INTERPRETATION OF SCHIZOPHRENIA

Postpartum Schizophrenic Pyschoses

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e-Book 2016 International Psychotherapy Institute

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I
General Remarks

Postpartum schizophrenic and schizophrenic-like psychoses must be considered in a larger frame of reference that includes all psychiatric conditions occurring after childbirth. The relations between pregnancy-labor-puerperium and the occasional occurrence of psychiatric conditions must be investigated.

The question occurring to many psychiatrists is whether pregnancy, labor, puerperium, lactation, and so on, produce an organic alteration in the mother sufficient to cause concomitant psychiatric disorders. Such alterations would be mediated through an endocrine disequilibrium. Hamilton (1962) believes that there is conclusive evidence that late postpartum syndromes are associated with diminished secretory activity of the thyroid gland. He believes that the adrenal gland, too, particularly through its production of certain corticosteroids, may be involved in postpartum syndromes, especially

those that occur early in the puerperium. A postpartum involution of the pituitary is also considered responsible for the disorders. All these interpretations are hypothetical and not conclusively confirmed. As a matter of fact, previous authors have reported opposite findings, for instance, hyperactivity of the thyroid gland.

Another point of view sees the postpartum syndrome as resulting from special metabolic processes occurring during pregnancy. As a matter of fact, psychoses do occur more frequently in patients who had eclampsias and other toxic conditions. Another possibility is that the labor acted merely as a physical stress situation, eliciting mechanisms similar to those occurring in so-called combat psychoses or in those psychoses that follow surgery. Still another possibility is that the labor merely precipitates a latent psychosis that may have existed for a long time.

It is my belief that a certain number of psychiatric conditions occurring postpartum must be included in the category of toxic-exhaustive delirium. In the presence of a psychiatric condition occurring after birth, the psychiatrist must first of all evaluate whether he is in the presence of a postpartum delirium. All the other conditions

that are not deliriums must be considered to a large extent psychogenic. Common postpartum conditions are: schizophrenia in all its varieties, psychotic depression, mild depressive attacks (postpartum blues), obsessive-compulsive psychoneurosis, phobias, hypochondriasis, anxiety states. This vast variety of clinical syndromes would seem at first to indicate that childbirth is only a precipitating event. Actually, the more we study each case psychodynamically, the more we realize that the experience of giving birth to a child was an episode of such magnitude as to require a complete psychological readjustment on the part of the patient. Chertok (1969) writes that maternity appears to be an integrative crisis in women's psychosexual development. The assuming of the maternal role involves the revival of the structuring conflicts that have marked the mother's personal history and molded her identifications. Chertok adds that "childbirth is the 'end'—at least a temporary one—of this crisis, and also frequently its culminating point. The way in which it is experienced depends upon the woman's whole past history; at the same time, it is exposed to the hazards of a crucial moment in time and may have a directive effect on the future." These words seem to be even more pertinent in relation to women who develop psychiatric conditions after childbirth.

I believe that the revival of the structuring conflicts at times necessitates psychopathological developments. The psychopathology is the result of the interplay of the conflicts of the patient and of the psychological defenses that she can build up. Childbirth was thus an essential factor in the engendering of the disorder.

It is a common belief that postpartum conditions are less common today, and as a matter of fact, there are many fewer reports about these conditions in the current psychiatric literature than in the literature of a few decades ago. A recent good article from the point of view of the manifest symptomatology and statistics is by Protheroe (1969).

In my opinion this belief is not correct. Perhaps postpartum deliriums and full-fledged psychoses are less common because prenatal care and medical assistance during labor and puerperium have improved. However, less pronounced conditions are, in my opinion, very common, and schizophrenic and affective psychoses are not rare.

Childbirth affects many women in different ways. As a matter of

fact, under close psychodynamic examination, various psychiatric disorders that occur long after the birth of a child reveal themselves to have started as early as three days after the birth of the child, although nobody suspected so. After the birth of the child the woman was requested to make adjustments of which she considered herself incapable. The particular childbirth that was followed by a psychiatric disorder is the one that required the woman to reevaluate her feminine identity (Shainess, 1966).

Psychoses due to childbirth are reported differently by various authors (see also Hamilton, 1962). According to Davidson (1936), schizophrenia and manic-depressive psychosis each constituted 30 percent of postpartum psychiatric disorders. For Boyd (1942), manic-depressive psychosis constituted 40 percent; schizophrenia, 20 percent; deliriums, 28.5 percent; psychoneuroses, 6 percent. Strecker and Ebaugh (1926) reported 34 percent deliriums; 36 percent manic-depressive; 26 percent schizophrenia. Protheroe (1969), in England, reported almost twice as many cases of affective psychoses as compared with schizophrenic psychoses. It is worth considering that these data were collected in periods when manic-depressive psychosis and deliriums occurred (or were diagnosed) much more frequently

than today. Possibly a higher incidence of schizophrenia would appear in more recent statistics. On the other hand I have noted, much to my regret, that even in very reputable psychiatric centers women who presented postpartum neuroses were freely diagnosed as being affected by postpartum schizophrenia. Many obsessive women who presented the fear that they were going to hurt or neglect the child were diagnosed as schizophrenic. The occurrence of obsessive-compulsive psychoneurosis and of phobic syndromes is quite common after childbirth.

