

THE ROLE OF DRINKING FATHERS IN LATER CONTRADICTIONS
AND CHOICES IN THE LIVES OF MARRIED WOMEN.

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative, interpretive research sought to elicit explanations for certain contradictions and choices in the lives of four married women who were autonomous and assertive in their careers, yet non-assertive and compliant in their married lives. Such contradictions appeared both in their projected stories and semi-structured interviews. It had been expected that these projected stories would reveal autonomy and assertiveness, in line with the white, middle-class, feminist values of the subjects, but they had not. Explanations for these apparent contradictions were attributed to the effects of being children of alcoholic fathers. While the subjects' socialisation and vulnerability to family ideology provided certain explanations for the presence of such contradictions, an object relations account of the unconscious need to resurrect an ideal father and repair the generic family provided a more probable explanation, and accounted for their traditional gender role behaviour as ideal wives in spite of their non-traditional, feminist behaviour outside of marriage.

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RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

This research aimed to investigate contradictions and choices in the lives of middle-aged, white, married feminists in an attempt to evaluate the role that drinking fathers may have played in these.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis constitutes a hermeneutical inquiry into the effects of being raised as a daughter of an alcoholic father. Research on children of alcoholics has, to date, been largely quantitative and ahistorical, thus failing to account for the complexity of the person and his/her lived experience. Little research has addressed, in a qualitative manner, how such an upbringing might affect these children's later lives and future choices.

By utilising three semi-structured interviews with each of four feminists, this research investigated how these women perceived a drinking father as having influenced their lives, choices, behaviours and selves, in the hope that this might explain certain contradictions that had appeared in their projected stories. These projective stories had been elicited from two photographs of artworks depicting family/intimate relationships.

While assertive and empowered in their public lives, in contrast, according to the projected stories, this did not seem to be the case in these women's married lives. It had been expected that their behaviour in both private and public spheres would be congruent. Following the interviews, an initial interpretation of these

contrasts in behaviour had been that the alcoholic environment had created a particular vulnerability to fantasies of a peaceful home life and hence an exaggerated investment in family ideology. Furthermore, it was concluded that these womens' socialisation had also contributed to this investment in family ideology. However, on further investigation, it appeared that these women had, instead, unconsciously resurrected an ideal father and sought a reparation of the original problematic generic family. This necessitated an attempt to be the 'ideal wife' at the expense of assertiveness, spontaneity and autonomy - namely, feminist ideals.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A. THE EFFECTS OF DRINKING FATHERS

In homes where one parent drinks, no one escapes the effects. All members have to adjust to the drinking behaviour, in a reactive way. Such dynamics change family roles and distort reality. Brown (1992) and Kashubeck (1994) claim it is now widely acknowledged that the alcoholic home is an environment of trauma, where members stay at crisis level and are hypervigilant for impending danger. In alcoholic homes daily routines are unstable, with an anticipatory readiness and fear, particularly at the time when the alcoholic is expected home. The family often appears out of control, and merely adjusting to the chaos (Brown, 1992).

In crisis-orientated homes, needs for stability, consistency and dependency are not met (Tainey, 1988). The child cannot trust the drinking father to be home at night, not to drink, nor fight, nor break promises (ibid). Events have to be planned to coincide with non-drinking hours and mothers are often asked to control the father's drinking to prevent parties or other events being spoilt (Brown, 1992). The repeated disappointments, unreliability and inconsistency are disillusioning and disempowering. They rob children of alcoholics (COAs) of the kind of predictable, safe environment children need for emotional growth. They also create a future vulnerability to anxiety and helplessness if a situation is similarly unpredictable and unsafe (Brown, 1992). Together with the intimidation of a drinking father's tirades, the disappointments and unreliability create a fear of being hurt again with resultant cravings for safety, stability, predictability and trust in interpersonal relationships (Treadway, 1989). Brown (1992) believes adult children of alcoholics (ACAs) may even sacrifice other needs to obtain this

predictability and trust.

The alcoholic family is a family in denial - feelings cannot be named because reality cannot be named. Discussion of the drinking problem often prompts denial, rationalisation, or angry responses (Tainey, 1988). The child may receive little confirmation of reality from the co-alcoholic parent if she underplays the severity of a father's drinking, or avoids admitting to problems in the family (Treadway, 1989). Even if the co-alcoholic does acknowledge the problem and, concurrently, provides a source of support, safety and reality, this may still confuse the child since one parent says there is no drinking problem, while the other admits there is (Brown, 1992). Siding with one parent's version of reality results in the lack of a consistent reality. The family's denial requires COAs to reject their own perceptions and explanations in favour of parental versions of the truth, and COAs learn not to talk honestly about feelings or trust their own perceptions of feeling uncomfortable (Tainey, 1988). Acknowledging feelings may also be difficult when these are not validated by a parent, and can lead to isolation of affect, and being out of touch with the self.

Later, ACAs may equate expression of emotion with loss of control, since, in the alcoholic home, feelings were often expressed in a volatile way (Tainey, 1988). Emotional expressiveness may remind the ACA of the way the drunk parent argued, yelled or asked for forgiveness (Treadway, 1989). As a result of there being too much feeling of the wrong kind in the home, ACAs may be scared of losing control, and may learn to cope by repressing hurt, anger and sadness (Tainey, 1988). This results in an inability to communicate feelings even in intimate relationships (ibid).

Brown(1992) claims that the literature from the last ten years has identified a need for control as the central issue for ACAs. Perceptions that the home is out of control or shameful, result in later needs for control of both self and others. COAs may become precociously responsible, self-disciplined and parentified, since this keeps them out of harm's way by avoiding attack from the father (Tainey,1988). However, the facade of responsibility and control hides feelings of helplessness and militates against free exploration and experimentation, which are integral parts of childhood(Treadway,1989). Instead, COAs may find comfort and predictability in academic achievement. These children often become serious, dependable and pseudo-mature, learning to manipulate others in positive ways, all of which may result in them being given leadership roles in school (Black,in Tainey,1988). Being precociously responsible and placatory often results in being out of touch with own needs(Winnicott,1971). If a child becomes prematurely responsible because a parent abdicates his role, the child may lose its spontaneity, imaginative play, and creativity(ibid).

Bradley and Schneider(1990) found that ACAs with alcoholic fathers had MMPI scores reflecting a need for interpersonal control. Hemmings and Irwin (1993) claim COAs "need to control events and people through helplessness, guilt, coercion, threats or manipulation", but that their control may be merely a personally perceived control, rather than actual control, even though it may appear to others as a controlling personal style(ibid ,p692). An inability to control situations may tap desperation and fear in ACAs to the extent that they may later choose a mate that they can control (Tainey,1988). Gade and Goodman(1975), however, found equivocal results on the issue of control in ACAs.

Shame and humiliation are often part of the alcoholic home. They result from watching a parent drink, seeing him out of control, coming home late, and becoming argumentative (Brown, 1992). These indiscretions are often kept secret out of embarrassment, pride, loyalty, or fears that peers and teachers will find out. The secrecy and vigilance maintain a false image of respectability. Needs for respectability may even carry over into adulthood, and influence future life choices (Taine, 1988).

Children who grow up in alcoholic homes may fear criticism, which may take the form of humiliating personal attacks from the drinking parent (Taine, 1988). Hence COAs may feel defenceless when others are similarly hostile or critical (ibid). They thus do everything to avoid disapproval and gain the approval of others (Taine, 1988). To do this they may present themselves as kind, generous and caring, monitoring their behaviour and feelings (ibid). The COA may perceive criticism or the absence of parental attention as a response to its own 'badness'. All the above may prompt the development of a compliant, 'nice' self, and a suppression of own needs.

For COAs who receive little affection from a disengaged, alcoholic father, unresolved Oedipal issues may be present. During the Oedipal period, when a girl must shift her initial pre-oedipal attachment from the mother to the father, extreme frustration of needs at the hands of the drinking father may result in an overidentification with the mother (Meissner, 1980). In addition, in place of the internalisation of a benign paternal object, a 'bad' object, or father imago may be introjected (Kernberg, 1980), which henceforth results in problematic relationships with men. According to Brown (1992), many girls experience anger towards drinking fathers, that may generalise to all men. Alternatively, in later life, pleasing men may become important to the female COA, in order to

avoid an angry, cruel response similar to that which she received from her father(*ibid*). COAs may also lose respect for drinking fathers who behave or talk in an illogical or irrational way (*ibid*). Treadway (1989) believes that ACAs may marry ostensibly strong, competent people, in order to gain the care they missed out on in childhood. Or they may marry underfunctioners if they themselves feel most comfortable in the caretaker role(*ibid*).

While the mother of a COA may be nurturant, because she is unable to protect her children from, or prevent the drinking behaviour, there may be covert anger towards her (Treadway, 1989). If she is in complete denial, there is often overt blame and resentment of her(*ibid*). Hence, on some level, it is inevitable that the mother represents a flawed role model. COAs may particularly dread her victim position and, having no viable role models in adolescence when identity consolidation should occur, may experience a developmental arrest(*ibid*).

Domenico and Windle(1993) found that six hundred and sixteen middle-aged, middle-class female ACAs evidenced low levels of self-esteem and marital satisfaction, difficulties with intimacy, and the presence of depressive symptoms. Goodwin et al(1979) concur that the higher risk of later depression amongst female ACAs results from living with an alcoholic parent(Parker and Harford, 1988). Alternatively, Parker and Harford(1988) postulate that coming from an alcoholic home puts one at a greater risk for marital disruption which often predates depression. In addition, according to Brown(1992), there is a vulnerability to anxiety and anxiety disorders among ACAs. Mathew et al(1993) found twice the incidence of Generalised Anxiety Disorder and Disthymia in daughters of alcoholic fathers. Furthermore, Currier and Aponte(1991) found that thirty female ACAs manifested a higher incidence of sexual dysfunctions than did controls.

In conclusion, such studies suggest that COAs exhibit psychological problems and make enduring defensive adaptations which shape their interpersonal interactions, and future life choices. It can be argued that the COA's development of a true independent self is curtailed by the dictates of the alcoholic parent. Brown(1992) claims that COAs lose their own authenticity since their real self is rejected when the alcoholic seemingly abandons them in favour of the alcohol. The result is that self-esteem and trust suffer. Berkowitz and Perkins(1988) found that eight hundred and sixty ACAs reported greater self-depreciation than controls, particularly women with alcoholic fathers. They attributed this to female sensitivity to interpersonal relationships, and hence an increased vulnerability to the destructive effects of parental alcoholism. In contrast, however, Churchill, Broida and Nicholson (1990) found that four hundred and ninety seven ACAs did not score lower on self-esteem. Hence they caution explaining personality factors on the basis of parental alcoholism alone.

Other researchers also urge caution with interpretations resulting from COA research, since they claim that growing up in alcoholic homes may encourage adaptive personality development, responsibility and resilience(Berkowitz and Perkins(1988)). Some research has found that children of alcoholic fathers may be similar to controls in terms of personality development and functioning, especially if they have high maternal support and no educational or emotional deprivation (Obuchowska,1974; Werner,1986; Berkowitz & Perkins,1988; Tweed & Ryff,1991; Domenico & Windle,1993). Plescia-Pikus et al(1988) suggest that COAs with emotionally satisfying relationships with their mothers can develop early autonomy, coping skills and high self-esteem in spite of a negative environment. Drozd and Dalenberg(1994) also claim that strength of self-definition mediates pathology in female COAs.

In the main, equivocal research results exist with respect to the documented effects of the alcoholic environment on COAs. Fulton and Gates(1990) even question using COAs as a diagnostic group since they are so heterogenous. There seem to be confounding or moderating variables in empirical research which have not yet been fully accounted for, hence parental alcoholism should not be regarded as the sole causative agent of later problems. Berkowitz and Perkins (1988) claim that research results may not be generalizable due to sample bias, such as deviant samples which come to the attention of health or legal systems, or, alternatively, the tendency to use university populations. In addition, they claim there have been inadequate control groups, plus poor measures of the family histories of alcoholism.

B. FAMILY IDEOLOGY VERSUS FEMINIST IDEOLOGY

It may be argued that married women who support feminism are nevertheless still subject to family ideology, which tends to be far more conservative in its prescriptions on women's behaviour than gender ideology is. Hence married women may be faced with contradictions.

Althusser (cited by Eagleton, 1991) defines ideology as those promulgated ideas and beliefs maintaining social relations in the interests of production in a society. Ideologies reflect people's needs and desires and contain elements of falsity in what they deny (Eagleton, 1991). Outhwaite and Bottomore (1993, p223) claim that even the family is "an ideological and social construct". Sills (1968) defines family ideology as that which pertains to the nuclear family as a system of interactions between roles and role behaviours that are distributed among individual members according to culture. Fleck (1980) defines family ideology as that ideology defining gender roles, such as the father's instrumental role, compared to the mother's expressive role. He claims that while the role of the father in America today has changed since Victorian times (in which the father was the leader of the family), it has changed "more in appearance than substance" (ibid, p519).

Outhwaite and Bottomore (1993, p221) believe that, while the family is an institution that purportedly exists for the purpose of survival and love, it is also based on the economic dependence of women, plus male dependence on women for " 'invisible' and unpaid household work", and often additional income. They claim that family ideologies "transmute and mystify" the economic significance of a division of labour (ibid, p221). Within such ideology, "economic cooperation has become voluntary, the division of labour trivialised" (ibid, p221). Furthermore, they claim that it is often the politically powerful right wingers in advanced

industrial societies that promote such an ideology to restore the hegemony of marriage(ibid). Hence it would seem that economic, gender and power interests are invested in family ideology and that such ideology becomes internalised, influencing lives and choices. Furthermore, it would seem that family members might use family ideology to legitimate claims on each other(Ferree,1990).

Feminism opposes family ideology's rigid gender role paradigms, the economic subordination of wives, and other gender inequalities. Feminism, according to Jary and Jary(1991), is a socio-political theory and practice that originated in the 1960's, which is concerned with the nature of women's global oppression and subordination to men¹. It offers enlightenment to women, since it explains the social world from a new perspective(ibid). It embraces an ideology that is in dialectical opposition to all misogynist ideologies and practices (Jary and Jary,1991) such as family ideology. Feminism, in contrast, urges women to value and voice their own opinions, feelings and needs, which are often subordinated to that of their husbands', under the rubric of family ideology. It suggests that women have choices and advocates assertiveness, ambition and independent thought.

1. Second and third generation feminism has focussed on the signs, symbols, language and discourse by which women are described, in order to arrive at a more life-affirming definition of femaleness (Kristeva,1982). Postmodernist European feminism is influenced by semiotics and emphasises women's difference. It attempts to construct a neutral standpoint, and to eschew any prescriptive models of appropriate gender behaviour (Farganis,1994).

Smart and Smart(1978) claim that the social control of women has been a complex historical phenomenon. Over the centuries it has included ensuring that women have minority status, economic dependency, are restricted in terms of self-fulfillment and sexual double standards, and subjected to the negative stereotyping of women's values, opinions and behaviours (Crump,1987; Lemmer, 1989; Jack,1991). Even within the family there has traditionally been an inequality of power (Anderson & Goolishian,1990; Ferree,1990). Industrialisation and urbanisation in the nineteenth century resulted in men leaving the home to work in the city, so that the suburban father "became a Sunday institution" (Pleck,1990,p381). Father-absent, mother-involved families have created the hierarchical social dimensions of the public versus private sphere(ibid): Women and men inhabit different worlds embodying different values.

During the nineteenth century the male world and male perspective became elevated in Western society and male dominance was institutionalised. Women were largely excluded from the male professions since the place of the middle-class woman was in the home(Smart and Smart,1978). Many women became convinced of male superiority. When women began entering male professions in the twentieth century, after the two world wars, family ideologies in America and England, in a countermove to curtail womens' freedom and promote consumerism, began to glorify the idyllic home, domestic bliss, and motherhood, via the media and books(Carlson,1990). Middle-class wives were expected to entertain, run refined homes and be visible in the appropriate social circles(Rubin,1990). Indeed, many large corporations evaluated candidates' wives(ibid). Idleness of the wife often reflected a family's affluence(Smart and Smart,1978). Women in turn were seduced by the soft options of being fulltime housewives, such as own time and time with children (Haug, 1987b). Rewards also included compliments on their homes, cooking, and children. Furthermore, women were often prepared for motherhood

by being channelled into caring professions such as nursing and teaching (Chodorow, 1978).

Horney (1967) claims that women in our culture sacrifice their own authenticity by adapting to Western civilisation's masculine laws, morality and science. This gives rise to conflicts specific to women of our time:- the inhibition of power, assertiveness and independence, in order to gain affection and approval.

Chodorow (1978) believes that women imbibe their mothers' roles, sense of self and values in the father-absent families of industrial capitalism. Mothers, who spend most of their time childrearing, become overinvested in their children and have a "narcissistic overidentification with daughters" (ibid, p104). Eichenbaum and Orbach (1982) agree that daughters identify with the mother's undervalued status, and social role of deference to others. This robs women of authenticity and independence, and provokes guilt when they contemplate autonomy.

While the ideology of equality may be more strongly asserted in middle-class homes, this only further obscures the reality that husband's permission is still needed to follow careers, and be assertive (Rubin, 1990). While the professional middle-class husband's legitimated power and status allow him to "assume a less overtly authoritarian role within the family, it is still there covertly" (ibid, p158). Rubin (1990, p159) believes there is currently only a "myth of egalitarianism".

C. OBJECT RELATIONS - RESURRECTION OF AN IDEAL FATHER

Fairbairn claims that the child experiences object relatedness with the father in the same way as with the mother, experiencing him as both gratifying and ungratifying (Greenberg and Mitchell, 1983). Erikson believed that similar processes of object relatedness, resulting in modifications of the ego, continued into adolescence and the rest of the life span (Meissner, 1980). In the alcoholic family, where the drinking father is emotionally absent, undependable, and sometimes punitive, the child may presumably experience him as ungratifying and rejecting. A libidinally rejecting object may be merely indifferent or actually angry, aggressive, and feared (Hazell, 1994).

Fairbairn (1952) believes that the child uses the same techniques in the Oedipal phase that it learnt to adopt with regards to frustration with the mother. Frustration and the failure of other significant people to meet needs for relatedness, also results in splitting and internalisation, which is a defensive technique (ibid). The child will thus also split¹ the father into good and bad objects. The bad unsatisfying object is internalised and split it into: an exciting object that tantalises; and a rejecting object or part-object that is hostile and depriving, associated with the "internal saboteur". It also fantasises about an

1. Splitting is a defence against anxiety and frustration, and is a technique in which the emotions of love and hate are split, with a corresponding splitting of the loved object into a good part-object and a bad part-object (Klein, 1983). Fairbairn seems to believe in a tripartite division of love objects as described above (Cashdan, 1988). Hence both ego and objects are split "in a tripartite way and a complete endopsychic situation is set up" (Hazell, 1994, p111).

accepting or ideal object, shorn of exciting and frustrating aspects'(ibid, p121). The ideal object is composed of "the tolerable remainder" following this shearing, is "in no way emotionally disturbing", and helps the child retain external good-object relations(Hazell, 1994). There is a corollary to the splitting described above, however. The child's attempts to protect the positive parts of a parent, and control the negative parts, results in a repression of the painful parts of the self, causing feelings of persecution and self-denigration (Cashdan, 1988). The core fear resulting from splitting is loss of contact(ibid). In future object relations the individual then tries to avoid the pain of abandonment, which affects the ability to act autonomously(ibid).

Where the parent is absorbed in his or her own pathology, there may be insufficient attention and nurturance given to the child. In Fairbairn's terms: "The emptier the real exchange, the greater the devotion to the promising yet depriving features of the parents" which are internalised and sought within (Greenberg and Mitchell, 1983, p173). Fairbairn believes that these internal object relations may then be projected on to the outside world, with love objects destructively sought or made into deprivors so as to personify the exciting object which is promising yet depriving. In the manner of a 'repetition compulsion', allegiances to prior significant others become played out in the real world with a consequent loss of reality testing(Greenberg and Mitchell, 1983). Greenberg and Mitchell(1983, p180) nevertheless believe that Fairbairn's views "overlook the possibility of productive conflicts, creative confusion and mutually enriching partial identifications". Indeed, Klein and Winnicott also regard these internal representations as potential resources (ibid). Kay(1985) believes that there can be a successful outcome of such transference attachments if there is a resolution of transference expectations and a development of reality-based interactions, based on accepting back projections and owning them. This, however, depends

upon the availability of a real relationship which permits such a resolution. Seligman (1985) claims that a reinstatement of an 'absent' parent enables a reconciliation of the inner parents, a reparation of a person's inner world, and an integration that frees a person to discover his/her own identity.

Greenberg and Mitchell(1983) believe it is normal for the child to grow up with fantasies about more wonderful (ideal) parents than those they have, based on experiences with other adults, and fantasies of how they themselves would do the job. Samuels(1986) claims such fantasies are influenced by the archetypal father. If there is an 'absence' in terms of emotional qualities in the personal father, a child may relate to the archetypal image of father. When children relate to the father, they have, in the back of their minds, these expectations(ibid). The father is thus strong or weak, facilitating or castrating, depending on how he meets these expectations (ibid). However, the archetype may not be sufficiently personalised if the child rejects the shadow aspects(Elkind,1980) of the father(ibid).

According to Hazell(1994,p111), Guntrip believes that "the ideal object becomes the basis of the child's ego-ideal, a central ego possession", developing into the moral component of the superego, and resulting in perfectionism and unrealistic demands. However, the ego-ideal may become progressively more realistic as re-integration proceeds, with external objects perceived realistically rather than as projections(ibid). Benedek(1959) suggests that marital choice may actually aid re-integration since it involves an exchange of ego ideals and identifications to reach a state of "dyadic autonomy", in which partners enhance the behavioural and emotional capacities of each other (Bohannon,1980,p3262). Each ego concerns itself with its alter ego, resulting in "shared egos", as well as developments in the personality of each partner, such as a softening of superegos and

readjustment of defences (ibid,p3260). However, each partner may also realise that they can be judged not only by their own superego but by the partner's as well, which may result in a doubling of behavioural inhibitions(ibid).

Another reason for the object choice of an ideal husband, however, may be an unconscious need to repair the problematic generic family. In so doing, according to Klein, the child's internal world is repaired, through repair of the external world(Hinshelwood,1991). Reparation needs are a "powerhouse for mature energy and creativity in the...external world" and for humanitarian urges(ibid,p415)

In the same way, the child may seek to repair the mother who also suffered in the alcoholic home, and was thus possibly denied the chance to be an 'ideal' mother. Since the developing child is entangled in the sufferings of its parents, Klein believes it often seeks to transform parental pain (Greenberg and Mitchell,1983). If the child succeeds in transforming parental pain, he/she redeems the parent, by "transforming actual parental...deficiencies" (ibid,p147). However, unconscious reparative fantasies are bound up with depressive anxiety about the injured parent and hence reparation is central to the depressive position (Greenberg and Mitchell,1983; Klein et al,1983).

METHODOLOGY

Subjects

Four middle-aged, enlightened women were chosen as subjects. They had all been raised in families where the father was alcoholic, were adolescents in the sixties, and became feminists in the 1980's in South Africa. Two of the women were known to the researcher since high school, resulting in useful knowledge of their backgrounds, current family situations, gender-role values and attitudes. The two other subjects were more recent friends of the researcher. All had in common: age, social class, and adherence to feminist principles. All four were professional women. One was a teacher, one a computer analyst, one a marketing executive and the fourth, a nursing sister.

They were classed as feminists according to the following criteria: they questioned the gender-role status quo with its accompanying gender prescriptions; they read feminist literature; they saw themselves as feminist sympathisers (rather than being active feminists, though two were); and each scored below 76 on Jack's (1991) Silencing the Self Scale (Appendix E), revealing that they were enlightened, critical of the moral prescriptions on women's roles and behaviours, and believed that they did not silence their needs.

These same women had each written stories in response to two projective stimuli (photographs of artworks by women depicting family/intimate relationships), utilised in a previous research project (Meyer, J. (1994). Women, Identity, Marriage and Self-disclosure, Unpublished thesis, Masters in Social Science, University of Natal), which explored the identity and conflicts of sixteen married women, both traditional and non-traditional. For the purpose of the present

thesis, four non-traditional subjects were chosen from this prior group of sixteen subjects, on the grounds that they had had drinking fathers, as was revealed in their first interviews. Permission to use the projected stories from the prior thesis was obtained from the Durban department of Psychology at Natal University. Informed consent was also obtained verbally from all participants, on condition that confidentiality was guaranteed by the use of pseudonyms. Hence all names and any other identifying data were changed.

Proceedures

A review of the literature on COAs revealed that most research had been in keeping with traditionally quantitative methods, being ahistorical and ignoring individuals' personal experience and context. The decision to use qualitative methods was made to avoid "distortions and trivial findings", stripped of socio-historical context(Packer and Addison,1989,p26).

A qualitative, interpretive research method was adopted in the tradition of hermeneutic inquiry. Interpretive inquiry aims to find meaning in a text or action, and typically involves three phases(Packer and Addison,1989). The first phase entails entering the hermeneutic circle with a workable perspective/ fore-structure which permits organisation of the data, as well as an interpretive perspective from which to proceed. The second phase entails conducting the inquiry and arriving at an interpretive account, while the third involves critically evaluating these interpretations and uncovering what is concealed in these, in the return arc of the hermeneutic circle(ibid). In the backward arc the researcher also gains an "appreciation of what the fore-structure involved, and where it might best be changed"(ibid,p34). The fore-structure, including the

researcher's assumptions and projections, should become apparent, otherwise interpretations are in danger of becoming the researcher's own projected understandings(ibid). Interpretation is not about confirming original assumptions, but about revelations.

Interpretive research thus acknowledges that understanding is circular, that parts are understood in terms of the whole and the whole in terms of the parts. Furthermore, it acknowledges the necessity of the researcher's own forestructure, socio-cultural context, traditions and attitudes, and the assertion of the text(data). The researcher is engaged and concerned, rather than detached and neutral (ibid). In fact, Denzin(1989) and Mishler(1986) stress the importance of shared knowledge and familiarity between participants and researcher. This facilitates 'thick' contextualised interpretations, since the researcher is familiar with the language, biographies, context and social structure of the group researched (Denzin,1989). Thick interpretations tap the researcher's subjective experience as well as that of the subjects and hence overcome the "duality between the knower and known" (Condor,1986, p112). Mies(1983) encourages replacing neutrality with "conscious partiality" through identification with one's subjects, so that the interests of some groups, like women, is served by raising their consciousness(Mishler,1986,p130). It is thus accepted that the researcher enters the hermeneutic process with preconceptions and a fore-structure of understanding.

The works of Kvale(1983), Seidman(1991), and Mishler(1986) guided the interviews, which were semi-structured, verging on unstructured, with the subjects often controlling the flow of ideas. This permitted them to emphasise and elaborate on what they felt was important, in their own words. An attempt was made to make the interviews into an interactive dialogue. This, plus the fact that

the subjects were aware that the researcher had had similar experiences, increased trust. Packer and Addison (1989; p275) believe that the "interactive, dialogic interview" negotiates valid meaning between two people. Mishler (1986) claims that unstructured interviews are more likely to elicit qualitatively rich stories.

A flexible interview guide was nevertheless kept to hand in order to help the interviewer check whether answers to important questions had been elicited. At the same time, it was anticipated that during the interviews, new important information might arise and that the initial questions were not necessarily the most relevant ones. The expectation existed that new questions might be introduced.

Wherever possible, three interviews were done with each subject within a period of a year, to allow subjects to introspect on prior interviews and arrive at new personal insights, as encouraged by Seidman (1991). One of the subjects, whose husband was transferred, left town, so she received only one, albeit very productive, interview. In another case, the second interview with one subject was interrupted, and four interviews were conducted. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcriptions were typed verbatim.

First interviews concentrated on the contradictions in the women's lives and their experience of the alcoholic home. Second interviews explored the perceived effects of having had drinking fathers. Third interviews clarified the influence of these effects on future behaviour and choices. Insights were often arrived at spontaneously by subjects in this third interview. Seidman (1991) believes that if the three-interview method has allowed subjects insight, it has gone a long way toward validity. By allowing the subjects to go at their own pace, with minimal

steering or interpretations from the researcher, subjects arrive at their own interpretations. Thus the process enriches subjects through consciousness-raising (Mishler, 1986). Since this was not therapy, sensitive issues were not probed deeply.

The original stimuli, the projective stories from the aforementioned Masters' thesis, contained the initial evidence of the contradictions between the feminists' private and public lives, and hence they were also included as data¹.

Both projective stories and interviews were subsequently analysed by reading and re-reading them for emerging themes, with sentences relating to these themes being underlined in different coloured pencils for the purpose of grouping information (Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Brown, Tappan, Gilligan, Miller and Argyris, 1989). Shared knowledge between subjects and researcher, including the subjects' life histories, was referred to in order to obtain a sense of context, as recommended by Mishler (1986). Relevant quotes in the interviews were used to build interpretations according to an adaptation of Brown's (1989) reading guide method. By means of such a method, the whole was broken down into parts and the parts (the numerical theme synopses and theme synopses) were then reassembled into general structures (ibid).

The underlined interviews appear in Appendix A, while Appendix B contains the underlined projective stories. The Numerical Theme Synopsis, Appendix C,

1. Unfortunately, these projected stories (Appendix B) had already been underlined for the prior thesis, and the black lines are thus to be ignored for the purpose of this thesis.

contains everything pertaining to certain themes, rewritten under the theme's heading, and grouped under the name of each participant, with each separate thought beginning on a new line. Quotes are coded numerically in order to identify which interview they come from, as well as to aid in the grouping of ideas and themes. Hence a coding of (3,1) refers to interview 3, thematic idea 1; and (S₁2) refers to projected story, thematic idea 2.

From these groups of ideas and themes, a thematic synopsis was produced for each theme, and each subject (Appendix D). While these were written in the third person, the participants' language was adhered to as closely as possible so that the individuals' experience in her own terms, was retained. In instances where monosyllabic answers arose to questions, the questions were included in brackets. The last part of the results section contained the final general structures for each theme.

Towards the end of this process, disconfirming evidence was sought for the purpose of ensuring a convincing explanation for the phenomena studied. This prompted a further reading of the data, in order to better explain the contradictions and choices. Hence, the return arc of the hermeneutic circle was negotiated, and this clarified the way the fore-structure had influenced the research, as described by Packer and Addison(1989). Finally, as recommended by Ricouer (1979), an interpretation was reached that satisfied the researcher as being more probable than others(Packer and Addison,1979).

