly, "The Measured Self-Esteem of Children from Broken, Rejected and Accepted Families," Journal of Divorce, 2(4), Summer, 1979, pp. 363-369.

CHAPTER II

JEAN PIAGET'S CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF COGNITIVE PROCESSES AND ITS INTERRELATEDNESS TO THE EGO IDENTIFICATION OF THE CHILD

In order to present the intrapsychic process of ego identification, the relationship of ocgnitive development to ego development is needed to present a more comprehensive picture of the preschool child. This relationship is discussed by Loevinger. She points out that "cognitive development is the cornerstone of human development, as a whole, because cognitive principles constitute the broadest and the most encompassing structures that one can imagine."[1]

In this chapter, the theoretical background of Jean Piaget, relationship of intelligence and affectivity, and three alternative hypotheses Piaget presents to Freudian conceptualizations of the preschool child are discussed. Piaget's lecture notes, Les Relations entre L'Affectivité et L'Intelligence dans le Développement Mental de L'Enfant[2] (1954) are the main reference. In order to understand the process of the preschool child (birth to two years) sustaining mental image fundamental to parental image, imitation, mental image and affective object constancy are treated in this chapter. The characteristics of pre-operational thought in the preschool child (two to six years old)

[1]Jane Loevinger, Ego Development, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Company, 1976, pp. 41-42.

[2]Jean Piaget, Les Relations entre L'Affectivité et L'Intelligence dans le Développement Mental de L'Enfant (unpublished), Paris, November, 1954, pp. 1-195. Unpublished translation by Charlotte Ellinwood, University of Chicago, December, 1965, pp. 1-24; pp. 24-195 translated with the assistance of Father André Rousseau, C.M., DePaul University, 1982.

and creativity will conclude the chapter.

Theoretical Background of Jean Piaget

One of the criticisms regarding Piagetian research in the 1950s is that it was too much of a "one-man" system, too self-contained and with too many self-references.[3] In countering this view, Anthony points out that Piaget was a "creative borrower of genius" transposing and amplifying all that he borrowed while acknowledging his sources. The "creative borrowing" in the making of Piaget's system is found in the following figure:[4]

CONCEPTS	SOURCE
Circular reactions	J. M. Baldwin
Adualism	J. M. Baldwin
Assimilation-imitation theory	J. M. Baldwin
Transductive thought	Stern
Participations	Levy-Bruhl
Syncretism	Renon, Claparède
Artificialism	Brunschwicz
The double morality system	Durkheim, Bovet
Functional stages of development	Claparède
Environmental interaction	Maine de Biran
Regulations	Janet
Autistic stage	Freud
Narcissism sans Narcissus	Freud

[3] E. J. Anthony, "The Significance of Jean Piaget for Child Psychiatry," British Journal of Medical Psychology, 29, 1956, pp. 32-33.

[4] Ibid., p. 34.

Piaget's later association with Barbel Inhelder was to take care of this criticism through their combined work that shows characteristics of intuitiveness and creativity, and yet is theoretical, factual and accurate in its research.

To understand and capture all of Piaget's work would be too complex a task because of his voluminous writing, but David Elkind clearly summarizes the stages of cognitive thinking presented by Piaget in the diagram on the following page.[5]

Relationship of Intelligence and Affectivity

To focus on the relationship between the cognitive and affective processes that is instrumental in the child's construction of reality, I shall treat Piaget's conceptualization of affectivity and its relationship to intelligence. Anthony comments on this relationship between the cognitive processes and the emotional life of the child when he says that, like Moliere's gentleman, "we may not have recognized it!" Anthony believes that if genetic epistomology is the new, precise and compact language of intellectual behavior and adequate reflection of mental events, it might be applied with equal effect to the emotional life.[6] He further indicates that "it is not sufficient to understand dynamics of feeling; we must also understand the genetics of thinking, after which we may claim that we really understand our patients. Our present understanding is too lopsided."[7]

Piaget believed that an "intellectual unconscious" adds a

[5]David Elkind, The Child's Reality: Three Developmental Themes, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1978, pp. 88-89.

[6]Anthony, "Significance of Jean Piaget," p. 32.

[7]Ibid., p. 34.

Diagram 1

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SELF AND ASSOCIATED COGNITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS*

Age	Mental Operations Major Achievements	Transient versus Abiding	Objective versus Subjective	Universal versus Particular
0 - 2 Years Sensorimotor Self (self as object)	1. Sensorimotor coordinations 2. Construction of a world of permanent objects	Distinguish between sounds, sights, etc., that are transient from those that are abiding.	Distinguish between disappearance caused by the object's movements & those brought about by the subject's own movements.	Distinguish between human faces in general and mother's face in particular.
2 - 6 Years Symbolic Self (self as symbol creator & user)	1. Preoperations & the symbolic function 2. Construction of a system of representations of the object world	Distinguish between symbols that are temporary designations (leader) & permanent designations (names, rel. affiliations, etc.).	Distinguish between symbols the child has created & those that are collective in origin.	Distinguish between use of symbols for the one & for the many ("Daddy" for one man only).
2 - 6 Years Lawful Self (self as rule maker and follower)	1. Concrete operations 2. Construction of rules governing objects and representations	Distinguish rules made up for the moment (games, etc.) & more abiding rules such as those related to cheating, lying, etc.	Distinguish between rules the child assumes are operative & those that are actually in play.	Distinguish between rules & exceptions to them (language rules, game rules, as they apply to handicapped children, etc.).
11 - 15 Years Reflective Self (self as theory builder and tester)	1. Formal operations 2. Construction of ideals, theories	Distinguish between momentary thoughts & theories & those that are abiding. (Momentary thoughts sometimes assumed to be abiding need to be warded off.)	Distinguish between ideas held by the self & ideas held by others (imaginary audience constructions).	Distinguish between ideas unique to the self & those that are universal to mankind (personal fable).

*Elkind

significant contribution in understanding the child. Anthony comments that "the important clinical implications are these: if intelligence reaches back in this way to the beginnings of life, and it is always so closely tied to affect, then it follows that intellectual disturbances must have deep roots and deep emotional components."[8]

Anthony further observes the interaction of the intellectual processes and emotional processes when he states:

> This deep aspect of intelligence and this 'dynamic association with affect' may help to throw light on the learning disabilities and the bad habits of thought that present themselves to the clinic in the guise of so-called 'pseudo-retardation,' magical thinking, syncretisms, and incapacities to generalize or abstract. The extent and 'depth' of the disability may be demonstrated by a radical and systematic analysis of the thinking process.[9]

Ironically enough, "Piaget has been sometimes criticized by psychoanalysts because he has not concerned himself with the affective components of cognition which is a central problem for the psychoanalyst in studying the mental development of the child."[10]

Piaget's main thought regarding affectivity lies in a series of lectures that he gave at the Sorbonne in Paris, France, between 1953 and 1954.[11] Some rather vital concepts and thoughts of Piaget concerning affectivity, particularly in relationship to the Freudian school, are found in this relatively unknown work of Piaget.

1. In a first sense, it can mean that affectivity intervenes in the

[8] Ibid., p. 32.

[9] Ibid., p. 32.

[10] Selma Fraiberg, "Libidinal Object Constancy and Mental Representation," The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 14, New York: International Universities Press, 1969, p. 26.

[11] Jean Piaget, Le Relations entre L'Affectivité et L'Intelligence, pp. 1-195.

> operations of intelligence, that it stimulates or agitates them (sets them into motion), that it is a cause of acceleration or retardations in intellectual development, but that it could not modify the structures of intelligence as such.
>
> 2. In a second sense, it can mean on the contrary that affectivity intervenes in the very structure of intelligence, that it is a source of understandings and original cognitive operations.[12]

Piaget's understanding is found in his 'provisional conclusion' which follows the first sense:

> Affectivity is constantly at work in the functioning of thought, but it does not create new structures....One could say that the energizing force of behavior depends upon affectivity whereas the structures depend upon cognitive functions.[13]

Examining the ideas of Claparède, Pierre Janet and Kurt Lewin, Piaget re-emphasizes "this distinction between structure and energizing force shows that even though intelligence and affectivity are always inseparable in concrete behavior, we must consider them as different in nature." He compares the relationship of intelligence and affectivity to the functioning of an automobile depending on gasoline which sets the motor into action, but does not change the structure of the machine.[14]

Piaget believes that "all behavior is an adaptation and all adaptation the re-establishment of equilibrium between the organism and the environment."[15]

With respect to adaptation, one can state precisely that equilibrium takes place between the two poles of assimilation, relative to the organism which conserves its form and accommodation, relative to the external

[12] Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[13] Ibid., pp. 7-8.

[14] Ibid., p. 8.

[15] Ibid., p. 4.

situation in interaction with which the organism modifies itself. According to Piaget, these two notions have a mental as well as biological meaning. Thus, adaptation is always an equilibrium between accommodation and assimilation.[16]

Taking these important concepts, Piaget has identified one step further, for he sees these notions having two meanings, with both affective and cognitive components:

> Assimilation with respect to its affective aspect is Interest (John Dewey defines interest as 'assimilation to oneself'); with respect to its cognitive aspect, it is Understanding in the manner of the baby in the sensorimotor domain.
>
> Accommodation with respect to its affective aspect is Interest in the object insofar as it is new. With respect to its cognitive aspect, it is, for example, the adjustment of thought schemas (patterns of thought) to phenomena.[17]

Piaget is clear about his conviction that "there is, in truth, as much construction in the affective domain as in the cognitive domain."[18] He compares cognitive structures and affective structures contemporaneous in development in the diagram on the following page.[19]

Thus, Piaget identifies six stages paralleling cognitive processes and affective development. The first is Hereditary Make-Up with instinctive tendencies including hunting instincts (Stanley Hall), instincts of defense (fear and aggression), curiosity, sexual instincts, parental instincts (maternal and paternal instincts), social instincts, selfish instincts, and play instincts.

[16] Ibid., p. 5.

[17] Ibid., p. 5.

[18] Ibid., p. 11.

[19] Ibid., pp. 12-14.

DIAGRAM 2: OF THE STAGES OF INTELLECTUAL AND AFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENT (Piaget)

	A	
	Sensori-Motor or Non-Socialized Intelligence	Prosocial Intra-Individual Feelings (accompanying the action of the subject, whatever that action may be)
I	Hereditary Make-up (Montages) -reflexes -instincts (group of reflexes)	Hereditary Make-Up (Montages -instinctive tendencies -emotions
II	First Acquisitions as a function of experience before properly so-called sensori-motor intelligence: -first habits -differentiated perceptions	Perceptive Affects -pleasures and pain bound to perceptions -feelings of the pleasant and unpleasant (pleasures and displeasures, liking and disliking)
III	Sensori-Motor Intelligence (From 6-8 months until the acquisition of language - second year)	Elementary Regulations (in Janet's sense) activation, inhibition, reactions to termination, with a feeling of success or failure)
	B	
	Verbal, Conceptual or Socialized Intelligence	Inter-Individual Feelings (Affective exchanges between persons)
IV	Pre-Operational Representations (Interiorization of action in a not-yet reversible thought)	Intuitive Affects (Elementary social feelings, appearance of first moral feelings)
V	Concrete Operations (from 7-8 years to 10-11 years) (Elementary operations of classes and relations)	Normative Affects Appearance of autonomous moral feelings with intervention of the will (right and wrong, the just and unjust, no longer depend upon obedience to a rule)
VI	Formal Operations (Begins at 11-12 years, but is fully realized only at 14-15 years) -logic of propositions -freedom from content	'Ideological' Feelings -the inter-individual feelings are repeated as feelings having collective ideas as objects -parallel elaboration of the personality: the individual assigns himself a role and some goals in society

Second are Perceptive Affects. These include feelings of pleasure, pain, pleasantness, unpleasantness that have become attached to perceptions through experience. There are alternative rhythms with joy and sadness, excitation and depression, pleasure and non-pleasure, pleasantness and unpleasantness.

The Third Stage produces affects or feelings that are Elementary Regulations to cogitive behavior. Interest, for example, regulates activation while fatigue, the predecessor of exhaustion, regulates reactions to termination. Janet's theory is used to show how the sense of failure terminates an action by a feeling of sadness. These are called 'negative termination regulations'. Piaget shows that the paradox of these feelings have an association with the child's drive for equilibrium. Need, for example, is defined as "disequilibrium and the satisfaction of a need signifies re-equilibrium."[20]

Piaget draws from the theory of Kurt Lewin to explain the interrelationship of the person with the objective configuration of the fields (precursor of 'object relations') and the importance of the person's previous activity.[21] From Freud is discussed 'object choice' and the process of the child's affective and cognitive defocusing of self to the external world.

"Object" is defined by Piaget as a "polysensorial complex which continues to exist without any perceptive contact."[22] It implies two characteristics: solidity (the object lasts longer than perception), and

[20] Ibid., pp. 14-32.

[21] Ibid., pp. 32-33.

[22] Ibid., p. 35.

localization (the object exists apart from the perception)."[23] Here, Piaget clearly distinguishes the difference between the primitive behavior of the infant in 'recognition' and the 'evocative memory' of the infant's mental representations that enables the child to have mental images.

The process of the child's affective and cognitive defocusing on self to 'object choice' involves, for Piaget, the five following transformations:

1. The construction of the object proper as a permanent element.
2. Transformation of the causality--transformation is the objectification and spatialization of causality.
3. Persons acquire the same characteristics objects have (persons become objectified and spatialized). Persons become localized even when they escape perception and are autonomous sources of causality.
4. Imitation of others.
5. Awareness of being aware of self and his own activity. It involves an awareness of self, awareness of others and awareness of analogies between self and others.[24]

These five transformations identify, for Piaget, the process of defocusing from self to 'object choice,' crucial to understanding that the preschool child must go through certain cognitive schemas to achieve 'object choice' and 'person choice'.

These first three stages, as discussed by Piaget in the parallel development between cognitive and affective processes, are at a preverbal level.

The Fourth Stage of affective development is the emergence of Intuitive Affectivity and Inter-Individual Feelings or Affective Exchanges between persons. This period begins in the second year of the child's life. Piaget refers to the simplest inter-individual (social) feelings as

[23] Ibid., p. 35.

[24] Ibid., pp. 36-37.

'liking' or 'disliking' and discusses the contribution of Adler in understanding self-estimation from the viewpoint of superiority and inferiority.[25] This is the first reference that Piaget makes to a Freudian counter-hypothesis and his 'schema of reaction to persons'.[26] This period also marks the first moral feelings of the child.

The Fifth Stage is marked by Normative Affects. In this stage autonomy and moral feelings with intervention of the will (right and wrong; the just and unjust) appear.[27] It is to be noted that this stage coincides with the concrete operational stage of the child (7-11 years) marked by the concept of 'irreversability'.[28]

Finally, the Sixth Stage begins in the child at 11 years of age but reaches its zenith when the child is 14 to 15 years old. This stage includes 'Ideological Feelings,' including the processes of abstract conceptualization and reflection which are present in the formal operations of adolescence.[29] In this stage, the inter-individual feelings are repeated as feelings having collective ideas as objects. Simultaneously, there is a parallel elaboration of the personality: "the individual assigns himself a role and has goals in society."[30]

[25] Ibid., pp. 71-84.

[26] Ibid., p. 94.

[27] Piaget defines 'Affectivity' with inclusion of the 'Will'- "Affectivity -- under this term we shall include feelings properly so-called and in particular the emotions; diverse tendencies, including the 'higher tendencies,' and in particular 'the will.'"

[28] Elkind, The Child's Reality, p. 98.

[29] Ibid., p. 119.

[30] Jean Piaget, Les Relations entre L'Affectivité et L'Intelligence, p. 14.

This relationship between the parallel development of affectivity and cognitive processes brings out three important alternative-hypotheses that Piaget brings to Freudian conceptualization:

Comparison of Freud and Piagetian Theory

FREUD	PIAGET
1. The infant in the first year of life is in the stage of narcissism and represses into the unconscious her/his earliest memories.	1. Freud assumes mental functions in the infant capable of mental representations, evocative memory, and symbolic function. The infant, in the first year, is incapable of symbolic and evocative memories. The infant is in 'narcissism sans Narcissus'.
2. In identification, the child identifies with mother-father images and through transferences and displacements relates to other persons with a reservoir of feelings that appear-disappear from the unconscious level into the conscious level.	2. The question is 'continuity of feeling'. Just as there exist Reaction-Schemas to Objects, there exist Reaction-Schemas to Persons on the cognitive-affective level of the child. Feelings are not preserved but are 're-structured' or 're-created'

	in the present moment by the activation of the Reaction Schemas of Persons.
3. The child cannot be treated before reaching the verbal level.	3. The child may be reached at the pre-verbal level by the various stages of play.

1. First Year of Life: Repression or Incapacity for Symbolic Memory?

Piaget, in explaining intercommunication with others, asks "what forms of feelings would develop?" He takes, for example, the case of attachment to the mother and states that instinctive impulses are insufficient for explaining the different behaviors of the child at three weeks, two months, or two years. How do these transformations take place? Piaget compares the hypothetical assumptions of Freud to his own alternative hypotheses:

> The first solution is that of Freudianism; besides the 'Ichtriebe' instincts of conservation aiming at the subject itself, there exist these 'Sexualtriebe' present from the beginning. These sexual impulses are permanent and are preserved from stage to stage, but they change their object as they develop and these transfers constitute the criterion of distinctions between the different stages of the affective life.
>
> So we may distinguish in the first year of the child three phases: (1) the libido regards only the infant's own body; digestive stage. Then, very soon, there are peripheral differentiations including the oral and anal stage; (2) it regards the activity of the child's own body, in general, 'primary narcissism'; and (3) the child transfers affectivity on external objects and persons, especially the mother, and there are a variety of conflicts, intra-individual feelings, complexes, etc.
>
> To each of these displacements are to be added repressions regarding

> previous stages so that these stages do not disappear, but they may re-appear in the case of regression. Therefore, displacement and its correlative repression constitute the mechanism which successively transforms affectivity.[31]

Piaget sees Freud as mostly concerned with explaining adult affectivity and regressions to the infantile stages. "His study is too little, genetic."[32] Piaget points out that the child does not have the mental functions, which will develop later, to meet Freud's theory. Piaget defines 'narcissism as the lack of differentiation between the self and non-self'. The primary narcissism of the baby is 'narcissism without Narcissus'.[33]

The concept of 'repression' seems to intrigue Piaget as a key to understanding Freud:

> Pfister reasoned that the notion of repression might be broadened to include 'reflexive inhibition'. But, of this interesting idea, Freud made too liberal a use and his theory is not equal to the established facts. As mentioned before, Freud used repression to explain the fact that there are no memories of the first year of life. It seems more likely, however, this lack of memories reflects the simple fact that the young infant does not have evocative memory, which presupposes representation and the symbolic function, rather than he has such memories but represses them and so, how can the young infant have such memories in representation and symbolic function?[34]

Piaget's first counter-hypothesis seems to suggest that the child of divorce before the middle of the second year of life does not have the cognitive apparatus for evocative memory and its subsequent symbol and imagery. Thus, the child does not have a stabilized image of the absent parent. It poses the question what, then, are the main factors of the divorce that influences the infant before eighteen months?

[31] Ibid., pp. 33-34.

[32] Ibid., p. 34.

[33] Ibid., p. 35.

[34] Ibid., p. 35.

2. Identification with Mother-Father Images: Reservoir of Feelings of Reaction Schemas to Persons?

Piaget considers the relationship of mother, father and familial images central to identification of the child in relationship to others. Is it through the process of transference or displacement of the mother-father imago throughout the person's life to others that accounts for the person's relationship to others?

First, Piaget summarizes Freud's position:

> The Freudians give a simple scheme of explanation that is clear and simple at first. I will recall two or three of these concepts: (1) fixation of the unconscious to the past; the individual has experienced in the past an affective experience when he made a choice of the object. The image of the mother or the father is engraved in the unconscious during the individual's whole existence and the unconscious influences, without awareness of the subject, his conduct because there is a fixation from previous experiences.
>
> We are told, for example, that a man all his life loves only one woman, his mother, and he keeps looking for the image of his mother under different forms, either resembling her or correcting that Imago. In the same fashion, the authority of the father will play a role by fixating in the past, that which is continued through new experiences.[35]

But what does this role of the 'imago' consist of? Piaget then goes on to treat the Freudian concepts of Transference and Projection. He counters Freud's concept of 'transference' by saying this notion of displacement of the activity and affectivity of others is much more.

> It is a restructuration of the entire affective and cognitive universe, when the other person becomes an independent object, that is permanent and autonomous, relationships between self and others are not simply between the subject's activity and an external object. These relationships start to become true exchange relationships between the self and the other person. From there will result valuation, more important and more stable and the beginning of interpersonal moral feelings.[36]

Piaget presents a new hypothesis to the continuity of feeling in

[35] Ibid., p. 92.

[36] Ibid., p. 37.

the life of the person. Rather than adopting the Freudian interpretation of unconscious fixation to primitive impulses as though consciousness adapts to new circumstances yet unconsciously preserves primitive feelings from the ever-present unconscious of the past, Piaget presents the idea of new and unique feelings in each circumstance, but in association with a cognitive-affective Reaction Schema of Persons developed from the life of the person. Thus, according to Piaget, every affective response to a situation is 're-created' uniquely by the person rather than preservation of archaic feelings surging from the unconscious to the conscious.

A good example is cited regarding this hypothesis in treating the feeling of aggressivity:

> Certainly, we can invoke the topographical layer of the unconscious by Freud, distinguishing two regions with the mental life, the unconscious and the conscious; Aggressivity then comes to the surface of the conscious but then disappears into the unconscious to come back, etc. In the first hypothesis, there would be preservation of the affective charge; the feeling is preserved and there is continuity in this case. In this example, it is obvious that our whole life would be influenced by our mother and father image charged with these feelings.
>
> But there is no real proof that it exists this way; the fact to be explained is continuity, but continuity could come from Schemas of Reaction, without bothering with unconscious representations. Aggressivity is only the result of momentaneous imbalance between two temperaments in a position. The continuity factor would be the temperament, (i.e., the whole of the Reaction Schemas) confronted by the conflict because there will be tensions of opposite reactions. Once the balance is re-established, there will be no dealing with aggressivity. What is preserved is neither unconscious images nor feelings, but what I would call 'Schemas of Reactions'.[37]

Here, Piaget sees tension of aggressive feelings coming from the conflict of two temperaments (the 'Reaction Schemas' of two persons) and continuing until equilibrium is established through resolution of the conflict.

He explains and defines 'Schemas in Reaction to Persons' by

[37] Ibid., p. 95.

saying:

> I want to avoid calling 'affective schemas for persons' and 'cognitive schemas for objects'. What I'm saying is that all Schemas are both cognitive and affective with more or less degrees according to the interests towards the objects and persons to which the schemas are directed.
>
> What are the schemas? The 'schema' is a mode of reactions susceptible to be reproduced and generalized, for example, sensorimotor intelligence to describe the behavior of the infant. 'Schemas' are tools for active generalization.[38]
>
> The schemas preserve themselves as a mode of reaction and all these schemas compose the personality of the person. These modes of reaction tend towards submission, liberation, revolt, etc.[39]

Piaget's observations on 'love' in relationship to this concept are quite interesting:

> Love itself, no matter how great, does not always have the same degree of intensity. Proust speaks of 'the intermissions of the heart'; there is 'acedia' spoken of by the mystics; one may have an intense feeling, then an intermission. There are fluctuations, oscillations. What happens? Is it always the same? Every now and then, would it burst into the conscious and then disappear into the unconscious? Or do we have two individuals who understand one another and whose schema of reactions understand one another by complementary reactions? If this is the case, they will re-create again and again the same feeling without preserving the feeling as such. Some people would prefer the re-creation of the feeling rather than the feeling being preserved.[40]

To better understand the identification process with the mother and father, Piaget talks about the superego of the child being 'the prototype of Reaction Schemas' and interrelates these concepts by reflecting:

> The prototype of these Reactions Schemas is the superego. The superego is the interiorization of the parents and source of the kind of moral authority which will generate all kinds of results. It is an example to initiate, a source of obligation, duty, guilt, self-punishment, that can be attached to the superego. It is a prime example of Reaction Schemas. It is not only identification of mother or father, an image of the past to which everything else is reduced

[38] Ibid., p. 95.

[39] Ibid., p. 94.

[40] Ibid., p. 94.

> to the present situation, but the superego is the product of continuous assimilation and by analogy between the present situation that reminds us of the past and the situations previously lived in the family.
>
> The superego is, on the other hand, schema susceptible of generalization. It is not only a tool for repetition. The individual who has a strong superego gives the orders and commands himself...new commands that he imposes on himself. He imposes new directions on the top that he has received and lived with in relationship to the experience of his parents in past times.[41]

In summary, then, Piaget sees the continuity of feeling throughout the person's life coming not from a preservation of feeling, reappearing from the unconscious, but rather in association with a cognitive-affective schema of Reactions to Persons developed throughout life and feeling, in association with Reaction to Persons being 're-created' and 'unique'. Piaget does not, however, underestimate the importance of the mother-father image when he says in a later work: "As for the love of a child for his parents, blood ties could hardly explain the intimate communion of valuation which makes practically all the values of the small child dependent on the image of his mother and father."[42]

Piaget's general philosophy of the child's interaction between heredity and environment and the importance of continuous interaction seems to be a vital component to understanding the mother-father Imago, namely, that the images are affectively incorporated by the child and are the first images to establish a Reaction Schema to Persons. However, while these images are critical to the rudimentary Schema of Persons devleoped in the child, Piaget differs from Freud in that he does not see the images as 'static' or 'preserved'; rather there are continuous

[41] Ibid., p. 98.

[42] Jean Piaget, Six Psychological Studies, translated by Anita Tenzer and David Elkind, New York: Random House, 1964, p. 36.

interactions resulting from the Reaction Schemas to Persons that are on-going, unique and 're-created'. With Piaget's belief in 'will' which he included in affectivity, there is 'choice' implied which differs from the determinism of Freud. The concept of 'Reaction Schemas to Persons' seems to be a concept to understand better that the reaction of the child to the absent parent in divorce holds more hope in reaching the child's Imago of mother-father and having continuous reactions and interactions which are unique and 're-created' in each encounter. Examples might be in the extended family of the child (e.g., grandfather, uncles, etc.) where the absent parent might be the father. It poses the question, though, as to what happens when the image of the absent parent is strong and leaves the child unresolved as to the causality of the divorce, thus affectively producing in the child grief, anger, and abandonment?

3. Reaching the Child: Not Attainable Until the Child Can Verbalize in Treatment or Possible Through the Child's Play?

Piaget felt the child is primarily reached through play in conveying the preoperational, symbolic thought.

First, Piaget discusses imitation in relationship to play. Three types of imitation are identified: (1) sporadic imitation in the form of 'contagion' (some other person or action is present that the child imitates); (2) imitation of a known model in opposition to new models; and (3) systematic imitation of new models, including unknown elements such as unknown parts of the body. This allows the infant to establish correspondence between visible parts of another person's body, particularly the hands and the face and the parts of one's own body, which the child knows tactilely but not visually. The child becomes aware of the difference between self and activity through this imitation. Piaget later on talks about

'deferred imitation' involving mental imagery and symbolic thought.[43]

Piaget sees imitation as the converse and complementary of play. "What is repeated and rehearsed in imitative play are the actions of others, and events witnessed and heard of rather than experiences. The child can imitate only to the extent to which he has already learned or become capable of translating visual cues into action."[44] Piaget then goes on to show symbolic schemas in relationship to the play of the child, a form that he sees as expressing the cognitive-affective schema of the child. He presents in his lectures nine forms of symbolic schema applied to play:

1. The most elementary is one which I call 'symbolic schemas', that is, schemas borrowed from action and which could provide opportunities for the same exercise of play which transforms the child's action. This is the beginning of representation; example: the teddy bear that sleeps.

2. Applying new schemas to objects; example: the child putting the teddy bear to sleep.

3. The assimilation of one object to another; it is systematic in which anything becomes anything else: example: the child moving a shell over a piece of cardboard and saying 'meow' because he saw a cat.

4. Another symbolic play is reproducing entire scenes, continuous, not momentaneous; example: the child directing plays.

5. Another variety is a reproduction of lived scenes but with the use of reasoning; example: Piaget tells of walking with a child in the mountains and warning the child not to get too near the precipice because it was dangerous. The child invented a boy named 'Cadile' who fell over the edge and played what might be the result of Piaget's caution to the child if not heeded.

6. Games consisting not only of reproducing reality, but transforming it in the sense of compensation in play activity; example: the child, afraid of a dog at a gate, immediately organizing play to acquire courage at not being frightened of the dog.

[43]Jean Piaget, "Symbolic Play," from Play, Its Role in Development and Evolution, edited by Jerome Bruner, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976, p. 563.

[44]Susanna Millar, The Psychology of Play, Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968, p. 164.

7. A form of play called liquidation. Piaget points out there are, very often in reality, experiences not assimilated by affectivity, for whatever reason, and this situation reappears in play until it is completely integrated into reality. Piaget tells about using a shovel in the garden and accidentally hitting his daughter, whereupon Jacqueline began to cry and Piaget told her 'he was sorry'. She continued to cry until she picked up the shovel, hit him, and when he didn't say anything, she said, "Say I'm sorry....', whereupon she was able to continue her play in the garden without any further interruption.

8. What I will call symbolic cycles which will continue sometimes for a day or weeks with a central person and all sorts of variations with that person; example: a play about a dwarf girl.

9. Finally, a last category which will infer symbolic play with several people and becomes collective. Therefore, it doesn't transform right away the symbol, whether individual or collective. It is difficult to tell whether the child implies social participation or egocentric play. There also is differentiation of the individual from a collective symbol.[45]

This schema of the evaluation of the play was preliminary to the ideas that Piaget was later to develop in his book, Play, Dreams, and Imitation in Childhood (Appendix B, p. 240).

Piaget sees play as primary in reaching the child's view of reality. He sees 'dream analysis' as also helpful, and discusses 'dreams' when considering the child:

> In showing the continuity of play and symbolic thought, this can be shown by the very techniques of psychology teaching. In the psychoanalysis of the child, which had not been developed in the beginning of Freudianism but was given birth to specialized methods by Anna Freud and Melanie Klein, you know, there technique of child psychoanalysis precisely utilized play because it is difficult to get information, accurate information, on dreams from children and more difficult to get associations of ideas relating to dreams. The technique of dream analysis was replaced by play analysis and there is complete continuity between both.[46]

Piaget shows the creative process of the child expressed in the game of play which gives free rein to one's imagination or the symbolic

[45] Ibid., pp. 172-174.

[46] Jean Piaget, Les Relations entre L'Affectivité et L'Intelligence, p. 192.

thought within which she/he coordinates freely diverse elements and personifies them. "This leads to the idea that the affective life of the child is oriented towards the social, material reality on the one hand, while on the other, towards that lived by the 'me' of the child including his desires, his conflicts and joys."[47]

The various stages of play represent, to Piaget, how the child may be reached for the child's symbolism and reconstruction of reality through play. Piaget acknowledges that the followers of Freud, namely Melanie Klein and Anna Freud, have developed play therapy. Melanie Klein seems foremost in the techniques of play therapy. Piaget, though, challenges the Freudian concept that the child must be at a verbal level for therapy and points out how the child may be reached at the preverbal level through play.

In conclusion, Piaget defines the relationship of affectivity and intelligence as "the energizing force of behavior depending upon affectivity, whereas the structures depend upon cognitive functions, and that affectivity is constantly at work in the functioning of thought, but it does not create new structures."[48] He shows that there is a parallelism in the stages of intellectual and affective development. This parallelism is helpful in understanding the child's cognitive thinking and the relationship of affectivity to the preschool child arriving at a sense of self.

Intellectual Unconscious

Anthony states that Piaget believed in the existence of an intel-

[47] Annunciacion de Bevilacqua, "Creativity in the Child," Montevideo, Uruguay, World Organization for Preschool Education Conference, Conference Papers, Quebec City, Canada, August, 1980, p. 6.

[48] Jean Piaget, Les Relations entre L'Affectivité et L'Intelligence, p. 32.

lectual unconscious, which Piaget saw as comparable to the affective unconscious postulated by Freud. Anthony points out that the Piagetian concept of the intellectual unconscious was "not a separate region of the mind, a limbo of forgotten ideas and affects waiting for a stimulus to emerge, but rather as part of a continuous movement along a conscious-unconscious spectrum."[49] Piaget agreed with Binet that "thought is an unconscious activity of the mind" and though the ego was conscious of the contents of its thought it knew nothing of the structural and functional reasons that forced it to think in a particular way and was not aware of the innermost mechanisms that directed this thought. Piaget felt that unconsciousness was needed in the field of cognition.[50]

Anthony notes the following similarities between the intellectual and affective unconscious as found in Piaget's writings:

1. Cognitive repression has a similar inhibiting role to that of affect repression. In the cognitive sphere, this means that an earlier schema cannot be integrated into the system of conscious concepts and is therefore eliminated by one of two processes - conscious suppression or unconscious repression.

2. The 'return of the unconscious' from the intellectual unconscious consists of a reconstruction through conceptualization where the cognitive unconscious is furnished with sensorimotor or operational schemas organized into structures that carry the potential of future intellectual activity.

3. The conceptual reconstruction characteristic of 'becoming unconscious' may encounter conflict on the way and manifest itself in partial or distorted form. This would be tantamount to an 'intellectual complex'. (Catharsis in the affective sphere is similar to cognitive conceptualization.)

4. Conceptualization, catharsis and remembering do not represent the emergence of dynamically conflicting ideas and feelings, but consist

[49] E. James Anthony, "Notes on Emotions and Intelligence," St. Louis, Missouri, 1982, p. 50.

[50] Ibid., p. 50.

> of a reconstruction of past schemas (intellectual and emotional) in terms of the present. According to Piaget, memory works 'like a historian who reconstructs the past, in part deductively, on the basis of documents which are always, to some extent, incomplete. He offers this analogy in opposition to Freud's picture of the archaeologist 'digging up the past'.
>
> ...Cognitive memories were not retained in the unconscious, but rather as schemas of actions or operations that were constantly adapted to the present and oriented toward equilibration as a continuous structural process.[51]

Thus, Piaget shows a strong relationship between intellectual and affective life and believes that just as Freud has shown the "affective unconscious" in his work, Piaget believes in the "intellectual unconscious" operative in the child.

Summary

Piaget discusses his differences with Freud in three areas. First he considers the question of whether the mental functions of the child are not yet evolved or whether the child represses memories, particularly in the first year of life. Piaget believes the infant in the first year is incapable of symbolic and evocative memories. The infant is in 'narcissism without Narcissus'. Secondly, Piaget considers familial images and whether they evoke preserved feeling through displacement or transference to new persons and objects or whether feeling is fresh and unique in each evolving situations but 're-created' in the present moment by the activation of 'Reaction Schema of Persons'. Thirdly, Piaget speaks of reaching affectivity-cognitive schemas in the child by their imitation and play. He describes in his lectures nine stages of play which he later elaborates on in his book, Play, Dreams, and Imitation in Childhood (1962) (Appendix B, p. 240). Piaget also discusses the presence of the intellectual

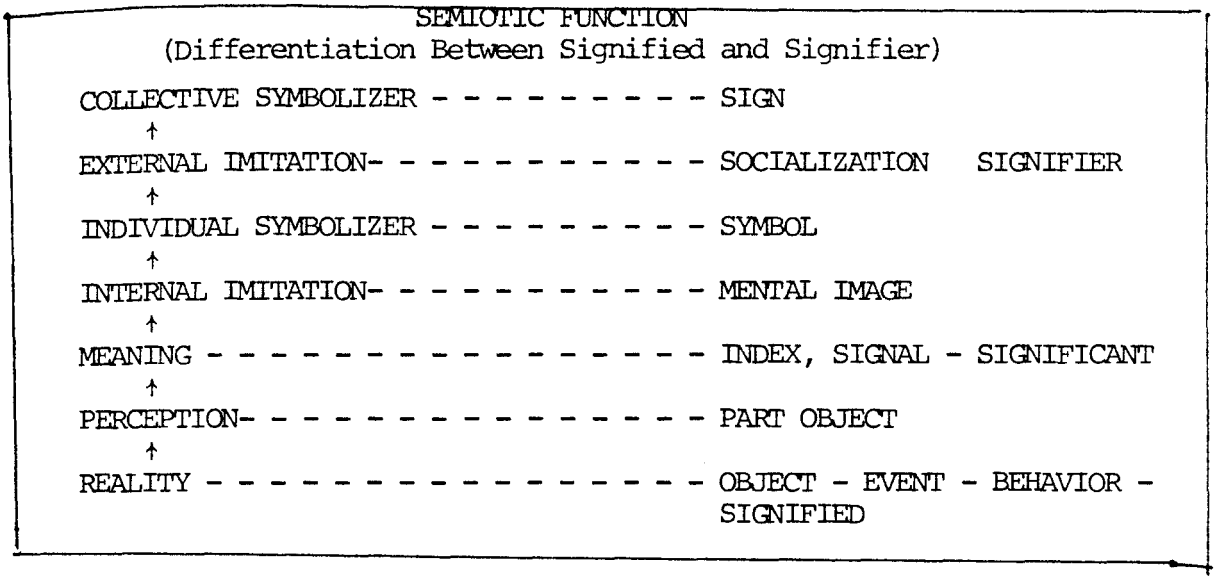
[51] Ibid., pp. 50-51.

unconscious and how he sees it operative in the child.

Relationship of Imitation and Mental Image

Piaget links imitation with mental image. He defines the process of mental image as seen in the following diagram:[52]

Diagram 3



Piaget, in the Psychology of the Child, states that although true mental representations do not exist in the early sensorimotor sub-stages, young babies do begin to recognize significates, that is, the actual object, event, action or behavior that is immediately present in the real environment. The baby identifies some salient features or part of the significate as an indicator that the schema is present.[53] Piaget does not believe that the child is thinking in truly representative fashion until the child can internally evoke some word or image in the mind without some form of external cue. For the child to understand a collective symbolizer, the child must first be able to imitate a schema in its presence; then the child

[52]Clara Schuster and Shirley Ashburn, The Process of Human Development, Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1980, p. 245.

[53]Jean Piaget and Barbel Inhelder, The Psychology of the Child, translated by H. Weaver, New York: Basic Books, 1969.

must imitate the schema when it is absent. This 'delayed imitation' in itself is proof that the child can internally represent or form a mental image of the selected schema (internal imitation). The attainment of symbolic functioning manifests itself when the child is between two and four years of age. This is the time for "make-believe" or symbolic play.[54]

Thus, the child learns to act in thought on his/her images of objects. Eventually, "these internal actions, perceived as imagined movements will themselves form 'a schema.'"[55]

The next step is to try to determine the relationship between images and imitation. In this respect, imitation seems to be both the instrument of transition leading from the sensorimotor stage to the symbolic and the very source of images, which would be deferred and internalized imitation.[56]

When, then, does Piaget see the child being capable of imagery? As early as 1935, Piaget was pondering this relationship of imitation to mental imagery as seen in an essay from Institut des Science de L'Éducation, Les Théories de L'Imitation, when he said:

> Imitation is not from birth nor a piece of equipment in the service of intelligence nor a simple production. It is that intelligence that is an aspect of representation. It is the sensorimotor representation that prepares interior representation. The progress of the process of imitation has, then, victories of comprehension which include sensorimotor mechanisms with assimilation and gradual accommodation. The

[54]Schuster and Ashburn, The Process of Human Development, p. 245.

[55]Brian Rotman, Jean Piaget: Psychologist of the Real, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977, p. 41.

[56]Jean Piaget and Barbel Inhelder, "Intelligence," Experimental Psychology: Its Scope and Method, edited by Jean Piaget and Paul Fraisse; translated by Therese Surridge, London: Routledge and Kegan, 1969, p. 91.

explanation of an 'associative mechanism' is a mistaken explanation.[57] Piaget notes that image poses a problem in distinguishing between "prolonging the immediate moment by a perception" and "the search for understanding." He states that it is important to study precisely the relationship between these diverse significations and when the activity of representation begins."[58]

In an unpublished lecture found in the UNESCO Archives (July 18, 1947, Paris, France) in Geneva, Switzerland, Piaget comments that "on the psychological plane, the child thinks, at first, by means of intuitive images and later by concrete processes born of action which are not yet translatable into abstract propositions...."[59] When then do these intuitive images begin?

