

THE LIFE SCRIPTS AND OBJECT RELATIONS OF
ADOLESCENTS IN FAMILIES AND
IN RESIDENTIAL SUBSTITUTE CARE

by

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Abstract

The aim of this research was to compare the quality of parent-child relationships and child development in a group of 20 adolescents (aged 13-17) who were raised in intact families of origin (Family Group: $N_1 = 20$, \bar{x} age = 15.65 years, 10 males and 10 females) with a group of 20 adolescents who had been placed in residential substitute care either as children or adolescents (Residential Substitute Care Group: $N_2 = 20$, \bar{x} age = 16.25 years, 10 males and 10 females). The group of residential substitute care subjects was subdivided by age at placement into two subgroups of ten subjects, each with five males and five females. The Child Placement Subgroup ($n_1 = 10$, \bar{x} age at placement = 4 years) contained adolescents placed during childhood, the cut-off age for inclusion in the subgroup being six years of age. The Adolescent Placement Subgroup ($n_2 = 10$, \bar{x} age at placement = 14.25 years) comprised subjects placed between the ages of 12 and 16 years. Each subject was assessed using a 52 item Ego State Inventory (McCarley, 1975) which yields five measures of ego states (Punitive Parent, Nurturing Parent, Adult, Rebellious Child, Adaptive Child). Each subject was interviewed using a Brief Questionnaire for background information and a 20 question version of the Life Script Questionnaire. Videotaped interviews were analyzed for the presence of parent messages given by mothers and fathers. Life scripts were descriptively analyzed for: decisions about life made by subjects; their episcritps; affective, cognitive and behavioural components of racket systems; and identifications, characteristics and themes apparent in their fantasy systems denoted by choices of favourite modern myths (nursery rhymes, fairy tales, story books, and TV programs). Statistical analysis of ego state scores of the Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group confirms the hypothesis that the two research groups would differ significantly. Life script analysis also confirmed an hypothesized qualitative difference between these two groups. The Child Placement Subgroup and Adolescent Placement Subgroup did not, however, significantly statistically differ from each other in terms of ego state measures. In terms of the nature and frequency of parent messages there is a qualitative difference between the life scripts of Family Group and Residential Substitute Care subjects. Decisions about life, the racket system and fantasy systems of Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group subjects also indicate qualitative differences. Interpretations of the data in terms of Transactional Analysis (TA) theory and within the object relations development frameworks of Winnicott and Mahler suggest differences

between the Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group in terms of the nature and quality of the parent-child relationship and child development. An object relations developmental retrospective for Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group subjects suggests a greater capacity for healthier object relating in the former group than the latter group. Additionally, an object relations developmental retrospective comparing Child Placement with Adolescent Placement subjects suggests parent-child relationships and child development within the former subgroup to be of less optimal quality than the latter group. Analysis of parent messages issued by significant other parent figures to Residential Substitute Care subjects denote poor quality substitute-parent child relationships and raise concern about the quality and validity of 'substitute care' services. Two case studies of Residential Substitute Care group subjects (Marilyn and Colin) are provided. The data are discussed in relation to issues and trends in residential substitute care, with a view to making suggestions and recommendations designed to enhance substitute care services in South Africa. The research evaluates the use of TA as a methodology suited to exposing qualitative differences between small sample groups and its utility, interfacing with Winnicott's and Mahler's frameworks, in inferring an object relations developmental retrospective.

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CHAPTER ONE: RESIDENTIAL SUBSTITUTE CARE : ISSUES, RESEARCH AND TRENDS

An historical review of research in the field of substitute care for children, with particular emphasis on residential substitute care, will be provided. Parallel trends in the practice of substitute care services will be outlined. Certain research foci and debates have suffused the changing logic of substitute care. This has been reflected in the plans, priorities, and forms of care that achieved prominence at any point in time. Bowlby's maternal deprivation thesis and critical assessment of its major tenets will be discussed. It is essential to see residential substitute care, as a placement of choice, as informed by a stance on two theoretical issues: the nature of the mother-child relationship and the effects of separation from the mother on the child's development. Any stance taken on these theoretical issues is ideologically based, this being the central point of critiques of Bowlby's maternal deprivation thesis.

Reviewing the maternal deprivation thesis and research that it generated, the trend in research has been towards attempting to tease out the multiplicity of variables that are operative in mother-child relationships. The research reflects a growing awareness that it is more than separation from mother that determines the effects of removing a child and the outcome of residential substitute care. This places in more balanced perspective the significance of separation and other issues in residential substitute care. A degree of agreement on certain factors in residential substitute care that promote and inhibit development is identifiable, and common themes and concerns in the research will be extracted.

There has been a gradual re-evaluation of residential substitute care and a growing awareness that this form of care can be beneficial. Developments have occurred to move residential substitute care away from its historical image, and the image of residential substitute care generated by early research is in need of re-examination. Current trends in the provision of substitute care services will be reviewed, and these trends represent a potential prospective image for substitute care services. The present review focuses principally on British and American trends, yet South African trends will also be reviewed.

1.1 EARLY PERSPECTIVES ON RESIDENTIAL SUBSTITUTE CARE

The 1945 publication of the Reports of the Hampstead Nurseries and the case Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham made for and against residential nurseries is significant for three reasons. Firstly, the publication achieves relevance as an application of Sigmund Freud's ideas on adults to the wartime child separated from its family, rather than on the adult retrospectively. This enabled direct observational study of child developmental processes, especially those related to separation, usually clouded and obscured by a retrospective perspective. Secondly, the phase related implications of separation from the mother could be considered within the psychoanalytic model, advantages and disadvantages of the residential child's experiences varying according to zonal phases of development. Thirdly, the comparison of development under residential and family conditions was Freud and Burlingham's comparison of choice, and addressed the practice of forming artificial families as a means of providing substitute care.

Freud and Burlingham began with a statement of difference between children in residential nurseries and children reared in their families:

"It is recognised among workers in education and in child psychology that children who have spent their entire lives in institutions present a type of their own and differ in various respects from children who develop under the condition of family life" (1973, 543).

Freud and Burlingham observed a wide range of developmental failures. The residential nursery child showed severe regressive tendencies as a result of sudden separation from its family. Withdrawal into the self, enuresis, autoerotic forms of gratification, temper tantrums, and a return to earlier modes of expression of aggressive tendencies, all represent a regression in the service of finding the former, now lost, love objects (Freud and Burlingham, 1973). Also observed were emotional blunting in the infant as it withdrew emotional interest from the outside world, the development of superficial ties with adults in the nursery, and/or an overstressed desire to find the lost love objects. In summary then :

"The institutional child in the first two years has advantages in all those spheres of life which are independent of the emotional side of his nature; he is at a

disadvantage wherever the emotional ties to the mother or to the family are the mainspring of development" (Freud and Burlingham, 1973, 558).

Freud and Burlingham state the following as requirements for children : (a) an intimate exchange of emotions with a maternal figure, (b) sufficient and constant stimulation of innate abilities and potentials, and (c) unbroken continuity of care. On the basis of this statement of the child's needs, the superiority of the family is argued, residential care being seen as less than optimal.

The observations of Freud and Burlingham (1973) could be interpreted as either a result of the removal from family conditions, or could constitute a specific effect of nursery conditions, which if improved might yield different results. Freud and Burlingham (1973) introduced a relationship of a maternal type into nursery life. This practice considers whether emotional relationships between children and 'mothers' in residential conditions can substitute for emotional relationships which the child could have had with its parent/s. They found that emotions which would normally have been directed towards the parents tended to remain undeveloped in the nursery. Freud and Burlingham (1973) observed that these emotions remained latent in the child, ready to become apparent in any situation that presented an opportunity for their expression.

Freud and Burlingham's (1973) response to the need for a substitute model of care in the nursery was to experimentally divide the group into small units of four to five children with a nurse acting as a mother. The emotional reactions of the residential child became more like those of the child in the family setting. Strong possessive clinging attachments to the nurse and jealousy towards other children in the same group were also tempered by tolerance, a respect for the other's rights to possession of the nurse-mother, and displays of affection between residential children. Despite the disturbing and complicating elements that are introduced into the nursery setting by this practice, as well as the achievement of certain positive results, with each substitute relationship there arises the threat of renewed separation. This threat, or expectations of re-currence, resurfaces the issue and emotions associated with the first separation from the primary love objects. While the possibility of renewed separation may be used to justify arguments against family arrangements in the nursery, Freud and Burlingham counter-argue that :

"When choosing between the two evils of broken and interrupted attachments and an existence of emotional barrenness, the latter is the more harmful solution because ... it offers less prospect for normal character development" (Freud and Burlingham, 1973, 596).

There is, however, a difference between Freud and Burlingham's context and the contemporary situation. The reasons for admission to wartime residential nurseries, reflect the stresses of war, rather than a problem inherent in the family situation. Separation from the family and evacuation to the residential nurseries was prompted by a need to protect the safety of wartime children. Relationships between the children and their parents were generally positive (Freud and Burlingham, 1973), which is not consistent with present patterns in reasons for young children being placed in residential substitute care.

Spitz's (1945) exposition of the consequences of institutions for young people had a definitive impact on attitudes toward group care. To the rapidly growing evidence on the effects of institutional care on infants, Spitz added findings of high mortality rates, severe cognitive deficits, and psycho-social retardation as outcomes of the institutional child's development.

Of particular importance are two syndromes observed to be present in some of the infants, viz. 'hospitalism' and 'anaclitic depression'. Hospitalism referred to a particular condition of somatic and psychical deterioration associated with long-term hospital stays during infancy (Spitz, 1945). The syndrome of anaclitic depression (Spitz and Wolf, 1946) described a depressive reaction consequent on separation and placement in the institution of the child aged 6 to 12 months. "The children would lie or sit with wide open, expressionless eyes, frozen, immobile faces, and a far away expression as if in a daze, apparently not perceiving what went on in the environment" (Spitz and Wolf, 1946). Speculating on subsequent psychiatric disorders, Spitz (1945) listed delinquency, asocial disorders, intellectual sub-normality, and psychosis as possibilities.

Aiming to isolate and investigate factors responsible for the genesis of the psychopathology described, Spitz concludes that the favourableness of the outcome of infant development in the institution was related to the presence or absence of the infant's mother. Comparing infants in a

residential nursery with their mothers, and infants in a foundling home without their mothers, Spitz (1945) argued that it was not the absence of perceptual stimulation that was responsible for the stunted development of the infants, but more specifically an absence of human social stimulation, signified by the mother or mother-substitute. Following up the infants two years later, Spitz and Wolf (1946) observed sustained physical, intellectual, and psycho-social retardation, confirming the expectancy that deterioration is progressive once set in motion. The pessimism of Spitz's inquiry and the directness of the relationship between psychiatric conditions in early childhood and their genesis in the institutional environment, acted as a deterrent to the practice of group care (Wolins, 1974).

The thrust of Goldfarb's (1946) work was to test hypotheses relating the experience of living in institutional nurseries during early infancy to adverse personality, cognitive, physical and speech development. Because of certain similar features of the design envisaged for the present study, Goldfarb's study of the effect of institutional care on an adolescent sample is worth reviewing. Comparing schizophrenic children, institutionally reared children, and children reared in their families, Goldfarb found that both schizophrenic and institutional children showed impairments of personality functioning, and compared less favourably with their counterparts reared in their families of their origin. Specifically, Goldfarb cites deficiencies in rational control, defective regard for reality, reduced intellectual and social conformity drive, and emotional immaturity, as disturbing consequences of institutionalization, as shown by Rorschach test differences between the three groups. Furthermore, Goldfarb observed that the personality distortions associated with early deprivation were relatively enduring and evident in the adolescent personality, the personality becoming more inaccessible to change. Goldfarb's observations contributed to a negative image of institutions and residential care.

The studies of Freud and Burlingham (1945), Spitz (1946), and Goldfarb (1946) provided a particular perspective on the child in institutional or residential care conditions. The image of residential care generated was of an impersonal environment with many institutionalized features. Although studies generally focussed on the effects of residential environments on infants, they were seen as deleterious to children of all ages, producing durable deficits. A particular attitude to the residential environment as necessary due to social conditions, yet inadvisable from

the child's point of view, indicates the ambivalence that characterized the logic guiding substitute care practice at this time. Attention was being given to identifying reasons for the child's disturbed behaviour in institutional forms of residential care, observations generally being explained in terms of the presence or absence of the mother or family conditions. Freud and Burlingham (1973) reflected the sentiments of the Curtis Committee Report published in Britain in 1946, which stated the value of substitute care structures and conditions approximating the family as a model of care. Despite a stated intention to introduce 'family' conditions into residential nursery life, Freud and Burlingham read 'family' to mean 'mother' and provided only a mother-child dyadic relationship, rather than a triadic father-mother-child set of relationships. Freud and Burlingham recognise that while the mother's functions were assumed by substitutes, no person was substituted for the father. They argue, however, that the mother's role is more important than the father's and that his role achieves prominence only later in the child's development.

The centrality of the mother in the child's development, as presented in developmental theory and existing in the social structural division of roles, pre-dated Bowlby's maternal deprivation thesis. Prior to Bowlby, observations were made and the effects of institutional or residential care were commented on, yet were not elaborated into a theoretical position. Spitz (1945), Freud and Burlingham (1973), and Goldfarb (1946) worked within the psychoanalytic framework and were not concerned directly with addressing theoretical issues. Bowlby, however, while stating an allegiance to psychoanalytic theory, advanced a clear and separate theoretical position on the mother-child relationship, which has been termed the 'maternal deprivation thesis', and for which he claimed empirical backing. Furthermore, Bowlby's interpretation of the data went beyond lip service to the idea of the family and directly implicated the mother as the critical individual in the development of the child.

1.2 BOWLBY : THE MATERNAL DEPRIVATION THESIS

In Bowlby's 1951 World Health Organization (WHO) report Maternal Care and Mental Health, the principle underpinning his theory of the origins of mental health and illness were spelt out :

"... what is believed to be essential for mental health is that the infant and young child should experience

a warm, intimate, and continuous relationship with his mother (or permanent mother substitute) in which both find satisfaction and enjoyment" (1951, 11).

The relationship with the mother is thus brought into the centre of developmental accounts of personality and health, to the extent that when the child does not have this relationship, the term "maternal deprivation" is applied. Bowlby's (1951) review draws together numerous independent studies which confirmed and echoed the conclusions of each other. Of particular relevance to Bowlby were Spitz's, Goldfarb's and Freud and Burlingham's findings. A relationship between the 'affectionless character' or 'psychopathic character' in groups of juvenile offenders and the experience of separation in childhood had been described by Bowlby earlier than his WHO report, and in the 1951 report the picture of the affectionless pilferer who is superficially sociable was reiterated.

Bowlby (1951) attributed the reason for the development of affectionless and psychopathic characters to : the lack of an opportunity for developing an attachment to a mother-figure; deprivation for a limited period; and, frequent changes in the mother-figure. Indications were that the deprivation of mother-love in early infancy can have potentially extensive effects on the development of personality and on future mental health. Of significance are the observations of a hostile reaction to separation, withdrawal from emotional relationships, often combined with autistic and self-mutilative behaviour, superficial relationships with adults in the residential environment, clinging, jealousy, and temper tantrums (Bowlby, 1951). A gradual impairment of the capacity to form new relationships was of particular consequence (Bowlby, 1951).

In interpreting these findings, and the findings on residential substitute child care in general, it is important not to evaluate them too hastily and conclusively, and to guard against the possibility of misjudgement. The following comment by Bowlby is instructive :

"A special note of warning must be sounded regarding children who respond apathetically or by cheerful indiscriminating friendliness, since people ignorant of these principles of mental health are habitually deceived by them. Often they are quiet, obedient, easy to manage, well-mannered and orderly, and physically healthy; many of them even appear

happy. So long as they remain in the institution there is no obvious ground for concern, yet when they leave they go to pieces, and it is evident that their adjustment had a hollow quality and was not based on a real growth of the personality" (Bowlby, 1951, 25).

Bowlby (1951) discounted the need for further effort to demonstrate the validity of the maternal deprivation proposition, suggesting that research be directed towards studying basic processes and identifying the relative effects of the variables operating. The age and emotional development of the child, the length of deprivation, the degree of deprivation, and the reason for the separation were suggested as important variables (Bowlby, 1951). Paradoxically, Bowlby's review thus also fostered a more scientific attitude and research practice in the area of research into child care. His suggestions guided future research, the maternal deprivation proposition continuing to be assumed and not directly tested.

Bowlby's summary of findings undisputably challenged conventional wisdom in child care relating to the primacy of physical care. Bowlby's position was that adequate physical care was not sufficient to provide for the child's intellectual, social and emotional development. Earlier theories of child rearing had stressed the child's physical hygiene and its moral development and on this basis a certain amount of officially sanctioned separation was practiced (Dinnage and Pringle, 1967). However, the attitude to the child's physical health was not matched by an awareness of the effects of child rearing methods on the child's psychological development. Bowlby's findings thus represented a development of arguments for the psychological needs of the child to be considered.

Bowlby's observations and the psychic implications of the continuity of mothering care were absorbed into social work (Riley, 1983). While the issue of whether children were better off in their own homes or in residential homes has been an ongoing debate in social work and welfare services, Bowlby's influence was to exert increased pressure against the practice of removing children. Potentially more children could remain in their own homes if supportive services were available. Standards of care were called increasingly into question, opponents of residential substitute care claiming that children could be better placed in foster or adoptive homes. Arguments were in favour of more support being given

to mothers and families, and of returning children to their families (Parker, 1980). There was thus a trend away from residential child care as a placement of choice. In Britain and America residential substitute care was increasingly questioned and abandoned as the implications of Bowlby's position became part of the theory directing thinking in child care. The maternal deprivation thesis was uncritically accepted initially, deprivation being seen as consequent on separation. Arguments for separation on the basis of existing deprivation were tempered by the predicates of maternal deprivation thesis.

1.3 ASSESSING THE MATERNAL DEPRIVATION THESIS : METHODOLOGICAL, THEORETICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CRITIQUES

In the preface to Morgan's Child Care : Sense and Fable, Eysenck is cutting in his criticism of the maternal deprivation thesis:

"The studies on which the theory of maternal deprivation is based are badly designed, poorly controlled and executed, and often irrelevant to the theory they are supposed to support. The theory itself is internally contradictory, and derives from principles which in themselves are at best doubtful, and at worst discredited. Furthermore, there is now good evidence, deriving from proper experimental studies which emphatically goes counter to the tenets of the theory" (Eysenck in Morgan, 1975, 9).

The design of Bowlby's studies, and those on which the maternal deprivation thesis was based, reveal certain problems. The studies did not control for the children's experiences prior to separation. Since the children were often placed in inadequate substitute care arrangements, the effect of the kind of post-separation experience, particularly the conditions of substitute care, needs to be questioned. The tendency of the studies to use age at separation as a variable ignores the developmental phase that the child was in at the time and this deficit must be corrected. Maas (1970), in a follow-up study of twenty adults who as preschoolers had spent at least one year in a residential nursery, challenges the assumption of a linear relationship between age at separation and the extent of durable personality disturbances. The use of developmental phase is a more appropriate and relevant indicator of the implications of separation for development. Furthermore, studying children who are separated and placed in residential care involves more than as-

sessing the pre-separation experience and the residential care experience, but requires studying the interactive effects of the two on the child's development.

The controversial debate on the maternal deprivation thesis was given considerable impetus by Casler's (1961) review of the thesis and his reworking of the basic hypothesis to state that maternal deprivation was not that clearly related to later pathology. Rutter (1981) reviews the literature and research on maternal deprivation, analyzing the different effects of various kinds of deprivation. Maternal deprivation is not a particular independent syndrome, but refers to a collectivity of experiences. Maternal deprivation implicates different processes and mechanisms of development. Age, sex, and temperament of the child are significant factors held to modify the effects of separation. The nature of the previous relationship between the mother and child, previous separation experiences, the presence of persons other than the mother, and the nature of circumstances during the separation, rank as important variables mediating the short-term response to separation (Rutter, 1981). There are different mechanisms involved which makes it difficult to clarify whether the effects observed are a result of the separation per se, the strangeness of the new environment, and/or the continuing manifestation of a disturbed mother-child relationship. Consequently, states Rutter:

"The concept of 'maternal deprivation' has undoubtedly been useful in focusing attention on the sometimes grave consequences of deficient or disturbed care in early life. However, it is now evident that the experiences included under the general term 'maternal deprivation' are too heterogeneous and the effects too varied for it to have any usefulness. It has served its purpose and should be abandoned" (Rutter, 1981, 130).

Despite methodological complications, Rutter reinterprets Bowlby's position, drawing a useful distinction between 'deprivation' and 'privation'. Deprivation refers to the loss of stimulation consequent on separation, while privation refers to the lack of stimulation prior to the separation. On this basis the explanations of affectionless psychopathy provided by Bowlby, are revised by Rutter (1981) to entail a failure to develop attachment rather than a severance of attachment. A crucial distinction must, therefore, be made between a failure to make bonds of affection, and deprivation following the formation of these bonds (Rutter,

1981). As Rutter states: "... surprisingly little attention has been paid in the literature to the distinction between not having some necessary experience as against having it but then losing it" (1981, 108-9). Separation and the disruption of bonds are not synonymous.

Rutter retains an emphasis on the importance of affectional bonding, and a belief in the relationship between childhood bonding experiences and later psychiatric disorder. He calls more for a need to be specific about the childhood bonding experience. Rutter (1981) encourages a more optimistic view than Bowlby, asserting that the evidence does not support the claim that the ill-effects of maternal deprivation are enduring and not reversible. This challenge is of central importance in undermining claims like those of Bowlby and Goldfarb that mothering is of little use if supplied after the child is a year old. Challenging this assumption also opens practice up to a treatment focus, important questions having to do with how readily and completely can reversibility or amelioration be attained. While Rutter's critique is experimentally based and directed at Bowlby's design and methodology, the critiques of Morgan and Riley have been chiefly directed at an ideological bias in Bowlby's approach.

Women became more involved in labour movements and feminist political thinking advanced, these changes developing alongside Bowlby's maternal deprivation thesis. Feminist critiques have insisted on a collusion between government plans and policies, and the proponents of the maternal deprivation line of argument. The maternal deprivation theory thus encompasses and represents an ideological position (Morgan, 1975). Leading beliefs include holding childhood crucial for later development, postulating that the basis for adult personality is established by the age five, and most significantly, the supposition that a secure and uninterrupted love relationship with a mother is essential. The maternal deprivation position thus exists more as a belief than a series of experimentally confirmed propositions (Morgan, 1975). However, these ideological suppositions existed in Bowlby's work *a priori* to the maternal deprivation thesis. His earlier study on the juvenile thieves led Bowlby to state a relationship between the criminal character and early prolonged separation. These early suppositions were influential in Bowlby's later 1951 report on mental health and maternal care. The rise of post-war "Bowlbyism" (Riley, 1983) was expressed in the wide scale popularization of his suppositions, and the essential propositions of his theory soon came to be known by many (Morgan,

1975). The popularization and interpretations of his thesis are thus to be seen separately from the propositions as Bowlby may have intended them to be read.

Developments in the women's liberation movement and the thesis that the child needs a devoted mother to have an uninterrupted relationship, are difficult to envisage existing side-by-side. There is an incompatibility between the two expressed in an ideological debate.

"The debates of the thirties bequeathed ... a heritage of a mother-child obsession. It does not mount to an estimation of the intrinsic merits or otherwise of the work to point out that the developments of child psychoanalysis contributed very neatly to the political demands of the epoch" (Mitchell, 1983, 229).

The maternal deprivation theory in its literal form would provide stringent warning against separating children from families which might seem deplorable and intolerable. It went beyond this in predicting the possibility of severe antisocial tendencies and delinquency as outcomes of separation. The popular post-war descriptions of motherhood denied the needs and problems of the working woman with children. Policies were biased against day care and the supposed problems that shared care posed. Above all, the maternal deprivation thesis prescribed that residential care was to be avoided. To a lesser extent, but still inadvisable, day care and shared systems of care were not given sufficient credence as an adequate form of substitute care. Bowlbyism thus accorded with the trend in "keeping mother's in the home" (Riley, 1983, 100). Bowlby's thesis and the powerful sentiment surrounding it, were extended into the conviction that mothers should remain with their children at virtually all times, and that day care was problematic for this reason.

Morgan (1975) claims that the object of her critique is the methodology of the maternal deprivation theory; that the experiments that the theory based itself on were not sufficiently controlled and scientific. Her critique is not this pure however, appearing to be more motivated by a critique of psychoanalysis and its resistance to empirical validation. As a result her critique of the maternal deprivation thesis carries more weight as a critique of the ideology enmeshed in the thesis, and points to the social context in which the maternal deprivation thesis was located. Mitchell is correct in pointing to the obvious exclusion of fathers and

the mother-centredness of psychoanalytic frameworks and the parallel between the theoretical framework and social reality. "Evacuee children were 'maternally deprived' - bombs and poverty and absent fathers didn't come into it" (Mitchell, 1984, 228).

This assessment of the maternal deprivation thesis sensitizes the researcher to ideological, theoretical and methodological biases of observations, and the need to accept very few definites in child care and child rearing practices. What is most important is that the maternal deprivation thesis is not scientifically established. Rutter (1981) began to differentiate the multiplicity of variables that Bowlby (1951) termed "maternal deprivation" and conflated with separation. This trend in disengaging maternal deprivation and separation continued.

1.4 DIFFERENTIATING MATERNAL DEPRIVATION AND SEPARATION

The initial concern was to examine the role of the age of the child at separation, the duration of the separation, and the conditions of the separation, as if the separation occurred *in vacuo*. The event of separation is only a point in the child's development, and although it is a variable of importance, its status should not be overemphasised. Freud and Burlingham (1973) had been fortunate enough to have access to an experiment, provided by World War II, allowing the study of separation as a variable in isolation unclouded by factors such as previous family conflict. Their descriptions of the development of the residential nursery children thus represent an unusual phenomenon, which would no doubt have been differently manifest if the children had experienced previous deprivation. Maas (1970) followed up 20 adults who, as children, had been placed in wartime residential nurseries for at least one year. Counter to the predictions of the maternal deprivation thesis, Maas found no evidence of extreme reactions resultant on separation and residential nursery experiences in the adults. The study indicates that the effects of separation cannot be considered apart from the family life from which the child was separated and to which the child returned. The error of the maternal deprivation argument is highlighted by Seidan (1974) in his argument for maternal separation as having salutary effects. Seidan's position is that it is not always applicable or justifiable to assume that separation from maternal care and deprivation are necessarily related; and that, in certain cases, separation may be beneficial to both the mother and child. Seiden's (1974) argument for residential

child care thus entails a challenge to the maternal deprivation thesis. It is fallacious to equate separation from mother with maternal deprivation. Separation may thus have growthful effects. Previously the issue of maternal deprivation/separation and the effects of residential care per se could not be seen clearly, since the maternal deprivation thesis specified that the focus needed to be on separation from the mother. With the challenges to Bowlby's position becoming more vocal, it emerged as "fact" (Dinnage and Pringle, 1967) that deprivation without separation was as pathogenic as deprivation with separation.

Focussing on Pringle's work over a period (Pringle and Bossio, 1958; Pringle and Bossio, 1960; Pringle and Clifford, 1962) indicates the trend in research to question the role of separation, and for research to become interested in specifying conditions in residential substitute care associated with favourable and unfavourable adjustment of the children. Pringle and Bossio (1958) studied a sample of deprived children who had been separated from their families, comparing this group with children from an ordinary school group. The aim was to test whether the effects of deprivation were more severe when : (a) separation occurred early, (b) separation was long-lasting, and (c) deprivation was severe. The children studied were aged 8 to 14 years, and were resident in cottage type homes, separated by age and sex. Generally, the children in Pringle and Bossio's (1958) study were admitted to care for a variety of reasons: illness or death of parents, extreme poverty, to divorce, ill-treatment, mental illness in one or both parents, conviction and imprisonment of a parent, or due to the child being out of control. Using a projective test and the Bristol Social Adjustment Scale, Pringle and Bossio (1958) found infantile aggressive behaviour, compulsions and self-punishment, as well as overanxiety to gain attention. The sample of children in care showed more serious emotional disturbance than children raised in their own families. There is some evidence from their findings that early and late separation produce different effects; more damage being associated with early separation, the cut off age being around 5 years of age.

Following-up the residential sample two years later, Pringle and Bossio (1960) examined the difference between children classified as emotionally stable and emotionally disturbed. The stable group were found to have established good relationships with both adults and children in the residential environment, and had not been removed from their mothers before their first birthday. All the children classified as emotionally

stable had had experiences of lasting and dependable relationships with a parent or parent- substitute after entry into residential care. The group of emotionally disturbed children had not had the opportunity to form stable relationships with parent figures, appearing to be unable to make relationships with adults and other children. The critical factor, assert Pringle and Bossio (1960), is acceptance or rejection by adult parent and substitute-parent figures. Pringle and Bossio (1960) interpret these findings to indicate that physical separation and long-term residential substitute care *per se* do not necessarily lead to emotional difficulties. This proposition was further validated by Pringle and Clifford (1962) using a sample independent from their previous study. Pringle and Clifford (1962) discerned the amount of contact with parents and parent-substitutes as a significant factor associated with emotional adjustment of residential substitute care children.

The empirical studies that were popular in examining the role of separation and other variables in the child's development, examined all possible major variables. Pringle realizes the enmeshment of these variables and in evaluating residential child care, seen objectively in relation to maternal deprivation/separation, the present research is guided by these sentiments.

"It is difficult, if not impossible, to isolate and estimate separation effects from all other unfavourable influences to which the children have been exposed. Also the 'in care' experience itself will be different for each child, depending on his age, the length of time away from home, how often he was removed, the quality of the substitute provided, whether he remained in touch with members of his family or others close to him, as well as his own resilience under stress" (Pringle, 1981, 137).

1.5 SIGNIFICANT FACTORS PROMOTING AND INHIBITING DEVELOPMENT - SOME COMMON THEMES

The literature indicates that there are many factors that are necessary for maximizing the potential of residential substitute care environments. The importance of a child having a dependable, enduring relationship with an adult while in care is generally accepted as a factor facilitating growthful residential substitute care (Dinnage and Pringle, 1967; Pringle and Bossio, 1958; Pringle, 1981). There are indications that continuing contact with people in the child's life, who were previously

close to the child are important factors influencing the positive outcome of residential substitute care (Maier, 1981). In the light of this emphasis on adult caring figures, Maier's comment is instructive :

"In addition to the primary caring persons, very frequently it is the slightly older siblings and peers or the heroes in stories and on television, a few steps ahead in development, who represent models and idols" (Maier, 1981, 38).

Maier (1981) thus supports nurturing relationships which allow for dependency as fundamental ingredients in successful residential substitute care. Children in this form of care have had little experience in having dependency needs met. The experience of being able to depend securely is thus an important facet of residential substitute care which aims at providing a corrective emotional experience for the child, and these experiences must be built into residential substitute care.

Furthermore, the presence of a more stable and skilled staff of child care workers is an important ingredient of effective residential substitute care (Dinnage and Pringle, 1967). It is not possible to see the quality of residential substitute care separate from the quality of care provided by substitute-parents and others in residential substitute care environments. Several authors have expressed concern about the high rate of staff turnover in substitute care systems (Ainsworth and Fulcher, 1981; Dinnage and Pringle, 1967; Maier, 1981; Parker, 1980; Olmesdahl, 1986), this feature mediating against the establishment of stable relationships in the residential care environment. Tizard and Tizard (1971) found that social development of two year old children in residential nurseries was associated with the relationship between caretakers and children. If there is limited emotional involvement with caretakers, this limits the child's range of emotional experience (Tizard and Tizard, 1971). Olmesdahl (1986), citing the De Meyer report, refers to staff shortages in South African substitute care environments, with the ratio of staff members to children sometimes being as low as 1:50. Furthermore, a complete turn over of staff can be expected to occur within three years (Olmesdahl, 1986). There is also a generalized lack of experience and formal training among staff in South African substitute care environments (Olmesdahl, 1986).

Ainsworth and Fulcher (1981) point to the neglect of staff training as an area of service practice. In Britain, there is a general lack of commit-

ment to provide an extensive and relevant training for staff. Uncertainty about what skills are relevant, and an underlying attitude that the skills required for caring for children are predominantly feminine and innate skills, have placed limitations on the implementation of ideas that could facilitate improved residential substitute care. While at present low salaries present a deterrent to workers entering the field, and the public's regard for the child care worker is low, improved training is essential in order for these problems to be overcome. Olmesdahl (1986) believes that the R451 per month earned by many workers in substitute care environments does not credit the amount of time workers put into their emotionally stressful occupation. Often, however, staff and child care workers are not given sufficient encouragement. Residential substitute care is not an easy field in which to do work with confidence.

Staff and child care workers require skills in making relationships at both professional and emotional levels of involvement with the child. A knowledge about human development and the application of these ideas to caring for children in residential substitute care is also needed (Maier, 1981). Knowledge of child development suggests that methods of practice in residential settings need to involve staff and child care workers in the everyday life of children in residential substitute care, permitting ongoing opportunities for treatment interventions. However, it will remain the care-giver's personal investment that converts these skills and knowledge into effective caring. The motivations of staff and child care workers will translate their attitudes towards the children into the particular 'caring' that is given to the children.

An attitude among staff identified by Tizard and Tizard (1971) was that close relationships should not be allowed to develop between the children and the staff, since this is potentially damaging to the child and creates difficulties in the residential substitute care environment. Staff cited rivalry problems as a particular issue if staff become emotionally involved with the children (Tizard and Tizard, 1971). However, this attitude fails to recognise that rivalry is developmentally normal and that rivalry and the resolution of the problems this poses are essential if the child is to begin to appreciate that its wishes cannot always be satisfied. If rivalry is never allowed to develop, and thus not be resolved, rivalry will remain difficult to deal with (Freud, 1979). The child's needs for caring and for close emotional bonds are more important than rivalry that may develop, and staff and child care workers need to be equipped to deal with such problems.

Inferences from research on unfavourable factors for children in residential substitute care indicate that there are two prime factors related to poor outcome; viz, early entry into care, and the absence of positive family or substitute family contacts (Dinnage and Pringle, 1967). Tizard and Hodges (1978) observed attention seeking behaviour, over-friendliness to strangers, and indiscriminate affection, as well as detachment from others; associating these effects with the absence of close personal relationships between children in care and adults who cared for them. The picture they provide is partly contradictory and does not account for the differential responses. Tizard and Hodges (1978) do not explain why some children should be overfriendly and others detached.

Although it is generally anticipated that the length of residential substitute care is a factor of significance, this has not been unanimously confirmed. Pringle and Bossio (1958) found that inadequate emotional adjustment was related to early admission into care, this operating independently of the length of care. It appears that rejection by one or either parent is a more significant factor, which overrides length of residential substitute care and causes more disturbance to the child's development (Dinnage and Pringle, 1967).

A common theme in residential substitute care is the issue of continuity of care and predictability, and the implications this has for the child's identity. Continuity of care, originally expressed as valuable by Freud and Burlingham, is still regarded as a central principle of good child care. Pringle (1981) argues that although home circumstances may be adverse and even though the quality of home care may be inadequate, the child lives in familiar surroundings with familiar people. It is frequently assumed that being removed means the disappearance and fragmentation of a familiar and accepted world. In a family home, shared and personal memories, and possibly a shared orientation to the future, assist in providing the child with a degree of predictability. The effects on growth of self awareness and development of identity are assumed to be marked for the child in residential substitute care. This is normally held to be due to the child having no person with whom to share, confirm, and sustain these memories (Pringle, 1981).

Parker (1980) reports that services in Britain are structured in such a way that children experience difficulties in attaining and retaining a sense of personal continuity, which is in turn integral to consolidating a sense of identity. "Often they can provide no answers for themselves to

the questions : Who am I? Where do I belong?" (Parker, 1980, 3). Furthermore the child in care may have unanswered questions about the placement and care situation, with implications for their sense of identity. They may be uncertain about why they entered residential substitute care, if placement changes occurred why these had occurred, why other children or staff had left, and what will happen to them when they are old enough to leave care (Pringle, 1981). Knowledge about a child's background, even when this is painful, is thus considered to be important for the child (Dinnage and Pringle, 1967), and evidence points to this being the basis from which the child develops a sense of continuity.

That the child in long-term residential substitute care lacks a reliable past and has an uncertain future is not disputed. Yet it is not automatic that predictability, continuity and the development of secure identity, be present in family conditions. It is more the disturbance of continuity that causes difficulties in identity formation. When the past involves a breach of continuity of care arrangements, the child has a difficult task; to attempt to form a coherent understanding of why it was removed, to understand the personal implications of the removal, and to consolidate experiences of family and residential substitute care.

The literature tends to be vague in its attempts to specify what continuity of care entails, and the references to 'identity' are hypothesized rather than researched. Clearly more information is needed on the subject of the child's identity and how this is related to residential substitute care. Where particularly are the lacunae in the child's knowledge of itself, its past and present? Research could attempt a more precise specification of the nature and development of 'identity'.

1.6 RESIDENTIAL SUBSTITUTE CARE RE-EVALUATED

"It is well known to every student of child development that serious personality defects are said to follow early institutional rearing. The evidence on which this assertion is based is now very out-dated and in need of review. Most English residential nurseries for young children have enormously improved in response to criticism and bear little resemblance to the grim institutions described by earlier writers" (Tizard and Rees, 1975, 61).

The challenges to the theoretical and methodological soundness of Bowlby's monograph and a questioning of the implications of these

challenges for substitute care practice and services, encouraged residential substitute care as a more favourable choice of placement. The issues of maternal deprivation and substitute child care became disengaged, as studies began to provide a more objective perspective on residential substitute care. Yet for Dinnage and Pringle (1967) the improvements in residential substitute care that were evident in the late 1960's were not sufficient to allow this form of substitute care to be a long-term placement choice, short-term temporary residential substitute care being preferable. Although the trend is away from block or dormitory style residential care, toward smaller units allowing more autonomy and individuality, this trend is not pervasive. The depersonalization of care, and the social distance between staff and children in residential care were particularly apparent for Tizard (King, Raynes, and Tizard, 1971; Tizard, Sinclair and Clarke, 1976).

However, since the 1960's, the high rate of fostering breakdown and the shortage of adequate homes for foster placement has tended to direct preference in placement decisions towards residential substitute care (Dinnage and Pringle, 1967). Institutions of the past with large dormitories, dining halls and other impersonal features, present a particular image of residential substitute care. The basic motivations for change contained in criticisms of large institutions have been absorbed by social welfare and residential substitute care practice, and a new generation of services have developed since the 1960's in Britain and America (Ainsworth and Fulcher, 1981).

Wolins (1974) particularly has challenged the negative image of institutions, presenting a description of group child care settings which indicate that this form of care can be beneficial to the child. Group care environments such as the Israeli Kibbutz, USSR boarding school, and the 'kinderdorf' in Austria, indicate that separation from the mother, the provision of multiple mothering, and long-term group care, are not necessarily harmful to the child's development (Wolins, 1974). Comparing Austrian and Yugoslav children's home children, and children living with their parents, Wolins (1974) identified the children's home children as functioning well. The children were assessed on the basis of age at separation, age at testing, length of care, Thematic Apperception Tests (TAT), Sentence Completion Tests, Ravens Progressive Matrices (RPM), Weschler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC), scholastic achievement, and medical, psychological, and social group problems in placement. Wolins (1974) found little evidence of deficiencies in

intelligence, personality, and social development, even though the children experienced early separation from their mothers, and many years in care. Wolin's (1974) interpretation is that children can benefit from residential care attributing the beneficial effects to continuing contact with parents and with adults outside the residence.

Although the children studied by Wolins, particularly the Kibbutz children, present a picture of adequate development, the conditions in the group settings studied are different to residential settings elsewhere. Wolin's evidence does not contradict the findings of earlier studies. The Kibbutz setting is generally well-staffed, its members are child-centred, children are generally fed by their mother, and the children spend daily time with parents. Instead the difference in conditions motivates for an appreciation of the possibility of structuring and organizing residential substitute care environments in a way that promotes growth. Wolin's findings are reassuring in that they demonstrate that from the point of the child's development, there is nothing *per se* to contraindicate a group mode of care.

At present the idea of caring for children in groups has become more acceptable, yet implementation of the basic principles lags behind acceptance. Ainsworth and Fulcher (1981) call for a fuller acceptance of group care, focusing on the practical issues and skills required for developing this form of care. Ainsworth and Fulcher (1981) identify a trend towards encouraging personal and social development by providing opportunities for individual attention in the group situation and for more positive interaction. A commitment to improving the quality of residential substitute care is thus being consolidated.

1.7 CURRENT TRENDS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

1.7.1 Therapeutic Communities

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 "Only if children's institutions become 'therapeutic communities', aiming to remedy and rehabilitate the hurt, confused and damaged child, can they claim to provide a viable form of substitute care" (Pringle, 1981, 138).

Dinnage and Pringle (1967) identify a change in emphasis in service provision; attempting to move away from reliance on long-term residential substitute care, towards the therapeutic community based on

rehabilitation and prevention of further difficulties. The therapeutic community has potential to address more than the rescuing and protective function of substitute care. It can introduce the aim of providing a corrective emotional experience, thus rescuing the child based on the belief that something better can be provided. Reflecting on the American experience, Whittaker (1981) points to the virtual disappearance of the 'children's home' and the transformation of the 'children's home' into treatment oriented group residences. There are extensive attempts to create a 'therapeutic milieu' and to identify forces in group living that direct the attainment of therapeutic change. Therapy is no longer seen as the exclusive prerogative and monopolistic practice of qualified experts. Staff and child care workers can join an expanded therapeutic circle. The idea of the therapeutic community theoretically justifies a belief that staff and child care workers should form closer, informal relationships with children in care. Of course, this needs better trained staff.

From the outset, the effects of separation have been seen largely as permanent (Bowlby, 1951; Freud and Burlingham, 1973; Goldfarb, 1946; Spitz, 1945; Spitz and Wolf, 1946). Maas's (1963) follow-up study of wartime residential children as adults, found no evidence to favour the assertion that the effects of early experience are irreversible. Although Maas's use of marriage as an indicator for psychological adjustment is problematic, his findings place in question the assumption that the earlier the child is placed, the more permanent the personality disturbances that result. The therapeutic community directly challenges the irreversibility assumption of earlier research. While early experiences are formative and decisive, the effects of early experience may be modified, rather than reversed, and the 'therapeutic community' concept is invaluable in this task.

The 'therapeutic community' can sound awesome and unobtainable, yet by way of program evaluation the end goal of a therapeutic community can be brought closer to actualization. There is a trend in British, American, and more recently South African practice and research to focus on evaluation of particular group care programs. Ainsworth and Fulcher (1981) believe the concept of the program to have been inadequately explained. The notion of planning in terms of programs which can be evaluated during their progression is an attractive prospect for inclusion when designing services. Addressing itself to a circumscribed group of children, program evaluation can develop as an alternative to

comparative studies attempting to discern differences between family reared children and children reared in residential substitute care environments, and to studies which define the effects of residential care in a global conclusive manner. In these terms, the difference between family and residential groups is presupposed, and the need for devising a treatment plan for the disadvantaged group is primary. Alternatively, programs can be designed consequent on comparative research. Program evaluation can become part of a research based attempt to develop suggestions for a therapeutic program.

1.7.2 Preventive Services

Contemporary child care thinking emphasizes the provision of timely and appropriate preventive services. The Parker (1980) report forwarded the need to plan for individual children and the need to move to a more preventive orientation, as two suggestions to assist in guiding the development of services for separated children in the future. Day care and improving the quality of parental care are two of the major foci of preventive services at present. Effective preventive work is dependent on early supportive services for families defined as vulnerable and at risk. The need for long-term support of families if they are to remain together is thus one of the emphases of preventive services.

1.7.2.1 Day Care

Day care has increasingly come to attain relevance as a mode of substitute care. Historically, the trend in post-war years was not in favour of day care, opponents following Bowlby's line. The discomfort about day care is still expressed in the contemporary situation. Pilling and Pringle (1978) are dubious about the advisability of shared care systems, questioning whether the child is at risk in day care situations. They seem to imply that it is problematic to share care, using the findings of research on human attachment to support their case. Yet at present the idea of day care is developing and many practical schemes are being devised (Parker, 1980).

Parker (1980) believes that day care can simultaneously safeguard the needs of the child and sustain parents, and is a viable part solution to problems facing the organization of substitute care systems in Britain. Peters and Belsky (1982) trace the evolution of the day care system and project a possible future for day care as a major part of substitute care

systems in the United States. The day care movement has resulted in much research, policy making and attention from the public, the nature of this form of supplementary care producing much ambivalence in the field. While the family is upheld as the ideal model of child care, changing social circumstances call for a re-alignment of policy making. Good overall care adequately providing for the child's development and day care are not incompatible, and day care represents a potential cornerstone of preventive services.

1.7.2.2 Training in Parental Care

Bowlby (1951) predicted deficiencies in the parenting skills of children separated from their mothers as part of the maternal deprivation complex. This concern has endured, represented by Parker's comments:

"Parents who have spent part of their childhoods in care, or whose early lives have been disorganised and disturbed, are likely to have missed the good ordinary experiences of parental care. Their own skills as parents may be damaged as a result. In a few cases the damage is irrevocable and the parents will never be able to provide a satisfactory home. But there are parents, presently regarded as 'inadequate', who could be helped to provide 'good enough' care" (Parker, 1980, 56).

Although these claims do not have extensive empirical backing, logic prescribes that children who are not adequately cared for will (as parents) have difficulties caring for their own children. What is required is a commitment to improving parental care while children are still in care by anticipating skills required and providing training in these skills.

1.7.3 Permanency Planning : A Continuum of Services

The aim of permanency planning is to make decisions about the child's needs and forms of services needed which lay the foundation for a permanent, stable care arrangement for the child (Shayne, 1984). Shayne (1984) construes forms of services provided to children and their families as ranging along a continuum, from least intrusive to most intrusive forms. Training in parental skills and day care are thus services which tend to be the least intrusive. Moving away from preventive services to more intrusive service provision are foster care, residential sub-

stitute care, and adoption. Permanency planning (Shayne, 1984) thus represents a useful concept and method of directing service provision that subsumes forms of prevention and intervention under a single focused topic: viz., planning for permanency and stability.

1.8 SOUTH AFRICAN TRENDS

In South Africa, substitute care services fell under the provisions of the Children's Act No. 33, of 1960 until February 1987, when it was replaced by the Child Care Act No. 74, of 1983. These regulations dictate the practice and services of structures, agencies, organizations, and institutions which are concerned with substitute care. The legislation also encourages a particular logic in decision making processes relevant to separating children from their families and placing them in a form of substitute care. Reviewing this legislation should provide insight into the provision of substitute care services in South Africa, with emphasis on changing trends in residential substitute care services and practice.

The Children's Act (1960) specifies a child as any person under the age of 18 years. Provision for removal and placement hinge on the definition of a "child in need of care", meaning a child who:

- "(a) has been abandoned or is without visible means of support; or
- (b) has no parent or guardian or has parents or a parent or guardian who do or does not or are or is unfit to exercise proper control over that child; or
- (c) is in the custody of a person who has been convicted of committing upon or in connection with that child any offence mentioned in the First Schedule to this Act; or
- (d) cannot be controlled by his parents or guardian or the person in whose custody he is; or
- (e) is an habitual truant; or
- (f) frequents the company of any immoral or vicious person, or is otherwise living in circumstances calculated to cause or conduce to his seduction, corruption or prostitution; or
- (g) (i) begs; or
- (ii) being under the age of twelve years engages in any forms of street trading within the area of jurisdiction of a local authority unless that local authority has by means of bye-laws made under section twenty-two or any other law, prescribed that such a child may engage in that form of street trad-

ing and unless he does so in accordance with bye-laws made under section twenty-two; or
 (iii) being not under the age of twelve years but under the age of sixteen years engages in any form of street trading within the area of jurisdiction of a local authority in contravention of bye-laws made by that local authority under section twenty-two; or
 (h) is being maintained apart from his parents or guardian in domestic circumstances which are detrimental to his interests and whose parents or guardian cannot be found or have failed to make suitable provision for the care and custody of the child although they have been called upon to do so; or
 (i) is in a state of physical or mental neglect."
 (Children's Act, 1960, Section 1, p 4-6).

The act makes provision for placement of the child in need of care in a children's home. Provisions for adoption, fostering, and placement in Reform Schools, Schools of Industries, and Places of Safety are also legislated.

The Child Care Act (1983) similarly defines the child as any person under the age of 18 years. However the reasons for removal are different. The focus has changed to emphasis being placed on parental adequacy/inadequacy rather than on the child in need of care. These provisions are more open to the interpretation of administrators and practitioners in substitute care services. A judgemental, possibly moralistic, opinion of the child's parent as a parent and as a person is called for by the Act. Thus when recommending removal, it is necessary to specify incompetent parental care (Child Care Act, 1983, Section 14). The Act provides for the placement of a child whose parent/s are unfit or unable to care for it in alternative care.

The Child Care Act (1983) appears to encourage a trend away from removing children from their parent/s, this being indicated by a procedure which makes removal more difficult (Child Care Act, 1983, Sec. 14). The trend is also towards returning children more speedily to parental care (Child Care Act, 1983, Section 16 (1)). Orders for removal and placement lapse after 2 years as a maximum period, the child then being returned to the custody of parents. If it is considered that the child not be returned to parents, a motivation for continued placement has to be submitted, and if successful, is grounds for placement for a further 2-year period. The Act requires that a report be sub-

mitted specifying the child's behaviour and progress in the placement situation (Child Care Act, 1983, Section 16 (2)). Furthermore, this report must specify what services the child has been provided with, and what was the child's response to service provision. Contact with parents needs to be specified along with supporting reasons why the child should not be returned.

The Child Care Act (1983) appears to discourage long-term residential substitute care as a placement of choice. A stronger commitment to supportive and preventive services will need to be developed as a result. The need to motivate for continued placement, with reference to the services provided for the child, indicates a developing commitment to possibly ameliorating the effects of inadequate parental care for the child. The Act encourages substitute care services to attempt to move beyond merely protecting children, towards directing services to the child's need for amelioration of its difficulties.

The present research is located in the legislative climate and trends in the logic of substitute care services outlined above. While the Children's Act (1960) is more directly relevant to the group of children in residential substitute care intended for study in the present research, the Act being operative during the time of their placement, the implications of the present research need to be filtered through the Child Care Act (1983).

If residential substitute care is to meet the child's needs, adequately provide for the child's development, and serve an ameliorative function, the standard of services, procedures and policies needs to be continually reconsidered. At the National Welfare Board Conference in 1974, the need for research in this area was emphasized (De Bruyn, 1974; Dowling, 1974).

"To raise the standard of services to children it is imperative that priority be given to research on a national scale into all aspects of foster care and substitute care" (De Bruyn, 1974, 46).

Almost ten years later, Snyman and Zimble (1983) reiterated the priority status of the need for research in the field of substitute care. Reporting on the results of a nationwide survey by the Section for Social Work Research (Human Sciences Research Council), Snyman and Zimble state that:

"In terms of possible research themes, the two topics that received the most stress were the state of the social work profession and the appropriateness and success of a variety of forms of care and types of treatment" (Snyman and Zimble, 1983, 34).

While there have been repeated statements referring to the need for research, this need continues to be apparent.

1.9 OVERVIEW AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PRESENT RESEARCH

Research into residential substitute care reveals a difference between children brought up exclusively in intact families and children who have been placed in substitute care. The nature of this difference is still in need of further examination. The family is explicitly and implicitly the norm against which residential substitute care is compared, and the fairness of such a comparison is in need of comment. Residential substitute care frequently attempts to emulate family models of care, and to bring the residential care experience as close as possible to the family experience. In this way, residential substitute care often seeks to gain legitimacy, and its success is anticipated by the degree to which it can approximate family models. The logic of this practice must be questioned in the light of previous statements about the primacy of the quality of care as a factor in successful residential substitute care. Realistically, an alternative to unfavourable circumstances is often required for children, and even though separation may arouse concerned responses, residential substitute care should not be outrightly rejected.

The preceding review indicates that the quality of care that is received while the child is in residential substitute care depends intimately on the quality of relationships that the child has with others while in care. Care is not something which exists independently of its personal expression (or lack thereof) by those who are employed as child care workers and substitute parents. The practice of substitute care must then attempt to live up to the promises implied by the term "substitute care". It must attempt to provide what the child has been lacking. The assessment of the quality of care provided in residential substitute care is an essential research task.

"The idea of children being in care is apparently simple. There is, furthermore, a comfortable ring about the phrase. It conveys an impression of

security and benevolence. There is a kind of administrative tidiness involved which can reassure those who are anxious about the well-being of certain children" (Parker, 1980, 6).

Historically, substitute care systems have a rescuing and protective function. The child is seen to be in need of removal from deleterious conditions, and protection is supplied in the form of placing the child in a form of substitute care. Yet ameliorative and reconstructive services are more recent developments. Research must take cognisance of these developments, and the need to go beyond rescue and protection, towards a commitment to providing care which is of sufficiently good quality to merit the term "substitute care". In accordance with Parker's (1980) guidelines, the present research addresses a need to be more specific about "care", "substitute care", and qualitative aspects of these terms.

This review specifies that maternal deprivation exists as a possible part-explanation of some of the facets of a child's development, and that the maternal deprivation thesis has been subject to theoretical, methodological and ideological critique. It is therefore necessary to retain a sense of the situation of this research in an ongoing debate, a debate which has ideological underpinnings. The present research recognises maternal deprivation as a theoretical position rather than an empirically substantiated reality. Also recognised is the need to see separation from the mother and the effects thereof in the context of the child's overall development. What must be aimed for is insight into the collectivity of experiences of the child in residential substitute care, including a description of experiences and development prior to entering care. The effects of these experiences implicate different processes and mechanisms, indicating the importance of situating our understanding in an account of developmental phases that infants, toddlers, children and adolescents traverse.