RESULTS

The results section includes the following:

1. Questions raised by the researcher's fore-structures of understanding.
2. Themes which emerged.
3. The Reading Guide (Appendices A and B).
4. Numerical Theme Synopses (Appendix C).
5. Theme Synopses (Appendix D).
6. General Structures

1. Questions raised by the Researcher's Fore-structures of Understanding.

Gadamer(cited in Gergen and Gergen,1984), claims that the researcher enters the study with preconceived ideas which affect the approach to, and interpretation of texts. The hermeneutic process demands that the researcher thus dialogue with his/her own preconceived understandings to complete the hermeneutic circle (Packer and Addison,1989). Since it is never possible to divest oneself of preunderstandings, these need to be acknowledged. They are inevitably projected onto the situation studied but should be influenced by the truth claim of the data. As this researcher was both a feminist and came from a home where the father drank, preconceived ideas¹ had included, firstly, assumptions that

1. Which already existed at the time of the prior Masters research.

feminists would be assertive and autonomous in both public and private lives and, secondly, that the experiences and effects of the alcoholic home would be of a certain kind.

Anticipations that feminists would be similarly assertive and autonomous in both their marriages and their public lives were shown to be wrong. The subjects' earlier stories had revealed submissiveness, compliancy and a burying of their true selves within marriage, which clashed with the researcher's anticipations and led to this further research.

What had been discovered was, firstly, that these women were ACAs and, secondly, that they did not express their needs or feelings directly within marriage for fear of rocking their now secure, harmonious family life. Family ideology and secure predictable homes seemed to be more important to them than asserting their feminist ideals.

On further dialogue with the old and new data and its resonance with the researcher's broadened clinical experience, and on further reading, a different focus began to emerge which seemed to suggest that these women were attempting to resurrect an ideal father. The research question thus shifted from why there were contradictions between ACAs' private and public lives, to what was being played out on an unconscious level in their lives. Nevertheless, the initial interpretations were retained, since there is always a plurivocity of explanations.

2. Themes which emerged.

The themes, underlined in their respective colours are as follows:

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| THEME 1.(GREEN) | COAs experience within the alcoholic home. |
| THEME 2.(YELLOW) | Resentment or anger towards the co-alcoholic who did not prevent the drinking behaviour. |
| THEME 3.(PURPLE) | Feminist contradictions such as disempowerment, compliance and self-denial. |
| THEME 4.(PINK) | ACA denial or avoidance of feelings combined with needs for self-control and interpersonal control. |
| THEME 5.(BLUE) | The need for respectability, status, achievement and approval as a result of the shame and embarrassment of the alcoholic home. |
| THEME 6.(ORANGE) | The need for honesty, fairness, trust and responsibility from others, as a result of disappointments and deceit in the alcoholic home. |
| THEME 7.(BLACK) | Difficulties with criticism or anger from others. |
| THEME 8.(BROWN) | ACA marriage ideals - the need for a predictable, dependable, stable, congenial, conflict-free marriage and marriage partner in contrast to the generic family. |
| THEME 9.(RED) | Resurrection of the ideal father and mother, plus reparation of the family. |

6. General Structures.

a) Theme 1. The Experience of the Alcoholic Home.

All subjects had been born during or directly after the Second World War. Their fathers had returned from the war as heavy drinkers, and often became aggressive or violent when they drank. Argumentativeness and "ranting" was referred too. All claimed their father had made their mothers' lives miserable. All had found the home environment very stressful and some had physically protected the mother from physical abuse. None had respected or admired their fathers who were variously perceived as illogical, irritating, morose, autocratic, disappointing, embarrassing, and lacking in dignity.

The dinner table tended to become the arena for their fathers' aggression and was remembered as a tense place, with daughters or mothers often being belittled. Their mothers had avoided conflict, accepted the drinking, and acted as pacifiers, a role these women were determined not to emulate. Individual survival had militated against a closeness between siblings, plus a closeness between mother and daughter. The drinking was never, or seldom, discussed among family members.

Their fathers were seen as selfishly devoted to alcohol to the detriment of their families, and contributing little to the upbringing of their children. Anxieties about fathers having car crashes while drunk or losing their jobs, existed. The return of the drinking father to the home at night was also anxiously anticipated, since his mood was often unpredictable.

b) Theme 2: Resentment or anger at the mother who denied or did not prevent the drinking behaviour.

These subjects were disappointed in, or resentful of, their mothers who were perceived to have done little to prevent the drinking behaviour. They characterised their mothers as pacifiers, peacemakers and observers who defended their husbands, denied the problem, or went mute when confronted by their husband's aggression.

The mothers were derisively seen to have been socialised to live for marriage and the family, but excused on the basis that they had had no other choices in the early twentieth century. Hence they were believed to have acted as peacemakers out of survival, and out of being socialised to be compliant wives. Yet, in spite of deciding not to emulate their mothers as pacifiers, ACAs inadvertently did just this by "not causing hassles" or doing "anything for peace". Like their mothers, they also tended to go mute when confronted by anger in others.

By being pacifiers, and not defending or protecting their daughters from the father's aggression, mothers were perceived to have colluded. In some cases there had been role-reversal, with the daughter protecting the mother, which resulted in current anger. Other subjects were resentful because they had not been able to discuss their fears, pain or disappointment with their mothers, since she had minimised these or defended the father. Mothers tended to encourage their daughters not to focus on the negative. Hence for most participants, feelings had been negated, especially fears that something was wrong, or the marriage doomed. Similarly, mothers had never unburdened themselves to their daughters, adding to their confusion and creating a shallow, untrusting, stilted mother-daughter relationship, with resultant loneliness.

c) Theme 3: Feminist Contradictions such as disempowerment, compliancy and self-denial.

While most of these women were assertive in their public lives, they were quite disempowered and unassertive in their marriages. They monitored their behaviour and conformed to traditional gender roles. One eshewed any efficient, independent behaviour like fixing appliances, which threatened her husband, and another did not ask directly to be taken out to eat, but dropped hints instead. Her story described marriage as the death of herself. While there were suggestions that husbands placed constraints on their behaviour, all women practised avoidance or self-denial and labelled themselves as over-emotional, thus possibly silencing themselves in marriage, for some reason, instead.

d) Theme 4: Children of Alcoholics' denial of feelings, resulting in needs for self- and inter-personal control, including manipulation.

As children, these daughters cut themselves off emotionally from the trauma of the aggressive drinking father. None had even talked to siblings or mothers about their feelings or fears. As adults, these daughters are self-controlled as well as controlling people. They also recognise a connection between their need for self-control and the explosive anger they witnessed in the family. The latter caused them to fear their own anger or to feel guilty expressing it, since they equated it with being out of control. Now they avoid expressing their own anger which they feel is irrational, revealing a conflict between emotions and logic. Hence they practise self-control to avoid arguments, doing anything for peace.

ACAs describe themselves as controlling people, even though they only achieve this by manipulation or feminine wiles. Two women admitted to power needs and

these were the ones who had been humiliated or disempowered by their fathers.

e) Theme 5: The need for respectability, status and approval.

Adult female children of alcoholics seem to look back on their generic homes as undignified, abusive and shameful. They appear to have internalised the shame. Three referred to their fathers humiliating them. All spoke of subsequently needing dignity in their lives. They seemed to subconsciously strive to be successful and to have a stable marriage with status. Needs to be the perfect wife, with perfect homes, gardens and dinner tables were expressed by most women in some form or another. Hence all had striven for, and achieved, respectability, status and approval.

f) Theme 6: The need for honesty, fairness and responsibility from others as a result of past deceit or disappointment.

These adult female children of alcoholics showed a dislike for unfairness, dishonesty, disloyalty, double standards and a lack of responsibility in others. They agreed that this might be linked to the generic family, where members did not express feelings about the drinking, gave mixed messages, and were thus mistrusted to a certain degree. Some subjects expressed fears of a husbands' infidelity, which they interpreted as a lack of responsibility.

g) Theme 7: Difficulties with criticism or anger from others.

These ACAs became defensive, humiliated, afraid or angry when confronted with criticism. Some were able to acknowledge that this reminded them of the situation with their fathers. Few were able to deal constructively with anger or criticism

from others and tended to flee or avoid situations causing arguments. Their mothers had similarly avoided angry confrontations.

h) Theme 8: The need for a dependable, stable, congenial, ideal, conflict-free marriage and marriage partner in contrast to the generic family.

These children of alcoholics witnessed frightening scenes in their generic families, variously involving paternal drunkenness, verbal or physical abuse, and shame. Fathers were moody, oppressive, and pugnacious when drunk.

The daughters seemed to have internalised this indignity and shame and had fantasies of a different kind for their own marriages. In contrast to the widely documented belief that COAs often married alcoholics, they had not. These women had needs for a marital home that was peaceful, stable, and not shameful. They seemed to be vulnerable to fantasies of the ideal family. In early adulthood all the women had had ideals of being the perfect wife in a perfect home. They were now proud of the stable homes they had created for their children.

The women admitted to choosing uncomplicated, restrained, realistic, predictable husbands, the type who could be depended on to contribute to a conflict-free marriage. They had also wanted husbands who seemed to put their childrens' needs first, further contributing to their fantasies of an ideal family life.

In their marriages, the participants avoided conflict in order to keep the home congenial. They buried their anger and deliberately made sacrifices in terms of self-assertion and independent thought to keep up the ideal of the peaceful home.

They also maintained this ideal by conforming to traditional gender role behaviour.

i) Theme 9: Resurrection of an ideal father, and mother, plus
Reparation of the family.

On closer scrutiny of the texts, it appeared, however, that each husband had been chosen for a central characteristic that had been missing, yet longed for, in the father. In one case it was supportiveness, in another it was ambition and respectability, while a third had wanted a happy, uncomplicated husband, and a fourth had needed someone who thought like her and hence would not invalidate her opinions - someone who took her seriously and was tolerant. All had also, predictably, needed someone who did not drink and become aggressive. These women openly admitted that as young women they had known that if they had married someone like their fathers it would have been disastrous. They had not wanted the same type of marriage their parents had had.

Their fathers were variously described as unpredictable, aggressive, autocratic, abusive, moody, embarrassing, morose, and illogical. In view of these adjectives, these fathers appear to have been seen as 'bad', possibly provoking, in their youth, fantasies of an ideal father.

Their present homes reportedly had a dignity and containment their generic homes had lacked. Often these women avoided arguments and "smoothed things over" to maintain the "even tenor" of the home. Their husbands were also described as involved, ideal fathers to their children, in contrast to their own fathers. Hence there seemed to be a need to repair the original generic family. One subject had in fact craved a child of her own to prove that parents could

protect and shower a child with love. This was clear evidence of a need to repair.

Most of these women had been determined to be different wives and mothers from their own mothers. They were not going to be abused, powerless peacemakers. In choosing different husbands who were non-alcoholic and unaggressive, this had allowed them to be different wives. As mothers, they protected their children, in contrast to their own mothers who had not done this. Hence all these women seemed to have had fantasies about what an ideal mother/wife was like and how she should be treated.

Thus it seemed that not only had these women, in choosing a husband, resurrected an ideal father, they had also repaired the problematic generic family and the mother, and their internal world and child in the process.

DISCUSSION

What emerged from the texts was that, while most of the women were assertive in their public lives, they were quite disempowered and unassertive in their marriages. While one participant was an active and assertive member of Rape Crisis, and very feminist, she too was disempowered and unassertive in her marriage. Another was very assertive in her teaching career as a head of department, often lobbying for changes in the school, yet in her marriage she would not assert even a simple need to go out to dinner. Yet another deliberately hid her efficiency when this conflicted with her husband's ideas of traditional gender role behaviour, such as the fixing of appliances. Hence these women's need to avoid conflict, criticism and self-assertion resulted in compliant marital behaviour, even though most had abhorred this in their own mothers, had been enlightened by feminist ideology, and were self-assertive outside of marriage.

Such contradictory behaviour seems to have different explanations, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive: the effects of the alcoholic home on children's later behaviour; socialisation; a particular ACA vulnerability to family ideology; or the unconscious need to resurrect an ideal father (which demanded congruent gender role behaviour from them in order to repair the family). Each is discussed below.

1. The Effect of the Alcoholic Home on Children's Future Behaviour.

The results obtained from reading the texts of these ACAs were consistent with the research literature on COAs' behaviour. These women's experiences upheld the findings of Brown(1992) and Kashubeck(1994) that the alcoholic home is a traumatic environment, where members stay at a hypervigilant crisis level, often experiencing fear when the alcoholic arrives home at night. Such fear, plus the vigilance needed to maintain security and respectability, require control of self and others. Self-control overcompensates for feelings of unworthiness and chaos in the family. It inevitably leads to isolation of affect and being out of tune with the self (Teyber,1989; Brown,1992). Various opinions stated in the literature relating to denial of feelings and a fear of loss of control were supported by the results of this study. As COAs, the subjects had avoided or suppressed feelings of anger, sadness and impotence against the drinking, which they had been unable to share with the mother, who denied the problem. As a result they had all become very controlled and used the defences of rationalisation, isolation and avoidance. Hence control needs seemed to have militated against the ability to operate according to their own needs and feelings(ibid)

According to Transeau and Eliot(1990), one of the most consistently documented effects of the alcoholic home is that COAs need self-control and interpersonal control in relationships. Indeed, Bradley and Schneider(1990) found that children of alcoholic fathers receive higher MMPI interpersonal control scores.

The women in this study also recognised a connection between their need for control and the explosive anger witnessed from the father, as suggested by Brown(1992). They feared they might also possess such explosive anger. Winch(1962) claims that a child can adopt a "negative identification" to a parent and adopt behaviour that is the opposite to that of the parent. Biller(1971) claims that a domineering father contributes to a daughter's submissiveness, fearfulness and lack of autonomy.

These women did fear their own anger, or felt guilty about it, or equated it with being out of control or illogical, and thus potentially destructive to the extent that they could not even express anger in a socially appropriate way. In addition, there seemed to be a conflict for these women between emotions and logic, possibly attributable to being witness both to their fathers' illogical emotionality, and to the distortions in logic of the family's denial of the presence of a disorder, as suggested by Brown(1992). Children were in effect told that "what they were seeing was not what they were seeing" (Brown,1992, p20).

Further contaminations of their sense of self might have resulted from their perceived rejection by the alcoholic father, who somewhat 'abandoned' them for the alcohol and was emotionally disengaged (Brown,1992). In addition, since the alcoholic family's denial provides a poor model of a shared reality, Brown(1992) claims that the child's personal identity is filtered through a distorted family story, causing the child to alter its own perceptions to fit the reality of others. The child must thus refuse incoming data and block its own emotions. As a result, " 'Who am I?' becomes 'Who must I be?'" (ibid,p121). The child cannot claim a right to its own viewpoint, and thus develops a false compliant self. Such children become unsure of their own perceptions of what it is that is making them uncomfortable. They often do not know what they are feeling, what they value,

or what they want to do(Teyber,1989). According to Teyber(1989), such consistent disconfirmation, invalidation and mystification in the family of origin results in children losing their sense of self, since they lose the validity of their own experience. Consistent disconfirmation also results in disempowerment and an inability to set firm limits with others(ibid).

Some possible aspects of developing a false cognitive self at the expense of a spontaneous self may be suggested by these subjects' precocious responsibility and high academic achievement, as well as their inability to assert their own needs and feelings within the intimate relationship of marriage. Ironically, while these daughters were critical of their mother's perceived compliancy, they rationalised their own. These ACAs seemed to adopt a peace-keeping stance similar to that adopted in their generic families to avoid, as posited by Brown(1992), the demeaning paternal criticism which had become internalised. This would also accord with Brown's(1992) thesis that female COAs learn to monitor their behaviour to prevent the alcoholic parent(whether actual or internalised) from withdrawing further. Later, pleasing men becomes important since they could not predict how to behave to avoid angry, cruel responses from their fathers. Certainly from their interviews, it seemed that these ACAs still monitored their behaviour.

In these subjects, their need for control, and lack of spontaneity extended to their sexuality. Indeed, Currier and Aponte(1991) claim that female ACAs can present with sexual dysfunctions. Consistent with this, one subject referred in her stories to vaginismus, and for some, sexuality seemed to be contaminated by issues of a need for control. In one subject's projected story she derogated the sexual woman, while another story revealed fantasies of raping and controlling men. However, these women's mistrust and control of their own sexuality may also

need to be seen against the background of their upbringing in the 1960's when female contraceptives and the sexual revolution had not yet made their appearance, and when young girls were subjected to sexual taboos and warnings of possible pregnancy (Bland, Harrison, Mort and Winship, 1978). Girls, according to Wilson (1978), also had to safeguard their sexuality by adhering to a neighbourhood code of sexual conduct.

According to Tainey (1938), since COAs will do anything to avoid criticism and disapproval similar to that received from the father, they may present themselves as kind, generous and caring. The COA may have perceived the absence of parental attention as a response to their own 'badness,' resulting in abandonment fears, and a false, compliant, 'nice' self (Masterson, 1981). The COA may suppress her needs rather than confront others. In this study, these ACAs could be assertive and powerful in their careers, but they avoided such behaviours in their marriages, often resorting to feminine wiles instead.

Suppression of negative emotions, evident in these women's texts, may be linked to Mathews et al (1983) and Parker and Harford's (1988) findings of depression-proneness and anxiety in ACAs. Suppression of anger may result in anger being turned inwards against the self, with consequent depression or headaches (Lynch and Vasudevan, 1988). Consistent with this, all the women in the sample had suffered from severe headaches or depression at some time in their past, and two were anxious people. Kremen (1996) found that depression was related to impaired interpersonal behaviours which might well be learnt in a dysfunctional alcoholic family. Furthermore, anxiety might be linked to fears of similarly unmanageable situations. However, Lazowick (1955) found that high degrees of anxiety in women was related to an inability to understand and empathise with the father (Biller, 1971).

However, the effects of being children of alcoholic fathers, as described in the literature, only partially explains the contradictions in the texts. It does not account for these feminists' traditional gender role behaviour in the home in spite of their feminism, nor does it account for their needs for a specific characteristic in a husband, which were missing in the father, thereby allowing them to gain their fantasised ideal father, and thus repair the generic family. In addition, the literature on COAs does not take women's socialisation and the socio-historical context into account.

2. Socialisation and socio-historical context.

Women's socialisation can influence their behaviour. Some subjects directly referred to the effect of socialisation on their self-expression within marriage. This socialisation took place in the fifties and sixties. Horney(1937), Jack(1991), and Eichenbaum and Orbach(1982), suggest that socialisation in the childhood years may make it difficult for women to change. Theories of the power of socialisation within the family, by Chodorow(1978) and Eichenbaum and Orbach (1982), posit that in an industrialised society, father-absent families spawn daughters that overidentify with their mothers and reproduce their mothers' behaviours and roles. Jack(1991) claims that women are subject to cultural norms and moral imperatives(shoulds, oughts, etc.), which demand compliancy and prevent the enactment of a true self within a close relationship. Horney(1937) claims female assertiveness is often punishable in our society, causing women to be inhibited in this regard(ibid). Women raised in the nineteen fifties and sixties tended to be socialised into compliancy and into believing it unfeminine to express anger (Horney, 1938; Eichenbaum and Orbach, 1982). Two subjects in this study alluded to this in their projected stories and interviews.

Symonds(1973) believes that women are socialised to avoid direct confrontation of their own needs and thus become unable to handle even the ordinary friction that occurs between two people in marriage. This results in personal restriction and sometimes even phobias(ibid). These subjects did restrict self-expression in marriage. Jack (1991) likewise implicates cultural norms, by which women place more importance on maintaining a relationship than on enacting a self within it, resulting in a compliant, yet resentful self. Dowling(1982) claims that fear rules women's lives - that a deep desire to be protected results in a life of repression and inhibited expression since expression in women has been taken for hostility.

Dowling maintains that the moment someone they depend on disagrees with them, women may lose their ability to sustain a line of argument.

In this research it emerged that all the women practised avoidance and self-denial. All had self-critically labelled themselves as over-emotional and thus silenced themselves, as posited by Jack(1991). Yet it seemed that their husbands had also contributed to perceptions such as these by criticising their wives' emotional outbursts. Four subjects had chosen unemotional, uncomplicated husbands, but in doing so they may have inadvertently chosen men who were more likely to derogate emotional assertiveness in their wives. Hence emotional inexpressiveness may have been necessary for the survival of their marriages. Eichenbaum and Orbach(1982) claim that in our society, traditional men can be perplexed, angered or intimidated by their female partner's emotional needs. DeFrancisco (1991) found that sixty-four percent of men in her research used communication violations to maintain relational control and silence women in marriage. These include forcing light conversation, not talking, or being condescending or didactic(ibid). Horney (1937) claims:

a submissive woman may find peace and a great deal of secondary satisfaction in a culture which requires from a woman obedience to family or husband and compliance with traditional norms (p100).

How then did these women nevertheless exert the interpersonal control which Bradley and Schneider(1990) claim female ACAs need? Most of these women achieved this by feminine wiles and manipulation - a further result of their socialisation. This supports Aronson and Gilbert's(1968) finding that there is evidence of manipulateness, needs to dominate and passive-aggressive traits in COAs (Plescia-Pikus et al,1988). Hemmings and Irwin(1993) concur that ACAs

need to "control people through helplessness, guilt, coercion, threats, advice-giving, manipulation or domination" since they are terrified of being controlled by others in the same way as they were by the alcoholic father. Both Treadway(1989) and Brown(1992) also believe that ACAs may choose partners they can control.

While socialisation may explain some of these women's compliant marital behaviours, and inhibitions, it fails to explain why these women can nevertheless be assertive and independent in their careers. It would appear that marriage, in contrast, represented some issue worthy of self-sacrifice and self-control.

3. ACA Vulnerability to Family Ideology.

According to Brown(1992) needs for stability, consistency and dependability, which are not met in the alcoholic home, result in later cravings for a predictable family life. These needs thus make COAs vulnerable to family ideology as an idea of the ideal family. COAs experienced fearful scenes of drunkenness, verbal or physical abuse, plus shame, and embarrassment, which they internalised, and consequently strove for respectability and stability in their marriages or careers(Black,1992). Indeed, the ACAs in this study had fantasies of a home life that was peaceful, stable, respectable and congenial. The latter may be seen as being congruent with the type of family ideology promoted by the 'American Dream', which served to boost consumerism in postwar America. Indeed, one subject's projected stories revealed a glorification of the family, middle-class status and "all the material trappings of a northern suburbs' society wife". Another spoke of being "snobby" and all the women spoke of trying to be perfect wives in the early years of their marriage.

Thus these women may have avoided conflict in order to keep the home idyllic. They had for many years buried their anger and deliberately made sacrifices in terms of self-assertion and independence to keep this ideal alive. This might partially account for their contrasting behaviours in the public versus the private spheres. After their experiences of the alcoholic home, they may have so valued their current secure, predictable homes that they were loath to risk 'rocking the boat'. Indeed, two subjects spoke of hating arguments and doing "anything for peace".

Treadway(1989) believes that ACAs crave security and Dowling(1982) claims that women, in general, fear losing their protection, which together suggest that such needs would make these women doubly vulnerable to security needs and family ideology. It is thus small wonder that these feminists displayed contradictions in their stories.

Such security needs could also have prevented them from attaining a higher stage of morality involving mutual consideration for both self and others, as proposed by Attanucci (1988). McNamara and Richard(1989), however, claim that the highest stage of morality is rather a balancing of conscientisation or enlightenment with a consideration of personal factors, which can lead to a rejection of many feminist values. While one subject rationalises along these lines, her rationalisations are unconvincing since her projected stories reveal a sense of restrictedness in marriage, which she depicts as a "sarcophagus", yet in which she nevertheless "stays with husband's and society's approval" but is disempowered. As proposed by Siedenberg(1973c), only negativism remains as resistance to a passionless existence.

One cannot ignore the fact that these women's abovementioned needs for security, status and respectability may also be attributable to the working-class status of their generic families. One subject's father was a printer, another's had a precarious employment record, and a third had "provided few material possessions". In addition, all had been raised in the suburbs, among more upper-class privileged children. Hence these factors, rather than the alcoholic home, may have contributed to ambitions for security, status and respectability.

Since the alcoholic family obfuscates and invalidates COAs' feelings and inadvertently gives mixed messages(Brown,1992), ACAs crave honesty and

fairness. This was upheld by statements made by each of these subjects. They claimed that they needed loyalty, fairness and transparency and hated deceit. Such needs might also demand from them, in turn, a fairness in adhering to the traditional gender roles expected by family ideology. Hence these subjects might have been loath to embrace feminist changes in the marriage in case such changes were construed as not keeping to their side of the bargain (the unwritten marriage contract).

While a vulnerability to family ideology and the wish for an ideal home might explain the contrast between these feminists' public and private behaviours, it fails to account for the need of each subject for a particular characteristic in their husband that had been missing in the father.

4. Resurrection of the ideal father (and mother), plus reparation of the family.

Various theses have been put forward for these subjects' choice of marriage partner and the contradictions between their behaviour in public and private spheres. This section attempts to understand these contradictions in terms of object relations theory.

It seemed that each husband had been chosen for a central characteristic that had been missing, yet longed for in the father. For one subject, this had been stability. For another it was ambitiousness and respectability, while a third chose a happy, uncomplicated husband and another, a husband who held the same opinions as hers. She needed to be validated and taken seriously. In all cases, these characteristics were missing in their fathers. In addition, the adjectives used to describe their drinking fathers included: autocratic, morose, embittered, embarrassing, abusive, violent, illogical, and controlling - all suggesting that the father was seen as a punitive, 'bad' object, whose behaviour towards them, and often their mothers, was 'rejecting'. Most subjects had been belittled and ridiculed by their fathers. Hence it is not unreasonable to assume that these drinking fathers may have become internalised as a 'bad, rejecting' object, provoking a compensatory wish for an 'ideal' object: an accepting father, as proposed by Fairbairn(1952). As their fathers were angry and critical when drunk, it is interesting that all subjects chose unaggressive husbands.

The ideal object would also have been influenced by other men they came into contact with, as proposed by Greenberg and Mitchell(1983). In one case the subject chose a teacher. He also held the same opinions as her, was rational, educated, quiet, and sensible. Another chose a man who was uncomplicated, easy-going, and happy, in contrast to her father who had been morose, plus

educated, quiet, and sensible. Another chose a man who was uncomplicated, easy-going, and happy, in contrast to her father who had been morose, plus emotionally and physically abusive. He was a lawyer. Her generic home could be characterised as anything but 'law abiding' in that there were secrets, abuse and undercurrents. In a third case, the father had broken furniture in fury. This subject's husband, an engineer, built homes and restored furniture.

Hence, while there was evidence of internalisation and the choice of an ideal object for husband in the case of these subjects, there was no evidence that the tantalising, rejecting object had been chosen as a husband which, as postulated by Fairbairn(1952), often occurred as part of a destructive 'repetition compulsion'. In contrast, these subjects reported eschewing such depriving objects in order to marry an ideal object/father. Certainly these women can be regarded as having ultimately made successful choices, if one takes the length of their marriages into account. However, the possibility exists that the ideal object/ father, being shorn of exciting (yet rejecting) aspects, might fail to excite. This might explain one subject's description of marriage as a coffin, and another's similar disillusionment with marriage.

While such marriages might represent a transference attachment to a parent surrogate, Bohannon(1980) and Hazell(1994) believe that there can be a successful outcome of such a transference attachment if there is a resolution of transference expectations and a movement towards reality-based interactions. Seligman(1985) also claims that a reinstatement of an 'absent' parent enables a reconciliation of the inner parents which frees a person to discover his/her own identity.

These subjects seemed to have rejected the shadow aspects of their fathers. They chose shadow opposites and hence the father archetype, as described by Samuels (1985), was not sufficiently personalised. Any shadow aspects which their husbands expressed, such as anger, moodiness, or unfaithful thoughts, which could be interpreted as diverging from the archetype/ideal, completely unnerved these women.

Pincus and Dore(1978) believe that motivations that prompt marital choice are largely unconscious projections of unfulfilled wishes and painful feelings. The chosen marital partner may thus be one who is able to accept and act out these projections(ibid). This can be therapeutic if each partner is able to make contact in the other person with undeveloped aspects of herself. In time, these projected aspects may "even appear sufficiently acceptable to be taken back into the self"(ibid,p34). This seemed to have occurred in at least one subject who reported "becoming more tolerant", an aspect she had previously attributed only to her husband.

These women's object relations with their mothers would likewise have influenced their own roles as wives and mothers, quite apart from their socialisation. In these alcoholic families, mothers had not escaped being judged by their daughters for their part in the maintenance of the traumatic drinking environment and their failure to protect their daughters. They were also described as having had some nurturing flaws and had not validated their daughters feelings. Hence, since they had not met all their daughters' needs, they too may have been split into an accepting part-object (that was nurturing and available), versus a bad part-object (who had not prevented or protected them from the abuse), in line with Fairbairn's(1952) thesis. This tarnished, maternal, internal part-object would have motivated an ideal object who was able to control the father and prevent

trauma. Significantly, these women, unlike their mothers, had prevented trauma for their own families by not choosing alcoholic husbands. They may also have sought to repair, through partner choice, the neglect or humiliation they and their mothers had suffered at the hands of the alcoholic, as proposed by Klein(cited by Greenberg and Mitchell, 1983), and Wickes(1966). In so doing they would seek to repair their internal world(Hinshelwood, 1991). The idealised maternal part object may also have been compensated for by the wish to be an ideal wife. The above factors might explain the contrasts between these subjects' public and private behaviours.

In choosing an ideal father, and enacting their ideal mother, these women appear to have sought a reparation of the generic family. Consistent with this, one subject reported longing for a child to prove that parents could shower a child with love, and to prove that parents could protect a child from its parents' marital problems. Another alluded to shielding her children from the type of shame and chaos she had experienced. She deliberately ritualised dinner time in her family, to the extent that she became "outraged when her dinner table was disrupted". She also "curbed her illogical anger" so that her children would not be subjected to this, as she was as a child. A reparation need may have been in operation here. Hence the need for reparation seems to have resulted in a set of compromising and subservient behaviours by all feminists within their marriages, ostensibly the opposite of their assertiveness in their careers. All the women avoided arguments to maintain the fantasy of the repaired family. In fact one subject admitted to not expressing anger for the very reason that she needed to prove she had an ideal marriage. Such tendencies to make reparation are bound up with depression and the depressive position, according to Klein(1983), and this might offer a preferable explanation for the depression which these women reported suffering from, at some time in their adult lives.

Feminist changes might spoil their whole fantasy of an ideal father and mother and the repaired, untemperamental family. Indeed, retaining an ideal husband/father figure would demand that they keep to their side of the marriage contract as ideal wives/mothers. This would demand appropriate gender behaviour, such as not fixing appliances, being good cooks and mothers. Hence, against this backdrop, it is not surprising that these women avoid enacting feminist changes in their marriages.

Alternatively, their inability to enact feminist changes or practise self-assertion within marriage might be a more direct result of the splitting which, as proposed by Cashdan(1988), causes repression of pain and abandonment fears. Such abandonment fears would militate against any marital behaviours which might carry the threat of abandonment, thus affecting their ability to act autonomously.

