Patients Studied through Family Members

SILVANO ARIETI MD

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Silvano Arieti, M.D.

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In this chapter, we shall begin to study individual cases. We shall start, not with the direct study of schizophrenic patients, but with an evaluation of the dynamic factors operating in their lives, as they appear from the treatment of a close relative. As a matter of fact, the schizophrenic patient to be reported in detail in this chapter was never seen by me, nor discussed in supervision with other colleagues. This seemingly unorthodox procedure has a definite purpose: to illustrate how much in some instances we can learn about the psychodynamics of schizophrenia from the special perspective of a close member of the family. Thus, although this procedure can be included in the framework of family studies, it has the additional advantages of an intensive individual psychotherapy. The distortions and unilateral views of the family member who was treated were carefully considered, analyzed, and corrected when recognized.

We shall also discuss in this chapter, in reference to a specific family, a problem that has puzzled many psychiatrists: even when the environment has been very adverse, most of the time only one of the siblings develops schizophrenia.

This chapter will illustrate that the parents and the family environment are the same for all the siblings in name only. The parents, in their feelings and in their conscious and unconscious attitudes, are different for each child. They may elicit a very destructive pattern of events in one child, and a less destructive one or one that is not destructive at all in another child. Siblings, in their attitudes and feelings, are also different toward one another or toward the parents, so that actually for each member of the same family the play of interpersonal forces is different. Of course, from a genetic point of view, too, the parents are different for each child, because they transmit to each of them a different set of genes. However, at this stage of our knowledge, we cannot assert that the different genetic endowment in siblings denies the importance of the variety of the psychodynamic contingencies to which they were exposed.

The information reported in this chapter was obtained from Peter, a severely neurotic patient with some schizoid traits, who was the brother of Gabriel, a full-fledged schizophrenic. After the cases of the two brothers have been presented individually, some comments

will be made concerning both of them and their family.

Peter

Peter [11] was a 23-year-old male of Jewish extraction, born in Central Europe. After the German invasion of his native land, his family moved to a South American country, where they have resided since then. Peter started to complain of nervous symptoms about a year prior to the beginning of psychiatric treatment. After trying every kind of physical treatment in South America, the parents felt that a trip to the United States would do him some good. In the United States Peter continued to be distressed by his symptoms and consulted a physician, who advised him to see a psychiatrist.

During the first interview, the patient appeared morose and preoccupied. He could hardly speak English and expressed himself mostly in Spanish. He said that he perspired all over, had repeated attacks of diarrhea, could not sleep, and felt always tired and tense. These symptoms abated somewhat when he was not in the company of others. He added that when he was very tense, his nose would first become clogged, then red and swollen. He was worried lest people

would see this disfiguration of his face. He also said that he felt guilty over the death of his brother Gabriel, who had been affected by schizophrenia and had recently committed suicide. Peter felt that maybe he too was affected by an organic disease of the brain, and that maybe "a bad heredity ran in the family." He was very disturbed.

Psychotherapy was recommended, and Peter agreed to it. For many sessions the main topic was the patient's parents. The mother, 43 years old, was described by Peter as a fearful person who had no confidence in herself. Although she was well educated and spoke many languages, she always claimed that she did not know anything and did not want to participate in any discussion. When the family moved to South America, she was afraid to make social contacts to such a point that she had not succeeded in making a single friend in the new country. When she was introduced to people, she blushed and was so nervous that she could not even pronounce her own name. Peter felt he could never confide in her. To use his own words, he never heard one thing from her that he liked to hear. Talks between mother and son would usually end in fights. She criticized everything he did: his work, his girl friends, his attitude toward his father, and so forth. She also never praised him. When he was a child, she hit him repeatedly;

during the beatings he would smile at her in defiance. She put him to bed at half-past six every evening until he was 6 years old.

Peter never experienced any feeling of closeness for his mother; on the contrary, he always had contempt for her. In the beginning of the treatment he thought that maybe he loved her, but then he felt that he really did not. It was difficult for him to make such an admission, for he experienced guilt feelings for not loving her. He had forced himself to love her because a child should love his mother, but no real warmth or love had existed between them. Peter did not remember, except in very rare instances, having been kissed or hugged by his mother. She had been equally cold and distant, or even more so, toward Gabriel.

