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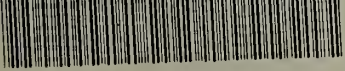
SEPARATION-INDIVIDUATION AS A FAMILY DEVELOPMENTAL
PROCESS IN THE TRANSITION TO PARENTHOOD

A Dissertation Presented

By

DIANA DIAMOND

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

February   1985

Department of Psychology

SEPARATION-INDIVIDUATION AS A FAMILY DEVELOPMENTAL
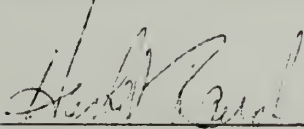PROCESS IN THE TRANSITION TO PARENTHOOD

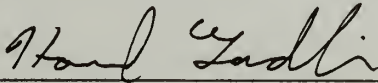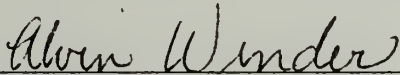A Dissertation Presented

By

DIANA DIAMOND

Approved as to style and content by:

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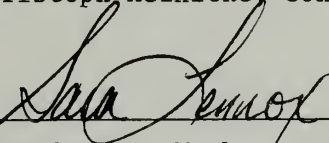Harold Raush, Co-Chairperson of Committee
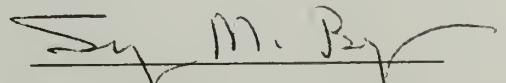
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This dissertation has its roots in the work of. my chairperson, Harold Raush, and specifically in the unique synthesis of psychoanalytic, developmental, communications, and systems theory that Harold developed in his own research. Without the intellectual inspiration and support that he provided in the dissertation process and throughout my graduate career, this dissertation would never have been written. Harold's capacity to remain a constant object and source of emotional support and encouragement through all the vicissitudes of my graduate training has meant more than I can ever say.

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My work with Al Winder and Ed Tronick in the developmental pedia-

trics program was perhaps most directly responsible for my interest in infant observation, and in the integration of infant research with psychoanalytic theory which is at the heart of this dissertation.

Sara Lennox provided a consistent interdisciplinary and feminist voice on my committee, and a link with my literary past.

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My gratitude is also extended to the staff of the UCLA Family Development Project: To Susan Diskin and Karen Sabovitch who provided me with friendship and critical feedback at crucial points; to Elia Shaeffer who facilitated my access to data and was one of my best readers; to Margo Herman for her lucid and insightful reports which formed the core of the qualitative chapter. Special thanks also to Linda Stern, my fellow rater, whose intellectual acumen and friendship sustained me through some of the most difficult hours in the dissertation process.

ABSTRACT

SEPARATION-INDIVIDUATION AS A FAMILY DEVELOPMENTAL
PROCESS IN THE TRANSITION TO PARENTHOOD

February, 1985

DIANA DIAMOND, B.A., Wesleyan University

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Directed by: Professors Harold Raush and Howard Gadlin

This dissertation explores the impact of pre-birth parental and
marital individuation on aspects of infant self-development and
parent-infant transactions during the first postnatal year. The
primary hypothesis of the study was that individuals perpetuate their
own resolutions of separation-individuation, in relation to the pri-
mary objects in the family of origin, in both the husband-wife and
parent-child relationships. Forty couples in the transition to
first-time parenthood were studied intensively by means of interview
procedures, naturalistic observation, and objectives measures from
the mid-pregnancy period through the first postnatal year. Pre-
birth parental and marital individuation, assessed through ratings
designed for this study, were expected to predict the postnatal
interplay of parent encouragement of separation-individuation and
infant attainment of sense of separate self during the first post-
natal year. Global ratings of infant self-development and parent-
infant transactions constituted the primary outcome criteria.

Mutlivariate analyses indicated that pre-birth parental and
marital individuation significantly predicted the cluster of post-

natal parent-child transactions and corresponding infant characteristics indicative of separation-individuation processes (infant sense of separate self and parent encouragement of separation-individuation), and of parent-infant attachment (infant expectation of being cared for and sense of positive self; parent affection and responsiveness to need). The more specific univariate tests indicated that pre-birth parental and marital individuation anticipated the predicted interplay of parent encouragement of separation-individuation and infant attainment of separate self only for mothers and infants at six months. Father's presence or absence was found to significantly predict the extent to which mothers promoted separation-individuation for their infants at 6 months. These and other findings suggest that early family development results from a complex configuration of mother-father-infant transactions. Quantitative analyses provided a skeletal structure for seven in-depth qualitative case studies which illustrated the transgenerational transmission of representative patterns of separation-individuation. Research findings were discussed in terms of their contribution to a revision of psychoanalytic developmental theories regarding early infant and family development.

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INTRODUCTION

The research reported in this dissertation has as its main
objective the investigation of the ways in which pre-birth parental
personality characteristics may lead to patterns of marital inter-
action that anticipate aspects of postnatal infant and family devel-
opment. Previous longitudinal studies that have followed couples
from pregnancy through the first or second postnatal year, including
the UCLA Family Development Project of which this study is a part,
support the general hypothesis that the quality of the parental
couple's marital interaction is a powerful predictor of postnatal
infant and family development (Cowan and Cowan, 1982; Grossman,
Eichler, and Winnicoff, 1980; Heinicke, Diskin, Ramsey-Klee, and
Oates, 1983; Shereshefsky and Yarrow, 1983). Shereshefsky and Yarrow
(1983), for example, found that factors concerning the husband-wife
relationship were significantly related to maternal adaptation and
functioning during pregnancy and through the first postnatal year.
Cowan et al. (1983) found that high levels of satisfaction with both
self and partner on the part of husbands and wives are the best
predictors of how couples traverse the transition to parenthood;
while Grossman et al. (1980) identify marital quality and interac-
tional style as the single most important predictor of both maternal
and paternal adjustment to the early postpartum period. Heinicke et
al. (1983b) similarly found that pre-birth parental personality char-
acteristics and marital adaptation strongly anticipate infant charac-

teristics such as the capacity to modulate aggression and the sense
of a separate self at two years, as well as variations in parent-
infant transactions such as parental responsiveness to the needs of
the infant. The shaping impact of the marital relationship on parent-
infant transactions has also been demonstrated by Pederson, Anderson,
and Cain (1977) who observed that marital tension negatively correlates
with maternal competence in feeding the infant.

In a recent review paper Heinicke (1984) concludes that such
research findings must be "seen in the framework of an epigenetic
transactional process beginning with parental pre-birth characteris-
tics which lead to the emergence of certain family system and
personality formations" (p. 1). He suggests that future research
focus on further delineating the pre-birth parental and marital
characteristics that lead to various parent-infant transactions.
In support of such studies, Heinicke (1984) cites research findings
which indicate that parental personality and marital characteristics
show considerable stability from the period of mid-pregnancy through
the end of the second postnatal year.

Thus, previous studies indicate considerable stability in both
parental personality characteristics and quality of marital adaptation
through the transition to parenthood, and point toward complex link-
ages between pre-birth husband-wife interactions and postnatal
parent-infant transactions. However, while the majority of these
studies have generated comprehensive profiles of parental and infant
personality characteristics, few have attempted to go beyond global
measures of marital adaptation to investigate specific patterns of

marital interaction. The primary purpose of this research project
was to identify particular patterns of couple interaction, to inves-
tigate the contributions of individual parental personality charac-
teristics to these patterns, and to explore their impact on aspects
of postnatal infant and family development.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this project, as of the UCLA Family
Development Project of which it is a part, is a transactional one.
The transactional perspective is uniquely suited for investigating
the reciprocal influences between parent-child and husband-wife
transactions in that it allows for the integration of family systems
and individual-developmental theories. A comprehensive understanding
of family transactions necessitates an integration of theories of
individual psychological functioning with family systems theories in
that the personality characteristics and capabilities of the
individual parent or child contribute to structuring transactional
patterns, while transactions among family members exert a shaping
influence on individual personality (Belsky, 1981).

The major theory of individual psychological functioning that
contributes to the transactional perspective of this study is psycho-
analytic object relations theory. Object relations theory has
developed several major branches, the delineation of which is beyond
the scope of this work. However, there are certain underlying tenets
which transcend any particular school, which together define the
object relations orientation. On the most general level, object

relations theory deals with the internalization of early interpersonal relationships and their consolidation into intrapsychic structure which then comes to pattern the individual's experience of self and others (Kernberg, 1980). The emphasis is on the relational nature of the self, on the ways in which the self is constructed through myriad interactions with significant others in infancy and early childhood. The extent to which the self is integrated and cohesive or enfeebled and fragmented, and the extent to which relationships are characterized by mutuality and interdependence as opposed to isolation or symbiosis, can be traced to the nature and quality of these internalized early transactions which come to form the inner object world of the individual. Within the object relations perspective, then, the intrapsychic world consists of multiple layers of self and object representations which are built up and transmuted into psychic structures as the infant interacts with significant others in the course of maturation. Object relations theory is thus a theory of internal object relations in dynamic interaction with current interpersonal experiences.

While object relations theory provides a theoretical framework by which to investigate the ways in which psychic structure reflects the internalization of dyadic and triadic familial transactions, it does not adequately stress one important contributing factor to family transactions: the variations in the unfolding of autonomous ego functioning and psychosexual drive maturation. Psychoanalytic ego psychology stresses the innate maturation of the drives and autonomous ego functions as well as the development of object relations (A. Freud,

1965; McDevitt, 1979). Anna Freud (1965), for example, conceptualizes the process by which the child moves from the stage of symbiosis with the mother to emotional autonomy and adult object relations as only one, albeit the prototype, of several lines of personality development. Infant observational studies show variations in infants' capacity to initiate interactions with mothers, and/or to differentiate self from environment even during the newborn period and early infancy (Beebe and Stern, 1977; Escalona, 1963; Korner, 1964; Stern, 1971; Tronick et al., 1978). These findings support the conceptualization of ego adaptation as separate from object relations.

Finally, this study draws on social systems theory--the central feature of which is the conceptualization of the family as a system with its own unique properties that cannot be reduced to the sum of individual personalities. Within a systems perspective, the family is viewed as an interacting group of individuals, and the focus is on the transactions between family members, rather than on individual attributes.

> System theory emphasizes not the units, but the rela-
> tionships between them. The focus is on the organiza-
> tion of elements and their arrangements either spati-
> ally or temporally; it is the interdependence rather
> than the attributes of the elements which is of
> primary concern. (Raush, Grief, and Nugent, 1979,
> p. 469)

Systems theory emphasizes the wholeness of the family system such that changes in one person or set of relationships precipitate sets of ramifying changes among other members or parts of the system.

The transactional perspective is similar to systems concepts in that it focuses on the ongoing process of all interactions in a

system. However, systems perspectives tend to be ahistorical in that individual behavior and personality are thought to be a function of the current systemic interactions, while the family system as a whole is conceptualized as an independent self-contained entity subject to its own rules and homeostatic mechanisms for which historical considerations are seen as irrelevant. By contrast the transactional perspective deals with "the process of inter-relationships in an historical and relational context" (Olsen, 1970, p. 509). Important aspects of such an historical and relational context are individual psychodynamic history and current personality functioning, the multi-generational family history, as well as the current transactional patterns within the family. Within a transactional framework, the primary goal is not to seek causal connections among these dimensions, but rather to investigate reciprocal influences.

Separation-Individuation as an Organizing Construct

The concept of separation-individuation provided the major organizing construct for the study of the reciprocal influences between pre-birth parental and marital characteristics and aspects of early parent-child transactions. The particular focus of this project is on the current level of separation-individuation achieved by the individual parents in relation to their families of origin, the degree of separation-individuation within the marital dyad, and the way that both may anticipate postnatal family transactions and aspects of infant self-development.

Separation-individuation is conceptualized as the process by

which an individual becomes increasingly autonomous and differentiated within a matrix of object relations, past and present, internal and external (Dicks, 1967; Karpel, 1976). Separation-individuation involves a progression along two dimensions. Separation refers to the process by which a child comes to differentiate an autonomous self out of the original mother-child symbiosis, and implies a corresponding intrapsychic process by which internalized self representations are separated from object representations. Individuation refers to those maturational processes that lead to the development of an individual's unique and autonomous self. Separation, then, involves the process of separation of self from object on the intrapsychic level, while individuation refers to the vicissitudes of individual identity formation, or to the amplification and development of a multi-faceted and autonomous self. The two processes are intertwined in that in order for the self to individuate, it must be experienced as separate from the object. Otherwise, the danger remains that the object will continue to function as or for a part of the self, thereby inhibiting self-development. Mahler (Mahler, Pine, and Bergman, 1965) distinguishes between the two processes as follows:

> ...the intrapsychic process of separation-individuation has two intertwined, but not always commensurate or proportionately progressing developmental tracks. One is the track of individuation, the evolution of intrapsychic autonomy, perception, memory cognition, reality testing; the other is the intrapsychic developmental track of separation that runs along differentiation, distancing, boundary formation and disengagement from mother. All these structuralization processes will eventually culminate in internalized self-representation as distinct from internal object representations. (p. 63)

Separation-individuation thus results from the differentiation of self from object representations on the intrapsychic level.

In recent years the concept of separation-individuation has emerged as a central underlying dimension in such diverse theoretical perspectives as family systems and psychanalytic theories as a way of understanding not only infantile developmental processes but relational processes in general. Increasing attention has been paid in the psychoanalytic literature to the maturational process by which the individual moves from symbiotic, merged or fused relationships in infancy to a more differentiated or individuated relational stance throughout the life cycle. Mahler (1963), for example, has defined the separation-individuation process as a crucial developmental dynamic which, although rooted in infancy, is re-evoked at later developmental transitions often involving a reworking of aspects of self-formation and object relations. Family theorists and therapists by contrast have concerned themselves with the ways in which individuals translate their own resolutions of the separation-individuation process into marital and familial transactional patterns of separateness and togetherness, independence and interdependence, autonomy and symbiosis (Boszormenyi-Nagy, 1965; Bowen, 1978; Minuchin, 1974; Olsen, 1981).

The concept of separation-individuation thus encompasses both the intrapersonal (intrapsychic) and interpersonal dimensions. As such, the concept is in keeping with the transactional focus of the UCLA Family Development Project, and forms an optimal organizing construct for understanding the reciprocal influences of pre-birth parental

personality characteristics and patterns of marital interaction on postnatal infant self-development and family transactions. The concept of separation-individuation as applied to marital functioning and parent-child transactions is useful for understanding the ways in which the individual's internalized object world is translated into a transactional structure. It is thought that the individual's internalized self and object representations are the intrapsychic structures that organize relational experience. Raush (Raush, Barry, Hertel, and Swain, 1974) define such object relations schemata as

> ...organized structures of the self and others,
> together with the needs and affects characterizing
> the relationships between the images; the schemata
> evolve out of contact with varying psychosocial
> contexts, and they influence the individual's actual
> and fantasied interpersonal interactions. (p. 43)

In investigating the impact of parental and marital separation-individuation on early parent-infant transactions and infant self-development, this study will explore the transgenerational transmission of object relational patterns. The focus will be on the ways in which the level of separation-individuation of each partner, derived from the primary object relations within the family of origin, contributes to variations in marital interaction and early parent-child transactions.

Separation-Individuation as a Life-Long Development Process

The UCLA Family Development Project, which has conducted a multi-method longitudinal study of 46 couples undergoing the transition to parenthood, provides a unique opportunity to investigate the process of separation-individuation against the background of different stages

of developmental time within the family system. Since separation-individuation is increasingly defined as an open-ended process which continues throughout the life cycle (Mahler, 1963; Settlage, 1973), it is necessary to investigate not only the transgenerational transmission of this process, but also the way in which infantile developmental processes may dovetail or interact with adult individuation. The centrality of separation-individuation for establishing identity and setting the template for relational patterns means that it is never fully resolved, but must be reaffirmed at crucial developmental transitions (Blanck and Blanck, 1968). Mahler (1963) comments that conflicts over separation and individuation, unresolved issues over ego boundaries and self identity which originate in the early phases of development may be reactivated at later stages of the life cycle, particularly as the individual undergoes crucial transitions. Settlage (1973) goes so far as to suggest that "human psychological development may be conceptualized as an extended, life-long process of separation-individuation" (p. 140)--a process which begins with differentiation from mother-infant symbiosis, but takes different forms through childhood, adolescence and adulthood. Separation-individuation stages are thought to be of such vital importance because they involve the transformation of early parent-child transactions into intrapsychic structure. It is during the separation-individuation period that the analgen for primary self and object representations are formed.

Within the matrix of a gratifying object relationship, internalized self and object representations are gradually consolidated.

It has been pointed out that these self and object representations are based not only on the child's relationship with the individual parents, but also on the child's relationship with the parental dyad. Sonne (Sonne, Speck, and Jurgreis, 1962), for example, has critiqued the dyadic focus of most infant researchers, and has speculated that even before the oedipal stage, the child begins to internalize a triangular representation based on the images of the self in relation to the parental dyad. This internalized "family image" leads to the development of a "heterosexual sense of reality". The achievement of the separation of self from internalized object representations leads to the object constancy, which refers to the capacity to value the object for itself, independent of the state of need.

With the achievement of object constancy, the child passes through the oedipal stage in which gender identification is consolidated, the internalized triadic family image is amplified, and the distinction between self and object is further refined. In optimal development, the oedipal maelstrom gives way to the relatively peaceful plateau of latency, which in turn leads to the second individuation process of adolescence. The task of indentity formation in adolescence involves synthesis of the disparate self-images and identifications of childhood into a new and coherent configuration (Blos, 1962, 1967, 1979; Erikson, 1950). Blos (1967) and others have pointed out that this involves increased separateness on the intrapsychic level between the self representations and infantile object ties. Disengagement from infantile object relations is paralleled by a maturation and consolidation of ego structure in a process that Blos (1967) terms the second

individuation stage. Blos surmises that it is not until the end of adolescence that "self and object representations acquire stability and firm boundaries" (p. 163).

As the above developmental sketch indicates, there are crucial nodal points in development in which self and object representations are amplified and further separated from each other. Separation-individuation thus initiates several life-long developmental processes including 1) the achievement of physical and psychological separation from the primary objects; 2) the internalization of transactions with those objects into intrapsychic structure; 3) intrapsychic shifts in sense of self in relation to the primary objects (Settlage, 1973).

These developmental tasks are re-evoked during later stages of the life cycle, offering possibilities for the achievement of higher levels of self-other differentiation and individuation. Marriage, according to Blanck and Blanck (1968) offers one of the primary opportunities in the life cycle for a reworking of separation-individuation issues: "Once again after childhood and adolescence a new opportunity for separation-individuation is offered within the context of a close relationship in which identity is reestablished and maintained" (Blanck and Blanck, 1968, p. 135). The nature of the dyadic intimacy involved in marriage is reminiscent of aspects of the mother-child relationship, and may re-evoke, albeit in far more complex form, early issues around symbiosis and individuation.[1] Dicks (1974) comments that the marital relationship provides an experience that most closely parallels the parent-child relationship in that it "contains the complementary needs for total and unconditional

acceptance of self by the other and of other by the self" (p. 147). In a similar vein, Bergman (1971) hypothesizes that when the symbiotic phase gives way to further development, it leaves behind a legacy of longing which can only be gratified through a dyadic love relationship in which aspects of mother-child symbiosis are re-enacted.

The developmental tasks of marriage involve further separation from family of origin, and the establishment of a deep mutuality without merger with the partner. The manner in which these developmental tasks are accomplished is at least in part dependent on the quality of the primary internalized object relations, and on the successful negotiation of the developmental tasks of the separation-individuation period (as well as of the oedipal stage). To the extent that a relatively autonomous and individuated sense of self is established in the separation-individuation phase, the individual will be capable of forming new relationships that enhance rather than diminish individuation. To the extent that separation-individuation remains incomplete, future relationships will reflect past developmental deficits and unresolved residues from past object relations. Previous research has shown that individuals tend to seek out partners with equivalent levels of separation-individuation, and to perpetuate their early developmental experiences within the new family group (Bowen, 1971, 1976; Moss and Lee, 1976; Starker, 1982). Thus the ways in which individuals resolve the separation-individuation phase in the family of origin may be reflected in the self-experience and relational patterns, particularly the balance between autonomy and symbiosis, separateness and connectedness in the husband-wife and parent-child

relationships within the family of procreation. Although each individual partner brings his or her own unique resolution of the separation-individuation phase into the marital relationship, the couple as a unit forms an "interaction personality" (Dicks, 1967) in interdependence with the spouse that may differ substantially from the individual personalities of each. This interaction personality in turn creates a new emotional matrix in which new patterns of separation-individuation may be formed.

The transition to parenthood similary re-evokes the developmental tasks of separation-individuation in that it involves a shift of allegiances from the family of origin to the family of procreation, and involves a corresponding intrapsychic shift in sense of self in relation to the primary objects (Benedek, 1959; Erikson, 1950). In the transition to parenthood, individuals must draw on their own experiences of symbiosis and separation-individuation as they vary their relational responses to the developing infant. Benedek (1970) has observed that in becoming parents, individuals unconsciously re-experience and recreate aspects of their own early development. The parental couple's own level of self and object constancy and resolution of separation-individuation developmental tasks, as well as the balance between mutuality and autonomy that they have achieved in the marital relationship, may be reflected in the ways in which they respond to their infant's developmental needs for symbiotic merger as well as for gradually increasing degrees of separateness.

In the transition to parenthood, the transactional nature of the separation-individuation process emerges with even greater clarity as

it becomes a triadic as well as a dyadic process. Abelin (1975) and others have observed that the father plays an essential role in the infant's negotiation of the separation-individuation process by providing a relational base to help the child disengage from the mother-infant symbiosis. Additionally, the intrusion of the father into early mother-infant symbiosis is thought to set off the process of triangulation whereby the infant internalizes not only aspects of the relationship with each parent, but also aspects of the marital dyad, including the degree of separation-individuation, mutuality or separateness that characterizes the marital relationship (Henderson, 1982). That a father's role in early family development involves a reworking of separation-individuation issues is supported by several research studies (Grossman, et al., 1978; Shereshefsky and Yarrow, 1974; Soule, Standley, and Copans, 1979). These and other studies suggest that the father's pre-birth resolution of separation-individuation issues strongly affects aspects of early family development such as the capacity to develop a positive father identity, as well as the capacity to remain differentiated vis-a-vis the mother-child symbiosis.

Aims and Goals of the Research Project

A major goal of this project was to investigate the impact of variations in levels of separation-individuation of the parents and within the marital dyad on early family development, with particular focus on the emerging self-development of the child. It is hypothesized that the extent to which a partner is able to experience

the self as whole, separate and distinct <u>within</u> a relational matrix,
that permits the full engagement of unconscious and conscious, past
and present object relations, may determine the quality of marital
adaptation and aspects of infant and family development. The more
strongly individuated the couple, the more capable they will be of
establishing a relationship that enhances their capacity for recipro-
city, and that fosters the self-development of each partner as well
as of the developing infant. Conversely, the more fused and the less
differentiated the couple, the more they will tend to form rigid and
symbiotic relationships, characterized by a high degree of identifica-
tion and ambivalence, chronic conflict or distancing, and impairment
in the self development or ego functioning of one or both partners,
or in the developing infant. Couples whose relationships are char-
acterized by low levels of separation-individuation will tend to
project unrealized or repressed aspects of the self onto the partner
or child, who is then, via projective mechanisms, locked into
expressing a part-function or self for the the other (Bowen, 1978).

To summarize: The major aims and goals of this project were:
1) To investigate the ways in which the individual partner's current
levels of separation-individuation vis-a-vis their own families of
origin contributes to the degree of individuation in the marriage--
that is, to their capacity to integrate separateness and togetherness
within the context of an intimate relationship.
2) To sort a representative sample of normal families into relational
sets based on the concept of separation-individuation.

3) To investigate the ways in which the level of separation-individuation of individual parents and within the marital dyad may foster or inhibit the infant's development and separation-individuation. The particular focus was on infant characteristics such as the development of a sense of separate self, and on parent-infant transactions, such as the parents' capacity to create optimal separation-individuation conditions for their infants.

Previous analyses of the data from the UCLA Family Development Project provide support for the above research goals. For example, research findings reported by Heinicke et al. (1983b) indicate that a positive husband-wife adaptation as assessed through global ratings when the inant is two years of age, strongly contributes to the creation of optimal separation-individuation conditions and a sense of positive self in the infant. An additional study on the project indicates that mothers who are able to work through a separation from the child, traversing stages from dependency to ambivalance to separateness, have infants, who at 3 months show signs of a more positive and individuated self (Carlin, 1984). It is thought, however, that as a result of differences in basic ego functioning among infants, there will be variations in the relative impact of parental separation-individuation on infant self-development. In keeping with a transactional perspective which explores interlocking relationships among various dimensions of individual-developmental and family-transactional experience, it is thought that parental and marital separation-individuation predict other aspects of infant development. Indeed, research findings of the UCLA Family Development Project indi-

cate that while infant sense of separate self is predicted by global measures of marital adaptation, it is also strongly anticipated by factors such as infant I.Q. and early vocalization that are not directly related to parent-infant transactions. Thus, in a more general sense this study will explore the impact of parental separation-individuation on a range of infant characteristics and parent-infant transactions during the first post-natal year.

Chapter II of this dissertation includes an overview of research relevant to the concept of separation-individuation in the individual, the marriage and the family system. In Chapter II, hypotheses formulated to research the general study questions are also presented along with the theoretical basis for these hypotheses. Chapter III presents the research, design rating procedures and general methodology. Chapter IV includes a report of quantitative findings, while Chapter V presents the results of qualitative (clinical case study) data analysis. Chapter VI presents a summary, interpretation and discussion of the research.

C H A P T E R   I I

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

The focus of the concept of separation-individuation as an
organizing construct for this study of the impact of pre-birth parental
and marital characteristics on aspects of infant and family development
was inductively derived from a review of the literature in several
different areas of psychology. This literature review is designed to
illustrate how the problem of achieving a satisfactory balance between
differentiation and relatedness is fundamental for human relationships
at all stages of the life cycle. It was found that the concept of
separation-individuation emerges with different manifestations and
often in varied terminology in both empirical studies and theoretical
work on infant development, marital and family interaction, and early
family formation. Thus this literature review will be divided into
several different sections, each of which is designed to highlight the
theme of separation-individuation in the above areas. The first sec-
tion will review studies of separation-individuation as an individual-
developmental concept as it has emerged through the work of psychoana-
lytic theorists; the second and third sections will trace the theme
of separation-individuation through studies of marital and family
typologies; the fourth section will review studies of early family
formation, delineating the ways in which separation-individuation
emerges as a central issue for the mother-father-child triad, while
the fifth section will review empirical research on early mother-

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infant interaction, with a focus on the infant's contributions to his or her own separation-individuation experiences.

The Theme of Separation-Individuation in Psychoanalytic-Developmental Theory

Introduction

From a psychoanalytic perspective, the development of the infant is a complex process involving the establishment of mutually gratifying symbiosis between mother and infant, a gradual process of differentiation from this symbiotic dependency, and the development of an autonomous, differentiated self, capable of integrating loving and hateful feelings in complex, differentiated relationsips. The successful negotiation of this process of separation-individuation involves two parallel, but mutually reinforcing developmental tasks: one involving separation on both a physical and psychological level from the mother, and the establishment of clear and distinct ego boundaries between self and other; and the other involving the evolution of autonomous ego functions, and the development of a unique and coherent identity.

The process of separation-individuation, and its vicissitudes have been investigated by a number of psychoanalytic researchers, using naturalistic observations of normal children as well as retrospective reconstructions based on psychoanalytic work with severely disturbed children and adults. In this review, I will focus on the work of two psychoanalytic theorists: Mahler, who first articulated the specific developmental sequences involved in the separation-

individuation process, using both reconstructive psychoanalytic, and
naturalistic observational methodologies; and Kohut, who, through
psychoanalytic work with adults, articulated the developmental vicis-
situdes of narcissism and the self that parallel the separation-
individuation process. Kohut (1971) maintains that his theories about
the stages of narcissism and early self-development are derived in
part from Mahler's research on the consolidation of the self during
the separation-individuation process. Such a correspondence provides
confirmation for both methodologies--that of psychoanalytic investi-
gation via intensive psychoanalytic work, and that of psychoanaly-
tically informed naturalistic observation--and lends credence to the
conceptualization of theorists in both traditions on the nature of
the separation-individuation process. A summary of Mahler's develop-
mental sequence will provide a reference point for the subsequent
review of Kohut's work.

Mahler's Developmental Schema

Mahler (Mahler, et al., 1975) has presented a finely articulated
developmental schema of the separation-individuation process which may
serve as a basis for understanding the essential developmental issues
involved in this process. Mahler et al. (1975) postulate four major
stages in "the psychological birth of the human infant", which span
the period from birth to 36 months. The way-stations on the road to
psychological autonomy, according to Mahler, include a stage of
absence of relatedness to others, a period of symbiotic fusion with
the mothering person, a phase of vacillation between autonomy and

regressive urges toward symbiosis, termed "rapprochement"; and finally

a stage of self-cohesion and object constancy.

In the first stage of development, which spans the first post-

natal month, the infant possesses only isolated fragments of an

incipient potential self. The absence of object relations or of

consolidated self structure during this stage leads Mahler to call

it the stage of normal autism. Since all libidinal investment is

tied up in the incipient potential self, this stage is also that of

primary narcissism.

The second stage, which extends from the end of the first through

approximately the fifth postnatal month, is characterized by a

symbiotic merger between the infant and the mothering person. Mahler

(1967) writes:

> The essential feature of symbiosis is hallucinatory
> or delusional, somatopsychic, omnipotent fusion with
> the representation of the mother and, in particular,
> delusion of common boundary of the two actually and
> physically separate individuals ... (p. 742)

During the symbiotic stage, the infant cannot distinguish between

inner and outer, self and other, but experiences the self as part of

the primary caretaker. In other words, the infant experiences its

inner promptings or needs, and its means of gratification as stemming

from a unified source, and as part of its omnipotent control. Also

during this stage, as the infant begins to experience glimmerings of

the mothering person's otherness through intersubjective play, s/he

moves from primary to secondary narcissism; that is, from total

libidinal investment in the self to the beginnings of investment in

the self via the relationships with external objects. Although

incapable of clearly differentiating between inner and outer, self and other, the infant begins, during this stage to differentiate between pleasurable or tension-relieving experiences, and unpleasurable or tension-inducing experiences. These early memory traces gradually coalesce to form the infant's first images of self and object.

Toward the end of the fifth month, the infant's delusion of a common boundary between self and other is gradually broken and the stage of separation-individuation proper begins. Mahler divides the separation-individuation stage into several major subphases, each of which marks another waystation on the infant's psychological journey towards separateness and autonomy.

The subphase of early differentition (from four to ten months) is marked by the infant's realization, however tenuous and fluctuating, that s/he is a separate entity from the mothering person, and that the source of need and the source of gratification are distinct entities. Corresponding to the increased physical differentiation between mother and infant during this period is a dawning awareness of psychic differentiation on the infant's part between images of the self and images of the mothering person.

During the succeeding practicing subphase, from 10 to 15 months, the infant's increased physical maturation and developing cognitive capacities foster further separation on both the physical and the intrapsychic levels from the mothering person. During this subphase, the infant also begins to individuate, or to experience his or her autonomous ego functions and motor capacities. This is the subphase

when the infant, exhiliarated by his or her expanded powers of cogni-
tion and locomotion, experiences "a love affair with the world." The
infant often seems at this subphase to have an inviolable and grandi-
ose sense of the self's perfection. In the early practicing period,
the child needs to check back frequently to the mother as a point of
stability, but in the practicing period proper, the child is better
able to sustain separation from the mother. The ability to tolerate
more sustained separations implies an increased capacity to retain an
image or memory of the mother when she is not actually perceived.
However, self-object differentiation at this stage remains partial
and incomplete. McDevitt (1975) points out that the infant's capacity
for increased autonomy from mother is predicated on his or her illusion
that the mother is with him or her as a result of this lack of differ-
entiation between intrapsychic representations of self and object.

Such a differentiation is one of the hallmarks of the rapproche-
ment subphase which lasts from the 16th to the 24th postnatal month.
This is a critical period in the separation-individuation process,
which involves substantial changes in the child's development,
including more advanced locomotion, the beginnings of representational
thought, a maturation of autonomous ego functions such as memory, and
a clearer demarcation between self and object representations. How-
ever, as a result of the increased capacity for and awareness of
separateness, the child experiences a renewed fear of object loss,
accompanied by increased feelings of separation distress, loneliness
and helplessness. These contradictory tendencies lead to the
rapprochement crisis, which is characterized by an alternation between

regressive attempts to merge with the mother, and progressive thrusts towards autonomy and independence. The child's awareness of the mother as a separate person who is no longer omnipotently or magically available presages greater self-object differentiation on the intrapsychic level, which the child attempts to deny through regressive clinging to the mother. The rapprochement child vacillates between exhilirating strivings toward autonomy and regressive attempts to recapture blissful merger with the mother; between an inflated sense of the self's perfection and omnipotence, and intense fears of separation and feelings of vulnerability; between an over-estimation of the goodness and perfection of the mothering person, and intense anger and frustration at her failure to meet symbiotic needs. The potential developmental distortions or arrests that occur during this period are manifold. The child can fail to achieve adequate separation between self and other; s/he may be incapable of synthesizing intense feelings of love and hate toward the object; s/he may remain fixated on unrealistic grandiose images of the self or idealized images of the other.

Toward the end of the second year of life, the child's oscillations between fusion and autonomy, love and hate, symbiotic clinging and grandiose omnipotence become gradually modulated as s/he enters the phase of libidinal object constancy. Inner representations of self and other become fixed and differentiated from each other as the child increasingly experiences the self as separate and distinct from the mothering person. This stage is characterized by "a cognitive acquisition of the symbiotic representation of the permanent object"

(Mahler, et al., 1975, p. 110). During this stage, split images of the good or gratifying and bad or frustrating mother are fused into one integrated object representation. And this integration in the inner object world permits the child to perceive the mother as a unique and truly separate individual with her own needs and interests. Also as a consequence of this integrated internal representation of the mother, the child is able to tolerate separation regardless of the state of inner need or discomfort. The child's capacity for more autonomous functioning and reciprocity with the mother are ushered in by the consolidation of a separate self as well as by the development of integrated, internalized object relations. The greater demarcation between self and object allows the disparate self-images which are based on different ego identifications, to coalesce into a unified self representation. The above developmental achievements are based on the predictable emotional involvement and availability of the primary objects. Fraiberg (1969) observes that:

> On the basis of good-enough mothering successful
> separation-individuation results in a firm sense of
> identity and the capacity for developing intimate,
> non-symbiotic object relationships (p. 17).

Mahler's research suggests that such "good-enough" mothering involves the mother's capacity to respond appropriately to the full range of the infant's developmental needs. First the mother must have the capacity to offer herself as a symbiotic partner to the infant, without loss of ego boundaries or undue regression. As the infant begins to individuate, however, the mother must facilitate the infant's gradual disengagement from the symbiotic dual unity, while

still remaining emotionally available to the infant.

The Role of the Father in Separation-Individuation

In responding flexibly and appropriately to the infant's shifting developmental needs, the mother is supported by the father, who is increasingly thought to play a crucial role in the pre-oedipal separation-individuation process (Abelin, 1971, 1975; Henderson, 1982). During the symbiotic phase, the father provides a supportive matrix or "holding environment" (Winnicott, 1965) for the evolving mother-infant symbiosis. However, through his psychoanalytically informed developmental research as part of Mahler's project, Abelin (1975) noted that a specific relationship of a symbiotic nature develops between father and infant several weeks after the consolidation of mother-infant symbiosis. To the extent that he is perceived as separate from the original mother-infant symbiosis, however, the father comes to symbolize the world separate from mother. As a figure who is both comfortingly familiar and excitingly separate the father is uniquely positioned to encourage the infant's evolving individuation, and to help the infant disengage from symbiosis with the mother. During the practicing subphase, for example, the father is thought to play a particularly crucial role in providing an alternative relational base as the child begins the process of autonomous exploration. As Abelin (1971) puts it, "The father comes to stand for distant, 'nonmother' space--for elated exploration of reality" (p. 246). During rapprochement, when the child fluctuates between regressive symbiosis and autonomous assertions as she or he

attempts to achieve intrapsychic as well as physical separation from the symbiotic mother, the father provides a base of "noncontaminated" or separate creative interaction and play that fosters the infant's individuation.

In addition to providing an additional primary object relation, through which the infant may have an alternative experience of self and other, the father plays a key role in the consolidation of the infant's self-image through a process described as early triangulation (Abelin, 1975; Henderson, 1982). The child's emerging self representation has components not only of the individual experiences with mother and father respectively, but also of the couple relationship. The process of early triangulation, in which the father is a key participant, sets in motion early experiences of loss, identification and internalization for the infant. In observing mother and father interact, the child becomes further aware of the loss of both as symbiotic partners, and through this experience of the self as separate begins to imagine the self in the rival's place and to identify with the rival. Abelin (1975) concludes that "it is thus in the stereoscopic double mirror of his parents that the toddler, for the first time, sees himself. Unconscious imitation of the symbiotic object has become a wish for the object and simultaneously a discovery of the self" (p. 294). Thus the child's experience of the self as a participant in triadic familial interactions contributes to the formation of more complex, differentiated self as well as object representations.

These earliest internalizations, derived from the myriad of mother-father-infant transactions are internalized to form the rudi-

ments of psychic structure during the final subphases of the separation-individuation process. Also during this period, the quality of the primary object relations, and the nature of the rudimentary self-representations that form the basis for future relationships and core identity are established. Thus, the negotiation of the separation-individuation process sets the template for several crucial developmental tasks. First, it determines the capacity for libidinal object constancy which implies not merely the capacity to engage in relationships, but also the ability to sustain an attachment to and regard for the object over time and independent of external circumstances. The establishment of autonomous identity which reflects the unique capacities of the individual also has its roots in the separation-individuation process as does the consolidation of a coherent and cohesive sense of self. The particular stages in the process of self-development have been articulated by Kohut, whose work is reviewed below.

Kohut's Developmental Schema

While Mahler (1975) conceptualizes the development of self-structure and object relations as reciprocal, mutually reinforcing aspects of a single developmental process, Kohut (1971, 1977) posits the existence of separate but parallel developmental lines: one of narcissism or self-formation; and the other of object relations. In Kohut's view, each developmental line generates its own type of libido and its own particular object of instinctual investment. In the case of object love, libidinal strivings are directed towards the signifi-

cant primary object; in the case of narcissistic development, libidi-
nal strivings are directed towards the self or towards others who are
included in the child's self-experience.

Such persons who are invested with narcissistic (as opposed to
object) libido, or who remain in intimate connection with aspects of
the infantile self, are termed "self-objects." The role of such self-
objects is to mirror and confirm the child's narcissism and to provide
idealized figures with whom the child can identify in a total merging
relationship. During infancy, the child's relationship with the self-
objects in fact substitutes for psychological structures that have not
yet developed. In the course of normal development, as the child's
desire to merge with such self-objects is gradually frustrated, the
nascent autonomous self is born from the original self/self-object
matrix. Aspects of the original self/self-object relationship are
gradually assimilated into intrapsychic structure through a process
which Kohut (1971, 1977) defines as one of successive "transmuting
internalizations." Thus, Kohut focuses on the ways in which parent-
infant transactions form the primary substance out of which the self
is structured. A more detailed discussion of Kohut's developmental
schema further illustrates the process by which self-development
occurs.

Kohut posits three major stages in the structuralization of the
human self. The first of these, which corresponds to Mahler's
autistic stage, is termed by Kohut (1971) the stage of autoeroticism
and the fragmented body self. During this stage there exists no
unified self experience. Rather, the infant possesses only isolated

fragments of an incipient potential self. The second stage, termed by Kohut the stage of primary narcissism, corresponds roughly to Mahler's symbiotic stage. Kohut maintains that the mother's empathic and admiring responses to the infant during this stage, enable the infant to make the transition from autoeroticism or fixation on isolated body parts, to a unified, cohesive self-experience.

Kohut refers to such admiring responses on the part of the mother, which literally create the human self, as "mirroring". Briefly, mirroring may be defined as that process by which the infant first experiences a rudimentary integrated self through its reflected image in the mother. The mother's empathic responsiveness, expressed by the "gleam" in her eye as she beholds the cherished infant, constitutes a mirror through which the infant perceives the self as whole and admirable. The proverbial "gleam" in the mother's eye thus gives the infant its first glimpse of an integrated self. During the symbiotic stage, the mirroring responses of the mother serve to consolidate and confirm the infant's narcissism. This mirroring relationship in which mother and infant are temporarily merged, with infant imagining a self only through the mother's constant reflection, provides the matrix out of which an autonomous, differentiated self will gradually emerge.

The mirroring-merging experiences, requisite to the development of a cohesive self, become especially important after psychological separation has occurred, during the separation-individuation phase. Kohut divides the separation-individuation phase into two major subphases: the stage of the grandiose self, which corresponds

roughly to the stage of early differentiation and practicing in Mahler's schema; and the stage of the idealized parent imago, which corresponds to the later stages of the separation-individuation process. In the first subphase the infant replaces the illusion of perfect synchrony and symbiosis with the mother with an illusion of its own omnipotence and grandiosity. It is essential that the mother respond to the infant's need for unconditional admiration during this phase in order for the self to become securely cathected and for adequate self-esteem to develop. Also essential during this subphase are phase appropriate frustrations of the child's unmodified exhibitionism, in order that infant meglomania, natural for this stage, be gradually transmuted into realistic ambitions and aim-inhibited forms of self-esteem.

Under optimal conditions, the child gradually gives up its need for an intense mirroring merger-like experience with the mother and its illusions of omnipotence and perfection in the later stages of the separation-individuation process, and instead projects this global omnipotent perfection onto a parent (often of the opposite sex) with whom he or she seeks to merge. As was the case in the subphase of the grandiose self, a combination of empathic responsiveness to the need for merger with the idealized parent, and optimal frustrations of this need, contribute to a gradual diffusion of this idealization, to a more realistic view of the parent, and to the building up of self-structures such as the superego and the ego ideal.

The above developmental schema illustrates that self-objects may be of two types: those who mirror and confirm the child's phase-

appropriate sense of omnipotence and perfection, and those with whom
the child seeks to merge as she or he gives up the sense of infantile
grandiosity, and begins to idealize others. While Kohut does not
assign a fixed gender to each of these self objects, he does suggest
that mothers most often function as mirroring self-objects, while
fathers most often serve as idealizing self-objects--a division which
corresponds to Mahler's conception of the respective parental roles
in the separation-individuation process.

Kohut (1978) maintains that in normal development a bi-polar
self emerges out of the original self/self-object relationships, with
one aspect of the self characterized by personal ambitions and self-
esteem that represent transformations of original infantile grandi-
osity; and another aspect of the self characterized by ideals and
goals which are transmutations of the original relationship with the
idealized parent imago.

Kohut traces the damaged self of both borderline and narcissistic
personality disorders to faulty interactions with the original self-
objects. While the specific interactional patterns that are thought
to lead to these various forms of pathology are not relevant for this
study of normative separation-individuation and family development,
it is important to note that narcissistically impaired individuals
continue to seek merger-like associations with significant self-
objects as a way of compensating for inner narcissistic defects and
of stabilizing their tenuous narcissistic equilibrium, long after it
is developmentally appropriate.

Conclusion

The theories of Kohut and Mahler are important for this study of the impact of parental and marital separation-individuation on aspects of infant and family development for several reasons. First, both theorists suggest that the separation-individuation process largely determines the extent of self-cohesion and the nature of the primary object relations. To the extent that a relatively autonomous and individuated sense of self is established in the separation-individuation phase, the capacity is formed for engaging in new relationships while maintaining that individuation intact. To the extent that separation-individuation remains incomplete, the self will lack cohesion and remain susceptible to regressive merger-like associations. It has been hypothesized that the level of individuation attained in new relationships will reflect the level of individuation characteristic of the primary object relations. The following sections will review research and theoretical work that supports the above hypothesis.

The Theme of Separation-Individuation in
Marital Typologies

Introduction

Marital typologies, whether theoretically or empirically derived, identify central dimensions by which to classify and describe types of couple relationships. In the majority of the studies reviewed in this section, the dimension of separation-individuation emerges as central to the following types of marital classification systems: clinically-

based typologies, formulated by observers working among clinical
populations; theoretically-based typologies, formulated through
reflection on data or with little or no empirical support; empirically-
based typologies formulated through quantitative analysis of data, or
through qualitative techniques. Typologies generated through all
three approaches were included for review since each contributes a
valuable, if partial, perspective through which to understand couple
relationships. Studies from both clinical and non-clinical popula-
tions were included with the assumption that just as there is no
sharp dividing line between normality and pathology among individuals,
so is there no radical discontinuity between couples who seek treat-
ment and those who do not. Indeed, it has been pointed out that many
disparate types of couples figure among the former group, and that
those in the latter group may well be more distressed or dysfunctional
than their counterparts in treatment (Fitzpatrick, 1983). Addition-
ally, at least one empirically validated typology has shown that more
functional types of couple relationships may represent attenuated
versions of more pathological or dysfunctional types (Olsen, 1981).
Some of the typologies reviewed in this section are thought to consti-
tute exhaustive and mutually exclusive categories while others are
thought to be moving towards a typology of relational patterns.
However, almost all identify the problem of achieving an optimal
balance between individual autonomy and couple mutuality as a core
dimension by which to classify marital relationships. That studies
utilizing a variety of methodologies among varied populations tend
to converge around the theme of separation-individuation further

speaks to the validity of the concept.

Marital Typologies Based on Clinical or Qualitative Methodologies

Winch (1958) proposed one of the first intuitively derived typologies of marriage, through reflection on data collected for a study of need complementarity in couple relationships. Based on an in-depth study of 25 predominantly middle-class married couples who were given in-depth life history interviews, projective testing, and both qualitative and quantitative assessments of needs, Winch concluded that mate selection is determined by the complementary individual need systems of the partners. Winch (1958) hypothesizes that homogamy, or the theory that like marries like, appears statistically valid because individuals with the same religious beliefs, social class backgrounds, ethnic identifications, occupations and/or educational levels are most likely to encounter each other. However, while homogamy operates on the level of superficial social affinity, it is heterogamy, or the principle of attraction and mating by personality complementarity or constrast that determines variations in mate selection. Factor analyses of Winch's data yielded two types of complementariness; one in which the same need is gratified in both partners at vastly different levels (e.g., a partner high on dominance seeks a partner low on dominance); and another pattern whereby different or reciprocal pairs of needs are gratified (e.g., a partner with a strong need to nurture seeks out a partner with a strong need for succorance).

On the basis of a more qualitative analysis of the case histories

of his subjects, Winch identified four types of complementary marri-
ages, named after four literary prototypes. The first of these is
Mothers and Sons, named for D. H. Lawrence's classic work on oedipal
love and the way it determines future object choices. In such a
relationship pattern, a relatively immature and passive man seeks to
replace a dominant and controlling mother with an assertive, if
nurturant wife who will keep him in an emotionally dependent and
child-like position. The Ibsenian marriage represents the second
major type in Winch's schema. Modeled after Ibsen's The Doll House,
a devastating study of the psychic costs of role imbalance in the
traditional bourgeois marriage, the Ibsenian marriage is characterized
by a relational pattern wherein a passive and narcissistic woman is
maintained in a position of childlike dependence by an outwardly
competent but inwardly insecure spouse. Winch surmises that this
surface pattern whereby one partner underfunctions in the role of
childish dependency, while the other overfunctions in the role of
dominant nurturer, in fact masks the essential immaturity of both
partners. In assuming the parental role, husbands in Ibsenian
marriages are thought to be seeking to redress earlier deficits in
their own nurturing by projecting their own child-selves onto the
spouse, who is then nurtured in a compensatory fashion.

The third marital pattern, called Masters and Servant Girls,
also involves a relationship between an overtly dependent female and
a covertly dependent male. Modeled after Shaw's Pygmalian, this
marital type is characterized by a pattern in which a highly educated
and socially prominent man attempts to mold a socially inferior, but

vital and capable woman.

The fourth relational type, the Thurberian marriage, is modeled
after satirist James Thurber's depiction of contemporary marriages,
as characterized by a high degree of relational strife between partners
who assume cross-sex characteristics, the wife being dominant and
expressive, and the husband, nurturant and submissive. Thurberian
women are depicted as more assertive and practical than their
"poetically-inclined" husbands whom they tend to harrass.

Winch identified antecedents of these marital types in parent-
child relationships within the family of origin. In both Thurberian
and Mother-Son types, for example, both husbands and wives were found
to have mothers who were expressive and dominant, and about whom they
had ambivalent feelings. Both spouses consequently experienced
conflict about their own autonomous and assertive strivings.

Winch (1958) also hypothesizes that mate selection may be deter-
mined by engagement at different levels of consciousness, so that
surface complementarity may mask an underlying homogeneity of need.
Winch suggests that complementary patterns of mating may be indicative
of unconscious patterns of collusion, whereby each partner projects
repressed, denied or split off characteristics of the self onto the
other. Such patterns of collusive complementariness in all couple
relationships leads, according to Winch, to some degree of emotional
fusion or symbiosis. In all of the marital types described above,
each spouse was found to express aspects of the self via the relation-
ship to the other. However, Winch concludes that both aspects of
couple relationships--those based on underlying homogeneity of need,

and those based on more superficial complementarity, are important in classification of couple relationships.

Mittleman (1956) similarly identified complementary patterns of marital interaction based on an in-depth psychoanalytic study of 28 couples, in which one or both partners were in analysis with him. At the heart of all of these patterns of "reciprocal neurotic interaction" were conflicts about the balance between individual autonomy and couple mutuality. Thus, in the first pattern, one of the partners attempts to relieve his or her anxiety about the intimacy of the relationship by being aggressive or sadistic toward another partner who is passive and enduring. In another pattern, one partner attempts to defend against intimate contact with the other and to achieve self-sufficiency through emotional detachment, while the other engages in intense, open demands for affection. This pattern is self-perpetuating in that one partner's intense craving for affection further stimulates the other's fear of intimacy, leading to further withdrawal. Another complementary pattern consists of mutual attempts at domination on the part of both partners which often masks intense repressed or denied dependency needs. In another pattern one mate plays an omnipotent role vis-a-vis another who is helpless and dependent. A more complex pattern is one in which one mate alternates between periods of dependency and autonomy, while the other vacillates between periods of symbiotic clinging and helpless withdrawal. According to Mittleman, these reciprocal patterns usually contain derivatives of infantile experiences with the primary objects that are being re-evoked by the intense dyadic intimacy of the marital relationship.

Based on psychoanalytic research in the Marital Studies Division of the Tavistock Institute, Dicks (1967) has formulated an object-relations theory of marital interaction which also addresses the issue of marital separation-individuation, although Dicks does not use the latter term explicitly. Like Mittleman, Dicks conceptualizes marriage as an arena in which early object relations are inevitably re-evoked, reprojected and acted out within the marital dyad. This process need not be pathological according to Dicks. Indeed, he defines the deepest and most satisfying marital relationships as those which enhance the "capacity of the partners to express and live out in their relationship many phases and object-relations potentials from the past" (Dicks, 1967, p. 124). A complete marriage in Dicks' view involves the full engagement of the conscious and unconscious aspects of the partners, a capacity of each partner to tolerate the regressive and infantile needs of the other in mutually reciprocal fashion, and a receptivity to the projected part selves and past object-relations of the partner, without an abrogation of one's individuality.

According to Dicks, couple relationships are characterized by potential engagement at three levels or subsystems. The first of these is the public subsystem of socio-cultural values and norms, which entails social affinity of class, religion, education, race, etc. The second subsystem is that of the consciously-held ego attitudes, personal norms and tastes, and may involve identification with different subsystems, often in opposition to parental models. Also involved in this subsystem is the role performance in day to day interactions within the marital dyad. The second subsystem involves

the engagement and compatibility of the conscious selves of the
partners, whereas the third subsystem involves the engagement of
unconscious forces "flowing between the partners, forming bonds of a
'positive' and 'negative' kind, often referred to as 'transactions'"
(Dicks, 1967, p. 131). Also characteristic of this third subsystem
is a convergence of deep object relations. According to Dicks,
repressed or split off internalized object relations will be projected
onto the partners and lived out in the marital dyad. Although Dicks
surmises that satisfaction on the part of the partners with any two
of the three subsystems is sufficient to hold a marriage together, he
maintains that the deepest and most stable bonds are forged only when
there is engagement at the third level or subsystem.

Based on his psychoanalytic research, Dicks observed that marital
tensions have their origin in the third subsystem. He attributes the
main motivating factor in mate selection to the individual's search
for rediscovery of a repressed object relationship or undeveloped
part of the self in the partner. The couple relationship is thought
to function almost as a "joint ego territory" where each partner may
attempt to rediscover, through projective identification, the missing
or split-off aspect of the self or object relation. Dicks suggests
that through the projective and introjective processes that occur in
couple relationships, a joint personality is formed which allows the
couple to project and re-experience aspects of the self or the primary
object relations. As was the case with Winch (1958), Dicks (1967)
hypothesizes that couples develop patterns of complementary collusion
in which each becomes the recipient of the other's projections, and

comes to function as a part-self or primary object for the other. The collusive process, which occurs between all marital partners, becomes pathological when what is projected onto the other is a bad or anti-libidinal object, or when the projections severely curtail the growth and integration of the marital dyad by locking them into dysfunctional interactional patterns.

Dicks' view of marital interaction suggests that under optimal conditions such a pattern of collusive complementary patterns consisting of projected part-selves and primary object relations of each partner onto the other, may actually enhance the degree of separation-individuation of the couple in that it permits the opportunity for a reworking or reintegration of what is projected.

In a recent work, Willi (1982) expands Dicks' theory of marital collusions, defining this process as the unconscious intermeshing of the personalities of two partners who have similar, unresolved conflicts. Willi (1982) surmises that the shared central conflicts are expressed differently by each partner in complementary roles which represent variations on the same theme.

Willi (1982) identifies four major patterns of marital collusion which reflect psychoanalytic developmental positions. The first of these, narcissistic collusion, represents a pattern in which two partners with serious ego deficits attempt to bolster their fluctuating self-esteem and complete the self through symbiotic oneness. In this pattern, one partner takes the role of the narcissist, whose surface behavior is characterized by grandiosity and self-aggrandizement while the other takes the role of the self-effacing "complementary narcis-

sist" who projects and realizes his or her idealized self-image through the other. In the second type of collusion, termed "oral collusion", two orally-fixated partners with extreme needs for unconditional caretaking take reciprocal roles, whereby one endlessly giving partner nurtures and protects another endlessly demanding partner. The third type of collusion, anal-sadistic collusion, involves a pattern of interaction between active and passive anally-fixated characters. The active partner assumes a position of autonomy and leadership in relation to a passively dependent partner. Both partners are thought to be united by shared conflicts around autonomy and separateness, which are coped with in different ways. Whereas the active partner projects his or her fears of separateness onto the passive partner, the latter wards off fears of abandonment by abrogating his or her autonomy. The fourth type of marital collusion, phallic-oedipal collusion, involves a relationship between pseudo-masculine and pseudo-feminine partners, both of whom recreate unresolved and ambivalent oedipal relationships in their marriages. The partner in such dyads is usually chosen because she or he resembles the opposite sex parent, and this initial attraction carries with it the valence of intense positive and negative feelings about the original objects. A common variant on this collusive pattern is that between an obsessive-compulsive man and an hysterical woman. In such relationships, the male, inwardly insecure despite his manifest aura of competence, seeks to affirm his tenuous sense of masculinity through an alliance with a woman who is overtly feminine and seductive, but covertly contemptuous and/or fearful of heterosexual intimacy. Willi (1982) suggests that

in each of these collusive patterns, partners share specific types of conflicts around separation-individuation that are translated into particular interactional styles.

The level of emotional engagement versus emotional separateness in relationships also figures prominently in the marital typology of Cuber and Haroff (1965). Based on in-depth interviews with over 400 couples, all of whom had been married 10 years or more, and had never considered divorce, Cuber and Haroff (1965) identified two major types of marriages:

Utilitarian marriages that are held together by highly ritualized roles and external or institutional factors such as children and property, rather than by deeply intimate bonds; and intrinsic marriages which are held together largely by forces internal to the relationship such as strong emotional connections or shared interests and activities. Five subtypes were identified that fall on a continuum between these two polarities. The subtypes that cluster more toward the utilitarian type include the following:

1) Conflict-habituated marriages are characterized by chronic and nonproductive conflict between spouses who have wide areas of disagreement and limited companionship.

2) Devitalized relationships are those in which the current marriage is merely a shadow of its former more deeply intimate and satisfying self.

3) Passive-congenial marriages are those in which there is an emotional void between the spouses who are highly independent of each other, but held together by a mutually satisfactory institu-

tional arrangement. In contrast to the previous type, passive-congenial marriages show no degeneration from a former state.

The subtypes that cluster more toward the intrinsic category include the following:

1) <u>Vital marriages</u> are characterized by high levels of sharing and togetherness on the part of the spouses without loss of separate identities. Conflict occurs in such relationships only over important matters and is usually settled quickly.

2) <u>Total marriages</u> are the most fulfilling relationships in that virtually every aspect of couple life is mutually shared. More than in the previous type there is a submersion of the separate identities of the partners in the couple relationship.

Cuber and Haroff thus present a continuum of relational types from those held together more by sociological roles to those that are characterized by vital emotional bonds. Although not directly addressed, the concept of separation-individuation comes into play in this typology in that the most vital relationship is conceptualized as one in which separate identities are merged in the couple relationship, while the most devitalized relationships are those in which spouses are emotionally disengaged and highly autonomous. However, in eliminating from their sample all couples who had been married for less than ten years, or who had considered divorce, Cuber and Haroff undoubtedly biased the formulation of their typology.

The degree of connectedness versus separateness in couple relationships is also a primary dimension in Levinger's marital typology, which uses Lewin's field theory as its conceptual base. Levinger

(1965) identifies two major dimensions of couple relationships: the boundaries of a relationship which correspond to Lewin's "restraining forces" and which guard against its break-up; and the level of attraction between the partners that draws them toward each other. The empty shell marriage is characterized by strong boundaries, but low attraction between the partners. Communication in such relationships is minimal as are shared interests and activities. Empty shell marriages are often characterized by high levels of suppressed hostility between the partners that erupt over small issues. Full shell marriages, by contrast, are characterized by firm boundaries and high attraction. As a result of their deep level of emotional engagement with each other, partners in full shell marriages communicate in an open and expressive manner. In half-shell marriages, which are characterized by weak boundaries and low attraction, partners are emotionally disengaged from each other, and thus experience little conflict or communication. No-shell marriages are low on both boundaries and attraction, and consequently are the most unstable and often conflictual of the types. A major contribution of Levinger's (1959) typology is to link patterns of separateness and togetherness in the couple relationship with specific patterns of communication.

Lederer and Jackson (1968) further develop this link between the degree of mutuality versus autonomy in the marital relationship on the one hand, and the quality of communication between the partners on the other, in their marital typology derived by extensive clinical observation of couples. The most successful and fulfilling type of

relationship in their classification schema is labeled Stable-
Satisfactory. This rare and ideal marital type epitomizes marital
collaboration and harmony. Stable-Satisfactory marriages are char-
acterized by both a high level of emotional engagement and a high
degree of personal autonomy. Couples in Stable-Satisfactory marriages
share similar backgrounds and values, but are also accepting of each
other's differences, which are thought to enhance rather than diminish
the relationship. The individual autonomy of spouses in such marri-
ages is rooted in a deep relatedness based on mutual trust, that
allows such couples the time, energy and confidence to engage in
activities outside the marital dyad. Stable-Satisfactory marriages
are also characterized by effective and expressive patterns of both
verbal and non-verbal communication. Since these couples communicate
openly and directly, they do not tend to triangle others, especially
children, into marital conflict, but instead are able to enjoy and
share children. These relationships are of two general types:
Heavenly Twins, who appear to have been born for each other; and
Collaborative Geniuses, who cooperate on creative projects.

Unstable-Satisfactory marriages comprise the second type in
Lederer and Jackson's (1968) classification schema. These marriages
are generally fulfilling, but are characterized by more areas of
conflict and dissatisfaction than the previous type. Unstable-
Satisfactory couples have generally positive communication skills,
and are able to negotiate compromises; however, as a result of some
dissatisfaction with the marriage, they may tend to accumulate
resentments, which are generally suppressed, but which may surface

in times of crisis. This somewhat higher level of conflict is con-
tained between the spouses, and is not usually displaced onto children,
as is the case in other subtypes. This category is shared between the
Spare-Time Battlers, who engage in intermittent sparing and status
struggles over a wide range of conflicts, but who share a basic
commitment to the relationship that outweighs these differences; and
the Pawnbrokers, whose marriages are compromise arrangements based
more on security and companionship than on deep and passionate love.

The Unstable-Unsatisfactory marital type is found among couples
who create an illusion of togetherness, but who in fact are emotionally
disengaged. Often found in this category are dual career couples, who
lead separate lives with little sharing of interests or activities.
Communication between such couples is usually severely limited. The
exchange of information and feelings, particularly about difficult
matters, is likely to precipitate emotional outbursts or psychosomatic
flare-ups, or to be avoided altogether. The dysfunctional communica-
tion patterns of such couples often leads them to displace conflict
onto children who are either scapegoated or used as pawns in the
parental battles. One major subtype of this category is the Weary
Wranglers who are united by their mutual hostility. Unable to take
responsibilty for their own self-development, such partners blame the
spouse for their own personal failures as well as for dissatisfactions
with the marital relationships. Despite their overt unhappiness and
frustration they are unable to separate, but remain bound together by
their mutual need to project blame and hostility. The second subtype
in the category is the Psychosomatic Avoiders who express their anger

and dissatisfaction covertly through subtle sarcasm, double-edged humor, sexual dysfunction, alcoholism or psychosomatic illness.

The final category is comprised of Stable-Unsatisfactory marriages in which partners who are deeply emotionally estranged from each other exist in a state of profound, if quiet, desperation. Couples in this group exchange virtually no relationship information and often appear to be unaware of the profound disturbance in their marital relationship. The latter is usually expressed nonverbally through high rates of overt psychopathology in children, who are usually viewed by parents as suffering from organic rather than emotional disorders. The two major subtypes of this category are the Gruesome Twosome, couples that are locked together, despite the emotional void between them, by their inability to function outside the structure of the relationship; and the Paranoid Predators, two mutually suspicious persons who perceive the world as unrelentingly hostile, and who band together to fight it. The high rates of individual psychopathology among the partners in such dyads is contained within the marital interaction or is expressed in the emotional disturbance of children.

Two central concepts emerge from Lederer and Jackson's (1968) typology. The first is clarity of communication between the couple. Satisfactory relationships are those in which high levels of explicit information is exchanged between the partners who have the capacity to openly explore differences and negotiate compromise issues. By contrast, in unsatisfactory relationships, little or no relationship information is exchanged, and attempts to negotiate compromise solu-

tions to difficult problems are nonexistent or lead to severe conflict or dysfunction on the part of one or both spouses.

Additionally, the dimension of <u>individual autonomy versus couple symbiosis</u> is more fully delineated in this typology. Indeed Lederer and Jackson (1968) offer precise definitions of the polarities of this dimension of couple relationships. They define autonomy as the capacity of individual partners to exercise independence regarding both individual and couple matters. Symbiosis, on the other hand, is defined as a close association between two highly interdependent partners who "cannot function autonomously, and if ... separated will function inefficiently if at all" (p. 187). Both Unstable and Stable Satisfactory marriages are characterized by high levels of both autonomy and interdependence, but not by symbiosis which is characteristic of more dysfunctional types. Unstable-Unsatisfactory marriages represent extremes of autonomy, and involve minimal levels of connectedness between the partners, while Stable-Unsatisfactory marriages are characterized by extremes of symbiosis which preclude autonomous functioning. Lederer and Jackson thus suggest that rather than representing a single continuum, the dimensions of autonomy and symbiosis represent two subdimensions, which intersect in particular ways in different marital types.

The problem of achieving an optimal balance between autonomy and symbiosis is an ubiquitous one for marital dyads, and involves the degree of intersection among the three subsystems that comprise the marital unity: the husband subsystem, the wife subsystem, and the marital subsystem, the latter of which is derived from the interaction

of husband and wife subsystems. The various possibilities suggested by Lederer and Jackson (1968) for the interrelation among these three subsystems include the following:

1) The interactive or symbiotic marital system predominates over the individual spouse systems.

2) Part of one spouse's system operates autonomously from the marital system, while for the other spouse the individual and marital systems are fused.

3) Part of each spouse's system operates independently of the marital system, while the remainder operates in symbiosis with the marital system.

4) The autonomy of each spousal system is enhanced by a well-functioning marital system.

When a child system is added to the husband and wife marital system, Lederer and Jackson (1968) conceptualize the following patterns.

1) Both parents and children operate autonomously to some extent, but parts of each system operate in symbiosis with parts of others to create an equalitarian family. The high degree of interdependence in such families enhances the independent growth and functioning of all members.

2) The independent parental and marital systems are subordinated to or engulfed by the child system; the autonomy of both the individual partners and of the couple is eroded with the birth of children. Spouses may form symbiotic relationships with children leading to split coalitions within the family.

The dimensions of autonomy versus symbiosis are also evident in

the three different modes of relating identified by Lederer and
Jackson (1968), as well as in their marital typology discussed above.
The three modes, termed symmetrical, complementary and parallel, are
distinguished by the degree of interdependence and/or complementarity.
A symmetrical relationship, for example, is one in which there is a
high degree of competition and struggle between spouses as a result
of lack of clear role differentiation. Complementary relationships
are those in which each spouse has jurisdiction over different
aspects of the relationship, and in which there is clear and consistent
role division. In complementary relationships, spouses are inter-
dependent in that the behavior of each complements and enhances that
of the other. Parallel relationships are those in which spouses
alternate between symmetrical and complementary positions in response
to changing situations.

Marital Typologies Based on Quantitative Methodologies

Although not always expressed in as clear and unambiguous terms
as in the studies reviewed in the previous section, the dimension of
individual autonomy versus couple mutuality is a distinguishing
feature of quantitatively as well as qualitatively derived marital
typologies. The longitudinal research project on patterns of newly-
wed marriage, conducted by Raush, Ryder and Goodrich at NIMH during
the 1960s, represents one of the first attempts to derive a marital
typology empirically; that is, through the actual configuration of the
data as revealed through quantitative analysis, rather than through
reflection on data. Based on their research on patterns of newlywed

marriage with a sample of 50 white middle-class couples (aged 18-25),
Goodrich, Ryder and Raush (1968) proposed a taxonomy of marriage. A
profile analysis of over 164 variables derived from a variety of data
sets including semi-structured interviews, observers reports, inter-
action analyses, and self-report questionnaires generated eight
patterns of newlywed marriage, each of which corresponds to the
positive or negative end of eight final factors.

The first two patterns corresponded to the degree of closeness
or distance from the husband's family of origin. This dimension was
found to differentiate between relational spontaneity and cross-
generational involvement between a couple and their parents. High
levels of dependence and involvement on the part of the husband with
his family of origin were associated with low levels of emotional
engagement in the marital relationship, as evidenced by low levels
of spontaneity and expressiveness between husband and wife, and by
the husband's relatively greater enthusiasm for parenthood than for
intimate sexual engagement with the wife.

The second two patterns involved marital role orientation. A
primary variable associated with this dimension was the husband's
recall of difficulties with the family of origin. Husbands who had
experienced a high degree of conflict with the family of origin
tended to defend against the intimacy of the marital relationship
through excessive work involvements. They were especially reluctant
to share household tasks with their wives. On the other hand,
husbands who had reported few difficulties with their families of
origin tended to participate in a great deal of sharing of interests

and activities (including household tasks) with their wives, most of whom also had significant work involvements.

The third factor involved open conflict versus harmony in the marital relationship. Wives in relationships where there were high levels of marital conflict and disagreement were found to have significant difficulties with their families of origin. Conflictual marriages were also characterized by diffuse marital dissatisfaction on the part of both spouses, by lack of supportiveness of each spouse for the other, and by sexual inadequacies and dysfunctions. By contrast, harmonious marriages were characterized by few reported conflicts with family of origin and a high degree of supportiveness between the spouses. The convergence of marital conflict with the wife's conflicts with families of origin leads Goodrich, et al. (1968) to follow the "oft-observed psychodynamic formulation of marriage as a stage upon which to enact in symptomatic fashion, the expression of poorly defended intrapsychic conflict" (p. 388).

The final factor that emerged in this study was closeness versus distance from the wife's family of origin. Couples who were identified by factors one and four, that is, by the degree of closeness or distance from family of origin, were thought to suffer from arrested identity formation, as a result of their continual enmeshment with families of origin. Such overinvolvement with family of origin was associated with a non-affective style of communication, a lack of interest in sex or sexual dysfunction, a tendency to avoid dyadic intimacy through excessive social involvements, and an enthusiastic anticipation of parenthood (especially on the part of husbands). On

the other hand, couples who showed more distance from families of
origin also showed a higher level of affective expression, more
interest and investment in the sexual relationship, and less positive
anticipation of childrearing.

On the basis of these data, Goodrich, et al. (1968) hypothesize
that first-time marriage is a developmental turning point for
couples, necessitating a variety of adaptive changes, the primary
one of which is the transfer of emotional involvements and depen-
dencies from the parental figures to the spouse, and the achieve-
ment of increased separateness from the family of origin. The
researchers suggest that residual conflicts around autonomy and
dependence will be expressed in particular patterns of husband-wife
interaction and communication, and in current patterns of relating
to families of origin. As such these research findings are clearly
of great signficance to the current study of the impact of individual
separation-individuation on marital patterns of autonomy and mutuality,
and on early family formation. The study suggests that both the
quality of the primary object relations and the degree of differenti-
ation from them exert a shaping influence on the interactional patterns
within the couple relationship. Additionally, the study provides
further empirical support for the interconnection between the degree
of separation-individuation in the couple relationship and the type
of communication patterns that they develop.

Utilizing data from the same NIMH project on newlywed marriage,
Ryder (1970) constructed a typology of marriage based on the clinical
interviews with 870 couples. Ryder's (1970) typology contains twenty-

one subtypes which are based on various combinations of five dimensions
of husband and wife characteristics. Husbands were categorized
according to high or low ratings of effectiveness or impulse control,
and eleven marital patterns were generated from these four conditions.
Examples of these patterns are as follows: Competent Husband,
Incapable Wife is one in which husbands were defined by both self
and wife as rational, effective and competent while the wives were
seen as helpless, insecure and in need of protection; another type,
labeled Husband Childish and Impulsive involves a relationship between
an irresponsible and childish husband, and a wife who has high rates
of psychosomatic illness and a conflictual family background.

The wives in Ryder's typology were sorted into ten types based
on three dimensions including: dependency versus counterdependency,
attitude towards sexuality, and marriage versus non-marriage orienta-
tion. Eleven marital patterns were generated from these four dimen-
sions. For example, Wife Sexual Revanchism is a pattern in which a
woman with a high degree of counterdependency, a positive premarital
attitude towards sex and a non-marriage orientation begins to withhold
sex from her husband after the marriage as well as to provoke him
through her flirtations with others. In the Wife Pushes Husband to
Get Ahead Pattern, a wife avoids taking responsibility for her own
development by living through her husband who is associated with the
wife's father. Significantly, the largest category in Ryder's
typology was one that he labels Lonely Spouses, who are described as
an undifferentiated group with a history of failure and frustration,
who remain tied to families of origin. Although only 33 percent of

Ryder's sample could be classified by his marital typology, his schema further highlights the interconnection between individual separation-individuation, primary object relations and patterns of marial interaction.

The above three dimensions also figured strongly in the pioneering study of Raush, Barry, Hertel, and Swain (1974) on communication and conflict among newlywed couples. The conflict resolution patterns of 46 newlywed couples were studied within a theoretical framework that integrates communication and conflict theories with structured psy-choanalytic object relations concepts. From psychoanalytic theory and Piagetian theory, Raush et al. constructed the concept of "object relations schemata". These are intrapersonal structures which represent the crystallization of early interpersonal experiences, and which both organize and are modified by current interpersonal events. As such, object relations schemata are thought to bridge the intra-personal and the interpersonal. Raush et al. hypothesize that the quality of the communication between the couple depends heavily on the nature of their object relations schemata. The more differentiated and integrated the individual schemata, the more an individual is able to perceive the other accurately, to respond with appropriate affect, and to use the interaction for his or her own growth; the more undif-ferentiated and unintegrated the schemata, on the other hand, the more likely it is that the other will be perceived in terms of a significant object from the past, leading to rigid and inappropriate responses that inhibit creative and growth-inducing interchanges.