An object relations interpretation seems to be the most appropriate one for explaining the contradictions and choices. These women seem determined not to de-throne the ideal father/husband from his position in any way, nor argue with him as they had done with their real fathers, nor risk their repaired families by introducing changes.

CONCLUSION

This research aimed to answer the question of why four subjects, who were assertive and autonomous in their public lives, seemed disempowered and submissive in their private lives, as was evidenced in their projected stories and interviews. This raised the question of what exactly it was about being the child of an alcoholic father, that caused such contradictions.

According to Ricoeur(1976) an interpretation must be arrived at that is more probable than any others. In this research, the interpretation based on an object relations understanding of the resurrection of an ideal father (and mother) and the reparation of the family gave the most credible explanation for the contradictions and choices specified in these women's texts. This interpretation gained credence from the fact that central characteristics, missing yet longed for, in the father, had guided the choice of husband. Nevertheless, while the return arc of the hermeneutic circle unveiled this object relations interpretation, other explanations were still retained since all the explanations served to contribute towards a more holistic, contextualised interpretation. Any aspect of reality yields a surplus of meaning in that different perspectives can validly explain the same data(ibid). "The text...has a kind of plurivocity... [which] is typical of complex works of discourse and opens them to a plurality of constructions"(ibid,p77).

Initially, the following effects of being COAs emerged in this study: avoidance or denial of feelings; a need for self-control and interpersonal control; difficulty with others' criticism as a result of father's critical aggression; resentment of the mother who denied or did not prevent the drinking behaviour; a need for respectability, status and approval due to the shame of the alcoholic home; a need

for honesty, fairness and responsibility from others, as a result of past obfuscation and disappointment; plus future needs for a dependable, stable, congenial, ideal, conflict-free marriage and marriage partner.

Certain explanations for the contradictions in the subjects' lives were forthcoming from the literature and research on COAs, while others were asserted by the data. From the data, and consistent with the literature, it appeared that all participants had had their feelings invalidated in the alcoholic home, with the result that they may have been out of touch with some aspects of their true selves, and hence unable to trust their own needs or feelings or to assert them in marriage. Both self-denigration and abandonment fears also seemed present in the subjects' stories. Abandonment fears were reflected in fears such as a husband's adultery, and seem to have contributed to their needs to be ideal wives and to avoid risking any new behaviour in their marriages.

Socialisation theory contributed to some understanding of the contradictions. Feminism proposes behaviour which is the polar opposite of women's socialised marital behaviour, and eschews family ideology. A woman's socialisation is said to begin in industrialisation's father-absent families, which spawn mothers who are overinvested in their children to the extent that daughters overidentify with their mothers, thus imbibing their role and compliancy. In addition, women's assertiveness is often punished by society. According to family ideology, wives are socialised to be the emotional housekeepers in the family, and defensively guard against any discontent, as this might be misconstrued as their own inadequacy. Thus the effects of being children of alcoholics clearly should not be divorced from the historical and social context within which the subjects find themselves. Yet knowledge of this context does not adequately explain the contradictions in this study.

This study did, however, yield certain results which seemed intrinsic to the effects of the alcoholic home, and which women's traditional upbringing could only partially explain. These were participants' needs for an idealised, conflict-free, congenial marriage. Such needs make ACAs more vulnerable than most to family ideology, with its traditional values of loyalty, stability and clear-cut gender roles, and make them afraid to risk these values by enacting their feminist beliefs within marriage. A real fear of duplicating past home life, plus extreme needs for security and protection, seemed to have left these subjects more vulnerable than most, to family ideology. However, adherence to this ideology did not explain the subjects' contrasting ability to be assertive outside of the marriage context, nor their reverence of specific characteristics in their husbands. These suggested that other variables might be at work, preventing assertiveness within the specific context of marriage.

If one considers the specific choice of husband of each subject, it seems they chose partners who were very different from their fathers. They perceived of their fathers as 'bad' objects yet wished for compensatory ideal objects/fathers. Such wished for objects served to guide their choice of future husband. Indeed this theory gains credence from the fact that each of the subjects' husbands had central characteristics that subjects had missed, yet longed for, in their fathers. In addition, all had eschewed choosing drinking, aggressive men and had not chosen the tantalising, rejecting object, but the ideal object as husbands.

Similarly, they longed for compensatory, ideal, maternal objects since their mothers had to some extent failed them, by not protecting them. This was dealt with by the subjects proving that they themselves could be ideal mothers. In accordance with this, all subjects had been determined not to choose drinking husbands who might force them into the same circumstances their mothers had

been in. To some extent one might say these subjects might also have sought to repair the mother. The developing child may become entangled in the suffering of a parent, and hence it often seeks to transform parental pain, and redeem the parent.

Hand in hand with the resurrection of an ideal father and mother, was an obvious need to repair the problematic generic family. These subjects in fact freely admitted to desires to prove that they could create a different kind of family, and raise their children more successfully. This meant showering them with love and protecting them from aggression. Many went to great lengths to prove this. Yet, enacting such reparative fantasies placed them in the depressive position, while they attempted to repair their internal worlds and injured objects.

Hence reparation of the generic family, and resurrection of an ideal father, all of which demand an ideal mother, seems to provide a more convincing answer to the contradictions in these subject's behaviours than a vulnerability to family ideology. It is against this backdrop that inabilities to institute feminist changes can be seen. While these women were assertive feminists in the outside world, their need to repair the family made enacting feminist changes within marriage too much of a threat to the repaired, idyllic homes they aspired to. Having chosen 'ideal fathers' as husbands, feminist changes might be reneging on their side of the unconscious, unwritten, reparative contract of the marriage. They thus had to be 'ideal wives'. Having created the peaceful families they always wanted, these women shun potentially threatening risks in their marriages. It would be pertinent, however, to keep Fulton and Gates' (1990) reservations in mind with respect to regarding parental alcoholism as the sole causative agent of later dynamics or choices.

It is appropriate to draw attention at this stage to any omissions in this research. It must be remembered that qualitative research sacrifices generalisability for the alternative of rich contextualised data and interpretations. However, further research utilising a larger, more heterogeneous sample and an empirical method, could fruitfully explore the generalisability of these findings. In terms of validity, Seidman(1993) claims that if the three-interview method has allowed subjects to gain insight, it has gone a long way towards achieving validity. It is then an enriching process involving enlightenment and empowerment in terms of greater understanding and more effective living, the goals of qualitative research(Mishler, 1986; Packer and Addison,1989)

From an empirical perspective, some might see the combination of two paradigms, interpretive research and the use of projective stimuli, to be problematic. However, the stimuli were not used in the traditional way, which is to interpret personality, so much as to elicit data about the marital relationship and associated feminist sentiments, the assumptions being that ambiguous stimuli call for projections which reflect such aspects as interpersonal styles of relating and associated feelings. Hence it was deemed important to guide subjects to identify with the main woman in each artwork.

Furthermore, interpretations based on visual stimuli should be regarded with caution since Murray(1938, cited in Groth-Marnat,1984) claims that approximately thirty percent of stories are cliches or secondhand information: interpretations of lives are often distorted by illusion, wish-fulfillment, films seen, and stories read or heard (Potter and Weatherall,1987; Baudrey,1990). Hence life histories are often mixtures of fact and fantasy.

However, in spite of the above reservations, it is felt that the interpretations met Lather's (1986) criterion of "catalytic validity" in that they opened up new ways of seeing both for the researcher and others (Packer and Addison, 1989). If a solution to the confusion or concern that motivated the research is arrived at, then, according to Packer and Addison (1989, p279), we have found not "only what we read into things", namely our own projections, but a new understanding of ourselves. Packer and Addison (1989) claim that those who seek any more than catalytic validity, which 'catalyses' understanding and action, make a demand beyond which even natural science cannot provide. Epistemological security can never be ultimately guaranteed (ibid). Belief that it can is misguided belief.

In terms of the requirement of catalytic validity, this study does contribute to a much needed understanding of the "potentially strong effect of an alcoholic father on his daughter's emotional state" (my italics) and life choices, as appealed for by Berkowitz and Perkins (1988, p209).

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEWS

INTERVIEW 1 V JANUARY 1995

V: I'd call myself a womanist. I've done a talk at school for the boys on feminism for the current affairs society - that was quite fun. I started off saying I didn't define myself as a feminist but at the end I had persuaded myself that I was. But I think that I've also made it in a man's world.

So yes, I am assertive. But I don't think I'm particularly assertive in my marriage, although I get my own way.

I: Would you like to be more assertive?

V: No, I don't think so. I'm quite happy with the dichotomy of the thing. Any assertiveness I have I can use at school. And my husband is much more rational than me. He's not a fighter, he's quiet. I suppose being married for 29 years, I've got used to it. You know I think our age group got socialised into a marriage situation and we broke with that early in the marriage because I went back to work. Sometimes I resented having to but by the same token I think it made me grow as a person. and so any assertiveness I've got I can use in my job and I ended up in the ideal place for using it. So it hasn't actually worried me. But when I say I'm not assertive, it's not that I'm not assertive, I get my own way most of the time as I said. But I don't get it by assertiveness, I get it by more feminine wiles.

I: Do you. And you don't mind that?

V: No because I think that's how women were socialised to get their way.

I: Mm. Do you not find it annoying that you have to do it that way?

V: No, it doesn't worry me at all.

I: Did you find in the beginning that you were more unassertive and compliant?

V: Yes, yes.

I: There's been a definite change?

V: Yes... as I've learnt to manipulate situations.

I: So you felt that you had less power in the beginning?

V: Yes, but I wanted less. I was young and as I say, socialised into believing that was how it OUGHT to be. But we've developed and grown together.

I: You've had almost similar careers too, haven't you?

V: Yes.

I: So there's been no power differential in that way, so that's interesting...

V: Ja, I think though I'm more ambitious for him than he is and have pushed more for his career than mine. It was only when the children got older that I felt I wanted more responsibility and then he encouraged me to go for it because he said I was capable of it and might get frustrated staying in the same job till I was 60.

I: Yes... It seems to me that with feminists there's no problem if the man shifts with the woman..

V: Ja, you see when I met him we were at varsity and I was left wing, which I think is a start for feminism, if you know what I mean. But he was even further to the left. So I had a very good base to start on because he was liberated when I met him in so far that he was politically left and that was liberated in those days

I: Yes... it's about values. To turn now to private spaces in your home.. would you say they were his or yours?

V: His. I've never had a private space. I've always worked at the dining room table. I still do but there's a little room at the back where, if we can clean all the kids' junk out of it, is going to be mine. He's very determined that will be my room. It's going to be called a sewing room, but I don't know how much sewing I'm going to do, but it's going to be mine. But you know, he works more at home than I do. and he's got his computer there and everything. But I can use it if I want to (laughs).

I: What about emotions? Can you talk to him about your emotions and is that received?

V:Yes.

I:Any problems with it?

V:There have been problems sometimes when he thinks I've overreacted but then I do overreact. I'm not as rational as he is. So I'm more inclined to blast off.

I:Do you think it's better to be more rational?

V:No but I think it's a good combination because I probably raise issues that with his rationality he wouldn't have taken notice of and then we can sort them out a bit more. You know at the very start of our marriage, we'd been married about 2 weeks and I'd had one hell of a day at school. We got home and I'd ranted all the way home in the car, got out of the car and slammed the door, and his head came up from the driver's side and he said "bit of a bitch aren't you?". And I think that kind of flattened things out.

I:Didn't you hate the way he'd labelled you bitch and thereby disempowered you?

V:I've never felt that. I've always felt that he's more sensible than I am.

I:So you felt when he called you that that he was right?

V:Oh I was being a total bitch, and no one had dared to say that to me even though they'd thought that (laughs). Um, I think he's been very good for me because I was very hot tempered and used to blow my top. That was my character. I was brought up in a home where we blew our tops. My husband was shattered when he first came into our home, he couldn't believe that people could shout at each other and then be friends the next moment.

I:But then which do you think is more healthy?

V:I don't know but I think we've had a very much more stable and peaceful home and our kids communicate a lot better with us than we did as kids. Now he came from a home where none shared emotions. So we've established a sort of happy medium, you know. I suppose I went for him knowing that he wasn't emotional. And I've become more tolerant than I used to be. I'm less inclined to go for people, more inclined to think about it. It's allowed me to use my intelligence to temper my, um, often ridiculous emotional outbursts. I'm not saying I don't still do it. I still shriek. I kicked the washing machine the other day and he said "that's not going to help" and I said "well it helps me", and did it again.

I:So you experienced quite a lot of upheaval in your parent's home, emotions?

V:Ja. My father was very emotional. My mum was a peacemaker. I was determined I was never going to be a peacemaker, I was going to do my own thing. And I think I have to a certain extent. But I think I've also realised it's ridiculous to cause a furore when there's no need for it really. I mean I'm not rational all of the time. When my son had an earring fitted I had a tantrum in the middle of Game. But I was embarrassed afterwards and wondered how many people I knew had seen me. I think I've got more of my father... no my sister has that sort of lack of control. I think that's what happened to me, I learnt to control, um, totally irrational thought processes.

I:Mm, that you thought were quite scary and so needed to be controlled. Are you quite wary of showing the tiger in you?

V:Sometimes. And I think I haven't only learnt that in my marriage I've learnt that in my job as well that there are times when it's actually better to keep your mouth shut. And it took me longer to learn that in my job.

I:What prevents you?

V:The very certain knowledge that if I wait, and listen and react in a considered way I'm more likely to have impact. In other words it's a power thing... control for me is a power thing. Control of myself is a power thing. I will control myself if I want to get my own way and I do it at school. I often bite my tongue in management meetings and then have my say at the end and very often I find that that goes. And I had to be taught that by a headmaster... He said to me "don't leap in. What you say is often such good sense but because you do it in such an emotional way you actually lose the men... you don't take them with you. Keep it quiet, keep it controlled, come in at the end when they've all had their say and you'll carry it.

I:Do you resent that?

V: NO I don't resent that . I'm just grateful to him for having shown me how to do it, for having pointed it out.

I: Ja..but I mean do you resent the fact that when you came in with your emotions, that that wasn't received.

V: Um, no I don't resent that. No, let me correct that - it was a very spontaneous reply. Um ... I think sometimes it irritates me.. Um, but I think it's also something I've learnt to live with because I'm dealing with them all the time and it's a very chauvinist atmosphere that I'm working in . So if I can, if I can control them without them even knowing it that's fine

I: So your manipulation of them...

V: Is conscious

I: Yes, and you get a lot of satisfaction out of it.

V: Yes I do

I: One could almost call it passive-aggressive in a way.

V: I suppose so, in a way.

I: If you were in a situation with a lot of chauvinist men where an issue came up that you felt you had to fight, and you started but began to feel that you were being overpowered, how would you react?

V: That's happened to me very very often . I believe that attrition often wins wars so I just keep going. I'm very stubborn and I keep going.

I: You don't ever become compliant?

V: Not unless they persuade me I'm wrong.

I: OK So you would fight for it.

V: Yes, I have. I've fought hundreds and hundreds of issues as a different voice in an all male management. I think my ideas are radically different because I'm coming at it from a different angle and I'll just keep picking.

I: Picking...even if your totally antagonised?

V: Aw, I've been antagonised lots of times, lots and lots. I don't always win. Sometimes on a vote, I'll be totally outvoted but yes, there have been things.. I look at the College and I think, I did that, I did it. And I fight the women's issues on the staff, with the boys and with the men.

I: Can you give me an example?

V: Um, if you've got a young pretty woman teacher and she's being harrassed... I don't mean sexually harrassed... those girls come to me and they know that I'm going to take up the issue and they know that I'll deal with it. I will go in and I will face a class and I will tell them exactly what they're doing. Um often using underhand tactics (joint laughter) so that I make them feel rotten about what they're doing. And you win. Um...and I only have to say something like... to the caretaker... there's graffiti in that toilet... and it's painted out the next day.

I: Gee.

V: I'm not, I'm not as powerful as I'm sounding on the staff but I think I have made a difference. And of course now there's lots of support. You know when I first went there there was no support. Now there's lots of support and the men have changed. We've got younger men, who are more liberated. You know, the younger generation. It's becoming a lot easier. Very often a man will pick up an issue now.

Break in taping...

I: When you first got married did you want the perfect marriage and to be the best wife?

V: No I was always sure I could do better than anyone

I: And were you trying to prove it to yourself or...

V: Ja I think I have gone through patches where I've tried to prove that I can do two things, and do both of them very well. I mean I used to spend the whole of Sunday making biscuits and arranging flowers in the house. You know, things like that. While my husband played tennis with the kids (laughs). Um but I think that sort of came from that sort of guilt thing - that I had a job that I enjoyed- it

was not an influence from my mother who also worked but from my mother in law who often made me feel inadequate as a mother. She made me feel inadequate as a mother - I ended up hating her. My husband wasn't close to his mother either so it didn't matter. In fact he probably disliked her as much as I did. I didn't in the beginning but it grew as I was made to feel less and less adequate. She thought she was very adequate. She did all the external things. The cake tin was full and the...she used to arrive at our house with a cake in a tin and say "I just brought this cake for the children because I know you never have time to bake". I actually don't like baking. I've got time now and I wouldn't do it. I'll make bread because I like making bread but I don't make cakes.

I: No I don't either, I'd rather buy them. Ja...um...In terms of epiphanies or crises in your life that made you become a womanist, were there any or was it just a gradual thing?

V: I think it was a gradual thing. I suppose going to college having always taught in co-eds, um, kind of consolidated what was there already, because it was actually quite nicely summarised once by a girl who was leaving, in her leaving speech (as a teacher) she said "in order to survive at college a woman's got to be twice as good". And that's stuck in my mind. And I think that working in that intensely male atmosphere consolidated my womanist feelings. I knew I was as good as most of the men and I felt I had to prove it and that irritated me.

I: Was there a time when they looked down on you?

V: Mm...oh ja. I wouldn't say looked down on, but kind of dismissed almost.

I: Not giving you the credit that was due?

V: No. When I first got there, I'll just give you a little example, I've always been a disciplinarian, I've never had any trouble with discipline, ever and a dear little old man, when I'd been there about 4 days actually called me over and said "now listen my girl", I was about thirty then, "I just want to tell you that if you have trouble in the classroom don't hesitate to send the boys to me". And I came home and I was wild and I said to my husband "how dare he, how dare he think that just because I'm 'my girl' I can't control those boys" and my husband said to me "He's probably just trying to be nice". Which is also true. But it's a matter of pride to me that I don't need help from men and I don't resort to it. I haven't had a boy beaten since 1978, which was my first year teaching and it only happened because of force of circumstances. And I'm proud of that record, that I don't need to.

I: So you've felt very much that you had to win their approval?

V: Mm...less the boys than the staff.

I: Um...have you ever felt confused or powerless against male approval?

V: I suppose on odd occasions, ja. When you just know you're fighting a battle that you're not going to win. I've been known to shout at headmasters...um...in anger. And that for me is a sign of that feeling of powerlessness if I actually resort to shouting.

I: How did he receive that?

V: With shock. But it's varied from man to man.

I: It's not been held against you?

V: No

I: Can we now go back to your early life. I want to ask you...did you like your mother's life? Do you think she could have improved it?

V: I don't think I thought about it. I think I was as mindless as most teenagers, as long as I had a stiff petticoat and a social to go to on Saturday night I was quite happy.

I: But looking back on it now...

V: Looking back on it now...um...I think...well I wouldn't have liked to have lived with my father but I think she got a lot of satisfaction from her kids, which we all do. Um, she worked, so she was, for her generation, an incredibly liberated woman.

I: And did you admire her?

V: Yes I did, I did.

I: Was she a teacher as well?

V: No she wasn't, she was a secretary, she left school in std 8, but I did admire her because she coped so well - she was a coper - she worked an 8 to 5 job and she came home - admittedly we had a granny at home who did the cooking and that sort of thing - but she, they, were incredibly gregarious, our house was always full of people, finances were always tight and she managed to feed these ravening hordes and always be gracious and friendly and made all our clothes and and she was a coping woman.

I: Strong?

V: Ja. My husband thought she was absolutely wonderful. I think that's why he decided to marry me... he actually thought I would be the same.

I: So you admired her quite a lot. And your father, did he respect and admire her?

V: I don't know. I think he took her pretty much for granted. To hear him talk now of course you'd think they had the most perfect marriage in the world. But at the time I think he just accepted it... he used to come home - I'm not saying he didn't do work round the house, he used to do a lot of woodwork and that sort of thing - but he never lifted a finger in the kitchen or cleaning or looking after kids.

I: Yes. How did that affect you do you think?

V: I think I just accepted it as the status quo.

I: Mm...mm...do you think it affected your respect for men in any way?

V: No, not in any way I could be definite about. It might have had some effect, I really don't know

I: Mm. Do you trust men?

V: Ja, I do, I do. I trust men because very often I think they're more honest than women um and I think I probably married the most honest one of the lot. Um, I don't trust their sort of egocentric sexual behaviour. (pause) But I don't think they're always to blame for it. I think a lot of the women actually pander to that. Um but ja I trust men. Dealing with them all the time I find boys very very straight it (unclear). They will never pretend to like you if they didn't. Um and I think girls do. Um...and I mean boys grow into men so...

I: So in comparison you'd find girls and women harder to trust?

V: Yes but that's also a sweeping statement because I said right in the beginning that I thought women had an incredible support system and I think that they understand each other and I think in a way that's quite a secret society sort of that men don't understand. I think that men distrust that sort of secret intuitive communication that women have. Um, which is why they put it down all the time. And I'm generalising again about men obviously because they don't all put it down but I believe women need other women badly. And I believe if you have a good relationship with another woman, it's better than anything else. It's better than anything else, better than a man-woman relationship and it's better than any relationship.

I: I wonder why?

V: I don't know... (long pause) when my best friend left to go overseas I was bereft, bereft. I just thought "who am I going to talk to, who am I going to really really express my you know, woman's thoughts to...um...then I found a man I could talk to at school. Well not on the same kind of level. I wouldn't say to him jeppers I feel rotten today cause I've got a period, but yes I could go into school and I could tell him. But we've been together a long time too. You need a sort of objective outside person who's your friend. And my husband and I are very good friends but sometimes you need to have a bitch or something. But I couldn't bitch to him in the same way that I bitched to my best friend. And I wonder if it isn't just that... that girls can just really have a moan together and know exactly how each other feels. You can't say to a man jeppers I've got premenstrual depression, he won't know what you're talking about. But you can say that to a woman. You can go in and say I feel absolutely awful today and I know it's because my period's due tomorrow and they will know exactly what you feel. And I think women are

better communicators than men...

I: Yes. Do you ever feel angry with either of your parents?

V: I feel very angry with my father... but that's only because he's living here. It's not really anger, it's frustration and irritation. But do you mean about what they did to me as a child? The way they brought me up?

I: Yes. do you ever, looking back...?

V: No. I don't. Um... I don't think I was ever sort of discriminated against because I was a girl. My dad was desperate for a son. I did all the son things with him. Went to rugby... that's probably why I did all that sport that I hated so much.

I: That you were so good at.

V: I wasn't all that good. No I don't think so, I think despite the fact that it was a sort of very temperamental home, they give us a very solid basis. I suppose there were certain things I looked at and then thought well I'm not going to do that, you know, within a marriage. And learnt from that, um, and that also has value.

I: So you've never felt there was something you could have gained from your father that you didn't?

V: No, I don't think so.

I: He was quite loving?

V: No he was a very undemonstrative man. Emotional- ranting and raving - but undemonstrative in the way of showing affection.

I: So could that have affected you in some way?

V: Yes I think it has. I think it's taken me, despite the fact that I'm quite an emotional person, it took me quite a long time to be demonstrative with my affection. Um, but I am now.

I: One last question. Was your intuition was accepted in your marriage?

V: Ja, definitely. He quite proudly tells people that I often knew things from the beginning - "She's mistrusted him from the beginning or she's always been right when she's wanted to take the kids to the doctor"... which I think is maternal intuition. and he was right. There was only once... I'm inclined to take likes and dislikes almost immediately, which I regard as intuitive behaviour and we met a couple when we were newly married and I said to my husband "I don't like them" Subsequently we became quite friendly with them and when I rationalised it afterwards I realised it was actually a social status thing. I was actually being snobby and my husband hasn't got an ounce of snob in him. And he reminds me of that quite often. You know he reminds me in a joking sort of way, "look you were wrong once, you remember". But I don't think other than that there's nothing.

I: You have been lucky there haven't you? So you would say that there's nothing in your marriage which you would change?

V: Yes there is. I would have my husband more outgoing, more gregarious and richer.

I: And to get back to the stories that you wrote...

V: Can we just get rid of these (cigarettes) because he doesn't like me smoking inside (he arrives home).

I: Were there parts of the stories that tapped personal memories for you?

V: NO (very abruptly), No there weren't.

I: No?

V: No. I had a wonderful time writing those stories. I let my imagination just absolutely go, I really did.

I: So you were almost writing... the story from someone else's viewpoint?

V: Fiction... I was writing a story. And I'm a frustrated writer so, ja, I wrote you a story. Also based on things that I've read. I had fun with it. I enjoyed it.

I: How does it feel to be a woman, satisfying or frustrating?

L: Very frustrating. I think there are a lot of conflicting things. Being a mother has been one of the most difficult tasks I have ever undertaken because despite being married I still feel like a single parent. And my role as a mother has been diametrically opposed to my role as a feminist. If I were to do it over again I would not have children. I found it really difficult to be this cosy available person which I resented because I wasn't getting any help from my partner, unless there's a huge crisis and then he helps.

I: In marriage, did you feel you had to watch your assertiveness and power?

L: Absolutely, particularly for as long as the children were at home, and particularly as I have always been an angry person. Angry with my father and with my mother to a lesser extent for not stepping in. But then women aren't allowed to be angry, so those feelings aren't expressed. I can remember in the first month of marriage being so angry because I was the one who had to cook but I didn't feel I had the right to say it. Not because I wasn't supposed to be angry, but this was the person I was supposed to love and I had to prove to myself that I had an ideal marriage. I didn't have to prove this to my friends but to myself, and to him. So I didn't ever express that anger. Now I was in my second year of varsity when we got married. We then spoke about who should carry on with varsity and he said he'd do it, even though I was still at varsity. So I decided well I'd carry on even though I'm pregnant - I'd take some time off to have the child and then I'd go back. But we couldn't afford it for both of us and he insisted he do it. I was really pissed off about that but went along with it for the above reasons. So I buried all my anger in that I didn't articulate it in a vociferous way. But I did it in passive-aggressive ways - ja, I sulked, and that was the pattern for years. He repeatedly asked me what he'd done wrong but I refused to talk about it because what was the point of talking about it? And then of course with young children I kind of. (pause). I grew up in a home where my father was very autocratic, very aggressive, and there was violence in the home...um, my father used to shout and scream and upend tables. I mean I repeatedly had food flung in my face at the other end of the table or smashed against the wall...he was into corporal punishment...um...and...my mother took it all...that's part of the reason why I'm angry. She was always compliant, always sweet, always nice to him. I can remember he was a club man...he used to go to the club before he came home at night...and the house had to be quickly cleaned and homework put away because dad was coming home now. And he got the nicest portions of food...whereas we got sausages and mash, he'd have T-bone steak, that sort of thing. So there was a lot of violence and psychological abuse as well. My mother told me that he once tried to shoot her. He was incredibly jealous, incredibly possessive...he'd accuse her of all kinds of things. And then when I became an adolescent, he started doing the same to me...He was very suspicious. I can remember sitting in the car going on drives with them, and my father would watch me and if there were boys walking by he would say "stop ogling". Ja, it was a fuck up, it really was.

I: It sounds painful...

L: Well I don't remember that, I cut off from an early age. I had to, that was my defence. And there was a lot of name calling...he used to call me a bombastic bitch, and names deriding my body. Do you remember the comic strips 'baby Huey and little Lotto'? Those were my nicknames because I was overweight - though looking back at photographs I don't think I was. So I grew up with and still do have a very poor body image.

I: Poor body image, yes. You are a feminist now - does your husband understand your feminism?

L: No he doesn't understand it - the categories, and he calls me a radical feminist which I'm not. He's using it in the common usage of the term - meaning extreme. I don't like categorising myself. He blames feminism for the fact that the

marriage is going wrong.

I: Are you quite powerful in your marriage?

L: I maintain that the person who controls the money holds the power. He needs monetary control. He grew up in a home where his mother wore the pants and controlled the money. And money is a huge issue in our lives. My husband says it's the person who has the least invested emotionally in the relationship who holds the power. I'm not sure, he may be right, I don't know.

I: And when it comes to emotions, have you been able to discuss those with him?

L: No... well yes... in the beginning, no. I use the analogy of a pressure cooker. I remember doing an exercise in our feminist group once where we had to lie down, relax and picture ourselves at a young age and see how one felt towards that young girl. We then had to say something to her and I actually had to get up and leave, I couldn't do it. I just wanted to say sorry to her... I felt I had let her down. All her dreams and ideals that didn't happen. So my emotions, the bulk of them being anger, were in a pressure cooker and I felt if I just released a little bit, that pressure cooker was going to explode, so I didn't ever talk about it, not for a long time. And then I went into therapy and I found it very difficult. You see my husband is very insensitive at times. I can remember going on holiday with a group of his friends and I kept very much to myself. I'm not a gregarious person and I don't really like his friends, so I kind of isolated myself from them. And one evening we were sitting having supper, just the two of us and I started telling him something that had come out of therapy. When my son was born, it was a really difficult birth, he had the cord round his neck. And my mother had heard and she pitched up in the labour room and said to the doctors "I'm her mother, I'm entitled to be here". And my husband was at my head, wiping my brow and everything, and she was down at the working end as a spectator, an observer, I felt. It was a really messy birth since there had been no time for an enema. Um and for years and years I didn't think about this... and then I started getting really angry because for me it was symbolic of what my mother had done to me as a child... that she was the observer... she didn't actually step in and help and protect and nurture... she was just there as the observer while other people were doing things to me. And I started telling my husband about this and he simply could not understand this. He said "so you're so angry with your mother simply because she came and watched you while you were in labour?"

I: He couldn't grasp the implications of it?

L: Yes, he made it seem so trivial and petty.

I: Do you think that men are scared of women's emotions?

L: I think they are scared of women's anger. I think they are confused by women's emotions and sometimes quite contemptuous of women's emotions. That comes out in things like "Hysterical female, irrational, etc". Um, ja, so I didn't talk much about my emotions.

I: Did that inability to talk about your emotions disempower you?

L: Absolutely.

I: So there's been a part of you that you had to cut off. Did you ever feel that in marriage, you lost the instinctual, wild part of yourself?

L: Uh huh, which I'm only starting to discover now.

I: And which that little girl had?

L: Oh yes. She was very little when she had it, because what has emerged from therapy is that from about the age of 2, she just cut off totally. I mean I can remember my father hitting me and I would never give him the satisfaction of seeing me cry. I hated him, I hated him, but I would never. And that used to make him so angry, it made him feel powerless. Um, but it was important for survival that I cut off, because I know that I was hurt, I know I was abused.