> Concerning this stage of development at which images appear, what we have said owes much to conjecture. Psychoanalysts date back imaged symbols to well before the level of the second year, which is where we ourselves situated it (with symbolic play and deferred imitation). The discussions which one of us (Piaget) had on this subject at the Menninger Foundation at Topeka (U.S.A.) led to the conclusion that the most appropriate verification of this stage would be to apply to infants at various levels of development, the techniques used by Dement and Wolpert to record eye movements during sleep. There is no doubt, indeed, that dreams begin before the age of 11 to 16 months, but are they motor dreams (e.g., dogs barking while they sleep) or symbolic dreams?[60]

[57]Jean Piaget, Les Théories De L'Imitation, Geneva, Institut des Sciences de L'Éducation, Cahiers de Pedagogie experimentale et de Psychologie de l'Enfant, 6, 1935, p. 6.

[58]Jean Piaget, La Formation du Symbole chez L'Enfant, Imitation, jeu et rêve Image et Représentation, Institut de Rousseau, Geneva, Switzerland, 1945, p. 8.

[59]Jean Piaget, "The Moral Development of the Adolescent in Two Types of Society, Primitive and Modern," Seminar on Education for International Understanding at Sevres, Paris, France, July 18, 1947, unpublished, p. 4.

[60]Piaget, "Intelligence," p. 139.

Imitation, then, is a continued process both in the sensorimotor and preoperational periods while mental imagery in the child seems to be present before the second year. To the pre-school child of divorce, the mental image of the absent parent would be developing around the middle of the second year of life.

Affective Object Constancy

> The purpose of this investigation is to determine the connection between what psychoanalysis calls 'object relations' in the area of the emotional development of the infant, and the developmental stages of the schema of permanent objects which I attempted to analyze in 1937 in the area of the development of intelligence.[61]

Piaget here refers to his work, The Construction of Reality in the Child, and particularly his chapter on "The Development of Object Concept."[72] In this work, Piaget employs the term "permanence" for the achievement of an object concept (Stage VI in sensorimotor development) and refers to constancy as an attribute of permanence; thus, constancy is not identical with permanence. "Constancy" then refers to the stable, objective, permanent attributes of things which implies autonomy from the subject and his perceptions or his actions."[63]

"The evolution of 'things' to 'objects' takes place gradually from the beginning of life to somewhere between 18 to 24 months; it

[61]Jean Piaget, "Foreward," Intelligence and Affectivity in Early Childhood, Thérèse Gouin DéCarie, translated by Elisabeth and Lewis Brandt, New York: International University Press, 1965, p. xi.

[62]Jean Piaget, The Construction of Reality in the Child (1937), translated by Margaret Cook, New York: Basic Books, 1954, pp. 1-96.

[63]Selma Fraiberg, "Libidinal Object Constancy and Mental Representation," The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 14, New York: International University Press, 1969, p. 77.

corresponds to the six stages of general sensorimotor intelligence."[64]

It was Heinz Hartmann (1952) who first referred to the term "object constancy," relating it to the work of Piaget.[65] Later, Margaret Mahler was to use the term "emotional object constancy."[66] It was the work of Thérèse Gouin DéCarie (1963, 1965) that focused on the connection between what psychoanalysts called "object relations" in the area of emotional development and the developmental stages of the schema of permanent objects. DéCarie, in her book Intelligence and Affectivity in Early Childhood, follows the investigation of ninety infants and concludes that her studies had proven the existence of a close link between intellectual development analyzed under the specific aspects of object concept (Piaget) and affective development analyzed under the specific aspect of object relations (psychoanalysis).[67]

However, DéCarie attempted to bridge the gap by advancing Piaget's criteria for 'evocative memory' (from 15 to 18 months - Piaget) by placing the child's evocative memory for her/his mother figure at 12 months. Piaget, in an otherwise commendatory preface to DéCarie's Intelligence and Affectivity in Early Childhood, took exception to this revision of his criteria for evocative memory and affirmed his position on the 18 month old

[64]Thérèse Gouin DéCarie, A Study of the Mental and Emotional Development of the Thalidomide Child, Geneva, Switzerland, Archives of Piaget, unpublished, 1963, p. 18.

[65]Heinz Hartmann, "The Mutual Influences in the Development of Ego and Id," Essays on Ego Psychology, New York: International University Press, 1964, pp. 155-182.

[66]Schuster, The Process of Human Development, p. 273.

[67]Modgil, Piagetian Research, pp. 21-22.

criteria, citing corroboration from other studies.[68]

For Piaget, "the capacity to sustain the image of an object independent of perception which, as measured on the objective scale of Piaget, has short duration at Stage IV (8-12 months)."[69] "It is the conservation of the object assured from the sensori-motor schema of object permanence (that schema is elaborated in the course of the first ten to twelve months of the infant.)"[70] The capacity to sustain the image gains relative autonomy from the presenting stimulus at Stage VI of sensorimotor period (18 months).[71]

This concept seems to parallel closely the findings of Piaget that the child's images originate in the "internalization of imitation"[72] around the middle of the second year of the child. Both imagery and emotional object constancy seem to be processes contingent on the development of evocative memory in the child.[73] Consequently, both the child's image and emotional object constancy of the parents seem contingent as to when the child reaches the stage of evocative memory which Piaget places at eighteen months. This stage of evocative memory has important implications as to how the child, previous to eighteen months, is affected by the crisis of divorce.

[68]Fraiberg, "Libidinal Object Constancy," pp. 34-35.

[69]Ibid., p. 43.

[70]Jean Piaget, Épistémologie et Psychologie De L'Identité, Geneva, Switzerland: Presses Universitaires De France, 1968, p. 1.

[71]Fraiberg, "Libidinal Object Constancy," p. 243.

[72]Jean Piaget and Barbel Inhelder, Mental Imagery in the Child (translated from the French by P. A. Chilton), New York: Basic Books, 1971, p. 367.

[73]Ibid., p. 381.

Characteristics of Pre-Operational Thinking of the Child (2-6 years)

> Whether we study children in Geneva, Paris, New York, or Moscow, in the mountains of Iran or the heart of Africa, or an island in the Pacific, we observe everywhere certain ways of conducting social exchanges between children or between children and adults which act through their functioning alone, regardless of the context of information handed down through education.[74]

The cognitive processes of the child between two and six years, whether in a triadic relationship of mother-father-child or a dyadic relationship of parent-child, are important to recognize for these processes are the tools of the child to structure reality.

Other Piagetian concepts of the child's pre-operational thinking (2-6 years) are summarized by Flavell and include: (1) egocentricism; (2) centration; (3) irreversibility; and (4) transductive reasoning.[75] Elkind adds: (5) phenomenalistic causality; (c) animism; and (7) purposivism.[76] Piaget also discusses: (8) artificialism; and (9) creativity.[77,78]

Egocentricism

Egocentricism, a central concept in the pre-operational period of the child, is dealt with by Piaget in his book entitled the Psychology of

[74] Jean Piaget, "Piaget Now, Parts 1, 2, and 3" (Piaget in discussion with B. Hill), Times Educational Supplement, 11 (February 11, 18 and 25, 1972), p. 35.

[75] J. H. Flavell, The Developmental Psychology of Jean Piaget, New York: Van Nostrand, 1963, p. 156.

[76] David Elkind and Irving Weiner, Development of the Child, New York: John Wiley Company, 1978, pp. 242-243.

[77] Jean Piaget, Child's Conception of the World (translated by Joan and Andrew Tomlinson), Totowa, New Jersey: Adams and Company, 1969, pp. 350-394.

[78] Jean Piaget, "Creativity," Talk in 1972 Eisenhower Symposium, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, printed in Appendice B, Jeannette Gallagher and Kim Reid, The Learning Theory of Piaget and Inhelder, Monterrey, California: Brooks/Cole, 1981, pp. 228-229.

Intelligence.[79] Egocentricism is defined as an embeddedness of one's own view. At an early stage of cognitive development, the child is unable to shift mental perspective in order to differentiate among several aspects of an event and between his/her own and other points of view. "The egocentric child is unwittingly the prisoner of his/her own individual perspective and largely ignorant and unconcerned with the differing perspectives of other people."[80]

Because the only thought on the pre-operational child's mind is "this is how the world looks to me," she/he never questions his/her own thoughts because they are "the only thoughts possible and must be correct." Unaware that she/he is egocentric, the child should be described as being self-centered rather than selfish.[81]

In discussing egocentricism, we can look at cognitive development as involving several cognitive tasks. These tasks include: (1) the differentiation between transient and abiding facets of reality; (2) the differentiation between objective and subjective aspects of reality; and (3) the differentiation between universal and particular facets of reality. At each stage of development, these factors have a different content and structure, but the same type of differentiation must be made. A child's future at any given level of development to make one or all of these differentiations is evidence of egocentricism.[82]

[79]Jean Piaget, The Psychology of Intelligence, New York: Harcourt and Brace Company, 1950, p. 3.

[80]Modgil, Piagetian Research, p. 39.

[81]Schuster, The Process of Human Development, p. 247.

[82]Elkind, The Child's Reality, p. 86.

> For the child left to himself remains egocentric. By which we mean simply this - just as, at first the mind, before it can dissociate what belongs to objective laws from what is bound up with the sum of subjective conditions, confuses itself with the universe, so does the child begin by understanding and feeling everything through the medium of himself before distinghishing what belongs to things and other people from what is the result of his own particular intellectual and affective perspective.
>
> At this stage, therefore, the child cannot be conscious of his own thought, since consciousness of self implies a perpetual comparison of the self with other people. Thus, from the logical point of view, egocentricism would seem to involve a sort of alogicality, such that sometimes affectivity gains the ascendant over objectivity and sometimes the relations arising from personal activity prove stronger than the relations that are independent of the self.[83]

Michael Chandler, from Canada, for example, does an interesting study on the egocentric thinking of psychotic parents with children having "egocentric confusion." The child is fixated at egocentricism because the parents lack modeling of perspective skills.[84]

Centration

Another characteristic of pre-operational thinking is evidenced when the child tends to 'center' or focus on one aspect of a situation, so that she/he neglects to process information from other aspects of the same situation. She/he is aware of much less in a situation, such as the crisis divorce hitting the family. This inability to explore all the aspects of a situation related to the child's incapacity to 'de-center' limits the the pre-operational child's ability to solve the simplest of problems.[85]

[83]Jean Piaget, The Moral Judgment of the Child (1932), translated by Marjorie Gabain, New York: The Free Press, 1965, p. 400.

[84]Michael J. Chandler, "Role-Taking, Referential Communication and Ego-centric Intrusions in Mother-Child Interactions of Children Vulnerable to Risk of Parental Psychosis," The Child in His Family at Psychiatric Risk, Yearbook of the International Association for Child Psychiatry, 3, 1974, pp. 347-357.

[85]Schuster and Ashburn, The Process of Human Development, p. 247.

> In Piaget's theory, the child's ability to shift perspectives or 'de-center' is a significant determinant of his/her level of cognitive development. Accordingly, the progress of knowledge requires a perceptual reformulation of previous points of view. The ability to shift perspective or 'taking the role of the other' is also important in the development of role-taking and communication skills.[86]

Piaget and Inhelder have suggested that factors of parent-child interaction are important to achieve de-centered thought.[87] This is also substantiated in a study by Bruno Anthony of his work with the St. Louis High-Risk Children's Project. This study includes 114 families containing 335 children and in it Anthony tests the variable of de-centration using the ADT (Affect Discrimination Test) as a test instrument.[88]

Irreversibility

Irreversibility is characteristic if a child cannot reverse his/her thoughts and consequently she/he cannot follow his/her line of reasoning back to its beginnings.

> One of the best examples to illustrate the irreversibility of thought that is present at this age is to ask a four year old if he has a brother. He will say 'yes' (assuming that he really does have a brother) but when he is asked if that brother has a brother, he will answer 'no'. By the age of seven, more than half of all children will solve this kind of problem correctly.[89]

Piaget connected the concept of irreversibility with defining the pre-operational thought of the child when he says: "What do these institutions

[86] J. H. Flavell, P. T. Blotkin, C. L. Fry, J. W. Wright and P. E. Javis, The Development of Role-Taking and Communication Skills in Children, New York: Wiley and Company, 1968, p. 40.

[87] Modgil, Piagetian Research, p. 52.

[88] Bruno J. Anthony, "Piagetian Egocentricism, Empathy and Affect Discrimination in Children at High Risk for Psychosis," The Child in His Family at Psychiatric Risk, Yearbook of the International Association for Child Psychiatry, 3, 1974, pp. 359-360.

[89] Schuster, The Process of Human Development, p. 248.

lack in order to become operational and to be transformed into a logical system? They lack the capacity to prolong actions already familiar to the subject so that they become both mobile and reversible. Primary intuitions are always characterized by rigidity and irreversibility."[90] Also, when Piaget addressed UNESCO in 1971, he commented: "From the psychological point of view, the years from 4 to 6 (and even more so those from 2 to 4, although we still lack systematic knowledge of them) may be described as 'pre-operational' in the sense that the subject is still unable to handle reversible operations (addition and subtraction, converse proportions, etc)."[91] Reversibility and de-centration were two important characteristics that led to 'reciprocity' for Piaget.

An example of this is seen in Piaget's reflection on a simple experiment with the child. "It is this absence of reversibility which explains the nonconservationism about which we spoke. When the child pours water from one bottle, X, into a narrower bottle, Y, and says there is more because the water rises higher, he is neglecting the fact that Y can be put back into X."[92] Reversibility is an important factor in referential communication skills, that is, the ability of parents and children to identify important differences in one another's roles and points of view. "Referential Communication is the nexus of inter-generational communication."[93]

[90]Piaget, Six Psychological Studies, p. 32.

[91]Jean Piaget, Where is Education Heading? International Commission on the Development of Education, Series B: Opinions, No. 6, document prepared for the Commission on the Development of Education which was established on application of Resolution 131, adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO, Session 16, UNESCO Archives (unpublished), 1971, p. 8.

[92]Jean Piaget, "The Role of Action in the Development of Thinking," Advances in Research and Theory, edited by Willis Overton & Jeannette Gallagher, New York: Plenum Press, 1977, p. 34.

[93]Chandler, "Role-Taking," p. 353.

Reconstruction or reconstitution of a situation is the beginning of the child's ability for reversibility, according to Piaget, "but let me recall that even in this case, we have always insisted on the fact that all interiorization of action demands a reconstruction on the level of conceptualization."[94] Consequently, "the beginnings of anticipation and reconstitution prepare for reversibility in the child."[95]

This process from irreversibility to reversibility is necessary to understand the parents' referential point of view regarding the child and the crisis of divorce. Often, the child who is in the stage of reversibility mixes 'self' and the 'crisis of divorce' together.

Transductive Reasoning

Transductive Reasoning can best be described as follows: "A and B occur together; A is present; B must be present."[96] Transductive reasoning is also synonymous with 'specific-to-specific' thinking. If two things are alike in one aspect, the child reasons that they are alike in all aspects; thus, a child who sees one's father turn on the water to shave may reason that the father is going to shave again the next time he/she sees the father turn on the same source of water.[97] Transductive reasoning produces phenomenalistic causality in a child.

Phenomenalistic Causality

"Phenomenalistic causality is the belief that events which happen

[94]Jean Piaget, "From Noise to Order: The Psychological Development of Knowledge and Phenocopy in Biology," The Urban Review, 8(3), 1975, p. 210.

[95]Piaget, Six Psychological Studies, p. 33.

[96]Elkind, Development of the Child, p. 243.

[97]Schuster and Ashburn, The Process of Human Development, p. 248.

together cause one another. Phenomenalistic causality is involved with animism and artificialism, both of which reflect a confusion between the psychic and the physical."[98] Elkind comments on the relationship between the concept of phenomenalistic causality and divorce when he says:

> A very common instance of phenomenalistic causality thinking occurs in the children of divorced couples. Such children are likely to believe that some misbehavior on their part brought about the separation. The magical thought, which grows out of guilt feelings, further aggravates the guilt feelings and hence leads to the perpetration of the magical thought.[99]

Animism

Another characteristic of young children's thinking is animism, the belief that the inanimate world is alive.[100]

> The animism of younger children is much more implicit and unformulated. They do not question whether things know what they are doing, nor whether things are alive or dead, since on no point has their animism yet been shaken. They simply talk about things in the terms used for human beings, thus endowing them with will, desire, and conscious activity.
>
> Example: Rasmussen, age 4, said, 'Every now and then, the moon disappears; perhaps it goes to see the rain in the clouds or perhaps it's cold.'[101]

The understanding of the concept of animism is valuable in the area of play therapy, for often the child ascribes "a personality" to the mother-father dolls, reflective of their family situation facing divorce.

Purposivism

Purposivism is seen as a part of Piaget's explanation of the child's

[98]David Elkind, The Child and Society, New York: Oxford University Press, 1979, p. 214.

[99]Ibid, p. 214.

[100]Elkind, Development of the Child, p. 243.

[101]Piaget, The Child's Conception of the World, p. 210.

artificialism.[102] Purposivism describes the thinking of the child "that everything in the world was made by and for man and that everything has a purpose. Children's famous 'why' questions should be understood from that point of view."[103] Piaget gives an experience to illustrate the concept of purposivism: "A little boy was asked, 'Why does the moon light up the night and not the day?' His reply was, 'Because the moon is not in charge' (inability to distinguish between physical and moral laws).[104]

The child is groping with causality. As Piaget states: "But we must recall that the development of causality is one with that of object and of space. A truly objectified and spatialized causality presupposes beyond any doubt the existence of permanent objects whose displacements are arranged in groups independent of the self."[105]

Objective causality follows stages in the cognitive thought of the child, but the pre-operational stage that emphasizes purposivism has an implication to the child's unique response in answering the question, "Why did my mother and father divorce?"

Artificialism

Artificialism is associated with the artificialist answers of children.[106] The relationship between artificialism and the omnipotence

[102] Ibid., p. 357.

[103] Elkind, Development of the Child, p. 244.

[104] Jean Piaget and Gilbert Voyot, "The Possible, the Impossible, and the Necessary," The Impact of Piagetian Theory, edited by Frank Murray, Baltimore: University Park Press, 1979, p. 82.

[105] Jean Piaget, The Construction of Reality in the Child, translated by Margaret Cook, New York: Basic Books, 1954, p. 264.

[106] Piaget, The Child's Conception of the World, p. 350.

that the child attributes to one's parents has some bearing on what Piaget offers to the understanding of the child of divorce.

> The supreme power of the parent is still more essential to the point of view with which we are dealing. There are many instances on record of children attributing extraordinary powers to their parents. A little girl asked her aunt 'to make it rain'.
>
> ...We have frequently asked children, if their fathers could have made the sun, the Saleve, the lake, the earth or the sky. They do not hesitate to agree. Here is a myth which is very significant, in which the omnipotence of the parents is, it is true, transferred to a symbolic plane but nevertheless remains quite clearly defined.[107]

Other qualities attributed to the parents are related to time, omniscience, and omnipresence. Piaget comments: "Parents are also held by younger children to be independent of time. Children have asserted to us that when their daddies came into the world, the lake was not hollowed out and the Saleve was not yet built."[108] Another quality is the development of omnipresence. "In connection with ubiquity, everyone can recall the feeling of being followed and watched which guilty children experience. The happy child also believes himself constantly to be known, understood, and accompanied. Adult omniscience expands into omnipresence."[109]

However, the child can experience disillusionment during this pre-operational period:

> As to omniscience that the child attributes to his parents, it is revealed clearly enough by the crisis provoked when he finds his parents out in ignorance or error.
>
> The recollection of Edmund Gosse at first hearing his father say something which was not true. 'Here was the apalling discovery, never suspected before, that my father was not as God, and did not know everything. The shock was not caused by any suspicion that he was not telling the truth but by the awful proof that he was not as I had supposed,

[107] Ibid., p. 379.

[108] Ibid., pp. 380-381.

[109] Ibid., p. 381.

omniscient.[110]

Such qualities of independence of time, omniscience, and omnipresence attributed to parents in the pre-operational period by the child bring new perspectives as to how the child views his/her parents.

Creativity

Finally, Piaget leaves us with much hope when he reflects on the need for the "best" in the child: "More than ever, we must aim to create personalities of greater adaptability who are capable of transforming their societies.[111]

In speaking of the role of education in fostering creativity in the child, Piaget concludes one of his unpublished speeches with the observation that:

> ...There are two basic and correlated principles from which an education inspired by psychology can never depart:
>
> 1. that the only real truths are those that one builds freely oneself, and are not those received from without;
> 2. that moral good is essentially autonomous and cannot be prescribed.[112]

In a later work, Piaget re-affirms his basis for creativity by stating: "For a child to understand something, he must construct it himself, he must re-invent it."[113]

In 1972, at John Hopkins University, Piaget talks of creativity in the child. "I have taken many of my examples from childhood because that

[110] Ibid., p. 380.

[111] Jean Piaget, "Foreward," Constructive Education for Children, edited by W. D. Wall, Paris: UNESCO, 1975, p. xi.

[112] Piaget, "The Moral Development of the Adolescent," p. 5.

[113] Jean Piaget, "Some Aspects of Operations," Play and Development, edited by Maria W. Piers, New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1972, p. 27.

is the maximum creative time in the life of a human being. The sensorimotor period, for instance, before the development of language, is incredible in its amount of invention and discovery." Then, discussing what makes a creative physicist, he says: "The creative physicist, in spite of his knowledge, succeeds in staying, in part, a child with the curiosity and the candor of invention that characterize most children until they are deformed by adult society."[114] For Piaget, the development of intelligence is a continuous creation. "Intelligence is not a copy of reality; it is not performed in the objects. It is a construction on the part of the subject that enriches the external objects."[115]

Piaget gives three ideas to foster the process of creativity as taken from his own life. For the child of divorce, the first quality of "working alone, ignoring everybody else and mistrusting every influence from the outside," often is present to nurture creativity.[116] Piaget sees all acts of intellectual creativity as processes of reflective abstraction.[117] He considers the process of the child learning the conservation event through reflective abstraction. Piaget shows how the child starts out as a nonconserver, focusing only on the positive aspect and through a moment-to-moment kind of being able to find oneself in space, seeing the totality of action, the conservation event occurs.[118]

[114] Jean Piaget, "Creativity," Talk in 1972 Eisenhower Symposium, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, The Learning Theory of Piaget and Inhelder, edited by Jeannette M. Gallagher and Kim Reid, Monterey: Brooks/Cole, 1981, pp. 228-229.

[115] Ibid., p. 223.

[116] Ibid., p. 222.

[117] Ibid., p. 225.

[118] Ibid., p. 228.

Creativity, then, is a characteristic rich in early childhood of the child and brings the added dimension of uniqueness, surprise and unpredictability about how a child can respond to crisis and stress, including divorce. Creativity is a tool of survival for the human spirit.

In summation, then, Piaget posits three counter-hypotheses to Freud, particularly important to understanding the pre-school child. They are: (1) that the infant, in the first year, is incapable of symbolic and evocative memories (the infant is in 'narcissism sans Narcissus'); (2) that 'Continuity of Feeling' is explained by the child's 'Reaction Schemas to Persons' with feelings that are 'restructured' or 're-created' in the present moment by the activation of the Reaction Schemas of Persons; and (3) the child may be reached at the pre-verbal level by the child's Play. The child's thinking in the pre-operational period (2 to 5) differs from adult thinking and is characterized by: (1) egocentricism; (2) centration; (3) irreversibility; (4) transductive reasoning; (5) phenomenalistic causality; (6) animism; (7) purposivism; (8) artificialism; and (9) creativity.

CHAPTER III

EGO PSYCHOLOGY AND THE TRIADIC RELATIONSHIP (MOTHER-FATHER-CHILD): ITS INFLUENCE ON THE CHILD'S EGO IDENTIFICATION

Introduction

Concurrently, between 1960 and 1980, the works of ego psychologists were widely published. In this chapter, the historical context of the structural theory of ego psychology is examined. Main psychoanalytic themes are developed to understand better the child of divorce. These themes are: (1) "play" and its role of communication in the life of the preschool child; (2) the psychoanalytic understanding of "mourning" in the child; and (3) the importance of the child's first years of life and the origins of "superego" crucial to the child's identification.

The contributions of the ego psychologists identifying the intra-psychic process of how a preschool child achieves ego identification is reviewed. This literature concentrates on the triadic relationship (mother-father-child) in the ego identification of the preschool child. Contributions from the social theorists are examined in relation to the themes of psychosexual identification and core-gender identity of the preschool child.

History of Ego Psychology

Though ego psychology dates back to the works of Sigmund Freud with

primary emphasis on The Ego and the Id (1923),[1] Anna Freud's The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense (1936),[2] and Heinz Hartmann, Ego Psychology and the Problem of Adaptation (1939),[3] as well as the works of Melanie Klein written from 1923 to 1960, these publications were not universally read or translated into English until the period of 1960 to 1980. For example, The Ego and the Id was published in the United States in 1961, The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense in 1966, and Ego Psychology and the Problem of Adaptation in 1958. The writings of Melanie Klein were published in 1975. Consequently, the impact of ego psychology reached its zenith during this epoch (1960-1980).

The history of psychoanalysis can be divided into three eras. A different view of human nature is implied in each: (a) the person as subject to one's environment; (b) the person as subject to one's drives; and (c) the person as subject and master of one's drives and environment.[4]

In 1923, Freud published his famous work, The Ego and the Id, which is a landmark in psychoanalytic theory construction. For Freud, 'ego' is a word that went through quite a metamorphosis.

Originally, the term 'ego' from the Latin was seldom if ever used by Freud. Freud really took his terms from common speech.[5] Brandt, in

[1]Sigmund Freud, The Ego and the Id, The Standard Edition, 19, London: Hogarth Press, 1961.

[2]Anna Freud, The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense, in the Writings of Anna Freud, 2, New York: International University Press, 1966.

[3]Heinz Hartmann, Ego Psychology and the Problem of Adaptation, New York: International University Press, 1958.

[4]Jane Loevinger, Ego Development, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1976, p. 341.

[5]Ibid., p. 368.

"Some Notes on English Freudian Terminology,"[6] points out that where 'Ego' appears in English, Freud used 'ich' or 'das Ich', terms with the same connotations as 'I' or 'the I' or 'the me' as in the French 'le moi'. While 'Ego' suggests a hypothetical entity that one must justify and define, 'the I' is the most salient and immediate experience. The term 'Id' is also from the Latin and lacks English connotation. Freud's term was 'das Es', 'the It'. The use of these terms and their meanings can be seen, for example, in the original formula of making the unconscious conscious, where it is usually translated "Where Id was, there Ego shall be."[7] A closer translation would be "Where it was, I ought to become."[8] The importance of such linguistics is that Freud sees 'I' or 'Ego' wholistically and more in-process in his original writings than subsequent followers gave him credit for, though followers like Hartmann emphasize the process-connotation of 'Ego'. The Ego and the Id (1923), written by Freud, marks the establishment of the structural theory. In this work, Freud introduces the now well-known tripartite structure of the psyches: id, ego, and superego. This work ushers in the period of ego psychology.

By 1926 in Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety[9] Freud states that anxiety is the consequence of conflict between two or three psychic agencies.

[6] L. W. Brandt, "Some Notes on English-Freudian Terminology," Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 9, 1961, pp. 331-339.

[7] Sigmund Freud, New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis, Standard Edition, 22, London Press, 1964, p. 80.

[8] L. W. Brandt, "Process or Structure," Psychoanalytic Review, 53, 1966, p. 376.

[9] Sigmund Freud, Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety, Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud (1926), edited by James Strachey, 20, London: Holgarth Press, 1964, pp. 87-156.

the ego, if it is intact enough, can experience anxiety as a signal rather than as overwhelming and has at its command defense mechanisms with which to attempt to cope with it.

Anna Freud, in 1936, provided a landmark when she wrote Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense. Here she elaborates upon the defensive function of the ego and enumerated many of the major mechanisms of defense. Whereas formerly it was thought that the purpose of psychoanalysis was to make the unconscious conscious, that is to focus on the id, Anna Freud makes it clear that it is equally important to consider how the ego functions by observing the manner in which it defends against anxiety.[10] She calls the ego 'the seat of observation'[11] and observes that the ego has at its disposal not only repression, now redefined, but nine additional mechanisms. Repression could no longer be regarded as the simple process of dissociation from consciousness. It has to be seen as an unconscious act of the ego, in response to the signal of anxiety.[12]

> To these nine methods of defense, which are very familiar in the practice and have been exhaustively described in the theoretical writings of psychoanalysis (regression, repression, reaction formation, isolation, undoing, projection, introjection, turning against the self and reversal), we must add a tenth, which pertains rather to the study of the normal than to that of neurosis, sublimation or displacement of instinctual aims.
>
> So far, as we know at present, the ego has these ten different methods at its disposal in its conflicts with instinctual representatives and affects.[13]

[10] Gertrude and Reuben Blanck, "The Developmental Approach to the Borderline and Narcissistic Conditions," Chicago: Loyola School of Social Work, paper and talk (unpublished), 1980, p. 6.

[11] Freud, The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense, p. 3.

[12] Gertrude and Reuben Blanck, Ego Psychology: Theory and Practice, New York: Columbia University Press, 1974, p. 23.

[13] Freud, The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense, p. 44.

In this work, Anna Freud also points out how the child denies in fantasy:

> The child's ego refuses to become aware of some disagreeable reality. First of all, it turns its back on it, denies it, and in imagination reverses the unwelcome facts.
>
> ...Under the influence of a shock, such as the sudden loss of a loved object, it denies the facts and substitutes, for the unbearable reality, some agreeable delusion.[14]

Anna Freud, though, points out a paradox in the child by commenting: "Yet the ego's capacity for denying reality is wholly inconsistent with another function greatly prized by it - its capacity to recognize and critically to test the reality of objects. In early childhood, this inconsistency has, as yet, no disturbing effect."[15]

Two types of defense are given special attention in the book and both illustrate the operation of the principle of mastery through reversal (from passive to active); these defenses are identification with the aggressor and a type of altruism.[16] These types of defense are factors important in understanding the defensive, responsive structure of the child towards divorce.

Identification with the Aggressor

> A child introjects some characteristic of an anxiety object and so assimilates an anxiety experience which he has just undergone. Here, the mechanism of identification or introjection is combined with a second input mechanism. By impersonating the aggressor, assuming his attributes or imitating his aggression, the child transforms himself from the person threatened into the person who makes the threat.[17]

[14] Ibid., p. 79.

[15] Ibid., p. 80.

[16] Jane Loevinger, Ego Development, p. 365.

[17] Freud, The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense, p. 109.

The child of divorce, using this defense mechanism, can manifest cruelty and destructiveness towards others as well as abandonment and rejection of dolls through play, through identifying with the "aggressor" part of the absent parent.

A Type of Altruism

"The explanation of this form of altruism is two-fold: by identification, one substitutes gratification for frustration and one exchanges the passive role of the rejected one for the active role of the benefactor."[18] Thus, for Anna Freud, the dynamic of altruism gratifies the child's instincts by sharing in the gratification of others, employing for this purpose the mechanisms of projection and identification.

"Her superego, which condemned a particular instinctual impulse when it related to her own ego, was surprisingly tolerant of it in other people."[19] The child of divorce, using the defense of altruism, tends to inhibit anger and becomes overly-generous towards others. The child has behavioral qualities of being a pseudo-adult. The child may project being overly motherly to her dolls with a secret wish to be cared for, as she cares for the dolls.

Anna Freud brings a new light of understanding regarding the ego functions in children. The two types of dynamics mentioned with reversal (from active to passive), identification with the aggressor, and the defense of altruism have relevancy in understanding some alternate types of reactions that might be used by children of divorce.

[18]Loevinger, Ego Development, pp. 365-366.

[19]Freud, The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense, p. 126.

Heinz Hartmann is considered 'the father of modern ego psychology'.[20] It was in 1937 that Hartmann gave his famous lecture to the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society, later to become the book Ego Psychology and the Problem of Adaptation. Hartmann's work is on the adaptive function of the ego, while Anna Freud's simultaneous work is on the defensive function. Hartmann regards the ego as a substructure of the personality that is defined by its functions. He sees some of these functions as the ego's relation to the external world, organization and control of motility and perception, protection of the organism against excessive stimuli, detour activity such as delay of direct discharge, defense and organization.[21]

Heinz Hartmann writes:

> 'Ego' in analysis is not synonymous with 'personality' or with 'individual', it does not coincide with the 'subject' as opposed to the 'object' of experience; and it is by no means only the 'awareness' of the feeling of one's own self. In analysis, the ego is a concept of quite a different order. It is a substructure of personality and is defined by its functions.[22]

Hartmann, in Ego Psychology and the Problems of Adaptation, talks in the context of developmental psychology as well as psychoanalysis. This provides another point of view and emphasis for the 'conflict-free ego sphere':

> Not every adaptation to the environment or every learning and maturation process is a conflict. I refer to the development outside of conflict of perception, intention, object comprehension, thinking, language, recall phenomena, projectivity, to the well known phases of motor development, grasping, crawling, walking and to the maturation and learning processes implicit in all these and many others.[23]

[20] Blanck, Ego Psychology, p. 24.

[21] Blanck, "The Developmental Approach," p. 8.

[22] Heinz Hartmann, "Comments on the Psychoanalytic Theory of the Ego," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 5, New York: International University Press, 1950, p. 75.

[23] Hartmann, Ego Psychology and the Problem of Adaptation, p. 8.

Hartmann sees the conflict-free ego sphere's functions related to the tasks of reality mastery, that is, adaptation. He defines adaptation as a person who has productivity, enjoys life and whose mental equilibrium is relatively undisturbed.[24] Thus, for Hartmann, "adaptation is primarily a reciprocal relationship between the organism and its environment."[25]

He is the first to conceptualize the concept of 'undifferentiated matrix'. "Strictly speaking, there is no ego before the differentiation of ego and id, but there is no id either, since both are products of differentiation."[26] Hartmann claims this is not different to what Freud alludes to himself in his work, Analysis Terminable and Interminable.[27]

Another concept is the "autonomy of ego functions." Hartmann defines autonomy as "stability of ego function or more precisely, its resistivity to regression and instinctualization."[28] He sees the infant as not being born with ego functions. The child is born with the potential, the capacity to develop the functions which comprise not only the ego, but also the id and superego. Development takes place by the interaction of two factors - maturation and experience. Other ego functions develop by identification and out of conflict situations. The loss of autonomy of an ego function results in regression to an earlier functional state.[29]

[24] Ibid., p. 23.

[25] Ibid., p. 24.

[26] Ibid., p. 12.

[27] Ibid., p. 12.

[28] David Beres, "Ego Autonomy and Ego Pathology," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, New York: International University Press, 1981, p. 6.

[29] Ibid., p. 7.

Another major concept of Hartmann that was to affect ego psychology is neutralization, that process which moves both libidinal and aggressive energies from the instinctual to the noninstinctual mode, thereby rendering them available to the ego.[30] According to Hartmann, the capacity to neutralize drive energy working in a circular, expanding interaction with the capacity to delay drive discharges places energies for ego building (structuralization) and expanding ego functions at the disposal of the infant. This leads to the concept of object relations which are built by transferring energy which was formerly invested only in the drives to the ego for negotiation with the environment.[31] Hartmann also proposes a progression in the development of object relations from primary narcissism to the level of object constancy. Object constancy is defined as "cathexis of the constant mental representation of the object regardless of the state of need."[32]

The last concept treated by Hartmann that lays the basis in ego psychology is Hartmann's 'average expectable environment'. By introducing this concept, Hartmann affirms the crucial importance of the maternal contribution to development, leading to the subsequent study of the mother-child dyad and to the elaboration of our understanding of that essential aspect of human interchange - object relations.[33]

Thus, from Freud's topographic theory of conscious, preconscious, and unconscious comes the structural theory of id, ego, and superego, with 'ego' defined by Hartmann according to its functions in both pathology and

[30]Blanck, Ego Psychology, p. 37.

[31]Ibid., p. 34.

[32]Ibid., p. 35.

[33]Blanck, Ego Psychology, p. 37.

autonomy[34] (Diagram 4). Hartmann's contribution paves the way for the ego in the person to be considered from a normal, developmental point of view as well as the psychoanalytical viewpoint.

With the advent of the re-definition of ego psychology as examined by Sigmund Freud, Anna Freud, and Heinz Hartmann, another figure, Melanie Klein, came to what many now believe "to be an overenthusiastic embrace of the structural theory, proposing that structure exists at birth." Klein believes that the infant is born with an intact ego and with a capacity to endure conflict and even to attain the oedipal position by approximately six months of age.[35]

Klein seems to be a multi-facted personality. By some, she is described as a very creative person, warm-hearted, tolerant, and good-tempered; others describe her as intolerant, aggressive, and demanding. After her death, which was September 22, 1960, the President of the British Psycho-Analytical Society in London, Dr. W. Hoffer, paid tribute to Melanie Klein and ended with these words:

> I think these observations again show Mrs. Klein's admirable gift of making contact with the child, or paying full attention to details, however small, and finding in the child's activities, signs of early inhibition and future psychopathology. They also confirm that Mrs. Klein's mind had been set from the very beginning of her work and analytical thinking on a definite and lasting course.[36]

There began, however, ideological differences between Anna Freud and Melanie Klein which resulted in the Freudian School and the Kleinian School. Kleinian schools exist today especially in England, in South

[34]Beres, "Ego Autonomy and Ego Pathology," p. 8.

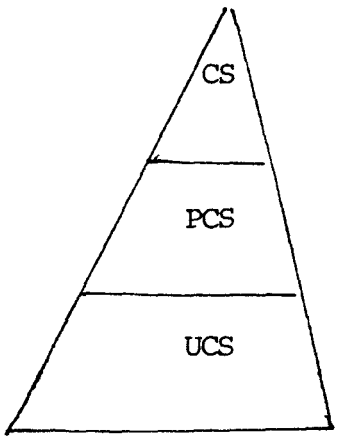
[35]Blanck, "The Developmental Approach," p. 7.

[36]William Hoffer, "Contribution to the Memorial Meeting of the British Psycho-Analytical Society," London, October 5, 1960, printed in International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 17, 1961, p. 3.

DIAGRAM 4[37]

TOPOGRAPHICAL-STRUCTURAL THEORY OF EGO PSYCHOLOGY

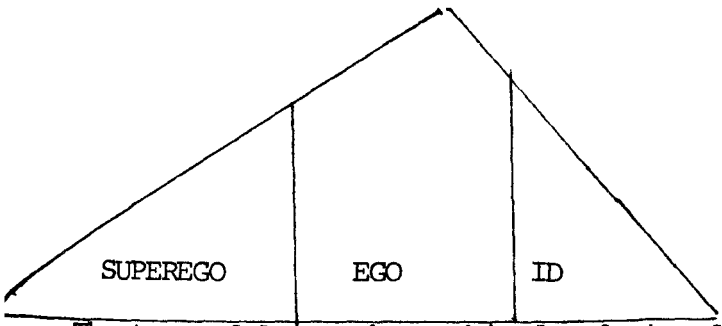
Topographical Theory



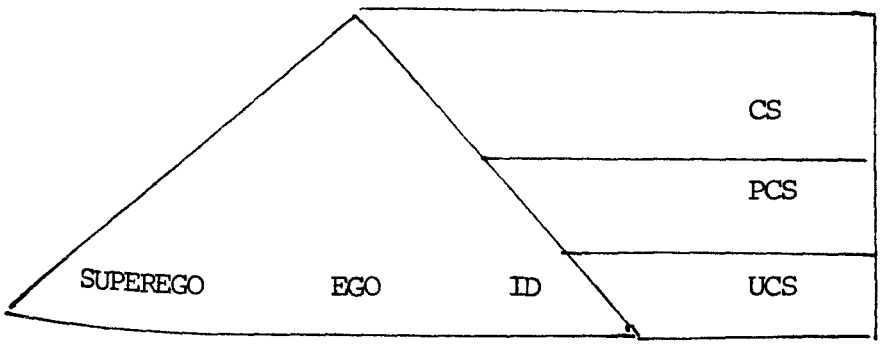
Mental events and content:[38]

CONSCIOUS	located on the surface of the mind and within conscious awareness
PRECONSCIOUS	located in the area between the dynamic Unconscious and the system Conscious - can be brought to conscious awareness by an act of attention
UNCONSCIOUS	located in the deepest region of the mind which could not be brought to Consciousness no matter what efforts are made to focus attention on the events.