Thus, one major aspect of Raush's study is the attempt to under-

stand the ways in which intrapersonal object relations schemata of the individual partners intermesh to form an interpersonal couple system, with a focus on the patterns of conflict resolution that result from such an interaction. The research findings of Raush et al. indicate that there is indeed an "exquisite intermeshing" of individual husband and wife to create a conjoint style of coping with conflict and that these styles emerge relatively early in the marriage and are consistent over time.

In order to identify such patterns of couple communication, Raush et al. requested a group of 48 couples to enact four improvisational scenes: 1) an anniversary scene in which conflict centered around different plans made by husband and wife; 2) a television scene in which couples had to negotiate which program to watch; 3) a husband-distant scene in which the husband's task was to maintain interpersonal distance from the wife; and 4) a wife-distant scene in which the wife was asked to maintain interpersonal distance from the husband. The improvisations were coded according to a scheme devised by the project which divided acts into cognitive, resolving, reconciling, appealing, rejecting, and coercive. The improvisation scenes were enacted during the fourth month after marriage. The study also followed a subsample of thirteen couples who became parents during the course of the study, and a matched subsample of thirteen childless couples. These two subsamples were again observed enacting the improvisations during the seventh month of pregnancy and at the fourth post-natal month.

Through factor analysis of questionnaire, interview and other

data (but exlcuding the improvisation data) on all of the above couples, the researchers identified two major patterns by which couples cope with conflict: one discordant and the other harmonious. With discordant couples, conflict situations inevitably escalated into major battles. Raush et al. (1974) suggest that with discordant couples any conflict or disagreement may be "assimilated into an object relations schema that converts benign or neutral meanings into malevolent ones" (p. 202). The Improvisations of discordant couples tended to be longer than average and to be characterized by a pattern whereby the wife used more coercive tactics in the two task-oriented scenes, while the husband took a more benign and conciliatory stance with a reversal of these roles in the two relational scenes. By contrast, the Improvisations of harmonious couples tended to be shorter than average, to be characterized by more rational or neutral discussion, and to include a preponderance of reconciling messages, especially on the part of the husband. Harmonious couples shared the capacity to engage in conflict resolution without emotional escalation, but tended to exhibit radically different styles. One group of harmonious couples tended to use avoidance strategies, including denials, externalizations, disqualifications, and irrelevant or distracting remarks in dealing with conflict, whereas another group tended to use engagement strategies, which showed a high degree of emotional involvement, openness and responsivity to the other. The interactional sequences of couples who used engagement strategies were characterized by a high degree of reciprocity, spontaneity, contingency and creativity. Raush et al. suggest that while avoidant

strategies do not preclude marital satisfaction and stability, they do not afford the same opportunities for mutual discovery and growth as do engagement strategies.

The research findings of Raush et al. point toward a correspondence between the nature of the individual's internalized object relations, the level of differentiation or individuation of the partners, and the transactional or communicational style of the couple. On the basis of these data, one would expect couples with higher levels of individual separation-individuation to evidence more harmonious, and especially engaged harmonious styles of conflict resolution.

While Raush et al. do not specifically employ the concept of separation-individuation in their interpretation of the data, they do identify the task of finding a balance between individual autonomy and couple connectedness as a core developmental task in the adaptation to marriage. Indeed, the researchers observed that the relationship-oriented Improvisations provoked far more difficulty and intense conflict among couples in their study than did the issue-oriented scenes. Specifically, the issue-oriented scenes induced more cognitive, and fewer rejecting exchanges, than did the relationship-oriented scenes in which affect-laden rejecting and coercive messages predominated.

The research findings indicated that patterns of communication varied not only according to the type of scene enacted, but also according to whether couples became parents or not in the course of the study. The "developmental" group, who were followed through the transition to parenthood during the study period showed major shifts

in patterns of conflict resolution. The major finding was a dramatic increase in the number of reconciling and conciliatory acts and decrease in the number of coercive and rejecting acts on the part of the husband from the newlywed stage through late pregnancy. In the early stages of parenthood, however, the numbers of reconciling and rejecting acts return to pre-pregnancy rates. Raush et al. interpret these findings as resulting from the husbands' perceptions that their wives are more delicate and vulnerable in the pregnancy period, while after the birth of the child, they are no longer perceived to be in need of additional protection and support.

Another significant finding from Raush et al.'s study is that the majority of couples in this nonclinical sample evidenced patterns of communication that have been previously labeled as pathological. To some extent, almost all the couples in the sample employed techniques such as disqualification, double-binding, and contradictions between communication and metacommunication, leading Raush et al. to hypothesize that pathological patterns of communication may indeed represent only slightly exaggerated versions of the normal.

Raush et al.'s study of conflict and communication in couple relationships clearly identified the importance of these variables in determining the overall quality of marital adaptation. Like Raush, Gottman and associates (1979) have developed a classification schema of couples' communication patterns based on naturalistic observational techniques; but in contrast to Raush's typology, that of Gottman distinguishes between pathological and nonpathological, clinical and nonclinical populations. In one study conducted by Gottman et al.

(1977), for example, two groups of 14 couples, including distressed (clinical) and non-distressed (non-clinical) couples, were asked to give a play by play account of a recent argument regarding three problems selected by the researchers as salient to the couple. Couples were then requested to come to some resolution on the most distressing of these problems, and this interaction was videotaped and coded in terms of both the content and the affect of the messages involved. The data were analyzed according to sequential analytic techniques.

The research findings from this and other studies indicate that there are links between communication variables and the quality of the couple relationship. In general, distressed and non-distressed couples differed significantly in the degree of patterning in their interactions and in the degree of positiveness and reciprocity (Gottman, 1979). Distressed couples were found to have a higher ratio of disagreement to agreement, and to employ an "exchange orientation", characterized by a tendency to respond negatively to negative messages from the partner, while non-distressed couples tended to engage in more validating sequences of communication and to employ a "bank-account" orientation, characterized by a reserve of positive feeling that enables them to counter or diffuse negative feelings.

In another study, Gottman (1979) attempted to develop a typology of communication patterns among distressed couples: those who have relatively positive communication skills and high marital satisfaction scores; those that suffer from communication deficits in conflict resolution in the latter stages of interaction, but are capable of positive communication in the beginning of their interaction;

couples who are capable of moving towards conflict resolution in the latter stages of their interaction, but who are unable to validate each other in the beginning; and couples in which one spouse gives all the positive verbal and non-verbal communications, while the other spouse is unrelentingly negative. The latter group were found to have the lowest marital satisfaction scores and to have deficits in all dimensions in their interaction.

In another series of studies Gottman and associates (1976, 1978) demonstrated that distressed couples suffer from a communications deficit in that they show a discrepancy between the intended and received impact of their communications. In these studies distressed and non-distressed couples were distinguished not by their intentions, but by one spouse's interpretation of the other's behavior. Among distressed couples, spouses were likely to interpret the others' messages as being more negative than was intended, and this was especially the case when high-conflict issues were being discussed.

Gottman (1979) also found some striking similarities between the communication patterns of distressed and non-distressed couples. For example, both groups were found to engage in frequent mind-reading, although the non-distressed couples were more likely to mind-read with neutral or positive affect, which indicates an empathic receptiveness to the thoughts and feelings of the other, while dis-tressed couples were more likely to do so with negative affect. This research finding seems to contradict the oft-quoted dictum that mind-reading is symptomatic of a dysfunctional or symbiotic relationship between couples (Sharpe, 1981). Both groups of couples were also

found to metacommunicate, and to contradict their verbal messages through nonverbal behaviors. However, while distressed couples engaged in long sequences of metacommunication to the exclusion of other communicative modes, for non-distressed couples, metacommunication was brief and led to resolution.

The studies of both Gottman and Raush illustrate that patterns of communication are important indicators of both the quality of marital adaptation, and of the nature of the individual object relations of the partners. We can surmise as do Raush et al. (1974) that patterns of communication reflect the differentiation and integration of the individual's inner object world, as well as the nature and quality of the marital relationship.

Fitzpatrick (1983) has constructed a quantitatively-derived marital typology that lends further support to a linkage, established by Raush (1974) and Gottman (1979), between dimensions of marital relationships, particularly the degree of autonomy versus mutuality, and the patterns of communication between the couple. Fitzpatrick (1983) developed and refined a multi-dimensional research instrument, designed to elicit information on a number of dimensions of couple relationships. Based on quantitative (factor) analyses of data collected from a sample of over 400 couples, Fitzpatrick (1983) identified the following dimensions as central to couple relationships: 1) the balance between autonomy and mutuality; 2) the nature of the couple's ideology, conceptualized as conventional versus non-conventional; 3) the degree of conflict engagement versus conflict avoidance in the couple relationship.

Further statistical analyses of data from five different samples
yielded three distinct marital types, all of which differed consider-
ably on the dimensions described above. The first type, the Indepen-
dents had achieved a balance between independence and interdependence
in their relational life, with a slight leaning towards higher degrees
of autonomy than mutuality. Although they were found to share many
activities and interests, Independents also had the relational autonomy
to pursue their own unique activities and separate interests. Indepen-
dents also tended to espouse a non-conventional ideology which values
individual change and growth over more conventional values. Addi-
tionally they tended to engage fully in conflict with the mate, and
to discuss problematic issues openly and directly.

By contrast, the second relational type, the Traditionals showed
a predominance of mutuality over autonomy in their relationships. For
these couples, intimacy was often purchased at the expense of autonomy.
Traditionals tended to share a large number of interests and activities
and to espouse a more conservative ideology than did the previous type.
Like Independents, however, Traditionals did not shy away from conflict
or confrontation with the spouse especially around important issues.

The third relational type, the Separates, were characterized by
low levels of both autonomy and interdependence. For such couples,
togetherness is more a habit of emotional convenience than a sign of
emotional connectedness. There is minimal overlap of interests and
activities between Separates, who are emotionally and often physically
disengaged from each other. Separates also tended to show high
conflict avoidance, and were willing to go to great lengths to circum-

vent conflict with the partner, another indication of their unwilling-
ness to engage on any level with the spouse. Separates were found to
espouse both nonconventional and traditional ideologies.

These three couple types were found to predict both verbal and
non-verbal communication patterns as well as aspects of self-report
data. Another study involving naturalistic observation of couples
engaging in both conflict resolution and casual conversation
(Fitzpatrick, 1983) further delineated the following communication
patterns characteristics of the three types.

Independents were observed to show a tendency toward conflict
avoidance about problematic issues on the verbal level, but to simul-
taneously communicate intense negative affect through non-verbal
means. Their communicative styles tend to be highly conflictual with
frequent power struggles around issues of disagreement. Independents
also tended to mind-read as well as to reference their own thoughts,
feelings and attitudes in the course of discussion with the mate.

Traditionals were observed to show more flexible patterns of
communication, characterized by direct confrontation around difficult
issues, relatively fewer disagreements, and the capacity to discuss
disagreements in a neutral affective manner. Although they tended to
vie for control over defining difficult issues, they also were able
to negotiate compromise solutions to difficult problems. More than
other couple types, Traditionals tended to anticipate each other's
thoughts and feelings, although they also expressed their own thoughts
and feelings in discussion with the partner.

The communication patterns of Separates provide further evidence

of their emotional disengagement from each other. Their sequences of speech tended to be more infrequent than those of the other couple types, and to be characterized by long pauses. Like the two other types, they tend to mind-read, or to presume to know each other's thoughts and feelings, but in contrast to the previous couple types, they rarely express their own thoughts and feelings in conversation with the spouse.

In the last decade, Olsen and his associates have been developing marital and family interaction tasks which can be used to generate typologies. Olsen and Miller (1981) have administered one such instrument, the Inventory of Marital Conflict, which is designed to generate dialogue among couples so that styles of conflict resolution can be investigated, to 396 couples. From factor analysis of their data, they constructed a typology based on three dimensions: task leadership, conflict, and affect. Based on the scores of these three dimensions Miller and Olsen (1981) derived a marital typology which included the following nine types: Wife-Led Disengaged, characterized by wife leadership, low conflict and low affect; Wife-Led Congenial, characterized by wife leadership, low conflict, and moderate affect; Husband-Led Disengaged, characterized by husband leadership, low conflict and low affect; Shared Leadership Cooperative, characterized by shared leadership, moderate conflict, and moderate affect; Husband-Led Engaging, characterized by husband leadership, moderate conflict, and high affect; Husband-Led Conflicted, characterized by husband leadership, high conflict, and high affect; Husband-Led Cooperative, characterized by husband leadership, moderate affect and moderate

conflict; <u>Wife-Led Confrontative</u>, characterized by wife leadership, high conflict, and moderate affect; <u>Husband-Led Confrontative</u>, characterized by husband leadership, moderate conflict and moderate affect; and a residual category called <u>Unique Couples</u>. Although not specifically addressed in this marital typology, the degree of separateness versus engagement between the couple emerges as an underlying theme.

The level of individual autonomy versus couple connectedness similarly figured prominently in an empirical typology constructed by Filsinger (1982). The data base for this project included structured interviews and respondent-answered questionnaires that were administered to a random and heterogeneous sample of 32 couples. The dimensions that emerged as central from the data analysis were the amount of time that the couple spent together, the degree of interdependence in the relationship, level of commitment, couple identity, and patterns of interaction.

The first type, the <u>Uncommitted</u>, included couples with a high degree of individual autonomy and separateness, but little mutuality. Such couples, who comprised 25 percent of the sample, lacked a fundamental commitment to the relationship, and often considered separation. These couples were also among the youngest in the sample, and had the briefest marital history.

The second type of marriage, the <u>Structurally Isolated-Wife-Supported</u>, was held together primarily by the wife's commitment to the relationship. This type of couple tended to be socially isolated, to have the largest number of children, and to belong to lower social

classes.

The third type, the <u>Self-Selected Committed</u>, was characterized by a high level of dyadic intimacy and stability, strong commitment on the part of both spouses to the relationship, and lesser reliance on the social support network to sustain couple identity. This sub-type included the oldest members in the sample in terms of both chronological age and duration of the relationship. The fourth type, the <u>Structurally Committed</u>, was characterized by a lower level of individual commitment, and a higher level of social commitment on the part of the spouses. These couples had only moderate degrees of interdependence, and tended to derive as much support from a broad social network of friends and especially relatives as from the couple relationship.

The fifth type, the <u>Vital</u> relationship, is characterized by strong mutual commitment and a high level of stability. Couples in such relationships tend to be deeply interdependent and to share an extensive social network. This type was found to have significantly fewer children than the others.

The sixth type, the <u>Unformed</u>, is a highly unstable relationship in which there is little interdependence between the spouses. Couples in this type are not defined as a strong unit either by themselves or by others. The final type, the <u>Wife-Removed</u>, is char-acterized by a low degree of interdependence and a high degree of separateness between the spouses, especially on the part of the wife. Wives in this type of relationship rely more on an external network of friends and relatives than on the husband for emotional support.

In this typology, the convergence of low levels of intimacy with strong ties to family of origin again suggests that there is a correspondence between individual separation-individuation and the patterns of separateness and togetherness in the couple relationship.

The Cicumplex Model of Marital and Family Systems (Olsen, Sprenkle, and Russell, 1979) represents the first major attempt to empirically validate a theoretically-derived marital typology oriented explicitly around the dimension of individual autonomy and couple mutuality. The Circumplex Model is based on two central dimensions of couple relationships: cohesion and adaptability. The concept of cohesion closely parallels that of separation-individuation in that it refers to the degree of individual autonomy versus intimate bonding that exists in the marital or family system. The specific variables used to assess the degree of couple or family cohesion are emotional bonding, independence, boundaries, coalitions, time, space, friends, decision-making, interests and recreation.

Olsen et al. (1979) identified four levels of cohesion: dis-engaged, separated, connected and enmeshed. Disengaged couples (and families) are characterized by high autonomy, weak marital coalitions, fluid boundaries between couple and outside world, maximal separate space and time apart, and largely separate friends, interests and activities. Separated couples are characterized by moderate autonomy, semi-open external and internal boundaries, time spent both with partner and with others, some private and some shared space, and a tendency to afford slightly greater priority to individual as opposed to shared interests and activities. Connected couples are character-

ized by moderate to high degrees of cohesion, semi-fluid external
boundaries, and fluid internal boundaries, more shared than separate
time, and more shared than private space. In enmeshed couple rela-
tionships, there is a high degree of interdependence and minimal
autonomy between the partners. Boundaries between the couple tend to
be blurred, while boundaries between the couple and the outside world
are extremely rigid. Couples have little or no private space, and
time tends to be spent with the partner rather than devoted to separate
interests and activities.

The second major dimension that figures in the Circumplex Model
is that of family adaptability, defined by Olsen et al. (1979) as the
capacity for the marital or family system to shift its power dynamics,
role configurations, and relationship rules according to the situation
and/or developmental stage of the couple or family. The specific
variables that are used to measure adaptability are the balance of
power, role division, negotiation styles, and relational rules in
the marital and/or family system. There are four levels of adapt-
ability in the Circumplex Model, including chaotic adaptability,
characterized by fluctuating leadership and dramatic shifts in family
rules and roles; flexible adaptability, characterized by equalitarian
leadership and fluid rules and roles; structured adaptability, char-
acterized by democratic but stable leadership and clear role division
and explicit rules; and rigid adaptability, characterized by authori-
tarian leadership, stereotyped roles, and rigid rules.

The two dimensions of cohesion and adaptability are cross-sected
to form the Circumplex Model which includes 16 types of marital and/or

family systems. Olsen (1981) proposes that moderate degrees of both cohesion and adaptability are most conducive to both optimal couple functioning and individual development. Examples of such balanced couple or family types are flexibly separated, flexibly connected, structurally separated, and structurally connected. Couples in the above typologies have achieved a balance between independence and interdependence without resorting to extreme levels of enmeshment or disengagement. Couples who are unable to achieve such a balance between separateness and connectedness are placed in the chaotically disengaged, chaotically enmeshed, rigidly disengaged or rigidly enmeshed categories.

In addition to its further delineation of the dimension of autonomy and connectedness in couple relationships, Olsen's (1981) typology illustrates the continuity between more pathological and more normal couple and family types. More balanced or normal types such as the flexibly separated type, clearly represent attenuated versions of more extreme or dysfunctional types such as the chaotically disengaged type.

A number of empirical studies have demonstrated the construct validity of the Circumplex Model, including one study with couples (Olsen and Sprenkle, 1978); one with family triads with an adolescent girl (Russell, 1979); and one with family triads with an adolescent female status offender (Druckman, 1979).

Theoretically Derived Marital Typologies Based on the Concept of
Separation-Individuation

During the past decade, as the concept of separation-individuation
has achieved prominence within the psychological literature, a number
of theorists have attempted to develop marital typologies within the
theoretical framework of separation-individuation. The writers
reviewed in this section all share the basic assumption that the
nature and quality of the marital relationship have their roots in
the images of primary object relations and degree of self-other
differentiation that are the developmental legacy of the separation-
individuation phase of development.

Karpel (1976), for example, has formulated a typology of rela-
tionships which takes the separation-individuation process as its
prototype. He suggests four theoretical modes of mature relationships
which parallel the subphases of the infantile separation-individuation
stage. The first of these relational modes, unrelatedness, corresponds
to the infantile autistic phase, and involves a schizoid withdrawal
from object relationships. The second mode is that of pure fusion,
which corresponds to the infantile symbiotic phase, and is character-
ized by blurred ego boundaries and a high degree of identification
and confusion between self and other. The third and most common
relational type is that of ambivalent fusion, which corresponds to
the separation-individuation stage proper, prior to the achievement
of object constancy. Ambivalent fusion is a highly unstable form of
relationship in which there is continual conflict between regressive
needs for symbiotic merger and progressive tendencies towards dif-

ferentiation and autonomy. Although they show strivings towards autonomy, couples caught in ambivalent fusion are unable to attain the reciprocity and self-support that characterize individuated relationships. Instead they retreat to patterns of manipulation, blame, and dependence on environmental support characteristic of more fused relationships. Karpel delineates five patterns of relating by which couples maintain a pattern of ambivalent fusion, including: 1) one partner distancing; 2) alternating distancing; 3) cycles of fusion and unrelatedness; 4) continual conflict; 5) impairment in one partner.

The fourth and most mature mode is termed "dialogue" by Karpel. Dialogic relationships are those in which two fully individuated partners have the capacity to respond to each other "as a whole and truly other person and not merely as a part of their experience" (Karpel, 1976, p. 78). Differences and change are affirmed in dialogic relationships in that they are perceived to offer opportunities for further individuation (as opposed to fused relationships in which they are perceived as threatening and treated as betrayal).

Other theorists have formulated typologies of marital interaction that are specifically tied to unresolved separation-individuation issues. Katz (1981), for example, hypothesizes that developmental arrests or fixations at the subphases of the separation-individuation process will become manifest in later object relations, and particularly in the marital relationship. He maintains that unresolved issues in the mother-child dyad will be internalized as the child moves from symbiosis to individuation, and that this internalized

object relation will be reprojected and re-enacted within the context of the marital dyad. Case illustrations are provided which illustrate how developmental fixations at the subphases of symbiosis, practicing and rapprochement affect marital interaction.

According to Katz, indications of unresolved developmental issues stemming from the separation-individuation process include the following: 1) A tendency to blame and accuse the other of being the cause of marital problems, and accompanying denial of any role in marital difficulties; 2) A sense that the mate must change in order to insure the happiness of the other; 3) A diagnostic determination that the mate has never shown the capacity to be or do what the other demands; 4) A hypersensitivity to criticism and an overreaction of affect to what the other is saying; 5) Protestations that each will not be what the other wants; 6) An inability to separate.

Giovacchini (1965, 1976), Sharpe (1981) and Wexler and Steidl (1978) have all focused their clinically-based theoretical typologies on fused or symbiotic relationships, which have their prototype in early mother-infant symbiosis during the first year of life. Giovacchini (1965, 1976) is unique among these theorists in his emphasis on the "symbiotic core" contained within all intimate dyadic relationships, infantile as well as adult, pathological as well as nonpathological. According to Giovacchini, all deeply intimate relationships are characterized by symbiotic processes, involving a high degree of empathy and identification between the partners, periodic blurring of ego boundaries, and reciprocating introjections and projections. Indeed the latter processes are thought not only

to deepen object relations, but also to enhance individual identity. Giovacchini distinguishes individuated from non-individuated partners on the basis of the types of self-representations that are projected onto the other. Whereas for individuated persons, integrated self-representations are projected and re-internalized via the other, leading to the greater integration of each, poorly individuated persons exchange part-selves through these projective mechanisms, leading to further splitting and lack of integration in the self and other.

Giovacchini had identified two marital constructs, each of which involves re-enactments of the symbiotic process. The first marital construct, which he terms Character Object Relations, is an enduring (although not necessarily healthy) marriage between two partners with similar levels of psychic organization. In Character Object Relations there is an intermeshing of the total personalities of the participants, who are usually similar in terms of underlying conflicts, psychosexual development and personality structure. The second marital construct is termed Symptom Object Relations because it entails bonding on the basis of part-attributes of the partners. Symptom Object Relations tend to be relatively transient and unstable in that they are based on the partner's capacity to serve a part-function for the other. Such partial object relations may serve a defensive function against the more fundamental intrapsychic bonds characteristic of the character object relationship.

Through a group case study of 45 clinic couples, Moss and Lee (1976) found further empirical support for Giovacchini's marital typology. Their research findings indicate that characterologically

homogamous marriages in which partners share similar levels of psychic organization, are characterized by a greater degree of intimacy and stability than are heterogamous marriages in which partners show different levels or types of psychic organization.

Wexler and Steidl (1978) have further developed the profile of symbiotic couples, who are described as "two gray figures locked in a repetitious deathly dance" (p. 72), clinging to each other in order to avoid the challenges of individuation. Lacking the ego resources for the development and maintenance of a separate identity, symbiotic partners seek continually to recapture the state of primitive empathic exchange characteristic of the preverbal infant and its mother. Like the infant, symbiotic partners cannot bear to be alone or separate because aloneness is experienced as the loss of self as well as the loss of relationship. In their profile of the symbiotic marriage, Wexler and Steidl draw on Winnicott's (1965) concept that the child learns to tolerate separation first through satisfying experiences of being alone in the presence of the mother, who is gradually internalized, enabling the child to eventually endure actual separation. As a result of their developmental deficits, and particularly their lack of object constancy, symbiotic partners are fundamentally unequal to the developmental requirements of marriage which demands the capacity to be alone or to maintain a separate identity within the context of a deeply intimate relationship with another. Neither can fused couples really participate in the empathic exchanges that they seek. Wexler and Steidl insist that while fused couples are capable of primitive empathy which they characterize as

a "merged, primordial mode of communication based on contagion of affect" (p. 74), they are incapable of more mature or differentiated empathy based on an appreciation of and responsivity to the unique otherness of the partner.

Sharpe (1981) provides the most comprehensive portrait of the symbiotic marriage, based on the large number of symbiotic or fused couples that she has treated in psychoanalytic psychotherapy. Sharpe hypothesizes that the self-development of such partners is extremely rudimentary, while their object-relations are fixated at the level of need-gratification. In such relationships the other tends to be inordinately idealized as one who can make up for deficits in the self and meet the insatiable relational needs of the other. In short each partner sees the other as the perfect mother who is endlessly gratifying and perfectly empathic. Such unrealistic expectations may be sustained during courtship, but they tend to collapse after the marriage, when the reality of the other, and the realities of everyday life impinge on the idealized fantasies of the couple, often precipitating severe conflict or dysfunction in one or both partners that leads them to seek treatment.

In general, symbiotic partners were found to have the following characteristics: They have few independent interests or activities outside of the relationship, since the spouse is expected to provide all gratifications and to anticipate all needs. As a result of their low levels of separation-individuation, symbiotic partners remain emotionally tied to their families of origin; and since this continued enmeshment interferes with the establishment of an intimate

relationship with the spouse, many couple disagreements revolve around issues related to the family of origin. As a result of their continued dependency on parental figures, symbiotic couples often cannot afford to acknowledge the negative characteristics of their parents, who remain idealized figures for them. Instead they tend to project the dissociated negative side of the parent onto the spouse. Moreover, as a result of their lack of self-definition and diffuse ego boundaries, symbiotic partners are not likely to act in accordance with each other's projections.

Sharpe identifies three relational patterns characteristic of symbiotic marriages. The first and most pathological of these is the sadomasochistic type, in which there is continual virulent battling between partners, whose early experiences of love are tinged with pain and humiliation. As a result the mutual interlocking projections of such partners are likely to be particularly malevolent.

The second symbiotic relational style is the bickering-blaming mode, in which partners engage in chronic mutual fault-finding and are inordinately invested in proving themselves blameless. Partners in this mode are thought to associate love with criticism and approval, and thus need to prove themselves blameless in order to assuage an omnipotent internalized parental figure.

The pseudo-mutual style is one in which couples maintain the appearance of togetherness and intimacy despite the emotional void between them. Pseudo-mutual couples often suffer from psychiatric or psychosomatic symptoms as a result of the total submersion of individual personalities in the requirements of couple mutuality.

Sharpe (1981) observes that children in all three types of symbiotic marriages are likely to become the recipients of the inordinate ego needs of their parents, thereby having their own ego development curtailed. In pseudo-mutual families, suppressed conflict is likely to be displaced onto the child, who may become overtly symptomatic, while in families that adopt a bickering-blaming mode of interaction, the child may be recruited as an ally in the marital battles. In either case, children within such marriages are likely to become thoroughly ensnared in the system of interlocking projections that characterize symbiotic relationships.

The foregoing profiles of marital typologies based on the theoretical concept of separation-individuation are characterized by some methodological weaknesses and conceptual flaws that make their adoption somewhat problematic. First, none of these schemas has yet been empirically tested on nonclinical samples, nor have instruments for such an enterprise been formulated. Additionally, none of the theorists adequately differentiate between early developmental stages on the one hand, and their recapitulation in adult experience on the other. Instead these theorists tend to draw overly simplistic parallels between infantile and adult experience. This tendency is particularly evident in the profiles of symbiotic or fused relation-ships where the complexities of the emotional merger or fusion experienced in adult object relations are obscured by their hypothesized correspondence to developmental mother-child symbiosis.

Despite these conceptual flaws, however, the foregoing typologies show many areas of convergence with empirically tested and/or

quantitatively derived typologies, particularly those of Fitzpatrick, 1983; Goodrich, Ryder, and Raush, 1974; and Olsen, 1981, and are thus thought to have some inherent validity. Table 1 summarizes the above discussion of the theme of separation-individuation in marital typologies.

Conclusion

The review of the literature on marital interaction and typologies indicates that there exist a plethora of conceptual schema for understanding couple relationships, but few attempts to identify or counterpoise major distinguishing dimensions that emerge from the various typologies to develop a more comprehensive or integrated approach to the study of couple relationships. Major conceptual and methodological limitations have been noted in the foregoing typologies. Theoretical typologies such as those based on the concept of separation-individuation appear to have an inherent validity in that they identify dimensions of relationships that correspond to those identified by empirically-derived typologies. However, such theoretical typologies are often based on unsystematic and subjective analysis of clinical data. Empirically or quantitatively derived typologies, on the other hand, yield relational types that are based on the actual configuration of data from large and often random, normative samples; yet they are excessively phenomenological and ungrounded in theory, and thus the data that they yield is not always meaningfully framed. These typologies suffer from a lack of a priori criteria for the identification of patterns or types.

TABLE 1

The Theme of Separation-Individuation in Marital Typologies

	Disengaged	Separate	Balance Between Separateness and Connectedness	Extremely Connected	Dysfunctionally Symbiotic
Cuber and Haroff	Conflict-habituated Devitalized	Passive-Congenial	Vital	Total	
Winch		Thurberian Master-Servant		Mothers and Sons Ibsenian	
Jackson and Lederer	Unstable-Unsatisfactory		Unstable-Satisfactory	Stable-Satisfactory	Stable-Unsatisfactory
Levinger	no-shell	half-shell		full-shell	empty-shell
Goodrich et al.		cross-generational involvement couples	wives work and share much with husbands	Harmonious couples	
Fitzpatrick		Separates	Independents	Traditionals	
Filsinger	Unformed	Structurally committed Wife removed Structurally isolated- Wife Supported	Self-selected committed	Vital	

TABLE 1 (continued)

	Disengaged	Separate	Balance Between Separateness and Connectedness	Extremely Connected	Dysfunctionally Symbiotic
Olsen	Chaotically Disengaged Flexibly Disengaged Structurally Disengaged Rigidly Disengaged	Chaotically Separated Flexibly Separated Rigidly Separated Structurally Separated	Flexibly Connected Structurally Connected	Flexibly Enmeshed Structurally Enmeshed Rigidly Connected	Rigidly Enmeshed Chaotically Enmeshed
Willi					Narcissistic collusion Oral collusion Anal collusion Oedipal collusion
Karpel	Unrelatedness		Dialogue		Pure fusion Ambivalent fusion
Sharpe					Pseudo-mutual Bickering-Blaming Sado-masochistic
Giovacchini		Symptom Object Relations		Character Object Relations	

Conceptual clustering of a variety of marital typologies and concepts of marital interaction reveals that separation-individuation, or the degree of separateness versus connectedness, mutuality or autonomy in a relationship represents a valid conceptual framework for the formulation of relational types. Table 1 demonstrates that the majority of relational categories within existing typologies can be placed on a continuum from separateness to connectedness. However, existing research also indicates that separateness and connectedness represent not only two polarities, but two interacting dimensions within couple relationships. Prior research indicates that the capacity for mutuality develops out of a firm sense of one's separateness and individuality; while conversely, independence and autonomy are rooted in the capacity for deep relatedness (Fitzpatrick, 1983; Karpel, 1976). Thus any attempt to sort couples into relational sets should take into account the ways in which these two dimensions may intersect to create various interactional patterns.

Another conclusion that may be drawn from the foregoing review is that the relative success that couples have in approaching the developmental tasks of marriage, including the negotiation of patterns of separateness and connectedness, may be to some extent determined by the level of differentiation from the family of origin, and by the residues of internal objects that form the core of selfhood. Some of the research findings (Goodrich, Ryder, and Raush, 1968; Ryder, 1970) indicate that individuals who remain intensely attached to families of origin may fail to achieve a differentiated sense of identity, and will consequently be unable to achieve the differentiated, but deep

sharing and intimacy characteristic of a productive marital experience. Low levels of individual separation-individuation were found to affect aspects of couple relationships including the balance between mutuality and autonomy, and the nature and quality of communication (Goodrich, Ryder, and Raush, 1968; Fitzpatrick, 1983). Raush et al. (1974), for example, found that patterns of communication may reflect the level of differentiation and integration of the individual's inner object world, as well as the general quality of marital adaptation.

The literature also suggests that highly individuated persons are capable of high levels of both autonomy and mutuality in relationships, while poorly differentiated persons tend towards extremes of symbiotic enmeshment or defensive disengagement. Moreover, couples who successfully balance mutuality and autonomy, separateness and togetherness without resorting to extremes of these dimensions, are found to be most functional and well adapted (Karpel, 1976; Olsen, 1981). The following review of family typologies adds further support for these conditions.

The Theme of Separation-Individuation in Family Typologies

If the individual's level of separation-individuation is translated into an interpersonal style within the marital dyad, it also contributes to a transactional relational style when the dyad becomes a triad with the introduction of children into the family system. This section will review the major family typologies developed by the family theorists and therapists with a focus on the dimension of

separation-individuation in their work.

Ackerman (1965, 1982) was one of the first family theorists to suggest that the individual personalities of the parental figures is translated into a "social interaction climate" which exerts a shaping influence on infant and family development. That the level of parental separation-individuation vis-a-vis the family of origin powerfully contributes to such a social interactional style is suggested in the following statement:

> The marital relationship neither exists nor evolves in isolation. It has family in back of it; it has family ahead of it. Where there is marital conflict, it often involves prior conflicts between respective partners, and their families of origin. Marital conflict is often displaced and reprojected in modified form, into relations of each partner with their offspring. The original problems of each partner with the family of origin are thus projected across time into husband-wife and parent-child relations. (Ackerman, 1982, p. 366)

The degree of autonomy and symbiosis, the quality of relationship and identity emerged as central dimensions in a series of studies of the interaction patterns of families with a schizophrenic member. Wynne et al. (1958), for example, found that the two core human processes, defined as establishing relational mutuality while simultaneously developing and maintaining an autonomous identity, may lead to three relational positions: mutuality, non-mutuality and pseudo-mutuality. Families with a schizophrenic member were found to be characterized by pseudo-mutuality, that is by an inordinate emphasis on family togetherness at the expense of individual self-differentiation. Within pseudo-mutual families, individual identity formation is sacrificed to family cohesion and harmony, but since

this cohesion is purchased at the cost of individuation, there is little genuine spontaneity or depth in family interactions. Wynne (1958) describes the dilemma of pseudo-mutual families as follows:

> In short, the pseudo-mutual relation involves a characteristic dilemma; divergence is perceived as leading to disruption of the relation and therefore must be avoided; but if divergence is avoided, growth of the relation is impossible (p. 208).

In families of potential schizophrenics, this dilemma is intensified. Family members have developed shared mechanisms through which any activities or ideas that might enable a family member to develop a personal identity separate from familial expectations, are systematically disqualified or diffused. Wynne surmises that in such families overt psychosis may actually represent a distorted attempt to achieve individuation. In contrast to pseudo-mutual families, families that are characterized by genuine mutuality permit individuation and establish reciprocal patterns of interaction based on the full personalities of members, including those that diverge from or are independent of family role structure.

In another long term intensive study of the intrafamilial environment of schizophrenics, Lidz and his coworkers (1965) identified two family interactional patterns in which there is severe imbalance in patterns of separateness and connectedness. The first of these, termed marital schism, is characterized by an absence of genuine mutuality or complementarity between the spouses who engage in continual and divisive conflict. In the majority of schismatic marriages, the spouses' primary loyalties and deepest emotional attachments remain with the family of origin, indicating incomplete

separation-individuation. The identity formation and individuation of children was in turn found to be impaired, since they were unable to identify with one parent without antagonizing the other. In another interactional pattern, termed <u>marital skew</u>, one partner, who is in reality severely emotionally impaired, attains a degree of hyperadequacy and pseudoidentity at the emotional expense of another partner, who accedes to the distorted reality of the other in order to gratify certain dependent and/or masochistic needs. Children in such families develop a skewed vision of reality as a result of this marital pattern whereby one spouse colludes with the distortions of the other. In both family types there is considerable blurring of generational boundaries, which makes it difficult for children to develop a differentiated self.

Bowen (1965, 1966, 1978) similarly describes the pathological connectedness in families with schizophrenic members. The central concept of Bowen's theory is that of the "undifferentiated family ego mass" which he describes as "a conglomerate oneness" that operates at different levels of intensity in different family systems. Bowen hypothesizes that there are two forces constantly at work in the family emotional system--a tendency towards individuation or differentiation, and a tendency towards emotional connectedness or fusion. Individuation involves the differentaition of a self out of the undifferentiated family ego mass. Highly fused or poorly differentiated families are characterized by extreme imbalance in the degrees of separateness and connectedness, which impair the differentiation of individual members. In families with schizophrenic

members, for example, Bowen (1978) noted a particularly intense level of ego fusion among family members which severely curtails the possibilities for individuation. Poorly differentiated families were also found to be characterized by high levels of emotional distance or emotional estrangements among family members, whose fragile ego structures cannot tolerate intimacy.

According to Bowen (1978) the central task of individual development is to differentiate an autonomous self out of the family ego mass, without loss of emotional contact or connectedness. Bowen has devised a theoretical "Differentiation of Self Scale" which attempts to classify the ego functioning of individuals based on the balance they have achieved between autonomy and symbiosis. Individuals high on the scale have achieved a wider range of autonomous ego functions and a deeper capacity for mutuality than those low on the scale who remain more fused with family of origin and show little capacity for autonomous functioning. In general, the higher the person on the scale, the greater the degree of self-differentiation and capacity to contain emotional functioning within the boundaries of the self, while the lower the person on the scale the greater the degree of ego fusion and emotional reactivity to others, and the more the person must resort to extremes of distance or closeness to maintain emotional equilibrium. It should be noted that this differentiation of self scale is a theoretical construct that has never been empirically tested.

Although the differentiation of self scale refers to individual self-differentiation, Bowen (1978) conceptualizes the process of

separation-individuation as a transgenerational familial one. As a result of the intense emotional bonds within the family system, poor differentiation in one or more family members becomes absorbed within the family as a whole, and may resurface as dysfunction in a child or spouse. Bowen hypothesizes that parents transmit their level of self-differentiation to children through a transgenerational projection process which he terms the "multigenerational interlocking of emotional fields" (Bowen, 1978, p. 192). In general Bowen identifies three familial channels through which tensions around autonomy versus symbiosis are expressed. Chronic marital conflict is one means by which spouses cope with problems around separation-individuation. Dysfunction in one or both spouses may also represent a way of coping with incomplete separation-individuation. The transmission of the problem to one or more children was found by Bowen to be the primary method through which inadequate self-differentiation of one or more spouses is expressed. Moreover, Bowen (1978) found that individuals tend to seek out partners with equivalent levels of differentiation thereby insuring that the family ego mass, and thus the next generation, will be profoundly shaped by the parental level of separation-individuation.

Boszormenyi-Nagy is another family therapist and theorist who has investigated the transgenerational transmission of patterns of separation-individuation. According to Boszormenyi-Nagy (1965) there are continual cycles of merger and differentiation between self and other within the family that under optimal conditions lead to greater degrees of individuation for each member. The self is thought to

achieve form and definition through such interactions and experiences with the other. Thus, Boszormenyi-Nagy has an inherently dialectical concept of separation-individuation and the self. He defines autonomy as a paradoxical construct, involving "an intensely sensed freedom achieved through dependence on those vis-a-vis whom we realize the assertion of our needs" (Boszormenyi-Nagy, 1965, p. 65). Individuation is then the dialectical process through which individual identity is shaped and affirmed within a relational context.

Boszormenyi-Nagy (1965) postulates six relational positions which range from non-relational modes or futile object restitutive efforts to increasingly mature and satisfying modes of object relationship. The first mode, <u>Intrasubject Boundary</u>, involves a split in the self between dissociated subject and object parts, with little or no external object relations. The second mode, <u>Internal Dialogue</u>, is characterized by a high degree of projection of inner onto external objects, and a substitution of internal dialogue for external relationships. <u>Merger</u> represents the third relational mode which involves external symbiotic clinging that masks inadequate self-other differentiation on the intrapsychic level. In the fourth relational mode, <u>Being the Object</u>, one partner offers the self as a vehicle for the other's self-delineation; while in the fifth mode, <u>Being the Subject</u>, one is able to use the other to further self-delineation, but is unable to grant the other a similar autonomous existence. In the final <u>Dialogic</u> relational mode, each partner alternates between the subject and object positions and as such each enhances the self definition of the other.

These six relational patterns are translated into familial trans-
actions of three types. In autistic families there is a lack of any
meaningful togetherness. Relating in such families is unidirectional
and partial in that others are perceived according to internal
prototypes rather than according to their autonomous reality. In
fused or amorphous families, individual autonomy and subjectivity
are subsumed by family cohesion. Fused families are characterized by
rigid role divisions, with little reciprocity or flexible alternation
of subject and object positions. Differentiated families on the other
hand are characterized by reciprocal subject-object dialogues that
enhance both dyadic connectedness and family cohesion.

Boszormenyi-Nagy conceptualizes separation-individuation as a
process that is central to family as well as to individual development.
Each new stage in family development requires a realignment of trans-
actional patterns within the family, and offers new possiblities for
individuation. As families move through developmental cycles, differ-
ent patterns of separateness and connectedness become appropriate.
Pregnancy is conceptualized as a stage of unrelatedness, when parents
project their own fantasies, based on their own inner object worlds
onto the developing fetus. Following the birth of a child, however,
the family enters a stage of symbiosis, when affiliative forces are
mobilized and ego boundaries are loosened, as the parents include
the dependent infant in their self-experience. As the child matures,
however, the family enters the stage of individuation, characterized
by the re-establishment of more fixed ego boundaries among family
members. This phase also marks the beginnings of the internalization

of object relations and of self-other differentiation on an intrapsy-chic level in the child. Both processes are thought to reflect the nature and quality of the parent's inner object world. The separation phase is characterized by the reliquishment of family ties in actuality among family members. The final phase involves the establishment of a complementary dialogic relationship on the part of two young adults with well differentiated internal worlds, and a parallel reaffirmation of such a dialogic relationship on the part of the original parental couple who are now again in a dyadic position.

Like Boszormenyi-Nagy, Minuchin (1974) adopts a family develop-mental point of view, in that he surmises that different subsystems within the family will be more or less enmeshed or disengaged according to the stage of the family life cycle. Thus, for example, the mother-child subsystem may be particularly enmeshed during the first year of infancy, but become more disengaged during adolescence.

According to Minuchin, all families develop transactional styles that fall on a continuum between enmeshment and disengagement. Enmeshed families are characterized by an overinvolvement among members and by diffuse boundaries between subsystems within the family. Individual autonomy is usually subordinated to family togetherness, with the result that self-differentiation may be curtailed. Minuchin identifies the primary characteristic of enmeshed families as the tendency of dyadic transactions to become triadic transactions. Under stressful situations third parties tend to be pulled into dyadic interactions as a result of the fluidity of ego boundaries. Disengaged subsystems, by contrast, are those in which there is a

high degree of autonomy and separateness among family members and little sense of belonging or connectedness. Members of the disengaged families function as "isolated orbits", and have difficulty establishing interdependence.

Stierlin (1974) has also addressed the problem of balancing separateness and togetherness within families by identifying two opposing forces, the centripetal and centrifugal. Whereas centripetal forces operate to pull family members towards one another into intellectual and emotional oneness, centrifugal forces operate to pull family members away from the family system. Stierlin identifies three transactional modes that characterize parent-child relationships, two of which (binding and delegating) are centripetal, and one of which (expelling) is centrifugal. These modes exist in dynamic flux, and lead to functional patterns when they are in balance. These modes lead to dysfunctional patterns when they are out of balance, or when they are inappropriate to the stage of family or individual development.

Reiss (1971) has developed one of the few empirically tested family typologies based on his experimental research on family problem solving. The experimental tasks revealed not only the characteristic orientation of families towards the environment and unique patterns of problem solving, but also the nature of intra-familial boundaries, and of boundaries between the family and the external world. Thus Reiss's typology also delineates diverse patterns of separateness and autonomy within families. The first type of family, the environment-sensitive family is characterized by fluid

boundaries between the family and the external world, and by the capacity to coordinate efforts and share observations and ideas within the family, indicating a high degree of interdependence. In interpersonal-distance sensitive families, by contrast, family members use problem solving as a way of demonstrating their independence and individuality. In such families interdependence in problem solving is low; each member appears to try to demonstrate mastery over the others, and to perceive collaboration as a sign of weakness. In consensus-sensitive families, any dissent or deviation from family consensus is not tolerated. Such families quickly reach consensus on problems without reference either to externally given cues, or to each person's experience of the problem. Rather, there is a tendency towards hastily forged closure early in the task. Environment-sensitive families appear to have high levels of separation-individuation since family members are able to appreciate each other's individual contributions while coordinating their efforts and remaining open to environmental cues. Both interpersonal-distance and consensus-sensitive family types, by contrast, appear to have skewed patterns of separation-individuation as evidenced by the tendency toward isolation and overcloseness respectively in these families.

Kantor and Lehr (1978) have developed another family typology based on intensive study of a group of normal families, using participant observation, tape recordings of family interactions, in-depth family interviews and self-report measures. Like Reiss, Kantor and Lehr found that the central issue for families is the regulation of distance, and the establishment of patterns of separate-

ness and togetherness within the family.

Kantor and Lehr propose that families utilize two separate dimensions to regulate interpersonal boundaries within the family, and between the family and the outside world: access dimensions of space, energy, and time; and target dimensions of affect, power, and meaning. Together these dimensions constitute the framework within which family experience unfolds and form the basis for the three relational types: open, closed, and random families.

Open families are those that have developed flexible but stable structures that maximize both family togetherness and individual development. In open families, space is moveable, time variable, and energy use, flexible and varied. Open families are characterized by flexible intra- and inter-familial boundaries with frequent visits with friends, collective interaction both within the family and between family and community. The affect of such families is characterized by authenticity, responsiveness, and emotional expressiveness. Equalitarianism in such families is highlighted by attempts to achieve consensus on major family issues.

Closed families by contrast are characterized by strong boundaries between family and outside world, but relatively fluid boundaries within the family system. In closed families individual autonomy tends to be subordinated to family unity and cohesion. Such families adhere to a set of mutually affirmed values, norms and expectations, and are relatively intolerant of deviations from set patterns and values. In such families special arrangements are fixed, time regular, and use of energy, consistent and steady.

In random families, individual separateness predominates over family cohesion. The personal proclivities and patterns of each family member are given free rein with no attempts at coordination. Random families often have difficulty developing contexts in which sharing occurs. Random families are characterized by dispersed space, irregular time, and fluctuating energy. Individual spontaneity and creativity and emotional intensity are valued above rationality, order or regularity.

Kantor and Lehr hypothesize that all three family types represent systems for regulating the actual and psychological distance between family members. All three relational patterns involve particular configurations of separateness and togetherness, autonomy and mutuality within the family system.

Conclusion

The above theoretically and empirically derived family typologies indicate that just as the family provides the matrix in which individual separation-individuation unfolds, so also does individual separation-individuation contribute to shaping family transactional patterns. Using different terminology and often different research techniques and populations, the family researchers reviewed in this section have identified patterns of family interaction based on a continuum between separateness and cohesion. Wynne's pseudo-mutual families, Bowen's undifferentiated ego mass, Minuchin's enmeshed families, as well as Reiss's consensus-sensitive and Kantor and Lehr's closed families all represent family types that foster connectedness

and inhibit individuation. Moreover, several theorists, such as Bowen (1978), Boszormenyi-Nagy (1965) and Lidz (1965) show the impact of different parental and marital separation-individuation profiles on family transactional patterns. Table 2 summarizes the way in which separation-individuation represents a consistent unifying theme in the family typologies of the major family theorists and therapists reviewed above.

Despite the common themes that run through their works, few family theorists have attempted to operationalize their terminology or to empirically validate their typologies through research with nonclinical populations [with the exception of Reiss (1971) and Kantor and Lehr (1978)]. Separation-individuation as a family transactional process thus remains a theoretically beguiling but empirically elusive concept. The following section will review empirical studies on early family formation, with a view toward highlighting the impact of parental and marital separation-individuation on early family development.

The Theme of Separation-Individuation in Empirical Studies of Early Family Formation

Introduction

Research studies on the transition to parenthood and early family formation have long concerned themselves with the interface between the marital relationship and infant development. Among the first studies in this area are cross-sectional ones which investigate the influence on the birth of the first child through one-time measures on the marital relatonship (Dyer, 1963; Hobbs, 1965, 1968; LeMasters,

TABLE 2

The Theme of Separation-Individuation in Family Typologies

	Extreme Autonomy	Balance Between Autonomy and Symbiosis	Extreme Symbiosis
Wynne	Nonmutuality	Mutuality	Pseudo-mutuality
Lidz	Marital Schism		Marital Skew
Minuchin	Disengaged Families		Enmeshed Families
Bowen	Emotionally Divorced Families	Differentiated Families	Fused or Undifferentiated Families
Nagy	Autistic Families	Differentiated Dialogic Families	Fused Families
Stierlin	Expelling Centrifugal Force		Binding Centripetal Force
Reiss	Interpersonal-Distance Sensitive Families	Environment-Sensitive Families	Consensus-Sensitive Families
Olsen	Chaotically Disengaged Chaotically Separated Flexibly Disengaged Structurally Disengaged Rigidly Disengaged Rigidly Separated	Flexibly Connected Flexibly Separated Structurally Connected Structurally Separated	Rigidly Enmeshed Chaotically Enmeshed Flexibly Enmeshed Structurally Enmeshed Rigidly Connected Chaotically Connected
Kantor and Lehr	Random Families	Open Families	Closed Families

1957; Russell, 1974). The above studies focus primarily on the extent to which the transition to parenthood is a crisis-provoking event which disrupts the balance of roles and relational patterns within the marital dyad; however, they offer only tangential speculations on the extent to which pre-birth husband-wife adaptation or patterns of interaction may affect couple adaptation to parenthood.

The contradictory findings of this first group of studies provided inspiration for a second group of studies, which used longitudinal designs involving a variety of measures and types of assessment (at two or more data collection points) to investigate changes in the marital relationships over time during the transition to parenthood (Entwistle and Doering, 1980; Meyerowitz and Feldman, 1966; Ryder, 1973; Waldron and Ruth, 1981). Among this latter group of studies are those that use a transactional methodology to explore the complex interlocking networks of husband-wife and parent-child interactions at different points in developmental time in the transition to parent-hood and early family formation (Grossman, Eichler, and Winickoff, 1978; Heinicke, Diskin, Ramsey-Klee, and Oates, 1983; Shereshefsky and Yarrow, 1973). Each of these three groups of studies will be reviewed with a focus on their relevance to a study of the interrelation between parental ad marital separation-individuation and aspects of infant and family development.

Cross-Sectional Studies on the Transition to Parenthood

LeMasters (1957) was the first to empirically investigate the extent to which the birth of a child precipitates "crisis" in the

couple relationship. Based on data derived from interviews with 46 middle-class couples, conducted up to five years after the birth of the first child, he concluded that for the majority of his sample, first time parenthood was a crisis-provoking event, involving a dramatic reorganization of roles and relational patterns within the marital dyad. Husbands in his sample reported feeling like "semi-isolates", excluded from the mother-child relationship, while wives resented sharing their husbands' attention with the infant.

Using interviews instead of questionnaires, Dyer (1963) replicated LeMaster's study, focusing on the degree to which couples recalled changes in their interaction patterns in a number of areas including the division of labor, companionship, financial decision-making, and social life. Out of a sample of 32 couples, he found that the majority experienced dramatic disruptions of crisis proportions in their interaction patterns along most dimensions. Most relevant for our purposes is Dyer's research finding that high levels of pre-birth marital adjustment were predictive of lower levels of post-birth crisis.

The adequacy of the "crisis" model of the transition to parenthood was questioned in a seminal review by Rossi (1968), who reconceptualized parenthood as a developmental transition, involving a realignment of both intrapsychic and interpersonal patterns. Rossi hypothesizes that the transition to parenthood is particularly stressful in this culture because of the inadequate preparation for parental roles within the contemporary nuclear family. The transition to parenthood may be especially stressful for women, who have been previously socialized to assume instrumental roles, and who may have

consequently established equalitarian relationships with their husbands which are difficult to sustain after the birth of the first child. Moreover pregnancy, according to Rossi, launches women into full adult status for the first time, and thus involves an adjustment not only to the child, but to the first major adult transition point, involving the assumption of the full implication of their adult gender roles. Rossi (1968) was the first to hypothesize that the nature of the pre-parenthood marital relationship, and particularly "the balance between individual autonomy and couple mutuality" (p. 31) will strongly influence both the way in which the couple experiences the transition to parenthood and the quality of the parent-infant relationship.

Rossi's reconceptualization of parenthood as a developmental transition rather than a discrete crisis event was given empirical support in a number of studies by Hobbs and his associates.

In general, Hobbs (1965; 1968; Hobbs and Cole, 1976; Hobbs and Wimbash, 1977) found that most couples experienced only mild disruption in the marital relationship during the transition to parenthood, and that many reported far greater marital satisfaction after the birth of the first child than during the prenatal period. In the first of these studies, Hobbs (1965) administered a checklist, designed to measure the degree of difficulty experienced by couples in the transition to parenthood, to a random and heterogeneous sample of 53 couples, none of whom reported disruptions of crisis proportion. In a replication of this study based on questionnaire as well as interview data from 27 couples, Hobbs (1968) found that while the research findings from the checklist data replicated the previous results, the

interview scores revealed slightly greater crisis outcomes--suggesting that results may in part be determined by the method of data collection employed. A similar study with a black sample (Hobbs and Wimbash, 1977) indicated that black couples may experience only slightly greater difficulty in adjusting to first time parenthood than do their white counterparts, but that this discrepancy is not great enough to warrant a crisis label.

In studying the transition to parenthood in a random and hetero-geneous sample of 500 couples, Russell (1974) utilized a measure of gratification as well as a measure of marital adjustment in addition to Hobb's measure of the difficulties experienced by couples during the first post-natal year. In general, Russell (1974) found that couples experienced the transition to parenthood as deeply gratifying as well as moderately stressful, and that among the primary sources of stress were marital adjustment and infant temperament. Couples with high degrees of marital satisfaction, who had established positive patterns of communication prior to the child's birth, were less likely to experience high degrees of crisis. Additionally, those couples who rated their infants as "quiet" versus "active" were also less likely to experience the transition to parenthood as a crisis-provoking event. In fact, positive husband-wife adaptation was related to high levels of gratification in the transition to parenthood. On the basis of her research findings, Russell suggests that the ways in which couples tranverse the transition to parenthood is largely determined by their resolution of previous developmental tasks, particularly the development of a positive husband-wife adaptation.

The research findings from the above large scale, cross-sectional studies suggest that there are reciprocal influences between the quality of the marital relationship and the ways couples experience the transition to parenthood. Some of the studies (Dyer, 1963; Russell, 1974; Rossi, 1968) indicate that the marital relationship exerts a strong mediating influence on couple adaptation to first-time parenthood, while other studies suggest that the birth of the first child greatly influences marital quality and satisfaction.

However, these studies were characterized by conceptual and methodological limitations in that they were not designed to capture the full complexity of the interacting forces that they identify. Rather, such cross-sectional studies examined only one point in the transition to parenthood (concurrently or retrospectively), taking an isolated number of measurements, in snapshot fashion. A series of longitudinal studies on the transition to parenthood, by contrast, offer a more in-depth understanding of the reciprocal influences of pre-birth parental and marital characteristics, and early infant and family development.

Longitudinal Studies of the Transition to Parenthood

One of the first longitudinal studies of the transition to parenthood was that by Meyerowitz and Feldman (1966). As part of a larger study on changes in the marital relationship over the course of the family life cycle, Meyerowitz and Feldman (1966) administered questionnaires to 400 first time parents at three points: five months before delivery, five weeks after delivery and five month postpartum.

Although they noted specific changes in the couples' interaction patterns, they found that in general marital satisfaction gradually improved over this period.

Other longitudinal studies have shown that the birth of the first child leads to a decline in marital satisfaction. Ryder (1973), for example, administered the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Scale (1959) to couples both before and after the birth of the first child, and compared the results with scores of childless couples tested during the same time period. Although he found no significant differences in the overall levels of marital satisfaction between the two groups, the wives who bore a child tended to experience a decrease in marital satisfaction as a result of perceived changes in the companionship aspects of their marriages.

Waldron and Ruth (1981) attempted to replicate Ryder's study, administering the Locke-Wallace to 46 married couples before and after the birth of the first child, and again found that wives' ratings of their marital adjustment decreased significantly from pregnancy to the first postpartum month. Feldman (1971) similarly assessed marital satisfaction in the pregnancy and first postnatal year, and found that not only did marital satisfaction decline from the pre-natal to the post-natal period, but that the decline was greatest in those couples who had the highest levels of marital satisfaction before the first birth.

Several recent studies have focused primarily on changes in the marital relationship during the post-partum period. Wandersman (1978), for example, collected data at 3 months postpartum, with follow-ups at

five months and one year. She found that while parents' sense of competence in relation to their infants increased during the time period of the study, their satisfaction with the marital relationship declined. In an interview study of 20 upper-middle class couples, who were interviewed conjointly during the third, sixth and ninth postnatal month, LaRossa and LaRossa (1981) found that the birth of the first child precipitates a realignment of roles within the family, involving a trend towards a more traditional division of household labor, that may account for a decline in marital satisfaction.

Similar findings emerged from a longitudinal study by Entwistle and Doering (1980) in which structured interviews as well as a variety of standardized measures were administered to 120 lower and middle-class women and 60 of their husbands at the sixth and ninth months of pregnancy, as well as at three weeks, six months and nine months after birth. In general, Entwistle and Doering found that the first birth precipitated a realignment of couple roles and a redefinition of parental self in the couple relationship, with couples moving from more equalitarian to more traditional role arrangements, despite their pre-birth equalitarian ideology. While the self-regard of men in their sample was not affected by the transition to parenthood, the self-regard of women was found to decline in the postnatal period. Entwistle and Doering attribute this discrepancy to the greater "psychic cost" to women of integrating the parental role into their sense of self, which for women often entails a withdrawal from employment and other social contacts outside the home.

Significantly, the researchers also found that while sexual activity decreased markedly during the transition to parenthood, there was little discrepancy between pre- and post-birth measures of overall marital satisfaction and adjustment. Also, in contrast to previous studies, the researchers found that the quality of the marital relationship and particularly the quality of the communication between husband and wife, strongly affected the ways in which couples experience the transition to parenthood. For example, the quality of communication between husband and wife was found to influence the wife's level of preparation for the first birth, including the husband's participation in the event--and these two factors were found to affect the couples' experience of the actual birth event and early postpartum period. From their data, Entwistle and Doering conclude that the first birth is a critical turning point for the couple involving a reorganization of roles, a redefinition of the self in relation to the other, and a realignment of interaction patterns within the dyad. Although they do not specifically address issues of separation-individuation, their research findings point towards the conclusion that the pre-existing patterns of independence and interdependence within the couple relationship may contribute to the couple'e experience of this turning point.

The impact of pre-birth parental and marital characteristics on the couples' experience of the transition to parenthood emerges even more clearly in the longitudinal study of Shereshefsky and Yarrow (1974). This study involved psychological testing, intensive interviews and naturalisic observation of 62 predominantly middle-class

couples who were followed from the third or fourth prenatal month to the sixth postnatal month. During the pregnancy period, the woman's ego strength and capacity for nurturance, as well as the nature of her primary object relationship with her mother, were found to be more powerful predictors than marital adjustment in predicting the woman's adaptation to pregnancy. Specifically, women who viewed their mothers as being empathically responsive to their needs from childhood through the premarital period, were more likely to experience low levels of anxiety about the pregnancy as well as high levels of confidence in the maternal role. The woman's perception of being mothered also correlated with her degree of ego strength and with the quality of the husband-wife adaptation. This dual correlation indicates an interrelation between primary past object relations on the one hand, and current object relations and ego functioning on the other--an interrelation that is at the heart of our study.

Another significant finding of relevance to the current research is that pre-birth marital adjustment emerged as one of the strongest predictors of post-natal maternal adaptation. Both the woman's accommodation to the infant as well as her acceptance of the maternal role were strongly anticipated by the nature and quality of the pre-parenthood husband-wife adaptation. Aspects of maternal adaptation, in turn, including acceptance of and confidence in the maternal role, were found to anticipate aspects of infant development such as physiological adjustment. These research findings indicate that husband-wife adaptation may affect early family formation in myriad ways; it exerts a shaping influence on the quality of maternal

adaptation, and thus indirectly on infant development.

While the marital relationship was found to influence aspects of infant and family development, these latter factors were also found to affect marital adaptation. Shereshefsky and Yarrow found that while marital adaptation improved from the first to the third trimester of pregnancy, it declined during the postnatal period.

Also evident from Shereshefsky and Yarrow's study was a re-emergence of separation-individuation issues for the couple during the transition to parenthood, particularly during the pregnancy period. In the counseling group that was offered to some of the research participants, a significant number of couples were found to be struggling with the developmental issues of further separating from their own families of origin in order to invest in their own family units. Additionally, separation-individuation issues were found to emerge in the marital relationship during the pregnancy period. While some husbands developed a reactive distance to their wives during this period, withdrawing into their work or outside activities, others appeared to emotionally fuse with their wives, developing pregnancy symptoms, including fatigue, gastrointestinal upsets, backaches, and vomiting. Although Shereshefsky and Yarrow do not explicitly explore this dimension in their research, their data suggest that previous patterns of separateness and togetherness in the marital relationship may contribute to the couples' experience of the transition to parenthood.

Gladieux's (1978) research on couple adaptation to pregnancy lends further support to the idea that the nature of marital separation-

individuation, and particularly the balance between autonomy and mutuality in the couple relationship mediates the experience of the transition to parenthood. In a longitudinal study involving intensive interviews with 20 white middle-class couples during each of the three trimesters of pregnancy, Gladieux (1978) found the woman's adaptation to pregnancy was strongly anticipated by the nature of the marital relationship, particularly the patterns of intimacy and autonomy in the couple relationship. More specifically, Gladieux found that her female subjects' adaptation to pregnancy was associated with the degree of mutuality in the couple relationship in sharing the experience combined with the degree of autonomy they were able to assume in coping with pregnancy. Couples in which the husband showed high degrees of emotional involvement with their wives, as well as respect for their wives' autonomous strivings, had the most successful adaptation to pregnancy. Conversely, couples who showed a high degree of autonomy and low levels of mutuality, as evidenced by husbands' lack of inclusion in the pregnancy experience, and by minimal affective expression within the marriage, were likely to have experienced low levels of satisfaction with the pregnancy experience. This was especially the case during the third trimester, when dependency needs on the part of the woman tend to increase. The women whose previous relational patterns showed higher levels of autonomy than mutuality tended to use denial or counterdependent measures to cope with the pregnancy experience during the third trimester.

The multi-dimensional, multi-method study of Grossman, Eichler, and Winickoff (1978) applied a combination of semi-structured inter-

views, projective tests, standardized measures, and naturalistic observation to intensively study 57 couples and their infants from the pregnancy through the first postnatal year at five data collection points: the fourth and eighth prenatal months; the perinatal period; and the second and twelfth postnatal months. The researchers summarize their findings as follows:

> The quality of the marital relationship as well as features of its style [emphasis mine], and the readiness of the couple to welcome a new member--all play a vital role in influencing the nature of the experience for the man and the woman, and ultimately in influencing the infant (Grossman, et al., 1978, p. 6).

More than previous studies their research findings point toward the intricacy of the interactive influences between parental, marital, and infant characteristics in the process of early family development.

As was the case in previously reviewed studies, Grossman et al. (1978) found that aspects of the interpersonal relationship between husband and wife were among the most powerful predictors of the woman's psychological adaptation to pregnancy and throughout the first postnatal year. Women who had higher levels of marital satisfaction were less symptomatic during pregnancy, and had lower levels of anxiety and depression during pregnancy and at two months and one year postpartum. Another significant finding is that couples with more egalitarian marital styles also had fewer symptoms during pregnancy. While husband-wife adaptation figured as one of the two strongest predictors of the woman's psychological adaptation throughout the study, it assumed less salience as a predictor of marital adjustment, except at the one year postpartum point, when it

emerged as mildly predictive of maternal adaptation. Grossman et al. interpret the latter finding as indicative of the centrality and uniqueness of the mother-infant dyad in the early postpartum period.

Individual as well as marital characteristics were found to be strong predictors of the couple's adaptation to first-time parenthood. For example, the female subjects' level of depression and anxiety, as assessed early in the pregnancy, strongly predicted both her psychological adaptation both to the later stages of pregnancy and to the first postnatal year, as well as aspects of her accommodation to the infant in the later period. Similarly, the male subject's anxiety during the first and third trimesters of pregnancy emerged as a strong predictor of the wife's level of depression and anxiety during the early postpartum period.

Additionally, Grossman et al. report findings that specifically address the impact of parental separation-individuation on aspects of infant and family development. The researchers found that the symbiotic nature of the early mother-infant relationship requires first-time mothers to literally enlarge the boundaries of the self to include the infant in their psychic experience. For some of the mothers in their study, the regressive experience of offering themselves as a symbiotic partner to the infant was experienced as threatening to the sense of separate self. One mother, for example, doubled her work time outside the home despite her exhaustion because the intense closeness with her infant was experienced as the "destruction of her own ego" (Grossman et al., p. 94). Conversely, women whose egos were enhanced by the symbiotic experience with the infant had

difficulty in adjusting to the infant's need for increased separate-
ness and autonomy at the one year point.

On the basis of their data, Grossman et al. hypothesize that
merged closeness with the infant may preclude or attenuate the
intensity of the intimacy between husband and wife, especially during
the early postpartum period. The research findings indicate that
although the majority of mothers tended to refocus their emotional
energy on the partner as the infant begins to individuate at one
year, for many women in their sample, the marriage "never regained
the absolute centrality it had before the child was born" (Grossman
et al., 1978, p. 247).

These research findings indicate that the birth of a child creates
a profound shift in the patterns of separateness and togetherness in
the couple relationship, which may in part account for the decline in
marital satisfaction noted in this and previous studies during the
first postnatal year. However, although Grossman et al. report a
period of "temporary disenchantment" with the marriage, especially
on the part of women in their sample, they also found that by the
one year point measures of marital satisfaction corresponded to pre-
birth measures of this dimension. Thus, they conclude that the best
predictor of the level of husband-wife adaptation at one year
postpartum is the state of the marriage during the pre-birth period.

The study of Grossman et al. is unique not only in the breadth
of the time period covered, but also in the depth with which they
have assessed the father's experience in the transition to parenthood.
The father's level of separation-individuation and the nature of his

primary object relations were found to figure prominently in the way the couple experienced the transition to parenthood. For example, the extent to which the father identified with his mother, and experienced her as nurturant, strongly predicted his capacity to cope well with the wife's pregnancy, and to develop a positive identity as a father during the postpartum period. From their interviews Grossman et al. observed that fathers who fulfilled the cultural stereotype of the masculine role, maintaining an autonomous and successful base in their work, contributed to positive family development in that they were able to use their separateness to help their wives to avoid being totally engulfed by the newborn. These research findings suggest that the father's capacity to remain differentiated vis-a-vis the mother-child relationship (which undoubtedly reflects the pre-birth level of separation-individuation) is important for early family development.

Grossman et al. also found that pre-birth parental and marital characteristics strongly anticipated aspects of infant as well as family development. For example, the mother's anxiety and depression in early pregnancy strongly predicted the infant's irritability at birth. For first time mothers, the quality of the marital adaptation predicted the infant's adjustment at two months, as did the level of parental anxiety in the eighth prenatal month. While the mother's personality characteristics were reflected in the infant's functioning throughout the first postpartum year, the father's personality charac- teristics emerged as directly salient to infant development primarily at the one year point. At one year, the father's sexual and marital satisfaction, earlier anxiety level, and general ego adaptation were

found to be related to the baby's cognitive and motor development.

Another study that investigates the impact of the father's primary object relations and marital adaptation on the development of a positive father identity is that by Soule, Standley, and Copans (1979). Using in-depth interviews as well as a measure of father identity with a heterogeneous sample of 70 prospective fathers, these researchers found that the development of a positive father identity was highly correlated with three factors: recollections of having been well-nurtured by their own fathers in childhood; a high level of satisfaction with the marital relationship; and a current relationship with family of origin characterized by low levels of support and involvement. The researchers conclude from these data that while the internalization of a nurturant father-son relationship created an anlage for a positive father identity during adulthood, a high degree of separation-individuation vis-a-vis the family of origin in the present facilitates the construction of emotional ties with a new family unit.

The Becoming a Family Research Project at Berkeley, co-directed by Cowan and Cowan has also involved an intensive and multi-dimensional exploration of couple adaptation to first time parenthood, including an investigation of the father's experience. Using a variety of self-report measures, standardized questionnaires, clinical measures, and intensive interviews, the Cowans have followed 96 couples through the transition to parenthood, collecting data during pregnancy, and at 6 and 18 months postpartum. Their sample is divided into several subsamples, including one group that attended a six month long

couples' counseling group, one that did not attend a group and a control group that filled out all measures but did not become parents during the study period.

Unlike previous studies that use global measures to assess couple adaptation to parenthood, the Cowans identified five interacting dimensions which come into play during the transition to parenthood, including sense of self (self-esteem, sense of self in relationship); mutual role arrangements (division of household labor, child-care arrangements); patterns of communication (expression of positive and negative feelings, problem solving and negotiating skills); family environment (overall family role structure; correspondence between current family and family of origin); extra-familial environment (job, career changes, friendships). Cowan and Cowan (1983) found all five dimensions of couple life interacted to determine the way in which their research participants coped with the transition to parenthood. In contrast to previous studies, they found remarkable consistency in almost all of their measures of these dimensions from the prenatal to the postnatal period. Particularly significant for our purposes was their finding that the quality of the couple relationship before the first birth was the strongest predictor of couple adaptation to the transition to parenthood. And although they found some decline in marital satisfaction from the pre- to post-birth period among couples who did not attend the counseling group (and, significantly, among the childless control group), they also found that the quality of the marital relationship remained relatively consistent or stable through the transition to parenthood.

In general, Cowan and Cowan found a network of interlocking influences between individual self-experience, marital adaptation, and adjustment, and the couples' adaptation to parenthood. For example, their data indicate that for both men and women, couple and family variables are important predictors of self-experience. Whereas for men, dimensions of couple and family life tended to be more significantly associated with self-esteem (as measured by the Gough Adjective Checklist), for women they were more closely associated with satisfaction with the relational self. (The latter was assessed by having couples indicate the amount of self consumed by a variety of relational roles including partner, worker, parent, and spouse by marking off sections of a circular "Pie".)

The research findings on the self-experience of parents from the Becoming a Family Project have important implications for the current study of the impact of parental and marital separation-individuation on aspects of infant and family development. First, as Curtis-Boles (1983) points out, the above findings reveal some fundamental differences in the self experiences of men and women. That the relational self is associated with more family and couple variables for women indicates that they may experience the self more as a construct in relation to others; while men for whom family and couple variables are more strongly associated with self-esteem, experience the self as a more encapsulated construct, separate from others (Curtis-Boles, 1983). Furthermore, findings on the changes in parental self-experience and relational patterns during the transition to parenthood, provide empirical evidence for our theoretical position

that infant developmental stages of symbiosis and separation-individuation challenge the parent's previous individual and dyadic levels of separateness and togetherness. Their data indicate that at 6 months postpartum, mothers were most satisfied with their relational selves when more of the relational self was consumed in symbiotic partnership with the child, with a concomitant decrease in emotional investment with the partner. At 18 months, on the other hand, when the infant begins to individuate, the mother's satisfaction with the relational self was greatest when she de-emphasized the parent role and re-invested in the partner. Moreover, that parental roles assume increasing salience for men over partner roles at the eighteenth postnatal month offers empirical evidence for the importance of the father's role in providing an alternative relational base for the child to disengage from mother-infant symbiosis.