I: Abused emotionally or... sexually?

L: Definitely emotionally abused, we're not sure about sexual abuse. Ja, I know that my father did claim some ownership over my body... but I can't get in touch with that. I don't know if he was or not. When I first had sex in my twenties, I discovered I wasn't a virgin and I had vaginismus for months. And there have

been flashbacks but they were so vague. Just a sense of being overpowered and overwhelmed, but who knows whether they...or what they were from. So the answer to that is I don't know. But certainly physically and emotionally abused.

I: Ant dreams?

L: I frequently dream of snakes. I grew up in a family that was very anti-snakes. When we saw them on the road my father would deliberately drive over them and then reverse and drive over them again. In one dream a man was standing on the side of the road and his penis turned into a snake, which started to attack me. I also dream of birds, sometimes caged and I think that symbolises my freedom.

I: A bird can also symbolise the soul. Do you feel that your soul was caged in marriage?

L: Absolutely.

I: What happens to you when your feminist views are challenged, say in a group of men who are anti-feminist. Do you stand your ground or would you become compliant?

L: Oh no, definitely not, I'd carry on, until I started to become too emotional or and then I'd leave. One man I know used to say to his male friends if they were doing something he thought was effeminate or cowardly, "don't be such a girl". And he used to say that to his daughter "don't be such a girl" and his wife didn't even comment. One day I said "how can you say that to your own daughter? I mean if you want to say that to your friends that's bad enough, calling them girls, but to say it to your own daughter who is a girl..." So, well we don't have much to do with those groups anymore. After a while it's not worth the effort trying to get through to people like that. So I think it's probably because of my doing that we don't socialise with those people. We actually each have our own friends.

I: What areas in your marriage do you feel powerful in?

L: I have the power to decide to go out alone. I don't feel I have to stay home. Um, I feel powerful in that I'm now refusing to cook. If he's not prepared to help, I'm not prepared to do it. I feel powerful in that I have a career, some money. I feel powerful enough to know that I can get divorced without being destitute, that I would be fairly self-sufficient. I also make all the decisions with respect to the children because he's totally out of touch. I make the decisions about whether they can go out and what time they come back from parties or whatever.

I: In terms of sexuality, how confident would you feel suggesting quality instead of quantity sex?

L: In the beginning I know that I had big sexual hangups and saw my body as simply something to be used. It was my duty and I would be labelled frigid, unloving or whatever, if I didn't oblige. I've felt guilty about saying no but I've always felt that I could say no, nevertheless, and he's never pushed. In the beginning I didn't have quality sex. I didn't orgasm. I didn't know about orgasms. Um, but it's got better over the years. I think our generation missed out. I think I was sexually repressed. I didn't allow boys to touch my breasts or anything. I think I was afraid.

I: Afraid of what?

L: I don't know. I don't know if I was afraid of losing control. Control is a huge issue in my life. I don't think I was afraid of becoming pregnant. I really didn't want them to touch me.

I: Is your intuition allowed a voice in the marriage?

L: No it was laughed at. It was irrational. I think I found my intuition irrational as well. I'm only starting to listen to it now.

I: It sounds as though you feel very let down.

L: I think my parents let me down. I think I loved my father and he let me down. The only two people I now love passionately are my children. I love my friends but obviously in a different way. I actually don't know if I'm capable of having a relationship with a man. I can with women but I don't think I can with a man. I think I got married as an escape. I had to get out of my home...and I think I loved my husband at the time, I don't know. I don't really know what love

is. I don't trust men and there is a pattern in the relationships I've had with men. As soon as they start becoming too close and needy then I'm no longer interested. At the moment I'm extremely ambivalent about my marriage, about him. I've said to my therapist "if I could only find out what's keeping us together, what that bond was, I'd be able to move out.

I: Might it not be just attachment, after so many years of marriage?

L: I'm not sure what attachment is. But one of my friends said "maybe it's not something mysterious, an intangible thing which you can't find out. Maybe you've just been married for so long, that you've got used to it". There's also the fear, I mean I am afraid of being on my own. Friends are wonderful but friends aren't available at 12 o'clock at night. I'm afraid of being lonely. I think one of the things that is also stopping me is that I know that he would be quite punitive financially and we're married without the accrual system. I'm also scared he'd find another woman. That would be very traumatic. I have always been very jealous - almost violently jealous. Ja, so I have a fear of being replaced.

I: Did you feel you'd changed after marriage?

A: You do. I mean you've no option, have you? We have to make sacrifices. Sometimes it's less hassle if you do. It makes life easier. Self-preservation. I've only recently resented it.

I: Would you say you get some satisfaction out of doing the wifely and motherly bit?

A: Yes, I would be lying if I said I didn't. Maybe you do all these things like making ballet costumes so people are going to say what a clever girl you are. And the kids think "a, gee, that's mum". And that's how we've been brought up in a way. I mean if I think back to the early days of my marriage, I don't know about you, but I was very much into almost proving myself to my husband that I was the perfect wife. The dinner parties, the parke floors in the entrance hall and diningroom had to be... and the edges round my flower beds were just so neat. And I still worked. Maybe it's also because it's the time that husbands are strting to show their ambition, and you actually want to keep up with them.

I: Yes, and maybe we wanted to prove that we were more efficient than our mothers.

A: I don't think I ever felt that, cause my mother was very efficient and powerful. It's funny but my sisters and me have different recollections of her. And they will remember things I have no recollection about, whatsoever. I think one could actually fantasise until you... I mean I think in every marriage there's been a time when the wife thought the husband was having an affair...

I: I suppose that comes back to the fact that it's almost accepted...

A: That men have affairs, yes. I think it's also because well, you could look at my husband and think, my god, how could she ever fancy him, and I could feel the same about your husband. But because of the way I feel about mine I imagine that everyone must think he's absolutely divine.

I: Yes, sure. But I think men do have more opportunity, they have all that power, energy that we don't have. So you imagine them being capable of all sorts of things that you actually aren't capable of.

A: I don't know, maybe I'm entirely wrong but I think the average woman has a better developed sense of responsibility. The way we've been brought up was that once you're engaged or married or going out with a fellow, I don't look at somebody else's boyfriend, that sort of thing. Do you know what I mean?

I: Yes.

A: Ja, I think that women, because of their family responsibilities, will forego the possibility of a relationship because they know what the consequences will be. Whereas a man will say "Jay, look at this, aren't I great".

I: A sort of ego thing?

A: Ja, whereas a woman will think very hard before she does anything.

I: Ja. Can we go back to something we touched on in the beginning. Do you ever find in marriage that you have to watch your assertiveness?

A: Yes. For example, with my husband travelling as much as he does, in the beginning I used to be hyperefficient. If the vacuum cleaner broke, I fixed it. And although he moaned when he came back about the vacuum cleaner being broken, he responded better to the fact that the machine was broken than the fact that I'd fixed it. He didn't like me being hyperefficient. So it was easier not fixing something than having him with a dropped lip because I've done everything.

I: But you would have preferred to fix it yourself?

A: Ja.

I: Do you ever feel that you would like more control or power in the marriage. Have more of yourself showing?

A: No I don't think so. As far as the financial side goes, he hasn't got power in that. I have signing powers on everything. Because he's away such a lot, most of the discipline of the children falls on me. But maybe being assertive in our

situation is not the best thing because he's always been the stronger character. He had an absolute fit when he came back the last time and I had not painted the kitchen the colour I'd said I would. I think it was an authority thing. He didn't like that I had gone ahead and done something without his permission... bloody cheek. I took exception to that because it's my kitchen and I've got a better colour sense than he's got.

I: the private spaces of your home, the study, is it yours or his?

A: It's his. He's difficult because he was an only child and only children never learn to share. He's very possessive about his things.

I: So it's not so much a power thing.

A: It's childish possessiveness. It's his pen - has anyone seen his pen, his sticky tape etc.

I: Emotions, what happens in your marriage when you talk about emotions?

A: I don't think I do. I don't tell him if the kids are irritating me because then he'll yell at them. But I will tell him if he's irritating me. I didn't used to be like that. I used to shut up and say nothing. That is a recent thing over the last couple of years. And I mean when my mum was sick he was very sympathetic and sweet about it. If I cried he'd be very very sweet. But we can't talk about sex. And that comes more from my part than his. I don't want to talk about it. Maybe it's the way I've been brought up, something in my background.

I: Do you feel there's something hidden in your background?

A: Well I don't know. My sisters say my mother was a terrible woman, or something.

I: Why?

A: Well actually she had a boyfriend. I mean I didn't know about it. Maybe I didn't know because I had forgotten about it.

I: Mm. Can I return to emotions. Does he really listen to you when you talk about them?

A: Um, I don't know. I think it depends on whether or not he'd be upset about it. If he's cross or distressed he won't, he'll get aggressive or rather, defensive. But then I'm not the type of person to deliberately cause trouble or hurt. I am more careful to watch what I'm saying. I may think evil thoughts but 9 times out of 10, I won't actually say it. You don't actually want to hurt somebody so you actually...

I: Hold back?

A: Yes. But that's probably also self-defence.

I: Yes it probably is because then you don't have to deal with the hurt.

A: Ja or the consequences of what you've done.

I: One more question. About your mother's life. Did you think she could have improved it?

A: Ja. I don't think she married an easy man. But if she'd put her mother in an old age home that would have made an enormous difference. I will admit they fought and that it wasn't exactly the most harmonious atmosphere a lot of the time. I think my mother's family always thought that she'd married beneath her, I don't know why. But they didn't think he was anything special. I think she could have improved it.

I: In what way?

A: No maybe she couldn't have improved her life, maybe it was our life she could have improved. She was a career woman, and wasn't there much. She wasn't there to pick us up from school or things...

I: You were closer to your father?

A: No, my mother. My father was never demonstrative. He was actually quite thick too, and often didn't twig women's things.

I: If you look back now, would you say you pitied or admired your mother?

A: I think pity would be too strong a word but I can't actually say I admired her. I loved her. But then my relationship with her, thinking about it, was actually quite shallow.

I: So you felt you never really got to know each other?

A:Ja.I can remember her telling me lots of stories about her mother and father just before I married. But as a child I don't remember her telling me those things. ...I mean you don't...I'm still waiting for her to tell me how babies are made. You know we didn't have that sort of a relationship. We didn't talk about anything...which may be why I don't talk about sex. We just didn't,never,ever.
I:Do you think your father respected your mother?

A:No I don't think he did.

I:You said your mother was more powerful.

A:She was. She was definitely the stronger of the two.

I:How do you think the fact that he didn't respect her affect you?

A:I don't know.My dad was more devoted to my mum than she was to him. But he was aggressive. He drank quite a lot.

I:Mine too.

A:But I think his lack of respect for her goes back to her mother as well. My father loathed her mother.I wouldn't say she didn't have enough backbone, but it suited her to have her mother around and I think her relationship with him was such that...she couldn't give a stuff about how he felt about it. Otherwise her mother wouldn't have stayed with us so long. Because she was a constant source of irritation. And very domineering.

I:Do you think you learnt from them that you didn't want to be like them?

A:Ja, cause I can't see it got them anywhere. My grandfather disappeared up country and left my grandmother with us. And I don't think it did mum much good either. And I'm a virgo, we're supposed to be doormats. And I was in the early years of my marriage.But I don't do things out of duty. I do things because I want to do them.I havn't been a martyr.

I:would you like to recoup some of the sides of you that you had as a young girl?

A:I would like every now and again to really sing.

I:And be playful?

A:Ja, to be able to just be yourself without worrying about the consequences.On honeymoon I did ballet on the beach...

I:Sort of totally free..

A:Free, uninhibited.

I:What do you think stops you now?

A:Most of our socialising is with business people, so you've got to behave yourself. But I think even when we got married we stopped having such fun. When you're single you're not trying to impress anyone.But I do more stupid things with my children when my husband's away, we have lots of fun and sometimes get quite hysterical.

I:So valuable things happen when he's away?

A:Yes .That's the way my life's actually developed, without someone to rely on. But travelling's put stress on the marriage especially if he's all stuffed when he gets back. That's when I get irritable with him. But actually I've started saying that to him now. Before I didn't, I used to get all uptight,but now I don't pretend.

I:(Nods). Well that's all for now, thank you very much.

A:I was just thinking that men are lucky they can just go and discuss these things with mates at the pub. Whereas women often feel they can't say I hate him at the moment because women might repeat it to the husband, like my sister did once. I'm reticent because I feel it might come back to me and cause repercussions.

I:So marriage is quite sacred to you?

A:Yes, I think so. I think you've got to be loyal to your partner.Because I don't want to hurt him. I mean I'm fond enough of the guy for me not to want him to hear about himself from a third party. At the same time I think it's a pity sometimes that in female company you can't actually verbalise what you feel.I don't think everyone's got wonderful marriages. and I think if you do actually have reinforcement that you're not alone it makes everything easier.

I: We talked last time about women being better communicators, do you think that's because feelings are discussed?

V: Yes, yes, I do think so. I think we have in common things like childbirth, nurturing things like that, which men haven't got. Which gives us a common ground that you can start with any woman. Even unmarried girls, they still want to hear how your labour was, that kind of thing. And I think that gives us, yes, a kind of commonality. And we talk about it. I don't think that men would talk about... phuh... what have men got to talk about? (laughs). Their commonality is on a less personal level. They might talk about cars or canoeing but it's not on a personal, emotional level. And women share with other women their emotions.

I: Yes. And so you find in marriage that men communicate their emotions?

V: Yes, I think so. But, yes, X does. He'll tell me what he's been feeling and that sort of thing.

I: Even deeper emotions like maybe fear, fear for the future, depression or...

V: Ja, ja he does. And feelings of inadequacy. Inadequacies.

I: Really? So he's quite open emotionally?

V: Nods

I: You said in the last interview that you had occasional feelings of wanting to get out. What would you say prompted them?

V: I suppose frustration with being tied into a way of life. But it's always a very fleeting kind of thing because I think you gain so much more from a marriage than you lose. The pluses are so much more than the minuses.

I: Have you ever felt absolutely powerless and frustrated, I know I have, with something happening in the marriage.

V: Yes. And wanted to get out? Yes, yes.

I: Can you give me an example?

V: Ja sure. Look we've been through a rough patch. And it wasn't just our marriage it was a whole familial thing. X's father was very ill and their concerns were actually swamping us and I got very, very angry about it. And at that stage, if it weren't for my children who were still very young, I would have gone. I would have walked away from that whole family. I had nowhere to go anyway.

I: Did you get quite desperate?

V: I was desperate, and I began drinking too much. And I knew what I was doing. I knew when I had a bit to drink I was less inhibited, I could express my anger better. And then I looked at what I was doing and thought no hang on. And then we actually talked about it and I expressed my feelings of desperation and it was fine, we sorted it out. Very demanding mother.

I: That must have been difficult

V: It was awful

I: Can we go to another answer that you gave last time. You said your own mother was a peacemaker. Looking back now, what would you have preferred her to be?

V: Retrospectively, I don't think she could have been anything else but what she was given the circumstances in which that generation grew up. They were half educated, well I don't know about your mum but mine left school in std 8. They were programmed to think that the be-all and end-all of life was marriage, husband and family. What else could she have been. And I think I said to you before, she was actually a very strong woman. I wouldn't have wanted her to be anything that she wasn't. But I didn't want to end up in the same boat.

I: Would you have preferred it if she could have controlled your father's emotionality more?

V: I've never thought about it. I don't think she could have. She defused situations, I don't know how, but she did. I think he would have been a lot worse married to someone like me. Do you know what I mean. If he'd married less of a peacemaker that marriage wouldn't have stood a hope.

I: You don't think if she'd been more assertive he might not have become so emotional. That he only did it to annoy her because she was a peacemaker?

V:Ja it's quite possible

I:Last time you said you trusted men a lot except for their egocentric sexual behaviour.

V:Ja, the ogling. Leading to behaviour that's not right. You only have to look at the number of middle aged men who go off with young women. And that is egocentric sexual behaviour. I don't see it as anything else. A male boost. Sexuality in a man is far more of an ego-thing in a man than it is in a woman - their sexual prowess as it were. Do women ever discuss how good they were in bed?

I:No.

V:No exactly. But I think men do (said very angrily). I don't know, were not in on those conversations, but I think men do, especially when they're young.

I:Ja sure. And you said you thought women pandered to this.

V:Ja I think women do. They tolerate it far further than a man would tolerate it. I mean. If a woman discovers her man is having an affair she will take him back and accept excuses and I think if a man discovers that his wife was having an affair, it would be a whole different thing.

I:Absolutely. Ja, it would. And it's almost an accepted thing that a man can do that which is very unfair.

V:Well it's that double standards thing. You see it in schoolboys. We often get into discussions where they say they want to marry a virgin, but they don't think they should be virgins when they get married. And I say "Who the hell are you going to practise on?" And then they say "What do you mean" and I say "Well somebody's going to be practising on your sister, how do you feel about that. If every man is not going to be a virgin, he's got to be screwing with somebody" You know. And I just think it's a continuation of that double standard thing and that comes from medieval times when they put their wives in chastity belts and went off to fight wars.

I:And the women musn't sleep around.

V:No. I suppose they think they're going to train her in their way.

I:They say that men want sexual thralldom in their wives and if the man is the only one to have intercourse with her, how will she know if they are good bad or indifferent.

V:Ja, strange world

I:Indeed what came through in a lot of the stories was that very threat of male infidelity, and taking revenge for it.

V:It's an insult to you as a woman, as a person. It's also a threat to your security - Is he actually going to go off with that 22yr old and leave you holding the baby or whatever. But I do know that I wouldn't take him back. There is no way I would take him back. Not unless I was given the same carte blanche. And I actually can't be bothered. I think men are more physical creatures than women - they like running and jumping and canoeing. And sex fits into that category.

Later:

V:I prefer calling myself a womanist because it says acknowledge yourself as a woman, and then choose the path that suits you...in other words the choice is yours. Which I find much more empowering...the ability to chose what I want to do. They believe in sisterhood and acknowledge that women do not have the resources to overthrow men's power...like Alice Walker

I:It's wrong as a feminist to say you can't be feminine and even sweet and nice

V:And enjoy cooking and looking after your children...

I:Ja, and still be assertive, and know what you want.

V:Ja, I agree. I think women have instincts of nurturing and caring that men haven't got and why must we suppress those. Those surely are parts of our selves as well. We should be acknowledging it and celebrating it. Women in this age are put under enormous stress by the dichotomies of the society in which we live. We're expected by traditional males to be the mother and the wife and at the same time we are given career choices that didn't exist a few decades ago.

Interview 2 V:

V: I realised I'd messed things up last time, when my husband arrived home and I put my cigarette out - it contradicted what I'd said. But actually he knows I smoke and he doesn't like it and I get such a lecture that it's not worth it. And as I said before - I don't look for hassles.

I: Yes, there are so many contradictions in women's lives.

V: Ja you know quite a lot of the feminist poets write poems about the fact that they've got two contradictory identities. Denise Levertov found this when her children were young - there are definitely two personas within this one poem - there's the sleeper which is the mother figure and then there's the one who escapes, the freedom - she identifies her with the sea and wind - and very often the poem ends without any resolution.

I: And do you often feel that?

V: Yes I'm a different person at school to what I am at home. But I don't think that I feel trapped by it.

I: Do you think the contradictions may be due to family ideology?

V: Definitely. Levertov thinks so too. She looks at the poet persona and says but she's not nice and she's not kind, not caring - yet it seemed she actually wanted the acceptance of the good mother, good wife role - it was important to her - but at the same time she wanted to be a poet, she wanted her own life.

I: So for her, those two were conflicting in a way. Do you also find that?

V: Not that way. I just swap roles because I go out to work. She was at home, she didn't go out to work she wanted to write poetry and be free. I think I have been lucky in the kind of job I've got and the kind of family and I've been able to run them parallel. There have been moments of conflict, obviously, my kids used to resent it sometimes that I spent so much time at school and then I felt guilt.

I'm not ambitious. I've never been ambitious, competitive. and I actually like teaching, I like the classroom situation and if you get promoted you move out of that and in to a more admin situation, which is not my strong suit. So it was only when I got to 45 or whatever, when my kids were growing up and not making demands on me, when I suddenly thought I'm doing this job and I don't know anything about the running of this school and I actually felt as if I had this voice that I wanted to make heard and then I went for it. So I was 45 before I went for promotion - ever.

I: So it was a gradual development in you?

V: Ja. I also got sick of meeting men I'd been at varsity with who said "Are you still just a teacher?" And I was just a teacher because that's what I liked doing. And I often now regret that I took the next step, because I liked being just a teacher. But at the same time I like having a bit of status - a bit of ego thing. And at our school we have a number of older women who have established the role of women within the school. The men in the staffroom still ogle the young women.

I: Do you find that a bit of an affront?

V: Ja but it's all very innocent. When I was away there was a woman who complained about sexual harassment from two males and I actually laughed when I heard it because they're just space invaders. I daresay if I was 20 I'd resent it but at 52 I just think what the hell. Someone still wants to hug me!

I: Ja. And then you said that on occasions when you had to shout at men you felt powerless...

V: I think that when I'm forced to shout it indicates for me that I'm not in control.

I: OK. So you'd rather not show that.

V: Ja. I wield my power in different ways.

I: Um... have you ever been out of control?

V: O ja (embarrassed laugh) when I was young. Both in the work and family situation I've lost my temper. You feel afterwards as though you've demeaned yourself - I'm quite a controlled sort of person. I was very quick tempered in my youth and then it wasn't a power thing it was just a lack of control. I flew off the

handle, now I don't.

I: Was it with family, siblings, parents...

V: Both... siblings and parents and in the classroom at school at times. I've been known to lose my temper when I first started teaching.

I: Yes. And and with parents, which would it be - mother or father?

V: With my father

I: You said your father was quite an emotional person and that struck a chord for me because mine was too. He'd make these enormous rows - but then he also drank...

V: So did mine. Those post-war fathers did.

I: Ja. And would get terribly aggressive when he drank

V: I'm just wondering if that affected our choice of husbands

V: Jolly sure. I knew I was not going to marry a man who abused me in the way that my father... ja... orally abused my mother

I: Absolutely.

V: And the rest of us. No ways. I looked for a quiet, gentle person.

I: Ja. And certainly one didn't want that tempestuousness where you couldn't rely on anything.

V: Ja ja...

I: Did you want someone who was extra reliable?

V: Ja, ja...

I: I'm wondering though whether in choosing calm, rational men, we never got the emotional side of a man because we were scared of it?

V: Ja, I don't know... I've never thought that through. It's a possibility I suppose I don't feel emotionally deprived. Do you mean that sometimes you wish that they would fight back?

I: Yes.

V: Yes, yes, I have felt like that on a number of occasions

I: Really get into a tussle...

V: Yes, yes and and belt it out, and sort it out.

I: Ja.

V: But we've always been able to talk things out and we can't talk when I've lost my temper.

I: O no... neither can we. Because then a barrier comes down and you're irrational.

V: Now well I am irrational when I lose my temper.

I: Then who decides what is rational and irrational?

V: Men mostly

I: Ja.

I: But is it so terrible to be 'irrational' at times? I mean it's not as if we're stabbing them in the back.

V: No, no I don't think it's terrible to be irrational but I think if you're going to sort things out you've kind of got to be a bit cool about it.

I: Eventually, ja but don't you find you get to that stage anyway?

V: Ultimately yes.

I: You see I'm wondering if by being calm and rational like that a person actually engages with another person

V: Don't know.

I: I know I feel no, that person's not engaging and often I will cause an argument because there's a need in me for an emotional engagement

V: No I don't look for arguments. Anything for the quiet.

I: Really?

V: O... ja (said with lots of sighs and tiredness). I'm too tired to waste my energy on emotion. If I lose my temper in the classroom which is a rare occurrence, I am absolutely exhausted afterwards. So I've now reached the stage where I nurture my resources. They don't stretch as far as they used to. I sometimes at school just to reinforce the idea that I can be a bitch, I sometimes slam the door or something. And it reverberates round the whole school and they all tiptoe round

me for about four days and then it's gone.

I:OK, when you say that you overreact to things,who mainly in your life made you feel that you were overreacting?

V:Myself...ja. And a couple of times obviously in my job I've been made to feel that by a headmaster or...because they're on a different emotional level. And mostly they've been right. Sometimes I get the bit between the teeth and they say don't you think youre overreacting and if I think about it, I probably am. That's just a spontaneous emotional reaction rather than a rational one. Ja and I think in some ways one does sublimate that working in a man's environment. One does sublimate the emotional reaction because if youre going to convince them about anything theres only one way youre going to do it.It's by going in and speaking their language at them.

I:Mm.Women fitting into a man's world.

V:Yes..The discourse is male.

I:Ja ja. I find it such a shame actually.

V:It's going to be a long time before it changes.We've got to have a lot of women in positions of power before you can ...

I:But its getting there.

I:OK When you said there were two of you - the one in your profession and the one in your marriage - which is the real V?

V:I dont know (laughs). Somedays it's the one and sometimes it's the other. I really dont know because I've been at it for such a long time...Um I've had such lot of satisfaction from my job and such a lot of satisfaction from my children. I think I would like to get out and become the little housewife who does the baking and all that sort of thing. But that's just because I'm ready to retire and become a full time homemaker, There are a lot of things I want to do. I want to have a chance to indulge myself.

I:Yes, How would you do that?

V:Go back to Varsity.Go and do a masters.I might just have a year where I vegetated and worked in the garden and sewed some clothes. Sort of indulged myself a bit.I could read forever. There are so many things I havnt read.

I:Um ...you know we talked a lot about assertiveness in the last interview and Im just wondering if you could define what you mean about assertiveness

V:Making your voice heard ...and then heard again...and sticking with it.

I:And then you said in your marriage you are less assertive but you get your own way...

V:Yes I do.

I:How does it differ from assertiveness? How does getting your own way differ from assertiveness?

V:It is different.

I:Can you explain what you mean?

V:I don't necessarily make my voice heard again and again and again. You know what I mean? Whereas at school, if I'm fighting for some issue or something like that I will keep on and on about it. But in my marriage I've found that I can get things in other ways. Sometimes by just keeping quiet. By just dropping a subtle hint here and there and then shutting up and letting it grow so that it's other people's idea.

I:That's clever.

V:Mm. It's manipulative

I:Where did you learn that?

V:I've always known it.

I:Where from do you think?

V:I think I might have learnt it from my mother.

I:You think she did that?

V:Ja.But I mean I will say something like hell I'm sick of cooking,and then produce a meal. And then three days late I'll say jeepers it was hot when I was cooking,or look at me, sweating over a hot stove -and then about five days later why don't we go out to dinner.You see. Instead of saying 'Oh I want to go out to

dinner tonight or...'

I: You don't make it demanding. Is that because that other way didn't work?

V: I don't know if I ever tried the other way. I can't remember. No I dare say if I went to him and said I'm not cooking tonight, take me out, it would work. He'd take me out. But this way he's thought of it and it's a treat for me and...

I: O, he's more in the mood?

V: Yes. And then it's a more pleasant evening out

I: Yes. What about if he was doing something that upset you?

V: O, then I'd tell him.

I: Straight out? You wouldn't do it the other way?

V: No. I sometimes get sick to death of all the running and canoeing. They all know that. I will say straight out. But they enjoy it and come back cheerful and attentive, and overwhelming in their thanks for the lunch that I'd packed and how nice it had been. They're both very well mannered. Very good mannered. Both very gentle.

I: Now can I just ask you, how do you view traditional women? How do you feel about them? You know women who don't question the status quo or injustices?

V: I think they're thick. So I have no respect for them. But then I actually don't suffer fools gladly in any way at all so a man who didn't question things I wouldn't respect either. But even among my own friends I'll say you actually let him say that to you, or my god what are you about. It really irritates me that they allow themselves to become doormats. Ja, that is a denial of self. You know the kind of woman who says I don't know how I'm going to vote because my husband hasn't told me.

I: Mm. Sure.

V: And there are lots of women like that. There are lots. I also think that a lot of women are lazy, mentally lazy. And they use the husband thing as an excuse for not thinking. Or as an excuse for not asserting themselves, their own identity. It's easier to say I'm sorry we can't come because my husband won't than to say I'm sorry we can't come because I don't want to. Do you know what I mean. Um, I'm sorry I must go now because it's time to go home - that could mean I'm tired of being here. You know why don't they just say because my husband's coming home and I must be there when he gets there.

I: Ja, and how at book club they immediately say is that a feminist book.

V: Ja their backs are up immediately. Though not all of them, some of them are slowly getting interested.

I: How do you get what you want in marriage?

L: I am manipulative. I was quite manipulative at the beginning (of her marriage) because - not consciously, I mean I wasn't a feminist - but I refused to do some of the wifely things even though before marriage I had wanted to darn socks and cook, and those things - and then he accused me of having changed.

I: Did you look for someone stable and dependable given the unpredictability of your past homelife?

L: No I can't say that. He drank a lot when he was at varsity and so did I. And then he worked on the Durban docks to make quick money - and once went off to Beira to work on an oil rig. So I wouldn't call him dependable. But he knew I might be pregnant when he went and when he phoned and I told him I was, he came straight back and we got married straight away and then it was kind of dependability.

I: So when you said he was different from your father, in what way?

L: Because my father was an extremely taciturn, moody oppressive person and quite complicated as well, whereas my husband was quite open, full of fun, ja much easier to get on with. I hadn't yet been confronted with his what he used to call his raging furies where he goes right off the edge - sees red or goes black or whatever and lashes out.

I: Lashes out.

L: And I think with hindsight, I was using marriage as an escape from the home. Cause things were very shit at home and subconsciously, I think I thought that that was the only way I was going to escape it. And...um.. I can remember time and time again my husband saying to me "Why arn't you talking to me, what have I done wrong, why are you pushing me away?" So..

I: It was you..

L: Yes

I: Can I ask you a few questions about your homelife. Can you reconstruct for me a night when your father drank and what changed for you then from before he drank?

L: No I can't do that because my father has always drunk. According to my mother and I have to rely on her for a large portion of my life because I don't have memories of them - according to her he was fine for the first 18 months they got married then he started drinking. I don't have a good relationship with my mother, it's very stilted when we get together, but apparently he was a very possessive man and would accuse her of all sorts of things that she hadn't done, and I believe she was always faithful to him and he would accuse her of having affairs with other men. And one night when I was about six he tried to shoot her - did shoot at her but missed, and one night tried to strangle her and that was while he was drunk. So I can't think of a time of what it was like before.

I: So you never remember a time of innocence when you never had to worry about that?

L: No.

I: So it was a constant worry for you?