Structural Theory



The two models may be combined and viewed as operating simultaneously in the following diagram.



[37]Tyson, Developmental Lines, p. 35.

[38]Ibid., p. 33.

America and lately, Los Angeles, California.[39] It is to be noted in the British Psycho-Analytical Society itself that seminars are held both in the Freudian School and Kleinian School. This difference affected Melanie Klein in her relationship towards Ernest Jones, who was President of the British Psycho-Analytical Society during its crucial years, and Sigmund Freud before his death in 1939:

> She received enormous support from Ernest Jones, but when the Freuds arrived in London and the 'Controversial Discussions' took place, although intellectually Melanie Klein could understand Jones' difficult position, emotionally, she found it hard to forgive him that he did not support her entirely.
>
> ...Although she valued open-mindedness, she was thoroughly convinced of the rightness of her approach and found it disappointing when others did not agree with her. To the end of her life, she felt a little bewildered and deeply hurt by Freud's coolness towards her and her work, which she saw as being close to his work. Believing that she had developed it in the same ethos and further than any other living analyst, she found it very difficult to bear that he did not see it that way. She understood it intellectually, but she found it hard to accept that Freud would naturally be more disposed to support his own daughter, Anna.[40]

The rivalry of these schools, however, produced unpublished and published papers within the British Psycho-Analytical Society that are invaluable towards better understanding the structural theory of ego psychology and children. Though Klein's main works are printed in Love, Guilt and Reparation and Other Works (1921-1945),[41] and Envy and Gratitude and Other Works (1946-1963),[42] her works are extensive. Following is a concentration

[39]Blanck, "The Developmental Approach," p. 7.

[40]Hanna Segal, Klein, Great Britain: William Collins Sons and Company, 1979, p. 171.

[41]Melanie Klein, Love, Guilt and Reparation and Other Works (1921-1945), England: Hogarth Press, 1975.

[42]Melanie Klein, Envy and Gratitude and Other Works (1946-1963), England: Hogarth Press, 1975.

on three themes that are important contributions of Klein to our study of children of divorce.

Play Therapy and the Role of Transference in the Child

Anthony points out in his history of child analysis, the viewpoints of Freud and Klein on "play analysis with children." Anthony first examines the work of Abraham (1924) in play analysis with children as a foundation, and how both Melanie Klein and Anna Freud developed future theoretical developments proposed by Abraham:

> The work of the child analysts, Melanie Klein and Anna Freud, during the subsequent period, testified to the truth of this prediction. Klein developed a new metapsychology on the basis of her child analytic work and further, her experience convinced her that children were analyzable to the same extent as adults and that one could even go 'deeper' with them.
>
> Children she felt developed a transference neurosis similar to that in the adult patient and were technically treatable from the second year onward. Anna Freud had many reservations in the beginning regarding the child's potential for analysis and at an earlier phase, limited its application to children of latency age whose parents had themselves undergone analysis. In place of the direct symbolic interpretation of Klein, she substituted a more cautious analysis of resistance, and whereas Klein made use of play as free association, Anna Freud tended to regard it as one of several important ways of learning about the child from the child. At this earlier time, she was impressed by the limitations of the child as an analytic patient. The differences from the adult counterpart seemed to her then striking: The child did not come for treatment but was brought; it was not he who complained, but his parents; he was unable to lie on a couch, freely associate, analyze his dreams, work through his resistances or develop transference neurosis. All this meant that he was not analyzable in the classical meaning of the term, but only in an applied sense.
>
> In recent years, Anna Freud has veered around to Klein's position. She regards many more children as analyzable and recognizes the development of transference neurosis in some children. Whereas Anna Freud began her work in analytically oriented psychotherapy, she is now training her students in child analysis.[43]

[43] E. James Anthony, "Child Therapy Techniques," American Handbook of Psychiatry II, edited by Silvano Areti, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1974, p. 149.

In an unpublished paper from the British Psycho-Analytical Society, Sandler discusses Anna Freud's position on the role of transference in child analysis:

> In Anna Freud's work on The Psychoanalytic Treatment of Children[44] in 1926, she expressed the view that although transference occurs in child analysis in the form of what she called transference reactions, a transference neurosis in the form in which it is seen in adults does not occur.
>
> ...In her book, Normality and Pathology in Childhood (1965),[45] she states: 'I have modified my former opinion that transference in childhood is restricted to single 'transference reactions' and does not develop to the complete status of a 'transference neurosis'. Nevertheless, I am still unconvinced that what is called transference neurosis with children equals the adult variety in every respect.[46]

Thus, Melanie Klein, through her work in child analysis, shows that the child is capable of transference. While Klein establishes that "it should be possible to analyze children of three years or even younger,"[47] Anna Freud's caution extends to the very early period prior to this time:

> Anna Freud (1969) and Brenner (1971) are sceptical of reconstruction of early preverbal experiences. Anna Freud (1969), in a brilliant paper, writes that attempts to carry analysis from the verbal to the preverbal period of development involve practical and technical innovations as well as theoretical implications, many of which are controversial. She raises the question of how very early preverbal experiences from the beginning of life, at a time when no object-relations and object-related fantasies have been developed, can be repeated in the transference. She is of the opinion that it is an almost magical endeavour to attempt to analyze such very early preverbal experiences of the patient, which took place in a prepsychological,

[44] Anna Freud, The Psychoanalytic Treatment of Children, New York: International Universities Press, 1968, pp. 1-98.

[45] Anna Freud, Normality and Pathology in Childhood, New York: International Universities Press, 1965.

[46] J. J. Sandler, "Some Theoretical and Clinical Aspects of Transference," Paper given to the British Psycho-Analytical Society, 1967, (unpublished), p. 9.

[47] Clifford Yorke, "Some Suggestions for a Critique of Kleinian Psychology," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 26, New York: Quadrangle Books, 1971, p. 130.

> undifferentiated and unstructured state, in which no divisions existed between mind and body or self and object.[48]

It is to be noted that Anna Freud's recent death on October 8, 1982 at the age of 86 meant she survived Klein by over two decades. Anna Freud seems influenced by the Piagetian era as well as the findings of the newer ego psychologists, though her differences with Klein have been over their deper conceptual frameworks and psychoanalytic theories.

Klein pioneered many of Sigmund Freud's concepts with children, doing this from a naturalistic observational viewpoint and with a preponderance of her theories developed in the Twenties and Thirties. She pioneered the concepts of ego psychology, establishing the Kleinian theory. Glover points out that up to the early 1920's, child analysts were rare. Yet is was crucial to have child analysts because, as far as early childhood is concerned, it would remain an observational study "until the child's mind has reached the stage of development at which it can comprehend the meanings of interpretation, the psychic situation between the child and analysis remains one of spontaneous or, at the most, developed rapport only; no true 'analytic situation' can exist."[49]

The first two years of the child's life were relatively unknown in mental development.[50] For example, other than Sigmund Freud's analysis of 'Little Hans', through the accounts of Hans' father, the oedipus complex in children has not been explored, much less "pre-oedipus regulator systems."[51]

[48]Per Roar Anthi, "Analysis of Non-Verbal Behavior," The Scandinavian Psychoanalytic Review, 4(1), Copenhagen, Denmark, 1981, p. 13.

[49]Edward Glover, "Examination of the Klein System of Child Psychology," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 1, New York: International Universities Press, 1945, p. 76.

[50]Ibid., p. 86.

[51]Ibid., p. 78.

Much to Klein's credit, she pioneered and pursued this research. The first period of ther research begins with The Psychoanalysis of Children,[52] published in 1932. In 1934, the second period of research started with her position regarding depression in children.[53] However, Klein attributes to the infant mental operations that would have the infant "meeting the oedipus complex at six months of life."[54] Anna Freud summarizes the different opinions between them when she says:

> One of the outstanding differences between Freudian and Kleinian theory is that Klein sees in the first months of life, evidence of a wide range of differentiated object relations, partly libidinal and partly aggressive. Freudian theory, on the other hand, allows at this period only for the crudest rudiments of object relationship and sees life governed by the desire for instinct gratification in which perception of the object is only slowly achieved....According to Issac's description (Kleinian School), 'the newborn infant, already in the first six months, loves, hates, desires, attacks, wishes to destroy and dismember his mother'. According to my own conception of this same period, the infant at this time is exclusively concerned with his own well-being...independent of relations to the object.[55]

Another Kleinian critic comments on this issue by stating:

> If I have said little about the early dating of psychic events as such, this is not because I feel this is unimportant. Indeed, the question comes into its own when we ask ourselves how Klein's formulations are compatible with the findings of other services, particularly Neuro-anatomy and Neurophysiology. This question was raised by Augusta Bonnard many years ago in an unpublished paper read to the British Society while Brenner (1968) in his Presidential address to the American Society gave an unequivocal and negative answer....I want to refer only to a comment made by W. H. Gillespie during a discussion of a Kleinian paper. 'Why is the origin of the ego fixed arbitrarily at the time of birth? Is it not logical to go even further, as one South American has

[52]Melanie Klein, The Psychoanalysis of Children, London: Hogarth Press, 1932.

[53]Klein, "A Contribution to the Psychogenesis of Manic-Depression States," Love, Guilt and Reparation (1934), pp. 262-289.

[54]Anna Freud, "Discussion," Controversial Series of Discussions (1943-1944), Discussion on April 7, 1943 (unpublished), London: British Psychoanalytical Society.

[55]Ibid., p. 83.

done and fix it at the time of conception'?[56]

The paradox of the Kleinian theory being so fixed in the child's first year of life is that it sparked the greatest of ego psychologists' minds to question their conceptual frameworks regarding children under two years of age. (From Anna Freud, Rene Spitz, Margaret Mahler, and John Bowlby, their "Controversial Discussions" with Klein have left us with remarkable findings.) In the 'Tribute to Melaine Klein', after her death, "these discoveries of hers are, to those who follow her teaching, fundamental milestones in the understanding of human development. They are not universally accepted but they have influenced deeply the course of psychoanalytical thought."[57]

To illustrate this point of reaction to Kleinian theory, the theme of mourning and melancholia in the child has been selected because not only does it show the Zeitgeist of the British Psychoanalytical Society, but this theme has implications for the child of divorce in the dyadic relationship.

The Process of Mourning in the Child

Melanie Klein comments on Freud's concept of 'Mourning and Melancholia' from his study of this phenomenon in 1917. Freud makes the observation that the melancholic's self-reproaches are mutual reproaches between the ego and the ambivalently introjected internal object. Freud differentiates between melancholia and normal mourning by saying that "melancholia" refers to a relation to an internal object, whereas "mourning" refers to the loss

[56]Yorke, "Critique of Kleinian Psychology," p. 150.

[57]W. R. Bion, H. Rosenfeld, and H. Segal, "Melanie Klein," International Journal of Psycho-analysis, 42, London, 1961, p. 6.

of an external object. Freud sees the psychic work of mourning as a repeated re-discovery in the external world that the loved object is no longer there.

> In mourning, the libido gets gradually detached from the lost object and is free for investment in a new object. The state of the ego itself is not affected by this process. By contrast, in melancholia, the object is introjected and the libido is turned inwards. But the relation to this internal object is very ambivalent, and a relationship of mutual torture and reproaches is set up within the ego; this results in self-devaluation, hypochondriacal states and self-reproaches.[58]

Again, Sigmund Freud states that "where reality-testing shows the loved object no longer exists, the person proceeds to demand that all libido shall be withdrawn from its attachment to the lost, loved object."[59] However, from Freud's observation, the person never willingly abandons the libidinal position even when a substitute is there. This opposition can be so intense that a "turning from reality" results and a clinging to the lost, loved object through "hallucinatory, wishful psychosis" appears in the person.

However, according to Freud, "respect for reality gains the day." This process of mourning cannot happen at once, so it is carried out slowly over a period of time and with much cathetic energy. In the meantime, the existence of the lost object is psychically prolonged. Each memory and situation of expectancy, which reminds the libido's attachment to the lost object, is met by the verdict of reality that the lost loved object is no longer there and when the ego is confronted with this, it senses its attachment to the object that has gone. When, however, the process of mourning is completed, the ego becomes free and uninhibited again.[60]

[58]Segal, Klein, pp. 86-87.

[59]Sigmund Freud, "Mourning and Melancholia," The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, London: Hogarth Press, 1963-1974, 14, p. 245.

[60]Ibid., p. 245.

In a cited case of a four year old child named Diane, who lost her mother at two years old, Lopez and Kliman follow this mourning process as delineated by Freud, and then add their own observations:

> Identification with the lost object, perhaps 'the sole condition under which the id can give up its object', plays an important role in all mourning. It acts to preserve the lost object psychically in the form of an 'introject' (an internal substitute for it). As formulated by Furman, identification may play either a positive or negative role in the bereaved's adaptation to loss.[61]

Consequently, 'melancholia' is seen to have ambivalence towards the introject of the lost, loved object, wanting the ego to become free and uninhibited again.

Klein's position on Freud's writings regarding 'Mourning and Melancholia' relates this process to the infant and she sees a universal phenonenon of mourning in each infant from three to five months of age. "The infantile depressive position arises when the infant perceives and introjects the mother as a whole person (between three and five months)."[62]

Klein states that "the infantile depressive position is the central position in the child's development."[63] She starts out with a brief history of her views, emphasizing the importance of introjection and projection, of good or bad objects, and of the denial of psychic reality. She then states that a depressive position develops at the stage of passing from part-object to whole-object relations because not until the object is loved as a whole can its loss be felt as a whole. At this point, introjection

[61]Thomas Lopez and Gilbert Kliman, "Memory, Reconstruction and Mourning in the Analysis of a Four Year Old Child," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 34, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979, p. 262.

[62]Melanie Klein, "Emotional Life and Ego-Development of the Infant with Special Reference to the Depressive Position," Controversial Series, 4, March, 1944 (unpublished), London: British Psychoanalytical Society, p. 3.

[63]Klein, "A Contribution to the Psychogenesis of Manic-Depressive States," p. 262.

preserves the love-object safely inside the person. Anxiety appears "lest the object be destroyed."

> Every access of hate or anxiety may temporarily abolish the differentiation between good and bad interval objects and this results in 'loss of the loved object'. The ego is 'full of anxiety lest such objects should die'. This represents 'a disaster' caused by the child's sadism. In depression, 'the ego's hate of the id accounts even more for its unworthiness and despair than its reproaches against the object'. It is, however, specifically stated that 'from the beginning, the ego introjects objects 'good and bad' for both of which its mother's breast is the prototype'.[64]

In a later paper, she adds to her earlier views on symbolism a new element pertaining to the depressive position, namely, that it is not only anxiety but also concern for the object, love, and guilt which prompts the child partly to displace its interest from the original object and distribute it among symbolic representatives.[65]

Many countered Klein's theories on depression, such as Glover and Yorke, as well as Klein's own daughter, who is also a psychoanalyst, Dr. Melitta Schmideberg. Another theorist differing with Klein is Rene´ Spitz, in his work on "Anaclitic Depression."[66] Spitz summarizes his difference with Klein by stating:

> In the Kleinian system, depression is not only different in principle, but is also of primary significance to the cornerstone of the whole system. Melanie Klein considers depression the 'fons et origo' of all human psychic development. She and her school (Heimann, Issacs, Riekman, Riviere, Rosenfeld, Scott, Winnicott) postulate the presence of a so-called 'depressive position' in infancy. This, in their opinions, is the fundamental mechanism of the infant's psyche, disposing of powerfully operating instruments of introjection and projection, upon which all further psychic development is based....Our findings do not

[64] Ibid., pp. 262-289.

[65] Segal, Klein, p. 109.

[66] Rene´ Spitz, "Anaclitic Depression," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 2, New York: International Universities Press, 1946.

represent a confirmation of the view of Melanie Klein and her school.[67]

Spitz takes issue with the Kleinian position which assumes "that human beings are born with a finished and complete psychic structure."[68]

> In contrast to Melanie Klein and her group, when we speak of 'anaclitic depression' in infants, we do not consider depression as a typical mechanism of infantile, psychic development. We do not consider depression as an integral element of the infantile psyche....We speak of depression as a specific disease in infants arising under specific environmental conditions.[69]

Spitz goes on to show depression as a "demonstrable affective disorder" usually shown when the child arrives at the second half of the first year of life.[70] Spitz places a critical period for the infant at eight months (Stranger Anxiety). There exists, for Spitz, a "rudimentary ego" in the infant. However, Spitz points out that "in the infant, the superego is absent, so that it is impossible to assume destructive hostility of the superego."[71] Spitz does see the loss of the love-object, the mother figure, as a great deprivation for the infant. "Melancholia" presupposes an intrapsychic representation, but in anaclitic depression "the source is the living original of the later intrapsychic representation."[72]

Here Spitz, in a later work, as well as Anna Freud, identifies the dynamics with the mother, such as the mother experiencing depression and the child following the mother into depression[73] through the dialogue of the

[67] Ibid., p. 323.

[68] Ibid., p. 324.

[69] Ibid., p. 324.

[70] Ibid., p. 325.

[71] Ibid., p. 333.

[72] Ibid., p. 334.

[73] René Spitz, "The Effect of Personality Disturbances in the Mother on the Well-Being of Her Infant," Parenthood, Its Psychology and Psychopathology, edited by E. J. Anthony and T. Benedek, Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1970, p. 520.

mother and child. The dialogue is the "sequential action-reaction-action cycle within the framework of mother-child relations."[74] Anna Freud would agree with Spitz's position, as she identifies a mother lost to the child through separation, inconstancy of feeling (alternation of rejection and acceptance), or rejection in spite of devotion."[75]

Spitz offers hope in the mourning process through a good mother-child substitute, stating:

> If there is a good mother substitute, restitution of the loved object results with the child or there is substitution of the loved object. If there is a mother substitute that turns out to be aggressive, or unloving personality, the parallel to adult melancholia is enacted in real life. 'Just as in melancholia the ego is oppressed by a sadistic superego, here the body ego of the infant is oppressed by a sadistic love-object substitute.'[76]

Bowlby also reflects on the Kleinian position on depression and cautions, "because so much of her theorizing is implausible, it would be easy to reject her useful ideas along with the rest. That would be a pity."[77] Bowlby sees Klein making a major contribution connecting childhood mourning with a pathological course:

> Infants and young children mourn and go through phases of depression.... Their modes of responding at such times are determinants of the way that, in later life, they will respond to further loss. Certain modes of defense, she believes, are to be understood as directed against the 'pining' for the lost object. In these respects, my approach not only resembles hers but has been influenced by it.[78]

[74]René Spitz, The First Year of Life, New York: International Universities Press, 1965, pp. 42-43.

[75]Anna Freud, "The Concept of the Rejecting Mother," Parenthood, Its Psychology and Psychopathology, edited by E. J. Anthony and T. Benedek, Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1970, pp. 376-386.

[76]Spitz, "Anaclitic Depression," p. 335.

[77]John Bowlby, Attachment and Loss, 3, Loss, New York: Basic Books, 1980, p. 36.

[78]Ibid., p. 36.

But Bowlby has differences with Klein's position, stating:

> Nevertheless, there are many and far-reaching differences between our respective positions. They concern the nature of the experiences of loss that are thought to be of aetiological significance, the ego-span during which such losses having this significance are thought to occur, the nature and origin of anxiety and anger, and also the role of contemporary and subsequent conditions that are thought to influence the way a child responds to loss (accessibility to family at time of loss).[79]

Bowlby then goes on to investigate favorable conditions for mourning and sees much relating to the relationship of the introject and whether it has been favorable/unfavorable at the point of loss. Upon losing the loved object, Bowlby identifies four phases of mourning:

1. Phase of numbing that usually lasts from a few hours to a week and may be interrupted by outbursts of intense distress and/or anger.
2. Phase of yearning and searching for the lost figure lasting some time.
3. Phase of disorganization and despair.
4. Phase of greater or less degree of reorganization.[80]

Five variables that Bowlby identifies are:

1. The identity and role of the person lost.
2. The age and sex of the person bereaved.
3. Causes and circumstances of the loss.
4. The social and psychological circumstances affecting the child about the time and after the loss.
5. The personality of the child with his/her capacity for making love relationships and for responding to stressful situations.[81]

The process of loss and mourning is a critical factor in understanding

[79] Ibid., p. 36.

[80] John Bowlby and C. Murray Parkes, "Separation and Loss Within the Family," The Child in His Family at Psychiatric Risk, edited by E. J. Anthony and Cyrille Koupernik, New York: Wiley/Interscience Company, 1970, pp. 198-199.

[81] Bowlby, Loss, p. 172.

the child of divorce. It poses some questions such as: What is the impact of loss on the child whose mother is unavailable to her/him? In grief, does the child of divorce "lose" both parents for a time? Is it a transient loss? Is their mourning in the normal process of divorce? Is this re-activated with subsequent losses in the life of the child? Does Spitz's work on depression in the child have implications for the mother in a divorce crisis and her dialogue with her infant? Does Bowlby's research distinguish critical factors in working with the child of divorce and loss of a parent?

Thus, the reactions to the depressive position in the child of Klein influenced some invaluable contributions from Anna Freud, Spitz, and Bowlby.

The Importance of the First Years in the Life of the Child

One of the contributions made by Klein is the importance of the child's first years of life. Other contributions are noted in the following tribute:

> It is beyond the scope of this Obituary either to give an outline of Melanie Klein's contributions or to indicate historically her own ideas developed from those which were already there in embryo by the early thirties foreshadowed in the Psychoanalysis of Children. Nevertheless, one might indicate a series of major steps as follows: the discovery of the early forms of oedipus complex and those of the ego and the superego, and the importance of the splitting, projective and introjective mechanisms for building up the child's internal world.[82]

For example, the concept of 'splitting' was to be an important factor in theorists to follow Klein, such as Margaret Mahler. In 'splitting', Klein explains:

> Gradually, by unifying and then splitting up the good and bad, the phantastic and the real, the external and the internal objects, the

[82]Bion, "Melanie Klein," p. 6.

> ego makes its way towards a more realistic conception both of the external and the internal objects and obtain a satisfactory relation to both.[83]

Klein sees reality and fantasy as intimately interwoven. However real the event reported, it has to be considered in its interaction with the person's fantasy life. In order to show how unconscious fantasy unfluences and colors his/her experience of reality, transference is the key for Klein. She states:

> The patient projects into the analyst, objects which may be split or fragmented, idealized, destructive or destroyed. He also projects split-off parts of self. The analyst's ability to contain these projected parts and the interpretations which connect the various elements, help the patient to bring together what has been fragmented to reintegrate the splits and to take back into himself, parts of self which have been attributed to objects...that is, to the state of being an integrated self in relation to an integrated object.[84]

For Klein, particular attention is paid to the child's inner world and the nature of the inner figures transferred into the analyst. According to Klein, it is not the relationship of the real parents, but the internal fantasy figure, 'the parental image', that is important. The internal parents are often split into ideal and very bad figures. The child defends himself/herself against its ambivalence towards its parents by such splitting, and now the ideal, now the persecutory aspect of the parents, is attributed to the analyst.[85] Because Klein believes in the oedipus complex occurring at six months of age in the infant, she sees 'splitting' correlated with the 'parental imago'.

In 1971, Margaret Mahler was to comment on Klein's theories regarding

[83]Klein, Writings of Melanie Klein, p. 268.

[84]Segal, Klein, p. 169.

[85]Ibid., p. 43.

the pre-verbal age of the infant:

> At one end of the spectrum of opinion on these questions stand those who like Melanie Klein and her followers, assume and rely on earliest extrauterine (human) mental life. They believe in a quasi-phylogenetic memory, an inborn symbolic process. For them, no phenomenological, behavioral data can have sufficient validity to refute their 'a priori' convictions about complex mental positions. At the other end of the spectrum stand those among us Freudian analysts who look with favor on stringent verbal and reconstructive evidence.[86]

Mahler was to go on to the study of children at pre-verbal stage sponsored by the National Institute of Mental Health (USPHS). The first phase was to study deviations in the study of symbiotic, psychotic children and their mothers, but later included average mothers and their normal babies. Though there is no direct reference, Mahler's description of 'splitting mechanisms' in the 'Rapprochement Crisis'(18 to 21 months) comes close to Klein's description of 'splitting', particularly in reference to the parental imago.[87]

Mahler does make a distinction, however, in explaining the splitting of the object images into all 'good' and all 'bad', implying that affect rather than drive is involved in that the good object is preserved (a precursor of love) while the 'bad' object is hated when rage occurs at such an early stage of undifferentiation. Mahler feels that when cruelty, absence, neglect or illness and pain are experienced in the symbiotic phase, when optimal closeness is needed, these qualities lead to premature differentiation of self and object.[88]

[86]Margaret Mahler, "A Study of the Separation-Individuation Process," The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 26, New York: Quadrangle Books, 1971, p. 404.

[87]Margaret Mahler, Fred Pine and Anni Bergman, The Psychological Birth of the Human Infant, New York: Basic Books, 1975, p. 99.

[88]Rubin and Gertrude Blanck, Ego Psychology: Psychoanalytic Developmental Psychology, New York: Columbia University Press, 1979, p. 41.

Spitz was to explore the superego component in the infant as pointed to in Klein's work. Though Klein has the superego fully developed by six months in the infant, Spitz sees a 'rudimentary superego' in the child, particularly around fifteen months old. Here Spitz identifies a milestone in the child's first 'semantic signal' of the head-shaking 'no' which has the meaning of refusing and negating. This appears in the normal child after the fifteenth month of life.[89] Spitz explains that identification and imitation form one of the major contributions of the child in the formation of object relations. On the road leading to these identifications, the child incorporates the 'do's and don'ts' of the parents into his/her ego. However, after the child's semantic signal of 'no', a struggle takes place between the 'do's and don'ts' of the parents' wishes and the child's wishes. "In everyday terms, the struggle takes place between the parental prohibitions and commands and the child's resistance."[90]

Spitz posits a rudimentary ego in the child that has learned 'no'. 'No' indicates that the child finds conflict between ego and the external object. But Spitz does not see the superego fully present at this stage. The authority is extrinsic. "Only several years later will the introjected imago of the libidinal object be destined to be transformed into the superego. We are dealing with the dynamic process of early secondary identification."[91]

For Spitz, the 'no' is laid down in the ego's "mem-systems" as a

[89] René Spitz, No and Yes, New York: International Universities Press, 1957, pp. 34-35.

[90] René Spitz, "On the Genesis of Superego Components," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 13, New York: International Universities Press, 1958, p. 378.

[91] Ibid., p. 383.

'memory-trace'. "The affective charge of unpleasure separated from this presentation provokes an aggressive cathexis in the id. This is attached by way of association to the memory-trace in the ego."[92] Spitz connects these earliest primordia of the superego with the defense, mentioned by Anna Freud, 'identification with the aggressor', as in the second year, the child is learning to cope with physical restraint of the parent's negativism and the child's mastery.

Steele and Pollock, in their "Psychiatric Study of Abusive Parents," comment on this dynamic which Spitz has identified:

> Spitz believes the superego in the strict sense takes its final form at the time of the resolution of the oedipal conflict, but previous to this time there are significant superego precursors and rudiments existing as early as the first year of life. He considers physical restraint to be the earliest rudiment and says, 'Similarly, imposing physical actions on the infant, whether he likes it or not, in dressing, diapering, bathing, feeding, burping him, etc., will inevitably leave memory traces in the nature of commands. These physical primordia of prohibitions and commands are not easily recognizable in the ultimate organization which is the superego.[93]

Steele and Pollock feel more strongly than Spitz about the significance of this early experience in the development of recognizable superego rudiments. Based upon their five year study of 60 families in which significant abuse of infants or small children had occurred, they state:

> We have observed parents deal aggressively with their infants, beginning shortly after birth in all areas of infant care. In the process of feeding, they say 'Now eat' and also slap and yank at the infant to make it obey. In the processes of diapering and bathing, the infant is told to 'be quiet', 'lie still', in an angry tone accompanied by blows and yankings sufficient to cause bruises and fractures.[94]

[92] Ibid., p. 393.

[93] Brandt F. Steele and Carl B. Pollock, "A Psychiatric Study of Parents Who Abuse Infants and Small Children," The Battered Child, 2nd Edition, edited by Ray Helfer and C. Henry Kempe, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974, p. 107.

[94] Ibid., p. 107.

The authors report that the infants respond correctly to parental commands which lead them to the idea that they are observing the genesis of superego rudiments. "It seems obvious that the change in external behavior of the infant must be accompanied by some sort of primitive, intrapsychic change."[95] Steele and Pollock also affirm Spitz's observation on the "identification with the aggressor" defense.

Such illustrations show how the rudiments or primordia of the superego affect memory traces in the infant and, as this work goes on, to show how the child abused often becomes a child abuser, due to the primordial commands and memory traces in the abused child. The formation of the superego in the child undergoing the crisis of divorce presents the question: like the child of abuse becoming an abused parent (Steele and Pollock), does the child of divorce become a divorced parent?

In summary, then, the importance of the first years of the child's life is looked at by Klein, Spitz and Mahler. The concepts of the emerging parental imago, the dynamics of splitting, and the rudimentary superego in the child are seen occurring in this age period.

Triadic Identification of the Child (Mother-Father-Child)

Three theorists are considered regarding our knowledge of the child from birth to three, namely Spitz, Mahler, and Bowlby. Three other theorists are referred to regarding the child from ages three to six, namely Anna Freud, Heinz Kohut, and Edith Jacobsen.

The Child in Triadic Indentification from Birth to Three Years Old

Spitz's interest is in how the child's ego attains organization.

[95] Ibid., p. 107.

Though his pioneering child observational studies include children in hospitals, orphaned and psychotic children, Spitz, developmentally, has some remarkable insights into the first year of the normal child's life. "It will be necessary to take into consideration in our institutions, in our charitable activities, in our social legislation, the overwhelming and unique importance of adequate and satisfactory mother-child relationships during the first year."[96] For Spitz, "affective interchange begins in the very first hour of life and since all later development is predicated on it, I have called it 'Fundamental Education'. Without it, a complete arrest in development occurs and the infant's survival is in jeopardy."[97]

The first communication in the dialogue between mother and child in the circular interaction (action-reaction-action cycle) comes through a system of 'sensing' different from the system of perception that operates at a later age in the child. Spitz says this primal communication is possible through the 'coenesthetic organization' of the infant. "Here, 'sensing' is extensive, primarily visceral, centered in the automatic nervous system, and manifests itself in the form of emotions. Accordingly, I prefer to speak of this form of 'perception' which differs so fundamentally from sensory perceptions as 'reception'."[98] In later development, the infant is capable of 'diacritic organization'. "This is where perception takes place through peripheral sense organs and is localized, circumscribed and intensive; its centers are in the cortex, its manifestations are cognitive

[96]René Spitz, "Hospitalism," Psychiatric Study of the Child, 1, New York: International Universities Press, 1945, p. 72.

[97]René Spitz, "Fundamental Education," Play and Development, edited by Maria Piers, New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1972, p. 45.

[98]Spitz, The First Year of Life, p. 44.

processes, among them the conscious thought processes."[99] As development occurs, Spitz shows that the number of memory traces grow and more intricate operations are possible. The first signs of conscious perception of the establishment of learning proceeds step-by-step. "These dynamics of cathexis displacement can be followed experimentally and were followed by myself, by Piaget, and by others throughout the pre-verbal stage."[100]

Finally, Spitz identifies three levels of ego organization in the child, each one observable because of an indicator. Spitz defines indicators as "external signs that internal shifts are taking place within the child."[101]

The first indicator is the familiar smiling response. At this first level, the ego has organized percepts into configurations and has attained the capacity for intentionality. The child smiles at the configuration of the full human face in motion. Spitz considers the smiling response phenomenon to be an example also of the operation of earliest thought processes.[102]

The second indicator of ego organization is stranger anxiety. The child, by this time, has acquired "libidinal object proper." This means that the mothering person has become so important and meaningful that the child will accept no substitutes. "It signals that the child has singled out the face of his mother and conferred on it a unique place among all the human faces."[103]

[99] Ibid., p. 44.

[100] René Spitz, "Relevancy of Direct Infant Observation," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 5, New York: International Universities Press, 1950, pp. 67-69.

[101] Spitz, The First Year of Life, p. 146.

[102] Ibid., p. 146.

[103] Ibid., p. 146.

The third indicator of ego organization, according to spitz, is semantic communication. Verbalization requires the ego capacity for symbolizing and separates itself from object images to a marked degree. No longer is this the symbiosis between the mother and the child. Now they have to communicate by verbalizations rather than by the sensing between them. Three characteristics of this indicator are imitation, identification, and negative head-shaking. It is the beginnings of human communication.[104]

The first year is critical for the infant and within that year are 'critical periods' which mark ego levels of the child. Tension and frustration are present, but "an important function of the mother is to regulate the frustrations, but when necessary to impose it, for optimal frustration is structure and ego-building."[105]

Throughout Spitz's work on the first year of the child's life, he maintains that the formation of the object relation is made possible by a consistent attitude of the mother lasting for an 'appreciable time'. However, the distortion of the object relation in the child is reciprocally caused by a change in the mother's personality which change, in its turn, is 'maintained' for an appreciable period.[106]

The dialogue between the mother figure and the child in the first year is well described by Spitz. If the child has this dialogue and completes the critical periods of the first year, the child experiences normal intrapsychic development, according to Spitz.

Margaret Mahler distinguishes the following stages in considering

[104] Ibid., p. 183.

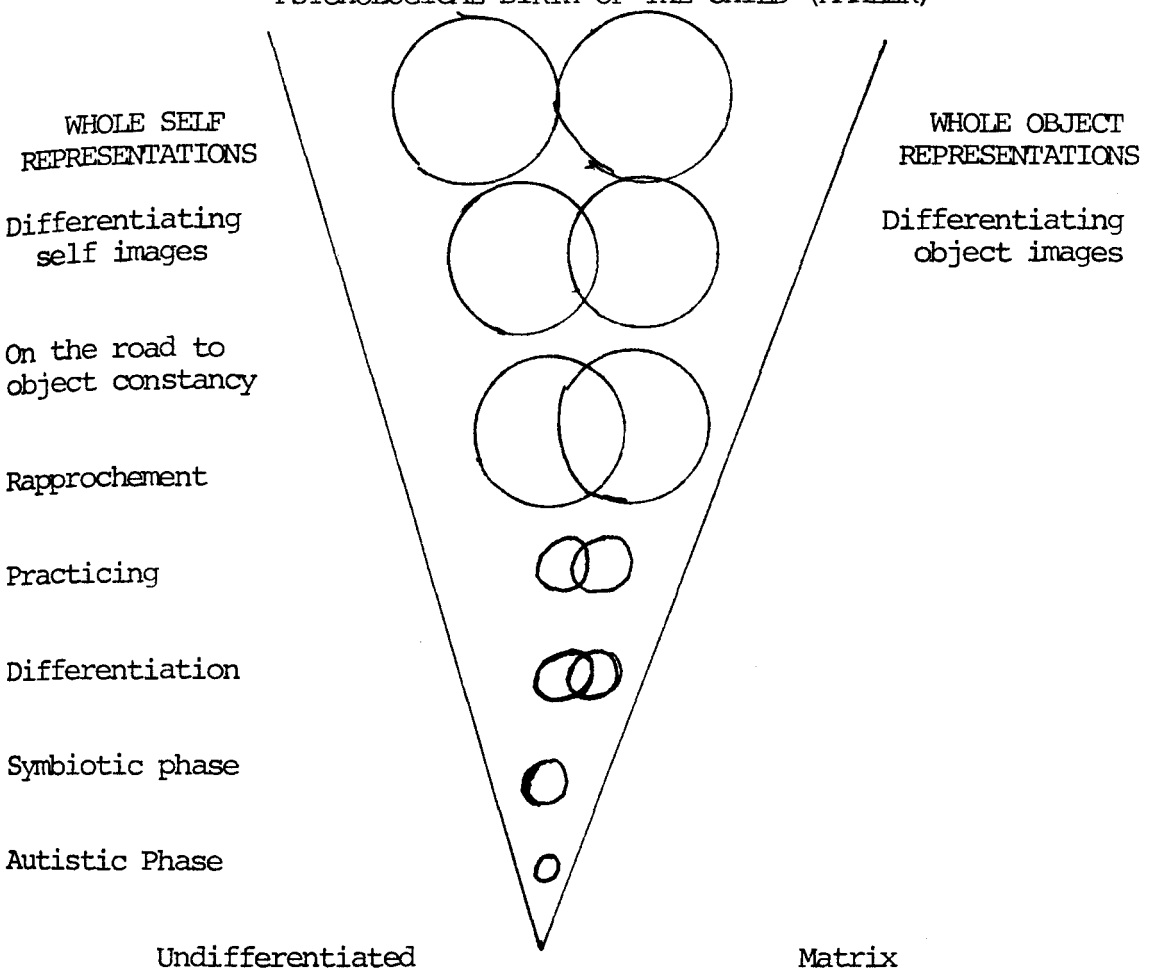
[105] Blanck, Ego Psychology, p. 50.

[106] René Spitz, "Autoerotism," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 3/4, New York: International Universities Press, 1949, pp. 118-119.

the psychological birth of the child (from birth to three years old).[107]

DIAGRAM 5

PSYCHOLOGICAL BIRTH OF THE CHILD (MAHLER)



Margaret Mahler - Separation-Individuation Theory - Birth to Three Years

Margaret Mahler, like Spitz, derives her theoretical framework from child observation. In 1956, through a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, her child-observation studies began her research.[108] Her methodology consists of mother-child pairs in a controlled nursery setting with trained teachers and psychoanalytic investigators.

[107]Blanck, Psychoanalytic Developmental Psychology, p. 77.

[108]Mahler, Psychological Birth, p. ix.

As Gertrude Blanck points out, the work of Mahler presupposes certain common assumptions:

1. That the relationship between the neonate and its environment (mother person) consists of an ongoing interaction that has a direct bearing upon development.

2. That this development consists of gradual acquisitions of capacities through a process that we call internalization.

3. That these internalizations lead to ever-greater independence of the individual from the environment.[109]

Thus, the main goal in the separation-individuation process for Mahler is the "differentiation of self images from object images as an essential part of the process of ego organization."[110] Mahler defines "separation as consisting of the child's emergence from a symbiotic fusion with the mother"[111] and individuation "consists of those achievements marking the child's assumption of his/her own individual characteristics."[112] Separation and individuation are two separate but interdependent processes; the one of separation leading to intrapsychic awareness of separateness and the other of individuation leading to the acquisition of a distinct and unique individuality. Four sub-phases of the separation-individuation process have been identified. Although they overlap, each sub-phase has its own characteristic clusters of behaviors that distinguish it from the previous stage. The four sub-phases are: (1) differentiation, (2) practicing; (3) rapprochement; and (4) consolidation of individuality and beginning

[109]Blanck, Developmental Approach, p. 9.

[110]Blanck, Ego Psychology II, p. 21.

[111]Margaret Mahler, "On Child Psychosis and Schizophrenia: Autistic and Symbiotic Infantile Psychosis," The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 7, New York: International Universities Press, p. 286.

[112]Mahler, Psychological Birth, p. 4.

emotional object constancy.[113]

The following are the phases that Mahler describes in the separation-individuation process of the child from birth to three years.