Also important for the current research focus on separation-individuation in the couple relationship is the Cowans' (1983) finding that preparenthood patterns of mutuality and autonomy strongly affect the ways in which couples in their study experienced the transition to parenthood. Indeed, the Cowans reported (personal communication, 1983) that a renegotiation of the balance between independence and interdependence, autonomy and mutuality emerged as one of the most significant issues in their couples' group. The clinical and research findings from the project indicate that couples whose pre-birth relationships were characterized by intense closeness adjusted better to the transition to parenthood if their postnatal role arrangements reinforced their mutuality. On the other hand, couples who displayed

greater autonomy in the pre-birth period adapted better to first-time parenthood if their mutual role division reflected and reinforced their independence and separateness (Cowan and Cowan, 1983). On the basis of their research and clinical findings, Cowan and Cowan (1983) acknowledge the necessity for further research on the ways in which preparenthood patterns of mutuality and autonomy affect couples' adaptation to parenthood.

In general, the findings of this project indicate that those couples who achieved the most positive adaptation to parenthood had high levels of satisfaction with both self and partner, while those who adapted less well tended to be dissatisfied with self and partner (Hemming, 1983). The interlocking nature of these two variables in determining the nature of the couples' adaptation to parenthood is indicated by the following research findings. Male subjects' marital satisfaction during the pregnancy period was an important predictor of their participation and satisfaction with childrearing at 18 months postpartum. Female subjects' parenting stress at 6 and 18 postnatal months was anticipated by their self-esteem, marital adjustment and by their husbands' involvement in childrearing tasks. Cowan and Cowan (1983) interpret these results as indicative of the importance of "second order effects" whereby there are reciprocating influences among dyads within the family system.

Such second order effects were also noted in a study by Pederson, Anderson, and Cain (1977) who observed that conflict in the marital relationship tended to affect the mother's competence in feeding her infant. Such complex linkages in the network of the mother-father-

infant triad were also found by Belsky (1979) in a naturalistic observational study of early triadic interactions among 40 middle-class families with a 15 month old infant. Belsky's study yielded three major findings on the complex linkages between husband-wife and parent-child interactions. First, Belsky found that wives tended to exert a greater shaping influence on their husband's parenting behavior than was the reverse. Secondly, Belsky noted that in some families, the roles of parent and spouse appeared to be incompatible in that couples who consistently engaged in conversations on topics other than parenting did not appear to be as actively engaged with their infants as were couples in which parenting topics predominated. In other families, however, Belsky observed that couple relationships were greatly enhanced through interactions around parenting. On the basis of his research findings, Belsky proposes that researchers adopt a transactional model designed to study the interlocking network of mother-father-infant interactions, in the process of early family formation.

Such a transactional perspective is the explicit methodological approach of the UCLA Family Development Project of which this study is a part. While the perspective and methodology of this project are further discussed in the following (and previous) chapters, there are some research findings from the project that should be reported in this review of studies of early family formation. In a paper summarizing data on the impact of pre-birth parent characteristics on infant development during the first post-natal year, Heinicke, Diskin, Ramsey-Klee, and Given (1983) examined the interrelation of

three major data sets at the one year point, including parenting characteristics such as adaptation-competence and the capacity for relationships; infant behaviors, such as goal directedness, social responsiveness, and vocalization; and parent-infant transactions, such as parental responsiveness to infant's needs, mutual regard or gazing, and encouragement of infant social and cognitive experience. It was found that aspects of infant development and parent-infant transactions at 12 months were anticipated by a network of influences including certain pre-birth parent and marital characteristics, infant characteristics and parent-infant transactions prior to the one year point. For example, the most significant predictors of the infant's endurance on the Bayley test situation included the following: pre-birth maternal characteristics such as adaptation-competence, MMPI index of Ego Strength, and capacity to visualize self as a mother; and postnatal parent-infant transactions such as the infant's soothability, parent's responsiveness to infant need, and capacity to encourage new social and cognitive experiences for the infant at 6 months.

Research findings from the two year postnatal follow-up similarly indicate the complex linkages between pre-birth parental and marital characteristics and postnatal infant and family develop-ment (Heinicke, Diskin, Ramsey-Klee, and Oates, 1983). Again, it was found that pre-birth measures of parental and marital characteristics, particularly the mother's adaptation-competence, self-concept, intellectual functioning, capacity for relationships, and marital adjustment were strong predictors of aspects of infant development

in the first two years of life. Research findings at the two year point on the infant's social and emotional development, which is most relevant for this project, include the following: The infant's sense of separate self at two years was strongly predicted by pre-birth husband-wife adaptation, indicating that infant separation-individuation may be fostered or inhibited by aspects of parental interaction. Also indicative of the latter point is the research finding that the child's capacity to modulate aggression at two years was anticipated by the quality of husband-wife adaptation. One explanation which Heinicke et al. (1983b) offer for this finding is that the parents' capacity to negotiate disagreements and modulate anger presents a role model for the infants' expression of their own aggression. Postnatal parent-infant transactions such as mutual gaze and physical closeness were also anticipated by pre-birth parental characteristics such as maternal warmth and competence.

Additionally, the existence of second order effects as described previously were evident at the two year follow-up in that the mother's enthusiasm (versus depressed affect) as assessed at the time of the Bayley testing of the infant were found to be highly correlated with positive husband-wife adaptation as assessed through interviews during the same data collection points.

Finally, Heinicke et al. (1983a) found that infants make sig-nificant contributions to shaping their early social and emotional environments. For example, high Parmelee neurological scores, positive vocalizations at one month, and smiling, visual attention, and infant soothability at 3 months were found to be significantly

related to parental affectionate responsiveness to infant need, while the latter in turn also predicted infant sense of separate self at two years. Infant sense of separate self at two years was also anticipated by one-month infant soothability and vocalization as well as by high scores on the Parmelee neurological exam, indicating that infant characteristics contribute to the quality of early separation-individuation experiences.

Empirical Studies of Early Mother-Infant Interaction

In assessing the impact of parental and marital separation-individuation on aspects of early family development, it is necessary to take into account the contributions of infant temperament or characteristics to early infant self-development and separation-individuation experiences. Recent empirical research on early mother-infant interaction lends support to the idea that infants may contribute to the course of their own separation-individuation process, both through the individual differences in ego functioning and temperament noted at birth (Escalona, 1963; Korner, 1964) and through the active role they play in directing social interaction (Beebe and Stern, 1977; Brazelton and Als, 1979; Tronick, 1980, 1982; Tronick, Als, Adamson, and Wise, 1978; Stern, 1971). These studies of early mother-infant interaction indicate that infant behaviors and characteristics may exert a shaping influence on all phases of the separation-individuation process, including the establishment of satisfactory early symbiosis, the nature of early differentiation experiences, and the quality of the early object relational experiences

that are ultimately internalized to form rudimentary self and object representations.

In an observational study of newborns, for example, Korner (1964) investigated individual differences among neonates and found variations in infants' capacity to initiate interactions with maternal figures during the newborn period. The response of the mother was found to be affected by the infant's state (e.g., crying, visual alertness), as well as by neurophysiological functioning. That infants were found to initiate four out of five observed interactions leads Korner to conclude that infants in part determine the nature and quality of their earliest caretaking experiences. Similarly, Escalona found that active and inactive infants follow different routes in achieving awareness between body self and surrounding space, and thus may have very different experiences of early differentiation.

In another observational study of infants from birth to four months, Brazelton and Als (1979) note that neonates start out with the behaviorally identifiable mechanisms of "a bi-modal feeling system" characterized by the possibility both of attaining a state of homeo-stasis and a sense of achievement from within, and by the energy or drive to reach out for and incorporate cues and reinforcing signals from the environment (primary object strivings). The normal situation, observed by Brazelton and Als, is one in which infants begin almost immediately to adjust their behaviors and rhythms to maternal cues and rhythms--a process which the researchers label as "entrainment". According to Brazelton and Als, entrainment becomes "an envelope within which one can test out and learn about both of these feeling

systems" (p. 353). The infant learns that the development of the
self is most enhanced through entrainment with the surrounding world.
One might surmise from this and other studies that from birth on,
infants contribute to the quality of early symbiosis with the mother
through the nature of their innate ego functioning and capacity to
"entrain" with those around them. Brazelton and Als (1979) also
suggest that newborns contribute to the nature of their earliest
differentiation as well as symbiotic experiences. They characterize
the process of differentiation as intimately bound up with early
mother-infant interactions on the one hand, and with earliest
processes of internalization on the other:

> ...The provision of organization which takes place
> in continuous adaptation to and feedback from the
> environment potentiates the newborn's increasing
> differentiation. This differentiation comes from an
> internalized representation of the infant's capacity
> to reach out for and to shut off social stimuli.
> This same capacity, in turn, results in growing
> complexity of the interactional channels and
> structures and provides increasing opportunities for
> the individual system to become more differentiated.
> Given such a flexible system, the infant's individu-
> ality is continually fitted to and shaped by that
> of the adult (Brazelton and Als, 1979, p. 359).

Other studies by Stern (Stern, 1971; Beebe and Stern, 1977)
elucidate the specific interactive patterns between mothers and infants
that lead to self-other differentiation or its failure. The ways in
which infants shut off social stimuli and thereby contribute to their
own differentiation has been studied in meaningful and explanatory
detail by Beebe and Stern (1977). In an observational study of a
four month old infant interacting with its mother, Beebe (1973) has
delineated the ontogenesis of early differentiation or boundary-

creation between mothers and infants, and was able to identify seven types of boundary-creating behaviors through which the infant ingeniously resisted total symbiosis with the mother and facilitated its own differentiation.

In another study, involving a microanalysis of a mother interacting with her four month old infant, Beebe and Stern (1977) identified a pattern of engagement and disengagement experiences which represent the forerunners of early defensive operations, separation-individuation experiences, and internalized object relations. Beebe and Stern (1977) hypothesize that through such detailed analyses of behavioral organization and mutual regulation between mothers and infants, one can discover the predominant interpersonal patterns in a relationship, which are later internalized to form the earliest representations of self and object, or of self in relation to object. "...What is initially internalized is not an object per se, but an 'object relation'" (Beebe and Stern, 1977, p. 52).

The above hypothesis is given further support by a longitudinal study by Stern (1971) of a mother interacting with twin sons from three months through the end of the first year of life. Stern found very different approach-withdrawal patterns between the mother and her two infant sons. While one mother-infant pair was locked into a negative and asynchronous interactional cycle, characterized by persistent gaze aversion and head turning on the part of the infant, the other mother-infant pair achieved a more reciprocal interactional pattern, which resulted in more mutual gazing. The first twin could not maintain positive face to face contact with mother, nor could he

cease responding to her. Instead he consistently turned away when she looked at him, but as soon as she turned away, he sought her gaze, and the negative cycle began again as she approached. This twin at 12 to 15 months was found to have problems with separation-individuation. He is described as a "fearful" and "dependent" child who could not sustain eye contact and who continued his early pattern of gaze and face aversion in social situations. Of great significance to the current study is Stern's finding based on interviews with the mother, that she had an extremely conflictual relationship with her husband, and that she tended to project her negative feelings about her spouse onto the twin with whom she could not achieve reciprocal patterns of mutual gazing. This study demonstrates how the quality of husband-wife adaptation exerts a shaping influence on early mother-infant transactions which in turn affects the nature of early separation-individuation experiences.

Other studies by Stern (1971, 1974) indicate that infants make significant contributions to the nature of the patterns of dyadic gazing that are established with the mother. Stern (1974) found that infants modulate interaction by averting their gaze when the stimulation provided by mothers is experienced as too intense. Additionally, Stern (1971, 1974) noted mathematical regularities in the temporal pattern of mother-infant gaze which match those found in adult verbal conversations, thus underscoring the reciprocal nature of gaze behavior. In mutual gaze sequences between mothers and infants, mothers were noted to hold their gaze, while infants cycled between looking away and looking back again. Stern observes that each partner

contributes to the "gaze" conversation. While maternal gaze and the constellation of vocal and facial behaviors that accompany it exert a strong effect in both eliciting and holding infant gaze, infant gaze usually serves to inhibit maternal gaze aversion (the latter reaches statistical significance for all mothers in Stern's study). Stern's studies thus decode the inherently reciprocal nature of mutual gazing between mother and infant. In that mutual gaze has been found to contribute strongly to the consolidation of mother-infant attachment during the symbiotic phase, we can see that once again infants make a substantial contribution to the quality of their own symbiotic experiences.

Another series of experimental studies which reveal the infant's contributions to the quality of early object relational experiences are those by Tronick and associates (1980, 1982; Tronick, Als, and Brazelton, 1977; Tronick, Als, Adamson, Wise, and Brazelton, 1978; Tronick, Als, and Brazelton, 1978; Tronick, Als, and Adamson, 1979). In these studies, Tronick et al. have employed a microanalysis of face-to-face mother-infant interaction, which allows the researchers to evaluate the contributions of each member of the dyad to the interactional sequences. The research findings from these studies indicate that parent-infant interactions are characterized by a rhythmic or cyclic pattern, the quality of which is determined by the individual contributions of each member of the dyad. Analyses of both normal interactive patterns and of various distortions of the normal, such as the still-face and simulated depression on the part of the mother, have led Tronick and associates to conclude that the infant

makes substantial contributions to the quality of early mother-infant reciprocity.

That the infant possesses a set of relational or object-seeking capacities which enable him or her to play an active role in dyadic social interactions is confirmed by Tronick et al.'s observations of infant behaviors when obstacles to satisfying mutuality are introduced, as is the case in the still-face experiments (Tronick, Als, Adamson, and Wise, 1978). The mother in the still-face situation faces the infant, thereby signaling that normal reciprocal play is about to begin, but instead she assumes the "still-face" which violates the code of social reciprocity. The infant responds to this violation with a range of interactive strategies, cycling repeatedly through phases of initiation, greeting and disengagement. When these interactive strategies fail to engage the mother in reciprocal play, the infant protests, and finally withdraws into listless apathy characterized by gaze aversion and/or intense negative affect. The ingenuity and persistence that the infants in Tronick's study displayed in attempting to re-engage the mother indicate that they possess a set of relational capacities for the reciprocal regulation of social interaction from the third or four postnatal month.

Tronick (1981) comments that empirical studies of early mother-infant interaction make the "transmission of affect between mother and infant no longer a magical unobservable process of interchange (Kohut, 1971). Rather it is a behavior that can be seen and described" (p. 17). Through a microanalysis of the most minute mother-infant interactions, the studies reviewed above enable us to discern the

constitutive building-blocks of early separation-individuation experiences. Additionally, through the enlarging lens of the microanalytic methodology, the heretofore obscure contributions of infants to their own separation-individuation experiences are revealed.

Hypotheses

This section presents the major theoretical hypotheses guiding this research. Brief statements of rationale locate the origins of these hypotheses in the previously reviewed clinical and research literature. The specific variable relationships and statistical procedures used to test these hypotheses are further explicated in Chapters III (Method) and IV (Quantitative Results).

The primary overall hypothesis of this study is that individuals tend to seek out partners with equivalent levels of separation-individuation and to perpetuate their own resolutions of separation-individuation both within the marital relationship and within the new family group. Accordingly, two separate groups of hypotheses were formulated: one group related to the separation-individuation of the individual parents and of the marital relationship; the other related to the interplay between pre-birth parental and martial individuation, and postnatal infant characteristics and parent infant transactions.

Hypotheses on Pre-Birth Parental and Marital Individuation Ratings

The first group of hypotheses include the following:

Hypothesis 1: Individuals tend to choose partners with equivalent levels of individuation, and to reproduce their own resolutions

of separation-individuation in dyadic patterns of separateness and togetherness (marital individuation). These dyadic configurations will reflect the combined individuation potentials of the partners. The more highly individuated the partners, the more they will be able to integrate both mutuality and autonomy, relational connectedness and separateness within the context of an intimate dyadic relationship.

Rationale: This hypothesis is supported by previous research by Carr (1970) and Starker (1982) which shows that marital partners tend to choose spouses with equivalent levels of self-other differentiation, and that the relational patterns of high and low differentiated persons can be distinguished. Similarly, on the basis of extensive clinical research, Bowen (1972) concludes:

> The life style, thinking and emotional patterns of
> people at one end of the (differentiation of self)
> scale are so different from people at other levels
> that people choose spouses or close personal friends
> from those with equal levels of differentiation
> (p. 117).

Previous research (Goodrich, Ryder, and Raush, 1968; Ryder, 1970; Wynne et al., 1958; Lidz et al., 1965) also highlights the impact of level of differentiation from family of origin on the transactional patterns within the marital relationship, and particularly on the degree and quality of relational connectedness versus separateness. Low levels of individual separation-individuation were found to affect aspects of couple relationships including the balance between mutuality and autonomy, and the nature and quality of communication (Goodrich, Ryder, and Raush, 1968; Fitzpatrick, 1983).

Hypothesis 2: The individual and marital separation-

individuation ratings will intercorrelate significantly with other measures of prenatal parental and marital characteristics. Specifically, individual separation-individuation ratings are expected to correlate with pre-birth ratings on ego adaptation and flexibility and marital adaptation. No significant relationship is expected between marital individuation ratings, which assess the extent to which autonomy and mutuality are integrated within a dyadic relationship, and marital satisfaction as measured by the Locke-Wallace.

Rationale: This hypothesis was formulated for the purpose of relating the parental and marital individuation measures to ratings of related pre-birth parental and marital characteristics on the UCLA Family Development Project. Establishing a relationship between the separation-individuation ratings developed for this study, and other measures of dimensions encompassed by that rating was thought to enhance the reliability and validity of these measures as well as to contribute to the operationalization of a theoretical construct of separation-individuation.

The theoretical rationale for the expected correlation between the parental individuation ratings and the ratings on parental ego adaptation and marital adaptation is as follows: Separation-individuation is defined as the process by which the individual differentiates an autonomous self within a relational context. In addition to the formation of a sense of separate self and of an autonomous identity, separation-individuation entails the capacity for libidinal object constancy or the capacity not only to engage in deeply intimate relationships, but also to sustain attachment to and

regard for the object over time, independent of external circumstances and in the face of gratifications as well as frustrations, without loss of individual identity and autonomy. Previous research and theoretical work on individuation (Karpel, 1976; Starker, 1982) have supported this formulation of individuation.

Previous research by Starker (1982) has indicated that separation-individuation represents a valid and independent dimension by which to assess marital relationships, and supports our expectation of no relationship between the parental and marital separation-individuation and marital satisfaction.

Hypotheses on Linkages Between Prenatal and Postnatal Ratings

The second group of hypotheses stipulates that the quality of individuation both of the individual parents and within the marital relationship, as assessed during the prenatal period, will be related to aspects of infant self-development and parent-infant transactions. The relationship is also expected to vary according to stage of infant development. It is also hypothesized that certain child variables will be related to certain parent-child transactions in the postnatal period. Specific hypotheses are as follows:

Hypothesis 3: The quality of the pre-birth individuation profile, as representated by the parental and marital individuation ratings, will anticipate the postnatal interplay of parent encouragement of separation-individuation and infant attainment of sense of separate self during the first postnatal year. The pre-birth individuation profile will begin to anticipate the postnatal interplay

of parent promotion of individuation and infant attainment of separate self at 6 months, when the infant is beginning to differentiate from mother-infant dual unity, but it is expected that this trend will be stronger at 12 months, when the infant is entering the practicing subphase of the separation-individuation process. At 6 months the pre-birth individuation profile will most strongly anticipate mother's encouragement of individuation, while at 12 months the pre-birth individuation profile will more or equally strongly anticipate father's encouragement of individuation. Infant sense of separate self will be anticipated by pre-birth parental and marital individuation at 6 and 12 months. Postnatal parent promotion of individuation is expected to significantly correlate with infant sense of separate self at 6 and 12 months.

Rationale: Previous research has shown that the parent who has adequately separated and individuated from his/her own families of origin will most likely recreate a family context in which separation-individuation is both encouraged and attained. Previous clinical research (Bowen, 1966; Dicks, 1967) has suggested that children are capable of attaining the degree of individuation and separateness that characterize the parental interaction model, while infant observational research (Heinicke et al., 1983; Mahler et al., 1975) indicates that infant sense of separate self emerges in part from the parent's capacity to encourage autonomy and separateness.

It is expected that this trend for the pre-birth individuation profile to predict the interplay of parent promotion of separation-individuation will begin to become evident at 6 months, because 6

months marks the beginning of self-other differentiation for the infant. At 6 months, the infant begins to tentatively move outside of the orbit of mother-infant symbiosis (Mahler et al., 1975), primarily through visual and tactile exploration, often from the vantage point of the mother's lap. Thus extensive tolerance for separation is not required of either infant or mother at this point. Consequently, both parent promotion of separation-individuation and infant attainment of separate self may not be as evident at 6 months as they are at 12 months, when the infant is entering the practicing phase.

Separation-individuation issues are thought to emerge as more salient for infant development at the one year point (Mahler et al., 1975). The infant at one year not only has a greater capacity for autonomous functioning as a result of locomotion and increased motor skills, but also tends to exhibit through its strivings for mastery and exhibitionism of skills the quality of his or her early self experience, i.e., whether it appears cohesive or depleted, whether it has a negative or positive valence.

Previous research has indicated that at 12 months, the parental tasks of promoting individuation become more complex (Mahler et al., 1975). It becomes especially important at one year for the parents to remain emotionally available to the infant for "emotional refueling" even while they encourage the infant to expand his or her sphere of independent functioning. The capacity to remain both libidinally available and tolerant of separation requires a greater degree of individuation on the part of the parents. At the one year point,

the father also becomes more central to the separation-individuation process by providing an alternative relational base for the infant to differentiate from mother-child symbiosis.

Hypothesis 4: The pre-birth individuation profile will be related to parental promotion of environmental stimulation for the infant at 6 and 12 months.

Rationale: The higher the quality of individuation resources in the family, the more likely it is that the parents will provide optimal environmental stimulation, and encourage their child towards mastery of the environment. Mastery of the environment is thought to be related to the parent's own capacity for self-sustained, autonomous activity, which contributes to their individuation rating.

Hypothesis 5: The pre-birth individuation profile (as represented by the parental and marital individuation ratings) will anticipate the parent-infant transactions that reflect the capacity for attachment and empathic responsiveness, as well as the capacity to tolerate and encourage autonomy and separateness. Also predicted by the pre-birth individuation profile will be aspects of infant self-development which reflect the quality of parental affection and responsiveness to need. Accordingly, pre-birth parental and marital individuation is expected to predict the quantity and quality of the parents' affection for the infant and their responsiveness to infant need, as well as the infant's corresponding sense of being cared for and a sense of positive self at 6 and 12 months. It is hypothesized that at 6 months the pre-birth individuation profile will most strongly anticipate the quantity and quality of affection given by

the mother and her responsiveness to need, while at 12 months, the pre-birth individuation profile will strongly anticipate the quantity and quality of affection given by both the mother and the father, and their responsiveness to infant need. Postnatal parental affection and responsiveness to need are expected to significantly correlate with infant expectation of being cared for and sense of positive self at 6 and 12 months.

Rationale: It was thought that the pre-birth individuation profile would provide an index to the resources for nurturance as well as autonomy within the family group. Previous research has indicated that the quantity and quality of parental affection as well as the quality of parental responsiveness to infant need, strongly predicts the extent to which the infant will demonstrate an expectation of being cared for and sense of positive self during the first postnatal year (Heinicke, 1983). In accordance with the idea that primary object relations constitute the core of introjects that form the individual's sense of self and reactions to others, it is thought that infants who are responded to empathically, and with a high quantity and quality of affection, will develop a sense of self as worthy of being cared for and loved (expectation of being cared for, sense of positive self). Such early parent-child transactions form the anlagen for infant self and object representations.

Parents who have adequately separated and individuated vis-a-vis their own families of origin will not need to recreate aspects of past object relations with their infant, and thus will be able to fulfill the primary parental tasks appropriate to the age and stage

of the infant. At six months, the primary parental task, especially for the mother, is to form a strong mother-infant attachment characterized by a high level of emotional attunedness and mutual reflection (Mahler et al., 1975). Of special importance in this process is the mother's selective responsiveness to infant cues. The mother who is well individuated both separately and within the marriage will best be able to fulfill the above parental tasks at 6 months, as well as to foster her infant's beginning self-other differentiation and movement outside of the mother-infant symbiotic orbit. Similarly, it is expected that the father who is well individuated, both separately and within the marriage will be able to tolerate the mother's symbiotic relationship with the infant during the first 6 months, as well as to participate more directly in the parenting process by responding directly and empathically to infant need during the first postnatal year.

Hypothesis 6: It is hypothesized that at six months pre-birth maternal individuation will predict postnatal infant characteristics while pre-birth father individuation will emerge as an equally strong predictor of infant ratings at the one year point.

Rationale: This hypothesis is in keeping with previous research on the respective roles of mothers, fathers, and the marital relationship in early infant development and the separation-individuation process. The findings of Grossman, Eichler, and Winicoff (1978) indicate that the mother's personality characteristics are reflected in the infant's functioning throughout the first post-natal year, while father's personality characteristics emerge as more

salient to infant development primarily at the one year point.

Hypothesis 7. It was hypothesized that there might be a differential impact of parent and infant gender on the degree of separation-individuation promoted by the parents, with mothers tending to promote a greater degree of separation-individuation for male than for female infants at 6 and 12 months.

Rationale: This hypothesis is supported by theoretical formulations (Chodorow, 1978) and previous clinical observational research. Bergmann (1983), one of Mahler's co-workers, has observed that during the first year of life "the mother has already treated the little girl in accordance with her own feelings about the child's gender." In her longitudinal observational research, Bergmann found that some mothers have difficulty in tolerating their female children's increased autonomy and independence in the practicing subphase. Bergman hypothesizes that mothers may unconsciously re-experience a gratifying symbiosis with their own mothers in their symbiotic experiences with their daughters, and thus may experience the daughter's growing separation, as epitomized by upright locomotion, as a loss.

METHOD

The preceding hypotheses on the impact of parental and marital individuation on aspects of infant and family development were approached from several methodological orientations, including quantitative and qualitative clinical procedures. The data base for this research was provided by the UCLA Family Development Project which has conducted a multi-method, multi-dimensional longitudinal study of couples going through the transition to first-time parenthood. This dissertation involves the re-analaysis of existing data in the light of a new research question involving the impact of pre-birth parental and marital separation-individuation on infant self-development and parent-infant transactions. The general research procedures including methods of subject recruitment, instrumentation and rating procedures, and data analysis both for this study and for the UCLA Family Development Project are described in this chapter.

Research Subjects

The research participants were 40 couples, from a defined geographical area of Los Angeles, who were going through the transition to first-time parenthood. These couples were recruited through several procedures. First, couples having their first child were asked to volunteer from a hospital obstetrics-gynocological clinic or Lamaze class. In order to avoid the bias of a self-selected sample, additional subjects were recruited from medical files. Research

participants went through an initial screening to eliminate those with poor English skills, temporary residence or medically at-risk pregnancies. The 40 couples who comprise the subsample studied for this project showed the following characteristics. The majority of the subjects were white, middle-class couples in their late twenties, although the sample showed some diversity in terms of age, race and social class. Eighty percent of the mothers and ninety percent of the fathers were white, with Blacks, Hispanics and Asians represented in the remaining percentage. Included in the study were three Asian couples, two Hispanic couples, one Black couple, and two interracial couples. The mothers ranged in age from 23 to 37 years with a median age of 29, while the fathers ranged in age from 23 to 42 with a median age of 30. All but one of the couples were married at the time of the study. The mean length of marriage for the couples in the sample was 4 years with a range from 0 to 14 years. Three of the male subjects and one of the female subjects had been married previously.

The research participants showed a range of occupations and educational backgrounds. The median educational level of the father was a B.A. degree, while that of the mother was several years of college. The subjects were employed in a variety of occupations from blue-collar to professional, with the typical occupation of the fathers being self-employment in small business, and that of the mothers (72 percent of whom were employed outside the home) being employment in white-collar positions. Family income levels ranged from $8500 to $120,000, with a median income of $33,000. Tables 3 and 4 present the frequency distributions of income and education

TABLE 3

Frequency Distribution of Education Levels

Education Level	$\underline{N}$
Partial High School	2
High School Degree	5
Partial College	20
College Degree	22
M.A./M.S.	15
Ph.D./M.D./J.D./Other Professional Degree	16
Total	80

TABLE 4

Frequency Distribution of Income Levels

Family Income Level	N
Less than $10,000	2
$10,000-$19,000	7
$20,000-$29,000	6
$30,000-$39,000	9
$40,000-$49,000	2
$50,000-$59,000	5
$60,000-$69,000	2
$70,000-$79,000	0
$80,000-$89,000	1
$90,000-$120,000	3
No Data	2
Total	40

for the sample.

Procedures of Data Collection

The 40 couples in this subsample were studied intensively by means of a variety of observational and interview procedures, and objective measures from the mid-pregnancy period thorugh the first postnatal year. Only 3 of the 40 families did not participate in all phases of data collection, and this was the result of either temporary or, in one case, work-related geographical relocation. The high level of subject participation and cooperation in the study was thought to result from a number of factors, including the postnatal mother-infant group which offered a support system for project participants, and the assessments of infant cognitive and social development through measures such as the Bayley. For families who have remained in the study, follow-up visits are planned when the infant is 2, 3, 4, and 8 years of age. The current research is based on data sets of the assessment of the pre-birth parental and marital characteristics and the postnatal infant characteristics and parent-infant transactions collected through the following procedures.

Data Sets on Pre-Birth Parental Characteristics

The initial contact with the family was made by a coordinating social worker who did a preliminary home visit and gathered background information at the mid-pregnancy period. During the second and third trimesters of pregnancy the following data were collected: 1) Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Questionnaire, which provided a broad

measure of marital satisfaction, and the quality of general marital adaptation (see Appendix A); 2) A videotaped semi-structured pre-birth interview with the mother covering social background and life history; the quality and nature of relationships (past and present) with the primary objects in the family of origin; current personality functioning and relational patterns, including relationship to the husband; sexual adjuatment; adaptation to pregnancy; and feelings about the future parental role (see Appendix B for maternal interview schedule). The pre-birth maternal interview had been previously scored by researchers on the project according to a system adopted from Shereshefsky and Yarrow (1973) with established reliability; 3) An audiotaped pre-birth interview with the father covering the same areas as that of the mother with the same pre-existing scorings (see Appendix C for paternal interview schedule); 4) An audiotaped marital interaction sequence, containing three probes: the first designed to explore how the couple envisions their life changing with the birth of the child; the second designed to explore an unresolved issue for the couple, derived from the pre-birth individual interview with the mother; and the third designed to explore a problematic issue for the couple derived from the pre-birth individual interview with the father. The marital interaction sequences were conducted in the home without the project researchers present.

Data Sets on Post-Natal Infant Self-Development and Parent-Infant Transactions

During the immediate post-natal period the coordinating social worker again visited the family, usually in the hospital, and conducted

an open-ended interview. An observer with no prior knowledge of the family was then assigned to follow the family through a number of data collection procedures beginning with an open-ended hospital visit in which an early feeding was observed, and then shifting to the home. Since it was thought that a trusting relationship between family and observer would enhance the reliability and validity of the data, an attempt was made to keep the oberver consistent through all observations, altough this was not always possible because of shifts in project personnel. All of the observers were trained in methods of naturalistic infant and family observation, and the majority had graduate level clinical and research training. The observers were responsible for collecting the following data sets.[2]

Naturalistic observation in the home. Systematic naturalistic observations of infant characteristics and parent-infant transactions were conducted in the home at 1, 3, 6, 12, and 24 months, using a system of scoring (with established reliability) derived from that developed by Yarrow, Rubenstein, and Pederson (1975). Father participation was encouraged but not required, as was that of the mother and infant. The following infant and caretaker categories were rated in a system of continuous on-the-spot scoring (every 30 seconds for a period of 45 minutes to an hour): The major infant categories were infant proximity to the caretaker (i.e., immediate, 3 feet, 3 to 10 feet plus, out or inaccessible); infant state (sleep, transition, quiet alert, alert alert, crying); infant signal (i.e., smile, vegetative, positive, fret, or distress); infant activities (i.e., non-nutritive sucking, visual attention, attention to inanimate objects, manipula-

tion, eating, movement). The major caretaker activities were parent vocalizes, looks, provides tactile stimulation, provides kinesthetic stimulation, smiles, plays, expresses positive affect, expresses negative affect, encourages the infant's emerging cognitive, social and motor behaviors, provides basic care (i.e., feeding), or engages in mutual gazing with the infant. The activities that were mutual or interactive were scored as such. At the end of the observation the researcher totaled the number of minutes for each category (see Appendix D for example of scoring sheet).

Ratings based on home observations. Specific ratings of the infant's self-development and parent-infant transactions were completed immediately after the home observation by the researcher. Infant ratings included such categories as alertness, soothability, social interest and responsiveness to mother, sense of agent, seeks and gives affection, follows, and level of anxiety or hostility. Parent-infant ratings included items such as the physical involvement and closeness, appropriateness of the caretakers' behavior to the baby's needs and rhythms, cognitive stimulation, quantity and quality of affection, mutual gaze or regard. In addition, there were two transactional ratings: mutuality and contingency, or the extent to which parent-infant interactions exhibit an interrelatedness and reciprocal character; and individuation, or the extent to which the parent encourages or inhibits the infant's strivings towards separateness and autonomy (see Appendix E for sample scoring sheet).

Global parent-child ratings. On the basis of the above data, a set of global ratings on infant self-development and parent-infant

transactions were completed by the same research observer at 6, 12, and 24 months. Global infant ratings included the following: 1) Expectation of being cared for (anticipated response to need); 2) Sense of positive self (degree of positive narcissism versus self-depletion); 4) Adaptation-competence (degree of mastery and efficacy). Global parent-infant ratings included: 1) Quantity and quality of parental affection (quality of emotional cathexis to the child and degree of emotional involvement); 2) Responsiveness and efficacy in meeting the child's needs (capacity to perceive and respond to the child's cues of his needs and rhythms; 3) Encouragement of optimal separation-individuation (extent to which the caretaker encourages experiences which promote the child's independent functioning and sense of autonomy); 4) Cognitive and environmental stimulation (exposure to, communication about, and guidance of the child to the environment). The global ratings represented an attempt to assess optimal development from four interrelated, but crucial and distinct, points of view. Since the ratings were based on one researcher's assessment of the child's and parent-child's functioning along four different, but related aspects, a high correlation among these ratings was anticipated. Other measures, such as the Bayley, focused on more delimited cognitive and behavioral dimensions. Despite their limitations, the global ratings on infant self-development and parent-infant transactions were selected as the primary outcome criteria of this study, because they represented the most efficient summary of the quality of infant self-development and parent-infant transactions. Reliability on these ratings had been previously established at the

.70 criterion level (see Heinicke et al., 1983b). The specific criteria for scoring are further explicated in the Global Child and Parent-Child Rating Manuals (see Appendices F and G).

Qualitative process accounts. Qualitative process accounts of the home observations were prepared at each data collection point by the research observers. These qualitative process accounts were designed to amplify and detail the large body of quantitative data that was generated through the above described rating scales and scoring systems. The qualitative process accounts were comprehensive narratives which were intended to document clinical impressions about the emotional atmosphere in the home, the nature of the marital relationship, the child's orientation to the parents, the quality of the infant's emerging selfhood and developing cognitive and motor capacities, and parent-child interactions such as encouragement of separateness and quality of affection.

Instrumentation and Rating Procedures

The global child and parent-child transactional ratings and the qualitative process accounts provided a comprehensive data base for the study of infant self-development and parent-infant transactions during the first postnatal year. The investigation of the impact of pre-birth parental and marital individuation on the latter necessitated the formulation of rating scales for individual and marital individuation. These scales, which are further described below, were designed by the author for the first time in this study.

<u>Instrumentation and Ratings Procedures for Parental Separation-</u>
<u>Individuation Scale</u>

The individual parental separation-individuation scale was adapted
from Bowen's (1966) theoretical differentiation of self scale, formu-
lated through extensive clinical research. The primary data sources
for this rating were the pre-birth videotaped interviews of the mother,
and the pre-birth audiotaped interviews of the fathers. Although these
interviews were not specifically designed to assess the level of
separation-individuation, they contained a considerable amount of
data on both the individual's separation-individuation experiences
vis-a-vis the primary objects in the family of origin, and current
level of separation-individuation as assessed by capacity for
autonomous ego functioning and object relations in depth, and were
therefore deemed appropriate for use in this study.

The individual separation-individuation scale contains 13 sub-
ratings which comprise three subscales and a final global individuation
rating. The subratings were intended to guide the rater from a
consideration of the quality of self-other differentiation on an intra-
psychic level as assessed by a review of the individual's internalized
experience of the primary object, to an understanding of the degree of
separation-individuation within the current relational context.
Accordingly the scale was divided into three sections which were
designed to rate the pre-birth interviews along the following
dimensions:

1) <u>Separation from family of origin and nature of primary object</u>
<u>relations</u>. This dimension included subratings on the individual's

internalized experience of the parental objects, and particularly of the parent's recollections of their own parents' capacity to encourage separation-individuation and respond empathically to emotional needs. Also included in this section were subratings on the individual's current level of separation-individuation vis-a-vis the family of origin, as assessed by the amount and nature of contact with the parental figures.

2) <u>Level of identity formation and capacity for autonomous ego functioning</u>. The second dimension included subratings on the capacity for and pleasure in autonomous self-directed activity, the degree of ambivalence and uncertainty versus acceptance of adult status, and the degree of independence versus dependence.

3) <u>Capacity for relationships</u>. The third section of the subratings was designed to assess the individual's capacity for object constancy, as assessed by the extent of tolerance for spouse's autonomy and independence; the degree of empathic responsivity to spouse's needs, and the capacity for mutuality in intimate relationships.

The above three dimensions were thought to be linked in that the individual's current level of individuation (autonomous ego function-ing and object constancy) is in part originally determined by the relational pattern within the family of origin, and is powerfully shaped by the nature of the parental introjects. The existing ratings on all of the above dimensions were combined with an overall clinical impression of the individual to formulate both a qualitative description and a numerically-based global rating of the individual's level of separation-individuation. Each individual parent was placed

in one of the following individuation categories: high separation-individuation, moderately-high separation-individuation, average separation-individuation, moderately-low separation-individuation, and low separation-individuation. A composite clinical profile for each individuation category as well as essential scoring criteria for the subratings are fully described in the Individual Separation-Individuation Rating Manual (see Appendix H).

Instrumentation and Rating Procedures for Marital Separation-Individuation Scale

A rating scale for marital individuation was also designed and utilized for the first time in this study. The creation of the marital individuation scale was guided by clinically-based theoretical work (Bowen, 1966; Dicks, 1967; Karpel, 1976; Sharpe, 1981), as well as by marital assessment instruments developed by Fitzpatrick (1983), Cowen (1982, 1983), and Hemmings (1983), which specifically address the quality of separateness versus connectedness in couple relationships. The marital individuation scale was composed of 14 subratings and a final global individuation rating. The subratings were used as a guide to structure precise thinking along specific dimensions that were thought to contribute to the level of marital individuation, and to guard against global responding. Subratings covered the following dimensions:

1) Patterns of separateness versus connectedness in couple relationships. The degree of relational connectedness was assessed through specific subratings on the amount of sharing and companionship in the marriage, shared versus separate interests and activities,

degree of interdependence, and level of closeness versus emotional disengagement in the relationship.

2) <u>Patterns of communication</u>. Included in this dimension were specific subratings on the degree of expressivity and openness, mutuality/contingency and capacity to negotiate compromise in couple communication. In previous empirical studies on marital interaction and clinically-based theoretical work on separation-individuation, these three dimensions have most often been associated with positive marital adjustment and high levels of separation-individuation (Fitzpatrick, 1980; Raush et al., 1970). Also included were subratings on the degree of negativity and criticalness, projection of blame, and tendency to spread conflict from a specific focus to a wide range of relationship issues, all of which have been previously linked to dysfunctional patterns of marital interaction and a high degree of emotional fusion in the marital relationship (Gotmann, 1979; Lederer and Jackson, 1968; Karpel, 1976).

3) <u>Quality of husband-wife adaptation</u>. Assessment of this dimension included subratings on overall marital adjustment, including pleasure in sexuality.

The scores on each of the above subratings were combined with an overall clinical impression of the relationship to form a final global rating of the level of marital separation-individuation. All couples were placed in one of the following individuation categories: high marital separation-individuation; moderately-high marital separation-individuation; average marital separation-individuation; moderately-low separation-individuation; and low marital separation-individuation.

Each point on this scale was defined by a clinical profile of the degree of independence and interdependence, autonomy and mutuality in the couple relationship. A composite clinical profile for each global marital individuation category as well as the essential scoring criteria for the subratings are presented in the Marital Individuation Scoring Manual (Appendix I).

The specific procedures for the marital individuation rating were as follows: A first formulation of the patterns of separateness and togetherness, autonomy and mutuality in the dyad was derived from the pre-birth individual interviews, which contained in-depth questions on the quality of the marriage (see Appendices A and B). The Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Questionnaire was then reviewed in order to form a global impression of the general level of marital satisfaction. After the self-report data on the marriage had been reviewed, the audiotaped marital interactional sequence (and transcripts thereof) were reviewed. Particular attention was paid to the quality and nature of communication processes between the couple since previous studies have suggested that communication patterns may reflect the level of separation-individuation within the marital dyad (Fitzpatrick, 1980; Raush, 1970, 1974; Wynne, 1959).

The rating of marital separation-individuation was thus based on a number of data sets, including self-report measures (Locke-Wallace, and semi-structured pre-birth interviews) as well as on behavioral data (marital interaction sequence). Such a combination of self-report and behavioral measures are thought to be most effective in generating marital and family typologies (Olsen, 1981). While self-

report measures require the researcher to infer qualities such as mutuality or autonomy among couples, direct observation of interaction (or records thereof) allow the researcher to follow sequences of behavior and mutual interactions more closely and immediately, providing an empirically-valid basis for making generalizations about the quality or nature of marital or familial interaction (Raush et al., 1974; Olsen, 1981).

Summary of Rating Procedures

A brief recap of the procedures for the individual and marital individuation ratings is as follows: The first step was to review the individual pre-birth parental interviews in order to make a first formulation of the sense of separate self and nature of the primary object relations, with a view towards developing a rating of the individual's level of separation-individuation, within past and present relational contexts. The focus of the first rating was on the individual's level of separation-individuation and its contribution to the current level of separation-individuation vis-a-vis the partner. Through integrating specific subratings with clinical impressions derived from a review of all data sets, an overall rating of the level of separation-individuation both for the individual parents, and within the marital relationship was formulated. The three global individuation ratings (husband, wife, and marital) were thought to constitute the pre-birth individuation profile for each family.

The clinical impressions derived from a review of the individual

interviews and marital interaction sequences were summarized in a
qualitative profile of the level of separation-individuation of both
individuals and of the dyad. These case studies, which ranged in
length from 5 to 15 pages per couple, constituted the primary data
base for further qualitative analysis.

The Clinical Inferential Process

The above prenatal parental and marital individuation ratings (as
well as the postnatal child and parent-child transactional ratings)
were based on a clinical profile concept, which involved drawing
inferences by abstracting patterns from review of narrative content
or reflection on interactions. Such a clinical inferential process
often necessitates discerning the "actual experience behind the
subject's own semantic categorizations of her experience" (Main,
1983, p. 8). Because of the variability and redundancy inherent in
such subjective inferential assessments of data, an attempt was made
in this study to set guidelines for the clinical inferential process.
The above ratings relied on four levels of data: 1) Extrinsic, i.e.,
what the person actually says about the self and the self-in-relation
to others through the narrative content of the individual pre-birth
interviews; 2) Primary intrapsychic, i.e., what the rater can infer
about the past object relations from the totality of the person's
communications, both verbal and nonverbal in both of the above
settings; 3) Current intrapsychic, i.e., what the rater can infer
about the current self and object representations from the totality
of the person's communications in both of the above settings;

4) Extrinsic-interactional, i.e., what the person reveals about the self-in-relation to others through the interaction sequences (used for the marital individuation rating only). The first three levels of data were used to formulate the individual parental individuation ratings, while all four levels of data contributed to the marital individuation rating.

The raters were instructed to follow the procedure delineated below in weighing the contribution of the above levels of data in their final individuation ratings. Initially, what the person actually said about the self and the self-in-relation to others was taken at face value, and weighed most heavily in assigning an individuation rating. However, ratings were based on the entire interview transcript, and both affect, as expressed verbally and nonverbally, and cognition were traced carefully through the interviews. In cases where the affect contradicted the manifest or verbal content of a communication, the discrepancy was considered in the final rating. Similarly, the present was weighed more heavily than the past, so that, for example, if an individual insisted that the parents were highly encouraging of separation and autonomy, but the current relational picture with the primary objects indicated lack of individuation, ratings reflected the current relational picture more heavily than the retrospective data. Finally, in cases where there were clear contradictions between the self-report data on the relationship and the interaction model that emerged from the marital interaction sequences, the latter was weighed more heavily in assigning the marital individuation rating, unless the couple was

thought to be unduly affected by the experimental procedures. The operationalization of the clinical inferential process was attempted to increase reliability.

Interrater Reliability Analysis

The author and another psychoanalytically-oriented psychologist conducted an interrater reliability study of 15 families. A Pearson r of .70 was set as the criterion level for reliability. The correlation coefficients on the individuation separation-individuation ratings were computed separately for the male and female subjects in the study because of the different conditions for the pre-birth interviews (audiotape versus videotape). The results of the reliability study are presented in Tables 5 through 7. These results indicate that the reliability criterion was met for the global individual (r = .78 for females, r = .73 for males) and marital (r = .83) individuation ratings. However, the correlation coefficients for a number of the subratings did not meet the criterion for reliability (7 for female, 10 for male, and 7 for marital). The variable reliability of the subratings was attributed to several factors. The subratings differed in both the amount of data that was available, and in the degree of clinical inference that was required. The combination of the paucity of data in some cases, combined with the inherent variability of the clinical inferential process was thought to account for the uneven reliability of the subratings. The lower reliability of the subratings for the male subjects was attributed to the ambiguity inherent in the use of audiotape versus videotape (male versus female

TABLE 5

Reliability of Separation-Individuation Ratings
for Female Subjects

Ratings	Reliability Coefficient ($\underline{r}$) ($\underline{N}$ = 15)
Subratings	
1. Contact with Family	.89***
2. Differentiation from Family	.60*
3. Mother's Encouragement of Separation-Individuation	.73*
4. Father's Encouragement of Separation-Individuation	.88***
5. Mother's Responsiveness to Emotional Need	.68**
6. Father's Responsiveness to Emotional Need	.81***
7. Capacity for Self-Directed Autonomous Activity	.69**
8. Sense of Success as an Adult	.73**
9. Independence versus Dependence	.63**
10. Empathic Responsivity to Spouse	.70*
11. Tolerance for Spouse's Autonomy	.59*
12. Closeness to Peers	.84***
13. Capacity for Mutuality	.55*
Global Rating	
Global Female Individuation Rating	.78***

$^{+}\underline{p} < .1$
$^{*}\underline{p} < .05$
$^{**}\underline{p} < .01$
$^{***}\underline{p} < .001$

TABLE 6

Reliability of Separation-Individuation Ratings
for Male Subjects

Ratings	Reliability Coefficient (r) (N = 15)
Subratings	
1. Contact with Family	.89***
2. Differentiation from Family	.57*
3. Mother's Encouragement of Separation-Individuation	.77**
4. Father's Encouragement of Separation-Individuation	.63**
5. Mother's Responsiveness to Emotional Need	.69**
6. Father's Responsiveness to Emotional Need	.53*
7. Capacity for Self-Directed Autonomous Activity	.52*
8. Sense of Success as an Adult	.54*
9. Independence versus Dependence	.62**
10. Empathic Responsivity to Spouse	.40
11. Tolerance for Spouse's Autonomy	.77**
12. Closeness to Peers	.34
13. Capacity for Mutuality	.33
Global Rating	
Global Male Individuation Rating	.73**

$+$ p < .1
$*p$ < .05
$**p$ < .01
$***p$ < .001

TABLE 7

Reliability of Marital Separation-Individuation Ratings

Ratings	Reliability Coefficient ($\underline{r}$) ($\underline{N}$ = 15)
Subratings	
1. Shared versus Separate Interests and Activities	.74**
2. Degree of Emotional Connectedness versus Separateness	.73**
3. Interdependence	.28
4. Openness and Expressivity in Communication	.33
5. Negativity	.78***
6. Criticalness	.93***
7. Mutuality	.54*
8. Capacity to Accept Differences	.70**
9. Differentiation in Point of View	.64**
10. Capacity to Negotiate Compromise Solutions	.56*
11. Tendency to Project Blame and Responsibility	.38
12. Tendency to Spread Conflict	.64**
13. Sexual Adjustment	.82***
14. Overall Marital Adjustment	.64**
Global Rating	
Global Marital Individuation Rating	.83***

$^{+}\underline{p}$ < .1
*$\underline{p}$ < .05
**$\underline{p}$ < .01
***$\underline{p}$ < .001

interviews). However, since the subratings were intended primarily as a guide to structure the raters' thinking along certain specific dimensions, they were thought to have largely fulfilled their function, given the attained reliability of the global individual and marital individuation ratings.

Procedures of Data Analysis

The three individuation ratings (husband, wife and marital) were combined, according to the procedures described in the following chapter, to form the pre-birth individuation profile for each family. Both quantitative and qualitative data analysis proceeded simultaneously, largely on the basis of this initial categorization of the families.

Statistical Approaches to Data Analysis

Discussion of the statistical approaches to the data will treat the major hypotheses guiding this study (previously presented in Chapter II), in separate clusters. The first cluster of hypotheses, which primarily dealt with the relationships among the parental ratings, called for correlational analyses. Hypothesis 1, which stipulated that individuals tend to choose partners with equivalent levels of individuation and to perpetuate their own resolutions of separation-individuation in patterns of dyadic separateness and connectedness, required correlations among the three pre-birth individuation ratings. Multiple correlations were also computed to assess the relative contributions of each partner's individual level

of separation-individuation to the marital individuation rating, which was hypothesized to reflect the combined individuation potentials of both partners. Hypothesis 2, which stipulated that the pre-birth individuation ratings would correlate significantly with various pre-birth ratings (parental ego adaptation-competence, husband-wife adaptation), but not with measures of marital satisfaction obtained through the Locke-Wallace, also called for correlational methods.

Hypotheses 3, 4, and 5 stipulated that the pre-birth individuation profile would significantly predict the quality of separation-individuation both promoted by the parent and attained by the infant (Hypothesis 3), the parents' capacity to promote environmental stimulation for the infants (Hypothesis 4), and the parents' affection and responsiveness to infant need and infant's corresponding expectation of being cared for and sense of positive self (Hypothesis 5) at 6 and 12 months. This cluster of hypotheses was tested using univariate (one-way) and multivariate (repeated measures) analyses of variance, with the former designed to highlight the particular postnatal criterion ratings that are predicted by pre-birth individuation categories, and the latter designed to test for general trends in prediction over both time periods.

Hypothesis 6 treated the separation-individuation ratings for the male and female subjects separately, and stipulated that maternal individuation would more powerfully predict postnatal criterion ratings at 6 months, while paternal individuation would be the more powerful predictor at 12 months. This hypothesis called for multiple regression analyses to test the differential predictive potentials

of maternal and paternal pre-birth individuation for postnatal
criterion ratings.

Hypothesis 7, which stipulated that there might be a differential
impact of infant and/or parent gender on the degree of separation-
individuation promoted by the parents was tested with a 2 X 2 analysis
of variance, with infant and parent gender as design factors.

All of the above analyses were carried out using the Biomedical
Computer Programs P-Series (BMDP, 1981), and the Statistical Analysis
System (SAS, 1982). Consultation on statistical procedures was
provided by Jim Mintz, Ph.D. The alpha level was set at .05. For
analyses of interest, significant trends at the $.05 < p < .10$ level
were reported.

Qualitative Clinical Approaches to Data Analysis

Once the families had been divided into individuation categories,
the data were also subjected to a more in-depth qualitative analysis,
which was intended to supplement and enhance the quantitative findings.
The prenatal and postnatal ratings in this study were based on general
modes of psychoanalytically-informed observations and clinical inferen-
tial processes; but they still represented partial, albeit meaningful,
data slices of the impact of pre-birth parental and marital individua-
tion on postnatal infant and family development. It was thought that
more in-depth qualitative analyses of particular cases would further
illuminate the complexities of the process by which individuals
translate their own early developmental experiences and resolutions
of separation-individuation into transactional patterns of separateness

and connectedness in the husband-wife and parent-child transactions.

The primary data base for the qualitative analyses were the 40 in-depth case studies which delineated the early object relational history of each participant and examined the implications of that history for the current level of separation-individuation and patterns of marital interaction. Additionally, qualitative process accounts of naturalistic in-home postnatal observations (at birth, 1, 3, 6, and 12 months) were reviewed with particular attention to the ways in which evolving patterns of postnatal parent-child and husband-wife interactions reflected or diverged from the pre-birth history. Thus, it was primarily through qualitative analysis of the data that an understanding of the transgenerational transmission of patterns of separation-indviduation was achieved. The case studies were intended to illustrate how the capacity to integrate mutuality and autonomy, separateness and togetherness within both the husband-wife and parent-child contexts results in part for many of the subjects in this study from the degree of separation-individuation that was achieved in relation to one or both of the primary objects within the family of origin.

The qualitative case studies were also intended to illustrate the within group variations for each of the pre-birth individuation categories. Such variations, which are obscured by the general statistical trends revealed in the quantitative analyses, nonetheless provide a clue to divergences from group norms that may become statis-tically significant at a later point.

The combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses was

thought to be a unique contribution to this study. As Goodrich (1968)

points out, linking the two approaches is particularly appropriate

for studies of family development, since statistical or quantitative

methods reveal general trends in family adaptation, while an in-depth

clinical approach permits focused exploration of particular (but

representative) intrapsychic and relational configurations that

contribute to various adaptational patterns.

C H A P T E R   I V

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the quantitative analysis
of the data, including a report of the statistical procedures used,
the variables and groups involved in the data analysis, and a
prsentation of the data. The primary aim of the quantitative analysis
was to investigate the relationship between the prenatal parental and
marital individuation ratings and the postnatal infant and parent-
infant transactional ratings. Although these two sets of data--pre-
and postnatal--were collected by two separate teams of observers,
according to methods described in the preceding chapter, they were
both based on a clinical profile concept--that is on a clinical
inferential process that is thought to build redundancy into the data
(Heinicke, personal communication, May, 1984). One set of raters
was responsible for the prenatal parental and marital individuation
ratings. In the case of the postnatal infant, and parent-infant
transactional ratings, the same observer was responsible for rating
the child's self-development and parent-child interaction from
different but correlated aspects at both time points (6 and 12 months).
Procedures of data collection thus necessitated some preliminary
analyses of the data, which in turn led to some refinement of the
original hypotheses, and to a consolidation of the groups and
procedures to be used in the final data analysis.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section

reports findings of preliminary analyses designed to define character-
istics of the prenatal and postnatal ratings, as well as to test
hypotheses specifically related to each data domain. The second
section reports findings from the investigations of the links between
the two data domains. The two sets of analyses build upon one another,
and expand the basis for understanding the impact of pre-birth parental
and marital individuation on postnatal infant development and parent-
child transactions.

Preliminary Analyses of Prenatal and Postnatal Ratings

An initial research hypothesis stipulated that individuals tend
to choose partners with equivalent levels of individuation, and to
perpetuate their own resolutions of the separation-individuation
process within the marital relationship (Hypothesis 1). Accordingly,
a strong correlation between parental and marital individuation ratings
was expected and one was obtained. Table 8 summarizes the correlations
between individual and marital individuation ratings.

Further data analysis revealed that while the marital individua-
tion ratings could be significantly predicted from either the husband
or the wife individuation ratings, the best predictor of the marital
ratings was a combination of husband and wife ratings. A multiple
correlation indicated that prediction of the marital rating based on a
knowledge of the husband and wife ratings was significantly better
than predictions based on either individual alone (R = .89, p < .001).
These analyses suggest that, as was hypothesized, the level of
individuation within the marital relationship reflects the combined

TABLE 8

Correlation Coefficients for Individual and Marital
Individuation Ratings

	Husband ($\underline{N} = 40$)	Wife ($\underline{N} = 40$)	Marital ($\underline{N} = 40$)
Husband	1.00	.	
Wife	.69*	1.00	
Marital	.79*	.84*	1.00

*$\underline{p} < .001$

individuation potentials of the partners.

The high obtained correlations between the husband, wife and marital individuation ratings led to the decision to base further data analysis on an average of the three measures. The high correlations among these measures suggested that a knowledge of the individuation of both partners and within the marriage contributes to an understanding not only of the level of individuation in the couple interaction model, but also of the true level of individuation of each partner. The assumption here is that a deficit in individuation may be reflected in an individual's relational context, as assessed by the marital individuation ratings, as well as in his or her autonomous functioning as assessed by the pre-birth individual interview. An average of the three ratings was thus thought to be the best estimate of the overall pre-birth individuation resources of the couple which would form the matrix for infant separation-individuation.

Averaging the three ratings led to the formation of three individuation categories: low, medium, and high. It was thought that an average or low score anywhere in the family system--whether in either spouse or in the marriage--would be indicative of some deficit in the family's individuation resources that might affect the separation-individuation process for the infant. Consequently, families were included in the high group if the average of the three pre-birth individuation ratings was in the high range (4 or above), in the medium group if the average individuation scores were in the average or above range (3-4), and in the low group where the averaged individuation scores were less than average (< 3).

The three global individuation categories formed the major groupings for most of the data analysis. One exception to this substitution of global individuation category for prenatal parental and marital individuation ratings was a set of analyses that examined the relative contributions of prenatal maternal and paternal individuation ratings to predicting postnatal infant and parent-infant transactional ratings.

Another set of preliminary data analyses examined the extent to which parental and marital individuation were related to 1) selected prenatal ratings on parental ego adaptation, experience of being parented, adaptation to pregnancy, husband-wife adaptation; 2) descriptive prenatal factors such as age, length of marriage, socioeconomic status, I.Q.; 3) marital satisfaction as measured by the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Questionnaire; 4) the individuation subratings for both parental and marital scales. It was predicted that parental and marital individuation would correlate significantly with other pre-birth measures on ego strength (as measured by the MMPI and independent ratings based on pre-birth individual interviews), and capacity for relationships (as measured by independent ratings of the quality of husband-wife adaptation), since individuation was thought to encompass both aspects of autonomous ego functioning and the capacity for object relations in depth (Hypothesis 2). It was also predicted that marital individuation represented an independent dimension by which to assess marital functioning, and thus would not correlate significantly with marital satisfaction, as represented by the Locke-Wallace. The examination of the relationship between the

parental and marital individuation ratings and all of the above necessitated correlational analyses, the results of which are presented in Tables 9, 10, and 11.

The data presented in Tables 9, 10, and 11 indicates that as was hypothesized, the measures of pre-birth husband-wife individuation correlated significantly with independent ratings of parental ego adaptation (MMPI ego strength and global measures of ego strength and flexibility), and capacity for relationships (husband-wife adaptation). These data also indicate that, as was hypothsized, the correlation between the level of <u>marital individuation</u> and the degree of <u>marital satisfaction</u> as expressed on the Locke-Wallace were nonsignificant for both the husbands and wives. Moreover, no significant differences were found in the mean Locke-Wallace ratings for husbands ($\underline{F}$ = 2.53, $\underline{p}$ < .1) and wives ($\underline{F}$ = 2.50, $\underline{p}$ < .1) in an analysis of variance of the three individuation groups. Marital individuation and marital satisfaction thus appear to be two separate dimensions with no direct relationship. On the other hand, the significant correlations between ratings of marital individuation and husband-wife adaptation indicate that marital individuation may be a significant component of overall marital adjustment.

Finally, correlations were also obtained for the subratings and global individuation ratings for both individual and marital individuation scales. All but one (amount of contact with family of origin) of the parental individuation subratings and all of the marital individuation subratings significantly correlated with the overall global parental and marital ratings at the $\underline{p}$ < .01 level. Given the

TABLE 9

Intercorrelation of Pre-Birth Parental Individuation
Ratings with Selected End of Pregnancy Ratings

	Pre-Birth Parental Individuation Ratings	
	Mother (N = 40)	Father (N = 40)
Pre-Birth Parental and Marital Characteristics		
Content Parental Interview		
Ego Strength and Flexibility	.59***	.65***
Husband-Wife Adaptation	.56***	.50***
Sexual Adjustment	.33*	.16
Adaptation to Pregnancy	.46**	.50**
Confidence in Visualizing Self as a Mother/Father	.30[+]	.41*
Experience of Being Mothered (Infancy to Age 12)[1]	.49**	.25
Experience of Being Mothered (After Age 12)	.34*	.13
Experience of Being Fathered (Infancy to Age 12)	.37*	.40*
Experience of Being Fathered (After Age 12)	.30[+]	.44**
Mother's Empathy With Child[2]	.41*	.30[+]
Father's Empathy With Child	.44**	.29

TABLE 9 (continued)

	Pre-Birth Parental Individuation Ratings	
	Mother ($\underline{N}$ = 40)	Father ($\underline{N}$ = 40)
MMPI Scales		
Ego Strength	.32[+]	.37*
Warmth	.09	.21
Empathy	.06	-.10
Family Conflict	-.25	-.37*
Exquisite Sensitivity	-.53***	-.23
I.Q. (WAIS)	.52***	.49**

[+] $\underline{p}$ < .1
*$\underline{p}$ < .05
**$\underline{p}$ < .01
***$\underline{p}$ < .001

[1]Ratings of the parents' experience of being parented assess the extent to which the parents' parents were experienced as giving optimal care, including responsiveness to need, encouragement of autonomy, and enhancing new social and cognitive experiences.

[2]Ratings of the parents' empathy assess the parents' recollections of their own parents' awareness of their needs and appropriate responsiveness from the perspective of their childhood and adolescence.

TABLE 10

Intercorrelations of Pre-Birth Parental Individuation
Ratings With Selected Demographic Indices

Demographic Indices	Pre-Birth Parental Individuation Ratings	
	Mother (N = 40)	Father (N = 40)
Age	.45**	.35*
Education	-.57***	-.54***
Occupation	-.48**	-.63***
Total Family Income	.44**	.36*

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

Note: Negative correlations are negative because Hi = 1 for Education
and Occupation; Hi = 5 for parental and marital individuation ratings.

TABLE 11

Intercorrelation of Pre-Birth Marital Individuation Rating
and Pre-Birth Measures of Marital Satisfaction and Adaptation

| | Pre-Birth Marital Individuation Ratings | |
	Mother ($\underline{N}$ = 37)	Father ($\underline{N}$ = 37)
Locke-Wallace	.18	.29
Husband-Wife Adaptation	.33*	.70***

*$\underline{p}$ < .05
**$\underline{p}$ < .01
***$\underline{p}$ < .001

high correlations and uneven reliability of the subratings, the decision was made to use only four of the subratings (father's and mother's recollections of their own parents' empathic responsivity and encouragement of separation-individuation), in addition to the global parental and marital individuation ratings in further data analysis. Henceforth the terms parental and marital individuation will refer to the global individuation ratings unless otherwise specified.

Preliminary Analyses on Postnatal Ratings

Correlations were also obtained on the postnatal infant and parent-infant transactional ratings in order to test specific hypotheses as well as to further define the characteristics of the postnatal data set. It had been hypothesized that the infant's sense of separate self would be highly correlated with parent promotion of optimal separation-individuation; and that the infant's sense of being cared for and sense of positive self would be highly correlated with parent affection and responsiveness to need. These hypotheses were confirmed at 6 and 12 months for both parents. Correlations indicated highly significant relationships between these variables, as summarized in Tables 12 and 13. As summarized in Table 14, the four postnatal ratings for each individual (infant, mother, and father), tended to be highly intercorrelated within and across the 6 and 12 month observation points.

TABLE 12

Correlation Coefficients Between Infant Sense of Separate Self
and Parent Encouragement of Separation-Individuation
at 6 and 12 Months

Infant Sense of Separate Self	Parent Encouragement of Separation-Individuation			
	6 Months		12 Months	
	Mothers ($\underline{N}$ = 37)	Fathers ($\underline{N}$ = 21)	Mothers ($\underline{N}$ = 35)	Fathers ($\underline{N}$ = 29)
6 Months				
Infant Sense of Separate Self	.45**	.52*	.32	.30
12 Months				
Infant Sense of Separate Self	.35*	.28	.73***	.49**

*$\underline{p}$ < .05
**$\underline{p}$ < .01
***$\underline{p}$ < .001

TABLE 13

Correlation Coefficients Between Infant Expectation of Being Cared For,
Infant Sense of Positive Self and Parent Affection and Responsiveness
to Need at 6 and 12 Months

Infant Rating	Parent Rating	6 Months		12 Months	
		Mothers ($\underline{n}$ = 37)	Fathers ($\underline{n}$ = 21)	Mothers ($\underline{n}$ = 35)	Fathers ($\underline{n}$ = 30)
		6 Months			
Expectation of Being Cared For	Responsiveness to Need	.64***	.72***	.38*	.43*
	Affection	.61***	.77***	.51**	.50**
Sense of Positive Self	Responsiveness to Need	.56***	.60**	.38*	.36*
	Affection	.54***	.78***	.51**	.56***
		12 Months			
Expectation of Being Cared For	Responsiveness to Need	.58***	.19	.75***	.27
	Affection	.69***	.57**	.81***	.48**
Sense of Positive Self	Responsiveness to Need	.47**	.46*	.59***	.51**
	Affection	.52**	.65**	.71***	.63***

*$\underline{p}$ < .05
**$\underline{p}$ < .01
***$\underline{p}$ < .001

TABLE 14

Correlation Coefficients for Postnatal Ratings
Within and Across Time Points

Ratings	Range r's	Median r	N
Within Time Points			
6 Months			
Infant	.62***–.76***	.71***	37
Mother	.38*–.80***	.57***	37
Father	.55–.90***	.77***	21
Mother/Father	.51**–.87***	.67***	21
12 Months			
Infant	.31–.74***	.57**	35
Mother	.62***–.83***	.66***	35
Father	.54**–.78***	.66***	30
Mother/Father	.22–.78***	.41*	29
Between Time Points			
6 to 12 Months			
Infant Ratings 6–12	.46**–.67***	.61***	34
Mother Ratings 6–12	.32–.69***	.54**	34
Father Ratings 6–12	.51*–.80***	.69***	17

*$p < .05$
**$p < .01$
***$p < .001$

Investigation of Links Between Prenatal and Postnatal Ratings

The overall hypothesis guiding this part of the data analysis was that the quality of pre-birth parental and marital individuation strongly anticipates aspects of infant self-development and parent-infant transactions during the first postnatal year. Because the preliminary data analyses suggested that a global individuation composite was the best summary index of the pre-birth individuation resources of the couple, some refinement of the original set of hypotheses was necessary. Hypotheses 3 through 5 on the linkages between pre-birth individuation profile and postnatal ratings are restated below in terms of the global individuation category.

Hypothesis 3: The pre-birth individuation profile as repre-sented by the global individuation category, will predict the quality of the interplay between parent promotion of separation-individuation and infant attainment of sense of separate self at 6 and 12 months. It is expected that a significant relationship between the two sets of ratings will emerge at six months, but that the relationship between pre-birth individuation category and the postnatal ratings, infant sense of separate self and parent (especially father) promotion of individuation will be stronger at 12 months. Significant differ-ences between the mean ratings of infant sense of separate self and parent promotion of individuation are expected at 6 and 12 months for the three individuation categories. Moreover, it is predicted that there will be a linear direction to the rise in the means from low to high.

Hypothesis 4: The pre-birth individuation category will significantly predict the quality of the parent's promotion of cognitive/environmental stimulation for the infant (but not infant adaptation-competence) at 6 and 12 months. A significant difference between the mean ratings of parent promotion of cognitive/environmental stimulation is expected for the three individuation categories with a linear rise in the means from low to high.

Hypothesis 5: The pre-birth individuation category will anticipate the cluster of infant and parent-infant transactional ratings reflecting encouragement of attachment as well as separation-individuation. The pre-birth individuation profile will predict the parents' affection and responsiveness to need, as well as the infant's corresponding sense of being cared for, and sense of positive self at 6 and 12 months. At six months the pre-birth individuation profile will strongly anticipate the quantity and quality of the affection given by the mother and her responsiveness to need, while at 12 months the individuation profile will strongly anticipate the quantity and quality of affection given by both mother and father and their responsiveness to need. A significant difference between the three individuation categories with a linear rise in the means from low to high is expected for the above postnatal ratings.

Analyses Based on Global Individuation Category

Investigation of the above hypotheses on the links between pre-birth parental and marital individuation (as represented by the global individuation categories) and postnatal infant self-development and

parent-infant transactions (as represented by the postnatal ratings) necessitated both univariate and multivariate analyses. The first set of analyses involved one-way analyses of variance which tested the differences between the three pre-birth individuation categories on each of the postnatal infant and parent-infant transactional variables. Both non-parametric (Kruskal-Wallace) and parametric tests were run in order to insure that distributional characteristics, extreme values and small sample size with unequal $\underline{n}$'s did not unduly affect the results. The non-parametric and parametric tests involved linear and nonlinear contrasts to test the expected linear progression of the individuation groups.[3]

In order to assess the impact of the pre-birth individuation category over both time periods, repeated measures analyses of variance were computed on all complete cases, i.e., all cases which included ratings at 6 and 12 months for all 4 infant and parent-infant trans-actional ratings (34 cases for mothers and infants, 17 cases for fathers). The variables represented in the repeated measures analyses included the pre-birth individuation category, individual postnatal ratings, and time (6 and 12 months). Multivariate and repeated measures analyses of variance were computed separately for infant, mother, and father ratings because the pattern of missing data would have significantly reduced the available sample in each category. Descriptive data and comparative results of parametric and nonparametric univariate tests are presented in Tables 15 through 17. Results pertaining to the above hypotheses are presented first, while more extensive and detailed results are presented separately for

TABLE 15

Descriptive Data and Analysis of Variance Summary Table for
Relationship Between Prenatal Individuation Category and
Postnatal Infant Ratings

Postnatal Infant Ratings	Prenatal Individuation Categories			Parametric			Nonparametric
	Low n = 9	Medium n = 16	High n = 9	Overall Anova	Linear Anova	Non-Linear Anova	Kruskall-Wallace
	$\overline{X}$ SD	$\overline{X}$ SD	$\overline{X}$ SD	F	F	F	Chi square
6 Months							
Expectation of Being Cared For	3.7 (.97)	4.0 (1.06)	4.9 (.33)	5.05 $p = .01$	9.07 $p = .01$	1.04 n.s.	9.78 $p = .01$
Sense of Separate Self	3.6 (.50)	4.1 (.97)	4.5 (.73)	3.15 $p = .06$	6.30 $p = .02$	.0 n.s.	7.40 $p = .03$
Sense of Positive Self	3.7 (.87)	4.0 (.84)	4.8 (.44)	5.72 $p = .01$	10.44 $p = .01$	.99 n.s.	9.65 $p = .01$
Adaptation-Competence	3.8 (.67)	3.9 (.71)	4.6 (.73)	3.83 $p = .04$	6.42 $p = .02$	1.24 n.s.	6.91 $p = .04$

TABLE 15 (continued)

Postnatal Infant Ratings	Prenatal Individuation Categories						Parametric			Nonparametric	
	Low $n = 9$		Medium $n = 16$		High $n = 9$		Overall Anova	Linear Anova	Non-Linear Anova	Kruskall-Wallace	Chi square
	X	SD	X	SD	X	SD	F	F	F		
12 Months											
Expectation of Being Cared For	4.2 (.83)		4.1 (.72)		4.8 (.44)		2.87 $p = .08$	2.99 $p = .09$	2.75 n.s.	5.46 $p = .07$	
Sense of Separate Self	4.2 (.67)		4.1 (.85)		4.9 (.33)		4.32 $p = .03$	4.16 $p = .05$	4.49 $p = .05$	8.57 $p = .02$	
Sense of Positive Self	4.1 (.78)		4.2 (.86)		4.9 (.33)		3.19 $p = .06$	4.77 $p = .04$	1.60 n.s.	6.00 $p = .05$	
Adaptation-Competence	4.2 (.83)		4.1 (.81)		4.7 (.50)		1.68 n.s.	0.00 n.s.	1.73 n.s.	3.10 n.s.	