L: I can only assume it was, I can't remember. I can only remember from early adolescence when I became aware that my father was drinking because he'd go to his club every night and come home drunk having had god knows how many beers and we would be at home - 4 kids - doing our homework kind of scattered over the lounge floor and my mother would be reading the newspaper and then the lights would come down the drive and there'd be this mad panic as she would say come on put everything away, tidy away quickly, your father doesn't like untidiness. And there'd be this mad panic to do that and one never knew in what kind of mood he'd come in.

I: Unpredictable?

L: Very unpredictable. Sometimes he'd come in happy but most times he'd come in

morose and in a foul mood. Ja it was most unpleasant. And..I don't know how to describe it...it was oppressive. The constant fear, you know, is he going to pick on me tonight or am I going to be lucky enough to escape it and it'll be one of my brothers or my sister or my mother.

I: So there was fear all the time?

L: Yes. And one incident I do recall when he was drunk was my father sitting at the diningroom table and my brothers were squabbling and he lost his temper and upended the table plates and all so that all the plates and everything fell into my lap. And another incident was when he picked up plates of food and threw them against the wall. So I mean I have a lot of body issues and food issues which I know revolve around those things as well. Sitting around the diningroom table was always an unpleasant experience.

I: And still is?

L: We don't sit around the diningroom table (nods). And when we do on special occasions, birthdays or if we have people around which doesn't happen very often, or if it's just the family, I feel really uncomfortable, really uncomfortable. Whether that's just because of childhood experiences or my current situation I don't know - it's quite difficult to separate them.

I: Did your mother validate your experiences or deny them?

L: I'm not sure. I'm really angry with my mother and haven't even begun to deal with it yet. I know that part of my anger with her is that she didn't defend us.

I: So she colluded?

L: Yes she did collude in a way but it was out of her own needs and I can understand that it was a matter of survival.

I: And helplessness?

L: Absolute powerlessness.

I: Did you ever talk to her about your fears.

L: I couldn't, I didn't ever talk to her about my fears. I think I may have once or twice but that was when I was older - that I hated him, that he was a pig and a bastard and everything else - and she just defended him. When I went to see her three years ago and discussed it, her parting words to me were "You tend to focus a lot on the negative aspects of your childhood without looking at the positive things that happened" - to which I had no real response. That might well be true but those are the things I remembered.

I: Absolutely and they coloured your whole childhood.

L: Ja so perhaps that remark of hers gives an indication of how she operated.

I: Do you think she may feel guilty that she colluded in a way?

L: She might do, I haven't really spoken to her about it. It's interesting that my three siblings all have drinking problems. My sister is an alcoholic - is dependent on my mother - has been married twice and keeps on getting into relationships with men who abuse her and then relying on my mother to get her out of those relationships.

I: Is she older?

L: No, I'm the oldest.

I: Were you quite a parentified child, very responsible?

L: Yes. My mother worked and she said I protected my brothers and sister and when my youngest brother was born at home I shepherded the children out of the room and that sort of thing.

I: Did you protect them when there were scenes in the house?

L: I don't think so. You see a lot of my father's wrath was against my mother and me. You see he was an illegitimate child and was adopted into a very abusive family where his foster mother used to entertain men when his father was out at work and he was bribed to keep quiet or sent to the shop. She threw irons at him too. So he came from an environment where women were not to be trusted. Women were bitches and women were whores. And he projected that onto my mother and onto me. When I started becoming sexually aware he started watching me through the

rear view mirror (see prior interview)

I: You told me, ja.

L: So in terms of protecting siblings, I think I was more concerned about myself back then. I can remember an occasion when my brothers were fighting with each other and my father got out boxing gloves and made them put them on and made them fight each other. We all had to sit and watch. And I was really torn because I didn't want this to happen, I didn't like what was happening but couldn't do anything about it and I didn't know which one I wanted to win. So I don't remember protecting them.

I: Could you talk about it amongst yourselves?

L: No

I: Never?

L: I can't remember ever doing so. It was just taken for granted that this was the way we lived, the way all families operated. And ja, I can remember fairly recently, my brothers agreeing with me that my father was a bastard but in a kind of way, with almost a chuckle, that he was a real 'guy', without acknowledging that that had damaged them in some way. And I haven't spoken to my sister about him at all. You see I actually feel that I don't have anything in common with my siblings. I don't seek them out. I do sometimes think I should get in touch with my sister and talk because she is a messed up person - and it might do both of us good to discuss it.

I: Ja. So that anger and sadness when you were a kid did you just repress it? Try and forget it?

L: Absolutely. And I was the strong one in the family. My mother always used to say that I was the one person in the family she didn't ever have to worry about. You know which I think is a hell of an indictment on her but then perhaps it had to do with the way I dealt with things which was incredibly matter of fact. I didn't ever cry. So s

he thought that I was OK, that I was a coper and I think she still believes that I'm the strong one, I coped, that it hasn't damaged me that much...

I: Mm...but it has...

INTERVIEW 3 L 24.7.95

I: Did you find a large difference between the sober father and the drunk father and have trouble with this inconsistency?

L: I'd say his drunk self was just an exaggeration of his sober self. He's a very intense person, very embittered, an absolute patriarch. His children were his belongings and his wife was definitely his belonging. Um, but very morose, uncommunicative and oppressive. When he was drunk I just had a stronger sense of that. Also a very violent man. I think that he was violent even when he was sober, but worse when he was drunk.

I: Did you ever try to talk to him about it, try to prevent it?

L: Jesus no. I'm terrified of my father. Absolutely terrified of him. I see him once a year when I take him his birthday present and for weeks before I am anxious about it. So no I would never have spoken to him about it. One didn't speak of feelings in that family at all.

I: Ja... The anger that was expressed explosively, did that lead you to fear angry critical people in any way?

L: Um I think it led me to fear anger in myself. I can remember the first argument my husband and I had where I felt this incredible anger and I didn't know how to express it and it frightened me to feel it especially towards someone that I was supposed to be in love with. That I could feel this incredible anger. So I suppressed it - for 18 yrs of our marriage - that I was incredibly scared of exposing any feelings and particularly anger...

I: And looking like your father..

L: Yes, yes. And I'm also terrified of my husband's anger.

I: Does it bring up feelings of being in that situation again?

L: Yes, it oppresses me. It frightens me. Ja, but I do think that a lot of women feel their anger is an alien thing because we're not supposed to feel it are we?

I: No.

L: You know in therapy I sometimes have this unbelievable urge to - I always have a glass of water - to throw it, smash it against the wall. And in the last therapy session I was sitting there hyperventilating trying to control myself and my therapist said it's almost as if somebody's got a hand over your throat to prevent you from expressing what you're feeling. And I said that's absolutely it, I feel if I allowed the anger to surface it would destroy this room and you probably utterly. And then she said yes, she then understood what was happening when I told her that. But I think even though I make a conscious attempt to suppress my anger, it still leaks out. And some of my friends have said that they're actually afraid of my anger, and that's just little bits that I'm allowing to show!

I: Yes (smiles). Now did you think your husband was different from your father when you married him - not an angry person?

L: No no. No for sure, definitely not, I mean my husband gave the impression of being a really happy person. But I think that generally he's an uncomplicated happy person, which has changed over the years.

I: Can you remember the first time he showed you his anger?

L: It was in response to my own anger, where I actually lifted my hand to strike him - now we'd been married only one month - I lifted my hand to strike him but what I just did was tap him on the cheek. And he had a twenty first that he was supposed to go to that night and he went to it without me, kind of not speaking to me, not telling me when he'd be back. And I was left at home and I felt incredibly abandoned and alone, because that was something that my father used to do. When he used to get really angry, he would, anytime of the night, he'd get into the car and scream off. And we never knew when he was going to come back or if he was going to come back for that matter.

I: Yes. So it brought up all those old feelings of abandonment.

L: Yes. But the first time my husband showed his anger was about three months into our marriage. We were lying in bed and he hit me. I do not remember how it felt but what I did was take down the suitcase and started packing. And he

apologised and begged and pleaded and asked me to stay, which I did.

I: Mm...

L: Um, I think I go mute, or did go mute when confronted with anger and didn't know how to deal with it.

I: That comes from alcoholic families who don't deal with feelings or resolve conflicts.

L: Ja, they don't resolve conflicts. But in a way I was mirroring my mother because that's what she used to do, go mute.

I: Mm. Locked it inside. Did you out of fear of your anger need to be in control of situations?

L: Control is probably the biggest issue in my life. Not only control of my own emotions but also control of outside situations. If I'm not in control then it means somebody else has control and I don't like other people having control.

I: Like your father had absolute control?

L: Absolutely. And there's no way that I would allow my husband to have control. But it doesn't make for happy living. If you're a woman and you have control issues when men are supposed to have control, it's not conducive to happy homes. I hadn't actually articulated that control was an issue for me but my therapist said that control was one of the biggest issues in my life and when she articulated that I knew that that was so.

I: Tell me about some of the outside situations.

L: Well I will never drink now to the point where I lose control. I had about 8 years ago got extremely drunk at a party. I didn't like the idea that I'd lost control over what I was saying and doing. And I cannot stand it when my husband drinks. I can't stand it. I will not engage with him in any way at all.

But there's an anomaly here because I smoke dope once a month, which allows me in a way to lose some of the control I normally have. On the one hand the loss of control is quite worrying but on the other it gives me such a release from tension because if you're into control your whole life is kind of on edge. Another example of control is that I hate seeing other people lose control. Like when my husband drinks he becomes very garrulous and 'hale fellow well met', with an inane smile on his face, and I can't tolerate it and won't let him touch me when he's like that. He'll lean forward and breathe these whiskey fumes all over me when he comes back from the club and I'll feel nauseas. You know and he's all chummy and wanting to talk then. But he's stopped doing it now because he knows I dislike it and hate him when he does it. I've told him. He becomes a megalomaniac. And I said to him one day when you drink you're a megalomaniac - how important it is that you are somebody. It drives me insane. And he sees me as lunatic fringe. You know the way I dress, the way I behave, the friends I have, my politics, the music I like, it's all lunatic fringe. During the elections I was an electoral officer and we were given these armbands to wear and I brought them home to wear the next day and he had been drinking that night. The next morning I went down and this thing was snapped. And I said to him 'did you break my armband' and he said 'yes, I tried to put it on my head'. And then after the elections he asked me who I had voted for and I didn't want to tell him because it's none of his business and were poles apart politically but I did, and he said 'god, that just shows how different we are'. I don't think he realises how conservative he is. His politics are right and everyone else is a fool. He was the only person in the country that I know of who believed that women were taxed equally. He couldn't understand why women were getting their knickers in a knot over the way we were taxed. Ja and it's extremely frustrating with a conservative husband.

I: No aesthetic, poetic, or philosophical side to him at all?

L: No, absolutely not. Um we normally sit and watch TV which is normally in stony silence, and I sit and watch his reactions without him being aware of it, when something contentious comes up, and he'll sit and shake his head.. He doesn't want to live in this country. Very depressing. I think I'm staying in the marriage because my daughter hasn't had her twentyfirst yet and my son got a car for his, so she must and I can't afford to do that on my own. But that's a bit simplistic

maybe it isn't that.

I: Maybe it's the time period that this represents?

L: Ja, but there have always been endings, I'd always said when they left school, then I could go - then it was when they'd left university I could do it, but...

I: (nods). On another subject, is criticism from others difficult for you?

L: I don't think I deal with criticism very well. I think I become quite defensive

I: Were you like that in your original family?

L: Ja. You know there's been the odd occasion when my husband's criticised a part of my body albeit lightheartedly to friends when I wasn't there and then naively told me about it afterwards and I was incredibly angry about it, and quite humiliated that he could do that. But in a way I forgave him because he told me and in his head there was nothing wrong, but you know, it showed a lack of sensitivity, cause he knows I do have body issues. Um... if my children criticise me I think I deal with that OK. I don't know why I can take criticism from them. Not that they are particularly critical. I think I listen to their criticism whereas I won't listen to my husband's criticism of me. Perhaps it's more subjective when he does it. Um, if my friends criticise me I can deal with that too because I respect them. But not with him.

I: Can I now ask you some questions about your fantasies about marriage bearing in mind the family you came from?

L: When I first got married I was incredibly idealistic. In my head I knew that he and I would never ever have a fight! It would be glorious bliss for the rest of our lives. What happened in my family was just unusual, I thought. But again I'm contradicting myself because the drinking in my family wasn't discussed and it was almost as though it happened in every other home.

I: But you thought you could do things differently?

L: oh, ja. So it was devastating to me when... because I felt anger before my husband did. And I can remember it - neither of us was working, we had debts, I was pregnant, living in a room in a house and he expected me to cook. And I felt an incredible amount of anger at that. So maybe that was the first glimpse of disillusionment, ... and feminism...

I: Ja, the expectations... the same as those on your mother?

L: You see my mother actually fulfilled those roles, she was a role model. But I think I must have been stupid because even though my mother did those things, I didn't expect people to expect me to do them. I think I was a very unthinking and unfeeling person.

I: Maybe you just thought that things could be different.

L: Very idealistic, ja. I painted this picture in my head of the way things were going to be. Though initially I had made up my mind that I was not going to get married because the fantasy that I had about myself at 15 years of age was of living in my own oasis in the desert where I would have no contact with people at all

I: Mm, because people had let you down...

L: Ja. But again there's a contradiction because I think I used marriage as the escape from home.

I: Yes. One last question that I forgot, you said you never expressed your fears or feelings in your family..

L: Can I just correct that and say that my father did express his fears and feelings when he was drunk

I: As a result did you end up not trusting your feelings and perceptions that things were bad and scary?

L: Well my mother only said things were bad after they got divorced, 3 yrs ago. I don't think it was ever spoken about at home. Um it's a difficult one to answer.

I: Well let me ask you, did you grow up not trusting your own judgements, about men about situations?

L: Ja. I still don't make good judgements about people. And when I do and express it and someone else like my husband gives the rational point of view

I don't know how to counter that. I know my body is telling me what I'm feeling is right.

I: But you can't act on that?

L: I don't know how to act on that. My head is saying, well what he's saying actually makes sense, you know, think twice. And that still happens now.

I: So difficult to trust your emotions and how you feel?

L: Ja for sure, because I do kind of feel that I'm irrational.

I: One wonders if that comes from the family or if it's ingrained in women.

L: Ja, excepting that I'm aware of the things that are said of women especially from a psychological point of view, but maybe I'm cognitively aware of them. And I feel guilty when I feel angry. Perhaps it's because unlike you who has learnt to be quite clinical and cool when expressing your anger I become overpowered with anger and see red, and don't respond well. I cannot respond on a reasoning level, I respond on an emotional level. I can feel it in my voice. When I get angry my voice will start quavering, it's so frustrating. I get quite afraid of my children's anger, I must say, especially my daughter's anger. My mother's anger I could deal with quite easily, because I was bigger than her and I would lean over her, and, I mentioned this last time, once she slapped me and I turned the other cheek and she was absolutely devastated that I could do that cool as a cucumber, she's never forgotten that. But I find it very difficult dealing with my daughter's anger. I get quite afraid of it, I don't know how to deal with it. I think what frightens me about it is that she feels free enough to express it and to express it to me whereas that was a privilege that I didn't ever have.

I: So there's some envy of her ability?

L: There is envy but there's also some guilt because I think why is this child so angry? Is it something that I have done - the typical mother-daughter syndrome. So maybe it's my mother feeding into that as well as me as a mother feeding into that. Very complicated.

THIRD INTERVIEW WITH V 1995.

I: One often finds with fathers that drank that you lose respect for them...

V: I certainly didn't respect him when I was in my late teens. In fact we fought like cat and dog during that time. I've become more tolerant as I've become older but he knows I don't like him drinking, even now. When I was away my husband phoned and said "when you are away your father drinks too much". Now obviously he knows I disapprove, I don't like it because he gets aggressive. But he doesn't do it when I'm there. I've gained the ascendancy. There's no doubt who's in the ascendancy.

I: Was he in the ascendancy before?

V: O absolutely. O hell yes. He had it made with 3 daughters in the house. Oh yes. Three daughters and a wife and a mother in law who ran around him like... and who tolerated it. I don't know how much my mother did tolerate it. Well she did otherwise she wouldn't have stayed with him.

I: So his drinking was controlling the whole house?

V: Ja. Not during the day, but at night. He'd come in and have his 2 drinks and after supper he'd drink again. But I remember it more when there were visitors, which was often and then he often drank too much.

I: Did that result in arguments afterwards?

V: If it did I wasn't aware of it.

I: So there wasn't explosive anger...

V: Oh there was a couple of times. But it was more him and me than my mom and he

I: So you told him this was not on?

V: I suppose in a way I did. Because he got aggressive. Never abusive towards me. But he'd pick an argument. And we were poles apart politically. He was very conservative and I was very left wing then and we'd sit at the dinner table and we'd slang each other... Ja. With my mom trying to sort of... pacify. When I left to go teaching at 21 he wouldn't take me to northern Natal because we weren't speaking, my mother drove me up. And I was insolent and I was nasty and I knew everything. But I'm quite sure a lot of it was because I got, I got the aggression... from him. Never physical... I got my last hiding when I was 15. But he'd belittle me. I wasn't allowed to have an opinion.

I: Because you were so bright you were a threat to him in a way..

V: Ja. But only when he'd had too much to drink. It was sort of a false courage thing.

I: Insecurity on his part?

V: Ja and I think he's still insecure because he's doing exactly the same thing now with my son. About 6 weeks ago we had visitors and appropo of absolutely nothing my father went for my son. He'd said something. And he went for him. He'd had a few drinks. He said "just because you've had a tertiary education doesn't make you entitled to express opinions, I know as much as you do." It was nasty and it was deja-vu for me. The same kind of attack. and it's not the first time he's done it with my son, he's done it a couple of times. With the result that my son's got no time for him at all. As I had no time for him at about the same age.

I: And because you had no time for him did you lose out on that affection?

V: He wasn't a demonstrative man anyway. Never, he was not demonstrative. He's far more emotional now, more open now than he was when we were kids. He wasn't demonstrative then.

I: Do you think that picking arguments with him was a way of getting him to interact with you, which he wasn't doing in any other way?

V: I've never thought about that. No I think I picked arguments with him because I disagreed with what he was doing, disagreed with his opinions which I thought were ill-based and totally illogical. Arbitrary and without any kind of basis. It used to irritate me. He's not a well educated man. He left school at 14 and was a printer by trade, and did matric at night school and I think he's very conscious of the fact. But in a way it was to our advantage because he wanted us to be

educated. But he's more illogical when he's drunk. Or he's had too much to drink. Drunk is the wrong word to use about him because he never staggered or anything like that, it was just this aggression.

I: And your mum in that situation would she take your part, or his?

V: Neither.

I: So afterwards if you'd said something like he talks rubbish what would she say?

V: I don't remember.

I: So you never discussed him with her?

V: Oh I suppose I must have in a way. And she used to say things like he's been a good father he's always given you the best that he can, and supported you. Ja, he lost jobs because of his aggression.

I: So was there a problem for you in making reality out of it because if you approached her with your perceptions she said but he'd been a good father. Was it thus difficult to trust your perceptions and feelings?

V: No. And in many ways he was a good father, encouraged us to achieve ... but then seemed to resent the achievement. But on the other hand he was terribly proud of it. He'd go to the pub and brag about his girls.

I: But didn't like being challenged?

V: Didn't like being challenged. But that too in a way is a result of his upbringing because he grew up in the sort of Edwardian era, where his mother buttered his father's toast. So I think for him to have girls challenging him would have been against the grain. And I think that he could suppress it until he'd been drinking and then he couldn't after that.

I: Mm. After the pub, would he then come home and would there be arguments?

V: I don't know. Either I was asleep or I wasn't taking any damn notice. No I had my own room and I used to shut the door. In a way I suppose I'd just retreat and cut myself off. Talking about coming home from the pub, I think he was worse when I was very young because I can remember my mum talking in a sort of joking manner about not knowing when he was coming home for supper, and yet I'm quite certain in my own mind that he never womanised. But ja I remember once he had a car smash, and she was quite worried about him. I only know because he's got a scar on his head, and when I asked her she said he'd been out with the boys drinking and this had happened.

I: Mm.

V: But we also had a lot of people in our house who drank a lot, his cronies. I actually thought that adults partied all the time. I can remember as a very small child lying in bed, awake and there would be a rip-roarer going on in the lounge - I was probably 5 or 6 and we lived in CT - and my mum used to play the ukelele and they used to sing festively - I know all the words of those old songs like the sky boat song and Irish eyes are smiling.

I: So they were both quite funloving?

V: My Mum was very funloving. She wasn't a doormat. She worked as long as I can remember.

I: You said so. So she didn't seem to let the drinking get to her?

V: I don't think she did. I think she simply accepted that he'd come back from the war like that. Look, they hardly knew each other when they got married. Then they were married for a week before he was posted abroad and the war went on for so long. So those women had to just carry on. I think they just accepted drinking after the war.

V: You can't argue with someone who's got no logic. I still can't. He's living with us now and he'll come through for supper and tell us about something seen on TV and draw conclusions from it and they'll be totally off beam. Now I've stopped arguing, I just sit. And when he pours a drink it's a triple.

I: When these arguments between you and him went on in the family, what would your other sisters do?

V: I don't remember. I think I was pretty sort of self-interested. But I can remember my sister breaking a bottle of whiskey, when he'd had too much. She

picked up the bottle of whiskey and she broke it - out of desperation. I think she's less strong, possibly less self-centred than me. And I think it therefore affected her more than me. She was quite hurt by it. Although I don't think she'd admit it. She's not a strong person. But I don't know, apart from the fact that he irritated the shit out of me because he was illogical and aggressive towards me, apart from that, I don't think it affected me all that much. Except I suppose that I accepted it as the status quo. I actually thought men drank a lot and when I first went to varsity I went out with guys who drank a lot.

I: And then - what changed?

V: I met my husband. He only drinks the odd beer socially.

I: If you were to compare your father and your husband, would you say you went for someone who was the total opposite?

V: Yes

I: In terms of?

V: Lack of aggression, concern for other people (although my dad was generous but we often joked that his generosity was for show). My husband's quiet and studious, Intellectual..

I: Stable?

V: Absolutely so.

I: Because the alcoholic family is so unpredictable, and you just don't know..

V: No you don't. Now as kids we didn't know where we were going to be. I think I mentioned to you that I'd been in a lot of schools. By Std 7, I'd been in 6 or 7 schools, because he moved. It's a wonder I had any academic ability at all. Now whether that had anything to do with his drinking or if he was restless because of the war. But I think he was restless before. We moved from city to city in SA, then in std 4, he decided this wasn't a country to bring up children in, so we emigrated to Canada and were there for 18 months till he decided he didn't like Canada and we came back to CT for a year, and then moved here. Then my mom said this is it, we don't move anymore. He hated being a printer. But in my youth, no, we never knew. It was a perpetual thing of starting a new school, making new friends...

I: Absolutely. And unpredictability in his own behaviour?

V: I don't really remember. I suppose there must have been, but I was a helluva independent child, because of changing schools. I did my own thing.

I: But did you think you wanted something more predictable from your own marriage?

V: Oh absolutely. Whether it was a conscious thing or not I don't know.

I: What were your fantasies for marriage in relationship to what you'd had?

V: I didn't want that. I had no intention of marrying until I was 30, I was one of those.

I: Because of what you'd seen?

V: Probably, I don't know. We didn't rationalise things like that in those days. We'd been brainwashed and I suppose in a way I was a bit avant-garde - going to varsity. But my husband's certainly been a very different father to our kids than my father was to us.

I: In terms of?

V: In terms of always being there for them, encouraging them. When my son took up gym, he qualified as a gym judge, that sort of thing. Whereas my dad's interest was sailing and we got dragged out to the damn yacht club. We fitted in with his interests. I hated sailing and won't get on a boat now. I hated it because every Sunday we had to go out, they wouldn't leave us at home. Actually it was quite beautiful with the flamingoes and everything. But I didn't like the people...

I: Or doing it because you had to ..

V: Yes. So my husband fitted in with our kids' interests rather than making them fit in with us. And I think he's found that more fulfilling.

I: So he's not selfish?

V: He's not selfish at all. Except about canoeing and he and my son canoe together so...

I: were there times when you felt quite hurt and sad because of your father's behaviour?

V: I suppose there must have been.

I: You just repressed it?

V: Ja. Until I went to Varsity. Until then I was a mindless kugel - we all were weren't we - as long as there was a social on Saturday night and you could put on your stiff petticoats and go - it was magic and mindless - I never gave a thought to the political situation in SA or the atom bomb, or any of that stuff that was supposed to have influenced our lives. Until I went to varsity and then I became very very politically conscious. And that's when the trouble started. Although he professed to wanting me to have a mind, he didn't like it.

I: You said that your sister tried to stop him by breaking a bottle; did you ever try to reason with him?

V: I don't remember. I just didn't care (said very softly). But the drinking was always more important than we were.

I: Did you keep it a secret or did you talk to friends about it?

V: I think most of the kids I went around with at school were in much the same boat. I had a boyfriend whose father drank and I talked to him about it and we joked about it. We'd wonder whose house to go to on Sunday night - whose father was going to be smashed.

I: So you tried to minimise it by joking about it?

V: Ja, there were coping mechanisms.

I: Did you and your sisters talk about it amongst yourselves?

V: I wasn't close to them (said abruptly). I suppose we must have but I don't remember it. I had my own room. I'm more aware of having to take sides with my gran than with my mother, because he didn't like her. She was my mom's mom.

I: You were quite a successful person at school. You were independent, you had your own life, which probably helped enormously.

V: Right. I did everything too.

I: Were you quite a parentified child, quite responsible?

V: Yes, I took responsibility for my sisters and everything. I think I was forced to in many ways because I was the oldest, and the trendsetter in a way. I used to take the first steps. When we went to socials they were my responsibility. We were given strict deadlines and I remember one night we were late and he was waiting for us. And he grabbed me as I went in, my sister ran upstairs and I think he belted me. I'm not sure, he might not have. And I can remember shouting, "but what about my sister", and he said "you were responsible, she wouldn't have stayed out if you hadn't". But we'd both broken all the street lights in our road. We did that often. In a crowd, just like ducktails. I've always wanted to be a ducktail, ride on the backs of motorbikes in black jeans. I've always wanted to.

I: (Laughs). Now if you were to look at the difference between you and your sister would you say she was more of a placator? Someone who smoothed things over?

V: Ja, I think she still is.

I: And your youngest sister?. Cause they say the third child is quite an acting-out child.

V: She's mad, she's actually stuffed up her life. She really has. She goes on and on about us coming from a dysfunctional family because she's been in therapy - so she knows all the jargon. And so she blames this dysfunctional family for what's happened to her.

I: In what way dysfunctional?

V: Well that's what I can't work out. My whole argument is that I come from the same family and I don't think I've been unsuccessful. I've got a good career, I've got a stable marriage, I've brought up stable children. But whether it was worse for her when I left to go to varsity... and you know she blames me for that. She once said "you left me when I needed you most".

I: So she really relied on you.

V: Ja, she did.

I: Almost seeing you as a mother?

V: As a parent. I wouldn't say as a mother. We were quite close so it's actually sad that it's got like this. I have no time for ag...self-pity I suppose. Get off your ass and do something about it. She's stuck in it. She's been divorced twice. I don't think our family situation was a helluva lot worse than other families. The parents stuck together for whatever reason and I think the family in a way functioned. Yes. I mean if you'd looked at us you would have said "isn't it nice that they all go to the yacht club on the weekend". And we had our parties at home, we were nicely dressed, educated, we weren't bashed around. I don't see that as being totally dysfunctional.

I: I think though that what happens with the kids is that they do take roles in a drinking family that they wouldn't have taken otherwise. For example if you're a parentified child and responsible that forecloses on experimentation and exploration, and you lose out on that time of innocence ..

V: Ja, ja. I mean I think I must have been a teacher's dream. I always did what I had to do. It was important that I did. As I say my only rebelliousness was my fantasy of being a ducktail. I just did what I had to do. I was responsible for getting A's and playing hockey, being a prefect and housecaptain - it was expected so I did it.

I: That responsibility was very often the opposite of one's father's irresponsibility
V: Ja.

I: How are you today on fairness? If other people's behaviour is unfair, how do you react?

V: With anger especially if I see it at school. People have got to be fair. That's one of the few things we've got left.

I: Mm and honest?

V: Absolutely, ja.

I: Interesting that that comes from the alcoholic family which is in a way dishonest in that the alcoholic is drinking and being argumentative and yet denying it or not seeing themselves in that light, and you're seeing it. So reality is denied and there's a great dissonance between the two, and you end up with a great need for honesty.

V: Ja...ja. And this is why when he picks on my son I react so strongly to it because I don't think it's fair. The kid hasn't done anything except be clever and intelligent.

I: Same with you ... you hadn't really done anything? Did he pick on your sisters?

V: No they got off scot-free, still do. I always felt that I was getting it, I was the scapegoat because I was the eldest. More in the firing line. If there was an argument, it was me. My middle sister was more tentative than I was, more placatory. But I think in his own eyes he's probably done the best he can.

I: Did you used to hate those arguments ?

V: Ja (very softly)

I: Did they hurt you?

V: No they made me angry.

I: And what did you do with that anger?

V: I went to my room and read.

I: So just kept it inside?

V: Ja, I think there was a fair deal of suppressed anger. Ja because I hit a very religious stage when I left home and went to varsity.

I: Did you carry on suppressing anger when you moved away?

V: I think moving away from home was very good for me, I started then to really develop as a person.

I: But could you express the anger.

V: Yes, I'd say so.

I: Yet you said in a prior interview that you preferred being controlled..

V: Yes, now.

I: Can you see any connection between that need for control and that explosive

anger that you witnessed in the family?

V:Ja. Yes I do. Ja,I know that myself. I consciously didn't want my children to grow up with that unpredictable anger. And it's in me,there's no doubt about it. One of the things that scares me is that I know personality-wise I've got a lot of my father in me. And so I bundled that up.

I:Ja..you didn't want to be as argumentative and illogical as he?

V:No. I wasn't going to have illogical arguments with my children. I'm not saying I never got angry because I did. But I learnt to control it. And it's been a very conscious thing. From when I started teaching and I had to accept responsibility, then I realised I was going to have to control my temper. There's a joke in our family about the lost temper.I also felt that the temper was demeaning ...

I:You wanted to keep your dignity?

V:Ja.Because very often there wasn't any,especially if he was drinking too much
(note- importance of dignity and respectability -esp in
career and marriage)

I:And that loss of dignity lost your respect for him?

V:I don't think I ever respected him. Never.

I:Mm. There was never a time when he was sober where you two had some rapport?

V:Ja. We did. I suppose right up till I was 14 or 15 I did want to please him.I was never keen on sport, but I did every type!.

I:And you were so good at it!

V:And when I went to varsity and got away from home I kept doing it for about 2 years and then I suddenly thought 'what the hell am I doing this for?' And I stopped.

I:Was he very sports minded?