There is no doubt that full-fledged postpartum psychoses are very rare in some countries. Some prominent European obstetricians have not seen even one case. Because the diagnosis is very easy, this discrepancy cannot be attributed to diagnostic difficulties. Cultural reasons probably play an important role. In some countries motherhood strengthens the woman's self-image, no matter how severe are her conflicts and the psychological adversities to which she was subjected.

II
Symptomatology and Psychodynamics

Almost without exception there are no symptoms of postpartum schizophrenic psychosis in the first two days after the birth of the child. In the majority of cases symptoms develop from the third to the fifteenth day. The largest incidence is on the sixth day. We have already mentioned that although in some atypical cases mild symptoms or a different outlook toward life and oneself could be traced back to a period as early as the third day, the symptomatology may not become manifest until a few weeks or months later.

The prodromal symptoms are restlessness, exhaustion, irritability, rapid change of mood, and insomnia. These symptoms may pass unnoticed, because the patient at this stage is not able to verbalize how she feels. People who take care of the patient generally attribute these symptoms to the stress of having given birth. Soon, however, the symptoms become more prominent. The patient becomes suspicious, confused, makes statements that are not understood, and seems concerned over inconsequential matters. Finally she expresses definite delusions and responds to voices; in very acute cases her speech becomes a real word-salad. The majority of cases seem to fit into the paranoid type of schizophrenia; but the hebephrenic and catatonic types or a mixture of the three is also

relatively commonly observed.

The fact that there is an interval between the labor and the onset of symptoms seems to be strong evidence that the psychiatric syndrome is not the result of physical exhaustion caused by the labor. As a matter of fact, in most instances it is in the first or second day after birth that the patient has the possibility of recuperating strength. By the third day she is no longer concerned with her physical condition and for the first time she has the possibility of looking at herself in a new way. *Now she is a mother* (or in the case of a multipara, she is a mother again). She has to face all the meanings of this event. How is she able to cope with the challenge? What does it mean to be a mother (or a mother again)?

Various psychological conflicts recur frequently in women who develop postpartum schizophrenic psychosis. In most cases these various conflicts are confused, interconnected; and it is impossible to disentangle one from the other. The patient in most cases is not able to verbalize them. In only a minority of cases is the patient able to express her conflicts before the psychosis occurs, or later after the psychotic episode is over. For expository reasons these conflictful

areas will be reported separately here in the order of frequency in which they have appeared in my experience. I must stress that the experience of any single practitioner in this area is limited and that therefore this order of frequency is subject to revision when larger statistics become available.

In the first group of conflicts, the patient presents a sudden insecurity about fulfilling her role as a mother. She feels she cannot take care of the baby. She would like "to send him back" if possible because he complicates her life immeasurably. She wants to run away, leave her home, her husband, her baby. At other times she alternates between thinking that she does not love the child and thinking that she loves the baby very much, but is not able to take care of him. Often she feels guilty, worthless, not even capable of being a mother. However, contrary to what happens in patients who develop a postpartum depression, guilt feelings and need for approval do not play the most important role. The most important conflict is the feeling of inadequacy, of not being able to cope with the challenge of motherhood. In almost all the cases that follow in this group, the patient identifies with her mother, whom she considered a bad mother, and with the child, who will be the victim of another bad

mother. She relives the anxiety of her former relationship with her own mother (see also Fromm-Reichmann, 1950). I believe it is not due to chance that I have seen postpartum psychosis occur more frequently when the baby was a girl.

The patient does not want to be a bad mother, as her mother was, but now, in the presence of the sudden fact of being called to be a mother, she feels she will be as her mother was. As we mentioned before, she would like to escape from the predicament, but she knows that she cannot. She cannot send the baby back, nor can she run away. She cannot communicate these feelings to anybody, and therefore she cannot be reassured. As a matter of fact she herself cannot face these thoughts. And yet these thoughts become more tormenting. They reactivate the feelings of inadequacy and terror that she once experienced in her life (see Chapter 7); she becomes confused, and her thinking becomes incoherent, paranoid.

The second cluster of conflicts, which is more frequently found today than in the past, has to do with the acceptance of motherhood and the acceptance of the baby. The patient resents being a woman, if being a woman means being a mother, like the female of every animal

species, and renouncing a career or an individual life, as only the male of the human species can enjoy. The patient cannot find her identity in the traditional role of woman. Being a mother means being no longer attractive, as the body was deformed by the pregnancy and labor and eventually will be by nursing. It means also renouncing forever any possibility of finding a role in life that is congruous with what the patient expected of herself—to have an independent role, to be creative, to be an actress, a dancer, a business woman. She may be jealous of the baby because of the affection and love the husband will have for the baby. Now she will be tied, chained to the house; she will not be able to walk out of the house when she wants. The intruder is there. She wishes she could turn the clock back.