TABLE 16

Descriptive Data and Analysis of Variance Summary Table for Relationship
Between Prenatal Individuation Category and Postnatal Mother-Infant
Transactional Ratings

Postnatal Mother Ratings	Prenatal Individuation Categories					Parametric			Nonparametric
	Low n = 9		Medium n = 16		High n = 9	Overall Anova	Linear Anova	Non-Linear Anova	Kruskall-Wallace
	X	SD	X	SD	X	SD	F	F	F	Chi square
6 Months										
Affection	4.1	(.78)	3.7	(1.07)	5.0	(.00)	8.61 p = .001	6.04 p = .02	11.18 p = .01	13.04 p = .01
Responsiveness to Need	3.7	(.97)	3.7	(1.12)	4.8	(.44)	5.05 p = .02	6.51 p = .02	3.60 p = .07	9.17 p = .02
Encouragement of Separation-Individuation	3.4	(.73)	3.7	(.96)	4.6	(.52)	6.86 p = .01	6.86 p = .01	1.88 n.s.	10.67 p = .01
Environmental Stimulation	3.6	(.87)	3.5	(1.03)	4.7	(.50)	7.07 p = .01	8.32 p = .01	5.83 p = .03	10.81 p = .01

TABLE 16 (continued)

Postnatal Mother Ratings	Prenatal Individuation Categories						Parametric			Nonparametric
	Low n = 9		Medium n = 16		High n = 9		Overall Anova	Linear Anova	Non-Linear Anova	Kruskall-Wallace
	$\underline{X}$	$\underline{SD}$	$\underline{X}$	$\underline{SD}$	$\underline{X}$	$\underline{SD}$	$\underline{F}$	$\underline{F}$	$\underline{F}$	Chi square
12 Months										
Affection	4.2	(.83)	4.0	(.81)	4.8	(.44)	2.99 $\underline{p}$ = .07	2.33 n.s.	3.66 $\underline{p}$ = .07	5.75 $\underline{p}$ = .06
Responsiveness to Need	4.1	(1.05)	4.0	(1.21)	4.7	(.50)	1.32 n.s.	1.35 n.s.	1.29 n.s.	2.40 n.s.
Encouragement of Separation-Individuation	4.3	(.71)	3.9	(1.06)	4.7	(.50)	2.25 n.s.	.70 n.s.	3.81 $\underline{p}$ = .06	4.28 n.s.
Environmental Stimulation	4.1	(.93)	3.8	(.93)	4.7	(.50)	3.50 $\underline{p}$ = .05	2.03 n.s.	4.97 $\underline{p}$ = .04	6.07 $\underline{p}$ = .04

TABLE 17

Descriptive Data and Analysis of Variance Summary Table for
Relationship Between Prenatal Individuation Category and Postnatal
Father-Infant Transactional Ratings

Postnatal Mother Ratings	Postnatal Individuation Categories						Parametric			Nonparametric
	Low		Medium		High		Overall Anova	Linear Anova	Non-Linear Anova	Kruskall-Wallace
	$\underline{X}$	$\underline{SD}$	$\underline{X}$	$\underline{SD}$	$\underline{X}$	$\underline{SD}$	$\underline{F}$	$\underline{F}$	$\underline{F}$	Chi square
6 Months										
$\underline{N}$ = 23	$\underline{n}$ = 5		$\underline{n}$ = 7-8		$\underline{n}$ = 8-9					
Affection	3.8	(1.10)	4.7	(.71)	5.0	(.00)	5.32 $\underline{p}$ = .02	10.52 $\underline{p}$ = .01	.86 n.s.	9.86 $\underline{p}$ = .01
Responsiveness to Need	3.6	(1.41)	4.1	(1.46)	4.8	(.46)	1.77 n.s.	3.39 $\underline{p}$ = .09	.01 n.s.	4.06 n.s.
Encouragement of Separation-Individuation	3.6	(1.14)	4.1	(1.46)	4.6	(.52)	1.35 n.s.	2.65 n.s.	.00 n.s.	3.01 n.s.
Environmental Stimulation	3.4	(1.14)	4.1	(.78)	.49	(.35)	5.98 $\underline{p}$ = .01	11.60 $\underline{p}$ = .01	.01 n.s.	8.02 $\underline{p}$ = .02

TABLE 17 (continued)

Postnatal Mother Ratings	Postnatal Individuation Categories						Parametric			Nonparametric
	Low		Medium		High		Overall Anova	Linear Anova	Non-Linear Anova	Kruskall-Wallace
	$\underline{X}$	$\underline{SD}$	$\underline{X}$	$\underline{SD}$	$\underline{X}$	$\underline{SD}$	$\underline{F}$	$\underline{F}$	$\underline{F}$	Chi square
12 Months										
$\underline{N}$ = 30	$\underline{n}$ = 7-8		$\underline{n}$ = 14		$\underline{n}$ = 8					
Affection	4.1	(.83)	4.6	(.50)	5.0	(.00)	5.19 $\underline{p}$ = .02	10.22 $\underline{p}$ = .01	.16 n.s.	7.53 $\underline{p}$ = .03
Responsiveness to Need	4.0	(.76)	4.2	(.58)	4.8	(.46)	3.35 $\underline{p}$ = .05	6.16 $\underline{p}$ = .02	.53 n.s.	5.85 $\underline{p}$ = .06
Encouragement of Separation-Individuation	4.1	(.90)	4.3	(.73)	4.5	(.53)	.47 n.s.	.90 n.s.	.02 n.s.	.66 n.s.
Environmental Stimulation	4.1	(.90)	3.8	(.97)	4.5	(.76)	1.62 n.s.	.58 n.s.	2.54 n.s.	3.02 n.s.

infants, mothers, and fathers.

In the light of the guiding hypotheses, findings from the above analyses can be summarized as follows: The predicted correspondence between the prenatal individuation category and postnatal parent promotion of individuation and infant attainment of sense of separate self was confirmed only for mothers and infants at 6 months (Hypothesis 3). Although prenatal individuation category continued to predict infant sense of separate self at 12 months, it did not anticipate parent promotion of individuation for either mothers or fathers at the 12 months point as was hypothesized. The prenatal individuation profile did significantly predict a variable related to encouragement of separation-individuation: parental provision of cognitive/ environmental stimulation for the infant, which was significantly predicted by pre-birth individuation for both mothers and fathers at 6 months and for mothers alone at 12 months (Hypothesis 4).

Additionally, the prenatal individuation category anticipated the cluster of parent-infant transactions and corresponding infant characteristics indicative of the quality of attachment as well as separation-individuation processes. Parental affection for mothers and fathers at 6 months, parental responsivity to need for mothers at 6 months and for fathers at 12 months, and infant expectation of being cared for at 6 months and sense of positive self at 6 and 12 months (Hypothesis 5) were all significantly predicted by the global individuation category. The predicted linear contrast, with a rise in the means from low to high, was significant for most of the postnatal ratings (exceptions are noted below). While linear contrasts

tended to be significant overall, inspection of the means on all of the postnatal variables indicates that the means of the high individuation group were considerably higher than either low or medium individuation group. Both predicted and unpredicted results of theoretical interest are further delineated below for infants, mothers, and fathers.

Relationship between global individuation category and postnatal infant ratings. It was hypothesized that the global individuation category would predict three of the four infant ratings: Expectation of being cared for, sense of separate self, and sense of positive self (but not adaptation-competence) at six months. Table 15 indicates that the global individuation category significantly predicted infant expectation of being cared for (F = 5.05, p < .01), sense of positive self (F = 5.72, p < .01), and adaptation-competence (F = 3.83, p < .03) at six months. As hypothesized, there was a significant linear component to the relationship between the prenatal individuation categories and these three postnatal infant ratings at six months (p < .05). Additionally, pre-birth individuation category predicted infant sense of separate self with weak significance on the overall ANOVA (F = 3.15, p < .06), but with clear significance on the linear contrast (F = 6.30, p < .02).

At 12 months the prenatal individuation category continued to predict two of the four infant ratings: sense of separate self (F = 4.32, p < .05) and sense of positive self (overall ANOVA F = 3.19, p < .06; linear ANOVA F = 4.77, p < .05). As hypothesized, there was a significant linear component (p < .05) of the relationship between the prenatal individuation category and both of the two infant ratings that

it predicted at 12 months. There was also an unpredicted nonlinear relationship (F = 4.16, p < .05) between the global individuation category and the infant rating sense of separate self at 12 months, with the mean rating for the middle individuation group being significantly lower than the low individuation group. Additionally, there was a trend in the data towards a significant relationship between prenatal individuation category and postnatal infant rating expectation of being cared for at 12 months (F = 2.87, p < .07). As hypothesized, the prenatal individuation category did not predict infant adaptation-competence at 12 months. Thus, there was a general reduction in the association between prenatal individuation category and postnatal infant ratings at 12 months.

The repeated measures analyses revealed a main effect of pre-birth individuation category on all postnatal infant ratings (F = 5.60, p < .01). In addition, a main effect of time was evident in the tendency of all infant ratings to go up between 6 and 12 months (F = 7.72, p < .01). These analyses revealed no significant main effects of specific ratings (items). Nor were there any interactions among the variables.

Relationship between global individuation category and postnatal mother-child transactional ratings. Table 16 indicates that significant relationships were found between the prenatal individuation category and all four postnatal mother-child transactional ratings at six months, as was hypothesized. The prenatal individuation category predicted the quantity and quality of the mother's affection (F = 8.61, p < .001), her responsiveness to infant need (F = 5.05, p < .01), her

encouragement of separation-individuation (F = 6.86, p < .003) and the quality of her cognitive/environmental stimulation for the infant (F = 5.98, p < .01). The prediction of a significant linear relation-ship (p < .05) between prenatal individuation rating and all of the postnatal mother-child transactional ratings was confirmed. However, these analyses revealed an unpredicted significant nonlinear as well as linear relationship between the prenatal individuation rating and two of the postnatal mother-child transactional variables at six months: quantity and quality of affection (F = 11.18, p < .01) and cognitive/environmental stimulation (F = 5.83, p < .05), with the mean ratings on these variables being significantly lower for the middle individuation group than those of the low or high individuation groups.

It had originally been hypothesized that there would continue to be a significant relationship between the prenatal individuation category and postnatal mother-child transactions at 12 months. The results displayed in Table 16 reveal, however, that at 12 months the prenatal individuation ratings strongly predicted only one of the four postnatal mother-child transactional variables: cognitive/environmental stimulation (F = 3.50, p < .04). Additionally, there was a trend toward a significant relationship between the prenatal individuation category and the mother-child transactional rating, mother's affection (F = 2.99, p < .06).

The repeated measures analyses of variance showed a stronger relationship between pre-birth individuation category and postnatal mother-infant transactional ratings, with a significant main effect of pre-birth individuation category, cutting across all ratings, for

both time periods ($\underline{F}$ = 6.54, $\underline{p}$ < .01). Additionally, there was a trend for all mother-infant transactional ratings to rise over time ($\underline{F}$ = 3.86, $\underline{p}$ < .06). There was no significant main effect for the specific ratings, nor were there any interactions.

Relationship between prenatal individuation category and postnatal father-child transactional ratings. As can be seen in Table 17, the prenatal individuation category anticipated two of the four six-month father-child transactional ratings: quantity and quality of the father's affection ($\underline{F}$ = 5.32, $\underline{p}$ < .01), and cognitive/environmental stimulation ($\underline{F}$ = 5.98, $\underline{p}$ < .01). There was a significant linear relationship for both postnatal variables that were predicted by the prenatal individuation category ($\underline{p}$ < .01).

Table 17 indicates that at 12 months, the prenatal individuation category significantly predicted the following postnatal father-child transactions: quantity and quality of affection ($\underline{F}$ = 5.19, $\underline{p}$ < .01) and responsiveness to need ($\underline{F}$ = 3.35, $\underline{p}$ < .05). A significant linear relationship was found between the prenatal individuation ratings and the above two postnatal father-child transactional ratings ($\underline{p}$ < .01). These findings supported the original hypothesis that at 12 months greater father involvement in parenting would be reflected in increased affectionate responsiveness to the infant, with a significant difference in the quality of this responsiveness between the three individuation categories. However, it had also been hypothesized that the father would assume a more central role in fostering the separation-individuation process for the infant at 12 months, and that this would be reflected in a significant relationship between

father encouragement of separation-individuation and cognitive/ environmental stimulation. This hypothesis was not confirmed by the data analysis.

For fathers, the repeated measures analyses yielded no significant main effects for pre-birth individuation category, postnatal ratings, or time. In interpreting the results of the repeated measures analyses for fathers, it became evident that fathers who were present at both observational points were likely to differ in some significant ways from their counterparts who were absent at one or both time periods. Further analyses on this post hoc hypothesis are reported in the next section. While the nonrandom nature of the subsample of fathers who participated in both visits, and the relatively smaller number of cases (17 for fathers, versus 34 for mothers and infants) must be taken into account in these interpretations, a comparison of the F ratios for infants (F = 5.60), mothers (F = 6.54), and fathers (F = 2.63) revealed that the nonsignificant results for fathers resulted not only from the decreased sample size, but also from a generally weaker relationship between the prenatal individuation category and postnatal father ratings than was the case with infants and mothers.

Post Hoc Analyses on Father Participation

The univariate analyses indicated that the prenatal individuation category significantly predicted specific postnatal father-child transactional ratings, but the multivariate analyses showed no significant main effects for prenatal individuation category on postnatal father ratings. This discrepancy led to the speculation

that the fathers who were present at both the 6 and 12 months observa-
tions, and who thus were represented in the repeated measures analyses,
were not a random subsample of the fathers in the study, but rather
differed in some significant ways from the fathers who were present
for only one or neither of the observations.

The data indicated a general trend towards increased father
participation in parenting at the 12 month point for all three
individuation groups. The data on father participation are summarized
in Table 18.

TABLE 18

Number (%) of Fathers Participating in 6 and 12 Month
Postnatal Observations

	Individuation Category		
	Low (n = 11)	Medium (n = 18)	High (n = 11)
6 months	5 (50%)	9 (50%)	9 (90%)
12 months	8 (80%	14 (78%)	8 (80%)

Table 18 indicates that while the number of fathers who attended the
12 month observation rose substantially for the low and medium individ-
uation groups, it remained relatively constant for the highly individ-
uated group. Although this trend did not reach statistical signifi-
cance with a Fisher's test combining low and medium individuation
groups, it has relevance for our understanding of the discrepant
results from the univariate and multivariate tests. The fact that

increased father presence at the 12-month visit occurred only in the low and middle individuation groups meant that fathers who were present at both the 6 and 12 month visits were more likely to come from the high individuation groups.

Inspection of the means revealed that the subsample of fathers who were present at both observational points tended to have higher means on all four postnatal father-infant transactional ratings than did the general sample of fathers. Further univariate (t-tests) and multivariate (Hotelling-Lawley trace tests) analyses indicated that there were significant differences between the two groups of fathers. A series of t-tests on the prenatal ratings indicated a trend in the data for fathers who were present at both the 6 and 12 month visits to show greater marital satisfaction on the Locke-Wallace ($t = 1.8$, $p < .10$), than did their non-attending counterparts.

Somewhat surprisingly, the global prenatal father individuation rating did not discriminate between the two groups. However, there was a significant difference between the means on the pre-birth individuation subrating of the fathers' recollections of their own mothers' empathic responsivity. The latter result is consistent with an object relations perspective which stipulates that the quality of the individual's current relational functioning is in part determined by the quality of inner object world. In the current study, the latter is assessed through the parents' recollections of the quality and nature of their own parents' parenting. Despite its inherent interest for the current study, the above result must be interpreted with caution in view of a nonsignificant multivariate test on the same

data set.

Univariate and multivariate analyses for the postnatal ratings of the two groups of fathers showed more definitive results. Univariate ($\underline{t}$-tests) indicated that the fathers who were present for both the 6 and 12 month visits tended to have infants who showed a significantly higher adaptation-competence ($\underline{t}$ = 2.07, $\underline{p}$ < .05) at six months, a result backed up by a significant multivariate test (Hotelling-Lawley trace test, $\underline{F}$ = 3.16, $\underline{p}$ < .03). The father's presence was also significantly associated with one of the mother-child transactional ratings: Encouragement of separation-individuation by the mother at 6 months was significantly higher when the father was present ($\underline{t}$ = 2.22, $\underline{p}$ < .05). Univariate and multivariate tests on 12-month infant and mother-infant transactional ratings yielded no significant differences between the two groups of fathers.

Thus, fathers who were present at both the 6 and 12 month visits tended to show higher marital satisfaction; had more positive recollections of their own mothers' empathic responsivity; had infants with more positive self-development at 6 months; and had wives who were significantly more encouraging of infant separation-individuation at 6 months. The latter finding suggests that mother's encouragement of infant separation-individuation involves a family systems component in that it is significantly predicted by the degree of the father's involvement in the childrearing process as indicated by father attendance at both the 6 and 12 month observations versus father absence from one or both visits.

Analyses of the Relationship Between Pre-Birth Mother and Father Individuation Ratings and Postnatal Ratings

The analyses presented to this point were based on the composite global individuation category. Another set of analyses was carried out to evaluate the differential contributions of each parent's pre-birth level of individuation in predicting postnatal infant characteristics and parent-infant transactions. The hypothesis guiding this set of analyses was that pre-birth maternal individuation would be a stronger predictor of postnatal infant ratings at 6 months, while pre-birth paternal individuation would emerge as an equally strong if not stronger predictor of infant ratings at the 12 month point (Hypothesis 6).

Multiple regression analyses were computed to test the above hypothesis, using pre-birth maternal and paternal global individuation ratings to predict postnatal child and parent-child transactional ratings. Partial as well as zero-order correlations were obtained for the following reason. The highly significant correlation between the mother and father individuation ratings (r = .69, p < .001) made it difficult to determine whether each taken separately would be a more reliable guage of the postnatal infant and/or parent-infant transactional ratings. It was thought that a more reliable guage might be obtained if we eliminated the shared component of the pre-birth maternal and paternal individuation ratings. The partial correlations thus represent the zero-order correlations minus the relationship between the father and mother individuation ratings. Both zero-order and partial correlations between the pre-birth father

and mother individuation ratings, and the 6 and 12 month postnatal child and parent-child ratings are presented in Tables 19 and 20. The partial correlations in Tables 19 and 20 were computed by correlating residuals using pairwise deletion of cases for each dependent variable. These analyses should be interpreted with caution because of the relatively small $\underline{N}$'s and missing data.

Table 19 indicates the following trends in the data: At six months, both maternal and paternal prebirth individuation ratings tended to significantly predict all of the postnatal infant variables. While the original hypothesis stipulated that pre-birth maternal individuation would be a stronger predictor of infant ratings at six months, the partial correlations revealed that neither maternal nor paternal pre-birth individuation uniquely predicted the postnatal infant characteristics at six months.

In contrast, prediction of the postnatal parent-child transactions at the six-month point was more specific. The mother's pre-birth individuation rating tended to predict the 6-month mother-child transactional ratings, while the father's pre-birth individuation rating tended to predict the 6-month father-child transactional ratings. The one exception to the above trend was the mother's encouragement of separation-individuation. Although this rating was significantly predicted by both maternal and paternal pre-birth individuation, neither added significantly to the prediction based on the other. This result implies that mother's 6-month encouragement of infant separation-individuation was predicted by the common or shared component of pre-birth mother and father individuation.

TABLE 19

Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Postnatal Infant and
Parent-Infant Transactional Ratings from Prenatal Maternal
and Paternal Individuation Ratings at 6 Months

	Pre-Birth Parental Individuation Ratings			
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Postnatal Ratings				
	Zero-Order Correlations		Partial (First Order) Correlations	
Infant ($\underline{N}$ = 37)				
Expectation of Being Cared For	.51**	.42**	.28+	.13
Sense of Separate Self	.38*	.32$^+$	.24	.09
Sense of Positive Self	.50**	.46**	.25	.19
Adaptation-Competence	.41*	.39*	.20	.17
Mother ($\underline{N}$ = 37)				
Affection	.35*	.17	.35*	-.10
Responsiveness to Need	.42**	.28$^+$	.34*	-.01
Encouragement of Separation-Individuation	.34*	.41*	.06	.26
Environmental Stimulation	.46**	.28$^+$	.40*	-.06

TABLE 19 (continued)

| | Pre-Birth Parental Individuation Ratings | | | |
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Father (N = 21-23)				
Affection	.56**	.66**	.11	.45*
Responsiveness to Need	.25	.58**	-.33	.61**
Encouragement of Separation-Individuation	.20	.44*	-.22	.45*
Environmental Stimulation	.60**	.65**	.21	.39[+]

$^{+}\underline{p} < .01$
$*\underline{p} < .05$
$**\underline{p} < .01$

TABLE 20

Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Postnatal Infant and
Parent-Infant Transactional Ratings from Prenatal Maternal
and Paternal Individuation Ratings at 12 Months

	Pre-Birth Parental Individuation Ratings			
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Postnatal Ratings	Zero-Order Correlations		Partial (First Order) Correlations	
Infant ($\underline{N}$ = 35)				
Expectation of Being Cared For	.33[+]	.09	.35*	-.20
Sense of Separate Self	.43**	.17	.46**	-.20
Sense of Positive Self	.39*	.19	.38*	-.13
Adaptation-Competence	.30[+]	.02	.42*	-.27
Mother ($\underline{N}$ = 35)				
Affection	.33[+]	.03	.44**	-.09
Responsiveness to Need	.32[+]	-.11	.56**	-.49**
Encouragement of Separation-Individuation	.29[+]	-.07	.47**	-.39*
Cognitive/Environmental Stimulation	.39*	.11	.45**	-.24

TABLE 20 (continued)

| | Pre-Birth Parental Individuation Ratings | | | |
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Postnatal Ratings	Zero-Order Correlations		Partial (First Order) Correlations	
Father (N = 29-30)				
Affection	.58**	.28	.57**	-.22
Responsiveness to Need	.44*	.36*	.29	.08
Encouragement of Separation-Individuation	.35+	.16	.34+	-.11
Cognitive/Environmental Stimulation	.33+	.20	.27	.02

+p < .01
*p < .05
**p < .01

At 12 months, both the zero-order and partial correlations, presented in Table 20, indicated generally weaker relationships between prenatal parental individuation ratings and postnatal infant and parent-infant transactional ratings. In contrast to the original hypothesis which predicted that paternal individuation would become a stronger predictor of infant ratings at 12 months, maternal individuation emerged as the stronger predictor of 12-month postnatal infant ratings. Again at 12 months, there was a trend in the data for pre-birth maternal individuation to predict postnatal mother-child transactional ratings. Somewhat surprisingly, maternal individuation also emerged as a stronger predictor than paternal individuation of the father-child transactional ratings at the 12 months point. The original hypothesis that mother's individuation would be the primary predicting agent of infant ratings at the 6 month point, with father individuation emerging as an equally strong or stronger predictor of infant ratings at 12 months was thus not confirmed by these analyses. Indeed the patterns of prediction here revealed maternal and paternal individuation as equally strong predictors at 6 months, with maternal individuation emerging as the primary predictor of the majority of the postnatal infant and parent-infant (father as well as mother) transactional ratings at the 12 months point.

Another unexpected finding from the regression analysis at 12 months was that the pre-birth maternal and paternal individuation ratings appeared to predict the quality of the mother's relationship with the infant in reciprocal fashion. The pattern of partial correlations in Table 20 indicates that for mothers with equivalent

individuation, the less individuated the husband, the higher the quality of the mother's responsiveness to infant need and encouragement of infant separation-individuation at 12 months. Or, conversely, the more highly individuated the father, the lower the quality of the mother's responsiveness to need and encouragement of individuation.

Figures 1 and 2 provide a graphic illustration of this unexpected configuration in the data for mother and father individuation to work against each other in predicting the quality of mother-infant transaction at 12 months. Figure 1 illustrates that if we pitch mother individuation at the same level, as father individuation goes down, so also does mother's responsivity to infant need. Similarly, Figure 2 demonstrates that if mother individuation is held constant, the less individuated the father, the lower the quality of mother's encouragement of infant separation-individuation at 12 months.

In interpreting this unpredicted result, it should be noted that at 12 months a greater percentage of the fathers from the low and medium individuation groups were represented in the analyses because of the general trend towards increased father participation at this time point. Perhaps mothers with highly individuated husbands (who are able to take over more parenting roles and functions at 12 months), show a decline in their responsiveness to infant need and encouragement of separation-individuation, while mothers who are married to less individuated husbands may show a compensatory increase in the quality of their transactions with the infant.

The multiple regression analyses revealed some interesting trends in the data which point towards a family transactional component in the

FIGURE 1

The Impact of Father and Mother Pre-Birth Individuation
on Mother's Responsiveness to Infant Need at 12 Months

FATHER

MOTHER'S INDIVIDUATION
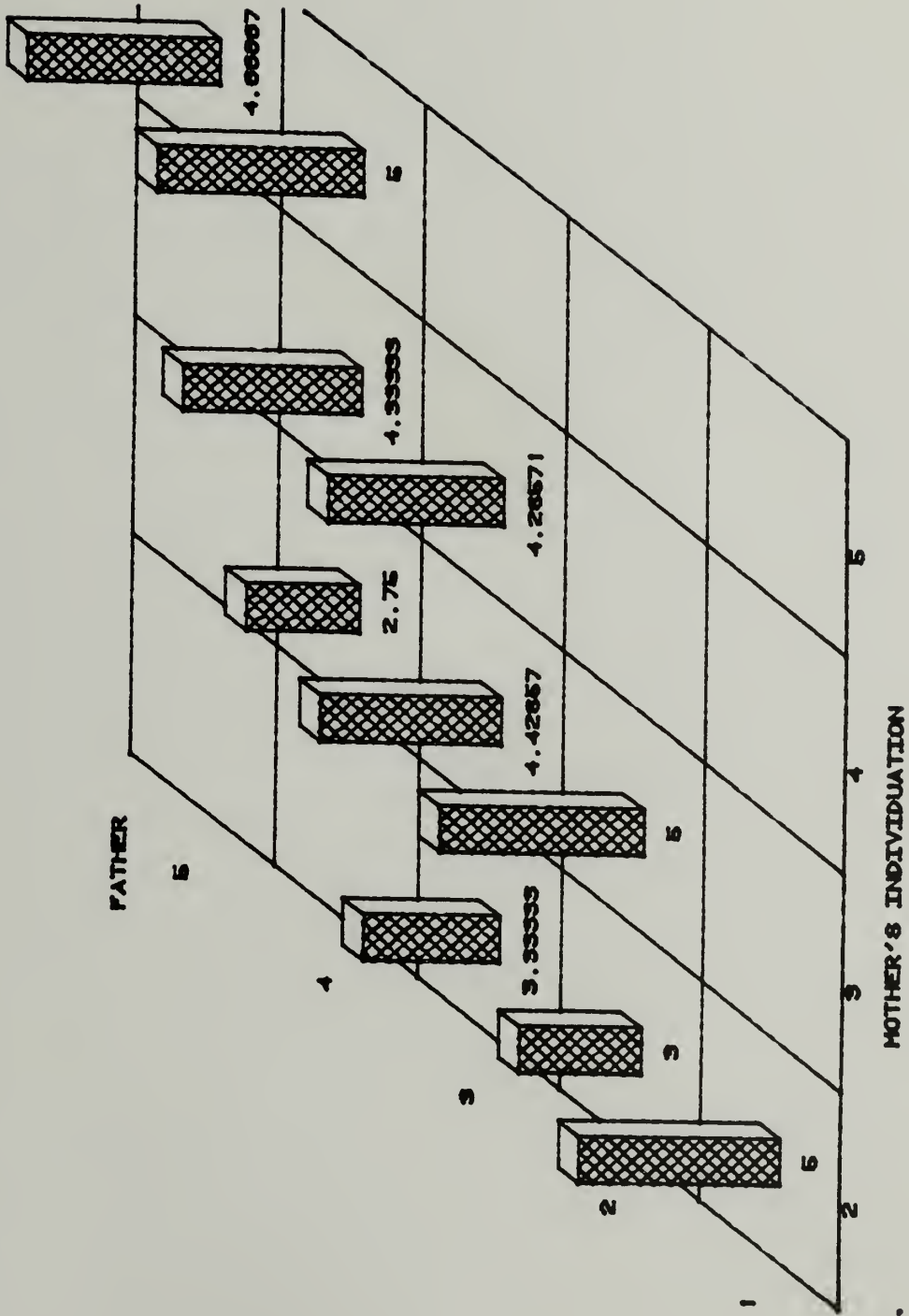
FIGURE 2

The Impact of Father and Mother Pre-Birth Individuation
on Mother's Encouragement of Infant Separation-Individuation
at 12 Months

FATHER

MOTHER'S INDIVIDUATION
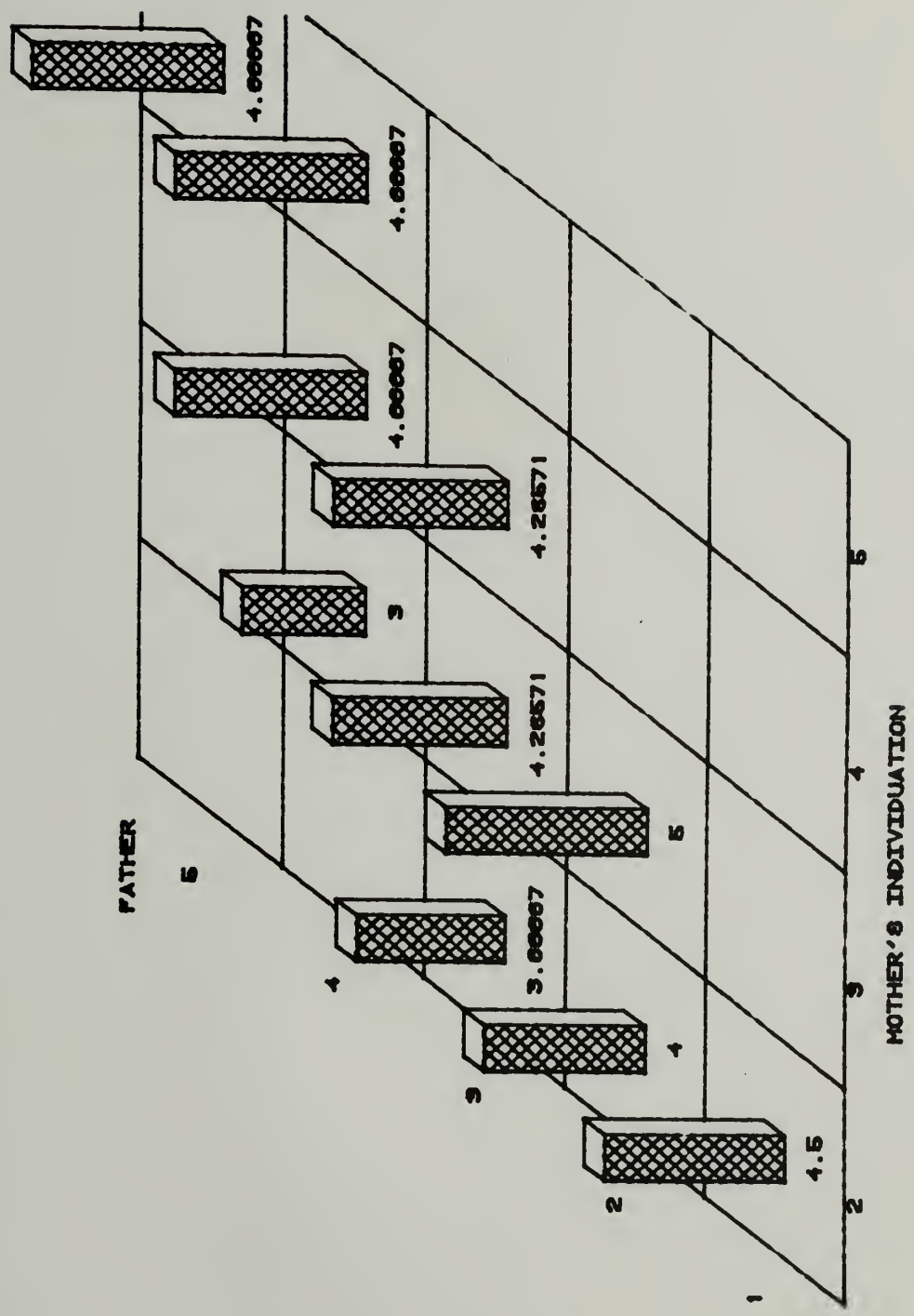
pattern of linkages between prenatal parent characteristics and postnatal parent-infant interactions. Such a family transactional component can be seen in the trend for both mother and father prenatal individuation to predict the quality of the infant's self-development and the mother's encouragement of infant separation-individuation at 6 months; for pre-birth maternal individuation to predict father's affection for the infant and encouragement of separation-individuation at 12 months; and for pre-birth paternal individuation to negatively (or reciprocally) predict the quality of mother's responsiveness to infant need and encouragement of infant separation-individuation at 12 months. That father's pre-birth individuation negatively predicts 12-month mother-infant transactions, and that mother's pre-birth individuation positively predicts the quality of the father's affection at 12 months suggests that aspects of the husband-wife relationship anticipate the quality of parent-child transactions during the first postnatal year.

A final set of analyses was done to investigate the impact of infant and parent gender on the parents' promotion of separation-individuation. Hypothesis 7 stipulated that mothers' encouragement of separation-individuation might be differentially affected by the sex of the child, with mothers tending to encourage a greater degree of individuation for male than for female infants at 6 and 12 months. In order to test this hypothesis, separate repeated measures 2 X 2 analyses of variance were computed at 6 and 12 months with infant and parent sex as factors predicting to parent promotion of individuation. The results indicated no significant effects of either parent or infant

gender on parents' encouragement of separation-individuation at either 6 or 12 months. While the null hypothesis could not be rejected, these results should not be considered definitive because of the relatively small sample size.

QUALITATIVE RESULTS: PATTERNS OF INDIVIDUATION

Introduction

The families in this study were organized into relational sets within the theoretical framework of separation-individuation based on statistical procedures described in the preceding chapter. Quantitative methods established a statistically significant trend for the pre-birth individuation profile of the couple to predict aspects of infant self development and parent-infant transactions. While central to this study, the statistical findings tell us little about the specific ways in which parents translate their own resolutions of separation-individuation into specific interactive sequences within the husband-wife and parent-child relationships.

It was thought that a more in-depth qualitative analysis of the three major individuation categories would greatly enhance our understanding of the ways in which couples negotiate separation-individuation issues, the roots of these joint resolutions in the primary object relations within the family of origin, and their implications for adaptation to parenthood. Moreover, a qualitative rendering of the data makes it possible to capture the within group variabilities which are necessarily obscured in the inevitable reduction and standardization of data that occurs in quantitative analysis. Advocating for more in-depth case analysis of data, Dicks (1967) makes the following observations about his own study of marriage:

> With mounting case experience we were able to
> recognize recurrences which are embodied in the
> hypotheses...but I must emphasize that in this, as
> in any field concerned with human personality in
> action, we never met with exact replicas. There
> always remains the task of applying principles to
> individual variabilities. The attempt to coerce the
> material into rigid nosolbgical categories does vio-
> lence to the specificity of human interactions (p. 65).

The above justification for qualitative clinical analysis of data

also highlights another rationale for this chapter and accounts for

both its length and the detailed nature of its case presentations. It

was thought that case studies which included detailed descriptions of

the minute sequences in the husband-wife and especially parent-child

interactions would be particularly important for an investigation of

the transgenerational transmission of patterns of separation-

individuation. As object relations theorists and researchers within

the object relations tradition have pointed out (Beebe and Stern,

1977; Kernberg, 1976, 1980; Leowald, 1978), the quality and nature

of self and object representations result in part from the early

interaction patterns on which they are based. Previous research

indicates that the self is constructed through the repeatedly

experienced states of self in relation to the object which accompany

a particular dyad's interactive patterns. As Beebe and Stern (1977)

point out, "what is intitially internalized is not an object per se,

but an 'object relation'" (p. 52). Infant individuation proceeds

through the gradual internalization of increasingly complex inter-

actions. It was thought that through psychoanalytically informed

observations of husband-wife-infant interactions, one could capture

the object-relation-in-process. It was also thought that such observa-

tions would provide an index to both the internalized object world of the parents in this study and the nascent self and object representations of the infant.

This chapter is organized into two sections, the first of which presents a qualitative description of the three individuation groups on which the data analyses were based, and the second of which presents representative case illustrations. The initial research concepts, culled from an extensive review of the literature, stipulated that different levels of separation-individuation are associated with specific patterns of primary object relationships, patterns of separateness and connectedness, communicational processes, and attitudes towards the transition to parenthood. This chapter will present what the data actually say about these initial research concepts. Case studies are presented which illustrate both between and within group variations in the patterns of individuation for the families in this study. The three individuation groups described below are not meant to represent discrete categories, but rather points on a presumed continuum of patterns of individuation. Case studies representative of major patterns of indviduation for each group are presented sequentially following the qualitative description of the three individuation categories.

Description of Major Individuation Categories

Primary Object Relations

Previous research by Mahler et al. (1975) and others has indicated that the level of individuation attained by the child

is in part dependent on the nature of the primary object relationship between infant and parents. Within the matrix of predominantly gratifying or good-enough (Winnicott, 1974) object relations, internalized self and object images with a predominantly positive valence are gradually consolidated. A preponderance of secure, loving outcomes to interactions with primary objects leaves a reservoir of good internal objects within the self that permit the child to gradually disengage both physically and intrapsychically from the parents. In cases where the parental objects were experienced as predominantly frustrating, the tasks of separation are complicated because of the persistence of certain need-demands towards parental figures and/or overwhelmingly negative feelings about the self and the object which are dealt with through a number of defensive operations including excessive splitting of objects into good and bad, or covering attitudes of idealization. Dicks (1967) hypothesizes that in cases where the primary object relations are predominantly negative, separation is impeded because, "the individual remains unconsciously still at grips with the object of conflict and with his own complex of feelings surrounding that figure (termed the bad internal object)" (p. 143).

Although there are crucial nodal points in development in which self and object representations are amplified and further separated from each other (infancy, adolescence, etc.), the process of self-object definition is an ongoing one which forms the core of individuation. It has been pointed out that the formation of a sustained dyadic relationship in adulthood is one of the primary contexts in which

further individuation occurs. In the view of Blanck and Blanck (1967), Dicks (1967) and others, marriage involves the reprojection and re-experiencing of primary object relations, as well as an opportunity for a reworking of negative or unsatisfactory aspects of early relationships. Marriage thus offers new possibilities for individuation--the differentiation of self within a relational context. Marriage also fosters individuation in offering new possibilities for identification with a valued other, which involves the internalization of aspects of the person "which are admired and desired as one's own" (Blanck and Blanck, 1967, p. 87). By providing a consistent object relationship, then, marriage offers the possibility for continued self-object definition and individuation.

Significant variations were found in both the quality of the primary object relationship of individuals within the three individuation groups, and in the capacity for individuals to use the marital relationship to advance individuation and make up for past relational deficits. Couples who were in the low or moderate individuation groups tended to reproject and re-experience unsatisfactory aspects of early object relations in ways that were hindering of individuation, while couples in the high individuation group were better able to use the marital relationship for their ongoing self-object definition. The extent to which earlier object relations were recapitulated within the marital relationship and the extent to which these repetitions were pathogenic versus benign was an important determinant of the individuation profile. Also important to the individuation profile was an assessment of the current level of separation-individuation in relation

to the primary objects in the family of origin—that is, the extent to which the individual had a differentiated relationship with family, characterized by the capacity to remain emotionally engaged with family of origin while maintaining emotional equilibrium and individuation intact. A low level of differentiation was indicated by a tendency to orient emotional life around family of origin rather than family of procreation, or by a tendency to impose a great deal of defensive distance between self and family.

Primary object relations of the low individuation group. Individuals within the low individuation group (22 out of the total of 80 subjects) remained poorly differentiated from family of origin, as evidenced by a great deal of ongoing contact and involvement, and/or identification with primary objects in the family of origin. Often the families were described as extremely enmeshed, both currently and in the past, with rigid boundaries between family and outside world, but extremely loose and permeable boundaries between family members. For three couples in this group, family cohesion was so extreme that the individuals grew up with virtually no social contacts or friends outside the sibling network.

For approximately half the subjects in this group (5 out of 11), there was often little evidence of ongoing object relationships with parental figures, but rather a residue of bad or negative object relations. These subjects had a history of emotional and physical abandonment, abuse, and neglect by the primary objects. Half of the subjects in this group reported a family history of severe psychopathology, alcoholism, or drug abuse on the part of parental objects and

showed little evidence of ongoing relationships with parental figures.

Generally, the individuals in the low individuation group described one or both parents as minimally responsive to emotional need, and/or as minimally encouraging of separation and autonomy. The emotional distance and unavailability of the parents was emphasized and they were sometimes described in vague and abstract terms. One subject, for example, described his mother as follows: "She was a delightful lady to be with. I have no unpleasant memories of her except a sense of isolation...She was very distant to me." A significant proportion of these subjects did describe parents as responsive to emotional need, but usually this responsivity went along with an overcloseness that limited the child's separateness and autonomy. For example, one subject responded to the question, "Did your mother meet your emotional needs?" by saying "too much so--to the point of pampering me...There was so much emphasis on making our lives happy, that teaching responsibility went out the window."

Among the subjects who described their parents as having adequately met their emotional needs, there was a tendency to idealize the relationships with the primary objects, often in contradiction to the reports of abuse or neglect which were presented elsewhere in the interview. Thus, one subject with a family history of paternal abandonment, maternal alcoholism, and severe psychosomatic impairment in siblings described his family as one of "storybook idealisms". This subject stated that his father, who had a similarly negative history of abuse and neglect at the hands of his own father, tended to live in "an idealized world. Everything had to be picture painted

all the time"--thus underscoring the transgenerational nature of this defensive pattern. Previous research by Main (1980) has indicated that excessive idealization of parental figures is often an index to a high but unacknowledged degree of parental rejection.

In general, then, two family of origin patterns emerged from the low individuation group: one in which there was some responsivity to emotional need, but an unusual degree of family cohesion that greatly inhibited individual differentiation and the other in which there was both minimal nurturance and minimal encouragement of individuation and autonomy.

Couples in the low individuation group showed a high level of ongoing involvement and/or identification with primary objects, with evidence of inadequate separation between intrapsychic representations of self and other. This lack of differentiation was expressed either by describing the self and one's own dynamics as very much like those of the parent (usually parent of the same sex), or through an almost direct recreation of the dynamics of parental interaction within the current marital relationship.

Primary object relations of the moderately individuated group. In the moderately individuated group (36 individuals out of the total 80 subjects), several different patterns of primary object rela- tionships were discernible although in general the variations in relationship with parents was much greater than was the case with the other two groups. The predominant pattern (found in approximately half the subjects in this group) was one in which the parents encour- aged a great deal of autonomy and independence on the part of the

child without providing the emotional sustenance to sustain it. In
most cases there was some capacity on the part of the parents to
respond adequately to emotional need, but this was usually limited to
early childhood, and may have been withdrawn suddenly as a result of
a divorce, one parent's death, the birth of one or more siblings,
and/or by the parents' inability to tolerate the child's sustained
dependency. Often involved here was a reversal of the usual parent-
child roles, with the children prematurely assuming parental roles
and functions. Such a pattern of parentification was seen to be
inherently inhibiting of individuation for subjects in this group in
that it created a binding relationship based on parental needs, rather
than a nurturing and enabling relationship that fostered the child's
unique functional capacities. One subject, for example, who assumed
a quasi-parental stance in relation to her parents described her
father as "a child", who was incapable of "mature parental love". She
had been told by her father at age 12 that it was her responsibility
to be the peacemaker in the habitually conflictual relationship between
him and her mother. She told the interviewer, "that was the end of
my relationship with him. That's when I decided this guy isn't being
fair to me and I have to live my own life". Despite this assertion
of autonomy, this subject continued to assume a parental stance towards
her parents well into adulthood which inhibited her own individuation
process.

Another characteristic pattern of primary object relations for
the moderately individuated group was one in which one parent was
emotionally distant, while the other was overinvolved with the subject

to the point of intrusion. Often the parents were described in somewhat contradictory fashion as highly encouraging of independence at the same time that they fostered a symbiotic-like closeness. One subject, for example, described her relationship with her mother as follows: "We read each other's minds, finish each other's sentences ...she was my best friend most of my life...to this day if she buys me something it will fit me better than if I bought it myself". The same subject at another point in the interview insisted that above all her mother encouraged her to be independent, and made her feel that there was nothing she could not accomplish. It seems that in these cases, the individuals received somewhat contradictory messages from their parents about the extent of autonomy that could be attained or tolerated. Whatever the specific configuration of object relations, the subjects in this group appeared to have internalized parents who may or may not have encouraged autonomy, but who could not tolerate genuine separateness. Consequently, subjects in this group tended to maintain a defensive and in some cases tenuous autonomy. Subjects in this group tended to remain defensively cut off from family of origin, although there were indications of overinvolvement or enmeshment as well.

The greater degree of individuation of the subjects in this group somewhat ameliorated the tendency towards direct repetition of the parental interaction model evident in the previous group. Instead, what was evident in this group was enormous defense against repetition, with some signs of more covert or indirect repetition. For example, one subject grew up acutely aware of her own mother's misery and

frustration about having dropped out of college to raise eight children. She made every attempt to guard against repeating this pattern, and stated that before she and her husband ever talked about getting married, they talked about "the fact that my mother was frustrated and how she had to give up her life for her children, and how I could never do that." This subject, however, got pregnant in her last year of graduate training, before finishing her thesis, and was unable to explain why she did so. Instead she experienced panic attacks during her pregnancy, which she attributed to her enormous conflict between her role as mother and role as career woman.

What one sees in this group, then, is mediated rather than direct repetition--that is, repetition of unresolved identifications with parents, but on a higher level and more infused with the unique individuality of the subjects, indicating more self-other differentiation. There was also in some cases more awareness of negative repetitions and more attempts to work them through to some different resolution. One subject, for example, reported that after several years she realized that she had married someone like her father, who when angry or dissatisfied, tended to shut down to himself and to the world. She stated, "I had seen my mother go through that kind of coldness, and I myself had gone through it, and I was determined I was not going to again. ...When I started seeing it I was so stunned and I did see the relation to my Dad--that I started fighting that terribly." Despite a greater level of consciousness as expressed above, the theme of repetition of problematic or unresolved aspects of primary object relations remained a prominent one for this group.

Primary object relations of the highly individuated group. Two

major patterns of relationships with the primary parental objects can

be discerned from a qualitative analysis of high individuation group,

which included 22 subjects. In the first of these patterns, the

primary objects were described as both highly empathically respon-

sive to the emotional needs of the subjects and highly encouraging of

separation and autonomy. One subject whose primary object relations

followed the first pattern describes her relationship with her mother

as follows:

> We adjusted to each other very nicely...there was a
> lot of give and take in our relationship. ...She made
> herself available, but wasn't intrusive. ...She let
> us make our own mistakes. At one point my parents
> must have gotten together and agreed to permit us a
> great deal of autonomy because they didn't seem to
> push any particular direction one way or the other.
> They waited for each of us to form a clear direction
> and then said, "that's very nice, dear, keep it up,
> we're proud of you."

A variation on this first pattern of optimal responsivity to

emotional need and optimal encouragement of individuation was one in

which these tasks were split between the parents, with one filling in

what the other was unable to provide. Thus, one subject in this group,

whose mother went back to school in midlife in order to pursue a career

in occupational therapy and whose father was a high school science

teacher who was frequently at home, reported that her parents "split

parenting". Mother was described as more encouraging of autonomy

and independence, while father was described as more empathically

responsive to need. It should be noted, however, that neither parent

in this or other cases is perceived as severely deficient in either

area, as the following statement indicates:

> Mother was more attentive before age 12...she was a
> cuddling type of person--but when we got into adol-
> escence she was more firm about being independent.
> After 12, my guess is that she met my needs well. ...
> Given what adolescence is all about, we probably
> tried real hard. We battled a lot then. My father
> was a traditional Dad who interacted with us more.
> He enjoyed teaching us, taking us on archeological
> expeditions--he met my emotional needs significantly.
> ...He was a lot more cuddling and supportive...in
> adolescence he was the one I went to with problems.

While the highly individuated subjects generally described their

parents as capable of meeting their emotional needs, they did not

always see their parents as optimally encouraging of separation and

autonomy. A second major pattern of primary object relations, des-

cribed by approximately half of the subjects in this group, was one in

which parents were optimally empathically responsive in childhood, but

over-protective to the point of inhibiting individuation in adoles-

cence. Subjects who showed this second configuration of primary object

relations described their parents as curtailing their individuation

either by their inability to tolerate the adolescent push towards the

development of a separate identity, or by their tendency to impose

their own expectations and values on their children in ways that

mitigated against the individuation process. One subject, for example,

described her relationship with her mother as follows:

> My mother met my emotional needs very well from
> infancy to age 12, but in adolescence it was a real
> struggle...once I began to grow and become indepen-
> dent. I'm from a very close extended family--almost
> like a life line; everybody breathes on the same
> lifeline. If somebody chooses to separate that
> throws the whole equilibrium off for the whole group
> ...It's been a long process of separation in order
> to be able to define a separate self.

Although the level of individuation promoted by the parents of some of the subjects in this group was similarly deficient to that found in the low and medium groups, the level of individuation attained by these subjects was decidedly higher. More than subjects in the previous groups, highly individuated subjects talked about a prolonged and difficult growth process during adolescence and/or within the marriage. In contrast to subjects in the previous groups, some of whom appeared to be still involved in late adolescent individuation struggles, the subjects in this group appeared to have worked through the second individuation period of adolescence with its loosening of infantile object ties, and its greater degree of self-other differentiation. Despite some deficits in the parents' capacity to encourage individuation for some of the subjects in this group, the majority had established differentiated relationships with family of origin as adults. Many of the individuals in this group had established what Bowen calls "person-to-person" relationships with family of origin--based on intersubjectivity, or an appreciation for and understanding of the other as a unique individual separate from one's own projections and expectations. It seems significant that a number of the subjects in this group spontaneously offered information about the ways in which their parents' personalities and styles of parenting were influenced by their own life histories, even though such information was not elicited by the semi-structured interview format. These comments supported Bowen's (1966) concept that the re-evaluation of experience with the parental objects in the light of the parents' own family histories contributes to greater individuation. For

example, one subject accounted for her mother's tendency to overprotect her and limit her individuation in terms of her mother's having herself been a parentified child who was prematurely thrust into an adult role by her own mother's death:

> My mother had a painful childhood...she grew up in an orthodox Jewish family. Her mother died and she raised her siblings. My father remarried, but it was a very unhappy second marriage because the woman was very resentful of all these children...it was a difficult stepmother situation. My mother never had the opportunity to experience childhood...she was prematurely put in the role of an adult...she raised her siblings and she is still regarded as a parent by them.

As a result of the greater degree of self-other differentiation that characterized the individuals in this group, there was less compulsion to repeat or reproject unsatisfactory aspects of a parental interaction model. Rather, these individuals appeared to have chosen a partner who would allow both for aspects of repetition, and also for opportunities for growth and recognition of individuality. In highly individuated relationships there was little need to assimilate the other to a rigid and negative pattern, but rather mutual tolerance of differentiation in most areas of interaction.

Highly individuated couples appeared to have the capacity to use both marriage and the transition to parenthood to further their own individuation. For example, one couple talked extensively about how the transition to parenthood was causing a resusitation of identifications with the parent of the same sex and an internal reworking of the relationship to the parental objects. In the following interaction one partner shows the capacity to help the other to affirm differences

from as well as similarities to the parent, thereby further fostering individuation.

(W)   I guess the things I worry about in terms of y'know coming out like my mother is y'know that I'll be rigid, that I'll have very strong ideas about what's right and what's wrong and really superimpose them on this child.

(H)   Mmmhmm. Mmmhmmm.

(W)   And that I'll just forget all the things that I've learned ...somehow, y'know about--this little baby's life being special...and sacred to her and her having her own path ...And--and uh y'know remembering that kind of thing and I'm afraid somehow sometimes I'll forget it, y'know.

(H)   Yeah.--I think that--that the important thing there is that I don't sort of abrogate my responsibilities as a parent and leave it all on you.

(W)   (Simultaneously) Yeah. (then continuing:) Like your dad with your mom in a lot of ways.

(H)   (Simultaneously) But yeah. And because you've--I think some of the reasons that you're not like your mother is because you bounce things off of me and there's a pretty equal relationship.

(W)   Yeah.

(H)   And--and y'know we've both changed to accommodate the other...

The husband assures the wife that she shouldn't worry so much about being like her mother. "You've pretty much established yourself as an individual." The above interaction provides an example of the ways in which the marital relationship for couples in this group functioned as an arena for reworking rather than repeating unsatis-factory aspects of the relationships with the primary objects.

Relational Patterns of Separateness and Connectedness

It was thought that the primary object relations and individual

resolutions of the separation-individuation process would be repro-
jected into the marital relationship in ways that would in part
determine the patterns of separateness and connectedness in the couple
relationship. Separation and unity were seen as two dimensions which
intersect in different ways to determine the degree of separation-
individuation both of the individual and within the marital relation-
ship. Previous research (Karpel, 1976; Raush, 1970) suggests that the
concept of individuation encompasses the polarities of differentiation
and relatedness, mutuality and autonomy, and in fact presupposes a
capacity to integrate the two. The data indicated that polarities of
separateness and relatedness were balanced very differently by couples
in the three individuation groups.

Relational patterns of the low individuation group. Couples with
low individuation profiles showed very little capacity to integrate
polarities of differentiation and relatedness, but instead tended to
rigidly adhere to one polarity or another. Most characteristic of such
relationships was a great deal of defensive distancing or symbiotic
clinging. Some of these relationships had been formed through a kind
of indiscriminate object seeking obviously designed to compensate for
serious ego deficits. Thus, one couple in this group decided to live
together shortly after meeting by chance on the Santa Monica pier--the
male subject because he had just arrived in the community and needed a
place to stay, and the female subject because she had just ended
another relationship and needed an object on which to rely. Such
relationships were seen to be similar to the fused or merged relation-
ship described by Karpel (1976) and Bozsormenyi-Nagy (1965) in which

infantile dependency on an anaclitic need-gratifying level masks inadequate self-other differentiation.

Relational patterns of the moderately individuated group. The most predominant relational pattern of the moderately individuated group was an imbalance between mutuality and autonomy. Moderately individuated couples showed a great deal of ambivalent vacillation between these two polarities, and an inability to integrate them in any consistent way in their relationships--even though individuals within the group appeared to be high on one or both dimensions in the individual interviews. Generally, individuals within the moderately individuated group appeared to have difficulty sustaining intimacy without an abrogation of autonomy, or in sustaining autonomy without a diminution of intimacy. Consequently, they tended to cycle ambivalently between the two polarities. Karpel (1976) characterizes the essence of such ambivalence as the "conflict between progressive tendencies towards differentiation, and regressive tendencies towards identification, between the responsibility of self-support that characterizes individuation and the blame, guilt or manipulation for environmental support that characterizes fusion" (p. 73).

Such ambivalence took many forms for the couples in this group. Some couples gravitated towards the polarity of ambivalent fusion, and tended to emphasize their mutual closeness and dependency. One subject described her relationship as follows: "We are each other's best friends. Our dependencies are dependent on our dependencies on each other." However, among couples who emphasize their cohesion and togetherness one also sees an assertion of autonomy in ways that are

immature and arbitrary. Thus the same subject who emphasized the interdependency in her relationship refused to do any housework whatsoever, leaving the dishes until all were used up. This was her way of asserting her autonomy. Other couples who gravitated towards the polarity of ambivalent autonomy tended to emphasize their mutual independence. In such relationships each spouse seemed bent on defensively protecting his or her autonomy and separateness whether the couple was describing the amount of time to be spent together versus separately in leisure pursuits, decisions about where to live or childcare arrangements.

Often such ambivalently autonomous relationships were characterized by a great deal of mutual covert dependency, which was unintegrated into the relationship, but which might emerge in sudden and drastic ways. Thus, the wife in a couple where both spouses were highly independent business executives who led highly autonomous lives, suddenly suffered a spontaneous collapsed lung, and became agoraphobic and inordinately dependent on her husband. Couples in this group showed many such instances of contradictory moves towards couple cohesion, and countermoves towards interdependence. In another instance, the wife initially refused to accompany her husband on a semester overseas, which was required by his graduate program because she could not pursue her own interests, but objected to him taking a job within a 50 mile commute because it might limit their time together.

Regardless of which aspect of the ambivalence was primary, moderately individuated couples tended to be incapable of finding a mutually satisfactory balance between autonomy and mutuality. The relational

dilemma of couples who formed a transitional group between fusion and individuation was characterized by Karpel (1976) as follows:

> During the transitional stage, the experience of both "I" and "We" become available to the person, but they co-exist as <u>conflicting alternatives</u>. The only options available are either a loss of self to a "We", or an unrelatedness to an "I". The lack of integration is seen in a variety of uneasy compromises between the two (p. 73).

One additional such "uneasy compromise" for moderately individuated couples was that in which one spouse assumed a quasi-parental role in relation to a less individuated spouse. The dynamics of these unequally individuated couples was similar to that of Winch's (1958) Mother-Son and Ibsenian relationships in which an immature and passive partner is maintained in an emotionally dependent and child-like position by an outwardly competent, but insecure spouse. In such situations neither spouse has an internally whole capacity to integrate the polarities mutuality and autonomy, independence and interdependence within the self, but must project aspects of the self outward onto the other.

<u>Relational patterns of the highly individuated group</u>. By contrast, the underlying defining characteristic of the relational patterns of the highly individuated couples was the capacity to integrate mutuality and autonomy, unity and separation within the context of an intimate relationship. The couples in this group showed the capacity to sustain a high degree of connectedness without any attenuation of individual identity. Notably absent among highly individuated couples was the splitting that typically occurred among couples in the previous group, where one partner contained strivings towards intimacy, while

the other embodied strivings towards autonomy and independence. Rather, in highly individuated relationships, both partners appeared to have internally more whole experience of integrating the bipolarities of differentiation and relatedness, autonomy and mutuality within themselves. Each partner shared responsibility for maintaining and enhancing intimacy; yet each was able to tolerate the separateness and independence of the other. Couples in this group tended to fulfill the definition of interdependence given by Lidz (1968):

> Speaking of the ideal, which reality occasionally approaches, the partners who have married have each achieved an individual identity, have shown themselves capable of intimacy, and have rescinded independence for the benefits of interdependence and its security of knowing that ones' welfare is as important to the partner as his own (p. 122).

The capacity to achieve such a balance between differentiation and relatedness, to integrate these polarities into a mutually satisfactory pattern of interaction was thought to involve a relatively high level of individuation or self-other differentiation on the individual level, as well as the capacity to maintain that individuation in the context of an intimate relationship.

Communication Patterns

The communication patterns of couples in each group formed another dimension by which to evaluate the individuation profile. Previous research has shown that the process of individuation has both an intrapsychic and a relational component (Raush et al., 1974; Starker, 1982). Interpersonal experiences with their associated affects are internalized as object relations schemata, which in turn determine

the ways in which individuals interpret and respond to the communications of the other. These object relations schemata determine to a certain extent the ways in which individuals interpret and respond to the communications of the other. Raush et al. (1974), for example, found that for certain couples, labeled discordant, any conflict or disagreement appeared to induce a projection of negative internalized object relations leading to escalating conflict, while for couples in their harmonious group, more benign internalized object relations were activated by communicative interactions leading to greater reciprocity, spontaneity, and playfulness in communicative exchanges. A correspondence between an individual's internalized object relations, level of individuation and transactional communicative style was found among the subjects in this study.

Patterns of communication of the low individuation group. In the low individuation group, the sharing of negative internalized objects often led in couple communication to chronic, ongoing conflict between the partners, with high levels of negativity, criticalness and projection of blame. Couples in this group often had a great deal of difficulty focusing their discussion on the particular problems or conflict they were asked to address in the interactional sequences. Instead, conflict quickly spread to a gamut of unresolved relationship issues or feelings about the other.

Most characteristic among couples in this group, however, was a tendency for the partners to narrow the range of their transactions so that differences of opinion, preferences, or values that might threaten their sense of togetherness remain hidden. In general, couples in this

group showed a strong need to diffuse and deny differences, and to create the illusion of agreement. At its most extreme, the communicational patterns of such couples were characterized by a near-delusional sense of harmony and togetherness reminiscent of Wynne's pseudo-mutuality, in which agreement was rigidly affirmed at the expense of any spontaneity or expressiveness. Couples tended to use pseudo-mutual agreement, in which they mirrored or echoed each other's comments as a defense against open discussion and negotiation of conflict. Not only were differences denied or suppressed in such relationships, but there was little differentiation in the partners' points of view. When such couples were asked to discuss conflictual issues, it was not always clear that there were two points of view being expressed, yet it was not clear that the couple was in agreement either. The lack of clear interpersonal boundaries between the partners was also indicated by frequent interruptions, or by projection of the thoughts and feelings of one partner onto the other. In addition to projection there was also a tendency for couples in this group to use collusive defenses such as mutual idealization in order to suppress couple conflict.

Whether pseudo-mutual agreement or chronic conflict predominated in couple communication, there was often little reciprocity in the communicational patterns of such couples. Instead one partner tended to dominate the interaction, or the partners tended to talk at each other with little sense of mutuality or contingency in their communications.

Patterns of communication of the moderately individuated group. The inability to integrate strivings for independence with longings for

interdependence was reflected in the communicational style of moder- ately individuated couples. Insofar as subjects in the moderately individuated group showed greater individuation, so also did their communication reflect aspects of a relatively greater self-other differentiation than was found in the previous group. Moderately individuated couples showed some capacity to acknowledge and tolerate differences, some differentiation in point of view, and some indica- tions of mutuality and reciprocity in their communication. However, deficits in individuation and in self-other differentiation were reflected in other aspects of couple communication such as the inability to negotiate compromise solutions especially to disagreements involving issues of individual autonomy versus couple mutuality.

The marital interaction sequences indicated that conflicts over individual autonomy versus couple mutuality, with their attendant relational patterns of approach and avoidance, were at the heart of communicative interactions among couples in this group. It is almost as if couples were compelled to repeat in their interactions their internal ambivalence between strivings for unity and assertions of autonomy. Both Karpel (1976) and Boszormenyi-Nagy (1965) have observed that this pattern of ongoing conflict around issues or relational connectedness versus separateness serves the needs of such highly ambivalent partners in that it limits merger and affirms separateness, even while maintaining interaction.

With moderately individuated couples, the ambivalence around connectedness versus separateness was often split between the partners. The most typical pattern in the moderately individuated groups was

one in which one partner (usually, but not always, the male), who had difficulty in communicating feelings and in sharing his or her inner life, imposed some defensive distance, while the other, who on the surface appeared to have a greater capacity for intimacy, advocated for more closeness. The attacking and critical quality with which the latter partner made these entreaties was in itself distancing, indicating that the inability to establish and sustain intimacy was a shared one among these couples.

For one couple, this pattern took the following form. The husband tended to hide his feelings behind a wise-cracking facade which maintained some emotional distance. The wife on the other hand tended to express her feelings more openly, but to adopt a badgering and critical style in her interactions that also limited intimacy. The mythology in this relationship was that he used humor to avoid intimacy, while she badgered him in order to establish closeness. However, the following interaction illustrates that both his reticence and her badgering were part of a cycle that limits closeness:

> (W) ...Now y'know particularly with the baby coming, now we really--it's important to keep y'know communicating. And I always feel in a position of--of sort of badgering you to tell me what's going on for you and how you feel about things, but I don't like it.

> (H) (Interrupts) But when you badger me then I get angry.

> (W) Yeah. But I don't like being in that position. You know I--I would like to be--at least make to effort to--to--get in touch with what's happening with you.

> (H) But if I make the effort, it's never enough, though. If I make my effort it's never enough for you so you have y'know what I'm saying. If you don't badger me, for you to be satisfied you're gonna have to badger--badger me more, badger me more (laughingly) badger me more.

(W) Well, then that's something that I have to work on and deal
      with, but...

Despite the above statement, in which the wife assumed some responsi-
bility for her contributions to this pattern, she wound up projecting
blame for it onto her husband, and telling him that she "hates" that
part of him. The concluding sequence of this interaction made it
clear that the wife's badgering did not serve the purpose of enhancing
couple communication, but rather was fueled by some other motivation
that she didn't completely understand:

(H) Except that I don't really think that the bad--y'know the
     badgering that you give me helps. Do you think it is--do
     you think it does?

(W) No...hu-uh. (Simultaneously) I don't badger you to help
     you, I badger you because I need to know...but it's more
     of just I need to know what's going on. It's not--it's not
     a helpful thing to do. I don't do it because I wanna be
     nice and helpful and help you with this problem. I do it
     because y'know I need to ask.

(H) But if--but if you said earlier if I would--if I would open
     up that means that would help us as a relationship in
     growing. So you're not doing it.

(W) (Interrupts) Yeah, but that's certainly not--not the way
     to help you.

(H) So then why do you do it?

(W) 'Cause I can't help--I mean it's just y'know.

(H) <u>Well the same way that you badger is the same way that I
     shut up, though.</u> ...

Thus, this sequence concluded with the husband identifying the
reciprocal contributions that each partner made to this counterpro-
ductive pattern that mitigates against the intimacy that this couple
was ostensibly attempting to establish.

In a recent work on the relational patterns of men and women,

Rubin (1983) offers a formulation that enables us to understand the prevalence of this pattern among the men and women in this group. Rubin (1983) hypothesizes that "despite the cant about women being available for intimacy and men being unavailable, they are both likely to experience problems and pressures in an intimate relationship" (p. 92), which may be traced to their early developmental experiences in the family. Women remain highly identified with their original love object, the mother, and thus develop a more relationally oriented self, characterized by more permeable ego boundaries. Intimacy, and the intuitive knowledge and exploration of another's inner state tends to be more easily established and sustained for women, but it is also threatening in that it mitigates against separateness. Men, on the other hand, who must renounce the original identification with the mother, tend to have difficulty in allowing another to penetrate the boundaries of the self. However, as the above interaction sequences indicate, both men and women show ambivalence about intimacy and separateness, although their ambivalence tends to be expressed in ways that camouflage the shared and reciprocal nature of their vacillations between separateness and togetherness.

Patterns of communication of the highly individuated group. Among the highly individuated couples, such splitting was not evident in couple communication. Since the highly individuated couples tended to contain strivings for autonomy and longings for dependency within the self and to integrate both within their relationships, they were not compelled to project either onto their partner. In keeping with these couples' solid sense of interpersonal boundaries and minimal tendency

to assimilate the other to a rigid object relational schemata, there was minimal tendency to project blame and responsibility and minimal spreading or escalation of conflict from an initial task to a range of relationship issues. Moreover, the high level of mutuality in these relationships was reflected in relatively high levels of reciprocity and contingency in couple communication. Partners were able to speak clearly for the self while acknowledging the other's point of view in their responses, although the clash of two strong identities often led to vigorous disagreement on issues of importance for couples in this group. One individual characterized the reciprocal quality of communication for this group as "a two-way street...When we talk about issues of importance we both talk and listen to what the other is saying. It's never a conflict of one versus the other. Our efforts are headed in the same direction...it's not important who wins..."

Attitudes Towards the Baby and the Transition to Parenthood

Another dimension that provided an index to the level of individuation was the attitude towards the coming baby and the transition to parenthood. Previous research has shown that the baby in fact has a psychological birth in the fantasies and expectations of the parents before its actual birth (Fraiberg, 1975). It has been proposed that the transition to parenthood poses a challenge to the parents' existing level of individuation, and also provides opportunities for further individuation, in that it involves both increased identification with one's own parents as one assumes the parental role, and

increased separation from family of origin as one turns psychological energy to the family of procreation. In the transition to parenthood, individuals draw on their own early experiences and identifications with their own parents in the child care role. This re-identification with parental objects may challenge the existing self-other definition in ways that may be regressive for individuals with unfinished self-other differentiation. In addition, the transition to parenthood taxes the individuals' level of object constancy and resolutions of separation-individuation and oedipal stages. The extent to which individuals have achieved object constancy, or the capacity to value the other as a unique being separate from the state of need, versus the extent to which they continue to relate to objects in terms of their need-gratifying function will determine their attitudes and fantasies about the coming baby. Furthermore, the extent to which oedipal conflicts have been largely overcome, with a separation on the intrapsychic level between the self representation and the internalized representation of the parental dyad, will determine the extent to which the parents can tolerate the addition of a third person without a recrudescence of oedipal issues. Given the ways in which the transition to parenthood taxes and exposes the couples' level of separation-individuation, major differences were expected and found among the three individuation groups in the pre-birth attitudes towards the baby and the impending transition to parenthood.

Attitudes towards the baby and the transition to parenthood in the low individuation group. Couples in the low individuation group tended to conceptualize the baby as a need-gratifying object, who

would make up for deficient past object relations. For example, one
couple expressed the belief that the coming baby would magically erase
past hurts as the following dialogue indicates:

> (H) ...I feel maybe you---your problems with--with bringing
> y'know your past--y'know things that happened in your past
> that bothers you would--would slowly y'know drift away
> because you'll be more into the baby and the family and
> what's going on.
>
> (W) (Interrupts) Oh, they've already gone away a lot.
>
> (H) What, already?
>
> (W) Sure.
>
> (H) Well, I just figured once the child's born, it'll--it'll
> happen more, y'know, be closer with you.
>
> (W) (Simultaneously) Oh, I'm sure it will.
>
> (H) You won't have to sit there and think about this and that
> about your past that's bothered you.

There was also the sense among these couples that the baby would
function as a self-object who would enhance the narcissism of the
parents. One poorly differentiated couple in the sample, for example,
focused their discussion about how the baby would change their lives
and relationship around how the baby would alleviate their loneliness.
In the marital interaction sequence, the mother in this case comments,
"I think what will happen though unlike last time before we had the
child, is that some of our time alone when we're not with each other
will be with the child and that will be sort of satisfying for us..."
The father in this case especially showed an inability to conceptualize
the baby as a separate being apart from his own ego needs, and indulged
in fantasies about how he might become President of the PTA.

In addition to seeing the baby as a need-gratifying or ego-

enhancing object, couples with low individuation profiles showed an inability to focus on realistic planning for the coming baby. Discussions about the baby were punctuated with highly distracting and/or irrelevant remarks that reflected the parents' inability to transcend their own needs and concerns to plan realistically for the coming baby. For example, the following interchange indicates how one couple in this group quickly refocused a discussion about the baby to their own concerns:

(W) But then, too, with our lives, I think it will be a matter of, of just a total readjustment as far as schedules. I guess I don't see it, um, I don't see where after the baby's born that it's gonna be too much of a change in life-style. I think it just means more time. We need to be more organized, and yeah, we're gonna have to be more organized and really maximize the time that we have available.

(H) Uh Hmmm.

(W) Cause we'll be involving the babysitter, and doin' things for the baby which is something we aren't used to doing.

(H) Uh Hmm.

(W) And that will be in addition to what we're doin' now.

(H) Right.

(W) So that's gonna be the biggest thing. But, as a matter of fact, I plan to be more active anyway.

(H) In what respect?

(W) Oh, you know, I want to take golf.

The above passage also demonstrates the tendency for couples in the low individuation group to deny that the baby will make any significant changes in their lives and relationship. This inability to confront the concrete tasks of planning for the baby or to deal realistically with the myriad changes that the transition to parenthood entails was

seen to be an indication of the need to create the illusion of sameness and togetherness, found in other aspects of couple interaction. As one couple put it, "The baby's gonna really be incorporated into our life style. Y'know we'll just change it a little bit and then the baby adds to it."

In general, the individuals in this group expressed a great deal of doubt about whether they would have the ego resources to cope with the baby. One of the prospective fathers in this group, for example, wondered whether he would "have some consistency of who I am, and could give that to the baby." A prospective mother worried about repeating the negative object relationship that she had with her own abusive and neglectful mother, fearing that she would be unable to contain her rage, but would "blow up" at or in front of her baby. Another relatively undifferentiated mother who lived with her own mother, worried that she wouldn't have any milk, and fantasized that her own mother, who was described as having more ample breasts, would be better able to take care of her baby. Mothers in families with low individuation also showed a fear of loss of ego boundaries as a result of the pregnancy. One mother stated, "I felt like my soul was being taken away. I had to make room for somebody else."

Among a minority of couples in the low individuation group there were indications that pregnancy and the transition to parenthood were precipitating further individuation for the parents to be. One couple, for example, who prior to the pregnancy had been involved in a symbiotic drinking experience, and referred to themselves as "wine affectionados", were both able to stop drinking after the wife became

pregnant with a consequent improvement in the marital interaction.

In general, however, the pre-birth assessments of couples with low individuation profiles indicates that subjects in this group showed moderate to severe difficulty in conceptualizing the infant apart from their own ego needs, or in imagining coping with the infant as a separate being with its own needs and reality.