Research aiming to specify the effects of residential substitute care has tended to use large samples and relied extensively on quantification as a means whereby clarity can be attained. This reflects in part the concern with delineating differences between family care and substitute care. Furthermore large samples are more advisable if research intends to establish, on the basis of quantification, certain relationships between factors it considers of importance. For example, the aim of finely dissecting the effects of variance in age on the impact of separation, relies on using larger samples. It is however a concern that research using large

samples and aiming to establish more concretely the relatedness of factors, while a valuable strategy, can have the unintended effects of obscuring the personal meaning of the 'in care' experience for those in substitute care. The emphasis on quantification and research using large samples has, and still continues to have, a respected and laudable position in the field of substitute care.

The literature indicates a single study with a dominantly qualitative emphasis which aimed at providing insight into the experience of being in care from the point of view of those who had been in substitute care. Kahan's (1979) discussion group of (ten) adults, ranging in age from 19 to 34 years, who had been in substitute care as children, was based on the tenet that only those going through any experience can know how it feels. Certain themes, issues, and feelings integral to the experience of being in substitute care are highlighted by Kahan (1979). The group discussions indicated the splintering of the child's self image and of their world by removal from their homes. The child's sense of identity was still in formation when this occurred and familiarity was substituted with confusion. Kahan's (1979) study is thus in agreement with earlier studies which attribute importance to the continuity of care.

"The discussions show that this knitting together of the sundered past with the present and the unknown future is perhaps the central problem in providing good substitute care, good parenting say the group, coming to the heart of the problem" (Kahan, 1979, x).

The sentiments expressed by the group confirm earlier investigations which stressed the need for the child in substitute care to have a person who acted encouragingly, was a confidant and comforter, and who was special to the child. The need to assess the quality of substitute parenting is thus a pre-requisite for evaluating a form of substitute care. The need for children in substitute care to have information about their backgrounds also emerged as a theme in the discussions. The family as the locus for security and development of individuals was missed by group members, their own unsatisfactory experiences and loss compounding developmental difficulties. The group emphasized the need to safeguard the continuity and wholeness of the lives of children in substitute care, not only for the children, but also for the family they might later have who would want to share their parent's or spouse's pasts (Kahan, 1979).

Kahan's (1979) study indicates that valid and relevant information can be arrived at by researching qualitative aspects of the lives of a small sample who experienced substitute care as children. The overarching imperative of the present research is to keep the practice of data collection as close to the source as possible; the source being the experience of those that are in care, as it is expressed by them. Tizard and Hodges (1978) used teacher assessments, ratings of the child's coping with adults and peers, and questionnaires for identification of behavioural problems in a group of eight year old children. A fair proportion of the evidence on which Tizard and Hodges base their conclusions was derived from the children's parents. It must be acknowledged that the possibility of deriving certain types of information from especially young children is difficult, and that observational methods are best suited to describing the in care experience for infants and toddlers. However, the practice of deflecting attention away from older children and adolescents, and attempting to obtain information from case records, parents, teacher, and parent-substitutes, is not always justified. Dinnage and Pringle (1967) list as fallacious the belief that it is possible to reconstruct from case files and records a history for a child who has been in long-term care. In view of the stated intention to keep the data as close to the source as possible, a history provided by the child in its own terms would prove valuable. Dinnage and Pringle (1967) cited the fallability of memory as a factor contraindicating an approach relying on retrospective accounts provided by people who have been in substitute care. However, memory 'fallability' is not the issue; fallability, distortions and forgetting have their own significance and do not in themselves advise against a retrospective study.

Dinnage and Pringle (1967) note in their review that reports of the children's own feelings about themselves and their life would be illuminating, and that the neglect of the experiences of adolescents while still in residential substitute care needs to be addressed. The value of research aimed at deriving qualitative information on 'care' received and on parent-child relationships, together with an attempt to infer an account of the child's development retrospectively, is indicated by the paucity of this type of research. The present research addresses these aims.

CHAPTER TWO: OBJECT RELATIONS DEVELOPMENTAL THEORY

Object relations is a general term encompassing people's relationships with others. Object relational models of the person and psychic functioning are concerned with the formation of the self and other objects, the boundaries between them, the mental representations of the self and of others, and present a coherent theory of the early pre-Oedipal experience of the child in a dyadic mother - child relationship. Internal object representations are closely related to the individual's experience of who s/he is, these representations being the result of interactions and exchanges with others.

A basic tenet of object relations theories is that internal objects, or representations of others, do not necessarily correspond in a direct way with the 'real' or external objects in the world. There are discrepancies and inconsistencies between the description of these representations and the characteristics of the objects as they are in actuality.

"People react to and interact with not only an actual other but also an internal other, a psychic representation of a person which in itself has the power to influence both the individual's affective states and his overt behavioural tendencies" (Greenberg and Mitchell, 1983, 10).

An account of the person and their psychic functioning must include a recognition of the importance and the influence of internal objects. There are however differences in the relative impact of the characteristics of actual people and of the internal objects, the impact of each varying temporally and individually. The task here is not to examine the relationship between internal and external objects. The significance of this relationship has been a central metatheoretical issue in object relations theory (Greenberg and Mitchell, 1983). Although the focus of the present research will be primarily on the external objects, where possible the development of internal objects will be referred to. Discrepancies between external and internal objects will be stated, yet an attempt to resolve these discrepancies is beyond the focus of the present study. The use of object relations theory is intended rather to convey an appreciation for the complexity of developmental processes.

Winnicott (1986a, 1986b) and Mahler (1986a, 1986b) share a background in psychoanalysis, their work gradually moving towards a more object relational emphasis. Winnicott's framework is built on his experiences as a paediatrician and in child clinics. Drawing from both Freudian and Kleinian sources, Winnicott's thinking is however characteristically unique (Winnicott, 1972a; Winnicott, 1972c). Mahler's work is partly influenced by Winnicott and is also based on experiences in child clinics. Mahler's theories are extensively based on observational studies of both normal and abnormal mother-infant pairs, and on studies of symbiotic psychotic syndromes in children. Winnicott and Mahler both describe paths of development from formlessness to form, and the becoming of a person as the infant emerges from closeness with the mother. The following outline of Winnicott's and Mahler's developmental formulations will sensitize the reader to processes implicated in the infant-toddler-child's¹ relatedness with others. Since the present study intends to use an adolescent sample, adolescent development as a repetition of earlier childhood issues and conflicts is considered. The mother-centredness of the object relational frameworks selected for review is considered in relation to research on the role of the father, and the implications of the application of object relational theory are discussed.

2.1 WINNICOTT

2.1.1 The Baby

"I once risked the remark, 'There is no such thing as a baby' - meaning that if you set out to describe a baby, you will find you are describing a baby and someone. A baby cannot exist alone, but is essentially part of a relationship" (Winnicott, 1976, 88).

1. I propose to: use the term infant to refer to the small person who has not yet emerged out of a state of oneness or symbiosis with the mother, the term toddler to the small person who is engaged in negotiating separation-individuation, and the term child to refer to the small person who has theoretically reached attainment of object constancy, having separated self and object representations.

Winnicott's fundamental statement that there is no such thing as a baby is deceptively simple. That wherever there is a baby there is maternal care, and the corollary that without maternal care there is no baby, stresses the importance of understanding development within a framework that gives weight to the role of the baby's relationship with mother. From the baby's perspective, mother and infant are one. The quality of this oneness and the emergence out of oneness with the mother, become the central variables in charting development and understanding its outcome. The infant develops from a state of dependence and a perception of the object as a subjective object, to a state of independence where it can objectively perceive a difference between itself and other objects. In Winnicott's framework it is essential to recognize this dependence. At first dependence is absolute, the infant being in a situation where it cannot control the care it is receiving. As the infant grows, it develops an awareness that care relates to its expression of needs and a period of relative dependence is entered. As the infant acquires confidence in its environment, it develops a means of doing without the care, and builds up a store of memories of care. It may be said that the infant is moving towards independence.

2.1.2 The "Good-Enough Mother" and Her Functions

The infant's development, especially at the beginning of life, is dependent on "good-enough" provisions from the environment to facilitate various individual inherited tendencies. For Winnicott, the emergence of a healthy self is dependent on these provisions, collectively grouped as the "good-enough mother" (Winnicott, 1958). She provides an adaptation to her infant's needs because of her state of "primary maternal preoccupation" (Winnicott, 1958) and provides the necessary holding, mirroring, and failure of adaptation to facilitate a satisfactory period of dependence and omnipotence. She promotes a movement towards independence and realistic perception.

2.1.2.1 Primary Maternal Preoccupation and Holding

Primary maternal preoccupation is a state within the mother that enables her to present herself as the vehicle for the infant's development. In Winnicott's framework, it is a condition of absorbed motherhood based on biology. "Holding" (Winnicott, 1970) is a term referring to the basic care that the mother provides for the infant. All that is done in the physical care of the infant, as a way of living, is what holding is about

(Winnicott, 1986 b). The mother provides the infant with experiences that enable the self to emerge, and allow integration and form in a previously unintegrated and formless infant to develop. Holding entails that the mother contains the infant in the earliest phases of its existence, the infant beginning life in a state of unintegration. Its experience is not organized, but is diffused and in bits, and the mother's task is to provide the structure in which the diffused experience can be organized when the infant begins to organize its experience. It does this on the basis of its mother's perception.

Development in the early stages is thus greatly concerned with integration and disintegration. Developmental integrative mechanisms facilitate a state of unity, making possible the baby's recognition of its status as a unit. Integration thus relates to the attainment of a state of "I AM" (Winnicott, 1976a). The infant is accorded the capacity to hallucinate by Winnicott. It can magically conjure up objects to satisfy its needs, and provided that the mother accurately anticipates these needs, being in the state of devotion that she is, the infant believes it has created this object. This allows the infant a ration of omnipotence and grandiosity which Winnicott believes is essential to the development of a healthy and solid self. Secure object-relating does not happen unless the world is presented to the baby well enough. It is the adapting mother's task to present the world in such a way that the baby is allowed an experience of omnipotence and is introduced to the world non-traumatically and slowly (Winnicott, 1976).

2.1.2.2 The Mother's Graduated Failure of Adaptation

Following her preoccupation with the infant, the mother can begin her graduated failure of adaptation. The mother's responsiveness to the infant's needs and feelings can decrease in order to undermine the infant's omnipotence. She can progressively slowly fail to bring the world to the infant in small doses, thereby prompting the child to come to terms with the limits of its power and the reality of a world that is outside its control. The infant now begins to exercise an increasingly wider range of ego functions, and this facilitates a greater degree of differentiation between itself and others.

In health, the infant perceives other objects and sees these to be not-me. If it is possible to speak of a not-me, it is also possible to speak of the existence of a me, or the infant as having reached a state of being as a

separate unit : "I AM" (Winnicott, 1986 a). The "I AM" state that the infant reaches is thus intricately related to the dynamics of adaptation between mother and infant.

"This stage of the beginnings of I AM can only come to actuality in the baby's self-establishment in so far as the behaviour of the mother-figure is good enough - i.e. in respect of adaptation and of de-adaptation" (Winnicott, 1986 a, 63).

This review turns to consider the nature of these dynamics of adaptation.

2.1.2.3 Mirroring

When the mother's preoccupation allows for accurate empathy and a sensitivity to the infant's needs and feelings, she functions analogously to a mirror. By 'mirroring' Winnicott means that the mother can provide the infant with a reflection of its experience, needs and feelings, despite their formlessness.

In the area of individual emotional development, "the precursor of the mirror is the mother's face" (Winnicott, 1974, 130). Winnicott describes the holding situation in particularly vivid terms; vivid in its simplicity, yet simultaneously complex. The baby looking around sees the mother's face and it is what it sees in the mother's face that is decisively important. Winnicott asks a crucial question : "What does the baby see there?" (Winnicott, 1974, 131). In health, the infant sees itself. The scenario is as follows : The mother looks at the infant. What the mother looks like reflects what she sees there. Most importantly, the idea of the mirroring function includes the notion of being seen in ways that make the infant feel it exists.

"When I look I am seen, so I exist.
I can now afford to look and see.
I now look creatively and what I apperceive I also perceive.
In fact I take care not to see what is not there to be seen unless I am tired" (Winnicott, 1974, 134).

The mother, through identification with the infant is aware of the infant's needs and feelings. She is thus able to provide what is needed to respond to the infant's feelings empathically in the holding environ-

ment. Hopefully, the mother reflects with accurate empathy what is in the infant. This enables the infant to find its own self, the basis of which is being seen in a way that the infant feels it exists, later coming to feel it exists as itself. The mirroring analogy used by Winnicott illustrates the complexity of individual emotional development, the subtleties of the interplay between the infant and its mother, and the importance of what is seen in the mother's face in response to expression of the infant's needs and feelings. This is the scenario and the quality of the mother-child relationship as prescribed by Winnicott for basic health. Yet holding, mirroring and the mother's adaptation can be far from optimal.

2.1.2.4 The Failure of the "Good-Enough Mother"

In Playing and Reality (Winnicott, 1974) the relationship between distortions in mirroring and the psychopathology of the self is stated. If mirroring is imperfect and the reflections void of accurate empathy, the child's ability to experience itself, its uniqueness, and its integration is clouded by the imperfections. The interference takes the form of the mother's inability to reflect needs and feelings, the child becoming attuned to her needs and feelings rather than its own needs and feelings. The infant's experience of its omnipotence is concurrently interfered with.

In the mirroring context, if the mother reflects her own mood and does not respond to the infant, the infant looks but does not see itself. If identification with the infant's needs and feelings is not present, the mother cannot provide what the infant needs and the task of adaptation is transferred to the infant. The infant begins to study its mother's face in an attempt to predict her mood, forecasting if and when it can express its needs and feelings. The internal voice of the infant is hypothesized to sound as follows :

"Just now it is safe to forget mother's mood and to be spontaneous, but any minute the mother's face will become fixed or her mood will dominate, and my own personal needs must then be withdrawn otherwise my central self may suffer insult" (Winnicott, 1974, 132).

Winnicott's theory of development towards health requires that the mother not demand of the infant when it is experiencing needs and feel-

ings. The premature demands of the mother interfere with the infant's formlessness and the development of a stable and continuous self. Winnicott's description of the effects from the infant's point of view are particularly vivid, and involve a basic interference with the continuity of personal existence resulting in an annihilation of the infant's self (Winnicott, 1958). A failure to hold, a failure of reciprocal communication and an experience of mutuality - any failures to go forward in development - while seemingly vaguely specified by Winnicott, result for the infant in a loss of protection from the impingement of external reality. The infant's line of life is broken by the disorganizing trauma.

To look closer at the position of the infant, the external demand for a response is an impingement, forcing the child to a premature recognition of its separateness and powerlessness. If the infant becomes attuned to the needs of others, it becomes orientated to preparing for a response to what is required of it. The infant loses its spontaneity, particularly spontaneity in expressing feelings, and its needs no longer occupy a place in the infant-mother dyad. On this basis, Winnicott states the importance of continuity of care, linking this with good-enough mothering.

"In our theory of child care, continuity of care has become a central feature of the concept of the facilitating environment, and we can see that by this continuity of environmental provision, and only by this, the new baby in dependence may have a continuity in the line of his or her life, not a pattern of reacting to the unpredictable and for ever starting again" (Winnicott, 1986 a, 154).

When conditions are favourable, the infant establishes continuity of being, gathering impingements into the area of omnipotence, in accordance with maturational capacities and inherited tendencies. Alternatively, unfavourable conditions prevent the infant from coming into existence. The certainty of being is disturbed, and the organization of the personality proceeds on the basis of reactions to environmental impingement. The two situations 'reacting' and 'being' can be diagrammed as follows (Figure 1), and are a useful illustration of the dynamic of adaptation, whether this is in accordance with inherited tendencies and maturational capacity, or prompted by impingements.

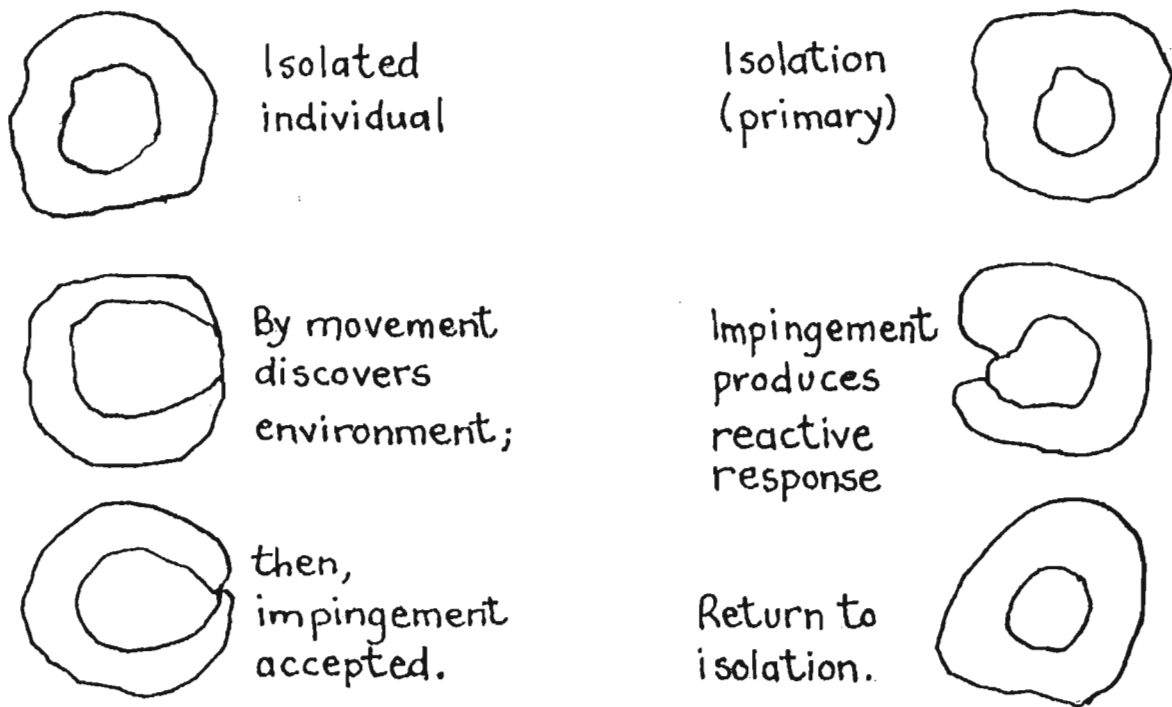


Figure 1: Reacting vs Being (Clancier and Kalmanovitch, 1987, 27).

2.1.3 Two Types of Persons

A typology presented by Winnicott (1970) is simplistic in its identification of two extremes, but is heuristically useful and provides a closer understanding of processes towards health and pathology.

"I find it useful to divide the world of people into two classes. There are those who were never 'let down' as babies and who are to that extent candidates for the enjoyment of life and of living. There are those who did suffer traumatic experience of the kind that results from environmental let down, and who must carry with them all their lives the memories (or the material for memories) of the state they were in at moments of disaster. These are candidates for lives of storm and stress and perhaps illness" (Winnicott, 1986 a, 31).

Babies who have not been significantly 'let down' in infancy, attain a belief in the reliability of the world. This facilitates the acquisition of a personal reliability and a line of life which is essential if the infant is to move toward independence. Winnicott believed that babies who have been significantly 'let down' once or as part of a pattern of environmental failures, carried with them an experience of unthinkable, deep or ar-

chaic anxiety. They have experienced what it is to be in a state of acute confusion or disintegration. As a result of the failure of holding they know what it is like "to be dropped, to fall forever, or to become split into psychosomatic disunion" (Winnicott, 1970, 255). The infant's personality has to be restructured and reorganised around the trauma of disorganization and fragmentation. For Winnicott, the major defense used in this case is that of splitting.

2.1.4 True and False Self

The consequence of prolonged impingement is a splitting of the self into a "true self" and "false self" (Winnicott, 1972b). The true self detaches, the false self becoming organized on a more compliant basis, having responded to parental expectations. The false self acts as a protector of the true self, hiding this by compliance with parental demands or environmental standards. In the true self originate spontaneous feelings and needs, which when it detaches are not risked again. Recognising the error in polarities and dichotomous thinking Winnicott introduces the concepts of the true and the false self :

"I refer to those people who have unconsciously needed to organize a false-self front to cope with the world, this false self front being a defence designed to protect the true self. (The true self has been traumatized and it must never be found and wounded again). Society is easily taken in by the false-self organization, and has to pay heavily for this. The false self, from our point of view here, though a successful defence, is not an aspect of health" (Winnicott, 1986 a, 33).

Winnicott believed that to some degree or in some form each of us is divided in such a way, into a true and false self. Each person has a compliant, polite or socialized self, and also more private self.

2.1.5 Emotional Development

Winnicott's thinking on affect and its development was particularly influenced by Melanie Klein's (1952 a, 1952 b) formulation of the development at stages of the paranoid-schizoid and depressive positions, and her theory of the internal objects. Winnicott (1972 a) states particular allegiance to thinking of emotional development in terms of the

processes of the depressive position, and is simultaneously critical of Klein's idea of innate destructive aggression explained in terms of heredity. Winnicott's ideas on emotional development are thus at times indistinguishable from Klein's, and at times characteristically uniquely his own.

In Klein's view, in the earliest months of life, the infant feels great ambivalence towards gratifying and persecuting part-objects, the primary ego activity being splitting to facilitate organization of experience into good and bad (Klein, 1952 a). The infant's anxiety is primarily of a persecutory nature, the fear being that the persecutory object will overwhelm and annihilate the goodness of good aspects of the self and the ideal internal object (Klein, 1952 a). Klein believed that it was important that good experiences outweigh bad experiences during the paranoid-schizoid position, in order to facilitate the child establishing good internalized objects and identifying with these.

In the depressive position (Klein, 1952 b), the infant begins to recognise its mother as a whole object, and must resolve its ambivalence towards her. In recognizing that good and bad experiences emanate from the same person, the infant's need to use splitting as a defensive mechanism is reduced. The particular conflict is that the infant hates its mother when she is absent, this hate initiating a feeling in the infant that it has destroyed its mother as a good internal presence (Klein, 1952 b). The infant develops guilt as a result, this initiating depressive feelings in the infant related to a realization of its separation. The infant must recreate in fantasy good internal objects in order to deal with the anxiety of the depressive position.

Winnicott draws extensively on Klein's ideas on the progression from guilt, to depression, to reparation, and to the recreation of good internal objects as necessary for psychic health (Winnicott, 1972 c). Locating the origin of guilt in the depressive position, Winnicott believes that attainment of a sense of guilt greatly enhances the capacity for personal relationships. In "The Development of the Capacity for Concern" (Winnicott, 1972 c) and "The Depressive Position in Normal Emotional Development" (Winnicott, 1958) outlines an object relational configuration similar to Klein's. An awareness of ambivalence, as the infant realizes that its affection and aggression are directed at the same object, initiates the development of concern in the infant. Concern felt by the infant is expressed in a need to protect the mother from its hate and to

make reparation for damages it imagines it has done. If the capacity for concern is not attained and the depressive position not resolved, the integration of the self suffers. For Winnicott, it is critical that love and hate be brought under control and that mother and self be regarded as total persons by the infant.

2.2 MAHLER

2.2.1 The Psychological Birth of the Infant

In Mahler's framework, the interaction between the needs of the child and the parents' needs and personalities has particular implications for the child's development.

"It is the specific unconscious need of the mother that activates, out of the infant's infinite potentialities, those in particular that create for each mother "the child" who reflects her own unique and individual needs" (Mahler, 1986 a, 209).

Mahler provides an object relational conception of conditions of the pre-Oedipal years and on the interpersonal experience that develops between mother and child. The dyadic aspects of symbiosis and separation-individuation indicate Mahler's appreciations for transactions during the earliest periods of life (Greenberg and Mitchell, 1983). Separation and individuation are distinct developmental processes, each complementing the other. Emergence from the symbiosis is the process of separation, while individuation refers to the development of the child's individual characteristics.

The innate tendency to separate and to achieve autonomy is the foundation of the individuation process. Individuation relates directly to the particular nature of the relationship between the infant and mother as well as to certain innate givens (Mahler and McDevitt, 1968). The infant presents certain cues which indicate its needs and feelings, and depending on the response to these cues, the child becomes individuated as the particular child of its mother.

"In a complex manner, the mother responds selectively to only certain of these cues. The infant gradually alters his behaviour in relation to this selective response: he does so in a characteristic way - the resultant of his own innate endowments and the

mother-child relationship. From this circular interaction emerge patterns of behaviour that already show certain overall qualities of the child's personality. What we seem to have here is the birth of the child as an individual" (Mahler, 1986 a, 208).

The process of separation-individuation, or psychological birth, develops from within the symbiotic mother-child matrix, 'ending' with the child attaining an individual identity which is stable, and which exists alongside realistically perceived, predictable others.

"The biological birth of the human infant and the psychological birth of the individual are not coincident in time. The former is a dramatic and readily observable, well-circumscribed event; the latter, a slowly unfolding intrapsychic process" (Mahler, 1986 b, 223).

This unfolding process is dependent on a particular quality of mothering being supplied. The environment at birth consists entirely of the infant and mother in interaction (Mahler and McDevitt, 1968). The qualities of mothering described by Mahler resemble those specified by Winnicott's concept of the 'good-enough' mother'. Mahler is also concerned with the process of adaptation, adaptation being the infant's task during separation-individuation. While there appears to be a difference between Winnicott and Mahler on the issue of adaptation, the difference is resolved by understanding the locus of adaptation in health as proceeding from mother to child, this needing to occur phase appropriately and in accordance with the maturational capacities of the infant.

2.2.2 Mahler's Developmental Theory

Mahler's position has undergone considerable change and revision (Mahler, 1963; Mahler, 1966; Mahler, 1967; Mahler and McDevitt, 1968; Mahler, Pine and Bergman, 1975). The ages at which children enter and leave certain phases of development are difficult to specify, ranging considerably in Mahler's different presentations. What is more important is a characterization of the main features of development in each phase. Timing of development is of interest when it falls outside a broad age range appropriate to each phase. Gradual emergence from fusion and the growth of independence and stable selfhood entail the infant-toddler-child traversing the following phases and sub-phases:

- 1) Autistic Phase
- 2) Symbiotic Phase
- 3) Separation - Individuation Phase
 - a) Differentiation Sub-phase
 - b) Practicing Sub-phase
 - c) Rapprochement Sub-phase
- 4) Phase of Object Constancy.

2.2.2.1 Autistic Phase

During the first month of life, the infant is a closed system, operating mainly on the basis of primary processes and hallucinatory wish fulfillment. The infant is in a position of absolute dependence, is not aware of the existence of external objects, and does not relate systematically with external objects. Resultantly, the autistic phase is objectless. Possible disturbances in emerging from the autistic phase, and difficulty entering the symbiotic phase could result in a later inability to form nurturing relationships (Mahler, 1986 a).

2.2.2.2 Symbiotic Phase

The symbiotic phase is characterized by a dual-unity of mother and infant. Within the common boundary, experience begins to be organized into good and bad, on the basis of pleasure and pain. Although some of the infant's autonomous functions are beginning to develop, especially memory, the infant makes no differentiation between itself and the other object. Although the infant is aware of the existence of external objects, the infant does not differentiate, the phase being one of merger.

2.2.2.3 Separation-Individuation

The beginnings of Separation-individuation are indicated by the onset of the differentiation sub-phase. The infant begins to separate out of the symbiosis as it begins to differentiate between itself and other objects. This distinction between the inner and outer, estimated to occur between five and ten months, initiates significant changes in the infant's relationship to the external object world. During the practicing sub-phase, maturation of locomotor functions enables the toddler to physically exit the symbiotic orbit, yet it returns to the mother for "emotional refuelling" (Mahler, 1974, 97). The toddler still does not yet completely perceive and appreciate the mother as a separate person.

Mahler refers to self-representations and object representations to describe in more detail the individuation process:

"The more nearly optimal the symbiosis, the mother's "holding behaviour", has been; the more the symbiotic partner has helped the infant to become ready to "hatch" from the symbiotic orbit smoothly and gradually - that is, without undue strain upon his own resources - the better equipped has the child become to separate out and to differentiate his self representations from the hitherto fused symbiotic self-plus-object representations. But even at the height of the second subphase of individuation - during the practicing period - neither the differentiated self representations nor the object representations seem to be integrated as yet into a whole self representation or a whole libidinal object representation" (Mahler, 1986 a, 208).

Circa 15 to 18 months, the toddler enters the rapprochement sub-phase, characterized by growing autonomy and a realization of the separateness of the mother and her independent existence. This awareness deflates the practicing toddler's omnipotence. The conflict experienced by the toddler involves the need for mother as well as a need for separation and individuation. Mahler (1974) describes a pattern of alternating clinging and neediness, together with fighting with the mother. It is essential that the infant deal with the conflict of the rapprochement crisis. If the conflict is not resolved splitting becomes a permanent feature of the child's personality.

2.2.2.4 Phase of Object Constancy

If the child successfully negotiates the conflicts of the rapprochement crisis, the phase of object constancy is entered. In health, object constancy is estimated to be attained during the third year of life (Mahler, Pine, and Bergman, 1975). There is a unification of good and bad representations of the object, ambivalence being 'resolved'. This phase is thus characterized by the establishment of stable concepts of self and others. Mahler (1986 a) describes this separateness of identity in terms of a distinction between "I" and "not-I". The child achieves an awareness of others as an internal sustaining presence, thus enabling the child to function independently without the external object being present.

2.2.2.5 Adolescence

Furman (1973) believes that the similarities and parallels between adolescent and earlier periods of development support the use of Mahler's approach in understanding adolescence. The self-representation is further consolidated as the individuating adolescent experiences the reverberations of earlier separation-individuation processes (Furman, 1973). Principally the structural changes that occur in the organization of the personality during adolescence are characterized by a gradual emotional disengagement of self and object representations. Blos sees adolescent separation-individuation as taking the form of a developmental repetition, a "second individuation" (Blos, 1967, 185).

Certain aspects of adolescent functioning are reminiscent of the infant-toddler-child emerging from the symbiosis and negotiating separation-individuation. However the relationship between earlier and later separation-individuation is complex, and the mechanisms and processes involved have not been clearly outlined. Mahler herself pointed out that separation and individuation in their broadest senses are never fully achieved and thematically occur throughout life. However, an important feature of adolescent development is that areas of adolescent conflict parallel earlier areas unresolved issues of childhood.

"Many of the more difficult transactions between parents and their adolescent youngsters stem from the repetition (through the regression) of earlier, presumably 'settled' areas of conflict" (Adelson and Doehrman, 1980, 106).

2.3 MOTHERS AND FATHERS : IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PRE-SENT RESEARCH

Winnicott's concept of primary maternal pre-occupation as a condition underlying simultaneously devoted and 'good-enough' mothering has drawn criticism (Riley, 1983). The role of mothering in Winnicott's framework is highlighted by the inextricable connection between mother and child. That is, Winnicott's proposition that wherever there is an infant there is maternal care, and that where there is no maternal care there is no infant, points to this inextricability. In Mahler's work, the onus for growth is also placed on the mother. That the father is implicated later in the child's development, and that the mother-child

relationship is prototypical of all later relationships are the assumptions underpinning both Winnicott's and Mahler's considerations of development.

It may seem paradoxical that the present study has selected Mahler and Winnicott's views on which to base a developmental retrospective. In terms of the mother-centredness, the object relational frameworks selected are little different from Bowlby's focus on the maternal. The ideological critiques of Bowlby's maternal deprivation thesis, particularly its 'mother-centredness' thus have a bearing on Winnicott's and Mahler's positions as well. To partly justify the use of the object relational frameworks proposed, it is important to understand the difference between : mother-centredness as a reflection of social reality, and mother-centredness being used to justify logic operating against residential substitute care as a placement of choice for the child in need of substitute care. The mother-centredness that was an aspect of the social reality during the post-war rise of 'Bowlbyism', continues to be a part of the social reality in the contemporary situation. It is an indictment of social reality that mother-centredness is one of its features. Object relations theory reflects the social reality in its delineation of the child's development vis-a-vis mother, and this does not directly invalidate or indict object relations theory. The omission of the father until later in the child's development is apparent both in object relations theory and social reality.

It is however an indictment if object relations theory is used as part of a theoretical justification for uncritically informing logic in developmental psychology and substitute care. The uncritical use of object relations theory in determining our attitude towards residential care as a placement of choice runs the risk of repeating uncritical acceptance of the maternal deprivation thesis.

One of the reasons for the narrow and limited focus on mother-child relationships in theory, is that research concerned with the other relationships that the child has had, particularly with the father, has not been forthcoming to counterbalance over-illumination of mother-child relationships. There is a dearth of investigations into the role of the father in child development, and although this deficit is currently beginning to be redressed, the role of the father in child development, vis-a-vis that of the mother, has remained theoretically vague and a source of contradictory research findings.

Questions such as what aspects of the father influence the child, and what areas of development are affected, are representative of the concerns and tenor of the research. A differential effect of the father on the sexes has also been speculated, and the developmental stage when the father exerts the greatest influence has been questioned. The joint influences of paternal and maternal behaviour has also been a focus of research. Studies generally have approached the problem by comparing father-present and father-absent families (Pilling and Pringle, 1978). Factors that have emerged as significant are the nature of the crisis that surrounded the father's leaving the family, and the reason for his departure (Pilling and Pringle, 1978). The age and sex of the child, and the developmental phase that the child is in when the father leaves are factors that have lead to contradictory results when studied. The father is assumed to have a greater effect on the sex-role identification of boys than girls yet research has not been conclusive on this issue. That the mother acts as a mediator of the effects of the father's absence has been proposed by the research (Pilling and Pringle, 1978), though interestingly the father is not seen as the mediator of inadequate maternal behaviour. Generally, the research has failed to conceive of parenting as potentially reciprocal and shared between the parents.

In summary, Pilling and Pringle (1978) report that : the father's absence from the home appears to have little effect on the children's emotional and social adjustments; that father absence does not appear to be related to behaviour problems in adolescents; and, that father absence generally has little effect on the child's self-concept. Apart from the contradictory status of the findings of research on the relative influence of mother and father, some of Pilling and Pringle's (1978) conclusions are untenable. It is logical that parents have potentially equal effects on the child, yet in actuality fathers may be more absent than mothers. It is tempting to imagine a more positive outcome of shared parenting: a child who benefits from growthful involvement with both parents. It is additionally tempting to confuse normative and ideological perspectives and to claim that mothers and fathers are no different in their ability to parent and be child carers, but this only holds true as a potentiality which has not yet been actualized. The social reality is that mothers do play more of a role than fathers in child-rearing.

This does not however imply that mothers have a greater relative influence than fathers on the child's development, nor does it justify the attribution of blameful responsibility to the mother when things go

wrong with the child's development. It is imperative that research be self-conscious about the possibility of research data being interpreted through frameworks which allow for many problematic aspects of social reality to go unchallenged. In assessing parent-child relationships and child development in family and residential substitute care conditions, research must by definition use methods which are suited to providing a perspective on both mothers and fathers. A methodology which specifies parent-child relationships is therefore indicated.

CHAPTER THREE : TRANSACTIONAL ANALYSIS (TA) - A POTENTIAL METHODOLOGY

Eric Berne is considered the founder of Transactional Analysis (TA). Berne's work reveals a psychoanalytic bias consonant with his intended training as a psychoanalyst. His allegiance to a Freudian framework is evident in his reference to: the primary and secondary gains of games as external and internal psychological and social advantages; his description of games in largely dynamic and zonal terms; a focus on Oedipal conflict and its resolution as paradigmatic of games and scripts; and, an adherence to the idea of the repetition compulsion as the person acts out their script and in the games they play. Further psychoanalytic influences include Federn, Erikson (1963, 1968), Adler (1930, 1956) and Spitz (1945). Berne's psychoanalyst for a period, Federn, introduced the term 'ego states' to Berne. Erikson was also Berne's training analyst in the '40's and '50's. Berne credited Adler with providing him with ideas for the germination of the script concept, and Spitz's work on hospitalism and anaclitic depression convinced Berne of the importance of 'stroking', both physically and psychologically, in infant development. The development of TA as a system begins in the San Francisco Seminars in the 1950's, and can be traced through four major publications of Berne's: Transactional Analysis in Psychotherapy (Berne, 1981), Games People Play (Berne, 1982), Sex in Human Loving (Berne, 1970), and What Do You Say After You Say Hello? (Berne, 1984).

Barnes (1977) reviews the teachings and practices of three schools of TA which he designates as : (1) The Classical School, (2) The Re-decision School, and (3) The Cathexis School. In the Classical School, the emphasis is on analysis in structural and functional terms. Founded by Berne, the work of the Classical School is continued by Dusay (1977, 1980, 1981), Karpman (1968), James and Jongeward (1978), English (1977 b), Capers (Capers and Goodman, 1983), and Devin-Landheer (1981, 1982). Steiner (1982) is a significant proponent of the Classical School. Heading the Re-decision School are the Gouldings (Goulding and Goulding, 1976; Goulding and Goulding, 1979) who stress the importance of decisions that the child makes and the necessity of changing these decisions for a movement towards health. The Schiff family (Schiff and Schiff, 1971; Schiff, 1977 a; Schiff, 1977 b) use the concepts of the symbiosis and passivity to describe the nature and development of pathology, and are the proponents of the Cathexis School. The present research aims to draw from developments in all three schools.

TA as a system has developed through four phases : the first phase (1955-1962) was concerned principally with work on ego states; the second phase (1961-1966) emphasized transactions and games; the third phase (1966-1970) concentrated on script analysis; and, the fourth phase (1970-present) has been termed an 'Action' phase (Dusay, 1977). Since 1970, much theoretical development and controversy has characterized TA. A commitment to research and a trend towards empirical validation of central concepts proposed by Berne is strongly evident, and various writers have attempted to formulate a more consistent and coherent TA developmental theory.

A psychoanalytic influence continues to be evident in TA. There are clear connections between the racket system (Erskine and Zalcman, 1979) in TA, and the repetition compulsion in psychoanalysis (Sabghir, 1982). Significant theoretical developments since 1970 include : Steiner's Script Matrix; Karpman's Drama Triangle; Dusay's Egogram; the Schiff's ideas on passivity, confrontation, and the four discounts; and the Goulding's work on childhood decisions and re-decisions. Each of these developments won the Eric Berne Scientific Memorial Award.

Brennan and McClenaghan (1978) and Kramer (1978) used standardized instruments to measure TA concepts, indicating their research potential. Levels of internal reliability, homogeneity, and test-retest reliability of basic concepts were found to be to satisfactory (Brennan and McClenaghan, 1978). Because of an increasing commitment to developing clarity and rigour in TA, TA serves the researcher well. As a theoretical framework and therapeutic method, TA has developed as an integrative model with potential to incorporate and explain affective, behavioural, and cognitive areas of personality and interpersonal functioning.

Berne offered both a theoretical frame of reference and a potential methodology for examining parent-child relationships and child development in the context of these relationships. Dusay (1981) regards the greatest contributions of Berne to be: (1) the development of ego states, (2) game theory, and (3) the description of the script decision and its significance for the life course. It is difficult to evaluate the relative significance of the different concepts proposed by Berne, yet the present review intends to identify these concepts that are particularly useful to the researcher attempting to operationalize the quality of parent-child relationships and provide a developmental retrospective. A review of the development of the concepts of ego states, the lifescript,

parent messages, decisions and rackets guides a choice of concepts that could prove to be of relevance in the context of the present research. TA serves as a potential methodology having useful heuristic connections to the theories of Winnicott and Mahler and can be used as a basis for a retrospective on child development. The review considers research on ego states and life scripts, and methods of assessing ego states and the script.

3.1 EGO STATES

3.1.1 Models and Definitions

A variety of definitions and models conceptualizing ego states exist. Trautmann and Erskine (1981) review the variety of concepts of ego states originally proposed by Berne and subsequently developed by TA theorists. They identify four basic models of ego states : (1) Conceptual, (1) Structural, (3) Second-order Structural, and (4) Functional (Trautman and Erskine, 1981).

3.1.1.1 Conceptual Model

Phenomenologically, the ego states have a reality of their own. An ego state is a consistent pattern of thoughts and a coherent system of feelings, which may be operationally or behaviourally observed (Berne, 1981).

"The term "ego state" is intended merely to denote states of mind and their related patterns of behaviour as they occur in nature" (Berne, 1981, 11).

Termining the ego states, Parent, Adult and Child, Berne (1981) related the ontogenetic development of the ego states to the exteropsyche, neopsyche, and archeopsyche respectively. The three ego states have been related to the psychoanalytic id, ego and superego, and while there are some conceptual similarities, they are not observably analagous. The ego states are behaviourally and transactionally observable, as well as subjectively experienced, and each has an historical reality of its own.

3.1.1.2 Structural Model

In Transactional Analysis in Psychotherapy (1981) Berne structured the personality into three separate ego states, viz. Parent, Adult, and Child designated P, A, and C respectively (Figure 2).



Figure 2 : Structural Model (Berne, 1981, 11)

In terms of contents of the ego states, the Parent ego state (P) contains sets of attitudes, feelings and behaviours that resemble those of the parent/s. Derived from behaviour copied from parents and authority figures, introjection is the psychic mechanism of importance. The Adult ego state (A) is that part of us that relates to current reality. A systems analyzing part of the personality, the Adult is autonomous, centred in the present, is situationally appropriate, and engages in objective information processing. The Child ego state (C) is the most archaic ego state, the seat of childhood memories, feelings, attitudes, and behaviour patterns. It contains the relics of childhood, and represents the way we were as small children. When the Child ego state (C) is cathected and therefore dominant, these remnants and fixations, energize childlike behaviour, corresponding thoughts, feelings and perceptions of the young child. To state the differences in the contents of ego states perhaps simplistically, it may be said that the Parent ego state bears values and rules of parents and significant others; the Adult ego state is responsible mainly for logical, rational thought; and, the Child ego state is the source of feelings.

3.1.1.3 Second-Order Structural Model

The diversity among second-order structural models is extensive, the models becoming increasingly complex over the years (Steiner, 1982; Woolams and Brown, 1979). Steiner presents the following second-order structural model (Figure 3).



Figure 3 : Second-Order Structural Model (Steiner, 1982, 55)

Referring to the Parent in the Child (P1), Steiner terms this the "Pig Parent". Equating this structure with the Adapted Child, alternatively termed the "Bad Witch" or "Electrode" (derived from Berne), Steiner seems to place a total negative value on adaptation. Furthermore, Steiner locates nurturing, protective qualities in a separate (P2) ego state and these are not held to be introjected into the Child ego state (C2). A degree of terminological confusion is apparent, English terming P1 "Spooky", and the Schiffs terming it the "Witch Parent". Although there is a lack of concordance in terminology, the second-order structural models sensitize us to the operation of intrapsychic dynamics, particularly the introjection of good and bad features of the parents. Steiner's (1982) model gives recognition to the Little Professor as that part of the Child that is intuitive, aware, and makes decisions in order to make meaning out of the world.

3.1.1.4 Functional Model

Functionally the behavioural components of each ego state can be depicted as follows:

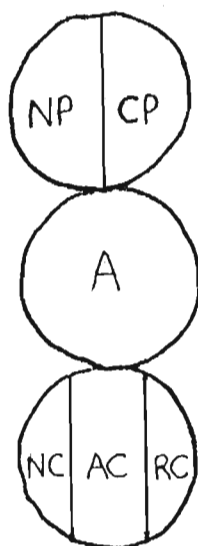


Figure 4 : Functional Model (Berne, 1984, 13)

Referring to the Parent ego state (P), Berne (1984) described a Controlling Parent (CP) and a Nurturing Parent (NP) each of which is ascribed different functions. The Controlling Parent (CP) is prejudicial and critical, the Nurturing Parent (NP) being more caring, concerned and engaged in the nurturing of growth. Berne (1984) divided the Child ego state into the Natural Child (NC), the Adapted Child (AC), and the Rebellious Child (RC).

While the division of ego states represented a considerable advance on earlier models, Berne's division of the Child and Parent ego state is problematic in terms of the functions he ascribes to them. Berne had a tendency to describe the Natural Child in wholly positive, somewhat sentimental terms, as spontaneous, charming, and beneficially unbound in its freedom. Alternatively, Berne (1984) attributed to the Rebellious Child (RC) the more self- and other- destructive, oppositional, negative features of the Child ego state. The tendency was also to see the Nurturing Parent in positive terms and the Controlling Parent in negative terms. This somewhat rigid distinction overlooks the fact that freedom, adaptation, rebellion, nurturance, and control are not absolute qualities, but qualities with gradations; and that an insufficient or too large a presence of any one quality in a child or parent-child relationship is problematic. In addition, it is more understandable that rebelliousness can be a conscious adaptation, as well as a part of child behaviour which is free and has little regard for the consequences, and may therefore be misinterpreted as rebellious. As a result, the Rebellious Child (RC) is not a theoretically sound split in the Child ego state, as it can be subsumed under either the Natural Child (NC) or Adapted Child (AC).

Dusay (1980) omits to include the Rebellious Child (RC) in his outline of the functional division of ego states into Critical Parent (CP), Nurturing Parent (NP), Adult (A), Free Child (FC), and Adapted Child (AC). Kahler and Capers (1974) divide the ego states into the following functional units : Controlling Parent (CP), Nurturing Parent (NP), Adult (A), Free Child (FC), and Adapted Child (AC). The Controlling Parent (CP), Nurturing Parent (NP), Free Child (FC), and Adapted Child (AC) have OK and not-OK parts. The OK and not-OK parts are designated by plus signs (+) and minus signs (-) as diagrammed below (Figure 5).

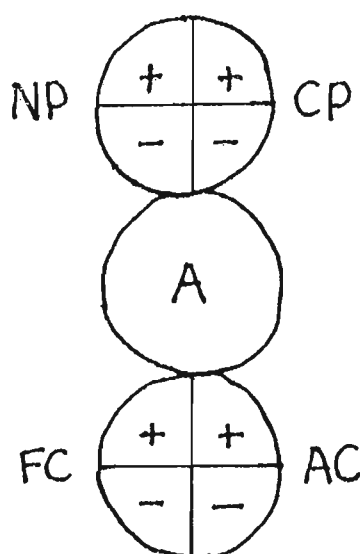


Figure 5 : Functional Model (Kahler and Capers, 1974).

3.1.2 Ego State Pathology

In health, each of the three ego states can in any given moment be cathected. Structural descriptions of pathology in terms of the three ego states refer to the separateness and permeability of ego state boundaries.

When one or more ego state is not functioning effectively due to a disturbance of the separateness of the ego states, intrapsychic differentiation has not proceeded sufficiently far enough. Contamination occurs when there is insufficient differentiation and separateness between two ego states. When there is contamination present, prejudice or delusions result (Woolams and Brown, 1979). The Adult ego state cannot function in a rational, logical, objective manner, but its judgement is misguided by parental standards. In this case there is a Parent-Adult contamination. Alternatively, the Adult ego state can be contaminated by the Child ego state, and belief systems in the Adult become delusional (Figure 6).

When one or more ego states has not properly developed, exclusion occurs (Woolams, Brown, and Huige, 1977). Boundaries may have become so impermeable as to make an ego state completely dysfunctional. This could be due to the excluded ego state never having been developed at all. Alternatively, it may have developed, exclusion following at a later stage. Some of the consequences of ego state exclusion might be a no fun, bored attitude in the case of a Child exclusion; or possibly, a person who is always in their Adult being like a computer having excluded their Child and Parent (Figure 6).

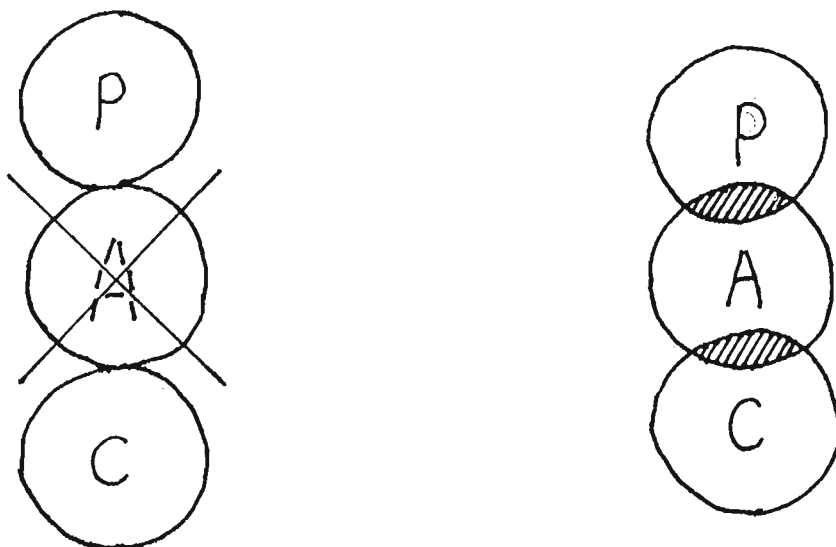


Figure 6 : Contamination and Exclusion of Ego States (Woolams, Brown, and Huige, 1977, 493-4)

3.2 LIFE SCRIPTS

Berne (1981) first introduced the idea of a life script in Transactional Analysis in Psychotherapy, defining the script as follows :

"A life plan based on a decision made in childhood, reinforced by the parents, justified by subsequent events, and culminating in a chosen alternative" (Berne, 1984, 445).

He also writes that :

"A script is an ongoing program, developed in early childhood under parental influence, which directs the individual's behaviour in the most important aspects of his life" (Berne, 1984, 418).

In Beyond Games and Scripts Berne (1979) distinguished between the palimpsest and protocol as two forms of life scripts. The protocol is the original family drama upon which the script is based, and forms a core, primitive program and integrative mechanism governing the life course. Berne described the palimpsest as a later version of a script arising from the child's potential as the child enters later phases of development. The palimpsest then operates on the basis of selective perception and memory, reinforcing and reaffirming the original protocol. Berne was not however consistent in his proposition that the protocol is established during the first two years of life, later suggesting that it is laid down in the first six years of life. Woolams and Brown (1979) hypothesize that the most significant decisions are made by age two or three, and that other basic decisions have usually occurred by age six, with the possibility that adolescent decisions can be made as well.

The search for a critical age for script formation and a deeper understanding of its origin is thus an area which requires development in TA. However, there is general agreement that the script is a plan for life formed by a series of decisions early in life in response to the child's situation with the parents (Berne, 1984; Woolams and Brown, 1979; Steiner, 1982). Steiner construes the analysis of scripts as a "decision theory rather than a disease theory of emotional disturbance" (Steiner, 1982, 29). The script is formed on the basis of decisions made by the Adult to the Child or the Little Professor (A1). The Little Professor, using available information plots out a life course. From then on, these decisions guide the choice of people with whom to have intimate relationships and friendships and who match significant people in their early lives. The script organizes and makes meaning of our experiences, providing a sense of predictability on the basis of repeated experiences of the script's reality.

Apart from its status as a decision theory of development, the script can serve as a means by which to gain research access to the quality of parent-child relationships. A person's script is a complex interplay between parent messages and the child's response to these and it is difficult to state in full the details of the person's script. It is possible however that the essence of the script, situated in the nexus of parent-child relationships, can be summarized. Berne (1984) referred to the "episcript" which he defines as follows:

"An excess of parental programming which is passed from one person to another, as from parent to child.

Whoever has this "hot potato" at any given moment is overscripted" (Berne, 1984, 446).

The episcript is useful in understanding the cross-generational transmission of parent messages and the operation of the repetition compulsion across generations. As English states:

"The episcript is a condensed version of a person's script ... which the individual tries to 'pass on' to someone else" (English, 1977, 86).

Within the parent-child relationship the parent's script searches for episcript recipients. By virtue of the child's dependence on the parents, its vulnerability and suggestibility, the child is frequently the recipient of the episcript. The episcript is generated by the Little Professor in the Child ego state and is given impetus by the magical assumption that by passing it on to another person, the outcome of the script is avoided. As a research concept, the episcript can be identified by a comparison of parent messages received by the child, and parent messages that may be passed on to a future generation of children. In the case of research involving people who are not yet parents, a study of messages that they will pass on to their children, as speculated by them, could reveal the episcript. In this way the episcript becomes visible and its basic essence can be distilled.

3.3 PARENT MESSAGES : INJUNCTIONS AND BEING MESSAGES

There exist a variety of ways of differentiating between and classifying parent messages (Berne, 1984; Woolams and Brown, 1979; Allen and Allen, 1972; Kahler, 1977; Capers and Goodman, 1983; Goulding and Goulding, 1976; Goulding and Goulding, 1979). This review of the different ways of conceptualizing parent messages is directed at developing a clear and comprehensive method of understanding and listing these messages.

Berne (1984) described injunctions as parent messages which are prohibitive and growth limiting, believing that counterinjunctions countered parental injunctions.. Goulding and Goulding (1979) differentiate parent messages into injunctions and counterinjunctions in terms of the ego state they originate from in the parent/s.

"Injunctions are messages from the Child ego state of parents, given out of the circumstances of the

parents' own pains: unhappiness, anxiety, disappointment, anger, frustration, secret desires. While these messages are irrational in terms of the child, they may seem perfectly rational to the parent who gives them" (Goulding and Goulding, 1979, 34-35).