She is very ashamed of these feelings. She could not communicate them to anybody. If she was not able to accept the baby, others would consider her a monster. She cannot accept the fact that she cannot accept being a mother or that she cannot accept the baby as a new member of the family. At the same time she is afraid the baby will suffer. In these cases, too, the patient did not find inspiration toward motherhood from her own mother, for whom she had hostile feelings and with whom she did not want to identify.

Her anxiety increases rapidly. If she does not see a way out of her predicament, she will lapse into prepsychotic panic followed by a full psychosis.

A third important group of conflicts focuses on the patient's marriage and relation with her husband. She does not accept this marriage or her husband; but now that she has a child from him, she feels stuck. What is she now to do? Some authors (Astrachan, 1965; Kaplan and Blackman, 1969) have given much attention to the attitude of the husband as an important dynamic role in postpartum psychosis and have minimized the two previous situations that we have discussed. It is true that if the husband fails to satisfy the heightened dependency requirements of his generally dependent wife, the situation becomes more precarious.

Other situations may occur after childbirth that are unacceptable to the patient or that injure further her already weak self-image. In the presence of a psychodynamic life history that predisposes to schizophrenia, these conditions may precipitate a postpartum psychosis. Zilboorg (1928, 1929) has tried to interpret these conflicts in a Freudian frame of reference. He believes that childbirth

represents castration to the patients and that the psychotic reaction is due to a recrudescence of the penis envy. Zilboorg thinks that for postpartum psychotic women the child has “more the value of a lost male organ than anything else.” Zilboorg’s patients, too, experienced an inadequate motherly relation to the child. It is for this reason that Zilboorg believes they turned to masculinity. Occasionally I have observed a rekindling of dormant homosexual tendencies in women who underwent psychiatric complications after childbirth.

It is interesting to evaluate why some women develop postpartum psychosis after the first birth, others after subsequent births. Deutsch (1945) found postpartum psychosis more frequently in multiparae and interpreted this finding with the hypothesis that it is more difficult for emotionally deranged, schizoid women to preserve their psychic balance when the maternal relationship must be spread to several children than when it is concentrated on one child. In my experience postpartum psychoses occur more frequently after the first birth than after each subsequent labor. It is only when we take into consideration all subsequent births together versus first births that these psychoses seem more frequent in multiparae. Postpartum psychoses occur also very frequently in women who had previous

schizophrenic episodes. As a matter of fact, we can surely state that pregnancy is a hazard in women who had previous psychotic attacks that were not followed by a complete recovery or by a successful and prolonged psychodynamic psychotherapy. The challenge of motherhood may disturb again the tenuous equilibrium.

When postpartum psychoses occur after subsequent births, we must believe that the previous births had prepared the ground, but only now the patient cannot accept herself or her motherhood, her ability to be a mother, an irreparable renunciation of her own hopes, or an irrevocable marital tie.

We must stress again that the challenges presented by childbirth would not unchain a psychosis if the previous circumstances of the life history of the patient and her crippling, rather than protecting, defenses had not prepared the ground. Other factors in the family situation are important in the dynamics of the psychosis. In typical cases the family is unable to help the patient at all. The family involved in this special situation generally consists of three people in addition to the patient, and these three people are perceived by the patient as strangers or enemies.

The first person is the baby, who is seen, not as a source of joy, love, hope, inspiration, motivation, and so forth, but as a source of anxiety. With his presence and demands he will reveal the patient's failure as a mother, her ungiving qualities. He will condemn her to be a female in a subordinate role or tied to an unloved husband.

The second stranger is the mother of the patient, who, as in the past, is incapable of reassuring her daughter. As a matter of fact, she seems to scold the patient for her failure to be a mother, and, paradoxically, she herself seems to the patient to be the prototype of bad motherhood.

The third stranger is the husband, who is also caught in a situation he does not know how to cope with. Although he tries to control himself, he cannot comfort or express sympathy for the wife, who is not able even to be a real woman, a mother for his child. Instead of sympathizing with her he bemoans his destiny for having married such a woman.

Although the mother and husband try most of the time to conceal these feelings, the real feelings are conveyed to the patient. We must

specify, however, that in a certain number of patients falling into the first category the husband is not seen as a stranger or inimical; only the mother is. The husband's indirect fault is to have fathered the child. However, later the husband may even be perceived as a savior or redeemer (see case of Priscilla in this chapter).