Attitudes towards the baby and transition to parenthood in the moderately individuated group. For the moderately individuated couples, the transition to parenthood appeared in many cases to precipitate a great deal of turmoil. The defensive independence of the ambivalently autonomous couples was challenged by the greater interdependence that pregnancy and parenthood entail. Among some of the women in this group, there was evidence of a premature concern with the baby's separateness, which undoubtedly reflected the mother's ambivalence about her own autonomy. One woman, for example, stated that "even before the child is born I feel like it's another person, which is a feeling I don't think my parents ever had." Another woman fantasized early in her pregnancy that her child was trapped inside of her and that she had to let it out. For those who gravitated towards defensive distance in relationships, there was also a tendency to worry about whether they would be able to form an attachment to the infant.

The re-identification with parental figures and increased closeness to primary objects that pregnancy often entails posed a challenge to the differentiation of some individuals who had maintained a precarious individuation through defensive distance in relation to overly

intrusive parents. For example, one woman who had struggled to individuate from a mother whom she described as living vicariously through her and consistently opposing her strivings for independence, feared that having a baby and becoming a mother herself would cause an erosion of the tenuous boundaries between her self and mother that she had been able to establish. She expressed her anxiety by fantasizing that having a baby would give her mother the opportunity to go through her things.

> I think--I think uh your life becomes more of an open book, too, because I remember when I used to babysit in people's houses I always used to (laughing) look through their things. I mean but it's true like you may--people go in people's kitchens and like when you're a babysitter and y'--and you--you look what people have to eat and you can eat it 'nd y'know you can look through their records and all that... at tax records but uhm--and so people will be doing that in our house when they come over to stay-- including your mother and my mother...

This concern with maintaining interpersonal boundaries after the baby's birth was typical of couples whose relational patterns involved ambivalent oscillations between overcloseness and defensive distance. The following dialogue from one of the marital interactions illustrates the ways in which even during the pre-birth period these couples tended to factor the baby into their negotiations about boundary issues, and their ambivalent oscillations between claustrophobic togetherness and defensive autonomy:

> (W) ...How our relationship'll change...I think the whole <u>birth</u> experience has to make us closer.

> (H) Well, that's the birth experience. What about afterwards? The way you look at it now, it--it seems like it would make it closer, but...

(W)   I can see it getting in the way. I think we're both gonna hafta push our patience levels to the limits, especially me. I mean one of the problems with Snuggly (the cat) was that we never had time for ourselves. We always felt there was the cat, no matter what we were doing, sleeping, or in bed or whatever, and we can't do that with the baby, even though its going to be very tempting....

(H)   (Interrupting) The baby in the same room is gonna make it more difficult.

(W)   Well, come late Spring we can make a decision about... whether we're staying here or not. And if we are, we'll have to start looking for a two-bedroom place. We can't let the kid grow up in our bedroom you might say....

(H)   While we're here, I don't see very much choice we have with the baby.

(W)   You can sleep right here on the couch.

(H)   No, that's not a good idea either, I mean--

(W)   Why not?

(H)   I mean technica...occasionally it's o.k.

(W)   Yeah, I meant occasionally. I meant occasionally.

(H)   But not to make...it seems like we're being driven out of our own bedroom.

(W)   I'm sure there'll be times when we resent having the kid around and one of us will--

(H)   (Interrupts) (Unintelligible) You're taking it out on the kid.

Evident in the above interaction was the tendency even during the pre-birth period for many moderately individuated couples to triangulate the infant into their ongoing negotiations about separateness and togetherness. Also evident was extreme anxiety about the ways in which any third party (the cat, the child) might become caught in their ambivalent vacillations between a symbiotic closeness and a defensive distance.

In conclusion, the marital interaction sequences indicated that moderately individuated couples were so pre-occupied with the negotiation and renegotiation of boundary issues and of patterns of separateness and togetherness that they showed limited capacity to focus on concrete planning for the coming baby. Their anxiety and ambivalence about issues of mutuality and autonomy within the pre-birth relationship tended to limit their capacity to imagine and dwell on the satisfactions of sharing the experiences of parenthood. It should be noted that some of the same themes--fears that the baby would intrude on couple intimacy or limit individual autonomy are evident in the other groups as well. However, what distinguished this group was the extent to which discussions about the baby were assimilated into these couples' ambivalent oscillations around issues of separateness and togetherness.

<u>Attitudes towards the baby and the transition to parenthood in the highly individuated group</u>. By contrast, highly individuated couples who had achieved (or were on their way to achieving) an integration between mutuality and autonomy within their relationship showed a concern with integrating these polarities in mutually satisfactory ways as they traversed the transition to parenthood. Having largely accomplished the psychological tasks of identity formation and separation from family of origin, couples in this group were able to confront more difficult issues of parenthood, including the nature of their involvement with the baby and with each other as they contemplated the transition to parenthood. Highly individuated couples were not compelled by their own ego needs to imagine the baby

as an object of need gratification. Nor did they need to assimilate the baby to a rigidly preconceived pattern of interaction in order to defend a precariously maintained and brittle autonomy. Rather, they were able to accept that their lives and relationships would change significantly after the baby was born, and to embrace these changes as growthful and positive. In contrast to couples in the previous groups, who tended to downplay the changes that the baby would make in their lives and relationships, these couples showed an acceptance of the major readjustments and changes that the baby would entail. As one subject in this group put it:

> I think it's gonna have a lot of long-term changes ...in our lives. And--have increased demands on our time, but also another orientation of thinking--try to--to think through the kid's eyes--and do the best for the child--so that the child will have a rich experience in growing up.

There was a great deal of discussion among the couples in this group about the ways in which priorities would be refocused and lives would be rearranged to accommodate the baby, as the following dialogue indicates:

> (W) The time'll change. You won't have as much time. I won't have as much time. I won't have as much time--to do the things that we normally do. Uhm--our priorities'll all change. 'Cause everything'll be based more towards the baby and the priorities will be for the baby....

> (H) Uhm--what other changes?

> (W) (After a pause) this--well I think gonna come--our careers and so--I mean we're gonna be thinking more what the--what the child's gonna need as it grows up and what--environment it needs--which will y'know can change everything.

> (H) Yeah but--because of the child though maybe we'll change our attitudes about work.

(W)   (Simultaneously) Do you agree? (Then continues:) Well,
      yeah, that's what I mean. Y'know, you might be real happy
      to come home early every day or y'know to get home as fast
      as you can....

Although couples in this group expressed concern with re-orienting
their lives to accommodate to and care for the baby, they also showed
the capacity to maintain clear boundaries between the self and the
couple unit on the one hand, and the baby on the other. As was the
case with the less individuated subjects, couples in this group
expressed a considerable amount of anxiety about the ways in which the
baby would affect a well-established and deeply valued intimacy with
each other, as the following statement indicates:

        I think it will be a big change. We think about it--
        in that there's another person, we've had each other
        and we've had--almost taking it for granted that
        y'know there--there's you and me and we have time
        for each other and all of a sudden--there's gonna
        be more responsibilities that might take away that
        time we've had together in the past.

However, although they regretted the attenuation of dyadic intimacy
that the transition to parenthood might entail, highly individuated
couples also perceived the taking on of parental roles and functions
as potentially enhancing of couple intimacy. The following dialogue
will illustrate this point:

(H)   I think you know having been uh married so long that--I--
      I just think that is going to be a big change and

(W)   But we've been through a lot of different changes too since
      we've been married I think. We've adjusted to a lot of
      different things and I think that's in our favor. If
      we'd only been married a year we would have only had one
      way of relating to each other and all of a sudden that
      would be different.

(H)   Well I--I think it'll be a stimulation to the relationship,
      really.

(W) Hum uh. Yeah, I think so too. It'll be something new.

(H) I think it'll kind of complete the relationship that we have and I think we'll uh really get to know things about each other that--that had not come out before and we'll get to know ourselves a lot better.

(W) Well, yeah it'll be interesting to see that--that side of you, you know that interesting to see you as a father.

(H) The parent side, yeah, yeah.

(W) 'Cause I really never have. I mean I don't think we act as parents to each other. I'm sure we do sometimes but not consistently like some people do...

The attitudes of the highly individuated group towards the transition to parenthood were also distinguished by the extent to which parenthood was conceptualized as a shared task between the partners. The anxiety which the career oriented women in this sample tended to express about the loss of stimulation from the world of work that parenthood in its early stages entails was somewhat ameliorated by the anticipated involvement of their husbands. One female subject spoke to this as follows:

> I guess I should be more concerned about things that can happen--that I'm probably not because as we talked about before you were always so supportive, so I don't feel it's a real solo effort.

The majority of the couples in this group were dual career families, and in six of the eleven families, the wife planned to return to her professional work or training, three to six months after the baby's birth. In five of the couples, the wife planned to take a more extended leave, but intended to return to work on a part-time basis at some point during the first three years. Husbands in this group were clearly supportive of their wives' decisions in either direction.

Several husbands in fact expressed a preference for their wives' returning to work after the baby's birth. More than the male subjects in the less individuated groups, the men in this group showed a greater enthusiasm for and willingness to participate in all aspects of the parenting process, and in some cases to adjust their own schedules wherever possible to participate in childcare. Additionally, they showed a greater degree of affective involvement with the infant even during the pre-birth period. The following statement from one father-to-be illustrated these points:

> I feel it's of the utmost importance to have an active role in the baby's growth and development...to do all the things I possibly can to foster that--to expose the baby to different things and to provide emotional support and love. ...As time goes on more and more of the love that you have seems to be funneled into this child and the anticipation is really great. There's a significant amount of emotional attachment already. You are so anxious to pour it into something you can hold in your arms....

Another father in this group anticipated his involvement with the baby as follows:

> I anticipate that there's nothing I won't do for the baby. I anticipate bathing and feeding and talking to him, watching and being up all night with him. I really want to be part of all that. I look forward to the whole process during the first few weeks of holding and loving and bonding--not just the baby and myself, but the three of us...

Major distinguishing features of highly individuated couples' approach to parenthood, then, included the capacity to conceptualize the experience as enhancing of couple intimacy and individuation, the consistently expressed concern with maintaining a balance between couple autonomy and parent-child cohesion, and the conceptualization

of parenthood as an equally shared enterprise.

Perhaps most indicative of the high level of individuation of the couples in this group was the capacity to imagine the baby as an autonomous being with its own needs and reality, even during the pre-birth period. The concern with the infant's autonomy and separateness did not preclude the capacity to imagine a strong attachment to the infant. Indeed, couples in this group were unique in their expressed concern both with establishing intimacy with and encouraging autonomy in their infants. One father, for example, talked about wanting to establish an "emotional bond" with the infant as well as to "expand the baby's horizons", while another hoped to be "close" to his baby and to be "a teacher" to it. The following discussion between one couple in this group shows this concern with fostering infant autonomy and separateness when developmentally appropriate:

(W)   And I just think that as he broadens his social circle
      and expands--his world expands for him and we're not
      his whole world.

(H)   Yeah. That's true.

(W)   Then...our experience as a family will change somewhat.
      I think actually that's interesting. I mean we've never
      talked about that but I think it's something we really
      have to be very careful to focus on given our family
      history, too, to insure that he not occupy so special
      a role in the family.

(H)   that we encourage him.

(W)   That he becomes, yeah that--that becomes a--a burden for
      him. That can be a burden, too...I mean he'll always be so
      important to us, but I think that the--that the u--the uhm--
      uh the task for us is gonna be to be able to allow him to
      stretch himself out.

(H)   You mean to balance it? Is it really--is it

(W) Experience himself outside of us. Y'know--

(H) It's something that we have to do. We have to let go...
The above interaction indicates the concern among highly individuated
couples even during the prenatal period, with encouraging separation-
individuation experiences for the infant.

In the following section, seven cases are presented, three from
the low individuation group, three from the moderate individuation
group, and one from the highly individuated group which illustrate in
more significant detail the ways in which pre-birth patterns of
separation-individuation, derived in part from primary object relations
within the family of origin, are translated into new patterns of
separateness and connectedness within the new family group.

Case Illustrations: Low Individuation

The following three case illustrations are designed to show the
three major patterns of postnatal adaptation which emerged in this
group. The first pattern involved a tendency for two poorly individu-
ated parents with an undifferentiated and emotionally distant relation-
ship to perpetuate their own lack of individuation by relating to their
baby primarily as a mirroring self-object. The second case illustrates
a pattern whereby one parent in the low individuation range recreated
an ambivalent object relationship, also characteristic of the marital
relationship, with the infant, while the other more relatively individ-
uated parent was able to avoid repetition of the marital interaction
pattern. In the third case, the mother's undifferentiated relationship
with her own mother was recreated through her inability to tolerate the

autonomous strivings of either her husband or her infant son.

Case Illustration 1: The Narcissistic Couple

Jody, 27, and Gene, 33, appeared to be one of the most poorly individuated couples in the sample at the time of the pre-birth assessment. Married one and a half years, the couple had recently relocated to Los Angeles from New York so that Gene could pursue his interest in acting. In the pre-birth interviews, both partners came across as extremely immature and narcissistically impaired individuals who were inordinately dependent on each other to make up for serious ego deficits. Their individual interviews revealed that both suffered from severe and chronic fluctuations in self-esteem, shallow and impoverished object relations, and an inability for sustained autonomous creative activity which are the hallmarks of narcissistic disorders (Kohut, 1977). Their inordinate concern with extracting narcissistic supplies, both from each other and from the environment, severely limited their capacity for both mutuality and autonomy. The couple appeared to be both interpersonally isolated within their own relationship, which was characterized by a great deal of symbiotic clinging, but little intimacy, and socially isolated with the community. They seemed to inhabit a transient world of fringe show-business and theater people who engaged in shallow sensation-seeking and drug use.

Wife profile. In the pre-birth individual interview, Jody came across as an extremely immature and childlike woman who projected a diffuse and impoverished sense of self. Her description of her

primary object relations was vague and often contradictory. She was initially unable to describe her mother from the perspective of her childhood, saying that she was "too prejudiced by how I see her now". When pressed to do so by the interviewer, she volunteered only that her mother was a school teacher who worked hard and was a little bit uptight, although she could also be "warm and loving". When asked if mother met her emotional needs in childhood and adolescence, she replied somewhat ambiguously that she did so before age 12, but after that point, "it would have been impossible for anyone to meet my needs." Such a split between childhood and adolescence was also evident in her description of her relationship with her father. She reported that father similarly met her emotional needs before age 12, but that once she became an adolescent, they had "no basis for relating because I wasn't a child." She did volunteer that her father, who worked in the garment trades, encouraged her interest in art, but this was the only evidence of a positive and specific identification or connection with parental figures. Her relationship with her parents appears to have been distant and emotionally deficient, although it is difficult to guage exactly in what way because of the vagueness and contradictoriness of her responses. She reported a history of behavior problems and anti-social acting out as an adolescent. "I was alienated; I couldn't relate."

In the pre-birth interview, Jody appeared to be somewhat limited in her capacity for both intimacy and autonomy. Although trained as a graphic artist, she reported having difficulty holding a job because of her tendency to be "temperamental" and to have volatile mood

swings. When asked to describe these mood swings by the interviewer, she reported "getting all cramped up inside...feeling smaller than the world...and not feeling good about myself." What gets her out of these chronic depressions by Jody's report is, "telling myself how great I am." Jody interrupted her description of her depressive states by asking the interviewer whether her husband would be viewing the videotape. She stated that what she had just told the interviewer was very personal and expressed the preference that her husband not be shown the tape, since "he doesn't know me thoroughly." This incident revealed, more than any other aspect of the pre-birth interview, the limitations in this subject's capacity for object relations in depth. Although she did express her enthusiasm and excitement about the baby, she also wondered whether she would be "stable and rational enough so that if the baby had colic or crying, I can remain rational. Everybody has a stress threshold and mine isn't all that high."

Husband profile. The tendency towards shallow object relations and narcissistic imbalance that Jody projected were also evident in Gene, although his presentation of self was somewhat different. While Jody came across as an insecure and isolated person who barely sustained autonomous ego functioning, Gene presented himself as self-confident and gregarious. The shallow and manipulative style of relating which he demonstrated in the individual interview was the result in part of his childhood experience as a "navy brat". The middle child with two sisters, Gene grew up in a military family which moved every two years. Although he acknowledged having felt isolated, he also stated that as the new kid, he had the "upper hand",

because "no one knew where I was coming from." This sense of distance and isolation was also reflected in his description of his primary object relations. When asked to describe his mother from the perspective of his childhood, he responded in a way that showed not only emotional distance but dissociation. He first stated, "I have flashes when I smell something," and then followed this peculiar response with the following somewhat abstract and contradictory description. "She was a delightful lady to be with...I have no unpleasant memories of her except a sense of isolation." Father, a pilot who was often absent from the family for as much as six months at a time, was described as a strict disciplinarian who was physically was well as emotionally distant. There was little sense that Father was either emotionally responsive to Gene's needs, or encouraging of his autonomy and independence. In fact, Gene described his upbringing as "sheltered". "A lot of things were off-bounds that we should have been exposed to earlier."

The picture of Gene's primary object relations in the family of origin conforms to the description of the family constellation of the contemporary narcissistic personality formulated by Kohut (1977). There seemed to be a notable absence for Gene both of a mirroring-merger experience with an empathically responsive maternal self-object and of an idealizing-merger experience with an available and effective parental self-object (Tolpin and Kohut, 1980)--although this is more in the nature of a speculation than a conclusion, given the paucity of historical data presented in his individual interview.

Gene appeared to have emerged from this early family experience

with an inability to sustain depth involvements in either work or relationships. He acknowledges that one of the drawbacks from his upbringing was a tendency to "see things changing around", and an inability "to finish things". He connected the dislocations of his childhood with his current interest in acting, saying that "a lot of people who have that kind of background end up in show business." Although he defined himself as an actor, he showed little evidence of sustained or committed pursuit of his craft. Rather, he projected somewhat grandiose hopes of making it in television or theater, with little sense of a realistic grounding in these ambitions. The pursuit of acting appeared to provide Gene with the unconditional admiration and approval, which he was unable to generate internally because of his impoverished primary object relations, and corresponding lack of self-cohesion and continuity.

This lack of self-cohesion and impoverished capacity for object relations were indicative in Gene's statements that he experienced closeness only "'in flashes', when it's really necessary." He reported that generally he tends to "stay inside myself", but that he was trying to overcome this tendency toward isolation, not because of any concern for the quality of his current relationships, but because "it's a bad thing for an actor."

Gene, then, appeared to show some limitations in his capacity for object relations in depth. Not surprisingly, he described his favorite pasttime as spending an afternoon in a bar, drinking and talking with people whom he meets casually. There were some suggestions that he regulated his shaky self-esteem not only through

constant but transient interpersonal contact, intermittent self-aggrandizement through acting, but also through extensive drug and alcohol abuse.

Marital profile. The low degree of individuation attained by both Jody and Gene separately was reflected in a marital interaction pattern characterized by little autonomy or mutuality. The overall impression from the marital interaction sequence was of two undifferentiated partners who were inordinately reliant on each other to sustain ego functioning, who who were incapable of any deep or sustained intimacy or mutuality. Gene by self-report preferred the anonymous and casual interpersonal contact of the bar to sustained contact with his wife, who complained that he was almost never home. Jody, by contrast, appeared to be inordinately reliant on Gene for basic support and caretaking, but expressed a definite lack of trust in him in the individual interview. In the pre-birth assessments, then, the partners came across as two immature and narcissitically impaired individuals, who alternately distanced from and clung to each other, but who depended on each other to maintain a precarious narcissistic equilibrium. So much of this couple's energy was taken up with regulating their own self-esteem that they were unable to focus in any consistent way on the transition to parenthood.

Their narcissistic self-absorption and lack of emotional readiness for parenthood was evident in the marital interaction sequence in which they discussed ways of balancing work and childcare tasks in order to meet both their own, each other's and the baby's needs. Gene began on a positive note by talking about how he might arrange his work

schedule to spend time with Jody and the baby and to help with household tasks, but the discussion quickly floundered over a disagreement about who would change the baby's diapers.

(H) ...Well...hopefully, my nights will be ah will be when I'm working an I'll have my days free so I should be able to spend a lot of time at home during the days... Which will be nice, you know, then I can do some of the...things that have to be done...like the...clothes especially, stuff like that that you won't have time to do.

(W) (Simultaneously) the diaper-changing. .

(H) No, I mean like washing our clothes, stuff like that, stuff that you won't be doing cause you'll be taking care of the baby.

(W) (Simultaneously). No, I'll wash the clothes. You can change the diapers.

(H) Oh, you don't like to change diapers? How do you know?

(W) Not any more than you, honey.

Both the tone, which was extremely menacing and unpleasant, as well as the content of the above interaction indicated that it was difficult for both of these partners to imagine putting their infant's needs before their own needs and preferences. Significantly, the discussion then focused around Jody's need for Gene to curtail his work activities in order to be more emotionally available to her. The couple wound up talking about a recent incident in which Jody called Gene at work in an anxiety panic and demanded that he come home. In the marital interactions, then, the couple showed only a superficial and transient concern with the coming baby or with planning for the transition to parenthood. Indeed the latter was eclipsed by a discussion of their own needs.

Despite the indications of tension between the partners, the

communicational style of this couple was more pseudo-mutual than mutual. In the interaction sequences, the couple showed little openness and expressivity in their communication, and minimal capacity to acknowledge or work through conflicts. Problematic areas of couple functioning that were readily identified in the individual interviews, such as Gene's emotional inaccessibility, Jody's depressions, the couple's tenuous financial situation, and inadequate social support network, were totally denied or suppressed in the marital interaction sequences. Instead the couple relied on a kind of pseudo-idealization to avoid a more genuine confrontation with the strains and tensions that the transition to parenthood was engendering in each and in the relationship.

Postnatal adaptation. The pre-birth marital interaction pattern whereby both partners used each other as self-objects to make up for ego deficits and narcissistic impairments was replicated in the postnatal parent-child transactions. The quality of "holding environment" (Winnicott, 1974) that Gene and Jody provided for their infant was observed to be deficient from the outset. Both parents showed a sustained inability to respond empathically to their infant, to maintain an appropriate level of stimulation and need satisfaction for him, and most important to differentiate his needs from their own. At the one month observation point, for example, the observer felt that Jody demonstrated a "crazy lack of empathy for the baby", and seemed underprotective toward him. She was noted to feed the baby competently, "though with no particular show of affection or enjoyment." Her attitude towards the baby was described as "perfunctory"

and her affective involvement "limited".

Additionally, the baby was noted to be minimally alert, unusually limp and hypotonic, and these characteristics may have further contributed to his parents' lack of appropriate responsivity. The infant's and family's development was summed up at the one month point as follows:

> My impression of Jody is that she is very immature, has very little idea how to put the baby's needs first, if she even knew what they were. There is some evidence that she is or was a drug user; she told me she wouldn't mind breast feeding if she could "smoke", "do cocaine" and other "stuff", and "get high sometimes". ...As for Gene, he appeared somewhat depressed and uncomfortable. He was not at all open around me. Both parents handle the child as though he is an inanimate object--that is with little obvious feeling. In summary, then, I found a peculiarly woozy baby in a bleak unhealthful environment, cared for in a sub-optimal manner...

At the three month data observation point, the parents continued to seem incapable of involving themselves affectively with the infant. The mother especially seemed incapable of pacing her behaviors to his rhythms or adapting herself to his needs. The decidedly nonreciprocal nature of the mother-infant interaction is best illustrated by the description of the breast-feeding at three months:

> Jody began to breastfeed the baby. She sat with him in the rocking chair. The most striking thing about the feeding interaction was that immediately she seemed to tune out with respect to the baby. She stopped looking at him. She held him, but held him loosely and there was no stroking or other forms of physical affection. Sam, who seems to rely heavily on his eyes as a way of taking things in, looked at her for a minute or two but then seemed to withdraw in response to her lack of attentiveness to him... when Sam lost his mother's gaze he seemed to turn inward and soothe himself by playing with his ear. Jody then pulled out a magazine which she proceeded

to look at through the rest of the nursing, thus
tuning me out as well and Sam's involvement with
her seemed to mirror hers with him; that is, it
diminished and he looked vaguely away.

Thus, during the symbiotic period of development, Jody's low level
of individuation was reflected in her inability to participate whole-
heartedly in the two central interpersonal events of this period:
holding and mutual gaze (Brazelton et al., 1974; Stern, 1971, 1974;
Winnicott, 1974). Not only was she unable to bring any affective
involvement to her holding and handling of the infant, but she was
unable to hold him in a way that facilitated face to face contact
and mutual gaze.

In fact, the gaze interaction of this mother-infant pair showed
a reversal of the usual pattern. It was noted that "as long as the
mother was looking at him, he was interested in her, but when she
stopped, he withdrew his interest". Previous research on mother-
infant mutual gaze patterns (Fogel, 1977; Stern, 1974) have shown
that mothers tend to frame their interaction sessions with their
infants by holding their gaze while infants cycle between looking
away and looking back at the mother. Stern (1971, 1977) found that
infant gaze tended to significantly inhibit maternal gaze aversion.
In this case, however, it was the mother who most often turned away
from her infant's gaze, leaving him little opportunity to find a
positive or cohesive self reflected in her eyes (Winnicott, 1974).

The mother's lack of libidinal availability, communicated to her
infant through indifferent holding and gaze aversion, appeared to have
an impact on the infant's alertness and social responsivity--the

precursors of early self development. Indeed, baby Sam seemed more than usually able to withdraw into himself, and to turn to self-stimulatory behaviors (i.e., pulling his ear) when he received a lower level of stimulation than he might benefit from. Such listless withdrawal might be interpreted as an early defense against maternal rejection, and as indicative of a sense of self-depletion (Fraiberg, 1982). This propensity toward defensive inward-turning may have contributed to the lack of adequate stimulation that he received.

Significantly, the only interaction in which there appeared to be any mutuality between parents and infant at the three month point was during a play interlude. The observer reported that Jody and Gene seemed to have developed a repertoire of games in which they entertained Sam, by making faces and animal noises. He was noted to respond to his parents' antics in a very animated way, laughing and chuckling and smiling, and this in turn created a pleased and energized response from his mother. That mother was noted to come most alive when she was involved in such games rather than in more quiet caretaking activities of feeding and holding suggests that she was only able to gratify her infant when he in turn gratified her narcissism through his exhuberant appreciation of her antics. Aside from involving him in such exhibitionistic games, the parents seemed unable to encourage his exploration or mastery of the environment, or to introduce experiences that might stimulate his cognitive and motor skills.

That Jody and Gene reacted to their infant as a narcissistic extension whose main function was to mirror their grandiosity was

further confirmed at the six month observation. As Sam entered the phase of early differentiation when exploration of the nonmother world of inanimate objects is essential for beginning self-other differentiation, Jody and Gene were noted to actively distract him from any independent play with toys. As was the case at the three month observation point, at six months Jody and Gene related to Sam primarily by entertaining him with clowning antics. The observer noted that the father especially appeared to be enjoying these games which were bringing out the "actor" in him. The following comments on the quality of the parent-infant play illustrate that it was more geared to the needs of the parents than to the developmental needs of the infant:

> Baby Sam was not given the opportunity to initiate very much in the way of play, I felt. He was some-what overwhelmed by the animated antics of his parents and, as I said, obviously enjoyed it, but there was not one incident that I observed where the baby initiated a game or an activity which the parents then picked up on and followed through with. That is in some ways their play with him was, I felt, overcontrolling and did not give him an adequate opportunity to explore on his own and to feel a real sense of agent...I had the fantasy at one point that they are bringing up the child to be a little audi-ence for them with their various narcissistic per-formances.

The emphasis of the play interaction was thus on mutual entertainment, rather than on parent teaching or guiding the child to a new experi-ence of the environment. As the observer commented, "they did not encourage him to do anything", except mirror their antics through his laughter. Significantly, the only way in which Sam appeared at all developmentally advanced was in the quality of his laughter which

was described as "a big, booming laugh that was quite low pitched and funny to listen to".

Other than in his precocious laughter, the baby was noted to be developmentally delayed. His motor development still appeared to be lagging, and he was observed to have difficulty in maintaining a sitting position. Additionally, he seemed unable to sustain any interest in or exploration of the inanimate environment. His style of play, according to the observer, "was to pick up a toy, put it in his mouth briefly, and discard it in favor of something else". One might infer here that the failure of attunement and encouragement of the infant's unique functional capacities had inhibited his transition to the world of inanimate objects.

As was the case at the three month observation, the baby at six months was observed to show a defensive withdrawal from an over-stimulating and unpredictable environment. When Jody decided quite arbitrarily that it was time for him to have a nap, in the absence of any obvious cues from the baby that this met his need and despite the fact that the observation session had been scheduled around the baby's alert time, he complied readily, and seemed to put himself to sleep in accordance with his mother's will. The observer interpreted the baby's response as an indication of the consolidation of an early defensive pattern in response to an overstimulating and ungratifying environment:

> There is an overall atmosphere...of unpredictability
> and lack of structure or scheduling or system--a sort
> of catch as catch can, play it as it lays approach,
> which suffuses the parenting experienced by Sam.
> Both parents seem rather distractible, impulsive

and disorganized...It seems possible that Sam has developed in response to their style increased or even intensified self-regulatory behavior, e.g., the ability to put himself to sleep even when he isn't sleepy--a defensive inward turning in response to the intensity and unpredictability of the stimulation he receives from Jody and Gene. One can imagine his being "seduced and abandoned" many times during his day by this pair of parents.

Thus at the six month observation point, Sam showed a defensive inward turning and little of the increased initiative or intensified exploratory interest in the world of inanimate objects that are characteristic of the differentiation subphase, and which are indicative of the first glimmerings of self-other differentiation (Mahler et al., 1975; Mahler and McDevitt, 1980). One might conclude that the separation-individuation process was being systematically distorted for this infant as the result of his parents' lack of empathy and need to use him as a narcissistically gratifying self-object. Additionally, the baby's inability to reach out and activate his parents undoubtedly contributed to the deficits in his separation-individuation process.

At the one year observation point, the parents continued to appear overcontrolling and underprotective in ways that further curtailed the separation-individuation process for their infant. The earlier miscarriage of nonverbal attunement between mother and infant was evident at the one year point in the parents', and especially the mother's, inability to read infant cues signaling the desire for both independence and closeness. The former was most strikingly illustrated in the feeding sequence, in which Jody continued to feed Sam, ignoring his cues indicating a desire to feed himself. The following description of the feeding sequence illustrates how by failing to

elaborate on or even respond to their infant's gestures, the parents
failed to encourage their infant's emerging autonomy:

> Sam ate with a good appetite, accepting the cereal
> from his mother and a few slices of banana, which
> he ate by himself. Jody told us that he can feed
> himself with a spoon and likes to do so, but she
> did not allow him to try while we were there, even
> though he repeatedly reached for the dish. Although
> Sam appeared to enjoy his two slices of banana, Jody
> did not offer him more. Instead she left half an
> unpeeled banana within his reach, and let him chew
> on its end. When Sam took a bite out of the banana,
> skin and all, Gene finally intervened and took it
> away from the baby. Gene said to Jody with some
> annoyance, "He took a bite out of the skin, but
> this rather indirect, vague statement was as far
> as his complaint went. And still no one peeled
> the banana and gave any more to Sam...

Not only were Sam's initiating gestures observed to be ignored
by the parents, but also his intermittant, developmentally appropri-
ate requests for closeness were systematically denied. During this
visit both parents were noted to maintain physical as well as
emotional distance from their infant. In the one game that Jody
was observed to play with Sam, she placed a stroller between the two
of them, and seemed to dodge any closer contact. The observer com-
mented, "the picture they made somehow suggested to me a premature
separation and a fending off by her of his need to partake of her
mothering up close." Similarly, when Sam signaled that he wanted to
be picked up by stretching his arms up to her, she was observed to
hold him off for a few minutes, and then to pick him up only to carry
him into the living room where she quickly deposited him and involved
him in another active game. "Again I felt that she distanced herself
from the baby, briskly and insensitively fending off his actual

request for closeness," remarks the observer. Sam's periodic requests for closeness with the mother are consistent with the behavior pattern of the child during the practicing subphase when the pleasure derived from mastering the locomotor apparatuses is occasionally interrupted by anxiety about separateness. Such separation anxiety leads to periodic returns to the mother for emotional refueling (Mahler et al., 1975). Jody's inability to provide a secure relational base for such emotional refueling was observed to inhibit Sam's capacity for and pleasure in independent explorations.

The degree of individuation attained by Sam at the one year point reflected the inadequacy of the degree of individuation promoted by his parents. Throughout the visit he was observed to show very little interest in the toys and objects in the room. Instead his interest and his gaze was almost exclusively directed towards the people around him, particularly his mother. Even when he manipulated an object he continued to look at his parents, rather than at what he was holding. Motor development was noted to be adequate in that Sam was able to sit well, walk alone and climb, but he showed little pleasure in the exercise of his motor functions—unusual for a child his age. Moreover, he continued to show some lack of muscle tone, and he was seen to have the "looseness and somewhat inaccurate movements of a marionette", suggesting some possible delay in motor development. Finally, his language development and general communicative competence were extremely low. He said no distinct words, and was hardly spoken to by his parents. Thus, the difficulties in early attunement and empathy between Sam and his

parents as well as their failure to encourage autonomy and separate-
ness at times when it was developmentally appropriate to do so
appeared to have curtailed Sam's early symbiotic functioning, inter-
fering both with the transition to the world of inanimate objects and
with his communicative competence.

His parents' failure to participate in any intersubjective
experiences with him, i.e., experiences in which the intention or
feeling state of the other is recognized and elaborated on in a way
that encourages further differentiation, may also have stunted Sam's
individuation. For example, at one point, Sam signaled an interest
in watching the garbage truck and mother responded by carrying him to
the window to watch it, which he did in rapt fascination. However,
the observer noted that several times while watching the truck, he
turned around towards his parents as if to elicit comments, attention,
a feeling of shared experience--but no one responded. His parents
were willing to offer him an experience but not to share it with him.

Thus, Sam's strivings towards both autonomy and increased social
reciprocity were systematically ignored by his parents, with
noticeable consequences for his emerging selfhood and separation-
individuation process. The innate, maturational push towards individ-
uation and autonomy, and the expressed delight in self that are
characteristic of the practicing subphase (Mahler and McDevitt, 1980)
were noticeably subdued for Sam. Most of his energy seemed to go
into tracking his mother and attempting to establish contact with
her. His inability to establish a satisfactory refueling process
with Jody, as well as her tendency to foster too drastic and premature

a separation between herself and Sam, appeared to contribute to a depleted self and to maladaptive early defensive pattern of listless withdrawal and apathetic involvement in the nonmother world.

The family's development at the one year observation point was summed up as follows:

> In general, I felt that Sam's world is not adequately geared to his needs. Jody seems ambivalent toward her baby and at times overly rejecting; in addition she apparently lacks empathy toward him and often exposes him to situations which overstimulate him while giving him insufficient attention and encouragement to develop. Something seems wrong in the marriage--Gene comes across as uninvolved somehow, quite casual. All this leaves Sam to bring himself up in many crucial ways.

The above observation highlights the ways in which a husband-wife interaction pattern characterized by little reciprocity or emotional connectedness is reflected in parent-child transactions that inhibit the child's capacities for both mutuality and autonomy.

Case Illustration 2: The Transitional Couple

Carl, 24, and Maria, 25, showed many of the same characteristics of the previous couple which led to their inclusion in the low individuation group. Both were somewhat immature and poorly differentiated individuals with a history of negative and conflictual primary object relations. However, in contrast to the previous couple, marriage and the transition to parenthood catalyzed a growth process for both partners, which has led to increased individuation in the marital relationship and for one of the partners. Thus this couple was termed a "transitional" one.

The couple met while Carl was on a student exchange program in

Argentina, where they lived together for several months before deciding to get married. During the first three years of their marriage, the partners experienced a lot of difficulties, some of which could be attributed to the cultural differences between the partners, and some to negative early object relational experiences that had been recreated within the marital dyad. The individual profile of each will illuminate the contributions of each to a below average marital individuation.

Wife profile. The oldest of four children, Maria grew up in an enmeshed and strife-ridden Hispanic family. As the oldest child, she was extremely attached to both parents and "participated a lot in their problems". She was especially identified with her mother, who used her as a confidant. Mother was described as a "very caring woman" who met her emotional needs well, but who was extremely frustrated and bored with being a wife and mother. She had trained as a teacher and "always complained that she couldn't teach and didn't follow her career." Mother's frustration about her inability to practice her profession was exacerbated by her husband's lack of commitment to the family. Maria reported that her father was "rebellious about being a father, and that he rarely stayed at home with the family, preferring to play chess and socialize with his friends. Maria showed a great deal of ambivalence towards her father whom she described in highly contradictory ways. On the one hand she reported having been very close to her father, but on the other, she described him as being somewhat emotionally distant and unavailable. She reported that he "didn't express his feelings, except for sarcastic

feelings", and recalled experiencing him as critical and rejecting. Maria recalled constant arguments between her parents, mostly about her father's absence and reported feeling that she was "in the middle of the tension". She traced her current tendency towards depression to memories of "going up and down with her parents".

Maria clearly emerged from this family experience with unresolved issues around separation-individuation. She reported that she became extremely depressed after her marriage and move to this country because she was separated from her parents. Her lack of individuation and strong identification with her mother led to an almost direct recreation of the dynamics of her parents' marriage, with herself in Mother's role. She couldn't tolerate being separated from Carl, and greatly resented his autonomous work, friends and pursuits. "I didn't like it when he (Carl) went out; then I remembered that my mother didn't like it when my father went out--it was neurotic."

Her realization that she was recreating aspects of unresolved past object relations within her own marriage led her to seek therapy, which she claimed was helping her to "clean up a lot of childhood problems". Thus, at the time of the pre-birth interview, Maria showed some awareness of her lack of differentiation vis-a-vis family of origin, and appeared to be working towards a higher level of individuation through the actual physical separation from her family, and through the greater psychological separation achieved by psychotherapy.

Despite these indications that she was moving towards a higher level of individuation, Maria continued to show difficulties with

autonomous functioning and reciprocity in relationships. She stated
that work was very important to her self-image, and that she planned
to continue work towards a B.A. after the baby is born, but showed a
great deal of uncertainty and ambivalence about her adult status and
about what career path to pursue. Difficulties with intimacy as well
as identity were evident in the way in which she talked about her
relationship with Carl and the coming baby. She reported feeling
extremely depressed and panicked during her pregnancy, when she felt
"like my soul was being taken away...I had to make room for somebody
else". She was able to picture herself as a mother, but "worried
that she won't care enough sometimes" and that she would be bored by
the tasks of childrearing. The foregoing statements indicated some
difficulties with mutuality that were also evident in her attitude
towards her husband. She reported that periodically she felt bored
and frustrated with her marriage and considered divorce. Nonetheless,
she told the interviewer that the pregnancy had brought her and her
husband closer together.

There were indications that the pregnancy was stimulating some
further individuation as well as regression for Maria at the time of
the pre-birth interview. The pregnancy seemed to be contributing to
further stabilization in the marriage, but also was intensifying an
already strong identification on Maria's part with a mother whose
attitudes towards child-rearing reflected a certain deal of
ambivalence.

Husband profile. Carl, like Maria, showed some difficulties
with individuation which could be in part traced to distance and

unsatisfying object relations with both parents. His parents had a very conflictual marriage and finally separated when he was 13. In talking about his relationship with his mother, he stated that, "emotionally there was something missing....While I got a lot of attention, I didn't feel a lot of outward love." Mother, a psychiatric social worker, tried to meet his emotional needs, but most often had difficulty in showing spontaneous affection and emotion. Instead she tended to use her professional training rather than her emotions to guide her interactions with her children. "She would try to be something she thought she was supposed to be, rather than being herself." Although Mother tried to be sensitive to his feelings and needs, Carl wondered if she "ever was exactly aware of me".

His relationship with his father was described as similarly emotionally distant and unsatisfying. Carl reported that his father was somewhat responsive to his feelings and needs before the age of eight, but that after that he became very distant. He attributed the shift in father's behavior to his preoccupation with business and marital problems, and to his resentment about responsibilities. Although he admired his father, and described him as "strong and intelligent", he felt that his father didn't really want to connect with him. "I felt I was an obligation--and he had a very negative view of obligations. He didn't know what type of person I was at all. He was pretty distant."

Carl emerged from this early family experience with some deficits in individuation and self-development that he brought into his relationship with Maria. He reported that he had difficulties in estab-

lishing and sustaining closeness, and that he sometimes tended to distance and disconnect emotionally--like his father. He also acknowledged experiencing a great deal of insecurity about his personal relationships and his competence in work, and described himself as being extremely dependent on the approval of others. Narcissistic deficits were evident in his statement that although self-employed and reasonably successful as an illustrator, he never felt 100 percent good about anything. In rating himself as an adult he stated, "I don't know. I haven't quite come to terms with being an adult. I don't quite feel like I'm an adult yet. I feel younger than an adult."

This sense of insecurity carried over to his relationship with Maria. Carl reported that Maria was often extremely critical of him, and made him feel "like something is severely missing". That he had some unfinished work around individuation was shown by his difficulties in picturing himself as a father. He stated, it is the "same thing as picturing myself as an adult. I say to myself--God, am I going to be a father?" Generally positive about the transition to parenthood, he expressed the desire to have a close relationship with his child, but worried that he would be ungiving and distant like his father.

Marital adjustment. At the time of the pre-birth interview both partners reported that their marital adjustment had taken a "positive turn", but acknowledged that the past three years had been replete with "power struggles" and disagreements. A negative internalized representation of the parental interaction model was clearly being

reprojected into the current relationship. The inadequate individuation of the partners was evident in Maria's inability to tolerate separation from Carl, and in her re-experiencing of her mother's sense of abandonment and frustration whenever Carl went out. Similarly, Carl's tendency to distance himself and to disconnect emotionally from Maria represented a recreation of his distant and unsatisfactory relationships with the parental objects.

Although on the surface this relationship was characterized by symbiotic clinging on Maria's part, and defensive distancing on Carl's part, there were indications from both the individual interviews and the marital interaction sequences that both partners were engaged at some fiercely ambivalent object relational level, in which there was a great deal of reprojection and collusive sharing of negative internalized object relations (Dicks, 1967). Maria spoke to this point as follows: "We both have the same problem...we both had critical and authoritarian fathers...we see the power and authoritarianism in each other and sometimes we have hated each other for it."

The repetition of negative primary object relations led in this case to low levels of both autonomy and mutuality in the relationship. Maria had difficulty in tolerating Carl's autonomy, while Carl had problems with sustaining intimacy. Both acknowledged that they tended to be highly critical of each other's differences. Carl perceived the couple's greatest problem as the desire to "change the other person, instead of being tolerant of imperfections". Each showed some deficits in the capacity for empathic responsivity to the other. Carl reported that Maria was more aware of her own

needs than of his. "If my needs don't conflict with hers, then she knows what I'm feeling and what I need." Maria similarly felt that Carl was sometimes not "subtle enough" to understand and meet her needs. That the couple had achieved some awareness of the ways in which they were living out negative aspects of their own family experience with each other was indicated in the marital interaction when they discussed Maria's tendency to be critical of Carl.

(H) Cause that, cause when you attack me because my family problem of insecurity you know it's like then I instead-- I either react very well, screw you, or I react like--I get very hurt and take it really personally. I don't do that too much any more but you know then I take it very personally and I just back off from you and I just didn't want to be with you cause you were being y'know mean to me or whatever. You know, I felt like a kid, you know that you're attacking me. I'll stay away then.

(W) Yeah, I guess that antagonized me and we were playing viciously against each other that way. I guess I'm more in control of myself right now but I still--

(H) (Interrupting). You still do it.

(W) I still do it, you know.

(H) I don't get as scared that much any more when you criticize me.

(W) It's hard for me to get into the positive side of y'know telling what I want and stuff. ...Because that's something I wasn't raised with.

(H) Right. Because I think I resolved my end kind of--I don't think I get scared. I'll argue back with you if I don't like the way y'know you're telling me but I don't like disconnect from you when you criticize me any more.

The above sequence demonstrated several crucial features of couple interaction that were indicative of poor marital individuation: the tendency towards criticalness, which they, and especially Maria, were working on ameliorating; the difficulty in accepting differences

and tolerating the autonomy or valuing the uniqueness of the other; some tendency to project blame and responsibility. That both partners showed some ability to assume responsibility for contributions to difficulties in the couple relationship, and some awareness of the ways in which these are tied to early family experiences indicated that difficulties with individuation were being consciously experienced and worked on.

Their discussions about how the baby would change their lives and relationship showed a conscious desire on both parts not to repeat the parental pattern. Maria hoped to avoid experiencing the frustration and isolation that her mother felt about raising children, while Carl showed a desire to be more involved with the parenting process than was his own father. However, in these discussions Maria focused inordinately on the negative aspects of childrearing, which again suggested that an identification with the negative aspects of her mother's parenting experience might affect this couple's postnatal adjustment. Thus, it was not clear at the time of the pre-birth assessment whether the transition to parenthood would exacerbate the situation, causing the partners to identify further with their unsatisfactory parental objects, or whether the birth of the baby would help the partners to move to a higher level of individuation. It should be noted that of the two partners, Carl showed the greater awareness of and capacity to modify the negative projective process that was occurring in the marriage, as was reflected in his higher pre-birth individuation score.

Postnatal adjustment. The postnatal adjustment of this family

initially showed a repetition of some of the negative interaction patterns that each partner had internalized from the family of origin and recreated within the marriage. Moreover, both partners, and especially Maria, appeared to have difficulty in accepting the baby as separate from their own needs and projections. At the hospital visit, for example, Maria teased her infant daughter, Gina, saying, "Are you going to be a psychiatrist--looking at me and listening like that?" The implication here is that the baby would function as a need-gratifying object who might provide understanding and approval for Maria. Significantly, at the hospital visit, Maria was indeed receiving a great deal of admiration and approval from her and Carl's extended family, eight of whom were present when the observer arrived. At this visit she was noted to show "an animate engagement" with the baby and to focus on the meaning of the birth for the extended family.

At the one and three month observation points, however, Maria's narcissistic self-absorption and ambivalent object relations were reflected in her inability to lend herself as a symbiotic partner to the infant. There was a capricious quality to her interactions with the infant, which were observed to be based more on Maria's needs and desires than on those of the baby. At the one month observation, for example, Maria expressed some distaste and boredom for breastfeeding, which she felt took too much time. During the observation she fed the baby in a manner that was described as efficient but impersonal. She was seen to spend some time rocking, playing and talking with her, but for the greater part of the visit left the baby alone in her infant seat with a pacifier stuck in her mouth. Maria's avoidance

of close contact with her infant bespoke some fears of merger or overidentification in relationships, and one was reminded of her pre-birth fantasy that her soul was being possessed by the fetus.

At three months, Maria was observed not only to avoid an active engagement with her infant, but also to be actively recreating a negative and ambivalent object relationship with her. During the first 15 minutes of the visit, Maria virtually ignored the baby under the guise of preparing her bottle as well as the evening meal. When the hungry baby began to fret, she ignored her signals and then finally stated, "Momma is being bad with you," with no immediate attempt to soothe the baby. When the agitated baby became inordinately fussy later in the visit as a result of her feeding having been in the observer's view arbitrarily and unduly delayed, Maria said to the baby, "You abuse your parents." Again she was noted to feed Gina in an efficient but perfunctory fashion, with little tenderness or mutual gaze. Although at another point in the visit, Maria was observed to pick up the baby and rock her and sing to her with affection and tenderness, it was evident that she did so according to her own inclinations, rather than in response to the baby's signals.

The capriciousness and unempathic quality of her handling of the infant was especially evident in the bath sequence. Maria was observed to strip off the baby's clothes, and to plunge her underneath the running faucet in the kitchen sink so that the baby was gasping and spurting for breath. The observer described the quality of Maria's handling of the baby as follows:

> Maria handled her as if she were a rag doll or some
> kind of object. There was a very striking lack of
> empathy and I felt almost a cruel quality to the way
> she bathed the infant. There was not only the ele-
> ment of let's get it over with really quickly that
> was evident in the feeding sequence, but there was
> also a punishing element in the way that the baby
> was made to gasp and be afraid.

After the bath, Maria wrapped the baby up, and played with her in front of the mirror over her changing table. The baby was observed to quickly recover her good spirits, and participated in gazing and smiling at herself and Maria in the mirror. The observer attributed Maria's ambivalent behavior during this visit to "whatever ambi-valence this mother feels about being a mother, and being respon-sible for a helpless little person."

At the six month visit, Maria was observed to be more affection-ate and emotionally involved with Gina, but to show some deficit in her capacity to encourage Gina's differentiation. For example, Maria fed Gina in a "rapid-fire", "super-efficient" manner which was infused with some affectionate touching and kissing, but which "allowed the baby little opportunity to indicate whether she wanted more food or not between bites." Maria's inability to sustain interactions or to provide stimulation in a reciprocal fashion which left room for infant exploration and initiative was evident in the play and teaching activities in which she engaged Gina. Although Maria was observed to bring an animate involvement to her play with Gina, this involvement was narcissistically tinged in that it seemed to be focused on Maria's needs and whims rather than around Gina's cues and gestures. The observer stated that the play interaction was

characterized by:

> a positive affective tie, but a rather superficial
> one, and it's as though she (Maria) initiates this
> kind of contact on her own whim and not because the
> baby asked for it. That is, she is not responding
> to the baby's needs, as much as she is indulging her
> own needs and the baby is treated in these episodes
> rather as a little doll to be played with.

The lack of reciprocity in the mother-infant relationship was
observed to inhibit the process of self-other differentiation for
Gina at the six month point. At a time when infants usually begin
to engage in pleasurable explorations of the environment, Gina was
observed to show little interest or initiative in exploring the
world beyond her mother. Her interest in toys was described as
"desultory and short-lived". Although her overall development
appeared normal, she seemed depleted by the struggle to extract
adequate attention from her mother, and thus showed an inadequate
libidinization of her own autonomous ego functions (Mahler et al.,
1975). Significantly, the one toy in which she showed any sustained
interest was a toy mirror. In the light of Maria's use of the mirror
to soothe and distract Gina at previous visits, one might interpret the
baby's preoccupation with her own image as the beginning internaliza-
tion of a characteristic soothing or stimulating pattern of mother's
(Mahler et al., 1975; Toplin, 1972). Gina's mirror preoccupation was
also interesting in the light of the lack of adequate observed mutual
gazing between mother and infant. It seems noteworthy that when her
father was briefly present during the six month visit, Gina tended
to orient her gaze and attention towards him. When present, Carl
was also observed to be more consistently available and involved with

the baby, although he was less physically available due to his involvement in his work.

The observer linked the infant's decrement in individuation at this stage to uneven and unempathic quality of the stimulation and caretaking she was receiving:

> I have the overall impression that the child is not receiving adequate stimulation and that the affection and attention she does get is of a rather intense and maybe even overstimulating quality when it happens, but it's very sporadic and hard to predict, and that the general level of responsiveness to the baby's needs in that house is not adequate.

Several factors led to the emergence of adequate if not optimal self-development at the one year point. First, the baby showed a strong constitutional endowment that permitted her to withstand the vicissitudes of mother's capricious and uneven parenting style and that enabled her to persist in extracting whatever nurturance was available. Additionally, she showed a somewhat precocious capacity to engage in self-soothing activities with a transitional object (the mirror) which might have compensated for the inadequate parenting she received. Finally, Carl's increasing libidinal availability to and involvement with the baby appeared to provide her with a more consistent object relational experience. That Carl showed a greater degree of empathic responsivity to and relational reciprocity with the infant was demonstrated quite strikingly at the one year feeding. When Maria provided Gina with an inadequate breakfast of a cookie and a few hunks of cheese, saving the only two available eggs for herself and Carl, he shared his breakfast with the baby, and in many small ways was noted to "put her needs ahead of his own".

At one year, Gina did show the pleasure and involvement in exercising her increased locomotor skills, characteristic of the practicing subphase of development. She was observed to walk very well and seemed free of any anxiety about physically distancing herself from her parents, and showed no tendency to cling. Her parents in turn were described as being "indulgent towards her in her explorations". In a walk that the family took together, they allowed her to take the lead, and they followed her more than she followed them.

At one year Gina's individuation was not observed to be overtly delayed, but there were also indications of the development of a "false self" (Winnicott, 1974). She was seen to comply in a somewhat mechanical way with her parents' commands to perform--which was noted to be one of their characteristic ways of relating to her.

> Both parents wanted to show us Gina's repertoire of "tricks"--little gestures and words she had learned. These are little games she has picked up from television and from her parents, and which they pick up on and reinforce with evident delight. For example, when mother or father says, "Oh my God", Gina claps both hands over her cheeks and eyes in mock dismay. Also, if they command her to "give me a kiss, she kisses the air". She did not actually kiss either of them, nor was either parent observed to kiss her during the observation. ...When the parents say, "sh," she puts her finger up to her lips and makes everyone laugh. The baby seemed to take some pride and pleasure in her ability to play these games, although her "delivery" was rather droll. She smiled some, but not as much as might be expected during high-spirited play. <u>There was a slightly mechanical quality to her performance.</u>

The somewhat de-animated and mechanical quality to the baby's performance noted above suggested the forerunners of a "false self".

Winnicott (1974) hypothesizes that if the mother systematically fails to elaborate on the infant's gestures, but rather substitutes her own gestures for those of the infant, the baby will develop a false self, which although superficially compliant, is disconnected from the infant's own needs. Such a false self is indicated, according to Winnicott, by an absence of spontaneity, a sense of inauthenticity or a mechanical quality such as that noted above. The development of such a false self was promoted in part by the mother who was noted to "dismiss certain aspects of her daughter's personality and perhaps block out certain serious feelings of her own about the child in favor of making her a funny little toy".

As the one year point, the family's development was summed up as follows:

> I feel these are two well-meaning people who are
> immature and seem in a way to be playing house.
> Carl appears to have a clearer, more sensitive and
> responsible picture of what is required for a small
> child. Maria, while attractive and seemingly benign
> in personality, seems to lack a feeling for mother-
> ing. ...Maria comes across as a cute but selfish
> little girl herself. Her difficulties in mothering
> are expressed in the discernable distance, in the
> lack of physical affection, attentiveness and em-
> pathy, and indirectly in her own childlike demeanor.

Thus the extent to which the transition to parenthood fostered further individuation differed considerably for these partners. Carl's ability to overcome his tendency towards distance and detachment and to form a positive and consistent attachment to his infant seemed to have positive consequences for both his own and his infant's individuation. Maria, on the other hand, recreated an ambivalent object relationship, also characteristic of the marital interaction model, with her infant,

with some negative consequences for infant self-development.

Case Illustration 3: The Symbiotic Couple

The previous two cases illustrated that deficits in both differ-
entiation and relatedness, as well as in their integration were evi-
dent in couples with low individuation profiles. Another variation
of this theme was that of the symbiotic couple, whose relational
patterns of overcloseness and overdependency curtailed the possibili-
ties for autonomy or mutuality, based on an appreciation of individual
uniqueness and separateness in early family development. The individ-
ual histories of Polly, 28, and Peter, 24, will illustrate the roots
of their inadequate separation-individuation in their own early
developmental experiences.

Wife profile. In the individual pre-birth interview, Polly
showed an intriguing combination of poorly individuated and well-
individuated characteristics. She appeared to be highly competent
and self-sustaining in some aspects of her life, but also showed
evidence of inadequate boundaries between self and other, and inade-
quate separation from family of origin that is the hallmark of poor
individuation. When asked to describe her parents from the perspec-
tive of her childhood, she stated, "You mean how they are now?",
showing some confusion between past and present. An only child, she
described herself as "extremely close" to her parents, and stated
quite fervently that she wished she still lived next door to them.
She maintained very frequent contact with her parents who reside in
the Southwest, talking to them several times a week on the phone and

visiting them every month. Mother was described in somewhat idealized fashion as "a very loving and devoted" mother who "did her very best to meet my emotional needs all the time, and to know what I was experiencing, and to go through all my experiences." She reported that she missed her Mother especially acutely since the pregnancy, and hoped to have a female child so that she could recreate the relationship that she had had with her mother. Father was described as very devoted when Paula was younger, but as somewhat more distant when she became an adolescent, when he was going through his own personal changes. Paula expressed some resentment about no longer being "number one" with her father, suggesting some unresolved oedipal issues. The family was described as "a very close threesome", and Polly expressed the desire to recreate such a threesome in the family of procreation.

An important aspect of the pregnancy for Polly, then, was the possibility or recreating aspects of her family of origin in her family of procreation. She was especially adamant about wanting a female child because of the possibility of recreating the close relationship which she had with her mother.

There were indications that the pregnancy had caused considerable regression for Polly who was re-experiencing both a resurgence of her desire to retreat to a child-like dependent position, as well as an intensification of her already strong identification with her own mother. She had gained an inordinate amount of weight during the pregnancy (50 pounds), and stated that being pregnant had "brought out the baby in me. I'm experiencing all these feelings towards my

mother and feelings of being a baby again. ...Prior to the pregnancy, I wasn't such a big baby."

Despite this regression, and her expressed delight in the symbiotic aspects of the pregnancy, she did show some awareness of the importance of allowing her infant some separateness and autonomy--more than she herself was allowed. Although she talked about wanting to seclude herself at home with the baby, she also acknowledged that a "mother can be too much of a mother...there's a balance that's probably difficult to achieve." There was a sense though that Polly had found a vocation in motherhood that she was unable to find in any of the various occupations that she had exercised during her twenties, which included waitress, aerobics teacher, parent-infant services coordinator and most recently, childbirth educator, an occupation that she planned to pursue on a very part-time basis after the baby was born.

Despite the lip service paid to the importance of separateness, Polly generally appeared to have difficulty in maintaining individuation within the context of an intimate relationship. Although she stated that she and Peter had a "healthy respect" for each other's differences, she acknowledged that it had been difficult for her to accept even the minute and most mundane ways in which they differed (such as eating different breakfast cereal).

The overriding impression from the pre-birth interview and especially from Polly's history of overinvolvement with family and the regression experienced during her pregnancy, was that she would experience some difficulty in allowing her infant much separation.

She had no difficulty in picturing herself as a mother, however, and stated that the most important thing was "knowing what the baby needs, and wanting to respond to that." She planned to let the baby breast-feed as long as it desired--all of which indicated that she would probably do well in meeting her infant's needs, if not in encouraging autonomy.

Husband profile. In the pre-birth individual interview, Peter came across as an affable but passive-dependent person with a low degree of separation-individuation. He described a history of unsatisfactory early object relations. An only child, his parents separated when he was eight. His mother had been close to a break-down for much of his childhood and adolescence, and he saw her as being "more concerned about what was happening with her than with me." He stated that he was often the brunt of her irrational anger, and that "he walked on glass" around her. He described his father as "very, very easy going", as a man "who liked to have things nice and quiet, not the type to initiate." Even before the divorce, Father was minimally available to Peter emotionally because he was in the Air Force and traveled a great deal. After the divorce, Peter lived with his mother and stepfather, who was described as acting like a buffer between him and Mother, and as having offered some paternal guidance. In general, however, Peter projected a sense of having been left to parent himself, and stated that he hoped to be able to be more emotionally available and to offer more guidance to his own child than he received from either parent.

Peter showed limitations in his capacity for both intimacy and

autonomy in the pre-birth interview. In describing himself as an adult he expressed a great deal of uncertainty and ambivalence, as follows: "I'm not quite sure I'm an adult yet. I have a fair amount of growing up to do." In his relationship with Polly he appeared to have assumed a somewhat passive role, and mentioned several times in the interview that she was extremely critical of him for his irresponsibility and lack of initiative. He described Polly as very independent, as liking to do things for herself, and seemed to see himself as somewhat ineffectual in meeting her needs. In the pre-birth interview, he also expressed some difficulty in visualizing himself as a father, and wondered whether he would be able to respond to his child's emotional needs. The overriding impression from the pre-birth interview was that Peter was a somewhat undifferentiated man who had married a woman whom he perceived as a nurturant, but controlling maternal figure.

Marital profile. In the pre-birth marital interaction, Polly appeared to play a dominant and quasi-maternal role vis-a-vis Peter, who abrogated a great deal of his autonomy in the relationship in order to attain the nurturance. The couple appeared to be locked into a pattern whereby Peter was overly dependent on Polly, while Polly was highly critical of Peter for his irresponsibility and inability to take more initiative. Both expressed a high degree of dissatisfaction with this pattern even though they both clearly contributed to it.

The ways in which the partners contributed to this interactional pattern is highlighted in one of the marital interactions in which

the couple discussed their feelings about Polly's tendency to make
decisions in the relationship, and Peter's tendency to passively
comply with them.

(W)   The way I feel about that is that certainly it's not
      always the right way to make decisions because you
      don't actively--like you don't out and get the books,
      y'know and you don't go out and talk to the people
      because you don't take an active interest in anything
      to the extent that I do; which works out really well
      for me insomuch as I get my way but I don't think it's
      the best way because any time that--any time that you
      are giving in, then we haven't reached an appropriate
      balance, if you know what I mean.

(H)   Ummhmm.

(W)   What needs to happen is that, as I see it--

(H)   I need to become more active in--

(W)   Yeah, but that's not the way you are and sometimes that's
      y'know, sometimes I think I feel resentful about that.
      You know that I feel resentful about that regarding the
      pregnancy because if it weren't for me going and getting
      the information and making it available, it wouldn't happen.

(H)   But that's--that's your whole personality. This is what
      I understand about your personality. You will go do that.
      And--

(W)   (Interrupting). Yeah, and you can always rely on me to
      do that. Y'know that's--that's the thing and--and uh
      since I--y'know since I do it, I take care of things,
      y'know get things get taken care of, but that's not always
      good. What if I were ever in a--we were ever in a situa-
      tion where I really couldn't make the choices.

(H)   Then of course I would make it.

(W)   But I--I--how would I know that you'd be making the right
      choices cause I haven't been exposed to enough to--to
      seeing you rationalize the thing out from y'know gathering
      the empirical knowledge and opinions and y'know I don't
      see you ever take an active--a real active role. Y'know
      I tell you how to vote almost.

(H)   Only because I'm not interested in it.

(W) Yeah, but I mean--this is not the way it should be, y'know.

(H) Well, I have my interests and when I have my interests I voice them.

(W) Yeah, but your interests aren't real. Your interests are y'know cars, 'nd--'nd motorcycles 'nd things that don't have anything to do with the real world as far as like making a decision about Proposition 9, or y'know circumcision or home birth for that matter. You're not in a position to make those choices because if it was just up to you, you wouldn't have gathered the information on your own cause you don't care. You don't care about those things. You care about unreal things...

(H) Partly, it's my reality.

(W) It's your non-reality. It's your way of not dealing with reality...

The above interaction was quoted at length because it illustrates a central aspect of this couple's functioning. Polly actively curtailed Peter's moves to assert his autonomy and separateness, while Peter had difficulty in maintaining an individuated stance in the face of Polly's criticism and nonacceptance of the differences between them. Despite the lack of individuation in this relationship both partners expressed a high level of positive commitment to the relationship. Polly reported that they decided to have the baby at this time because the "relationship had gotten to the point where that's the next step of loving". The relational pattern revealed by the marital interaction sequences, however, was one in which there was a low level of both autonomy and mutuality.

Postnatal adaptation. The postnatal mother-child transactions reflected aspects of the prenatal husband-wife interaction pattern described above. While Polly was observed to have a natural gift for empathic mothering, she was also noted to have difficulties in

fostering infant individuation at each developmental point. Sig-
nificantly, she suffered from a postpartum depression of several
months duration, reacting with a kind of "flat affectlessness".
Although there is little information about the postpartum depression
in the postnatal data, one might speculate that it resulted in part
from the loss of the regressive potential of the pregnancy, with its
possibility of total merger with the infant. Another potential
contributing factor might have been that Polly had a son instead of
a daughter as she had desired.

Despite the postpartum depession, at the one month observation
point, Polly's reponsiveness to her infant was desribed as "impressive
in its apparent accuracy and tenderness". She showed the capacity for
empathic immersion in the baby's experiences which permitted her to
learn his rhythms, needs and states "without too much blurring by her
own projections". The observer commented that "her descriptions of
the baby's sleep, feeding and elimination cycles attested to her
involvement, not overly intrusive, rather touching in its lovingness".
In general, she seemed alert to possible intrusiveness and overstimu-
lation, and told the observer that she knew that the baby needed some
alone moments to begin to explore visually, vocally, etc. However,
despite these comments which showed some acceptance of her baby's
separateness, she was noted to have difficulty tolerating even the
most brief separations from her infant.

The husband-wife adaptation at one month appeared to be quite
positive, but with aspects of the overdependency noted during the
pre-birth assessment. Although they seemed to be "working together

cooperatively" in the early transition to parenthood, Polly volunteered that she felt irritated with Peter's "dependent reliance on her to give minute instructions for handling certain cooking or housekeeping tasks." The intense closeness both in the husband-wife and mother-child relationship led the observer to predict some future difficulties with individuation. "Individuation remains to be seen, for there were suggestions of possible overdependence between mother and father, and perhaps difficulty in encouraging the separate emergence of the infant."

At the three month observation point, Polly continued to show a fine-tuned responsivity to baby Christopher's needs and states. She appeared to have fully recovered from her postpartum depression, and volunteered that she felt "absorbed in and devoted to Christopher". She expressed no desire to return to work or to pursue any activities outside of the mothering role, and stated that she felt fascinated by her baby and only wanted to be with him and care for him. A mutually regulated system between mother and infant (Tronick, Als, and Brazelton, 1977) seemed to have been established judging from the reciprocal and contingent quality of the mutual gazing, vocalizing and smiling. In fact, the relationship between mother and infant was described as "a love affair" by the observer in that they seemed reciprocally and mutually totally engaged with each other. In the observed feeding, changing and play activities, Polly was noted to show "sensitive pacing to the baby's needs and signals", but to be somewhat "excessively 'tuned in' to his cues in a slightly overinvolved fashion."

As was the case during the previous visit, Polly volunteered

that she was trying to be aware of her tendency towards overinvolve-
ment, "balancing between loving to death and being able to give
space". She also connected her awareness of the dangers of overin-
volvement with her infant to negative effects of her enmeshed rela-
tionship with her own mother. Nonetheless, Polly was observed to be
overly invested in the mothering role to the point where her self-
esteem seemed inordinately tied up with the vicissitudes of her
infant's responsiveness to her. The observer had a sense of her
needing to be needed in a very intense way by her baby, and as being
somewhat overly invested in the exclusivity of his attachment to her.
The concluding statements from the three month report again highlight
the issue of individuation:

> ...We will watch for individuation difficulties which
> this highly involved mother is also aware of. Emo-
> tional variability is also a concern, though I would
> predict that even when depressed, Polly stays com-
> mitted to the baby, perhaps overly so, with possible
> negative ramifications. Christopher is doing quite
> well, but already may be showing some hint of affec-
> tive finickiness and an over-involved connection to
> his mother.

Significantly, Peter was present for only a few minutes of the three
month visit, and while the couple continued to be "warm and comfort-
able" with each other, Polly was noted to continue to take an over-
protective stance towards her husband as well.

The predicted difficulties with separation-individuation sur-
faced quite distinctly at the six month observation point. At the
sixth month visit, the mother's care, affection, play and stimula-
tion of the infant continued to be rated as "excellent". However,
her exquisite sensitivity to the infant's needs and rhythms was

observed at this data collection point to deprive the infant of the
opportunity for the increased initiative and activity that are the
hallmarks of early differentiation. The observer reports, "Polly
is responsive and well-tuned to Christopher's needs--almost overly
so. Christopher has a slight fussiness, irritability. Polly inter-
venes before this becomes even moderate...naturally this raises the
issue of individuation."

While Polly appeared to anticipate her infant's needs in a way
that was not encouraging of his early differentiation, Christopher
was observed to be a somewhat passive baby with an inhibited social
responsiveness style. He did show a well-developed manipulatory and
motor ability, suggesting that the lag in social development--in
vocalizing, smiling and other signs of social engagement--might be
a somewhat defensive reaction to a somewhat intrusive and overly
responsive style of mothering. Again while Polly gave verbal acknowl-
edgement to the value of separate space for her infant, she appeared
to be "too tuned-in". Additionally, she continued to appear overly
reliant on the mothering role for the regulation of her own self-
esteem. She volunteered, "one day I felt like I was not being a good
mother and it was horrible."

A specific formulation directly applicable to the inadequate
individuation both promoted by the mother and attained by the infant
in this case, is offered by Winnicott (1974):

> ...the infant who has begun to become separate from
> the mother has no means of gaining control of all
> the good things that are going on. The creative
> gesture, the cry, the protest, all the little signs
> that are supposed to produce what the mother does,

> all these things are missing, because the mother
> has already met the need just as if the infant were
> still merged with her and she with the infant. (p. 51)

At the six month observation point, Polly appeared to epitomize a mother who was unable to recover from the partial regression of "primary maternal preoccupation" with her infant. That is, she seemed unable to give up the high degree of identification and empathic immersion in her infant's experience that permitted her to anticipate and meet his needs. Polly's inability to move from a merged to a more separate state vis-a-vis her infant, in turn was noted to curtail Christopher's sense of separate self, and capacity to exercise increased abilities.

At the one year observation point, the degree of individuation promoted by Polly and attained by Christopher appeared to be somewhat improved. Polly was observed to be extremely sensitive to Christopher's feelings, anticipating his moods and thoughts, and interpreting them to the observer. Yet there were quite a few indications of an increased tolerance for Christopher's separateness on her part, and the development of a more autonomous self on Christopher's part. She was noted to engage Christopher in games which allowed him to exercise his increased motor and communicative skills. Although still nursing, she had Christopher eat with her and Peter at the table, and encouraged him to feed himself which he did quite successfully. The quality of her holding was described as "very secure" but not engulfing, and while Christopher obviously enjoyed being held, he was frequently noted to "go about his business", continuing with his play and exploratory activities after "he got

what he needed". Christopher showed a behavioral pattern typical
of the practicing child, whereby he engaged in sustained exploration
and motor activity—crawling, walking, manipulating objects, punctu-
ated by period bouts of refueling with mother. The general orienta-
tion of Polly and Peter, both of whom were present through the visit,
was described as follows:

> Mother and Dad were both present most of the time
> and interacted with Christopher easily. They stayed
> back and let him do the choosing, but yet they were
> clearly involved in his play. Father, at one point
> got down on all fours and was crawling after him
> following him into the bedroom, and it was paced
> nicely. ...Father and mother both, very subtly
> echoed all of Christopher's verbalizations and
> responded to all the looks that he would give them
> and leads that the child would give in playing with
> toys.

Thus both parents appeared to be more encouraging of individuation
at the one year point. Peter's greater involvement in both caretaking
and play activity with Christopher undoubtedly was both a catalyst to
and a result of the increased separateness between mother and child,
although the typical positioning of the family was described as mother
and father together with Christopher "in between" them. One is
reminded here of the "close threesome" of Polly's family of origin
that she wished to recreate in her family of procreation.

Although greatly decreased at the one year observation, diffi-
culties with separation-individuation remained. Polly volunteered
that Christopher had suffered from severe and prolonged separation
anxiety which caused him to wake up on an hourly basis for the past
three months. He was just beginning to sleep through the night at
the one year point. Additionally, at the one year visit, Christopher

was noted to show a more than usually acute awareness of mother's

presence or absence, and to cry and crawl after his mother when she

left the room, which she rarely did. Additionally, he showed little

of the elated absorption in his own independent functioning and

obliviousness to Mother's presence that are often exhibited by

infants in the practicing subphase of separation-individuation.

Instead, Christopher was described as being a somewhat passive and

not very animated child.

While the mother was able to allow her infant more separateness

at the one year point, her inability to do so earlier, and especially

at six months, clearly had affected the infant's self development.

Case Illustrations: Moderate Indviduation

A pre-birth parental interaction model characterized by vacilla-

tion between unity and separation was reflected in postnatal parent-

child transactions that were moderately to severely inhibiting of

both attachment and separation-individuation processes. Three major

patterns of postnatal adaptation were observed among the couples in

this group: In the first pattern, the postnatal picture showed a

degeneration in marital individuation, and particularly the parents'

capacity to integrate separateness and connectedness either in the

husband-wife or parent-child transactions. In this case, the pre-

birth marital pattern of ambivalent vacillations between independence

and interdependence, rigidified into a pattern of defensive disengage-

ment with grave consequences for infant individuation. In other

cases, the pattern of postnatal adaptation involved an initial

repetition in the parent-child relationship of a husband-wife interaction pattern characterized by ambivalent oscillation between dependency and autonomy. By the end of the first postnatal year, however, these families showed increased individuation in the parent-child and husband-wife relationships. A third major pattern involved a decidedly favorable individuation outcome with an infant whose parents showed unequal deficits in pre-birth level of individuation, which were replicated in their capacity to promote individuation for the infant. In the latter case, the unequal individuation of the parents led to a particular configuration of mother-father-infant transactions in which mothers appeared to intensify their responsiveness to infant need and promotion of infant individuation in order to compensate for paternal deficits in these areas.