Goulding and Goulding (1976) have formulated the following list of basic injunctions:

- (1) Don't Be
- (2) Don't Be You (The Sex You Are)
- (3) Don't Be A Child
- (4) Don't Grow
- (5) Don't Make It
- (6) Don't
- (7) Don't Be Important
- (8) Don't Belong
- (9) Don't Be Close
- (10) Don't Be Well (Sane)
- (11) Don't Feel
- (12) Don't Think

Parent messages can also be differentiated into Permissions and Injunctions (Woolams and Brown, 1979; Allen and Allen, 1972). The importance of permissions has been increasingly emphasised in the literature. Allen and Allen (1972) hypothesize a hierarchy of permissions. They are:

- "(1) permission to exist,
 - (2) permission to experience one's own sensations, think one's own thoughts, feel one's own feelings (versus those that others believe we should think or feel),
 - (3) permission to be one's age and sex appropriate self, with potential and development for growth,
 - (4) permission to be emotionally close to others,
 - (5) permission to be aware of one's basic position,
 - (6) permission to change this basic position,
 - (7) permission to succeed in sex and work, to 'make it', to validate our sexuality and others' sexuality, and
 - (8) permission to find life meaningful."
- (Allen and Allen, 1972, 72).

It is important to know what permissions the child has been given, but Allen and Allen's (1972) hierarchy is problematic. The second permission is too encompassing referring simultaneously to thought and feeling. Furthermore, it is difficult to assess whether and in what ways the person has or has not been given permission to find life meaningful and, to develop and experience growth. These permissions elude clear definition being more applicable to understanding the person in terms of human potential movement thinking.

Defining counterinjunctions, Goulding and Goulding state:

"Counterinjunctions are messages from the Parent ego state of parents which are restrictive and, if adhered to, may also prevent growth and flexibility" (Goulding and Goulding, 1979, 38).

Steiner's (1982) category of parent messages, attributions, describes this type of message as an instruction to the child to be something (for example: healthy, lazy, stupid); the attribution emanating from the Parent ego state of the parent/s. The predictive power of the attribution gains its own momentum and has a self-fulfilling effect. Attributions are, by identification of their source of origin, analogous to counterinjunctions, yet the processes and implications of each are not similar. Kahler (1977) sees counterinjunctions as synonymous with drivers, which are listed as : Be Strong, Try Hard, Be Perfect, Hurry Up, and Please Me. Allowers and Drivers are thus another polarity that can be used to conceptualize parent messages (Capers and Goodman, 1983).

At times, injunctions and counterinjunctions may be compatible, and at other times the essence of each message might be different. The theoretical relationship between injunctions and counterinjunctions is thus not that clear, except that they may be differentiated in terms of their origin from either the parents' Child ego state or the parents' Parent Ego State. I propose to use the term Being Messages to refer collectively to counterinjunctions, drivers and attributions. I do not believe that this will add to terminological confusion, but since counterinjunctions, drivers, and attributions have in common that they are exhortation for being, the aptness of referring to them as Being Messages is underscored.

Parent messages as proposed by TA constitute a methodological concept which provides for researching the quality of parent- child relationships.

The messages that have been mentioned in the literature will be used in content analyzing parent messages apparent in the groups studied. As a part-operationalization of the quality of parent-child relationships, injunctions and Being Messages indicate the validity of using TA as a methodology for examining parent-child relationships.

As a method of presenting Injunctions and Being Messages, and situating these in the context of the parent-child relationship, the Script Matrix will be used. Steiner (1982) developed the Script Matrix as a method of presenting script information. The Script Matrix, (Figure 7) represents a coherent system for the analysis of scripts. The work retains and continues Berne's emphasis on the pre-ordained aspects of our lives and the role of the parents' ego states in supplying the content of child's Parent and Child ego states. An important advantage of expressing the script in the form of a matrix is that it takes cognisance of the role of the father as an equal partner in the scripting of the child, not attributing this role solely to the child's mother.

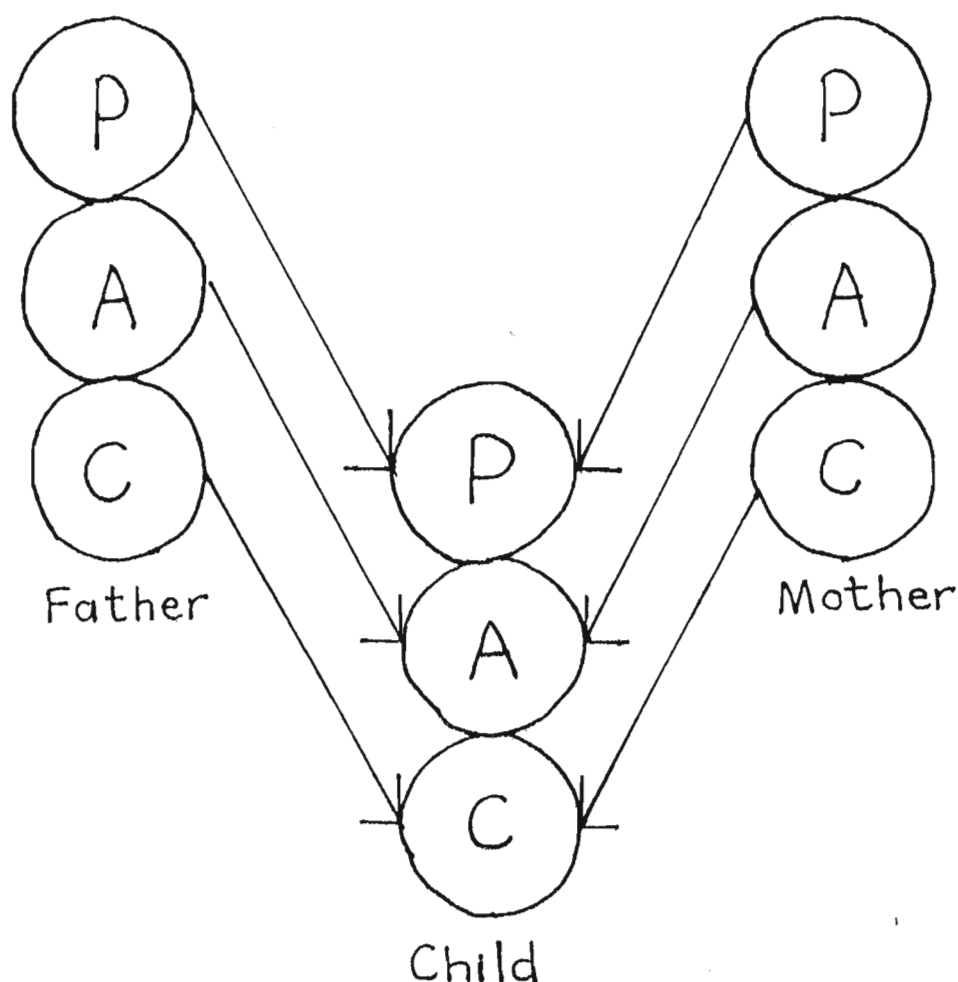


Figure 7 : Steiner's Script Matrix (Steiner, 1982, 67)

3.4 DECISIONS

Early childhood experience with parents and caregivers leads to decisions being made about life and how to live it. Of particular significance are Injunctions and Being Messages given by the parent/s to the child. While these decisions are initially appropriate, understandable and adaptive, given the child's context, they later become maladaptive. Steiner (1982) stresses that it is the prematurity of the decisions that is the issue. Premature decisions are based on faulty logic and limited experience since the child is not sufficiently cognitively and emotionally developed. The little information that the child has, the child's very little relative power, and its position of dependency on the parents enforce the likelihood that injunctions will be accepted. Decisions are made by Adult in the Child (Little Professor), and become central to the development of the script (Steiner, 1982). The effect of cumulative decisions is a life plan or life script, which limits future options and denies autonomy, early decisions committing people to leading pre-ordained lives (Steiner, 1982).

Goulding and Goulding (1979) stress that the child can make unlimited decisions in response to injunctions. They attribute to the child the power to accept or reject the injunction, and recognise that the injunction has to be accepted in order for it to be important in the child's development. While it is contentious that the child has the power to reject certain injunctions, perceptual processes in the child may filter or distort the injunction. It is important to retain a theoretical distinction between injunctions that the Child received and decisions that the Child makes, recognizing that each individual reacts uniquely (Goulding and Goulding, 1976). Locating the responsibility for the process of 'scripting' in the child rather than the parent, Goulding and Goulding (1976) are opposed to Berne's (1984) and Steiner's (1982) view that people are 'scripted' by their parents, injunctions being inserted into their heads like electrodes. In Goulding and Goulding's (1976) framework, the child makes decisions in response to real or imagined injunctions, thereby 'scripting' itself. Goulding and Goulding state: "The child fantasizes, invents, and misinterprets, thereby giving himself his own injunctions" (Goulding and Goulding, 1979, 39). As a cautionary note, fantasized injunctions are no less influential than 'real injunctions', and decisions made as a result of fantasized injunctions are consequently no less influential.

There is as yet no systematic technique in TA for the analysis of decisions. Decisions are by nature highly idiosyncratic, having relevance to the particular individual the decisions are made by. In attempting to research decisions, the present study is guided by two concepts: the Basic Position and Karpman's Drama Triangle.

The Basic Position is a fundamental, archaic decision made by the child. All individuals have inborn needs, wants, and feelings. Early experience of the person, especially whether these needs are met or not, become decisively important in formulating the individual's basic life existential position. The basic position is the foundation for how the person thinks, feels, and interacts with others. The basic position in script analysis thus refers to feelings about oneself and others. Basic positions are based on decisions that the child makes very early in life, and provide a structure by which the child understands him/herself in the world (Harris, 1973).

A basic position is assumed as parents react to the needs and feelings of the child, who then makes preverbal and unconscious decisions about itself in relation to others. The basic position provides a structure upon which rests selective perception of the world, which in turn maintains the basic position, and confirms original decisions (Woolams and Brown, 1979).

Four basic positions are traditionally identified (Berne, 1984):-

1. I'm not OK - You're OK
2. I'm not OK - You're not OK
3. I'm OK - You're not OK
4. I'm OK - You're OK

Berne (1984) and Harris (1973) do not however agree on the sequence of development of basic positions. Berne originally postulated that the child begins life in an I'm OK - You're OK position. However, as a consequence of parental programming, the child assumes other life positions with respect to itself and others. The crucial theoretical difference between Berne and Harris is illustrated in Harris' assumption that the infant begins life in an I'm not OK - You're not OK position. Woolams and Brown (1979) adhere to Berne's original formulation, believing that all infants start life in the I'm OK - You're OK position, and following the discounting of needs and feelings, may enter other positions.

Steiner (1982) regards all people as being born OK, the foundations of psychopathology and life problems being laid down in the child's relationship with its parents. Steiner (1982) thus adheres to Berne's assumption that all people are born princes and princesses, until they are turned into frogs by their parents.

Although intended for explaining game concepts, Karpman's (1968) Drama Triangle has applicability to the area of Child Decisions. Rescuer, Victim, and Persecutor are three possible roles that can be adopted (Figure 8).

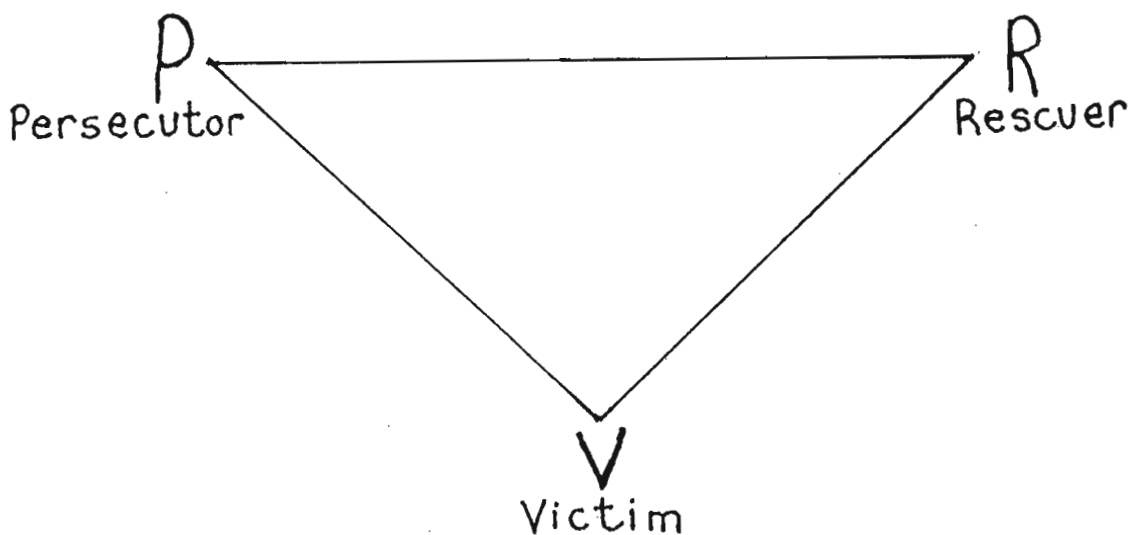


Figure 8 : Karpman's Drama Triangle (Karpman, 1968)

The rescuer decides : "I'm only OK if I can help others. I know more than they do". The victim decides : "I'm helpless. You are better than me", while the persecutor decides : "I'm better than you. You are inferior". In this way these decisions are based on the original basic position. It is a decision that is made by the Little Professor (A1), yet behaviourally it is the Adapted Child that acts out the decision.

Considering the implications for research into decisions that the child makes, an examination of the basic position of an individual is necessarily complex and may reveal many contradictions. Berne believed that it was possible to identify a single basic position on which the script was based. To state a basic position, for example, I'm OK - You're not OK and to assume that this is representative of the person, is possibly reductionistic. Woolams and Brown (1979) assert that there are inter-situational and temporal variations in basic positions, thus opposing arguments for a single fixation in one position. The popularity that the

terms I'm OK, I'M not OK, You're OK, You're not OK, Rescuer, Victim and Persecutor attained, creates some hesitance, this possibly being indicative of cautiousness about the reductionism of pop-psychology. In evaluating the possibility of researching decisions people make, the following comments are instructive.

- (1) There is inter-situational and temporal variability in the basic position.
- (2) As with the basic position, a single fixation in any one drama triangle position must be questioned, the fluidity of interpersonal behaviour leading us to expect that in actuality a person moves around the drama triangle.
- (3) The splitting of the person into OK and not-OK aspects seems to run counter to criteria for healthy object relations development specified in Chapter 2. It is thus important to recognize that this is a theoretical split.
- (4) Rigid fixation in any one basic position or drama triangle position is more indicative of developmental pathology than is fluid movement between the drama triangle positions, and a healthy recognition that the self and others are whole objects with both OK and not-OK aspects.

In the absence of a systematic technique for researching and analyzing decisions made about the self and others, these decisions being highly idiosyncratic, the present research will focus rather on decisions that the person makes about life. In addition, decisions involved in the racket system represent the core decisions made by a person about themselves and relationships with others and will be researched. Decisions referring to the OK'ness or not-OK'ness of the self and other tend to artificially bisect the person, and although all people have in health, OK and not-OK parts, the qualitative aspects of the self and others are more important as a research focus.

3.5 RACKETS

3.5.1 The Relationship Between Rackets and Games

In order to understand rackets, it is essential to theoretically separate between the concepts of rackets and games. Both rackets and games are elements of the script and play a role in determining the repetitive nature of scripts. In Games People Play, Berne defines a game as follows:

"an ongoing series of complementary transactions progressing to a well-defined, predictable outcome. Descriptively it [a game] is a recurring set of transactions, often repetitions, superficially plausible, with a concealed motivation; or, more colloquially, a series of moves with a snare, or 'gimmick'" (Berne, 1982, 44).

In both Games People Play (Berne, 1982), and in What Do You Say After You Say Hello? (Berne, 1984), the racket is included as part of the game process; a payoff that ends the game, leaving participants with bad feelings. Berne perceived the racket as a method of exploitation and manipulation involving self-indulgence in favourite feelings, each racket having a 'trading stamp'. Berne (1982; 1984) provided only a scanty outline of the racket concept, and although he attempted to relate the racket and trading stamp to games and scripts, the racket was not successfully drawn into general TA theory. Joines (1982) identifies the problem as being due to Berne vacillating between defining a racket as a feeling and the process whereby certain feelings are exploited and self-indulgently maintained. The lack of specificity about the racket, and the absence of a clearer distinction between the racket and the game, have been a central issue in theoretical debates in transactional analysis.

Since rackets and games have not been clearly differentiated, and in order to specify the racket for the purposes of the present study, the two concepts as they developed from Berne need to be teased out from each other. Joines (1982) addressing himself to the difference between rackets and games, considers rackets to be more generalized existential level processes while games tend to operate primarily at social and psychological levels.

The notion of a game is appealing, and methods are available for gaining access to the game : by means of a questionnaire or "Game Plan" (James, 1973); or by outlining transactions involved in the game using Berne's (1984) "Game Formula"; or by analysis in terms of psychological, social and existential advantages and disadvantages (Berne, 1982). However, the prospects of gaining access to the person's primary games in an interview or research situation are limited. The complexity of the game process, the possibility of infinite variations in game playing, and the likelihood that we play different games with different people, mediates against the desirability of game analysis in a research situation. Berne himself stated : "An adequate understanding of a game can only be obtained in the psychotherapeutic situation" (Berne, 1982, 62).

3.5.2 Defining the Racket : Discrepancies

TA theorists, therapists and researchers have attempted to specify the transactional operation of the racket.

"Currently, the literature on rackets and trading stamps presents the reader with contradictions which reflect the widely varying conceptualizations of several authors. The systematic development of rackets still remains far behind clinical usage" (Erskine and Zalcman, 1979, 51).

An understanding of the diversity of ideas on the racket, lies in seeing the ideas as continuing Berne's commitment to a Freudian tradition, since the racket embodies the intrapsychic basis of the repetition compulsion. Most authors who have examined the racket (Steiner, 1982; Holloway, 1973 a; English, 1972; English, 1976; English, 1977 a; Erskine and Zalcman, 1979; Holtby, 1979; Joines, 1982), have tended to describe related aspects of the same phenomena, arriving at different conclusions about what a racket is. The phenomenon that is consistently involved in the racket is the repetition compulsion, which Berne (1984) believed was a central process in the script. It is paradoxical people would want to remain being responsible for themselves feeling unpleasant feelings and redramatize old events, so much so that the behaviours they engage in are not adaptive and cause them further difficulty. The racket represents a way by which to understand this. Consistent with the foci of the present study on attempting to gain access to intrapsychic material, the racket possibly presents the closest approximation to intrapsychic material represented in the repetition compulsion.

The racket refers to feelings substituted for suppressed or prohibited feelings are the racket in English's (1972; 1976; 1977 b) framework. English (1976) presents a transactional view of rackets and suggests the term "racketeer" to distinguish between transactions that result in the racket and the racket itself. English describes the racket as follows:

"a racket feeling expressed in the 'now' substitutes for another category of more genuine feelings that would surface were it not for the fact that the particular category of genuine feelings was forbidden in early childhood" (English, 1976, 78).

Holtby (1979), basing his analysis of rackets on Erskine and Zalcman's (1979) Racket System, refers to interlocking racket systems wherein the rackets of two individuals are complementary and reinforce each other, even though the relationship between these individuals may be conflictual.

3.5.3 The Role of Injunctions in The Racket

The process whereby some feelings are substituted for others, occurs as a result of parental injunctions and decisions that the child makes. Some feelings and perceptions are permitted, some prohibited. Rackets are thus inauthentic feelings substituted for real feelings that were previously prohibited. Developmentally, rackets serve to defend against spontaneous feelings and behaviours that during childhood were experienced by the Free Child as anxiety provoking and painful due to the prohibitions given in response to them (Joines, 1982). Hence, the racket has its source in the Adapted Child.

Injunctions issued signify that the expression of certain feelings is not-OK, bad, or wrong. These injunctions may be given overtly, as in Don't Cry. Alternatively, and perhaps with greater impact and implications for the script and the person living it, the injunctions may be given covertly. The parent subtly implies the injunction; for example, the parent turns away, the child detecting an unfavourable change in the parent when an unacceptable feeling is shown. More concretely, the child's excitement, rage, sexuality, frustration, dependence, or independence might be prohibited by injunctions.

3.5.4 The Racket System : A Model for Racket Analysis

Erskine and Zalcman (1979) view the racket as a cognitive - affective - behavioural system. Defining the racket as a system presents an opportunity to the researcher to gain greater access to intrapsychic material. In operation, the racket system demonstrates how the person lives out their script on a daily basis. Erskine and Zalcman (1979) claim that their definition of the racket provides a theoretical basis for the researcher, allowing access to : (a) intrapsychic or intrapersonal processes of thinking, feeling and physical responses, and (2) behavioural phenomena which relate to these intrapsychic processes.

"The Racket System is defined as a self-reinforcing, distorted system of feelings, thoughts and actions

maintained by script-bound individuals" (Erskine and Zalcman, 1979, 53).

Developmentally, the racket arises when a child is pressurized by parental injunctions. If the child's need for expression of its feelings is not met, it suppresses these feelings. To make meaning of the situation and concomitant experiences, the child makes script decisions which are in Erskine and Zalcman's terms "core script beliefs" (1979, 53). These are basic decisions about the self, others, and what life is about. Erskine and Zalcman's core script beliefs thus bear a similarity to the idea of the basic position. In the future, when the person experiences similar feelings to the script feeling, script beliefs are likely to be stimulated, and vice versa. When the script beliefs and feelings become operational, "Rackety Displays" (Erskine and Zalcman, 1979, 53) are engaged in.

"The Rackety Displays consist of all the overt and internal behaviours which are manifestations of the Script Beliefs/Feelings. Included are the observable behaviours such as words, sentence patterns, tones of voice, displays of emotion, gestures and body movements a person makes which are a direct result of the intrapsychic process" (Erskine and Zalcman, 1979, 54).

The child experiments with behaviours during childhood and decides which behaviours get him/her the attention required, which confirm script beliefs, and which are modeled on parent's behaviour. These behaviours become stylised and repetitive and part of the racket. As a result a store of reinforcing memories is built up. Selected events are perceived and recalled from this collection of emotionally charged memories of transactions (real or imagined), and fantasies will be a particular part of this process.

The present research intends to examine the racket system in the groups sampled. The racket is a complex concept and a highly individualized outcome of Injunctions, Being Messages and Decisions. As a result, the racket is a difficult area to attempt to research, and the present researcher recognises the conceptual and methodological difficulties involved. An adequate conception of the racket system thus requires an analysis in terms of cognitive, affective and behavioural aspects. The present study will aim to retain the qualitative richness of the racket system in the groups sampled. An attempt will be made to identify com-

mon cognitive, affective and behavioural themes of the racket system within and between the groups sampled.

3.6 DEVELOPMENTAL THEORY

3.6.1 Script Development

Although Berne presented the script as a developmental 'theory', his only concessions to a formal developmental account were a differentiation between the protocol and palimpsest as two forms of scripts which were different in their essential nature and ages of formation. I believe that Berne envisaged the script essentially as a conceptual account of how psychopathology or health emerges in the child in its relationship with its parent/s, and the theory is thus also a description of adaptation in the Child. The account is based on the expression of needs, wants and feelings by the Free Child. The Free Child reacts to frustration of its needs and the responses to its feelings, by undergoing adaptation in the service of environmental demands. Alternatively, if the Free Child's needs are met and its feelings recognised, the child decides on a basic position that affirms the OK-ness of itself, others and life.

The issue of whether there is a critical age for script formation has been the subject of much controversy in TA. Campos (1986) claims that the critical age for script formation is between three and seven years of age, the average ages being between five and six, most script decisions being made after age four. Campos states:

"The critical age depends on each child's developmental level. During early developmental stages, the need to survive is paramount; thus, younger children may be more sensitive to survival issues and may make survival decisions. After three, the child has a strong need to learn to do things; children at this age make decisions about this need" (1986, 19).

3.6.2 Alternative Developmental Perspectives

Allen and Allen's (1972) hierarchy of permissions offers a developmental view of the person as developing through a series of predetermined steps, coming increasingly into contact with a wider social context, and hopefully actualizing their potential as the sequence of permissions unfolds. Development proceeds on the basis of attainments at previous

stages, the gains of each stage depending of the solidity provided by permissions at previous stages (Allen and Allen, 1972).

It is possible to conceive of cyclical development through stages beginning in childhood and repeating themselves through life (Levin-Landheer, 1982). During each stage the person must complete certain tasks to develop powers of : being, doing, thinking, developing identity, being skillful, regenerating, and recycling. Levin-Landheer (1982) describes each stage together with corresponding ego state developments and the transactions that are typical of each stage.

Parry (1979) describes the path of growth from potential OK'ness at birth to actualized OK'ness as a result of the influence of OK parenting, this actualization depending on the child being responded to as if it is OK. On the basis of this experience the child develops subsequent feelings of OK'ness. For Parry (1979), there are three stages in the development of the Child Ego State. Each stage deals with a particular issue, viz. protection to be, permission to be oneself and, the potency to be able. In the first stage, the child's dependence requires that it be initially reliant on those around it to experience itself as OK, and that it be given protection to be. In the second stage, permission to be oneself, the child separates itself from others and begins to become a unique individual, perceiving and feeling for itself. The permission that the child needs at this time is permission to be OK. Finally, during the third stage, the child becomes the kind of individual s/he is and needs to be confirmed, in and identify with, the potency to be able.

3.6.3 Child Development : Development of the Ego States

The charting of the development of ego states was not addressed by Berne. Although he considered the basic dynamics of ego state interaction, he did not formally situate this in a matrix of development with the parent/s.

3.6.3.1 Energy Based Conceptions of the Development of Ego States

Dusay's (1980) method of illustrating ego states evidences an orientation towards measurement of the relative strengths of different ego states. The notion of ego states and their development is guided by the assumption that there is a fixed amount of psychic energy available, which as developmental stages are traversed, becomes differentiated

into various ego states (Klein, 1980). The basis of Klein's developmental theory is thus Freudian in that this energy is biologically determined, and that it is assumed that the structures and functions of personality are in essence complete by six years of age. Parenthood involves differentially influencing the various ego states at various developmental stages specified by age (Klein, 1980).

3.6.3.2 Object Relational Conceptions of Development

In What Do You Say After You Say Hello?, Berne (1984) points to the similarity between the electrode like introjects of the fairy godmother and witch mother, and the good and bad introjects of Melanie Klein. Despite this connection, Berne did not integrate trends in object relations into his theory. Haykin (1980), Woods and Woods (1981), Schiff and Schiff (1971), and Schiff (1977 b) provide perspectives on development which evidence the influence of object relational concepts. Haykin (1980) attempts to integrate trends in the literature on borderline and narcissistic personality disorders with theoretical developments in TA. The focus is primarily on the first few years of childhood consistent with the contemporary view that borderline and narcissistic personality disorders originate as a result of arrests of development in the first two to three years. Schiff (1977 b) charts the development of the infant through a progression of stages, beginning with complete physical and psychological dependence in a state of symbiosis with the caretaker, towards functional autonomy and independence as resolution of the symbiosis occurs. Woods and Woods (1981) restructure the Child ego state diagram to accommodate the psychoanalytic concept of splitting. Hypothesizing a series of events, Woods and Woods (1981) outline the development of the infant from birth, through an awareness of the lack of control over environmental sources of frustration and gratification, to the attainment of a separate identity. Their outline includes an account of the polarization and unification within the Child ego state of : sources of frustration and gratification; comfort and discomfort; and good and bad self-images. The following review draws on the contributions of the Schiffs, Haykin, and Woods and Woods outlining development in terms of four broad developmental periods : (1) Autistic phase, (2) Symbiosis, (3) Separation - Individuation, and (4) Triadic object relations.

Autistic Phase

This stage is characterised by the formation of part objects, for example, the mother's nipple, her face, her touch. Object relations are essentially primitive in this stage, and arguably "object" relations do not exist *per se*. If there are problems with this stage, an object relations free existence could be precipitated (Haykin, 1980).

It is possible to conceive of the boundary between self and others as a dotted circle (Haykin, 1980), within which are contained the part objects (Figure 9). The boundary is not perceived by the infant, everything that is perceived being experienced as part of the self. When objects are not present they no longer exist for the child, since the infant does not yet have the ability to sustain an image of the object when the object is no longer there in reality. Furthermore, the infant does not differentiate whether sensations of comfort or discomfort come from inside or outside.

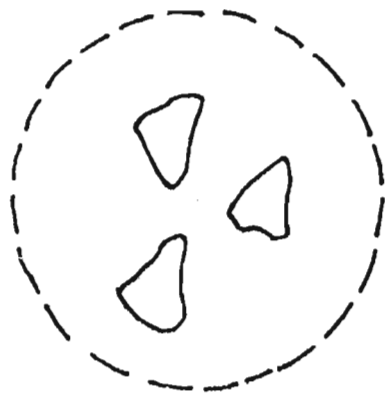


Figure 9: The Objectlessness of the Autistic Phase (Haykin, 1980, 356)

Symbiosis

"... it is my belief that major aspects of the development of the personality can be understood by examining the progressive resolution of the relationship between the child and the caretakers. Another significant model which explicates this process is the development and differentiation of the systems of Ego States and their relatively discrete subsystems" (Schiff, 1977 b, 316).

The child begins to form an attachment to the mother entering the symbiotic stage. Structurally, the child and mother are apparently fused at this stage and the child perceives no differentiation between them (Figure 10).

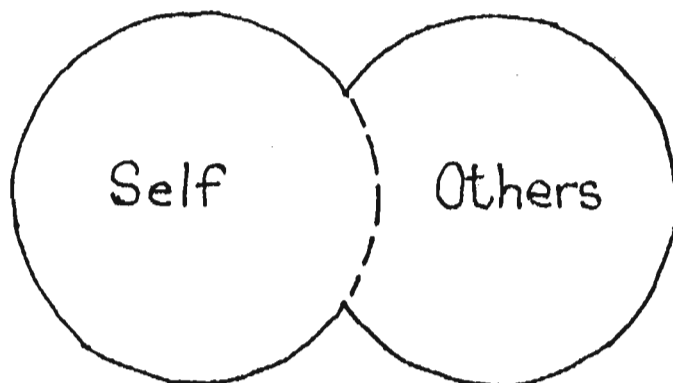


Figure 10: Symbiosis - A Diagrammatic Representation of Self and Others (Haykin, 1980, 356)

The focus is on development of the Child ego state of the child, in interaction with the Adult ego state and Parent ego state of the parent, Schiff (1977 b) representing the symbiosis in terms of the Parent, Adult and Child ego state structural model (Figure 11).

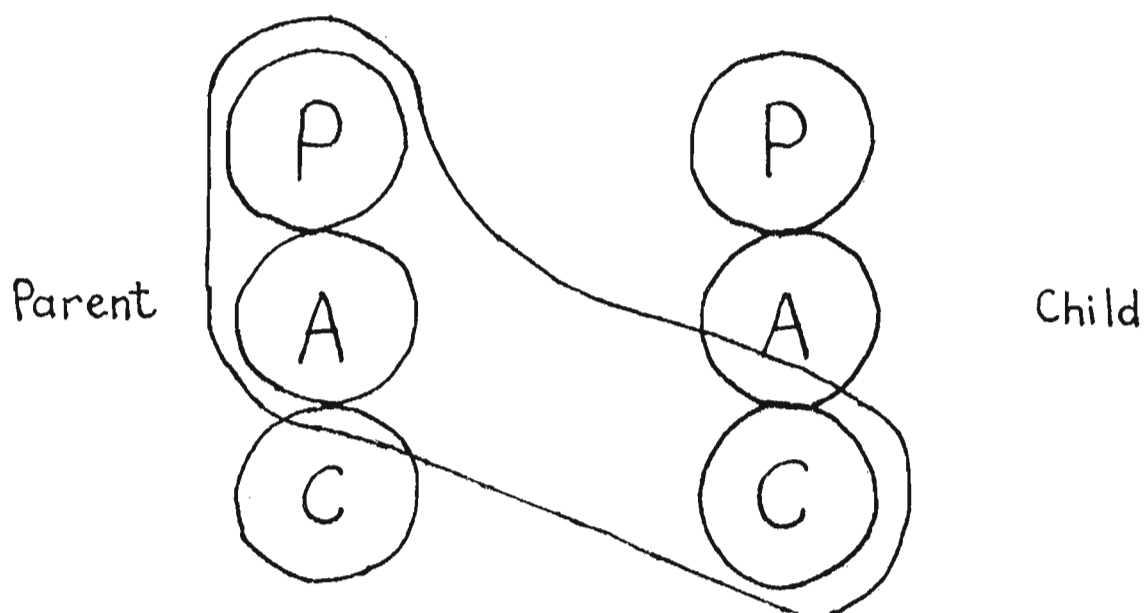


Figure 11: Ego State Structural Model of the Symbiosis (Schiff, 1977 b, 313)

The parent and child constitute essentially one person, the three ego states surrounded by the boundary being understood as the symbiotic membrane. Although symbiosis is a developmentally normal experience, Schiff and Schiff (1971) hold that disturbances in the symbiotic relationship, or in the differentiation of child and other, are responsible for later pathology. For example, disturbances of the symbiotic relationship may involve difficulties with necessary separation or parental responsiveness. Problems with differentiation could relate to neglect or over-protection. Pathology is also a likely outcome when parenting is inadequate because it fails to prepare the child for independent functioning and problem-solving (Schiff and Schiff, 1971).

In a good enough child rearing situation, the child is nurtured, protected and raised by the Parent Ego State of the parents. To a lesser degree, but not less importantly, the parent must also involve their Adult ego state. Yet often the Child in father or mother has all the features of a bad witch, confused, scared, often wanton and always irrational 'crazy child' (Steiner, 1982; Holloway, 1973 b). In this case, the development of the Child ego state of the child is neglected. The child may develop the Parent ego state prematurely, in the service of its parent's needs. Although the symbiosis is never completely resolved, health does depend on the attainment of a sufficient amount of differentiation.

Initially, the infant's relationship to the parent is characterized by control and optimism. Soon however, the infant has sufficient cognitive abilities and a store of experiences to prompt the realization that the parent will not continue to respond as the child wishes. The realization of the existence of others with separate feelings and wishes initiates a process of adaptation in the infant.

Separation-Individuation Phase

Gradually the infant begins to be aware of its existence as separate from the world around it. The child learns that there is a connectedness between its internal sensations and satisfactions that come in the form of an external response to its needs. The early awareness of separateness is facilitated by child becoming aware (as a consequence of frustration) that it has no control over the sources of comfort and discomfort, and that these emanate from the caretakers (Woods and Woods, 1981). Diagrammatically, (Figure 12), a solid circle with a recognition of differentiation between the self and others best represents the beginning of

the separation-individuation phase. With this awareness comes the potential to experience separation anxiety (Haykin, 1980). The child perceives its dependency on the mother which is separate from it. An experience of loss is developmentally normal and is consequent on the realization of separation.

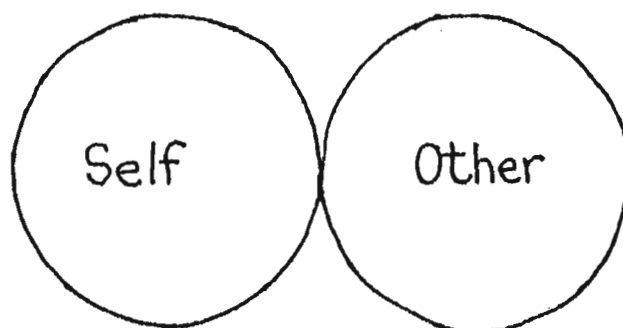


Figure 12: Differentiation of Self and Other at the Outset of Separation-Individuation (Haykin, 1980, 356)

The internalized images of mother and father are not initially synthesized onto good and bad images, remaining part objects. This implies that the child can hallucinate internal object images which do not correspond with the objects as they are in actuality, but which nevertheless have a reality for the child. They thus have an impact on his/her future development, intrapsychically and in relations with external objects. The part object introjects, as a series of separate internalizations, are gradually synthesized into P - and P + (Woods and Woods, 1981). The self begins to be organized into C - and C + as good and bad self representations (Woods and Woods, 1981). The self representations (C - and C +) and object representations (P - and P +) are in the form of good and bad objects, and the infant's ego may be described as split (Figure 13). The child has delusions about parents, its perception of parenting persons as fairy godmothers and witches indicating how the child's perception of the parent/s is distorted (Haykin, 1980). The separation into good and bad objects retains a polarity so that the two part objects (P + and P -) do not encroach on one another in the child's fantasy (Woods and Woods, 1981).

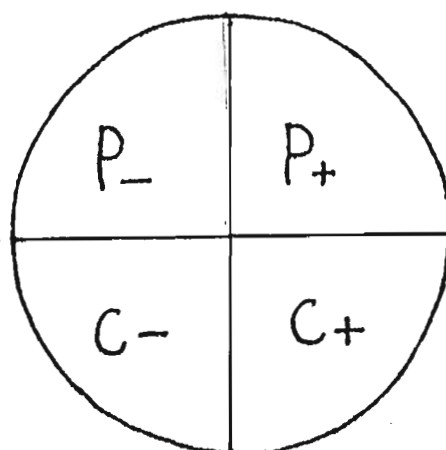


Figure 13 : Ego State Development Prior to the Rapprochement Crisis
(Haykin, 1980, 356).

As the child becomes aware of the threat of separation from the mother, it frequently returns to establish if mother is a dependable constant object. In health, the mother allows necessary separations and also provides reassurance and encouragement, so that the child can resolve the rapprochement crisis. When the rapprochement crisis has been transcended, the child has been enabled to introject a good mother image and attain object constancy which is the inner security resultant on the ability to energize and maintain a good maternal image. The fusion of P - and P + occurs and become P . The split ego structure is fused, and the child is thus enabled to deal with its ambivalence; that is, the child can experience both good and bad in the same person. Correspondingly, the child attains an identity separate from that of its mother, and C - and C + fuse and form C as a whole object (Figure 14). This enables the child to perceive itself and others more realistically. The child attains in Mahler's terms object constancy. The child has established the presence of a secure internal object even though the parent who represents it may not be present.

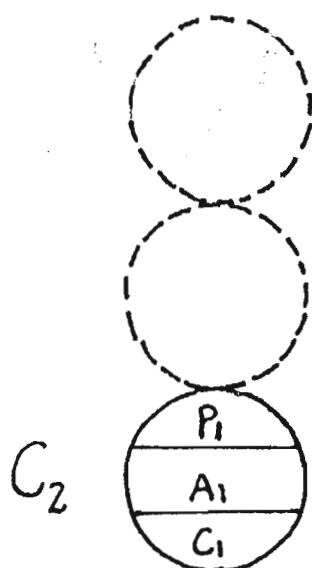


Figure 14 : Ego State Development Following the Rapprochement Crisis
(Haykin, 1980, 356).

Triadic Object Relations

Once the child has attained an identity separate from that of the parents as a unity, dyadic object relations (most likely between mother and child), shift to triadic object relations (most likely involving the father as well). The child has to learn to resolve the conflict of the family system of wanting father or mother against the other parent's wishes. This conflict must be renounced, by developing an internal value system and set of standards (Haykin, 1980). From about age three to four, the child becomes much more 'social' in its orientation and sex-role behaviour is learned. The developmental focus in these years is the Adult ego state, having to develop in order to cope with this conflict. The Adult ego state continues to be the developmental focus through to adolescence since the youngster begins to require Adult functioning in school. By about age 6 years, the basic structures of the personality - separate Parent (P), Adult (A), and Child (C) ego states - are 'complete' (Figure 15).

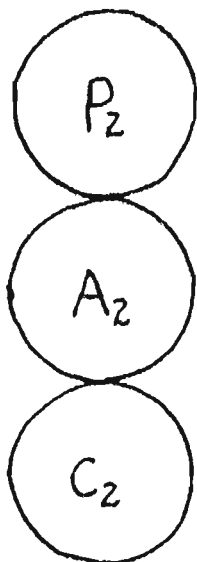


Figure 15 : 'Completion' of Ego State Development (Haykin, 1980, 356).

3.6.3 Overview and Comment

The above review of object relational conceptions of development of ego states requires that a cautionary note be sounded. While the attempts to integrate object relational conceptions and TA theory (Haykin, 1980; Woods and Woods, 1981) are a laudable goal, the attempts thus far indicate some confusion in the levels of analysis used. It is not accurate to equate ego states with internal objects or self- and object- representations. Berne's delineation of the ego states by drawing a circle around P, A, and C, indicated that three separate, distinct and observable ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving exist, each with a definable boundary. Ego states thus have more theoretical similarity to external objects, although it is possible to understand the development of internal objects and self- and object- representations as precursors of ego state formation. As internal boundaries are established, boundaries between external objects are consolidated, and ego state differentiation is promoted. It is therefore imperative to recognize that a variety of levels of explanation - intrapsychic, interpersonal, behavioural - are being brought together by integrating object relational theories and theories of ego state development in the way that Haykin (1980) and Woods and Woods (1981) attempt. What is apparent is the need for TA to develop more adequate developmental theories, the above review being a series of propositions rather than a formally recognized developmental account. The object relational development of ego states brings closer to the research process the theories of Mahler and Winnicott, although considerable caution must be exercised in keeping levels of analysis separate. Conceptions of development in object relational terms under-

score the potential of TA as a methodology in the present research, and to some extent enable Mahler's and Winnicott's concepts to be 'operationalized' while retaining a sense of the different levels of analysis that are involved.

3.7 EGO STATES : RESEARCH AND METHODS OF ASSESSMENT

In the effort to test and examine the validity of TA concepts, two areas have come under focus, viz. methods of assessment and research testing the validity of the concept of ego states. Allen (1981) believes that the concept of ego states is not as apparently simple as Berne originally stated, that reliable diagnosis of ego states is challenging, and that there are problems with the classification of behaviours into the universal Parent-Adult-Child. The direction that has been taken in ego state research has been toward an explicit, systematic assessment method, with demonstrable inter-rater reliability.

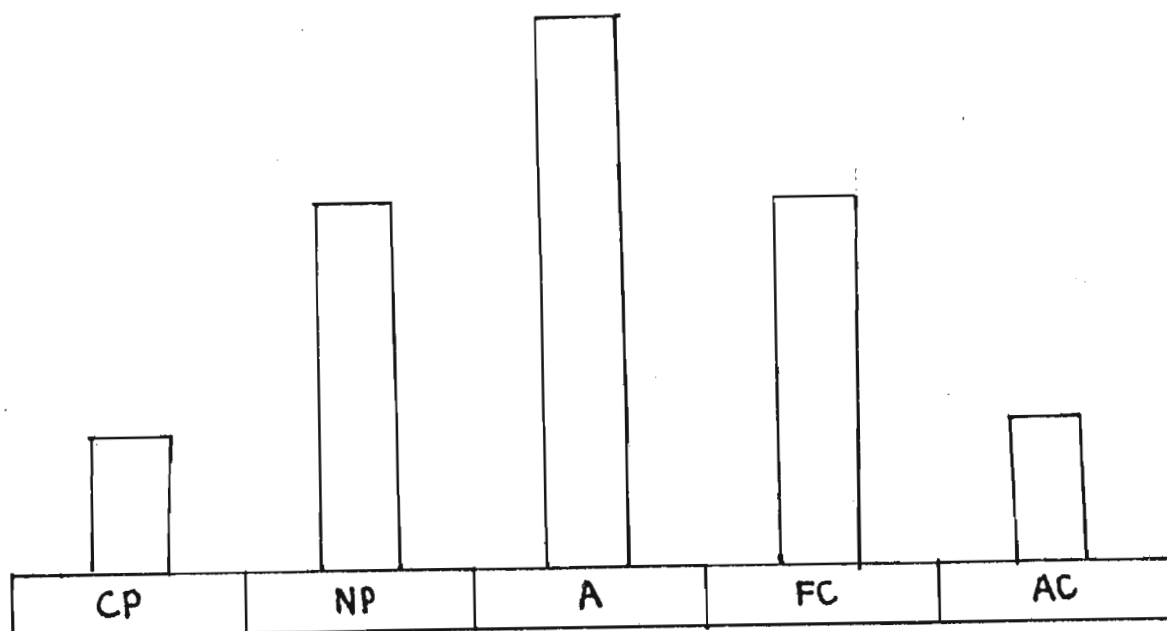
Heyer (1979) constructed Ego State Profiles of prison inmates and recovering alcoholics, finding the two groups be significantly different from the general population. Thorne and Faro (1980) identified a relationship between ego states and psychopathology, suggesting that future research concentrate on using assessment instruments for comparison of any groups of patients' ego state patterns who are grouped according to various aspects of TA theory, such as rackets, games, or scripts. Roark and Vlahos (1983) used Heyer's Ego State Questionnaire and Profile (1979) to analyze the ego states of battered women (N = 40), and found them to be significantly different to the female population in general. The group of battered women studied tended to have lower Adult scores, higher Adapted Child scores, average Free Child scores, and a slightly higher Critical Parent and higher Nurturing Parent than women in general. The Adapted Child score was the highest and the Adult score the lowest for battered women. Baldwin, Carney, Duvall, Goldin, and Morris (1986) examined the relationship between people's occupational roles and ego state dominance, suggesting that this relationship develops before children enter high school.

These studies indicate the possibilities of ego state research. The use of small samples used in a comparative design, could indicate differences between groups of people. Ego state measures provide for quantification, standardization and comparison of scores across and within groups.

Allen (1981) suggests the use of a systematic, comprehensive, standardized psychological test battery for research into ego states with optimal potential for assessing different ego states. Heyer (1979) developed an objective questionnaire for measuring ego states using Dusay's egogram model, claiming good reliability and validity characteristics for the questionnaire. Surveying 1044 adults, significant differences were obtained in CP, NP, A, FC and AC scores as related to ages, sex, level of education, and ethnic background (Heyer, 1979). Thorne and Faro (1980) developed an instrument for measuring ego states and claim that their findings empirically substantiate basic ego state theory. Williams, Watson, Walters and Williams (1983) devised a method for assessing the strength and characteristics of ego states on the basis of self descriptions of subjects responding to items on an Adjective Check List. Their study was principally concerned with the construct validity of the Free Child, Adult and Critical Parent ego state measures. Williams *et al* (1983) confirmed a relationship between Free Child scores and greater openness to sexuality and experience; a relationship between Adult scores and emotional stability; and a relationship between Critical Parent scores and an external locus of control and low ratings on empathy. However, other theoretically based predictions - such as relationships between; Critical Parent and desire for control, Adult and convergent thinking, and Free Child and creativity - were not supported by the psychometric assessment. Williams *et al* (1983) claim that this indicates substantial support for the construct validity of the ego states that were chosen for study.

McCarley (1975) developed a systematic, reliable, standardized Ego State Inventory consisting of 52 multiple choice items. The person is presented with a cartooned scenario in which two people are transacting. The person is required to choose one response from a selection of five responses, the chosen response indicating what the person assumes the one cartooned character would say in response to the transaction initiated by the other cartooned character. Five measures of ego state strength are derived; Punitive Parent (PP), Nurturing Parent (NP), Adult (A), Rebellious Child (RC), and Adaptive Child (AC).

Dusay (1980) offers the "egogram" (Figure 16) as a graphical method to illustrate the distribution of psychic energy in the personality and describe the relative predominance of Critical Parent (CP), Nurturing Parent (NP), Adult (A), Free Child (FC), and Adapted Child (AC) ego states in the person's functioning.



Key

CP = Critical parent

NP = Nurturing Parent

A = Adult

FC = Free Child

AC = Adopted Child

Figure 16 : Dusay's Egogram (Dusay, 1980)

3.8 SCRIPTS : RESEARCH AND METHODS OF ASSESSMENT

In Steiner's (1982) Scripts People Live, Wyckoff outlines typical scripts of men and women, in terms of their life course, counterscript, injunctions and attributions, decisions, mythical hero/heroine, the somatic component, and games. For women, Wyckoff identifies the following scripts : "Mother Hubbard", "Plastic Woman", "The Woman Behind the Man", "Poor Little Me", "Creeping Beauty", "Nurse", "Fat Woman", "Teacher", "Guerilla Witch", "Tough Lady", and "Queen Bee". "Big Daddy", "Man in Front of the Woman", "Playboy", "Jock", "Intellectual", and "Woman Hater" are identified by Wyckoff as typical scripts of men.

Ayache-Sebag (1983) reflects on her own script, describing the path to being 'eshet hayil' (woman of valour) for North African Jewish women like herself who have to learn how to be pretty, stay at home, be excellent future wives, and get the 'right man', thereby bringing great pride to her parents. Some of the messages that the 'eshet hayil' has to heed are : Be a good mother, Be a good wife, Be a good daughter to your

aging parents, Sacrifice for others, Follow the rules, Don't rock the boat, Don't be you, Follow your husband, and Smile. Ayache-Sebag (1983) anticipates that later in life 'eshet hayil' becomes depressed, exhausted from having given far more than she has received from her husband and children, and appreciated by no one. Her children no longer like her and her husband has lost interest. Ayache-Sebag (1983) also hypothesizes some of the decisions made, the mythical heroine, the somatic component of the script, and the games played by the 'eshet hayil'.

Continuing the research on cultural scripts, Krausz (1983) examined the national script of Brazil and its development through historical periods in the country, presenting a script matrix for Brazil as a Portuguese colony and an independent country. It seems however to be a more speculative than a historically accurate account. White (1983) presents an Australian's view of an Australian script, speculating on the drivers, injunctions, permissions, and program (how to live life) that are given to the typical Australian. The 'archetypal rescuer', the Good Samaritan's script is described by Holdeman (1983) which he hypothesizes to be a common script in midwestern America. The Good Samaritan is scripted to respond as part of a cultural obligation to neighbour's and stranger's needs and a reciprocal network of favours and returned favours is established in the community. Examining the injunctions of a strict religious environment, Magalhaes (1983) analyzes the 'games of the sacristy'. The preparedness of the sacristy members to sacrifice themselves for future salvation and carry out hard tasks in the name of their beloved Lord, no matter how self-punitive, is for Magalhaes (1983) a source of concern. Porter-Steele and Steele (1983) outline the script, counterscript, program, messages, and sex differences of the United States mid-South script. Referring to the script type as the "Founding Family" script, children growing up in such a family are exhorted to : Strive and achieve, Set a good example, Be honest, Maintain your place in upper-level social circles, and Be reserved. For girl children, they are directed to Be a loyal wife and mother, and Be selfless. The child ego state of the children receive the injunctions : Don't express (much) feeling, Don't be a child, and Don't be close. Cox (1980) described and analyzed the life scripts of characters in American folk literature, identifying their basic position, parental injunctions received, and their role on the drama triangle.

With the exception of Porter-Steele and Porter's (1983) outline of the "Founding Family" script, the research that has been conducted in the area of cultural scripting is lacking in formal design and empirical soundness. Cultural scripts are problematic in that they can unwittingly reinforce stereotypes, and research that is conducted in this area in the future needs to take cognisance of this undesirable possibility. Cognisance must be given to the need for such research into the life scripts of categories of people to be systematic and empirically verified. The work has tended to take the form of personalized, individualized accounts, hypothesizing scripts and their elements rather than attempting verification.

The literature reveals only a single systematic investigation of the life scripts of any population. Corsover (1979) examined the life scripts of 16 prison inmates in a therapeutic community, using a semi-structured interview.

Analysis of the data was conducted in terms of frequency of elements in the following categories : (1) Script Injunctions, (2) Counterscript Messages, (3) Programs, (4) Decisions, (5) Basic Positions, (6) Racket System Elements, (7) Favourite Games(s), and (8) Role Models. Expressing results as frequencies and percentages, Corsover (1979) constructed a Life Script Profile for the group of prison inmates, the criterion for the inclusion of elements being that they had to occur in over 50% of the sample.

Parent messages : "Be perfect", "Please me", "Be strong", "Work hard". "You're not OK", "The world is a bad place", and "Parents needs come first".

Basic Position : "I'm OK - You're not OK", "I'm not OK - You're OK".

Program : The program is characterized by death by violence and/or jail. Script messages for behaving in brutal, manipulative, and inconsistent ways were apparent.

Child Decisions : "Don't be close", "Don't feel", "Don't be", "Don't think", "The world is a bad place", "Don't succeed", "I'm not OK", "I'll get back/get even", and "I'll manipulate people".

Favourite Game : "Cops and Robbers", "Now I've Got You You Son of a Bitch", and "If it Weren't for You".

Role Models : Male role models modelled physical abuse of children. They also demonstrated unsatisfactory relationships with women. Such models were described as hard, cruel and inconsistent. Fantasy role models were characteristically strong and perfect.

Racket system : The racket system involved feelings of sadness, fear and/or anger. Acting in a cold and cruel way was a specific rackets display.

Berne (1982) provided an extensive Script Checklist covering : prenatal influences, early childhood, middle childhood, later childhood, adolescence, maturity, death, biological factors, and script signs. The trend in assessment of the person's script has tended to rely on the use of a questionnaire, following the example set by Berne, each new development choosing to emphasize different aspects of elements of the life script (Buryska, 1976; Campos, 1976; Collinson, 1981; Gardenshire, 1981; Levin- Landheer, 1981; Marx, Barnes, Somes and Garrity, 1978; Moiso, 1981; Peck, 1977; Steiner, 1982; White and White, 1986; Woolams and Brown, 1979).

Steiner's (1982) 20 Question Script Checklist covers the person's life course, mythical hero/heroine, basic position, decisions, parental injunctions, attributions and counterscript messages, a program to accomplish the script, games, pastimes, payoff or racket feeling, and the ending of the script. Campos (1986) provides a series of 20 questions designed to yield formative script signs. Some of the areas covered are : nicknames, aspects the person likes least/most about themselves, feelings, wishes, what the person anticipates their life will be like when grown up, their sexuality, decisions about growing up or staying small, a characterization of their life when little, a description of their birth, their mother's and father's wishes for them, things parents said to the child, favourite story or fairy tale and favourite character, daydreams, and a broad coverage of the story of their life.