Forerunners of the Separation-Individuation Process

Autistic Phase. The first few weeks of the infant's life is in the autistic phase. This means that the newborn does not have psychic differentiation, psychic structure and function, nor even a perceptual conscious system. During this time, the infant's main concern is to achieve homeostasis or equilibrium. The infant moves in a cycle from a state of relative ease and well-being to intensive distress, to a reduction of distress by intake of milk, and finally a return to ease and well-being. Intense affective states accompany the hunger distress and with relief of hunger, the infant's whole body relaxes.[114]

> The task of the autistic phase is the achievement of homeostatic equilibrium of the organism within the new extramural environment by predominantly soma to psychic, physiological mechanisms....In the normal autistic phase, these apparatuses of primary autonomy obey the rules of the coenesthetic organization of the central nervous system.[115]

Symbiotic Phase (few months to four months). In the second month, the infant forms "an omnipotent fusion"[116] with the mother. The increasing importance of the mothering person, after the second month, marks the beginning of the phase of normal symbiosis in which the infant behaves and functions as though she/he were in an omnipotent system with the mother (a dual unity within one common boundary). While the infant is absolutely

[113] Ibid., p. 292.

[114] Tyson, Developmental Lines, p. 123.

[115] Mahler, Psychological Birth, p. 43.

[116] Ibid., p. 45.

dependent on the symbiotic partner, symbiosis has quite a different meaning for the mother. The infant's need for the mother is absolute; the mother's need for the infant is relative. The partnership is developed through the coesthetic communication identified by Spitz.[117] During this time, "the emergence of the nonspecific social smiling gives one the impression that the child, at a most primitive level, experiences and becomes aware of an object." The infant recognizes the mother and begins to attach to a specific person.[118] Normal autism and normal symbiosis are the two earliest stages of non-differentiation; the former is objectless, the latter is the preobjectual phase of the infant's life. In the symbiotic phase, the emergence of the "rudimentary ego as a functional structure"[119] occurs in the infant. The peak of symbiosis is reached by the infant about four to five months of age. It also begins the first subphase of separation-individuation, namely differentiation.[120]

Sub-Phase I - Differentiation (five to ten months). At about five to ten months of age, the infant begins the actual separation/individuation process. The first subphase is described as differentiation. This is a gradual hatching process in which the infant emerges from the symbiotic dual unity with the mother to a state of greater awareness of a difference between mother and the infant. The hatching process "is a change point, principally in alertness, as well as persistence and goal-directedness,

[117] Ibid., pp. 44-45.

[118] Henri Parens, "Developmental Considerations of Ambivalence," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 34, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979, p. 390.

[119] Mahler, Psychological Birth, p. 48.

[120] Ibid., p. 52.

occurring in the early months of the first year."[121] It is during the differentiation subphase that the infant achieves her/his first tentative steps of breaking away, in a physical bodily sense and the infant's first attempts at creeping, crawling, climbing and standing. The beginnings of locomotion give the infant 'fuel' for differentiation from the mother.

Mahler observes that the infant likes to venture and stay just a bit distant from the arms of the mother and as soon as the child is motorically able, slides down from the mother's lap but tends to remain near by and generally stays at the mother's feet. Thus, the infant is developing 'optimal distance' from the mother. As the infant grows and develops, there is, for each stage, a position between mother and child that best allows the infant to develop those faculties which she/he needs in order to grow, that is, to individuate. During the symbiotic stage, the infant molds into the mother's body; during the differentiation subphase, she/he begins to push away from mother's chest in order to be able freely to explore her tactilely and near-visually. The practicing infant distances in space, in order to have a chance to explore; during rapprochement, the toddler needs to go and come to find the mother available, but not intruding. The optimal distance is dictated by the developing secondary narcissism as well as by the changing object relationship and the developing ego functions.[122]

During this phase, the infant begins to be more keenly aware of sensorimotor operations (Piaget), use of vision to see the environment, better tactile and kinesthetic contact. The hand, eye, and mouth co-ordination

[121]Ruth C. Rosch, "Hatching in the Human Infant as the Beginning of Separation-Individuation," The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 34, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979, p. 421.

[122]Tyson, Developmental Lines, pp. 127-128.

is gradually integrated with increasing effectiveness. The infant begins to distinguish between contact-perceptual experience and experiences originating in her/his body.

With the developments in the perceptual, conscious system, the infant turns her/his attention towards the outside world as a source of pleasure and stimulation. The most important aspect of the infant's world is the mother and the infant begins distinguishing the mother from others and makes a sensorimotor investigation of the mother's face, hair, nose, mouth, and skin. Peek-a-boo games, started by the mother, are now initiated by the infant. The infant gradually begins to construct a boundary. This boundary distinguishes between the representations of self for the infant and the representation of the mother. The formation of these representations indicate the beginning psychological awareness of separation and individuation.

Stranger curiosity appears at this time. Mahler differs from Bowlby's concept of 'stranger anxiety' by pointing out that the infant's basic trust provides more curiosity towards other figures than anxiety.[123] This seems based on Mahler's study of normal children experiencing little disruption of a trust atmosphere that surrounds the infant.

With this gradual building of a progressively more differentiated concept of the mother and of the self, the child's states of well-being and of discomfort increasingly center around the presence or absence of the mother. The infant begins to experience distress or anxiety with the awareness of separation from the mother and connects the close relationship with the mother to pleasure, well-being, and safety. The infant does not have

[123]Mahler, Psychological Birth, p. 57.

the capacity to avoid a person other than the mother, or ensure the presence of the mother, but the infant attempts to mobilize all his/her resources and we see the first emergence of hostile aggression.[124]

During this phase, the infant is also taking the first steps towards emotional object constancy.[125]

Sub-Phase II - The Practicing Period (10 to 15 months). With increased cognitive functions in the sensorimotor period, but especially with upright locomotion, "the love affair with the world" (Greenacre) begins. The toddler takes the greatest step in human individuation. The toddler walks freely with upright posture. Thus, the practicing period is so named because the toddler appears to be practicing her/his ability to move away from the mother. These characteristics include exploring, exercising the toddler's autonomous function, and gradually getting use to the idea of physical and psychological separation from his/her mother.[126] Free, upright locomotion helps the toddler see the world from another vantage point.[127]

Practicing Proper comes with the toddler's first independent steps. With the advent of upright locomotion, the toddler turns her/his attention away from the mother and her activities, to the toddler's own body and his/her capacities. The toddler's bodily abilities have proliferated with the practicing of his/her motor skills in learning to stand, crawl, and now walk. Walking makes possible an expanding reality as a larger

[124]Tyson, Developmental Lines, p. 129.

[125]Mahler, Psychological Birth, p. 58.

[126]Tyson, Developmental Lines, p. 130.

[127]Mahler, Psychological Birth, p. 71.

environment is explored and a spurt in autonomous functioning is seen. The toddler, at this stage, displays imperviousness to falls and hurts of all kinds and to frustration. The toddler is enamoured with the world and one's own grandeur and omnipotence. The mother is still central to the toddler's world. The toddler develops a capacity to keep in touch with the mother at a distance using visual and auditory contact. "We saw seven to ten month olds crawling or rapidly paddling to the mother, righting themselves on her leg, touching her in other ways, or just leaning against her. It is this phenomenon that was termed by Furer 'emotional refueling'."[128]

Although the toddler appears to move away from the mother, there is a certain "lowkeyedness." The world is the toddler's, as long as the mother is there to watch and to share with him/her. When the mother is absent, the toddler shows a diminished interest in his/her surroundings, becoming extra sensitive to minor mishaps or appears preoccupied. From Mahler's extensive observations of children in this phase, she concludes that there is a dawning awareness that the symbiotic mothering-half of the self is missed by the toddler. Mahler points out that it is towards the end of this phase that the toddler attains object permanency, both cognitively and perceptually, according to Piagetian terms.[129]

Sub-Phase III - Rapprochement (15 to 24 months). By the middle of the second year of life, the infant has become a toddler. As the toddler's awareness of separateness grows, stimulated by his/her mother, the toddler seems to have an increased need to have the mother share with her/him newly acquired skills and the toddler's experiences. The 'refueling' type of bodily

[128] Ibid., p. 69.

[129] Tyson, Developmental Lines, p. 133.

approach that had characterized the practicing infant is replaced, during the period of 15 to 24 months, by a deliberate search for, or avoidance of, intimate bodily contact. There now is a different kind of interaction between the toddler and the mother, which now uses symbolic language and play as prominent during this stage.[130]

Two characteristic patterns of the toddler's behavior are the shadowing of the mother and the darting away from her, with the expectations of being chased and swept into her arms. These patterns lead the toddler to individuation which is progressing rapidly in this phase. She/he can no longer function effectively with the mother in 'omnipotent fusion'. The toddler has to give up the delusion of the parent's omnipotence. The giving up of the delusion of the toddler's own grandeur, often by way of dramatic, painful fights with the mother, has been termed by Mahler as the "Rapprochement Crisis."[131]

The rapprochement phase is characterized by mood swings and temper tantrums. The toddler learns two important words, "no" and "mine." There is a rapid alteration from the desire to reject the mother to the need to cling to her with coercive determined tenacity. The desire to be separate and omnipotent conflicts with the desire to have the mother fulfill the toddler's every wish. The toddler experiences separateness and helplessness and has a constant concern about the mother's presence as inferred from the toddler's behavior, such as separation distress and temper tantrums.

> Complex relationships among all these processes exist. Not only do thoughts and feelings from earlier periods persist and influence those of this period, but all of the components of this expanding, inner world tend to produce complex reactions, inter-reactions, and inner conflicts,

[130] Mahler, Psychological Birth, pp. 76-77.

[131] Ibid., p. 79.

> for example, the wish for separateness, not a wish to share independent functioning; conflicts over potty training; coping with social demands of mother; the impact of superego precursors. Conflicts with the mother no longer simply flare up and disappear - they appear to continue in the child's mind for a longer period....There is an increased sensitivity to the mother's approval or disapproval, and ambivalence towards the mother is clearly evident.[132]

There are three dynamics central in the Rapprochement phase: (a) the ambitendency of the child; (b) the need of emotional availability of the mother during this phase; and (c) the father's role in the rapprochement phase.

Ambitendency is the simultaneous presence of two contrasting behaviorally-manifested tendencies, for example, a child may cry and smile virtually at the same time, approach the mother and, at the last minute, veer away or kiss the mother and then suddenly bite her. Mahler describes ambitendency as behaviorally biphasic; it may or may not soon be replaced by ambivalence. It is interesting that Melanie Klein's concept of "splitting,"[133] Mahler's concept of "ambitendency" and "ambivalence,"[134] and Paren's concept of "ambivalence"[135] have similarities yet, according to the theorists, differ in the intrapsychic origins of "ambivalence." This is a crucial concept both in normal development of the child and the child reacting to divorce, at this time of development.

The first conflict of ambivalence occurs in the context of dyadic object relatedness. It seems to originate at the end of the first year during the differentiation practicing subphases and it gains momentum in

[132] Ibid., p. 135.

[133] Klein, "Contribution to the Psychogenesis of Manic-Depressive States," p. 262.

[134] Mahler, Psychological Birth, p. 289.

[135] Parens, "Ambivalence," p. 388.

the rapprochement subphase when it becomes focused, organized and the 'pre-existing ambivalence' may be intensified or ameliorated.

DIAGRAM 6
DEVELOPMENT OF AMBIVALENCE[136]
(Abraham, 1924)

Phasic Development	Ambivalence in Object Relations
1. Normal autistic	1. Preambivalent, absolute
2. Symbiotic	2. Preambivalent, not so absolute primary narcissism
3. First part: Separation-Individuation phase	3. First conflict of ambivalence - dyadic
4. Second part: Separation-Individuation phase	4. Further elaboration of first conflict of ambivalence to resolution of dyadic ambivalence
5. Oedipus Complex	5. Second conflict of ambivalence: triadic
6. Latency	6. Relative post-ambivalence
7. Adolescence	7. Reactivation and resolution of residual dyadic and triadic conflicts leading to post-ambivalence

The first ambivalence, the co-existence of love and hate feelings towards the libidinal object, progressively emerges during the preoedipal period of development. This conflict has a source and gathers contributions in its course towards the second conflict of ambivalence which arises out of the oedipus complex.[137]

Parens makes an interesting comment when he concludes his thoughts on "ambivalence" by saying:

[136] Ibid., p. 388.

[137] Ibid., p. 388.

> This suggests the generalization that the boy usually has his first conflict of ambivalence in the relation to his mother and the second in the relation to his father. In the girl, on the other hand, both conflicts occur principally in her relation to her mother, a factor that sharply multiplies her difficulties in that most central of all human relationships.[138]

Thus, in normal development, ambitendency is the precursor and has rudiments of the splitting between love and hate. The ambitendency of the toddler does not have the intrapsychic processes required for the phenomenon of ambivalence. Ambivalence occurs in the individuation phase and later appears in the oedipal period of the child.

The mother's continued emotional availability is stressed by Mahler during this period. "It is, however, the mother's continued emotional availability, we have found, that is essential if the child's autonomous ego is to attain optimal functional capacity while the child's reliance on magic omnipotence recedes."[139] If the mother is quietly available, sharing the child's adventuring exploits, playfully reciprocating and easing his/her attempts at imitation and identification, then internalization of the relationship of mother and child is able to progress. If the mother gives encouragement to the child towards independence, it is helpful in this phase.

On the contrary, Coleman and Provence,[140] as well as Mahler and Furer,[141] have added a critical finding to that of Spitz, namely, that "anaclitic depressions are also found when the mothering person, though

[138] Ibid., p. 417.

[139] Mahler, Psychological Birth, p. 79.

[140] R. W. Coleman and S. Provence, "Environmental Retardation (Hospitalism) in Infants Living in Families," Pediatrics, 2, 1959, pp. 285-292.

[141] M. Mahler and M. Furer, Human Symbiosis and the Vicissitudes of Individuation, New York: University Press, 1968.

physically present, is emotionally unavailable to the child less than one year old."[142] Greenacre speaks of this same dynamic in emotional unavailability of the mother when she observes:

> Distress may arise in either partner, mother or infant, and be communicated from one to the other. Thus, when the mother is burdened with severe physical or emotional problems, the return to the mother for comfort may be inadequate and unsuccessful. Instead a reciprocal 'borrowed' disturbance in the infant may arise.[143]

Another important development in the Rapprochement phase is that, even though the child returns to the mother for 'refueling', the child's desire for expanded autonomy leads to an active interest of the child in the father. It is as though the father is the first to intrude into the mother-child's world. The father, as a love object, belongs to an entirely different category of love objects from the mother. Although he is not fully outside the symbiotic union, neither is he ever fully part of it. The child perceives very early a special relationship of the father to the mother.[144]

In considering the importance of the father in the life of the child, the works of Biller,[145] Lamb,[146] and Stein[147] have proved invaluable.

As Stein has pointed out:

[142]Parens, "Ambivalence," p. 396.

[143]Phyllis Greenacre, "Reconstruction and the Process of Individuation," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 34, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979, p. 123.

[144]Mahler, Psychological Birth, p. 91.

[145]Henry Biller, Paternal Deprivation, Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1974.

[146]Michael E. Lamb, The Role of the Father in Child Development, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1976.

[147]Edward Stein (Ed.), Fathering: Fact or Fable, Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1977.

> There are at least two kinds of fathering: biological and psychological. Biological fathering is a brief, easy, and usually satisfying enterprise. Psychological fathering, on the other hand, may take the better part of a lifetime, is very difficult to do well, and has peaks and valleys of anguish that would try a god.[148]

There is a need of the father to enjoy a tie to the child and it plays an essential role in the growth and autonomy of ego functions of the child. The role of the father, within Mahler's successive stages of the child's differentiation from the mother, has been studied primarily by the work of Abelin.[149] Abelin proposes that, in the slowly unfolding intrapsychic process of separation-individuation, it is in the practicing subphase that the child's specific attachment to the father takes place. This father attachment involves the encouragement of exploratory behavior and opportunities for identification based on strong, positive attachments between the child and the father. This plays a decisive role in aiding the process of differentiation and individuation.[150]

Lamb has researched extensively the question of whether and under what circumstances (attachment behaviors and at what ages) a child will express preference for his/her mother over the father or vice-versa. Lamb makes a distinction between behaviors that emerge with high-intensity activation of the attachment system, for which Lamb reserves the term "attachment behaviors," and behaviors that emerge with low-intensity activation which Lamb terms "affiliative behaviors." At age periods, from seven months until at least two years of age, infants show preference for

[148] Ibid., p. 11.

[149] E. L. Abelin, "The Role of the Father in the Separation-Individuation Process," Separation-Individuation, edited by J. B. McDevitt and C. F. Settlage, New York: International Universities Press, 1971.

[150] Lamb, Role of the Father, pp. 29.

their fathers through "affiliative behaviors" in stress-free situations, whereas in stressful situations (including a situation as minimally stressful as the presence of a stranger), the preference tends to shift to the mother. Lamb concentrates on normal behavior in the child, but his main point is that although the relationship of a child to his/her mother is likely to differ qualitatively from his/her relationship to the father, both attachments are significant determinants of social and personality development.[151]

Biller's studies on paternal deprivation during this period of early childhood indicate:

> Our observations have suggested that the children who are able to form strong attachments to both their mothers and fathers during infancy have more positive self concepts and success in interpersonal relations than children who have only an attachment to their mothers.
>
> On the other hand, the lack of an attachment to a father or father surrogate in the first few years of life, or a relatively permanent disruption of an on-going fathering relationship, may have unfortunate consequences for the child. Father absence, before the age of four or five, appears to have more of a disruptive effect on the individual's personality development than does father absence beginning at a later age period.
>
> Findings from cross-cultural studies have suggested that very close and exclusive relationships with mothers in the first two or three years of life and the unavailability of fathers are frequently associated with sex-role conflicts and sexual anxiety in adolescence and adulthood.[152]

In the Rapprochement subphase then, the relative lack of concern about the mother's presence that characterized the Practicing subphase is now replaced by seemingly constant concern with the mother's whereabouts, as well as by an active approach behavior. The optimal emotional availability

[151] Mary Ainsworth, Mary Blehar, Everett Waters and Sally Wall, Patterns of Attachment, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1978, pp. 272-273.

[152] Biller, Paternal Deprivation, p. 6.

of the mother is important during this phase. The child becomes more and more aware of his/her separateness. The child and the mother can no longer function effectively as a dual unit. The father takes on importance to the child as the first attachment figure outside the mother-child bonding. The child gradually realizes that his/her love objects are separate individuals with their own personal interests. She/he must gradually and painfully give up the delusions of her/his own grandeur.

At 18 to 24 months of age, the child has a fear of loss of love and stranger anxiety is high at this point. It also is the beginning of gender identity and the child's discovery of the anatomical sexual differences between herself/himself and the opposite sex.[153]

Subphase IV - Consolidation of Individuality and Emotional Object Constancy (25 to 36 months). If normal development proceeds well in the first three subphases, and especially if rapprochement is adequate enough to pick up the deficiencies of the other two subphases, the child enters the fourth subphase and proceeds to 'psychological birth'. The main tasks of the fourth subphase are the achievement of individuality, gender identification, object constancy and the stability of self-boundaries.[154] Mahler believes that "this fourth subphase of the separation-individuation process is not a subphase in the same sense as the first three, since it is open-ended."[155]

Mahler's concept of "affective object constancy" is controversial, as she differs with Spitz, who places object constancy at eight months

[153]Mahler, Psychological Birth, pp. 95-108.

[154]Blanck, Developmental Lines, p. 13.

[155]Mahler, Psychological Birth, p. 112.

using the criterion of stranger anxiety[156] and Piaget, who places object constancy at 18 months. Mahler places 'object permanence' earlier than Piaget, providing there are harmonious relationships between the mother and the child. She concurs with Piaget that "libidinal object constancy is sufficiently permanent in the normal three year old."[157] Mahler states that "the establishment of affective (emotional) object constancy depends upon the gradual internalization of a constant, positively cathected inner image of the mother."[158] But the constancy of the object, according to Mahler, implies more than the maintenance of the representation of the absent love object. It also implies the unifying of the 'good' and 'bad' objects into one whole representation, so that, in the state of object constancy, the love object will not be rejected or exchanged for another if it can no longer provide satisfactions. In this state, the object is still longed for, and not rejected as unsatisfactory, simply because it is absent. This internalization calls for trust, confidence, and the cognitive acquisition of the symbolic inner representation of the permanent object by the child.[159] Mahler, then, specifically links the attainment of object constancy with the emergence of a stable mental representation which enables the child to tolerate separation from the mother.[160]

This controversy on the acquisition of object permanence and object constancy is important in determining when the child is able to acquire a

[156]Fraiberg, Object Constancy, p. 17.

[157]Mahler, Psychological Birth, pp. 111-112.

[158]Ibid., p. 109.

[159]Ibid., p. 110.

[160]Fraiberg, Object Constancy, p. 19.

stable mental representation of objects and persons. Selma Fraiberg, in her research on object constancy, makes an important distinction when she writes:

> Since the term 'object constancy' has acquired diverse meanings in our literature, its stage-specific attributes are variously described and cannot be understood unless we can infer from context which usage the author follows....The apparent discrepancy seems to be the result of differences in definition. The writers who ascribe the beginnings of object constancy to middle of the first year are using 'constancy' only in the sense of attachment to the love object. The writers who give a range from eight months to eighteen months of age are adding some form of mental representation to the criteria for libidinal cathexis of the object; those who place object constancy at eighteen months appear to be following Piaget's criteria for mental representation and object concept. The one writer (Mahler) who placed object constancy at twenty-five months was using still more restrictive criteria on the libidinal-cognitive scale, in which mental representation of the mother had attained a high level of stability.[161]

Finally, in this phase language, according to Mahler, helps the child in the achievement of individuality. Play becomes more purposeful and constructive, including fantasy play, role-playing, and make-believe. The child's sense of self and boundaries develop to the stage of individuation. The acquisition of language is helpful in this process of individuation. Gender identity, begun in Rapprochement, is completed.[162] Thus, according to Mahler, the three year old child has intrapsychically arrived at separation-individuation.

Bowlby, in his introduction to his work on attachment, quotes Francois Mauriac when he writes that "we are moulded and remoulded by those who have loved us and though the love may pass, we are, nevertheless, their work for good or ill."[163]

[161] Ibid., p. 19.

[162] Mahler, Psychological Birth, pp. 101-120.

[163] John Bowlby, Attachment and Loss, Volume I, Attachment, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1969, p. 16.

Bowlby's work looks at four separate classes of problems to be solved in order to understand attachment:

a. The range of variation in attachment behavior at any particular age and in terms of what dimensions are variations best described are considered.

b. The antecedent condition influencing the development of each variety of pattern.

c. The stability of each pattern at each age is considered.

d. The pattern of attachment related to subsequent personality development and mental health.[164]

Bowlby strongly believes that the nature of the mother-infant bond is important for the child's later development and sense of identity and of being "one with oneself."[165] His studies of the effects of separation emanate from his belief that attachment is a process and that the child should not be separated from the main attachment figure unless absolutely necessary.

He distinguishes attachment as a much more active process than dependency. Bowlby states that dependence "refers to the extent to which the child relies on the mother for needs, but that attachment is much more of an evolutionary process, including more than the biological functions and protection."[166]

> There are various forms of behavior that 'mediate attachment'. There are specific behaviors that promote proximity contact and interaction with other persons and thus play a significant role in the development of attachment to one or few meaningful persons. There is a difference between attachment as a bond or an enduring relationship between the child and mother and attachment behaviors through which such a bond

[164] Ibid., p. 331.

[165] Eleanor E. Maccoby, Social Development: Psychological Growth and the Parent-Child Relationship, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1980, p. 92.

[166] Ainsworth, Patterns, p. 9.

> first becomes formed and that later serves to mediate the relationship.[167]

According to Bowlby, it is more of an "environment of evolutionary adaptedness" in the dynamic process of attachment with reciprocal behaviors between the child and the parent.[168] Thus a child's attachment behavior is adapted to an environment containing the mother figure who is both accessible and responsive to the child's behavior cues. Bowlby emphasizes the importance of the infant's confidence in his/her mother's accessibility and responsiveness. The predictable outcome of both the activation of the attachment behavioral system and attachment as a bond is the maintenance of a degree of proximity to the attachment figure and the biological function is protection. Although attachment theory cannot be identified as primarily a cognitive theory, Bowlby clearly conceives of the development of attachment as intertwined with cognitive development.[169]

What are some of the qualities that form attachment? The first social responses are identified as looking, smiling, and crying.[170] The studies of T. Berry Brazelton, Thomas, Chess, and Birth, and Jerome Kagan identify the child's responsiveness to the mother figure and the reciprocity of the relationship. Maccoby identifies "mutual reactiveness" as a causal factor in attachment.[171] The Ainsworth-Bell studies identify four dimensions to the mother figure-child attachment, which include: (a) sensitivity-insensitivity; (b) acceptance-rejection; (c) cooperation-interference; and

[167] Ibid., p. 17.

[168] Ibid., p. 9.

[169] Ibid., pp. 9-12.

[170] Maccoby, Social Development, p. 50.

[171] Ibid., p. 70.

(d) accessibility-ignoring. With this information, Ainsworth and Bell were able to identify three types of attachment: (a) avoidant; (b) securely attached; and (c) resistant.[172] Clarke-Stewart found, in her studies, evidence that supports some of the Ainsworth group's ideas. She scored mothers on three other dimensions, including the qualities of: (a) responsiveness; (b) expression of positive emotion; and (c) social stimulation.[173]

Bowlby defines the attachment process as the following: (1) initial preattachment phase; (2) attachment in the making; (3) clear-cut attachment (these three phases are in the first and second years of life); and (4) goal-corrected partnership (end of third year).

Initial Preattachment Phase. This phase has the infant giving orientation signals without discrimination of figure. These orientation signals include gazing, crying, smiling, and noncrying vocalizations. The infant seeks closer contact through the reflexes of rooting, sucking, grasping, and postural adjustment.

Attachment in the Making Phase. During this phase, the orientation signals are directed towards one or more discriminated figures. The baby not only can clearly discriminate unfamiliar from familiar figures, but also becomes able to discriminate between one familiar figure and another.

Clear-Cut Attachment Phase. During this phase, which usually begins in the second half of the first year, and continues throughout the second and third years, the maintenance of proximity to a discriminated figure, by means of locomotion as well as orientation signals, defines the 'active contact behaviors' of the child during this stage. The signaling behaviors produce more intentional communication and language development begins for

[172] Ainsworth, Patterns, pp. 142-153.

[173] Maccoby, Social Development, pp. 88-89.

the child. "Furthermore, the characteristic way in which a child has learned to organize his behavior with reference to a specific attachment figure is of clearly greater importance than the intensity or frequency with which he manifests each of the behavioral components of the attachment system."[174] Interactive behaviors have a wide range of behaviors from resistance, avoidance, distance-interaction, contact maintenance, contact-seeking behavior, to searching behavior. This third phase is conceived as 'too egocentric', in a Piagetian sense, to be able to derive what the child's mother's current plan might be and to act to change it so that it is in greater harmony with the child's own designs.

Goal-Directed Partnership Phase. The fundamental feature of the fourth and final phase of the development of the child-mother attachment is the lessening of egocentricity to the point that the child is capable of seeing things from his/her mother's point of view and consequently is able to primitively perceive what feelings and motives, set-goals and plans of the child might influence his/her mother-figure's behavior.

In conclusion then Bowlby's work shows the importance of early attachment figures and the development of a characteristic way of attachment. "Few if any adults cease to be influenced by their early attachments or indeed, cease at some level of awareness to be attached to their early attachment figures."[175] Bowlby underscores the first bonding of the child and also the development in the mutual dialogue with the mother figure of how the child will attach to future persons in her/his life.

Rutter counters Bowlby's work, particularly in analyzing the

[174] Ainsworth, Patterns, p. 25.

[175] Ibid., p. 28.

child's attachment to the mother figure and the implications of early separation. Rutter points to Bowlby's definition of "mother figure" which is defined as "the person who mothers the child and to whom she/he becomes attached."[176] Rutter counters the position of Bowlby that social interaction is the most important part of mother care and that "feeding is not an essential part of mothering."[177]

> Nevertheless, what evidence there is supports Bowlby's view that social interaction constitutes the basis of attachment behavior and it is difficult to see what there is in tying the concept of attachment to motherhood if it is not necessarily tied to a female, not a function of feeding, and only indirectly related to caretaking activities.[178]

Rutter poses the main question of his differences with Bowlby when he asks, "Does the 'harm' come from disruption of bonds or distortion of relationships?" He cites the comparison of homes broken by death (bond irrevocably disrupted) and homes broken by divorce or separation (where the break is likely to have been preceded by discord and quarreling or a lack of warmth and affection where the break-up of the home may not necessarily disrupt the bonds). After citing various studies (Brown, 1961; Douglas, Ross, Hammond & Mulligan, 1966; Gibson, 1969; Gluek & Gluek, 1950; Gregory, 1965; and Wardle, 1961), Rutter suggests that it is not the direct experience of bond disruption which matters, but rather the difficulties in interpersonal relations with which bond disruption is associated.[179] This is a critical distinction in the process of attachment and the implications of bond disruption.

[176]Michael Rutter, Maternal Deprivation Reassessed, Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1972, p. 104.

[177]Ibid., pp. 104-105.

[178]Ibid., p. 105.

[179]Ibid., pp. 107-108.

Rutter questions whether separation is critical in bond disruption or is it the process and distortion of interpersonal relationships leading to bond disruption? It seems that Rutter's critique influenced Bowlby's later works, particularly his latest volume of Attachment and Loss where Bowlby incorporates in his five variables affecting mourning, "the social and psychological circumstances affecting the bereaved about the time of and after the loss."[180] Both the works of Bowlby and Rutter enrich understanding in the attachment process and bond disruption.

The Child - Three to Six Years of Age

Freud - Oedipus Complex

The child, during this time, tends to be drawn towards the parent of the opposite sex and in a way that is erotically tinged. This phenomenon is called the oedipus complex. "Complex" is defined as "emotionally toned group of ideas."[181] Oedipus Complex derives its name from the Greek mythology concerning Oedipus, the son of Laius, king of Thebes, who kills his father in battle and marries his mother.[182]

In what this study shall term "family romance," the boy, with his instinctual drive and his conformity with the social pattern, talks and thinks in terms of marrying his mother and of excluding his father. In the same way, the girl talks and thinks in terms of marrying her father, or being his wife and having a baby by him.

At this point, the boy's feelings towards his father are mixed. The

[180] Bowlby, Loss, p. 172.

[181] O. Spurgeon English and Gerald H. Pearson, Emotional Problems of Living, New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1963, p. 97.

[182] Ibid., p. 97.

child often has nightmares in the resolution of the family romance. The boy is ambivalent in his feelings towards his father. He does not want to give up the feeling he has for his mother, but if the father is a reasonably desirable man, the boy decides in the solution of the oedipus complex, that since he cannot depose his father, he will imitate him, he will be like him with the hope thereby that some day he, like his father, will be able to marry and enjoy the many privileges his father enjoys. The girls goes through the family romance with ambivalence towards her mother. The kinder the parents are, and the more aware they are of this family emotional struggle, the easier it is for children to resolve the oedipus conflict without too much difficulty.[183]

Freud thus points to an identification with the parent of the same sex in the resolution of the oedipus complex. Freud, however, believed in the constitutional make-up of each child and believed in the bisexuality of the child. Thus when the boy renounces the mother, he may either identify with the lost object - his mother - or intensify his identification with the father. Which of these directions will depend upon the relative strength of the masculine and feminine components in the constitutional make-up of the boy. Freud assumes that every person is constitutionally bisexual which means that she/he inherits the tendencies of the opposite sex as well as those of the same sex.

Freud shows that the oedipus complex is strongly linked with the superego. "This identification also gives rise to the formation of the superego. The superego is said to be the heir of the oedipus complex, because it takes the place of the oedipus complex."[184] The superego, as

[183] Ibid., p. 98-99.

[184] Calvin S. Hall, A Primer of Freudian Psychology, New York: New American Library, 1954, p. 110.

heir to the oedipus complex, is the basis for the emotional rights and wrongs that the child forms during this period of identification.

Gender Identity - Three to Six Years Old

Gender identity is a primary task in the process of identification for the preschool child. Gender identity, in its broadest sense, includes all those characteristics which comprise each individual's combination of masculinity or femininity, determined not only by biological sex and anatomy, but psychological factors such as object relations, identifications, intrapsychic conflicts and bisexual conflicts, as well as cultural and sociological influences.[185] Gender role refers to the child's behavior in relationship to others, that is, the subtle, complicated, conscious and unconscious exchanges of messages and conscious and unconscious experiencing of interactions between self and objects because of one's gender identity. Finally, a distinction needs to be made with core gender identity. This means that the child has knowledge and awareness, intrapsychically, of belonging to one sex and not the other. The essential characteristics identified in core gender identity are:

1. A biological 'force' - the effect of circulating fetal sex hormones on the brain of the infant;
2. Sex assignment at birth;
3. Parental attitudes - the effect of the sex assignment on parents which is reflected back to the infant;
4. 'Biopsychic' phenomenon - early postnatal styles of handling the infant; and
5. Developing body ego: sensations, especially from the genitals, that define a child's dimensions.[186]

[185] R. J. Stoller, "Primary Femininity," Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 24, 1976, pp. 59-78.

[186] Ibid., p. 61.

Innate factors and constitutional make-up play a big role in affecting gender identity. The rearing environment makes a crucial difference regarding gender identity. "When the child is given a role sex assignment, in respect to his/her core gender identity and a male or female name, that child is given all sorts of verbal and non-verbal messages which convey the meaning of 'feminine' or 'masculine' as defined by the child's family."[187]

Lawrence Kohlberg, in his work on gender identity, writes that the imitation of the same sex individuals is not due to a previous reinforcement history, but to the perception of the same-sex persons as similar to the self and is therefore valued. He concludes that the process of identification derives from their developing a gender identity and consequently valuing those with whom maleness or femaleness is shared and not from a fear of love or retaliation, as in Freudian theory (Diagram 7).[188]

Heinz Kohut: The Child and the Cohesive Self

Kohut worked in the classical psychoanalytic tradition, but differs with Freud by his emphasis on the contributions received from the tradition of cognitive phenomenon. Like Freud, he maintains a theoretical distinction between and used both structures and processes in theory construction. However, Freud begins with an interest in processes (e.g., repression) and ends with structures (e.g., id, ego, superego), while Kohut begins with a self-structure and then elaborates the processes that refer to that

[187]Tyson, Developmental Lines, pp. 189-190.

[188]Jean Brooks-Grenn and Wendy S. Matthews, He and She: How Children Develop Their Sex-Role Identity, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 197-, pp. 117-118.

DIAGRAM 7

THEORETICAL SEQUENCES IN PSYCHOSEXUAL IDENTIFICATION (Brooks-Grenn)[189]

Freudian	Social Learning	Cognitive
child mother 1. Desire for mother father Fear of Father's retaliation ↓ 2. Identification with father ↓ 3. Sex-typed identity	father child 1. Attachment to father as major Rewarder (and Punisher-Controller) 2. Identification modeling of father ↓ 3. Sex-typed identity	child 1. Sex-typed identity father 2. Modeling of father ↓ 3. Attachment to father

ROLE OF INNATE CHARACTERISTICS

Large role: anatomy is destiny; body structure determines personality	No role	Small role: Cognitive maturation; structuring of experience; development of gender identity

ROLE OF CHILD IN LEARNING PROCESS

	Active	Passive	Active
Motive	Internal: reduce fear and anxiety	External: reinforcements Internal: expected reinforcements	Internal: desire for competence
Sources of Learning	Parents or Parent Surrogates	Parents as well as the larger social system	Parents and the social system in interaction with child's cognition

[189]Ibid., pp. 122-125.

structures."[190]

DIAGRAM 8

SCHEME OF FREUD'S AND KOHUT'S THEORIES[191]

Mental Event Psychology

Kohut/1977 ↓ The Self		Freud ↓ Mental Functions	
Structures	Processes	Structures	Processes
Grandiose self	Fragmentation	Id, ego, superego	Defenses
Mirroring self-object	Frustration	Objects	Drives
Idealized parental imago	Construction of ambitions and goals	Compromise formations	Transference
Fantasy structures	Transmuting internal-izations	Psychosexual stages of mental organization	Object relations
Goals/ambitions	Transference	Character traits	Cathexis
Cohesive self	Idealizing	Stimulus barrier	Libidination
Compensatory structures	Using others to mirror grandiose self		
Empathic matric			
Disintegration products			

Kohut defines the development of healthy narcissism in the child. The phase of omnipotence corresponds to what Kohut calls, the "grandiose self," and the "idealized parental imago." The child assigns all perfection to the emerging self. She/he wants to be looked at, admired, and wants to enjoy her/his feelings of vitality as she/he experiments with body functioning and exploration of the world.

The child also assigns all omnipotence to the idealized parental imago, which continues to be experienced as part of the self, but is

[190]Michael J. Patton and John J. Sullivan, "Heinz Kohut and the Classical Psychoanalytic Tradition," The Psychoanalytic Review, 67(3), Fall, 1980, p. 371.

[191]Ibid., p. 372.

amalgamated with features of true object love. The child expects mother to confirm and approve his/her archaic grandiosity and exhibitionism. However, because the mother is not omnipotent, and because a "good enough" mother is in tune with the changing needs of the child, the infant experiences small, non-traumatic failures in the responses of the mirroring and idealized self-objects.

Kohut, in the Restoration of Self,[192] asserts that if a child's anal, grandiose, voyeuristic and exhibitionistic pursuits are met with an empathic phase including appropriate parental responsiveness and prohibitions, archaic, narcissistic, grandiose configurations can be gradually transformed into a more mature sense of self-cohesion, self-continuity, and self-esteem.[193] This process assists the child achieve self-constancy and object constancy. What also occurs is ego structuralization which can tolerate conflicts over ambivalence, even death wishes, without an accompanying loss of self-esteem.

Kohut, though, points out that if the parents' response in the dialogue is inappropriate and insufficient, and there is a disturbance in the mother-child relationship, the child is not able to deal with his/her ambivalence. Consequently, the child's representation of the idealized parental image is invested with a great deal of hostility, which then leads to splitting of the object-representation, to conflict over death wishes and retaliation fears. The self-representations dominate the child's representational world, often leading to a punitive superego in later phases

[192]Heinz Kohut, The Restoration of the Self, New York: International Universities Press, 1977.

[193]Tyson, Developmental Lines, p. 160.

of development. The child can subsequently have a great deal of self-denigration defended against by grandiosity and egocentricity. Investing object and self-representations with hostility, the child can lay the foundation for a sophisticated anal-sadistic drive expression to emerge in later phases of childhood.

Internalization is an important process to Kohut. Kohut calls transmuting internalization a function of the mother by providing gratification and reassurance which is internalized, transmuted into an intrapsychic structure, which now performs the functions which the mother used to perform for the child, and thus a nuclear self emerges.[194]

With the emergence of a cohesive self, the child can bring together strands of bodily experiences, of experiences based on the self as differentiated from the object, and the idealized grandiose self-image. In the course of optimal development, these strands will be woven together to form a stable sense of self and a stable self-representation. This stability is what Kohut refers to as "cohesiveness" and which can also be conceptualized as "self-constancy" in that a reliable representation of the self emerges and endures in spite of conflict.[195]

Thus, Kohut takes the child from the narcissistic world and shows the development of the "self-constancy" of the child. In this development, Kohut shows the importance of the "internalized parental imago" in the process of transmuting internalization towards the development of the child's nuclear self.

[194]Heinz Kohut, The Analysis of the Self, New York: International Universities Press, 1971, p. 50.

[195]Tyson, Developmental Lines, pp. 160-162.

Social Theorists: Preschool Child (Two to Six Years Old)

Between the ages of two and five, the expressive behaviors acquired in infancy begin to crystallize into individual patterns, and the child develops many distinctive attitudes, preferences and ways of acting. The preschool child becomes increasingly aware of himself/herself as an individual and begins to form certain positive and negative attitudes towards self. Secondly, she/he comes into contact with increasing numbers and types of people, with whom the child experiences many new kinds of social interactions. The preschool years are seen by social theorists as a crucial period for various disciplinary and role-modeling activities by which parents socialize their child and transmit their culture to the child.

As one very important consequence of their physical and cognitive maturation, the preschool child becomes increasingly aware of the self and forms new self-attitudes. In particular, she/he shows a growing awareness of her/his body and the emergence of feelings of mastery.