Case Illustration 4: The Disengaged Couple

Greta, 33, and George, 27, were a couple who showed a degeneration in marital individuation from the prenatal to the postnatal period, with clear consequences for their infant's self-development. Their pre-birth interaction pattern was characterized by a great deal of ambivalent vacillation around issues of separateness versus connectedness but a clear commitment to struggle towards further integration of these polarities, which led to their inclusion in the moderately individuated group of couples. However, their postnatal interaction was characterized by a level of emotional disengagement and absence of relatedness more characteristic of low marital individuation. A description of each partner's primary object relations and

level of individuation as well as a profile of the prenatal marital
interaction will set the stage for an exploration of the postnatal
decline of parent-child and husband-wife transactions.

Wife profile. In the pre-birth interview, Greta's self-
presentation was that of a highly autonomous woman, who appeared to
be equally committed to running her own business and to building a
family. The oldest of three children (she had two half-siblings
considerably younger than herself), Greta was raised primarily by her
mother, who divorced her father when she (Greta) was seven, and moved
with her then only child from Texas to New Mexico. The divorce
catapulted Greta into a premature confrontation with separateness
and autonomy. In describing her relationship with her mother, she
stated, "I would separate it into different stages--before and after
the divorce. Before, she was very attentive and warm; after, she
had to go out to work and worked very hard, and a lot of resources
were withdrawn." In addition to mother's lesser libidinal avail-
ability after the divorce, she was described as unable to tolerate
Greta's individuation thrust during adolescence. Father was described
as a man who had "trouble relating to children and accepting responsi-
bility for them." She remembered feeling like his favorite child
before the divorce, but had minimal contact with him afterwards. He
also was described as having difficulty in coping with her increased
autonomy as an adolescent. Thus, Greta's early object relational
experiences appear to have been characterized by some object depriva-
tion, caused by mother's withdrawal of libidinal availability and
father's more drastic and total withdrawal after the divorce, as

well as by some premature encouragement of separateness and inhibi-
tion of developmentally appropriate individuation in adolescence.
As an adult, Greta remained very close to her mother, but was totally
cut off from her father.

At the time of the pre-birth interview, Greta was successfullly
self-employed as an executive search company and in fact had met her
husband by placing him in a job through her business. Greta described
her work as central to her self-image and planned to return to work as
soon as possible after the baby was born. Her pre-birth plans for
childcare involved initially taking the baby with her to work, and
eventually hiring someone to care for it. When asked what she
imagined the impact of her returning to work would be on the baby,
she stated that she didn't think it would matter one way or another
who cared for the baby--which showed some lack of capacity to imagine
a specific or exclusive attachment between mother and infant. On
the other hand, she did show some signs of the beginnings of primary
maternal preoccupation with the infant. For example, she reported
that at the beginning of the pregnancy, she thought she could "just
go on to create empires," but that later in the pregnancy (when the
interview was conducted) she found herself "preoccupied with baby
things." During the pre-birth interview, Greta showed some commitment
at least on the ideological level to an equal valuation of affiliation
and autonomy. She expressed concern about men in general who have to
"sacrifice a lot in tenderness and sensitivity side" because of the
demands of their work, and stated that she had created a "nurturant
woman's environment" in her business.

Despite the above statements, there were clear indications, both verbal and nonverbal, that Greta maintained some defensive distance in relationships. She reported having few close friends and feeling socially isolated. She also expressed some dissatisfaction with the quality of the intimacy in her relationship with George, but attributed that to his being younger and overly involved with the tasks of career building. The overall impression from the pre-birth interview was of a highly competent and independent woman, whose autonomy appeared to border on grandiosity at times. Underneath the omnipotent exterior, however, it was thought that there was a frightened and isolated woman, who was desirous, but somewhat fearful of intimacy.

Husband profile. George, a 27 year old lawyer, presented a somewhat idealized picture of his upper middle class midwestern background. The oldest of three children, George characterized his parents as "typical T.V. parents" who fulfilled the "typical middle-class norm" and were "always together like a time-table". There were indications that his idealized picture masked a somewhat less than optimal reality, since he also reported that mother was anxious and tense throughout his childhood and adolescence and often took tranquilizers. His father, a hard-working insurance executive, was described as an even-tempered man who spent time with him and met his emotional needs well in childhood--less so in adolescence. In general, he reported a sense of having been well taken care of by both parents. However, the stereotyped nature of his responses lent a one-dimensional quality to the description of his primary object relations, and suggested some limitations in his capacity for object

relations in depth.

In the pre-birth interview George readily adcknowledged that his overinvolvement in his work severely limited his capacity for closeness, which he described as theoretically "unlimited,...if I had time". He reported that he would like to reach a better balance between work and the rest of his life, but was unclear about how to do so. In the pre-birth interview he expressed a considerable amount of ambivalence about the transition to parenthood. On the one hand, he expressed some enthusiasm for the coming baby, and talked about wanting to participate in childcare, and especially in feeding so that the baby would conceive of him as nurturing. On the other hand, he stated that he wished that they had waited several more years to conceive, and appears to be somewhat overwhelmed by the responsibilities of parenthood. "I wish we had a few more years together...too much is happening at once. I had to work harder at work to establish myself cause I knew I had this coming down the pike."

It seems noteworthy that George lost his sexual desire for Greta during the pregnancy. He expressed some aversion for her pregnant state and volunteered, "I never dreamed she'd get so big...I will be glad when she gets back to her former weight and shape." There were thus some indications that George was having difficulty in accepting the pregnancy, the impending transition to parenthood and the emotional demands for increased relatedness that fatherhood entails. The overall impression from the pre-birth interview was that like Greta he had some limitations in his capacity for mutuality and intimacy on a more sustained basis.

Marital profile. The pre-birth marital interaction data indi-
cated that the couple was having difficulty in balancing individual
autonomy with couple mutuality, and that the partners showed varying
levels of commitment to doing so. At the time of the pre-birth inter-
views, the couple had been married for six months, although they had
been together for approximately a year and a half. Each expressed
varying degrees of satisfaction with the balance between mutuality
and autonomy in the relationship. George stated, "we have different
philosophies...Just cause you're married, is not a reason to do
things the other wants to do if you don't want to...Greta's philosophy
is the opposite." Greta, by contrast, expressed the opinion that
marriage should involve a "thoroughgoing one-to-one relationship
involving a lot of sharing and participation". She expressed some
dissatisfaction with the quality and quantity of their shared time
and activities. "Time spent next to each other, we have a lot of,
but quality time, we don't have much of." She also expressed dis-
satisfaction with the quality of their communication. "George has
trouble expressing his feelings...it's something I talk about but he
doesn't talk back to me." Neither partner felt that the other was
optimally responsive to his or her needs and feelings. While George
appeared to be highly tolerant of Greta's autonomy and separateness,
he showed little willingness to share household tasks and responsi-
bilities. Greta expressed her feelings about this as follows:

> He likes the fact that I'm independent and can earn
> a good income, but there are other aspects that he
> didn't bargain for. ...I'm not satisfied with the
> way chores are divided up. I wish he would cook
> more. ...I accuse him of wanting me to earn the

money, get the groceries, come home and cook dinner
and then clean it up....

The marital interaction sequences indicated a certain grudging
attitude towards emotional responsivity and giving on the part of
both partners, although the above statements indicated that George
was the more emotionally withdrawn and Greta the more affiliative
partner. While Greta generally advocated for greater intimacy in
the relationship, her tendency towards criticalness and negativity
mitigated against the mutuality that she was attempting to foster.
For example, in one of the marital interaction sequences, when the
couple discussed how they would handle Greta's difficulties in asking
for help after the baby was born, she short-circuited any genuine
exploration of the problem by launching a critical attack on George
and by refusing to assume any responsibility for this behavioral
pattern. The following sequence illustrates the difficulties that
both partners have in sustaining mutuality.

(W) Well, I guess the simplest thing is just for me to
ask for help and for you not to make me feel so guilty.

(H) Hmmm. That's a quick resolution.

(W) No, but you do. You--you uh--you do it with body language
more than with words, do you know that?

(H) Make you feel guilty?

(W) Yeah.

(H) For what?

(W) Well, when I ask you for something. I mean, you--you
grimace, you roll your eyes, you shrug, you do all kinds
of uh body contortions.

(H) Not every time you ask for help.

(W)   I don't ask for help that much.

(H)   Well, there are a lot of times when I'll be bothered, I'm
      either focusing on something else and you interrupt me
      with something totally unrelated. And I might be thinking
      about some real complicated income tax problems for an im--
      a very important client, thinking about at least four dif-
      ferent sections of the Internal Revenue code and how they
      interact and you come in and ask me to--to uh open a jar
      or something--just somethin' and--and I grimace not
      because I don't want to help you but just because I'm
      real close to reaching a solution of my income tax problem
      and you totally destroy the concentration.

(W)   Well, can't you think about how that makes me feel at that
      particular instance?

(H)   Yeah, I can think about that. Not at that instant I can't,
      but--

(W)   Well, because it--it bothers me. It hurts my feelings, it
      makes me less likely to ask and I don't ask for that much.
      I really don't.

(H)   Well, as far as the baby's concerned, I definitely want
      like for her to do my share.

(W)   You mean, gettin' up at night and all that?

(H)   Yeah.

(W)   You'll probably be up anyway.

(H)   Yeah--yeah, I probably won't go to sleep until after the
      first night feeding...Y'know I think you could--you could
      work on your timing when you ask for help, too, and make
      sure that I'm not working on something.

(W)   But you're always working on something. You're always
      doing. If it's not having to do with--with the law, then
      you're going something else that you're really totally
      into. You're playing a war game or an electronic game or
      you're working on the garden. And you're doing something
      single minded and when you start one thing you don't like
      to a--have a sway from that at all. And when you have
      kids, you have to. You have to be able to make a--a mid-
      course adjustment...

(H)   Yeah, I know. I know. I'm sure there'll be times when
      I'll have to miss work. And that goes back to a kid being
      such a big responsibility.

The above interaction indicates that during the pre-birth period, this couple seemed unable to integrate individual autonomy with couple mutuality in a way that was mutually satisfactory for both. Both partners expressed the hope that sharing the experience of having the baby would enhance their intimacy and increase couple cohesion.

   <u>Postnatal adaptation</u>. The postnatal data on this couple indicated that rather than feeling increased intimacy and relatedness, the birth of the baby led to a rigidification of patterns of defensive distancing in this relationship. The birth of the baby boy (not a girl as was wished for and expected), did in fact at first create more commonality for this couple. At the three month observation point, for example, the observer reported:

> Greta told me that George and she are enjoying the baby and that the arrival of the child has made the marriage "better". Her explanation of this was that she and her husband agree on most everything that relates to the baby--child-rearing techniques, values, etc., and that there is now an important commonality between them which was lacking before. She said they don't have much else in common. When I probed a bit on this, she said that they don't enjoy doing the same things and are "two very different people".

However, after an initial period of increased couple cohesion, the degree of tension and defensive distance between the partners appears to have returned to the pre-birth level. This assumption is based on the repeated, derogatory comments made by the mother about the father, by her continual references to their lack of shared interests and activities, and the father's consistent failure to appear for any of the five postnatal visits despite repeated requests by the observers that he be present. The most dramatic evidence of the father's

withdrawal from the marital relationship and the parenting process
came at the six month point when he slept through the visit because
he had been playing video games until five o'clock in the morning.

> I was discomforted to find Greta and her baby...
> expecting us, but no George in evidence. ...She
> explained that George was asleep because he had been
> up until 5 or 6 in the morning playing "war games".
> When I pressed her for a little more information,
> she said that this is a hobby of his, that the games
> are played with himself alone, that she gave him the
> latest one in his collection for Christmas--the one
> he was playing all night. It is called "the East is
> Red". Greta related this in a somewhat sardonic,
> rather deprecating manner, saying, "It doesn't seem
> like very much fun to me." Her comment recalled to
> me her saying in prior visits that her interests and
> George's are completely different, and that they have
> little in common outside of the baby.

What came through quite strikingly in the postnatal qualitative
process accounts in this couple's inability to sustain any experience
of mutuality in their interactions. While the prenatal data had
revealed some defensive distance in this relationship, it also sug-
gested that this recently wed couple saw the experience of the baby's
birth as an opportunity to increase couple cohesion. However, the
postnatal picture of the relationship at least as revealed by Greta,
showed this relationship to be largely devoid of intimacy.

The failure of mutuality which characterized the prenatal
parental interaction model was replicated in Greta's relationship
with her own baby son. From the beginning, Greta was observed to
be deficient in all of the mother-infant transactions which promote
the development of a cohesive self in the infant. Most notably, her
holding, handling, and mirroring of the infant were observed to be
inadequate and impoverished. From the first postnatal visit shortly

after the baby's birth, she appeared to be highly defended against any "primary maternal preoccupation" with the infant, or any meaningful degree of involvement with her infant's experience that might allow for an empathic appreciation of the infant's needs. Indeed, she imposed a great deal of defensive distance between herself and her baby and showed signs of rejecting him from the outset.

At the hospital visit, for example, Greta commented to the observer in a "ringing, emotionally vacant tone", that if she had known she was going to have a Caesarian section, she would not have gotten pregnant. Greta was observed during this visit to show "little confidence or pleasure in holding the baby, at one point she positioned him somewhat inappropriately with his legs and hips much higher than his head". It seems noteworthy that partly as a result of his transverse position in the uterus, the baby appeared to be somewhat unattractive, with a "Frankenstein-like protruding brow", and that further he was refusing to nurse.

At the one and three month data collection points, the mother was observed to show "no particular joy or pleasure in her caring for the baby and getting to know him". She returned to work shortly after the baby's birth, and complained during both of these visits about the ways in which the demands of infant care, and particularly breast feeding, interfered with her getting her work done. At both the one and three month visits there was a notable absence of empathic interplay between mother and infant that forms the basis for a mutually gratifying symbiotic experience. Greta did succeed in breast-feeding the infant, but in a way that converted this presumably intimate

experience into a mechanical and impersonal process. She was observed
to avoid eye contact and even tactile contact with the infant as much
as possible. At one month, for example, Greta supported the baby
during the breast feeding by propping him on a pillow, and touched
him only occasionally and in a way that indicated some "objectifica-
tion" to the observer. "It was almost as if she were examining a
little specimen."

Brody (1956) reports that infants held at the breast for feeding
naturally tend to gaze at their mothers' faces if this gaze is elicited
and reciprocated. Otherwise, they tend to become drowsy or to gaze
diffusely at a part of the mother's body or inanimate object. At one
month, the baby was observed to "look vaguely upward" during the
breast-feeding, and to be "not especially alert" during most of the
visit.

The mother's ambivalence towards her baby was even more notice-
able at the three month point, when she again positioned him at the
breast so that she did not have to touch him directly. Additionally,
when the baby turned his head to look at the observer, keeping the
nipple in his mouth, his mother responded as follows:

> ...Greta said he sometimes holds onto her nipple
> with his gums as he turns his head, which hurts
> her. She said, "I wish I could find a way to teach
> him not to do that." She made it sound like a dis-
> cipline problem--as though the baby was trying to
> hurt her and had to be stopped. She does not seem
> to me to be a naturally forgiving and patient mother,
> and displays, I feel, substantial ambivalence towards
> the baby.

Rather than functioning as a positive mirror through which this infant
can gain its first glimmerings of a cohesive and valued self, this

mother functioned as a negative mirror, who projected her own ambivalence onto her infant, experiencing him as a malevolent, attacking object.

Contributing to the lack of validation for this infant's emerging self was the absence of any consistent environmental stimulation or encouragement of exploration on the part of this mother. The observer saw few attempts on Greta's part to sensitively elaborate on the infant's spontaneous gestures in a way that might encourage infant initiative.

> There was a noticeable absence of toys he could manipulate—no playpen that I saw, and no real opportunities for him to explore the environment or initiate activity. One had the impression from talking to Greta that her job is of paramount importance and that her main focus vis-a-vis her baby is to keep him contained and to prevent him from interfering in her work. One saw during this glimpse of the family, little effort on her part to bring the baby along, to facilitate his development.

There was some reciprocal play observed in these early interactions, but this also was described as "somewhat forced in feeling" although it "seemed to delight the baby". Most noteable, then, from these early interactions was the absence of any affectively charged holding, structure-building mirroring, or mutual cueing between mother and infant that forms the matrix for further infant individuation.

The mother's inability to empathize with her baby's needs and states or to reach out and activate the baby in ways that might foster individuation, was noted to seriously interfere with the baby's self development at the six month observation. At six months, the baby was described as "puny" and "underweight" with inadequate muscle

tone. The observer was impressed with the "apparent immaturity of Allen's posture and behavior", and described him as more like a four month rather than a six month old child. During the six month feeding, he was not able to sit alone, nor did he even strain forward in the baby seat in an attempt to sit up or feed himself. Significantly, Greta did not encourage or allow him to feed himself, although the observer felt that his hand-to-mouth coordination was appropriate for this task.

Moreover, at six months when the infant should be initiating tentative experiments in separation, and showing some interest in and engagement with the world of inanimate objects (Mahler et al., 1975), Allen's capacity to tolerate any separateness from his mother or to sustain any interest in the nonmother world was observed to be severely limited. When Greta took the baby to his room and sat him among his many toys, the observer noted that he "did not play purposefully with the toys, but passed randomly from one to the next with little real exploration".

> He was very focused on his mother, and seemed distracted from his play by a driven need to get onto her lap or cling in some way to her. It was striking. He did not seem emotionally free to explore his environment, either in terms of other persons or of the world of objects.

In summing up the baby's development at the six month point, the observer emphasized the failure of early differentiation and the inadequate self-development of this infant:

> My impression, which basically is consistent with prior impressions I've had of this family, is that Allen is somewhat delayed in many areas of development--physically, in terms of both growth and motor

> competence, and emotionally. His psychological
> development seems to have been distorted by the
> mother's libidinal unavailability and, at times,
> frank resentment of the baby's needs and demands.
> Thus he has not been able to look into her and find
> a positive image of himself. Lacking the internal-
> ized self-object, he cannot move away from her and
> feel comfortable and complete. To compound the dif-
> ficulties surrounding the baby, the marital relation-
> ship continues to be distant and conflict-ridden...

The implication here was that a relatively distant and unsatisfying

mother-infant relationship exists in an indeed reflects the matrix

of a conflictual and distant husband-wife interaction pattern.

While infant development proceeds within the matrix of a continual

ongoing exchange between infant and mother, it also reflects the

parental interaction model insofar as this is a measure of the

mother's and father's relational capacities.

The six month observation indicated that the mother failed to

function as a secure base from which the infant could begin to tenta-

tively explore the world. At the one year observation point, when

increased motor and ego capacities usually draw the infant even

further away from mother, Allen's regressive clinging appeared to

have intensified. Mother complained about his clinging, and told

the observer that she had begun to send him outside the home to a

babysitter because she experienced his need to be with her as a

"continual disruption of her work". Allen was noted not to have

changed much physically from the six month point. He was described

as pale with an odd-shaped, protruberant forehead, and somewhat under-

developed musculature. It should be noted that Allen was not a par-

ticularly well-endowed infant, physically in terms of his capacity

to reach out to the world, and this must be taken into account as contributing to the inadequate mothering he received.

The one year visit began with a feeding which indicated an even greater breakdown in reciprocity between mother and infant than was evident at previous visits. Although they were having their reunion for the day, Greta largely ignored Allen, while she prepared a dinner of leftovers for him, consisting of a dry potato, some rice, cheese, applesauce--not as the observer noted, "a full meal in the usual sense". Allen for the most part rejected this food, gesturing instead to a basket on top of the refrigerator, which mother informed the observer usually contained bananas, his favorite food. She responded to his gesture by saying, "they're all gone, Allen, no more bananas." She repeated this several times "in a tone that was not particularly comforting and almost punative." The baby was observed to say, "Mama" many times throughout the meal, usually in a plaintive or pleading tone of voice. The lack of any intersubjective dimension of the feeding experience was described by the observer as follows:

> One had the picture of a lonely little boy, sitting there eating his meal because he was in the corner of the kitchen, which is a small room, but no one sat down next to him to engage him in any conversa-tion or to turn the meal into anything social. It seemed that Greta not only had no bananas, she also had no love to give, at least at that particular time. Her attitude seemed to be that she would give the minimum required by the situation; i.e., she would grudgingly prepare a meal for the child who is hungry, if it could be called a meal, but more than that would not be offered. There would be no playing and there would be no affection given with the food, and there would be no face to face contact, unless the child fretted and called out for it....

The picture here, as at previous data collection points, was of a mother unwilling to extend herself emotionally to her baby, and of a baby whose energies consequently were focused on obtaining nurturance, rather than on the developmentally appropriate tasks of separation-individuation. Indeed, this observation revealed a reversal of the usual parent-infant pattern at this stage. Rather than the mother offering a secure relational base to which the infant could check back for refueling from its exuberant exercising of expanded locomotive and ego functions, she continually moved away from the infant, while he compulsively sought contact with her. For example, at one point the mother left the room to take a business call. The observer reports that Allen became "quite distraught as soon as she left the room and followed her, fretting at the door and thoroughly indicating that he wanted to be let into the office." The observer comments that this clear example of separation anxiety in the child was "not surprising in view of his apparently generally high level of anxiety and the rather poor quality of the affection and attachment flowing from the mother". While mother was on the phone, Allen continued his attempt to engage her by initiating a game of peek-a-boo in which he would open and shut the door to her office, peek in and then shut the door again. This game could be seen as an attempt to master his anxiety about mother's disappearance and unavailability, as well as a way of establishing contact with mother. The observer noted that Greta's response to the game was "virtually nil", and that there was no reciprocating of his playfulness. When Greta continued to ignore the baby's attempts to engage her and continued to take phone calls,

he became more and more distraught, and finally resorted to self-
stimulatory and aggressive behaviors, described by the observer as
follows:

> The baby at this point was becoming quite distraught
> and she did not seem sensitive to this. Probably
> the two most disturbing things I saw happened in
> the next ten minutes or so of the visit. The first
> thing was that as the phone conversation continued
> and she held the baby, he began to pull at his own
> hair. He pulled his hair and he pulled his hair and
> he pulled his hair...he seemed to be somewhat soothed
> by the hair-pulling he was doing. ...The next dis-
> turbing thing that I saw was that he bit Greta on
> the shoulder and she retaliated by saying very
> sharply, "You bit me on the shoulder", and she put
> him down immediately, very suddenly, very abruptly.
> He cried a little bit at this point. Thus instead
> of getting more attention from his mother he was
> rejected by her physically and wandered off aimlessly
> towards the kitchen....

A specific formulation directly applicable to the above inter-
action between Allen and Greta is to be found in Escalona's and
Heidler's (1959) analysis of self-stimulatory behaviors, which were
found to be much more severe in infants whose mothers tended to
maintain a great deal of physical and emotional distance from their
children. One is also reminded of Pine's (Pine and Furer, 1963)
observation that the "very young child can only sustain a degree of
separation from the mother when he is able to come into contact and
communication with her when he needs it" (p. 1).

The infant's aggressive attacks may have represented a desperate
attempt to get her to engage with him, as well as his expression of
his anguish about her failure to do so. Somewhat more ominously, the
infant's aggressiveness towards mother may represent the coming to
fruition of Greta's negative projections about the infant as bad and

aggressive. Such projections were noted especially at the three-month point when Allen inadvertently pulled at his mother's nipples as he turned his head while nursing.

From Allen's regressive clinging and failure of phase-appropriate moves towards autonomy and separateness, we can infer some delay in self-other differentiation on the intrapsychic level. The one year point involves not only the beginning of individuation on the behavioral level, but also the increased awareness of separation from the mother on the representational level, with autonomous self-regard and functioning beginning to develop out of the fused self-mother representation. Given the demonstrated inadequacy of the interactive processes such as holding, handling, and mirroring which lead to the structuralization of a cohesive self representation in this mother-infant pair, it seemed likely that the infant's self-representation remained fragmented, depleted, and undifferentiated from that of a rejecting maternal object.

Infant individuation was inhibited presumably not only by the mother's lack of libidinal availability, but also by the father's lack of observed meaningful involvement with this infant. At the one year observation point, Greta did inform the observer that George showed some interest in the baby, but "at the limited times that he is available, these being primarily early in the mornings and on Sundays". McDevitt and Mahler (1980) have commented that "the father seems to be associated with external reality, and successful autonomous functioning, rather than being a source of constraint and frustration or a source of maternal comforting--both of which may threaten

the development of the child's initiative" (p. 413). We may speculate the father's unavailability in this case contributed to the poor individuation of the infant by providing no touchstone with external reality or no alternative relational base by which to counter maternal rejection and constraint. Finally, we might assume that the mother's inability to respond empathically to the infant or to promote infant self-development is in part a function of the lack of positive mirroring and reciprocity that she experienced in the marital relationship.

Case Illustration 5: The Ambivalently Autonomous Couple

Rachel, 37, and Jacob, 42, showed the pattern of ambivalent cycling between fusion and autonomy that was typical of the moderately individuated couples. The task of integrating individual autonomy with couple mutuality was a conflictual one for this couple both during the pre-birth assessment and as they traversed the transition to parenthood. Although the partners' ambivalence about relational connectedness versus separateness led to some inhibition of their infant's separation-individuation, by the one year point, an improvement in the quality of separation-individuation was observed both for the infant and within the marriage. The following individual histories will set the stage for understanding the husband-wife and parent-child interactions during the first postnatal year.

Wife profile. Rachel was the oldest of two children from a refugee Jewish family that fled Nazi Vienna and settled in Brooklyn. The majority of her parents' families did not survive the war. She

surmised that her parents were left with tensions and anxieties as a result of this historical experience that limited their capacity to meet her emotional needs fully.

> Some of it [their lack of emotional responsivity]
> was understandable given what they saw and experi-
> enced in the 30's. My father grew up during two
> World Wars so he really was battered. He was a kid
> during World War I, and his father was taken away,
> and he was a young man during World War II, and saw
> his whole family being lost. My mother had similar
> kinds of scars. Her mother died when she was a kid,
> and she was shunted around, put in an orphanage--so
> neither of them really had a hell of a lot to give....

Rachel described her parents as being fundamentally marked by these dislocations in their early lives, and as being unable to cope with "a new society, a new culture, with values very different than their own." Her parents showed the typical pattern of the primary object relations of moderately individuated subjects, in that one parent was emotionally distant, while the other was overinvolved to the point of intrusion. Her mother, who died when Rachel was 14 of cancer of the liver, was remembered as a woman who was intellectually vibrant, but emotionally withdrawn. Rachel volunteered that her own diffi-culties with relatedness were possibly tied to this primary object relation. She reported having discovered in therapy that

> possibly in the early years, she [her mother] was...
> very withdrawn, because I have some personality
> things--some fears that I live with that don't
> come out professionally, but that I have personally
> and that are possibly the result of somebody not
> being there, not being available, the world not
> being a trusting place.

Although she was not particularly empathically responsive, Mother was described as having encouraged a great deal of autonomy and

independence on Rachel's part, especially after she went back to work during Rachel's childhood. Rachel remembers feeling proud of herself for being self-sufficient, for taking over some of the housekeeping and shopping. While Mother was somewhat prematurely encouraging of autonomy and independence, but not particularly responsive to emotional need, Father was overly responsive to emotional need in a way that showed little capacity for self-other differentiation. Rachel described her father as the kind of person who "if you said you were concerned about something, he'd have an anxiety attack. ... He was highly emotional, highly anxious about anything and everything. That was his way of expressing love." Father reportedly depended on others, especially his children to take care of him. At the age of 17, Rachel left New York to attend college in California, admittedly to escape from father's controlling and demanding behavior. Significantly, he also moved to the West Coast and died the year before she became pregnant, also of cancer of the liver.

Rachel emerged from this family, in which nurturance and control were clearly confused, with some ambivalence about the degree of relational connectedness that she wanted or could tolerate. At the time of the pre-birth interview she appeared to be a highly independent person with a well-defined sense of work identity. Successfully self-employed as a public relations consultant, she had already had a successful career in teaching. Although she described herself as having a strong capacity for closeness and intimacy, she also acknowledged that she needed to maintain control in intimate relationships. She expressed some dissatisfaction with her husband's tendency to

distance emotionally, but also emphasized her need for separateness and autonomy from him. There was the sense that she tended to hide her own fears of intimacy behind her husband's more overt inadequacy in sustaining intimate relationships.

Thus, the overriding impression from the pre-birth interview was that Rachel was an extremely competent and independent woman, with a great deal of anxiety around issues of relatedness, which she dealt with by attempting to control those around her. She acknowledged that she had been extremely ambivalent about having a child, but that two factors had contributed to her overcoming of that ambivalence: her career change which made her realize that she could work at home without feeling isolated and which gave her more control over her own time, and her father's death which left her with no extended family. Her decision to have a child was thus bound up with issues around loss and survival in the extended family. She had reportedly suffered from severe complications during her pregnancy, and had grown much closer to her only remaining relative--her brother--who feared that she too might die. She reported that she had greatly resented the increased dependency that she experienced during her pregnancy, when she was compelled to stay in bed much of the time, and was coping with her anxiety about the transition to parenthood by making elaborate plans and schedules so that she could maintain autonomous functioning.

Husband profile. Jacob was a 42 year old lawyer who, like Rachel, appeared to have unresolved issues around separation-individuation which stemmed in part from his early family experience. At the time

of the pre-birth interview, he lived four miles away from his parents, saw them every week and had almost daily contact by phone. The frequency of his contact with family of origin had caused some tension between him and Rachel. When Rachel began to have difficulties with her pregnancy, she forbade him to discuss her condition with his physician father, because of the latter's constant interference. Despite the frequency of his current involvement with family of origin, he described his relationship with his parents in childhood as quite emotionally distant and unsatisfying. He did not remember feeling particularly close to his mother in either childhood or adolescence. Father was described as remote and emotionally unavailable from childhood on. He stated that as a child he avoided contact with his parents and that as an adolescent, he was independent and solitary. His parents were described as having fostered autonomy and independence without providing much emotional support and contact. There was a sense that his current high level of contact with his parents had a compensatory impact, and might have represented a search for the nurturance and closeness that he was denied and denied himself. Most of his friendships in childhood and adolescence were described as distant or only fairly close.

In the pre-birth interview, he acknowledged a considerable amount of ambivalence about intimacy, and described his capacity for closeness as "largely unexplored". Jacob expressed considerable anxiety about whether he would be able to attach to a child, and fears of repeating the same unsatisfactory and distant relationship that he has with his parents, and especially his father. Jacob also

expressed some fears about his capacity to meet the dependency needs of an infant--possibly because they evoked his own covert and unmet dependency needs. He worried about having a third party in the family who was not "totally independent, of limited abilities, not entirely mobile, not entirely articulate--that will require us to draw a lot of inferences from his or her behavior." However, he also expressed that hope that he would be able to establish more of an emotional attachment with his own child than he had had with his parents. In the pre-birth interview, he stated, "for whatever reason, my parents allowed me to distance myself emotionally from them, and I don't think that was so good. I'd like to have more emotional contact with my child." Thus for both Jacob and Rachel, there was a reparative aspect to having a child as well as some fears of repeating negative-- nonnurturing or restrictive aspects of past object relations.

Marital profile. The pre-birth marital picture indicated that there was a great deal of struggle in the relationship between Jacob and Rachel around issues of separateness and togetherness. Hereto- fore, the couple had dealt with their ambivalence and conflicts over issues of unity and separation by leading highly independent lives, while remaining strongly, if covertly dependent on each other. Rachel described their relationship as an equalitarian one, without "stereo- typed roles", and emphasized that they were two separate people who lead "semi-autonomous lives". At the same time she wished that there was more sharing of interests and feelings in the relationship. Jacob expressed similarly ambivalent feelings. "There are times when I wish Rachel were more agreeable to doing what I want...other times I find

myself liking her independence very much..."

Although in the pre-birth interviews both partners emphasized their independence from each other, they appeared to be strongly, if covertly, dependent on each other. For example, Rachel stated, "I get the feeling sometimes that Jacob couldn't function without me... On the other hand I'm very emotionally dependent on him, and most people don't see that...When I'm away from him, I don't function well."

From the pre-birth marital interactions, it was clear that the transition to parenthood was posing a challenge to this couple's somewhat defensively maintained autonomy. The chronic conflict in this relationship over how much togetherness (or separateness) this couple desired or could tolerate was particularly evident in one of the marital interaction sequences in which the couple discussed their differences about how to spend leisure time. The following excerpt from this interaction illustrates the considerable confusion and ambivalence that was generated between this couple about issues of separateness and togetherness:

> (W) My concern, since I'm the one who raised it, le--let me express it, is that you might tend t-to do things differently for recreation. I would be more likely to take the kid to the beach.

> (H) (Interrupts) Oh, yes, if you wanted to go to the beach with the kid, I would say, "Go (laughs), enjoy."

> (W) And you would be more likely to stay home and read and part of this is what we're teaching the kid--is a mixed message that Mommy and Daddy like different things-- uhm--and y'know on the one hand it's very nice, it gives them different ways of--he can choose to be different kinds of people or he can choose different kinds of recreation, plug into you or plug into me. On the other

hand, I would like to be in a position where we both went to the beach with the kid, A) because it's easier that way. I could go swimming and 'cause I can't go to the beach alone with a child. I've gotta have somebody watchin' the kid.

(H) It's true.

(W) So I'll have to find somebody else to go with.

(H) That's right. Sometimes that somebody else might even be me...But not very--not as a regular thing....

(W) No, not in general

(H) That's right, I'm saying sometimes.

(W) (Simultaneously) 90 percent to 99 percent of the time it wouldn't be.

(H) We're in agreement.

(W) So 99 percent is not sometimes, Honey. So it's not something that we share. Uhm--and a lot of the physical activity I'd like to see us do. And I don't think we share, although you've not learned to do skiing and other stuff. And even though you don't do it with the same enthusiasm as I do it (snickers)

(H) I enjoy it. Uhm--

(W) Do you have any concerns? I mean that's the one I see. There are positives and negatives 'cause we'll give the kid the message that he can do things separately...

(H) Well--I-I think when we didn't have as--as we were saying a few months ago when we didn't know of the kid, it was easier--for each of us to say, "Okay, y'know you'll do your thing, I'll do my thing and we'll meet for dinner" or whatever.--Uh--

(W) What would the difference be? I mean let's say we-- you know I go to the beach and you read or

(H) I think now, more often, my doing my thing and you doing your thing will mean that the other one has to care for the kid.

(W) Oh, see, my fancy was I was taking the kid to the beach.

(H) Or alternatively

(W) Your technique that you were keeping the kid with you while you read.

(H) Yeah--uh--and there will be--I suspect--some activities that we'll both participate in because of the kid.

The above interaction indicates that even during the pre-birth period, this couple was beginning to triangle the child into ongoing conflict around issues of separateness and togetherness in their relationship. Additionally, Rachel's statement that they would be giving their child "mixed messages" if they did things separately involved a projection of her own anxiety and confusion about the degree of separateness that she could tolerate. The mixed message here appeared to be that the parents needed to be separate, but were ambivalent about it.

The couple's ongoing conflict around issues of separateness and togetherness was also evident in another marital interaction sequence in which the couple discussed Rachel's need to be in control. Jacob volunteered that he found her need to control "very frustrating... especially when the other person doesn't want to be controlled", and predicted that she would have difficulty in tolerating her infant's autonomy and separateness, especially as it matured. Rachel acknowledged that this might be the case: "An infant you can pick up, but when it gets to the toddler stage and starts saying no, then I think we're going to be in more trouble".

The couple then proceeded to discuss Rachel's tendency to cope with her anxiety about losing control over her own time after the baby is born by wanting to make elaborate plans and schedules to insure that the couple would share childcare equally.

(W) ...I've been very worried about having my own time and my own need to be able to work and to be able to control my own time, and so we're financially fortunate that y'know we're gonna hire somebody for part-time and we can afford to do that because we don't have any back-up system and we've also talked very much about you and I being the back-up system to each other equally so that I'm not the one, y'know if the kid gets sick, and I have to take off from work, that if I take off time, you'll take off this time...

(H) (Simultaneously) Yeah, but y'see I see-I see-I see that--(Then continues:) I see that as the same kind of issue, that you want to work out all the details in advance and have all the perimeters very carefully defined.

(W) Right, right.

(H) And I don't think they can be very carefully defined. I think--I think all your efforts to carefully define them are really a matter of dealing with your anxiety.

(W) (Simultaneously) That's right.

(H) Not dealing with reality at all.

(W) By dealing with my anxiety about my view of reality...

(H) Okay. Okay.

The above interaction demonstrated the ways in which this couple typically dealt with their ambivalence about relatedness. Rachel tended to intensify her efforts to control the situation, often to the point of distorting reality, while Jacob tended to withdraw in the face of her overcontrol. This couple's interaction pattern of chronic low level conflict over issues of individual autonomy versus couple mutuality seemed to provide them with ongoing interpersonal contact, but to limit the degree of intimacy that could be attained.

Postnatal adaptation. The most striking aspect of the postnatal data on this family was the almost direct reproduction of husband-wife

relational pattern described above in the parent and especially mother-child transactions. In accordance with the predictions made by both husband and wife during the pre-birth period, Rachel coped with her anxiety about the transition to parenthood by escalating her controlling behavior towards her husband and by extending it to her infant son, Joshua. In the hospital visit, the observer noted that she was "talkative to the point of being controlling toward her husband". During this same visit, she was observed to care for the baby competently and efficiently, but without a great deal of warmth and empathy. When the baby fussed she went through an obsessive repertoire of things that could be wrong with him, and when none of these proved to be the cause of his discomfort, she handed him over to the nurse, rather than try to hold and comfort him herself. The observer commented that "an emotional connection to the baby as himself was not really noticeable." Jacob, by contrast, was observed to "be quite tender with the baby," and to engage in more tactile interaction with the baby than did Rachel.

At the one month observation, the mother's ambivalence about relatedness was again reflected in her folding and handling of the baby, as the following description of the observed feeding indicates:

> Joshua looked longish and scrawny and not especially alert. He did not appear to be healthy and thriving, though neither was he acutely ill in any way. Rachel held him closely while she nursed him on one side, but did not really pay attention to him; his energies and attention were focused on me. She gave me a long, involved account of her relationship with a niece (her sister's daughter) who is now college age and whom she helped raise. Dynamically, it was a fascinating situation: She was reporting to me in very glowing almost rapturous tones her surrogate mother-

ing (which was confined to special occasions and
structured times) of this girl, while her own lit-
tle boy languished in the crook of her right arm,
unburped and unattended to. He lay with his head
folded over on his chest, his back curved uncom-
fortably and his legs unsupported.

The above interaction is interesting in the light of the couple's
pre-birth conversation about giving the baby "mixed messages". The
observer commented that Rachel's "verbal and nonverbal messages did
not exactly match....She talked about herself as a model mother for
whom Joshua's needs are paramount; at the same time, her actual treat-
ment of him showed little affection or empathy".

Such was not the case, however, with Jacob. Rachel informed the
observer that although Jacob had expressed some fears about whether
he would be able to love the baby and be attached to it, he was "more
bonded" to the baby than she was. Jacob had taken a month off from
work to help Rachel and get to know the baby, and generally showed
more "primary preoccupation" with the infant than did Rachel. When the
couple went out to dinner for their anniversay, it was Jacob who kept
looking at his watch because of his concern for the baby, while she
implied that she was in no particular hurry to get back. Rachel
told the observer that the couple were dividing the responsibility
for childcare "60-60"--her way of saying that they were each going
more than half way in their efforts to care for him and fit him into
their already established lives and careers. She also reported that
the sharing of parenting tasks had fostered increased closeness and
mutuality in the relationship. The observer left with the sense,
however, that Rachel experienced the baby as a "threat" to both her

marriage and her career, and needed to limit the "intrusion" of the baby into both spheres.

At the three and six month observation points, Rachel's tendency to cope with her ambivalence through imposing rigid controls and schedules was observed to be actively interfering with the infant's individuation process. She was observed to restrain the baby physically and to stifle his initiating gestures in almost all of her interactions with him, including the feeding, diaper changing, and play situations. For example, at both the three and six month observation points, Rachel covered the baby's head completely with a blanket when she began to breast feed him. Her explanation for doing so was that the baby might be distracted by the observers, and further that she tended to cover him and her breast in front of everyone except her husband. At the six month visit, Rachel agreed to remove the blanket at the observers' request and the feeding proceeded as follows:

> In fact, the baby did seem excessively distracted by
> us, to the point where he would not keep his mouth
> on her nipple, but repeatedly reared back and craned
> his neck around so that he could see us. He did not
> seem very hungry, and was clearly more motivated to
> study us than to eat. Rachel became somewhat impati-
> ent with Joshua when he refused to nurse with concen-
> tration, and soon she covered him back up. She spoke
> to him in a tough-kidding tone, saying something like,
> "all right, kid, it's time to eat now, so stop
> messing around." Joshua, however, continued to be
> restless and uninterested in the breast--even when
> the rest of the world was blocked out for him. He
> seemed to struggle against his mother, to be resist-
> ing her somewhat...

The above feeding procedure not only inhibited infant initiative, but also left little opportunity for reciprocal exchanges between

mother and infant. This lack of reciprocity was also noted when Rachel gave the baby solid food. She was observed to hold him on her lap but facing somewhat away from her, and to feed him in a way that was efficient and instrumental but devoid of affective involvement. The baby was noted to smile both during the feeding and at other points in the visit, but Rachel "did little to elicit or mirror his smiling."

After the feeding, Rachel changed the baby, and here again, her need to control and restrain the baby dominated the procedure. She strapped the baby on his back, and left him somewhat unsafely on the on the table while she walked away to get something, and thrust a hairbrush into his hands so that he would not "interfere" with the changing process. Then she put him to bed in a bassinet, in which he could barely move or stretch out his limbs. Perhaps most inhibiting for infant separation-individuation at six months was Rachel's rigid restrictions on Joshua's crawling--which at six months acts as a central organizer of the baby's beginning differentiation from mother. Rachel was observed to hold the baby through most of the visit, and informed the observers that she would not permit the baby to crawl on the floor because the dogs make it dirty, but instead structured a period each day when the baby was allowed to crawl on the bed. Not surprisingly, the baby's motor skills were observed to be lagging, although he was described as "beginning to creep". The observer attributed the baby's deficit in motor activity not to any defect in his abilities, but to the mother's inability to provide him with sufficient opportunities to explore both his world and his own physical capacities.

> I feel that Rachel has not been able to tolerate
> primary preoccupation with her baby, that she does
> not give Joshua adequate opportunity to explore and
> master aspects of his world, and that for these two
> reasons, his individuation is lagging behind what
> one would expect in a six to seven month old.

At six months, then, the mother's ambivalence about issues of autonomy and mutuality appeared to be played out in her tendency to inhibit her infant's individuation even while she maintained some emotional distance from him. Rachel was observed to show some capacity to respond empathically to her infant's needs and cues, and to engage in reciprocal play with her infant, but in general tended to "read his cues after she imposes her wishes on him".

The overriding impression from the six month visit was that Rachel needed to structure and control Joshua's life and also his intrusions into her life. She complained about the difficulty of maintaining a structure and schedule to her work life, and appeared to be somewhat defiant in her assertion and of the separate time she and her husband share away from the baby. The observer has the impression that she needed to "protect the husband-wife dyad from the vicissitudes of parenthood".

At the one year visit (done with this family at fifteen months because of scheduling difficulties), there was substantial improvement both in the quality of the mother-child interaction, and in the infant's individuation. Some of the same themes noted in the earlier visits were evident including the mother's need to control and restrict the scope of the child's movements and the need to defend the self and the marital relationship against infant intrusion, and

the tension between the parents over father's involvement with the family of origin. At the beginning of the visit, for example, father and son were just returning from a visit with Jacob's parents, which precipitated an argument between the parents. Rachel became irate when she learned that Joshua had been given a cookie by his grand-parents since she forbids him to have sweets of any kind. She expressed her ongoing resentment of Jacob's continuing involvement with his family of origin by saying, "Jacob goes over there and eats every sweet thing in sight, always has", thus lumping father and son together. The argument was explosive but brief, however, and generally a high level of cooperation between the couple around child care was noted.

Although Rachel insisted as in previous visits, that her life had not been taken over by the child, she showed both a more developed attachment to her infant, and a greater capacity to tolerate his autonomy and separateness. The attachment between mother and baby was described as "thorough, warm, and robust", and there were indi-cations that a reciprocal, mutually contingent pattern of interaction had been consolidated. Rachel reported that she was still breast-feeding Joshua in her bed in the mornings, and described this as a pleasureable experience for them both. Joshua was observed to help his mother as she prepared the evening meal, drawing a stool over to her side which allowed him to climb to a level where he could work at the counter. Rachel informed the observer that she always encouraged him to prepare food, and lets him stir and mix things with his hands. At this observation, Joshua busied himself with

piling up chunks of cantelope and putting them into a bowl. He ate quite a few which drew his father's disapproval, but mother insisted that she always lets him "nosh" while he is "cooking". The observer described this interaction as mutually rewarding for mother and child.

At the meal, Rachel was again observed to have somewhat relaxed her previous tendency to overcontrol her child. Joshua was observed to feed himself, showing a distinct preference for some of what was offered, but refusing other foods with an "emphatic no". The observer also reported a considerable amount of free play on Joshua's part, particularly with the family dog, to whom he would throw food. Rachel appeared to be "quite indulgent" about his games, while Joshua expressed some disapproval. The observer noted that Joshua seemed to be testing his mother as he threw the food. "He would look her way and wait impishly for a reaction."

An increase in both Joshua's initiative and his mother's capacity to tolerate it were both evident. After dinner, Rachel read a book to Joshua, again at his initiative. He presented it to her, "crawling up next to her and placing it in her lap".

The improved adaptation between the mother-infant pair is perhaps best illustrated by an incident that occurred at the beginning of the meal when Rachel ordered Joshua to get into his chair:

> One cute game occurred between Joshua and his mother
> at this point. She said, "Go to your chair" (meaning
> high chair). Joshua walked over to a tiny red chair
> in one corner of the dining room and sat down.
> Rachel said, "No, Joshua you know, your chair." He
> continued to sit in his little chair and finally
> looked up at her with a mixture of defiance and
> amusement at his cleverness.

This incident illustrates that the baby had learned to cope with and
to a certain extent circumvent his mother's rigid and controlling
style through a somewhat humorous assertion of selfhood. Indeed,
both the baby's individuation and self-development were seen to be
much improved at this visit:

> Overall this child appears to have high self-esteem,
> to possess a healthy capacity for assertiveness, an
> active curiosity about his environment, and to be
> evidencing a developmental thrust toward separation
> (mild rebelliousness in the form of "no's", food-
> throwing, and chair game).

While the degree of individuation <u>attained</u> by Joshua appeared
developmentally appropriate, the degree of individuation <u>promoted</u> by
the parents was still noted to be inadequate:

> My sense is that this rather controlling and rigid
> mother in combination with a passive father present
> Joshua with some problems, some only potential,
> some observable now. I felt that his general level
> of happiness, of joy in being, was not high; I also
> felt that he is being <u>caged</u>, both physically and
> emotionally--that there is not enough freedom, enough
> push towards the outside world and all of its social
> and intellectual stimulation. I think these parents
> mean very well, but are quite anxiety-ridden about
> the world.

In this latter statement, there are echoes of Rachel's description
of her parents as "anxiety-ridden" people who did not experience the
world as a "trusting place". One can not help but be struck in this
case by the element of transgenerational repetition for this family.
The inordinate anxieties and fears that were the historical legacy
of survivorship in Rachel's family and which inhibited her individu-
ation, were being reprojected by this mother into her family of pro-
creation, via her overcontrol of her infant son during the first

years of life. That this repetition was occurring largely outside of conscious awareness on the part of this highly-educated mother who was also in treatment speaks to the power of such accumulated historical experience in a family system. On the more positive side, however, was the father's capacity to form a loving attachment to his son, despite the emotionally unsatisfactory, if binding quality of his relationship to his own parents. Also indicative of positive family adaptation at the one year point was the high level of cooperation in the couple relationship around shared parenting, which had fostered increased closeness in the marital relationship.

What was most striking about this family's postnatal adaptation was the process of mutual regulation that had occurred between this couple and their child. Although the parents appeared to "under-identify" their child's capabilities, he had found ways within the relatively restrictive environment that they had created for him, to realize his developmentally appropriate needs for autonomy and separateness. The parents, in turn, and especially the mother, had expanded their capacity to tolerate and encourage their infant's emerging selfhood. Thus, during the first postnatal year, this mother-infant pair appeared to have undergone a process of mutual adaptation and regulation.

Case Illustration 6: The Unequally Individuated Couple

The previous case illustrations indicated that the self and relational deficits of some of the parents in the moderately individuated category made them unnurturing or severely restrictive of their

infants in ways that curtailed their individuation. In these cases both parents showed a fairly equivalent level of individuation. The following case illustrates another familial pattern quite common in the moderately individuated category, in which one highly individuated parent was able to promote a near-optimal level of individuation for the infant, while the other less individuated parent was unable to foster infant individuation and self-development because of the intrusion of his or her own needs and unresolved issues into the parenting process. The discrepancy in the individuation of the parents leads to particular patterns of triadic mother-father-infant transactions. This case illustrates that in the presence of the less individuated spouse, the more highly individuated parent promotes separation-individuation experiences in compensatory fashion. In this case, the level of individuation attained by the infant appeared to be consistently high, despite the discrepancy in the level of individuation promoted by each parent.

Like many couples in the moderately individuated group, Karol, 28, and Saul, 32, showed some discrepancy in individuation, with Karol appearing to be the more individuated partner in the pre-birth individual interviews. The marital interactions, however, revealed a relational pattern characterized by the ambivalent oscillation between separateness and togetherness that is the hallmark of the moderately individuated group. A description of each partner's individual history and dynamics will illustrate the relative contribution they each brought to this relational pattern.

Wife profile. In the individual pre-birth interview, Karol came across as a quietly assertive and deeply maternal woman. One of the first issues raised by Karol in the individual interview was her mother's death from a stroke the year before her pregnancy. Mother was described as an "emotional and sensitive woman" who "couldn't do enough for her children", and who put them first "too often". Raised with two sisters, one older and the other a twin, Karol described her relationship with her mother as especially close and characterized by a great deal of open sharing of feelings and needs. "She had a lot of love. She was very special. I feel fortunate to have had her." The sharing and interdependency between her and her mother survived a brief period of adolescent withdrawal on Karol's part, and she described their adult relationship as "open and honest". Mother's death shortly before her pregnancy was extremely "traumatic" for Karol. "I'd want her with me," she states, but "there's enough of her in me so that our children will know what she's like." This latter statement indicates that Karol has a firmly rooted and positive maternal introject that has enabled her to tolerate and accept mother's loss. There were some indications, however, that having a baby at this time represented an intensification of her identification with her mother in the face of mother's death. Karol also appeared to be highly identified with her twin sister, with whom she had had a close relationship since childhood.

While Karol appeared to have emerged from her family of origin with a rich reservoir of maternal nurturance and mirroring, she described some deficits in her relationship with her father, whom she

characterized as "distant" and "overprotective". Father shared her
mother's interest of wanting everything for his children, but Karol
stated somewhat ambiguously that she and father were as "close as
we gave each other time for". The implication was that her deepest
affective bonds were with the women in her family.

In reflecting on those aspects of her family of origin that she
would like to repeat in her family of procreation, Karol emphasized
the closeness and caring in the family unit. However, she also criti-
cized her parents for their lack of an individuated relationship.
"My parents put the children first too much--they didn't give them-
selves enough time to have a life together. I want to have a life
with Saul to be able to travel and do things together." Thus, Karol's
early family environment appears to have been characterized by optimal
responsivity to emotional needs, at least on the part of her mother,
but by some deficits in the encouragement of individuation and
autonomy. Her parents encouraged individuation by exposing their
children to a variety of experiences, but failed to sustain their own
individuation as persons separate from the parental role.

Karol appears to have emerged from this early family environment
both with a strong capacity for relationships, and with a strong
determination to maintain her autonomy and separateness. At the time
of the pre-birth interview, she was pursuing a successful career in
business, and reported that working was central to her self-image.
"Not just having a career," she stated, "but being independent is
very important." She told the interviewer that when she got married
she didn't "want to become Mr. and Ms. Saul B. I wanted to have my

own identity and my own world and Saul wants the same for himself. He doesn't want to be thought of as a couple." She continued, "We have our own friends, and have some friends together. We have our own separate lives as far as work is concerned. Even if we didn't work we would do something to maintain that independence." Thus Karol showed an especially high tolerance for her spouse's autonomy and separateness, as well as a strong determination to preserve her independence within the context of her relationship with Saul.

At the time of the pre-birth interview, Karol planned to return to work three months after the baby was born and to eventually return to school to pursue a degree in business. In terms of the way her decision to return to work would affect her child, Karol asserts that she always felt it was the quality of time spent with the child, not the quantity that matters. "I've never been one to want to stay home. If I had to stay home, I would take it out on the child. If I work, I feel that time spent with the child will be enhanced."

Karol's well-developed capacity for autonomy did not appear to preclude a capacity for intimacy and mutuality, but it did seem to serve a defensive function against a deep-rooted identification with a mother whose individuality and autonomy were obscured by her capacity for relationships. Karol acknowledged that she needs close-ness, but that sometimes she demands too much closeness from people who can't give. In talking about her capacity to give and receive help, she stated that she sometimes tends to overextend herself in giving help, and finds people taking advantage of her. Nonetheless, her strong identification with her mother was standing her in good

stead during the pregnancy and the transition to parenthood. She reported feeling excited and fascinated with the physical changes of pregnancy, and stated that Saul wished he could go through these changes too--suggesting some twinship aspects to her relationship with her husband. The general impression of Karol, however, was that she had achieved a fairly high level of separation-individuation, in that she showed the capacity to combine autonomous strivings with sustained intimacy. One had the sense that her autonomy was slightly defensive in nature, and might serve to protect her against a deep-rooted identification with self-sacrificing, if nurturing maternal introject.

Husband profile. Saul, like Karol, suffered the loss of a parent in the period preceding the pregnancy. His father died quite suddenly of a heart attack four years prior to the pregnancy, and as was the case with Karol, there were some indications that the baby was meant to redress that loss. In talking about his relationship with his father, Saul showed a degree of ambivalence and confusion that indicated some lack of differentiation. On the other hand, he described his relationship with his father, an eminent physicist, as extremely close, and reported that Father was "always there when I needed him." But on the other hand he described his father as highly controlling, and appeared to be constantly struggling against a judgemental paternal introject. Saul reported that he and his father began to struggle in adolescence when he (Saul) went in a "different direction from father and chose to become an artist instead of a scientist", and that he was still "dealing with this". Saul admitted to envying

his father's dedication and success, and mentioned that his father had 25 to 27 patents, while he was still struggling to make a living as an artist. It was clear at the time of the pre-birth interview that he continued to compare himself to father, and to evaluate himself by his father's standards.

Saul's lack of separation from his father was evident in his response to the transition to parenthood. Although generally enthusiastic and excited about the pregnancy, Saul stated that he hoped the child would be born in October and be born a boy, because his father had been born in October. He stated, "I haven't resolved everything about his death because we were so close--I want it to be a boy." He also reported that he could visualize himself as a father, but that when he thinks of himself as a father, he thinks a lot about his own father. "In a lot of ways, I'm unlike him--I'm real sensitive to kids--I want to do a lot with them. I see myself in a real good light as a father." The anxiety both about his own adequacy in comparison to his father and his need to see himself as separate from father are both apparent in these statements.

Saul's relationship with his mother was similarly characterized by a lack of separation-individuation, both currently and in the past. He describes mother as "a typical Jewish mother, who did everything for her kids". The general sense was that mother was optimally responsive to emotional need, but not at all encouraging of individuation. Consequently, Saul appeared to be tied in a somewhat infantile way to a giving maternal object. This was evident in his relationship with Karol. On the one hand he showed a great deal of tolerance for

Karol's separateness and autonomy, and stated that they had always had a "very equal type of relationship". On the other hand, he acknowledged that he was not a "giving person the way that she is", and made it clear that he depended on her willingness to give even to the exclusion of her own needs. He characterized her as a "good and giving person whom people walk all over." That he sometimes is the one who does the walking was indicated by his statement that he is often very self-involved, and not able to be close or responsive to Karol.

It was clear that at the time of the pre-birth interview, that Saul had some deficits in separation-individuation. He acknowledged fluctuations in self-esteem that are indicative of narcissistic impairment, and stated that he vacillates between loving and hating himself. Moreover, he showed a great deal of ambivalence and uncertainty about adult status. In rating himself as an adult, he stated that he is probably "more of a child than an adult, and hopes to stay that way". Although he was working as a welder, he defined himself as an artist, but described his biggest problem as "how to deal with being an artist and not doing too much about it". He also showed a great deal of resentment about "working forty hours a week just for house and family". He worried that when the baby came he would get further away from his art.

Despite Saul's deficits in the area of separation-individuation, he did show some indications that the transition to parenthood might provide some impetus for further differentiation on his part. He stated that he looked forward to being involved with the parenting

process, and felt that the pregnancy was creating a greater degree of closeness in his relationship with Karol. There were also some indications, however, that the transition to parenthood might evoke some regression to even greater narcissistic self-aborption on Saul's part, in that he seemed overly concerned with whether the baby would leave him enough time for himself and his art.

Marital profile. The marital interaction sequences revealed that while this couple espoused an ideology which supports both relational connectedness and individual autonomy, they had not yet reached a mutually satisfactory balance between the two polarities. The partners were able to discuss differences without excessive denial or escalation of conflict, but there was considerable strain and tension involved in the discussion of how to negotiate issues of individual autonomy with couple mutuality in the transition to parenthood. What was most striking in the marital interaction sequence was Saul's insistence on the primacy of his needs and concerns, and his tendency to relegate Karol's needs and those of the baby to second place. In the pre-birth marital interaction, he expressed some envy of Karol's ability to stay home with the infant, and appeared to want to remain in the position of one who was being given to. This was most evident in his reluctance to assume the role of provider for mother and infant during the first postnatal year. Saul's difficulty in giving up position of the demanding and needy child was especially evident in one marital interaction sequence where the couple discussed whether they should stay in Los Angeles or move to a less expensive city, where they might live on Karol's income alone:

(H) Well, in Los Angeles, in-in our life style, I guess, because I work 8 hours a day for--someone else and I'm not filling my dreams and--and our dreams together and doing what uh--

(W) (Simultaneously) Right.

(H) I think our family should be more about

(W) (Simultaneously) Mmmhmmm.

(H) More so than--than probably any other city.

(W) (Interrupts and simultaneously) No.

(H) Besides New York, I guess, 'nd

(W) (Simultaneously) No.--No.--No.

(H) And it's the mass mind that's all caught up in-in-in money in some materialistic things

(W) (Simultaneously) well, Saul--

(H) And the longer we stay in Los Angeles

(W) (Simultaneously) There

(H) The-the more money we make

(W) (Simultaneously) Saul

(H) The more--the more in a bind

(W) (Simultaneously) Saul, Saul

(H) Or--or we live a little differently or--when we were poor we had it the best.

(W) (Interrupts and simultaneously) But the thing is, but the thing is

(H) We'd be better on the floor, no tables, y'know

(W) In--in--no matter. No matter, Saul, but there are--there are plenty of things that you even admit to materialistic things we do enjoy and as far as the money aspect, no-- neither one of us need a lot of money but

(H) (Interrupts and simultaneously) Well, I need a lot of money to get equipped with what I need to do my work.

(W) (Simultaneously)...We need to give to--but we want--we want to do--(Continuing alone:) All right. I know that and I realize that and I need--you know our needs--we want to be able to have enough money to fulfill the needs that we have, whether it's equipping your studio or traveling or--

(H) (Interrupts and simultaneously) Or our studio because I plan to--have you working also.

(W) (Simultaneously) Or--or you know whatever we want for our children.

(H) I hear you.

Despite Saul's last statement in this sequence, it appeared that the clamour of his own needs was so strong, that he was unable to hear or even permit the expression of Karol's needs, or her hesitant attempts to introduce the needs of coming baby. The inability of both parents to coordinate their own needs with the requirements of early family development is reflected in the deterioration in couple communication, and especially in the constant interruptions, lack of mutuality/contingency, and difficulty in the expression and working through of differences. The quality of the communication in these sequences was thus indicative of some unresolved issues in the relationship around autonomy and mutuality.

In another interaction sequence, in which the couple discussed the issue of how they spend their time, both separately and together, and how this will change after the baby is born, the couple's conflicts between separateness and connectedness emerged much more strongly.

(W) It's important that we both have our times apart and it's important that we have our time together.

(H) ...Well, getting back to the--with the child coming, because in the first few months it's gonna be I think real uh--harder for us to have any time, I guess because--

(W)   Time what, as individuals or-or together?

(H)   I don't know. I-I even have a hard time dealing with it,
      I guess. I mean knowing what's gonna--maybe at time I
      think--

(W)   (Simultaneously) (Unintelligible) I know that can you do
      okay like--for me, okay? Because

(H)   (Interrupting and continuing) so you know, when I come
      home I like to spend work in my studio with myself.

(W)   Right, but the thing is that

(H)   And if I'm gonna--

(W)   You can't

(H)   Have to listen to a cryin' kid and always handin' him over
      to you and helpless, and some of that I'll want to do but
      then at what point

(W)   ...the first few months, even though I'm not working, I'm

(H)   (Interrupts) Well, you'll have it made.

(W)   ...I'm with the baby and--and I will need some time to
      myself...so when you come home--

(H)   Yeah, well--give me the kid and uh--

(W)   (Simultaneously) Well, I'm breast feeding

(H)   Well, that's fine, I can dig it.

The above sequence indicated that during the pre-birth period,

conflicts in this relationship between autonomous strivings and

dependent longings were being focused on the amount of connectedness

and separateness that each partner could tolerate with a dependent

infant. It was clear that there were questions about the extent to

which each partner and especially Saul, could put aside his own needs

in order to meet the needs of a helpless and dependent infant.

There were other indications in the pre-birth interaction data

that the couple expected the transition to parenthood to foster a greater degree of separation-individuation. Evident in this couple's pre-birth interactions was the theme of the transition to parenthood replacing family of origin attachments and thereby consolidating the marital dyad. Karol stated, "It's--I--y'know it's having--having your own family and you and I always are into--into our family as being my father, your mother, our sisters...And now this is like adding another dimension to our family life, too." Saul replied, "yeah. It's building--we're building our own family that uh--that your parents and my parents had and uh..."

Despite some indications of increased couple cohesion and mutuality in the relationship as a result of the transition to parent-hood, the overriding impression from the pre-birth marital interaction data was of a discrepancy in the partners' individuation. Karol appeared to have a greater capacity for mutuality than did Saul; yet tended to be somewhat self-effacing and to let Saul's needs predomi-nate. Saul's greater narcissistic imbalance was seen to result in a need to control Karol, whom he related to as a need-gratifying maternal object.

Postnatal adaptation. The above discrepancy in the partners' individuation was reflected in both husband-wife and parent-child transactions during the first postnatal year. One of the first ways in which the unequal individuation of the partners surfaced in early family development was in Saul's inability to allow the mother-infant dyad any autonomy from birth on. It was clear, for example that Saul had attempted to control the process of birth and delivery. The

observer reported that much of the first postnatal visit was dominated by Saul who launched into a critique of modern obstetrics, focusing on doctors' unwillingness to "allow fathers their proper role in the delivery room". He also informed the observer that he was "considering becoming a professional 'mid-husband' who would help women whose husbands "couldn't handle the experience, to deliver their children". Apparently, the couple had presented the obstetrician with a birthing plan, drawn up with the help of their Lamaze teacher. However, the obstetrician had refused to sign the plan when Karol was admitted to the hospital, and this created some tension between him and the couple from the outset. Tensions escalated between the doctor and Saul when complications in the delivery arose that required unusual interventions, which Saul opposed. What was clear from all of this was Saul's enormous need to be in control and the center of attention even during the delivery process.

Also noted at this first visit was some competition between the partners around caring for the baby, and a discrepancy in the ways in which each handled the infant. When the baby started to fuss, for example, Saul at one point picked her up, and proceeded to give her some water, persistently pressing the nipple into her mouth. His need to demonstrate to the observer that he could feed the baby adequately seemed to take precedence over the baby's desire to eat. When the baby refused to quiet, he handed her to Karol who rocked her gently, cooing softly to her, and then offered her the bottle which she readily accepted.

During this visit, the parents discussed with the observer their

feelings about having had a female child. Saul readily acknowledged that he had wanted a son as a result of his father's death. However, he insisted that baby Judy would be "like him", and showed the observer her horoscope which had words such as "domineering", and "needing to be in control". The observer summed up her impressions of the couple's interaction and adjustment in the immediate postnatal period as follows:

> My overriding impression from this first visit was that Judy's birth had brought to the fore certain conflicts and vulnerabilities for this couple. Saul's desire to participate in the childrearing process at times appeared to involve wresting control of the process from Karol. Karol in turn seemed to have mixed feelings about Saul's need to be in control. At times she seemed to welcome his attentiveness to and involvement with the baby, but at times she seemed to tolerate his efforts passively, but with some resentment. Nonetheless, both Saul and Karol exuded enthusiasm for and commitment for the new parenting role.

At the one month point, some competition between the parents for control of Judy's care was again noted. For example, at the beginning of the one month assessment point, baby Judy began to cry, and mother announced that she was going to feed her. Saul insisted that perhaps she needed to be changed, and somewhat abruptly snatched Judy from Karol's arms and carried her to the changing table. He was reported to hold Judy casually tucked under one arm, "providing little support for her flailing limbs", with a hammer in the other hand. The observer reported:

> I followed him through the living room to his art studio where he tossed the hammer on a shelf, and then almost as abruptly placed Judy on the kitchen counter, checked her diaper (which was dry) and handed her to Karol. His handling of Judy was

characterized by a kind of carelessness and insen-
sitivity, and it seemed significant that the baby
became somewhat passive and inert in his arms.

The description of the quality of Karol's holding of the baby provides

a significant contrast:

Karol then proceeded to breast feed Judy, holding
her quite tenderly and comfortably. She managed
the task with ease and confidence, showing sensi-
tivity to Judy's signals. She explained somewhat
proudly that Judy recently has begun to play with
her breast while she feeds. During the feeding,
Judy did indeed touch and explore her mother's
breast with her hand, while she sucked vigorously
on the nipple....Throughout the feeding Karol and
Judy made intermittent eye contact, and Karol
occasionally caressed the baby's head.

The observer commented on Judy's differential responses to her parents,

and reported that "she seemed more responsive to and comfortable with

the handling she received from her mother, and appeared more passive

and less responsive when held by her father." What was most evident

from this visit was the affectionate bond between Karol and baby

Judy, and the emotional distance between Saul and the mother-infant

dyad. Saul was noted to be quite critical of Karol, and "somewhat

resentful of the attention that she devotes to the baby".

At three months Saul's inordinate criticalness of Karol's

mothering and his sense of exclusion from the intimacy of the mother-

infant dyad appeared to be even more pronounced. At this point, the

mother-infant dyad was noted to be characterized by a high level of

mutual reflection and communicative matching which is thought to be the

foundation of infant self-development (Mahler et al., 1975; Sandler,

1962). The satisfying reciprocity in the relationship between Karol

and Judy, as well as the criticalness and lack of empathy exhibited

by Saul were evident in the description of the feeding sequence.
During the feeding period, Karol sat next to Judy who was in an infant
seat, and cradled her with one arm while she fed with the other. She
alternated between assisting Judy with her bottle and encouraging her
to hold it by herself. Similarly as Karol fed her the cereal, she
encouraged Judy's attempts to hold the spoon by herself. She also
was ruefully tolerant of Judy's messiness, and generally seemed to
accept Judy's explorations as an essential part of the feeding process.
The observer described the feeding as being characterized by an optimal
"encouragement towards autonomy and supportive protectiveness".

During the feeding, Saul hovered on the periphery. At one point
Karol requested that he bring over a banana for Judy, and he agreed
to do so, reminding her that Judy didn't like bananas. When Judy
dozed in mother's arms at the end of the feeding, Saul walked by and
tweeked her nose, ignoring both the baby's state and Mother's admoni-
tions that she was sleeping. This decidedly nonempathic gesture
seemed to be fueled by Saul's need to insert himself into the circle
of mother-child intimacy. It seems significant that he left the
house shortly after this incident.

In an illuminating discussion of the husband's reaction to the
nursing mother-infant dyad, Lerner (1979) has offered the following
observation which is pertinent to Saul's observed behavior at this
visit. "Particularly to the extent that infantile and narcissistic
features predominate, the husband may indeed feel traumatized and
react with anger, depression or withdrawal" (Lerner, 1979, p. 345).
It may be that Karol contributed to Saul's sense of exclusion, through

the exclusivity of her attachment to Judy, which might indeed have
recreated the intensity of her bond with her mother and twin sister.

While Saul's lack of centrality to the mother-infant dyad left
him feeling peripheral and somewhat narcissistically depleted,
Karol's interactions with the baby at this stage were clearly
experienced as narcissistically enhancing. The narcissistic aspect
of the mother-child relationship was particularly evident in the
"mirror game" that Karol engaged the baby in after the feeding. Karol
situated the baby in front of a mirror that comprised the entire wall
in Judy's room. Holding Judy in front of her in a mock standing
position, she pointed out both Judy's image and her own to the baby.
Judy gazed with obvious delight at her mother's image, but glanced
only cursorily and with little recognition at her own. There was
much mutual gazing between Judy and her mother via the mirror. Judy's
behavior during the mirror game is consistent with the formulations
by Mahler (1982) on the emergence of the sense of self. In comparing
infants' differential responses to images of self and mother in the
mirror at different points in development during the first postnatal
year, Mahler (1982) found that infants during the symbiotic and
differentiation subphases of separation-individuation tend to focus
on the image of the mother rather than of the self. Mahler's explana-
tion for this is that there is little sense of autonomous or separate
self at this developmental point that is not tied to the quality of
the mother's care. Thus the interaction described above is indica-
tive of the quality of the object relationship between mother and
infant, and particularly of the positive rudimentary schemata that

Judy had of her mother.

Also clear from this interaction, however, was some overinvestment in the mutual mirroring on Karol's part. She repeatedly tried to re-engage Judy in the mirror game, long after Judy's interest had waned. When Judy finally lost interest altogether and reoriented her attention to the world of inanimate objects, Karol commented somewhat ambivalently on Judy's emerging autonomy. The observer summed up the situation as follows:

> Karol's delight in her mirror play, and her several remarks about Judy's resemblance to both herself and her mother also suggest that she has both narcissistic as well as object-oriented investment in Judy. Her obvious ambivalence about Judy's autonomous strivings suggest that mother and daughter may be undergoing an individuation crisis in which Judy is asserting her autonomous strivings and mother is attempting to preserve a satisfying, but symbiotic mutuality. Nonetheless, I was impressed by Karol's capacity to allow Judy to pursue her autonomous strivings despite her ambivalent feelings about them. All in all, I was impressed both with Judy's capacity for satisfying mutual cueing with her mother, and by her capacity to pursue self-oriented activities, and to engage in experimentation via visual and tactile manipulations of her environment.

In Karol's comments about Judy's resemblance to herself and her mother during the mirroring sequence, one is reminded of the high degree of self-other identification and mutual mirroring that characterized Karol's relationship with her own mother and her twin. It was almost as if her need for such a twin was making it difficult for her to allow Judy to individuate.

At the six month observation point the individuation crisis between mother and infant appeared to have intensified. During this visit, Judy's phase-appropriate strivings for autonomy and separate-

ness were paralleled by some increased intolerance for this separate-
ness and some withdrawal of libidinal investment on Karol's part.
During the feeding, for example, Karol continued to appear tolerant
of Judy's intermittant desires to feed herself and play with her food.
However, Karol seemed reluctant to give up the feeding as a reciprocal
activity. When Judy finally grabbed the spoon out of her mother's
hand, Karol gave into her daughter saying "all right, all right, you
do it now". She then turned to the observer and said, "Judy has
become very independent, she really has a temper now," whereupon
Judy stuck the spoon in her mouth and leaned backwards in the chair
away from mother, no doubt responding to the negative affect being
expressed. For the most part during this visit, Judy did not respond
to her mother's attempts to engage her in reciprocal play. The
observer noted that she seemed absorbed in a delighted exploration
of her own body parts (especially her toes), in exercising her
increased motor activity and in exploring the world of inanimate
objects, in fingering and mouthing blocks and books and balls. At
one point Karol succeeded in engaging her briefly in the mirror game,
but the interaction had a decidedly different quality than was evident
at the three month point as the following description indicates:

> Judy looked at herself in the mirror and laughed and
> then looked at her mother who was encouraging her to
> look at herself. Karol told me that Judy now recog-
> nizes herself in the mirror...When Judy tired of the
> mirror game and tried to crawl away, Karol pulled her
> back. When Judy finally insisted on crawling away,
> vocalizing her protest, Karol let her go with a sigh
> of exasperation. She told me that it is a lot harder
> to take care of Judy these days because she insists
> on doing things on her own and having her own way.