White and White (1986) offer a clear and succinct Script Questionnaire, the responses to which can be transferred to a Script Matrix. The Script Questionnaire covers maternal and paternal drivers, injunctions, and adult models. Also covered are rackets learned from each parent and decisions made in relation to mother and to father. The Freehand Script Maze (Buryska, 1976) is a tool which was designed to aid the development of awareness on the part of those who complete it. The Maze requires that the person work their way through a series of open boxes indicating whether they were given permission for expression of themselves in that particular area: body, senses, feelings, head, needing, sex, family and culture, others, doing and being. Hardy and Best (1976) assert that Buryska's maze acts as a complement to Berne's checklist and

Steiner's Script Matrix, and that the maze has a high degree of reliability as a psychometric device.

A one question Life Script Questionnaire (Gardenshire, 1981) gives the person the task of answering the following question : "If your mission in life were to take a child and have him grow up so that he would find himself exactly in your situation - what would you be sure to have happen to him along the way?" (1981, 310). The question has the potential to reveal the episcrypt of the person, indicate characteristics of the child that play an important role in the script, and is likely to have been introjected directly from the parents, indicating in summary form in what ways the person's childhood will be repeated in the childhoods of their own children. A Developmental Script Questionnaire (Levin-Landheer, 1981) using guided fantasy and aiming at regressing and developing the person through a six stage model has also been developed. Moiso (1981) suggests a quick method of gaining access to a person's script using methods of guided fantasy work followed by a short questionnaire. Collinson (1981) describes a method of cartooning a scenario which represents the script and was significant in its formation, depicting messages from significant others and decisions that were made. Marx, Barnes, Somes and Garrity (1978) devised a health script questionnaire which provides insight into the relationship between life style and illness.

In What Do You Say After You Say Hello?, Berne paid a lot of attention to fairy tales, and the mythical hero or heroine in legends. Berne asserted that certain people lived out their lives very much 'to-the-book' or to the original drama scripted within the family. He phrased a fairy tale understanding of the script process in terms of people being born as Princes or Princesses, and thereafter being turned into frogs by parental injunctions (Berne, 1984). On the basis of identifying with certain characters in fairy tales, myths and nursery rhymes, these characters attain relevance in the person's life. Identification occurs because the characters resonate sharply with the reader's reality, and/or because they present a solution to the reader's predicament. Decisions made by the child in response to injunctions, become synthesised into a model which is usually based on a person in fiction, mythology, comics, movies, TV, and possibly real life (Steiner, 1982).

In the field of child psychoanalysis, the meaning and importance of fairy tales has been particularly emphasized. Bettelheim (1976) applies

a psychoanalytic drive model to interpreting popular fairy tales. Bettelheim believes that fairy tales communicate to the child that struggles are existentially intrinsic, and a basic human predicament, as the child identifies with typical characters, realizes the similarities between the plot of the fairy tale and its own situation, and comes into contact with the embodiments of good and bad in fairy tales. Bettelheim states:

"The figures in fairy tales are not ambivalent - not good and bad at the same time, as we all are in reality. But since polarization dominates the child's mind it also dominates fairy tales. A person is either good or bad, nothing in between. One brother is stupid, the other is clever. One sister is virtuous and industrious, the others are vile and lazy. One is beautiful, the others are ugly. One parent is all good, the other evil" (Bettelheim, 1976, 12).

Bettelheim analyzes numerous fairy tales using a psychoanalytic drive model. "Hansel and Gretel" contains a fear of desertion, starvation and oral greed as themes (Bettelheim, 1976). "Snow White" refers to the pubertal girl's surpassing of her stepmother, the fairy tale being dominated by an attempted negation of Snow White's beauty by jealousy and a wish to destroy what is good (Bettelheim, 1976). In fairy tales, splitting is used to keep the good images uncontaminated by bad images, and parallel, developmentally, certain of the child's fantasies. Possibly by identification with a hero or heroine, the child compensates in fantasy, through identification, for its own imagined inadequacies. Princes and Princesses, witches and ogres, all have relevance for the emotions, conflicts and perceptions of childhood, and by identification, the child is assisted in traversing essential steps in its early development.

Schreiber (1974) examines how the story "The Wizard of Oz" was used by a girl to make sense of separation from her mother, the interpretation in this case being in terms of libidinal and aggressive wishes. Meisel (1977) believes that "Peter Pan" is about resolving the dilemma of growing up versus staying young. "Peter Pan", for Schreiber, is thematically characterized by Wendy's conflict with her father, a conflict which results in the Darling children running away because the father abuses their nurse-dog, Nana. Widzer (1977) examines 'comic book' superheroes as aspects of contemporary mythology and as idealized objects.

While fairy tales and children's books refer to fantasies related to particular developmental phases, making meaning out of them by inter-

pretation in terms of orthodox psychoanalytic theory is problematic in that the personal meaning of the 'modern myth' for a person may be obscured. As Bettelheim himself recognized:

"... the fairy tale's deepest meaning will be different for each person, and different for the same person at various moments in his life. The child will extract different meanings from the same fairy tale, depending on his interests and needs of the moment" (Bettelheim, 1976, 12).

Children's literature - nursery rhymes, fairy tales and story books - thus have great psychological meaning for children irrespective of the child's age or sex. Extensive personal meaning is gained via the child's identification with characters in children's literature. As the child deals with different problems confronting it and attempts to resolve certain conflicts, the characters in literature achieve relevance, as do the character's struggles with similar problems. Apart from the dilemmas and anxieties of the characters in the literature, the characters offer solutions to the child's problems, solutions which are appropriate to the child's level of cognitive and emotional development. A story or character that becomes important to a child thus reflects, in part, the developmental difficulties that impinged on the child at any phase of development. Inner problems and solutions relevant to a particular child may also be embodied in characters on television, adding to the child's personal mythology.

Nursery rhymes, fairy tales, story books and television programs, as the person understands and projectively identifies with them, constitute a possible means of gaining access to the person's fantasy life and significant aspects of their object relations. The present researcher intends to apply these insights to the groups sampled. Research must allow the person to narrate the story as they remember it and to describe the characters as they perceived them. Distorted, omitted and highlighted aspects of the story, indicate that the story-teller is using the story as a screen onto which to project their own personal mythology.

An examination of the person's favourite characters in nursery rhymes, fairy tales, story books, and television programs, will provide clues to the personality. What this character is like, the person's favourite part in the story, and the story as told by the person, will provide access to

more information about the script, and to more archaic remnants of object relations.

3.9 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PRESENT RE-SEARCH

An assessment of ego states and analyses of the life script can provide the basis of researching the quality of parent-child relationships and child development, emphasizing the utility of using TA as a methodology. Assessing ego states provides quantitative information on the personality and is useful in identifying differences between groups sampled by research. Gaining access to the person's script enables the Episcript to be stated, and Parent Messages (Injunctions and Being Messages) to be identified. The script as an assessment device enables a perspective on emotional development in terms of the Racket System, and allows access to more elusive levels of analysis, viz. fantasy and object relations development. The present research argues for the use of TA as a potential methodology on the basis of which it is possible to assess the quality of parent-child relationships and to make inferences about early object relations and a child's development in retrospect.

CHAPTER FOUR : AIMS, DESIGN AND METHOD

4.1 AIMS AND DESIGN

The present research was concerned with comparing adolescents brought up exclusively in intact families and adolescents who were placed in residential substitute care either as children or as adolescents. The two groups of adolescents can be termed:

- (a) the Family Group, and
- (b) the Residential Substitute Care Group.

The present research aimed to examine differences between the two groups, comparing the groups in terms of the nature and quality of parent-child relationships they had experienced. It was hypothesized that the family group and residential substitute care group would differ with respect to:

- (a) measures on the Ego State Inventory, and
- (b) their Life Scripts.

The present research also aimed to examine patterns in parent-child relationships and child development within the residential substitute care group. It was intended to compare adolescents in the residential substitute care group who were placed as children with those who were placed during adolescence. The two sub-groups in the residential substitute care group can be designated:

- (a) the Child Placement Sub-group, and
- (b) the Adolescent Placement Sub-group.

Additionally, the present research sought to provide a descriptive account of the quality of substitute parent-child relationships experienced by the residential substitute care group.

On the basis of ego state and life script analyses, the present research aimed to outline, by inference, an object relations developmental retrospective for the family group and residential substitute care group.

The present research aimed to assess the use of TA as a potential methodology and to evaluate its use in conjunction with the object relational theories of Winnicott and Mahler.

4.2 METHOD

4.2.1 Pilot Study : Questionnaire Design and Construction

Reviewing methods of assessment of the Life Script, an extensive questionnaire was drawn up consisting of pooled questions deemed to be useful and relevant to the present research. A pilot study was conducted in which participants were required to complete the Ego State Inventory (McCarley, 1975), and were interviewed by the researcher using a trial Life Script Questionnaire. Ten adolescents (aged 15 to 18 years) participated in the pilot study, five who were raised in intact families and five from a Durban children's home.

The pilot study was underpinned by the following rationale. It was intended to serve as an opportunity to develop skills and refine interviewing technique relevant to the gathering of data on parent-child relationships. The pilot study also facilitated the construction of a Life Script Questionnaire which was comprehensive, brief, and relevant to the present research. Feedback was requested from pilot study participants as to comments they might wish to make and questions they might have about the Ego State Inventory and Life Script Questionnaire. On the basis of the pilot study and a consideration of theoretical and methodological issues in TA, the formal Life Script Questionnaire as used in the present research was devised (Appendix I). The Life Script Questionnaire developed for the purposes of the present study can be divided into four sections

- A. Parent Messages : Injunction and Being Messages
- B. Past and Future : Decisions and the Episcrypt
- C. Racket System, and
- D. Fantasy.

The organization of the sections of the questionnaire was guided by Bailey's (1978) recommendations for questionnaire construction. The method of administration of the Life Script Questionnaire used in the present study allowed for the interviewer to ask further questions in the event of the interviewer not being clear about the subject's responses or needing additional information.

4.2.2 Sampling

The criterion for designation as an adolescent was that the subjects be aged between 15 and 17 years old inclusive. While this is a narrow specification of adolescence, the fluidity of developmental processes, rapidity of change, and the variance in the organization of personality in the case of younger adolescents, suggests the use of an older group of adolescents. Furthermore, this criterion encourages more homogeneity in the sample.

Criteria for inclusion in the Residential Substitute Care Group were that subjects had to have spent at least one year in residential substitute care, and that they were in care having been identified as "children in need of care" (Children's Act, 1960), with supporting reasons for the placement as provided by the Act.

Five children's homes were sampled in the present study. Extracting common features from each, the children's homes sampled can be characterized as follows: all were 'cottage type' care arrangements, with one or two house-parents, in which eight to sixteen children were resident.

Criterion for inclusion in the Family Group were that subjects were raised in intact families of their birth, and that both parents were still married and living together.

The two groups, Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group, were matched as closely as possible on age, sex, and socio-economic status. The Family Group was limited to primarily working class socio-economic status to control for the effects of class, the Residential Substitute Care Group being of primarily working class socio-economic origin.

Two final criteria for inclusion in the two groups sampled were that subjects be white and English speaking. While the desirability of studies across racial and linguistic groupings is unquestioned, difficulties in gaining access to children's homes in which other races are resident mediate against cross-racial research. It is however recognized that the effects of race in South Africa cut across parent-child relationships and child-development, and the need for cross-racial studies must be addressed.

4.2.3 Subjects

Forty (N=40) subjects, aged 15 to 17 years inclusive, were interviewed and assessed: Twenty (n1=20) subjects were raised exclusively in the families of their birth, their families having remained intact. Twenty (n2=20) subjects had been placed in residential substitute care as children or as adolescents, and at the time of research were still in care. The mean age of subjects in the Family Group was 15.65 years, and 16.25 years in the Residential Substitute Care Group. There was an equal number of male and female adolescents in each of the two groups.

The Residential Substitute Care Group was further divided by age at placement into two sub-groups of ten each, each with five males and five females. The Child Placement Sub-group contained adolescents who were removed as children, the cut-off age for inclusion in the sub-group being six years of age. The Adolescent Placement Sub-group comprised subjects who were removed between the ages of 12 and 16 years. The requirement was that subjects in this sub-group were to have spent at least one year in residential substitute care. Child Placement subjects' age at placement ranged between 3.9 and 5.9 years, with mean age at placement being 4.0 years. Adolescent Placement subjects' age at placement ranged between 12.1 and 16.9 years, with mean age at placement being 14.25 years.

4.2.4 Material

The Ego State Inventory (McCarley, 1975) was used as a method of ego state assessment. (See Appendix II for definitions of ego states measured, instructions given to subjects, and examples of items in the inventory).

A Brief Questionnaire was used to obtain Background Information from each subject on their age, sex and family situation (Appendix III). The format of the Brief Questionnaire was different depending on whether the subject was in the Family Group or Residential Substitute Care Group. The format used for the later group additionally provided for obtaining information about placement and significant parent-figures.

A Life Script Questionnaire (Appendix I) was used to interview subjects. The format of the questionnaire for the Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group was slightly different in order that

residential substitute care subjects' responded to questions 4, 5, 6 and 7 on the Life Script Questionnaire for their parents as well as significant other parent-figures, specified by them in response to questions 7 and 8 on their formal of the Background Information : Brief Questionnaire.

4.2.5 Procedure

Permission was obtained from the Director of Education (Natal Education Department) for access to schools for the purpose of sampling children in the Family Group.

Contact was made with the Principals and School Counsellors at two Durban high schools.

The School Counsellors were briefed about the research and their co-operation and assistance enlisted.

School Counsellors were requested to address a request for participation in the research to all pupils fitting the criteria for subject selection. The researcher met with pupils who responded to the request.

The pupils were briefed about the purpose of the research and what their participation would entail. Subjects were encouraged to ask questions and they were not blind to the purpose of the research.

Pupils who volunteered to participate were provided with letters requesting parental permission for their child's participation in the research (Appendix IV). This permission was expressed by one of either parent completing a consent form (Appendix IV).

The first ten volunteers from each of the two schools sampled, and whose parents gave written permission for the participation in the research, were selected as subjects and constituted the Family Group.

Following obtaining permission from the South African National Council for Child and Family Welfare and Durban Child and Family Welfare Society for the research, Principals, Social Workers, and House Parents at five Durban children's homes were approached and their co-operation requested.

The researcher met with all adolescents in the homes that fitted the criteria for subject selection. At the meetings in different children's homes, the researcher briefed the adolescents about the research and requested them to participate.

The group of children's home adolescents were thus given the choice to participate, and at no time was pressure applied. The first twenty volunteers from the five children's homes were selected as subjects and constituted the Residential Substitute Care Group.

Interviews and assessment were conducted in the Department of Psychology, University of Natal (Durban).

Arrangements for interviews and assessment were made with the House Parent/s of the children's homes or with the School Counsellors of schools that subjects were drawn from. Interviews and assessment were conducted at a time that was convenient to all concerned, and subjects were provided with transport to and from the University.

The subjects were initially required to complete the Ego State Inventory. Subjects were required to respond to the Background Information : Brief Questionnaire (Appendix III). On this basis the age and sex of subjects was recorded. Information on the subject's family was obtained from subjects in both groups. The age at placement, the reason for placement, and significant parent- figures were obtained from subjects in the Residential Substitute Care Group. This was, along with previous meetings with subjects, also used to facilitate the building of rapport between the subjects and the interviewer.

After background information had been obtained, the Life Script Questionnaire was administered. At the outset of the interview subjects were informed that the information they provided would be held in the strictest confidence, and that any information that would individually identify them would not be present in the research report.

Subjects were given the option to decline answering questions they felt were too distressing. They were encouraged to provide as much information that they were comfortable with in response to each question.

On the basis of the residential substitute care subjects' responses to questions 7 and 8 on the Background Information : Brief Questionnaire, the researcher identified significant parent-figures (other than the subjects' mothers and fathers). Questions 4, 5, 6 and 7 on the Life Script Questionnaire were re-administered to the residential substitute care subjects for each of the significant substitute parent- figures identified.

Each interview was videotaped following securing the subject's consent for this method of data recording. The assessment and interview lasted between 1 and 1.5 hours.

At the completion of the interview subjects were thanked for their participation. The researcher also ascertained if they had any questions to ask, this providing the opportunity to establish whether the subject had been distressed by assessment and the interview. Subjects were informed that feedback could only be given conditional on their entering psychotherapy.

4.2.6 Analysis and Interpretation

4.2.6.1 Ego State Analysis

Responses to each of the 52 items on the Ego State Inventory (McCarley, 1975) were coded on one of five possible ego state measures : Punitive Parent, Nurturing Parent, Adult, Rebellious Child and Adaptive Child. Analysis of the 52 responses thus yields five scores for each of the ego state measures for each subject. Ego state analysis across the Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group (Child Placement Sub-group and Adolescent Placement Sub-Group) was conducted by applying a non-parametric statistical test, the t-test for independent samples (Siegel, 1956) to mean ego state scores on each measure. The five ego state measures in the groups compared were further analyzed in terms of Dusay's (1980) egogram.

4.2.6.2 Life Script Analysis and Interpretation

The videotaped interviews in which subjects responded to the Life Script Questionnaire were transcribed verbatim. The significance of non-verbal data in script analysis has been repeatedly emphasized (Berne, 1984; Woolams and Brown, 1979; Steiner, 1982; Kahler, 1977). Gestures, facial expressions, postures, mannerisms, voice tone, and characteristic words and phrases, are instructive in the analysis of a person's life script. In the present study non-verbal data was incorporated into the analysis and interpretation of transcriptions of the life script interview. The Life Script Analysis was conducted on the following basis:

- A. Parent Messages : Injunctions and Being Messages
- B. Past and Future : Decisions and the Episcript
- C. Racket System : Affective, Cognitive and Behavioural Components
- D. Fantasy.

A. Parent Messages : Injunctions and Being Messages:-

In order to develop a set of categories for injunctions and being messages, the life script interview transcriptions were content analyzed. Content analysis is a systematic, objective and quantitative method which transforms qualitative into quantitative data (Bailey, 1978). The purpose of content analysis is to construct a set of mutually exclusive, exhaustive categories that can be used in the analysis. The content of these categories needs to be defined, a unit of analysis specified, and a system of enumeration specified (Bailey, 1978). By ascertaining common elements in the qualitative data it is possible to construct categories for quantitative content analysis. Content analysis is based on the assumption that to construct categories without prior inspection of the data may exclude important categories. In line with the aim of keeping data close to its source, the present study used a method of content analysis based on the life script interview transcriptions of the subjects. Initial construction of categories was based on the Goulding's (1976) list of injunctions and Kahler's (1977) list of five 'drivers'. This facilitated the development of categories appropriate to research needs and specific to the research groups.

In verifying procedures of content analysis, the construction of a set of categories was the primary focus. The development of categories was facilitated by an independent observer, well versed in TA theory and therapy. The researcher and independent observer constructed a list of parent messages found to be present in five randomly selected life script interview transcripts. As a result of consultation and discussion with the independent observer the researcher formalized a set of categories of injunctions and being messages considered to be appropriate and relevant in the context of the present study. (Appendix V contains categories of parent messages and their definitions).

Coding of the transcriptions was conducted on the basis of a dichotomous decision on whether the theme of the category appeared in the subject's responses to the life script questionnaire. Parent messages were further differentiated and coded depending on whether the subject's mother or father issued the message. Subjects' responses to Questions 1 to 10 were the basis for analysis of parent messages. Questions 4, 5, 6 and 7 refer directly to injunctions and being messages, and were particularly important in the content analysis of life script interview transcriptions.

Comparison of the Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group in terms of parent messages was conducted on the basis of the frequency and percentages of categories of injunctions and being messages. It was decided to construct a Life Script Profile of major injunctions and being messages for the Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group, and to summarize these results using Steiner's Script Matrix method. Child and Adolescent Placement Sub-groups were also compared in terms of messages received from parents.

On the basis of the residential substitute care subjects' responses to questions 7 and 8 on the Background Information : Brief Questionnaire, and to questions 4, 5, 6 and 7 on the Life Script Questionnaire, it was possible to specify significant other parent-figures, and to descriptively analyze parent messages given by other parent-figures.

B. Past and Future : Decisions and the Episcript

Question 13 was particularly significant in accessing subjects' decisions about life. Analysis of decisions in the present study was limited to descriptive analysis of themes in decisions about life.

This study descriptively analyzed the episcript with reference to the themes of parent-child relationships in the past, and those themes that were likely to be apparent in the subject's relationships with their own children. In this respect, Question 11 is particularly important and responses are interpreted together with responses to questions on parent messages in the script questionnaire.

C. Racket System : Affective, Cognitive and Behavioural Components

Although the racket system is complex and operates intrapsychically, the present research aimed to identify affective, cognitive, and behavioural components of the racket system. Themes yielded by analysis must be seen as constituting hypotheses in need of testing, since analysis is conducted in largely descriptive terms. Questions 15, 16 and 17 of the Life Script Questionnaire were significant in providing research access to the racket.

D. Fantasy

Questions 19 and 20 provided research access to areas of the subjects' identification with the characteristics and lives of nursery rhyme, fairy tales, story, and TV program characters. The identifications and themes of stories as related by subjects were descriptively analyzed, in the absence of a more formal analytical technique.

4.2.6.3 Object Relations Development Retrospective

TA serves as a potential method to facilitate the development of an object relations developmental retrospective for the Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group. TA concepts and their operationalization by ego state analysis and the life script method have useful heuristic connections with the theories of Winnicott and Mahler. An interpretative framework in which TA is used to make inferences about object relations development was used in the present research, allowing flexibility in viewing the development of the child in the context of relationships with parents and substitute-parents. Of particular significance was the background information obtained from subjects in attaining a perspective on object relations development. Rather than quantitatively analyze the effects of such variables as length of placement, age at placement, reason for placement, and family structure, this information was obtained from the subjects and incorporated into qualitative accounts of object relations in the two groups. This is in line with keeping data as close to the source as possible, redressing previous emphases on quantification, and instead aimed at elaborating the personal meaning of the subjects' lives from their perspective.

4.2.6.4 Case Studies : Demonstrating, Analysis Interpretation and Inference

The interpretation of TA life scripts and an understanding of the connectedness between TA and the object relational theories of Winnicott and Mahler is necessarily based on a process of inference. In order to demonstrate this process of inference, it was decided to present two case studies. The present research's emphasis on comparison in terms of groups, or a normative research approach, is thus matched by a focus on individual case studies, or an ideographic approach.

Bromley (1986) notes the re-emergence of the case study as a method in psychology in the last two decades. Bromley defines the case study as:

"a general term widely used, especially in the social and behavioural sciences, to refer to the description and analysis of a particular entity (object, person, group, event, state, conditions, process, or whatever)" (Bromley, 1986, 708).

The case study, apart from being a description and analysis of an entity, is a construction which can demonstrate processes of interpretation and inference. The presentation of case study material in the present research was directed at illustrating methods of analysis in TA terms, providing insight into significant developmental processes, and operationalizing certain of Winnicott's and Mahler's concepts, thereby facilitating inferences about object relations development. The two case studies chosen for presentation were selected from the Residential Substitute Care Group. Although a comparative account of object relations development in the Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group is provided, the present study is biased in favour of closer examination of object relations development in the latter group. The two cases were chosen because both subjects were highly verbal and particularly suited to illustrating processes of interpretation and inference, and are thus not representative of the Residential Substitute Care Group. Selective focus is thus a self conscious attempt to demonstrate analysis, interpretation and inference.

CHAPTER FIVE : RESULTS

The hypothesis that the Family Group ($N_1 = 20$) and Residential Substitute Care Group ($N_2 = 20$) would be different in terms of ego state measures and their life scripts was confirmed. The results of t-tests (Siegel, 1956) conducted on mean ego state scores in the Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group support the hypothesis that the two groups would be significantly different in terms of the relative strength of ego states. The two groups also differed with respect to the frequency/percentage of occurrence of major parent messages issued by parents of the subjects in the two groups. Analysis of decisions, the episcrypt, the racket system and fantasy/modern myths of subjects in the Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group supports the hypothesis that the two groups would be different in terms of their life scripts. The results of the present study indicate that there were qualitative differences in the nature and quality of parent-child relationships and child development in the Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group. T-test analysis of the relative ego state strengths of subjects in the Child Care Placement Sub-group and Adolescent Placement Sub-group did not yield significant differences between the two sub-groups. The two sub-groups however differed with respect to the frequency/percentage of occurrence of major parent messages issued by the parents of subjects, suggesting qualitative differences in the nature and quality of parent-child relationships and child development in the two sub-groups.

5.1 Ego State Analysis

5.1.1 Ego State Measures for Family and Residential Substitute Care Groups

The Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group scored differently on the five ego state measures. The Adult (A) ego state in the Family Group was the highest ego state score, followed by the Adaptive Child (AC), and Nurturing Parent (NP). The mean ego state measures for the Punitive Parent (PP) and Rebellious Child (RC) in the Family Group were equal. The Nurturing Parent (NP) was the highest ego state score in the Residential Substitute Care Group, followed by the Adult (A) and Adaptive Child (AC). In the Residential Substitute Care Group the means for Punitive Parent (PP) and Rebellious Child (RC) were

equal. The mean scores obtained by each group are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Ego State Inventory Scores for the Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group

Ego State	Family Group (n ₁ = 20)	Residential Substitute Care Group (n ₂ = 20)
Punitive Parent (PP)	1.50	2.70
Nurturing Parent (NP)	12.95	17.50
Adult (A)	22.95	15.60
Rebellious Child (RC)	1.50	2.70
Adaptive Child (AC)	13.30	13.50
Total	52.00	52.00

It can be observed that the Residential Substitute Care Group had a higher Punitive Parent (PP) score than the Family Group. This difference was not significant ($t = < 1.516$; $df = 38$; $p < 0.001$). The Residential Substitute Care Group had a significantly higher score for the Nurturing Parent (NP) measure than the Family Group ($t = -2.910$; $df = 38$; $p < 0.01$). The two groups' scores on the Adult (A) ego state measure were significantly different ($t = 4.136$; $df = 38$; $p < 0.001$), the Residential Substitute Care Group scoring lower than the Family Group on this measure. The Family Group's Rebellious Child (RC) score was lower than that of the Residential Substitute Care Group, yet the Rebellious Child (RC) scores were not significantly different ($t = -1.238$; $df = 38$; $p < 0,001$). There was a negligible and not statistically significant difference between the two groups' scores on the Adaptive Child (AC) measure ($t = -0.151$; $df = 38$; $p < 0.001$).

A comparison of the relative strengths of the five ego states measured in the Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group can be diagrammatically represented using Dusay's (1980) egogram method (Figure 17).

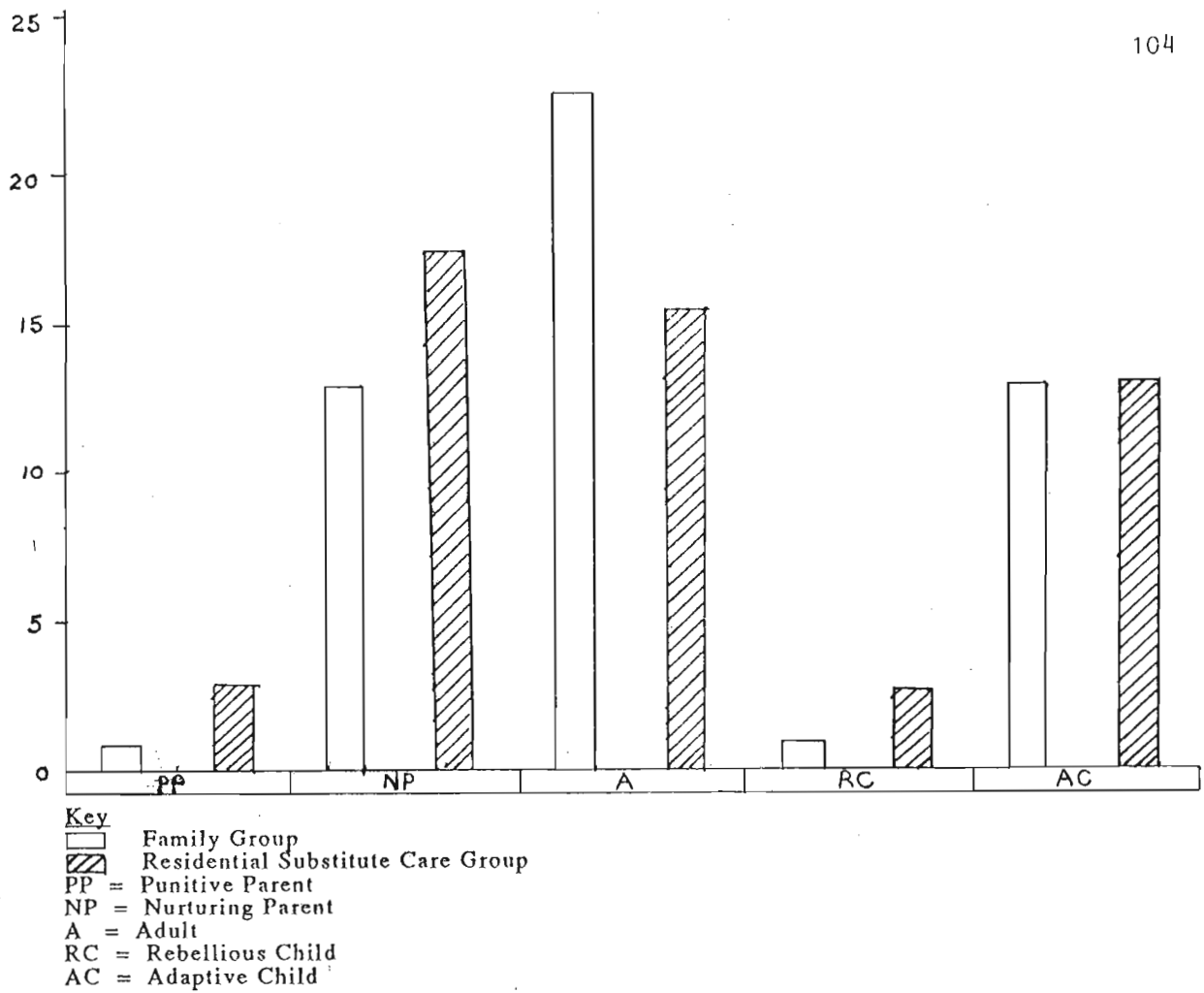


Figure 17: Egograms for the Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Groups

5.1.2 Ego State Measures for Child Placement Sub-group and Adolescent Placement Sub-group

The mean scores on the five measures of the Child Placement ($n_1 = 10$) and Adolescent Placement ($n_2 = 10$) Sub-groups are presented below in Table 2.

Table 2: Ego State Inventory Scores for Child Placement and Adolescent Placement Sub-groups

Ego State	Child Placement Sub-group ($n_1 = 10$)	Adolescent Placement Sub-group ($n_2 = 10$)
Punitive Parent (PP)	2.1	3.3
Nurturing Parent (NP)	17.6	17.4
Adult (A)	16.8	14.4
Rebellious Child (RC)	2.8	2.6
Adaptive Child (AC)	12.70	14.3
Total	52.00	52.00

	FAMILY GROUP		RESIDENTIAL SUBSTITUTE CARE GROUP	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Don't Be	1 (5%)	3 (15%)	9 (45%)	16 (80%)
Don't Be Close	5 (25%)	9 (45%)	15 (75%)	16 (80%)
Don't Be A Child	7 (35%)	7 (35%)	13 (65%)	12 (60%)
Don't Grow	10 (50%)	7 (35%)	6 (30%)	4 (20%)
Don't Feel	5 (25%)	6 (30%)	4 (20%)	3 (15%)
Don't Be - Angry	10 (50%)	7 (35%)	4 (20%)	4 (20%)
- Unhappy	4 (20%)	0 (0%)	3 (15%)	1 (5%)
Don't Feel What You Feel, Feel What I Feel	1 (5%)	1 (5%)	2 (10%)	2 (10%)
Don't Think	2 (10%)	1 (5%)	4 (20%)	4 (20%)
Don't Think What You Think, Think What I Think	7 (35%)	5 (25%)	2 (10%)	1 (5%)
Don't Belong	2 (10%)	5 (25%)	6 (30%)	3 (15%)
Don't Hurt Me	5 (25%)	0 (0%)	2 (10%)	1 (5%)
Don't Leave	4 (20%)	4 (20%)	7 (35%)	5 (25%)
BEING MESSAGES				
Be For Me	6 (30%)	2 (10%)	11 (55%)	5 (25%)
Be Perfect	14 (70%)	10 (50%)	4 (20%)	2 (10%)
Be Strong	4 (20%)	7 (35%)	9 (45%)	11 (55%)
Please Me	6 (30%)	4 (20%)	11 (55%)	2 (10%)
Try Hard	5 (25%)	8 (40%)	5 (25%)	4 (20%)
Be For Others	6 (30%)	2 (10%)	2 (10%)	2 (10%)
Hurry Up	4 (20%)	2 (10%)	1 (5%)	1 (5%)
Be Obedient	3 (15%)	4 (20%)	8 (40%)	5 (25%)

Table 3: Frequencies and Percentages of Parent Messages in the Family Group (N1 = 20) and Residential Substitute Care Group (N2 = 20)

issued by mothers and fathers of Family Groups and Residential Substitute Care Group subjects. Figure 20 graphically represents the frequencies of occurrence of being messages issued by mothers and fathers of Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group subjects.

Further describing the Don't Feel What You Feel, Feel What I Feel injunction in the two groups, the subject in the Family Group who received this injunction from mother was directed to feel guilty. The subject in the Family Group who received the injunction from father was directed to feel anxious. Two subjects in the Residential Substitute Care Group were issued a Don't Feel What You Feel, Feel What I Feel injunction by their mothers, one subject being directed to cry, the other to feel hurt for mother. In the Residential Substitute Care Group, two subjects were issued a Don't Feel What You Feel, Feel What I Feel injunction by their fathers, one subject being directed to feel hurt, the other being directed to feel anxious.

In order to construct a Life Script Profile of major parent messages, parent messages were ranked in terms of their frequency of occurrence in each groups for each parent. This method lists parent messages in descending order of frequency of occurrence, and defines major parent messages as those that appear in 25% or more of the groups. That is, the criterion for inclusion in a Life Script Profile of major parent messages was that the injunction or being message have a frequency of occurrence of 5 or more in the groups where N_1 or $N_2 = 20$. Table 4 summarizes major parent messages issued by mother and father in the Family Group. Table 5 summarizes major parent messages issued by mother and father in the Residential Substitute Care Group.

	FAMILY GROUP		RESIDENTIAL SUBSTITUTE CARE GROUP	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Don't Be	1 (5%)	3 (15%)	9 (45%)	16 (80%)
Don't Be Close	5 (25%)	9 (45%)	15 (75%)	16 (80%)
Don't Be A Child	7 (35%)	7 (35%)	13 (65%)	12 (60%)
Don't Grow	10 (50%)	7 (35%)	6 (30%)	4 (20%)
Don't Feel	5 (25%)	6 (30%)	4 (20%)	3 (15%)
Don't Be - Angry	10 (50%)	7 (35%)	4 (20%)	4 (20%)
- Unhappy	4 (20%)	0 (0%)	3 (15%)	1 (5%)
Don't Feel What You Feel, Feel What I Feel	1 (5%)	1 (5%)	2 (10%)	2 (10%)
Don't Think	2 (10%)	1 (5%)	4 (20%)	4 (20%)
Don't Think What You Think, Think What I Think	7 (35%)	5 (25%)	2 (10%)	1 (5%)
Don't Belong	2 (10%)	5 (25%)	6 (30%)	3 (15%)
Don't Hurt Me	5 (25%)	0 (0%)	2 (10%)	1 (5%)
Don't Leave	4 (20%)	4 (20%)	7 (35%)	5 (25%)
BEING MESSAGES				
Be For Me	6 (30%)	2 (10%)	11 (55%)	5 (25%)
Be Perfect	14 (70%)	10 (50%)	4 (20%)	2 (10%)
Be Strong	4 (20%)	7 (35%)	9 (45%)	11 (55%)
Please Me	6 (30%)	4 (20%)	11 (55%)	2 (10%)
Try Hard	5 (25%)	8 (40%)	5 (25%)	4 (20%)
Be For Others	6 (30%)	2 (10%)	2 (10%)	2 (10%)
Hurry Up	4 (20%)	2 (10%)	1 (5%)	1 (5%)
Be Obedient	3 (15%)	4 (20%)	8 (40%)	5 (25%)

Table 3: Frequencies and Percentages of Parent Messages in the Family Group (N1 = 20) and Residential Substitute Care Group (N2 = 20)

issued by mothers and fathers of Family Groups and Residential Substitute Care Group subjects. Figure 20 graphically represents the frequencies of occurrence of being messages issued by mothers and fathers of Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group subjects.

Further describing the Don't Feel What You Feel, Feel What I Feel injunction in the two groups, the subject in the Family Group who received this injunction from mother was directed to feel guilty. The subject in the Family Group who received the injunction from father was directed to feel anxious. Two subjects in the Residential Substitute Care Group were issued a Don't Feel What You Feel, Feel What I Feel injunction by their mothers, one subject being directed to cry, the other to feel hurt for mother. In the Residential Substitute Care Group, two subjects were issued a Don't Feel What You Feel, Feel What I Feel injunction by their fathers, one subject being directed to feel hurt, the other being directed to feel anxious.

In order to construct a Life Script Profile of major parent messages, parent messages were ranked in terms of their frequency of occurrence in each groups for each parent. This method lists parent messages in descending order of frequency of occurrence, and defines major parent messages as those that appear in 25% or more of the groups. That is, the criterion for inclusion in a Life Script Profile of major parent messages was that the injunction or being message have a frequency of occurrence of 5 or more in the groups where N_1 or $N_2 = 20$. Table 4 summarizes major parent messages issued by mother and father in the Family Group. Table 5 summarizes major parent messages issued by mother and father in the Residential Substitute Care Group.

Table 4: Life Script Profile : Major Parent Messages Issued by Mother and Father in the Family Group (N1=20)

Parent Messages	Frequency/ Percentage of occurrence
INJUNCTIONS FROM MOTHER	
Don't Be Angry	10 (50%)
Don't Grow	10 (50%)
Don't Be A Child	7 (35%)
Don't Think What You Think, Think What I Think	7 (35%)
Don't Feel	5 (25%)
Don't Be Close	5 (25%)
Don't Hurt Me	5 (25%)
INJUNCTIONS FROM FATHER	
Don't Be Close	9 (45%)
Don't Be Angry	7 (35%)
Don't Be A Child	7 (35%)
Don't Grow	7 (35%)
Don't Feel	6 (30%)
Don't Think What You Think, Think What I Think	5 (25%)
Don't Belong	5 (25%)
BEING MESSAGES FROM MOTHER	
Be Perfect	14 (70%)
Be For Me	6 (30%)
Please Me	6 (30%)
Be For Others	6 (30%)
Try Hard	5 (25%)
BEING MESSAGES FROM FATHER	
Be Perfect	10 (50%)
Try Hard	8 (40%)
Be Strong	7 (35%)

Table 5: Life Script Profile : Major Parent Messages Issued by Mother and Father in the Residential Substitute Care Group (N2=20)

Parent Messages	Frequency/ Percentage of Occurrence
INJUNCTIONS FROM MOTHER	
Don't Be Close	15 (75%)
Don't Be A Child	13 (65%)
Don't Be	9 (45%)
Don't Leave	7 (35%)
Don't Grow	6 (30%)
Don't Belong	6 (30%)
INJUNCTIONS FROM FATHER	
Don't Be	16 (80%)
Don't Be Close	16 (80%)
Don't Be A Child	12 (60%)
Don't Leave	5 (25%)
BEING MESSAGES FROM MOTHER	
Be For Me	11 (55%)
Please Me	11 (55%)
Be Strong	9 (45%)
Be Obedient	8 (40%)
Try Hard	5 (25%)
BEING MESSAGES FROM FATHER	
Be Strong	11 (55%)
Be For Me	5 (25%)
Be Obedient	5 (25%)

In the Family Group, mothers issued Don't Be Angry, Don't Grow, Don't Be A Child, Don't Think What You Think, Think What I Think, Don't Feel, Don't Be Close, and Don't Hurt Me injunctions as major parent messages. Concerning major being messages, mothers of subjects in the Family Group issued, Be Perfect, Be For Me, Please Me, Be For Others, and Try Hard messages. Fathers of subjects in the Family Group,, issued the following major injunctions: Don't Be Close, Don't

Be Angry, Don't Be A Child, Don't Grow, Don't Feel, Don't Think What You Think, Think What I Think, and Don't Belong. Be Perfect, Try Hard and Be Strong were major being messages issued by fathers of subjects in the Family Group. Figure 19 diagrammatically represents the major messages given in the Family Group by both parents, in terms of Steiner's (1982) Script Matrix method.

In the Residential Substitute Care Group, mothers issued, Don't Be Close, Don't Be A Child, Don't Be, Don't Leave, Don't Grow, and Don't Belong injunctions as major parent messages. Be For Me, Please Me, Be Strong, Be Obedient, and Try Hard were major Being Messages issued by mothers in the Residential Substitute Care Group. Fathers, in the Residential Substitute Care Group, gave the following major injunctions: Don't Be, Don't Be Close, Don't Be A Child, and Don't Leave. Concerning major Being Messages, fathers in the Residential Substitute Care Group issued, Be Strong, Be For Me, and Be Obedient major Being Messages. Figure 20 diagrammatically represents the major messages given in the Residential Substitute Care Group, by both parents, in terms of Steiner's (1982) Script Matrix Method.

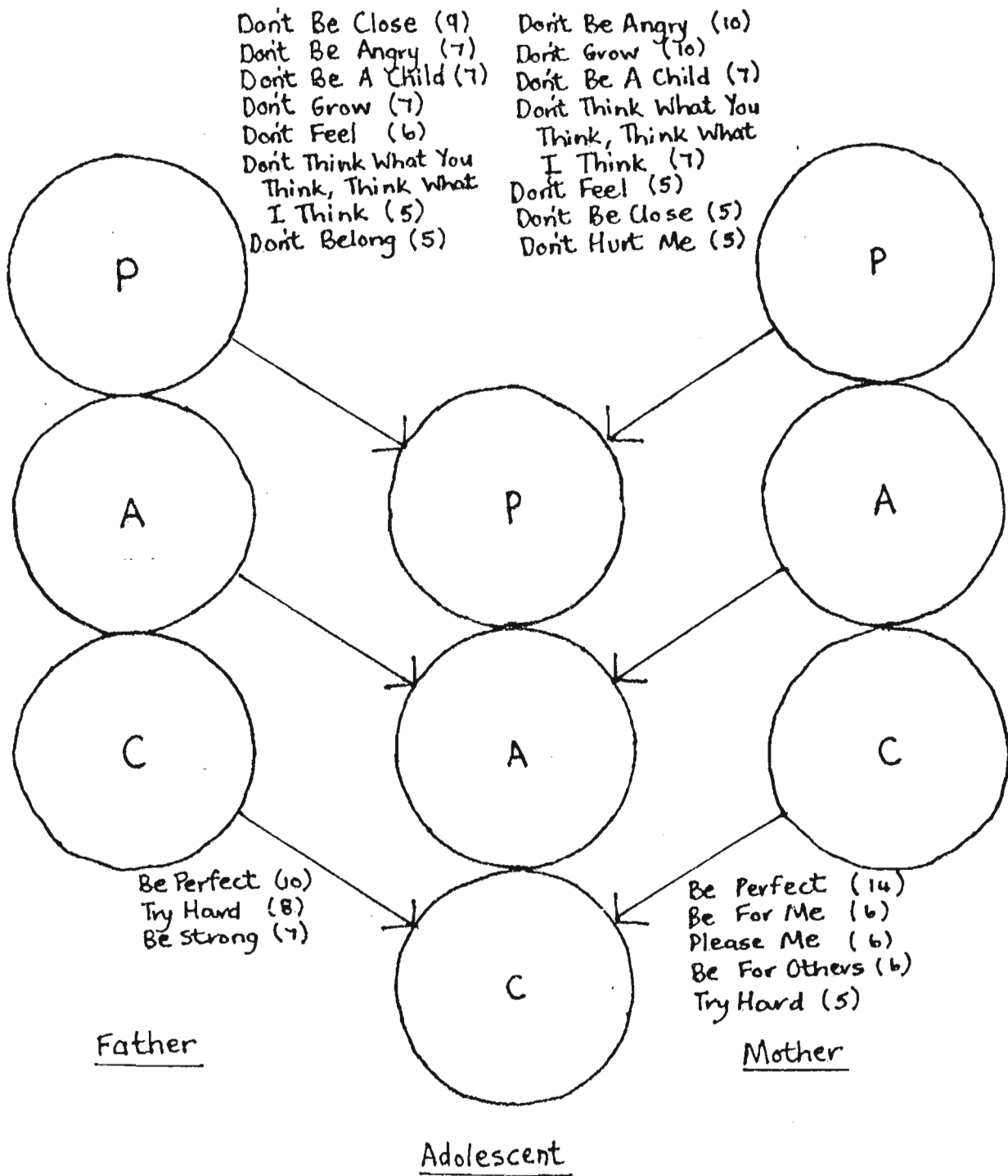


Figure 19: Script Matrix for Adolescents in the Family Group (N1=20)

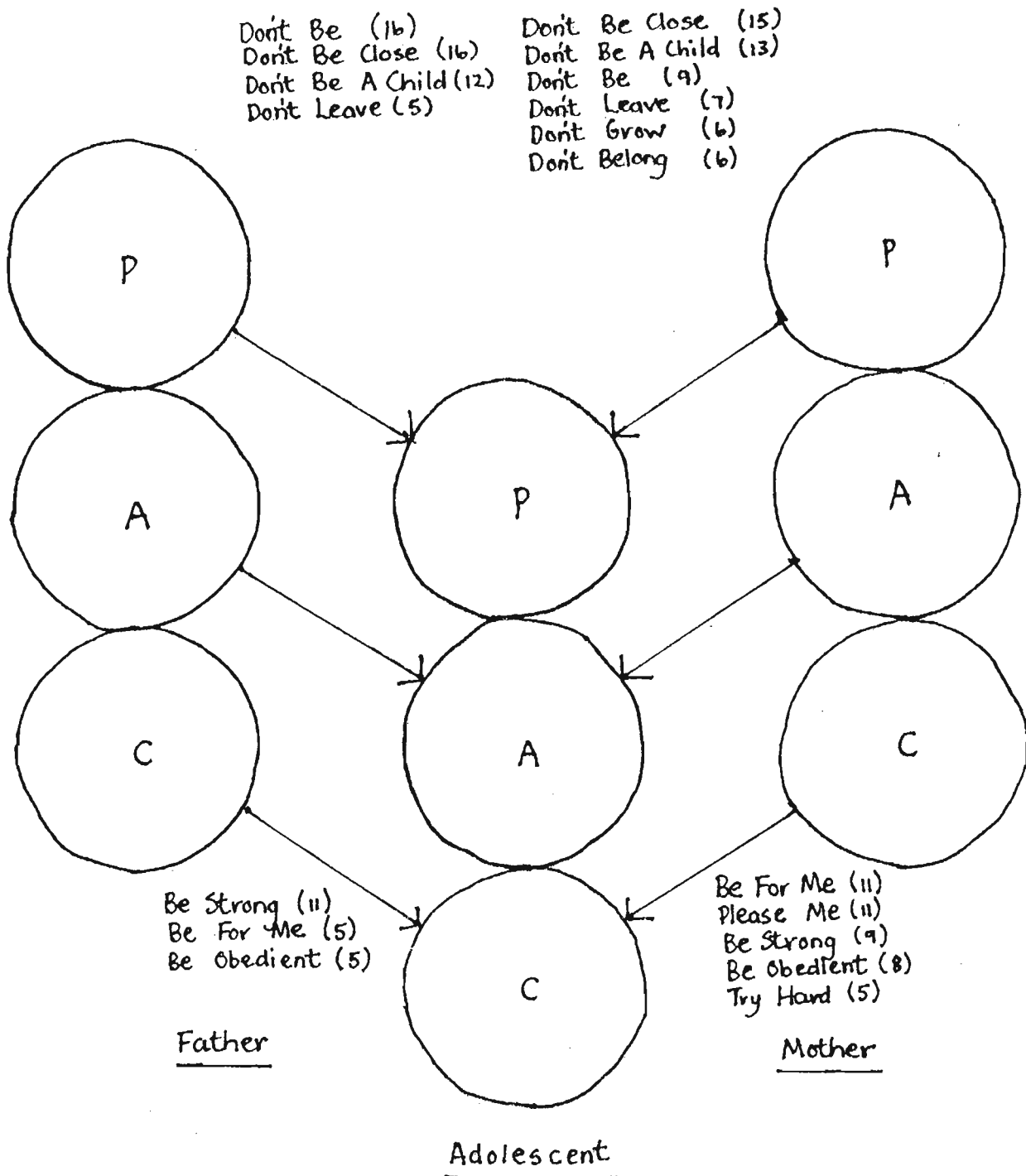


Figure 20: Script Matrix for Adolescents in the Residential Substitute Care Group (N2=20).

5.2.2 Parent Messages: Child Placement Sub-group and Adolescent Placement Sub-group

Parent messages given by mothers and fathers in the Residential Substitute Care Group were further analyzed on the basis of whether the subject fell into the Child Placement or Adolescent Placement Sub-groups. This analysis yielded the following results (Table 6).

Table 6: Frequencies and Percentages of Occurrence of Parent Messages in the Child Placement Sub-group and Adolescent Placement Sub-group

PLACEMENT SUB-GROUP	FREQUENCIES/PERCENTAGE OF OCCURRENCE			
	CHILD PLACEMENT (n ₁ =10)		ADOLESCENT PLACEMENT (n ₂ =10)	
	MOTHER	FATHER	MOTHER	FATHER
INJUNCTIONS				
Don't Be	6 (60%)	10 (100%)	3 (30%)	6 (60%)
Don't Be Close	7 (70%)	8 (80%)	8 (80%)	8 (80%)
Don't Be A Child	7 (70%)	5 (50%)	6 (60%)	7 (70%)
Don't Grow	3 (30%)	2 (20%)	3 (30%)	2 (20%)
Don't Feel	2 (20%)	2 (20%)	2 (20%)	1 (20%)
Don't Feel Angry	3 (30%)	2 (20%)	1 (10%)	2 (20%)
Don't Feel Unhappy	2 (0%)	1 (0%)	1 (0%)	0 (0%)
Don't Feel What You Feel, Feel What I Feel	2 (20%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Don't Think	2 (20%)	1 (10%)	2 (20%)	3 (30%)
Don't Think What You Think, Think What I Think	1 (0%)	1 (0%)	1 (0%)	0 (0%)
Don't Belong	4 (40%)	3 (30%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)
Don't Hurt Me	2 (20%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Don't Leave	5 (50%)	2 (20%)	2 (20%)	3 (30%)
BEING MESSAGES				
Be For Me	8 (80%)	4 (40%)	3 (30%)	1 (10%)
Be Perfect	2 (20%)	1 (10%)	2 (20%)	1 (10%)
Be Strong	5 (50%)	6 (60%)	4 (40%)	5 (50%)
Please Me	4 (40%)	1 (10%)	7 (70%)	1 (10%)
Try Hard	3 (30%)	2 (20%)	2 (20%)	2 (20%)
Be For Others	1 (10%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)
Hurry Up	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)
Be Obedient	4 (40%)	0 (0%)	4 (40%)	5 (50%)

Major messages in the two Placement Sub-groups were ranked in terms of their frequency of occurrence in each sub-group for each parent. For

this purpose, messages are ranked in descending order of frequency of occurrence, and major parent messages are defined as these that appear in 40% or more of the groups. The criterion for inclusion in a Life Script Profile of major parent messages in Child and Adolescent Placement sub-groups was that the Injunction or Being Message have a frequency of occurrence of 4 or more in the group where $n = 10$. Table 7 summarizes major parent messages issued by mother and father in the Child Placement Sub-group. Table 8 summarizes major parent messages issued by mother and father in the Adolescent Placement Sub-group.

Table 7: Life Script Profile : Major Parent Messages Issued By Mother and Father in the Child Placement Sub-group (n1=10)

PARENT MESSAGES	FREQUENCY/ PERCENTAGE OF OCCURENCE
INJUNCTIONS FROM MOTHER	
Don't Be Close	7 (70%)
Don't Be A Child	7 (70%)
Don't Be	6 (60%)
Don't Leave	5 (50%)
Don't Belong	4 (40%)
INJUNCTIONS FROM FATHER	
Don't Be	10 (100%)
Don't Be Close	8 (80%)
Don't Be A Child	5 (50%)
BEING MESSAGES FROM MOTHER	
Be For Me	8 (80%)
Be Strong	5(50%)
Please Me	4 (40%)
Be Obedient	4 (40%)
BEING MESSAGES FROM FATHER	
Be Strong	6 (60%)
Be For Me	4 (40%)

In the Child's Placement Sub-group, mothers issued Don't Be Close, Don't Be A Child, Don't Be, Don't Leave and Don't Belong injunctions as major parent messages. Concerning major being messages, mothers of subjects in the Child Placement Sub-group issued, Be For Me, Be

Strong, Please Me, and Be Obedient messages. Fathers of subjects in the Child Placement Sub-group issued the following major injunctions: Don't Be, Don't Be Close, and Don't Be A Child. Be Strong and Be For Me were major being messages issued by fathers of subjects in the Child Placement Sub-group.

Table 8: Life Script Profile : Major Parent Messages Issued by Mother and Father in the Adolescent Placement Sub-group (n2=10)

PARENT MESSAGES	FREQUENCY/ PERCENTAGE OF OCCURENCE
INJUNCTIONS FROM MOTHER	
Don't Be Close	8 (80%)
Don't Be A Child	6 (60%)
INJUNCTIONS FROM FATHER	
Don't Be Close	8 (80%)
Don't Be A Child	7 (70%)
Don't Be	6 (60%)
BEING MESSAGES FROM MOTHER	
Please Me	7 (70%)
Be Strong	4 (40%)
Be Obedient	4 (40%)
BEING MESSAGES FROM FATHER	
Be Strong	5 (50%)
Be Obedient	5 (50%)

In the Adolescent Placement Sub-group, mothers issued Don't Be Close and Don't Be A Child injunctions as major parent messages. Concerning major being messages, mothers of subjects in the Adolescent Placement Sub-group issued, Please Me, Be Strong and Be Obedient messages. Fathers of subjects in the Adolescent Placement Sub-group issued the following major injunctions: Don't Be Close, Don't Be A Child and Don't Be. Be Strong and Be Obedient were major being messages issued by fathers of subjects in the Adolescent Placement Sub-group.