Peter's mother had always been unhappy, more so after the death of her second child. Peter knew that his grandmother had treated her badly, and that she had married his father to escape from her parents. At first she did not care for her husband, but finally she "adjusted" to him. Now mother was the father's most powerful ally in any controversy between him and the patient.

Peter's father, 51 years old, had played the most important role in Peter's life. According to the patient, he was a mechanical genius. In Europe he was a farmer, and mechanical engineering was his hobby; but in South America he had gone into the business of building machines for farmers. With little means, he had built marvelous machines and had had a few new agricultural implements patented.

Peter's father had peculiar habits. He got up at six o'clock in the morning, worked the whole day without any relaxation, and went to bed at six o'clock in the evening. He ate in bed, spoke to his wife about business for a few minutes, and then went to sleep. He was also as fearful as the mother was, but in a different way. Ever since Peter was a baby, he had heard his father say that they had to be careful, because "People are bad. They are ready to cheat you and steal from you if you are not careful enough." Peter's father cultivated no friends. His only interest was to save money. "Save, save; save everything in every way" was his motto. For instance, when he brushed his teeth, he used the minimum amount of tooth powder. Peter was proud of his father because he knew that to save was a good thing. Another of his father's mottoes, which he liked to hear when he was a child was, "Foolish people make shit of gold; wise people make gold of shit." Peter's father

would also praise wise people who were able to overcome the innumerable adversities of life. Peter listened to him with great admiration and was always convinced that his father was right. His father never told him, "You have to do so-and-so," but he merely said, "I did so-and-so," and that was enough. The paternal examples were an unbreakable code of behavior for Peter.

Father had been very considerate of Peter since the day he was born; he seemed to concentrate his attention on him and to neglect Gabriel. He used to tell Peter many stories, whose purpose, Peter thought, was only entertainment. But, as Peter discovered during treatment, his father, with his stories, had been constantly seeking admiration from the child. His father would say that many of the stories were episodes from his own life. Peter remembers that when he was 4, his father had already told him of his adventures during the war against Russia. He had many scars on his arms and would exhibit them and say that they were the results of wounds sustained in fighting against a large number of Russians. Peter would listen in ecstatic reverence, but, at the age of 6, he heard from an uncle that his father had never been in the war. Later he even found out that his father had been a deserter, and for several years during the war had

hidden himself in a cellar. Peter was ready to excuse his father, feeling that he had to lie to "undo the truth," and preserve the honor of the family. The other stories that his father used to tell him concerned children who had been massacred in wars; some were about gypsies who had stolen children and had cut their throats with a sharp knife, after which the children had died a slow death, having been in agony for hours and hours. Father used to tell Peter these stories while he was sitting on his lap and would often simulate a cutting knife with his hands, laughingly saying, "We have to *schecht* [2] this child."

The stories that Peter's father told emphasized the evilness of life. The world was terrible; Peter had better be careful and stay near his father for protection. Father, or a paternal figure, was the hero and the protector, who would solve all the problems. For instance, Peter's father would often mention how he had eliminated the economic difficulties of his own parents by working hard since he had been a child. What a good child he had been, and what a wonderful man he had become! In Peter there was a strong desire to emulate him, but at the same time he experienced anxiety because he felt that he would not be able to be a good child, according to his father's standards. His father never seemed to be satisfied; he often complained of how much

the family was making him suffer; too much money was spent, too little work was accomplished, and so on. He never seemed to be pleased and never praised Peter or any other members of the family. Moreover, he often made impossible demands. Peter remembers that once when he was 4 Vi years old, he went for a walk with his father in the country. They came to a narrow brook. Father wanted to go to the other side of this brook, but because there was no bridge, he decided to pick Peter up and throw him over to the other side on the grass. However, he did not succeed in doing so, and Peter fell into the middle of the brook and got all wet. For a second the child was scared and looked at his father. There he was, laughing. Why did father laugh? Peter thought he did so to reassure him; but was it really so? During the treatment, Peter realized that there had always been a double meaning in what his father did. That was what had confused him more than anything else.