As we have mentioned, generally a period of prepsychotic panic is followed by a very acute schizophrenic episode. Generally the more acute the psychosis, the more difficult it is for the patient to be aware of, or to be able to give an account of, her conflicts. Some patients become acutely ill long after the birth, even months after. And yet when they are studied psychodynamically, we succeed in tracing the disorder back to its beginning a few days after the birth. The patient may have felt depressed, or euphoric, or restless, or always on the go, almost in a manic frenzy, always looking for something to do, or particularly talkative, anxious, and so on. However, these characteristics are not so pronounced as to make the relatives foresee the imminence of a psychosis.

In other cases patients never become acutely psychotic. In them it is easier to recognize a whole gamut of postpartum disorders, which

range from quasi-delusional states where the distortion never reached full psychotic dimensions to simple psychoneuroses.

When an obsessive pattern prevails, the patient is afraid of hurting the child—she may harm him with a knife, drop him, feed him the wrong food, and so forth. These obsessions are concrete representations of the patient's indefinite fear of harming the child by not being a good mother. These obsessive-compulsive or phobic mothers must be distinguished from really psychotic mothers in whom a potential (although not common) danger of filicide really exists.

Two patients will be presented in the remainder of this chapter. The first suffered from an acute postpartum psychosis of the paranoid type of schizophrenia; the second experienced a condition in which a full-fledged psychosis was not reached, but was averted by timely therapy. Although the second case may not technically be considered a postpartum psychosis, it is presented here as representative of those more numerous cases in which, in my opinion, there is an intermediary state between psychosis and other postpartum psychiatric conditions.

Priscilla

Priscilla was 23 years old when she first came for a psychiatric consultation. When I first saw her, she was an attractive red-haired young woman in a state of excitement. She came accompanied by her husband, who told me that the patient had given birth to a girl approximately a month earlier. In the last few days she had become increasingly incoherent, restless, and seemed in a state of pain and agitation. According to the husband, she had been preoccupied with the number 3, had looked in shop windows to find dolls with red hair, and would repeatedly state that her little daughter Sara, to whom she had just given birth, was not a virgin. She was particularly impressed by the fact that Sara, too, had red hair as she had. I tried to convey a message of reassurance, but to no avail. The patient could not listen, became increasingly irritated, and no possibility was found of establishing with her any sort of relatedness. She was agitated, her actions were aimless or inappropriate, and the possibility of her hurting herself or others was not remote. Hospitalization was recommended. Following hospitalization the patient became worse; her speech consisted of word-salad. Only occasionally was it possible to establish some contacts and to listen to her delusional statements.

For instance, a few days after she was admitted she developed an infection in one of her fingers. The terminal phalanx was swollen and red. The patient told me several times, “This finger is me.” Pointing to it she said, “This is my red and rotten head.” She did not mean that her finger was a symbolic representation of herself, but in a way hard to understand, really herself or an actual duplication of herself.

A history of the patient was soon obtained from her mother. The mother said that Priscilla was born in podalic position after a difficult labor that lasted twenty-two hours. She was born at half-past ten in the evening, but her birth was not recorded officially until the following day because the placenta was not expelled until three hours later. It was a natural birth in the sense that no anesthetic was used and also a dry birth because the membranes broke before the mother entered the hospital. Priscilla weighed seven pounds at birth and was born with very sore buttocks, which cleared up by the time she was 3 weeks old. She was breast fed until she was 9 months old. Priscilla sucked her thumb. At a doctor’s suggestion, when she was over a year old quinine was applied to it so that the unpleasant taste would discourage the sucking. Shortly after quinine was used, Priscilla became constipated and had a violent bowel movement that caused a

small tear in her rectum. The mother did not become aware of this at first. However, Priscilla resisted having bowel movements, as it was later assumed, because they were painful to her. She was taken to a doctor, who found the tear practically healed. However, Priscilla's fear for bowel movements continued for some months. According to her mother, this was the only time during which Priscilla had been unhappy. According to her, Priscilla had been a happy, friendly child and adolescent, and her life had been uneventful from a medical point of view until the present illness.

The patient got married a year and a half prior to her hospitalization, and a few months later she became pregnant. Pregnancy was normal. However, while in labor, it became evident that a Caesarian was necessary. The operation and convalescence were normal. The patient returned home from the hospital with the baby, apparently in perfect condition. However, the husband remembered in retrospect that two or three days after her return, Priscilla became increasingly dissatisfied, intolerant, and even suspicious of the woman hired to help her as a nursemaid. This woman was eventually fired. Another woman was hired, but the patient became rapidly intolerant, resentful, and suspicious of her too.

The patient became excitable and restless, but it was on December 10 that she became obviously psychotic. The exact date is remembered because, as we shall see, it possibly had a special meaning for the patient.