5.2.3 Parent Messages: Parent Figures - Residential Substitute Care Group

In order to protect the confidentiality of subjects and simultaneously convey an appreciation for qualitative data, it was decided to give subjects fictitious names in the presentation of data. Subjects in the Family Group were named: Mark, Barry, Ian, Robin, Leonard, Tony, Hendrik, Gary, Jonathan, Henry, Barbara, Jillian, Colleen, Marcia, Tricia, Caroline, Ann, Jenny, Maureen, and Kerry. Subjects in the Residential Substitute Care Group were named: Colin, Jason, Harry, Charles, Shaun, Francis, David, Greg, Lance, Robert, Marilyn, Louise, Cathryn, Janice, Sonya, Diane, Kay, Belinda, Doreen and Mary.

In response to questions 7 and 8 on the Background Information : Brief Questionnaire (Appendix III), 6 subjects considered their mothers to have been like mothers to them, and 7 subjects considered their fathers to have been like fathers to them. Eighteen subjects in the Residential Substitute Care Group cited other people as having been like mothers and fathers to them. The two subjects in the Residential Substitute Care Group who did not cite significant other parent figures were Colin and Cathryn. Both subjects were placed as children and had experienced a return to the care of their parents for a brief period. The circumstances that were responsible for their being placed initially had changed only superficially. Difficulties between Colin and his father, and Cathryn and her parents, developed shortly after the children had been returned to the care of their parents. Both Colin and Cathryn returned to Residential Substitute Care within six months.

Subjects in the Residential Substitute Care Group specified a range of significant other parent figures, which may be classified into the following three groups:

- (1) Family Members,
- (2) Other Adults, and
- (3) Child Care Workers and Staff.

Group (1) excludes biological parents, but includes aunts, uncles, grandparents, and siblings. Group (2) includes non-related adults such as half-parents ('holiday' and 'weekend' parents), parents' of boy/girl friends of the subject, potential foster/adoptive parents, and adult friends of the subject. Group (3) includes House Fathers, House Mothers, Matrons and Principals. Individual subjects did not specify significant parent figures across different groups. That is, for example,

a subject did not indicate that a House Mother and a brother were significant other parent figures. Parent figures were thus specified within, not across, the three groups. Subjects did not necessarily specify both a mother-figure and a father-figure. Subjects thus indicated either one or two parent figures from within either group (1), (2), or (3). Analysis of parent messages given by other parent-figures was thus conducted within the three groups of parent-figures.

(1) Family Members

Four subjects indicated that members of their family, other than their biological parents, had been like mothers/fathers to them. Charles considered that his older brother and older sister had filled parental roles. Shaun's grandmother and uncle were cited as significant other parent-figures. For David, an aunt and an older brother were significant. Mary cited her older sister as significant. Four subjects thus specified four mother-figures and three father-figures. Parent messages issued by these parent-figures are contained in Table 9.

Table 9: Parent Messages Issued by Significant Other Parent- Figures (Family Members)

PARENT MESSAGES	FREQUENCY OF OCCURENCE (N = 4)	
	Mother-figure	Father-figure
<u>Injunctions</u>		
Don't Be Close	1	0
Don't Be A Child	2	3
Don't Grow	2	0
Don't Be Angry	1	0
Don't Think	0	1
Don't Leave	0	1
<u>Being Messages</u>		
Be For Me	1	0
Be Strong	0	1
Please Me	1	1
Hurry Up	1	0
Be Obedient	2	2

Observing the data, Don't Be A Child appears to be a prevalent Injunction given by both mother-figures and father-figures in the Family Members category of significant other parent-figures. Don't Grow, given by

mother-figures in this group also appears to be a prevalent Injunction. Be Obedient appears to be a prevalent being message given by significant other parent-figures in the Family Members category.

(2) Other Adults

Six subjects in the Residential Substitute Care Group indicated that other, non-related, adults had been like mothers or fathers to them. Francis cited a holiday-parent, and Robert cited potential foster/adoptive parents. Louise and Sonya both referred to a host-mother and host-father as being significant. Janice's boyfriend's parents were regarded as significant by her. Doreen indicated that an older adult friend had been like a mother to her. Six subjects in the Residential Substitute Care Group thus specified five mother-figures and five father-figures as having been significant. Parent messages issued by these parent-figures are contained in Table 10.

Table 10: Parent Messages Issued by Significant Other Parent- Figures (Other Adults)

PARENT MESSAGES	FREQUENCY OF OCCURENCE (N = 6)	
	Mother-Figure	Father-Figure
<u>Injunctions</u>		
Don't Be	1	1
Don't Be Close	1	3
Don't Be A Child	4	2
Don't Grow	1	1
Don't Be Angry	1	2
<u>Being Messages</u>		
Be For Me	2	0
Please Me	3	0
Be For Others	1	1
Be Obedient	1	0

Observing the data, Don't Be A Child is indicated as a prevalent injunction given by both mother-figures and father-figures in the Other Adult category of significant other parent-figures. Don't Be Close was given especially strongly by father-figures in this group, as well as Don't Be A Child and Don't Be Angry. Examining being messages from mother-

figures in the Other Adult category indicate Be For Me and Please Me as important messages.

(3) Child Care Workers and Staff

Eight subjects in the Residential Substitute care Group indicated that certain child care workers and staff in the residential substitute care environment had been like mothers/fathers to them. Jason considered a Matron who used to work at the home, and his present House Father, to be significant other parent figures. Harry cited a Matron no longer working at the home, and the Matron's husband, as having been like a mother and father to him. Greg indicated that his present House Father and a matron no longer working at the home were significant other parent-figures for him. Lance considered his present House Mother and House Father to be like a mother and father to him. Marilyn indicated that her Principal at the home had been like a mother to her. Diane, Kay and Belinda did not refer to significant other father-figures, yet considered their present House Mother to be like a mother to them. Eight subjects in the Residential Substitute Care Group specified eight mother-figures and four father-figures as having been significant. Parent messages issued by these parent-figures are contained in Table 11.

Table 11: Parent Messages Issued By Significant Other Adults (Child Care Workers and Staff)

PARENT MESSAGES	FREQUENCY OF OCCURENCE (N = 8)	
	Mother-Figure	Father-Figure
<u>Injunctions</u>		
Don't Be Close	4	3
Don't Be A Child	4	1
Don't Grow	1	0
Don't Be Angry	5	3
Don't Hurt Me	1	0
<u>Being Messages</u>		
Be Perfect	1	0
Please Me	2	1
Be Obedient	1	3

Observing the data, significant mother-figures in the Child Care Workers and Staff group, issued Don't Be Close, Don't Be A Child, and

particularly, Dont' Be Angry injunctions. Particularly apparent were Don't Be Close and Don't Be Angry injunctions given by father-figures. Concerning being messages, mother-figures tended to issue Please Me messages, father figures instructing the subjects to Be Obedient.

5.3 Life Script Analysis: Decisions, the Episcript, the Racket System, and Fantasy in the Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group

In line with the intention of a focus on qualitative data and the absence of standardized methods of analyzing the episcript, decisions, the racket system and fantasy, the data on these sections of the life script questionnaire are presented in the form of appendices. Appendix VI contains the results of analysis of Section B of the Life Script Questionnaire (Past and Future: Decisions and the Episcript for the Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group). Appendix VII presents the results of analysis of affective cognitive, and behavioural components of the Racket System (Section C of the Life Script Questionnaire) for subjects in the Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group. The analysis of the Fantasy Section (Section D) is conducted in terms of the modern myth specified by the subject, the type of myth (Nursery Rhyme, Fairy Tale, Story Book, or TV Program), the character identified with, other identifiable objects, the characteristics of the object identified with, and significant themes apparent in the myth as described by the subject. The results of analysis of the Fantasy Section are contained in Appendix VIII.

5.4 Case Studies

The two cases chosen for in-depth focus in the present research are Marilyn and Colin, both subjects in the Residential Substitute Care Group. The transcriptions for the Life Script Interviews conducted with Marilyn and Colin are contained in Appendix IX and Appendix X respectively. The analysis of each case will be organized as follows:

- A. Background Information
- B. Ego State Analysis
- C. Life Script Analysis (Episcript, Parent Messages, Other Parent-Figures, Decisions, Racket Systems, and Fantasy).

The inferred object relations development of the two cases will be included in the discussion section to highlight, by example, of interpreta-

tion and inference as the researcher shifts from analysis in TA terms to an object relational focus.

5.4.1 Case 1: Marilyn - Analysis and Interpretation

A. Background Information

Age: 17 years

Sex: Female

Age at Placement: 4 years

Family: Marilyn reports that her mother and father were not married, and had two children, Marilyn and a brother aged 13 years. There are step-sisters from a previous marriage of Marilyn's mother. The relationship between one of Marilyn's step-sisters and her father was conflictual, and in comparison Marilyn reports a more positive relationship between her and her father. Marilyn believes that she was spoilt by her father.

Reason for Placement: Marilyn denies that there are problems in the family, also tending to deny feelings of abandonment by rationalizing placement in a children's home as being for her own good. The case file indicates that Marilyn's mother and father were married and that the parents were divorced when Marilyn was three years old. (Marilyn, however, believes that her parents were not married). Marilyn's father then left the family, and since Marilyn's mother was considered financially unable to look after the children, Marilyn was placed in a children's home in Durban.

Parent-Figures: Both her own mother and father were considered by Marilyn to have been like a mother and father to her. Additionally, the principal of the children's home in which Marilyn was resident for 13 years, was cited as being like a mother to Marilyn, the relationship extending over seven years.

B. Ego State Analysis

Marilyn obtained the following scores on the Ego State Inventory (McCarley, 1975):

Punitive Parent = 3

Nurturing Parent = 12

Adult = 23

Rebellious Child = 2

Adaptive Child = 12

In relation to mean scores on the Ego State Inventory for the Residential Substitute Care Group, Marilyn's profile is not deviant in any significant respects, apart from a slightly higher Adult (A) score.

C. Life Script Analysis

Episcript

An episcript theme that emerged was related to bringing up children to ensure they are reliable. This is achieved by simultaneously spoiling and spanking them, and in this way the child is reminded of its position of powerlessness in relation to the parent/s. Themes of control in "keeping the child under" (Q. 12) echo Marilyn's relationship with her mother. Spoiling and spanking are conceived of as opposites: to not spoil is to spank a child, and to not spank it is to spoil it. Similarly to her mother, Marilyn plans to ensure that her daughter becomes "everything a mother would want in someone else" (Q. 12). Marilyn envisages that girl children that she will have will be pretty, carry themselves well and listen to people. This is strikingly reminiscent of Marilyn's relationship with her mother. Marilyn reported that she would not like to put her children in a home.

Parent Messages

From her mother, Marilyn received a strong Don't Be A Child injunction. Although the relationship is a close one, it is dominated by Marilyn's mother's need for Marilyn to grow up and take care of her. A Don't Leave injunction was strongly in operation at the time of the interview and Marilyn's mother was opposed to Marilyn's intention to go overseas to be with her father after leaving the children's home. The relationship involves control in the area of Marilyn's spontaneous feelings. The injunction, Don't Feel What You Feel, Feel What I Feel, issues a command for Marilyn to cry. Affect is almost equated with crying, and it is important for Marilyn and her mother whether this crying occurs in front of others or not. "She cries, I cry" (Q.4) is indicative of the control exerted in the area of emotional development. The racket response is thus crying.

In order to prevent Marilyn's unhappiness disturbing her own precarious sense of happiness, Marilyn's mother also issues a Don't Be Unhappy injunction. Marilyn's mother's expectations for her daughter are exten-

sive. Marilyn's beauty has to be worked hard at. Marilyn is clearly not comfortable with girls who go to modelling and who represent what she must be for her mother. In wanting her daughter to be the things she couldn't be, and to do the things she couldn't do, the being messages issued by Marilyn's mother are Be For Me and Please Me. The extent to which Marilyn has accepted her mother's physical evaluation of her as significant in her self representation is indicated in responses to Questions 2 and 3, where she checks to see if the questions require that she talk about things that she likes/dislikes about herself physically.

The relationship between Marilyn and her mother is idealized by Marilyn. Her mother assumes the role of a child in the relationship and Marilyn complies. Marilyn has accepted the importance of being things that her mother cannot be and being for Marilyn hinges on her mother's Be For Me being message. Marilyn's belief that if her mother had been younger and more attractive, her father would not have gone in search of other women, is supportive of Marilyn's attempt to be youthful and pretty. She individuates in response to what she believes would have been important in keeping her father, having perceived her mother's failure to keep him. This is related to her representation of her mother as a slow, sick, saggy old sloppy mother, which she must struggle not to become. In planning to have children when she is older, together with her experience of being like an old actress who was surpassed by younger children in the home, indicate that Marilyn may have to struggle hard to not become like her mother was for her when Marilyn raises her own children. Her mother also issues a Try Hard being message, modelling non-attainment of goals she sets up for Marilyn. Introjected "shakiness" (Q. 3) from her mother will possibly inhibit the attainment of the set goals for Marilyn.

Marilyn refers to her mother not liking being "cheeky" (Q. 5). This is indicative of not being able to express valid anger towards her mother. It is possible to infer that Marilyn's mother issued her with a Don't Be Angry injunction. Other girls, Marilyn states, are capable of this, but Marilyn has difficulties in expressing anger towards her. Since her mother gets hurt easily (Q. 4), a Don't Hurt Me injunction places limitations on the degree to which Marilyn can get angry with her mother and not feel responsible for her mother's hurt feelings.

The relationship between Marilyn and her father is strongly idealized. He is held to be responsible for placement of Marilyn in a children's home, yet Marilyn presents a relationship characterized by spoiling.

She denies ever having a hiding from him. Marilyn's response to Q.9 is interesting. Sequential analysis of her answer indicates a juxtaposition of abandonment by her father and being spoiled rotten by him. In this case, I interpret spoiling not to mean that her father gave her material goods in lieu of emotional gratification, but interpret spoiling literally to mean that the abandonment actually spoiled Marilyn.

Additionally (Q. 9), Marilyn reports not being shouted at by her father and then admits to being given "a little odd tap on the hand". Being shouted at is, however, part of the content of the cognitive component in the racket system, being shouted at currently tending to produce the racket response. Responding to Q.7, Marilyn's use of negatives is consistent with the denial of the abandonment. On Question 9, Marilyn equates loss with love, in her relationship with her father. "I'm always saying that I love my father better than my mother. That is only because I miss him so much and I haven't seen him" (Q.9). The idealization thus strongly masks a Don't Exist injunction. The idealization is maintained by Marilyn's enmeshment with her mother's feelings. Marilyn's own spontaneous feelings towards her father are not expressed. What is expressed is feeling in terms of mother's feelings towards him. Marilyn is angry with her father in her mother's terms; that is, feeling angry and hurt for her mother because her father did not see her mother when he visited Durban. Messages given by both Marilyn's father and mother are presented in terms of Steiner's (1982) Script Matrix (Figure 21).

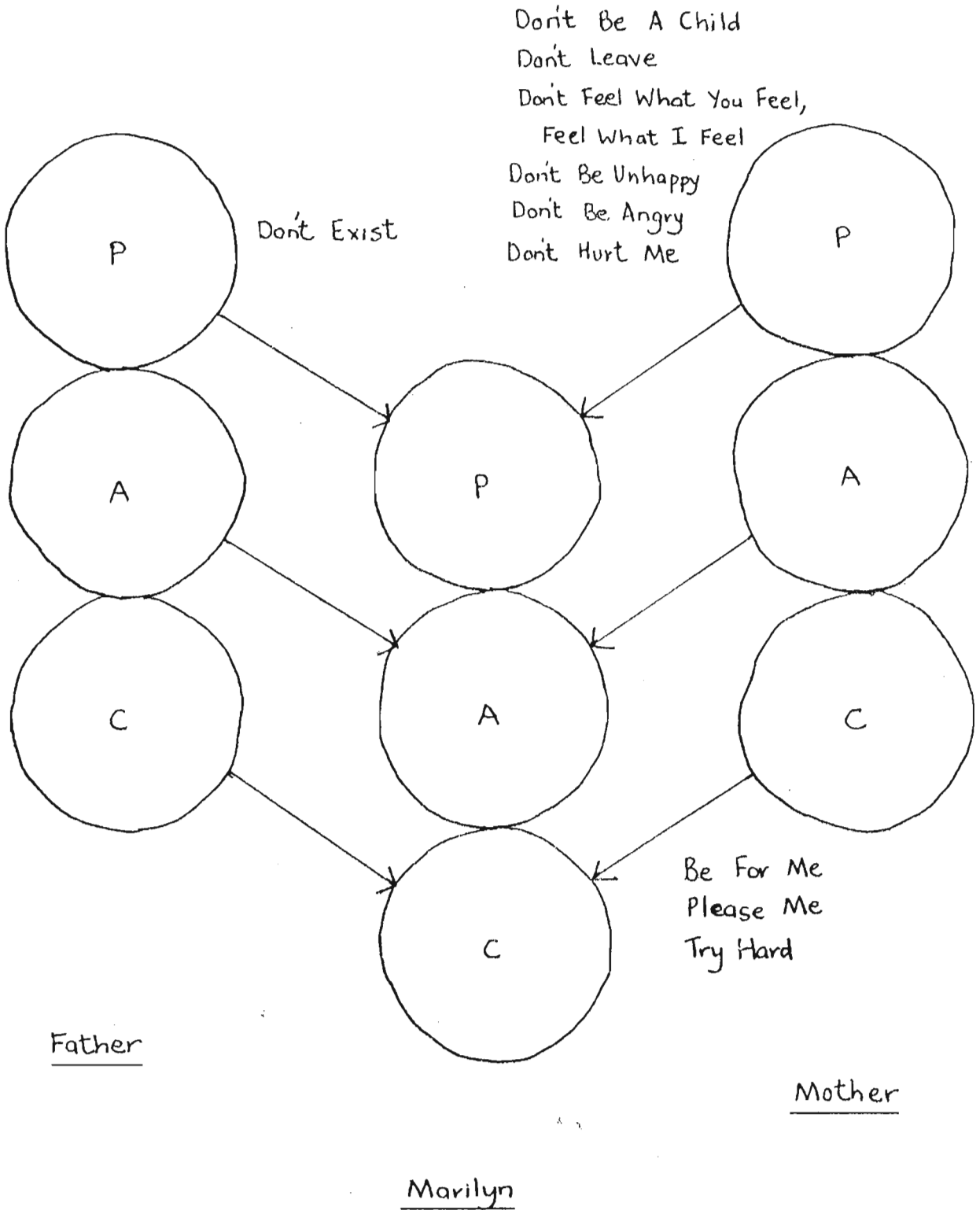


Figure 21: Script Matrix for Marilyn (Case Study 1)

Other Parent-Figures

In the relationship between Marilyn and the Principal of the Children's home, Don't Be A Child is operative indicated by Marilyn's perception of the Principal's dislike of younger, needy, immature children. It is not, however, clear whether this injunction was in fact given or whether it was 'fantasized' by Marilyn on the basis of her previous relationship with her mother. In terms of script theory, it is predicted that people will chose to become closer to people who activate elements of the script. This reactivation of the script is particularly apparent when rackets are considered. Marilyn's mode of experiencing relationships with mothering persons in terms of control around feelings continued to colour the relationship between Marilyn and the Principal. For Marilyn, to cry is to let others get the better of her. Confusion around whether she was the favourite or not of the Principal possibly indicates that Marilyn distrusts being special for anyone. Being special by taking care of her mother's feelings was not a genuine condition of worth. There are also indications that a Don't Hurt Me injunction was given by the Principal, evidenced in disappointment when Marilyn let the Principal's expectations down. The relationship is described by Marilyn in positive terms.

Decisions

Life is like hell (denied).

Life at home was fantastic (idealized).

Life in the children's home is hard and difficult.

Marilyn thus clearly separates between life in terms of whether it was before or after placement. Life at home was all good and fantastic. Life in the children's home was all bad, full of hardship. It was not possible to ascertain the validity of her allegations about abuse in the children's home, and it may be speculated that if this did occur, splitting of life into good and bad periods is understandable. Alternatively, Marilyn's denial that she was never spanked at home, may indicate that the woman who spanked her in the home did not actually exist but is merely a creation of splitting off badness from the original home situation. It was Marilyn's sister who was spanked at home by her mother, yet Marilyn feared that the spanking was for her (Q. 13). This fear must have been consistent with a perception of her mother as capable of spanking her.

Racket System

Taking her mother's side when her mother cried, bowing down to her mother, and showing her mother what she feels about situations (Q. 8) are part of the Don't Feel What You Feel, Feel What I Feel injunction. Marilyn also responds to her mother's Please Me message in taking an interest in her mother, particularly how her mother is feeling (Q. 10). Marilyn states: "Different people have different ways of getting rid of emotions. Some people stamp, bang the wall, throw things, scream, shout. I cry" (Q. 15). Affective aspects of the racket are thus explained by Marilyn, and she specifies her racket feeling as crying. Feelings of being exposed and defenseless are implicated in the racket system, the self being experienced as a naked body.

Underlying the crying, is a strong wish to express anger and fight against the control that is being taken over her emotions (Q. 16). There is not, however, much clarity in what is occurring cognitively in the racket system, except that Marilyn believes that people have control over her and are getting the better of her, and in turn hates herself for this. She makes the decision to withdraw if she believes others will take advantage of her, and there is a tendency to want to turn the anger inwards and "tear myself apart" (Q. 15).

Fantasy

Themes and identifications in "Noddy" involve being happy and being a certain way physically for her mother. In "Bambi", which Marilyn describes as a comedy, sadness and loss are apparent, together with kindness and being rescued by a strong father figure. In "Hansel and Gretel", the responsibility for abandonment is attributed to the father and the mother is not implicated. The old witch could be symbolic of the badness in mother that is unrecognised by Marilyn, or could represent witchlike persons that Marilyn came into contact with after being placed in care. The wish is to solve the problems by escaping and returning home. Simultaneously, in the TV program "Catch Candy", the wish is to run away from the parents. Although not mentioned in the section on fantasy, Marilyn has strong identification with Marilyn Munroe (Q. 12). Marilyn bears a striking resemblance to the idolled actress. This is associated with being beautiful and wanting to be an actress. Munroe herself was an unwanted child who grew up in children's homes and experienced a series of failed foster placements.

5.4.2 Case 2: Colin - Analysis and Interpretation

A. Background Information

Age: 17 years

Sex: Male

Age at Placement: 4 years

Family: Before Colin entered care at the age of four years, he had been successively in the care of his mother and father, his father and step-mother, other relatives, and his grandfather. According to Colin, there are three step-siblings and four real siblings in the family network around his parents. Colin's presentation of the structure of the family relationships is partly contradictory, and in Q. 10 he refers to thinking that his step-siblings were brothers and sisters. Background information indicates Colin's perception that other children were favoured more than him in the family situations in which he was cared for. It is difficult to trace exactly Colin's early history, but what is perhaps more striking is the theme of persecutory anxiety that occurs throughout his account of his history prior to entering care.

Reason for Placement: Colin was declared a child in need of care on the basis of his parent's being considered unfit to care for him. The case file emphasizes physical abuse by his father and neglect by his mother. The placement was interpreted by Colin as an abandonment.

Parent-Figures: Colin considers that his mother was like a mother to him, yet that no one has been like a father to him. No other parent-figures were mentioned.

B. Ego State Analysis

Colin obtained the following scores on the Ego State Inventory (Mc-Carley, 1975):

Punitive Parent = 2

Nurturing Parent = 20

Adult = 14

Rebellious Child = 0

Adaptive Child = 16

In relation to mean scores on the Ego State Inventory for the Residential Substitute Care Group, Colin's profile is not deviant in any significant respects although he scores 0 for Rebellious Child (RC) and has a slightly higher than average Nurturing Parent (NP) score.

C. Life Script Analysis

Episcript

Colin intends to teach his children on the basis of his experience, giving the children the good parts not the bad parts. While the stated intention to give the children the good parts of his experience is encouraging, this is achieved by splitting his experience into good and bad parts, badness being equated with arguing, swearing, and drinking in front of them. The badness is split off from the future parent-child relationship since Colin plans to not do bad things in front of the children. By implication, it is possible that if badness surfaces in Colin, the response will be to leave the children in order that badness not be expressed in front of them. There is the possibility of some repetition of messages to work hard, expressed in the relationship between Colin and his father, being expressed in future relationships with his children.

Parent Messages

Colin's account of requesting his mother to take the children with them if she ran away, and her failure to do so, indicates a Don't Be injunction and a Don't Be Close injunction. Both Colin's mother and father issue a Don't Be Close injunction. This is also inferred on the basis of Colin's account of being in the care of multiple parent-figures during his early life. Being messages issued by Colin's mother were directed at satisfaction of her needs for protection and help, rather than Colin's need for closeness. A Be For Me message issued by Colin's mother directs him to be caring, intelligent and protective over her (Q. 4). That being these things for his mother is experienced in terms of being used, indicates that a Be For Me message is apparent in Colin's relationship with his mother. In reviewing his early childhood, Colin referred to his mother's need for him to help her and his feeling of being too small (in relation to large men) to do this for her. Colin's mother's response to Colin running away when she fights is to issue a Don't Leave injunction, consistent with her need for him to be for her. Despite an attempt to "keep her cool" (Q. 5), Colin's mother does not succeed, and in arguments she loses control. This indicates that Colin's mother issued Try Hard being message. The result is that Colin must not be a child, especially not a needy child, since Colin's mother needs him to be for her. Don't Be A Child can thus be inferred as a primary injunction operative in Colin's relationship with his mother.

Colin's father issued a strong Don't Be injunction. Physical abuse is a direct assault on being. When Colin is trying hard and not giving up in fights, his father's response is to dislike him. Incorporation and identification with these aspects of his mother cause problems in Colin's relationship with his father, as they did in his father's relationship with his mother. However, Colin views not giving up as a positive characteristic. To a large extent, although not automatically implied by a Don't Be injunction, there is a Don't Be Close injunction in operation in the relationship between Colin and his father. His attempt to follow his father is not successful and he loses his father while following him (Q. 10). In order to grow up and be hardworking for his father, Colin is issued with a Don't Be A Child injunction. For his father, he must be hardworking so that his father can use these qualities. This is also accomplished by being strong as well since Colin must not be close to let these qualities be used. That is, his father issues a Be For Me and a Be Strong message. Messages given by Colin's father and mother are presented in terms of Steiner's (1982) Script Matrix (Figure 22).

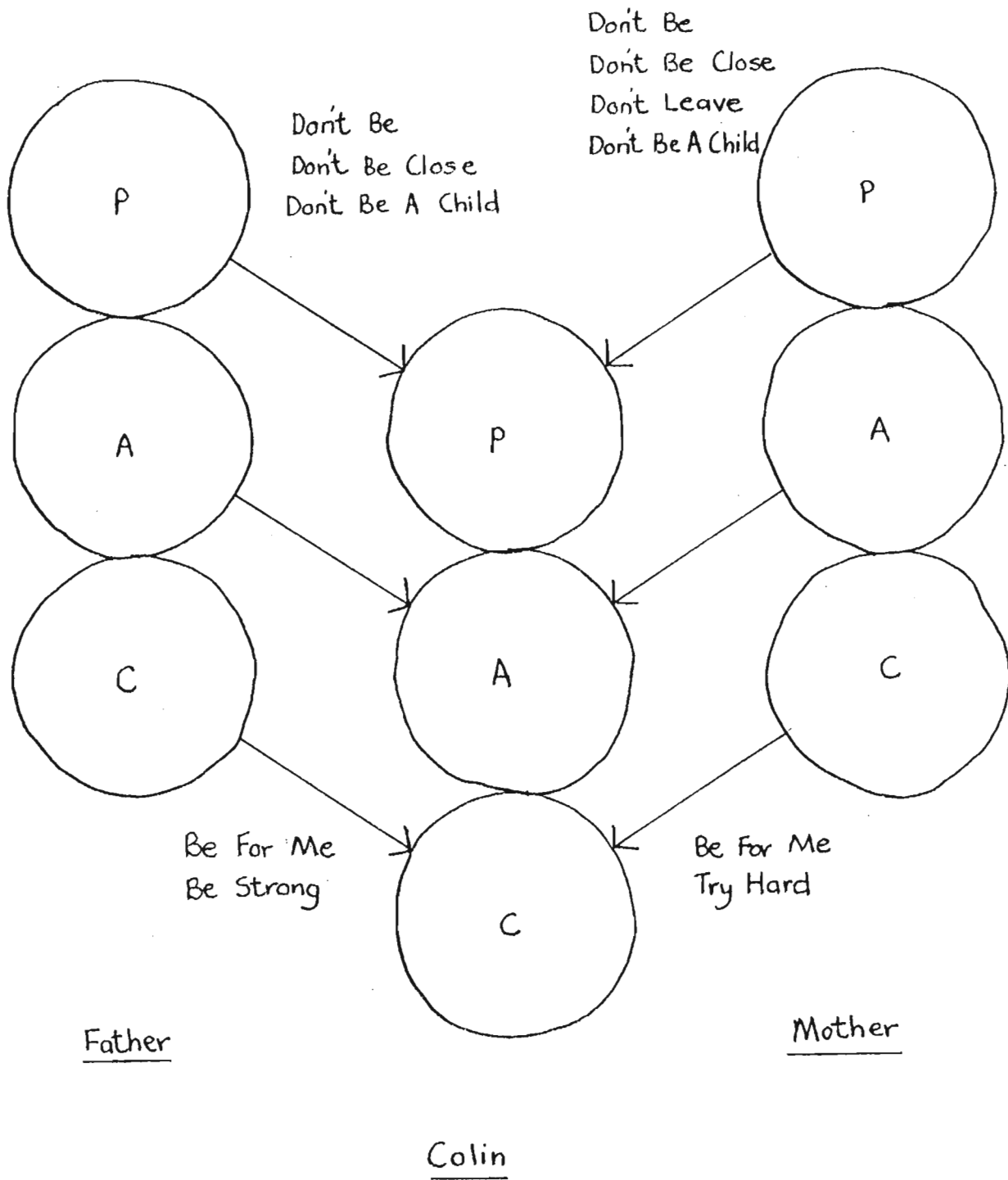


Figure 22: Script Matrix for Colin (Case Study 2)

Decisions

Life is like hell.

Life is a bad experience.

My children will not go through what I went through.

Racket System

Being scared is indicated as an affective theme in Colin's racket system (Q. 15). Feelings too are scary (Q. 15). Fear is associated with the possibility of being sent to trade school, his mother being shot, and fear of his own aggression. He believes that his aggression is so powerful that it will kill others. Frustration is additionally involved and this is expressed behaviourally in fighting with other boys in the children's home. Stuttering is also present as a rackety display (Q. 1) and is associated with frustration and repressed anger. Colin states that his father had a role in his developing a stutter. It is possible to hypothesize that in this case physical abuse and neglect resulted in immense distress and anger. Colin experienced others, particularly his father, as deceitful and sly. Colin was, however, able to introject a comparatively good internal mother object. It is the destruction of this object that he fears most. Resultantly, he fears his own aggression in relation to women (mother). The implication for emotional development in the context of Colin's object relationships is persecutory anxiety. Colin's early life was characterized by a high degree of unpredictability. His expression of needs was ignored. Both his mother and father modelled angry outbursts and physical violence, and Colin has difficulty in controlling his aggression (Q. 15, Q. 17). Displaying aggression in Colin's perception, creates a bad impression of him (Q. 16).

Fantasy

The tension between women (mother) and men (father and mother's boyfriends) apparent in Colin's early childhood lead him to clearly differentiate a self for boys and a self for girls. This is based on a recognition of their incompatibility, and the chances for closeness are denied. In the nursery rhyme "Georgie Porgie" (Q. 18), Colin had identification with Georgie, Colin's second name being George. The split in Colin between his response to girls (making them cry) and to boys (avoidance) is thus representative of the early relations between his parents and current relations between himself and boys and girls.

Themes of aggression and fragmentation are apparent in Colin's presentation of "Hickory Dickory Dock". Although he is aware that his version of "Hickory Dickory Dock" is not accurate, Colin sees the rhyme as a joke. Themes of abandonment and wanting babies in "Rumpelstiltskin" are apparent. There is great ambivalence about babies. The girl loves her baby but gives it up. The baby is given to Rumpelstiltskin. "Rumpelstiltskin" does not contain a lady who hits a baby, yet in Colin's version of the story the lady hits the baby. Colin has identification with both the girl in the story and with Rumpelstiltskin. The girl loving and giving up her baby to Rumpelstiltskin, has parallels with Colin's early history: abandonment by mother and a period of living with father and others, before returning to mother. The girl in the story wants a baby and so does Rumpelstiltskin, and the girl is prepared to give her baby up to save herself. Colin characterizes Cinderella as a slave (Q. 20). If there is identification with Cinderella, this could be operating on the basis of his being someone who is hard-working for his father, a slave, and exploited while step-siblings get preferential treatment.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

The data obtained in the present study will be interpreted and discussed using TA theory and the object relational frameworks of Winnicott and Mahler. The intention is to consider the Family Group (FG) and Residential Substitute Care Group (RSCG), comparing the results of ego state analysis and life script analysis in terms of the way they illustrate parent-child relationships and child development in the two groups. Following an initial interpretation in relation to TA concepts, an object relations developmental retrospective will be inferred for the FG and RSCG. Particular issues emerging from the RSCG will be discussed with a view to providing suggestions and recommendations relevant to trends in residential substitute care and to current trends in South Africa. The discussion concludes with a methodological review and autocritique. TA will be assessed as a methodology which provides access to researching the quality of parent-child relationships and child development, and which interfaces with Winnicott's and Mahler's object relational theories.

6.1 The Quality of Parent-Child Relationships and Child Development in the Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group : TA Analysis and Interpretation

Ego States

The Ego State Inventory (McCarley, 1975) differentiated between the FG and RSCG in terms of significantly higher Adult (A) and Nurturing Parent (NP) scores respectively. With reference to the egograms of the two research groups, Dusay's (1980) method supports a statement of difference between children reared exclusively in their families of origin and children raised initially by their parents and later placed in residential substitute care.

Dusay (1980) states that a criterion for a healthy egogram (or profile of the relative strength of different ego states) is the ranking of the Adult (A) ego state as the highest in the egogram. The ranking of scores in the Ego State Inventory (McCarley, 1975) for the FG is, in descending order of relative strength; Adult (A), Adapted Child (AC), and Nurturing Parent (NP), with Punitive Parent (PP) and Rebellious Child (RC) scores being equal and the lowest scores (Table 1). Williams *et al* (1983) established a relationship between a high Adult (A) ego state score and

emotional stability. This may indicate that FG subjects' high Adult (A) score is associated with a higher degree of emotional stability. This relationship needs to be cautiously stated, as Dusay (1980), McCarley (1983) and Williams *et al* (1983) do not concur on their definitions of the Adult (A) ego state.

The relative strengths of the five ego states measured, as expressed in the FG's egogram (Figure 17) are similar to the relative strengths of the ego states in the egogram that Dusay terms the "good worker (or perfect employee)" egogram (Dusay, 1984, 45). The characteristics of a person with this egogram include perfectionism as a strong feature, dedication to efficient occupational functioning, and an ability to operate at high levels of thinking. Furthermore, the person seldom complains, follows commands and directions unquestioningly, and will not say no to authority figures (Dusay, 1980).

The Ego State Inventory scores for the RSCG, ranked in descending order of relative strength are: Nurturing Parent (NP), Adult (A), and Adapted Child (AC), with Rebellious Child (RC) and Punitive Parent (PP) being equal and ranking as the lowest ego state scores (Table 2). The corresponding egogram provided by Dusay for the FG egogram (Figure 17) is the "Big Mama" egogram (Dusay, 1980, 42). The person with such an egogram has a martyr script, that is, getting very little and giving a lot of nurturing. There is a reliance on looking after oneself (in the context of no-one else doing it), and being responsive to everyone's demands for time and attention.

In terms of Dusay's (1980) guidelines for interpretation of egograms, the FG and RSCG appear to differ in some significant respects from each other. The Ego State Inventory results would suggest that the RSCG subjects have as a discerning feature, a range of nurturing, caring, attitudes and feelings associated with a high Nurturing Parent ego state, which are behaviourally and transactionally observable (Berne, 1981). These observations and theoretical explanations would appear to be contradictory in relation to the information provided by background histories of RSCG subjects in response to the Brief Questionnaire. Frequently cited as reasons for entry into substitute care were: abandonment by a parent; physical, sexual, and emotional abuse; generally neglecting parents; alcoholism in one or both parents; imprisonment of a parent; and mental illness of a parent. Furthermore, that the RSCG subjects entered care after having been declared 'children

in need of care' (Children's Act, 1960), would appear to be incompatible with a high score on the Nurturing Parent ego state.

Berne (1981) posited that nurturing functions are introjected from the parents, the child's Parent (P) ego state thus developing a range of caring and growth oriented behaviours, attitudes and feelings, (Figure 2). Yet this statement does not appear to be consistent with the present findings. As an alternative explanation for the apparently contradictory result, it is possible that RSCG subjects were faking good, denying the existence in themselves of more punitive, controlling parent introjects. This explanation does not however give the RSCG subjects much credit or accord them much integrity; and nor does this explanation account for why FG subjects did not similarly fake good. Alternatively, introjection may not be the only psychic mechanism involved in the functional development of ego states as outlined by Berne (1984) (Figure 4). Other mechanisms could be involved which direct the development of ego states 'independently' of direct parental introjection. The implication is that certain ego states may be over-developed because the parents' ego states are deficient and the child compensates for imbalances in the parent-child ego state relationship. To refer more directly to the RSCG, the absence of adequately nurturing parenting may be a factor implicated in the subjects developing a high Nurturing Parent (N), in order to nurture themselves and/or others (siblings and parents).

The validity of findings of ego state analysis for the two research groups needs to be tentatively stated, given the following reasons. McCarley's (1975) Ego State Inventory terms and definitions of ego states differ from those of Dusay (1980), and it has been stated that the Rebellious Child (RC) in McCarley's (1975) inventory is not a theoretically sound split in the Child (C) ego state. These problems do not immediately invalidate the present results, but they indicate that the results should be understood as located in a diversity of conceptualizations of ego states (functionally and structurally) in TA literature (Berne, 1981; Berne, 1984; Steiner, 1982; Dusay, 1980; and Kahler and Capers, 1974), and in the context of ongoing theoretical and methodological developments in TA. However, Berne's (1981) definition of ego states as a consistent, observable, pattern of behaviour, thoughts and feelings remains a useful construct in describing personality.

There are two possible approaches to interpreting ego states: (1) using energy based conceptions of ego state development (Berne, 1981; Dusay, 1980; Klein, 1980), and (2) object relational conceptions of ego state development (Haykin, 1980; Woods and Woods, 1981; Schiff and Schiff, 1971; and Schiff, 1977). Some of the limitations of energy based conceptions are the possibility that the uniqueness of the individual's ego states go unnoticed and that the richness of psychological activity within the ego states not be assessed (Allen, 1981). Furthermore, the egogram provides an overview of the relative strength of the ego states, yet does not examine the organization and integration of ego states. It is imperative that while assessing broadly the range of ego states, the level of integration be commented on in order to gain an understanding of the ego as an entirety. In assessing ego states, it is useful to recall Kahler and Caper's (1974) proposition that ego states have both OK and not-OK parts (see Figure 5). Woolams, Brown and Huige (1977) (see Figure 6) describe contamination and exclusion of ego states as indicative of ego state pathology. While an overuse or underuse of certain ego states can be indicative of problems in ego state functioning, quantitative analysis and energy based conceptions of ego states do not specify criteria for differentiating healthy from unhealthy ego state functioning. That is, there are difficulties in specifying cut-off points which indicate that ego state functioning has become pathological. Additionally, quantitative analysis of ego states does not necessarily reveal contamination or exclusion of ego states. These concepts refer directly to ego state boundaries and the permeability and separateness of ego states, not the relative strength of ego states (Woolams, Brown and Huige, 1977). Concepts such as exclusion and contamination are thus more useful in interpreting ego state development in object relational terms.

Parent Messages

Given the injunctions and being messages elicited by a content analysis of a sample of life script interview transactions (Appendix V) and the totality of parent messages issued by mothers and fathers of subjects in the FG and RSCG (Table 3, Figure 19 and Figure 20), it is evident that there are differences in the frequency of occurrence and type of messages issued to subjects in the two groups. Applying a procedure to the data which ranked parent messages in descending order of frequency of occurrence, the Life Script Profiles and Script Matrices of the FG (Table 4, Figure 19) and the RSCG (Table 5, Figure 20), indicate more clearly

the differences in the type and frequency of occurrence of major parent messages in the two groups. It is recognized that constructing a profile of major parent messages excludes certain parent messages from further analysis, and it is inevitable that part of the richness of the data is lost in the interests of identifying major differences between the two groups studied. The construction of Life Script Profiles and Script Matrices which selectively include major parent messages is however necessary to reduce the variability of the data in the two groups.

Comparing the FG and RSCG, Don't Be Angry was a major injunction given by mothers (frequency [f] = 10) and fathers (f = 7) in the FG, while Don't Be was a major injunction given by mothers (f = 9) and fathers (f = 16) in the RSCG. A Don't Be Angry injunction is however not included in the Life Script Profile of RSCG subjects, suggesting that a Don't Be Angry injunction is more characteristic of parent-child relationships in the FG. Nor is a Don't Be injunction included in the Life Script Profile of FG subjects, suggesting that a Don't Be injunction is a particular feature of parent-child relationships in the RSCG which differentiates subjects in this group from subjects in the FG. A Don't Be Close injunction also appears to be characteristic of parent-child relationships in the RSCG, 15 mothers and 16 fathers issuing this injunction. Comparing the frequency of occurrence of a Don't Be Close injunction in the FG and RSCG, only five mothers and nine fathers issued the injunction in the FG. This comparison further supports claims for a difference between the quality of parent-child relationships in the FG and RSCG. A Don't Be A Child injunction occurred more frequently in the RSCG than the FG. While 13 mothers and 12 fathers gave the injunction in the RSCG, only seven mothers and seven fathers in the FG issued the injunction. Another discerning characteristic of the RSCG Life Script Profile is a Don't Leave injunction. This injunction was given by seven mothers and five fathers of RSCG subjects, while this injunction was not included in the Life Script Profile of FG subjects. While the Life Script Profile of injunctions given by fathers of the subjects in the RSCG indicates that a Don't Grow injunction was not a major parent message, six mothers of RSCG subjects issued this injunction. In the FG however, 10 mothers and seven fathers issued a Don't Grow injunction suggesting that a Don't Grow injunction is more characteristic of parent-child relationships in the FG. While seven mothers and five fathers issued a Don't Think What You Think, Think What I Think injunction in the FG, and five mothers and six fathers issued a Don't Feel injunction to FG subjects, these two injunctions were

not profiled major messages in the RSCG. This suggests that a Don't Think What You Think, Think What I Think injunction and a Don't Feel injunction are more characteristic of parent-child relationships in the FG. A final observation that can be made about major injunctions, is that six mothers of RSCG subjects and five fathers of FG subjects issued a Don't Belong injunction, while this injunction is not a profiled major parent message for opposite sex parents in the two groups.

Comparing the FG and RSCG subjects in terms of being messages, a Be Perfect message was a major discerning message in the FG, 14 mothers and 10 fathers issuing this message. Be Perfect was not a profiled major being message given to RSCG subjects. Major being messages in the RSCG subjects' Life Script Profile were Be For Me and Be Strong, 11 mothers and five fathers issuing a Be For Me message, and 11 fathers and nine mothers issuing a Be Strong message. It must be noted that while Be For Me and Be Strong messages were definitive in the RSCG, these messages were also issued to subjects in the FG. Six mothers issued a Be For Me message and seven fathers issued a Be Strong message to subjects in the FG. Particularly characteristic of messages issued to RSCG subjects was a Please Me message, 11 mothers issuing this major message to their children. The frequency of occurrence of a Please Me message was lower in the FG, this message being given by six mothers. Also indicated in the Life Script Profile for FG subjects is a Try Hard message, issued by five mothers and eight fathers; and a Be For Others message issued by six mothers. Five mothers of RSCG subjects issued a Try Hard message, while this message was not profiled for fathers of RSCG subjects.

On the basis of the profiled major parent messages and script matrices it can be observed that the quality of parent-child relationships in the FG and the RSCG is different. The hypothesis that the FG and RSCG would differ with respect to their Life Scripts is supported by the analysis of categories and frequency of occurrence of major profiled parent messages, and it can be inferred that the nature and quality of parent-child relationships in the FG and RSCG were different.

The Episcript and Decisions

A person's script is a complex interplay between parent messages and the child's response to these, yet it is possible that the essence of the scripts of subjects in the FG and RSCG can be condensed into the

episcript (English, 1977). In the FG (Appendix VI) the episcript was characterized by bringing up children in the same way as the subject's parents did. Six subjects explicitly stated this episcript theme. Decisions about what the children's eventual characteristics would be like, were polarized around bringing up children to be like what the subject was as a child. Although there is no statistical analysis of the relationship between messages in the subject's episcript and messages given to the subject by parents, important injunctions and being messages appear to be transmitted cross-generationally.

Implicit in the FG episcript is an overarching Be Perfect being message. The child is to become the perfect parent by bringing up children in the same way as the exemplary parent. The absence of criticism of the parent/s, lack of challenge, and unquestioning acceptance of the way they were brought up, may be consistent with the prevalence of a Don't Be Angry injunction in the FG subjects. Any anger, disappointment with, or disapproval of the way their parents brought them up is generally not evident in the responses of FG subjects to the Life Script Questionnaire question designed to elicit the episcript.

The issue of being placed in residential substitute care was a theme in the episcripts of RSCG subjects. Four RSCG subjects denied that they would send their children to a children's home, while one subject indicated that she would do so. There was a tendency in the RSCG to deny that their children would live the lives they did as children. Removal and placement are interpreted as 'being put in a children's home' and this is likely to become an issue in future parent-child relationships. Another recurrent theme is the equation of giving the child what it needs with spoiling the child. The episcript decision is to pass onto the RSCG subjects' children the frustration of not getting what is needed because giving what is needed is spoiling the child.

Consistent with a high frequency of occurrence of Don't Be A Child and Be For Me in the RSCG profile of major parent messages, is the prevalence of these messages in the RSCG subjects' episcripts. For example, Francis' episcript: "Be obedient. Do what you're told. Be friendly and get along with parents by looking after their needs. Children must listen when their parents talk to them." It is possible that Jason will give his children the following messages: "Don't be a child. Be obedient" based on the decision not to give the child what is wanted because this is spoiling the child. Power and punitive discipline are

also themes in the episcrypt of RSCG subjects: "I will show my children who is the boss" (Charles), "Do what you're told" (Francis), "If you don't obey everything I tell you, I'll punish you" (David), "If you do naughty things, I'll give you a warning. If you do it again, I'll have to use corporal punishment" (Greg). Another common theme involves initiating the child to assume responsibility for their parents. For example, Shaun is likely to encourage his children to be responsible for their parents. Francis' script involves looking after his parents' needs and he will probably issue messages to look after parents' needs to his children. Marilyn is also a striking example of a child who assumed responsibility for a parent, and her episcrypt indicates that having to be reliable will be one of the messages her children may receive. Cathryn's episcrypt indicates that her children could be given a Please Me message, instructed to be aware of other's feelings, not think of themselves, and be quiet. Sonya's children may be given messages which instruct them to be dependable and reliable, and do what their parents want.

Considering decisions made by FG and RSCG subjects about life (Appendix VI), the majority of FG subjects emphasized that life was not a worry, was fun, carefree, easy, and happy. Fifteen FG subjects evidenced having made these decisions about life. Four subjects had made decisions about life which committed them to unhappy, boring, or scary lives, while one subject's life decisions revolved around being the only girl in the family.

Ten subjects in the RSCG made decisions about life being like hell, involving hardship, being tough and terrible, being confusing, unhappy and not understandable. In comparison to the decisions made about life in the FG, the decisions made about life in the RSCG are clearly qualitatively different. A common response of RSCG subjects was to make two independent sets of decisions about life in which life is split into two separate periods, with removal and placement being the differentiator. Five RSCG subjects made decisions about life on the basis of whether decisions were made before or after placement. Life before placement was described in a variety of ways. Inter-personal violence including fighting between mother and father, physical abuse by one or both parents, and being fearful of a parent, were characteristics of life before placement for some subjects. For other subjects, life before placement was enjoyable, fantastic and involved the love for a parent. Life, after placement was consistently described in negative terms. Feeling

restricted by being in a children's home, and feeling different to other children because of being in a home, were mentioned (Harry, Cathryn, and Sonya). Feeling abandoned, unloved, and alone was based on a recognition of the loss of a parent (David and Cathryn). Life after placement was also described as hard, difficult, and disastrous (Marilyn and Sonya).

Differences between the FG's and RSCG's episcript and decisions about life can be understood as located in the context of injunctions and being messages issued by FG and RSCG subjects' parents, and confirm differences in the quality of parent-child relationships in these two groups.

The Racket System

Reflecting on the results of the analysis of the racket system in the FG and RSCG (Appendix VII), guilt was implicated in the affective component of the racket system of nine FG subjects and anger suppressed in 10 subjects. Sadness, depression, disappointment with oneself, and feeling sorry, upset, and sore were evident in the racket system of 11 FG subjects. Feelings of anxiety, frustration, and anger were also mentioned by FG subjects as feelings apparent in the affective component of their racket system.

A recurrent theme in the cognitive component of the racket system in the FG relates to guilt and the suppression of anger. For example, the following cognitions operate in Ian's racket system: "I must control my temper. I'm out of control. I must calm down". In relation to a Don't Be Angry injunction, the cognitions in the racket system facilitate the suppression of anger and the development of guilt in the child. In Barry's racket system, the cognitions illustrate this point: "I must not get angry. If I get angry, I'm naughty. I'll keep my hate inside and take my hate away with me". When guilt and being disappointed with oneself as racket feelings are combined, cognitions such as those evident in Robin's racket system become evident: "I've done something wrong. I've disappointed parents. I'm worthless. I feel black inside, like a blob. I can't turn off my feelings". In the FG, there are particular cognitions underlying reparative behaviour associated with the expression of anger and guilt. For example, the following cognitions were identifiable in Gary's racket system: "I'm careless. I shouldn't have done it. I should be more careful. I must rectify the problem". Also striking are the cognitions associated with reparative behaviour in

Jonathan's racket system: "I've done something wrong. I shouldn't have done what I did. I'm bad. I must put it right. I musn't leave it as it is".

Behaviourally, the racket system in the FG is characterized by withdrawing (eight subjects) and apologizing (seven subjects). Although withdrawals and apology do not necessarily co-occur as rackets displays, the tendency is for subjects in the FG to move from expressing anger, to feeling guilt, to withdrawal, and finally to the act of apology. Withdrawal also acts as an opportunity for depressive feelings to emerge in some of the subjects, which seem to be alleviated when subjects apologize to others who might have been involved in games around the subject's racket system.

In contrast, in the RSCG, anger and depression were prominent feelings in the affective component of the racket system (Appendix VII). However, anger was also strongly suppressed in five RSCG subjects. Being scared and frustrated were implicated in the racket system of two RSCG subjects, and the feeling of hurt in the racket system of four subjects in this group. Three subjects in the RSCG reported feelings of being lonely and left out as feelings in their racket systems. Seven subjects in the RSCG had racket feelings expressed in their terms as depression, and two subjects had feelings of rejection and feeling unwanted in their racket systems. Anxiety and worry were evident in the racket systems of two RSCG subjects. Guilt or disappointment at hurting others were only indicated as a racket feeling in a single RSCG subject.

A parent-child relationship in which the child complies is the context for the following cognitions in the racket system of RSCG subjects. Jason decides not to fight, but to be helpful and do what he is told. Shaun complies by deciding: "I mustn't argue. Arguments make me sad. I hate myself (when I argue)". Feelings of being rejected and unwanted, and an angry affective response are associated with the following cognitions in Robert's racket system: "I'm not a nice guy. I have nothing to offer as a person. I feel rejected. They don't like me. If they want to argue about it, I'll hit them". Marilyn and Kay have cognitions relating to wanting to kill themselves and not exist. Kay decides that she does not feel like living anymore and wants to kill everyone around her, as strong cognitions operating in her racket system. Of particular interest is a situation of directly modelling his father's/mother's feelings in Charles' racket system, in which the behavioural response to feelings is

to develop "alcohol induced" headaches and go to sleep like the parents did.

Moving to consider the behavioural component of the racket system of RSCG subjects, getting overtly angry, fighting, and temper tantrums were evident as rackets displays in seven subjects. Withdrawal as a racket display was characteristic of the behavioural component of five subjects' racket systems, and crying was indicated as a racket display in the racket system of five subjects. Smiling in order not to show feelings was evident in the behavioural component of the racket system of two RSCG subjects.

The affective, behavioural and cognitive components of the racket systems of subjects in the FG and RSCG Group are indicative of differences in parent-child relationships in the two groups. The results are further suggestive of differences between child development in the two groups.

Fantasy and the Modern Myth

The results of the analysis of the fantasy section (Appendix VIII) of the Life Script Questionnaire indicate that some subjects cited more than one modern myth as a favourite, and all choices cited by the subject must be considered reflective of the subject's reality and fantasy during childhood. The relevance of the data in the FG and RSCG is apparent by observing the modern myth/s that subjects chose, the significance of character identifications as based on a similarity between the characteristics of the subjects themselves and the object identified with, and the way that subjects narrated the modern myth.