Peter's father also had had the habit of simulating William Tell. He used to ask Peter to hold a piece of wood in his hand, and then he would shoot at the wood with a real gun from a distance of a few yards. While this was happening, Peter's mother would be infuriated and would scream from the window of the house, horrified at the

possibility of an accident. The patient felt that his mother was a despicable coward who did not want to give him a chance to prove his courage and heroism to father.

Much later, when Peter was working for his father on a farm, and was using a big agricultural machine, the little finger of his right hand got caught in the teeth of a large cogwheel. The wheel was moving only in one direction so that it was not possible for the finger to be freed unless the whole machine was dismantled. Peter decided immediately to keep the machine moving even if it meant losing a finger. He tolerated the pain very well as the machine was amputating the last phalanx. After receiving first aid, he left the farm and ran to his parents' home, proud of himself, hoping that he would receive admiration for his heroic gesture. But even then he was disappointed. His parents did not seem to be pleased.

At other times the patient would expose himself to dangers in the jungle, hunting snakes and other wild beasts in an attempt to obtain recognition from his father. The few times that he got recognition, his anxiety was not relieved because he felt that now he had a bigger task; that is, he had to retain that level of attainment. He felt that the

demands on him would increase. He was therefore always in a state of self-perpetuating anxiety caused by a feeling of nonfulfillment. In his own words, he was "running after an escaping goal, like a child runs after the moon." This anxiety, which originated in relation to his father, increased with his contacts with other persons, whom he experienced as father substitutes.

The father never paid enough attention to Gabriel, who never admired him as Peter did. Somehow, the father did not seek as much admiration from the second child.

Apparently Peter was not fully aware of his own anxiety and state of unhappiness. He lived with a modicum of stability, conferred on him by the security he obtained in trying to fulfill his father's demands. But, to use his own words, "To sustain myself on father was like sustaining myself on quicksand . . . but even quicksand is better than nothing. Without that quicksand there would have been only emptiness."

The situation remained about the same until an important event occurred in the family. At the end of World War II, a cousin, Miriam, and her husband, Leo, arrived from Europe. Through the good offices

of Peter's father, they had been able to obtain a visa to immigrate to South America. After their arrival, it was decided that Peter and Leo would go to a farm owned by the father to work together. Father was enthusiastic about the farm and told them that they could become millionaires. It was agreed that Leo would get one-half of the profit, Peter one-fourth, and his father one-fourth. Peter started to work with great enthusiasm and hope. They had to chop away the wild vegetation of the jungle, cut the trees, seed new plants, remove stones, build cabins, and so on. Lecf, Peter, and a group of natives worked an average of sixteen hours a day. But the father was never satisfied. Now and then he would come from the city to inspect and would always have a great many criticisms to make. Because it was new land, not yet cultivated, he had to invest money. He resented that and was incapable of waiting for the results. Father started to talk against Leo, telling Peter how lazy Leo was, what a bum he was, how incapable he was of fulfilling his obligations.

But now, for the first time in his life, Peter had been exposed to close contact with another adult and could no longer accept the derogatory attitude of his father. Leo seemed to be a very nice man. Peter often compared him with his father and could see how much

better Leo was. Leo knew how to enjoy life; he knew how to work, but also how to play. He would talk, not about money or work exclusively, but also about sports and women. A friendship grew between the two. Peter discovered a new world; he came to know that a different life existed and realized that his home had been a "living grave." At the same time he was tom by conflicts. Maybe father was right. Leo was too self-indulgent; maybe he could think about trivial things because he was a mediocre man, not a genius like father.

Three months after they had started to work, Leo told Peter that his father wanted to change his verbal agreement and give Leo only one-third of the profit. Peter became very indignant and went to the city to argue with his father. It was the first time in his life that he opposed his father. Violent verbal fights resulted. Father told mother, "Peter is not our son; he is Leo's son." Peter tried to persuade his parents to change their opinion of Leo, but it was not possible to convince them. He went on working for a while with Leo, but the altercations continued. This situation deteriorated rapidly, so that the work on the farm had to be stopped, and the farm was sold.