V: He wanted to sail. We were always very aware of that and his interests. So we shared those - soccer matches,rugby matches - and I got rewarded for doing it. Every rugby match I got a charm for my bracelet - a springbok or something,to commemorate it. I saw the Springboks beat the Aussies at Newlands 18-16 with a last minute drop goal back in the 1960's. I was there. Ja,so when I was doing what he was interested in there was a fair bit of rapport between us - when I was young. Once I became involved in school activities in high school myself then obviously....Also I think the money was tight,so there wasn't as much of that kind of activity.

I:Did he come and watch your matches?

V:Ja,my hockey and athletics. But he didn't come to school prizegiving,my mother did.

I:That must have hurt.

V:No he couldn't get off work. He was a tradesman,and they don't take time off in the daytime.

I:Mm. And did your mother deny the drinking?

V:Dunno.

I:It seemed as though she pretty much removed herself from that aspect and you may have done the same.

V:Perhaps. I don't know whether she did remove herself,or whether she just tolerated it .I think she'd have left him if it hadn't have been for us.I don't know. There was also the stigma of being a divorced woman.

I:There wasn't much feeling between them?

V:I think there was. O Ja. I'm trying to dredge things out of the back of my mind but I don't want to dredge things up dishonestly. I can remember them once having a terrible fight,she threw a plate at him. I was about 14 and I remember running up to my room crying,and I said to him "I don't know why you two stay together" and he said "youre old enough to know the reason why we stay together,your mother and I are very happy together". I think there was a very strong sexual attraction there. He was a goodlooking young man,looking back on old photographs there's no doubt he was. I think my mum was hooked on him. Although I don't know. I think they had a very active sexual life.

I: And the arguments at the dinner table, was the dinner table a particularly tense time for you?

V: Yes. Now that's something I've changed consciously in my marriage too. From the time the kids were old enough to sit at the dinner table with us, the TV got switched off, and we ate and we sat at the table and we talked. It was always our time together. I was a good cook, and I'd produce a nice meal that made people want to stay and eat. And we sat and talked at the dinner table.

I: How was that different from your home?

V: Because we used to eat and bugger off, and often the atmosphere was tense when I was growing up because that was where the arguments were. He'd had his 2 or 3 drinks before supper, and he complained a lot about the food. But now we as a family do all our talking at the dinner table and it's a lovely lovely place to be. But now my dad's with us, my husband and I are less inclined to eat there. And we're always glad when he says he wants his supper in his room, particularly if either of the kids is at home, then WE have dinner alone.

I: So he almost ruins the atmosphere for you?

V: Ja. Ja, he does, because he talks all the time. We're never allowed to talk.

I: It's amazing because a lot of women have said it's the dinner table that's the focus in the alcoholic home - it's where the aggression happens. And a lot of them have had the totally opposite reaction. They will not eat at the dinner table - preferring to do so round the TV.

V: No we never eat round the TV. I would have postponed the meal if they were watching something that they wanted to see, but we sit down at the table and eat. And sometimes when the kids were at school it would be 9 o'clock before we got up from the table - sometimes we'd be there for 2 hours.

I: Has your husband always been keen on sitting round the table?

V: I don't know whether he was keen or not (embarrassed)

I: But you were determined to make it a different place?

V: Ja. I'd taken a lot of trouble with the meal even if sausage and mash I still liked to serve it and present it nicely. And I don't think they ever left the table without saying "thanks mom that was a super meal". My friend once said to me "the men in your family are very gentle", and they are. I get a lot of stroking. A lot of my son's friends come for dinner and say how super it was to sit round a table, because they never do. It's been important.

I: So that was one of your fantasies for marriage?

V: I suppose it must have been, yes.

I: Your mother was she a good cook?

V: No. My mother was OK if she put her mind to it, but because the granny was there, she did it. Ja I suppose that was one of my fantasies. It was going to be a happy family.

I: Mm. None of those terrible arguments and people were going to EXCHANGE news. So in a way one could almost say you learnt from that.

V: Ja, without it ever being a conscious thing.

I: If there is a fight at the dinner table does it bring back all those feelings of helplessness and turmoil?

V: Well I can't remember fights between us but that incident with my father and my son I mentioned, I felt totally... I was so angry. And there were people there. I couldn't react. And I was so angry that MY dinner table had been.... there was a disruption, do you know what I mean. My son got up and said excuse me and left the table. He came back later and apologised to me and said "Im sorry mom I shouldn't have done that it was immature behaviour" and sat down again but I understood how he was feeling and he showed a lot more control than I would have done at that age, where I fought back, you see.

I: But you were constantly subjected to it. So he'd ruined that meal for you?

V: Ja And I was very angry about it. but I couldn't react because of the relatives

I: That's about all now.

V: Interesting. It took us a long time to get to the dinner table. I find this interesting because it's making me rationalise a hell of a lot that I didn't know

was there. What I've realised today is that my reaction at the dinner table with my son - my anger was that he was indirectly doing what he did to me in the past. I:It hooked into something you experienced previously. When it does that it's doubly frustrating.

V:Now that I think about it one of the worst things about having him with us is that our mealtime has lost its magic,its poetic quality.And I'm happy if he says he'll eat in his room in front of TV.

I:Ja, otherwise you're re-living some of the things you went through.

V:Thanks, that's made me understand. I'll just give him his food in his room.I don't love him. No perhaps that's wrong. I don't like him.I don't hate him but I don't like him.I think he's a selfish man .I think he made my mother's life miserable.He was horrible to her. When she had her brain haemorrhage,and was a different kind of person ,and she got fat and lazy and her mind...she'd always been very active...he was nasty to her and irritable . He'd say "O Elaine all the time" in a sort of nasty way, whatever she did. And I don't like the hypocrisy of what he says she was like now that she's dead. Now she was wonderful.Recently a friend of my dad's remarked how much I looked like my mum and my dad said, when I was supposedly out of earshot "But she's not the girl Elaine was" and I was cross because he was saying it in a smarmy way, you know, "my wife was so wonderful". Yet for the last 15 years, he was horrible to her. I don't remember what it was like when I was at home.

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I: What changed in your family when your father started drinking?

A: There wasn't a time when things changed. He always drank.

I: Can you reconstruct a night when it was bad?

A: I can remember they always had lots of friends round. And then one night I smashed a bottle of brandy against the wall because he was having a go at mommy about something - niggling about something.

I: You were angry with him?

A: Absolutely furious with him. But not actually. I mean I think I was more furious with the bottle of brandy - if that's possible. I can't remember many rows that were drink-related but it wasn't a peaceful home because we had all the blooming grannies living with us and he and my mom used to... bicker... mostly about money. I suppose it was worse when he was drinking. And he used to go off to the hotel for a few spots. I don't remember that going on forever... it was for a period. He didn't have the money to do that. He drank at home.

I: Ja... did you dread him coming home then?

A: No. But then I didn't fight with him. But then there must have been some occasions... but as far as getting hidings and stuff, it was mum who did it.

I: No, he wasn't violent, just argumentative?

A: Ja, very. Well I mean he still gets like that after a drink. It makes him very aggressive. But he's more of an embarrassment than something to fear. Silly. And when he got potted everybody else used to think he was the life and soul of the party, when he was actually just a total embarrassment. He used to jump off the mantelpiece and play 'bok bok', that sort of thing. But you know I'm not surprised that after the war they drank and were flighty and restless. Obviously with all those men together and the songs and everything, there was a great capacity for enjoyment, bonding and comradeship. That's why they needed the clubs and the pub, to be with the guys, and why they had all those parties.

And he had some really awful friends too. Alch'ies.

I: Were you ever embarrassed that other friends or teachers would find out?

A: No, because I don't think I ever thought of him as being a problem. It was an embarrassment but as I say everybody else saw him as the life and soul of the party. And I didn't have girlfriends that visited at home, because the houses were so separated and there was no transport. And the girls in my class came from really dysfunctional families, anyway.

I: Did you keep it a secret or did you talk to others about it?

A: No I didn't talk to anyone about it. I think I saw it as normal, that everybody's father was like that. My sister would get very irritable and argue with him but it was actually easier not to.

I: So you just sort of copped out and kept your distance. Did you ever try and smooth things over?

A: I don't remember that either. I think I just actually opted out.

I: And it didn't worry you?

A: It must have worried me. I'm sure it did. I mean looking back on it now I can't believe that it didn't worry me.

I: If you cast yourself back to that situation what do you think you'd feel?

A: Shame? - that he could be like that.

I: Fear?

A: No. There was a time in my life though, round about puberty, when there was a fear that my folks would get divorced.

I: And was there a difference between the sober and drunk father? - tell me about the sober father.

A: He was quite fun. Running races with us and playing hockey and making up rhymes. I think he was probably quite a nice person.

I: Someone you could admire?

A: You couldn't admire him because he was in and out of jobs all the time, so we didn't have security. He would never be happy anywhere. He's always been

unsettled and ended up hating every place he was in. No, you couldn't admire him. No, because we didn't ever have much - we didn't have the sort of things that would make children admire parents, a flashy car or, I don't know - what would you admire in a father?

I: I'd say none of those things, rather someone who was warm and affectionate.

A: He wasn't affectionate, definitely not an affectionate person. I don't know if it was because of the way he was brought up or what.

I: So he never hugged you or..

A: No.

I: And would you have liked that?

A: You know I don't think I ever really thought about it. But I can remember the first time he actually did give me a hug. I was 20 and I had a migraine headache and I didn't know it, but I was anorexic. My mum was in CT at the time and he came home and he said "what's wrong my girlie", he always called me that, and I actually burst into tears and he put his arm round me and hugged me. And I can remember that. But he wasn't an affectionate man. But now I think he knows he missed out. My sisters didn't like mommy as much as I did. I got what I wanted because I was easy. I threw temper tantrums only if my sisters borrowed my handbag or something. But I withdrew and didn't get into arguments with dad. And they talk of mum's affairs but I can't remember any of that. Why can't I?

I: Did you ever talk to anyone in the family about your shame and fear?

A: No. We didn't talk in our family. Not even amongst us (sisters). We shared a bedroom and there was always two of us against one. But you know, now that I think of it, my longterm boyfriend had a drinking father, so I didn't have to feel ashamed of it. We didn't talk about it but it was just an understanding. He understood what was going on with my father and I understood what was going with his father. Which made a bond between us - that's probably why it lasted so long. But when I returned from AFS, then I was ashamed of him because then he was potting and being political and I didn't want anything to do with him.

I: Did you ever talk to your mother about those feelings of shame?

A: Only later as an adult but she didn't say awfully much. I don't think we ever really talked. I think my folks were both busy doing their own thing. But although I don't look back on my childhood as absolutely wonderful I don't think of it as bad - we had our ballet and hockey lessons and new hockey sticks etc. And if they needed to do their own thing that was their.. their affair. But it probably did affect me without me knowing it. Mum used to come home absolutely buggered but she always made me dresses and things, so I don't feel resentful or anything. If anything I feel sad for them because I feel they missed out. We obviously missed out too on not having a close relationship.

I: Can you describe to me the atmosphere of your dinner table?

A: I think it was the only time we used to talk. It depended on if there was a granny there. If there was, there was always tension. Dad didn't like one of them at all. But if they weren't then I suppose it was reasonably alright. It was sort of polite and he was very funny about table manners. There was tension if he was in a mood if he'd been potting. You know, he'd complain about the food.

I: How does that affect how you feel sitting round a dinner table today?

A: I love sitting round a dinner table. I think it's a very congenial place to be.

I: But you mentioned a period of anorexia. Do you think because of the tension you may have picked up a hatred of food in any way?

A: I don't know - but it's worth thinking about. He used to moan about people who made noises when they ate. I can remember having to stand for a week because I used to swing on my chair when I was about 10. It irritated him to death and so I stood in the kitchen. But we could actually have some nice times round the dinner table. No I don't think that had anything to do with the anorexia.

I: And if you look at the differences between your dad and your husband?

A: My husband is more ambitious, and fussier - dad was never very worried about the state of the home and tidiness - more pernickity.

I: But when you first met him?

A:He was loads of fun when he was young. But then so was dad - everyone thought he was loads of fun.

I:So in a way there was a similarity between them?

A:Yes there probably was. although my husband's far more restrained than dad and he's never drunk, and he doesn't have a drink every night.

I:More stable and secure?

A:Yes. I suppose dad was more unpredictable . He used to do irritating things as well. If you were doing homework on the floor on your haunches he'd come past and give you a little kick and you'd say "dad!" and he'd come back and knock you right over. He was just being otherwise. I don't think he was being ugly. He just thought he was being bloody funny but he wasn't being funny at all. He was irritating. We didn't talk at all.

I:Was one of the things that attracted you to your husband, that he didn't have that unpredictability?

A:Yes, he was more solid, very dependable.

I:Didn't embarrass you?

A:No. Didn't embarrass the kids either.

I:They could look up to him.

A:Mm which we couldn't with dad, we really couldn't.

I:That must have hurt.

A:I suppose it must have. It hurts me more now when I know that he realises it and all the wasted years that he didn't really do much with his life. I don't know what sort of a marriage it was either. Where was I all those years?

I:Do you think you might have repressed some of those memories?

A:Either that or I've got Alzheimers! Now my sister's been through 2 therapies and comes out with the most amazing things, like my mum's cousin assaulted her and we just can't believe her. She keeps taling about this dysfunctional family all the time and how it affected her. I suppose I could get all bitter and twisted about the family but I don't see the point of it... But she's a mess. I don't think we did. We came from a reasonable family.

I:Maybe it just got to her more? What would you say her role in the family was?

A:She was the youngest child, very much the youngest. She got what she wanted. She got her own way. At 21, I was still coming in at midnight. At 16 she was coming in at 4 in the morning. She had a lot more freedom. But you shouldn't really ask me about her because my attitude towards her is bad. She irritates me to death as an adult and I think as a child I was actually jealous of her.

I:Envious of her?

A:At the time it was a little thing and I behaved quite sort of childishly about it. She had a hole in her heart and went down to CT with a great fanfare and there was an enormous fuss made over it. Three years later when I had mine done, they saw me the night before and when I came round dad left to go back to Estcourt. And I even had to buy my own pyjamas on my account and I remember thinking if I die my mother will have to pay for them.

I:So you were seen as more capable?

A:I think so.

I:While she was seen as helpless and in need of care?

A:He still looks at her that way. The other day he said "you're always rushing around, rushing rushing rushing and look at you, you never achieve anything". And my sister is so capable. So there's definitely sibling rivalry.

I:Your little sister is capable?

A:Yes. She's very capable. She gets everything done. But he still worries to death about her. The rivalry is bad - we can't even say two civil words to each other. But she actually didn't think he was her father for years. I don't know where she got that from.

I:So what do you think the reason is for your not remembering things?

A:I think I was too busy doing my own thing -reading, sewing, playing hockey, going out with my boyfriend. I don't know. There are huge gaps. Absolutely huge gaps.

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I: Can you remember incidents of drinking when you were small? Or when was the first one you remember?

A: When I was 11 or 12. I know there were lots and lots of parties when I was very young in CT with ex-servicemen. But I don't remember being conscious of him being drunk until I was about 12.

I: Did you enjoy the parties?

A: They were noisy. They used to sing songs and read poetry.

I: Did they disturb you?

A: (Nods).

I: What did you do, go to your room?

A: No we just went to sleep.

I: Can you remember any particular night when he drank?

A: No.

I: But what actually changed for you then?

A: He embarrassed me. I don't know whether their marriage changed - whether they became more aggressive with each other.

I: Did you lose a bit of respect for him?

A: I don't think I ever had any respect for him. Affection yes, but not respect.

I: What did that embarrassment mean for you in terms of what you wanted out of marriage?

A: I never really thought about that because I never thought I'd get married. I had a couple of steady boyfriends but I didn't think I could think about marriage until I had a job. I didn't think about marriage. I didn't even think about white wedding dresses.

I: So you didn't have an ideal for a marriage where that shame and embarrassment and fear didn't exist?

A: No. Because maybe I thought that's how everybody was.

I: In terms of your father being argumentative when he was drunk do you see any connection between that and the way you do or don't express anger today?

A: It depends with who it is. If I'm angry with my children I'll shout and scream. When I first got married I wouldn't express it. I just used to get withdrawn until suddenly one day I woke up and decided that was not on at all. Now I tell him.

I: But do you do it in a controlled way?

A: I don't know if I'm controlled (laughs). It depends on what kind of a mood I'm in. If it's today when I'm feeling premenstrual and horrible I might scream like a banshee, but on others I might just have my say quite calmly. And when my children answer back I'm not calm. You know I'm worried about my childhood that I can't remember anything. You know my experience of men, my uncle and everyone, was of men that drank.

I: I'm wondering what that did for you in terms of respect for men?

A: I don't have an enormous amount of respect for men. I don't think they're that much better than women. I can read a computer programme written by a man and think "what garbage, I can do better than that". I know I can. I mean I grew up with men drinking - when they had parties they all got drunk, the women didn't. And they got pathetic... jumping off mantelpieces and singing songs and daddy always used to sing 'Hale Caledonia'... he called it his song of hatred.

I: Why?

A: I don't know. I wondered if it was because he sometimes wished he hadn't left Scotland. But when asked he denied this, saying it was miserable, cold and wet. I'm trying to think of any man that didn't drink. No I can't think of any. And they didn't just drink beer either. It was spirits, brandy mostly. The girls at school also came from funny backgrounds, wierd. Well not wierd but normal (laughs).

I: Did your mother ever deny your fathers drinking or try and minimise it?

A: I think she did. I think she was very loyal and I don't know what sort of a

marriage they had. My sisters both think she had affairs. But even if she was doing that I think she was very loyal to him.

I: Mm so she justified his drinking in a way?

A: Mm probably. Ja, he was not accepted by her family

I: So because she justified it in a way, you began to think that it was normal?

A: Ja but you know I'm just thinking, my friends' fathers were always drunk. They all drank. I've never known how much dad actually drank. Whether he took 10 whiskies or 2 and couldn't hold it - it might have been a tolerance problem. But that bar they had in the house... now that's something I will not have in my home.

I: You will not be reminded of alcohol. You don't want to see it or smell it.

A: No. I enjoy my glass of wine, but I will not have a bar.

I: Did you ever find there were any broken promises on his part?

A: No because I don't think he ever promised us anything.

I: Did you ever try and reason with him about the drinking, to stop it?

A: No. Only one night I think he'd had too much to drink. I think it was the early hours of the morning, and there was some row with my gran going on because she'd been brushing the stairs and woke him and he was in an absolute fury and my sister shouted to him to leave granny alone and he came tearing into our bedroom and started thumping my sister. That's the only time I've ever seen him do that. And I ended up getting a thumping because I shouted at him. I actually told him I hated him. And then I didn't talk to him for a long time... yes that was actually a torrid time, I remember it now, I must have been about 16 or 17

I: Hated him for what?

A: For being unreasonable and for hitting my sister. For being unreasonable with my gran mostly and being aggressive. I told him I hated him, I remember screaming like a banshee that I hated him.

I: Was there often a feeling of hating him?

A: Ja, ja. A childish sort of unreasonable kind of....

I: Disappointment?

A: I think it was disappointment as much as anything. He was quite strict about rules, about coming home times, places we were allowed to go to and all that but I don't feel resentment about that - I just don't think I liked him very much. I certainly didn't admire him.

I: Did his anger ever lead you to fear people who were angry or unreasonable?

A: I still don't like people who are angry and unreasonable. I don't like arguing.

I: Do you then need to be quite controlled and reasonable?

A: Ja.

I: And fair?

A: Ja, ja. You have to be because there are other people out there. You have to think about people's feelings. This is where my sister and I differ. She'll tell someone their hair looks awful, because she thinks it's her right... and I'm getting very worked up politically about all these rights that people think they have which don't take account of the rights of others. eg prisoners' rights - what about citizens who need protecting against released murderers?

I: So you like things to be fair?

A: Yes

I: And honest?

A: And honest.

I: And in a way that relates back to the family where the father drinks because there's a sort of dishonesty there...

A: There was a dishonesty, because we never said what we felt.

I: And the whole family revolves around what mood the drinker was in.

A: Yes I think it was worse when we all left home, I think it got worse then.

But yes, I like things to be transparent. My daughter didn't tell me about a guy she saw for six months because she knew I disapproved of the antics of the parents - polo playing, wife-swopping - and I didn't like the deceit of that.

I: From the role that your mother played in the family, how do you think that

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I: Do you remember a time when things changed and what changed for you?

T: It's very difficult to say when he started drinking. He was like Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde. My mum and dad were married in the war and my earliest recollections were of living in a funny little town called X. My dad was stationed there during the war and I remember one day he went off in a khaki uniform with a rucksack on his back. I was about 3 and ..they seem to be quite happy memories those. We lived on a smallholding. And then after the war we moved to the city and ...we never owned a car and I can remember arriving..we lived in a block of flats for 8/10 years in different flats in the same block ..and I remember one day he slapped my mother in her face. So everything was fine until we moved to the city. I even remember something about a gun. I remember him going to someone for a gun and there was a big commotion about it. What he was going to do with it I didn't know. And that was the start...

I: You feared that he might use it in the family?

T: Yes (loud), thinking about it now, but at the time I didn't really know. (so what changed for her was the sudden fear).

I think I had one sister then and then we moved into a smaller flat because money was tight, and I remember lots of little things, but not much violence and then we moved to a bigger double flat, and I remember quite a lot of violence there. He hated blacks if they looked at him in a certain way and wanted to show his authority. I remember him leaning out the window one day screaming for help because he had a knife and was about to stab this black man. He was drinking in those days and then we moved to a house and that's when it really got bad. He used to bring home bottles of brandy every Friday. He was shellshocked during the war and suffered from PTSD which was probably the cause of it all. I remember a lot of violence in this house. He used to go for my mother. He'd finish the bottle of brandy on a Friday night, sleep it off on Saturday, and then it put him in a foul mood on Sunday, nobody dared look at him. He had a total personality change. He stuttered a lot as a young man and couldn't talk on the phone. He went to TARA once for his violent behaviour. Looking back I know there was a measure of instability there, I don't know. But funnily enough of the two of them, he showed more affection than my mother did. She tended to be a little bit cold. But I think her life was spent trying to keep the wolf from the door, keeping the family going..

I: It sounds like a very stressful family...

T: Lots of stress, lots of embarrassment too, you know. I remember once he got so violent we had to call the police out and he was taken to an institution. But just that once. He only drank over the weekends he didn't drink in between.

I: Was there a great difference between his sober and drinking states?

T: He wasn't violent when he was sober but we were always frightened of him. He would attack my mother and I would go to my mother's aid, and he'd climb into me.

I: So you protected your mother?

T: I protected my mother. I can remember my little sister standing and screaming in absolute terror. My middle sister was the only one who could handle him. He never touched her, never, ever, and if he got violent she would say "come daddy" and she would take him and put him on the bed - she was able to handle him. But I always felt that he hated me. I think because I stood up to him to defend my mother. He used to do disgusting things when he was drunk, you know. He seemed to have no inhibitions. My middle sister said, I never saw it, but she said he exposed himself to her and the maid one day. So we grew up hating him, having no respect for him and often feeling disgusted by him..

I: Ashamed of him?

T: Ashamed of him. But my mother stuck with him all those years. I left school in std 8, at 17, I couldn't stand another day in that house and didn't even stay to get my matric. When I got my std 8, I was out and fortunately in those days you could still do nursing with a std 8. I left home, became a nurse and got quite far with my nursing, got quite a few diplomas. And my sisters were left with the brunt of it.

Funnily enough my parents moved into a retirement village about 15 years ago and they met up with a lot of wartime cronies and he became a member of the moths and this drew him out of himself. He's very popular, the ladies like him as he's a very good looking man and youthful for his age. Probably the brandy's kept him looking young and his bicycle - we never had a car. He only had one secure job and that was with the post office in latter years, but before that it was always sheltered employment. I think he was a mental wreck, after the war. And I think he had a big chip on his shoulder because he wanted to remain in the army but they boarded him and so he felt he was kicked out - and I think it was this chip on his shoulder that started the drinking. My mum was a very independent lady, she always worked. We had a maid who stuck with us for years, then when he worked for the PO my mum stopped working as he seemed to earn enough for them to retire on. But there was never much love between any of us, we grew up... it was a constant fight... my sisters and I used to fight like anything especially my middle sister and me, we fought like cat and dog.

I: So you didn't support and comfort each other?

T: No, no, we couldn't.

I: Like a lack of communication almost?

T: Ja it did a lot of harm to the family, it was sort of survival... of the fittest... to sort of keep ourselves going. I used to go home on my weekends off but it was always the same. It never changed. Until they moved into this retirement home. You know my dad had no hobbies so he'd just sit and stare into space. But when they moved into this retirement village it was like chalk and cheese. He got involved in the garden - he's actually a very good gardener - fixed things for other people - a very capable person. All these things that we didn't know all came out. But he was a bit mean with his money. My mom always used to complain that he never gave her money to buy new clothes and that sort of thing.

I: And were you able to talk to your mother about his behaviour?

T: No, my mum didn't like talking about ANYTHING.

I: She didn't? So she almost covered up?

T: Yes, she did.

I: So what happened to all those emotions that were inside you?

T: Ugh, I think I was an emotional wreck. We all... we all were. My younger sister suffers from depression. Um, she ended up having a major nervous breakdown in the early years of her marriage and she's been on anti-depressant tablets ever since. My middle sister's been to hypnotists, has a traumatic marriage - she's married to an alcoholic and has 3 kids.

I: She was the one who took care of him - so she learnt that kind of behaviour - caring for an alcoholic, and marrying an alcoholic was an attempt to repair or put right that relationship.

T: Absolutely. And she's tried to leave him a couple of times but always gone back. I have also seen several psychologists. I worked in a psychiatric hospital, and a lot of things became clear to me there, and I had more understanding of my dad's problem. Nevertheless I had a wrecked childhood. It wasn't a childhood, you know.

I: All the experimentation, spontaneity of childhood was lost to you because you were involved in survival?

T: That's right. And it's left its mark on me. I wanted to put things right with my mother before she died because we weren't close, and I hardly ever phoned her. It was almost like I was punishing her for not loving me, as it were.

I: Throughout your childhood?

T: Throughout my childhood.

I: And yet you protected her?

T: Well yes I did. I suppose I must have loved her as a child. She was the person I loved and I realised she must have loved us, she worked hard enough to keep the wolf from the door, and we went on the odd holiday and she stuck with my dad which was admirable. I don't know how different it would have been if she'd divorced my dad, whether our lives would have been happier, any more secure. I don't know. I don't know how much damage you do to kids when you stay in a situation like that. To be able to talk to you and not burst into tears is amazing. I couldn't talk to people about it before and I'm a very emotional person, I will cry at the turn of a hat, you know, very easily. And I'm just realising, hey, I'm not crying.

But I felt sorry for her and I wanted to protect her. I suppose I cared for her but it wasn't the kind of mother-daughter relationship I would have liked to have had, like I've got with my own daughters. I'm here for my kids and get involved with my children, whereas I never discussed my problems with my mother, she didn't understand them. Some things she didn't like discussing. She'd say don't bring up the past, forget about the past, what's the matter with you why do you keep raking up the past. Before she died I tried to talk to her and I think I was able to prepare my dad for her death - and she STILL wouldn't talk about it, about how she felt - anyway that makes me cry.

I: Was it a kind of stiff upper lip or was she very hurt?

T: My mum also came from a very unloving home. She was born in England, and her mother hated this country especially the Afrikaners, and was unaffectionate except to her dogs, and my mother too wasn't a very demonstrative person, she never ever hugged me and said I love you. She never did that (cries) Though she was a sensitive emotional person. Thank heavens that I married the person I did, because if I had married the wrong person, I don't know what would have happened to me. Cause my husband's been very supportive of me. I've had to work through a lot of things and deal with my own shortcomings.

I: Would you say you need a stable predictable person in comparison with your father?

T: Oh yes.

I: Do you ever remember in those days actually choosing a man who was stable predictable and loving?

T: Ja, that's an interesting question, that. When I was at the nurses home I went out with lots of guys, even two doctors, both of whom tried to seduce me at one stage but didn't succeed. And I often think about that. I was very vulnerable and quite seducible, but I didn't give in to them. But from the moment I was introduced to my future husband I knew I was going to marry him. I was 19 but I had no doubts about it. And we've had 5 children. Ja, he's a very stable person. He's not a very sentimental person, he's very down to earth which sometimes aggravates me because he's not a feeling person and I am, so we sometimes come to blows because of that. But when I look back I know that he was the right person for ME.

I: There's a constancy there that you didn't have with your father?

T: No. Two very different people. In fact my husband used to challenge my dad and ask him why - my dad's got the most bizarre ideas and ways of thinking about things - and he'd challenge him to think about what he was saying, his ideas and make him think. But it was almost as if he was incapable of thinking too hard about things. I think my mum protected him in a way. They had a TV but I don't think they ever bought the newspaper, so he wasn't very informed about worldly things. So he formulated all his own ideas, quite horrific some of them. I think I've forgiven him but it hasn't endeared him to me. I don't phone home which makes me feel guilty.

I: You said you were emotional but couldn't express those emotions to your mother. Where do you think those emotions went or did you just bury them?

T: I just buried them. I tried to unburden them to someone I could trust - a good friend. I would just tell them I had an unhappy childhood - you know, a little bit

of it, not the whole thing. When I met my husband I was very young so I was able to unburden a lot of it onto him. He knew everything about it, which helped. But as I grew older and my kids grew up I think I needed extra help because I was always crying. I was always tearful when I talked about myself.

I: Yes, because you'd had to put a lid on it for so long. Did you control it while you were young?

T: When I was a little girl yes. And I always regretted the fact that I never finished my schooling, and never told anybody. Sometimes I would lie on the application form. So it's always been a shame that I've got that I never finished, but at the same time I went far without it.

I: Was that leaving because of your father's drinking?

T: Oh yes, I just couldn't stand it any more, and I left home. I went home one weekend and he just about murdered me. Sat on top of me and bashed my head on the floor, stuck his fist through the door to get at me because I'd tried to help my mother.

I: That must have been terribly painful for you.

T: Ja it was (cries) and ... now if somebody hurts me in any way, I cut them out of my life. I divorce myself from them instantly. I don't contact them. Even if it was my best friend, they're out. It's almost as if I'm punishing them.

I: You lose trust in them totally?

T: Totally.

I: They say that comes from the family situation - because you can't trust your father's behaviour from one day to the next and you can't talk to your mother about it - so because there's all this denial going on and unpredictability, you lose trust totally.

T: Ja. You know my husband was always the stronger one and I always depended on him. I always felt that he was like a second arm. But when I started seeing the psychologist, I became more assertive, quite aggressive, and we have more arguments now than we've ever done because I stand up for myself.

I: So you went through a period of not standing up for yourself?

T: Yes, I did and he always had the last say. But now I challenge and confront him.

I: Perhaps your mother modelled submissiveness and non-assertiveness?