We have already mentioned that after a psychiatric consultation the patient was hospitalized. Because she was extremely disturbed and because no contact or relatedness could be established, a course of electric shock treatment was recommended, with the understanding that as soon as she would be accessible to psychotherapy, she would be referred back to me for ambulatory treatment.[1] While in the hospital the patient continued to be disturbed. She was irrational, almost always delusional, and occasionally hallucinated. She offered typical examples of schizophrenic thinking. For instance, she would, on a few occasions, hear the voice of Benjamin, a former college teacher of hers, for whom she had had an infatuation. She insisted that Benjamin was a painter, although there was no evidence for such a statement. Later, during one of my visits to the hospital, she told me that the name Benjamin was connected in her mind with being a painter because "being a painter reminds me of colors and colors remind me of the biblical story of Joseph, who had a coat of many colors." When

she was questioned about the fact that the biblical story concerns Joseph and no Benjamin, she said, “True, but Benjamin was Joseph’s preferred brother.”

With a course of shock treatments the patient cleared up somewhat. After a period of confusion and loss of memory she appeared more coherent and less deluded. She would, however, occasionally continue to hallucinate. Her references to her daughter were delusional. The fact that Sara, too, had red hair seemed to be a source of either preoccupation or reassurance. The patient gradually became capable of expressing anxiety about her ability to take care of the baby. Only when she was told that Sara would be taken care of by the paternal grandmother, who lived in a different city, did the patient seem reassured and expressed desire to go home.

The patient was discharged after approximately four weeks of hospitalization and came regularly to the writer’s office for treatment. She acquired a good relation with the therapist, the obvious symptoms disappeared rapidly, and in the course of a few months she became capable of giving an adequate history of her life, which is summarized in what follows.

The mother of the patient was described as a detached person who lacked warmth or capacity to understand children. Priscilla had a vague recollection that when she was a very little girl, mother was nice and loving; but the more she grew up, the more detached and embittered mother became. Mother could not accept her developing a will of her own. The relation between mother and daughter became a battle for power—was mother allowed to rule without being questioned or not? Patient's dislike for the mother became more and more intense. Priscilla remembered that once she cried a lot, and mother gagged her so that she would stop crying. What actually happened is hard to determine, but this was the patient's recollection. Priscilla remembered another episode, which had remained vivid in her mind. Once, when the patient was 8 and the father had been away on a long trip that lasted several months, the mother was cutting meat with a knife. The patient had the impression that mother was pointing the knife toward her and cried, "Don't point the knife at me." She remembered also that she wrote to her father about the fact that mother had done this, but father made no reference to the episode when he answered the letter. During the treatment Priscilla realized that the mother had no intention of hurting her when this episode

occurred, but the very fact that she could entertain such thoughts revealed what an atmosphere of suspiciousness and fear prevailed in the household, especially between mother and daughter. The situation was made worse by the fact that, on account of the father's occupation, the family had to move quite often. It was exceptional rather than usual for the family to stay in the same location for more than a year. Priscilla thus could not make intimate friends and had to rely on her family for companionship and stimulation. The fact that father would also go away on long business trips and leave Priscilla alone with her mother made the situation still worse.

When Priscilla grew up, she noticed that mother, who was usually so reserved, would become overly friendly with some men; and the idea occurred to her that perhaps her mother was unfaithful to her father. She could never find evidence for such doubt, so that even when treatment ended, Priscilla was still debating whether the mother had really been unfaithful to her father, although this matter, by then, did not seem so significant and had lost the power to disturb her.

When the patient was 7 years old, her mother gave birth to a boy who had some congenital defects that caused his death a few days

later. The boy was born on December 10, and the reader will remember that it was on an anniversary of this birth that the patient became acutely ill. The baby seemed to be a beautiful red-haired boy. Mother and father became so disturbed over his death that they decided not to have other children. As a matter of fact, the whole subject of the birth of this boy became taboo; nobody was supposed to talk about it. However, the mother would occasionally say that in the future she would have another child, and jokingly she would say to Priscilla, "You will get married, and you and I will have a child together," meaning "Each of us will have a child at the same time."

Even in later years the relation between Priscilla and mother did not improve. Mother apparently had no faith in Priscilla, no trust that she would be able to find a husband, and she would occasionally say to her, "I don't want you to become an old maid like these undesirable creatures that we know [some acquaintances who were not married]. If you cannot get a husband, I will find one for you." The mother perhaps wanted to help, but her way of doing so was deleterious to Priscilla's self-esteem.

The relation with father was more rewarding although

ambivalent. Priscilla remembered loving him very much. He was warmer, sociable, and kind and considerate toward Priscilla. However, Priscilla could not forgive him, not only for his long trips, but also because when he was home, he was very submissive to mother. He would never contradict mother; on the contrary, he would always give in.

There is no doubt, according to Priscilla, that father has always been faithful to mother. Since Priscilla became an adult, the father seemed to be obsessed with the phenomenon of prostitution: how prostitutes are allowed to circulate freely in the big cities that he visited because of his business. According to Priscilla, her father, in spite of finding this matter an object of frequent conversation, has never been a customer of these women, but gained some kind of vicarious pleasure by observing them from a distance and remembering them.

When Priscilla went to college and left home, she felt liberated. She was a good student and soon became popular on the campus. However, she refused to go out with the few red-haired young men who asked her out “because they were like brothers.”