The significance of a subject's favourite modern myth is emphasized by the following example. A female subject in the RSCG, Louise, spoke of Snow White and The Seven Dwarves as her favourite modern myth. Louise was removed at age four years in response to her parents' physical abuse of her. The parallels between the events and people in her life and those of Snow White can be inferred from the following extract from Louise's Life Script Interview. Louise has an unusually deep voice and coughs a lot. In relating the story of Snow White, Louise stated: "They [the dwarves] were kind to Snow White, and, Snow White was kind to them. Then ... there was an old witch ... a witch who put a spell on Snow White. A woodcutter is supposed to kill Snow White. The

witch put poison in the apple and Snow White bit it and fell on the floor. The dwarves came home ... and she was dead. Then ... then the prince came and they put her down too hard and the cork fell out of her mouth and she was alright again. (What fell out of her mouth?) The cork, the cork that was stuck in her throat (NV: points to throat and encircles throat with both hands)". Interpreting the relevance of the apple - cork transformation and the significance of non-verbal cues is left to the reader. This extract indicates that it is essential to focus on the distortions, omissions and emphases in the subject's narration of the modern myth which convert the standard version of the myth into their own personal mythology.

Subjects in the FG who indicated Snow White or Cinderella as a favourite modern myth tended to highlight the happy ending and falling in love with the prince. They omit references to abusive actions toward the character identified with. Subjects in the RSCG who chose Snow White or Cinderella highlighted the abuse directed at Cinderella and Snow White. It must be noted that a choice of Snow White as a favourite modern myth did not necessarily predispose subjects to identify with Snow White. For example, a RSCG subject, Lance, identified with the dwarf called Dopey in the story.

Another extract from the data further indicates the parallels between the modern myth and the subjects' relationship with parents, and life script. For example, Robin's (FG subject) choice of the Incredible Hulk as a favourite modern myth is significant. Robin described the Incredible Hulk as follows: "He did an experiment on himself and something went wrong. When he gets angry he gets big bulging muscles and turns green. He gets incredible strength. But he always helps. Where there's someone hurting someone, he'll help them, and afterwards when he's finished, he'll go back to his normal self. He travels around and doesn't want to stay in the same place because then people will know him and say, 'He's the hulk'. He's always travelling. He'll always pick up a job, always find somebody who needs help". In the way that Robin described his family it appears that his father, a large man who intended to become an engineer but was frustrated in this goal, will attempt to fix mechanical and electrical objects belonging to Robin's mother. Robin's father's intention to fix becomes undermined by his frustration and father usually breaks what he tries to fix by becoming angry. Robin's mother becomes distressed by father's anger and is made happy again by Robin fixing what his father has broken. Robin reported that this series

of events happened at least weekly in the family. Robin's family had moved seven times, across three continents when Robin was interviewed, and this is represented in the Incredible Hulk travelling around and not getting close enough to others so that they come to know the Hulk.

In the FG, some of the themes of modern myths specified (Mark, Barry, Jonathan, Harry, Colleen, Marcia and Jenny) were thematically characterised by happy endings, happiness, conquering adversaries, being active, and falling in love with and getting the prince. Jenny, for example, identified with the innocence of Snow White and Cinderella, and highlighted the happy ending of the stories. Modern myths such as Baa Baa Black Sheep relate to the subject feeling that they do not belong in certain groups and/or being the scapegoated black sheep in the family.

In the RSCG, five subjects chose Snow White and the Seven Dwarves as a favourite modern myth, and identified with Snow White. Snow White is described as pretty, kind, loving, sweet, perfect and beautiful, yet hated by the queen/step-mother who wants to get rid of her. The fantasy theme relates to a persecutory dynamic between parent and child. Fragmentation, integration, or the failure to re-integrate was a common theme in seven of the RSCG subjects favourite modern myths. Humpty Dumpty was frequently chosen, RSCG subjects identifying with Humpty Dumpty as initially whole and integrated, then falling and fragmenting, and finally as experiencing the difficulties of re-integration. The importance of individual differences in the way that subjects relate their favourite myth is apparent in the significant themes of four RSCG subjects (Jason, Charles, Lance and Kay), and a FG subject (Maureen). Jason's Humpty Dumpty fragments and is integrated by being saved by the king's horses and king's men. Charles' Humpty Dumpty fragments and is also rescued. Lance's Humpty Dumpty falls and breaks and cannot re-integrate, as does Kay's Humpty Dumpty. Maureen does not visualize Humpty Dumpty as broken, but as whole.

FG subjects who identified Cinderella as a favourite modern myth highlighted significant themes of falling in love and getting the prince, and a happy ending. Cinderella modern myths in the RSCG are thematically different from Cinderella modern myths in the FG. In the RSCG, Cinderella is associated with slavery (Colin); with doing for others compliantly (Shaun); and with sibling issues, responsibility and restrictions an autonomy (Janice). Hansel and Gretel, as a modern myth which was

not apparent in the choices of FG subjects, was a favourite myth of two RSCG subjects. For Marilyn, Hansel and Gretel had meaning associated with abandonment by father; and for Cathryn, Hansel and Gretel related to oral themes and a witch mother.

In the FG, Little Miss Muffet and Little Red Riding Hood were among the modern myths selected as favourites in four subjects (Barbara, Jillian, Tricia, and Caroline). A single RSCG subject, Diane, specified Little Miss Muffet and Little Red Riding Hood as favourites. In the FG subjects identified with Little Miss Muffet's and Little Red Riding Hood's stupidity, naivety, primness, propriety and pathos. This can be contrasted with Ann's description of little girls being made of sugar and spice and all things nice. Diane (RSCG), however, identified with the clever, wicked and sly wolf in Little Red Riding Hood, and the scary spider in Little Miss Muffet.

Modern myths chosen by subjects, characters identified with, the characteristics of the character, and significant themes highlighted by subjects are different in the FG and RSCG, and this may be reflective of differences in the quality of parent-child relationship in the two groups. It can also be inferred that this is suggestive of differences between child development in the two groups.

6.2 Object Relations Developmental Retrospective

Differences have been observed between the FG and RSCG ego state measures and life scripts. In the life scripts of FG and RSCG subjects, differences are apparent in the following areas: parent messages (injunctions and being messages), the episcript, life decisions, the racket system, and the fantasy section of the Life Script Questionnaire. These observations confirm the hypothesis of a difference between the quality of parent-child relationships in the FG and RSCG. The egograms and life scripts of adolescents in the FG and RSCG present the possibility of inferring differences in infant-toddler-child-adolescent development in the two groups based on retrospective analysis.

The search for a critical age for ego state and script formation and a deeper understanding of the origin of the script in the parent-child relationship rests on contextualizing the effects of ego state development and parent messages in a developmental framework. Campos (1986) suggests that the critical age is dependent on the child's developmental level, and the present study is in agreement with this proposition. The implications of differential ego state strengths, and the effect of parent messages characteristic of the FG and RSCG, could be individually specified and discussed at length, but an integrative approach is indicated as superior. This approach recognises that different parent messages in conjunction with other parent messages have differential effects on the developing child and that different ego state strengths have different developmental implications when integrated into interpretation of parent messages. The Life Script data on the episcript, decisions about life, the racket system, and fantasy, also assumes specific meaning only when integrated with interpretations of parent messages and relative ego state strengths.

In the present study, an appreciation of the impact of the quality of parent-child relationships in the FG and RSCG is conveyed by situating discussion within the object relational frameworks of Winnicott and Mahler. Since the analysis is retrospective and based on inference, it should be noted that the interpretations provided essentially constitute hypotheses.

6.2.1 Family Group vs. Residential Substitute Care Group

The finding that the FG subjects' Adult (A) ego state had the highest relative strength, suggests that in the FG the Adult (A) ego state was the most developed. In terms of object relational conceptions of ego state development (See Section 3.6.3.2), it can be hypothesized that as children FG subjects attained a degree of ego state development consistent with attainment of the capacity of triadic object relating. The Adult (A) ego state is the developmental focus during and after triadic object relations (Haykin, 1980), since the child develops its Adult (A) ego state to deal with triadic conflicts and respond to scholastic demands that require Adult (A) functioning. This hypothesis is given further support reflecting on Dusay's (1980) interpretation of an egogram with a high Adult (A) score as enabling high level thinking. It is possible that a Don't Think What You Think, Think What I Think injunction in the FG Life Script Profile is related to a high Adult (A) score, parent-child relationships prohibiting the child from developing attitudes, opinions and beliefs that are different from these of the parents. Perhaps this is a reason why a person with a "good worker (or perfect employee)" egogram (Dusay, 1980, 45), complies unquestioningly with, and will not say no to authority figures. Dusay (1980) noted that individuals with this egogram tended to be perfectionistic, which is consistent with the finding that the major being message in the FG was Be Perfect. Parent-child relationships in the FG stress the importance of perfectionism, and one of the ways to achieve perfection is in scholastic activities which require a high Adult (A) ego state.

The finding of a high Adult (A) ego state suggesting the capacity for triadic object relating or resolution of triadic conflicts, does not necessarily indicate that FG subjects tend to (or do not tend to) attain an identity separate from that of their parents, since other injunctions also assert their influence. Although, in Haykin's (1980) conception of ego state development, a pre-requisite for, or consequence of, triadic object relating is the attainment of a separate identity, this issue requires further examination.

The use of a high Adult (A) score as an index of developmental maturity associated with competent triadic object relations must be examined. It is problematic that Haykin's (1980) and Woods and Woods' (1981) object relational conceptions of ego states view the formation of the Adult (A) ego state as being the focus of triadic object relations development.

It has been theorized that the precursor of the Adult (A) ego state is formed during earlier stages (Steiner, 1982). Steiner's (1982) notion of the Little Professor, a component of the Child (C) in second-order structural theory of ego state formation, suggests that Adult (A) functioning develops prior to triadic object relating. Even if Adult (A) functioning develops earlier than object relational conceptions of ego state development propose (Haykin, 1980; Woods and Woods, 1981), the preponderance of Don't Be A Child injunctions in the FG may additionally explain a high Adult (A) ego state score, and may predispose certain subjects towards triadic object relating, these subjects being propelled out of earlier developmental stages by the urgency of this injunction.

A Don't Grow injunction is especially characteristic of the Life Script Profile of FG subjects, and this injunction has implications for the attainment of an identity separate from that of the parents. In terms of object relational conceptions of ego state development, subjects issued with Don't Grow injunctions are likely to have had problems exiting the symbiosis and developing an identity separate from that of the parent/s. Schiff (1977 b) believes that a Don't Grow injunction is indicative of problems in the progress of resolution of the symbiotic relationship between child and caretaker. Although the child would have formed relationships to other objects, a Don't Grow injunction tends to maintain fusion of self and other, resulting in difficulties differentiating between self and other. The symbiotic situation continues to be apparent in some FG subjects, as the adolescent continues to be nurtured by the Parent (P) ego state of the parent/s. The degree of pathology implied by this situation must be seen in relation to Schiff and Schiff's (1971) qualification that the symbiosis is never completely resolved. Although health depends on the attainment of a sufficient degree of differentiation between self and other (Schiff and Schiff, 1971; Haykin, 1980), FG subjects who received Don't Grow injunctions may as adolescents still be engaged in resolving the symbiosis as an aspect of healthy development. Adolescents in the FG are in the position of repeating and reworking earlier areas of development, since the presence of parent/s provides more opportunity and permission for regression in the service of reworking these issues.

Since injunctions vary in strength and relative impact, it must be recognized that certain adolescents in the FG may be further developmentally progressed. Some adolescents may have attained a degree of symbiotic

resolution, but be problematically engaged in negotiating finer aspects of the separation-individuation process. That is, a Don't Grow injunctions may be associated with certain FG subjects having had and continuing to have difficulties with rapprochement-type (Mahler, 1974) separations from a parent or parents.

The finding that the ego state of highest relative strength in the RSCG was the Nurturing Parent (NP) ego state, suggests that the Nurturing Parent (NP) was the most developed in this research group. Dusay's interpretation of the "Big Mama" (1980, 42) egogram, corresponding to the RSCG egogram, is supported by object relational interpretations of the development of ego states. A reliance on looking after oneself because there is no one else to do it, being responsive to everyone's demands for attention, and being nurturing, can be considered a particular consequence of the injunctions and being messages issued to subjects in the RSCG. Dusay (1980) locates the significant developmental factors associated with an egogram such as that of RSCG subjects in the symbiosis.

Dusay states that as a child, a person with this type of egogram would have "babysat, cooked, and did major household chores for her younger siblings" (Dusay, 1980, 184). Louise, a subject in the RSCG, described herself as follows, clearly resonating with object relational interpretations of the high Nurturing Parent (NP) in the RSCG: "I tend to take on a lot of problems ... tend to hold a lot of problems and feel I'm responsible for my family and their problems. I'm very caring and get very emotionally involved, especially in family matters. My mother is an alcoholic and when my brother and sister came along I took over them. I brought them up. I feel that I should be there to help them, solve them ... I feel that I'm responsible. That was my big role. Look after my brothers and sisters, clean up, cook for them ..."

Goulding and Goulding (1976) argue that the effect of a combined Don't Be A Child injunction and Don't Leave injunction (both injunctions being more prevalent in the RSCG than the FG) is that the child grows up to take care of the parents. In this context, the RSCG child's attachment to others would be based not on its needs, but on others' needs. The result of combined Don't Be A Child and Don't Leave injunctions is a profound disturbance of the normal symbiotic relationship. The neediness of the parent who issues a Don't Leave injunction binds the child in an unsatisfactory symbiosis where Don't Be A Child prohibits the

child's expression of needs. The quality of the parent-child relationship in this context is neglectful and inadequate, parental empathy being markedly low and parents being unresponsive to the child. The Child (C) ego state in the parents demands that the child develops its Parent (P) ego state prematurely, in order to satisfy the 'Crazy Child' in the parent/s (Holloway, 1973 b).

The parents of subjects in the RSCG issued a high frequency of Be For Me major being messages, initiating adaptation in the child directed at being for the parent. The child does what the parent instructs it to do, and this is enforced by Be Obedient messages. The child holds back on its own Free Child (FC) needs and complies with a Be Strong being message. A Be Obedient message ensures that the child does not develop too extensively, Controlling Parent (CP) functions, so that the parent can retain control of the nurturing provided. The child must become self-reliant, not depend on others for need satisfaction, and nurture itself.

Whereas the quality of the symbiosis in the FG subjects, was characterized by a high degree of involvement of the parent's Parent-(P) ego state, in the RSCG the relationship between parent and child is inverted, the child becoming a Parent to its parents. In the light of this developmental retrospective, the result of a high Nurturing Parent (NP) score is not as contradictory as initially apparent. The relationship between parent and RSCG child can be diagrammatized as an inverted symbiosis (Figure 23) a role reversal which can be contrasted with the normal developmentally appropriate symbiosis as depicted by Schiff (1977 b), (See Figure 11).

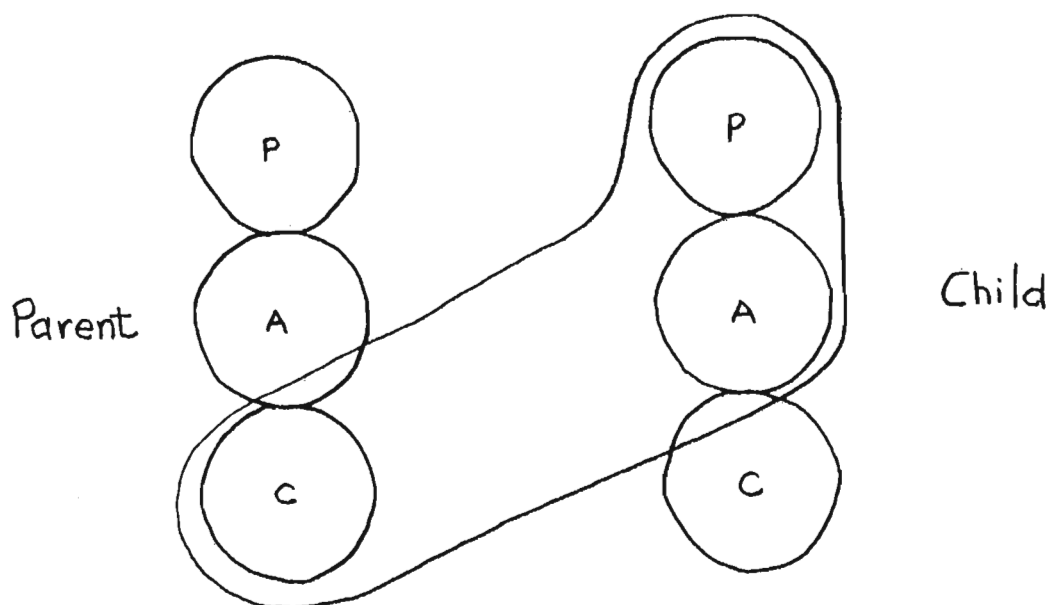


Figure 23 : Ego State Structural Model of an Inverted Symbiosis in the Residential Substitute Care Group

The inverted symbiosis suggests that child development in the RSCG subjects generally did not proceed on the basis of a satisfactory symbiosis towards separation-individuation, but that a false separation-individuation preceded the symbiosis. Don't Be and Don't Be Close injunctions, as well as a Don't Be A Child injunction, prematurely confront the RSCG child with an awareness of its separateness before closeness with other objects can be securely attained. The prevalence of Don't Be injunctions, in the RSCG constitute a threat to the child's existence and survival. It is possible that the injunction is evident in the parent-child relationship from birth, or before birth, and not merely inferred on the basis of parent's placing a child in residential substitute care. It may appear contradictory that a Don't Be injunction and a Be For Me being message co-occur in the RSCG's Life Script Profile, but this contradiction is only terminologically apparent. A child does not have to comply with the impact of the injunction and may decide to be the Parent (P) for its parents. The parent who issues a Don't Be injunction covers the possibility of the child not being at all, by giving the child the option to be the parent's Parent (P), i.e. Be For Me. It is the parent's opportunity to obtain gratification of Child (C) needs never responded to by the parent's own parents.

In an almost paradoxical way, a Don't Be injunction may confront the child with an identity of being non-existent. To fill the emptiness of this void, the RSCG child is ready to unwittingly sacrifice the possibility of a satisfactory symbiosis in lieu of the right to exist by nurturing the parent and/or siblings. The RSCG child typically accepts a premature separation-individuation, the effect of Don't Be Close injunc-

tions denying the possibility of entering a satisfactory symbiosis with others. In terms of object relational conceptions of ego state development, the RSCG child may have experienced difficulties emerging from the autistic phase (Mahler, 1986 a), and entering into true symbiotic closeness with another object. This pattern of development, of not being able to achieve true closeness, enforces and is reinforced by Be Strong being messages. Klein (1980) states that Don't Be A Child and Don't Be Close injunctions are frequently associated with Be Strong messages, an association which is apparent in the Life Script Profile of RSCG subjects in the present study. The effect of a Don't Be Close injunction is to discourage the child's attachment to other objects, and if this injunction is particularly strong and/or given by both parents, the RSCG child could opt for the objectlessness of autistic states (Mahler, 1986 a), or more broadly schizoid states (Klein, 1952 a).

A Be For Me message shifts the child's center of being from the self, or Child (C) ego state, to being for a parent, or to the child's parent (P) ego state. Since the child must parent the parents, the self is not nurtured, since to be for oneself and have needs which require a response from others, is to place one's existence in a precarious position. When the center of being shifts to being for a parent rather than for oneself, a false self develops (Winnicott, 1972 b) this formation being based on a splitting of the ego. While assessment indicates that subjects in the RSCG have a high Nurturing Parent (NP) developed as a result of having to care for the parent/s, Nurturing Parent (NP) functions are the essentials of a false self in the RSCG.

The differentiation of a true and false self in the RSCG requires clarification of processes within the parent-child relationships and object relational development of ego states. How does the "I Am" (Winnicott, 1986 a, 63) come about on the basis of dynamics of adaptation? The object relational theories of Winnicott and Mahler specify that, in health, the locus of adaptation proceeds from parent to infant-toddler-child. If this progression is not phase appropriate and in accordance with the maturational capacities of the infant-toddler-child, object relating may be said to predispose the infant-toddler-child to later problems. To consider the dynamics of adaptation between parent and child, and its consequences for the child's development, two lines of adaptation can be hypothesized. Firstly, a degree of adaptation is necessary for, and common to the development of those we refer to as healthy. This adaptation involves the suppression of certain needs, feelings

and behaviours in the interest of developing a more socialized self. Adaptation to certain parental demands, if in accordance with the child's maturational capacities, impels the child towards health. In terms of ego state theory, healthy adaptation involves the Free Child (FC) responding to parent messages by inhibiting certain needs and feelings thus initiating the development of the Adapted Child (AC). On the basis of previous discussion of the nature of the symbiotic relationship in the FG infant-toddler-child, it can be inferred that the line of adaptation in the FG proceeded from the Free Child (FC) to the Adapted Child (AC) processes of adaptation occurring essentially within the Child (C) ego state of the FG subjects. However, when parental demands disregard the child's maturational capacities, adaptation takes place not in accordance with these capacities and may be said to be unhealthy. The effect is to prematurely prompt the child into assuming parenting functions which the parent cannot supply. Whereas in the FG, the parent's Parent (P) ego state was symbiotically engaged in being for the child what the child did not yet have the maturational capacities to be for itself, in the RSCG the parent's Child (C) ego state is overinvolved and the RSCG infant-toddler-child develops the Nurturing Parent (NP) ego state prematurely. Thus in the context of parent-child relationships which are inadequate, and which involve neglect of the child, the line of adaptation proceeds from the Free Child (FC) to the Nurturing Parent (NP) of the child.

In the RSCG, these are the processes which are associated with the development of the false self. In order to protect the isolated true self, or Free Child (FC) needs, the needy, scared, vulnerable child's ego or self undergoes splitting to form the premature self. The false self of RSCG subjects is thus a particular consequence of a false separation-individuation. A useful way to consider the two lines of adaptation hypothesized, is Clancier and Kalmanovitch's (1987) diagrammatization of the reacting and being infant (Figure 1). Impingements - the reality of the inadequate and neglectful, even abusive parent, and the neediness of the parent - force a reaction in the RSCG infant-toddler-child, while the FG infant-toddler-child is in a situation in which more of its potential for being can be phase appropriately expressed. The 'reacting' RSCG infant-toddler-child adapts in response to the environmental impingement, while the FG infant-toddler-child can be, in response to internal maturational capacities.

The data on the episcritps of FG and RSCG subjects represent the essence of the object relationships in the two groups, and furthermore point to the fragility of the RSCG subject's false selves. It can be inferred that since many FG subjects uncritically intend to bring up their children in the same way as their parents brought them up, and if the subjects intend their children to be like themselves when they were children, then there are less possibilities for separation and individuation. Be Perfect messages generalize to the next generation of FG children, there is continued inhibition of anger, and a stronger tendency to issue Don't Grow rather than Don't Be A Child injunction. On the basis of episcritp data, parent-child relationships in the RSCG are characterized by children having to assume responsibility, and become dependable and reliable Nurturing Parents (NP) to their parents. Episcritp data however indicate that the possibility is strong that, RSCG subjects nurturing functions may not generalize into future parent-child relationships with their own children, hence the fragility of the false self organization. The basic paradigm of parent-child relationships which involve the infant-toddler-child negotiating the contradiction of Don't Be and Be For Me may continue to operate in the future parent-child relationships of RSCG subjects. It is possible that the false self of RSCG subjects will not endure and that when their own children are in need of parenting, the subjects' Nurturing Parent (NP) functions will fail. As parents, RSCG subjects appear to be 'scripted' to require that their own children care for them and respond to the parent's unmet Child (C) ego state needs. The inverted symbiosis is initiated by the dissolution of the parent's false self. This is passed onto the child to develop in order that it may respond to the demands of the parent's Child (C) ego state.

Further comparing retrospectively the FG and RSCG, the parent message Don't Be Angry is particularly prevalent in the FG and is more characteristic of FG subjects than the RSCG. This injunction could be related to the preponderance of guilt as a racket feeling in the FG. Winnicott's position on guilt (1972 c), which is distinctly Kleinian (Klein, 1952 b), locates the origin of guilt in the depressive position. The data on the racket system indicates that FG subjects who referred to guilt as an affective component of the racket system usually also referred to anger (overt or suppressed). In the FG, guilt is also associated with cognitions that devalue the self, emphasize the badness of the angry self, and lead the subject to believe that the parent has been damaged, hurt, or disappointed. FG subjects also referred to depressive feelings in their

racket systems. There is thus some confirmation of depressive position dynamics being evident in the affective and cognitive components of the racket system in the FG subjects. In order to restore the relationship with the damaged, hurt or disappointed parent (a parent who notably issues Don't Be Angry and Be Perfect parent messages), the behavioural component of the racket system involves apologizing to the damaged, hurt and disappointed parent. The act of apologizing to parents as external objects may be intrapsychically paralleled by reparative efforts in the service of recreating the good internal object as described by Klein (1952 b). Apologizing involves assuming a degree of responsibility for personal behaviour that hurts, damages or disappoints others, and apology is thus the behavioural component of depressive position dynamics in the racket system of FG subjects. Winnicott's (1972 c) idea of 'concern' resembles the sense of guilt apparent in the FG racket system, and if it is accepted that a sense of guilt enhances the capacity for personal relationships (Winnicott, 1972 c), the FG subjects appear to have experienced and have more potential to experience healthy object relating.

It can be hypothesized that FG subjects progressing from anger to guilt, to a form of depression, and to reparation are engaged in repetitively recreating good internal objects. The prevalence of guilt in the FG is thus closely related to Don't Be Angry and Be Perfect messages. Klein notes that "guilt is a favourite stopper (racket) and feelings of worthlessness a final miniscript payoff" (Klein, 1980, 156) in people who have been issued with Be Perfect messages. This relationship between a parent message (Be Perfect) and the racket system is evidenced in the present sample of FG subjects. Guilt is specifically related to a recognition of separateness of self and object, and can be understood as a particular affective state during renegotiation of separation-individuation conflicts, particularly the rapprochement crisis. The FG adolescent still has the external object present and adolescence can be used as a period during which to rework earlier conflicts around being separate. Mahler (1974) describes a pattern of clinging and neediness alternating with fighting with the mother as characteristic of the infantile rapprochement crisis. A similar object relationship between adolescent FG subjects and their parent is apparent as a relationship involving being angry with and then doing reparation associated with dependence on the parent. Guilt and depression appear to be the connecting emotions. In terms of Mahler's frameworks, these rapprochement type conflicts may be the source of greater or lesser object constancy being attained. The adoles-

cents in the FG may thus be continuing to attempt to establish greater stability in the area of concepts of self and other. The development of adolescents in the FG is thus disposed in the direction of greater achievement of a true distinction between "I" and "not-I" (Mahler, 1986a), even perhaps in the context of Don't Grow injunctions.

In the RSCG, the absence of guilt (except in the case of a single subject) indicates a degree of emotional development less progressed than subjects in the FG. If guilt is taken as an index of a greater capacity for healthy personal relationships (Winnicott, 1972 c) subjects in the RSCG do not have as great a capacity for healthy object relationships as do FG subjects. RSCG subjects do not have the continued presence of a constant dependable external object, and this places very real constraints on emotional development. Anger, depression, feeling abandoned/rejected/left out/lonely, and anxiety as characteristic of the affective component of the racket system of RSCG subjects, tend to suggest (given the absence of guilt as well) that RSCG subjects have not been able to approach the Kleinian (1952b) depressive position phase appropriately. Instead emotional development in the RSCG adolescent sample is characterized by the operation of paranoid-schizoid (Klein, 1952 a) dynamics. The potential for establishing a good internal object (Klein, 1952a) and identifying with this object is greatly diminished given the quality of parent-child relationships in the RSCG. Since RSCG subjects are more characteristically issued with Don't Exist and Don't Be Close injunctions, it can be inferred that early object relations development was characterized by anxiety of a primarily persecutory nature.

Behaviourally, the racket system of the RSCG subjects involves more expression of anger and withdrawal patterns, and this is consistent with paranoid-schizoid operations occurring intrapsychically. The absence of guilt and reparative actions in the RSCG subjects, tends to suggest that the emotional development of RSCG subjects lacks recognition of the effects of angry behaviour on others. The racket system of RSCG subjects thus involves an escalation of anger, withdrawal and depression which contribute towards confirming that the self and others are bad objects.

The racket systems of the two groups sampled by the present research suggests that as adolescents both groups are attempting to rework earlier developmental difficulties. In the FG, the present research confirms

Furman's (1973) and Blos' (1967) hypothesis that the individuating adolescent re-initiates earlier separation-indiviation processes. This consolidates further good internal objects by reworking conflicts of the depressive position (Klein, 1952b) by attempting to deal with ambivalent feelings towards other objects. In the RSCG, the racket system approximates more the Kleinian (1952a) description of the paranoid-schizoid position, good internal objects being generally absent. The self and others are bad and contact between self and other objects is characterized by anger. Withdrawal as an outcome of racket operations suggests more schizoid qualities in the emotional development of the RSCG subjects. Although FG subjects' racket systems also often involve withdrawal, withdrawal is usually followed by active attempts to restore the hurt, damaged and disappointed object to former goodness, rather than remain stuck at decisions that the self and other objects are bad.

It may be inferred that the FG adolescent is potentially further progressed, in terms of emotional development than the RSCG adolescent. The racket systems of FG subjects indicate more of an ability to deal with ambivalence, and a realization that affection and aggression are directed at the same person - the parent. The capacity to experience guilt and make reparation promote the integration of the self and the integration of other objects (Winnicott, 1958). However, in the RSCG, there is a greater inability to deal with gratifying or good and persecuting or bad objects by means of recognizing ambivalence. In fact, there are few indications in the RSCG subjects' racket systems that suggest development is orientated towards consolidating the goodness of objects by reparative activities. Klein (1952a) suggests that splitting is the primary ego activity in the case of persons who cannot recognize and deal with ambivalence, and that anxieties are of a primary persecutory nature. The fear is that the persecutory object will overwhelm and annihilate whatever good aspects of the self and others are present in the internal object world (Klein, 1952a), a very real fear for RSCG subjects.

In the RSCG, the operation of paranoid - schizoid dynamics emerges clearly in certain of the subject's responses to the fantasy section of the Life Script Questionnaire. In Harry's version of Robin Hood, the character identified with is portrayed as a 'goodie' who fights off the bad others in the story. Harry, it should be noted, does not withdraw from the threat of bad others, but fights them. Greg, as Peter Pan, is under threat from bad Captain Hook, and attempts to deal with this

avoidantly - by running away to the Neverland. Louise's, Cathryn's, Sonya's, Kay's and Mary's identification with Snow White, places Snow White at the centre of a hostile object world in which the witch-mother attempts annihilation of Snow White. An overwhelming presence of bad depriving and/or hostile objects are apparent in Doreen's version of the Old Woman Who Lived in a Shoe, and Mary's version of Old Mother Hubbard.

There is a relationship between the operation of paranoid-schizoid mechanisms in the RSCG subjects and a prevalence of Don't Exist injunctions. Since the paranoid-schizoid position characterizes the earliest periods of the infant's life (Klein, 1952a), the central developmental issue is one of existence/non-existence. Don't Exist injunctions are particularly characteristic of the Life Script Profiles of RSCG subjects, suggesting that subjects in this group are more likely to have developed difficulties resolving the paranoid-schizoid position. Examining the object relational context in which the emotional life of the RSCG came to be characterized by paranoid-schizoid issues, Winnicott's concepts of holding (Winnicott, 1970) and mirroring (Winnicott, 1974) are illustrative.

The holding environment of RSCG subjects was less than optimal, holding behaviour of the parent being reduced by the operation of Don't Exist and Don't Be close injunctions. For Winnicott (1970), when there are problems with the holding environment, integration in the infant is not adequately promoted. In the earliest phases of its existence, the RSCG subject is generally not provided with experiences that promote integration and the organization of the subjects' selves were placed at risk. Problems with integration and disintegration are thus a likely characteristic of the development of subjects who received Don't Exist injunctions. Experiences of disintegration could have either been due to sudden trauma, or due to accumulative trauma. A relationship between being issued with a Don't Exist injunction and ego disintegration and splitting can be hypothesized, this operating in the context of an object relationship where the infant is inadequately held.

The most basic failure to hold or "let down" (Winnicott, 1986a, 31) an infant-toddler-child can experience is the denial of permission to exist, or being given a Don't Exist injunction. This retrospective outline of object relations in the RSCG points to a pattern of let down. The opposite of being let down as a baby in Winnicott's typology (Winnicott,

1970) is not to be let down and to be given candidature for the enjoyment of life and a positive orientation towards life. Reflecting on decisions about life made by subjects in the FG and RSCG, the FG subjects were disposed in favour of the enjoyment of life. In the RSCG, there were decisions made on the basis of environmental let down; decisions which tended to centre around removal from parental care and placement in residential substitute care. Such responses indicate a lack of integration, and the use of splitting on which to base the organization of experience. Life is not seen as a whole, but is split by the disorganizing sudden trauma of placement (and events leading up to it). This appears to have interfered with the development of a more integrated, stable and continuous self. The continuity of existence has been threatened by impingements, and the infant-toddler-child's line of life has been broken (Winnicott, 1986a). It is not necessarily so that disintegration and splitting occur consequent only on sudden trauma such as removal/placement. It is also evident in the RSCG that a pattern of environmental 'let down' was operating before placement, actual 'let downs' in residential substitute care compounding existing deficits and difficulties.

When splitting as a defensive operation occurs particularly early in object relations development, it is held that the self or ego contains diffuse, fragmented experiences which are not synthesized as yet, into more integrated good and bad objects (Haykin, 1980; Woods and Woods, 1981). Here the picture resembles autistic phase primitive part-object relations described by Haykin (1980), and the existence in the Child (C) ego state of part objects (Woods and Woods, 1981). The self representation, as Woods and Woods (1981) describe, is fragmented and unstable. The choice of Humpty Dumpty as a favourite modern myth, and identification with the fragmented object, is symbolic of environmental 'let down' (Winnicott, 1970). The splitting and disintegration of the self are the result of the line of life being broken by the fall. According to Winnicott (1970) this implants in the self the experience of primitive, archaic anxiety. The RSCG subjects who identified with the fall, 'let down' and disintegration of Humpty Dumpty illustrate the failure of the holding environment. As a result of the failure to hold, they have experienced what it is like "to be dropped, to fall forever, or to become split into psychosomatic disunion" (Winnicott, 1970, 255). This profoundly interferes with the infant-toddler-child's sense of continuity, or the "going on being of the self" (Winnicott, 1958, 270), the self having been annihilated.

It is important to recognize that not only may the self have come to establishment and was later annihilated, but that the self may have been developmentally at risk from the beginning. Annihilation of the self can be due to sudden trauma or be the result of more subtle processes where the trauma is one of potential neglect and indifference. A more subtle understanding of how a Don't Exist injunction may be issued can be phrased in terms of Winnicott's (1974) account of the mirroring process. A Don't Exist injunction may result in the infant failing to integrate its experiences since these are not reflected by other external objects. In the holding environment of RSCG subjects, a failure to empathize with the infant being there, a failure to mirror the infant in a fundamental way, undermines the infant's sense that it exists. Winnicott's (1974) statement about being seen in ways which make the infant feel it exists can be revised to apply to the RSCG subjects' early development: 'When I look I am not seen, so I do not exist'. The present research indicated that many subjects in the RSCG had great difficulty in attempting to find themselves. Twelve RSCG subjects experienced marked difficulty in responding to Q.1 on the Life Script Questionnaire where they were required to describe themselves. The researcher was often required to provide encouragement and clarification to facilitate the RSCG subjects' response to Q.1. Also, in response to Q.2 on the Life Script Questionnaire about what subjects liked about themselves, seven subjects were unable to relate anything they liked about themselves. This extract from the Life Script Interview Transcription of Charles, an RSCG subject, is illustrative:

"What are some of the things you like about yourself?"

"Nothing. I don't like anything. Why should I like myself?" [Answer your question] "There's nothing I like. There's no reason to like myself." [Do you want to take some time to think about what you like about yourself?] "No. I told you. There's nothing."

An interpretation of the fantasy section of the Life Script Questionnaire has the potential to illustrate aspects of the infant-toddler-child's object relations - both in fantasy and reality. External and internal objects are less amenable to differentiation in the data on the fantasy section, and interpretation requires more caution. Interpretation thus rests on striking a balance between (a) using analytical and object relational theory appropriately, and (b) allowing the meaning the person attributes to the modern myth to emerge. Individual differences between subjects who

choose the same modern myth are evident in the way that subjects project their own issues and fantasy onto objective, standardized versions of the modern myth, thereby transforming it into an aspect of their personal mythology. The present researcher chooses to suspend more extensive group interpretations of significant themes, in order that an appreciation for individual variability and personal meaning be promoted. The reader is encouraged to examine Appendix (VIII).

A clear difference between the FG and RSCG is that the former group has more reference to gender identity in the themes of modern myths. This is especially evident in the tendency to choose favourite characters and identify with characters on the basis of gender such as; Cinderella, Miss Muffet, Little Girl, Snow White, and Little Red Riding Hood in female subjects, and a Pilot, Jack, the Hulk, Pooh Bear and Starbuck in male subjects. There are only two instances of cross-gender identity in the FG (Marcia as 'Sinbad', and Kerry as 'Pharoah'). In the RSCG, gender does not seem to influence the characters identified with, and cross-gender identification is more prevalent (Colin as 'Cinderella', Shaun as 'Cinderella', Lance as 'Tinkerbell', Diane as the Wolf). RSCG subjects appear to be more influenced in choosing characters on the basis of their persecution, abuse, abandonment, and fragmentation. Splitting into good and bad, falling, the effects of neglect, and the impact of aggression are particularly prevalent in RSCG accounts of their favourite modern myths. This supports the researcher's contention that the development of the RSCG subject's self tends primarily to emerge from an unfavourable resolution of the paranoid-schizoid position (Klein, 1952 a). Anxieties are of a primarily persecutory nature, and the fantasy lives of RSCG subjects are predominated by the presence of bad objects. The modern myths reveal the consequences of the early object relations developed in the damaged, fragmented, and abandoned selves of RSCG subjects, indicating the failure of holding and graduated failure of adaptation (Winnicott, 1970).

The significance of the person's version and allusions to splitting of objects is emphasized by the following extract from the transcription of Charles' (an RSCG subject's) life script interview. In response to Q.19 on the Life Script Questionnaire, Charles specified Aladin and the Magic Lamp as a favourite modern myth, and identified with Aladin. In relating the story, Charles stated: "He (Aladin) rubs the lamp and the genie jumps out and gives him wishes. Like he went back to get another lamp, and threw it away, shined it, and the bad genie appeared. Aladin

put it in the bottle and corked it ... the bottle cracked and then, you see he lost the old genie, the good genie. He got the good genie into the bottle, I mean the lamp, and did something ... he threw it away and hid it somewhere". A further extract from the transcription of Charles' life script interview transcription interestingly demonstrates the subject's insight into the personal significance of the modern myth: "Most probably the story was put together in my head when I was small, and that's why I remember it. Because it made sense."

The case studies of Colin and Marilyn provide insight into object relations developmental processes likely to have been prevalent in the RSCG subjects in the present research, yet are not representative of object relations development of the RSCG subjects. By inferring an account of Marilyn and Colin's development in object relational terms, on the basis of their life scripts, processes of inference and hypothesis formulation that are the particular style of the present researchers will be illustrated. The case studies additionally indicate the way in which Mahler's and Winnicott's concepts have been used in retrospective analysis. Both accounts (also see: Sections 5.4.1 and 5.4.2) provide the reader with greater awareness of, and insight into, the parent-child relationships and child development experienced by RSCG subjects.

Marilyn's relationship with her mother is entirely symbiotic, Don't Be A Child and Don't Leave having the combined effect of placing Marilyn in a position of having to grow up to take care of her mother's needs for reflection of feelings. Don't Feel What You Feel, Feel What I Feel enmeshes Marilyn and her mother to the extent that Marilyn feels the effects of her father abandoning her in terms of what her mother feels.

There is identification with her mother as a bad object in Marilyn's reference to her mother's shakiness (Q. 3). This shakiness, together with a perception of her mother as saggy, sloppy and not "mod" (Q. 10) support individuation in terms of her mother's being messages. "My mother likes what she sees ... My mother sees things in me that other people don't. Like modelling, she pushes me into doing it" indicate gross disturbances in mirroring. What is seen is seen to satisfy mother's needs, to compensate for the perceived deficit of not being young and attractive enough to keep Marilyn's father. In the mirroring context, Marilyn's feelings, particularly anger are not mirrored. Marilyn's unhappiness caused insecurity in her mother and was thus not empathised with. Marilyn's role in the symbiosis was to act as a reflector of her

mother's feelings. Marilyn needs to deny the badness of her parents in order to preserve the good objects that she was able to form into an idealization. Anger threatens to destroy the good mother object that was introjected in the symbiosis.

The relationship between Marilyn and her father is strongly idealized, masking feelings of abandonment. Identification with her father is based on her father's toes which Marilyn does not like and attempts to hide. Hiding of the toes as an object of identification is symbolic of the denial of father's badness and the consequent idealization (Q. 3). There is defensive exaggeration of the good, to facilitate denial of the abandonment.

That bad experiences predominated over good experiences in Colin's childhood is clearly described by Colin in recounting his experiences prior to placement. Food assumes a significant symbolic role in Colin's account. That he remembers being forced to eat food he didn't like, and that food was taken off his plate is symbolic of early privation and badness being forced into him. Objects were primarily not good and Colin had no control over them. When the object was good, it was taken away by others. Early experiences include violence and aggression between men and women as a context in which the self emerged. These experiences usually involved Colin's mother being hurt and his mother's need was for him to protect and help her. Colin's internal objects of mother and father are echoed in the "Georgie Porgie" nursery rhyme. Feminine aspects (mother) are potentially hurt by his approach to them, yet he must withdraw from masculine aspects (father) in order that persecutory anxiety does not overwhelm him. In this respect, Colin's response to question 1 on the Life Script Questionnaire is illustrative of splitting - splitting to be opposite selves for boys and girls.

Colin's needs to be close to others, co-exists with his need to withdraw from others (Q. 14). To get close to others is to make contact with badness in Colin's perception. Getting close makes him feel that his goodness is under threat and that he must isolate himself, goodness being for example his ability to achieve in school (Q. 14). This goodness is supported by parental being messages around being hard working for his father and being intelligent for his mother. In response to question 2 on the Life Script Questionnaire when Colin is questioned about what he likes about himself, his immediate response is to speak of caring, not giving up, his neatness, and potential at sport. In order to protect the

things that he likes about himself, Colin then attempts to take the interview off the planned course and refers to taking people off the track and playing tricks with words (Q. 2). Colin needs to use interpersonal distancing strategies, particularly in his relationship with his House Father, to protect the things in himself that he likes. For Colin, the need to feel a sense of control and a need to protect himself, are strong motivators to prevent people getting close to him.

Rooted in the predominance of bad over good experiences, Colin mistrusts goodness in others. Previous trust was eroded by being used by others. Their goodness is not to be believed. Reviewing Colin's developmental history, there is a pattern of omnipotence and grandiosity being significantly undermined. Helping his mother does not grant a true sense of omnipotence. Colin's childhood response to his mother's needs for help was a forced realization of his incapacity to rescue his mother from being hurt by men. There is identification with his mother's pain and neediness. Since he identifies with these aspects, he cannot express aggression towards his mother because then she, and in turn he, will experience pain and hurt. Furthermore, expression of aggression, towards his mother is stunted by her abandonment of him, this aggression threatening to overwhelm the object goodness that is apparent.

The apparent objectlessness of Colin's present object relations, or at least Colin's desire to create an object relations free existence by withdrawal, indicates problems in the area of exiting the autistic phase and entering into closeness with another in the symbiotic phase. Although Colin's mother did provide a degree of comparative closeness, her empathy and responsiveness were markedly low. The presence of persecutory anxiety suggests that issues of the paranoid-schizoid position were never resolved, and splitting is clearly apparent. Splitting maintains some of his internal goodness, and protects it from being overwhelmed and destroyed by contaminating closeness. Internal objects are not synthesized into constant dependable objects, and remain largely persecutory.

6.3 Issues in Residential Substitute Care

The discussion now moves to consider the present data on the quality of parent-child relationships and child development of RSCG subjects in the light of issues in residential substitute care. The present results are in agreement with the findings of previous research which identified differences between children reared in intact families of origin and children/adolescents placed in residential substitute group care (Freud and Burlingham, 1973; Goldfarb, 1946; Pringle and Bossio, 1958). The RSCG subjects in the present research confirm earlier observations that children reared in residential substitute care environments "present a type of their own and differ in various respects from children who develop under conditions of family life" (Freud and Burlingham, 1973, 543).

There are major differences between the present subjects and those subjects referred to in the work of Freud and Burlingham (1973), and Bowlby (1951). The subjects in the present research were placed at generally older ages than the wartime subjects. The contemporary situation indicates a shift in reasons for placement away from the exigencies of a wartime situation towards problems within families and care-giving arrangements. Research such as Freud and Burlingham's (1973) and Bowlby's (1951) is invaluable and can continue to inform present research. However, a comparison between previous and present findings, at the level of problems evidenced by children raised in residential substitute care, is contraindicated. Moreover the theoretical and ideological backdrop to the practice of residential substitute care is of greater significance, since it was a primary concern in the present research that results need not be used to support ideologically contentious propositions such as the 'maternal deprivation' thesis.

The intention in this section of the discussion is to:-

- a) examine the validity of the 'maternal deprivation thesis',
- b) present an object relational view of separation, which attempts to integrate different views on separation and to accommodate the breadth of meanings given to separation, and
- c) examine patterns in parent-child relationships and child development within the RSCG commenting on differences in internalized messages and ego state scores.

The present results are incompatible with the thesis that the child needs a devoted mother with whom to have an uninterrupted relationship, as suggested by Bowlby (1951). The enduring impact of Bowlby's position necessitates that the tenets of the 'maternal deprivation' thesis continue to be challenged. It is not as if somehow mothers make delinquents affectionless, anti-social characters and that fathers hover uninvolved in the background. Going beyond theoretical frameworks characterized by a "mother-child obsession" (Mitchell, 1983, 229) has been a methodological imperative in the present research, and TA theory, particularly Steiner's (1982) script matrix method, has been used as a means to diminish this obsession. Neither Winnicott, nor Mahler can go unchallenged given their focus on the mother-child relationship, yet their approaches are committed to an explanatory understanding of infant-toddler-child developmental process and object relations pathology. Warmth, intimacy and continuity, specified by Bowlby (1951) as important for mental health are not challenged, but that these provisions must be supplied by a mother is the point of controversy. In addition, this issue has a bearing on the significance that separation is accorded in developmental accounts of psychopathology. Initially, the trend in research was to see separation from mother or presence/absence of mother as a central factor underlying later psychopathology (Freud and Burlingham, 1973; Spitz, 1946; Spitz and Wolf, 1946; Bowlby, 1951). Challenges to the 'maternal deprivation' thesis directed at theoretical, methodological and ideological bias, have been voiced, notably by Casler (1961), Morgan (1975), Rutter (1981), Riley (1983) and Mitchell (1983). The present research continues this challenge. It is not immediately problematic to speak of 'maternal deprivation', but it is problematic to elevate it into a central factor in a causal relationship linking maternal deprivation and later psychopathology. This link ignores other influences. Pilling and Pringle (1978) have extensively documented investigations into the role of the father in child development, and while there exists little conclusivity in the field, his role cannot be ignored.

In relation to the present sample, it is problematic that Don't Be Close injunctions are given extensively by mothers of RSCG subjects, but to interpret this as 'maternal deprivation' ignores the finding that Don't Be Close injunctions are also given extensively by fathers of FG subjects. If a Don't Be Close injunction is taken to indicate a form of relative deprivation, to assert that RSCG subjects were 'maternally deprived', is an untenable proposition. Comparing the frequency of Don't Exist and

Don't Be Close injunctions issued by mothers and fathers of RSCG subjects, a higher frequency of these injunctions are issued by fathers than by mothers. This suggests that rather than being 'maternally deprived', RSCG subjects experienced greater relative 'paternal deprivation'. A pattern of fathers issuing a higher frequency of Don't Be and Don't Be Close injunctions than mothers is also apparent in the FG, suggesting less paternal involvement in the child's development. 'Paternal deprivation', arguably a state experienced by most RSCG subjects, can thus be described as not have a period of closeness with father, and/or absence of the father. To suggest the possibility and reality of 'paternal deprivation' is to redress the mother-centredness of developmental frameworks. Although the father is uninvolved/absent, his uninvolved/absence has an effect on the overall quality of the parent-child relationship and the child's development.

The present research is thus in agreement with Mitchell's (1983), Morgan's (1975) and Riley's (1983) critiques of Bowlby's (1951) thesis at an ideological level, and refute its status as an experimentally confirmed proposition. The present research confirms that the RSCG subjects may experience deprivation in relation to either parent. Deprivation thus involves a collectivity of experiences within and beyond the orbit of the mother-child relationship, and not a particular syndrome within the mother-child relationship. Rutter (1981) asserted that: 'maternal deprivation' was constituted by a variety of different processes and mechanisms of development, that the nature of pre-separation experiences was an important factor, and that the presence of other persons in the child's world were important. For Rutter (1981) the term 'maternal deprivation' referred to range of heterogeneous conditions. Yet Rutter (1981) made an important differentiation between deprivation (severance of attachment) and privation (failure to develop attachment, despite an ideologically limited perspective on the centrality of the mother-child relationship. The differentiation between privation and deprivation (Rutter, 1981) immediately challenges the notion that separation and disruption of attachment are synonymous. Separation only achieves meaning and relevance dependent on the overall quality of the parent-child relationship.

An object relational appreciation of separation provides an alternative perspective. Bowlby's (1951) 'maternal deprivation' thesis places separation from mother central to accounts of the development of pathology. In Winnicott's (1986 b) and Mahler's (1986 b) frameworks,

separation is not a source of pathology, but a developmentally normal experience. Bowlby (1951) focused on separation as an observable event in which the child and external object are not physically proximate to each other. Object relational theories - particularly those of Winnicott (1986 b), Mahler (1986 b), and Klein (1952 b) conceive of separation more broadly. In health, separation is not to be equated with loss, but is the process whereby the infant gains a sense of self, an identity separate from that of other objects (Winnicott, 1986 a; Mahler, 1986 a). The separateness of internal objects in Kleinian (1952 b) terms refers to a similar attainment in the developing infant of having successfully negotiated the conflicts of the depressive position. Winnicott, Mahler and Klein are essentially referring to similar processes, although their frameworks are also substantially different. Separation is thus a broad term covering a range of meanings - separation from external objects, intrapsychic separation of internal objects, the differentiation of mental representations of self and other. The child's reaction to separation from external objects, depends on the child's developmental stage and attendant maturational capacities. Phrased in Winnicott's (1986 b) terms, healthy separation is facilitated by the mother's graduated failure of adaptation and by coming to terms with the world in small doses. Dependence is required during early stages of development and the infant-toddler-child-adolescent continually makes the gradual discovery of the parents as separate beings. When separation is phase appropriate and the failure to adapt is graduated, the child experiences disillusionment which it can cope with and which is not traumatic to the self (Winnicott, 1986 a). With an internal sense of itself becoming firmly established, the infant-toddler-child-adolescent can draw within its range of maturational abilities increasing separateness between itself and external objects.

There is a dialectical relationship between actual separation from external objects and the separation of objects in the internal object world. The increasing separation of internal objects (self from other) establishes more firmly an intrapsychic readiness for separation from external objects. As parents fail in their adaptation, the task of adaptation is transferred to the child; and, there occurs a co-development of separation in actuality and intrapsychically. If not synchronized, and particularly if separation from external objects presages an intrapsychic readiness for separation, the foundation for later problems in object relating are established. The infant-toddler-child, in terms of Winnicott's (1986 a) theory should not be presented with external

reality prematurely or phase appropriately. The important question is then: Is the developing awareness of the self as a separate person an easy transition, or is it impeded, or is it traumatic because of a premature failure of adaptation by the parents? Separation from external objects is pathogenic when the self has not sufficiently matured the capacities to sustain a secure internal image of parents that the child is separated from, and when the child cannot maintain its sense of self in the face of separation. The present research finding of RSCG subject's tendency to develop a self identity as abandoned, rejected and non-existent is consistent with this line of argument. Where a semblance of identity is apparent, especially where the focus of identity is nurturance of others, the possibility of false self development can be speculated. In being confronted with Don't Exist, Don't Be Close, and Be For Me messages, the infant-toddler-child's self development is based on premature separation-individuation, and the possibility of false self development becomes likely. These messages represent a premature confrontation to the self of its separateness.

FG subjects have an ongoing ability to deal with increasing separateness of objects in the external and internal object worlds. Their sense of self as continuous, coherent, and separate from others is provided by the continuous presence of external objects. Their "going on being of the self" (Winnicott, 1958, 270) is rarely forcefully challenged. Severe disturbances in the "going on being of the self" (Winnicott, 1958, 270) derive from having to react prematurely to environmental impingements as the parent fails to present the world to the infant in small amounts. In the FG subjects, the self develops in the context of the parents' graduated failure of adaptation. Additionally, many FG parents may be engaged in a relationship with their child where the child's separateness is impeded by Don't Grow injunctions, and where a failure of adaptation has yet to be facilitated by the parents who are living up to a Be Perfect (as parents) being message. In RSGG subjects, there is a pattern of unhealthy development of the self since parental adaptation never began, or alternatively it may have begun but failure of adaptation was not graduated.