T: She tried to avoid conflict at all costs. You know even now I take on the protective role. People often come to me with problems and I think it's something that I've always had even when I was at home. That I had to protect my mother. And she never went to doctors. I had to force her to do that. She'd even phone me for medical advice instead of going. So that question you asked whether she was submissive - I think she respected his violence, she didn't go looking for it. She tried to avoid it but it was unavoidable cause he was just like that.

I: So perhaps also the fact that his anger was so explosive made you fear anger?

T: I think so. I think so because I was always very frightened of people in authority. I grew up in a very authoritarian environment, my dad and mom were very strict with us anyway. We weren't allowed to go out at night. It was very strange because if I went out to the shop my dad would want to know who was in the shop, who did I speak to - it was almost as if.....

I: He was guilty about his behaviour?

T: I don't know. And then when I went into the hospital I had very authoritarian figures, matron, doctors, senior nurses. I was in awe of them and respected them. In those days you had the battle-axe-sister, so you never spoke unless you were spoken to. And even now if I go into a hospital I have that same sort of fear.

I: Fear that they might be angry or critical of you?

T: Ja.

I: So you have to control your own behaviour so you don't attract that critical anger?

T: Absolutely.

I: So that in itself would have prevented you from being assertive.

T: Yes, yes. I was a very good nurse, and got good reports. So, ja. I often wonder

way to prove to me that it won't, he really has.

I: That you can trust him.

T: But we've had a good marriage. I don't think my kids have ever doubted that their parents weren't happily married. We didn't burden them with any problems that we may have had.

Break in taping...

T: In some ways I was frightened of him. But I think I would have given my life for my mother because at that stage, I think physically I was the stronger one. Mentally or psychologically I think my sister had a soothing effect on him, whereas I just wanted to get in between him and my mother. I remember once nearly killing him with a long cardboard tube that was standing against the wall. Something had been inside it, I can't remember what it was. But he was getting violent and I knew I had to do something. There was also a poker in the room and I remember thinking if I hit him with that I'll kill him, so I didn't go for the poker but for the cardboard, but it was hard enough to stun him and it bent in half. And I've always remembered that and I've always thought I could have killed him. He became violent after he'd drunk. After drinking he'd collapse on his bed and you didn't dare make a noise cause he'd wake up, and then he'd be terrible, terrible, uncontrollable. The drink put him to sleep and then we'd tiptoe around trying not to wake him up. Every weekend it was the same.

I: Ever so violent your mum was hurt physically?

T: No, no. But it seemed as if I was always the one that copped it. I don't remember him beating her black and blue, or any physical harm done to her, or a black eye, I think I always got in between and somehow it didn't get too far and he didn't beat me up till I was black and blue either it seemed to stop at a certain point.

But there was always the threat that it might. I think at that point he didn't know what he was doing it was just... he hated disrespect and you didn't dare challenge him or.... It was strange because at one stage I must have become sexually aware because I remember one day standing by the stove and I was stirring some porridge, and my body was moving with the stirring and he was looking at me in a very lecherous way, and then he picked up his hand and made the same movements, you know, and it revolted me, you know and I remember thinking that, and couldn't understand why he was doing that and wondered, what was it. Thinking about it today I could surmise. My sister said that he had exposed himself to her and the maid one day. He never did anything like that to me and that was the only time I felt that anything like that could have happened.

I: Well that's all thank you for sharing that confidential info with me, I hope it wasn't too painful.

T: No, I need to talk frankly about it and I'd like to read your thesis one day.

Break in taping...

T: My mother was always a very private person. She didn't have many friends. She never was able to share anything with anybody, She was a strange person, she wasn't a warm person. She had bowling friends but didn't visit or confide in them. She would confide in me. I mean we knew what was going on and so we'd question her about it, so she didn't have to hide anything from us. But she never spoke about her life with other people. She never unburdened herself to anybody, and went to her grave a very embittered, unhappy woman, who felt she'd been deprived of a hell of a lot. She was a very hard, very cold woman, painfully independent. It drove me nuts. Wouldn't accept anything.

APPENDIX B
PROJECTIVE STORIES

PROJECTED STORIES

VIVIAN

Story 1

I suppose you could say that my first lesson in sexual relationships was a shock - enough to make me wary of such relationships even now, twenty-years later. I was twelve at the time when I saw my mother rape her husband (not my father, for he had left years before) with the aid of our maid, Edna. To witness such an act was bad enough for a young, reasonably innocent child - at the time, I didn't even have a name for the act I witnessed. What scared me was the look of determined power on my mother's face; and the lecherous look of delight on Edna's. Was this then, I asked myself, and continue to ask myself even now, what a sexual relationship did to women? In consummating such a relationship, did they become the opposite of what the world saw them as? Paula my mother, the doyen of dozens of committees and women's groups, a hard selfish virago, determined to sate her needs at whatever cost? And Edna, our loyal maid, famous for her cooking - was this the real her, or was she the sexual voyeur I saw her as, delighting in a sexual power she could not have? I still don't know the answers I only know that I don't love my mother, and haven't since that day; that I don't trust myself enough to establish any sort of relationship with a man; and that my shadow on the carpet as I watched that day is symbolic of how I have grown up, a flat, insubstantial, nothing of a woman.

Story 2

Deborah loves him when he's there - her husband that is. And when he's not there, she's nothing - trapped in the sarcophagus of her role as wife in a society geared to men. She's tried to walk away, but only succeeded in finding temporary refuge in the arms of another man. So she returned to John, to the limitations of a relationship which satisfied her sexually and subjugated her as a woman. Even the awareness of her position could not free her. And so she stays with him, his demands, her relief; his power, her coffin, the death of herself. And all she can do is turn her back on what she knows is the truth, and accept from him, that which he is prepared to give her: his sex in exchange for her womanhood. It's a poor bargain.

LEANNE

Story 1

Paula is my mother. She endured years of physical and emotional battering from my father who systematically broke her spirit and undermined her confidence. He diminished her sense of self and destroyed her ego. But he could not kill her deep dark anger.

My father had an obsession with Punch and Judy. The stage would be set up in the lounge on Sundays and we children would look forward to an afternoon of fun family entertainment. Yes! Watch Punch beat up Judy!(again). The struggle between Punch and Judy was, in those early days, usually comical and I would especially enjoy those occasions (when father was in a good mood) where Judy was allowed to beat up Punch. My brother would protest that it wasn't right for a girl to beat up a boy. It didn't happen like that in REAL life, he would say. I would clutch my sides and tears of mirth would stream down my cheeks. I think my laughter was tinged with an uncontrollable hysteria.

These shows changed subtly over time. The stage was eventually moved into my parents room. Our maid Joan had to assume the role of Judy whilst my father continued to play Punch. Punch became increasingly aggressive and brutal and my mother and I (I was the oldest child and next in line for whatever punishment he decided should be meted out to females) were forced to watch these obscene shows. She felt immobilised and powerless to stop what was happening. Although she never expressed, or perhaps was even unaware of (or afraid of?) her anger, I always knew it was there. By osmosis I absorbed my mother's anger. Her anger became mine. I became the vessel into which all those dark and violent emotion was spilled. I became the container of my mother's pain and anger and all of their madness. I grew up to hate and fear my father. But I felt guilty about hating him. After all, my mother loved him. She must have because she stayed, I reasoned. And sometimes she smiled. And she cooked him lovely meals - even though he sometimes smashed them against the wall. And they had two more children - she told me that babies were the product of two people who loved each other. These mixed messages confused and angered me. And that angry girl grew up and became an angry woman.

In my adolescence, the Punch and Judy shows began to be flavoured with subtle sexual violence. And then one night Punch raped Judy. That night my father raped my mother. I was in my bedroom. He had been drinking. I heard my mother

pleading, saying: No, John, please don't - you'll wake up the children. He took her to another room. I thought he had beaten her, but years later I asked her about it. She told me, with a shrug of her shoulders, that it was for sex. She did not use the word rape. The next day, he bought her a red rose - a panacea. She was supposed to feel better. He needed to feel better. He needed to be forgiven.

So now, I put myself back in that girl's shoes. She now knows why she is so angry and bitter. She has not forgiven and in her imagination she goes back to that room. She controls and manipulates the strings and she watches in triumph as Judy destroys Punch. She stands above them as the omnipotent goddess who protects all females from violence and abuse. This, however, does not appease her immediate and more direct anger with her father. She has vicariously over the years absorbed her mother's anger. Now, she gives it back to her. Her mother becomes angry and powerful and has the strength to do what needs to be done, for herself, for Joan, for me and for all abused women. With no visible signs to each other, Joan and my mother move, puppet-like to the bed. And I pull the strings that make them hold him down and strip him. And I realise that she has never forgiven. I watch in grim and quiet satisfaction whilst my mother, of her own volition and needing no further direction from me, cuts out his tongue so that he can silence her no more. And then weeping for all the collective anger and hurt that she and others have endured, she cuts off his penis.

Whilst he lay there mutely and wetly bleeding she and Joan waited in silent embrace for him to die. They crossed the room, ignoring me and slowly and finally drew the curtains of the stage. I wanted to be part of that warm embrace. I wanted to celebrate with them their new-found power and freedom. But I then realised dully that I had given all my power and my anger to my mother. The carapace was no longer there. Then the soft voices in my head became more insistent. The women clamoured and screamed out for attention and vengeance. And the men started a counter-cry - a deep throated resonant animal roar of - fuck 'em, screw 'em, rape, batter and abuse 'em, mutilate their genitals, sew 'em up, put 'em in chastity belts, deprive them of economic, political and social power, impregnate 'em, control their bodies, keep 'em in their place, silence them, snuff 'em.

I tore myself away from my reverie and quickly silenced the voices.

Story 2

Deborah grew up in a puritannical home where sex was never discussed. She would watch dogs mating in the garden, her eyes bright and cheeks flushed. These furtive spyings would be brought to an abrupt halt as the animals were torn apart by a sharp jet of cold water from the garden hose. Her father would stamp his feet and scream abuse at the offending animals.

Her parents used to rest on a hot summer afternoon. One day she spied through a crack in the curtain. Her father was sleeping with his leg thrown possessively over her mother's body. She could see his genitals. And suddenly an aeroplane swooped low and loud over the house, momentarily darkening the sky. Deborah felt a sense of impending doom and fled and hid in her sanctuary at the bottom of the garden. She learnt that sex was bad and dirty. She was ashamed of her own inchoate sexuality. She watched her body swell and become fecund. She and a girlfriend experimented furtively and silently. They never spoke about it. Deborah felt like a bad person. She didn't want boys to touch her body. She was afraid of what might happen.

She met Gerald. She thought she loved him. She thought he might save her. Deborah's body wanted him but something in her head would not allow it. She had vaginismus. One night Gerald told her she was no longer a virgin. There were no lights in her head, no stars, no music. She did not have orgasms but she became a good actress. Sex was something that happened to her body. She did not become an active participant. But sometimes she would lie in cold bath water to try and cool her hot, unsatisfied body. Deborah became promiscuous. She was searching for something - she never found it. She often chose men who used and abused her body. They confirmed that she was a bad person. Then one of the men raped her. She believed she deserved it - she didn't call it rape. She stopped her search. She became angry and withdrawn. One night Gerald asked her to put on black stockings. She felt uncomfortable but did not want to seem prudish or that he would see her as sexually boring or unadventurous. He tore away the stockings with his hands so that he could penetrate her. It took her a long time to articulate what she felt had happened. She felt she had been symbolically raped. She knew Gerald would be hurt by this so she kept silent. But her anger grew. Deborah locked herself into her safe cocoon of silent anger. She felt her body was not a thing to be trusted.

Deborah listens to other women tell their stories. She learns to listen to her body.

ANNE

Story 1

Why can't we be like other families? Why can't my mummy and daddy be like other parents? Every day it is the same. Instead of my daddy getting up and going to work like other fathers, he only gets home just before I go to school. He shouts and screams at us and sometimes even hits us. On days like today he gets all sick and then mummy and Sabrina, the maid, have to undress him and clean him and put him to bed. Mummy doesn't cry anymore. She used to cry all the time. Now she is just cross. She shouts and tells daddy he is useless. And Sabrina laughs at us. I know she is laughing inside by the look on her face. I think she is glad that there is something wrong. I heard her tell the cook that it's a good thing mummy has so much money, but that at this rate we'll be in the poorhouse before long. I feel very frightened because I don't understand. I think my dad is going to die, but mummy doesn't talk to me because she doesn't want to upset me. I wish she would because I really feel so alone. I think that mummy would be happy if daddy was dead.

Story 2

Deborah is probably envied by her friends and acquaintances - doting husband, beautiful children, mansion for a home and all the material trappings of a northern suburbs society wife. Who wouldn't envy her - overseas holidays, a month away every year at their beach cottage and you can't believe the clothes and jewellery. Everything anyone could dream of and just lately she has become a real misery. She doesn't go to gym anymore and has given up bridge and tennis. It's all since they had their garden redone. Now she is forever mooning around over some plant or other. Spends all her time drifting around the garden. She doesn't seem to do any gardening mind you, only supervising the new gardener. He's one of those really cheeky young men. Very familiar, but quite attractive if he wasn't so low class. Good heavens, my dear, I mean ... do you think ... I mean we all fancy having a young virile thing around, but ... she couldn't possibly ..?

THE FAMILY

Paula is the strong one. I prefer to see the man as my father, and my mother above him is the submissive one and I'm telling her what to do. I'm the strong one -dealing with my father. They all seem to be looking at me and the expression on my face is very sure and I'm giving the orders. Making him sit still. I've sort of seen myself in that situation often in my career, where I'm the one who takes control, is in charge, who knows how to handle this person. I'm controlling everyone here, soothing them, keeping them calm. It could be me looking after a sick man in hospital. My sister is quite happy to leave it to me.

The room has dreary old furniture, like our house. It was always dark and uninspiring and depressing, especially at night.

(The participant was very unmotivated to write this story, but finally agreed to it being audiotaped and transcribed by me. I thus did not insist on her doing the second projected story).

APPENDIX C

NUMERICAL THEME SYNOPSES

THE THEME OF THE EXPERIENCE OF THE ALCOHOLIC HOME

Vivian

Those post-war fathers did drink(3,1)

My father was very emotional(1,1)

He was a very undemonstrative man. Emotional - ranting and raving - but undemonstrative in the way of showing affection(1,1)

I was brought up in a home where we blew our tops. My husband was shattered when he first came into our home. He couldn't believe that people could shout at each other and then be friends at the next moment (1,2)

I can remember them once having a terrible fight, she threw a plate at him. I was about 14 and I remember running up to my room crying, and I said to him "I don't know why you two stay together" and he said "you're old enough to know the reason why we stay together. Your mother and I are very happy together". I think there was a very strong sexual attraction there. He was a goodlooking man(4,2)

I certainly didn't respect him when I was in my late teens. In fact we fought like cat and dog during that time. He was in the ascendancy. He had it made with 3 daughters in the house. Three daughters and a wife and a mother-in-law who ran round him like... and who tolerated it(4,1)

(Q: Did his drinking control the whole house?) Ja, not during the day, but at night. He'd come in and have his 2 drinks and after supper he'd drink again. But I remember it more when there were visitors, which was often and then he often drank too much. On a couple of times there was explosive anger. But it was more him and me than my mom and he(4,1)

(Q: So you told him this was not on?) I suppose in a way I did. Because he got aggressive. Never abusive towards me. But he'd pick an argument. And we were poles apart politically. We'd sit at the dinner table and we'd slang each other, ja. With my mom trying to sort of... pacify. I got the aggression from him. He'd belittle me. I wasn't allowed to have an opinion. When he'd had too much to drink, I was a threat to him. It was sort of false courage. (Q: Insecurity on his part?) Ja and I think he's still insecure (4,1)

The dinner table was a tense time for me. We used to eat and bugger off, and often the atmosphere was tense when I was growing up because that was where the arguments were. He'd had his 2 or 3 drinks before supper and he complained a lot about the food. That's something I've changed consciously in my marriage.

I had no time for him because he attacked me. He'd say "just because you've had a tertiary education doesn't entitle you to express opinions, I know as much as you do"(4,1)

I disagreed with what he was doing, disagreed with his opinions which I thought were ill-based and totally illogical. Arbitrary and without any kind of basis. It used to irritate me. He's not a well educated man(4,1)

He lost jobs because of his aggression(4,1)

He didn't like being challenged. He could suppress his dislike of this until he'd been drinking and then he couldn't after that(4,1)

(Q: After the pub would he cause arguments at home?) I don't know. Either I was asleep or I wasn't taking any damn notice. No, I had my own room and I used to shut the door. In a way I suppose I'd just retreat and cut myself off. Talking about coming home from the pub, I think he was worse when I was very young because I can remember my mum talking in a sort of joking manner about not knowing when he was coming home for supper. Ja, I remember once he had a car smash, and she was quite worried about him. I only know because he's got a scar

on his head, and when I asked her she said he'd been out with the boys drinking and this had happened(4,1)

We also had lots of people in our house who drank a lot, his cronies. I actually thought that adults partied all the time. I can remember as a very small child lying in bed, awake and there'd be a rip-roarer going on in the lounge, I was probably about 5 or 6 (4,2)

My mum was very funloving. She wasn't a doormat. (Q: So she didn't let the drinking get to her?) I don't think she did. I think she simply accepted that he'd come back from the war like that. Those women just had to carry on (during the war). I think they just accepted drinking after the war(4,3)

I accepted it as the status quo. I actually thought men drank a lot and when I first went to varsity I went out with guys who drank a lot(4,2)

As kids we didn't know where we were going to be. By standard 7 I'd been in 6 or 7 schools, because he moved. It's a wonder I had any academic ability at all. He hated being a printer. I was a helluva independent child, because of changing schools. I did my own thing(4,2)

The drinking was always more important than we were(4,1)

I don't think I ever respected him. Never(4,1)

Very often there wasn't any dignity, especially if he was drinking too much(4,1)

I don't hate him but I don't like him. I think he's a selfish man. I think he made my mother's life miserable. He was horrible to her(4,1)

I think most of the kids I went around with at school were in much the same boat. I had a boyfriend whose father drank and I talked to him about it and we joked about it. We'd wonder whose house to go to on Sunday night - whose father was going to be smashed(4,1)

Despite the fact that it was a sort of very temperamental home, they gave us a very solid basis. I suppose there were certain things I looked at and then thought "well I'm not going to do that" within a marriage, and learnt from that(1,2)

My mother was a peacemaker. I was very determined I was not going to be a peacemaker. I was going to do my own thing(1,3)

My mother was a secretary, she left school in std 8, but she was a coper - she worked an 8 to 5 job. They were incredibly gregarious, our house was always full of people, finances were always tight and she managed to feed these ravening hordes and always be gracious and friendly and made all our clothes and she was a coping woman(1,3)

I don't think she could have been anything else given the circumstances in which that generation grew up. They were half educated. They were programmed to think that the be-all and end-all of life was marriage, husband and family. What else could she have been? And I think she was a very strong woman. But I didn't want to end up in the same boat. She couldn't have controlled my father more. She defused situations. I don't know how, but she did. If he'd married less of a peacemaker that marriage wouldn't have stood a hope(2,2)

I don't know if my father admired her, he took her pretty much for granted. He never lifted a finger in the kitchen or cleaning or looking after kids(1,1)

I wasn't close to my sisters. I suppose we must have talked about the drinking but I don't remember it. I had my own room(4,2)

I took responsibility for my sisters and everything. I think I was forced to in many ways because I was the oldest, and the trendsetter in a way. I used to take the first steps. When we went to socials, they were my responsibility. We were given strict deadlines and I remember one night we were late and he was waiting for us. And he grabbed me as I went in, my sister ran upstairs and I think he belted me. I'm not sure, he might not have. And I remember shouting "but what about my sister" and he said "you were responsible, she wouldn't have stayed out if you hadn't"(4,2)

I think I must have been a teacher's dream. I always did what I had to do. I was responsible for getting A's and playing hockey, being a prefect and housecaptain - it was expected so I did it. (Q: You lost out on experimentation, exploration and that time of innocence, you were a parentified child?) Yes, yes(4,2)

Leanne

- # My parents let me down. I think I loved my father and he let me down(1,1)
- # I grew up in a home where my father was very autocratic, very aggressive, and there was violence in the home. My father used to shout and scream and upend tables. I mean I repeatedly had food flung in my face at the other end of the table or smashed against the wall. And he was into corporal punishment and my mother took it all. That's part of the reason why I'm angry. She was always compliant, always sweet, always nice to him. I can remember he used to go to the club before he came home at night, and the house had to be quickly cleaned and homework put away because dad was coming home now. And he got the nicest portions of food...whereas we got sausages and mash, he'd have T-bone steak, that sort of thing. So there was a lot of violence and psychological abuse as well. My mother told me he once tried to shoot her. He was incredibly jealous, incredibly possessive...he'd accuse her of all kinds of things. And then when I became an adolescent he started doing the same to me...he was very suspicious. I can remember sitting in the car going on drives with them, and my father would watch me and if there were boys walking by he would say "stop ogling". Ja, it was a fuck up, it really was(1,1)
- # There was a lot of name calling. He used to call me a bombastic bitch, and names deriding my body. Do you remember the comic strips 'Baby Huey and Little Lotto'? Those were nicknames because I was overweight - though looking back at photographs I don't think I was. So I grew up with and still do have a very poor body image(1,1)
- # From about the age of 2, I just cut off totally. I mean I can remember my father hitting me and I would never give him the satisfaction of seeing me cry. I hated him, I hated him, but I would never. And that used to make him so angry, it made him feel powerless. Um, but it was important for survival that I cut off, because I know that I was hurt, I know that I was abused. Definitely emotionally abused, we're not sure about sexual abuse. Ja, I know that my father did claim some ownership over my body...but I can't get in touch with that. I don't know if he was or not. When I first had sex in my twenties, I discovered I wasn't a virgin and I had vaginismus for months. And there have been flashbacks but they were so vague. Just a sense of being overpowered and overwhelmed, but who knows whether they...or what they were from(1,1)
- # My father was an extremely taciturn, moody oppressive person and quite complicated as well(2,1)
- # My father was always drunk(2,1)
- # His drunk self was just an exaggeration of his sober self. He's a very intense person, very embittered, an absolute patriarch. His children were his belongings and his wife was definitely his belonging. Um, but very morose, uncommunicative and oppressive. When he was drunk I just had a stronger sense of that. Also a very violent man. I think he was violent even when he was sober, but worse when he was drunk(3,1)
- # The drinking in my father wasn't discussed and it was almost as though it happened in every other home(3,2)
- # (Q: Did you ever talk to him about it, try to prevent it?) Jesus, no. I'm terrified of my father. Absolutely terrified of him(3,1)
- # My father had absolute control(3,1)
- # When he got really angry he would, anytime of the night, get into his car and scream off. And we never knew when he was going to come back or if he was going to come back for that matter. That led to my later feeling abandoned by my husband if he did the same thing(3,1)
- # When my son was born it was a difficult birth and my mother heard and pitched up in the labour room and said to doctors "I'm her mother, I'm entitled to be here". She was at the working end as a spectator, an observer, I felt. It was a really messy birth since there'd been no time for an enema. For years I didn't think about this and then I started getting really angry because for me it was

symbolic of what my mother had done to me as a child...that she was the observer. She didn't actually step in and help and protect and nurture. She was just there as the observer while other people were doing things to me(1,3)

I'm angry with my father and with my mother to a lesser extent for not stepping in(1,3)

I don't have a good relationship with my mother, it's very stilted when we get together(2,3)

Apparently he was a very possessive man who would accuse her of all sorts of things that she hadn't done, and I believe she was always faithful to him and he would accuse her of having affairs with other men. And one night when I was about six he tried to shoot her - did shoot her but missed. And one night he tried to strangle her and that was while he was drunk(2,1)

My mother was a role model(3,3)

My mother only said things were bad after they got divorced, 3 years ago. I don't think it was ever spoken about at home(3,3)

I can remember from early adolescence when I became aware that my father was drinking because he'd go to his club every night and come home drunk having had god knows how many beers and we would be at home - 4 kids - doing our homework, kind of scattered over the lounge floor and my mother would be reading the newspaper and then the lights would come down the drive and there'd be this mad panic as she would say "come on put everything away, tidy away quickly, your father doesn't like untidiness". And there'd be this mad panic to do that and one never knew in what kind of mood he'd come in. Very unpredictable. Sometimes he'd come in happy but most times he'd come in morose and in a foul mood. It was most unpleasant. It was oppressive. The constant fear, you know, is he going to pick on me tonight or am I going to be lucky enough to escape it and it'll be one of my brothers or my sister or my mother?(2,2)

One incident I do recall when he was drunk was my father sitting at the diningroom table and my brothers were squabbling and he lost his temper and upended the table, plates and all, so that all the plates and everything fell into my lap. And another incident was when he picked up plates of food and threw them against the wall. So I mean I have a lot of body issues and food issues which I know revolve around those things as well. Sitting around the diningroom table was always an unpleasant experience. Today we don't sit around the diningroom table. I feel really uncomfortable, really uncomfortable(there) (2,2)

My mother did collude in a way, but it was out of her own needs, and I can understand that it was a matter of survival(2,3)

(Q: Were you quite a parentified child, very responsible?) Yes. My mother worked and she said I protected my brothers and sister and when my youngest brother was born at home I shepherded the children out of the room and that sort of thing. (Q: Did you protect them when there were scenes in the house?) I don't think so. You see a lot of my father's wrath was against my mother and me. So in terms of protecting siblings, I think I was more concerned about myself back then. I can remember an occasion when my brothers were fighting with each other and my father got out the boxing gloves and made them put them on and made them fight each other. We all had to sit and watch. And I was really torn because I didn't want this to happen, I didn't like what was happening but couldn't go anything about it and I didn't know which one I wanted to win. So I don't remember protecting them(2,4)

(Q: Could you talk about it amongst yourselves?) No, I can't remember ever doing so. It was just taken for granted that this was the way we lived, the way all families operated. You see I actually feel that I don't have anything in common with my siblings. I don't seek them out(2,4)

My father came from an environment where women were not to be trusted. Women were bitches, whores and he projected that onto my mother and me. When I started becoming sexually aware he started watching me through the rear view mirror(2,1)

Anne

There were lots and lots of parties when I was very young in CT, with ex-servicemen. But I don't remember being conscious of him being drunk until I was about 12(3,2)

The parties were noisy. They used to sing songs and read poetry. We just went to sleep (Q:What changed for you then?)He embarrassed me.I don't know whether their marriage changed - whether they became more aggressive with each other(3,2)

I thought that's how everybody was(3,2)

I'm worried about my childhood that I can't remember anything. You know my experience of men, my uncle and everyone, was of men that drank(3,2)

I'm trying to think of any man that didn't drink. No I can't think of any. And they didn't just drink beer either. It was spirits,brandy mostly(3,2)

I grew up with men drinking - when they had parties they all got drunk, and the women didn't. And they got pathetic...jumping off mantelpieces and singing songs and daddy always used to sing 'Hale Caledonia',he called it his song of hatred(3,2)

My father was never demonstrative. He was actually quite thick too,and often didn't twig women's things(1,1)

I don't think I ever had any respect for him.Affection yes,but not respect(1,1)

(Q:Did you ever try to reason with him about the drinking,to stop it?) No. Only one night I think he'd had too much to drink. I think it was the early hours of the morning and there was some row with my gran going on because she'd been brushing the stairs and woke him and he was in an absolute fury and my sister shouted to him to leave granny alone and he came tearing into our bedroom and started thumping my sister. That's the only time I've ever seen him do that. And I ended up getting a thumping because I shouted at him. I actually told him I hated him. And then I didn't talk to him for a long time. Yes that was actually a torrid time, I remember it now, I must have been about 16 or 17. I hated him for being unreasonable and for hitting my sister. For being unreasonable with my gran mostly and being aggressive.(Q:Was there often a feeling of hating him?) Ja,ja,a childish sort of unreasonable kind of...(Q:Disappointment?) I think it was disappointment as much as anything. He was quite strict about rules,about coming home times,places we were allowed to go and all that,but I don't feel resentment about that - I just don't think I liked him very much. I certainly didn't admire him(3,1)

My dad was more devoted to my mum than she was to him. But he was aggressive. He drank quite a lot(1,1)

My mother was very efficient and powerful(1,3)

My mother was definitely the stronger of the two(1,3)

I think my mother did deny and minimise my father's drinking. I think she was very loyal and I don't know what kind of marriage they had.My sisters both think she had affairs.But even if she was doing that I think she was very loyal to him(3,3)

I saw my mother as a peacemaker(3,3)

It suited her to have her mother around and I think her relationship with him was such that she couldn't give a stuff about how he felt about it(1,3)

I can't actually say I admired her. I loved her. But then my relationship with her,thinking about it, was actually quite shallow.While she told me stories about her mother and father just before I got married, as a child I can't remember her telling me those things. I'm still waiting for her to tell me how babies are made. You know we didn't have that sort of relationship. We didn't talk about anything...which may be why I don't talk about sex. We didn't never,ever(1,3)

I can remember they always had lots of friends around. And then one night I smashed a bottle of brandy against the wall because he was having a go at mommy about something - niggling about something. I was absolutely furious with him. I mean I think I was more furious with the bottle of brandy -if that's possible. I

can't remember many rows that were drink related but it wasn't a peaceful home because we had all those blooming grannies living with us and he and my mom used to bicker mostly about money. I suppose it was worse when he was drinking. And he used to go off to the hotel for a few spots. I don't remember that going on forever...it was for a period. He didn't have the money to do that. He drank at home(2,1)

He was very argumentative. He still gets like that after a drink. It makes him very aggressive. But he's more of an embarrassment than something to fear. Silly. And when he got potted everybody else used to think he was the life and soul of the party, when he was actually just a total embarrassment. He used to jump off the mantelpiece and play 'bok, bok', that sort of thing. But I'm not surprised that after the war they drank and were flighty and restless. Obviously with all those men together and the songs and everything, there was a great capacity for enjoyment, bonding and comradeship. That's why they needed the clubs and pub, to be with the guys, and why they had all those parties. And he had some really awful friends too. Alch'ies(2,2)

He used to do irritating things. If you were doing homework on the floor on your haunches he'd come past and give you a little kick and you'd say "dad!" and he'd come back and knock you right over. He was just being otherwise. I don't think he was being ugly. He just thought he was being bloody funny but he wasn't being funny at all. He was irritating. We didn't talk at all(2,2)

I didn't talk to anyone about the drinking. I think I saw it as normal, that everybody's father was like that. My sister would get very irritable and argue with him but it was actually easier not to(2,1)

I felt shame that he could be like that(2,2)

There was a fear round about puberty that my folks would get divorced(2,1)

When he was sober he was quite fun, running races with us and playing hockey and making up rhymes. I think he was probably quite a nice person(2,2)