From that time on, Peter's symptoms became manifest. He

became aware of a state of anxiety whenever he had to perform a task. When in company, he was afraid that his nose would become swollen. Often he was tormented by acute pain in his chest and stomach. He would perspire conspicuously.

During the course of treatment, Peter improved gradually. Many months were devoted to the analysis of his relations with his parents. Whereas in the very beginning he had claimed that he loved his father and mother, later his real feelings for them became obvious. He had fantasies in which he imagined that he was quarreling with his parents. At first these fantasies occupied all of his free time. All his thoughts had only one purpose, namely, to show his parents that they were wrong. He also realized that his actions always had one of two purposes, either to fulfill his father's expectations or to prove that he was wrong. In order to act, he would have to give himself an order: "Do this, do that; you don't do well enough." He recognized that these were the words of the incorporated father. Every action was loaded with anxiety. He had many dreams that repeated almost the same scene. He was doing something wrong; his father was dissatisfied, but ostensibly seemed to approve. In the dream Peter had the feeling that his father did not mean to approve and felt worse than if he had openly disapproved.

He had recurrent dreams in which sharks appeared. One of these typical dreams is the following: Peter is in the ocean, riding on the back of a shark. There are many other sharks in the water, so that it is safe to be on the back of one of them. The shark he is on goes up and down, in and out of the water, producing in Peter a fear of drowning.

Another of the dreams is the following: Peter is pushed into the water by an invisible force. In the water he sees many sharks devouring human beings. A shark comes toward him. At first he is afraid, but then he sees that the shark is smiling and is going to kiss him. Peter laughs, and also kisses the shark, but has the feeling of degrading himself.

Peter remembers that he has had dreams about sharks since the age of 4, at which time he liked the company of Irving, a much older cousin, who would tell him stories. His father did not want him to stay with Irving; he would say, "Don't stay near him; I don't like him. We don't know him well enough. He may be a bad man. He may even have syphilis." Peter remembers that his father would say the same thing

about any person with whom he would associate. He was apparently jealous and wanted Peter's admiration only for himself.

One day Irving explained about sharks to Peter. "Sharks are animals who seem very tame and nice; but finally in a treacherous way they come near you and eat you up." After that, Peter's feelings for Irving changed. He felt distant from him; he felt that his father had been right, and that maybe Irving had syphilis. He could not understand why his feelings changed, but in the course of treatment he realized that he had unconsciously identified the shark with his father, and that he had wanted to reject this identification, which Irving, with his talks, had made possible. In the dreams, Peter realized, father is an evil shark, but a protecting one who defends him from the other sharks who populate this horrible world. At the same time this protecting shark causes anxiety too (jumping up and down, in and out of the water, indicating uncertain approval). In order to survive, he has to debase himself, to kiss the shark, to submit himself to the horrible father

During treatment Peter acquired gradual understanding, and the intensity of anxiety decreased. The psychosomatic symptoms all

disappeared. In situations which represented an unusual task for him, however, the anxiety tended to recur. When treatment was terminated, he had integrated better socially, but was still uncertain about the future. He went out with girls and had successful sexual relations. He still had the tendency to lean on strong people, whom he accepted as authorities. He had intellectual insight about his dependent attitude, and succeeded in controlling it to a certain extent. He was able to immigrate to the United States with a permanent visa, but he was uncertain what his definitive residence would be. Two or three years after termination of treatment he wrote to me from a distant town, notifying me that he would return to South America.

Gabriel

This is the story of Gabriel as it was reconstructed from the information obtained during the treatment of Peter.