While she was preparing for her master's degree, she met the man who, a year later, became her husband. Courtship and marriage had been happy. Mutual understanding and reciprocal enrichment developed soon between husband and wife. The parents, on either side of the family, lived in distant cities and did not interfere.

When Priscilla was about to give birth, however, her mother came to help her. During psychotherapy Priscilla mentioned that her mother's arrival made her irritable, anxious. Mother appeared worse because the anxiety about the oncoming birth added to the usual lack of comprehension between the two of them. After all, mother had had a difficult birth at the time Priscilla was born, and the second child was born with fatal congenital defects. Priscilla remembered that she herself was afraid of giving birth to an abnormal child. When she came back from the hospital, mother was there intending to help her; but her mere presence and her wishes or advice would make Priscilla furious. She remembered that at first she was suspicious of the two women who worked as nursemaids, but that subsequently they became confused in her mind with her mother. Her hostility and resentment came to be expressed toward all older women—incidentally, even toward her obstetrician, who was a woman. As we

have already mentioned, she became much more confused on December 10, and she did not remember what occurred later, during the whole acute stage of her disorder.

If we try now to interpret the case dynamically, we are in a position to draw some conclusions about some aspects of the case and to advance some hypotheses about others. We could easily dismiss the second and third types of psychodynamic conflicts, which we have illustrated earlier in this chapter. Priscilla did not reject the woman's role and was eager to have children. Also, she was not rejecting her marriage. Her relation with the husband was good. As a matter of fact, this case was different from the majority of postpartum psychoses, because the husband was not experienced as a stranger, but as a reassuring person, one who was very close to the patient. His presence and help were very propitious and hastened the patient's recovery. It seems obvious that Priscilla's condition has to be interpreted as being precipitated by an identification with her mother, for whom she harbored intense hatred. If she would be like her mother, she would be a bad mother, unable to take care of the child in the proper way. Priscilla rejected her mother, and yet, because of the special conditions of isolation in which she found herself in the formative years, mother

was the only adult with whom she could identify. More than anything else it was her becoming a mother that would make her become like her own mother. Consequently Priscilla's daughter would hate her as Priscilla hated her own mother. Thus there was a double identification on the part of Priscilla. The fact that the newborn was a girl and had red hair made the identification with the child easier. When mother arrived from a distant city for the purpose of helping when the birth was due and expressed her old anxiety in connection with childbirth, she reactivated Priscilla's original anxiety. At first Priscilia developed obsessive-compulsive symptoms, like preoccupations with numbers; but soon these symptoms were insufficient to arrest the anxiety and were replaced by delusional ones. Mother's old statement, "You and I shall have a child together," probably continued to have an impact on her psyche. Priscilla was afraid that Sara would be a deformed child as her brother had been. As she explained later, her fear that Sara was not a virgin meant that she was born with an imperfection—lack of virginity. The presumed imperfection was given a sexual coloring.

The other important issue that transcends the postpartum psychosis concerns the relation between Priscilla and her mother. The possibility exists that the account or interpretation of this relation, as

given by Priscilla herself, does not correspond to facts, but is only an exaggerated distortion or caricature of what actually took place. The mother probably was rigid, very anxious, and lacking in warmth, but not necessarily that terrible human being that Priscilla described during treatment. The gagging episode has to be taken with more than a grain of salt. Moreover, Priscilla herself eventually recognized her distortion concerning the episode of the knife. Why then had Priscilla the need to see her mother in that negative way? We know that very early in life there seemed to be a warm feeling between mother and daughter. This case would seem to indicate that an Oedipal attachment to the father predisposed the patient to focus on the negative qualities of the mother and to build a monstrous whole out of these qualities (see Chapter 5). It is also important to notice how more benevolent and excusing was Priscilla's attitude toward her father. For instance, there was no question that, contrary to what she thought about her mother, she believed in her father's marital faithfulness, in spite of his trips and talks about prostitutes.

Priscilla recovered quickly from her psychotic episode but continued psychotherapy until a second pregnancy was completed. When the present report was written, she had recently given birth to a

third child. The second and third childbirths were normal in every respect. Priscilla is leading a normal and happy life.