Also she'll follow Karol everywhere now that she is
crawling and sometimes Karol has to follow her.

Karol's difficulty in tolerating her daughter's emerging autonomy
and individuation, in the sense of becoming her unique self, was
particularly evident in this interaction. It seems significant that
during this visit Karol described Judy as "Daddy's little girl" and
commented that she was active and independent--just like Saul. It
should be noted that Karol had returned to work at three months as
planned, and that Saul was indeed spending more time with the baby.
What seemed significant here, however, was this couple's inability
to be simultaneously involved with the baby. Their tendency to
compete with each other for the psychological possession of the baby
seemed to reflect the lack of mutuality in the pre-birth relationship.
The observer sums up her impressions of the mother-child interaction
at six months as follows.

> I was struck by a slight change in Karol's attitude
> towards Judy. She seemed not to be as emotionally
> available to Judy, as she had been previously, and
> I wondered whether this had to do with some displace-
> ment of her feelings towards Saul onto Judy, whom she
> perceives as being increasingly like her father.
> Despite these reservations, I was impressed by
> Judy's demonstrations of active mastery and exuberant
> engagement with her environment.

Since the father-child transactions were not observed as a result
of Saul's illness at the time of the six month visit a follow-up visit
was done. This visit revealed a consolidation of father-infant
attachment, but little improvement in Saul's capacity to promote
Judy's individuation. For example, in the observed feeding, he was
noted to feed Judy in a manner that permitted little opportunity for

either reciprocal interaction or autonomy on Judy's part. The baby
sat in her infant seat which was clamped to one side of the counter
while he leaned across the other side, spooning the food into her
mouth in a brisk and efficient manner. She was observed to strain
forward to keep up with the fast pace of the feeding.

During the feeding, Karol and Saul discussed their different
styles of feeding the baby. Karol commented that she likes to experi-
ment with letting Judy feed herself, because how else will she learn
to do so, while Saul insisted that she was too young to feed herself,
and just wound up smearing food on the counter. "You might as well
get a piece of paper and let her do a drawing," he said. The observer
summed up her impressions of the father-child interaction at six
months as follows:

> In contrast to earlier observations in which Karol
> and Judy appeared as a ... "dual-unity" with Saul
> as the outsider, in this observation, Saul appeared
> to have established an affectionate and playful
> relationship with his daughter....In his interactions
> with Judy, he showed a playful exuberance, but also a
> tendency towards abrupt withdrawal of attention. He
> tended to show little sensitivity to her rhythms and
> needs, which seemed to baffle him or make him
> impatient. Judy, on the other hand, seems to have
> learned to adjust herself to her father's needs and
> rhythms, as evidenced by her compliance with his
> feeding pace and style.

Most striking here was the fact that despite the limitations in Saul's
capacity to promote his daughter's independence, his consistent
involvement with and availability to her appeared to have fostered her
individuation process at the crucial developmental point of six months.

At the one year observation point, Saul continued to show less
than optimal encouragement of separateness and autonomy, while Karol

appeared to have weathered her "individuation crisis", and was seen to actively promote her daughter's independent functioning. During the observed feeding, for example, the couple again disagreed over how much autonomy to permit Judy in feeding herself. Karol explained that Judy was becoming much more independent about feeding herself, while Saul interrupted to say that if Judy isn't fed, she just plays with her food. Just as Karol was insisting to the observer that Judy prefers to feed herself, Judy reached out her spoon to her mother, who then began to feed her. In this disagreement Judy, who was situated between her parents in her walker, appeared to be literally and figuratively triangled into the ongoing control struggle between her parents.

The different quality of the mother-child and father-child transactions was also evident in the play sequence that took place after dinner. Saul attempted to show Judy how to toss rings around little posts on a truck. When Judy succeeded after a number of tries, in tossing one ring onto a post, Karol, who was seated in a nearby chair, clapped and cheered. Judy expressed her delight by mirroring mother's exuberant clapping, and when mother turned her attention to something else, was actually observed to clap for herself. Evident in this interaction was mother's phase-appropriate mirroring of Judy's grandiosity, and Judy's beginning internalization of this interaction. Saul on the other hand responded to Judy's success by asking her for a kiss. Karol said, "Why should she give you a kiss, she did it. You should give her a kiss." Evident in this interaction was Saul's tendency to structure the parent-child interactions around

his own needs. When Judy tired of the ring toss game, and began to push herself along on her scooter, Saul attempted to push her despite her vigorous protests, again showing some insensitivity to his daughter's phase appropriate desire for autonomous practicing. Karol criticized Saul for his inability to tolerate or promote his daughter's autonomous strivings. In this interaction, as in the feeding sequences, Karol was observed to counter Saul's overcontrolling behavior by redoubling her efforts to promote individuation experiences for her daughter. Saul, on the other hand, was unable to sustain reciprocal interactions with Judy, and tended to structure interactions around his own needs.

The differential quality in the parents' promotion of individuation was not observed to have affected Judy's sense of separate or positive self, which at the one year point appeared to be quite well-developed. At one point during the visit, for example, she began to dance for her parents and the observer, showing the elation and positive narcissism that characterizes optimal self-development at this stage.

> She (Judy) stood in the middle of the floor and danced, waving her arms exuberantly. Karol and Saul encouraged her and clapped enthusiastically. Judy seemed to thoroughly enjoy her parents' enthusiastic response to her performance, and continued to dance for them.

After dancing exuberantly for several minutes, Judy engaged her mother in a game of hide and seek, where she practiced an exhilarated running away from mother, with returns to her for reassurance. This game of running away from and back to mother was accompanied by a

great deal of elation on Judy's part. During this interaction, Karol
acted as a fairly stationary relational base, thus again responding
appropriately to Judy's developmental need to exercise her developing
individuality and motor skills by running away from and back to
mother. The observer summed up the individuation patterns of this
family at the one year point as follows:

> Saul's difficulty in accepting and promoting Judy's
> autonomy is particularly apparent now that she is
> at the height of the practicing period...when she
> is exuberantly enjoying her increased locomotor and
> communicative skills. It seems significant that it
> is mother to whom Judy goes for "refueling", i.e.,
> following her out of the room, turning to her for
> praise and applause. Mother shows greater flex-
> ibility in accepting both Judy's need for closeness
> and her need for autonomy.

This case study indicates that the level of individuation attained
by the infant can remain fairly high, despite some deficits in the
parents' capacity to promote optimal individuation during the first
year. It also indicates that when there are some discrepancies in
the individuation of parents, and some deficits in marital individua-
tion, these will be reflected in each parent's capacity to promote
optimal individuation for their infants, although not necessarily
at the same developmental points. The consistent involvement of
both parents during the first postnatal year can in itself potentially
provide near-optimal individuation conditions for a particularly well-
endowed infant, despite some deficits in the individuation of one or
both parents. Optimal opportunities for separation-individuation are
preserved in part by the more highly individuated parent's compensa-
tory encouragement of the infant's autonomous strivings, which may

be thwarted by the less individuated spouse.

Case Illustration: High Individuation

Couples who were judged during the prenatal period to have rela-
tionships in which polarities of mutuality and autonomy were equally
valued and expressed were found to allow their infant the same oppor-
tunities for both independence and interdependence that characterized
the prenatal interaction model. The following case illustration
demonstrates the general trend for couples in this group to foster
both a strong and reciprocal attachment to and a high degree of
separation-individuation for their infants during the first postnatal
year.

Case Illustration 7: The Individuated Couple

Jessica, 33, and Gerald, 31, epitomized an individuated couple.
Both biochemists in the advanced stages of their graduate training,
the partners had allowed each other a great deal of autonomy and
independence to complete their career training, and appeared to be
turning their energies to establishing a deeper and more satisfying
mutuality. A description of the primary object relations and per-
sonality development of each partner reveals the roots of their
individuation in family of origin experiences.

Wife profile. The only female child with four older brothers,
Jessica grew up in a family of origin in which both closeness and
autonomy were highly valued. Jessica described her mother, who main-
tained a successful career as a medical technologist, as "stoical",

"hard-working", and "very caring". Although Jessica perceived her mother as overburdened by the responsibilities of combining a career with raising a family, she experienced her as being consistently emotionally available and responsive to her throughout her childhood and adolescence. Father, a physician, was described as a devoted parent, but somewhat less affectionate, with a tendency to be somewhat critical and controlling. He was described as a "driven and hyper" person who was able to relax at home, and who loved to rough-house and discuss science with his children. Jessica reported that father included her in these activities along with her brothers but that he withdrew from her as she entered adolescence and began dating. Thus, there are some indications that while father's equal treatment of her may have encouraged a high degree of autonomy and independence, it may have made it somewhat difficult for her to consolidate an identity as a woman.

Jessica reports that both of her parents "felt it was important for us to be independent. We took care of ourselves at an early age". Education was highly stressed, and the children were paid for A's and B's, but expected to pay their parents for C's. Jessica described the influence of her parents' attitudes on her as follows: "I don't know if I ever would have gotten my Ph.D. if I hadn't been raised in that family. I studied a lot...it was my way of getting my parents' love and support". Thus while Jessica's parents fostered their children's intellectual development and independent strivings, they also expected that they fulfill parental expectations and adopt similar values. Not surprisingly, Jessica describes her adolescence

as a difficult period in which her need to discover her own values led to some estrangement from her parents. For Jessica, adolescence appears to have been a prolonged but fruitful second individuation struggle in which increased separateness from the parental introjects was achieved as her own identity was consolidated. She described the process as follows:

> I was quite dependent on my parents until after I got out of school--just knowing they were there. I always felt that if they had died, I don't know what I would have done. I think I didn't start becoming separate from them till I was in my middle twenties...

At the time of the pre-birth interview, Jessica's relationship with family of origin appeared well differentiated, in that it was based on mutual acceptance and respect. She described her current relationship with them as close, "I'm really not afraid to discuss anything with them now". In reflecting on those aspects of her own experience of being parented that she would like to repeat, Jessica stressed both the closeness and the push towards autonomy. "I would like my children to be independent...I would like to have the closeness that I had with my parents".

In the pre-birth interview, Jessica expressed some ambivalence and uncertainty about how to balance the tasks of family and career building; but she also showed the ego flexibility to work out solutions that would consider both her own and her child's needs. Although she reported that work was very important to her self image, and that it was difficult for her to envision being a full time mother whose life revolved totally around her children, she also envisioned

curtailing her career plans somewhat once she finished her postdoc in order to combine work and child-rearing. "I figure I'm going to do biochemistry for the rest of my life, but the time that the children are around will go by so fast...", she told the observer. Although she planned to return to finish the last six months of her postdoc after her three month maternity leave, she worried that the baby wouldn't get held enough or that the babysitter wouldn't be able to respond to her baby's needs and cues as well as Jessica might. Jessica talked about her conflicts around balancing work with child care in a way that did not minimize either her own or the baby's needs. She seemed capable of remaining empathic to the needs of an infant, even when they might conflict with her own needs for an autonomous work life.

Husband profile. Gerald, like Jessica, grew up in a family in which the provider and parenting roles were shared. His mother was a science teacher who successfully juggled the demands of family and career but "always put us first". Father, a first generation Greek, encouraged achievement and autonomy for his male, but not his female children, and was generally somewhat less sensitive than mother. Gerald insists that both of his parents were always there when he or his siblings needed them, but reports having more identified with his mother, whom he described as "taller and better educated". In reflecting on what he would do differently in his own family, he reported that he would not make a female child feel that she wasn't as "worthy" as a male child as his father did with his sister. In the light of his identification with his mother, it seems significant

that Gerald married a woman who was not only older and his professional equal, but also more advanced in her training.

In the pre-birth interview, Gerald showed a well-developed capacity for both autonomy and mutuality, although he seemed slightly less high on the latter dimension, as a result of the pressures of career development. Currently completing his dissertation, and his postdoctoral fellowship, he showed a very strong commitment to his work, but also to investing more in intimate relationships. In reflecting on his desire to have a child at this point, he reports "I consider it one of the most important things you can do...it's the one thing you're irreplaceable in". Like Jessica he expressed some ambivalence and uncertainty about how to juggle the demands of career and parenthood, but expressed a strong commitment to both as follows:

> I think if both parents want to work they should
> work; I also think they should be home all the time
> with the kids. It's going to be interesting to see
> what we do...I think we may try to stagger the work
> week, which gives us less time together, but more
> time as a parent.

At the time of the pre-birth assessment, Gerald appeared to be a well individuated person with a capacity for autonomous ego functioning and sustained intimacy although he acknowledged that the pressures of his career had caused some limitation in the latter sphere. His desire to become a parent seemed to represent a move towards a greater investment in intimate relationships via the building of a family.

Marital profile. In the pre-birth interviews, Jessica and Gerald appeared to be committed to integrating the demands of two vigorous careers with the tasks of building a family in a way that did not sacrifice either professional development or the quality of the husband-wife and parent-child relationships. Both emphasized the shared nature of this enterprise, and as such, they each saw the other as integrally necessary to the working out of each other's lives in a way that indicated a high degree of interdependence (Weingarten, 1978). Interdependence is defined by Weingarten as a coping strategy which permits couples to synchronize work and family responsibilities in a way that fosters both the relational and professional possibilities of each. In the pre-birth interviews, the couple described their relationship as mutually dependent. Jessica, for example, stated: "I'm dependent on Gerald a lot to keep me emotionally even...His personality is good for me...he takes my blow-ups, my upsets without taking it personally...Gerald is dependent on me for a lot of things I do...I'm more efficient at tasks". Gerald similarly stated, "She may feel she's more dependent on me--but I'm certainly not independent of her".

Each partner showed the capacity to tolerate and respond to the dependent and independent strivings of the other. During the pregnancy, for example, Gerald showed both the capacity for empathic responsivity to his wife's needs, and a great deal of tolerance for her autonomy--a combination which was found to produce the most optimal adaptation to pregnancy and transition to parenthood by Gladieux (1978). In responding to questions about the ways in which

the pregnancy had changed the relationship, he replied that he tried
to let Jessica make decisions about her physical capabilities while
providing her with as much help or support as she requests.

> She enjoys being independent...there are a lot of
> things that the general public think pregnant women
> shouldn't do, but they can....I don't want to appear
> overprotective--she wouldn't appreciate that; but at
> the same time, I don't want to appear uncaring about
> her condition.

Like most highly individuated couples, Jessica and Gerald readily
acknowledged that the baby would change their lives and relationship
in significant ways, and more than most couples in the sample cre-
atively strategized about how best to meet their own and their
infant's needs. Although both partners clearly showed some ambivalence
about the ways in which the baby would curtail their autonomy, both
individually and as a couple, they were able to express their ambi-
valence without the splitting that occurs among less individuated
couples, with one partner becoming the container for strivings for
intimacy, while the other contains the strivings towards autonomy and
independence. That these partners both integrated polarities of mutu-
ality and autonomy within the self was indicated in the two marital
interaction sequences which involved a discussion about the duration
of Jessica's maternity leave, and the couple's feelings about how to
balance the provider and parenting roles. Significantly in these
sequences the partners tended to express different sides of their
ambivalence. In the first sequence, for example, Jessica expressed
a great deal of ambivalence about staying home with the baby, while
Gerald expressed the desire for her to assume the primary parenting

role at least during the first three months:

(W) ... A'what I don't know is how long I'm gonna feel—um it's okay that I'm home.

(H) How d'you figure—

(W) (Interrupting) But I'm not worried. It's not so much the staying home, the thing that I worry about is you co-leaving late and staying real late at the lab....That I know I'm that's gonna bug me.

(H) Yeah.

(W) Uhm. Now the one thing that I was thinking of and of course Tom McGraw asked me if I wanted to continue working on that project.

(H) Oh great. (laughs, said with a great deal of sarcasm)

(W) Well I-I did (laugh) I told 'im I said well, uhm that that might be a possibility 'cause I said maybe I could get out some nights.

(H) Uh-huh.

(W) And maybe that I'm sure that—I'm sure it's gonna get to me if I am there all day, you staying late at the—late in the lab because I still have to get up early, for early feedings....Which means that if you leave late for work and come home really late, it's like I'm—then I got the baby all day and I mean longer than a twelve-hour day.

(H) Right.

(W) And I won't—I'm not—I know that uh it's gonna come a point where—I'm gonna feel like you need to contribute—a little more to it.

(H) I haven't done anything yet.

(W) I know you haven't. (laughs).

The above sequence indicates that at the time of the interaction, Jessica was coping with her anxiety and ambivalence about the transition to parenthood, by thinking about returning to work at night in the lab, earlier than she had planned. Gerald, on the other hand,

showed a definite preference to have her at home. In the second marital interaction sequence, however, the couple reversed positions, with Gerald not urging Jessica to return to work and finish her post-doc after three months, but also expressing some desire to stay home with the baby himself. Here Jessica speculated that she might want to extend her maternity leave to spend more time with the child.

(H) ...Well, ...I figure you're gonna go back because I think you're going t'-after three months you're gonna want t' get back in the lab, uh, you know get somethin' done.

(W) I think I probably will too, um, but sometimes I wonder if there aren't other alternatives than going in Monday through Friday, eight to five.

(H) Well we--you know we talked about that too, if we uh shift our schedules uh stagger them then--then we'll see less of each other but we'll be saving money on daycare--....Plus we'll have more time with the kid.

(W) With the baby, yeah.

(H) Uh and--at the same time, you know, like you were saying the average--the average amount of time that a father spends with--

(W) Oh, yeah.

(H) (Simultaneously) With his new uh childun--

(W) Thirty-seven seconds a day. Do you believe it?

(H) (Simultaneously) Thirty-seven seconds a day? Whether--whether he's--

(W) In communication.

(H) Yeah, so you know just staggering a-our schedule so that I can complete uh you know care of the baby one day a week so you had complete care--

(W) (Interrupts) Yeah, I think that's probably a good idea.

(H) (Simultaneously) of the day, and then you have daycare three days.

The above interactions indicated that while both partners felt ambi-
valent about the loss of autonomy that the baby would entail, they
were each willing to give up some independence in the interests of
increased mutuality and interdependence as they traversed the transi-
tion to parenthood.

Postnatal adaptation. The high level of marital individuation
reflected in this couple's integration of separateness and relatedness
during the pre-birth period created optimal conditions for the infant's
emerging selfhood during the first postnatal year. Just as the
parents were struggling to develop an individuated relationship which
could encompass the dependency needs and autonomous strivings of each
partner, so did they create for their infant a developmental matrix
in which awareness of self and independent functioning unfolded in
tandem with a growing awareness of and responsivity to the other.
This was not to say that some of the problems and tensions both
between the couple and within the parents about the synchronization
of work and family responsibilities did not surface in the postnatal
period, with some impact on the separation-individuation process.
However, overall this family's postnatal adaptation was assessed as
unusually high on all the interrelated infant characteristics and
parent-infant transactions.

The high degree of mutual supportiveness and interdependence in
the husband-wife relationship was first noted during the hospital
visit made shortly after the quite difficult delivery of their
daughter, Jeannie. After a harrowing labor with numerous complica-
tions, their baby daughter was born with the umbilical cord wrapped

around her neck, cutting off her oxygen supply. Despite the difficult
delivery the baby was noted to be healthy and strong, with good color
and muscle tone. The parents were observed to be "very much in tune
with each other as a couple...one had the feeling of lots of mutual
respect."

At the one month observation point, Jessica appeared to be in
synchrony with the baby's needs and rhythms, and well on the way to
establishing a reciprocal interactive process. Jessica's unusual
sensitivity to the baby's needs and cues was noted during the feeding,
which is described as follows:

> The baby took her feeding with some difficulty at
> first. She is evidently one of those babies who
> has a hard time relaxing into the feeding at times,
> needing to squirm and bob at the nipple for a few
> minutes first. Jessica confirmed this observation,
> saying she is usually very hungry at her mid-morning
> feeding and is calmer in the evening, when she often
> has a fussy period. Jessica looked at her, stroked
> her, and spoke to her gently, often smiling through-
> out the feeding...Jeannie's feeding lasted about 20
> minutes. Jessica keeps track of the time in order
> to make sure she has had enough. This was another
> indicator to me of how sensitive and careful this
> mother is--how she brings her intelligence and
> training to bear lightly and appropriately on the
> care of her child.

The picture presented above is one of a mother who was learning
sensitively and patiently about the pattern of her baby's needs and
rhythms.

Even at the one month observation point, Jessica was noted to
create the conditions for fostering both reciprocity and autonomy on
the part of her baby. For example, after the feeding, she held her
baby in her lap, for a period of reciprocal play which involved

looking, playing and talking to the infant. After this period of
mutual play and gaze, she put the baby on her bed on her back,
explaining to the observer that Jeannie liked to look at and play
with her toys—a series of bright, noise making objects strung on a
strap across the head of a crib. The behavior of the baby and mother
during this play interlude was described as follows:

> The baby enjoyed this period immensely—she gazed
> at the toys, with a whole body in motion, cooed
> and batted at the toys which were within her reach.
> These movements were not clearly intentional, but
> when she did happen to hit one and make it twirl
> with a satisfying clatter, she seemed pleased with
> herself. She played happily like this, with her
> mother near her head and watching her proudly and
> intently for some 12 minutes, a long time for a baby
> that age.

The baby at one month was noted to be quite well-differentiated, both
behaviorally and physically, with a somewhat unusual capacity for and
pleasure in self-sustained activity. The observer's overall impression
at one month was that the baby was receiving "a rather optimum level of
stimulation, closeness and separateness".

At the three month observation point, Jessica was again observed
to foster both reciprocity and separateness for the baby in ways that
were appropriate to the baby's development. An unusual degree of
mutual cueing and communicative matching was again observed between
this mother-infant pair. Jessica was seen to be very much in tune
with the infant's most subtle cues, while the baby at this point was
seen to be a more active and engaged participant in the interaction
process.

Moreover, at the three month data collection point, both parents

were noted to be active and mutually supportive participants in the parenting process. Each parent tended to respond somewhat differently and to elicit somewhat differential responses to the baby which undoubtedly fostered her differentiation. A description of the feeding and changing sequences, managed by mother and father respectively, will illustrate the different styles of interaction of both parents:

> Jessica obviously derived tremendous pleasure from nursing her little daughter. She talked to her, smiled, stroked her, kissed her, and held her close in a way that was not showy or overly effusive, just quietly lovely. Jessica did not try to play with her or otherwise distract her during the feeding, but did actively engage with the child.

After the feeding, Gerald who described himself as the "chief changer" proceeded to change the baby's diaper. His interaction with the baby was described as "less affectionate and more playful than his wife's, and...equally delightful for the baby". After competently changing the baby, he engaged her in a game of looking at herself in the mirror that is hung over the changing table. He was noted to maintain a "pseudo-gruff" manner of talking with the baby which contrasted quite distinctly with his wife's more gentle murmuring.

Gerald's more intense playfulness with his baby daughter was consistent with the observations of Lamb (1977), Parke (1979) and others who have noted differential styles of mother-infant and father-infant interaction during the first postnatal year. While fathers tend to engage in more intensely stimulating play with their infants, mothers tend to interact with their infants primarily around care-taking activities. Lamb (1977) hypothesizes that exposure to such

differential modes of interaction foster greater differentiation for the infant:

> ...inasmuch as their experience with two parents differ, it is plausible to argue that infants develop different expectations and learn different behavior patterns for each parent and thus that the two relationships have differential consequences for socio-personality development (p. 179).

It should be noted that while father seemed quite involved with the baby's care at three months, he also respected the autonomy of the mother-infant dyad. The relative stances of mother, father, and infant were indicated in the play sequence which followed the feeding. The baby was placed on a blanket on the floor. Jessica positioned herself a few feet away from her, while Gerald sat a bit farther away drinking coffee. Jessica smiled and watched the baby, occasionally talking to her or producing a different toy for her inspection. The baby alternated between looking and smiling at her parents, and involving herself handling and inspection of the various toys offered to her. Thus both mother and father remained libidinally available to the baby, as indicated by their looking, smiling and talking to her, while she cycled between autonomous play activity and reciprocal gazing and smiling with them. The observer describes the parents' orientation to the baby as follows: "The pride in the baby of these two is very evident--they rarely took their eyes off her, and couldn't stop singing her praises."

Again at three months, Jessica made sure that the baby had some autonomous as well as interactive play time. Showing what the observer labeled as "nice empathy", since the baby had signaled only minimal

restlessness with the foregoing play activities, Jessica scooped up the baby and carried her to her crib where she laid her on her back for a workout under her "cradle gym"--a series of bright, noise making objects strung on a strap across the head of the crib. The baby was observed to coo and kick and reach out for the rings and bells, setting up a satisfying amount of noise and movement. Jessica commented to the observer that she liked to give the baby some play time there every day so that she could practice reaching out for things. Again Jessica was noted to watch the baby through this sequence. In the context of gratifying parent-child interactions, the baby showed the capacity to function happily by her self at both the one and three month observation points. The period of early self-directed activity, noted by Sander (1962) and others to occur from five to nine months, was thus ushered in early for this infant.

At the three month observation point, Jessica informed the observer that she was planning to return to her postdoctoral position and would be leaving the baby with a babysitter. She was noted to be "very much in conflict over leaving Jeannie". She told the observer "I'm not at all bored with her, I don't want to leave her. I find her fascinating and I know she needs me."

At the six month observation point, the degree of separation-individuation attained by baby Jeannie appeared to be extremely high, while the degree of separation-individuation promoted by Jessica was observed to show some slight decline, possibly in the observer's view as a result of her conflict over leaving the baby. The baby showed an unusual degree of initiative and accomplishment in her motor

skills and a sustained, persistent interest in exploring her environ-
ment. She was observed to be not only actively crawling, but also to
be engaging in activities indicative of early practicing such as climb-
ing and righting herself while still holding on (Mahler and McDevitt,
1980). As was the case at the earlier observation points, the parents
were generally observed to encourage the baby's autonomous strivings,
while still remaining optimally available to her. At one point, for
example, the parents helped Jeannie to climb up onto the seat of a
rocking chair, and while she stood up and made it rock, they were
"right there, holding onto her so she wouldn't fall".

Also noted at this visit was an increased degree of social
initiative and responsivity on the baby's part, and between mother
and baby. This was best illustrated in the description of the
feeding sequence, which was divided into two parts: one in which
Jessica fed Jeannie solid foods, and largely structured the inter-
action, although she was seen to be optimally responsive to the baby's
cues, and another in which Jeannie was breastfed, and seemed to take a
more active stance in regulating the feeding while mother assumed a
more passive position. The first part of the feeding is described as
follows:

> Jessica fed the baby as she sat in the infant seat.
> Jeannie was very hungry and ate vigorously, and with
> much concentration. There was a great deal of
> smiling back and forth between mother and baby, and
> a lot of eye contact, while Jeannie fixing her gaze
> on her mother, seeming to know that this sort of
> food was right there and almost maintaining control
> over that steady delivery of nourishment by not
> taking her eyes off mother. In general, the amount
> of eye contact between this mother and infant was
> very high on the rating scale and is more than I've

seen in most families with babies of this age. I
felt much of this was initiated by Jessica who
talked animatedly and almost continuously made
efforts to engage Jeannie by smiling at her, by
talking to her, and in general maintaining contact
between them. This contact was not overdone and did
not seem to have any but positive effects on the
baby. Jessica did not require any reciprocation
from Jeannie...

Although there was clearly a feeling of animate interaction
between mother and infant in the first feeding sequence, Jeannie was
noted to be more active during the breast feeding. Here Jeannie took
the initiative, breaking her sucking to smile at her mother, while
"Jessica sat back and relaxed and became the passive partner, which
she accomplished with ease". The baby's pleasure at being the more
active partner in this part of the feeding was indicated by her many
positive sounds--"cooing, and gurgling and smacking" as well as by
the frequency with which she broke her sucking to smile at the mother,
father and observer. As was the case in the previous visits, the
father was noted to maintain an engaged but not intrusive presence.
He was described as being "very much at ease with his wife and baby
and in no way attempted to intrude on the nursing process or to feel
threatened by their closeness".

While Jessica was able to permit Jeannie a great deal of initia-
tive and autonomy in the context of the feeding interaction, she had
more difficulty in doing so in the play interactions which followed.
The slight decline in Jessica's capacity to allow Jeannie optimal
autonomy, was best illustrated in one play interaction where Jessica
placed some toys especially interesting to the baby on the upper
shelf of a bookcase and then encouraged Jeannie to go get them.

Jeannie would crawl across the room eyeing the toys she wanted and when she reached the bookcase would pull herself up by clutching at the lower shelf and then the second one and so on until she could reach the toys that were about two feet or so above her head. The observer reported that both the parents and the baby appeared to be "enormously delighted with her accomplishments in doing this", and that "Jessica in particular was very animated and crowed and laughed and clapped when the baby achieved her goal and got the toys she wanted". Gerald was also very involved in mirroring Jeannie's accomplishments and would say, "Come on, Jeannie, you can do it, you can do it." In general, however, she was noted in this play interaction as in others observed during this visit, to permit Jeannie more autonomy and separateness and to show a less intense identification with her achievements than did his wife. Jessica, by contrast, was noted to be a bit overly involved in Jeannie's accomplishments.

The observer attributed this overinvolvement to Jessica's "guilt" about leaving Jeannie, who had been attending the UCLA Daycare Center. However, one might also interpret the mother's behavior in the light of her own family of origin experience. Jessica's too intense involvement and identification with her daughter's accomplishments might reflect the reprojection of her own inner object relations schemata of a highly achieving self in relation to parents who encouraged autonomy and achievement for their daughter.

Whether Jessica's overly intense involvement with her daughter resulted from her inner conflicts about returning to work or from her tendency to impose a transgenerational push towards achievement and

independence, it did not appear to in any way affect the infant's sense of separate or positive self. At six months, the level of separation-individuation attained by Jeannie appeared optimal, judging from her advanced motoric skills, her delight in her accomplishments, her capacity for exploration and general interest in the environment, and her capacity to initiate and sustain interactions with both parents.

The importance of the parents' consistent and positive mirroring of the infant's emerging selfhood during the first six months appeared to have been a major factor in promoting her self-development, although baby Jeannie was clearly a well-endowed infant who showed an unusually high capacity for responsivity and autonomy from birth on. Indeed the observer commented at several points both on the unusually high quantity of mutual gaze between Jeannie and her parents, and on the quality of this eye contact--that is the joyful exuberance with which the parents looked at their child. One is reminded here of Kohut's (1971) theory that the mother's (in this case parents') gaze constitutes a mirror through which the infant constitutes its first rudimentary sense of self. According to Kohut, the extent to which the infant is able to imagine a cohesive and positive self is in part determined not only by the quantity, but also the quality of such mirroring between parent and infant. The latter is expressed through the proverbial "gleam in the mother's eye" which allows the infant its first glimpse of an integrated and positive self. Such libidinized mirroring of the infant throughout the first year is thought by Kohut to lead at the one year point to the emergence of a

highly "positive" infant narcissism expressed exhibitionistically as a "grandiose self".

At the one year observation point, Jeannie did indeed show signs of having developed such a highly positive sense of self. She showed a great deal of elation and delight in her expanded motor capacities and autonomous ego functions. During most of the visit, she was seen to be engaged in a highly pleasurable motoric distancing of herself from her parents, and especially her mother, and appeared most engaged in activities wherein she provided the initiative and which were fueled by her desires and curiosity. She seemed to epitomize the practicing child who was intoxicated with her own faculties and with the greatness of herself and world. For example, at one point during the feeding sequence, she held her fists high in the air and began to "dance" in her high chair, "sort of doing the twist from her waist up. All the while she smiled and seemed to soak up the delighted expressions on our faces," the observer reported. Her pleasure in her autonomous functions was also demonstrated in the delight with which she repeated certain words and phrases that she had learned such as "uh-oh", which she was noted to say many times during the meal apropos of nothing, but eliciting her parents' admiration, which she did repeatedly.

At one year Gerald showed a greater range and intensity of interactions with his daughter than he had previously. This was most strikingly demonstrated during the lunch meal which Gerald had prepared. Jeannie was observed to feed herself largely without assistance. However, Jessica also fed her some of her own chicken

vegetable soup, which the baby enjoyed immensely, again smoothly combining encouragement of autonomy and optimal responsivity in the feeding process. After several minutes of watching the feeding interaction, Gerald informed the observer, "I feed her too, you know. I don't want you to get the wrong impression." He then switched places with the observer, immediately took over the soup routine, and continued to feed Jeannie until she let everyone know she'd had enough.

Thus, at the one year point, Gerald appeared to have moved from being a playful partner somewhat on the periphery of the mother-infant dyad circle to engage in more caretaking as well as play interactions with his daughter. Additionally, Jeannie was observed to show the capacity for differentiated responses and interactions with both parents. The observer commented, "I was impressed overall in the feeding sequence, first with the spirit of cooperation evident between the two parents, and second, with the high spirits of the baby, which seemed to extend to both parents equally."

The parallels in this case between the husband-wife and parent-child interaction models is striking. A marital interaction model which combines interdependence and independence appears to have been replicated in parent-child transactions which permit autonomy and mutuality, differentiation and relatedness to coexist between the baby and both of her parents.

As was the case in the previous visit, Jessica's behavior in the one play interaction constituted one exception to the above observation. Again, she was noted to show a certain overplayfulness bordering on intrusiveness, which was not seen to be optimally encouraging

of individuation. This time Jessica engaged Jeannie in a game of propelling a wooden car with a pull string across the floor. She would say, "Go get it Jeannie, and Jeannie would run after the toy, pick up the string and pull it back to her mother. After three repetitions, Jessica was laughing, excited and eager to continue, while Jeannie became fretful and turned resistent, "arching her back and throwing herself to the floor". Jessica seemingly determined to show the observer her daughter's repertoire of accomplishments, initiated another game, in which she rolled the ball across the floor, and urged Jeannie to chase it and bring it back. This time mother raced with her daughter; Jeannie on her feet, Jessica on her knees. The mother's introduction of competition into the play situation, along with her determination to exhibit Jeannie's accomplishments to the observer, seems to confirm the hypothesis offered earlier, that this high-achieving mother might be somewhat unconsciously letting her own need for achievement take precedence over her daughter's need to express her initiative and autonomy.

With the one exception noted above, however, Jessica was generally appropriately encouraging of her daughter's initiative. During an outdoor excursion, for example, she was observed to allow Jeannie adequate freedom to explore and run about, while still remaining close to her so that she could "check back" for periodic refueling.

This case thus illustrates the ways in which two highly individ-uated parents are able to translate a marital interaction model char-acterized by an integration of differentiation and relatedness into parent-child transactions during the first postnatal year. In general,

from birth on, both parents were observed to show a developmentally appropriate balance between behaviors that promoted attachment and relatedness, and behaviors that promoted greater differentiation and autonomy. The baby's own self-development mirrored the parental interaction model in that she showed progressively more autonomous behaviors without any decline in social responsivity. The infant's self-development at one year was summed up as follows: "Overall she presented a picture of a darling child who was very well cared for and seems to have high self-esteem, intelligence, energy and sparkle". The high degree of responsivity and alertness of this very well-endowed baby also undoubtedly contributed to the near-optimal parenting that she elicited.

C H A P T E R   V I

DISCUSSION

The major purpose of this study was to investigate the relation-
ship between data concerning pre-birth marital and parental separation-
individuation and data concerning postnatal infant self-development
and parent-infant transactions during the first postnatal year. In
this chapter, research findings, both quantitative and qualitative,
will be summarized across hypotheses in a way that highlights their
significance for the central research concepts and theoretical
foundations of this study. Three major alternative interpretations
of the data will be offered which take into account the methodological
limitations of the study. Research findings will be discussed in
terms of their contribution to theory building, and specifically to
the integration of psychoanalytic theory with developmental research.
Finally, suggestions and plans for future research and data analysis
will be presented.

Summary of Quantitative Research Findings

It was hypothesized that the concept of separation-individuation
would be a useful organizing construct for investigating the linkages
between pre-birth parental and marital characteristics and postnatal
infant and family development during the first postnatal year. The
separation-individuation of parents individually and within the
marriage was expected to predict aspects of infant self-development
and parent-infant transactions, including the quality of empathic

connectedness and separation-individuation in the parent-child rela-
tionship.

More specifically, it was thought that the pre-birth individuation
profile, represented by an average of the parental and marital individ-
uation ratings, would predict the interaction between parent encourage-
ment of infant separation-individuation, and infant attainment of sense
of separate self at 6 and 12 months. It was also predicted that the
pre-birth individuation profile would be significantly related to
the quality of the parents' affectionate responsiveness to infant
needs, and to the infant's corresponding expectation of being cared
for and sense of positive self or narcissism. The relationship
between the prenatal individuation of the couple, and the postnatal
infant and parent-infant transactions was expected to vary signifi-
cantly for mothers, fathers and infants at different developmental
points. A differential impact of maternal and paternal individuation
on infant self-development was expected at different developmental
points, with mother's individuation playing a stronger predictive
role at 6 months, and father's individuation emerging as an equal if
not stronger predictor at the 12 month point, especially of promotion
of infant separateness and autonomy.

The findings indicated that the construct of separation-
individuation has explanatory and predictive power for the study of
infant and family development during the first postnatal year. Multi-
variate analyses indicated that the pre-birth individuation profile
of the couple significantly predicted all infant and mother-infant
transactional ratings across both 6 and 12 months. That pre-birth

couple individuation did not similarly predict father-infant transactional ratings was thought to be in part a result of the decreased and nonrepresentative nature of the sample of fathers who were included in these analyses.

The more specific univariate tests indicated that the pre-birth individuation category significantly predicted the cluster of ratings that assessed the quality of empathic connectedness between parent and infant, as well as the cluster that assessed the capacity of parents to move their infants towards autonomy and mastery of the environment. The pre-birth individuation category reflected the quality of the parents' affection at 6 and 12 months for mothers and fathers, and the level of parental responsivity to infant need for mothers at 6 months and fathers at 12 months. The parents' capacity for affectionate responsiveness, which was significantly anticipated by the quality of the pre-birth individuation profile, was reflected in infant's expectation of being cared for and sense of positive self at 6 and 12 months. Univariate tests also indicated that while the pre-birth individuation category predicted the infant's sense of separate self at 6 and 12 months, it predicted the interplay of parent promotion of individuation and infant attainment of separate self only for mothers at the six month time period. However, a significant relationship was found between the pre-birth individuation profile and the parents' capacity to move the infant towards mastery of the environment for fathers at 6 months and for mothers at 12 months. Although pre-birth couple individuation significantly predicted parental behaviors promoting infant autonomy and separateness at both

observation points, the most definitive finding was the specific linkage between pre-birth family individuation profile and postnatal separation-individuation promoted by the mother and attained by the infant at the 6 month point.

The centrality of mother's 6-month promotion of individuation for early infant and family development was further highlighted by two subsequent analyses. Father presence or absence was found to significantly predict the quality of mother's 6-month encouragement of infant separation-individuation regardless of the level of individuation of the father. In the multiple regression setting, mother's 6-month encouragement of infant separation-individuation emerged as the only mother-infant transactional rating that was predicted by neither mother nor father individuation alone, but by the shared component of both. The quality of the mother's 6-month encouragement of infant individuation thus appeared to involve triadic (mother-father-infant) as well as dyadic (mother-infant) transactions.

That early family and infant development results from a complex configuration of father-mother-infant transactions is suggested by additional findings from the multiple regression analyses. While mother pre-birth individuation tended to predict postnatal mother-infant transactions, and father's pre-birth individuation predicted postnatal father-infant transactions, infant self-development at 6 months was significantly related to the pre-birth individuation ratings of both mothers and fathers.

At 12 months, the family transactional picture changed consider-ably. The mother's pre-birth individuation emerged as the strongest

predictor of the majority of infant and parent-infant transactional ratings, _father_ as well as mother. Perhaps more striking is the finding that father pre-birth individuation has a negative input into mother's 12 month responsiveness to infant need and encouragement of separation-individuation. At 12 months, the partial correlations indicated that if mother individuation is held constant, the lower the individuation of the father, the greater the evidence of mother's responsiveness to infant need and encouragement of separation-individuation; or conversely, the more highly individuated the husband, the less the evidence of mothers' responsiveness to infant need and encouragement of separation-individuation at 12 months. The above finding points towards family systems characteristics for these ratings, if only at the correlational level. Since we know that the quality of father's pre-birth individuation is significantly related to the quality of his responsiveness to infant need at 12 months, we might surmise that highly individuated fathers take over more of the direct parenting roles and functions at this time period. This increased father participation in caretaking in turn may account for the lesser evidence of mother's responsiveness to infant need and encouragement of separation-individuation at 12 months.

The above findings are enhanced and amplified by the qualitative findings which are summarized below.

Summary of Qualitative Research Findings

In this study qualitative analyses provided a method of exploration for initial research concepts that could not be analyzed through

quantitative methods either because certain variables were not quantified, or because of the methodological limitations of some of the ratings. Although qualitative findings do not lend themselves to concise summary and categorization, it is possible to delineate some major themes and trends in the data that support the initial research concepts, particularly those that were subject only minimally or not at all to quantitative analysis. The initial research concept which stipulated the transgenerational transmission of primary object relations and patterns of separation-individuation was explored primarily through qualitative clinical analysis of the data. The study yielded a multigenerational picture of the families' separation-individuation patterns in that it included data, both quantitative (numerical ratings) and qualitative (clinical case study accounts) on 1) the parents' recollections of their own parents' encouragement of separateness and autonomy; 2) the quality of the individual parents' sense of individuated self; 3) the degree of separation-individuation in the marital relationship; 4) the parents' promotion of separation-individuation for their infant; and 5) the infant's attainment of sense of separate self.

Quantitative statistical analyses based on numerical ratings of the above provided a skeletal structure for in-depth qualitative portraits of family matrices in which patterns of primary object relations and separation-individuation are transgenerationally transmitted. Qualitative clinical analyses of family case studies and naturalistic observational process accounts revealed the subtleties and variations of the ways in which individuals translate their own

resolutions of separation-individuation into new patterns of separateness and connectedness in the new family group. Qualitative analyses also revealed that the extent to which couples in this study were able to integrate differentiation and relatedness within the context of an intimate dyadic relationship depended not only on the degree of separation-individuation achieved in relation to the parental objects, but also on the nature and quality of the parental introjects.

In the case of the transitional couple, for example, the reprojection and sharing of pathogenic internalized parental objects contributed to the poor quality of individuation within the husband-wife and parent-child relationships. The mother in this case (Maria) recreated a negative parental interaction model characterized by chronic paternal withdrawal and chronic maternal dissatisfaction, in her own marital relationship. Similarly, in the case of the symbiotic couple, the mother's (Polly's) overly enmeshed relationship with her own mother was reflected in her inability to tolerate autonomous strivings on the part of either her husband or her infant son.

That the transgenerational transmission of patterns of separation-individuation may occur outside of conscious awareness or intent is perhaps most strikingly illustrated by the case of the ambivalently autonomous couple. In this case, the mother (Rachel) was observed to curtail her infant son's strivings towards autonomy and separateness by, among other things, severely restricting his crawling at 6 months. Her overcontrol of her infant son reflected her own holocaust survivor parents' fears and anxieties, which were reported to have inhibited her own individuation in ways that she was unwittingly repeating.

Even in the case of the highly individuated couple, some evidence of transgenerational repetition was noted. Mother (Jessica) in this case was observed to transmit a transgenerational pressure towards autonomy and achievement (which she herself had experienced in her family of origin) to her infant daughter by engaging her in competitive games and by her overly enthusiastic investment in her daughter's accomplishments.

While the case studies provide considerable evidence for the transgenerational repetition of patterns of separateness and connectedness, they also suggest that the formation of new dyads provides a matrix in which new patterns of separation-individuation may be formed. The couples in this study differed considerably in the extent to which they were capable of using the experience of marriage and the transition to parenthood to advance their own individuation. In the case of the disengaged couple, for example, the partners' capacity to find mutually satisfactory ways of being together and apart declined from the prenatal to the postnatal period. A pre-birth marital interactional pattern of ambivalent vacillation between separateness and connectedness degenerated during the first postnatal year into emotional disengagement in the parent-child and husband-wife relationship. For the ambivalently individuated couple, by contrast, the experience of shared parenting led to a deepening of mutuality and intimacy in the couple relationship, and to some attentuation of the chronic ambivalent fluctuations around the balance between separateness and togetherness that were observed in the pre-birth assessments. Qualitative findings thus suggest that the extent to which the transition to parenthood catalyzes further individuation for the partners and

within the marriage is an important and neglected aspect of early family development.

It was clear from this study that the experience of parenthood causes an intensification of conflicts around separation-individuation, the resusitation of identifications with parental objects, and a reworking of partial or inadequate resolutions of negative object relations for both fathers and mothers in the study. The extent to which the transition to parenthood stimulated further individuation for the fathers was found to have implications for the quality of the father's participation in parenting, which in turn was observed to affect the quality of mother-infant interactions and infant self-development. In some cases, the father's capacity to use the transition to parenthood to rework past negative object relationships or to overcome ambivalence about the mutuality/autonomy dialectic surpassed that of their spouse. For example, the fathers in the transitional and ambivalently autonomous couples (Carl and Jacob, respectively) were able to overcome their pre-birth relational stance of defensive distance and detachment to form strong and robust attachments with their infants. Their capacity to do so clearly compensated for the more ambivalent mother-infant attachments noted in these families, and greatly enhanced their infants' self-development.

Even in the cases where the father's individuation did not show marked improvement from the prenatal to the postnatal period, the father's consistent participation in parenting alone was observed to have positive consequences for infant individuation. In the case of

the unequally individuated couple, for example, although the father was noted to be overcontrolling, his consistent involvement with and responsivity to his infant daughter compensated for brief lapses in mother's capacity to provide optimal parenting including optimal separation-individuation experiences. Regardless of father's level of individuation, his participation in parenting clearly had positive consequences for infant self-development. In contrast to much of the current literature on father participation, which focuses on the father's role in promoting infant separation-individuation (Abelin, 1975; Henderson, 1982), our research findings suggest that the father's role in providing an additional and in some cases compensatory source of nurturance equals, if not surpasses, his role as a promoter of infant autonomy and separateness at 12 months. Indeed, our findings suggest that parental responsivity to infant need at 12 months in the form of increased participation in direct caretaking may in fact function as the first stage in paternal promotion of infant separation-individuation in that it provides an additional source of nurturance outside the mother-infant orbit.

Finally, the qualitative findings provide evidence for another unquantified research concept that variabilities in infant temperament and basic endowment contribute significantly to the quality of the parenting, including both nurturance and separation-individuation, provided by the parents. The infant's individual temperament clearly interacts with parental and marital characteristics to determine the quality of early family development. In the case of the narcissistic couple, for example, the infant showed a propensity towards defensive

inward turning and listless withdrawal early on, which no doubt
further limited the parents' capacity to overcome their own self-
absorption. By contrast, in the case of the transitional couple,
the baby showed a vigorous capacity to persist in eliciting and
extracting whatever emotional nourishment and stimulation was
sporadically provided by her parents. Even the formation of a false
self, which was suggested by the infant's somewhat mechanical compli-
ance with parental demands, represented an adaptive way of surviving
mother's capricious and at times cruel parenting. Finally, the
precocious cognitive, motor, and social/interactive capacities of the
infant born to the highly individuated couple no doubt contributed
to the optimal parenting that she received.

Interpretation of Research Findings

Three major interpretations of the findings will be presented
which attempt to integrate both quantitative and qualitative analyses.
Initially, this study set out to investigate the impact of parental
and marital individuation on aspects of early infant and family
development, with a specific focus on the separation-individuation
process. The results suggest that this original focus on a specific
link between pre-birth parental and marital individuation and postnatal
separation-individuation, both promoted by the parents and attained by
the infant, was perhaps too narrow and too linear a conceptualization.
The first and most conservative interpretation of the data suggests
that the findings reveal not a direct or immediate association between
pre-birth parental and marital individuation and postnatal infant

separation-individuation, but a generalized impact of the pre-birth individuation profile on family adaptation during the first postnatal year. This first interpretation would also suggest that the pre- and postnatal measures were not refined enough to differentiate among distinct but related aspects of infant and parent-infant functioning, but were highly effective in capturing specific profiles of early family adaptation. While the individuation ratings, both pre- and postnatal, were designed to capture indices of differentiation and relatedness within the husband-wife and parent-child relationships, they may in fact be measuring the quality of the adaptive functioning of the individual parents, i.e., their general ego adaptation-competence and their overall marital adaptation. According to this interpretation, the differences which emerged in the pattern of linkages between pre-birth family individuation profile and postnatal infant and parent-infant transactions were accidental. The main finding is indeed a broad, but highly significant and valid association between the initial differentiation of the families based on pre-birth individuation profile and the postnatal ratings of family and infant development.

The first and most parsimonious interpretation is supported by the lack of differentiation among the ratings within the pre- and postnatal data domains as well as by the results of the repeated measures analyses of variance which indicated a highly significant main effect of global individuation category across all postnatal ratings and for both time periods for mothers and infants, with no significant effects for specific ratings. These quantitative findings

are supported by the qualitative case studies, and particularly by the case of the narcissistic and individuated couples (cases 1 and 7, respectively). Both of these cases illustrate in greater depth the interpretation that pre-birth couple adaptation globally predicts the quality of postnatal family adaptation, including all aspects of infant self-development and parent-infant transactions assessed in this study. In the case of the narcissistic couple, two poorly individuated parents with a marital pattern that combined infantile dependency and defensive distancing were largely incapable of maintaining empathic connectedness with their child or of viewing him as an individual apart from their own narcissistic needs and projections. As a result, all aspects of infant self-development were observed to be severely impaired. By contrast, in the case of the highly individuated couple, pre-birth parental and marital individuation was reflected in postnatal parent-child transactions which permitted autonomy and mutuality to co-exist between the baby and both parents. In the latter case, the infant's own self-development mirrored the parental interaction model in that awareness of self and autonomous functioning developed simultaneously with a growing awareness of and responsivity to the other.

The interpretation that prenatal individuation is indicative of overall couple adaptation and predicts postnatal adaptation in a global fashion to some extent dilutes the specificity of the separation-individuation ratings as capturing the quality of the self-other differentiation in the individual parents, and the quality of differentiation and relatedness in the marriage. However, it may be

that these dimensions contribute heavily to a generalized adaptation in the individual, the marriage and the transition to parenthood. The latter point is given support by the investigations of Raush, Goodrich, and Campbell (1963). In a pilot study of early family development, Raush et al. used the concept of adaptation as a general organizing construct to investigate the ways in which couples coped with the developmental tasks of marriage and the initiation to parent-hood. Moreover, the concept of adaptation was thought by the researchers to encompass processes "such as negotiating a balance between individual autonomy and mutuality" (Raush, Goodrich, and Campbell, 1963, p. 37).

According to this first interpretation, then, the pre-birth individuation ratings are measuring a generalized adaptive capacity both within the individual parents and the marital relationship which is reflected in broad indices of child and parent-child functioning. This generalized adaptive capacity includes, but is not limited to the quality of each partner's sense of individuated self and the extent of separation-individuation which characterizes the marriage.

That a correspondence between the degree of separation-individuation both promoted by the parent and attained by the infant was found at one developmental point suggests that this first parsimonious interpretation may not be sufficient. At 6 months, the mother's encourgement of infant separation-individuation and infant attainment of sense of separate self were both significantly predicted by the pre-birth individuation profile. Moreover, subse-quent findings indicated that there were family systems characteris-

tics which determined the quality of the mother's 6-month encouragement of separation-individuation. The salience of the father's presence for optimal mother encouragement of infant individuation at 6 months indicates that the latter is in part determined by husband-wife as well as parent-child transactions. Additionally, the fact that the shared component of mother and father pre-birth individuation best predicts mother's postnatal encouragement of infant individuation again indicates that mother is representing a systems characteristic through her individuation promoting behaviors at 6 months.

Previous research supports this formulation of the data. Parke (Parke, O'Leary, and West, 1976) have found that in the presence of the spouse, parents showed a significantly higher level of exploratory behavior with the infant. They hypothesized that parents verbally stimulate each other by focusing each other's attention on aspects of infant behavior, which then leads to direct exploration with the infant to test out aspects of behavior noted by the other.

The centrality of mother's 6 month encouragement of infant separation-individuation for this study, as well as the family transactional component of this rating, suggests that the mother acts as a conduit for the individuation resources of the family at the crucial developmental point of 6 months. It was thought that in the first half of the first postnatal year the mother's active promotion of separation-individuation, the quality of which is in part dependent on the presence and availability of the husband, sets in motion the conditions for the infant's emerging selfhood. At 6 months, the infant's beginning self-other differentiation is observable

in the acceleration of the sense of agency, and in the tentative exploratory moves outside of the mother-infant orbit. The quality of the separateness versus connectedness in the infant-mother relationship is thus particularly observable at this developmental point.

After 6 months, the active action of the parent fades into the background, while infant initiative and sense of agency increases with the advent of expanded motor and ego capacities at the one year point. Although not directly observable, as indicated by the fact that the pre-birth individuation profile did <u>not</u> predict parent promotion of separation-individuation at 12 months, the quality of parental and marital individuation may continue to be one of the conditions that leads to infant sense of separate self at one year, which indeed was predicted by the pre-birth individuation profile. After the 6 month point parental and marital individuation may continue to function as a context variable, not directly observable in parent-infant trans-actions, but no less powerful and sustaining. In other words, it was thought that certain kinds of parent-child associations are evident at certain time points in the actual interactions, but may become less pronounced at other developmental stages so that they are not directly observable in the actual behaviors and thus are not reflected in the global ratings that are based on those behaviors. We might hypothesize, then, that a system of promoting (or failing to promote) individuation has been initiated at 6 months--a system which is self-perpetuating, although it may not be directly observable in parent-child transactions.

The interpretation that the individuation resources of the couple

are funneled through the mother at the crucial developmental point of
6 months is best illustrated by the case of the symbiotic couple
(case 3). In this case, the mother's lack of differentiation in
relation to her own family of origin led to difficulties in tolerating
autonomy and separateness within both the husband-wife and parent-child
relationships. The overdependency in the husband-wife relationship
(which mirrored the mother's relationship with her own mother) was
recreated in her too great investment in her infant as a vegetative,
dependent being which deprived him of any opportunity to initiate or
to exercise autonomy at the crucial developmental point of 6 months.
The mother's inability to pick up on and reinforce the infant's
initiating gestures, which was most clearly observed at the 6 rather
than the 12 month point, led to some submersion of the infant's
strivings towards self-assertion during the first postnatal year.
While the mother was observed to allow her infant a greater degree
of separateness and autonomy at 12 months, her inability to do so at
6 months continued to have negative implications for infant self-
development at the 12 month point.

The previous two interpretations suggest that if both parents
have reached a high level of ego functioning and relationship capacity
as assessed by the pre-birth individuation profile, then we get both
a more optimal overall profile of parenting during the first postnatal
year and a more optimal separation-individuation process for the infant
at 6 months. Both of these latter indices of optimal early family
development appear to depend in part on the ways in which parenting
is shared within the couple relationship. A third interpretation thus

focuses on the ways in which the pre-birth individuation profile is related to the quality of complementariness in the couple's parenting process.

This latter interpretation of the findings is given support by the particular configuration of significant links between prenatal family individuation profile and the postnatal parent-child transactions. It will be recalled that the postnatal parent-child transactional ratings were designed to cover four related, but distinct aspects of optimal parenting: affection, responsivity to need, separation-individuation, and cognitive stimulation. The findings indicate that at each developmental point, the parents tend to cover these four crucial dimensions of parenting in complementary ways. To be more specific, at 6 months, pre-birth individuation predicted the mother's affection and responsivity to need (as well as encouragement of separation-individuation and cognitive/environmental stimulation) and the father's cognitive/environmental stimulation (as well as affection). At 12 months, however, the pre-birth individuation profile predicted the quality of the mother's promotion of cognitive/environmental stimulation (as well as affection) and the quality of the father's affection and responsivity to need. Thus, at 6 months mothers appeared to be the primary affectionate responders, while at 12 months they emerged as the primary promoters of autonomy through providing cognitive/environmental stimulation for the infant. For fathers, this pattern was reversed. Fathers appeared to be most involved in providing cognitive/environmental stimulation for their infants at 6 months, while at 12 months they became more directly involved in

responding to infant need.

These findings suggest that the nature of complementarity in parenting shifts from 6 to 12 months. Whereas the father is more the stimulator at 6 months, he becomes more the affectionate responder at 12 months, while the mother, who at 6 months is both affectionate responder and promoter of autonomy, shifts her relational focus more towards encouragement of infant separateness, autonomy and mastery of the environment at 12 months. The case of the highly individuated couple specifically illustrates this point. At 6 months, a high level of affection for the infant was noted on the part of the father, but he remained somewhat on the periphery of the mother-infant dyad, limiting his involvement in direct infant caretaking, and engaging with the infant primarily around stimulating play activities. At 12 months, by contrast, the father took a more active caretaking role as evident in his insistence on feeding the baby, while mother was observed to encourage her daughter's autonomous functioning and mastery of the environment by engaging her in competitive games. The pre-birth couple individuation profile thus anticipated not only the quality of separateness and connectedness that parents were able to foster for their infants at different developmental points, but also the quality of the complementarity in their parenting process.

The above interpretation is also supported by the correlational findings which indicate that if we pitch mother's individuation at the same level, the more individuated the husband, the less the evidence for mother's responsiveness to need and encouragement of separation-individuation at 12 months. On the basis of this finding,

we might hypothesize that mothers who are married to relatively highly individuated husbands (who become more directly responsive to infant need at 12 months) are able to let go of their primary preoccupation with the infant at 12 months because their husbands become more directly involved with infant caretaking at this developmental point.

This intriguing and unexpected finding is illustrated by two cases. In the case of the transitional couple, in which the father was relatively highly individuated as compared to the mother, a lesser involvement in all aspects of parenting was observed on the part of the mother at 12 months. At 6 months, the mother was most directly involved in both responding to infant need and in promoting individuation, although she was noted to be deficient in both areas. She fed the infant competently but in a way that limited the infant's capacity for initiative, and played with the infant as though she were a little doll who would mechanically conform to her whims. Despite the poor quality of mother's parenting, she was still the primary caretaker for the infant, although affection between father and daughter was evident in the high degree of mutual gaze between them. At 12 months, however, father became more directly responsive to infant need, sharing his breakfast with his daughter when mother failed to provide an adequate one, while mother was observed to remain somewhat on the periphery of the mother-father-infant triadic interactions. Indeed she was absent altogether for the last 15 minutes of the visit. In the case of the unequally individuated couple, the opposite pattern was noted. At 12 months, several of the triadic mother-father-infant transactions illustrated that in the presence

of a relatively less individuated husband, the mother was observed to redouble her efforts both to promote separation-individuation and to respond to infant need in ways that appeared compensatory. For example, when father attempted to maintain control of the feeding process in a way that left little room for infant initiative, mother insisted that the baby needed to practice feeding herself. Similarly, when father interfered with the baby's attempts to push herself on her scooter, mother again intervened, admonishing father for not allowing the baby to exercise her autonomy.

Thus, in situations where the father is not well individuated, the mother must continue to be highly responsive to infant need and highly encouraging of infant individuation in ways that are perhaps compensatory. Previous research lends support to this interpretation of the data. For example, Grossman et al. (1976) found that mothers tend to refocus their emotional energy and attention from the infant to the marital dyad at one year, with some attenuation in the intensity of their involvement with the infant, while fathers tend to increase their involvement with the infant at the one year point. Also relevant to an understanding of why there might be less evidence of maternal responsivity to need and individuation-promoting behaviors in the presence of a relatively highly individuated spouse are the findings of the Berkeley Becoming a Family Project. This longitudinal study of couple relationships during the transition to parenthood (Curtis-Boles, 1983) showed that as the infant begins to individuate, the mother's satisfaction with the relational self is greatest when she de-emphasized the parent role and re-invested in the partner (if

the partner assumes child care responsibilities at this point), while the father showed a higher level of satisfaction with the relational self when he became more directly involved in the parenting process.

The results discussed above, both from the current and similar studies, suggest one further related interpretation. It appears that in anticipating the quality of complementariness in the parenting process, the pre-birth individuation profile also anticipates the patterns of separateness and connectedness in the postnatal marital relationship. The ways in which parents split parenting roles and functions is thought to be inevitably bound up with the ways in which they negotiate issues of differentiation and relatedness, autonomy and mutuality.

In this study we thus reified certain aspects of pre-birth parental and marital functioning that were found to be related to aspects of early family and infant development, including the quality of the family's generalized adaptation, the level of complementariness in the couples' parenting process, and the quality of the separation-individuation process as catalyzed by the mother at the 6 month point. The underlying theme in all three interpretations of the data is the family transactional perspective which stipulates that early parent-infant interactions cannot be studied and understood apart from individual and marital characteristics, the parents' own family of origin experiences, and most importantly, the configuration of triadic mother-father-infant transactions. The first and most parsimonious interpretation indicates that pre-birth parental and marital character-

istics influence postnatal family development in a global adaptive manner. The second interpretation focuses on a particular nodal expression of the family system, mother's 6-month encouragement of separation-individuation, which could not be understood apart from the quality of the husband-wife relationship and the father's presence or absence. Finally, the observed complementariness in the parenting process was predicted by the pre-birth individuation profile and was strongly determined by the father's pre-birth individuation, which emerged as a central determining factor of mother-child transactions at 12 months. All three interpretations differentiate certain systems characteristics, and particularly the impact of the husband-wife relationship on parent-infant transactions. These findings and the above interpretation thereof should be considered in the light of the methodological limitations of the study which are discussed below.

Limitations of the Study

The following limitations of the study are enumerated for the purpose of enhancing understanding and generalizability of the findings. Many of the methodological limitations and possible con-founding factors mentioned below are endemic to small sample research with human subjects and were beyond the statistical or design control of the study. One major limitation of the study was the size of the sample, and the missing data which further reduced the subject pool in certain analyses. Because of missing data and unequal $\underline{N}$s, estimating procedures were used, such as the use of pair-wise deletion to estimate partial correlations from residuals in the multiple regression

analyses, which may have introduced some slight distortion of the results. Another methodological weakness of the study related to the size of the sample was the lack of controls for age, length of marriage, socioeconomic status, race and ethnicity, which potentially increased the confounding or mediating variables.

The inclusion of a small percentage of minority couples in this study was thought to constitute a methodological problem for the following reason. The concept of separation-individution reflects the white middle-class norms of a nuclear family-based culture which emphasizes self-development and couple autonomy from the extended family unit. The couples in this group were seen to be in conflict between the dominant cultural norms and the emphasis on family loyalty and cohesion over individual choice and autonomy represented in the extended family-based Black, Asian, and Hispanic cultures. Without exception, the minority couples tended to show a pattern wherein one spouse remained highly enmeshed with the extended family, placing loyalty to family of origin over commitment to spouse, while the other spouse advocated for greater autonomy and independence from the nuclear unit. Previous research has highlighted the high degree of conflict which such a dyadic configuration produces. Goodrich (1960) comments that "the conjunction of American culture with this kind of marriage contains the seeds of future conflict between husband and wife" (p. 421). Since the perceived deficit in individuation among the minority couples were thought to be inseparable from the cultural conflicts described above, they were excluded (with one exception of an interracial couple) from the qualitative case analyses.

Methodological limitations resulted from the rating procedures and general philosophy of measurement used in the study, as well as from the nature of the sample. Both pre-birth parental and marital separation-individuation ratings and postnatal parent-infant transactional ratings were based on a clinical profile concept which drew on the rater's capacities for empathic introspective immersion in the data (Kohut, 1977). The strengths and limitations of this approach, as well as attempts to increase its reliability, were discussed in Chapter III. The pre- and postnatal ratings were obtained independently by two sets of raters, both of whom were trained in clinical observational methods. While the results suggested meaningful relationships _between_ the pre- and postnatal data domains, the nature of the differentiation _within_ the two data domains was not high. Although anticipated for theoretical reasons, the high intercorrelation was thought to be in part a result of rating procedures.

Additionally, the prenatal marital and parental individuation ratings were based on separate scales, but were done by the same raters who were not blind to the study hypotheses, which may have introduced some systematic bias into the results. However, since a considerable amount of data on the marital relationship was included in the indivdual interviews, this procedure was both desirable and unavoidable for the current study. Some bias may also have been introduced by the raters' procedure of looking at the mother's video-taped pre-birth interview before reviewing the father's audiotaped pre-birth interview. It was thought that the more powerful impression of the mother derived from the more effective videotape condtion may

have unduly biased the rater's impression of the fathers which were based on the more ambiguous audiotape condition. The specificity of the subratings, which covered concrete dimensions, conceivably reduced the possibility for such rater bias. The decision to base the primary data analyses on an average of the three pre-birth individuation ratings was made in part because of the awareness that the intercorrelation among the three ratings may have been in part a measurement phenomenon.

The postnatal ratings were done by a separate team of observers who assessed the total functioning of the child and family from different but intercorrelated aspects. Although the raters were blind to the study hypotheses, here again rating procedures may have affected the results and especially the autocorrelation of the postnatal infant and parent-infant transactional ratings. All eight postnatal ratings (infant, mother and father) were done by the same raters, and this undoubtedly enhanced their intercorrelation. If we had had eight different raters making separate ratings for mothers, fathers and infants during each postnatal observation, the intercorrelation of ratings in the postnatal data domain might not have been as high. Such a procedure was not employed, however, not only because it was considered to be unwieldy, but because it was thought to be fundamentally detrimental to the emergence of a trusting relationship between observer and family that might permit the emergence of reliable and valid data.

Several unpredicted findings suggested some possible limitations in the parental and marital individuation ratings themselves. That

the moderately individuated group was found to be significantly lower than either the high or low individuation groups on several of the postnatal variables, particularly the quality of mother's affection at 12 months, indicates that in some cases the ratings were unable to penetrate beyond the defensive structure of the individual. The validity of the individuation profile might have been enhanced had projective psychological test data been used along with the global clinical individuation ratings. Of particular relevance would have been projective test data (Rorschach and TAT) scored according to the object relations scoring system developed by Blatt (1976) which assesses the level of object representation and the degree of self-other differentiation. Although it is thought that in general the global clinical ratings successfully assessed the level of separation-individuation within the individual parents and the marriage, the use of standardized data would have contributed to a more precise picture of the couples' pre-birth separation-individuation profile. Because of the above limitations, the results should be considered suggestive and the instrument exploratory in nature.

Theoretical Implications

The above interpreted findings point toward some revisions of psychoanalytic developmental theory, which must be considered exploratory given the methodological limitations of the study which limit generalizability of the findings. Despite the limitations of the study, its implications for theory are discussed under the assumption that empirical research on early parent-infant interaction may

make an important contribution to the clarification and amplification of psychoanalytic theories concerning the structuring of the child's intrapsychic and affective life--particularly theories which focus on the ontogenesis of the self, narcissism, and its disorders. Before outlining specific ways in which the findings of this study contribute to an elaboration of psychoanalytic research, a brief word about the importance of an integration of the two perspectives is in order.

In recent years, empirical research on mother-infant interaction has led to some questioning of theories of emotional development that have been derived from psychoanalytic research. This has especially been the case since both recent psychoanalytic thought and mother-infant interaction research have concerned themselves with the earliest and least accessible stages of infancy. Despite their common interest in early developmental stages and processes, however, relatively few developmental researchers or psychoanalysts have attempted to relate recent empirical findings to more traditional psychoanalytic under-standings of the emotional development of infants and young children. The lack of integrative efforts between the two groups may be attributed to a profound methodological suspicion that each has of the other. Infant researchers have been particularly critical of psychoanalysts' tendency towards adultomorphism, or the tendency to use the empathic exploration of adult unconscious experience as a legitimate tool in the development of hypotheses about the world of the infant. Developmental researchers for the most part deplore

> ...the adultomorphization of infancy and the tendency
> to characterize early stages of normal development in
> terms of hypotheses about later stages of psychopath-

ology. Early infancy is described as a state of
"fusion", "narcissism", and "omnipotence". The
terms "autism" and "symbiosis"...are used to char-
acterize normal infantile states. ...Finally, the
infant is described as "disoriented" and even as
"delusional", e.g., as having a delusion of "common
boundary between self and mother" (Peterfreund, 1978,
p. 427).

Many developmental researchers believe that since there is no empirical

evidence to support any of these concepts and no conceivable way of

collecting such evidence, the concepts themselves should be eliminated.

Psychoanalysts on the other hand, who are accustomed to forming

ideas about infancy and childhood from what they find in the analysis

of adult patients, tend to focus on the limitations of direct observa-

tion, and to insist that the complexities of intrapsychic and emotional

development can only be inferred from empathic introspection in the

psychoanalytic situation. "In our analytic work, with the help of

our developing concepts, we get deeper and deeper," comments Winnicott

(1957). "We are able to see and use transference phenomena that

relate to deeper and deeper elements in the emotional development of

our patients" (p. 111). Winnicott, however, criticizes his fellow

analysts for equating what is deeper with what is earlier, cautioning

that "We have to take into account that with our analytic patients,

there has been a fusion of early with later developments" (p. 11).

Indeed, Winnicott (1957) calls for a synthesis of the two methods as

follows:

Psychoanalysis has much to learn from those who make
direct observations of infants, and of mothers and
infants together, and of small children in the
environment in which they naturally live. Also
direct observation is not able itself to construct
a psychology of early infancy. By constantly co-

> operating, analysts and direct observers may be able
> to correlate with what is deep in analysis with what
> is early in infancy (p. 114).

Thus insofar as both developmental researchers and psychoanalytically oriented clinicians are both still searching to understand the ontogenesis of the self, such an integration of findings from both developmental research and psychoanalytic practice is in order (Stechler, 1980). This is particularly the case because one source of difficulty in studying infancy is that the organization of the organism and the nature of its transactions with the environment are so radically different from those of the adult or young child, where the capacity for primitive symbolic functioning through locomotion, facial expression or object play provides some basis from which to draw conclusions about motivation and intrapsychic structure. The analysis of infant behaviors provided by developmental researchers who work in either observational or experimental methods, may provide "a route to psychic functioning in infancy analogous to play, free association, or the dream in the older child or adult" (Beebe and Stern, 1977, p. 36).

In the light of the above comments, two major areas in which this study contributes to some clarification and/or revision of psychoanalytic developmental theory will be discussed. The interrelatedness of all of the dimensions of optimal infant functioning, insofar as it is not an artifact of our rating procedures, points towards a clarification of a central debate in psychoanalytic theory about whether self-development (narcissism) and object relations proceed through one versus two developmental lines. Both quantitative and qualitative

analyses indicate that self-development grows out of a matrix of grati-
fying object relations, and conversely that the capacity for object
relations presupposes some sense of separateness and autonomy. This is
not to say that individual differences in infant temperament and self-
structure are not observed from birth on. Indeed, the findings
indicate that the infants in this study varied considerably in their
basic temperament, motor and cognitive capacities, but also in their
capacity to elicit basic caretaking and separation-individuation
experiences.

However, what was observed was that separation-individuation takes
place through increasingly differentiated interactions in relationship
to an empathic caregiver, who is able to simultaneously support infant
exploration and autonomy, while providing a secure relational base.
The formation of a secure attachment relationship appears to lay the
groundwork for moving away from the parental figures and promotes the
emergence of a separate and positive self. The research findings
suggest that the child's evolving sense of self develops in tandem
with a sense of the other. The strong relationship between infant
measures designed to assess the quality of the infant's object
relations (expectation of being cared for) and those that were
designed to assess self-development (sense of separate and positive
self) indicate that the development of narcissism and object relations
are highly interrelated, if distinct strands in a single developmental
spiral. The findings do not support a conceptualization of two
separate or parallel developmental lines: one of narcissism and self-
formation and one of object relations.

In addition to highlighting the importance of the quality of the primary object relations for the infant's separation-individuation process, the research findings also point towards some revisions of the current Mahlerian schema of the separation-individuation process. Our findings, both qualitative and quantitative, suggest that the separation-individuation process has been oversimplified by Mahler and centered at perhaps a too-advanced developmental stage. Mahler et al. (1975) conceptualize the separation-individuation process as beginning at the 6 month point, when the infant who was previously engrossed in a symbiotic mother-infant dual unity, begins his or her first tentative explorations beyond the nonmother world. Additionally, Mahler and associates hypothesize that early differentiation requires minimal individuation promoting behaviors on the parents' part, while the tasks of promoting individuation become relatively more complex at the practicing and rapprochement phases of the separation-individuation process.