Gabriel was born two and one-half years after Peter. The mother's attitude toward Gabriel was the same as toward Peter; she was a cold and hostile person whose main role was a punitive one. On the other hand, the father's attitude toward Gabriel was vey much

different from the one he had toward Peter. Gabriel and his father did not seem to care for each other. In the beginning of treatment, Peter felt that Gabriel never had had much interest in their father; but later on he discovered that their father had had no interest in Gabriel. He seemed to have had his needs satisfied by the admiration and love that he received from Peter and did not seem to have needed Gabriel. He was much cooler toward the second child. Gabriel would seldom come to listen to his father's stories and did not show any admiration or enthusiasm for him. In return, his father gave him practically no affection. A different pattern was thus established, one of detachment. The very few times that the parents showed consideration for Gabriel, they did not evoke a satisfactory response. On the other hand, the attitude of Gabriel toward Peter was different. Gabriel was rather shy and had difficulty in making friends. He wanted to lean on Peter for companionship, but Peter resented that and was not willing to please him. Peter was jealous of his friends; he had the feeling that Gabriel wanted to steal them from him and used to tell him to find his own friends. Gabriel sometimes wanted to play "cops and robbers" with Peter and his friends, but he was not good enough. Peter used to make fun of him and would often refer to his funny ears, which would

greatly embarrass Gabriel.

Peter felt that Gabriel did not belong in his company and used every possible means to show that Gabriel was inferior to him. He remembers that up to the age of 12 Gabriel used to cry loudly for long periods of time. He would cry in fury, and Peter would make fun of him. Whenever Gabriel went to his father to complain about his brother, the father would scold Peter, but not in a forceful way. Peter knew that his father did not mean to punish him and therefore was not fearful. Gabriel soon used to forget the fights with Peter, and after a short time would go to his brother again for companionship; he wanted to follow Peter, as Peter's own shadow did, but he was almost always rejected.

Gabriel showed no enthusiasm for anything; he was quiet, spoke very little, and often nobody knew that he was there. He would never ask for toys and never got anything. The father used to say that Gabriel was not even interested in toys; when Peter got the toys and Gabriel tried to touch them, however, he was rebuffed by Peter. There were moments, nevertheless, when Peter and Gabriel understood each other and enjoyed their mutual companionship. The very few times

that Peter fought with his parents, he sought out Gabriel and felt love for him. Gabriel was glad to be on Peter's side and give him support.

In school Gabriel was a very good student. The teachers would say that he learned much better than Peter. He was particularly good in writing and drawing. At home he was a very obedient child; he would never rebel. Both Peter and Gabriel complied, but in a different way. Peter's was an active compliance, Gabriel's a passive one. Peter participated actively and was emotionally involved with what the parents expected of him, because he expected a reward or praise from them. Gabriel obeyed blindly, without openly objecting, but without enthusiasm. Often he would not even say a word. He seemed to be interested only in playing chess and showed remarkable aptitude for that game from early childhood.

When the parents decided to immigrate to South America, their disinterest in the children increased. They were concerned about their own future, were extremely anxious, and had long discussions about their plans for South America. Peter tried to add some words to the discussions, to show approval for his father's plans, but Gabriel took no part. If he did, no attention was paid to him anyhow. He was like a

shadow, always present and, in a certain way, always absent, unable to separate himself totally and unable to participate. On the ship to South America, Peter made some friends. Gabriel did not, but he followed his brother, only to be repulsed again with, "Go away, don't follow me; find your own friends."

At the age of 13, Gabriel started to do less well in school than he had before. One of the teachers remarked that he used to be such a good student and that now he was much less attentive and diligent. The mother began to be a little concerned and wanted to find the cause for this; the father did not care. At times, in Gabriel's presence, the parents used to discuss what to do with him because he was not good in school. In these discussions he would listen without giving any opinion. He transferred to a business school, but after a year it was decided to have him moved to an agricultural boarding school, with the hope that he would do better there. He remained there until he was 15Vi. He visited the family only twice during the time he attended that school. The second time he came home, he had grown tall and looked like an athlete. After supper, the two brothers went for a walk. Peter asked, "Tell me something about your girls." Gabriel did not answer; then, suddenly, as Peter repeated the question, he said,

sighing, "You don't know what is happening there." Peter asked, "What's happening? Tell me; I am your brother." Gabriel replied, "I cannot tell you." Later he mumbled something about experiences with prostitutes. A few months later Gabriel came back unexpectedly. He had a peculiar expression on his face and smoked one cigarette after another. Suddenly he said, "I don't want to be in the school anymore. I am tired of being without money. I want to work."