The notion of a dialectic between separation of internal objects (self and other) and external objects supports an appreciation of the infant-toddler-child-adolescent's internal world and the crucial steps in the development towards a distinction between 'I' and 'not - I' (Mahler, Pine, and Bergman, 1975). On this basis an invariant response to

separation from external objects is challenged, the infant-toddler-child-adolescent's responses to separation depending on the developmental phases during which separation occurs. The present study's proposition of a dialectical relationship between separation from external objects and separation of internal objects, and the phase related implications of separation, provide an alternative perspective to previous research which has examined the issue of separation (Freud and Burlingham, 1973; Spitz, 1945; Spitz and Wolf, 1946; Goldfarb, 1946; Bowlby, 1951; Rutter, 1981; Maas, 1970; Seidan, 1974; Dinnage and Pringle, 1967; Pringle and Bassie, 1958).

One of the aims of the present research was to examine patterns in parent-child relationships and child development within the RSCG. The egograms of subjects in the Child Placement Sub-group (CPSG) and Adolescent Placement Sub-group (APSG) illustrate differences in the relative strength of ego states in each sub-group (Figure 18). However, t-tests (Siegel, 1956) on the ego state scores in the CPSG and APSG (Table 2) indicate that these differences did not reach statistical significance. An interesting aspect of the findings is that the APSG subjects scored lower than the CPSG subjects on the Nurturing Parent (NP) measure; and that the APSG subjects scored higher than CPSG subjects on the Punitive Parent (PP) measure. Interpreting this aspect of the findings in the absence of statistical significance, the differences in the relative strength of Nurturing Parent (NP) and Punitive Parent (PP) scores may indicate that, over time, RSCG subjects who remain in their families until adolescence became less nurturing and more punitive in their behaviours, thoughts and feelings. These trends could be a reflection of the tendency for the Nurturing parent (NP) false self to breakdown. Alternatively, object relationships experienced by APSG subjects may be qualitatively different from those experienced by CPSG subjects, in that APSG subjects do not need to develop as extensive a false self organization as CPSG subjects. As a result of less intense parental dependency and punitiveness, the APSG subject's energy available for distribution into the ego states can be channelled more strongly in the direction of the Adaptive Child (AC) similarly to FG subjects. Table 2/Figure 18 indicates that the Adaptive Child (AC) is higher in the APSG than the CPSG. The dynamic of adaptation in the CPSG may be more characteristically focussed on the Free Child (FC) and Nurturing parent (NP), than the Free Child (FC) and Adaptive Child (AC). In the APSG, the dynamic of adaptation may involve more of a balance between unhealthy adaptation - Free Child (FC) to Nurturing Parent (NP) -

and healthy adaptation - Free Child (FC) to Adaptive Child (AC). These interpretations do not however easily explain why the Rebellious Child (RC) is higher in the CPSG subject's egogram, yet it must again be emphasized that the Rebellious Child (RC) as defined by McCarthy (1975) is not a theoretically sound split of the Child (C) ego state. It should be noted that only ten subjects were included in each of the placement sub-groups and that a larger sample may have increased the possibility of findings reaching statistical significance. These interpretations are thus tentative and are suggestive of developmental trends which may have been more manifest if the sample used had been of a larger size. The interpretation of trends in ego state development in the CPSG and APSG appear to be supported by the data on parent messages issued to subjects in the two sub-groups (Table 6).

Observing the Life Script profiles of major messages issued by mothers and fathers to subjects in the CPSG (Table 7) and APSG (Table 8), the quality of parent-child relationships experienced by APSG subjects is markedly less punitive and less characterized by parental dependency than parent-child relationships experienced by CPSG subjects. A Don't Be injunction was given by six mothers of CPSG subjects, yet this injunction was not profiled for mothers of APSG subjects. Five mothers of CPSG subjects issued Don't Leave injunctions and four mothers of CPSG subjects issued Don't Belong injunctions. These injunctions were not profiled as major messages issued by mothers of APSG subjects. Don't Be, Don't Leave, and Don't Belong injunctions thus appear to differentiate the quality of parent-child relationships between mother and child in the CPSG and APSG. Don't Be Close and Don't Be A Child injunctions do not strongly differentiate the CPSG and APSG. Seven mothers issued Don't Be Close injunctions to CPSG subjects, while eight mothers of APSG subjects issued the injunction. Seven mothers issued Don't Be A Child injunction to CPSG subjects, while six mothers of APSG subjects issued the injunction. Concerning fathers, there were no injunctions which differentiated the CPSG and APSG, fathers giving Don't Be, Don't Be Close and Don't Be A Child as major profiled injunctions to subjects in both placement sub-groups. All fathers (f=10) of CPSG subjects issued Don't Be injunctions, while only six fathers issued Don't Be injunctions to APSG subjects. Eight fathers of CPSG subjects and eight fathers of APSG subjects issued Don't Be Close injunctions, and, five fathers of CPSG subjects and seven fathers of APSG subjects issued Don't Be A Child injunctions.

Concerning major profiled being messages issued to CPSG and APSG subjects by their mothers and fathers, a Be For Me message strongly differentiates CPSG and APSG subjects. Whereas eight mothers and four fathers issued Be For Me messages to CPSG subjects. Be For Me was not profiled as a major being message for APSG subjects. Five mothers of CPSG subjects and four mothers of APSG subjects issued Be Strong messages. Please Me was issued by the mothers of four CPSG subjects and seven APSG subjects. Be Obedient was issued by the same number of CPSG subjects' mothers as APSG subjects' mothers (f=4). A Be Strong message was issued by six fathers of CPSG subjects and five fathers of APSG subjects. Be Obedient was given by fathers of five fathers of APSG subjects, yet was not profiled for fathers of CPSG subjects. In summary a Be For Me message (mothers and fathers) and a Be Obedient message (fathers) differentiate the two placement sub-groups in the area of being messages.

Given the major profiled parent messages which differentiate between the CPSG and APSG the quality of parent-child relationships in the CPSG is less optimal than the quality of parent-child relationships in the APSG. The concomitant possibilities of child development are inhibited in the CPSG and comparatively enhanced in the APSG. The Child (C) ego state of parents of CPSG subjects, particularly that aspect of Child (C) ego state functioning referred to by Holloway (1973 b) as the 'crazy child' in the parent, is overinvolved in the parent-child relationship. (The child rearing situation in the APSG may thus involve more Adult (A) ego state, and possibly more Nurturing Parent (NP), input). The development of the Child (C) ego state of APSG subjects suffers due to neglect, the CPSG subject being more disposed to developing the parent (P) ego state prematurely, in the service of the parents' needs. Object relations development of the CPSG subject is thus less optimal than the development of the APSG subject from the perspective of phase appropriate separation-individuation. In the CPSG, the child's self develops in response to the parents' unmet Child (C) ego state needs, out of keeping with the child's maturational capacities, more than this occurs in the APSG, and hence the need for more extensive false self organization. However, given the prevalence of Don't Be A Child and Don't Be Close injunctions in the APSG, as well as the CPSG, object relations development in the former sub-group - particularly during the symbiotic phase (Mahler, 1986 b) - cannot be regarded as satisfactory. APSG subjects may have experienced less of a threat to existence, and may have been oriented towards being for a

parent, yet the extent to which they were able to achieve closeness with other objects was limited by Don't Be Close injunctions.

The differences between major profiled parent messages issued to subjects suggest that adolescent placement is more associated with healthier early development and with parent-child relationships of more optimal quality than child placement. In terms of the sampling criteria used in the present study, children removed/placed before the age of six years have experienced parent-child relationships of poorer quality than their counterparts removed/placed between the ages of 12 and 16 years. Thus, the basis of the present findings, children removed/placed before the age of six years have less changes for healthy development. It cannot however be conclusively stated that the quality of the parent-child relationship prior to placement is the sole, or even prime factor, operating to influence more or less favourable development. Although early object relationships are assumed to be primary, the two placement subgroups are also differentiated by the amount of time spent in residential substitute care. Thus it is not easy to differentiate the influence of the early object relationships from the quality of parenting provided by significant other parent-figures after placement.

The results of the present study indicate that, other than RSCG subjects' biological parents; family members, other adults, and child care workers together with staff in the residential substitute care environment, were significant other parent-figures for RSCG subjects. Observing the data on messages issued by family members specified as significant other parent-figures (Table 9), Don't Be A Child and Be Obedient emerged as prevalent messages of four specified mother figures; two issued a Don't Be A Child injunction and two issued a Be Obedient message. Of four specified father figures, three issued a Don't Be A Child injunction and two issued a Be Obedient message. Observing the data on other adults specified as significant other parent-figures (Table 10), Don't Be A Child, Don't Be Close, Be For Me and Please Me emerged as prevalent messages. Of six specified mother-figures, four issued a Don't Be A Child injunction, two issued a Be For Me message, and three issued a Please Me message. Of six other adults specified as father figures, two issued a Don't Be A Child injunction, and three issued a Don't Be Close injunction. In the Child Care Workers and Staff category of significant other parent-figures (Table 11), where eight parent-figures were specified, Don't Be Close, Don't Be A Child, Don't Be Angry, and Be Obedient messages were prevalent. Of a total of eight specified mother-

figures in the residential substitute care environment, four issued a Don't Be Close injunction, four issued a Don't Be A Child injunction, and five issued a Don't Be Angry injunction. Of a total of eight specified father-figures in the residential substitute care environment, three issued a Don't Be Close injunction, three issued a Don't Be Angry injunction, and three issued a Be Obedient message.

The RSCG subjects' relationships with significant other parent-figures have undoubtedly mediated the effect of primary object relationships with biological parents on the subject's overall development. The present research did not intend to attempt to identify parent messages of the greatest import to, or impact on subjects, nor did it intend to attempt to integrate the effect of messages given by all parent-figures (ie. biological parents and other parent-figures) into a composite script matrix. The underlying assumption has been that the object relationship with the biological parents, as primary caretakers, are the most formative and influential, and are best representative of the connectedness between the nature and quality of parent-child relationships, and consequent child development. A more precise statistical statement of the interactive effects of parent messages issued by the subject's own parents and significant other parent-figures cannot be ventured due to the absence of a means to specify messages of greatest impact. However, the data on messages issued by significant other parent-figures, in relation to the data on messages issued by the subjects' own parents, can be integrated in terms of the propositions of TA script theory (Berne, 1979; Steiner, 1982).

The prevalence of Don't Be Close and Don't Be A Child injunctions given by significant other parent-figures (Tables 9, 10 and 11) and by the subject's own parents (Table 5) can be explained in terms of script theory's proposition that once certain foundations have been established, that people tend to interact with and have intimate relationships and friendships with people who match significant people in their early lives (Steiner, 1982). Don't Be Close and Don't Be A Child injunctions given in the RSCG subject's early object relationships lead the subjects to decide not to be a child and not to be close.

These decisions become part of what Berne (1979) refers to as the protocol, or original family drama on which the script is founded. The effect of these decisions is particularly evident in those RSCG subject's (Appendix VII) whose racket system is characterized by withdrawal, iso-

latedness, compliance, and striving to establish and maintain interpersonal distance. Later relationships with significant other parent-figures in which Don't Be Close and Don't Be A Child injunctions are given may thus be, in part the result of the operation of the protocol. Don't Be Close and Don't Be A Child injunctions given by significant other parent-figures reinforce injunctions given by the subjects' own parents. It seems paradoxical that subjects might choose as significant other parent-figures family members, other adults, staff and child care workers who issue Don't Be Close and Don't Be A Child injunctions. The paradox is partially resolved by framing an understanding in terms of the core mechanism of the repetition compulsion. As Berne (1979) described, the palimpsest as a later version of the subjects' scripts arises on the basis of selective perception and memory. This situation and concomitant intrapsychic mechanisms, is analogous to processes occurring during the operation of the racket system, and affirms the role of the repetition compulsion.

The formative influence of the RSCG subjects' primary object relationships is reasserted in relationships with significant other parent-figures. Despite the role of the repetition compulsion, it is a source of concern that Don't Be Close and Don't Be A Child injunctions are issued by child care workers and staff in the residential substitute care environment. It is not only the child's script that influences the quality of care received, but certain aspects of the scripts of child care workers and staff influence their career choices and chances for providing good enough care. An interlocking of scripts occurs - the script of the child in residential substitute care and the script of the child care worker/staff become enmeshed, diminishing the overall quality of care provided and received.

The data on the parenting provided by child care workers and staff is a cause for concern. As significant other parent-figures identified by RSCG subjects, the quality of care provided is not sufficiently optimal to validate the term "substitute care". As this vague concept becomes concretized and expressed in the provisions of these significant others, clearly the well being and potential development of many children in residential substitute care is in serious jeopardy. In two of the four homes from which research participants were drawn for this research, house parents left during the course of the year and were replaced by new sets of house parents. This affected 12 of the 20 subjects in the RSCG. A change in house parenting arrangements represents a break in

continuity, and has the implications for the further development of the self. Another change in parent-figures is potentially experienced by the RSCG child as a loss, yet another instance of separation. It may be internalized by the child as Don't Be and/or Don't Be Close injunctions. The present findings support earlier suggestions (Dinnage and Pringle, 1967; Tizard and Tizard, 1971; Tizard and Hodges, 1978; Pringle, 1981; King, Raynes and Tizard, 1971, Tizard, Sinclair and Clarke, 1976), that a more stable and skilled staff and child care workers is an important component of effective residential substitute care.

The present findings are consistent with previous findings (Pringle and Bossio, 1958) that early entry into residential substitute care is a particularly unfavourable factor for the infant-toddler-child. The CPSG subjects appeared to have less chances for healthy development than APSG subjects. Simultaneously, CPSG subjects experienced poorer quality parent-child relationships than APSG subjects. It is thus not possible to conclusively make a claim for early entry into residential substitute care as being the sole or primary factor, since the quality of parent-child relationships prior to separation also exerts an effect. Nor is it possible or realistic to differentiate between the effects of the pre-separation parent-child relationships and effects of the post-separation relationships that the child had. The present study believes that research aiming to isolate the relative contribution of these factors is misguided. Two factors do emerge as important however:

1. Rejection, or perceived rejection, by one or other parent is a significant factor. This is evident in the high incidence of Don't Be injunctions (also reported by Dinnage and Pringle, 1967).
2. A dependable, enduring nurturing relationship with an adult figure during childhood and adolescence facilitates healthy adjustment (also reported by Dinnage and Pringle, 1967; Pringle and Bossio, 1958; Pringle, 1981; Maier, 1981). The central importance of continuity of care originally stated by Freud and Burlingham (1973) in the post-war period and still held to be important in contemporary literature (Pringle, 1981; Parker, 1980), is supported by the present study. Disturbances in continuity undermine the development of the self. However, continuity should not be simplistically equated with the ongoing presence of a full-time devoted mother.
3. When the principle of continuity of care cannot be upheld and the infant-toddler-child-adolescent is placed in residential substitute care,

it is essential that substitute parent-child relationships be of 'good enough' quality to warrant reference to residential substitute care.

6.4 Suggestions and Recommendations

As a study in the field of substitute care for children, with particular emphasis on residential substitute care, the present research has certain implications for the plans and provisions of substitute care services. Suggestions and recommendations based on the present research are made with the intention of developing the potentially positive image of residential substitute care, so that prospective directions in practice can actualize this image.

Of primary importance is that the psychological needs of the infant-toddler-child-adolescent in residential substitute care are put on the agenda of social service and welfare agencies, and that they become a chief concern in residential substitute care environments. There is a need to encourage a more fluent understanding of developmental processes which the infant-toddler-child-adolescent traverses, since this has clear implications for the relative success or failure of residential substitute care placements. Historically, in Britain and the United States, Bowlby's (1951) findings lead to a questioning and abandonment of residential substitute care services. As the challenges to Bowlby's (1951) thesis and counter-evidence diminished the strength of his propositions, residential substitute care developed more respectability and credibility as a placement of choice. The restructuring of care arrangements during the 1960s and 1970s in Britain and America saw the development of shorter term, temporary care in smaller units. In the last decade services have evolved towards more preventive approaches and emphasis has been placed on the development of treatment programmes mainly in the 'therapeutic community'.

In South Africa there have been improvements in the quality of care provided in residential substitute care environments. However there is a need for improvements to be consolidated and pervasive if South African services are to actualize a more positive image. Olmesdahl (1986) points to many deleterious aspects of substitute care and the present research findings confirm previous findings (King, Raines and Tizard, 1971; Tizard, Sinclair and Clarke, 1976) that the distance between staff/child care workers and those who they care for is great. It would appear that the calls made by De Bruyn (1974), Dowling (1974),

and Snyman and Zimbler (1983) for research into residential substitute care services have not resulted in extremely positive or encouraging research results. The ego state development, life scripts, and retrospective accounts of the object relations development of residential substitute care subjects is not encouraging. However, with this pessimism, it has been difficult for many administrators of social welfare services, principals and house parents of homes, and professionals associated with child care services, to perceive the problems that the children in residential care pose as amenable to treatment and possible amelioration. Dinnage and Pringle (1967) assert that those involved in planning and caring for children in substitute care should recognise, accept and assimilate the damage sustained by children prior to coming into care. Rather than allow the knowledge of children's disturbance to create guilt and confusion, this knowledge should motivate for improvements in the standard of care.

"The time seems to have come for research into child care to change its direction; the main focus in the past years has been the effects of deprivation, and institutionalization on the child's development. Having shown that these are generally detrimental, attention needs to be given to ameliorate unfavourable consequences. In one sense, it is irrelevant to tease out the exact extent to which children may already be damaged by their experiences prior to coming into care. Instead inquiry should centre on questions such as these: what should be the aim of enrichment programmes for children of different ages? In what areas of development are compensatory experiences most urgently needed? Who is to plan and grade such experiences? When is an individual and when is a group approach more appropriate? ... How can children be helped to understand and come to terms with inadequate or rejecting parents? In short, how can a therapeutic community be created so that children leave residential care emotionally and intellectually strengthened, rather than even more deficient or damaged than when they entered it?" (Dinnage and Pringle, 1967, 47-48).

This involves challenging the assumption that the effects of early development are necessarily enduring. This erroneous assumption needs to be replaced with the optimism that amelioration of effects and the provision of a corrective emotional experience are possibilities. This

involves going beyond the rescuing and protective functions of residential substitute care, to aim for providing the child with something better than that which s/he was removed from. Hence one of our prime foci should be on the treatment across the broad infant-toddler-child-adolescent spectrum in the therapeutic community (Whittaker, 1981) in which continuous relationships with well trained staff and child care workers are a priority.

A critical problem identified in the present study was the high rate of staff turnover in residential substitute care environments sampled in the present research. Twelve of the twenty adolescents in the residential substitute care group sampled in the present study experienced changes in house parenting arrangements before the end of the year (1987) in which data gathering was conducted.¹ This appears to be a widespread problem in South African, British and American residential substitute care services (Dinnage and Pringle, 1967; Maier, 1981; Parker, 1980; Olmesdahl, 1986; Ainsworth and Fulcher, 1981). In this context, how can children be expected to establish stable relationships and how can we justifiably believe that what is provided is validly substitute care? To validate substitute care the present research recommends that staff training become a priority. The point at which the vagueness and diffuseness of the term "substitute care" can be concretized and operationalized is at the nexus of infant-toddler-child-adolescent and staff/child care worker relationship. Staff training, is currently a practice in need of consolidation in Britain (Ainsworth and Fulcher, 1981) and the South African situation indicates a comparable need. Staff and child care workers are therefore one of the major points of entry in actualizing the potential of residential substitute care.

The Child Care Act (1983) appears to discourage residential substitute care as a placement of chance. However, it is not residential substitute care that is problematic but the quality of care that we need to concern ourselves with. Removal/placement should only occur in the presence of a more desirable alternative whereby the child is provided with the possibility of closeness and having dependency needs met. This is fundamental since the Child (C) ego stage of the child has suffered in attempting to parent a parent. The child needs to be provided with (a) the chance to express Free Child (FC) needs and feelings, (b) opportunities to develop the mediating strength of the Adult (A) ego state, and (c)

1. These changes happened after termination of data gathering.

parent training to provide the Parent (P) ego stage with balanced nurturing and controlling skills. The last recommendation is particularly significant given the episcrits of residential substitute care subjects. Parent training is required to break down episcrit transmission and to act preventively by reducing the incidence of removal/placements in future years. Parent training needs to be depth oriented in order that the operation of the repetition compulsion are recognized and suitably treated.

If the prevalence of admissions to residential substitute care is to be reduced, services need to become more oriented towards prevention. Echoing the recommendations of Parker (1980), supportive preventive services such as day care need to be increasingly developed. Preventive services need to develop at a faster pace than services which Shayne (1984) construes as 'intrusive' or intervention oriented. By using the permanency planning concept (Shayne, 1984), administrators, planners and those who deliver services can maximize the quality of care a child receives and enhance the permanency of placement decisions. When decisions are being made about removals/placements, stable care arrangements of good-enough quality must be aimed for. This supports the notion of continuity of care being important. The Child Care Act (1983) discourages long-term residential substitute care. This suggests that supportive and preventive services will need to be increasingly developed. The extent to which the sentiments of this legislation will be expressed is still to be demonstrated by translating it more effectively into real practice.

6.5 Review and Auto-Critique : TA as a Potential Methodology

Research using TA as a methodology has optimum utility when the research draws from developments in all three schools of TA, viz, the Classical, Redecision and Cathexis Schools. Berne's concept of ego states (Berne, 1981) and of the life script (Berne, 1984), Dusay's (198) egogram, and Steiner's (1982) script matrix are significant Classical School teachings that the present research has drawn on. The work of Goulding and Goulding (1976, 1979) on the role of decisions was particularly resourceful for the present researcher. The accounts of the symbiosis (Schiff and Schiff, 1971; Schiff, 1977 a; Schiff, 1977 b) were useful in framing an understanding of the parent-child relationship in health, and in generating the idea of the inverted symbiosis in role reversed parent-child relationships in the RSCG. In terms of TA's historical progression, the present research is located in TA's 'action' phase (Dusay, 1977). The use of TA as a methodology in the present study is thus situated in the context of theoretical controversy, and ongoing examination of concepts and attempts to develop a more coherent and consistent TA developmental theory.

Despite the diversity of conceptualization of ego states (structurally and functionally) and the theoretical and methodological developments of Berne's (1981) 'ego state' concept, the utility and validity of the concept of ego states has been asserted by Brennan and McClenaghan (1978), Williams et al (1983) and Thorne and Faro (1980). Yet support has not been unequivocal however. Allen (1981) notes that classification of behaviours, thoughts and feelings into P, A, and C may be problematic, and that the concept of ego states as asserted by Berne (1981) is not as simple as Berne originally intended.

The ego state analysis conducted in the present study supports the use of ego state measures and the egogram (Dusay, 1980) in the task of identifying characteristics of groups of research groups. The use of ego state analysis in a comparative research design in the present study represents an ongoing commitment to developing TA as a methodology, also evident in: Thorne and Faro's (1980) observations of a relationship between ego states and psychopathology; Heyer's (1979) comparison of egograms of prison inmates and recovering alcoholics; Baldwin et al's (1986) discussion of the implications of ego state dominance for choice of occupational role; and Roark and Valhas' (1983) exposition of a sig-

nificant difference between the egograms of battered women and women in general.

The use of McCarley's (1975) Ego State Inventory in the present study reflects a reliance on TA's commitment to developing methods for ego state measurement, also evident in the work of Allen (1981), Heyer (1979), Williams et al (1983), and Dusay (1980). The Ego State Inventory provided a standardized method whereby the relative ego state strengths of the research groups could be quantified, enabling more formal hypothesis testing. There are construct validity problems for example in that the Rebellious child is not a theoretically sound split in the Child (C) ego state. Content validity of the ego states measured and statements of the reliability of the measures have not as yet been stated. This is recognised as problematic, yet the use of the Ego State Inventory was preferable to the absence of a quantitative index for between-group and within-group comparisons. Dusay's (1980) egogram is indicated as a particularly useful method of representing results - a method which gives an appreciation for the quantitative and qualitative differences between the FG and RSCG, and between the CPSG and APSG.

The present research indicates that the TA Life Script, administered by interview method, can elicit data on parent messages, the person's past and future (i.e. decisions and the episcrypt), the racket system, and aspects of the person's fantasy system/internal object world. This data is representative of the quality of parent-child relationships experienced by the person and provides insight into the person's development as an infant-toddler-child-adolescent.

The concept of parent messages summarizes the basic nature and quality of parent-child relationships and provides a foundation on which object relations development can be inferred. Drawing from previous classifications of parent messages (Berne, 1984; Woolams and Brown, 1979; Allen and Allen, 1972; Kahler, 1977; Capers and Goodman, 1983; Goulding and Goulding, 1976; Goulding and Goulding, 1979; Steiner, 1982) the injunctions and being messages elicited by content analysis procedures in the present research are deemed to be appropriately research based and amenable to identifying major between-group and within-group differences. Steiner's (1982) method of depicting parent messages was useful in summarizing these differences and distilling them to major parent messages. In TA, Steiner (1982), Goulding and Goulding (1979) and Berne (1984) have contributed to the idea of

decisions made by the person in forming the script. The present research opted for a focus on decisions made about life which were committed to the person's experience of life rather than attempting to identify a basic position (Berne, 1984; Harris, 1973) or drama triangle position (Karpman, 1968). The use of Erskine and Zalcman's (1979) method of racket system analysis yielded insight into the emotional life of subjects and related cognitions and behaviours. It is difficult, however, to research the intrapsychic aspects of the racket or define it in solely intrapsychic terms. Although the operations of the repetition compulsion emerge in the racket system, they frequently are interpersonally manifest. Clearly attempts to differentiate between rackets and games needs to continue despite earlier attempts (Berne, 1982; Berne, 1984; James, 1973; Joines, 1982). Erskine and Zalcman's (1979) conception and method of racket system analysis is indicated as superior to other conceptions and methods (Steiner, 1982; Holloway, 1973a; English, 1972; English, 1976; English, 1977a; Holtby, 1979; Joines, 1982). The Erskine and Zalcman (1979) method enables three important levels of racket functioning - affective, cognitive and behavioural levels - to be assessed, and integrates English's (1972, 1976, 1977 a) notion of real/underlying/repressed feelings and substituted/racket feelings. The fantasy section of the Life Script Questionnaire yielded a vast amount of qualitative data the significance of which is striking. From seemingly innocuous favourite fairy tales, nursery rhymes, story books and TV programmes emerged the personal mythology of the subjects and illustrated some between group differences in the fantasy systems/internal object worlds of subjects. Berne's (1984) attention to these apparently insignificant aspects of our early lives has not been taken as seriously as is indicated by the present research.

The interpretation of ego state and life script data is most appropriately based in the framework of a sound developmental theory. If this is not a precondition for interpretation, the parent-messages, decisions, racket system and fantasy system of the person cannot be integrated into a coherent account of the person. Since Berne's original idea of the life script - the protocol and palimpsest (Berne, 1981) - was stated, other TA theorists have considered the process of script development (Woolams and Brown, 1979; Steiner, 1982; Campos, 1986). There have been debates around critical ages for script formation (Campos, 1986), and Allen and Allen (1972), Levin-Landheer (1982) and Parry (1979) have developed more evolved developmental theories. The above attempts all appear to fall short of an adequate theory of normal development. The

view of the symbiosis as provided by Schiff and Schiff (1971) and Schiff (1977 b) presents a useful way to understand the development of ego states, yet the view is still not sufficiently comprehensive. Recognizing the need in TA for considerable theoretical development, Haykin (1980) and Woods and Woods (1981) present conceptions of ego state development which go further towards satisfying requirements for a developmental theory, which contain the essence of the Schiffs' view of the symbiosis, and which accommodate the mechanisms of ego splitting.

There is a degree of resonance between TA conceptions and the object relational frameworks of Winnicott and Mahler. Winnicott, Mahler and a TA approach phrase understandings of child development within a dyadic, dynamic relationship. TA goes beyond mother-centredness and gives apparently equal status to mother's and father's influence. Steiner's (1982) script matrix method methodologically corrects for ideological biases implicit in mother-child theories, and enables us to understand more concretely the requirements for "good-enough" parenting. Winnicott's concepts of integration/disintegration in the holding environment (Winnicott, 1970; Winnicott, 1986 b) and the mirroring of the child's existence (Winnicott, 1974), when construed in terms of ego state development and parent messages, are appropriate in assessing the quality of the parent-child relationship and in specifying its effects on object relations development. Winnicott's ideas on the graduated failure of adaptation and why disillusionment cannot be too rapid, were researchable and the effects of these processes emerged in the life scripts and ego state development of subjects. A dynamic of adaptation which is object relationally phase appropriate and which is in accordance with the infant-toddler-child's maturational capacities is reflected in the ego state constellations of FG subjects. Conversely premature transfer of the task of adaptation to the child and the failure to hold the child threaten the continuity of personal existence and are reflected in the disintegrated, split selves of RSCG subjects and in their ego state development. It is perhaps obvious that RSCG subjects fit Winnicott's (1972) description of those babies who have suffered 'let down' while those reared in families have been more adequately held. The development of a false self as a result of an unhealthy dynamic of adaptation in the context of forced, premature separation-individuation and in the role reversed situation of an inverted symbiosis is characteristic of the RSCG, and is evident in their overdeveloped Nurturing Parent (NP) ego states.

Mahler's view of an infant-toddler-child-adolescent traversing (and reworking) the phases and sub-phases of the separation-individuation represents a clear paradigm in which to situate the effects of different parent messages on child development. Certain parent messages indicate, in retrospect, problems that may have developed during a particular phase or sub-phase. A Don't Be injunction prevents the person from developing the capacity for whole object relations functioning, since the injunction brings about fragmentation and is associated with splitting defenses. A Don't Be Close injunction prevents the experiencing of a satisfactory symbiosis and severely impoverishes the capacity for object relating. Don't Be A Child and Don't Grow injunctions, together with injunctions relating to feeling and thinking (See Section 5.2.1), place limitations on the extent to which a satisfactory separation-individuation can be attained. Other injunctions such as Don't Belong and Don't Leave also exert limiting influences on the separation-individuation. The relative freedom of FG subjects from Don't Be and Don't Be Close injunctions frees them for developing potentially higher levels of object relations functioning, while RSCG subjects are defective in major areas of object relations functioning. Don't Be Close injunctions prevent the development of a satisfactory symbiosis, and given Mahler's (1986 a) assertion that a symbiosis of optimal quality is essential for development object constancy, RSCG subjects have arguably little object constancy in comparison with FG subjects. The latter groups derive the additional benefits of the presence of the external objects during adolescence, enabling reworking of symbiosis and separation-individuation issues.

The TA racket system represents a clear method by which to assess the emotional life of subjects, and together with other life script data phrase retrospectively processes that were occurring during the paranoid-schizoid position (Klein, 1952 a) and depressive position (Klein, 1952 b; Winnicott, 1972 c). The FG and RSCG subjects' capacity for healthy object relating was made more amenable to research by racket system analysis. The range of affect of RSCG subjects lacked guilt indicating a failure to successfully deal with the conflicts of the depressive position. If normal development is understood to proceed from aggression to guilt to depression and to reparation in the service of recreating good internal objects (Klein, 1952 a), FG subjects' attainment of a sense of guilt indicates their enhanced capacity for personal relationships. The amount of withdrawal and the high levels of aggression present in the racket systems of RSCG subjects is indicative of paranoid-schizoid position

dynamics (Klein, 1952 a) and suggestive of the use of ego splitting into good and bad aspects of self and other. Similarly, the fantasy system of RSCG subjects operates more in terms of paranoid-schizoid dynamics and is more indicative of failures to resolve the conflicts of the depressive position, than the fantasy systems of FG subjects. FG subjects' fantasy systems tend more to revolve around gender and sexual identity. The life script method can thus, to an extent, tap the fantasy systems and internal object worlds of people, further confirming TA's utility as a methodology and its use in conjunction with object relational frameworks.

A major qualification is necessary. Ego states should be continuously related to the self (in object relational terms) or aspects of the self, although during object relational phases ego states are undergoing splitting and formation. There is a connection but not an equation between ego states and the self (other objects) which can be accepted for the purposes of the present research. The ego state developmental models provided by Haykin (1980), Schiff (1977 b), and Woods and Woods (1981) are particularly suited to use in conjunction with Mahler's (1986 b) framework. Connections can thus be made between TA concepts for research purposes, but TA concepts do not strictly methodologically operationalize object relational concepts. Two separate levels of analyses and interpretation were conducted, in order to circumvent any implications that TA concepts can formally measure object relational processes. In the absence of more appropriate TA developmental theories and the necessity to correct for this by supplementing the research with Winnicott's and Mahler's frameworks, the use of TA and object relations in conjunction can be assessed as reasonably successful. TA as a methodology can provide insight into the quality of parent-child relationships and development, and when interfaced with object relations theory, the depth of this insight is increased, provided that a forced fit between TA and object relations is not attempted thereby losing the separateness and uniqueness of the two approaches.

The use of the TA life script method continues previous attempts to research the life scripts of individuals and groups (Ayache-Sebag, 1983; Krausz, 1983; White, 1983; Holdeman, 1983; Magalhaes, 1983; Cox, 1980). Specifically, the present study's administration of a life script questionnaire recognizes the methodological strength of the method also indicated by previous checklists and questionnaires (Berne, 1981; Steiner, 1982; Campos, 1986; White and White, 1986; Buryska, 1976;

Hardy and Best, 1976; Gardenshire, 1981; Levin-Landheer, 1981; Moiso, 1981; Collinson, 1981; Marx et al, 1978). The life script method derived in depth qualitative data on the nature of parent-child relationships and child development, confirming TA's potential as a methodology suited to research on small samples aimed at deriving qualitative and quantitative data. Similarly to Corsover's (1979) research on the life scripts of 16 prison inmates, and to Kahan's (1979) discussion groups with ten adults who were in residential substitute care, the present research indicates that valid and relevant information can be arrived at by researching qualitative aspects of the lives of small samples of subjects. This fulfils the stated intention of keeping data as close to the source as possible by researching the adolescent's' own feelings about themselves, others and life.

Concerning the RSCG, the present study was able to differentiate parent messages received from biological parents and other parent-figures. The Life Script method of analysis of parent messages cannot however integrate the parent messages received by identifying those of the greatest or least impact. This illustrates the fragmentation of the care experienced by RSCG subjects.

Considering some of the limitations of the present study, a larger sample may have revealed more definite differences between the FG and RSCG, and between the APSG and CPSG. Since sampling was by availability, and volunteer effects may have influenced the nature of issues brought to light by the research, the samples may not be directly representative of the larger groups from which they were drawn. However the present researcher believes that basic differences between the research groups were identified. Methods other than TA may have elicited more quantified and easily replicable data on parent-child relationships. However, the need to correct for the relative underemphasis on qualitative data needs to be restated. Although the method was largely retrospective, and accounts of object relations development relied largely on inference, the richness of the data mediates against being overconcerned about these problems. The families of subjects, and staff and child care workers, although potential sources of useful data, were not researched, in order that the meaning of the subject's own experiences was given maximum space to emerge.

Future research can begin to feel more comfortable about taking the difference between children reared in families and children removed from

families and placed in residential substitute care reasonably for granted. Focus could move to clearer identification of within group differences and similarities among children in residential substitute care. Clearly the need for developing a more practical orientation which gives cognisance to the treatment of children in residential substitute care and to the need to move to a more preventive emphasis is indicated. The present researcher suggests the use of TA as a modality for conceptualizing and applying treatments and preventive programmes.

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Appendix I : Life Script Questionnaire

(A) Parent Messages : Injunctions and Being Messages

1. What are you like? Describe yourself briefly.
2. What are some of the things that you like about yourself?
3. What are some of the things that you dislike about yourself?
4. What did/does your mother like about you?
5. What did/does your mother dislike about you?¹
6. What did/does your father like about you?
7. What did/does your father dislike about you?
8. Picture your mother and describe what she is like and how she lives/lived her life.
9. Picture your father and describe what he is like and how he lives/-lived his life.
10. How would you like your mother/father to have been different when you were growing up?

(B) Past and Future : Decisions and the Episcrypt

11. What will your children be like and how will you bring them up?
12. What type of adult would you like to be?
13. What was life like when you were little?

(C) Racket System

14. Describe the best feeling you've had in your life
15. Describe the worst feeling that you've had in your life and that you have quite often.
16. What do you think about yourself when you feel like this?
17. What do you do when you feel like this?

1. For the Residential Substitute Care Group, questions 4, 5, 6 and 7 are asked for each person who was/is like a mother or father to them, as well as their parents.

(D) Fantasy

18. What nicknames have you had and what do they mean to you?
19. What was your favourite nursery rhyme, fairy tale, story, or TV programme?
20. Who was your favourite character, what was s/he like, and what was your favourite part in it?

Appendix II : Ego State Inventory - Definitions, Instructions, Examples of Items, and Coding

Definitions

The Ego State Inventory measures five ego states defined by McCarley (1975) as:

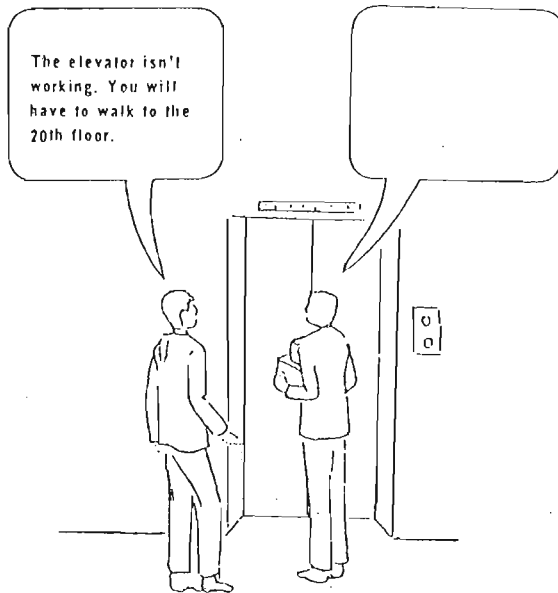
1. The Punitive Parent (PP) is a subdivision of the Parent egostate and contains a huge collection of "no's", "don'ts" and admonitions. This is the center of the rigidly internalized data which comes from authority. This kind of Parent is seen as non-rational, prejudiced, arbitrary and usually prohibitive.
2. The Nurturing Parent (NP), which has sometimes been equated with the "Good Parent", is often seen in supportive or sympathizing behaviour.
3. The Adult (A) is a data processing computer in the individual that estimates probabilities about reality which are essential for him to interact effectively with his environment. Old data is checked out in the light of new information and then updated or discarded. It is that part of the individual which calculates solutions to problems.
4. The Rebellious Child (RC) is the impulsive, assertive and indulgent part of the personality. It is expressed as a resentment of authority and a lack of concern for the rights of others.
5. The Adaptive Child (AC) is formed by the influence of parental demands. Compliant and withdrawal behaviours are common" (McCarley, 1975, 3).

Instructions

In this booklet there is a series of pictures in which there are two people talking to each other. The person on the left always speaks first, and asks a question or makes a comment. To the right of the picture is a list of possible replies to the person who speaks first. Your task will be to look at each picture and imagine what the second person would say. Read all the replies in the column to the right of each picture and then choose one reply from that column which is closest to the way you

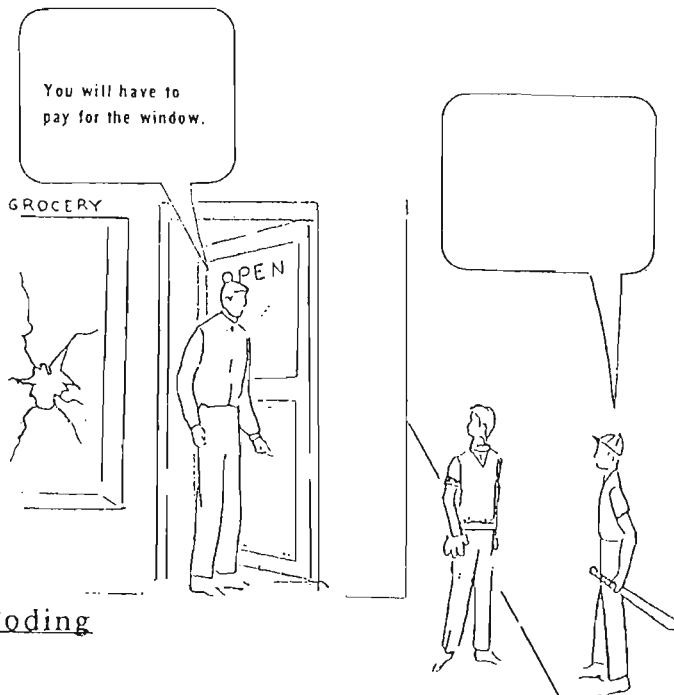
would reply. Black-in the corresponding number on your separate answer sheet. There is no right or wrong answers.

Example 1



1. I guess I need the exercise anyway.
2. Someone is going to be sorry about this.
3. Well, I'm not going to carry these up 20 floors.
4. Where are the stairs?
5. Thanks, you saved me a long wait.

Example 2



1. I hit it harder than I expected to.
2. I hope no one was hurt.
3. Try and make us.
4. We will pay for it and never play here again.
5. You should have had a screen on that window.

Coding

Example 1 :
 1 - A
 2 - NP
 3 - RC
 4 - AC
 5 - PP

Example 2:
 1 - AC
 2 - PP
 3 - RC
 4 - A
 5 - NP

Appendix III : Background Information : Brief Questionnaire

The formats for obtaining background information from the Family Group and Residential Substitute Care Group are different, the format for the Family Group being as follows:

1. Name:
2. Age:
3. Sex:
4. Who is in your family?

Subjects are required to specify siblings and their ages.

The format for the Residential Substitute Care Group was as follows:

1. Name:
2. Age:
3. Sex:
4. How long have you been in the home?
5. Who was/is in your family?

Subjects are required to specify whether mother and/or father were present in the family arrangements and whether there was a period of being in the care of a step-parent. Subjects are also required to specify whether siblings or step- siblings were present and what their ages are.

6. What was the reason why you went to a home?
7. Who for you has been most like a mother?
8. Who for you has been most like a father?

Appendix IV : Letter Requesting Permission and Consent Form

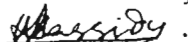
Dear Parent,

I am currently conducting Masters research aimed at examining the psychological effects of substitute care. I intend to compare adolescents in children's homes and adolescents who remained in their original families. The research is towards a Master of Social Science (Research Psychology) Degree, and is being carried out under the supervision of Mrs. B.J. Killian, a Senior Clinical Psychologist and Senior Lecturer in the Department of Psychology.

For the purposes of this research, a questionnaire has been developed which I need to administer to a number of people. The questionnaire covers topics relating to upbringing and present attitudes and beliefs. The questionnaire will be conducted in a videotaped interview situation, in the Department of Psychology, at a time which is convenient for the respondents. Each interview should last approximately one hour. All information will be kept in the strictest confidence and anonymity assured, access to information being available only to Mrs. Killian and myself. Analysis of the data is done on a group basis, and individual responses will appear as a statistic in combination with the responses of numerous other people taking part in the research.

I would like to ask that you discuss this request with your child, and consider giving permission for him/her to be included in the research project. If you would like to discuss this request, please contact either Mrs. Killian or myself at the Department of Psychology (Phone: 816-2527). If you agree to this request for participation, please complete the form below and return it to your School Counsellor.

Yours sincerely,



MICHAEL CASSIDY

I (parent's name) have discussed this request with (child's name), and hereby do/do not give permission for him/her to participate in the research. I understand that all information will be treated in the strictest confidence and that my child is unlikely to be upset by the nature of the questionnaire.

Date Signed

1986-09-09/MC/ief

Appendix V : Categories of Parent Messages

A. Injunctions

1. Don't Be

Physical abuse, rejection, abandonment, extreme indifference and emotional neglect are associated with a Don't Be injunction. The child could reject the injunction and decide that it is valuable and will exist, but the burden of the injunction still has to be dealt with, possibly by strong attempts to prove worth and value in terms of being messages. The Goulding's (1976) however, imply that a decision to die or commit suicide is a more likely outcome.

2. Don't Be Close

This injunction prohibits the child from loving and trusting others. Parents who are not physically close to each other, or are dismissive of the child's attempts to get close to them issue a Don't Be Close injunction. In the case of a child separated from its parent/s, a Don't Be Close injunction may be fantasized or intrapsychically generated by the child. The child may decide not to trust closeness again and never again care about a particular sex (represented by mother or father). The child may decide to care for itself and not enter into close intimate relationships. This prevents the child from every again having to experience the pain of separation in the event of it being repeated.

3. Don't Be A Child

This injunction is given in response to the child's expression of needs. It is most often given to older children (Goulding and Goulding, 1976) and accompanying it is the implication that the child is supposed to grow up, be responsible, perhaps take care of others (including mother and father), and not have its own needs. The task is to become responsible, organized and efficient. In this event, the child may decide never to need again, forget how to have childlike fun, decide never again to show a particular child behaviour, and/or decide to take care of others happily or resentfully bearing this responsibility.

4. Don't Grow

The child's attempts to grow may be thwarted by parental responses to its independence, growing autonomy and self-sufficiency. The implication of this injunction is that the child is to be helpless and to depend on others, remaining small and childlike. Others will provide what the child needs and be powerful for the child.

5. Don't Feel

The injunction is issued in response to the child's expression of affect. The parent responds by globally prohibiting the child's expression of feelings. The child may decide to limit its expression of feelings in an encompassing way.

6. Don't Be X(Feeling)

The parent may be more specific about the acceptability or unacceptability of the child showing certain feelings. The parent may prohibit the child's expression of a particular feeling overtly by communicating verbally that the feeling is unacceptable, or covertly by selectively not responding to the feeling. The breadth of the child's range of feelings is thus limited by parental control. In the present research two major prohibited feelings were identifiable :

- a) anger, and
- b) unhappiness.

7. Don't Feel What You Feel, Feel What I Feel

The parent may not only disallow the child's expression of certain feelings, but the parent's own affective state may intrude into the child's affective state, the parent insisting that the child feel what the parent is feeling. The process operates extremely subtly, the child's range of feelings becoming enmeshed with the range of feelings of the parents.

8. Don't Think

Although this injunction is frequently subsumed under a Don't Grow injunction, a Don't Think injunction warrants a separate status. The injunction refers to the child's capacity for independent thought and for making autonomous decisions. This prohibition operates in the realm of

the child's cognitive life, and it is analogous to a Don't Feel injunction in terms of the breadth of the degree of restriction that is specified.

9. Don't Think What You Think, Think What I Think

Analogous to a Don't Feel What You Feel, Feel What I Feel injunction, this injunction specifically prohibits the child from developing attitudes, opinions, values and beliefs that are different from those of the parent. Thus the child is allowed to think, but must not think differently from the parent on certain important issues.

10. Don't Belong

This injunction has to do with the social relatedness of the child. The child may receive messages from its mother or father not to belong in its family or social group. The child feels that it does not belong and feels different from others in the group.

11. Don't Hurt Me

An aspect of the child's behaviour may cause the parent to feel hurt. This injunction is usually given in relation to the parent behaving like small children vulnerable to hurt. The implication is that parents have feelings and that these have to be considered by the child. The child does something wrong that hurts the parents, and the range of behaviours that are included as "wrong" or that "hurt" the parent are broad. The injunction may refer to aspects of the child's aggressive functions.

12. Don't Leave

Goulding and Goulding (1976) include a Don't Leave injunction in the Don't Grow category. However, these two injunctions are not similar and care must be taken in differentiating them. A Don't Leave injunction is given by the dependent Child in the parent. The parent's Child feelings of insecurity and a fear of separateness motivate the injunction.

B. Being Messages

1. Be For Me

This being message motivates the child to be entirely for the parent, in that everything the child does is in the service of meeting what the parent needs the child to be. Very little autonomy or flexibility in being are allowed. The message usually communicates that the child must be those things that the parent could not be or what the parent very strongly needs the child to be. The child may also be directed to assume the parent's functions.

2. Be Perfect

The child is directed to be faultless, beyond reproach, and beyond criticism. The child is to be perfect in all its activities. Achievement and 'getting to the top' are important aspects of behaviour that are encouraged by the injunction. Other important aspects include that the child must be ordered, neat, and organized.

3. Be Strong

In lieu of weakness, feeling insecure, and vulnerable, the child must appear strong, secure, and invulnerable. The child becomes self-reliant, and does not depend on others, for its needs to be met or for experiences of closeness. By doing without others, the child who is given a Be Strong injunction may seem self-sufficient, but this is achieved at the cost of expressing valid needs and feelings.

4. Please Me

This message is differentiated from a Be For Me injunction in that Please Me does not necessarily refer to what the parent cannot be, although this may be a part of a Please Me message. The emphasis is on the child being that which pleases the parents and keeps them happy, this being specifically that the child be agreeable with, and nice to everybody. Although the parent threatens displeasure at certain of the child's behavioural functions, more autonomy in being is allowed, provided that the parent remains pleased and happy. This message, like the Be For Me, is motivated by neediness in the Child of the parent/s,

but what the child must be is narrowly specified, viz. agreeable, nice, and friendly in an inauthentic way.

5. Try Hard

This message usually sets up the recipient for failure or non-attainment of goals. The underlying motivator is that the child must provide some indication of trying, but must not make either parent jealous by achieving what the parent wanted to achieve but could not or never did achieve. The child continually tries harder and harder, and tends to say to itself and others: "I can't", but yet continues to try.

6. Be For Others

The parent instructs the child to direct itself in the service of others, 'others' being the members of the social milieu that the child is in. The parent's needs are not the immediate issue, and the goals are socially laudable and valued. The child is permitted a degree of choice in how to be for others, but the central aspect of being is altruism.

7. Hurry Up

The child is urged by the parents to do things quickly and to get them finished as soon as possible, perhaps at the expense of not thinking about what is being done. The child is pressurized to respond instantly and to always be in an anxious rush. The person who receives this injunction is usually unable to sit still and must always be 'on the move', the end result being that they are often late and tired.

8. Be Obedient

The child is told to obey everything the parent says that the child must do. In a controlling way, the message operates by encouraging the child to listen to the parents and to not do anything contrary to strict instructions. The message operates to avoid a punitive response from the parent/s, rather than to please the parent/s.

Appendix VIII : Results of Analysis of Past and Future : Decisions
and the Episcrypt (Section B of the Life Script
Questionnaire) for the Family Group and Resi-
dential Substitute Care Group

The Episcrypt

A. Family Group

Mark

Don't grow.
Stay at home and lead a quiet life.
Be plain.

Barry

I'll bring my children up more or less the same way as my parents
brought me up.
Be for others otherwise you're self-centred.

Ian

I'll bring my children up the same way as my parents did.
Don't depend on us (parents).
Live your own life.

Robin

Keep mother happy.
I'll be an angry father.
Be the engineer that father could never be.

Leonard

Don't feel.
Think.

Tony

I won't have children.

Hendrik

Don't be close.

Be a loner.

People don't/won't like you because you're a loner.

Gary

Be kind, dedicated and devoted to others.

Be trustworthy.

Jonathan

I'll bring my children up the same way as my parents brought me up.

The way children are is how they should be.

Respect and obey parents.

Henry

Don't be unhappy.

Be happy to keep parents happy.

Barbara

Don't grow.

Be happy.

Be close.

Gillian

I'll be lenient and harsh.

Please me (and rebel).

Colleen

I turned out OK.

They (parents) didn't do such a bad job.

Be scared of what anger will do if you express it.

Marcia

Don't see the bad in anyone.
See the good side in people.
Be willing to help.

Tricia

I'll be like how my mother was when I bring up my children.
Don't feel.
Be scared to tell parents what you feel.

Caroline

Don't be a child.
Be perfect (intelligent).

Ann

Don't be angry.
Boys must be like father.
Girls must be like mother.

Jenny

Be a child.
Be outgoing.

Maureen

Mother is the boss.

Kerry

I'll bring up my children by looking to my parents' perfect example.
I'll follow in my mother's footsteps.

The Episcrypt

B. Residential Substitute Care Group

Colin

I'll teach my children on the basis of my experience from good and bad.
I'll give my children the good parts.
I won't do anything bad in front of my children.

Jason

Don't be a child.
Be obedient.
I won't give my children what they want because that's spoiling them.

Harry

Don't grow.
Be quite.
I'll make my children enjoy their life while it lasts.

Charles

I won't be too harsh on my children, but I won't be too good either.
I will show my children who is the boss.
Be a boy, not a nerd.

Shaun

I will encourage my children to be responsible for their parents.
Don't be angry.
Be calm and quiet.

Francis

Be obedient.
Do what you're told.
Be friendly and get along with parents by looking after their needs.
Children must listen when their parents talk to them.

David

Don't deny what I've said you did.
If you deny it, I'll take action.
If you don't obey anything I tell you, I'll punish you.
I'll try and provide my children with what they want.
Don't be angry.

Greg

Don't be naughty or cheeky.
If you do naughty things, I'll give you a warning.
If you do it again, I'll have to use corporal punishment.
Be something in life.
I won't send my children to a home.

Lance

I won't send my children to a home.
I won't fight with my wife.
Children must respect older people.
I will not spoil my children.
To give one child, makes the other child jealous.
So none of them must have anything.

Robert

I'll will be strict on my children and try and give them the best of everything.
My children will live a completely different life to me.
My children will be like I was.
Be happy and friendly.

Marilyn

Be reliable.
I'll will spoil my children rotten.
Every child needs a good old spanking every now and then to let it know where it stands.
I'll bring my children up to be everything a mother or anyone else would want in someone else.

Listen to grown ups.
Grown ups know best.

Louise

I will try and give my children what I couldn't have when I was with my parents.
I will try and go to their activities and try and go to their school.
I will try and be interested.