Mary

Mary, a married woman of Italian extraction, Catholic, was 29 when she started psychotherapy. She was of asthenic constitution, rather attractive, had a delicate expression on her face, and was somewhat reserved in her manner. When I first saw her, she told me that she was tense, nervous, incapable of tolerating her condition. She could not sleep and had to force herself to eat. She also said that she had had no troubles until she gave birth to twins three months previously. Since then she had felt unhappy, depressed, and did not know why. She was afraid she was not able to take care of the two newborn boys at the same time that she had to take care of her older child, a girl who was 3 years old. She said that about a month and a half after she gave birth, she had a strange experience—to use her own words, "a shock of some sort"—after which she saw things differently. She was in the process of taking care of the twins, changing their diapers in the living room. Her mother was in the same room, sitting on the couch. All of a sudden Mary had the sensation that something

had happened: time was standing still; time had ceased to go on. There would be no tomorrow, no yesterday, but only now. It was Monday, and she felt that Tuesday would never come. She was confused and afraid that she was going out of her mind. She was frightened, would not talk to anybody, would not explain to her mother that strange sensation. As a matter of fact, she had never expressed that sensation to anybody before she revealed it to me. Even to me she could not explain very well what she meant with the words, "Time stood still." I did not press the point because I felt that at this stage of her illness questions would frighten her and would promote the crystallization of uncommunicable impressions into definite delusions. I tried instead to reassure her. She was not going out of her mind; her life was really difficult, having to take care of three little children without help from anybody. I felt that somehow I had established emotional contact.

In the following sessions, Mary spoke more freely. She said that her life was not a happy one. When she married her husband, she thought she was in love with him, but later she realized he was intellectually inferior to her by far and that there was no spiritual kinship between them. Also, he was not able to hold a job, had gone into business for himself, and lost all his capital. He had no ability to

comfort her in any way.

Later she spoke at length about some characteristics that in a certain way had patterned her way of living. She told me that at every moment in her life she felt she had to do something. She had to follow a routine, a schedule, constantly; she had to do things in a prearranged order. The obligation to do things started from the moment she got up in the morning to the moment she went to bed at night. To be specific, when she got up, she had to prepare breakfast, take care of the babies, clean the kitchen, then take care of the older child, then make the bed, then take care of the babies, and so on, for the whole day. The whole day was an endless series of obligations. At times she felt frightened at the idea of going through this routine again. The endless series of things she had to do seemed impossible to face; and yet if she did not initiate the series, she felt very guilty. To counteract this feeling of guilt she started to do things and went on with her work. At times she was caught in an ambivalent feeling or attitude. She was afraid to start or to continue the series, and she stood motionless for some time; but finally the feeling of guilt was stronger and put her into motion again. She said that she never did things because she wished to do them, but only because she had to do them. She was moved only by guilt and a

feeling of obligation. As a matter of fact, she had the impression that many times she did not even know how to wish or what to wish, or even what a wish was. At other times, she felt that she wished to do certain things, for instance, to go to the movies, but she felt guilty and she did not go. If she did something that she wished to do, the action had to be initiated by somebody else. For instance, her husband had to tell her to go to the movies. This, however, happened very seldom. At other times she felt that she must wish to do certain things that she must do. But in reality she knew very well that it was a must, not a wish. For instance, she felt she should wish to love her twin babies, and she should wish to do things for them, to change their diapers, to feed them, and so on. But she knew she was fooling herself. She did not want the babies; the pregnancy was an accident.

When she found out that she would give birth to twins, she was almost overwhelmed by fear, but she tried to deny the fact by not thinking about it or by not believing that she would really have twins until they were actually born. When they were born, and the unbelievable fact that she had given birth to twins had occurred, she oscillated between two different feelings. Even then the birth of the twins appeared to her unreal. At other times she felt instead that the

twins were there, in their physical reality, and that her task with them was tremendous. The endless series of things she had to do seemed to spread immensely and to overpower her. Then she would have a feeling of despair, anxiety, panic.

At this time we analyzed carefully these feelings. Where did they come from? She could trace them back to her early childhood, in relation to her mother. Her mother was always there to tell her what to do. Any initiative on the part of the patient was discouraged. If she was doing anything on her own, her mother was there with her anxiety to warn her that she would do the wrong thing. In order to protect herself from sharing her mother's anxiety and in order to remove her feeling of guilt, she had to do what the mother wanted. If she did what mother wanted, mother's nagging was eliminated. Her whole life thus became almost an uninterrupted series of actions imposed by mother.

Mary's father was a tyrannical man, a drunkard. He had always been oblivious of the psychological needs of the family, although he provided somewhat for their financial and physical needs. He detested his wife and often he would drown the unhappiness of his life in

alcohol. Mary was afraid of him, especially when he was drunk. She remembered that once when she was about 12, she saw her father drunk, naked, with his penis erect and in the act of masturbating. She remembered her childhood as a very unpleasant part of her life. The family had to move many times, either because the rent was not paid and they were evicted, or because the parents got into trouble with the neighbors.

In her late teens and early twenties she was very unhappy. Once for about a week or two she stayed in bed, without moving or doing anything. She felt depressed. To get up and do things was an ordeal and she preferred to remain in bed. A doctor was called and said there was nothing physically wrong with her. Until she got married, she had odd jobs and did most of the housework in her parents' home. In her early twenties she fell in love with a man who soon appeared unreliable, and she left him. Later she met her future husband, and the couple were soon married.

Space limitations prevent reporting many other facts about the life of this patient, as well as the later developments during her therapy. We shall evaluate her condition, especially in relation to

childbirth.