After that, he worked in a few places, but without success. The parents became more alarmed and more critical of him. The father bought a small farm near the city and told him, "Gabriel, this farm is for you." From that day on, however, Gabriel was showered with much advice from his father and mother. They would always tell him what to do or not to do on the farm. He had no right to change anything or to give any orders. He was very tense and insecure, but he would never complain. He talked less and less. He wanted to plant according to the instructions he had received from the school, but his mother would interfere and even tell him in which order he had to plant the vegetables. Gabriel had difficulty in expressing himself, could not argue, and yielded to his mother's relentless pressure.

One day Gabriel suddenly said, "I don't want to go to the farm anymore. It is too far." The parents exploded. "What? Who do you think we are? Millionaires? We are still working for you. We worked hard to buy you this farm." Peter joined in this criticism. Gabriel was considered a parasite, the black sheep of the family. He walked around the house, smoking incessantly, writing his name on sheets of paper, and reading pornographic books.

The father bought another farm where Gabriel could stay without the necessity of commuting, but his work did not improve. Gabriel gave wrong orders to the workers, who made fun of him. He would barter his food for their cigarettes. Once a month he would go to the city to see his parents. He was sloppy, did not shave, would laugh occasionally without cause. He used to beg for cigarettes. Occasionally he would pick up cigarette butts from the street. He would go for long walks alone. He used to play chess with Peter at night, and he seemed to enjoy that. Peter had the impression that Gabriel liked to stay with him, in spite of the fact that Peter had sided with their parents in criticizing him for not working. Gabriel was told, "The Nazis used to kill people who did not work. Now you are here, free, and you don't want to work." After these long sessions. Gabriel would smile and

mumble some words. Once, during lunch, he suddenly stood up, with tears running down his cheeks, and with a convulsive voice told his father, "I know what you want to do to me. You can't. You will see what I'll do." Then he went out of the room, crying loudly. A few days later he started to say that the radio was broadcasting news about him—that his father had given the radio station orders to talk about him.

One day Gabriel sold a gold watch and his coat at a ridiculously small price. When he was asked by his parents why he had done so, he replied, "I thought that at least these things belonged to me and that I could do what I wanted with them." Even at this point the parents did not consider the possibility of having him treated; on the contrary, they would mention the possibility of sending him to a psychiatric hospital as a threat. "You do a foolish thing once more and we shall send you to the insane asylum."

After Gabriel had been away from home for a period of twenty-four hours, a psychiatrist was finally consulted. During the examination, done in the presence of the whole family, Gabriel spoke incoherently about trains and "locomotives." He divided the word *locomotive* into *loco* and *motive*. *Loco* in Spanish means "crazy." "He

wonders about the motive that drives him crazy," said the psychiatrist. He made the diagnosis of schizophrenia and recommended hospitalization. Gabriel was hospitalized in a private mental hospital, where he received a series of shock treatments. After two months he was discharged, though no improvement was made. When he came home, his hostility toward the parents increased. He would call his mother "poisonous snake"; to his father he would often say, "One day I'll show you what I shall do." He did not show any hate for Peter; he continued to follow him and to play chess with him. Peter continued to lecture him, asking him, "Why do you laugh in that silly way?" Once Gabriel replied, "Don't be a fool; don't you see, it is my nerves; it is not my fault."

After a few months Gabriel was hospitalized again in a public psychiatric hospital. He was there only three months. He was very unhappy and begged the parents to take him out. His father used to tell him, "How can I take you out? You will do the same foolish things again." When Peter visited him, Gabriel begged him to stay a little longer. He used to talk about his delusions. He would often say that in the hospital there was a pilot who had come down with his plane. He wanted to die, but he could not die. They beat him in the hospital; he

had no peace. The father finally yielded and took Gabriel home. At home he walked aimlessly and talked to himself. In the evening he used to play chess with Peter. By this time he played very badly. Occasionally, in some moves, he would show a spark of brilliance reminiscent of the way he used to play, but then with wrong moves he would spoil the game.