The preschooler, having achieved this basic recognition of possessing a body, now becomes acutely aware of changes that occur in it and how it differs from others' bodies. She/he also recognizes physical differences between the sexes and begins to sense her/his identity as male or female, the beginnings of gender identity. At two and one-half, most children are not positive about their sex, but by age three, two-thirds of them know whether they are boys or girls. Sexual exploration is common by age four, and most four to five year olds ask, "Where do babies come from?", an important question in acquiring sexual image development.

Parents who ignore or make light of the preschooler's normal interest in physical growth or discourage sexual curiosity can foster a

negative self-attitude, self-consciousness and uneasiness with respect to sex in the child.

The child's feelings of mastery begin to be shaped during infancy by the pleasure she/he gets from becoming able to control her/his environment. Achievement experiences in the child, ages two to five, begin to generate feelings of mastery that can have a lasting influence on the child's sense of personal competence. This aspect of personality development accelerates rapidly between the ages of two and five. The preschooler's increasing cognitive and motor skills, during these years, enables her/him to do much more for self which enlarges her/his opportunities to experience mastery. Language skills enable the child to realize she/he is capable of having an impact on her/his environment. Parents play an important role in helping the preschooler develop strong feelings of mastery. The nature of this parental influence has been identified in research in the areas of the child's achievement, motivation, instrumental competence, and self-esteem.

Achievement motivation refers to the inclination to strive for success and the capacity to experience pleasure in being successful. The studies of McClelland and Atkinson[196] have yielded two definite findings. First, high achievement motivation is fostered during the preschool years by strong parental encouragement of achievement accompanied by moderate demands for independence and warm, supportive, parent-child relationships. Second, the development of achievement motivation is directly related to the amount of specific training in achievement activities that parents provide their child during the preschool years.

Instrumental competence has been defined in a series of studies

[196]D. C. McClelland and J. W. Atkinson, The Achievement Motive, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1953.

by Baumrind,[197] as behavior that is socially responsible and independent. Baumrind found that the child who was most reliant, self-controlled, explorative, and contented had parents who were socially responsible, self-assertive, self-confident, and who exercised authoritative control. These parents set and enforced specific limits on the child's behavior, but were also warm and non-rejecting.

The child who is relatively discontent, withdrawn, and distrustful, Baumrind found, has parents who are detached and authoritarian. These parents are highly controlling, restrictive, and protective. They leave little room for discussion or variation and they deny the child opportunities to take risks, to try new things, and to make decisions. The child who is the least self-reliant, explorative, and self-controlled has warm but permissive parents. By adopting a noncontrolling and nondemanding stance, these parents fail to set any definite standards against which their child can judge the adequacy of their behavior and they also fail to encourage their child to accept any challenges.

Regarding self-esteem, the most thorough study of factors leading to self-esteem has been reported by Coopersmith, whose results are consistent with those on achievement motivation and instrumental competence. Parents whose preschooler is high in self-esteem tend to be warmly accepting people who establish clearly defined limits for their child's behavior, but allow him/her some latitude within these limits. As did Baumrind, Coopersmith finds a significant modeling effect, namely that the parents of the child with high self-esteem tend to be active, poised and relatively self-assured themselves. Coopersmith defines self-esteem in the child as

[197] Diane Baumrind, "Current Patterns of Parental Authority," Developmental Psychology Monographs, 4, 1971, Part 2, pp. 1-103.

the value the child places on himself/herself and the extent to which the child anticipates success in what she/he does.[198]

There are some widely cited research findings that seem to identify sex differences in achievement-related behavior with boys being motivated to achieve primarily by mastery strivings and girls being motivated mainly by the need for social approval. This apparent difference has been attributed to certain sex-role stereotypes in our society, namely that boys should be aggressive, independent and competitive, whereas girls should be passive, dependent and cooperative. In opposition to such beliefs, Maccoby and Jacklin have concluded from a comprehensive review of the available data that boys and girls do not differ in their striving for achievement and that boys in our society are not receiving more encouragment toward mastery than girls.[199]

Erikson suggests that the aspect of parent-child interaction regarding the child's achievement and mastery skills determines whether autonomy or shame and doubt will emerge as persistent personality traits.[200]

In the typical family, the child forms his/her first attachment to the mother figure. However, the father also emerges as an active participant in the child's life. Developmentally, the preschool child has more opportunities to interact with her/his father. The interest of the preschool child in her/his father has been demonstrated in a simple but meaningful study by Lynn and Cross. The study asked a large number of two to four year old

[198]S. Coopersmith, The Antecedents of Self Esteem, San Francisco: W. H. Freeman Company, 1967.

[199]Eleanor Maccoby and Carol Jacklin, The Psychology of Sex Differences, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974.

[200]Erik Erikson, Childhood and Society, 2nd Edition, New York: Norton Company, 1963, pp. 84-85.

children which of their parents they wanted to have play with them in several different kinds of games. The boys at ages two, three and four had a clear preference for playing with their fathers. Among the girls, the father was also strongly preferred by the two year olds. However, at age three, the girls showed a diminishing preference for playing with their fathers and at age four they clearly preferred their mothers.[201] This study has implications substantiating the age process of psychosexual identification, identified by the ego psychologists.

The preschool child's increased interaction with her/his father is generally believed to help him/her recognize that she/he has two distinct parents rather than just one parent. As previously mentioned, Biller's and others' research indicate that the father plays a particularly important role in child development during the preschool years. Compared to the child who is reared only by his/her mother, the preschool child who also has an attentive father tends to have a more positive self-concept, to feel better about being a boy or girl, to get along better with other children and to function more effectively in achievement-related situations.[202]

For the social theorists, socialization is the process by which the child acquires the social judgment and self-control necessary for becoming a responsible adult in society. The child is socialized primarily through discipline and identification. Identification consists of adopting the feelings, attitudes and actions of others as one's own. The more

[201] D. B. Lynn and A. Cross, "Parent Preference of Preschool Children," Journal of Marriage and Family, 36, 1974, pp. 555-559.

[202] Henry Biller, "Father, Child and Sex Role," Paternal Determinants of Personality Development, Lexington, MA: Heath Company, 1971.

nurturant and powerful parents are as models, and the greater the similarities between the parents and the child, the more strongly the child identifies with them. Strong identifications help the socialization process, because the more the child attempts to be like their parents, the more she/he tends to internalize parental codes of conduct. The models to which the child is exposed affect the emerging personality style of the child, including how aggressive and/or altruistic she/he is in her/his relationships with others and how the preschool child progresses towards an adequate sex-role identity.[203]

Summary

In conclusion, then, the theories of Spitz, Mahler, and Bowlby assist in understanding the normal development of the child from birth to two to three years of age, while Freud, Kohut and the social theorists help us to understand the developmental tasks of two to six year olds.

[203]Elkind, Development of the Child, pp. 258-260.

CHAPTER IV

EGO PSYCHOLOGY EXEMPLIFIED IN THE DYADIC RELATIONSHIP (PARENT-CHILD) AS SEEN IN THE DIVORCED SINGLE-PARENT FAMILY

This chapter considers the crisis of divorce and its impact on the cognitive-developmental processes of the preschool child. The crisis of divorce is defined as the period between the announcement of separation to eighteen months following the announcement of the divorce. According to Wallerstein, this is the greatest period of family disequilibrium after the divorce.[1]

Because of the complexity of the issue, this chapter is divided into two segments: (1) how the divorce crisis affects and heightens the cognitive-developmental process in the child's ego identification; and (2) how divorce is a crisis in 'family transition',[2] with particular concentration on the first 18 months after separation. The development from the nuclear family to the child's 'family of orientation' in the binuclear family[3] is examined.

How the Divorce Crisis Affects and Heightens the Cognitive-Developmental Process in the Child's Ego Identification

Birth to Two Years Old

One of the normal developmental tasks from birth to two years, as

[1] Wallerstein and Kelly, Surviving the Breakup, p. 304.

[2] Constance Ahrons, "Redefining the Divorced Family: A Conceptual Framework," Social Work, 25(6), November, 1980, p. 437.

[3] Ibid., p. 439.

previously mentioned in the former chapters, includes maternal bonding. Normal psychic lag is an important dynamic to the bonding between the mother figure and infant. At the birth of the infant, there is a natural lag of time, usually lasting from four to seven days, between the mother's physically adopting the baby as "mine outside" and psychologically adopting the baby as "mine inside."

The development of the coenesthetic and diacritic organizations of the infant (Spitz) enables him/her to enter into the mutual cueing dialogue (Mahler) with the mother figure. The phases of autism, symbiosis, differentiation and beginning of rapprochement are the beginning of the separation-individuation tasks for the infant. Object constancy (eight months old) and affective object constancy (eighteen months old) are central tasks for the infant's sensorimotor period of cognitive development (Piaget).

Anthony states that if the mother is undergoing a mourning process related to the loss in divorce, particularly in the first fifteen months of the infant's life, the bonding with the infant and the interaction of the mutual cueing dialogue can subsequently diminish, due to the responsiveness of the mother. The father is missed as a support to the mother and the infant. Anthony explains that for the mother, due to her mourning process over loss in the divorce, the time of the psychic lag can be lengthened.[4]

Though there is little literature and no identifiable research on how divorce affects the child under two years old,[5] Magrab, Professor of

[4]E. James Anthony, "Interview with E. James Anthony," Oral history interview regarding 'Children of Divorce', St. Louis, Missouri, February 4, 1982, Appendix C, p. 249.

[5]Wallerstein, Children of Divorce, tape, April, 1980.

pediatrics at Georgetown University, observes that "deprivation and neglect during this time period can seriously hinder the development of trust and affect the child's future ability in developing satisfying human relationships."[6] Magrab points out that the infant will be especially affected by the way the mother reacts to the divorce situation. The mother's grief, emotional status and general maternal attitude are particularly important during this time. The adjustment of the maternal figure influences the adjustment of the infant, because the infant lacks the cognitive processes to comprehend the divorce crisis in the family and is totally reactive to the adjustment of the mother.[7]

Because the infant is in symbiotic partnership with the mother (Mahler)*, and has not yet developed psychic defenses (A. Freud) nor reached affective object constancy (Piaget), the infant is dependent on the affective status of the mother. The mother, then, is the key figure to the adjustment of the infant in meeting the divorce crisis within the family.

Both Anthony and Wallerstein point to the need of more research as to how the crisis of divorce affects this time period in the infant's life.

The Toddler: Two to Three Years Old

As mentioned in the previous chapters, during this period, developmentally affective object constancy is stabilized (15 to 25 months). Affective object constancy allows the toddler to have an internalized image of another person, usually the biological mother. Bowlby points out the

[6]Phyllis Magrab, "For the Sake of the Children: A Review of the Psychological Effects of Divorce," Journal of Divorce, 1(3), Spring, 1978, p. 238.

[7]Ibid., p. 238.

*The authors included within the parentheses are previously cited in former chapters of this study.

patterns of attachment during this time and the meaning of separation-stranger anxieties. Mahler's framework of separation-individuation tasks seems focal to understanding the child in this age period.

Abelin points out the importance of the 'triangular attachment' during this period as the toddler focuses her/his attention on the father. The toddler must have an establishment of a firm representation of herself/himself as separate from a firm representation of her/his mother. This long and confusing task must be secure before the toddler can then move to a triadic form of relationship including the father. The move to triangular oedipal relations (triangular attachment) usually occurs in the third year of life.[8]

Abelin states that normal development depends on the integrity of the parental couple and if the couple separate, pathology appears related to the loss of the integrity of the unit, not simply as a reaction to the absence of one or another parent.[9] Abelin's important distinction is that the toddler's need for the complexity of the triangular attachment, with the integrity of the family unit, is frustrated in the crisis of divorce, due to the loss of a parent.

Toomin's work, in 1974, argues that the loss of the father at the 18 to 36 month period of life for the toddler is critically important for the separation-individuation process of the child.[10]

[8]Ernest Abelin, "The Role of the Father in the Separation-Individuation Process," Separation-Individuation Essays in Honor of Margaret Mahler, edited by McDevitt and Seltlage, New York: International University Press, 1971,

[9]Ernest Abelin, "The General Early Triangulation Model: Or from the Role of the Father to the Role of the Couple," Lectures given in San Diego, California, May 26, 1979.

[10]Constance Ballantine, "Divorce and the Preschool Child: Cumulative Stress," Journal of Divorce, 3(1), Fall, 1979, p. 56.

When the father is absent in divorce, what happens to the toddler, who naturally turns to the father in the rapprochement phase of separation-individuation? Anthony states that the mother's role is pivotal. The mother's portrayal of the absent parent, her providing accessibility to visitations with the absent parent and male substitute-figures are particularly important to the toddler. The mother's ability to cope adequately with the mourning process allows the separation-individuation of the child by appropriate refueling and distancing behaviors in her interactions with the toddler.[11]

In the Practicing Proper-Rapprochement phase, ambitendency is at its height for the toddler. Though this 'splitting' of the good and bad, in ambitendency, is within the normal developmental process of the toddler achieving affective object constancy, divorce occurring at this time can be difficult for the toddler. The ambitendency of the toddler can be increased and intensified by the ambiance of the divorce.[12] This intensified phenomenon of ambiance caused by the divorce increasing the ambitendency of the toddler can have a major effect on the toddler's mental image and internalized representation of self, the absent parent, and custodial parent.[13] Anthony comments on this dynamic by emphasizing that the child really is "not only caught up in his/her own splitting developmentally, but is also imbibing the effects of the splitting from the ambivalence

[11]Anthony, Interview, February 4, 1982, Appendix C, p. 250.

[12]Ibid., p. 250.

[13]Judith Wallerstein and Joan Kelly, Surviving the Breakup: How Children and Parents Cope with Divorce, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1980, p. 13.

experienced from the custodial parent and in visitation from the absent parent."[14]

In the affective domain, then, there is a need for further research into this question as to how the phenomenon of ambiance in divorce affects the developmental ambitendency in the toddler.

In an Inaugural Lecture at University College in London, John Bowlby discusses the later effects of divorce during the preschool child's life related to the process of attachment disrupted by separation:

> The problems for which Mrs. G. came for analysis were that she felt irritable and depressed and filled, as she put it, with hate and evil. In addition, she found herself frigid with her husband, emotionally detached and wondering whether she was capable of loving anyone.
>
> Mrs. G. had been three years old when her parents divorced. Her father left home and her mother, who began working long hours, had little time for her daughter. A year later, when Mrs. G. was four, her mother placed her in an orphanage where she remained for eighteen long months. Thereafter, although she was back with her mother, family relationships continued to be disturbed and unhappy. As a result, Mrs. G. left home during her teens and before she was 21 had already been married and divorced twice. Her present husband was her third.[15]

When termination was faced in therapy, Mrs. G. was aware that separation had always made her angry and, as she put it, "anger makes me sad because it means the end...." Struggling to think of herself as self-sufficient, she exclaimed, "I'm clinging onto me...I'm taking care of me all by myself." Bowlby goes on to show that while this patient had five years of therapy, "she remarried vulnerable to situations that arouse anxiety and sadness, such as separation and loss."[16]

[14]Anthony, Interview, Appendix C, p. 251.

[15]John Bowlby, "Psychoanalysis as a Natural Science," Inaugural lecture of the Freud Memorial Visiting Professor of Psychoanalysis at University College, London, October, 1980 (unpublished).

[16]Ibid., p. 8.

Bowlby analyzes Mrs. G.'s condition of failure in relationships as caused by her repeated frustrations of her attachment behavior to be loved and cared for by others in her early years. Thus, her attachment behavior became deactivated and remained so. As a result, the desires, thoughts, and feelings that were part and parcel of attachment behavior were absent from her awareness. Bowlby defines 'deactivation' of the attachment process as the "selective exclusion from processing any information that, when processed, would lead to activation of the system."[17]

Bowlby shows in the case of Mrs. G. how the factors of divorce and other separation experiences resulting from inaccessibility of the triangular attachment can lead to a deactivation of the attachment process even in later life experiences of the child.

Magrab comments on the paradox that just as the toddler is experiencing separation anxiety at its height, the major psychosocial developmental task is "the gaining of a sense of autonomy and separateness. The toddler fears the loss of love and abandonment as a maternal parental response to her/his new assertiveness. This conflict between autonomy and fear of rejection, even under normal circumstances, produces developmental tension in the child."[18] Magrab points out that the toddler struggles for autonomy and sense of control in the expression of oppositional behavior or negativity. This oppositional behavior may be curtailed or hindered due to the crisis in divorce and family disruption. Consequently, the autonomy of the toddler in successfully completing the task of separation-individuation may be affected by the divorce crisis.

In summary, then, the loss of the integrity of the family unit in

[17] Ibid., p. 9.

[18] Magrab, "For the Sake of the Children," p. 238.

divorce disrupts the triangular attachment for the toddler. Divorce can frustrate the attachment process for the toddler, thereby deactivating the toddler's attachment behavior. The expression of oppositional behavior or negativity may be hindered in the developmental process of the toddler's process of separation-individuation by the divorce crisis. Later age research regarding oppositionality seems to indicate that the expression might be blocked earlier, but express itself in heightened form later on for the child.

The Preschooler: Three to Six Years Old

For divorcing couples with children, the typical age at which children experience divorce is preschool or beginning school-age.[19] It is consequently the age period that has been most explored and researched in the early childhood years.

In considering the cognitive-developmental perspective the preschool child, according to Piaget, is into the task of the 'symbolic self'. As mentioned in a previous chapter, preoperational thinking includes eight main characteristics, that is, egocentricism, centration, irreversibility, transductive reasoning, phenomenalistic causality, animism, purposivism and artificialism. The social cognition of the child is growing, but still quite limited in scope, particularly in skills of empathy or taking the other person's viewpoint. Much of reality is centrated in the child's egocentric world.

Developmentally, sex and gender identifications occur through the family oedipal relationship, the attachment objects of the child, and also the role-modeling behaviors of the parents. The sense of self and the

[19]Hodges, Wechsler and Ballantine, "Cumulative Stress," p. 55.

expression of uniqueness in the child emerges during this time. The rudimentary superego develops and formation of the superego becomes a primary task of this period. Sibling interaction has its effect on the preschooler. Towards the end of the preschool period, including kindergarten, mastery of play and learning readiness are optimal for the child.

Variables Affecting the Child's Reaction to the Divorce

Many different factors will determine the type of behavioral response a child will have to a divorce.

Anthony identifies the 'vulnerable child in divorce'. The factors Anthony includes are the age of the child at the time of the divorce, the sex of the child in relation to the departing parent, the child's hypersensitivity as a constitutional factor, the level of 'nervousness' as an acquired trait from earlier experiences, the history of exposure to previous separation, such as hospitalization, and the existence of some handicap, disability or chronic illness of the child.[20]

Bernard noted that the cause of divorce, the length of time a child knows of the impending separation, the age and sex of the child, all these and many more variables contribute to the way a child will react to divorce.[21]

McDermott identifies the age, sex, extent and nature of family disharmony prior to divorce, each parents' personality and previous relationship with the child, the child's relationships with siblings as

[20]E. James Anthony, "Children at Risk from Divorce: A Review," The Child in His Family at Risk, Yearbook of the International Association for Child Psychiatry, 8, 1974, p. 474.

[21]Janine Bernard, "Divorce and Young Children: Relationships in Transition," Elementary School Guidance and Counseling, 12, 1978, p. 189.

well as the emotional availability of the family during the divorce period. McDermott also mentions factors such as the child's own personality strengths and capability to adjust to stresses such as separations in the past. He cites four facts in differentiating the impact of the divorce on the child, including the amount of strife around the divorce, immediate reaction of the child to the loss of the parent, the impact of divorce on the remaining parent, and later experiences of the child following the divorce.[22]

Wallerstein and Kelly's configuration of factors reflect primarily the quality of the child's relationship with both parents, the quality of life within the divorced family and the extent to which the divorce itself provided the remedy which the adults sought. "Neither the age nor the sex of the child were as relevant at this time," according to Wallerstein and Kelly.[23]

Littner, in considering the vulnerability of the child during the crisis of divorce, cites the following factors:

1. The age of the child (the younger she/he is, the more she/he tends to be scarred).

2. The child's ability to cope with the stress (which in turn is related to the nature of the child's heredity and the types of positive and negative caretaking experiences that she/he has had prior to the loss).

3. The method by which the parent leaves (is it done with the least degree of surprise and traumatic impact upon the child?).

4. The nature of the child's later experiences with loss (are they corrective experiences that tend to minimize the scarring effect of having lost a parent, or are they further separation experiences

[22]John McDermott, "Parental Divorce in Early Childhood," American Journal of Psychiatry, 124(10), April, 1968, p. 1424.

[23]Wallerstein and Kelly, Surviving the Break-up, p. 313.

that increase the traumatic effect of the initial loss?).[24]

Kurdek and Siesky, in their study of parents' perceptions of their children's reactions to divorce, conclude that "very young children are often provided no explanation of the non-custodial parent's leaving."[25] Wallerstein confirms this also when she said that three-fourths of pre-schoolers studied in children of divorce were not told that there would be a divorce. "These children seemed overwhelmed, worried and preoccupied about their own concerns."[26]

Oedipal Relationships, Mourning and Divorce

The child, during the family romance, has normal feelings of ambivalence towards the parent of the same sex and is attracted towards the parent of the opposite sex. The crisis of divorce, during this time, can have its scarring effects on the child. This is an important period as "the Oedipal schema shows how the pattern of interpersonal relationships is linked to the intrapsychic conflicts that are constantly reprojected onto the members of the family."[27] Thus, the way the child resolves the Oedipal schema provides the basis for the child's mode of verbal/nonverbal communication within the family, defense mechanisms, and the child's perception of family structure and her/his place in the family.[28]

[24]Ner Littner, "Children of Divorce: Understanding and Helping Them," Chicago: Institute for Psychoanalysis, March 5, 1982 (unpublished), p. 8.

[25]Lawrence Kurdek and Albert Siesky, "An Interview Study of Parents: Perceptions of Their Children's Reactions and Adjustments to Divorce," Journal of Divorce, 3(1), Fall, 1979, p. 14.

[26]Wallerstein, Children of Divorce (tape), April, 1980.

[27]E. James Anthony, "The Family and the Psychoanalytic Process in Children," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, New Haven, 1980, p. 21.

[28]Ibid., p. 21.

Mahler's research and Piaget's research have shown that by three years old, the child has established affective object constancy firmly, now including the father, and through preoperational thinking has instrumentation for producing a fantasy life affected by the child's concept of time and space. The unique fantasy life surrounding the mental image of each parent is the basis for understanding the child's developmental task of reaching a sense of self in individuating from two of her/his most important persons in the triangular attachment, her/his mother and father. When this developmental process is disrupted through divorce, the child experiences loss and mourning occurs.

Anthony describes divorce as a traumatic experience in the child's life. He stresses that a sense of abandonment always exists, even in the best managed divorces and that dynamic may persist for some time. His observations led Anthony to point to grief associated with guilt as the major affect during the crisis of divorce.[29] In the same vein, Hetherington observes anger to be the most frequently observed emotional reaction in children of divorce. She views anger as part of a pattern which includes anger-depression-guilt-fear and relief.[30] In Grossman, Shea and Adam's study of college students experiencing divorce of their parents early in their lives, the students recalled feeling a "sense of loss or alienation and held impressions that the divorce was an emotional experience of great

[29]Anthony, "Children at Risk from Divorce," p. 467.

[30]E. M. Hetherington and J. L. Deur, "The Effects of Father Absence on Child Development," The Young Child: Review of Research, 2, edited by W. W. Hartup, Washington D. C.: National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1972, p.

magnitude."[31] Wallerstein and Kelly's study of children of divorce also identifies grief and mourning, citing the definition of divorce from a young child as, "It's when people go away."[32]

Both Bernard[33] and Hozman and Frailand[34] consider mourning for children of divorce as a major factor, basing their counseling models for children of divorce, to a large degree, on Elizabeth Kubler-Ross' model of stages of grief, that is, denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance.[35]

In their work on mourning in the analysis of a four year old child, Lopez and Kliman cite the work of Freud (1917). Freud talks of the process of mourning as cleansing the internalized image of the object-loss within the child. "When the work of mourning is completed, the ego becomes free and uninhibited again."[36] Freud states:

Mourning draws motive force from:

1. Striving to preserve reality-testing: the fact of object-loss be acknowledged.

2. The bereaved's wish to remain alive and to live as fully as possible motivates efforts to separate, to differentiate from the lost object; to mourn.

[31]Sharyn Grossman, Judy Ann Shea, Gerald Adams, "Effects of Parental Divorce During Early Childhood on Ego Development and Identity Formation of College Students," Journal of Divorce, 3(3), Spring, 1980, p. 269.

[32]Wallerstein and Kelly, Surviving the Break-up, p. 66.

[33]Bernard, "Divorce and Young Children," pp. 188-198.

[34]Thomas Hozman and Donald Frailand, "Families in Divorce: A Proposed Model for Counseling Children," Family Coordinator, 25(3), 1976, pp. 271-276.

[35]Elizabeth Kubler-Ross, On Death and Dying, New York: MacMillan Company, 1969.

[36]Sigmund Freud, "Mourning and Melancholia," Standard Edition (1917), 14, pp. 237-258.

3. The painful flood of affect to which the psychic apparatus of the bereaved is subjected. The work of mourning accomplishes a master of this flood by regulating its rate of discharge so that the ego may come to terms with it in a piecemeal and gradual manner.[37]

The work of Lopez and Kliman illustrate well with a four year old girl how the images of her parents must be dealt with in the mourning process.

> Diane, at four, drew a man and woman joined at the head. They were from 'outer space' and since they already were inseparable, they had no need ever to marry one another. The analyst interpreted her conveying that people can continue relationships in their imaginations, in their heads - even if they cease to see each other in reality... she can imagine people within her.[38]

For the reasons cited above, Pollock's work with children of divorce in the Barr-Harris Center in Chicago, where he is Director of the Institute for Psychoanalysis, states that mourning is a "liberation process" and that the stages of mourning are "developmental" and "invariant." The "mourning liberation process," for Pollock, is an actual biological and physiological process. He sees that some children of divorce "arrest the developmental mourning process which produces physiological and social changes in them."[39] Pollock's ideas would concur with Lopez and Kliman that "the child's inability to mourn unaided must then be met."[40]

Such work has two important implications: (1) that the mourning liberation process is developmental in the child of divorce and needs to be understood by those in close relationship with the child; and (2) that

[37]Thomas Lopez and Gilbert Kliman, "Memory, Reconstruction and Mourning in the Analysis of a Four Year Old Child," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 34, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979, p. 261.

[38]Ibid., pp. 262-263.

[39]George Pollock, "Mourning and Creativity," Parent Loss in Childhood: Death and Divorce, March 6, 1982, Chicago, Institute of Psychoanalysis (tape).

[40]Lopez and Kliman, "Memory, Reconstruction and Mourning," p. 263.

the arrest of the mourning process can produce physiological and social changes in the child that must be dealt with by parents, educators and child-oriented professionals. Conversely, the whole question of whether mourning in the child is mirrored in the mourning of both the custodial parent and the absent parent needs to be researched further. Littner comments on this problem when he points out that both marital partners usually experience a mourning period as long as a year and the divorced person tends to be in a state of depression. He concludes, "therefore, during this period of mourning and depression, the parent will have difficulty in being as good a parent to the child as previously because of the parent's preoccupation with self."[41]

Symptomology and Defense Mechanisms of the Preschool Child Facing Divorce

Three major studies look at defense mechanisms and symptomology in preschool children facing the crisis of divorce: (1) Littner; (2) McDermott; and (3) Wallerstein and Kelly.

Littner points out six common symptoms consequent to the loss the child experiences in divorce:

1. The child may show evidence of a general emotional disturbance with impairment of emotional, intellectual, physical or personality functioning.

2. A freezing of personality development, depending, in part, on exactly where the child is developmentally at the time of the loss.

3. A need to provoke others to reject her/him. The child develops an uncanny radar ability to find people who come equipped with a great potential for rejecting her/him.

4. A pattern of self-defeating behavior related to the conflictual feeling experienced by the loss.

5. The creation of a tendency to reproduce these problems in her/his

[41]Littner, Children of Divorce, p. 4.

children.

6. A tendency toward negative identifications with the non-custodial parent.[42]

Littner, Wallerstein and Kelly, and McDermott[43] concur on physical changes in the child with psychosomatic complaints during the crisis of divorce. These symptoms include tiredness, listlessness, apathy, stomach-aches and frequent colds.[44] McDermott also identifies in preschool children "the loss of the capacity to play creatively" when these children are experiencing divorce. He states that there is also a regression in the child's play from playing with toys related to the family and house to more disguised play with animal figures.[45] McDermott identifies three groups of preschool children that manifest various reactions and degree of disturbance in play thus preventing the children from "coping, adapting, and restituting" from the reality situation of the divorce. The first group are the sad, angry children who meet the divorce trauma with shock, anger, depression and defenses of regression, blaming others for their problems with feelings of grief, loss, and emptiness. The angry children manifest their symptoms by being possessive, noisy, and restless. These children also are pushy, occasionally kicking, hitting and biting peers. The second group, predominantly comprised of girls, were typified by psuedo-adult and bossy behavior. The pseudo-adult children manifested characteristics of personality constriction and quarrelsome attitudes, bossiness, and pseudo-mature mannerisms. The

[42] Ibid., pp. 6-10.

[43] Ibid., p. 6; Wallerstein and Kelly, Surviving the Breakup, p. 77; McDermott, "Parental Divorce," p. 1430.

[44] McDermott, "Parental Divorce," p. 1430.

[45] Ibid., p. 1427-1428.

lost, detached children, who seemed regressed and disorganized, were the most severely affected of the children. They tended to lose their personal belongings and to wander about aimlessly, crying, bored, and detached.[46] McDermott's studies are of preschool children in nursery school from the ages of three to five years old.

Wallerstein and Kelly identify twelve symptoms or characteristics of preschool children facing divorce; they are: (1) fear; (2) regression; (3) bewilderment; (4) replaceability; (5) fantasy denial; (6) a temporary disruption in their ability to enjoy play; (7) rise in aggression; (8) inhibition of aggression; (9) guilt; (1) emotional neediness (a diffuse need for physical contact, nurturance and protection); (11) efforts at mastery of the divorce crisis; and (12) macabre fantasy. 'Macabre fantasy' is described by Wallerstein and Kelly in the following terms:

> Children elaborated macabre fantasies to explain the father's departure and the marital disruption. These fantasies were shaped by their own limited capacity to understand the confusing events and their frightened perception of the parent's quarrels. The absence of suitable explanation and assurance from preoccupied parents added to their reliance on their own immature fantasy explanations. And indeed, the most frightened and regressed children were those who had not received any explanation of the events in the family and were at the mercy of their own conclusions.[47]

Regarding defense mechanisms in children of divorce, both McDermott and Wallerstein have already identified regression as one major defense mechanism in the children. McDermott also points to two forms of identification in preschool children of divorce, that is, identification with the aggressor and, in the pseudo-adult, bossy girl, "a kind of identification with a real or fantasied part of the mother that has heightened meaning for the child at the time of the divorce. It suggests an identification

[46] Ibid., p. 1426.

[47] Wallerstein and Kelly, Surviving the Breakup, pp. 57-64.

with the "wife of the husband who leaves home."[48]

Littner also identifies identification with the aggressor and adds two other defenses: (1) the sour grapes defense where the child depreciates the parent she/he unconsciously wishes to live with, arguing and talking with self into believing what she/he is saying; and (2) projection where the child accuses one parent of feelings and intentions that actually originate in the child's own mind, but which are disturbing and unacceptable to her/him.[49] Wallerstein and Kelly also have identified denial, particularly in fantasy denial.[50]

Thus, McDermott identifies identification with the aggressor, and identification with a real or fantasied part of the mother; Littner identifies the 'sour grapes' defense and projection; while Wallerstein and Kelly identify regression and fantasy denial as defense mechanisms commonly used by children of divorce.

Gender Identification and Role-Modeling Behaviors Affected by Divorce

Gender identity, that is, the individual's recognition that she/he is female or male is established in the first two to three years of life. Family influences on the development of gender role are maximally important during the first three to five years of life. "Fathers appear to treat sons and daughters differentially more than mothers do and fathers are more concerned about their children's propensity to behave in a conventional sex-appropriate manner."[51]

[48]McDermott, "Parental Divorce," pp. 1427-1429.

[49]Littner, Children of Divorce, pp. 35-36.

[50]Wallerstein and Kelly, Surviving the Breakup, p. 60.

[51]Michael Lamb, "The Effects of Divorce on Children's Personality Development," Journal of Divorce, 1(2), Winter, 1977, p. 167.

McDermott seems to affirm Lamb's finding in the child's 'loss of a parental model', when Lamb concludes that absent or inaccessible fathers are likely to have a maximally disruptive effect during early childhood,[52] and McDermott takes it one step further by saying that divorce causes an acute disruption in the process of masculine identification. McDermott states that the boy, particularly, has guilt over the secret satisfaction of having won over a rival of the same sex and yet, "the child has a frightening fantasy that the father was banished from the home by the mother as a punishment for masculine aggression."[53]

Magrab concurs with the fact that the loss of the father represents the loss of certain protective functions, as well as a role model and companion which Magrab considers vital to children of divorce at this time in their lives.[54]

In a recent study on homosexuality by the Kinsey Institute for Sex Research done by Bell, Weinberg and Hammersmith, 979 homosexuals and 477 heterosexuals compared early relationships with parents, childhood friendships, youthful sexual and emotional feelings, and traumatic sexual incidents. Homosexuals had a higher significance in (1) unsatisfactory relationships with their fathers, and (2) gender non-conformity.

> For boys, this often meant a lack of interest in sports and an enjoyment of solitary activities like drawing, music and reading. Pre-homosexual girls, on the other hand, did tend to enjoy sports and outdoor play as well as wearing boy's clothes. They were less interested than the pre-heterosexual girls in activities like playing house, hopscotch and jacks.[55]

[52] Ibid., p. 167.

[53] McDermott, "Parental Divorce," pp. 1429-1430.

[54] Magrab, "For the Sake of the Children," p. 242.

[55] Jean Seligmann, "Gays are Born, Not Made," Newsweek, September 7, 1981, p. 42.

The authors' conclusion is that "since gender non-conformity is so early in childhood...it must be a 'biological precursor' that parents cannot control."[56] These identifiable factors of an unsatisfactory relationship with the father and gender nonconformity, however, have not been researched from the crisis of divorce where the father is absent. The father, because of divorce, is not able to provide role-modeling during this developmental gender identification period of the preschool child's life.

Stern's studies of single mothers' perceptions of the role of the father show that single mothers worry considerably about the effects of the father's absence on their children, especially the boys. Stern identifies acting-out boys that the mothers fear will become delinquents. The mothers are also concerned about the "boys missing a male image and from an adult male who can engage with them in sports, recreational activities and rough-and-tumble types of play."[57]

Stern cites Lamb's studies that play appears as the most prominent characteristic of father-infant interaction as contrasted with "caretaking" as the most outstanding characteristic of mother-infant interaction.[58] Pederson notes that "roughhousing, arousing and activating play may be more characteristic of fathers."[59]

Stern's studies conclude that it is 'a normative concern' for a

[56] Ibid., p. 42.

[57] Edgar Stern, "Single Mothers' Perceptions of the Fathers' Role and of the Effects of Fathers' Absence on Boys," Journal of Divorce, 4(2), Winter, 1980, p. 77.

[58] Michael Lamb, "Interactions Between Two Year Olds and Their Mothers and Fathers," Psychological Reports, 1976, 38, pp. 447-450.

[59] F. A. Pederson, "Does Research on Children Reared in Father-Absent Families Yield Information on Father Influences?," Family Co-ordinator, 25, 1976, pp. 459-463.

single mother to show concern about father absence in relationship to the boy's sex-identity development and need for adult male for certain types of play.[60]

Lamb sees that the father absence implies "the absence of a male adult whose role sons can learn to perform through imitation, and daughters can learn to complement through interaction."[61] Lamb also identifies "reciprocal role learning" important for girls, that is, what is appropriately feminine, arrived at by not only imitating their mothers, teachers and sisters, but also by learning to adopt behaviors complementary to those displayed by their fathers, brothers and other males.[62]

The Hetherington studies show that girls raised without their fathers indeed differ from those who have fathers. When the father's absence was precipitated by divorce, the girls appears to be unusually assertive and aggressive in their interaction with males, whereas girls whose fathers had died were abnormally timid and withdrawn. Among girls as among boys, "it appears that the earlier the onset of father absence, the more likely are children to be affected adversely."[63] Theus also suggests that when the father is absent, a substitute father image should be provided.[64]

However, several studies, including Biller, Lamb, and Pedersen, have recently shown that the mother's response to divorce and her adjustment to

[60]Stern, "Single Mothers' Perceptions," p. 83.

[61]Lamb, "Effect of Divorce," p. 165.

[62]Ibid., p. 169.

[63]E. M. Hetherington, "Effects of Father Absence on Personality Development in Adolescent Daughters," Developmental Psychology, 1, 1972, pp. 313-326.

[64]Robert Theus, "The Effects of Divorce Upon School Children," Clearinghouse, 1977, 50, p. 365.

the new social and economic demands substantially modulate the impact that divorce and the father's departure have on the children. Biller, for example, has shown that the mother's ability or willingness to deal with some of the activities related to the role of the absent father is highly significant in determining the extent to which sons are affected by the divorce.[65] Anthony concurs with the mother's role being crucial in establishing good gender identity in the child by providing experiences with male substitutes and visitations that are consistent with the absent father; she conveys her own attitude of heterosexuality with appropriate sex-role behaviors, by reward and distancing behaviors, in her interaction with her child.[66] As mentioned before, this study concentrates on the absent parent being the father, because in divorce 90% of the children remain with their mother from divorce.[67] Little is written about the effect of the absent parent being the mother. This seems to desperately need pioneering research in regard to the mother being the absent parent, particularly in the light of Bowlby's studies on attachment, separation, and loss. The absent parent and the "world" of role-modeling behaviors so crucial to gender identity are an important factor in considering the developmental task of ego identification for the preschool child of divorce.

Thus, nurturant, competent, accessible fathers facilitate the psychosocial development of both sons and daughters, whereas hostile, distant or inaccessible fathers (whether absent or present) inhibit the process of

[65]Lamb, "The Effects of Divorce," p. 168.

[66]Anthony, Interview, Appendix C, p. 251.

[67]Arthur Norton, "Single-Parent Families," 1981 Census Report, Washington, D.C.: U. S. Census Bureau, Chicago Tribune, June 18, 1982, Section 1, p. 9.

personality development."[68]

Superego Formation and Divorce

Lamb raises the question of the effects of father absence in divorce on moral development. "Psychoanalytic theory proposed that both sex role adoption and the internalization of the superego were products of the identification children formed with the same-sex parent following resolution of the Oedipal complex."[69] Hoffman's study on the absence of the father and conscience development showed that boys without fathers are more likely to manifest some difficulties in moral development, though as in the case of sex role development, hostile father-son relationships can be as damaging as father absence. This research shows that "the effects of low identification with fathers who are present, are quite similar, though somewhat less pronounced, than the effects of father absence."[70] The disruption of the father-son relationship in divorce and its effect on moral development needs to be further explored.

Wallerstein and Kelly also link the vulnerable child of divorce with the unresolved oedipal complex and writes of the prolonged investment in oedipal fantasies, diminished self-esteem, and delayed entry into the latency period.[71] Anthony comments on the "loss-complex" in the preschool child and states that there is a radical difference between the absent

[68]Lamb, "The Effects of Divorce," p. 168.

[69]Ibid., p. 168.

[70]Martin Hoffman, "Father Absence and Conscience Development," Developmental Psychology, 1971, 4, p. 404.

[71]Judith Wallerstein and Joan Kelly, "The Effect of Parental Divorce: Experiences of the Preschool Child," Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 1975, 14(4), pp. 600-616.

parent in death, where the parent is idealized, and divorce, where the absent parent is often devalued. "In either case, however, the image is distorted and therefore healthy identification is impaired."[72] Littner also speaks of the child identifying with the distorted image of the lost parent.[73]

The studies of Rohrlick, Ranier, Berg, Cross and Toomin show that if separation occurs during the latter part of the preschool period near the oedipal period, the child is likely to experience powerful guilt feelings.[74]

The work of Steele and Pollock formulated from Spitz's own work on "rudimentary superego" shows that the abused child often becomes the abusive parent due to the parental commands incorporated in the superego developmental phase of the child.[75] This work seems to have implications for the child of divorce. The question, then, is raised: Does the child of divorce, particularly the child in superego formation, become the divorced spouse and/or divorced parent, repeating the cycle?