Cathryn

My children are not going to live the life I had, but I don't know how I'm going to bring them up.
Please me.
Be aware of other people's feelings.
Don't think of yourself.
Don't be noisy.
Be quiet.

Janice

I won't put my children in a home.
I can't get on with people who are younger than me.
I will mix with older people.
I'm shy with younger people.
I'll help my children with not being shy by introducing them to all my friends.

Sonya

I'll bring up my children with discipline.
I won't put my children in a home (Never. Not after what I've been through).
I haven't forgiven my parents for putting me in a home, but I have to understand their problems.
Children must do what their parents want.
Children must be dependable and reliable.
Every child is naughty. If a child isn't naughty its abnormal.

Diane

I'll bring my children up strictly.

They must be respectful.

If my children have done something wrong, I'll definitely punish them, and not let them off the punishment before the time is up.

Kay

I'll bring up my children to be open.

I won't give my children what they want because that's spoiling them.

I'll tell my children things they should know.

I'll tell my children about drinking, the homes, so when they're taken away they'll know what to expect.

Belinda

I won't be too lenient on my children.

I won't give them what they want.

My children must help people out.

Doreen

I don't want my children to have led the life I have I have led.

I don't want my children to be afraid of me.

My children must control themselves and have good manners.

I'd like to live my life with my children - when my children grow up.

Mary

I will teach my children to be dependent by not giving them what they want.

Be sweet kind, gentle, loving, and dependent.

Decisions

A. Family Group

Mark

Life isn't a worry.

My parents will help, coach, back me up and be there to turn to, and support me in case something goes wrong.

Barry

Life is quite pleasant, carefree and easy.

I've got no worries.

Ian

Life is full of fun.

I'll do a lot of things and try and keep myself busy.

Robin

Life is lots of fun.

Life changes a lot because father has never grown up and we have to move around because he's not happy with the jobs he gets.

I have to do what father wants.

Leonard

Life is simple, free and carefree.

I've got no worries because I'm too little to understand problems.

I must accept what my parents tell me.

There's nothing to upset or influence me.

My responsibilities increase gradually.

Tony

Life isn't happy.

Sister causes problems for me.

Hendrik

Life is only what my parents tell you.
I must have had a hell of a good time.
I must forget the pain.
I haven't got very much left in me.

Gary

Life is fun.
I'll play and be happy.
I won't be angry or unhappy.

Jonathan

Life is fine, no problems, very happy.
I'm getting what I need.

Henry

Life is fun.
I'll be close to my brother.
I'll enjoy myself.

Barbara

Life is fun.
Mother and father will make me happy by getting me friends.

Jillian

Life is very good.
I'll fight with and be close to my sister.
I'm small and in need of protection.
Mother and father will keep my away from the riffraff.

Colleen

Life is fun.
I'll be rebellious.

Marcia

Life is happy.

I'll stay at home because my parents don't like me going out.

Tricia

Life is boring.

I feel lonely.

I'll play happily with my dolls and the dogs, and endure brother's teasing.

Caroline

Life is a close family life.

I'm spoilt because I get what I want.

Ann

Life is about being the only girl in the family.

I'll be my father's daughter.

Jenny

Life is a close family life.

I don't have to be alone because there are always people around me.

I'll have fun.

Maureen

Life is scary.

I'm scared, so I won't be close to others.

I'll grow up quickly.

I won't worry anymore.

Kenny

Life is happy.

I'll be close to my family.

Decisions**B. Residential Substitute Care Group**Colin

Life is like hell.
Life is a bad experience.

Jason

Life is hard.
I'll do what I'm told to do.

Harry

(Before Placement)
Life is hard
Mother and father are always
fighting.
I'll cry all the time.

(After Placement)
Life is hard in
the home.
I feel restricted.
I feel different
from other children.

Charles

Life is pleasing, but not good.
Mother's men are scary and terrible.
I'm sad because family members died.
I'm too stupid to understand what's going on.

Shaun

Life is tough.
I can't do the things I want to do.
My mother doesn't trust me.
I'm scared that my parents will kill each other.

Francis

Life isn't bad.
It's nice to be young.

David

(Before Placement)

Life is enjoyable.

I love my mother.

I don't like my father.

I'm alone because mother
keeps going out.

(After Placement)

I feel abandoned by
mother.

Life in the home is OK
except for the
fighting.

I'm alone.

I'll run away.

Greg

Life is confusing.

I'm scared of death.

I'm scared I'll die.

Lance

Life isn't bad, not tough.

Life is too easy.

I get things too easily.

I'm spoilt.

I must get things for myself and learn to support myself.

Robert

Life is enjoyable.

I'm free and I can have what I want.

I mustn't do anything wrong because then I'll be treated badly.

Marilyn

Life is like hell.

(Before Placement)

Life at home was fantastic.

(After Placement)

Life in the
children's home is
hard and difficult.

Louise

Life is terrible.

I hate drinking and violence.

I hate life.

I'm scared father will kill mother if he doesn't stop beating her up.

I want to run away but I feel sorry for mother so I'll stand by her.

Cathryn

Life is different depending on whether I was in the home or not.

(Before Placement)

Life is bad because of the
fighting.

I love my father.

(After Placement)

I feel abandoned.

I'm not loved.

I've lost what I loved.

I'm different because

I'm in a home.

Janice

Life is about not being a child.

I'll grow up and act like somebody I'm not.

Sonya

(Before Placement)

Life isn't nice, not pleasant.

I hate being battered. I

I mustn't do anything wrong.

I must be scared of mother.

I don't know why I get hit.

(After Placement)

Life is disastrous.

can't take it.

I feel different.

I feel pitied.

My mother is rubbish
because I'm in a home.

Diane

Life is very unorganized.

I can't cope with moving around, little food and fighting.

I'm not normal.

Kay

Life is tough.
I must be careful not to do anything wrong.
I must listen to my elders.
I don't know what is going on.

Belinda

Life is OK.
My parents are there when I need them.

Doreen

Life isn't happy.
My parents fight and father beats mother up.

Mary

Life isn't understandable.
I'm not loved.
Father is like a child.
He can't look after himself.
I must look after father.
Step-mothers are terrible. They drink and try and put children in homes.

Appendix VII : Results of Analysis of the Racket System (Section C
of the Life Script Questionnaire) for Subjects in the
Family Group and Residential Substitute Care
Group.

A. Family Group

AFFECTIVE	COGNITIVE	BEHAVIOURAL
<u>Mark</u> Shy, (scared) ¹	I'll stick to myself. I'm a loner.	talks to self to give self-confidence. I should have more confidence.
<u>Barry</u> "conscience", guilt, (anger).	I must not get angry. If I get angry, I'm naughty.	withdraws then feels dislike towards, or irritated by others. I'll keep my hate inside and take my hate away with me.
<u>Ian</u> sadness and depression conse- quent on guilt, (anger).	I must control my temper. I'm out of control. I must calm down.	withdraws, to be by self (enables getting close again).
<u>Robin</u> disappointment with self, sad, dejected, anger.	I've done something wrong. I've disappointed parents. I'm worthless. I feel black inside, like a blob. I can't turn off my feelings.	angry outbursts, withdraws to feel miserable, repeti- tive fixing, apologies for hurting others.
<u>Leonard</u> rejected, fear of being rejected, fear of loss.	I don't need anymore. I'll be very independent. I can cope without anyone. I can be happy by myself.	not getting close, tries hard to get on with others, feels sad, mis- understood when intellec- tualization fails.

1. Feelings identified as suppressed in the racket system are placed in paratheses.

Tony

guilt, hurt,
(anger).

I'm responsible for
others being hurt.
It's my fault.
I'm stupid.
I must take it (sister's
anger).
I will show my hurt
to mother.

tells mother about
the hurt, causes
family fights, apologises
to sister even
though doesn't feel
sorry, tries to get on
the good side of sister.

Hendrik

anxious, feels
sorry for self.

I must take it like a
man.
I mustn't show my feelings.
Father's feelings are more
important.

I must understand father's
mood and think in his
terms.
I'm nothing - a good
piece of rubbish.
I'm a loner.
My problems are so
great and embarrassing,
I can't talk about them.

be careful/wary
around father, feels
watched, hypersen-
sitive, get back
into father's good
books by being
helpful.

Gary

Shame/guilt,
anxiety, tired,
bored, (anger),
(unhappiness).

I'm careless.
I shouldn't have done it.
I should be more careful.
I must rectify the
problems.

withdraw and
think about what
has happened,

Jonathan

guilt, (anger).

I've done something
wrong.
I shouldn't have done what
what I did.
I'm bad.
I must put it right.
I mustn't leave it as
it is.

apologises,
discusses it with
whoever's involved.

Henry

guilty, sore,

I haven't achieved
as well as I could
have.
I should say what
I feel.
I must redeem myself.

try to be more
perfect, try better
and better, try
again.

Barbara

sad, (anger)

I hate you (mother)
 I've done something wrong.
 I've hurt mother.
 I'm in mother's bad books.
 I'm bad.
 I must be happy for
 father.

withdrawn to lie
 and cry, apologizes.

laughter and
 giggling.

Jillianfear of being
punished

I must tell my parents
 what I've done wrong.
 I've lost their trust.

commiserates
 with sister.

Colleenguilt, sadness,
disappointed with
self,
(anger).

I have to rectify the
 situation if I've done
 something wrong, other-
 wise it kills me.
 I don't want my parents
 to be disappointed with
 me.
 I must have a high
 opinion of my parents.

apologises and
 forgets about it.

Marciaanxiety,
frustration,
depression.

It's my fault.
 I make myself frustrated
 I can't cope.
 I won't try.
 I'll never manage.

agitation, makes
 self frustrated when
 must perform.
 tries, fails, feels
 depressed, stops
 thinking, get angry
 with others.

Triciaguilt, anger,
(hurt).

I'm nasty (to mother)
 I hate myself.
 I'm stupid.
 I never stopped to think
 it (my anger) can kill
 people.

arguments,
 apologises.

Carolinefeels over-
burdened, temper,
depressed, feels
sorry for self.

I can't control my
 temper.
 I'm bad, a failure,
 because I can't
 control my temper
 I shouldn't let my
 temper go off.
 I've hurt someone.

withdrawn to think
 about the consequen-
 ces of what
 has been done,
 thinks of ways to
 apologize, tries to
 get rid of temper
 by withdrawing.

Ann

sadness, (anger)

I won't fight like brother.
Girls cry not fight.

cries, sleeps.

Jenny

anger, guilt.

I hate being cross
I feel bad inside
afterwards.
I'm silly.
I must control my
feelings more.
I'll get cross with myself
if I can't control my
feelings.angry outbursts,
withdraw and
calm down,
apologise.Maureenfeel bad, disap-
pointed, depressed,
(anger).I'm a disappoint-
ment.
I will be depressed
and feel sorry
for myself.
If I argue with mother,
I'm on my own.arguments with
mother, withdraw and
isolate self
for protecting others
from anger,
isolation to feel
self-pity.Kerry

disgust, (anger).

I must be perfect.
I've got to accept
even if they are nasty
and disgusting.
My anger isn't OK.withdrawn from
others bad things, feels
contempt
towards others,
feels sorry for
others.**B. Residential Substitute Care Group**AFFECTIVEColinscared, frustrated,
(hurt).COGNITIVEMy anger is so great, it
might kill people.
They won't catch me.
I'll hit them.
I look stupid.BEHAVIOURALangry outbursts,
hitting others,
stuttering.Jason

anger (hurt).

I mustn't fight.
I must be helpful instead.
I'll do what I'm told.
If I don't do what I'm
told, I'll be hit.
I get cross for nothing.
I'll forget about my anger
and withdraw.fights, walks away
and forgets about
it.

<u>Harry</u> worried, pressured, sad, (anger).	I'm too small to manage without my parents. I'll never see my parents again.	panic, aggitation, getting excited over nothing, crying.
<u>Charles</u> <u>Don't Feel</u> from both parents.	I feel like crawling into a hole and crying. I won't feel. I'll drink. I can't think. (<u>Note:</u> hangovers modelled by parents).	headaches, goes to sleep in the morning feels better.
<u>Shaun</u> sad.	I mustn't argue. Arguments make me sad. I hate myself (when I argue).	temper, cross.
<u>Francis</u> <u>Don't Think</u> from both parents.	Unable to extract information about the racket. Anxiety strongly manifest and subject stops thinking.	
<u>David</u> hurt, (angry)	I feel insulted. I won't get openly cross, but I'll get them back in subtle ways.	withdrawn, finds a corner to sit and think about how to get them back.
<u>Greg</u> <u>Don't Feel</u> from both parents, embarrasment (hurt), (anger).	I can't show them what I feel (hurt, embarrased). I feel abnormal. I'm a scummy Greek dog.	smile.
<u>Lance</u> angry, feels disappointed with self at hurting others' feelings.	I'm stupid. I've hurt their feelings. I get too agressive.	fights, temper, withdraws to think about things, apologizes.

Robert

rejected, not
wanted by my
parents, angry.

I'm not a nice guy.
I have nothing to offer
as a person.
I feel rejected.
They don't like me.
If they want to argue
about it, I'll hit them.

gets frustrated
and angry,
watches TV to
see how to get
close to others and
be a nice guy.

Marilyn

exposed, naked,
defenseless,
hurt, (anger).

I want to crumple
down and kill myself.
I want to hide away.
People (mother) know
they've got a hold over
me and are getting the
better of me.

crying, withdraws
to cry or cries in
front of them if
thinks they won't
take advantage of
her.

Louise

rejected,
depressed, feels
left out, angry.

I feel rejected.
I feel left out.
There's nobody around me.
I can tell if someone's
talking about me.
I can't stop myself
from becoming angry.

cry and think
about brother and
sister.
Temper tantrums.

Cathryn

scared, hurt,
(anger).

I'm stupid.
I've been let down.
I must keep bad
feelings inside.
I'm too scared.
I must protect myself.

repetitive night-
mares and loss of
control over bladder.

Janice

Don't Feel from
both parents

I must be sensitive to
others' feelings.
I won't get cross or cry.
I'll be happy and smile.

smile.

Sonya

depressed,
emotionally
sickening feeling,
feels lonely and
left out, (angry).

I'm helpless.
I don't know what to do
with myself.
I must do it alone.
I'll look after myself.
I don't need anything.

withdraws, feels
left out and
sorry for self.

Diane

lonely, depressed.

No one in the world
actually cares.

forget about it
and laugh.

Kay

depression (moody,
good and bad
moods), anger.

I don't feel like living
anymore.
I've got the whole world
on my back.
I'm alone in my problems.
I want to kill everyone
around me.
I can't put my feelings
together.

withdraw to sleep
and change moods,
temper and crying
alternatively.

Belinda

anxiety
(worrying about
parents)

I'm worried about
something happening to
my parents.
I'll help myself.
I want to be alone.

withdraws to take
mind of worries.

Doreen

anxiety, fear.

I'm scared of father
dying.
I'll look after
father's feelings.
I won't show my feelings.

stepping in
and protecting
father.

Mary

sad, unhappy.

I'm not a nice person.
I'm a rebel.
I'm bad because I ran
away and gave
problems.
No one cares about me.
They're out to get me.

cry, being sweet
so as to be
liked.

**Appendix VIII : Results of Analysis of Fantasy Section (Section D of
the Life Script Questionnaire) for Subjects in the
Family Group and Residential Substitute Care
Group**

<u>A. Family Group</u> <u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>MODERN</u> <u>MYTH</u> (Type) ¹	<u>CHARACTER</u> <u>IDENTIFIED</u> <u>WITH AND</u> <u>IDENTIFIABLE</u> <u>OBJECTS</u>	<u>CHARACTER-</u> <u>ISTICS</u>	<u>SIGNIFICANT</u> <u>THEMES</u>
<u>Mark</u>	Call to Glory (TV)	<u>Pilot</u> ²	Active, masculine	happy endings, sexual identity.
<u>Barry</u>	Jack and the Bean Stalk (FT)	<u>Jack</u> (good), <u>Giant</u> (bad)	Nice person	Conquering the giant
<u>Ian</u>	Baa Baa Black Sheep (NR)	<u>Sheep</u>	Lonely left out	Isolation, withdrawal
	Snow White (FT)	<u>Happy</u> dwarf	Happy	Happiness
<u>Robin</u>	Incredible Hulk (TV)	<u>Hulk</u>	Get angry, helps others who are hurt. Using anger reparatively.	Anger, not being close, father introject,
<u>Leonard</u>	Oranges and Lemons (NR)	-	-	Chopper coming to chop off head, intellectualization.
	Goldilocks and the Three Bears (SB)	<u>Mommy bear</u> <u>Daddy Bear</u> <u>Baby Bear</u>	Mischievous	Oedipal dynamics, family structure
<u>Tony</u>	Baa Baa Black Sheep (NR)	<u>Sheep</u>		Not fitting in with others, blamed
<u>Hendrik</u>	Charlotte's Web (SB)	<u>Spider, pig</u>	Runt of the litter, helped by spider	Not fitting in with others, isolation, withdrawal.
<u>Gary</u>	The Ugliest Witch in the World (SB)	<u>Witch, horse</u>	Fat, (overfed by witch), dressing well.	Overfeeding and dressing well to make everyone think that mother is good.
<u>Jonathan</u>	Winnie the Pooh (SB)	<u>Pooh Bear</u>	Funny.	Laughter and humour.
<u>Henry</u>	Battlestar Galactica (TV)	<u>Starbuck</u>	Heroic, space cowboy.	Action.
<u>Barbara</u>	Little Red Riding Hood	<u>Wolf, grandmother,</u> <u>mother, Little Red</u> <u>Riding Hood.</u>	Silly, ignorant, little girl.	Tricked by wolf, need to be careful of wolves.
<u>Jillian</u>	Little Miss Muffet (NR)	<u>Miss Muffet, spider</u>	Pathetic	Being frightened, femininity.

1. TV = TV program, FT = Fairytale, NR = nursery rhyme, and SB = story book.

2. The character that the subject identified with is indicated by underlining the name of the character.

<u>Colleen</u>	Cinderella	<u>Cinderella</u> , prince	Fun, cute.	Falling in love and getting the prince.
<u>Marcia</u>	Old Mother Hubbard	<u>Puppy dog</u> , old mother hubbard	Sad	Feeling sorry for puppy not having.
	Sinbad (SB)	<u>Sinbad</u>	Adventurous	Seeing the world, tomboyishness.
<u>Tricia</u>	Baa Baa Black Sheep (NR)	<u>Sheep</u>	Left out	Doesn't fit in, get blamed.
	Little Red Riding Hood (FT)	<u>Little Red Riding Hood</u> , grandmother, wolf.	Stupid, naive.	Getting into bed with the wolf, seeing how big his nose was.
<u>Caroline</u>	Little Miss Muffet (NR)	<u>Miss Muffet</u>	Prim and proper	Denial of similarity to Miss Muffet.
<u>Ann</u>	What are Little Girls Made of (NR)	<u>Little girl</u>	Sugar and spice and all things nice.	Gender identity
<u>Jenny</u>	Snow White (FT)	<u>Snow White</u> .	Innocent	Happy ending.
	Cinderella (FT)	<u>Cinderella</u>	Innocent	Happy ending
<u>Maureen</u>	<u>Snow White</u> (FT)	<u>Snow White</u> , prince	Very perfect, pure and innocent, evil going on all around her, saved by the prince.	Problem is one of innocence which almost kills her
	Humpty Dumpty (NR)	<u>Humpty Dumpty</u>	Solid, not broken, seeming whole.	Never visualizing as being broken
<u>Kerry</u>	Joseph (SB - biblical)	<u>Joseph</u> , Pharoah, brothers.	Submitting honest, working hard for Pharoah, reunited with family.	Devine retribution

B. Residential Substitute Care Group

<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>MODERN MYTH (Type)</u>	<u>CHARACTER IDENTIFIED WITH IDENTIFIABLE OBJECTS</u>	<u>CHARACTERISTICS</u>	<u>SIGNIFICANT THEMES</u>
<u>Colin</u>	Georgie Porgie (NR)	<u>Georgie Porgie</u> , girls, boys	Making girls cry, avoiding boys.	Gender identity
	Hickory Dickory Dock (NR)	-	-	Fragmentation, violence.
	Rumpelstiltskin (FT)	<u>Rumpelstiltskin</u> , girl, babies	Ambivalence about babies	Abandonment, wanting and hitting babies.
	Cinderella (FT)	<u>Cinderella</u>	Slave	Slavery.
<u>Jason</u>	Humpty Dumpty (NR)	<u>Humpty Dumpty</u> , Kings horses and men.	Sits on wall, falls, and is saved	Fragmentation and integration.
	A-Team (TV)	<u>BA Murdoch</u>	Knocks others out. In hospital, mad.	Aggression and madness.
<u>Harry</u>	Robin Hood (SB)	<u>Robin Hood</u>	"Goodie"	Fighting the bad.
<u>Charles</u>	Humpty Dumpty (NR)	<u>Humpty Dumpty</u> , Kings horses and men	Falls and people help him.	Fragmentation, falling and rescue.
	This Little Piggy went to Market (NR)	<u>Little Piggie who had none.</u>	Bad and therefore doesn't get roast beef.	Not getting nurturance because of badness.
	Aladin and the Lamp (FT)	<u>Aladin</u> , good gene, bad genie.	Dealing with the good and bad.	Splitting, loosing the good object.
<u>Shaun</u>	Jack and Jill (NR)	<u>Jack</u> , Jill.	Busy person.	Falling and breaking his crown is funny.
	Cinderella (FT)	<u>Cinderella</u> , step-mother, fairy god-mother, sisters.	Doing all the work while others watch her, busy, hard working, didn't argue, rescued by fairy god-mother only after everything is organized.	Doing for others compliantly.
	Man van Staal (TV)	<u>Man van Staal</u>	Has accident, is given super-powers, and becomes a different person.	Super powers and becomes different to help others.
<u>Francis</u>	Superman (TV)	Superman	Has special powers, changes, rescues those in need	Fragmentation, abandonment, growing up.

<u>David</u>	Maja the Bee	Maja, <u>Willi</u> (friend of Maja)	Dumb, has to be told what to do, always doing things wrong.	Compliance.
	Bonanza (TV)	<u>Blue Boy</u>	Get shot, get up and carries on.	Invincibility.
<u>Greg</u>	Baa Baa Black Sheep (NR)	<u>Black Sheep</u>	Bad.	Compliance.
	The Miracle of the Loaves and the Fishes (SB - biblical)	<u>Jesus</u>	Absolute perfection.	Being perfect.
	Peter Pan (SB)	<u>Peter Pan</u> , Captain Hook.	Gets out of tight spots when being chased by Hook.	Running away to the Neverland, having problems with Captain Hook.
<u>Lance</u>	Humpty Dumpty (NR)	<u>Humpty Dumpty</u> , King's horses and men.	Falls and breaks.	Fragmentation and the impossibility of re-integration.
	Snow White and the Seven Dwarves (FT)	<u>Dopey</u> , Snow White, other dwarves.	Always tired.	Acceptance, being cared for by Snow White.
	Peter Pan (SB)	<u>Tinkerbell</u> , Peter Pan, lost boys.	Never speaks when in trouble.	Non-communication, lost boys without parents.
<u>Robert</u>	Robin Hood (SB)	<u>Robin Hood</u> , outlaws, princess.	Friendly, popular, liked by everyone, enters bow and arrow competition and wins princess.	Use of aggression to solve interpersonal conflicts, phallic narcissism.
<u>Marilyn</u>	Noddy (SB)	<u>Noddy</u>	Fun, happy to be with, happy go lucky, little boy.	Being for mother.
	Bambi (SB)	<u>Bambi</u> , mother, father, thumper.	Little voice, sad.	Comedy, sensitivity, love, kindness, sadness and loss.
	Hansel and Gretel (FT)	<u>Hansel</u> , <u>Gretel</u> witch, mother, father.	Abandoned, and fed well, caged.	Abandonment by father.
	Catch Candy (TV)	<u>Candy</u>	Young girl.	Running away from parents.
<u>Louise</u>	Baa Baa Black Sheep (NR)	<u>Black Sheep</u>	Bad.	Responsibility and compliance.
	Snow White and the Seven Dwarves (FT)	<u>Snow White</u> , Queen, dwarves, hero.	Pretty, hated by Queen, given poison apple, rescued by hero	Hate, attempt to annihilate goodness in Snow White with bad 'nurturing' (apple).

<u>Cathryn</u>	Snow White and the Seven Dwarves (FT)	<u>Snow White</u> , dwarves, witch mother.	Disliked by mother, want to get rid of her, dwarves horrible to her.	Hate, attempt to annihilate
	Hansel and Gretel (FT)	<u>Hansel, Gretel</u> , witch.	Hungry and eats house.	Oral themes, house made of sweets, eaten by the, witch.
<u>Janice</u>	Cinderella (FT)	<u>Cinderella</u> , older sisters, step-mother, deceased father.	Kind, happy, although she didn't have anything to be happy about, sister's push her around, looks after her sisters, can't do what she wants, always looks on the bright side of things.	Sibling issues, responsibility, restrictions on autonomy, hate, happiness, denial of the bad/dark side.
<u>Sonya</u>	Snow White and the Seven Dwarves (FT)	<u>Snow White</u> , dwarves, step-mother, parents deceased	Kind, loving, sweet, perfect, everything a girl would want to be, looked after by wicked step-mother who wanted to put an end to her.	Attempts to annihilate Snow-white and spoil her perfection.
<u>Diane</u>	Little Red Riding Hood (FT)	Little Red Riding Hood, <u>wolf</u> .	Clever, wicked, shy.	Identification with persecutor.
	Little Miss Muffet (NR)	Little Miss Muffet, <u>spider</u>	Scary	Identification with persecutor.
<u>Kay</u>	Humpty Dumpty (NR)	<u>Humpty Dumpty</u> , King's horses and men	Falls and breaks	Impossibility of re-integration.
	Snow White and the Seven Dwarves (FT)	<u>Snow White</u> , step-mother, dwarves.	Beautiful, kind, loved by everyone except step-mother.	Hate from step-mother.
<u>Belinda</u>	Baa Baa Black Sheep (NR)	<u>Black Sheep</u>	Bad.	Responsibility and compliance.
<u>Dorcen</u>	The Old Woman Who Lived in a Shoe (NR)	<u>Old Woman</u> , children.	Had so many children she didn't know what to do, whipping children and sending them to bed without broth and bread.	Aggression and depriving children of nurturance.
<u>Mary</u>	Old Mother Hubbard (NR)	Old Mother Hubbard, <u>dog</u> .	Disappointed	Emptiness, not getting what was expected.
	Snow White and the Seven Dwarves (FT)	<u>Snow White</u> , queen, dwarves, prince.	Kind, hated by queen.	Persecution/hate and attempted annihilation by mother figure.

Appendix IX : Life Script Interview Transcription 1

A. Background Information

Name: Marilyn¹

Age: 17 years

Sex: Female

[How long have you been in the home?]

Since I was four. For thirteen years.

[Who was in your family?]

Both my parents. I've got one brother (13 years), a younger step-sister (24) (sic). My mother was previously married. My father never married my mother and my mother married and had three younger girls. Then she and my father got together.

[What was the reason why you went to a home?]

We didn't have any money problems, We weren't hassling for money. My father had a fantastic job, but my sister never got on well with my father. He picked on her and showered us with more affection. My sister went to a home. My father was in Empangeni so there were great advantages for me in the home. My parents saw the home as able to do more things for me than they were.

[Who for you has been most like a mother?]

My mother was the mother, like a mother, she never changed. The Principal of the home was important. My friend, everything. She was there seven years of my life. Other girls can say my mother is a this and my mother is a that. Damn her. But I can't say it. She has her problems, she has her whims, but no one could ever take her place, because she was, she always acted like a mother, she never ...

[Who for you was most like a father?]

My father.

1. Any details that could identify the subject have been omitted from this transcript, and some details have been changed to ensure confidentiality.

B. Life Script Interview

1. What are you like? Describe yourself briefly¹

That's a terrible question ... I can ... I'm not bad tempered, but I tend to loose my temper. My bad point is that I'm impatient, terribly impatient.

I'm not shy, but I get on well with people and I really like people ...

[Shyness and getting on with people?]² I'm pretty confident in that line (NV : nervous laughter).³ I'm not shy, but I'm shy in front of guys. I don't think I'm assertive enough over myself. With people who are dominating me, who are a little better than me, like in class, rich females, ones who go to modelling, I crouch down in my seat. But I don't think I'm less privileged. This woman came and spoke to us the other day. She had been in Wylie House and she said when she was little that people had said to her she was one of the poor children because she lived in a home. I had tears running down my face when she finished talking. I'm better off than girls who are not there. Shyness is more with guys my age. I think I'm gonna make a fool of myself if I say something. I've got a terrible memory.

[Could you speak a little more about your temper?]

I'm impatient. That comes from being very spoilt by my father when I was younger and in that way I was getting what I wanted. I never had a hiding from either parent. When Daddy wanted to give me a smack, Mommy would shout at Daddy, and Daddy would shout at Mommy, and the whole thing, you know ... so I never had a hiding ... Being in the home taught me a hell of a lot, that I couldn't get what I wanted. If I ask for something and they say no, I ask for why, for a logical reason. The home doesn't believe I had a bad temper, but I lash out, scream. I'm not a physical fighter.

1. Underlined Questions as outlined in Appendix 1 (Life Script Questionnaire)
2. [] = additional questions asked by researcher.
3. (NV :) denote significant non-verbal information.

2. What are some of the things that you like about yourself?

Physically or not physically? I get on well with people. I can reserve myself. I can keep quiet and let loose, go wild when I want to. I don't think I've grown up the wrong way. I have a certain amount of manners. Do you want me to talk about me physically?

[Things that you like about yourself?]

I'm not happy about my body at the moment. Skinny, weight, lots of little things. Nobody's happy with themselves, the way they are. I always like to have some things that other people have. Like my highlights. My skin, I'm not happy about it.

3. What are some of the things that you dislike about yourself?

OK. Now you asked for it. My feet. I will not wear open shoes because I have my father's toes. My eyebrows. They join and they're black. My backside. I have a terrible complex about my backside. Are you asking me about myself in general, or my physical appearance, or anything?

[Anything that's important for you]. ... Oh hard! I want to get out there and get a job ... but I'm too scared, too afraid, worried about the fact that I can't do it. My main problem is that I'm not gonna be able to do what's placed in front of me. I'd like to work a little harder. I wish I wasn't as lazy as I was. It's all from that upbringing. Somebody tells me wash this a dirty dish. Ugh! I won't touch it unless I have gloves on. I also gave up maths. Money, too ... when I worked I couldn't handle it, they had to really push me ... because I'm a nervous person. It's in the family. I'm, I hate to admit it, but I tend to be on the shaky side.

[You said its in the family?]. My mother shakes.

4. What did/does your mother like about you?

I see her whenever I want, every second weekend. My mother used to come to the home a hell of a lot to visit me. Then, because she's got asthma, I grew up, became a little older. I started going to her. My mother doesn't phone or show concern. So she really doesn't know me. I don't lie to her. I've started smoking. My mother doesn't know. She thinks I'm her angel. I let my mother know exactly what I feel about her, about situations. I don't lie to her. I can be very cheeky towards my mother, very cheeky indeed ... My mother and I have a fantastic

relationship. I can talk to her. She has great expectations for me. To be a model, beautician, designer. She wants me to be everything, doesn't listed to what I'd like to be. She's very protective over me. I can give my mother a kiss on the forehead because she's so sweet. There's so much she'd like her little daughter to be ... she'd like to do the things she didn't do, never got the chance to do, was dragged away from doing really by former husbands. At the end of the year I want to go overseas to my father and she's pretty much against it. My mother must give consent. I know I'm going to have a hassle. My mother thinks that my father wants to take me away. She's a very emotional person. She gets hurt very quickly. Like me. If someone shouts at her she tends to cry not in front of them, a lot of the time in front of them. It's just one of the little holds that she has on me. She gets upset, she cries, I cry ... she's a naughty mommy. My mother likes what she sees. She likes the figure. She likes the face. She likes everything. She's always telling her friends about me. My mother sees things in me that other people don't. Like modelling, she pushes me into doing it.

5. What did/does your mother dislike about you?

Dressing. She doesn't like me wearing clothes that don't show off my body. She likes me to be natural. She doesn't like me not growing my hair. I'm cheeky. I shout at her when I want to. I sit down and tell her what I want to do. I can pick her out and tell her where she's going wrong.

6. What did/does your father like about you?

My father was a gentleman. He was fantastic. Everything you would see in a father. He cares for others, he's interested, doesn't drink, doesn't smoke. He loves his kids. Comes home to them every evening. Well, he did when I was around. The main thing about my father that I can really kick his backside for is that he never sent my mother money. My mother hates him for it. What I hate him for is that he didn't want to see her when she came down here.

7. What did/does your father dislike about you?

He didn't dislike anything... (NV: anxious).

8. Picture your mother and describe what she is like as a person and how she lives her life?

Well my sister, when she was bad, in the gutter in the drain, my mother will pick her up. No matter what you do, she'll pick you up. I can't take it. My mother had a very strict upbringing. She says you shouldn't say that in front of your sister. You think you own the world, are to do. You're very cheeky. My mother thought that because I'm going to California at the end of the year, I don't need her. Yet I haven't changed. I've become more sympathetic towards her. I'm always taking my mother's side when my mother cries. I bow down to her. When my mother is upset, I run. I show her what I feel about the situation. She sees the control she's taking over me, comfort her while she is crying. My mother will want to rule my life.

9. Picture your father and describe what he is like as a person and how he lives his life?

I'm always saying I love my father better than my mother. That is only because I miss him so much and I haven't seen him. My father spoilt me terribly. He left when I was eleven. He came home every evening with lots of lovely sweets, lots of love, carrying us on his back, taking us out, never shouting. He would shout at us when he needed to. Give us a little odd tap on the hand. There's never been anything I could ever complain about my father. I dislike the fact that he zoomed off and left us and that he wrote that he'd be back in six weeks, no six months, and we'd wait for him to come back and he didn't come back. He spoiled me rotten. When he came back and didn't see her, I got angry and felt hurt for her.

[You said that the Principal was like a mother to you. What did/does she like about you?]

She treated me just like any other girl. She may not say so now, but I became a favourite. Not a favourite, because she said she never had favourites. I was getting older, other girls were so silly and so immature. She couldn't relate to them. They always were wanting to hold on and always wanting attention. I was more interested in what she was doing and I could always confide in her, and I could cry in front of her. Then I hated myself, when she shouted at me, I cried and I'd say I will never cry in her office again, because she's getting the better of me.

[What did/does she dislike about you?]

She dislikes the fact that I get dishonest with her because she likes me so much. She has respect for me, a high ... estimate of the way I am, the way I'm bringing myself up. When I let her down, lie, do things behind her back, be disobient, it hurts her terribly. I'm open. I raved with her. When she wanted to scream at me, I was happy, cool. She let rip, I spoke calmly about it. It was a good, loyal, friendly relationship.

10. How would you like your mother and father to have been different when you were growing up?

My mother's slowness. I always walked in front of her. I always wished she was more mod and not lag behind. My father was a good looking chap. He was always mod. I wish they hadn't broken up, and that they got married. It would have made a difference. He wouldn't have been able to run off like that. My mother was much older than my father. I think he wanted something younger, get back into the highlights, enjoy life more, go wild. I wish my mother wasn't so ... don't know how to explain it ... because of her asthma, she's takes tablets. I wish she wasn't a real old moaner. I've been going to see her more often, so she's drawn a little away from the tablets. I go there and talk to her about happy things and this pulls her away from worrying about things. It's attention she needs. It's all in the mind. My mother gets ill, exaggerates, needs help. She doesn't seek attention, but she likes you to take a little interest in her, for you to take a little interest in how she is feeling.

11. What will your children be like and how will you bring them up?

I don't think I want children. If I have children, it will be very much later in my life. I love kids. If I adopt one, that's it. I absolutely adore little kids, I'd spoil it. The child would have to ... um ... um ... be reliable. Keep your child under ... spanking when it's naughty ... Don't spoil a child. There was this kid the other day in the home and it was whining. I wanted to hit it on the hand. I'd spoil it because I absolutely adore little kids. I'd make it look pretty. I've heard "Don't spank the kid. You can teach it to behave." I've seen too many mothers trying to do it. It just doesn't work. Every child needs a good old spanking every now and then to let it know where it stands. If it's a boy it will be a surfer, well-mannered, likeable. I'd like him to like people and be good at things, and to make a lot of friends and do well in life. Everything a mother would want in someone else. If its a girl, she must

be pretty, carry herself well, look after herself, to easy in relationships with guys, be well-mannered. I'd like her to listen to people in life, not to take people for granted. For instance what a mother has to say, deep down I know she's right. Grown ups know best.

12. What type of adult will you be like?

Responsible as a mother. Teach kids to grow up and teach their kids the same thing ... be able to discipline. I wouldn't like to be a saggy, old sloppy mother who smokes a lot and who doesn't care. I wouldn't like to have my children in a home. I'll work hard in which to give them a good upbringing. I always wanted to be an actress ... its a dream. What the hell. Like to go to modelling next year, loose some weight. Beuaticians for a full- time job, maybe work at a travel agency. I like to make friends laugh. I did plays for them when I was younger at the home. Then new people came in and I got a bit like an old actress. I always idolled Marilyn Munroe. I always had my idols, wanting to be like them when I grew up and the dream just faded because I just couldn't be an actress. I haven't got it in me. You know when you've got it by practicing. You get it. If I work in a drama studio, modelling, I may just get a little job ... you never know ... I just may make it.

13. What was life like when you were little?

Hell. (NV: laughs, coughs a lot) No. At home it was fantastic. I had a fantastic relationship with my father. I never had to do the chores. My mother never gave me a spanking. I never had to wash the floors like the rest of my sisters. My mommy always brought the belt through, and I'd go "No mommy. No mommy" (NV: crouches in her seat protectively with hands over face). She'd say "No you silly thing. Its for Sarah". I had a very lazy upbringing with my parents ... kid who never has to pick up her socks, nothing. At the home ... I suppose those days it was the way we were meant to be brought up. It was hard, very hard. We'd have to sit on the cold floors waiting for our showers. I got terrible hidings from them. Like once I got a spanking with a plank and it made my bottom bleed. The woman was fired. She was an alcoholic. Drank heavily. Life was just so difficult, so different to now. At the home, they were harsh on us, rules and regulations.

14. Describe the best feeling you've had in your life?

Oh damn! That's difficult ... lot ... feeling of knowing that you were someone, that people ... knowing that I was going to make it ... knowing you're going to be accepted. I'm going to be able to make something of myself. People, lots of people saying "Mac. Hold in there. You're going to really make it. Well done". The feeling that I was able to get better and better myself.

15. Describe the worst feelings you've had in your life

(NV: laughs, giggles) ... Sometimes you felt as if you just sitting there and you haven't got anything on, and there's a terrible turning in your stomach. Everyone's looking at you. I feel hurt when somebody shouts at me. I want to tear myself apart.

[The feeling of not having anything on?] It's like in a group of people, and someone says "As for you. I've had it". I'm very conscientious of my body. I don't let people see me naked. I'm very protective over my body. When they're shouting at me I want to hide away, and I want to cry. Different people have ways of getting rid of emotions. Some people stamp, bang the wall, throw things, scream, shout. I cry.

16. What do you think about yourself when you feel like this?

I hate myself for it. I want to be strong, to be able to stand up and say "Damn you man. This is how I feel. I'm damn tired of you telling me ..." You see? People know they've got a hold over me in that way. If I cry, they're getting the better of me and I hate myself for it.

17. What do you do when you feel like this?

I go into my own little secret spot and cry, or I might cry in front of them if I think they won't take advantage of me.

18. What nicknames have you had and what do they mean to you?

(NV : smiles). Mally, Mel, Freak, Freaktoes because it goes with my surname. I won't show my toes. Birdy. Snuggles, Snoopy.

[What do they mean for you?] They're cute little names. They call me Flirt as well, and Lover Girl. I love it. I love it. I absolutely adore it. Lover Girl. I don't love myself. They're jealous.

19. What was your favourite nursery rhyme, fairy tale, story book, or TV program when you were little?
20. What was your favourite character, what was she like, and what was your favourite part in it?

Noddy. Ask me about my favourite comedy movie was and I'll tell you it was Bambi.

[What did you like about Noddy?]

It was a school play in Standard Two. I looked like a little boy, short hair. My mother made me cut it all the time. There were no little boys who could sing.

[And what was Noddy like?]

Fun. Happy to be with. Happy go lucky.

[What was your favourite part in the story?]

The song. "I am a little Noddy man, and I always nod my head" ...

[And Bambi. What was the film like for you?]

It was full of sensitivity, full of love, kindness. I loved Bambi's little voice. Bambi's father was a ram with big horns who came to look after Bambi. Thumper was also in it. It was a sad story. The mother died.

[What was the story about?] About a fawn growing up with lots of friends. It has fun, learns things and meets a little girl. His mother teaches him about man. One day man comes into the forest but Bambi runs off and he's fine. The second time man comes into the forest Bambi's mother is shot. The father, the stag, takes Bambi off. There's also a fire ... Bambi has little girlfriend. They have little fawns and live happily ever after.

[And what was your favourite fairy tale?] Hansel and Gretel.

[What is the story about?] There's a little girl and boy. Their parents couldn't look after them. Their father decided he was going to give them enough food to keep them going and take them into the forest and leave them there. The kids take bread and find their way back by leaving little trails along the way. Their father takes them back into the forest and leaves them there. There's a house and an old witch there who says "Come in little kiddies. Come in". She puts them into cages, feeds them very well. She tries to get them nice and fat so she can cook them. Little Hansel gets out and throws her into the fire. It was a nice little house made of shortcake and candy and goodies which they take back home.

[Who was your favourite character?] Hansel and Gretel. I never liked the witch.

[Favourite TV program?] Catch Candy.

[What was it about?] Um ... a young girl running away. Running away from her parents. I don't remember it distinctly, but I remember enjoying it very much.

[OK. Thank you. That's all. Are there any questions you'd like to ask?]

No.

Appendix X : Life Script Interview Transcription 2

A. Background Information

Name: Colin¹

Age: 17 years

Sex: Male

[How long have you been in the home?]

For 13 years, ever since I was 4 years old.

[Who was/is in the family?]

My mom and dad, my step-mother and father. Sometimes I lived with my grandfather. With my father there is one step-sister (17) and step-brother (18). There is one step-brother with my mon who is in a special home. I hardly ever see him. There are two more brothers and sisters.

[How old are they?] My brothers are 15 and 20, and my sisters are 20 and 16.

[What was the reason why you went to the home?]

My parents were fighting. They had continuous fights, then they had a major fight which broke things up. The police came in and took my mother away and I stayed at the house. But my father used to assault me, sort of, everyday when he got home from school, I mean from work, for no reason sometime, sometime with reason. He would grab me up by my hair and hit me with a belt (NV : holds up imaginary person with one hand, hits imaginary person with belt in other hand). I think that's assaulting me. Is it assaulting me? [Yes, I would also call it that]. I think they went to East London, then I went to a farm to stay with relatives when I was small. They put me on a sheep or ram and the ram ran and I fell off. Then they started forcing me to eat food I didn't like. I went to stay with my grandpa. He had vicious dogs and used to send me out into the back yard. He knew that I was scared of the dogs. I spent an hour up on the swing pole trying to stay away from the dogs, escape from the dogs. Down there I didn't really eat properly because my grandpa's kids used to take my food off my plate. Then we went to stay on the Durban beachfront in some flats. They said they were going to put me into a home so that I could stay with my brother there and then

1. Any details that could identify the subject have been omitted from this transcript, and some details have been changed to ensure confidentiality.

they were going to take me out again. But they just left me there and came back after eight years. Then my mother wanted to take me out. She always carried on. She was shot, stabbed, hit with a bottle. When things like this happen I just used to walk out of the house. My mother's current husband fights and my mother used to come and say "Colin come and help me". Now I've grown up, but I said I can't because he was a man and I was a little boy. My mother moved to Vereeniging. They still fought. My mother said she was going to run away because the man was hitting her with a whip. We all told her that if she runs away then she must wake us up and tell us she is going but she didn't. So the next day, I walked off, trying to get a lift, hitchhiked back to Vereeniging. My mother made friends again and then they had another fight. My mother left taking us with her, hitching at one o'clock at night. Another man picked us up and took us to his house and took us back home. Then we went to Durban. She told us this man she was married to, he crooked her into marriage. We were living in Pickering Street. It was like scum. I haven't seen my father since he put me in a home. In my opinion, I'm getting close to finishing school now, and he started coming 2 years ago to take me on holiday, and eventually took me out of the home. But they did it in quite a sly way. They tried to be good to me and then when I left they just used me to do all the dirty work. My step mother treated her daughter and son better than she treated us. I was phoning my mom, phoning the committee, the welfare and they said they wanted to send me to trade school. But I knew they were lying and they decided to send me back to the home in Durban because they said they knew it was good for me but meanwhile I knew they were lying to me anyway.

[Who for you has been most like a mother?]

My mother.

[Who for you has been most like a father?]

No one.

B. Life Script Interview

1. What are you like? Describe yourself briefly¹

To boys or to girls?

[However you want to describe yourself]²

I'm hardworking ... I never give up easily, active, frustrated (NV : stutters in attempting to say the word).³ I always want to put others down. I get so cross about things.

[What about being different to boys and girls?] I'm different towards girls. In front of girls, I'm a different person, with the girls at the home. I don't really mix with girls. I watch what I'm gonna say, act mature. I don't like to ... I'm a shy person ... In front of girls, if I don't know them well ... I hardly speak to them. I have to think about what to say, try not to hurt their feelings. I'm harder on boys. I can mess around with them, play games. It's different with girls.

2. What are some of the things that you like about yourself?

What do you mean?

[Just things about yourself which you like]

I care about some things, not all things. I never give up. What's a word for a person who likes to look after himself? Um ... neat. My potential at sport. I don't know if this is important to you, but I can speak to you normally, but I can take you straight off the track I was on and you won't even know.

[Hmm]

In an argument, I can play tricks with words that will actually put him down, start taking him off the subject he was on, and take him onto another one. I can take them one thing onto another, and it eventually ends up with me being the winner.

[You speak about he?] The house father. Now he's found out that and can catch me. I just do it as it comes. Sometimes I'm aware of it; sometimes I don't even know that I'm doing it.

1. Underlined Questions as outlined in Appendix 1 (List Script Questionnaire).

2. [] = additional questions asked by researcher.

3. (NV:) denote significant non-verbal information.

[You said you care about some things. What might these be?]

... What was the question? It just happened to click off in my mind.

[Caring about things]

I care about my future. Is this what you want me to speak about?

[If it's what you want to speak about]

Ja, my future more than anything else. My sister and my mom and my schoolwork.

[About never giving up. Could you speak more about that?]

Say I have an argument, sometimes people want to stop it. I won't stop it. If I'm failing, like now, I still give it a bash and try pass, work harder. I never give up on fights, but sometimes ... you can't always win, [And looking after yourself?] (NV : laughs). To look neat and attractive so that I can feel good about myself. I don't want to walk around the street looking like scum. I want to look neat, have manners, be respected.

3. What are some of the things that you dislike about yourself?

If I'm working and someone interferes I get cross very quickly. It just comes. I've got too different kinds of personalities; at school and at home. At school I acted stupid, get immature. I like to make people think at school that I'm stupid. One guy at school now has punched some things into my head. This guy at my class actually tries to put you down, tries to be on top of the class. He's an odd person. I'm trying to keep my ranking in the class, my place in class. I don't like the way I treat my sister. She always comes to me with problems and I get frustrated. Like I've got enough problems my self. She comes to me with problems and she's very sensitive and she lands up swearing at me. I think I should speak to her about her problems but she's very very sensitive.

4. What did/does your mother like about you?

When I think of this I think there's something wrong here. I think my intelligence, how protective I was, and I'm caring ...

[You said you though that something is wrong there?]

My intelligence ... Did she just like me for that so she could use me when I got out of school, like by Dad tried to do? My mothers tells my cousins about how clever I am. She can say goodbye to any money or help I'll give her if she drinks or gets out of hand. But I'm not the type of person who is stupid.

[What do you mean by stupid?]

Letting other people use me. That's where my Dad came short. He would take me out for holidays. I worked in his shop. He took my money and spent it on racehorses and videos. My father used me for the dirty work, for work he didn't want to do, work that he couldn't do.

5. What did/does your mother dislike about you?

I think when she fights. I ran away because she was fighting, back to the home. She used to try and visit me and I said no, and eventually it was getting stupid. She always tries to keep her cool, but she still fights, gets out of hand. Now that I'm grown up I can help her with her problems. When I'm there she doesn't drink as much as in the past. In the past it was just drinking, drinking, drinking. When I'm there she hides the drink away.

6. What did/does your father like about you?

I think there's only one thing: that I was hardworking. He just wanted to me pass school and work in his business. I think that's the only think he liked about me - when I worked hard.

7. What did/does your father dislike about you?

That I never give up. I never give up with arguments. My step-mother always tried to decide who my friends should be and now I feel that's wrong. Like all my friends weren't big jollers or smokers, just normal people. She wanted them to me mayor of Johannesburg or something. They were much older, around 24, mine workers both going out with my older sisters.

8. Picture your mother and describe what she is like as a person and how she leads her life?

Who my mother or my step-mother?

[Your mother]

She is an alcoholic. That's the truth. She was very caring, generous, always willing to help somebody out. She likes to go out a lot. If an argument starts, she won't stop.

[How would you describe your step-mother?] Jealous, self-caring, she wasn't really bothered about us. She uses people, always wants her own way. She must be the main person.

12. What type of adult will you be like?

If I'm married or unmarried?

[How ever you think you'll be like as an adult]

If I was married I wouldn't mess around, like go to discos, pub crawling, I'd come home at the right time and sit with my wife. If I'm not married then I'll mess around.

[So you'll be different depending on whether you're married or not?]

Well, marriage is a good thing, a foundation towards future life and a home is a foundation as well. The home is better than where I used live. It teaches you good manners. Where I used to live was like scum. Although I disagree that the home is better, if I really think about it, then it is right.

13. What was life like when you were little?

Like hell. A bad experience. I think I wouldn't like my children, my kids, to go through that.

14. Describe the best feeling you've had in your life

I want to own a business, to have a good wife, good family, nice respectable family, friends, a good house. But at the moment I just don't feel like mixing with people in the world these days. I don't feel like mixing, but I have to, to communicate. I want to duck off somewhere. When I first went to school, I knew no- one at school and my marks were good. I did everything by myself, then I started mixing, knowing them and this brings down my marks ... and I want to duck off somewhere. Guys get shouted at an my attention goes on them and I can't concentrate on my schoolwork.

15. Describe the worst feeling that you've had in your life and that you have quite often?

You mean the worst feeling I've ever had or that I'm scared of having?

[Both if you like]

I'm scared of having to go to trade school. I'll mess up my life. I'm scared of my mother getting shot. I'm scared to hit a guy because I might kill him. That's with people in the home. There's lots of tension between me and the house parents. I disagree with them and he will try and catch me out for anything.

16. What do you think about yourself when you feel like this?

I usually show it. I think it makes me look a bit like an arsehole. It creates a bad impression of me.

17. What do you do when you feel like this?

When I'm frustrated I pick fights. Last year in the home and before that, most of the days I used to be assaulted. I don't want to speak about them because they're so bad, people hitting me in the home all the time. I don't hit. I just shout at them. I haven't hit someone for over a year. Only last night I hit someone and I think that's good. I learned to take out my frustration (NV : stutters saying the word) out by doing gym, running, or go surfing.

18. What nicknames have you had and what do they mean to you?

Spook, Snowman, Snowcat, Witkop. That's from my teacher.

[What do they mean to you?]

My colour, my complexion used to affect me very badly, and in public I get very cross about it. It's the worst when they say it in front of girls.

[Other nicknames?] They're bad names. Like Caspir and Georgie Porgie.

[And their meaning for you?] Georgie Porgie? I hate it. My second name is George.

[Its a type of rhyme isn't it. How does it go?]

Georgie Porgie pudding and pie, kissed the girls and made them cry. When the girls came out to play George Porgie ran away. They're mocking my name. They're just trying to tease me, torment me,

19. What was your favourite nursery rhyme, fairy tale, story book, or TV program when you were little?

20. Who was your favourite character, what was s/he like, and what was your favourite part in it?

There was a crude poem in Scope when I was in Standard 7 or 8, about a Mexican asking for a "sheet, it sounds like shit, on my bed". And Hickory Dickory Dock.

[How does Hickory Dickory Dock go? Recite it]

Hickory Dickory Dock. The mouse ran up the clock. I know how it should go but I say: The clock struck one and there were bits of mouse brains and blood all over the place. That's not the proper way. I just think its a joke. It sounds quite violent. It was in the same book as Scope. Quite different, quite a change.

[And fairly tales?]

Rumpelstiltskin, Cinderella.

[What are they about and what did you like about them?]

Rumpelstiltskin is where the lady hit the baby. Rumpelstiltskin gave the girl so many days to make the hay in gold. I liked him and the girls loved her baby so much and she would do anything to get her baby back.

[Who was your favourite character?]

Rumpelstiltskin and the girl. The king made the girl do the hay and Rumpelstiltskin did it for her because she couldn't do it.

[What was Rumpelstiltskin like?]

Quite a hard person. He couldn't have a baby so he wanted a baby.

[And your favourite part in the story?]

The different stages that the girl was actually set through to turn the hay into gold. And eventually she gave up everything she had, her baby, and went out to find his name.

[You also mentioned Cinderella. What was special about that fairly tale for you?]

I don't know ... I just remember when she ran down the stairs at the ball and something about a shoe. Cinderella was a slave.

[Story books?] I don't remember any favourite stories I had.

[TV programs?] I don't really watch TV.

[OK. Thank you. That's all. Are there any questions you'd like to ask?]

No.