Gabriel was sent to a doctor for vitamin injections. One morning there was an argument with his father. He wanted to go to another doctor he knew, not the one his father had selected. He did not want vitamins any more. His father and mother again coerced him to go, saying, "It is good for you; you need the injections." Gabriel went. When he came back, he said he wanted to go to the farm and left for the country. When he arrived there, a girl who was working on the farm said, "Here comes the ioco.' " Gabriel went into a room where a rifle was kept, took it, and aiming it at his frontal region, shot himself. He died instantly.

This account of Gabriel's illness is a very incomplete one. It gives us only what Peter observed at a behavior level. No access to Gabriel's inner experiences has been possible. However, if we add to this

account what we have learned from Peter about the parents, we are in a position to reach some understanding.

The cases of these two brothers are enlightening because they reveal how the different attitudes of the parents are related to the different illnesses in the two children: a severe psychoneurosis in Peter, a fatal schizophrenia in Gabriel.

The attitude of the mother did not show great variation in relation to one child or the other. This woman, who had married to escape from the tyranny of her own mother, found herself tied to a man she detested. Seeing herself trapped and too weak and too afraid to fight a husband with a strong-willed personality, she gradually succeeded in deceiving herself. She became able to believe that her husband was a good man, and she learned to submit to all his wishes. Unconsciously, of course, she was full of hostility toward this man, hostility that was discharged on the defenseless children. She went to the extent of allying herself with her husband whenever a disagreement arose between the father and children. Overcritical, petulant, and at the same time detached, she gave the children neither love nor support.

There is enough evidence from what we know about this family to make us deduce that the attitude of the mother was a very important psychogenetic factor in the illness of the children, both because of what she did and of what she did not do. However, it is the different role that the father played in the life of the two children that could explain the diverging patterns that their illnesses assumed. In my experience, this father is one of the few parents who comes close or even surpasses the picture of the schizophrenogenic parent portrayed in some psychiatric literature. We have enough proof that he had very pronounced narcissistic and sadistic traits. The role commonly attributed in psychiatric literature to the mother was in this instance played by the father. As we have seen in several of the little episodes reported, in relation to both Peter and Gabriel the father used that doublebind type of communication that Bateson and collaborators were later to describe in detail (1956). In the context of the disturbed personalities of father and mother and of the family climate that they created, father's communications, with their multiplicity of understandings, meanings, and implications, were difficult for the sons to handle. Peter tried to cope with them although with great anxiety; Gabriel did not even try.

Although maladjusted to a marked degree, the father managed to survive by succeeding in manipulating the lives of the people around him, and by creating his little neurotic world in which he could satisfy his own mental aberrations. He succeeded in overwhelming the personality of his wife to such a point that, though she detested him, she became his faithful servant and ally; he made Peter a tool with which to fulfill his tremendous desire for admiration and completely ignored Gabriel, who was thus exposed only to hostility or to indifference.

The father showed great interest in Peter, but of what kind, and for what purpose? Was that a genuine love, based only on the interest of the child? By depicting the whole world as a horrible and dangerous place, populated only by criminals (the sharks), the father enormously increased Peter's dependency on him. The father became the hero, the savior, the only one who would rescue him from the dangers. His desire for admiration and for being worshipped like a god were thus fulfilled. The price Peter had to pay for such protection was his complete submission to the paternal authority. That was an impossible task, because his father's demands were insatiable and unattainable. Peter was constantly afraid that he could not fulfill the requests of his

father and that his father would punish him. The father, too, symbolically became a shark; he might punish Peter by withdrawing what little love he had offered him, a love that was very little and not genuine, but the only love available to Peter in his whole life, and therefore extremely valuable. The father's interest was demonstrated, not by manifestation of affection, but by continuous stimulation toward fulfillment of goals that quite often could not be attained. Peter could have detected, through these manifestations of pseudolove, the underlying hostility and narcissism if this need for love had not blinded him.