When Anthony was asked about the formation of the superego of the child of divorce later choosing divorce in his/her adult life, Anthony affirmed that dynamic.[76]

Littner points out the "repetition-compulsion cycle." "The tragic cycle seen so frequently is that the child of divorced parents grows up to

[72]Anthony, "Children at Risk," p. 472.

[73]Littner, "Children of Divorce," p. 10.

[74]William Hodges, Ralph Wechsler and Constance Ballantine, "Divorce and the Preschool Child: Cumulative Stress," Journal of Divorce, Fall, 1979, 3(1), p. 56.

[75]Steele and Pollock, "A Psychiatric Study," p. 107.

[76]Anthony, Interview, Appendix C, p. 252.

become a parent who becomes divorced and whose child will then do the same thing."[77] This author affirms that divorced parents tend to have children who become divorced as adults.

> Despite their determination, they may be compelled to repeat it. Based on clinical experience, these children often unconsciously seek out and marry people whom they will subsequently divorce then, to their horror, they find themselves hurting their own children in the same way they were hurt.[78]

In considering superego formation, then, the relationship of the absent parent to moral development of the child needs to be explored further. In the repetition-compulsion cycle identified by Littner, the preschool child of divorce often becomes an adult who chooses divorce in his/her life-style.

Other Identifiable Variables Identified with Children of Divorce

Interparent Hostility

The studies of Cline and Westman show hostile interaction between divorced spouses over the parenting roles. This continued conflict is often perpetuated by the child in interaction between the divorced parents causing special alliances between parent and child against the other parent.[79]

Consideration of the significant relationship of divorce and inter-parent hostility on the child is made by Jacobson.[80] She also examines

[77] Littner, "Children of Divorce," p. 13.

[78] Maya Pines, "Divorce: Children Follow in Parents' Footsteps," Chicago Tribune, April 19, 1982, Section 1, p. 8.

[79] David Cline and Jack Westman, "The Impact of Divorce on the Family," Child Psychiatry and Human Development, 2(2), Winter, 1971, p. 78.

[80] Doris Jacobson, "The Impact of Marital Separation/Divorce on Children: Interparent Hostility and Child Adjustment," Journal of Divorce, 2(1), Fall, 1978, pp. 3-18.

the relationship of 'interpersonal losses'[81] and "amount of preparation the child had, prior to the divorce."[82] The impact of these variables are examined on 51 three to seventeen year old children during the twelve month period following parental separation. The conclusion of her research is that the impact of the divorce on the child is related, both to time lost in the presence of the father and to the degree of interparent hostility in the preseparation period. Children who seemed to adjust received preparation and help in dealing with the separation. Her research points out that the degree of interparent hostility, prior to the parental separation, is the strongest predictor for the degree of inhibition in the child of divorce.[83] The preschool child, then, seems to often choose "inhibition" as a reaction and survival measure, when faced with interparent hostility. Jacobson goes on to point out that "time lost with the father since the parental separation is the second most powerful predictor in three areas of children's behavior, that is, aggression, inhibition, and cognitive learning disability-academic learning disability.[84]

Cognitive Learning Disabilities - Academic Learning Disabilities and Divorce

Jacobson's studies test the variables of both intellectual disability and academic disability. The more interparent hostility experienced, the greater the maladjustment of the child in these areas, particularly the

[81]Doris Jacobson, "The Impact of Marital Separation/Divorce on Children," Journal of Divorce, 4, Summer, 1978, pp. 341-357.

[82]Doris Jacobson, "The Impact of Marital Separation/Divorce on Children: Parent-Child Communication and Child Adjustment," Journal of Divorce, 2(2), Winter, 1978, pp. 177-191.

[83]Ibid., p. 191.

[84]Ibid., p. 191.

variable of academic disability.[85]

Wallerstein and Kelly also mention the inability of the child of divorce to "concentrate at school and a significant minority of children failing."[86] Littner, in his symptomology of children of divorce, states "the child may show evidence of a general emotional disturbance with impairment of the her/his emotional, intellectual, physical or personality functioning."[87] The interrelationship of the affective life as energizer to the cognitive life (Piaget) seems to be highlighted in the child of divorce emotionally, experiencing crisis and academically, not being able to function in the classroom. Anthony also comments on the relationship between inhibition and academic disability. First, he cites the work of Bowlby who shows a predictable sequence of behavior in separation from the mother, that is, protest, despair, and detachment. The phase of detachment seems strongly linked to the inhibition of the child. "The detached child tends to fall back on her/his own resources and as Benedek has termed it, cannot rely on 'the relationship of confidence' or Erikson's 'relationship of basic trust' or Klein's 'introjected good object'."[88]

The inhibited child becomes apathetic and uncooperative. The child with the inhibitory syndrome begins to fail cognitively, emotionally and socially. "As experiences accumulate, the chronic condition is imposed, made up of a general state of unhappiness, slowness to undertake anything,

[85]Jacobson, "Interparent Hostility and Child Adjustment," p. 16.

[86]Wallerstein and Kelly, Surviving the Breakup," pp. 162-163.

[87]Littner, "Children of Divorce," p. 6.

[88]E. James Anthony and Doris Gilpin, Three Clinical Faces of Childhood, New York: Spectrum Inc., 1976, pp. 105-106.

an inhibition of thinking, feeling and speaking and in personality."[89] Anthony points out that there is an element of depression in the inhibited child as "inhibition is the depression of childhood."[90] The high correlation of academic deficiency, rather than intellectual deficienty, with the child of divorce is an area that needs further research. The variable of inhibition might also provide a link to the source of academic disability in the child of divorce.

Siblings and Divorce

Another area that seems significant is the relationships of siblings to the child of divorce. Wallerstein points out that a single child has a harder time with divorce and that the child did better with siblings in meeting the crisis of divorce. "The children were helpful to each other."[91] Wallerstein and Kelly state:

> The only child had greater exposure to parental conflicts and pressures than the child with brothers and sisters. Many children did not consider their siblings helpful, although their absence clearly made for greater loneliness and vulnerability. Although children did not acknowledge the help of siblings, they huddled together with them and conferred frequently. The youngest of three children sometimes felt more protected by the older siblings because the older siblings acted as intermediaries and representatives to the parents.[92]

Littner also mentions in his criteria for adjustment and custody of the child of divorce, "the nature of the relationship of the child and his siblings."[93]

[89] Ibid., p. 108.

[90] Ibid., p. 108.

[91] Wallerstein, Children of Divorce (tape).

[92] Wallerstein and Kelly, Surviving the Breakup, pp. 44-45.

[93] Littner, "Children of Divorce," p. 39.

Finally, Anthony addresses the nature of siblings in the family and calls for a more developed psychoanalytic theory of the family which has been pioneered by Lebovici "to show how the pattern of interpersonal relationships is linked to the intrapsychic conflicts that are constantly reprojected unto the members of the family."[94] Since the children are at different conceptual and cognitive stages as well as psychoanalytic stages, Anthony contends that modes of communication are conceived that are important to understand between siblings and that as it is crucial to know the mother-father image of the child, it is also essential to receive a picture "of the internal representation of the family" to the child.[95] For the child of divorce, these interactions with siblings and the child's place in the family are most important factors.

Creativity and the Child of Divorce

Anthony and Garmezy, in their longitudinal study of 13 years with 368 children coming from families of disability, divorce, death, disease and desertion, identify the child not only "vulnerable to risk," but identify the "unvulnerable child."[96]

One of the findings points to a cognitive delay in "decentering" with the vulnerable child. Centration, in the preoperational thought of the child, is when the child tends to center or focus on one aspect of the situation. Decentering, then, assists the child to see more of reality

[94]E. James Anthony, "The Family and the Psychoanalytic Process in Children," The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980, p. 21.

[95]Ibid., p. 21.

[96]Julien Worland, Cynthia Jones, E. James Anthony, St. Louis Risk Research Project: Experimental Studies, St. Louis, Missouri, February, 1980, p. 3.

and also assists the child to become empathic of others. Anthony tested the children for the variable of egocentricism by use of the Affect Discrimination Test (ADT). This testing "seemed to illuminate this egocentric, nonempathic attitude."[97] The results of testing with ADT show that "of the younger age, this factor accounted for the greatest proportion of the variance, a greater proportion than either race, social class or sex."[98] The conclusion is: "Thus, we have a finding in search of an interpretation - whether this task really represents a failure in the Piagetian sense of a developmental process (decentering) or whether impulsivity, poor visual searching and carelessness are the underlying, operating mechanisms."[99] The delay of decentering as a cognitive, developmental task for the vulnerable child, affecting empathy and affect, could be a significant factor in creativity because the fantasy life of the child is prolonged. The child is delayed in object relationships and turns inward towards self, for resourcefulness in meeting crisis situations. Unfortunately, this dynamic of delayed decentering seems supported by the role-modeling behaviors of their parent/parents who have withdrawn into themselves and evince egocentric behaviors in interaction with the child who is also undergoing crisis.

However, the main research related to Anthony and Garmezy's base hypothesis which is the "greater the amount of intervention, the greater would be the diminution in the re-test vulnerability score."[100] The findings are continually frustrated by the variable later coined by Garmezy as "the invulnerable child."

[97] Ibid., p. 11.

[98] Ibid., p. 11.

[99] Ibid., p. 12.

[100] Maya Pines, "Superkids," Psychology Today, January, 1979, p. 53.

The "invulnerable child" is described as not only doing well, but being more creative and original than the children in the normal population. The only common variable found is that the 'invulnerable child' was "well-loved in the first seven months of life."[101] Characteristics of the invulnerable child identified by Anthony and Garmezy are:

1. The 'invulnerable child' seems at ease with peers and adults.
2. They present themselves as appealing and charming. They win adults over to them as mentors.
3. Despite their difficulties, they actively try to master their environment and have a sense of their own power. They see problems as a challenge.
4. The 'invulnerable child' is independent and is not swayed by suggestion. In effect, she/he thinks for self and is not dissuaded by persons in authority or power.
5. The 'invulnerable child' is a producer. Many are exceptionally original and creative. Born into stressful home situations, some of their strengths and talents seem to be directed to the most important task - survival.[102]

Anthony states "the child's creativity is not to be underestimated in meeting the crisis of divorce and the ego identification process."[103] One example is how "the child creatively goes to substitutes and is exposed to other experiences assisting in her/his ego identification."[104] It seems interesting that, according to these studies, that some children facing the divorce crisis develop a higher degree of creativity with specific characteristics. The resourcefulness and resilience of the child is not to be underestimated in facing the crisis of divorce.

[101]Pines, "Superkids," p. 63.

[102]David Elkind, The Hurried Child, Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1981, pp. 180-181.

[103]Anthony, Interview, Appendix C, p. 251.

[104]Ibid., p. 252.

Play and the Child of Divorce

Wallerstein rightfully observes that "the experience of the adult and the experience of the child are not 'mirror image' of each other."[105] Rees points out that the "remembered experience" (Melanie Klein) of the child differs with where the child is developmentally and cognitively. The child has difficulty in understanding connections between past and present and it is often not until adolescence that such connections become "more comprehensible and meaningful."[106] Though Rees acknowledges that the child's past experiences are woven into the child's current ways of relating and fantasy activity, early experiences have changed in the course of development for the child. "Reconstruction" of the experience, then, becomes a desired goal for those wishing to reach the child affected by divorce.

Anthony shares this concern and refers to the "serious experiment" in reaching a child's life space. The therapist does reach the child by familiarizing herself/himself with all the details of the stressful event and then setting the stage to simulate the event. Anthony goes on to explain that the stimulus has to be precisely evocative so that the real life is systematically explored to identify the various components that have contributed to the trauma. "The technique is especially efficacious in helping the inhibited child to express aggressiveness bound up with such experiences as sibling jealousy, parental divorce, or a death in the family."[107]

[105]Wallerstein, "Children of Divorce," (tape).

[106]Katherine Rees, "The Child's Understanding of the Past: Cognitive Factors in Reconstruction with Children," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 33, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978, p. 238.

[107]E. James Anthony, "The Use of the Serious Experiment in Child Psychiatric Research," Explorations in Child Psychiatry, New York: Plenum Press, 1975, p. 388.

The problem comes in how to effect the reconstructive or remembered experience with the preschool child. There are two previous theoretical positions related to this problem. Psychoanalytically, Anna Freud has emphasized the need to adapt techniques to the child's level of ego development. She points out that "the child has a lack of introspection, an inability to freely associate, a concern with the present rather than the past, and a tendency to act rather than to remember."[108] Cognitively, Piaget has identified the "preoperational thought" characteristics of the child.

Anthony, McDermott, Rees, Wallerstein and Kelly have used in their research the use of play therapy to reach the child. Play is the expression of life for the child and much of the findings we have about the child's experience with divorce is related to the observation of their play. Elkind also sees play as an "antidote to hurrying," that is, the child of divorce who is "hurried" to grow up fast and give up its childhood.[109]

Anthony uses the Piagetian interview to reach the child's "remembered experiences" of the divorce. The Piagetian interview includes testing and play therapy. The testing includes the "Three Mountains Test" and "Broken Bridges Test" adapted from Piaget, and the "Family-Relations Test" (Bene-Anthony). The testing also includes "Object Analysis" and "Reality-Testing" for the child. Afterwards, play therapy is used. This Piagetian interview for the child, then, includes a combination of psychiatric, psychological, experimental, and play-therapy appraisals.[110]

[108]Rees, "Child's Understanding of the Past," p. 242.

[109]Elkind, The Hurried Child, p. 192.

[110]E. James Anthony, A Risk Vulnerability Intervention Model for Children of Psychotic Parents," The Child in His Family: Children at Psychiatric Risk, 3, New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1974, pp. 99-121.

McDermott, Rees, Wallerstein and Kelly used only play therapy in their research with the preschool child of divorce. Wallerstein and Kelly describe their findings by stating:

> In the main, these children possessed very few mechanisms for relieving their suffering. Their play was burdened, constricted, and joyless as they constructed unsafe toy worlds inhabited by hungry, assaultive animals. Recurrent playroom themes were those of aimless, woebegone searching and trying dispiritedly to fit objects together. Sometimes, they essayed to clarify boundaries and master distinctions and linkages by asking uncomprehendingly and repetitiously of familiar objects, 'What's this?', 'What's that?', 'What goes with what?'"[111]

Other children manifested reactions to the divorce by play and language. "One little girl attributed her father's leaving specifically to her 'noisy play'; another child to her 'messy, untrained dog'; another little girl still savagely beat 'the naughty baby doll'."[112]

Thus, researchers use some form of play in reaching the preschool child of divorce.

Other Variables Identified in the Child of Divorce

Lawrence identifies stress, anxiety, and loneliness as three variables to the "loss process" including divorce.[113] Elkind identifies 'stressed children'[114] from families of divorce with more children showing stresses that would identify them as 'Type A' personalities. "Type A characteristics are brought out in response to a perceived loss of control over a significant

[111]Judith Wallerstein and Joan Kelly, "The Effects of Parental Divorce: Experiences of the Preschool Child," American Academy of Child Psychiatry Journal, 14(4), 1975, p. 602.

[112]Ibid., p. 605.

[113]Jean Lawrence, The Use of Conceptual Models in Loss Counseling, Unpublished thesis, Loyola University, Chicago, 1980, pp. 68-90.

[114]Elkind, The Hurried Child, p. 149.

situation."[115]

Elkind, interestingly, develops the child of divorce as "confidant" to the single custodial parent and often to the absent parent. "The children are caught in the middle of these adult conflicts. Treated as confidants whom father wants as allies, they are still expected to remain impartial and devoted to mother."[116] The child being the confidant for the mother is a natural phenomenon, according to Elkind, who cites the case of a young mother living alone beginning to confide in her eight year old daughter.[117] These variables prematurely hurry childhood towards pseudo-adulthood as a way of survival for the child of divorce. There is a need for more study and research to determine these variables' effects on children.

Conclusion

In summary, then, the divorce crisis can affect and heighten the cognitive-developmental process in the child's ego identification with factors identifiable for the infant, the toddler, and the preschooler. Other factors potentially affected by divorce are oedipal relationships, the mourning process, symptomology and defense mechanisms of preschool children, gender identification and role-modeling behaviors. Recent studies have shown the child of divorce having cognitive and academic disabilities. Family factors identified are the influence of siblings and the role of the "confidant" in the hurried child of divorce. The symptoms of stress, anxiety, and loneliness seem present in the child undergoing this crisis, but a high degree of creativity and resourcefulness is also identified.

[116] Ibid., p. 42.

[117] Ibid., p. 42.

play is seen as having a vital role in the Piagetian interview and play therapy in the therapist reaching the preschool child's image of parents and family, as well as the fantasy life that surrounds those images.

Divorce: Family in Transition

Since the number of single-parent families has doubled in eleven years,[118] there seems to be developing in the United States a divorce subculture that is becoming more and more incorporated into the American strata of society. "This has come from the frustrations of the divorcees because of society's ambivalent attitude and from the increasing numbers of divorced people in our society."[119]

Ahrons looks at a conceptual framework for the family's reorganization after a divorce in which divorce is viewed as a "crisis in family transition,"[120] a crisis that promotes structural changes in the family system. It is apparent that "much research is needed to clarify the process of divorce and a family's post-divorce binuclear reorganization."[121] Margaret Mead comments that the lack of existing kinship terminology associated with relationships established as a result of divorce is symbolic of the lack of norms regulating those relationships. She uses the example of the need for a term which means "my child's father who is no longer my husband."[122]

[118] Norton, "Single-parent Families," p. 9.

[119] John Woodward, Jackie Zabel and Cheryl Decosta, "Loneliness and Divorce," Journal of Divorce, 4(1), Fall, 1980, p. 81.

[120] Constance Ahrons, "Re-Defining the Divorced Family: A Conceptual Framework," Social Work, 25(6), November, 1980, p. 437.

[121] Ibid., p. 440.

[122] Margaret Mead, "Anomalies in American Postdivorce Relationships," Divorce and After, edited by P. Bohannan, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1970, p. 133.

The Goetting studies[123] attempt to establish norms for parental integration of the former spousal relationships, but this study is just a start in establishing norms, regulations, boundaries, rituals and symbols needed in the divorce subculture.

The nuclear family, the fractured family, the single-parent lifestyles, the reconstituted family, the binuclear family for the child (i.e., involving two family systems), and the child arriving at a "family of orientation" for herself/himself, needs to be examined.

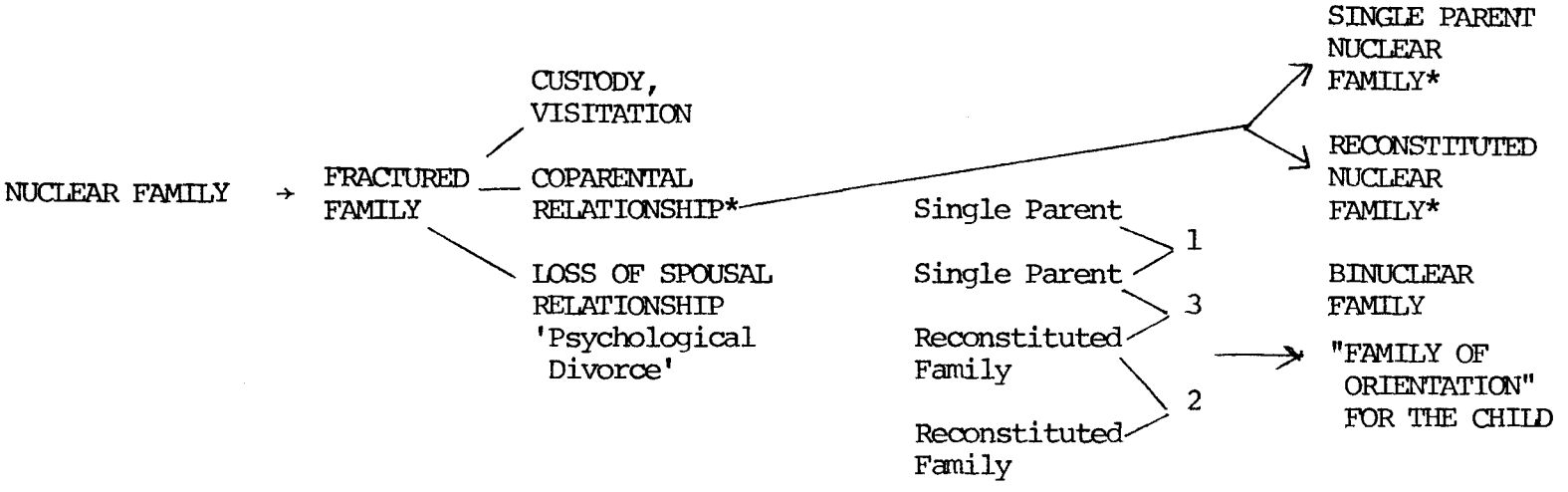
On the following page is a proposed model that could identify how divorce brings about the "family in transition" and how divorce is not an event but a process. The Nuclear Family is defined as the biological mother and father and their biological offspring, that is, child or children. The Fractured Family is used to describe "a family that is broken, separated or divorced."[124] There are two factors that influence the fractured family: (1) the loss of the spousal relationship; and (2) the co-parental relationship, including custody and visitation rights with the children. In a majority of cases, two styles of family living are followed after divorce: the Single-Parent lifestyle or the Reconstituted Family, that is, the parent/parents who remarry and 're-constitute the family'.[125] In the coparental relationship, the possibility exists that one parent does not communicate with the child and the coparental relationship does not continue. A Single-Parent Nuclear Family emerges, that is, a single parent who

[123]Ann Goetting, "The Normative Integration of the Former Spouse Relationship," Journal of Divorce, 2(4), Summer, 1979, pp. 395-414.

[124]Ahrons, "Redefining the Divorced Family," p. 437.

[125]James E. Hunter and Nancy Schuman, "Chronic Reconstitution as a Family Style," Social Work, 25(6), November, 1980, p. 446.

DIAGRAM 9
DIVORCE IS NOT AN EVENT, BUT A PROCESS



*The possibility exists that one parent does not communicate with the child and the coparental relationship does not continue.

Sister Frances Ryan
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Binuclear Family
1 Single Parent / Single Parent
2 Reconstituted Family / Reconstituted Family
3 Single Parent / Reconstituted Family

solely provides a nuclear family support system for the child. The Reconstituted Nuclear Family occurs when the single parent remarries and the reconstituted family is the only nuclear family known to the child. In a majority of cases, however, the divorce results in the establishment of two households maternal and paternal which become the nuclei of the "child's family of orientation." These two family subsystems can be conceived of as an organic unit for the child, that is, a Binuclear Family.[126]

Fractured Family

The studies of Spivey and Scherman try to identify the period of maladjustment and stress present in divorced women. They used four divorced groups with different time-spans sampling since filing for the divorce: D1 (0 - 6 months); D2 (- 1½ years ago); D3 (3½ - 4½ years ago); D4 (6½ years or more ago). Their findings indicate that it is the D2 group (1 - 1½ years after divorce) that had the most stress and maladjustment. The authors conclude that "further research, using a framework of divorce as a process, is needed to give practitioners working with divorced people more information for assessment and intervention at different time spans following divorce."[127]

Lawrence summarizes well the models of separation and divorce which include the loss aspect of the divorce process. The common theme seems to be the 'mourning liberation process' that Pollock previously defined as cleansing the internalized image of the absent spouse. A conceptual chart

[126]Constance Ahrons, "The Binuclear Family: Two Households, One Family," Alternative Lifestyles, 2, November, 1979, pp. 499-515.

[127]Patricia Spivey and Avrahan Scherman, "The Effects of Time Lapse Personality Characteristics and Stress on Divorced Women," Journal of Divorce, 4(1), Fall, 1981, p. 49.

is presented from the models of separation and divorce as summarized by Lawrence and Salts.[128] This chart is presented on the following page.

The variables identified by the different models include persistence of attachment and separation identified by Weiss; Wiseman lists loss and depression, anger, and ambivalence, and reorientation of identity and life-style; Kessler discusses the detachment stage, physical separation stage, and the mourning stage; Kressel and Deutch mention the period of mourning; while Froiland and Hozman use Kubler-Ross' stages of denial, anger, bargaining, and depression; Chiancola mentions disengagement and depression, while Krantzler describes separation shock and mourning. Napolitane and Pellegrino list active bleeding and post love blues. "Each of the authors describe the loneliness, guilt, anger, and depression common to those experiencing separation or divorce; acknowledging that the loss may be severely disruptive to the self-esteem of the individual."[129]

The Loss of the Spousal Relationship

Lawrence presents two models in loss counseling. First, she uses Aslin's model for the loss of the "wife" role in divorce and points out the advantage of this model as it is based on social, as well as psychological, implications in the dynamic of loss. Lawrence cautions, however, about Aslin's assumption of the "stereotypic wife" being true for all women of divorce and presenting the variable of "some women being able to function more autonomously."[130] (Please see chart on page 170.)

[128]Lawrence, Loss Counseling, pp. 54-55; Connie Salts, "Divorce Process: Integration of Theory," Journal of Divorce, 2(3), pp. 233-240.

[129]Lawrence, Loss Counseling, p. 55.

[130]Lawrence, Loss Counseling, p. 192.

CHART I

COMPARISON OF DIVORCE PROCESS MODELS

Counseling Directions (Salts)	Waller (1938/1951)	Bohannon (1970)	Krantzler (1973)	Kessler (1975)	Wiseman (1975)	Frailand/ Hozman (1977)	Levy/ Joffe (1977)	Napolitane and Pellegrino (1977)
Improvement of Couple Interaction		Station I Emotional Divorce	Stage I Shock	Stage I Disillusionment Stage II Erosion	Stage I Denial	Phase I Denial		Stage 1 Active Bleeding Stage II Euphoria Stage III Running
Evaluation of Alternatives				Stage III Detachment	Stage II Loss and Depression	Phase II Anger Phase III Bargaining		Stage IV All work/No play Stage V Post love Blues
Coping with Crisis and Change	Stage I Breaking old Habits Stage II Beginnings of Reconstruction of Life	Station II Legal Divorce Station III Economic Divorce Station IV Co-Parental Divorce	Stage II Mourning	Stage IV Physical Separation Stage V Mourning	Stage III Anger and Ambivalence	Phase IV Depression	Phase I Separation	Stage VI Yahoo! Stage VII Post-Yahoo Blues
Promoting Self-Understanding	Stage III Seeking new Love Objects Stage IV Readjustment Completed	Station V Community Divorce Station VI Psychic Divorce	Stage III Restoration of Equilibrium Stage IV Emotional Readjustment	Stage VI Second Adolescence Stage VII Hard Work	Stage IV Reorientation of Life Style and Identity Stage V Acceptance and New Level of Functioning	Phase V Acceptance	Phase II Individuation Phase III Re-connection	Stage VIII The Search for the Real Me

Sister Frances Ryan, 1982

CHART 2
ASLIN MODEL CHART[131]

Loss of "Wife" Role in Divorce				
PROCESS	Stereotypic Wife Behavior	Disorganization Caused by Loss of Role (Divorce and Widowhood)	Counseling Needs	Single-Again Role
EMOTIONAL	Cheerful, childlike, tender, sympathetic,	Hurt, anger, abandonment, rejection	Contact with others to share feelings and gain	Emotionally mature and and autonomous functioning
LEGAL	Uninformed about and uninvolved in legal process	Bewilderment, loss of control, experiencing discrimination or intimidation by lawyers or legal process	Assertiveness Training support to gain legal information	Active, informed participant in securing legal rights
ECONOMIC	Unthinking consumer, dependent on husband as "bread winner," credit reference, and financial planner	Division of money and property, feeling cheated, unprepared to be self-supporting	Job training and finding; financial skills, recognition of her financial contribution to marriage	Independent, financially self-directed and skilled
PARENTAL	Nurturing, overly responsible and protective	Guilt and worry about children. Using children to fight marital battles.	Consultation to assist children adjust. Workable relationship with father and paternal family	Empathic and loving relationship with children
COMMUNITY	Status and relationships dependent on husband or children.	Loss of or new relationships with friends. End of couple contacts.	Understanding other's options. Options for new relationships	Friendships and social support system
PSYCHIC	Non-assertive	Afraid, lonely, mourning	Griefwork. Beginning a "new" life	Purposefulness, security, and confidence

[131]A. L. Aslin, "Counseling 'Single-Again' (Divorced and Widowed) Women," The Counseling Psychologist, 6(2), 1976, pp. 37-41.

Secondly, Lawrence includes a conceptual model for resolving personal loss from Heikkinen (Heikkinen Model Diagram). This model includes the stages of grief and loss, the general issues surrounding these stages, developmental tasks, dangers and approaches to working through these stages of loss. Lawrence cites two cautions in using this model which include the need of the counselor utilizing this model to have resolved her/his own personal losses and that "the apparent simplicity of the chart may be deceptive to the need of the helper to have extensive knowledge and skills to assist others in the resolution of personal loss."[132]

Both these models, however, are a beginning in the description of the dynamics identified in the process of divorce and present some approaches within the developmental stage-sequence of the divorce loss process.

Finkelstein and Rosenthal studies examine 'fathering after marital separation' with fathers who chose to remain fully involved in the upbringing of their children. The loss of their spousal relationship seems centered on acceptance of the loss and the irreversibility of the marital breakup. "As long as the father clings to his broken marriage, he will continue to depend on his wife in regard to child care."[133] Rosenthal and Finkelstein stress the identity of the father in the divorce process by stating:

> With the loss of the marital setting and the gradual lessening of his attachment to his former wife, the separated or divorced father is able to integrate new points of reference for his parenting activities, namely, other adults, his own growing competence, and the reactions of his children.[134]

[132]Lawrence, Loss Counseling, p. 195.

[133]Harry Finkelstein, Keshet and Kristine Rosenthal, "Fathering after Marital Separation," Social Work, 23(1), January, 1978, p. 15.

[134]Ibid., p. 17.

CHART 3

HEIKKINEN MODEL CHART[135]

A Conceptual Model for Resolving Personal Loss

Stage of Grief	General Issues	Tasks	Dangers	Approaches
Shock/Numbness	Confronting Loss as Issue	Approach Loss	Avoidance	Experience Sharing
Anger and Guilt	Accept Loss as Loss	Make Loss Real Feel Loss Sever Bondage to Loss	Denial of Loss Enshrinement/ Adoration of Loss	Memorial Monument Celebration Dialogue with Loss
Depression; Resolution	Adjust to Life Without Lost One	Build Self-Esteem Accept Self as OK Claim Personal Strengths	Regression-clinging to dependencies, e.g., marriage to person resembling parent	Talk to Strengths Projection into the Future
Postresolution	Develop Deeper Relationships	Self-Assertion Risk-Taking New Growth	Withdrawal Isolation Status Quo	New People Out of Familiar People Imagined Disappearance

[135]C. Heikkinen, "Counseling for Personal Loss," Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1979, 58(8), pp. 46-49.

Littner also comments on the process of the newly-divorced father and identifies the "Santa Claus Syndrome" typified by the father's overindulging and under-disciplining behavior towards the child of divorce.[136] There seems to be a need for research as to the father's role in divorce and the stages of progression in the father's assumption of co-parental responsibilities towards the child of divorce.

The "psychological divorce," defined as "satisfactory post-divorce level of functioning"[137] in Littner's experience, is not reached by 75% of divorced couples. "They are still bound to each other by invisible steel bonds of dependency, hatred, guilt and shame, and a need for revenge and retaliation and continuing contact."[138] Here, Littner identifies from his psychiatric experience, a continuing ambivalence that does not "let go" of the divorced partner. The question remains: what happens to divorced couples that do not arrive at psychological divorce? What happens to the children of divorce caught in the ambivalent divorce?

Co-Parental Relationships: Custody and Visitation Rights

Regarding custody of the children, the doctrine of the 'best interests of the child' is maintained to determine custody or visitation. Littner states that "no divorce and no child custody or visitation problem is in the 'best interests of the child'. The real question that a judge has to decide is which course of action will do the least damage to the child?"[139]

A preliminary guide to the degree of separation damage for custody

[136] Littner, Children of Divorce, p. 21.

[137] Ibid., p. 30.

[138] Ibid., p. 17.

[139] Ibid., p. 12.

of children is discussed by Littner. Children under six years of age are seen needing their mother, unless there are psychological restrictions. This guideline is based on the preschooler's bonding and attachment behaviors with the mother. School age and older children's wishes for placement with their parents need to be heard and the need of adolescent children to be with the parent of the same sex, unless the child desires to live with the parent of the opposite sex, is to be respected, according to Littner.

Another opinion in favor of custody of the child being with the parent of the same sex comes from the Santroch and Warshak studies at the University of Texas in Dallas. Pioneering research with 72 families, begun in 1978, studied children living with the opposite-sex parents and children living with same-sex parents.

> Our study revealed that children reared by same-sex parents generally show greater maturity and independence than those reared by opposite-sex parents. Boys who lived with their fathers and girls who lived with their mothers generally seemed to be warmer, less demanding, more mature, independent and seemed to have higher levels of self-esteem than children living with a parent of the opposite sex.[140]

Warshak states one of the main identifiable reasons for this is "that same-sex parents are able to be gender-role models to their offspring."[141] "A mother is not able to provide a masculine role model to her son and a father cannot provide a feminine one for a daughter."[142] This custody arrangement also avoids the child becoming an emotional substitute for a spouse or projecting feelings of anger to the son that represents the feelings of the wife towards her ex-husband. The Santroch and Warshak studies are affirmed

[140] Maury Breecher, "If Choice Required, Same-Sex Parent Is the Best, Study Says," Chicago Tribune, June 27, 1982, Section 12, pp. 1-3.

[141] Ibid., p. 1.

[142] Ibid., p. 3.

by Rholes' study at Texas A & M University, which included 120 college students. He compares children reared with single same-sex parents and children reared by two-parent families. "The students who were raised by same-sex parents were just as well-adjusted as the children reared in two-parent homes."[143] The articles regarding these cited studies do not indicate how young the children were who were involved in the Texas research. Littner's opinion citing the variables of attachment, in the majority of cases accrued to the mother as the main caregiver, deserves merit in deciding custody of the child.

Littner opposes "joint custody," pointing out that it is extremely important that the child have a majority of her/his time in one home (such as 75%) and a minority of time in the other home.

> The worst thing that could happen to a child of divorce is for visitation time to be split down the center so that she/he spends half of the time with one parent and the other half with the other. When this occurs, the child feels like a transient, like a 'bird of passage', as though the child's life is built on quicksand and she/he has no firm roots of one's own.[144]

Also, children desperately need to maintain contact with both parents after the divorce. "Consistent, predictable contact with both parents can bring such children into closer touch with reality. It can prevent excessive idealization of the absent parent and minimize the child's feeling of rejection."[145] Littner points out that "each child of divorce has a 'fantasy of reconciliation' that 'someday, the parents will become reconciled' and the child will live happily ever after."[146] The working through of the "fantasy

[143] Ibid., p. 3.

[144] Littner, Children of Divorce, p. 29.

[145] Pines, "Divorce: Children Follow in Parents' Footsteps," p. 8.

[146] Littner, Children of Divorce, p. 33.

of reconciliation" is a process that the child must undergo using pre-operational thought. Consistent, predictable visitations help the child realistically work through this fantasy to the reality of life after divorce.

Elkind refers to the increasing number of children that are kidnapped and retained by the noncustodial parent in custody battles. "It has been estimated that some 100,000 children are snatched by mothers and fathers each year and about one-fifth are found."[147] The stress, guilt, anxiety, and rootlessness that can be produced from custody conflicts can have a scarring effect on these children of divorce, though there does not seem to be research as to the actual effects of child-snatching in custody battles. This is probably due to the anonymity of the situation and the inaccessibility of the child to be helped by professional or community resources.[148]

Single Parent Family

There are many books and articles offering practical guidelines as to "how to do it" for single parenting such as the works of Atlas, Hunt, or Kornfeld.[149] The work of Glasser and Navarre affirms the two-parent model and takes a dim view of single-parent lifestyles.[150]

Mendes attacks the assumption that, because such single-parent families lack a second parent, they are inevitably dysfunctional. She calls

[147]Elkind, The Hurried Child, p. 167.

[148]Ibid., p. 167.

[149]Stephen Atlas, Single Parenting: A Practical Resource Guide, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1981; Morton Hunt, The World of the Formerly-Married, New York: McGraw Hill, 1966; Maurine Kornfeld, "A Support System for the Single-Parent Family," American Orthopsychiatric Association, New York, April, 1977.

[150]Paul Glasser and Elizabeth Navarre, "Structural Problems of the One-Parent Family," Journal of Social Issues, 21, June 1965, pp. 98-109.

it the "tyranny of the two-parent model."[151] Mendes maintains that single-parent families can be viable families and starts a beginning conceptualization of some of the diverse and common components of different lifestyles adopted by single-parent families. The following are five lifestyles of single-parents. She identifies:

Type 1 - Sole Executive: The single-parent is the only parental figure actively involved in the lives of the children. This 'Sole Executive' or 'supermom' is the only adult who attempts to feed, clothe, shelter, nurture, and socialize the minor children in the home.
Danger: the parent risks psychobiosocial overload from excessive physiological, physical and social demands.

Type 2 - Auxiliary Parent: The single-parent shares one or more parental responsibilities with an auxiliary parent who does not live with the family. The auxiliary parent is usually the father of one or more of the children. Atkins and Rubin call him 'the part-time father'.
Danger: the auxiliary and single parents compete for the children's love and loyalties. The more conflict that exists in the relationship between single and auxiliary parents, the more stressful the relationship between the single parent and the children becomes.

Type 3 - Unrelated Substitute: The single-parent shares one or more parental functions with a person who is not related to the family. The unrelated parental substitute may or may not actually live with the family.
Danger: the unrelated parental substitute may not have an emotional attachment to the children but only the single parent. Secondly, the children may be exposed to a series of unrelated parental substitutes.

Type 4 - Related Substitute: The related parental substitute is a blood or legal relative who assumes a parental role, although he or she is not the actual parent of the children. This function can be assumed by grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, or siblings of the children.
Danger: intergenerational conflicts about how to raise the children can arise, particularly if an older sibling becomes the parental substitute.

Type 5 - Titular Parent: The single-parent lives with the children but has, in effect, abdicated the parental role. Examples are

[151] Helen Mendes, "Single-Parent Families: A Typology of Lifestyles," Social Work, 24(3), May, 1979, pp. 193-200.

> single parents who are alcoholics, drug addicts, severely infantile or actively psychotic, and are parents in name only. Danger: the parent acts as one of the children. There is 'anarchy' in the family system as each member scrambles to have one's needs met.[152]

Mendes presents an alternative in the single-parent family model. In this model, the single-parent is essentially perceived as a "contributing co-ordinator." The parent contributes by doing for the children what she or he can manage without undue stress and to coordinate the allocation of some of the other functions usually assigned to parents to competent persons within and outside the family. Mendes particularly emphasizes the need for the single parent to have a viable extrafamilial psychosocial support system.[153] The idea of a conceptual framework that identifies the communication and support system in each of the single parent lifestyles is important research to practitioners assisting children of divorce and needs to be confirmed in on-going research rather than the homogeneity of the one diagnostic category 'single-parent' living in the dysfunctional shadow of the 'tyranny of the two-parent family'.

Reconstituted Family

Hunter and Schuman point to the paucity of data regarding the reconstituted family with the exception of the Glick and Norton studies. One factor identified by Hunter and Schuman is that when a period of single-parenting occurs, it is often best understood as a phase in an ongoing process of reconstituting the family. It is difficult to study because in some cases "the reconstituted family is frequently not formalized by marriage...but after sorting through a number of difficult issues, the reconstituted family

[152] Ibid., pp. 193-200.