First of all, was this patient in a state of panic at the time of the first consultation? Were some of her conceptions, like the one about time, full-fledged psychotic symptoms? My point of view is that at the time I first saw her, Mary still had some contact with reality and was able to test it. Even in her ideas about time she had elements of doubt. In her different versions of her unusual experience concerning time, most of the time she did not actually say that time had stopped, but rather that she felt *as if* time had stopped. At other times she said that in the moment when that terrifying experience took place, something happened in her mind; maybe she was becoming crazy.

My feeling is that in this case the state of prepsychotic panic that occurred after childbirth and that was more prolonged than usual did not develop into a full psychotic state. She developed instead peculiar sensations of unreality for which she still had an element of doubt. This doubt, however, was not too strong. She was in an intermediary stage between panic and psychosis. I feel, however, that if the patient had not come for treatment at this point, she would have become a full-fledged psychotic. What type of psychosis? Probably the catatonic

type of schizophrenia. We have seen in Chapter 10 that catatonic patients often have a psychodynamic history similar to Mary's history. In early childhood they do not develop normal capacity to choose, to wish, and to will what they wish. If things happen in their life that all of a sudden increase their anxiety, especially if the anxiety is related to actions, tasks, choices, and so forth, they may develop a catatonic condition. Sometimes in their life they go through periods of inactivity that seem to be forerunners of their later catatonic condition. We must remember that Mary, when she was in her late teens, could not move out of bed for two weeks, although there was no sign of physical illness. Often these prodromal attacks of catatonia are mistaken for hysteria.

Was Mary's condition related in any way to the birth of the twins? In my opinion it was. It is true that the patient came for therapy three months after the twins were born, but we know that her condition started with the birth of the twins and culminated with the experience about the stopping of time, which occurred a month and a half after the birth. Throughout her life she had been able to maintain a certain equilibrium. Even the unhappiness of her marriage and the birth of the first child did not disturb this equilibrium, but the birth of the twins

was too much. Her overwhelming feeling of duty, of having to do things as the mother wanted, was reactivated. Actions frightened her; and yet actions were imposed on her in an expanding number. The twins were there and demanded thousands of actions. The husband not only did not help her, but increased her irritation and discomfort and, with his criticisms, increased her feelings of guilt and inadequacy. On one side we may assume that she felt incapable of coping with the challenge—she would not be able to live up to what was expected of her. On the other side she wanted to reject her role as a mother and wife. Her own mother, with her own example, had not inspired her to become a mother. She did not want the life she was living. We must consider her case as a mixture of the first two types of psychodynamic mechanisms described earlier in this chapter.

Predisposed as she was by the dynamic history of her life, one could have expected that Mary could have developed a full catatonic attack. We know that many catatonic developments are accompanied by feelings of cosmic destruction. The world will collapse, the end of the universe is approaching. In Mary's case, the world was not ending; time was ending. We may thus interpret Mary's ideas as related to catatonic cosmic delusions. In Chapter 16 we shall see that

schizophrenic patients present alterations in their conception and perception of the passage of time. However, Mary did not present an altered conception or perception of time. She had delusions or quasi-delusions about time.

In his book *The Two Faces of Man* (1954), Meerloo subscribes to the usual interpretation of the orthodox psychoanalytic school that time is often used as a symbol of father. In Greek mythology the god of time is Cronus, the god who devoured his children. This interpretation is a suggestive one, but it can hardly explain Mary's picture. Mary's father played an important destructive role in the family, but we cannot attribute to his influence the fact that the patient's troubles became much worse after the birth of the twins.

It seems to me that there is a connection between Mary's preoccupations about time and her preoccupations about movements, actions, things she had to do. Her feeling that time had stopped seems to me a concrete representation of her inner feelings. She intuitively realized that she was not living as an independent individual. She had no desires, and her time was not filled with things she wished to do; therefore her time was not really hers—it belonged to her position of

mother and wife. But she did not want to be a mother, she did not want to be a wife. Time thus was not moving for her; it was still.

When this impression first occurred to her, she was in the living room with her mother on one side, the mother who always told her what to do, and with the twins on the other side, the twins who expected what she felt unable to give. The three of them submerged her as an independent person. As usual, the husband was not there to help. Had he been there, he too would have made demands. As she said later, there was nothing for her to look forward to. It was the end of her time, if by time we mean a dimension in which we wish and will.

Notes

[1] Drug therapy was not yet commonly used at the time this patient became ill.

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Acknowledgments

I wish to express my indebtedness to the publishers who have permitted the reproduction in this volume of long excerpts and/or illustrations from the following articles of mine:

"Special Logic of Schizophrenic and Other Types of Autistic Thought." *Psychiatry,* Vol. 11, 1948, pp. 325-338.

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"Schizophrenic Art and Its Relationship to Modern Art," *Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis,* Vol. 1, pp. 333-365. © 1973 by John Wiley & Sons.

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