The findings of this study challenge Mahler's notion both of the existence of a symbiotic phase during the first six months, and of the chronicity of the separation-individuation process. The data indicate that parent promotion of separation-individuation was a characteristic of optimal parenting from the earliest postnatal months. The qualitative case studies illustrated that the more integrated and individuated the parents, the more they were able both to promote an empathic connectedness with the infant and to provide separation-individuation experiences for the infant from birth on. We are reminded here of the highly individuated couples' promotion of

infant separateness through autonomous play at both the one and three month points, even while they maintained a quiet and loving watchfulness, signifying an ongoing libidinal availability. Conversely, the less individuated parents were observed to be unable to foster either differentiation or relatedness for the infant. Poorly individuated parents either inhibited infant individuation through their too great investment in the infant's vegetative, dependent characteristics, or through maintaining a detached and uninvolved stance in relation to the infant, which deprived him or her of any opportunity to experience an integrated self.

Research findings indicate that for some parent-infant pairs, the separation-individuation process begins quite distinctly at the three, and in some cases even the one, month point. The majority of the infants in the study showed the capacity to initiate interactions with mother, and to engage in autonomous play and explorations from the third postnatal month in a way that was indicative of some sense of separateness and autonomy. Whichever individuation pattern the families evidenced, however, it was clear that far from being the beginning point for mother-infant differentiation as Mahler hypothesizes, six months was a crucial nodal point in the separation-individuation process. The degree of separation-individuation both promoted by the parents (especially the mother) and attained by the infant at six months was seen to have consequences for the degree of separation-individuation at the one year point.

The findings of the current study are perhaps more congruent with the theoretical framework offered by Sander (1962) who conceptualizes

mother-infant interaction during the first half of the first postnatal year in terms of the establishment of <u>mutuality</u> rather than <u>symbiosis</u> between mother and infant. On the basis of his own longitudinal observational research, Sander (1962) hypothesizes that the degree of mutuality in the mother-infant relationship depends in part on "the balance the mother can maintain between her empathy with what she feels are the child's needs and her objectivity in viewing him as an individual apart from her own projections and displacements (p. 142). According to Sander, a measure of objectivity and separateness from the infant was thought to be essential to the mother's capacity to encourage individuation in the sense of picking up on the infant's "unique functional qualities" from birth on. Also consistent with this study is Sander's finding that the mother's capacity to achieve such a balance between empathy and objectivity was in turn observed by Sander to reflect her own pre-birth personality structure.

Implications for Future Research

Further research on the impact of pre-birth parental and marital separation-individuation on postnatal infant self-development and parent-infant transactions such as the parents' promotion of optimal separation-individuation experiences for the infant is of particular interest and significance for several reasons. First, studies such as the current one offer the possibility of using a prospective approach in studying the relationship between pre-birth parental and marital individuation, postnatal parental encouragement of individuation, and infant achievement of sense of separate self within a norma-

tive sample, as opposed to one in which psychopathology has occurred. Family-based studies which focus on patterns of separation-individuation are essential to increase our understanding of the relational conditions which lead to forms of psychopathology. The degree of separation-individuation, both of the individual partners and within the marital relationship, has emerged as a central dimension in previous research on the interaction patterns of families with a schizophrenic member (Bowen, 1965, 1966, 1968; Lidz et al., 1965; Wynne et al., 1958). Such families have been found to place an inordinate emphasis on family cohesion at the expense of individual separateness and self-differentiation. Additionally, parents in such families have been found to have low levels of separation-individuation vis-a-vis their own families of origin, and this lack of differentiation is reflected in the impaired individuation of their offspring.

In addition to offering the possibility for a prospective approach to the study of the development of psychopathology, studies such as the current one offer the possibility for further investigation of the constellation of family characteristics that might potentially engender psychopathology in one or more members. For example, based on previous research, most notably that by Raush et al. (1974), the current research incorporated aspects of couple communication into the assessment of marital separation-individuation. The communication measures used in this study globally assessed aspects of couple communication such as negativity, criticalness, lack of differentiation in point of view, projection of blame, and tendency to spread conflict even when confronted with a specific conflict. The importance of couple communi-

cation as an index to the degree of separation-individuation in the marital relationship is suggested by this study. Future research might examine the relationship between family individuation and more specific measures of communication, such as the degree of communication deviance in the parent-child and husband-wife interactions.

The findings of this study also have implications for future research with "normal" families, particularly around the ways in which crucial shifts in the family life cycle affect and are affected by the level of individuation both of the individual partners and within the marital relationship. The current research findings support previous research by Goodrich, Ryder, and Raush (1968) which indicates that the relative success that couples have in approaching the developmental tasks of marriage, particularly the negotiation of patterns of separateness and connectedness, as well as of patterns of communication, is to some extent determined by the level of separation-individuation from families of origin. Our findings suggest that future research should focus on the developmental phases of marriage, and the ways in which they recapitulate and affect the partner's separation-individuation process.

Future research within the UCLA Family Development Project will focus on the following areas: First, further data analysis will examine the impact of pre-birth parental and marital individuation on infant self-development and parent-infant transactions at two and three years. Although this study clearly demonstrates the salience of the couple's pre-birth individuation profile for infant development at 6 and 12 months, it is thought that at the two year point, when the

infant becomes a toddler and enters the rapprochement subphase, separation-individuation issues may emerge as even more significant for both parent and infant. Bergman (1982) has pointed out that 12 months is a transitional phase when the innate pressure towards maturation and autonomy fuels the infant's exploratory practicing. However, even at the one year point, the infant has had little awareness of separateness because of the supposed lack of separation between self-object images on the intrapsychic level. At 2 and 3 years, the increased awareness of separateness fuels the alternate clinging and distancing that characterizes the rapprochement subphase. It is predicted that parents' capacity to tolerate such rapprochement struggles on the part of their infants, and specifically to promote new experiences and autonomous activity as opposed to gratifying regressive desires while still remaining libidinally available, will be in part determined by their pre-birth level of individual and marital individuation. It may be that parental and marital individuation will emerge as direct predictors of parent promotion of infant separation-individuation, as opposed to context variables as was the case at one year.

Additionally, in accordance with the transactional perspective of the project, further data analysis will investigate the impact of pre-birth parental and marital individuation on a wide range of infant and parent-infant transactions. Most important will be an investigation of the relationships between the pre-birth individuation ratings and postnatal ratings derived from the Bayley test situation at 6, 12, and 24 months. The Bayley measures, which assess cognitive

development as well as parent-child transactions, provide a highly reliable and valid index to early infant development. The intercorrelation of the Bayley measure with the global child and parent-child transactional ratings will also be investigated.

Further data analysis is also indicated to investigate the strong intercorrelation between measures of parental and marital individuation, measures of ego adaptation, and measures of I.Q. and socioeconomic status (occupation, education and income). The strong correlations between measures of separation-individuation and ego adaptation on the one hand, and I.Q. and socioeconomic status on the other suggest that these two data domains have some construct connection. One current interpretation of these data is that ratings of separation-individuation, ego adaptation, and I.Q. represent the subjective correlates of class differentiation; that is to say, they present a profile of personality and cognitive functioning most likely to be class-linked (Heinicke, personal communication, August, 1984). Clearly, a complicated set of subjective and objective factors, including separation-individuation, determine the current level of ego adaptation, occupational adjustment, and educational attainment. The complex interrelation of these factors is currently being investigated through both path and multiple regression analyses.

The specific correlation between separation-individuation and I.Q. also deserves further investigation given current theoretical work and research on the interrelation between cognitive and socio-emotional development. Lester (1984), for example, has demonstrated a consistent parallel between separation-individuation stages as defined by Mahler,

and stages of cognitive growth described by Piaget as the development of sensorimotor intelligence. For example, in the first subphase of separation-individuation, differentiation, the child "hatches" from the mother-infant duality as the result of the gradual maturation of the sensations, which enables the child to direct cathexis outward. From the Piagetian point of view, this is the stage in which the child develops secondary schemata, or the capacity to coordinate vision and prehension (i.e., sensory visual stimuli from outside with proprio-ceptive stimuli from the muscles and tactile stimuli from the surface of the hand). In so doing the child discovers intentionality, which further facilitates self-other differentiation. In similar fashion, the Mahlerian stage of early practicing corresponds to Piaget's fourth stage of sensorimotor intelligence in which new behaviors are combined with more complex ones, and new motor patterns are used to discover new parts of reality. Practicing proper, with its strong and exhiliarating cathexis of motor skills, is inextricably intertwined with Piagetian tertiary circular reactions, or the capacity to conceptualize the object as existing independently of actions and thus to seek out new situations and experiences. The rapprochement subphase coincides with the sixth and last stage of sensorimotor intelligence--"the invention of new means through mental combinations" (Lester, 1984, p. 149). Finally, the development of object constancy in Mahlerian terms parallels the development of the capacity for symbolic thinking based on stable internalized mental representations and internalized action schematas (Fraiberg, 1969). The intercorrelation of phasic development along these two separate lines (objectal-affective and cognitive) suggest

that the process of the consolidation of self and object representations and the development of intelligence are inherently interrelated in ways that deserve further investigation.

In conclusion, it is thought that the findings of this study indicate the fruitfulness of operationalizing psychoanalytic concepts such as separation-individuation and applying them to research on early family development. The major problem for researchers who work within both psychoanalytic, and family systems and/or transactional perspectives is to develop a theoretical framework which can encompass concepts relating to both the intrapsychic, and the interpersonal and social realms. The use of separation-individuation as an organizing construct for the study of the impact of pre-birth parental and marital characteristics on postnatal infant and family development represents an attempt to develop such a comprehensive, guiding theoretical framework, which integrates data from disparate realms of observation--the intrapsychic as well as the interpersonal/ transactional. In spite of its methodological limitations, this study clearly demonstrated that early infant self-development and parent-infant transactions can not be studied and understood apart from the pre-birth personality structures of the parents, the quality of their marital interaction, and their own developmental roots in their families of origin. In so doing, it is hoped that this study contributes to a psychoanalytically based transactional theory of early family development.

F O O T N O T E S

[1] In this dissertation, the term "marriage" refers to any long-term committed dyadic relationship, the distinguishing feature of which is depth and duration, rather than legal bonds per se.

[2] The author participated minimally in this stage of data collection, following one family through the first post-natal year, according to procedures described in this section.

[3] A linear contrast is comparable to a linear correlation which is built into the analysis of variance. It is a more specific, focused, and powerful test than the overall ANOVA in that it is designed to test the extent to which there is a linear rise in the means from the low to high individuation groups.

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APPENDICES

A P P E N D I X   A

LOCKE-WALLACE MARITAL ADJUSTMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: _____   Date: _____

1. Check the box on the scale below which best describes the degree of happiness, everything considered, of your present marriage. The middle point, "happy", represents the degree of happiness which most people get from marriage, and the scale gradually ranges on one side to those few who are very unhappy in marriage, and on the other side, to those few who experience extreme joy in marriage.

Office Use Only

Very Unhappy   Happy   Perfectly Happy

State the approximate extent of agreement or disagreement between you and your mate on the following items. Please check each column.

ITEM	Always Agree	Almost Always Agree	Occasionally Disagree	Frequently Disagree	Almost Always Disagree	Always Disagree	
2. Handling family finances							
3. Matters of recreation							
4. Demonstrations of affection							
5. Friends							

A P P E N D I X   B

GUIDELINES FOR THE SEMI-STRUCTURED (VIDEOTAPED) INTERVIEW WITH THE MOTHER DURING PREGNANCY

(1. In what month of pregnancy are you?
(2. How old are you? How old is your husband?
(3. How long have you and your husband been together?

I. <u>Social Background and Life History</u>

    A. I'd like to know a few things about your and your husband's families:

        1. In what size family did you grow up?
        2. How much contact do you have with them now?

    B. Perception of Parents' Handling of Parental Role:

        1. Thinking back to your childhood, do you feel your mother was:

            a. Relaxed or tense?
            b. Sensitive to your feelings and needs?
            c. Distant or close to you?
            d. Happy or unhappy about being a mother?
            e. What kinds of things did you do together?

        2. To what extent did she meet your emotional needs:
            a. From infancy to age 12?
            b. After age 12?

        3. Do you feel your father was:
            a. Relaxed or tense?
            b. Sensitive to your feelings and needs?
            c. Distant or close to you?
            d. Happy or unhappy about being a father?
            e. What kinds of things did you do together?

        4. To what extent did he meet your emotional needs:
            a. From infancy to age 12?
            b. After age 12?

        5. Which of your parents do you feel you most closely resemble:
            a. Physically?
            b. Personality/Temperament?

        6. What things about the way you were raised would you like to repeat with your child? Do differently?

        7. Which of your parents would you go to if you had a problem?

C. How did you feel about school?
    1. What kind of student were you?
    2. Any problems in behavior?
    3. Was it hard or easy to make friends?
    4. Were your friendships:
       Distant?/ Fairly close?/ Very close?

D. Have you held any jobs?
    1. How did (do) you perform on a job?
    2. Have you thought about pursuing any job or career in the future? When?
    3. How do you think your husband will feel about this?
       a. Do you think he will be supportive?
       b. What would he like you to do?
    4. Does having a child at this time have any effect on any career plans you might have had?
    5. What effect do you think your decision will have on your child?
    6. How important do you feel working is in terms of your self image?
    7. Did your mother work before the age of 12?
       a. Part-time or full-time?
    8. Do you think this was okay with her?

E. Are your present friendships:
    1. Distant?/ Fairly close?/ Very close?
    2. How much contact do you have with friends?
       a. What kinds of things do you do?

F. As you were growing up, to what extent did you have:
    1. An interest in younger children?
    2. Experience with younger children?

II. Current Personality

A. How well do you feel you understand yourself?
B. How well do you like yourself?
C. How do you rate yourself as
    1. A wife?
    2. A homemaker?
    3. An adult?
D. How do you rate your
    1. Capacity for closeness?
    2. Ability to accept help?
    3. Ability to give help?
    4. Need to control? To have someone else be in charge?

III. <u>Current Life Situation</u>

    A. I would like to know a bit about your relationship with your husband:

        1. How would you describe your communication with each other? Does one of you have more difficulty with this than the other?

        2. How does each of you express anger?

        3. How are decisions reached? In case of disagreement, does the same one usually give in?

            a. Do you disagree infrequently or frequently?

        4. Are you an affectionate person? Is he?

        5. Do you feel he is sensitive to your needs?

        6. Which of you seems more dependent on the other?

        7. How would you rate your sexual adjustment?

        8. Do you agree on frequency?

        9. Do you agree on how to spend time together?

      10. Do you agree on how to spend money?

      11. Is there anything you wish were different between you?

      12. Do you feel you have enough time together now?

    B. How do you feel your husband is reacting to the pregnancy?

        1. Is there a change in his behavior towards you?

        2. Does he seem comfortable or uncomfortable about the baby-to-be?

        3. Do you think he might have some difficulty sharing you with a baby?

        4. In what ways does the pregnancy affect your current way of life? Long range plans?

        5. What kind of mother does he think you'll be?

        6. Are you needing more help from him since you're pregnant? How does he respond to this?

        7. How do you rate your present adjustment with each other?

        8. What are your greatest problems together at this time?

    C. Let's look at who does what at home.

        1. How are household chores divided?

        2. Are you satisfied with the division until now?

        3. Do you think your husband is satisfied?

        4. Is there anything you would like to be different?

        5. How do you think a baby will change things in that regard?

        6. How would you like it to be?

IV. <u>Pregnancy Experience</u>

A. Adaptation to Pregnancy Experience
   1. Did you plan to have a baby now?
      a. Why?
      b. What does it mean to you?
   2. How did you feel when you learned you were pregnant?
   3. Have you been pregnant before? Miscarriages? Abortions?
   4. How has your health been generally as an adult?
   5. How has the pregnancy affected you general health? Morning sickness? Nausea?
   6. How have you felt psychologically during the pregnancy? Any low or blue periods?
   7. How do you feel about the physical changes? Are you worried or fearful about any of them?
   8. What are your thoughts or concerns about labor and delivery?
   9. What are your thoughts or concerns about the unborn baby?

B. Visualization of Self as a Mother
   1. How do you plan to feed the baby? Any worries about that?
   2. What worries you about taking care of an infant?
   3. Can you picture yourself as a mother?
   4. What worries you most about being a mother?
   5. Do you think you'll be a relaxed or uptight mother?
   6. Do you worry about the pregnancy causing changes in your sex adjustment? Now and/or later?

C. Overall Reaction to Pregnancy Experience
   1. How would you rate the physical aspects of your pregnancy (from difficult to easy)?
   2. How would you rate the emotional aspects of your pregnancy (from difficult to easy?)

APPENDIX C

PRE-DELIVERY INTERVIEW WITH FATHER

(1. How old are you?
(2. How old is your wife?
(3. How long have you known each other? Been married?

I. <u>Social Background and Life History</u>

    A. I'd like to know a few things about your family:
        1. In what size family did you grow up?
        2. How much contact do you have with them now?
        3. How much contact do you have with your wife's family?

    B. Perception of Parents' Handling of Parental Role:
        1. Thinking back on your childhood:
            a. What was your mother like?
            b. Was she relaxed or tense?
            c. Sensitive to your feelings and needs?
            d. Distant or close to you?
            e. Happy or unhappy about being a mother?
            f. What kinds of things did you do together?

        2. To what extent did she meet your emotional needs:
            a. From infancy to age 12?
            b. After age 12?

        3. From the perspective of your childhood:
            a. What was your father like?
            b. Was he relaxed or tense?
            c. Sensitive to your feelings and needs?
            d. Distant or close to you?
            e. Happy or unhappy about being a father?
            f. What kinds of things did you do together?

        4. To what extent did he meet your emotional needs?
            a. From infancy to age 12?
            b. After age 12?

        5. Which of your parents do you most closely resemble?
            a. Physically?
            b. Personality/Temperament?

        6. What things about the way you were raised would you like to repeat with your child? Do differently?

        7. Which of your parents would you go to if you had a problem?

C. About School:
1. How did you like it?
2. What kind of student were you?
3. Any problems in behavior?

D. About Friends:
1. In childhood, was it hard or easy to make friends?
2. Were your friendships:
    Distant?/ Fairly close?/ Very close?
3. Are your present friendships:
    Distant?/ Fairly close?/ Very close?

E. About Employment:
1. What kind of work do you do? Where?
2. How do you feel you perform on a job?

F. As you were growing up, to what extent did you have:
1. An interest in younger children?
2. Experience with younger children?

II. Current Personality

A. How well do you feel you understand yourself?
B. How well do you like yourself?
C. How do you rate yourself:
1. As an adult?
2. As a husband?
3. As a provider?

B. How would you describe your:
1. Capacity for closeness?
2. Feelings about giving help? Accepting help?
3. Need to control? To have someone else be in charge?

III. Current Life Situation

A. I would like to know a bit about your relationship with
your wife:
1. How would you describe your communication with
    each other? Does one of you have more difficulty
    with this than the other?
2. How does each of you express anger?
3. How are decisions reached? In case of disagreement,
    does the same one usually give in?
4. Are you an affectionate person? Is she?
5. Do you feel she is sensitive to your needs?
6. Which of you seems more dependent on the other?
7. How would you rate your sexual adjustment? Do you
    usually agree on frequency?

8. Do you agree on how to spend time together?
9. Do you agree on how to spend money?
10. Is there anything you wish were different between you?
11. Do you feel you have enough time together now?

B. How do you feel your wife is reacting to the pregnancy?
1. Is there a change in her behavior toward you?
2. Is she needing more help from you? How do you feel about this?
3. Do you think she might have difficulty sharing you with a baby?
4. In what ways does the pregnancy affect your current way of life? Long range plans?
5. What kind of father does she think you'll be?
6. What kind of mother do you think she'll be?
7. How do you rate your present adjustment with each other?
8. What are your greatest problems together at this time?

C. Let's look at who does what at home:
1. How are chores divided?
2. Have you been satisfied with this division until now?
3. Do you think your wife is satisfied?
4. Is there anything you would like to be different?
5. How do you think a baby will change things in this regard?
6. How would you like it to be?

IV. Pregnancy Experience

A. Adaptation to the Pregnancy
1. Did you and your wife plan to have a baby now?
2. How did you feel when you learned she was pregnant?
3. How do you feel about the physical changes she is undergoing? How do you feel about the emotional changes she is undergoing? Are you worried or fearful about any of them?
4. How does your wife plan to feed the baby? How do you feel about this?
5. Do you think having a baby will change the relationship between you and your wife? In what ways?
6. Do you think having a baby will affect your sexual relationship?

B. Visualization of Self as Father
   1. Can you picture yourself as a father?
   2. What kinds of things do you hope to do with and for your baby?
   3. What worries you most about being a father?
   4. Do you think you'll be a relaxed or uptight father?

A P P E N D I X D

SCORING SHEET--HOME CARETAKER-INFANT OBSERVATION

Rater: _____   Date: _____   Month Past Birth: _____   Family Name: _____

Proximity	State	Infant Signal	Infant Activities	Caretaker Activities
1. Immediate	1. Sleep	1. Smile	1. Non Nutritive	1. Vocalization
2. 3 feet	2. Transition	2. Vegetative	2. Visual Attention	2. Look
3. 3 to 10 feet	3. Quiet Alert	3. Positive	2a. Attends Inanimate	3. Tactile
4. 10 feet plus	4. Alert Alert	4. Fret	Object	4. Kinesthetic
5. Out	5. Crying	5. Distress	3. Manipulation	5. Smile
X. Inaccessible			4. Eating	6. Play
			5. Movement	7. Positive Affect
				8. Negative Affect
				9. Encouragement
				10. Care
				11. Mutual Regard

Begin-End Time

A P P E N D I X   E

1-12 MONTH PARENT-INFANT AND INFANT RATING FORM

Family Number _____

RATER _____   MONTH OF ASSESSMENT _____   DATE _____

INFANT RATINGS (1-5)

1. Alertness
2. Social Interest and Responsiveness to Mother
3. Responsiveness to the Inanimate Environment
4. Irritability
5. Characteristic Intensity of Baby's Cry
6. Soothability
7. Variations of Baby Vocalization
8. Pleasure in Physical Contact
9. Motor Activity
10. Manipulates Object
11. Extent of Smiling
12. Aversion to Parent
13. Attractiveness/Appeal
14. Sense of Agent
15. Anxiety
16. Hostility
17. Seeks Affection
18. Gives Affection
19. Seeks Attention
20. Follows

TRANSACTIONAL RATINGS (1-5)

1. Mutuality/Contingency
2. Individuation

PARENT-INFANT RATINGS (1-5)

1. Physical Involvement and Closeness
2. Intensity of Positive Emotional Expression   —————
3. Intensity of Negative Emotional Expression   —————
4. Animation of Mother's Voice   —————
5. Characteristic Intensity of Mother's Voice   —————
6. Sensitivity and Responsiveness to Positive
         Social Behavior   —————
7. Appropriateness of Mother's Behavior Regarding
         Feeding   —————
8. Appropriateness of Mother's Behavior to Baby's
         Needs and Rhythms   —————
9. Parental Readiness to Respond to Distress   —————
10. Physical Tension   —————
11. Motor Activity Level   —————
12. Extent of Observer Influence on the Mother   —————
13. Cognitive Stimulation--Expose   —————
14. Cognitive Stimulation--Teach   —————
15. Social Stimulation   —————
16. Stimulates Posture and Locomotor Development   —————
17. Rocking-Cuddling   —————
18. Vigorous-Tactile-Kinesthetic Stimulation   —————
19. Play   —————
20. Restrict   —————
21. Quality and Quantity of Affection   —————
22. Seeks Affection   —————
23. Follows   —————
24. Mutual Gaze or Regard   —————

MANUAL: DEFINITION OF GLOBAL CHILD RATINGS

A. <u>EXPECTATION OF BEING CARED FOR</u>. Refers to the infant's expecta-
tion that his needs will be acknowledged and responded to with
immediacy and effectiveness. Assessment focuses on the inferred
level of inner trust which permits the child's willingness and
capability to wait for environmental responsiveness. The follow-
ing constructs are considered in this judgment:

    (1) Sense of contentment--What is the child's level of
content versus discontent? In a psychological sense,
is the infant "filled up" or left hungry? Behavioral
indications of contentment may include: physical
tension, levels of irritability and soothability,
facial expressions (smiling, etc.).

    (2) Anxiety: Fear of abandonment to no or strange care-
taking--Includes concepts of both stranger and separa-
tion anxiety, the child's feeling of being abandoned
and overwhelmed by a sense of helplessness, neediness,
or strangeness. Possible indications include: physical
tension, emotional state, fearfulness, and reactivity to
stimulation.

    (3) Frustration tolerance: To what extent can the child
tolerate flexibility and delay of need satisfaction
(e.g., hunger, attention) as opposed to being impatient,
desperate, excessively reaching out or controlling the
environment?

<u>SCALE POINTS</u>:

  5. <u>Well Cared For</u>.

Infant conveys that his needs can and will be recognized and
effectively satisfied. Crying or fussing occurs only for
obvious reason, and persists only a short while at a low
level of intensity. Child can tolerate moderate frustration
or delay, as if confident that he will be attended to
capably.

  3. <u>Moderately Well Cared For</u>.

Child has basic sense that his needs will be acknowledged,
but this view is not consistently or deeply held. There
are some examples of attempts to elicit caretaking, impati-
ence, or frustration. However, these behaviors diminish as
caretaker responds.

1. <u>Not Well Cared For</u>.

Infant has no confidence in expectation of caretaking. This may take the form of repetitive, controlling attempts to get attention, with the child angry and/or anxiously preoccupied. Alternatively, child may appear vacantly apathetic and passive, having accepted that no response will be forthcoming.

B. <u>SENSE OF SEPARATE SELF</u>. To what extent has the child achieved a sense of self separate from and individuated from the primary caretaker? Following Mahler (1975), at 6 months the emphasis of the individuation is on differentiation itself, while at 12 months the stress is on practicing the new individuality. In judging the degree of articulation of a separate self, several areas of behavior are important:

(1) Does the infant's behavior reflect a sense of the "me" and the "other"? Can a quality of give and take be inferred? This may be reflected in the child's seeking a social response to his behavior and early peek-a-boo games.

(2) Does a sense of separateness emerge from the approach to the environment--"I can try; I can do"? Is there a quality of negotiation and interchange?

(3) Is a sense of separate self evident in the image of the body? Is there visual self-examination, including inspection of body parts and their movements? Are there exploratory manipulations with fingers and toes? Mouthing, which appears exploratory in nature may also support the inference of a separated self.

<u>SCALE POINTS</u>:

5. <u>Highly Developed Sense of Self</u>.

Child's behavior suggests a developing sense of psychological separateness and sense of self typical for age. A sense of "me" and "other" emerges from the interaction which may be either positive or negative in nature.

3. <u>Moderately Developed Sense of Self</u>.

Child's behavior suggests a developing sense of psychological separateness and sense of self typical for age. There are many moments of a sense of "me" and "other" but also those where the child's behavior is primarily defined by the caretaker.

1. <u>Minimally Developed Sense of Self</u>.

    Child's behavior suggests little psychological separateness.
    Rather than a sense of "me" and "other" or a sense of "I
    can do", the initiation of action and experience is determined
    by the caretaker.

C. <u>SENSE OF POSITIVE SELF</u>. While acknowledging a developing but
    primitive level of self-differentiation, emphasis is on the
    sense of positive or negative self-evaluation which can be
    inferred. With the child's evolving sense of "I", what is the
    positive or negative valence attributed to the self? The follow-
    ing are considered possible sources of this positive narcissism,
    precursors of self-esteem:

    (1) Mastery of environment--"I can try; I can do." Does a
         child accept a challenge, persist despite frustrations,
         appear rewarded by successes (pride, pleasure)?

    (2) Body feelings--Evaluation of and acceptance of bodily
         functions or physical characteristics; e.g.,
                        Clean or dirty
                        Big, strong or weak, small, inadequate
                        Pretty/handsome or homely, odd-looking

    (3) Being loved--Child's sense that he is loved and valued
         by significant others for what he is and does.

    The sense of positive self may be revealed through general emo-
    tional tone, facial expressions (smiling), social responsiveness,
    self-directed behaviors (hitting, scratching), and an enthusiastic
    engagement with, as opposed to apathetic withdrawal from, the
    environment.

SCALE POINTS:

5. <u>Highly Positive Self</u>.

    Child's behavior suggests a beginning view of self as good,
    capable, loved. General emotional tone is positive and
    child starts to express pleasure in own activities and rela-
    tionships. Early demonstrations of responsiveness convey
    energy and enthusiasm. At later stages, child's actions may
    suggest acknowledgement of own attractiveness, "flirting"
    with others and giving attention.

3. <u>Moderately Positive Self</u>.

Child's behavior conveys a basically positive view of self, but some instabilities or neutrality regarding self-valuation can be inferred. Early signs of responsiveness suggest enthusiasm with some variability in intensity or consistency. The child's approach to the environment seems moderately confident, but occasional signs of hesitancy are possible.

1. <u>Negative Self</u>.

Available indices of self-valuation suggest child's notion of being "bad" or deficient. This may take the form of delays in responsiveness or may be inferred from fearful or infrequent explorations. Smiling occurs rarely or transiently. At later stages, child may show apathetic withdrawal from environmental contacts or respond in a manner suggesting anhedonia. With advancing development, behavior may be seen which suggests provocativeness and negative attention-seeking (defiance) or self-punitiveness (hitting self).

D. <u>ADAPTATION-COMPETENCE</u>. Refers to the child's capacity to explore, persist in mastery, actually adapt well, and perceive his or her success in that mastery. "Mastery" is judged both in terms of the child's own goals and those defined by family and society.

The following points are considered:

(1) Frequency and range of exploration--How interested is the child in activity and exploration of his world? How eager for information and feedback? Note: Amount of body movement and activity, visual attentiveness, manipulation using hands or mouth, sound productions.

(2) Motivation--Does the child have the ability to concentrate and focus attention? Does he show persistence and ability to try repeatedly despite fatigue or frustration? Is he willing to try something new? Consider: attention span, endurance, reaction to novelty, goal directedness.

(3) Mastery and adaptation--How successful is the child at bringing to bear a variety of abilities so that aspects of either the external or internal environment are mastered? Can include development of inner controls or attainment of external goals.

(4) Pride and pleasure in achievements--Is child rewarded by his own activities and successes (smiling, motoric excitement, etc.)?

(5) In evaluating the child's adaptation, consideration should be given to the quality and quantity of regression. Do certain internal or external pressures lead to a sense of helplessness and profound regression, or is the regression in the service of the ego, such as the child sucking his or her thumb, and/or turning to a blanket, and then proceeding with further mastery?

SCALE POINTS:

5. High Mastery and Competence.

Child has attitude of "I can do." There is consistent interest in a varied range of activities; child seeks out environmental experimentations. Child maintains attention on tasks and perseveres. He appears rewarded by own efforts and frequently succeeds at chosen goals.

3. Moderate Mastery and Competence.

Child is moderately interested in explorations, with some ability to sustain involvement in a task. There is persistence towards goal attainment; after a while, the child may give up if task is not readily mastered. Attention is maintained for a moderate amount of time, after which fatigue or other stimuli may become distracting. Success is present in some areas of functioning. His own efforts engage the child but do not constitute an exclusive set of interests.

1. Low Mastery and Competence.

The child's attempts to learn and practice are infrequent. Initiated exploration is rare, and experimentation is not sustained. The child's ability level is low. The child does not orient himself towards exploration of the environment in which he experiences little reward.

RATING FORM

Global Child Ratings
Global Parent-Child Ratings

Rater _____   Family Name _____

Month of Assessment _____

GLOBAL CHILD

A. _____

B. _____

C. _____

D. _____

GLOBAL PARENT-CHILD

Mother

A. _____

B. _____

C. _____

D. _____

Father

A. _____

B. _____

C. _____

D. _____

A P P E N D I X   G

MANUAL: DEFINITION OF GLOBAL PARENT-CHILD RATINGS

A. <u>QUALITY AND QUANTITY OF AFFECTION</u>. This emphasizes overall love-- like-dislike of the child. Considering the various feelings and thoughts expressed towards the child, what is the primary emotional attitude? Emphasis is on the parent's emotional cathexis towards the child, including the degree of involvement and the nature of this investment. This judgment will be based on a variety of behaviors: amount of positive emotional expression, demonstrations of affection (kissing, cuddling, affectionate terms), amount of praise, smiling, and the less demonstrative expressions of positive and negative attitude. This rating should reflect the amount of affection available to be perceived by the child as opposed to only assessing the obvious affectionate behaviors.

<u>SCALE POINTS</u>:

5. <u>Intense Affection and Liking</u>.

Mother consistently shows high degree of affection. Mother shows approval and enjoyment of infant and his (her) achievement or qualities. She may express this attitude through eye contact, smiling, close proximity, affectionate tactile contact, verbal praise, or positive expression. Style may range from exuberant delight to more quiet pride.

3. <u>Moderate</u>.

Mother demonstrates either: (1) mixture of positive and negative reactions to infant or (2) an overall neutral but non-rejecting attitude. Infant is viewed as "okay" but not outstanding, and mother may acknowledge both positive and negative or disappointing child characteristics. Indices of intense liking (smiling, touch, comments) are less in frequency and/or degree.

1. <u>Little Liking</u>.

Overall attitude towards child is negative, with signs of total aloofness or rejection. There is an absence of smiling, affectionate kissing, or cuddling. Comments may express a critical, hostile, or resentful attitude. Child's behaviors or qualities may be targets for physical or verbal abuse. Close contact may be avoided or shunned.

B. RESSharePONSIVENESS AND EFFICIENCY IN MEETING CHILD'S NEEDS. To what
extent can the parent: (1) perceive the child's cues of his needs
and rhythms; (2) take appropriate action to meet these needs; and
(3) do so efficiently, without excessive expenditure of time or
strain on either infant or caretaker? Combines both sensitivity-
empathy and efficiency. "Needs" may include feeding, toileting,
sleep, regulation of emotional state, and distress. Consider the
energy level, initiation, pacing, and termination of mother's
interventions: providing for rest and sleep, handling baby
appropriate to level of motor maturity, physical caretaking,
soothing techniques. As the infant develops, these needs will
extend to more sophisticated forms of environmental stimulation:
Does mother over- or underestimate the child's capabilities? How
effective is the caretaker in mediating between demands of
infant's inner state and of the external environment?

Examples of insensitive responsiveness may include misreading of
infant cues, neglect of signals, or over-reactive and stifling
caretaking. Clues to inappropriateness of intervention may be
revealed through these infant behaviors: fussing or crying,
lapses in attention due to fatigue, turning away from overstimula-
tion, physical squirming.

SCALE POINTS:

5. Exceptionally Appropriate.

   Mother is consistently highly attuned to needs and rhythms
   of child and highly adaptive and efficient in meeting these
   demands. A misinterpretation of an infant's signal is per-
   ceived and followed by appropriate responding.

3. Moderately Appropriate.

   By and large, the caretaker matches her behavior adequately
   to the needs and tempo of the child's cues. Some trial and
   error may be noted, where the caretaker either (1) misiden-
   tifies the need of the child; or (2) lacks efficiency in
   responding. However, inappropriate interventions are modi-
   fied moderately quickly and effectively.

1. Inappropriate.

   The caretaker's behavior is not attuned to the child's needs
   consistently or to an extreme degree. Mother seems unwilling
   or unable to perceive child's requirements or repeatedly
   shows inflexibility in modifying her behavior. Though cues
   from the child seem relatively clear, the mother errs in
   identifying them or responding effectively. There is a lack
   of synchronous flow between infant and caretaker responses.

C. ENCOURAGEMENT OF OPTIMAL SEPARATION AND MOVES TOWARD AUTONOMY.
To what extent does the caretaker encourage experiences which promote the child's independent functioning and sense of autonomy? (Refers to attitudes and behaviors which promote or discourage development of child's sense as a separate and competent individual.) Are opportunities for independence provided? Are they introduced in a manner appropriate to child's level of ability and security? e.g., is mother available but non-intrusive, so infant can explore environment or not as he prefers? Are more independent experiences encouraged as the child gets older?

The following should be noted:

(a) Proximity--What are reactions to physical separations (initiated by both caretaker and child) which involve even momentary loss of visual, tactile, or proximal contact? Is the child provided with gradual exposures to being on his own, including adjustment to separations and being allowed "breathing room" for independent exploration of the environment and self-regulation?

(b) Stimulation and Encouragement of New Behaviors--Does caretaker expose child to new experiences relating to both animate and inanimate environments? Does caretaker encourage motivation by selecting and pacing tasks which child can master without undue frustration? Does parent set the stage for positive learning and relationship experiences?

(c) Response to Child-Emitted Behaviors--How does caretaker react to child's spontaneous attempts to explore the environment? Are child's efforts rewarded (e.g., social reinforcement: nods and smiles, verbal praise), ignored, or punished? Are child's responses acknowledged and/or elaborated to encourage growth?

(d) Control and Intrusiveness--The degree to which activities are selected and structured by the infant or caretaker. Does mother permit child's timing and range of motion, or does she keep a "tight grip" on activities? Does parent adopt a "laissez faire" attitude which, while not restricting, fails to provide the child with a secure base from which to explore? Does caretaker give the infant a basis for developing a capable response and then ease herself out to permit independent practice?

Primary emphasis in the above is on the degree of separation encouraged and secondarily on how effectively this individuation is prepared for. (Accordingly, a laissez-faire attitude would likely fall in the middle range of the scale: while there is no restriction,

there is a lack of positive bolstering of the child's secure moves forward.)

SCALE POINTS:

5. Highly Encouraging.

Mother consistently provides experiences which offer infant opportunity to develop self in a positive manner. She is available but not hovering, is flexibly encouraging, and does not interrupt the infant's successful practice with the environment.

3. Moderately Encouraging.

Some moving of the infant to separate experiences is noted, but this is either not consistent or not introduced in a manner which is appropriate to the child's readiness developmentally or emotionally. At times mother may interfere obtrusively with child's choices or activities. Alternatively, mother may be uninvolved at times, deterring child's attention away from self-determined exploration to preoccupation with the parent.

1. Not Encouraging or Negative.

Parent makes little or no effort to encourage autonomy. If attempts are made, they are introduced in a way which confronts the child with a negative experience, e.g., parent may control child's activities or expose child abruptly or prematurely to new experiences.

D. EXPOSURE TO, COMMUNICATION ABOUT, AND GUIDANCE OF THE CHILD TO THE ENVIRONMENT, ENHANCING AWARENESS AND MASTERY. The parent shows, teaches, encourages attention to the various aspects of the environment, including thoughts and feelings. Describes caretaker as a mediator, bringing the environment into the child's world. Emphasis on frequency of and interest in activities promoting environmental awareness.

SCALE POINTS:

5. Parent Frequently Exposes, Communicates, or Teaches the Child About the Environment.

Parent spends a considerable amount of time in exposure and instruction of child, and seems to value and be interested in these activities.

3. <u>Parent Occasionally Exposes, Communicates, or Teaches Child About the Environment.</u>

There is some interest in exposure and teaching, but these efforts are moderate either in consistency or in degree of parent's enthusiasm or involvement.

1. <u>Parent Seldom Exposes, Communicates, or Teaches Child.</u>

There is little or no effort devoted to these activities. If child expresses interest spontaneously, this is ignored, interrupted, or negatively reacted to. Parent shows no involvement or particular interest in expanding child's knowledge of the world.

A P P E N D I X   H

MANUAL: INDIVIDUAL SEPARATION-INDIVIDUATION RATING

The first step in assessing the pre-birth individuation resources of each couple is to formulate a clinical rating of the individual parents' current level of separation-individuation. The primary data source for this rating is the individual pre-birth videotaped interviews of the mothers and audiotaped interviews of the fathers. The following represent the primary dimensions that contribute to a final rating of the individual's overall level of separation-individuation.

I. <u>Separation From Family of Origin and Nature of the Primary Object Relations</u>. Included in this dimension is an assessment of the current level of separation-individuation in relation to the primary objects in the family of origin. An assessment of the latter is based on an evaluation of the amount of contact with the family of origin, and on the nature of contact with the parental figure; e.g., the extent to which the individual has achieved a differentiated stance vis-a-vis the family of origin. Also included in this dimension is an assessment of the individual's internalized experience with their own parents, with particular attention to the parents' perception of their own parents' capacity to encourage separation-individuation experiences and to respond empathically to emotional needs.

II. <u>Individuation: Identity Formation and Autonomous Ego Functioning</u>. This dimension involves an assessment of the individual's overall level of autonomous ego functioning and identity formation--both of which are thought to contribute to the level of individuation. An assessment of the level of ego functioning takes into account the degree of autonomy versus dependency and the degree of differentiation between self and other. The level of identity formation is assessed by evaluating the extent to which the individual is capable of goal-directed, autonomous activity, and the extent of acceptance of adult status.

III. <u>Capacity for Relationsips</u>. An assessment of the individual's capacity for relationships takes into account the extent to which the individual is capable of sustaining intimate relationships that are characterized by both empathic responsivity and autonomy. Included in this dimension are ratings of the degree of empathic responsivity to the spouse, the capacity for mutually supportive relationships, and the extent of tolerance for the spouse's autonomy/independence.

Ratings on all of the above dimensions will be taken into account in assigning a final rating of the individual's level of separation-individuation, which is based on a composite clinical profile.

I. Separation From Family of Origin and Nature of Primary Object Relations

A. Separation From Family of Origin

Item 1, <u>Amount of Contact with Family of Origin</u>

Almost constant contact (daily)...................5
Very frequent contact (weekly)....................4
Fairly frequent contact (monthly).................3
Minimal contact (yearly, every six months)........2
No contact..1

Item 2, <u>Differentiation From Family of Origin</u>. Extent to which individual has achieved a differentiated stance in relation to family of origin. A high level of differentiation is indicated by the capacity to remain emotionally engaged with family of origin, while maintaining emotional equilibrium and individuation intact. A low level of differentiation is indicated by a tendency to orient emotional life around family of origin rather than family of procreation or by a tendency to impose a great deal of defensive distance between self and family.

<u>Highly Differentiated</u>. Individual is able to remain emotionally engaged with family of origin without overinvolvement or defensive distance.......................................5

<u>Moderately Differentiated</u>. Individual shows some capacity to remain differentiated, but also shows some emotional overinvolvement or defensive distance in relation to family.........3

<u>Undifferentiated</u>. Individual is poorly differentiated from family of origin, as indicated by a need for continual involvement with or total cut off from family................1

B. Nature of Primary Object Relations: Parents'
    Perception of Their Own Parents' Capacity to Encourage
    Separation-Individuation and to Respond Empathically
    to Need.

    Item 1, <u>Mother's Encouragement of Separation-
    Individuation</u>. Extent to which the mother's
    or father's mother is perceived as having
    encouraged strivings towards autonomy and
    independence. The extent to which mother's
    or father's mother is experienced as having
    fostered individuality and separateness.

    Mother perceived as highly encouraging of
    separation-individuation experiences..............5

    Mother perceived as moderately encouraging
    of separation-individuation experiences...........3

    Mother perceived as minimally encouraging
    of separation-individuation experiences...........1

    Item 2, <u>Father's Encouragement of Separation-
    Individuation</u>. Extent to which mother's
    or father's father is perceived as having
    encouraged strivings towards autonomy and
    independence. Extent to which mother's or
    father's father is experienced as having
    fostered individuality and separateness.

    Father perceived as highly encouraging of
    separation-individuation experiences..............5

    Father perceived as moderately encouraging of
    separation-individuation experiences..............3

    Father perceived as minimally encouraging
    of separation-individuation experiences...........1

C. Parent's Perception of Their Own Parents' Empathic
    Responsivity To Emotional Need.

    Item 1, <u>Mother's Empathic Responsivity to Emotional
    Need</u>. Extent to which mother's or father's
    mother is perceived as having been empathically
    responsive to emotional need.

    Mother perceived as highly empathically
    responsive to emotional need......................5

Mother perceived as moderately empathically
responsive to emotional need.....................3

Mother perceived as minimally empathically
responsive to emotional need.....................1

Item 2, <u>Father's Empathic Responsivity to Emotional
Need</u>. Extent to which mother's or father's
father is perceived as having been empathically
responsive to emotional need.

Father perceived as highly empathically
responsive to emotional need.....................5

Father perceived as moderately empathically
responsive to emotional need.....................3

Father perceived as minimally empathically
responsive to emotional need.....................1

II. Individuation: Level of Identity Formation and Autonomous
Ego Functioning.

A. Identity Formation

Item 1, <u>Capacity for Autonomous Self-Directed Activity</u>.

Individual has a clearly delineated sphere of
autonomous work or creative activity, from
which s/he derives a great deal of pleasure
and satisfaction. There is a sense that work
or creative ability is greatly enhancing and
enriching to the self...........................5

Individual has some capacity for autonomous,
goal-directed activity, from which s/he derives
moderate satisfaction. Individual has some
investment in autonomous work activity, but
there is not the sense of deep self-enhancement
as in the former category.......................3

Individual has little satisfying work or crea-
tive activity that s/he pursues independently.....1

Item 2, <u>Sense of Success as an Adult</u>. The extent
to which idividual accepts adult status and
expresses confidence and satisfaction in adult
role.

Individual appears highly accepting of adult
status and rates self as highly competent in
adult role...................................5

Individual appears moderately accepting of
adult status and rates self as moderately
competent in adult role. Some ambivalence
or uncertainty about adult status is noted.......3

Individual appears minimally accepting of
adult status and expresses a great deal of
uncertainty and ambivalence about adult role......1

B. Autonomy versus Dependency

   Item 1, <u>Emotional Independence Versus Dependence</u>.
   Extent to which individual relies on contact
   with and support from others to sustain ego
   functioning (take action, make decisions, meet
   own needs). Extent of reliance on approval
   and caring of others to maintain functioning.

      <u>Independent</u>. Individual appears to be capable
      of sustaining ego functioning and of meeting
      own needs without a great deal of contact with
      or support from others. Is able to sustain
      sense of self without undue reliance on the
      approval and caring of others....................5

      <u>Semi-dependent</u>. Indications of some capacity
      to sustain autonomous ego functioning and to
      meet own needs without inordinate contact with
      or support from others; <u>and</u> evidence of reli-
      ance on caring and approval of others to main-
      tain ego functioning. Neither predominantes......3

      <u>Dependent</u>. Very little capacity to sustain
      emotional functioning or to meet own needs
      without continual contact with and support
      from others. Extreme reliance on caring and
      approval of others to maintain functioning........1

   Item 2, <u>Level of Differentiation Between Self and
   Other</u>. Extent to which individual identifies
   others' needs, feelings, interests and desires
   as one's own. Extent to which individual recog-
   nizes and accepts differences between self and
   other (spouse).

High level of differentiation between self and
other. Individual has no difficulty in dis-
tinguishing between his/her own needs and
feelings and those of the other...................5

Moderate level of differentiation between self
and other. Individual shows some capacity to
distinguish between his or her own needs,
feelings, desires and interests and those of
the other, but with some signs of feeling that
what the other feels, needs or believes is
also one's own....................................3

Minimal level of differentiation between self
and other. Complete identification of others'
interests, needs, feelings and desires with
one's own...1

III. Capacity for Relationships

    A. Quality of Relationship with Spouse

        Item 1, <u>Extent of Individual's Empathic Responsivity
        to Spouse</u>. Extent to which individual is sensi-
        tive to spouse's feelings and needs, and is
        capable of being emotionally giving.

Individual is highly empathically responsive
to the emotional needs of the spouse.............5

Individual is moderately empathically responsive
to the emotional needs of the spouse.............3

Individual is minimally empathically responsive
to the emotional needs of the spouse.............1

        Item 3, <u>Extent of Tolerance for Spouse's Autonomy/
        Independence</u>. Extent to which individual is
        highly accepting of spouse's autonomous work,
        friendships or leisure pursuits versus feeling
        threatened or diminished by them.

Individual is highly accepting of spouse's
autonomy/independence. There is a sense that
the autonomy of the other is experienced as
enhancing of self and relationship...............5

Individual is generally accepting of spouse's
autonomy/independence, with some minimal
indication of negative feelings (depression,
discomfort, anxiety) about spouse's separateness..3

Individual is minimally accepting of spouse's
autonomy/independence, which is perceived as
threatening to self and relationship..............1

B. Quality of Peer Relationships

Item 1, <u>Degree of Closeness versus Psychological
Distance in Peer Relationships</u>.

Friendships are very close, with a high level
of contact and support...........................5

Friendships are fairly close, with a moderate
level of contact and support.....................3

Friendships are distant, with little contact
and support......................................1

Item 2, <u>Extent to Which Individual is Capable of
Mutually Supportive Relationships</u>. The extent
to which individual is able to give and receive
help and support.

Individual is capable of a high degree of mutual
supportiveness in relationship. Is able to give
and receive support..............................5

Individual is capable of moderate degree of
mutual supportiveness in relationships. Is
sometimes able to give support, and may ask
for support occasionally.........................3

Individual shows minimal capacity for mutual
supportiveness in relationships. S/he can
receive support, but is incapable of giving
it (or vice versa)...............................1

Instructions: After reviewing the pre-birth parental interviews, and completing ratings of the above items, the rater should assign a final separation-individuation rating to each individual.

High Separation-Individuation

Individuals who have achieved high levels of separation-individuation are able to be autonomous without resorting to isolation, and to be interdependent without becoming emotionally fused. Highly inner-directed and self-sustaining, with a strong and well-defined personal identity, such individuals are capable of being empathically responsive to others and of engaging in deeply intimate relationships without loss of ego boundaries or core self-identity. Highly individuated persons are able to take responsibility for their own lives and development, and are able to meet their own dependency needs and to flexibly alternate taking dependent and independent roles. Highly individuated persons have a strong invest-ment in work or creative activity. Not only are they capable of sustained goal-directed activity, but there is also a sense that work and/or creative endeavors are deeply enhancing and enriching to the self. They also have strong affiliative strivings and usually have a strong network of supportive colleagues and intimate friends. In short, autonomy and mutuality are well-balanced in their lives. They are high on both dimensions without either predominating markedly. While their emotional life is clearly centered on the spouse and friends, they have achieved what Bowen (1966) calls person-to-person relationships with members of their family of origin; e.g., relation-ships characterized by mutual, but differentiated sharing of feelings, experiences and ideas, involving a full appreciation of the sub-jectivity and uniqueness of the other, rather than by crippling mutual dependency or emotional overinvolvement.

Moderately High Separation-Individuation

Individuals in this category are generally successful in combining autonomous strivings with sustained intimacy. However, they may not yet have achieved the degree of coordination between autonomy and mutuality evidenced by those in the previous category, although they tend to be high on both dimensions. Like those in the previous category, they are generally able to sustain independent emotional and intellectual functioning, and to assume responsibility for their lives and development, although they may not be as self-directed or independent as those in the previous category. Their relationships with peers and family of origin are characterized by a high degree of mutuality without emotional overinvolvement. However, they may show slight inclinations towards reactive distance or overcloseness to others (especially family members) in times of stress.

Average Separation-Individuation

This is a residual category for those individuals who show traits from the highly-individuated and poorly-individuated group. More than those in the previous category, individuals in this group show an imbalance between autonomy and mutuality in their relationships. They may have developed some capacity for independent, goal-directed activity, but they tend to be moderately reliant on others to sustain this activity, from which they may achieve only moderate pleasure and satisfaction and which is only moderately enhancing of their individuation. Or they may tend to use work or creative pursuits as a defense against or substitution for intimacy. Similarly, they have developed some capacity for intimacy, but they tend not to use intimate relationships for their continuing self-definition as fully as they might. Relationships with family of origin may also be on a less adult basis than in the previous categories with some chronic overinvolvement or protective distance. Individuals in this group may have some difficulty meeting their own dependency needs, and may look to others for self-completion in certain areas.

Moderately Low Separation-Individuation

Those with moderately low levels of separation-individuation have achieved some self-differentiation, but remain inordinately dependent on others to maintain their ego equilibrium. They tend to be strongly responsive to the emotional atmosphere around them and inordinately concerned with attaining love and approval of significant others. So much emotional activity goes into the latter activity that independent functioning and goal-directed activity may be impaired. Although they are extremely demanding of and reliant on the support of others, they have a limited capacity to give support; and this lack of mutuality limits their capacity for intimacy.

Low Separation-Individuation

Individuals with low levels of separation-individuation remain highly dependent on primary objects, or grow up unable to survive psychologically outside of highly symbiotic relationships. They are generally incapable of deriving satisfaction from sustained autonomous activities and tend to live through others. Persons with low levels of separation-individuation seem to have abrogated any responsibility for being a separate person with a unique and coherent identity. Instead they tend to assume the thoughts, feelings, attitudes and motivations of those around them. Although their emotional reactivity to others is very high, they have little capacity to sustain truly intimate relationships, characterized by reciprocal sharing or mutuality. Their relationships are characterized by a great deal of defensive distance or symbiotic clinging. Such individuals may attempt to compensate for low levels of separation-individuation by adhering to rigid, authoritarian positions. Poorly individuated persons may evidence high rates of chronic psychopathology and/or psychosomatic illness.

RATING SHEET

INDIVIDUAL SEPARATION-INDIVIDUATION

I.   A.   Item 1   _____

         Item 2   _____

     B.   Item 1   _____

         Item 2   _____

     C.   Item 1   _____

         Item 2   _____

II. A.   Item 1   _____

         Item 2   _____

     B.   Item 1   _____

         Item 2   _____

III. A.   Item 1   _____

         Item 2   _____

     B.   Item 1   _____

         Item 2   _____

Final Separation-Individuation Rating: _____

APPENDIX   I

MANUAL: MARITAL SEPARATION-INDIVIDUATION RATING

The rating of marital separation-individuation involves analyzing a variegated group of couples into a set of particular relational patterns based on the concept of separation-individuation. This rating is based on three sources of data: the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Questionnaire; the pre-birth individual interviews, and the pre-birth marital interaction sequences.

The first step in formulating a rating of marital separation-individuation is to review the scores on the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Questionnaire for each couple in order to formulate a global impression of the general level of marital adaptation and satisfaction. The second step is to review the pre-birth individual interview which provides a history and assessment of the quality of the marriage according to each individual parent. The third step is to review the pre-birth marital interviews (which include the audio-taped interaction sequence and the written transcript of that sequence).

After a global determination of marital adaptation has been derived, the marital interaction sequence is reviewed with particular attention to the quality and nature of communication processes between the couple as well as to the content of the problems discussed (i.e., do they center around family of origin, division of labor in the house-hold, etc.). Particular attention should be paid to the quality and nature of the communication patterns between the couple in that previ-ous studies have indicated that communication patterns may reflect the level of separation-individuation within the dyad (Fitzpatrick, 1980; Raush et al., 1974; Wynne et al., 1959). In reviewing the marital interaction sequence, the rater should pay particular atten-tion to the nonverbal (vocal tone, voice inflection, etc.) as well as verbal messages. They key clue to scoring is the affect expressed.

After reviewing the Locke-Wallace, the pre-birth parental inter-views and the marital interaction sequence, the rater will assign a numerical rating to each couple which is based on a clinical profile of the degree of separation-individuation in the relationship. All couples will be placed in one of the following categories: high marital separation-individuation; moderately high marital separation-individuation; average marital separation-individuation; moderately low marital separation-individuation; and low marital separation-individuation. Each point on this scale is defined by a clinical profile of the degree of differentiation and relatedness, autonomy and mutuality in the couple relationship. These profiles are derived from clinically-based theoretical work (Bowen, 1978; Dicks, 1967; Karpel, 1976; Sharpe, 1981), from empirically-derived marital typolo-gies (Fitzpatrick, 1983), as well as from previous research with couples undergoing the transition to parenthood (Cowan & Cowan, 1982,

1983; Hemmings, 1983).

Ratings of several different dimensions contribute to the final rating of marital separation-individuation. These subdimensions include the following:

I. <u>Patterns of Independence and Interdependence in the Couple Relationship</u>. Included in this category is the degree of interdependence in the couple relationship; the degree of independence of the couple as a unit from family of origin, the level of shared versus separate interests and activities, and the degree of closeness in the couple relationship.

II. <u>Patterns of Communication in Couple Relationship</u>. Included in this category are ratings on the degree of expressivity and openness, mutuality and reciprocity in couple communication; the capacity to tolerate differences and negotiate compromise solutions; the level of differentiation in partner's points of view, and the tendency to project blame and responsibility.

III. <u>Quality of Husband-Wife Adaptation</u>. Included in this dimension is the emotional climate of the couple relationship; the sexual adjustment of the couple; and an overall assessment of the marital adjustment.

I. Patterns of Separateness and Connectedness in Couple Relationship.

A. Individual Autonomy Versus Couple Mutuality

Item 1, <u>Shared Versus Separate Interests and Activities</u>

Couple shares almost all interests and activities...5

There is a near-equal balance between interests and activities shared with the partner and those that are unique to the individual partners..3

There is minimal sharing of interests or activities between the partners...................1

II. Patterns of Independence and Interdependence in Couple
Relationship

A. Individual Autonomy Versus Couple Mutuality

Item 2, <u>Degree of Connectedness Versus Separateness
in Couple Relationship</u>.

Partners appear to be extremely close with a
high degree of emotional connectedness and
little separateness.................................5

Partners appear to be close with some
separateness.......................................3

Partners appear to be emotionally disengaged
and highly separate from each other. There is
little indication of emotional connectedness
between the partners...............................1

Item 2, <u>Degree of Interdependence in Couple
Relationship</u>. Interdependence implies mutuality
and supportiveness between the partners, as well
as an intimate relationship. Couples who are
interdependent are able to alternately take
both dependent and independent positions in
relation to the other, without getting locked
into patterns of underfunctioning or overfunc-
tioning, in which one or the other partner
always assumes the dependent or independent
role. Instead interdependent partners are able
to flexibly accommodate to the shifting stance
of the self and other, and are able to acknowl-
edge and tolerate both their own and the other
partner's strivings towards both dependence and
interdependence.

Partners are highly interdependent. They are
able to flexibly alternate between dependent
and independent positions.........................5

Partners are moderately interdependent. There
is some flexibility in taking dependent and
independent positions, but also some tendency
for one partner to more readily assume the
dependent position................................3

Partners are minimally interdependent. There
is little flexible alternation of dependent
and independent roles. One partner tends to
be locked into the dependent position.............1

II. Patterns of Communication in Couple Relationship

A. Quality of Couple Communication

Item 1, <u>Level of Openness and Expressivity in Couple Communication</u>. The extent to which couple is able to freely share thoughts and feelings.

Couple communication is characterized by a high degree of openness and expressivity. Partners freely share thoughts and feelings, with little sense of inhibition.............................5

Couple communication is characterized by a moderate degree of openness and expressivity. There is some open sharing of thoughts and feelings, but also some areas of inhibition.......3

Couple communication is characterized by a low degree of open expression of thoughts and feelings, and by a high degree of inhibition. There is a sense that the partners are "shut down" in relation to each other..................1

Item 2, <u>Degree of Negativity in Couple Communication</u>. Extent to which partners denigrate each other and express dislike, disrespect, or distaste for each other.

Couple communication characterized by a high degree of negativity.............................5

Couple communication characterized by a moder-ate degree of negativity.........................3

Couple communication characterized by a low degree of negativity..............................1

Item 3, <u>Degree of Criticalness in Couple Communica-tion</u>. Extent to which partners focus on the defects or inadequacies of the other.

Couple communication characterized by a high degree of criticalness..........................5

Couple communication characterized by a moder-ate degree of criticalness......................3

Couple communication characterized by a low degree of criticalness...........................1

Item 4, <u>Degree of Mutuality/Contingency in Couple</u> <u>Communication</u>. Extent to which communication is characterized by a reciprocal and contingent quality in which responses appear to influence each other and enhance interaction. Do the partners appear to hear and respond to each other's communications in a way that fosters interaction and reciprocity, or do they appear to disregard each other's responses, and make minimal attempts at interaction.

Communication characterized by a highly reciprocal and contingent quality. Partners seem consistently to hear and understand each other's responses, and to reply in a way that fosters interactions.......................................5

Communication shows some mutuality and reciprocity, and contingency. Partners seem to generally hear and understand each other's communications, with some instances of misperception or ignoring of other's reponses..........3

Communication shows little mutuality/contingency. Partners appear to consistently disregard or ignore each other's responses. There are minimal attempts at interaction, and often a high level of distracting or irrelevant remarks...1

B. Capacity to Tolerate Differences and Negotiate Compromise Solutions.

    Item 1, <u>Capacity to Accept Differences</u>. Extent to which partners are able to acknowledge and tolerate differences between them.

        Differences appear to be highly acceptable. They are clearly expressed and openly discussed...5

        Differences appear to be moderately acceptable. They are acknowledged and discussed, but may also be ignored and denied, or may precipitate some inordinate conflict........................3

        Differences are not at all acceptable. They are almost totally denied or, if discussed, lead to intense conflict........................1

Item 2, <u>Level of Differentiation in Partners' Points
of View</u>. Extent to which rater can distinguish
between the two points of view, or the extent
to which points of view of the individual part-
ners are blurred and indistinguishable.

Partners' points of view are highly differen-
tiated. Rater can clearly distinguish between
the two...5

Partners' points of view are somewhat differ-
entiated. Rater can usually distinguish between
the two, but there may be some confusion about
who holds which position.........................3

Partners' points of view are fused or indis-
tinguishable. There is not much evidence that
two points of view exist in the responses........1

Item 3, <u>Negotiating Skills</u>. The extent to which
couple shows the capacity to negotiate <u>mutually</u>
satisfactory solutions to difficult problems.
To what extent can the couple fully express and
hear each other's points of view, and then work
through disagreements to a mutually acceptable
compromise solution? To what extent do partners
rush into compromise in order to avoid disagree-
ment, or fail to reach compromise altogether?
In determining the final ratings, the rater
should take into account whether any solutions
have been generated. If a consensus is reached,
some credit should be given regardless of the
process.

Partners are highly skilled at negotiating
mutually satisfactory compromise solutions
to difficult problems..............................5

Partners are moderately skilled at negotiating
mutually satisfactory compromise solutions
to difficult problems.............................3

Partners are not at all skilled at negotiating
mutually satisfactory compromise solutions to
difficult problems................................1

Item 4, <u>Tendency to Project Blame and Responsibility</u>.
The extent to which partners tend to blame and
accuse the other of being the cause of marital
problems, and a tendency to deny any responsi-
bility for marital difficulties.

Partners show a strong tendency to project
blame and deny responsibility.....................5

Partners show some tendency to project of
blame and denial of responsibility...............3

Partners show almost no tendency to project
blame and deny responsibility....................1

Item 5, <u>Tendency to Spread or Generalize Conflict</u>.
Extent to which couples tend to spread conflict
from an initial problem focus to a wide range
of relationship issues.

Great deal of spreading conflict in couple
communication....................................5

Moderate amount of spreading of conflict in
couple communication.............................3

Minimal tendency to spread conflict in
couple communication.............................1

III. Quality of Husband-Wife Adaptation

A. Overall Rating of Marital Adjustment

Item 1, <u>Nature of Sexual Adjustment</u>. Extent to which
sexual adjustment is highly satisfying and
enhancing of intimacy.

Sexual adjustment is highly satisfying and
enhancing of intimacy............................5

Sexual adjustment is moderately satisfying
and enhancing of intimacy........................3

Sexual adjustment is minimally satisfying
and enhancing of intimacy........................1

Item 2, Overall Assessment of Husband-Wife Adaptation

Excellent..5

Moderately good..................................3

Very Poor..1

Final Marital Separation-Individuation Ratings

High Marital Separation-Individuation

(5)

Couples who have achieved levels of separation-individuation are those whose relationships are characterized by high degrees of both mutuality and separateness. They are able to be interdependent without being symbiotically attached; and are able to be independent without being emotionally distant or detached. Highly differentiated as individuals, such partners have also managed to form a "differentiated we" (Karpel, 1976), or a deeply intimate relationship that furthers their own as well as their partners' individuation. Individual differences between partners are accepted and valued as indications of the unique otherness of the partner. Within such relationships, each partner has a strong individual identity and an independent sphere of interests and activities. However, these spheres are not in conflict with the couple relationship, which is characterized by a high level of shared interests and values. In such relationships, one has the sense that the needs and interests of the other are as important to each of the individual partners as their own values. In such relationships, one has the sense that the needs and interests of the other are as important to each of the individual partners as their own needs and interests.

Couples in this category show a high degree of positive commitment to the relationship, and appear to experience a high degree of pleasure and satisfaction from the relationship. As a result of their capacity to tolerate intense intimacy without fear of merger, such couples also show a strong capacity for tenderness and affection, and a highly satisfactory sexual adjustment.

Couples in this category show excellent communication and negotiation skills. They are able to discuss difficult issues in a fairly open, direct and objective manner, and are not afraid to confront one another on issues of importance. Communication is characterized by a high degree of reciprocity and contingency in that partners are able to speak clearly for themselves, while acknowledging the other's point of view in their responses. Highly individuated couples show a high level of spontaneity, expressivity, and flexibility, and a low level of negativity and criticalness in their interactions. Such couples show the capacity to negotiate mutually satisfactory compromise solutions to difficult problems, but do not sacrifice individual needs and interests to do so.

In short, couples in this category seem to have achieved a balance between individuality and mutuality, separateness and togetherness in their relationship. They tend to have a broad social network of close friends and supportive work colleagues, near equal numbers of which are unique to each partner and shared in common. They also tend to have warm and supportive, but differentiated,

relationships with families of origin, in relation to whom they are neither overly enmeshed nor totally disengaged.

Moderately High Marital Separation-Individuation

(4)

Couples in this category are similar to those in the first category in that they have achieved a clear sense of interpersonal boundaries, a strong sense of individual identity, and the capacity to respect and value the unique individuality of the other. They have also achieved the capacity for mutuality and interdependence with the partner, without sacrificing individual identity. However, in contrast to couples in the first category, these couples may not yet have worked out a smooth balance between the unique individuality of each and the mutuality of an intimate relationship. They show evidence of a strong positive commitment and mutual affection, they have not yet achieved the interdependence of those in the previous category. With couples in this category, one has the impression of some moderate discrepancy between self needs and interests and couple needs and interests. Couples in this category may espouse an ideology which supports relational connectedness manifested through interdependence and sharing as well as individual autonomy involving freedom to be oneself and to fulfill distinctive potentialities. However, they have not yet reached a mutually satisfying balance between these polarities. Consequently, these couples may experience some conflict around role differentiation and the balance of power in the relationship.

Communicative interactions among such couples are characterized by good negotiating skills, an open expression of thoughts and feelings, and a capacity to differentiate one's own from the other's point of view. Couples in this category generally show an affiliative attitude in communicative interactions, but they may show some negativity and oppositional tendencies as a result of a greater number of differences. Partners are able to reach compromise solutions to difficult problems, but they may show more strain and tension in the process than do those in the previous category. Differences are respected, but may cause more conflict among these couples. Sustained or chronic conflict is rare, however, and these couples generally enjoy a warm and satisfying relationship.

As was the case in the previous category, these couples have achieved adequate separation-individuation vis-a-vis their own families of origin, and have a supportive social network of friends and/or colleagues, both individually and in common. However, there might be slightly less or greater overlap between individual and shared social networks than in the previous category.

Average Marital Separation-Individuation

(3)

Couples that are placed in this category show characteristics of both symbiotic and differentiated relationships. More than couples in the preceding category, they tend to vacillate between the polarities of autonomy and interdependence. Individual partners in this category may exhibit a fairly well-differentiated sense of self, but may have difficulty maintaining their individuality and autonomy within an intimate relationship. Or couples in this category may have achieved a high level of interdependence and mutuality, but may have done so at some cost to their own individuation. The social support network of these couples is usually characterized by fewer friends and colleagues than in the above category, and by significantly greater or lesser overlap between individual and couple social networks than in the previous categories. Families of origin may continue to figure prominently as sources of emotional support and companionship, although not to the exclusion of other social ties. Conversely, these couples may show more of a tendency to maintain a reactive distance to families of origin in order to preserve a more tenuous independence.

Communication patterns may be characterized by both affiliative and flexible attitudes, as well as by negative and critical attitudes. Partners may also show a tendency to deny differences or to assume overly emotional or rigid positions in relation to them.

Moderately Low Separation-Individuation

(2)

Couples in this category are characterized by moderately low levels of both autonomy and mutuality. These relationships tend to be characterized by a more severe imbalance between separateness and connectedness than in the previous category. Such couples may tend to maintain autonomy through emotional distancing, or to achieve closeness through the abrogation of autonomy. Whichever pattern they follow on the surface, such couples may be highly, and often covertly, dependent on each other, but without much capacity for genuine mutuality and intimacy.

As a result of their mutual dependency, these couples have a low tolerance for differences or differentiation within the relationship. Their interactional style tends to be "pseudo-mutual" in that they give the illusion of harmony, but in the absence of deep emotional investment in the relationship. However, they do not achieve the delusional insistence on togetherness characteristic of truly pseudo-mutual couples, in that they are able to tolerate minimal degrees of separateness and difference. Couples in the low moderate range of separation-individuation have some capacity to maintain a sense of separateness and interpersonal boundaries between self and other, but must do so either through limiting intimacy or through rigid adherence to highly stereotyped roles or abstract standards. Often one has the sense that there is little positive commitment to

genuine emotional engagement in the couplehood. Such couples tend to have some peer relationships, but their most meaningful social contacts may continue to be with family of origin.

In terms of communicational style, such couples tend to <u>either</u> suppress conflict and deny negative feelings, which may be expressed covertly, <u>or</u> to engage in chronic nonproductive bickering. There is often a low level of chronic hostility or underlying tension to their interactions, expressed covertly through nonverbal means or subtle innuendo and/or sarcasm, or overtly through intermittent bickering about everyday matters. These partners usually show minimal flexibility or skill in negotiating compromise. Discussion of differences may be tolerated for brief periods, but may cause an escalation of dissention between the partners. There is also little reciprocity in the communicational patterns of such couples. One partner may tend to dominate the interaction, or the partners may engage in an ongoing control struggle. There are usually many instances of negativity and criticalness. Because differences are perceived as threatening by such couples, they may also be suppressed. Conflict between these couples may surface through a high incidence of psychosomatic problems and/or sexual dysfunction.

Low Marital Separation-Individuation

(1)

Couples in this category experience very low levels of both autonomy and mutuality. The partners are usually poorly differentiated individuals who use the marital relationship to make up for serious ego deficits or to express a part-self or part-function that the individual is incapable of realizing. One has the sense that such partners are unable to function outside the structure of the relationship. The partner's inevitable failure to fulfill symbiotic expectations usually leads to chronic blaming of one partner by the other. Spouses in such relationships are not valued as separate and unique others with their own needs and interests, but instead become the recipients for the other's projections, and are expected to act accordingly. These couples have very poor interpersonal boundaries, and often expect the other to know what s/he is thinking and feeling without being told. Such couples have very few independent interests or social contacts outside the couple relationship and continue to maintain strong attachments to their families of origin.

Communicational patterns in relationships that have low levels of separation-individuation are characterized by low levels of flexibility, and reciprocity, and by a high degree of negativity and criticalness. Communication patterns are confused and conflictual, with little ability to negotiate satisfactory compromise or to talk through difficult issues without explosive outbursts. Couples with low marital separation-individuation may also totally suppress or deny conflict and differences, or may insist on a near-delusional sense of harmony and togetherness known as pseudomutuality (Wynne et al., 1958). In any case, communication tends to be chaotic, with

a blurring of individual partners' positions. There may be frequent projections of one or both partner's thoughts and feelings onto the other. These relationships are not merely stagnant or characterized by chronic low-level tension as are those in the moderately low marital separation-individuation group. Rather, they are overtly hurtful and destructive, or rigidly restrictive. In either case, neither true intimacy, nor true individuality are possible in such relationships. Partners in this category may show high rates of chronic psychopathology, disabling psychosomatic illness and/or substance abuse.

RATING SHEET

MARITAL SEPARATION-INDIVIDUATION

I.   A.   Item 1   _____

     B.   Item 1   _____

          Item 2   _____

II. A.   Item 1   _____

          Item 2   _____

          Item 3   _____

          Item 4   _____

     B.   Item 1   _____

          Item 2   _____

          Item 3   _____

          Item 4   _____

          Item 5   _____

III. A.   Item 1   _____

          Item 2   _____

Final Marital Separation-Individuation Rating: _____