[153] Ibid., p. 200.

unit may settle down into a more or less permanent unit."[154] Hunter and Schuman identify six characteristic issues which confront the reconstituted family in their process of continual adjustment. These six characteristics are: (1) role confusion and ambiguity (the role of the stepfather, child management, financial issues, etc.); (b) boundaries (this includes clarifying new external boundaries which are different for reconstituted families and primary families; there is a need to establish inter-generational boundaries; lastly, reducing or eliminating boundaries between the elements of the two reconstituting groups, as between stepsiblings is important); (3) conflict of loyalties between primary families and reconstituted families; (4) grieving suspicion and doubt (misinterpretation of unfamiliar behavior patterns often feeds the distrust); (5) self-concept; and (6) newly-established identity.[155] Though the authors write this article in terms of more chronically disturbed reconstituted family units, the issues seem to be general for understanding some identifiable characteristics and pressures facing the child and families in the pressures of life after divorce. There needs to be more understanding of the communication, norms, regulations, boundaries and symbols in the co-parental relationship that chooses alternative lifestyles, yet are centered in with the relationship of the child of divorce. How are these issues met, dealt with and resolved? There is a need for further research in the communication system of the reconstituted family, particularly in relationship to the primary family, whether the primary family is single-parent or another reconstituted family.

[154] James E. Hunter and Nancy Schuman, "Chronic Reconstitution as a Family Style," Social Work, 25(6), November, 1980, p. 447.

[155] Ibid., pp. 446-451.

Binuclear Family

Little has been written about the binuclear family for the child of divorce. Jacobson states this is because of denial, denigration, and disorientation of our society towards this new phenomenon. "Currently, 10% of 66 million children in this country under 18 are living as step-children with a step-parent."[156] Many of these children are children of divorce. The studies of Maddox, Rosenbaum, and Shulman[157] are presenting pioneer phases in conceptualizing what happens to the child in the binuclear family with a concentration on the reconstituted family. Jacobson suggests that more work and programs are needed to help the binuclear family or "family of orientation" for the child to achieve equilibrium. Factors that influence this equilibrium are the working through of the mourning liberation process, the acknowledgement of the ambivalence within the binuclear family, the degree of honesty, communication, and compromise that exists within the binulcear family framework.[158]

Support Groups to Families and Children of Divorce

Community groups and self-formed groups such as "Parents Without Partners," groups in the various churches for the divorced members of their congregations, and private groups such as "Kindred Spirits" in Manhattan, New York, are based on the value of quality of life for single-parent families. "Parents Without Partners" have support groups formed for the single parents

[156]Doris Jacobson, "Stepfamilies: Myths and Realities," Social Work, 24(3), May, 1979, p. 202.

[157]Brenda Maddox, The Half Parent, New York: New Amerian Library, 1976; J. Rosenbaum, Stepparenting, Corte Madera, CA: Chandler and Sharp Publishers, 1977; Gerda Shulman, "Myths That Intrude on the Adaptation of the Stepfamily," Social Casework, 53, March, 1972, pp. 133-139.

[158]Jacobson, "Stepfamilies," p. 207.

throughout the country. "Kindred Spirits" have more than 100 single parents and their children which they include in their activities, through the purchase of two vacation houses, parties, theatre, Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners and vacations for the parents and their children.[159] The emergence of such groups provides a network of support for the fractured family undergoing the process of divorce to achieve balance and adaptation once again in their lives.

Conclusion

In summary, then, it is evident that Wallerstein's statement that "divorce is not an event, but a process"[160] captures the reality for the families and children of divorce. Divorce, because of the 'divorce subculture' that has emerged in our country, is viewed presently as a 'crisis in family transition' (Ahrons). The present need, according to Mead (1970), is the development of norms, regulations, boundaries, terminology, symbols and rituals that express the divorce subcultures and its interrelationships. There is a paucity of research following the later phases in the continuum of divorce. This lack of research is probably due to the relatively new phenomenon of divorce over the past 20 years. The continuum of the divorce process includes the study of the nuclear family, divorce and the fractured family, single-parent lifestyles, and the reconstituted family, completing the cycle with the single-parent nuclear family, reconstituted nuclear family, binuclear family, and the 'family of orientation' for the child of divorce.

[159] Ron Alexander, "Family of Single-Parent Families," New York Times, February 5, 1982, Section Y, p. 14.

[160] Wallerstein, Children of Divorce (tape).

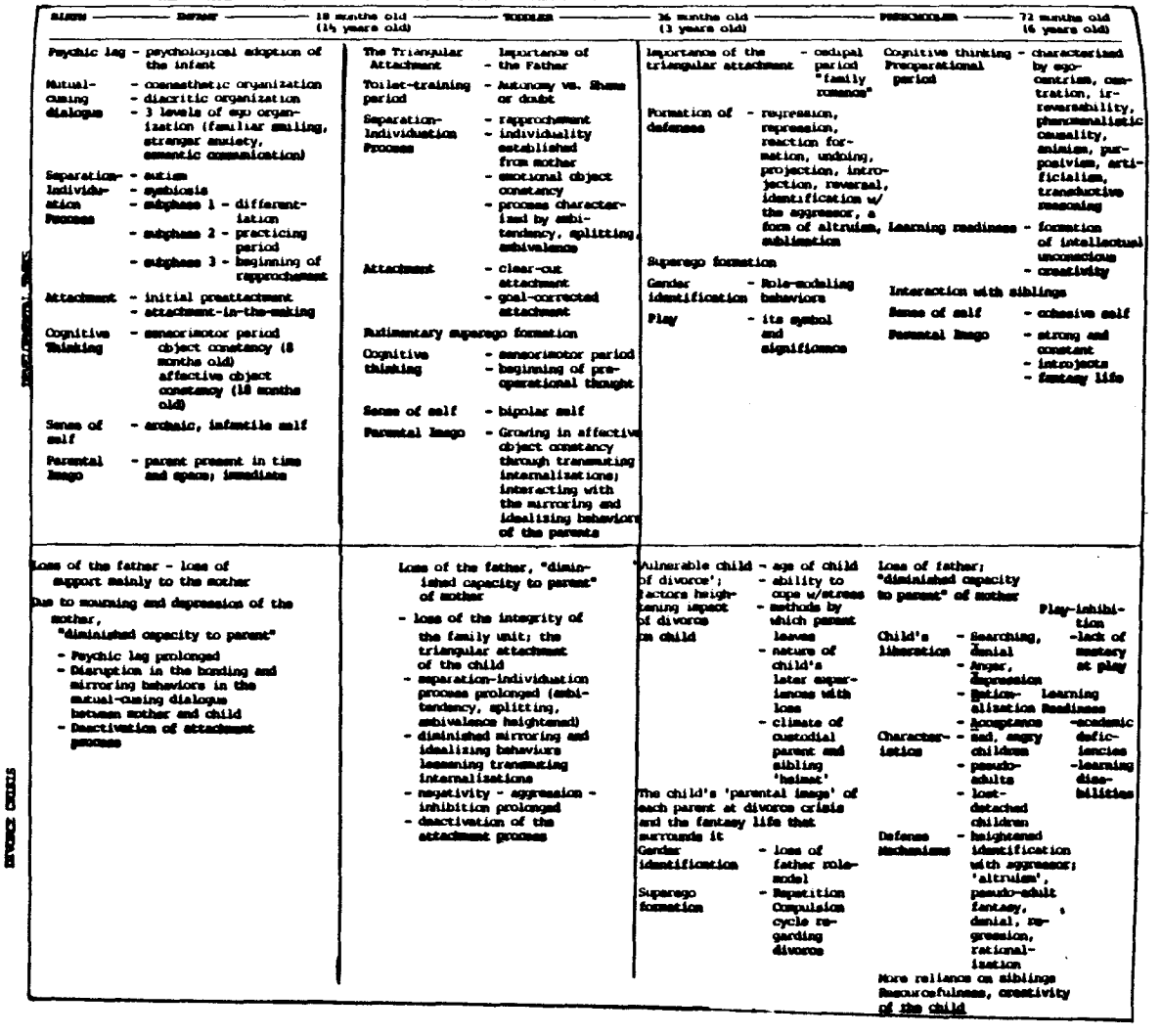
CHAPTER V

COMPARISON AND CONTRAST LEADING TO THE DEFINITION OF EGO IDENTIFICATION IN A DYADIC RELATIONSHIP FOR THE CHILD FROM A DIVORCED SINGLE-PARENT FAMILY

Introduction

This chapter defines ego identification as the child's sense of self. Based on the data from the previous chapters, this study considers ego identification of the child, evolving and in process, and treats the topic of the emerging self within the age-stages of the infant, toddler, and preschooler.

The factors of divorce and how it introdes developmentally in this process of the child's emerging self is discussed. "Divorce crisis" is defined as the first 18 months after the announcement of parental separation. The divorce crisis and its intrusion upon developmental tasks is considered from the time period of the divorce crisis occurring, that is, when the child is an infant, a toddler, or a preschooler. It is to be noted, however, that the impact of the divorce upon the child, and the degree of severity cannot be measured accurately due to the ego strengths of the parents as well as the unpredictability, uniqueness and resourcefulness of the child. A continuum of quality and degree in symptomology would probably be helpful in accurately determining each child's response to the crisis of divorce. This study, however, presents



Sister Frances Ryan, 1982

a guideline to the developmental tasks and intrusions upon these developmental processes of the preschooler caused by the divorce crisis (Chart 4, p. 183).

The child's sense of self, as distinguished from the world, is then defined in relationship to the parental image of the absent, divorced parent. These variations influencing ego identification are posited.

Finally, consideration is given to fostering growth of the child's sense of self in the divorced single-parent family, and from services of helping professionals.

Definition of Ego Identification

Ego identification is defined, in this study, as the child arriving at a sense of self. Tyson comments that "the development of the sense of self (or the awareness of separateness, cohesiveness, continuity and identity) is made up from the total accumulated, unconscious, preconscious and conscious experiences of one's self and one's growing body and identity."[1]

Ego identification and its definition is evolutionary in its contextual genesis. Freud defines the ego as "the organized portion of the id."[2] He further explains that "the ego is an organization. It is based on the maintenance of the intercourse and of the possibility of reciprocal influence between all its parts."[3] Blanck defines ego "not simply by its functions, but by its functioning as an organizer. From

[1]Tyson, Developmental Lines, p. 150.

[2]Freud, "Inhibitions," p. 97.

[3]Ibid., p. 98.

this, it follows that ego qua ego is organizing process."[4]

Hartmann, Kris, and Lowenstein, in discussing ego identification of the child, state that the "first step in the formation of the ego concerns the ability of the infant to distinguish between self and the world around him."[5] Mahler subsequently defines ego identification and the individuality of the child as "self-identity."[6] Ego identification in this study then is defined according to the conceptual frameworks of Mahler and Tyson, that is, the child's realization of the sense of self or self-identity.

The Emerging Self: The Infant

In the first 18 months of the infant's life, the mother-figure is the most central figure in the life of the infant. The mother-figure, developmentally, bonds with the infant. Anthony suggests that the normal psychic lag, where there is a 3 to 4 day delay of the mother-figure physically adopting the infant from "mine outside" to psychologically adopting the infant to "mine inside," is a vulnerable dynamic to the mother undergoing a divorce crisis. Such a divorce crisis may lengthen the time period of the psychic lag or even create ambivalence in the mother accepting and bonding with the infant.

The infant then enters into "narcissism without Narcissus" (Piaget),[7] that is, through instinctive tendencies and perceptive affects

[4]Blanck, Ego Psychology II, p. 18.

[5]H. Hartmann, E. Kriss, and R. Lowenstein, "Comments on the formation of psychic structure," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 2, New York: International University Press, 1946, p. 20.

[6]Mahler, Psychological Birth, p. 120.

[7]The authors included within the parentheses are previously cited in former chapters of this study.

(Piaget), the infant is bound up with the pleasure or displeasure of her/his own body, the infant's first focus of love. The infant is completely dependent on the mother-figure and comes from the autistic stage to a symbiotic stage, a partnership with the mother-figure (Mahler). The private communication system of "mutual-cueing dialogue" (Mahler) between infant and mother-figure is entered into through the coesthetic and diacritic organizations of the infant (Spitz). The "fundamental education" (Spitz) which is the rudimentary stages of object relationship, necessitates a consistent attitude of the mother-figure in dialogue with the infant for the first year of life. Subsequently, the infant is able to complete the "critical periods" of the first year in normal, intrapsychic development.

The only common variable found in the "invulnerable children" described by Garmezy and Anthony affirms Spitz's observations. These children, though considered high-risk through death, divorce, desertion, or psychosis of parents, were well-loved in the first 7 months of their lives and showed high creativity and resourcefulness in meeting crises.

Though Klein, in the historical evolution of ego psychology, makes invaluable contributions to the understanding of the child, her timetable of dynamics occurring with the infant, such as the oedipal complex being resolved by six months of age, seems premature. Both Klein and Freud seem to assume that the infant is capable of mental representations, evocative memory and symbolic, cognitive thought in the first year of life. The Piagetian position that the infant, prior to 18 months old, does not have the cognitive apparatus for evocative memory and its subsequent, symbolic function would mean that the infant, within the divorce crisis, would not repress this trauma from conscious to unconscious states. The infant is not capable of this intrapsychic functioning. The work of Piaget and

DeCarie shows that while object constancy is at 8 months old, the infant does not have a stabilized image of affective object constancy with the mother-figure until 18 months of age, while Mahler puts stabilized affective constancy at 25 months old. Following the Piagetian position, the infant is not capable of a stabilized mental image of the divorced absent parent, or cognitively experiencing the divorce crisis.

The sense of self is, initially, into the fragile, archaic, infantile self (Kohut) when the infant is adding mental functions which promise the development of the self. The parental image is absent in the first months of the infant's life unless the parent is present. The parental image continues to develop, reaching a stabilized internalized image in the latter half of the second year of the infant's life. Piaget's work regarding the relationship of external and internal imitation of the infant to "mental image" of the parent shows how the parental image is acquired.

It is the position of this author that the cognitive processes, in the sensorimotor period, are not basically disrupted by the affective crisis of divorce unless the infant is in "antaclitic depression" (Spitz), which means a severe rejection of the infant by the mother-figure, whereby the infant says "no" to the world (Spitz). This "antaclitic depression" would cognitively affect interest and curiosity in the infant, thereby hindering both mutual-cueing dialogue and the "fundamental education" of the child.

If the infant does not have a stabilized image of the absent parent and does not cognitively experience the divorce crisis, how then does the divorce crisis affect the infant? The infant is dependent on the affective state of the mother-figure. What affects the mother-figure

is critical in this time period. The loss of her spouse is a loss to the mother-figure's main emotional support system in caring for the infant. Because there is loss, the mother-figure enters into a mourning process and its subsequent stages of denial, anger, depression, bargaining, and acceptance. This grieving process causes "a diminished capacity to parent" (Wallerstein) and can cause a disruption in the bonding process (Rutter) or in the mirroring responsiveness present in the mutual-cueing dialogue between the mother-figure and the infant (Mahler). The affective state of the mother-figure is transmitted to the infant with the infant having no psychic defenses (A. Freud). Bowlby, in presenting the stages of attachment, points to primary deactivation of the attachment process on the part of the infant, if there is a severe degree of disruption in this dialogue between the infant and the mother-figure.

In summary, then, the divorce crisis can affect the psychic lag and bonding processes between the mother-figure and the infant. The mother's loss of her emotional support system in her spouse and the subsequent mourning process can diminish her capacity to parent and influence her affective state towards the infant. Her responsiveness in the mirroring and bonding tasks of the mutual-cueing dialogue with the infant can be affected by the crisis of divorce. The infant, because of lowered responsiveness from the mother-figure, subsequently deactivates attachment behaviors to the mother-figure, thus disrupting the fundamental education of the infant in object-relationships. The mother-figure is the key person to be supported during this period of the child's life in the divorce crisis.

The Emerging Self: The Toddler

Mahler, in her work of defining the three year process of the psychological birth of the child, puts much emphasis on the subphases of the separation-individuation process. During the "hatching process" of the toddler, as separate from the mother, the first figure the child encounters is the father. Consequently, Mahler, Abelin, Lamb, Lynn and Cross show that the father is an important figure in the second year of the child's life, and through their studies show how the father assists the child in defining the separateness from the mother.

The affective life of the toddler is defined by Piaget as "perceptive affects," namely activation, inhibition, reaction to termination with success or failure. For Mahler, the affective life of the toddler is typified by ambitendency, splitting, and later, ambivalence, that is, loving and hating some person or object. The toddler plays a peek-a-boo game during this period, shadowing and wanting to merge with the mother-figure, yet darting away, exploring the environment and experiencing her/his individuality. The father, primarily through play with the toddler (Lamb), assists the exploration of the individual world of the toddler. Abelin's research makes an excellent point, stating that the triangular attachment in its integrity of the family unit is important in teaching the toddler interaction with mother, father, and self.

Kohut describes the bi-polar self in the toddler caught between "the polarities of the grandiose, exhibitionistic self which is the source of healthy self-assertiveness and ambitions and the idealized parental imago, which is the source of healthy admiration, self-esteem and ideals."[8]

[8]George Fitchett and Bernard Pennington, "The Application of Kohut's Psychology of the Self to CPE Supervision," (unpublished) Seattle, WA: November, 1978, p. 3.

For Kohut, the preoedipal period is a critical time for the child coming to a sense of self. The author wonders how the deficit of the one parent in the home and the "diminished capacity to parent" of the other parent, through the divorce crisis, affects the mirroring and idealizing behaviors of the parents in interaction with the toddler. Minimization of these behaviors can affect a stabilized, cohesive sense of self (Kohut) by effecting fragmentation in the child.

> Severe and chronic frustration of the child's mirroring and idealizing tendencies leads to isolation of the grandiose and idealizing self-structure from those associations with the other parts of the psyche that could correct them. These archaic structures become split off and endure in the personality without undergoing the process of transmuting internalization. Self pathology arises from these isolated structures. Symptoms of self-pathology include severe and chronic disturbances in self-esteem.[9]

Thus, research shows symptomology of children of divorce having high ratios of aggression and inhibition (Jacobsen). Because of the divorce crisis, there can be diminished parental accessibility for mirroring and idealizing behaviors in the parents' interaction with the toddler. Such symptoms of aggression and inhibition, then, might have their origins in the toddler's developmental phase of the bi-polar self.

The toddler is into the sensorimotor period of cognitive thought with self as object. As semantic communication increases, the symbolic thought increases and the toddler comes from the circular reactions of the sensorimotor period to the beginnings of preoperational thought. The toddler, in a majority of cases, would seem to continue with normal, cognitive growth though symptomology would seem to manifest itself in speech disorders, or a lack of mastery of play, symbolic functioning of preoperational thought.

[9]Patton, "Kohut and the Classical Psychoanalytic Tradition," p. 368.

The divorce crisis, coming in this age period of the toddler, influences both the mother-figure and the toddler. The mother-figure, because of the mourning process, can be diminished in her capacity to parent the toddler. There is a loss of the triangular attachment and the integrity of the family unit, the basis for daily interaction with mother, father, and child. Thus, the separation-individuation process can be prolonged, particularly if the mother-figure tends to compensate and overprotect the toddler, and if the father is absent as the first outside figure for the toddler.

The affective life of the child, particularly in ambitendency, splitting, and later in ambivalence (Klein, Mahler, Parens, Anthony and Kohut), can be magnified because of the mirroring behaviors of high ambivalence in the custodial parent towards the absent parent. The stages of denial, anger, depression in the parental mourning process itself can increase the intensity of this dynamic of ambitendency-ambivalence in the toddler.

Though Klein, Mahler and Parens have different concepts of ambivalence, this concept is a basic theme of affect for the toddler. Ambitendency is defined as the simultaneous presence of two contrasting behaviorally manifest tendencies, on evoking love and the other hate, as behaviorally biphasic (Mahler). Ambivalence, from which ambitendency has its primitive origins, differs from ambitendency. Ambivalence presupposes an internalized image (introject) towards which love or hate can be directed. Ambitendency does not necessarily have an internalized image, but is focused on the mother-figure and manifested by the toddler in optimal distancing behaviors (Kohut).

The best understanding of the genesis of ambivalence, in the

author's opinion, is from the work of Mahler with Kohut extending our knowledge of the phenomenon of ambivalence in later stages. Kohut seems to complement and extend the insights of Mahler by his theory of the origins of ambivalence. Kohut deals with ambivalence assuming a growing parental image in the child, whereas Mahler deals with ambitendency being the precursor of ambivalence.

Because Klein believes there is an introject (mental representation of the mother) at 3 to 5 months old, splitting means for Klein that the child introjects the good (mainly represented by the mother's breast as prototype) and projects the bad to the outside of the child. For Mahler, splitting or ambitendency exists but is connected with the child's affect rather than a biological drive. The ambitendency is an important component of separation-individuation for the child. The proximity of the mother and her refueling behaviors are important for the toddler who is motivated by a sense of merger with the mother, while the toddler's optimal distancing behaviors are motivated by a sense of wanting to be an individual. Parens develops a genesis of ambivalence in a dyadic and triadic relationship within the family. According to Mahler, continued availability and consistency of the mother-figure during this period assists the toddler to come to a cohesive self and to stabilize object relationships.

Kohut shows that the child needs parental responsiveness and prohibitions to deal with his/her archaic, narcissistic, grandiose self. This dynamic is closely allied with Spitz's theory of the rudimentary superego and primal commands. Without these parental prohibitions and responsiveness, the child cannot attain a more mature sense of self-cohesion, self-continuity, and self-esteem. If the child is frustrated by the parents' disturbances in his/her relationship, the child's ambivalence

grows and the child's representation of the "idealized parental imago" is invested with a great deal of hostility which leads to a splitting of the object representation. The self representations emanating from transmuting internalizations in interaction with the parents dominate the child's representational world, often leading to a punitive superego (Tyson). Thus, if the ambiance of the divorce magnifies ambivalence in the toddler, this phenomenon leads to a splitting in object representation which is the basis of the child's emerging sense of self.

Bowlby speaks of the clear-cut attachment phase continuing through the second and third year of the child. The locomotion of the toddler and yet the maintenance of proximity to a discriminated figure is important for the child. The "characteristic way" in which a toddler organizes her/his behavior to a specific attachment figure, both in intensity and frequency, defines the behavioral components of the attachment process. According to Bowlby, interactive behaviors have a wide range from resistance, avoidance, distance-interaction, contact-maintenance, contact-seeking behaviors to searching behaviors. If, then, the divorce crisis deactivates the attachment process (Bowlby), it would seem that the intensity and frequency of the child's "characteristic way" of behavior would be affected by the divorce crisis. Again, the study of negativity-oppositional behavior (Magrab) being prolonged or the variable of inhibition (Jacobsen) seen in children of divorce would seem to relate to the toddler reacting to the loss of a parent and a "diminished capacity to parent" in his/her remaining attachment figure, due to the divorce crisis. Bowlby also refers to the phase of mourning over loss such as in divorce, including the child searching for the absent person. Finally, Bowlby refers to the "goal-corrected partnership" as the final stage in attachment. In the

development of the toddler, with the attachment figure, there is a lessening of egocentricity and the toddler becomes more active in what might influence his/her mother-figure's behavior. The Anthony-Garmezy studies with high-risk children, including children of divorce, seem to indicate that the children can be delayed in "decentering" affecting "prolonged egocentricism" and lack of empathy. Formative empathy in the toddler is needed for activation of the toddler choosing attachment behavior that might influence the mother and the responsiveness of the toddler. The attachment process of the toddler, then, might be influenced by the occurrence of the divorce crisis during this developmental period.

In summary, then, the toddler can be affected developmentally by the divorce crisis in a loss of the triangular attachment (Abelin), a lengthened separation-individuation period (Mahler, Magrab), diminished mirroring and idealizing interactions with the parents affecting the stage of the bi-polar self (Kohut) and magnified ambitendency-ambivalence (Anthony). The toddler also may deactivate attachment behaviors because of diminished parental responsiveness or choose an aggressive or inhibitive "characteristic way" of attaching to others (Bowlby).

Emerging Self: The Preschooler

From 3 to 6 years old, the development of ego identification, that is, a sense of self, is the main task for the preschooler. The child develops psychic defenses in his/her interaction with the mother, father, siblings, and then in interaction with others in the world. Anna Freud identifies these defenses as regression, repression, reaction formation, undoing, projection, introjection, reversal, identification with the aggressor, a form of altruism, and sublimation. In the psychoanalytic sense, these defenses are an essential part of the child's ego organization

in developing his/her unique way of dealing with reality.

Affectively, the child is now capable of intuitive feelings, that is, elementary social feelings of liking or disliking others based on self-estimation. Inter-individual feelings, defined by Piaget, are now centered on object choice. There is an affective and cognitive defocusing on self to the external world. For Piaget, who places will and choice with affectivity, the intervention of the child's will has the child keenly aware of what is just and what is not just, which is the beginning of superego formation.

The child also is developing basic Schemas in Reactions to Persons. "Schemas," for Piaget, were modes or reactions susceptible to be reproduced and generalized or "tools for active generalization." Piaget, as previously noted, does not believe in affectivity of the child being a "reservoir of feelings," but rather each affect, love, anger, joy, being unique and fresh in the child's interaction with another. Such affect would be generated from a Schema in Reactions to Persons. This Piagetian speculation is later affirmed in Erikson's and Kohut's concept of transference. Contrary-wise, Freud believes in the unconscious, repressing early childhood memories, and emerging into consciousness with the person's interaction with a "mother-figure" or "father-figure" as an object of displacement. Piaget, Erikson and Kohut indicate that transference occurs in the fresh, unique affect of the moment, happening between two persons until equilibrium is restored. The similarities to the Freudian concept of transference emanate from the basic Schema of Reactions of Persons, but in Piagetian thought such modes of reactions are developmentally subject to change through fresh, affective, daily experiences. Kohut, for example, believes in a restructuration of self through therapy, which is therapeutic

throkghout the person's life. Therapy works through fragmentation of the child's self receiving the idealizing and mirroring interactions of the therapist and resulting transmuting internalization occurring in the child. Kohut terms this dynamic "the cohesive transference."[10] Thus, the child is not determined, but is actually involved in the development of a sense of self throughout his/her life.

Piaget refers to external and internal imitation being the precursor of the mental image. Social theorists defining ego identification, in light of parental role-modeling behaviors, would affirm the relationship between imitation and identification. "The sum identification refers in some way to the representation of an external object that has been taken into the ego to form a permanent element within the total personality. Identification is therefore to be distinguished from imitation, a more transitory process."[11]

Identification is linked with the basic Schema of Reactions of Persons beginning with the mother-father images. Sigmund Freud describes the formation of the child's superego in light of parental commands and Piaget defines the superego as the "interiorization of the parents." Kohut describes the child coming from primary narcissism to interaction with the parents. These mirroring and idealizing interactions are "digested" by the child through transmuting internalizations leading to the child's sense of self or "cohesive self" (Kohut). Thus, identification with the omnipotence of the parents through idealizing behaviors develops the

[10]Heinz Kohut, "The Psychoanalytic Treatment of Narcissistic Personality Disorders," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 23, New York: International Universities Press, 1968, p. 90.

[11]Arnold Modell, Object Love and Reality, New York: International University Press, 1980, p. 145.

parental imago. The parental imago is the basis for the child's ego identification.

The studies on self-esteem (Coopersmith), achievement and motivation (Mclelland and Atkinson), parenting styles (Baumrind) reflect the common theme that the self esteem of the parents is reflected in the self esteem of the child. If the parents are in crisis during this vulnerable time, the time of self-identification for the child can be affected.

Cognitively, the child enters into the preoperational period of the symbolic self. Symbolic thought is primary for the child during this stage. The characteristics of preoperational thought are: (1) egocentricism - "the embeddedness of one's own views;" (2) centration - a centering or focusing on one aspect of a situation; (3) irreversibility - the child cannot reverse thoughts or follow a line of reasoning back to its beginnings; (4) transductive reasoning - specific to specific thinking; (5) phenomenalistic causality - events which happen together cause one another; (6) animism - the belief that the inanimate world is alive; (7) purposivism - everything in the world was made by and for man; and (8) artificialism - artificialist answers of children. In artificialism, the parents are endowed with qualities of omnipotence, omniscience, omnipresence, and are thought of by the child as independent of time. The cognitive response of the preoperational child does not have the adult skills of abstraction, perspective skills, reversibility and sustained empathy. The preoperational child is not conscious of his/her thought processes and often is left in her/his world to answer the "whys" of what happens to him/her.

Psychoanalytically, Freud, in the Oedipus complex, presents what the author considers a mythological explanation of ego identification in the child. Freud presents ego identification in terms of the family romance

with not much comment on the process or how ego identification occurs in the child. Kohut, on the other hand, differs with Freud in that Kohut believes in a healthy narcissism, a healthy sense of self, whereas Freud believes that maturity is only in object relationships. Kohut sees the development of the child's sense of self and the development of object relationships as separate, with both developments being on a continuum. Kohut defines narcissism in terms of healthy self-esteem in the child.

Kohut describes ego identification in relationship to the child's narcissism and grandiosity. Through the child's mirroring and idealizing behaviors in interaction with the parents, the child begins to incorporate the parental imago through transmuting internalizations. This incorporation of the parental imago occurs in the stage of the bipolar self. To explain this process, Kohut uses Piagetian concepts. Some examples are seen in the Piagetian concepts of imitation and mental imagery (parental imago - Kohut) and the artificialism of the child characterized by omnipotence and omnipresence (grandiosity and omnipotence of parental imago - Kohut). Piaget's concept of purposivism, egocentrism and centration can be seen in Kohut's development of narcissism in the child. The fantasy life of the child surrounding the parental imago is also discussed by Kohut. The transductive reasoning of the child makes the fantasy life that surrounds the parental imago unique. As mentioned previously, the child does not yet have irreversibility, abstraction, or the perception skills to examine his/her experiences. Consequently, the parental imago which the child identifies with is the "food" that is digested in the child's idea of self. The stage of optimal frustration and disappointment at the discovered lack of parental and self grandiosity eventually leads the child to a realistic sense of self that is forming at this stage. The parental

imago, however, is the foundation and basis for the process of ego identification. Therefore, it is the author's position that the ego psychologists influenced by Piagetian thought have developed more of an understanding as to how the child arrives at ego identification than the Freudian interpretation.

Another characteristic important to the preschooler is play. Play is linked to imitative behavior leading to the child's ego identification. Both external and internal imitation are required in the play of the child who imitates her/his parents and the world surrounding the child. The symbolism and significance of play grows in the life of the child. In the Montessori school of thought, play is the work of the child. Piaget has identified the various age-stages of play (Appendix B, pp.

Other factors influencing the preschoolers are learning readiness and the influence of siblings in the child's family. Learning readiness includes the child's attempt to master semantic communication, reading, writing, numbers, and art. The "intellectual unconscious" is posited by Piaget. Finally, the influence of siblings and the ordinal position is an important dimension to the child's place in the family and the child's emerging sense of self.

What happens in the intrusion of divorce in this preschooler's period of development? It is the author's position that the intrusion of divorce can affect the child's ego identification in three areas. The first area is the lessening and/or traumatizing parental mirroring and idealizing behaviors and interactions with the child. The second area is a lack of gender role-modeling behaviors from the absent divorced parent. The third area includes the lessening of parental commands and prohibitions affecting superego formation in the child.

For the child facing the crisis of divorce, there is a lack of consistent parental mirroring and idealizing behaviors from the absent divorced parent and there can be a traumatizing interaction with the mourning, custodial parent. Kohut shows that the child can be "traumatized" when the parent does not reflect the grandiosity of the child. When there is little response from the parent, the child does not have a source for learning more about his/her sense of self. This disruption can cause a splitting in the formation of the parental imago within the child and consequently, a splitting in the child's formulation of a sense of self occurs:

> Bill, after a prolonged and pregnant silence, began to construct in his play a 'perfect city model'. The city was in two parts, but each of the streets ran through both parts so there was easy communication. In the middle of the city was a monument to peace. At the four corners of the square city, there were places that dispensed food, medicine, books and information so that all basic needs were catered to in the city. The school offered courses in being happy and knowing how to care for children. Everything was taken care of in the city, so that there was no place for fights; the ruling family was together for 'a very long time and possibly forever'.
>
> When Bill was asked about this further, he said, "I feel as if both my mother and father are inside me and are fighting, and then they are walking away from each other, breaking up my body so that I would go with them both, but if I did that, of course, I would die. I would be broken up. I can only be a real, live person if they join together again.[12]

Thus this traumatizing dynamic can produce a lessening of mirroring and idealizing behaviors leading to a splitting, fragmentation, and blockage of healthy narcissism or self-esteem developing in the child's sense of self.

The omnipotence of the parent who protects the child has left him/her. The child feels abandoned and wonders, "what will happen to me?" In the child of divorce, a sense of abandonment is a chief characteristic noted in the studies of Anthony, Wallerstein and Kelly. This sense of

[12]Anthony, "Children at Risk from Divorce," p. 466.

abandonment can be a traumatizing experience for the child vulnerable in parental omnipotence and a sense of self.

The world of one parent leaving reesupposes a lessening of half the role-modeling behaviors for the child. What influence does this absence have on gender identification? The studies of Bell, Weinberg, and Hammersmith suggest the variable of "gender non-conformity." The Hetherington studies show that girls raised without their fathers indeed differ from those who have fathers. When the father's absence was precipitated by divorce, the girls appeared to be unusually assertive and aggressive in their interactions with males, whereas girls whose fathers had died were more timid and withdrawn. Also, the preschool male often is in a female-dominated world in the divorced single-parent family with a mother, female caregivers or day care personnel, kindergarten teachers, and grandmothers. The studies of Santroch, Warshak, and Rholes stated that the child raised with the parent of the same sex showed greater maturity and independence and identified "gender role-models" as the common variable. More research is needed in this area.

Finally, in the third area of the child's superego formation, there is an intrusion with the crisis of divorce. What effect does the lessening of parental prohibitions from the absent parent have on the child's ambitions, ideals and sense of boundaries? Already, Littner points to a "repetition-compulsion" cycle, that is, the child of divorce often becomes a divorced parent. Divorce is accepted as an alternative in dealing with marital relationships or raising children. The author wonders about the lack of parental commands and prohibitions in the preschooler within the divorce crisis and the child's sense of boundaries and later value systems emanating from superego formation.

Divorce is not an event, but a process. The intrusion of divorce starts with the announcement of the divorce to the child. Yet the studies of Kurdek, Siesky, Wallerstein, and Kelly show that the child often is not told what happened when one parent leaves the family. The announcement of the divorce is not made to the preschool child. With the child's egocentric world, the child is often left with blaming the self. The studies of Rohrlick, Ranier, Berg, Cross, and Toomin show "guilt" to be strongly associated with the child's reaction to divorce.

Regarding custody arrangements, divorce mediation centers often assist couples to work out custody arrangements and the emotional process that surrounds it. For lawyers and those counseling divorced parents, Littner recommends the child being with one parent 75% of the time to maintain the consistency of a home while seeing the other parent about 25% of the time with consistency and frequency. The working out of arrangements for the "best interests of the child" and the working through of coparental issues are helpful to the child's sense of security. Littner points out the dangers of competition between the parents for the child's favor. One example is the "Santa Claus" syndrome (Littner) where the child learns to manipulate the parents seeking the love of the child. Again, this interaction can cause "splitting" which disrupts the child's need of a cohesive self. Jacobson shows the effects of interparent hostility in the child's symptomology manifested by aggression, inhibition, and academic disabilities. One growing problem in custody arrangements for the child is pointed out by Elkind. Elkind states that 100,000 children are kidnapped in conflictual custody situations, thus leaving the child with a sense of rootlessness.

When the divorced absent parent leaves the home, there is a mourning

process that occurs in the child. Pollack calls it "the mourning liberation process," a process whereby the child interacts with the absent parent's image and tries to separate a sense of self from the loss-object (absent parent). This psychic separation-individuation process is very much intertwined with the grieving process. Because the child's conception of reality is different and a sense of self is being formed during this crisis of divorce, the author presents the following model of mourning (SARA) for the preschool child of divorced parents:

S A R A (Ryan)

S Searching for the absent parent; separation (physical) from the absent parent. The child in this stage initially denies that the absent parent is gone. She/he searches for the parent, often developing symptomology, such as psychosomatic complaints that will cause intensive coparental interaction. The fantasy of reconciliation (Anthony), that is, "the parent coming back," is particularly strong in the child.

A Anger at the absent parent; depression in the child. The child realizes that the divorced, absent parent is not returning to the family. The child experiences hurt and tries to hurt others, for example, biting, kicking, hitting other children. The child is experimentally repeating and acting out the hurt and being hurt to understand "why" the parent left the child.

The anger comes from the child's need to separate from the parental image within the child and often the child mixes up the parental image (introject) with the self, thus in this stage the child can be destructive towards self. The child can also manifest anger in

depression, for depression is inward anger. During this stage, if the child cannot cope, the child can manifest symptoms of severe inhibition, detachment, and/or a withdrawal from object reality (lack of relationships, aimless wandering, withdrawal from play).

R Rationalization; the beginnings of psychic separation. The child is developing a hatching-out process from the absent parental image because of more positive experiences with the remaining parent, siblings, extended family, and socialization with others. The child, subsequently, develops a fantasy system surrounding the absent parental image and also "why" the parent left the child. During this stage, Littner refers to the "sour grapes defense" of the child bargaining out that "it is all right that the parent left" and the child identifies with the remaining parent. Anna Freud shows another defense that particularly the female child uses, that of "altruism." "Altruism" occurs when the female child identifies with some particular part of the mother's personality such as the child being "bossy" or "extremely generous and caring" (with the secret wish of the child that the mother will have these qualities toward the child). Elkind refers to the "confidant child" which can be another way the child interrelates with the custodial parent.

The child then "dialogues" with the now accepted loss of the absent divorced parent and chooses "survival" rather than identify with the loss-object. By now, there is a cleansing of the parental image and a fantasy system that supports it with the child rationalizing why the parent left the family. The child remaining at this stage can have "macabre fantasies" (Kelly and Wallerstein) or can be a

"pseudo-adult," attempting to control others and situations by the defense of rationalization.

A Acceptance; psychic separation-individuation of the child from the parental image of the absent divorced parent. While the child often continues a relationship with the absent-divorced parent, the child has a sense of self separate from the absent parent. The child has an acceptance of the finality of the divorce. Wallerstein maintains that the "overthrow" theory plays into this stage.[13] Through the child having other positive, loving experiences, the child psychically arrives at the moment where she/he searches out the absent parent, psychically and/or physically encounters the absent parent, detaches and lets go of "distortions in the parental image." The child psychically separates and individualizes from the parental image and,"overthrowing" the fantasy distortions, cleanses the parental image and goes on to other object relationships.

Though with the preschool child this mourning process occurs mainly through time, visitations and role expectations, Elkind points out that only the adolescent, with formal operational thinking and powers of abstraction, can be the true reflector of childhood.[14] The adolescent is the closest to childhood, yet now has the abstract powers to reflect on what happened in his/her experience and has acquired perspective skills. Consequently, it is the author's position that often in the older preschool child of divorce who has a strong parental image of the absent parent and particularly where there is no remarriage or a subsequent consistent father-

[13]Wallerstein, "Children of Divorce" (tape).

[14]David Elkind, "The Hurried Child," Chicago, lecture at Erikson Institute, Loyola University, April 26, 1982 (tape).

figure, the stage of acceptance is not fully resolved until the child is in adolescence or later.

Other symptoms influencing the preschooler facing the crisis of divorce can be difficulties in play (McDermott, Wallerstein, and Kelly). The child in kindergraten also can manifest academic disabilities or performing learning readiness tasks. The child who has siblings seems to cope better with divorce. The communication and interrelationships of each sibling towards one another seem to be supports to the child of divorce. There is a paucity of research regarding sibling relationships in divorce and both Anthony and Lebovici point out that there is a need for a better understanding of familial relationships. The author posits the following questions for research regarding siblings in divorce, the child of divorce, and the crisis of divorce. What happens to the older child in divorce? Is the oldest child chosen as the "confidant child" or the "parental substitute?" Does a younger female sibling look to male role-modeling with her older brothers? Can siblings split in their allegiance to divorced parents and what impact does this split have on family communication? What impact does the divorce crisis have on the ordinal positions of oldest, middle, and youngest siblings?