Peter's anxiety, which originated from his relationship with his father, spread to all persons who had authority, and finally to everybody. Every human being became an irrational authority, a shark, who would reject him or actually injure him unless he showed either superhuman ability or extreme compliance or obliging self-destruction (as in the case of the mutilation of his finger).

The security that he obtained by living as he did was only partial, and in a certain way this renewed his anxiety, repeating a vicious circle. As he himself put it, he felt that he was living on quicksand, but

that without that quicksand there would be nothing else, only emptiness.

Gabriel did not get even that quicksand. By concentrating on Peter, the father's narcissistic requirements were satisfied in a certain way. He obtained enough admiration from the elder, very compliant son. It was not necessary for him to spend energy and renew the same effort with Gabriel when he was born. Thus he showed no interest, not even pseudointerest, in Gabriel, although at the same time he asked for strict compliance from him too. Gabriel did comply, but as we have already mentioned, in a different way from Peter. Peter believed in his father, wanted to comply because he would get something in return, even though very little, and tried to accept his father's wishes and his conception of the world. Gabriel complied passively, went through the motions of the requested acts, and in order to do so had to learn to detach himself. This detachment was a necessity for him, the only possible defense, because it would have been too painful not to be detached. The adults were insufferable people; it was better not to be involved with them. This detachment, at the time, was very realistic; but for him it somehow became a boomerang because it made his father even more detached from him. The father would say that Gabriel was not interested in anything, not even in toys; why, then, should he bother with him, why should he tell him stories, buy him things, spend time on him, and so on? A self-perpetuating vicious circle was thus established. Furthermore this detachment did not abate the parental bad images. As we have seen, Peter also retained a conscious bad image of the mother, but had repressed entirely the bad image of the father. Gabriel, on the contrary, retained in consciousness the bad images of both parents.

Unfortunately we do not have as much detailed information about Gabriel as we have about Peter, but we know enough to be able to picture him in his years of development in a very unhealthy atmosphere. He had no chance to assert himself; his will was always crushed by his parents, who were not able to give him anything except material care. Since early childhood he made strong attempts to cope with the situation by detaching himself, but that defense finally proved inadequate. His adolescence was a crescendo of frustration, anxiety, and injury to self-esteem. The only person who theoretically could have saved Gabriel from the psychosis was Peter. In fact, we have seen how many times Gabriel had tried to get close to him. He needed him desperately, but was almost always rebuffed by Peter too. Peter was

too sick himself, too deprived, too worried about complying with his parents' demands, too much in need to assert his superiority in respect to a weaker person like his brother, to be able to help him.

When the first symptoms of the psychosis occurred, these symptoms were interpreted as manifestations of laziness and rebelliousness. Even when the illness was already at an advanced stage the parents did nothing about it. This attitude, of course, cannot be attributed to ignorance. Both parents were well-educated people; they could not see, as usual, because they could not accept the facts. They remained as blind as they had always been to any psychological manifestations. When the illness was advanced, Gabriel asserted himself in a psychotic way. He sold things that belonged to him. He undersold them, but they were his; by underselling them, he proved that he could do what he wanted. In his delusional system, his father was the persecutor; he had given orders to the radio station to talk about him. There was no displacement of the original wrongdoer, as occurs in the majority of cases, and not even partial repression of the bad image of the father. He identified himself with the pilot of the plane that had fallen down, a man unable to live and fly and yet unable to die. He felt that people were torturing him.

After his discharge from the hospital, Gabriel gave several indications that he wanted to kill himself. No steps were taken to remove the weapons from his surroundings, however, and he finally killed himself. His last act was a liberation for himself and a revenge against his parents. [3]

Notes

- [1] All names of patients in this book are fictitious and identifying data have been altered.
- [2] Jewish word for "cutting" or "slaughtering."
- The reader may be interested to know that approximately fifteen years after termination of Peter's treatment, while traveling in South America, I unexpectedly went to visit him. I found him well adjusted, a happy husband and a proud father. He was well established professionally. The mother had in the meantime died. The relation with the father had much improved. Peter received me enthusiastically, with warmth, devotion, and festivity, almost as if the president of the United States had gone to visit him.

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