The Anthony-Garmezy studies identify the characteristic of creativity in the child of divorce. Mendes, Wallerstein, and Kelly show that the child of divorce is more resourceful and independent in life tasks. Since this divorce crisis is now affecting a large proportion of children, do these qualities of creativity, resourcefulness and independence have implications for learning and cognitive styles in education? How can helping professionals use these qualities in relating to the child of divorce?

Regarding social and family network systems, what happens to the child's sense of identity in a binuclear family system? The child adapts to boundaries, norms and regulations that differ in two family systems. The "Santa Claus syndrome" (Littner) is often experienced by the child of divorce in the weekend visitations with the father during the crisis of divorce. The different combinations of single parents, reconstituted families, or single parent and reconstituted family create a new set of extended family members for the child, including step-sisters, brothers, aunts, uncles and friends. Issues such as the paternal extended family's relationship to the child of divorce need to be examined in further research regarding norms and patterns of communication. These are family support systems that are meaningful to the child yet disrupted because of the divorce.

Communication in the coparental relationship, however, seems to be the bonding and cohesive link to assist the child. Mead's cry for expansion of the divorce culture including better norms, symbols, rituals and terminology is badly needed to assist in good coparental communication. The Goetting study should be a pioneering start to determine ways of appropriate coparental interaction after the divorce.

Today, with other remarriages of the biological parents, some children of divorce are faced with multi-nuclear family systems. The child of divorce becomes the child of many and may typify a significant minority of the children of the 1980s.

Mendes points to the various typologies emerging in the single parent families. More studies are also needed in the reconstituted families. Hunter, Schuman, Glick, and Norton have identified issues such as role confusion, need for boundaries, conflict of loyalties, grieving, suspicion and doubt, and a newly established identity.

In summary, then, the preschool child of divorce's main task is ego identification, that is, coming to a sense of self. Three areas of ego identification are discussed in the light of the divorce crisis, namely, the lessening and/or traumatizing parental mirroring and idealizing behaviors and interactions with the child, a lack of gender role-modeling behaviors, and superego formation with a lessening of parental commands and prohibitions. A child's mourning process, SARA, is proposed by the author. Other factors such as play, sibling interaction and the positive qualities of creativity, resourcefulness and independence are discussed. More knowledge of norms, boundaries, communication patterns in the single parent, reconstituted family and binuclear family must be developed in order to help the child of divorce.

Child's Sense of Self in the Divorced Single Parent Family

The author's position is that the parental image is basic to the child identifying with a sense of self. Three hypotheses are set forth regarding the child's identification with a sense of self in a divorced single parent family. In the three hypotheses, the absent parent of divorce is the center of focus because the child is able to interact with the custodial parent. Much research also needs to be developed regarding the child's image of the custodial parent and the fantasy life that develops, but at least, through "optimal frustration" (Kohut), the child can come to a better sense of reality with the custodial parent. This is not consistently possible with the absent parent of divorce. The following, then, are three hypotheses regarding the relationship of the child of divorce, the absent parental image and ego identification.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis I. There is a relationship between a lack of formation of parental image and the age of the child at the time of divorce. If the child is under 15 months old at the time of the divorce, the child has no or little internal image of the absent parent. This lack of parental image allows the child to compensate in his/her family, extended family, social and cultural contacts in reaching ego identification.

Hypothesis II. There is a relationship between a strong internal positive parental image and ego identification that parallels the triadic relationship, mother, father, and child. If the absent parent has on-going communication with the child and parental conflicts on child-related issues are worked out adequately, then the child reaches ego identification within the triadic relationship.

Hypothesis III. There is a relationship between feelings of rejection, abandonment, and ambivalence of the child towards the absent parent and the formation of a distorted parental image. Consequently, the child creates a fantasy life surrounding the distorted parental image which can be a key to understanding the child's disrupted ego identification.

Anthony, in reviewing these three hypotheses, states that there is literature to affirm the first two hypotheses. He points to a need for concentration of the third hypothesis in further research.[13] The child's stage in the mourning literation process of the absent parent (SARA - Searching, Anger, Rationalization, Acceptance) provides a vital link to where the child is in his/her parental image and the fantasy life surrounding it. When the child of divorce is able to complete the mourning process, identification with the sense of a cohesive self is facilitated for the

[13]Anthony, "Interview," (Appendix C, p. 250).

child of divorce. It is the author's position that the third hypothesis needs further pioneering research.

Factors in Assisting the Child of Divorce's Self-Identity

Preventive Versus Reactive Services for Children of Divorce

The divorce phenomenon has such a startling impact on our society that, in the author's opinion, divorce services are still classified with therapeutic services. With 46% of the children in the United States being in a single-parent family at some time in their lives, there is a need for the children to be reached through preventive services as a part of the divorce process. Often the child of divorce is reached through "reactive services." The custodial parent actively seeks out therapeutic services related to a symptom or crisis that the child of divorce is experiencing in a developmental task. The author agrees with Littner that the younger the child, the more vulnerable the child is to divorce. There is a need to have more services available to assess the needs of the fractured family, particularly infants and preschoolers, as well as to educate parents about the loss-mourning process in the parents and children of divorce. There also is needed further in-service education for lawyers, divorce mediators, day care centers, kindergarten teachers, caregivers and hospital personnel to be educated in what happens to the child of divorce. Thus, in preventive services incorporated as a part of the divorce process, there is more a possibility of reaching a majority of the children of divorce, and through in-service education, training and empowering the caring professionals such as educators, caregivers, health professionals who surround the child in his/her vulnerable years.

"Heimat"

The author perceives that one of the greatest concerns of the pre-schooler 3 to 5 years old after the divorce is "who will take care of me?" Abandonment is a major concern for the child. The child may become concerned about the custodial parent and whether the remaining parent will be there. The custodial parent then has to assure the child, "I will be here. I will not leave you." The Swiss educator, Pestalozzi, feels that a person's most fundamental and natural need is to have a "Heimat," that is, a place where she/he is "at home," where she/he belongs and where she/he can enjoy peace.[14] The child's need of a home, a routine, consistent meals and consistent caretakers promotes the child's Heimat. During the crisis of divorce, the maintenance of the Heimat for the child eases the child's deep-centered preoccupation of "who will care for me?" "Will my remaining parent abandon me?" It is the author's position that divorced parents and professionals that assist the child should endeavor, as far as possible, to avoid "anomie"[15] (Toffler), that is, too much change in life routine, both for the divorced parent and the child. This will ensure the core and security provided by the climate of Heimat.

Transference

Are children capable of transference? This question has been debated by theorists such as Anna Freud and Melanie Klein. The insights of Piaget and Kohut point out that the concept of transference has a fresh and dynamic component, based on the genuine affect of the moment, yet linked to the Reaction Schema of Persons. As in the study of Kliman and Lopez with the

[14]Hans Schieser, "Equality versus Freedom," Re-thinking Educational Equality, edited by Andrew Kopan and Herbert Walberg, Berkley: McCutchan Publishing Company, 1974, p. 136.

[15]Alvin Toffler, Future Shock, New York: Bantam Books, 1971.

four-year-old, the "remembered experience" of mourning can be reached in the child. Subsequently, corrective affective experiences in the therapeutic relationship can enhance the child's sense of self. The child, often symbolically in play, will communicate the image and fantasy life of how the child uniquely perceives the aftereffects of divorce. Through transference, the therapist is able to affectively communicate the idealizing and mirroring behaviors the child needs to gain a more cohesive sense of self. The therapist also is able to work more closely with the primary attachment figure of the custodial parent.

Structured Experiences and Play Therapy

Since the child is in preoperational thought, the "remembered experience" discussed in the writings of Anna Freud must often be reached by symbolic play with the preschool child. Anthony, in the High Risk Project with children, develops an excellent synthesis of structured expereinces based on Piagetian concepts and play therapy. "Structured experiences" simulate the divorce experience and familial crisis in the hope of reaching the child's unique "remembered experience." This "remembered experience" includes the child's image of the absent parent and the fantasy life that surrounds it. The Family Relations test (Anthony-Bene) is an example of this structured experience. Play therapy can be both diagnostic and therapeutic in nature for the preschool child. The child communicates through symbolic play, including art. Piaget's stages of play (Appendix B, pp. 240-243) identify the developmental formation of symbolic play according to the age of the preschool child. Wallerstein and Kelly, in Surviving the Breakup, cite excellent examples of the use of play therapy with children.

Guided Imagery

The psychophysiological approach of guided imagery, as in the work of Jean Houston[16] and Bandler and Grindler[17] shows much promise in the field of working with children. Though this form of therapy is in the pioneering stages for children, the author perceives that for older preschool children guided imagery can be a rich, therapeutic approach in reaching the children's inner worlds. Hendricks and Roberts[18] already have begun to apply guided imagery as an approach to reach younger children.

Psychosocial Support for the Custodial Parent

Particularly in the case of the child under two years old, the affective state of the mother, who in 90% of divorces is the custodial parent, is important. In the fractured family undergoing the divorce crisis, the mother needs psychosocial support. The mother's normal developmental mourning process, as well as her adjustment to the loss of the spouse role, with economic and social implications, are stressful factors for her. The mother needs a psychosocial support network system. Church groups for the divorced, divorce mediation centers, Parents Without Partners, "Kindred Spirits" and the extended family often assist the custodial parent in sharing loss experiences and coping with newer adjustments. The growing divorce culture in society is helping the custodial parent avoid stigmatizing or alienating types of experiences. With the psychosocial support system, the custodial parent is able to cope better and with a better sense

[16]Jean Houston, Life Force, New York: Delta Book Inc., 1980.

[17]John Grinder and Richard Bandler, Frogs into Princes: Neuro-linguistic Programming, Moab, UT: Real People Press, 1979; The Structure of Magic I and II, Palo Alto, CA: Science and Behavior Books, Inc., 1976.

[18]G. Hendricks and T. Roberts, The Second Centering Book, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1977.

of self esteem, is able to give to the child. Consequently, the mother is able to bond with the infant, cope with the ambitendency of the toddler, or enrich the mirroring/idealizing behaviors with the preschooler.

Divorce Crisis Versus Developmental Growth Crisis

One dynamic that needs to be identified by helping professionals is whether the current behavior of the child relates to the divorce crisis or whether it is a developmental growth crisis that the divorced parent attributes to the aftermath of the divorce. This study identifies the divorce crisis as being 18 months in duration and while the mourning process often goes on to a later time, there is adjustment for the child and family. If the custodial parent is guilty about the divorce, the child can quickly learn "secondary gains" over normal developmental growth tensions between the parent and the child. One example is the child who told the principal that the reason he was fighting on the playground was because "his parents were divorced." There is a need in further research to identify normal developmental lines for children and the intrusions of divorce during the time of the crisis in the life of the school-age child or adolescent. Education of divorced parents in the findings of Child Development and Developmental Psychology through workshops and courses would be of great assistance in better understanding the child of divorce.

Case Conferences

With the preschool child, continuity of communication ensures more of a Heimat atmosphere for the child. Case conferences can bring the family, extended family, and helping professionals together to bring about

this communication regarding the preschool child. A case conference would assist the family and each of the professionals to see their role in assisting the child to work through his/her crisis in the divorce and/or developmental growth crisis as well as his/her interaction with the custodial parent and other persons that caringly surround him/her.

Conclusion

In conclusion, then, the child of divorce needs the consistency and maintenance of Heimat. There is a need to reach children of divorce through more preventive services than reacting to the crises of children of divorce. Preventive services include education and supportive services to the fractured family, extended family, and helping professionals. Three hypotheses are presented to espouse various ways of ego identification for the preschool child in the divorced single parent family. The "remembered experience," including the absent parental image and fantasy life surrounding it, can be reached by transference, structured experiences, play therapy and guided imagery. There is a need for helping professionals and parents to identify whether the child's behavior relates to a normal developmental growth crisis or the divorce crisis. The custodial parent developing a psychosocial support system, while undergoing the divorce crisis, is critical. Case conferences help in developing the necessary communication of those caring for the preschool child of divorce.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH, CONCLUSION

Summary

In a review of the studies on children of divorce, a majority of the studies examine the behavior of the children of divorce or use adult reconstruction of the divorce experience for the child. The author feels that there is a need to examine the intrapsychic process of the child arriving at ego identification during the time of the divorce crisis. After a review of the literature as to what is known about the preschool child, the author hypothesized that a conceptual framework would emerge that would give a better understanding about the affective-developmental tasks the child is faced with during this age period. Looking then at the intrusion of the crisis of divorce in the preschool child's life, the study focuses on how the child may be affected by it.

The author believes that divorce affects the preschool child more dramatically than our present research indicates in its findings. This belief is based on the vulnerable years of the formation of self-concept, superego formation, and gender identification. Divorce includes a loss-aspect which brings about the mourning process. The divorced single-parent family can differ from other single-parent families because of this loss-grief component, both for the parents and the child. Consequently, this study focuses on the child from the divorced single-parent

family with the mother being the custodial parent (90% of the divorced custodial parents in the United States). The crisis of divorce is defined as being primarily 18 months in duration. This time, however, in the early years of the child, can have major implications affecting the child's sense of self. These implications are examined in this study. Because the child does not have the cognitive thought of abstraction, reversibility, and perspective skills, the child develops his/her own unique way of perceiving an coping with the divorce. Divorce can affect the child's sense of a cohesive self.

This work, therefore, has been an examination and formulation of theoretical issues concerning the preschool child, mainly from Piagetian and psychoanalytic thought. After examining these various theories, a developmental framework, including the factors identified for the preschool child of divorce, is presented by the author. This developmental framework includes a mourning process for the preschool child. After a review of the literature regarding the divorce culture, a model is proposed showing the process of the child of divorce from the nuclear family to the "family of orientation." Three hypotheses of ego identification are presented for the preschool child in the divorced single-parent family.

The difficulties encountered in this study relate to the paucity of research related to the effects of divorce on the intrapsychic growth development in the child of divorce. The works of Wallerstein and Kelly, Anthony, McDermott, and Littner are the primary sources. Wallerstein has pointed out that there is no major research in the United States considering the effects of divorce with children under two years of age.

Consequently, while this study examines major theoretical positions through documentary research, the paucity of divorce research in certain

areas related to the age of the preschooler led this study to be theory-building and hypotheses-generating research. Because of the dramatic rise in divorce in the last 20 years, the study of divorce and its implications seems to be in the pioneering phase of research.

Implications for Further Research

This research, then, leads us to further research projects that need exploration. Further research that this study suggests are in the areas mentioned in the following paragraphs.

Anthony's observation that there is a great need for pioneering research in how the effects of divorce affect the birth process, psychic lag, and the bonding between the mother and infant, requires future research. Also, the implications of divorce in the "fundamental education" of the infant and the lowered responsiveness of the mother, who during the crisis of divorce has a diminished capacity to parent, needs critical investigation. What effect does the divorce have on the mutual-cueing dialogue between the mother and the infant? How does divorce affect the attachment process? Further examination of Bowlby's position of deactivation of the infant's attachment behavior in response to the mother's mourning needs is necessary.

Regarding the toddler, Anthony's observation that the ambiance of the divorce magnifies the ambitendency and ambivalence of the child could be an important key in understanding a major affect during this period of child development, namely ambivalence. Does the toddler retain the splitting affect from the divorce crisis?

The two year old period of development leads to a major area of concern, namely the relationship of the child to the father. The caretaking activities of the infant seem to be changing with a majority of two working

parents' homes. With nine hours of babysitting for the infant by another caregiver, the father seems to have more of an active role in early caretaking activities of the child after working hours. Does this shift in caretaking have any implications for Lamb's research that mothers are the primary attachment figures and fathers the affiliate attachment figures, particularly in the second year of life? When the divorce occurs, does the mother have a transference of the father in the male toddler at the height of ambitendency?

There seems to be little identified in research regarding the mourning process of the father. How the father deals with the loss, not only of his spouse but his child/children, presents questions such as: What stages could be identified for the father? Are they the same stages for both mother and father? Does the father's responsibility of financial support help or hinder the coparental relationships? In remarrying, does the father have to deal with the mourning process in a second marriage before establishing the identity of his reconstituted family? There is a need to see how the absence of the father's role-modeling activities affect the preschool child.

How does the child, particularly the male, come to gender identification? Anthony indicates that the mother's appropriate, distancing behaviors and her attitude towards heterosexuality is a vital factor. How does this factor influence the child? What is the effect of the father's absence on the female preschool child? The author feels that there is a need to follow up on Hetherington's studies regarding girls from divorced families and their relationships to boys.

Regarding ego identification in the preschooler, follow-up of the three hypotheses presented by the author in ego identification of

of the preschool child would lead to a better understanding of the developmental process in the child. The author concurs with Anthony that particularly the third hypothesis needs follow-up and research. The proposed model of the mourning process in children (SARA) facing divorce is worthy of further exploration. Identifying stages of loss in relationship to the child's cognitive, affective development is crucial in understanding how the child perceives the loss. The premise of Pollack that children who have "developmental arrests" in these stages of mourning develop physiobiosocial symptomology needs more research investigation.

Littner's observation of the "repetition-compulsion" cycle, particularly when divorce occurs in the period of the child's superego formation, is an area of research that could lead to some valuable insights. Does the child of divorce repeat the dynamics of what happened to him/her? Can identification of these dynamics and interventions assist in a better marital and familial adjustment of the person who was a child of divorce?

Elkind points to the need of an identifiable 100,000 children of divorce kidnapped in custody conflict situations. What impact does this have on the child of divorce? This designated population of children of divorce should be further studied to determine the effects of rootlessness, disruption of attachment figures, and other effects on the child caught in the situation.

Jacobson distinguishes learning disabilities due to organic intellectual dysfunctioning from academic disabilities due to the crisis of divorce. Follow-up research in this area would have valuable contributions for educators in understanding the child of divorce in the classroom. The author wonders if children of divorce are classified as having learning

disabilities when, in fact, they could have academic disabilities due to the crisis of divorce.

The area of extended families surrounding the nuclear family facing divorce is an area for future research. Very little is written about grandparents, aunts, uncles, and other relatives that surround the child of divorce. Does the extended family have a mourning process in the loss of the nuclear family? Many grandparents are involved in raising or being caregivers for children of divorce. Yet we have a paucity of research about intergenerational communication in the raising of the child of divorce. There is a need to examine these differences in child-raising and lifestyles. With the advances in medicine and the longer age-spans, intergenerational communication is an important factor to be considered in the raising of the child of divorce.

The divorce culture that is growing in the United States presents a need for further investigation and research. Defining and distinguishing typologies in the single parent family, such as the work of Mendes, needs to be expanded. Such studies would help identify how the child of divorce functions and adapts in the single parent family. The communication patterns between the two families regarding the child of divorce needs further study in understanding how the child adapts to his/her binuclear family (Ahrons). What obstacles does the child encounter in this adaptation?

Finally, the cry of Margaret Mead for more norms, rituals, symbols, and terminology in the divorce culture is a great need in future research. Norms of coparental communication, such as Goetting's studies, are valuable contributions to assisting the fractured family in divorce. Terminology needs to be developed for a divorce culture that is emerging in society. Children's literature needs to identify more the existence of the single

parent family. How many children do not think they have a "family" because there is no father in the home? Different family models in literature and media are helpful to the child.

Conclusion

This study examines the intrapsychic process of how the child arrives at ego identification faced with the intrusion of the divorce crisis. It can be concluded that this study represents a more comprehensive way of how the divorce crisis may affect the preschooler's cohesive sense of self than previously available in research.

The conclusion can also be drawn that this study provides a developmental model, including the factors from the crisis of divorce, to view ego identification in the child of divorce. This framework can serve to better understand the child of divorce by helping professionals in treatment services, education, day care centers, parents, and extended family. Hopefully, this research will generate more fruitful and expansive research in better understanding the child of divorce.

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APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

Total Period Divorce Rate and Average Duration of Marriage at Time of Divorce (1960)[1]

Country	Total Divorce Rate	Average Duration
Portugal	1.4%	19.2 years
Scotland	3.8%	13.6 years
Luxembourg	5.6%	13.4 years
England/Wales	6.7%	13.7 years
Belgium	6.7%	12.9 years
Netherlands	6.9%	12.0 years
Norway	9.3%	12.8 years
France	9.5%	12.8 years
Switzerland	12.6%	11.5 years
Sweden	13.9%	11.9 years
Denmark	19.0%	11.1 years
United States	25.8%	9.7 years

[1]Council of Europe, 24 April, 1978, "Recent trends in attitudes and behaviour affecting the family in Council of Europe Member States," by Louis Roussel and Patrick Festy, Institute National d'Etudes Demographiques, Paris, p. 1.

In 1972, the divorce rate in the United States was 4.0 per 1,000 population.[2]

EASTERN EUROPE AND THE USSR DIVORCE RATES: 1968-1972
Number per 1,000 Population[3]

Country	1968	1971/72
Bulgaria	1.16	1.11
Czechoslovakia	1.51	1.95
German Democratic Republic	1.68	1.90
Hungary	2.08	2.32
Poland	0.91	1.16
Rumania	0.20	0.47
USSR	2.72	2.64
Yugoslavia	1.05	1.06

WESTERN EUROPE DIVORCE RATES: 1968-1971
Number per 1,000 Population[4]

Country	1968	1971
Austria	1.32	1.33
Belgium	0.63	0.82
Denmark	1.56	1.93
Finland	1.15	1.47
France	0.73	0.93
Germany, Federal Republic of	1.09	1.31
Greece	0.37	0.42
Iceland	1.04	1.48
Netherlands	0.64	0.88
Norway	0.80	0.96
Sweden	1.42	1.88
Switzerland	0.91	1.04
United Kingdom	0.93	1.50

[2]Judith Wallerstein and Joan Kelly, "The Effects of Parental Divorce Experiences of Preschool Children," Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 1974, 14(4), p. 600.

[3]Demographic Yearbook, 1972, United Nations Publication, Geneva, Switzerland, Sales No. E/F 73, XIII, p. 635.

[4]Ibid., p. 636.

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

Piaget's View of the Evolution of Play Activities

Types of Games	Average Age Range	Activities
Practice Games		
Substage 1 Pure Reflex Adaptations	0 - 2 months	No differentiation between assimilation and accommodation. Exercising reflex Schemas does not constitute 'real play'
Substage 2 Primary Circular Reactions	1 - 4 months	Slight differentiation between assimilation and accommodation. Repetition of Schemata and self-imitation, especially vocal and visual
Substage 3 Secondary Circular Reactions	4 - 8 months	Differentiation between assimilation and accommodation, both still overlap. Repeating action on things to prolong an interesting spectacle
Symbolic Games		
Stage 1	2 - 4 years	
Type 1		Generalizing symbolic Schemata (isolated imitations of Schemata)
Subtype A		Projection of symbolic Schemata onto new objects
Subtype B		Projection of imitative Schemata onto new objects
Type II		Symbolic games (association of one Schema to another)
Subtype A		Simple identification of one object with mother

Types of Games	Average Age Range	Activities
Subtype B		Identification of the child's body with that of other people or with things
Type III		
Subtype A	3 - 4 years	Symbolic combinations (construction of whole scenes)
		Simple combinations (includes imaginary friends). Reconstruction combined with imaginary elements
Subtype B		Compensatory combinations (materializing fears). Reconstruction with compensatory transpositions
Substage 4		
Coordination of Secondary Schemata	8 - 12 months	Clear differentiation between assimilation and accommodation, Application of known Schema to new situation. Schemata follow one another without apparent aims. Ritualism of activity for play means becoming an end in itself.
Substage 5	12 - 18 months	Ritualistic repetition of Chance Schema and combinations. Accentuating and elaborating rituals, experimenting to see the result.
Tertiary Circular Reactions		

Type of Games	Average Age Range	Activities
Substage 6 Invention of New Means Through Mental Combinations	12 - 24 months	Beginning of pretense by application of Schema to inadequate object. A symbol is mentally invoked and imitated in make-believe.
Subtype C	3 - 4 years (Cont.)	Liquidating combinations (intensifying powers, subordinate threat) in pure reconstruction of situation
Subtype D		Anticipatory symbolic combinations (questioning, orders, and advice). Reproduction of reality with exaggerated anticipation of consequences.
Stage II	4 - 7 years	Increased orderliness; more exact imitation of reality; use of collective symbolism
Stage III	7 - 12 years	Decline of symbolism; rise in games with rules and symbolic constructions
Games with Rules Constructional Games	12 - Adult	Imitation of reality or new combinations; Gradually becomes more complex and unique to the individual

[1]Taken and adapted from Jean Piaget, Play, Dreams, and Imitation in Childhood. Translated by C. Gattengo and F. M. Hodgson. New York: Norton Company, 1962. In Clara Schuster and Shirley Ashburn, The Process of Human Development. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1980, p. 306.

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C

January 27, 1982

Dr. E. James Anthony
William Greenleaf Eliot Division of Child Psychiatry
Washington University
School of Medicine
369 North Taylor Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri 63108

Dear Dr. Anthony:

Thank you for consenting to see me on Monday, February 1 at 2:00 p.m.

My dissertation is "Ego Identification of the Preschool Child in the Divorced Single-Parent Family, 1960-1980." My focus is how the child thinks intrapsychically, both from the Piagetian framework and psychoanalytic framework. In June, 1981, I was at Washington University and Child Development Center exploring and reading articles written by you, listening to tapes of the 'Hysterical Child' Symposium and while at the Child Development Center, spoke briefly to Dr. Julian Worland who gave me a report of the 'High Risk Children's Project'. I then went to Geneva, Switzerland, for research in the Piagetian Archives, particularly concentrating on the lecture notes on 'Affectivity' (Sorbonne, 1954) and Piaget's concept of 'Reaction Schemas to Persons' and parallel development of affectivity to cognitive processes. Afterwards, I went to the British Psychoanalytical Society in London and again experienced the lively dialogues between the Freudian and Kleinian schools. From all of this, I have more questions than answers. Some assumptions I am crystalizing are:

a. In the 1980's with 45% of children in the United States being raised at one time in their life in a single-parent family, a child could be reaching ego identification in a dyadic relationship (parent-child) rather than triadic relationship (mother-father-child).

b. The Internal Image of the Absent Parent (Parental Imago, Idealized Parent, etc.) and the Representational thought of the child, particularly the child's fantasy life, is a crucial component to the child's adequate resolvement in reaching ego identification.

I see varieties in this Internal Image of the Parent:

a. Before 15 to 18 months, if the parent leaves, particularly the father, a weak Image of the parent allows for the child to go on to compensate in his/her family, extended family, cultural/social contacts to experience ego identification.

b. If the Internal Image is strong, but there is enough on-going communication between absent parent and the child, through visitation, parental conflicts on issues worked out adequately regarding the child, that the child views the absent parent predominantly as

positive, the child achieves ego identification close to dynamics of triadic relationship.

c. If the child's internal image of the absent parent is fixated in splitting, ambivalence, etc., or if the child's perception and fantasy life views the leaving of the absent parent as rejection and the child has a sense of abandonment, the child's unique fantasy life surrounding the absent parent's image is crucial in understanding where the child is in the process of ego identification.

I know your expertise of both schools (Piagetian and Psychoanalytic) brings much to this search to better understand the complexity of the child's intrapsychic process towards ego identification.

The questions that I would have during our interview would assume that the father has left in the divorce and that the mother and child are the dyadic relationship. These questions are the following:

1. How do you view the child of divorce reaching ego identification in the dyadic relationship? What are the possibilities that you see for the child achieving ego identification in light of the absent parent?

2. Is there, in your opinion, a major correlation to the Parental Image of the Absent Parent and the child's reaching Ego Identification or are there other major factors equally important to you?

3. In Piaget's 'Reaction Schema to Persons' with affect being unique in each experience, does Piaget identify an on-going process of identification for the child that takes into account other figures than the Absent Parent to arrive at Ego Identification?

4. In Mahler's theory of Individuation, she points out that in the period of Rapprochement, the toddler turns to the father and that this intrusiveness leads to an object constancy for the father, thus leading the child into gender identity, sex identity, sense of self (individuation). What happens to the child that does not experience the intrusiveness of the father in this phase of separation-individuation from the mother?

5. How does the grieving aspect of the mother in divorce affect the infant prior to fifteen months?

6. Is the boy (ages 2 to 5) affected in identification by not having the father present and the modeling behaviors of the father influencing his ego identification, particularly gender identity?

7. In Spitz's concept of Rudimentary Superego, is the child learning 'divorce' as a later reality for an alternative to marital relationships worked through in a marriage of long duration?

    a. By how the divorce affects the child from birth to five

years old in formation of Superego?

b. By the lack of modeling behaviors in the home as to working through identification issues with both parents?

8. How does divorce affect Attachment and attachment behaviors with the mother? the absent parent? the father? (Bowlby's theory); or such as in the work of Michael Rutter, would the relationship, the process leading to the separation be important in the effect of the bonding disruption?

Thank you for your time and consideration on this subject, Dr. Anthony. Looking forward to meeting you, I remain

Sincerely,

Sister Frances Ryan, D.C.

Sister Frances Ryan, D.C.
Assistant Professor
Division of Human Services

F. James Anthony, M.D.
Division of Child Psychiatry
Washington University
School of Medicine
369 West Taylor Avenue
St. Louis, MO 63108

Dear Dr. Anthony:

This letter serves many purposes. First, I wish to thank you for seeing me in the aftermath of the worst snowstorm in 70 years that paralyzed St. Louis, making 'business as usual' rather difficult. I also want to thank your wife for our phone conversations and her encouragement to me during those intervening days.

Second, I enclose my interpretation of our interview on February 4th. If you find any misinterpretations, corrections or additions, I would appreciate hearing from you. The directions you gave me, such as the concepts of splitting, creativity, and mourning, have been invaluable to me. I continue to research the implications of divorce regarding these dynamics. The Institute of Psychoanalysis, Chicago, and their recent workshop on 'Children of Divorce', March 5-7, substantiated many of your impressions, particularly the talks of Dr. George Pollock on 'Mourning and Creativity' and Dr. Mer Littner's work on children of divorce. When the work is completed, I will be glad to send you a copy of my dissertation chapter regarding 'theoretical framework regarding children of divorce', as your assistance to me is major in forming my directions as to how the crisis of divorce affects the pre-school child.

Third, thank you for the notes on Piaget and affectivity. It gave me new insights and more of a total picture of affectivity and its relationship to the cognitive development in the child. I was particularly surprised by the 'intellectual unconscious' concept of Piaget, and the high correlation of children of divorce being simultaneously evaluated for 'learning disabilities' held more implications for me in my work.

Though I am sure you lead the busy life, I would like to thank you, not only for assisting me in person, but also the effect your writings have had on my life in better understanding children. Indeed, your purposeful life has sparked many ideas and insights in my struggle to better ensure the right of a 'delightful childhood' for the children I encounter in my life.

Sincerely,

Sister Frances Ryan, DC

Sister Frances Ryan
Daughter of Charity

SFR/lr

INTERVIEW WITH DR. E. JAMES ANTHONY

February 4, 1982
St. Louis, Missouri
Ozark Airlines - St. Louis Airport

I met with Dr. Anthony for an hour from 3:40 to 4:40 p.m. For the first ten minutes, we discussed the background of my dissertation and how I arrived at the assumptions presented in the dissertation, particularly my concentration on the preschool age being the most vulnerable time for the child of divorce. He affirmed many areas that I discussed with him. Dr. Anthony then examined the questions that I presented to him.

He referred me to the works of Abelin in terms of 'triangular attachment' and thought this approach would assist me in understanding the father's role in divorce. He also referred me to Henri Paren's later work on 'Gender Identity' which he thought would be in the Psychoanalytic Study of the Child. Dr. Anthony suggested if I could make a trip to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to see the work of Henri Parens and Theodore Cohen (Risk-Invulnerability Studies), it would further my research in divorce and its implications. He also referred me to Dr. Helen Morrison, Department of Psychiatry, Loyola University, on the importance of the mother in the grieving process. She has just completed a book on this subject for which Dr. Anthony wrote the foreward.

Dr. Anthony put emphasis on the need for divorce research and its implications for children from birth through two years old which is confiremd by the studies of Wallerstein and Kelly that state, "there is no present research on children of divorce in this age range." First, he stated that he agreed with Rene Spitz that object constancy occurred in the child about 12 months rather than Piaget's definition of object constancy occurring between 15 to 18 months. He mentioned the McDevitt studies substantiating the earlier age definition of object constancy.

We talked about the intrapsychic process with the child under two years of age. He talked of the work of Selma Fraiberg regarding depression. He said that 'the third person' in the 'triangular attachment' of the family could really help if the mother is the person depressed and withdrawn from the child, as for example, in post-partum depression. If then, for example, the mother is undergoing a mourning process related to the loss in divorce, the bonding with the infant and the interaction of the mutual-cueing dialogue can diminish without the third person, the father, being there as support to the mother and the infant. Dr. Anthony explained that at the time of birth of the infant there is a natural 'psychic lag' between the mother and infant with the mother saying to the infant, 'mine outside' and 'mine inside' (psychological adoption of the infant). He wondered if the 'psychic lag' is heightened when the baby is born during the crisis time of divorce.

Regarding the child of three to five years old, Dr. Anthony suggested centering in more on the splitting mechanisms. What would I mean by 'splitting'? Since Melanie Klein, Margaret Mahler, Henri Parens, etc., define splitting differently, what would be my definition of splitting and its

impact on the child during this period of development and during the crisis of divorce? His emphasis on this dynamic is that the child really is not only caught up in his/her own splitting developmentally, but is also imbibing the effects of the splitting from the ambivalence experienced from the custodial parent and in visitation from the absent parent.

He affirmed the importance of concentrating on the mental image and the fantasy life that the child develops about the absent parent. Dr. Anthony encouraged me to develop how the child reasons in his/her own egocentric world and how the child develops the fantasy life around the absent parent ald also the parent who is left, particularly from the contributions of Piaget.

Regarding Gender identity of the child, Dr. Anthony felt the mother's representation of the father is particularly important. The image of the father that the mother represents to the child is crucial to the image of the father that the child develops intrapsychically. If the mother portrays great ambivalence towards the father to the child, this confuses and influences the child in the dynamic of gender identification.

Dr. Anthony also talked about Piaget's affective schema and Piaget's reaction schemas of persons. Dr. Anthony agreed that affectivity is fresh, unique and dynamic with a 'present moment' orientation. This has implications regarding the impact of on-going experiences of the child either deepening the scarring experiences of divorce or providing corrective experiences for the child. Here, creativity plays an important role in how the child interacts in the present moment. Dr. Anthony commented that Piaget's thoughts follow the thought of Erikson and how he defined 'transference'. Erikson defined 'transference' in the here-and-now and in dynamic process. The creativity of the child and the on-going transferences that the child experiences play important roles in how the child forms the mental image of the absent parent. Another factor that suggests vulnerability of the child in the pre-school age facing divorce is that the child does not come to the 'reflective self' until adolescence so that either the divorce trauma is thought out or acted out in adolescence because the child does not have the powers of reflection fully developed until the formal operational period of cognitive activity.

He encouraged me to concentrate on the C assumption of my dissertation:

> If the child's internal image of the absent parent is fixated in splitting, ambivalence, etc., or if the child's perception and fantasy life views the leaving of the absent parent as rejection and the child has a sense of abandonment, the child's unique fantasy life surrounding the absent parent's image is crucial in understanding where the child is in the process of ego identification.

He spoke of a case example of a patient he had seen recently. She was a mother with two boys, ages 12 and 9 years old. The 12 year old boy could not separate easily from his mother and cried whenever there was the slightest type of separation. The mother saw this as an effect of the divorce. The 9 year old boy seemed less affected by the divorce because he was younger

when the divorce occurred, but wanted the reassurance that the mother would be there and would ask for a backrub before he would go to bed in the evening. Dr. Anthony interpreted this that the older boy had not resolved the separation trauma experienced from the divorce, while the younger boy was less affected by the divorce but still needed the reassurance that he would not lose the mother as well as the absent parent.

Regarding the question of how the child achieves ego identification in light of the absent parent being gone, Dr. Anthony commented that the child creatively goes to substitutes and is exposed to other experiences assisting in his/her ego identification. The child's creativity was not to be underestimated in meeting the crisis of divorce and the ego identification process.

In our conversation regarding reaction schema to persons and affectivity, he offered to send me his notes regarding affectivity and Piaget's contribution to our understanding of it.

Regarding affectivity, Dr. Anthony cautioned that the infant has to be loved, particularly in the first year, e.g., the mutual-cueing dialogue, to resolve the tasks of the other developmental periods and to have creativity in meeting the challenge of ego identification.

Regarding the question about Mahler's theory of individuation and the toddler's turning to the father in the rapprochement phase and later the child turning to the father in facing the tasks of gender identity, sex identity, sense of self, etc., and what happens when the father is absent in divorce, Dr. Anthony thought the mother role was pivotal. The mother's portrayal of the absent parent having a major effect on the image of the absent parent in the child has already been discussed. Another influence that the mother has is in her interaction with the child and her perspective of the opposite sex and heterosexuality. She can encourage or discourage gender identity with the child by appropriate distancing behaviors and providing substitute-figures or visitations with the absent parent. One important factor is how the mother copes with the mourning process and its impact on the separation-individuation phenomena between herself and the child. If the mother is able to cope adequately with the mourning process and allow the separation-individuation of the child, then the child is able to resolve, with better facilitation, the developmental tasks of ego identification.

Dr. Anthony was quite interested in how the grieving aspect of the mother in divorce affects the infant prior to fifteen months and said that he was giving a paper in California regarding the mourning process of the mother and how this affects the infant.

In question number 7, regarding Spitz's concept of the 'rudimentary superego' and whether the child is learning 'divorce' as an alternative to marital relationships worked through in a marriage of long duration, Dr. Anthony questioned me on my implications in the question. I explained the work of Steele and Pollack regarding child abuse and the abused child becoming an abusive parent with a linkage to the commands learned in the rudimentary superego if the child was abused as an infant. I wondered if in the formation of the superego of the child, that this dynamic could be transferred to the

child of divorce later choosing divorce in his/her adult life? Dr. Anthony affirmed that dynamic but did not comment further on it.

He concurred with Bowlby's theory on attachment and said that Piaget was much in favor of the work of Bowlby and Erikson and that both concentrate on the here-and-now in understanding the child as developmentally in-process. He also commented on Anna Freud's work and her thoughts that children of divorce had it more difficult than the child whose parent dies, because in the death of the parent, the mourning process is more resolved. The mother would 'idealize' the deceased father, and the child would have to work through 'idealization', but in death there was more termination to the mourning process. The child in divorce, however, can be caught in ambivalence and splitting in working through identification with the absent parent and the inaccessability of the absent parent can hinder working through the mourning process which seems not completed or finished. Consequently, the working through of the mourning process and the identification process can be prolonged or arrested in the child of divorce.

Lastly, in the conversation between Dr. Anthony and Sister Nathalie regarding the birth of the infant and the reaction of the mother, I was impressed with the need of a support person for the mother in the birth process to foster the mother's 'mine inside' attitude of psychological adoption of her infant and how this is disrupted in divorce.

William Greenleaf Eliot
Division of Child Psychiatry

School of Medicine

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN ST LOUIS

April 30, 1982

Sister Frances Ryan
Daughter of Charity
802 W. Belden Ave.
Chicago, IL 60614

Dear Sister Ryan:

This is just a brief note to tell you how much I also enjoyed meeting with you and learning of your projected work. You seem to be keeping a very broad eye open on the whole perspective and I hope that this will be reflected in your completed task. I would be very glad to receive a copy of the "Theoretical Framework" when you have done this.

Wishing you all success.

Sincerely yours,

E. James Anthony

E. James Anthony, M.D.
Blanche F. Ittleson Professor of Child Psychiatry
Director, Edison Child Development Research Center

EJA:ccr

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APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Sister Frances Ryan, D.C. has been read and approved by the following committee:

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Professor, Educational Foundations, Loyola

Dr. Ernest I. Proulx
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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

December 6, 1982
Date

John A. Wellington
Director's Signature