You couldn't admire him because he was in and out of jobs all the time, so we didn't have security. He would never be happy anywhere. He's always been unsettled and ended up hating every place he was in. No you couldn't admire him. No because we didn't ever have much - we didn't have the sort of things that would make children admire parents(2,2)

My father wasn't affectionate, definitely not an affectionate person. I don't know if it was because of the way he was brought up or what. I only remember him hugging me once(2,2)

I don't think my mother and I ever really talked. I think my folks were both busy doing their own thing(2,3)

But although I don't look back on my childhood as absolutely wonderful I don't think of it as bad - we had our ballet and hockey lessons and new hockey sticks, etc. But it probably did affect me without me knowing about it(2,1)

If anything I feel sad for them because I feel they missed out. We obviously missed out too on not having a close relationship(2,1)

I think dinner was the only time we used to talk. It depended on if there was a granny there. If there was there was always tension. Dad didn't like one of them at all. But if they weren't then I suppose it was reasonably alright. It was sort of polite and he was very funny about table manners. There was tension if he was in a mood if he'd been potting. You know, he'd complain about the food. He also used to moan about people who made noises when they ate. I can remember having to stand for a week because I used to swing on my chair when I was about 10. It irritated him to death and so I stood in the kitchen. But we could actually have some nice times round the dinner table(2,1)

Tia

At about the age of 5 we moved to a block of flats in the city from a smallholding and we lived there for 8/10 years and one day he slapped my mother in her face. So everything was fine until we moved to the city. I even remember something about a gun and a big commotion about it. What he was going to do with it I didn't know. Thinking about it now I feared he might use it in the family, but at the time I didn't know. And that was the start. We moved to a bigger flat and I remember quite a bit of violence there. He was drinking in those days and then we moved to a house and that's when it got really bad. He used to bring home bottles of brandy every Friday. He was shellshocked during the war and suffered from PTSD which was probably the cause of it all. I remember a lot of violence in this house. He used to go for my mother. He'd finish the bottle of brandy on Friday night, sleep it off on Saturday, and then it put him in a foul mood on Sunday, nobody dared look at him. He had a total personality change. He went to TARA once for his violent behaviour(1,1)

Funnily enough of the two of them, he showed more affection than my mother did. She tended to be a little bit cold. But I think her life was spent trying to keep the wolf from the door, keeping the family going(1,3)

There was lots of stress in the family, lots of embarrassment too, you know. I remember once he got so violent we had to call the police out and he was taken to an institution. But just that once. He only drank over weekends, he didn't drink in between(1,1)

He wasn't violent when he was sober but we were always frightened of him. He would attack my mother and I would go to my mother's aid, and he'd climb into me(1,2)

I protected my mother. I can remember my little sister standing and screaming in absolute terror. My middle sister was the only one who could handle him. She would take him and put him on the bed - she was able to handle him. But I always felt that he hated me. I think because I stood up to him to defend my mother. He used to do disgusting things when he was drunk, you know. My middle sister said, I never saw it, but she said she exposed himself to her and the maid one day. So we grew up hating him, having no respect for him and often feeling disgusted by him(1,1)

My mother stuck with him all those years(1,3)

I left school in Std 8, at 17, I couldn't stand another day in that house and didn't even stay to get my matric. When I got my std 8, I was out(1,1)

I couldn't stand my father's drinking any more and I left home. I went home one weekend and he just about murdered me. Sat on top of me and bashed my head on the floor, stuck his fist through the door to get at me because I'd tried to help my mother(1,1)

We never had a car. He only had one secure job and that was with the post office in latter years, but before that it was always sheltered employment. I think he was a mental wreck, after the war. And I think he had a big chip on his shoulder because he wanted to remain in the army but they boarded him(1,2)

My mum was a very independent lady, she always worked, but when my father worked for the PO she stopped working(1,3)

There was never much love between any of us. We grew up... it was a constant fight... my sisters and I used to fight like anything especially my middle sister and me, we fought like cat and dog. We couldn't support each other. It did a lot of harm to the family. It was sort of survival of the fittest... to sort of keep ourselves going(1,1)

My mother didn't like talking about anything. (Q: Did she almost cover up?) Yes, she did(1,3)

I was an emotional wreck. I had a wrecked childhood. It wasn't a childhood you know. (Q: All the experimentation and spontaneity of childhood was lost to you because you were involved in survival?) That's right. And it's left its mark on me(1,1)

THE THEME OF FEMINIST CONTRADICTIONS SUCH AS DISEMPOWERMENT,
COMPLIANCY AND SELF-DENIAL

Vivian

Though I'm assertive in my job, I don't think I'm particularly assertive in my marriage, although I get my own way. But I'm quite happy with the dichotomy of the thing. Any assertiveness I have I can use at school. And my husband is much more rational than me. He's not a fighter, he's quiet (1,1)

Any assertiveness I've got I can use in my job. So it hasn't actually worried me. But when I say I'm not assertive, it's not that I'm not assertive, I get my own way most of the time. But I don't get it by assertiveness. I get it by more feminine wiles (Q: And you don't mind that?) No because that's how women were socialised to get their way. It doesn't worry me at all (1,1)

The difference between getting my own way and assertiveness in marriage is that I don't necessarily make my voice heard again and again and again. Whereas at school, if I'm fighting for some issue or something like that I will keep on and on about it. But in marriage I've found that I can get things in other ways. Sometimes by just keeping quiet. By just dropping a subtle hint here and there and then shutting up and letting it grow so that it's other people's idea. It's manipulative. I think I may have learnt it from my mother. I will, for example say something like "hell I'm sick of cooking" and then produce a meal. And then 3 days later say "jeeppers it was hot when I was cooking" or "look at me sweating over a hot stove" and then about five days later he'll say "why don't we go out to dinner". You see. Instead of saying "Oh, I want to go out to dinner tonight or...". I dare say if I went to him and said "I'm not cooking tonight, take me out", it would work. He'd take me out. But this way he's thought of it and it's a treat for me and it's a more pleasant evening out (3,1)

I have pushed more for his career than mine. It was only when the children got older that I felt I wanted more responsibility and then he encouraged me to go for it because he said I was capable of it and might get frustrated staying in the same job till I was 60 (1,2)

The private spaces in our home are his. I've never had a private space. I've always worked at the diningroom table. I still do, but there's a little room at the back which is going to be mine. My husband's very determined that will be my room. It's going to be called a sewing room, but I don't know how much sewing I'm going to do, but it's going to be mine (1,2)

At the start of our marriage I once slammed the car door and he called me a bitch which kind of flattened things out. (Q: Didn't you hate the way he'd labelled you a bitch and thereby disempowered you?) I've never felt that. I've always felt that he's more sensible than I am. I was being a total bitch (1,1)

(Q: Who mainly in your life made you feel you were overreacting?) Myself and a couple of times in my job I've been made to feel that by a headmaster because they're on a different emotional level. I think in some ways one does sublimate that working in a man's environment. One does sublimate the emotional reaction because if you're going to convince them about anything there's only one way you're going to do it. It's by going in and speaking their language to them. (Q: Women fitting into a man's world - a shame) Yes. The discourse is male (3,1)

(Q: Are you wary of showing the tiger in you?) Sometimes. I haven't only learnt that in my marriage but in my job as well. That there are times when it's actually better to keep your mouth shut. And it took me longer to learn that in my job. Now I have the certain knowledge that if I wait and react in a considered way I'm more likely to have impact. Control of myself is a power thing. I will control myself if I want to get my own way and I do it at school. A headmaster advised me to keep it quiet, controlled and to come in at the end when they've all had their say at management meetings, and you'll carry it. (Q: Do you resent that?) No, I don't resent that. No, let me correct that - it was a very spontaneous reply. Um... I think it sometimes irritates me. Um, but I think it's also something I've

learnt to live with because I'm dealing with them all the time and it's a very chauvinist atmosphere that I'm working in(1,1)
 # Can we just get rid of these(cigarettes).He doesn't like me smoking inside(1,1)
 # I realised I'd messed things up last time,when my husband arrived home and I put my cigarette out - it contradicted what I'd said. But actually he knows I smoke and he doesn't like it and I get such a lecture that it's not worth it. And as I said before - I don't look for hassles (3,1)
 # Feminist poets write poems about the fact that they've got two contradictory identities. Denise Levertov found this when her children were young - there are definitely two personas within this one poem - there's the sleeper which is the mother figure and then there's the one who escapes, to freedom - she identifies her with the sea and wind - and very often the poem ends without any resolution. I am a very different person at school to what I am at home. (Q:Do you think the contradictions are due to family ideology?) Definitely. Levertov thinks so too. She looks at the poet persona and says 'but she's not nice and kind and caring' - yet it seemed she actually wanted the acceptance of the good mother, good wife role - it was important to her - but at the same time she wanted to be a poet, she wanted her own life. (Q:Do you also find that?) Not that way. I just swap roles because I go out to work. She was at home (3,1)
 # (Q:If there are two of you, which is the real V?). I don't know. Sometimes it's the one and sometimes it's the other(3,1)
 # I think I would like to get out and become a little housewife who does the baking and all that sort of thing(3,1)
 # What scared me most was the look of determined power on my mother's face; and the lecherous look of delight on Edna's. Was this then, I asked myself, and continue to ask myself even now, what a sexual relationship did to women? In consummating such a relationship, did they become the opposite of what the world saw them as (S,2)
 # My shadow on the carpet as I watched that day is symbolic of how I have grown up - flat, insubstantial nothing of a woman (S,2)

Anne

With my husband travelling so much, in the beginning I used to be hyperefficient. If the vacuum cleaner broke, I fixed it. And although he moaned when he came back about it being broken, he responded better to the fact that the machine was broken than the fact that I'd fixed it. He didn't like me being hyperefficient. So it was easier not fixing something than having him with a dropped lip because I've done everything. (Q:But would you have preferred to fix it yourself?) Ja. (1,1)
 # Maybe being assertive in our situation is not the best thing because he's always been the stronger character. He had an absolute fit when he came back the last time and I had not painted the kitchen the colour I'd said I would. I think it was an authority thing. He didn't like that I had gone ahead and done something without his permission (1,1)
 # The study in our home is his. He's difficult because he was an only child and is very possessive about his things. His pen, his sticky tape, etc (1,1)
 # I don't think I do talk about emotions in my marriage. It's easier not to(1,1)
 # If he'd be upset he wouldn't listen to me if I talked about my emotions. If he's cross or distressed, he won't. He'll get aggressive or defensive. But then I'm not the type of person to deliberately cause trouble or hurt. I'm more careful to watch what I'm saying. You don't actually want to hurt somebody so you hold back. It's probably self-defence so you don't have to deal with the consequences of what you've done(1,1)
 # My mother's mother was domineering and I can't see it got them anywhere. My grandfather disappeared. And I don't think it did my mum much good either. And I'm a virgo, we're supposed to be doormats. And I was in the early years of my marriage. But I don't do things out of duty. I do things because I want to do

them. I havn't been a martyr(1,1)

Leanne

Women arn't allowed to be angry so those feelings arn't expressed. I can remember in the first month of marriage being so angry but I didn't feel I had the right to say it. I was really pissed off about his decision to go back to varsity alone instead of both of us, but went along with it because we couldn't afford it for both. So I buried all my anger in that I didn't articulate it in a vociferous way. But I did it in passive-aggressive ways -ja, I sulked, and that was the pattern for years. He repeatedly asked me what he'd done wrong but I refused to talk about it (1,1)

I didn't talk much about my emotions in marriage because men are often confused by women's emotions which comes out in things like "hysterical female, irrational, etc" (Q: Did that inability to talk about your emotions disempower you?) Absolutely(1,1)

When I express a judgement about someone and my husband gives the rational point of view, I don't know how to counter that. I know my body is telling me what I'm feeling is right, but I don't know how to act on that. My head is saying, well what he's saying actually makes sense, think twice. And that still happens now. I do kind of feel that I'm irrational(3,1)

I feel guilty when I feel angry (3,1)

In the beginning I had big sexual hangups and saw my body as simply something to be used. It was my duty and I would be labelled frigid, unloving or whatever, if I didn't oblige(1,1)

It doesn't make for happy living if you're a woman and you have control issues when men are supposed to have control. It's not conducive to happy homes(3,1)

My intuition is laughed at in my marriage. It's irrational. I think I found my intuition irrational as well. I'm only starting to listen to it now (1,1)

We can't talk about sex. And that comes more from my part than his. I don't want to talk about it(1,1)

I find it difficult dealing with my daughter's anger. I get quite afraid of it, I don't know how to deal with it. I think what frightens me about it is that she feels free enough to express it and to express it to me whereas that was a priviledge that I didn't ever have(3,2)

Sex was something that happened to her body. She did not become an active participant(S,1)

She often chose men who used and abused her body. They confirmed that she was a bad person. Then one of the men raped her. She believed she deserved it - she did not call it rape. One night her husband asked her to put on black stockings. She felt uncomfortable but did not want to seem prudish or sexually boring or unadventurous. He tore away the black stockings so that he could penetrate her. It took her a long time to articulate what she felt had happened. She felt she had been symbolically raped. She knew her husband would be hurt by this so she kept silent. She locked herself into a safe cocoon of silent anger. She felt her body was not a thing to be trusted (S,1)

Tia

I went through a period of not standing up for myself and he always had the last say. But now I challenge and confront him(1,1)

THE THEME OF ACA DENIAL OR AVOIDANCE OF FEELINGS, RESULTING IN NEEDS FOR SELF-CONTROL AND INTERPERSONAL CONTROL WHICH MAY FIND EXPRESSION IN MANIPULATION AND COERCION.

Vivian

In a way I suppose I'd just retreat and cut myself off. I had my own room and I used to shut the door(4,1)

(Q:Were there times when you felt quite hurt by your father's behaviour?) I suppose there must have been.(Q:Did you just repress it?) Ja. I was a mindless kugel (4,1)

I just didn't care. My boyfriend and I would wonder whose house to go to on Sunday night - whose father was going to be smashed.(Q:So you minimised it by joking about it?) Ja,there were coping mechanisms (4,1)

(Q:Did you and your sisters talk about it amongst yourselves?) I don't remember. I wasn't close to them (4,1)

The arguments with my dad made me angry and I went to my room and read. I think there was a fair deal of suppressed anger. Ja, because I hit a very religious stage when I left home(4,1)

I have no time for self-pity. Get off your ass and do something about it(4,1)

When I say I'm not assertive(in my marriage),it's not that I'm not assertive.I get my own way most of the time,but I don't get it by assertiveness, I get it more by feminine wiles(1,2)

(Did you find in the beginning of your marriage that you were more unassertive and compliant?) Yes,yes. Now I've learnt to manipulate situations(1,2)

I've become more tolerant than I used to be. I'm less inclined to go for people. It's allowed me to use my intelligence to temper my, um, often ridiculous emotional outbursts.I think I learnt to control, um, totally irrational thought processes(1,1)

I've learnt in my marriage and job that there are times when it's actually better to keep your mouth shut. It took me longer to learn that in my job. What prevents me is the very certain knowledge that if I wait, and listen and react in a considered way I'm more likely to have impact. In other words it's a power thing...control for me is a power thing. Control of myself is a power thing. I will control myself if I want to get my own way and I do it at school. I often bite my tongue in management meetings and then have my say at the end and very often I find that that goes. And I had to be taught that by a headmaster. He said to me "don't leap in. What you say is often such good sense but because you do it in such an emotional way you actually lose the men...you don't take them with you. Keep it quiet,keep it controlled, come in at the end when they've all had their say and you'll carry it. So if I can control them without them even knowing it, that's fine. My manipulation is conscious and I get satisfaction out of it(1,2)

When I'm forced to shout it indicates that I'm not in control. I wield my power in different ways.Both at work and the family,when you lose your temper you feel as though you've demeaned yourself - I'm quite a controlled sort of person (3,1)

(Q:Can you see a connection between your need for control and that explosive anger that you witnessed in the family?) Ja,yes I do.Ja,I know that myself. I consciously didn't want my children to grow up with that unpredictable anger. And it's in me,there's no doubt about it. One of the things that scares me is that I know personality-wise I've got a lot of my father in me. And so I bundled that up. I wasn't going to have illogical arguments with my children. I'm not saying I never got angry because I did. But I learnt to control it. And it's been a very conscious thing. From when I started teaching and I had to accept responsibility, then I realised I was going to have to control my temper. I felt it was demeaning. (Q:You wanted to keep your dignity?) Ja,because very often there wasn't any, especially if he was drinking too much (4,1)

My husband and I have always been able to talk things out and we can't when I've lost my temper. I'm irrational when I lose my temper. To sort things out you've kind of got to be cool about it(3,1)

I don't look for arguments. Anything for the quiet. I'm too tired to waste my energy on emotion. I nurture my resources(3,1)

Sometimes at school I get the bit between my teeth and they say "don't you think you're overreacting" and if I think about it, I probably am. It's just a spontaneous emotional reaction rather than a rational one. I think in some ways one does sublimate that working in a man's environment. The discourse is male(3,1)

(Q: How does getting your own way in the marriage differ from assertiveness?) I don't necessarily make my voice heard again and again, whereas at school, if I'm fighting for some issue or something, I will keep on and on about it. But in my marriage I've found that I can get things in other ways. Sometimes by just keeping quiet. By just dropping a subtle hint here and there and then shutting up and letting it grow so that it's other people's ideas. It's manipulative. I will say something like "hell I'm sick of cooking" and then produce a meal. And then three days later I'll say "jeeppers it was hot when I was cooking or "look at me, sweating over a hot stove" and then, about 5 days later he'll say "why don't we go out to dinner". You see. Instead of saying "Oh, I want to go out to dinner tonight, or...". That way he's thought of it and it's a treat for me and then it's a more pleasant evening out(3,1)

I couldn't bitch to my husband the same way I bitched to my best friend (1,1)

It's taken me quite a long time to be demonstrative with my affection, but I am now(1,1)

I've gained the ascendancy(over my father, now). There's no doubt who's in the ascendancy (4,2)

I only know that I don't trust myself enough to establish any sort of relationship with a man; and that my shadow on the carpet as I watched that day is symbolic of how I have grown up - flat insubstantial nothing of a woman (S,2)

Deborah returned to the limitations of a relationship that satisfied her sexually and subjugated her as a woman - her coffin, the death of herself(S,1)

Anne

I've made sacrifices(of parts of myself) in my marriage. Sometimes it's less hassle if you do. It makes life easier. Self-preservation(1,1)

I don't think I do talk about emotions in my marriage. It's easier not to. But I will tell him if he's irritating me. I didn't used to be like that. I used to just shut up and say nothing. That's a recent thing over the last couple of years(1,1)

We can't talk about sex and that comes more from my part than his. I don't want to talk about it(1,1)

(Q: Would your husband listen to you if you talked about emotions?) Um, I don't know. I think it depends on whether or not he'd be upset about it. If he's cross or distressed he won't, he'll get aggressive or rather, defensive. But then I'm not the type of person to deliberately cause trouble or hurt. I am more careful to watch what I'm saying. I may think evil thoughts but 9 times out of 10 I won't actually say it. You don't actually want to hurt somebody so you actually...hold back. But that's probably self-defence. You don't have to deal with the consequences of what you've done(1,1)

When I get irritable with him I've started saying it to him now. Before I didn't, I used to get all uptight, but now I don't pretend(1,1)

When I first got married I wouldn't express anger. I used to get withdrawn until one day I woke up and decided that was not on at all. Now I tell him (3,1)

I don't like arguing.(Q: Do you then need to be quite controlled and reasonable?) Ja (3,1)

I didn't talk to anyone about my father's drinking. My sister would get very irritable and argue with my father but it was actually easier not to. I think I just opted out.(Q: It didn't worry you?) It must have worried me. I'm sure it did. I mean looking back on it now, I can't believe it didn't worry me(1,1)

(Q: Did you ever talk to anyone in your family about your shame?) No, we didn't

talk in our family. Not even amongst us sisters. We shared a bedroom and there was always two of us against one(1,1)

(Q:Did you ever talk to your mother about the shame?) Only later as an adult but she didn't say awfully much. I don't think we ever really talked(1,1)

You know I'm worried about my childhood that I can't remember anything(3,1)

Leanne

Women arn't allowed to be angry, so those feelings arn't expressed. I can remember the first month of marriage being so angry but I didn't feel I had the right to say it. So I didn't ever express that anger(1,1)

I was really pissed off because my husband insisted that he finished varsity but I went along with it because we couldn't afford it for both of us in the early years of our marriage. So I buried all my anger in that I didn't articulate it in a vociferous way. But I did it in a passive-aggressive way - ja, I sulked, and that was the pattern for years. He repeatedly asked me what he'd done wrong but I refused to talk about it because what was the point of talking about it?(1,1)

In my childhood I cut off from an early age. I had to, that was my defence(1,1)

I wasn't able to express my emotions to my husband in the beginning. I use the analogy of a pressure cooker. I remember doing an exercise in our feminist group once where we had to lie down, relax and picture ourselves at a young age and see how one felt towards that young girl. Then we had to say something about her and I actually had to get up and leave, I couldn't do it. I just wanted to say sorry to her, I felt I had let her down. All her dreams and ideals that didn't happen. So my emotions, the bulk of them being anger, were in a pressure cooker and I felt if I just released a little bit, that pressure cooker was going to explode, so I didn't ever talk about it, not for a long time. And then I went into therapy and I found it very difficult(1,1)

I think men are scared of women's anger, sometimes contemptuous that comes out in things like "hysterical female, irrational, etc". Um, ja, so I didn't talk much about my emotions. (Q:Did that disempower you?). Absolutely(1,1)

When I make a judgement about a person and express it and someone else like my husband gives the rational point of view, I don't know how to counter that. I know my body is telling me what I'm feeling is right, but I don't know how to act on that. My head is saying, well what he's saying actually makes sense, you know, think twice. And that still happens now. (Q:So it's difficult to trust your emotions and how you feel?) Ja, for sure, because I do kind of feel that I'm irrational(3,2)

I feel guilty when I feel angry. Perhaps it's because, unlike you who has learnt to be quite clinical and cool when expressing your anger, I become overpowered with anger and see red, and don't respond well. I cannot respond on a reasoning level, I respond on an emotional level. I can feel it in my voice, it will start quavering, it's so frustrating. I get quite afraid of my children's anger(3,2)

There's been the odd occasion when my husband's criticised a part of my body albeit lightheartedly to friends when I wasn't there and then naively told me about it afterwards and I was incredibly angry and quite humiliated. But in a way I forgave him(3,1)

I can remember the first argument my husband and I had where I felt this incredible anger and I didn't know how to express it and it frightened me to feel it especially towards someone I was supposed to love. That I could feel this incredible anger. so I suppressed it - for 18 years of our marriage - that I was incredibly scared of exposing any feelings and particularly anger... But I do feel that a lot of women feel their anger is an alien thing because were not supposed to feel it are we?(3,1)

It was devastating to me when I felt anger before my husband did, because he expected me to cook. Maybe that was the first glimpse of disillusionment and feminism(3,2)

We'd been married only one month and I lifted my hand to strike him but what I did was tap him on the cheek(3,1)

In therapy I sometimes have this unbelievable urge to - I always have a glass of water - to throw it, smash it against the wall. And in the last session I was sitting there hyperventilating, trying to control myself and my therapist said it's almost as if somebody's got a hand over your throat to prevent you from expressing what you're feeling. And I said that's absolutely it, I feel if I allowed the anger to surface it would destroy this room and you probably utterly. Even though I make a conscious attempt to suppress my anger, it still leaks out. And some of my friends have said that they're actually afraid of my anger, and that's just the little bits that I'm allowing to show(3,1)

From about the age of 2, I cut off totally. I can remember my father hitting me and I would never give him the satisfaction of seeing me cry. I hated him, I hated him but I would never. It was important for survival that I cut off, because I know that I was hurt, I know I was abused(1,1)

One didn't speak of feelings in that family at all(3,1)

Once my mother slapped me and I turned the other cheek and she was absolutely devastated that I could do that cool as a cucumber(3,1)

In the beginning of marriage I know I had big sexual hangups and saw my body as simply something to be used. It was my duty and I would be labelled frigid, unloving or whatever, if I didn't oblige. In the beginning I didn't have quality sex. I did not orgasm. I didn't know about orgasms. I think I was sexually repressed. I didn't allow boys to touch my breasts or anything. I think I was afraid. I don't know if I was afraid of losing control. Control is a huge issue in my life. I don't think I was afraid of becoming pregnant. I really didn't want them to touch me(1,1)

My intuition was laughed at in my marriage. It was irrational. I think I found my intuition irrational as well. I'm only starting to listen to it now(1,1)

I actually don't know if I'm capable of having a relationship with a man. I think I got married as an escape. I had to get out of my home. I think I loved my husband at the time, I don't know. I don't really know what love is. I don't trust men and there is a pattern in the relationships I've had with men - there is a pattern in the relationships I've had with men. As soon as they start becoming too close and needy then I'm no longer interested(1,1)

I get what I want in my marriage by being manipulative, especially in the beginning(2,2)

Time and again my husband said to me "why aren't you talking to me, what have I done wrong, why are you pushing me away?"(2,2)

I'm really angry with my mother and haven't even begun to deal with it yet. I know that part of my anger with her is that she didn't defend us(2,1)

I couldn't, I didn't ever talk to my mother about my fears. I think I may have once or twice but that was when I was older - that I hated him, that he was a pig and a bastard and everything else - and she defended him. When I saw her 3 years ago and discussed it, her parting words to me were "you tend to focus a lot on the negative aspects of your childhood without looking at the positive things that happened" - to which I had no real response. That might well be true but those are the things I remembered. Perhaps that remark of hers gives an indication of how she operated(2,1)

I can't remember ever talking about the drinking amongst ourselves(siblings). It was just taken for granted that this was the way we lived, the way all families operated. I can remember my brothers fairly recently agreeing with me that my father was a bastard but in a kind of way, with almost a chuckle, that he was a real 'guy', without acknowledging that that had damaged them in some way. And I haven't spoken to my sister about him at all(2,1)

(Q: Did you repress the anger and sadness as a kid?). Absolutely. and I was the strong one in the family. My mother always used to say that I was the one person in the family she didn't ever have to worry about. Perhaps it had to do with the way I dealt with things which was incredibly matter of fact. I didn't ever cry. So she thought that I was OK, that I was a coper and I think she still believes that I'm the strong one, I coped, that it hasn't damaged me that much(2,1)

I go mute when confronted with anger(3,1)
 # Control is probably the biggest issue in my life. Not only control of my own emotions but also control of outside situations. If I'm not in control then it means somebody else has control and I don't like other people having control. And there's no way that I would allow my husband to have control. My therapist said that control was one of the biggest issues in my life and when she articulated that I knew that that was so(3,1)
 # I will never drink now to the point where I lose control. I did 8 years ago and I didn't like the idea that I'd lost control over what I was saying and doing(3,1)
 # If you're into control your whole life is kind of on edge(3,1)
 # I hate seeing my husband drinking and he's stopped doing it now because he knows I dislike it and hate him when he does it. I've told him (3,2)
 # She (I) controls and manipulates the strings and she watches in triumph as Judy destroys Punch. She stands above them as the omnipotent goddess who protects all females from violence and abuse. I pull the strings that make them hold him down and strip (and rape) him (S,2)
 # Deborah's body wanted her husband but something in her head would not allow it. She had vaginismus. She was not an active participant (S,1)
 # When her husband asked her to put on black stockings she felt uncomfortable but did not want to seem prudish or boring or unadventurous (S,1)
 # When one of the men raped Deborah, she believed she deserved it - she didn't call it rape. (S,1)
 # Later Deborah felt she had been symbolically raped by her husband but she knew he would be hurt by this, so she kept silent. She locked herself into her safe cocoon of silent anger. She felt her body was not a thing to be trusted(S,1)
 # Deborah later begins to enjoy her sexuality and learns to honour her feelings - including her anger. She becomes less inhibited about both and wonders if they are linked (S,1)
 # She needs peace, a sense of calmness and equilibrium (S,1)

Tia

I never discussed my problems with my mother, she didn't understand them. Some things she didn't like discussing. She'd say "don't bring up the past, forget about the past, what's the matter with you, why do you keep raking up the past?" Before she died I tried to talk to her and she STILL wouldn't talk about it, about how she felt(1,1)
 # I just buried my emotions. I tried to unburden them to someone I could trust - a good friend. I would tell them I had an unhappy childhood - you know, a little bit of it, not the whole thing. When I met my husband I was very young so I was able to unburden a lot of it to him. He knew everything about it which helped. But as I grew older and my kids grew up I think I needed extra help because I was always crying. I was always tearful when I talked about myself. I controlled it when I was young, as a little girl(1,1)
 # I always resented the fact that I never finished my schooling and never told anybody. Sometimes I would lie on the application form(1,1)
 # In my early marriage I did not stand up for myself and he always had the last say. But now I challenge and confront him(1,1)
 # My sisters have always seen me as the one that was in control, they phone me now immediately if there's a problem. (Q: Do you think there's a connection there since your family was out of control?) Sure, in some ways I was very frightened of my father, but I just wanted to get between him and my mother(1,2)
 # I'm the strong one - dealing with my father. They all seem to be looking at me and the expression on my face is very sure and I'm giving the orders. Making him sit still. I've seen myself in that situation often in my career, where I'm the one who takes control, is in charge, who knows how to handle this person. I'm controlling everyone here, soothing them, keeping them calm. It could be me looking after a sick man in hospital. My sister is quite happy to leave it to me(S,1)

THE THEME OF NEEDS FOR RESPECTABILITY, STATUS AND APPROVAL

Vivian

I'm more ambitious for him than he is and have pushed more for his career than mine(1,2)

I knew I was as good as most of the men and I felt I had to prove it. (Q: Did you feel you had to win their approval?) Mm... less the boys than the staff(1,1)

It was only when I got to 45 that I actually felt as if I had this voice that I wanted to make heard and then I went for promotion. I also got sick of meeting men I'd been at varsity with who said "Are you still just a teacher?". And I often now regret that I took the next step, because I liked being just a teacher. But at the same time I like having a bit of status - a bit of an ego thing(3,1)

I think I've also made it in a man's world.

I've fought hundreds and hundreds of issues as a different voice in an all male management(1,1)

I look at the college and I think, I did that, I did it. And I fight the women's issues on the staff, with the boys and the men(1,1).

If a pretty young teacher is harrassed they come to me and they know that I'm going to take up the issue and will deal with it. I will go in and face the class, often using underhand tactics so that I make them feel rotten about it. And you win(1,1)

Both in work and family I've lost my temper. You feel afterwards as though you've demeaned yourself(1,1)

I've always been a disciplinarian, I've never had any trouble with discipline, ever, and a dear old man teacher said when I was 30, "Now listen my girl, if you have any trouble in the classroom don't hesitate to send the boys to me" and I came home and I was wild and I said to my husband "how dare he think that because I'm 'my girl' I can't control those boys". It's a matter of pride to me that I don't need help from men and I don't resort to it. I havn't had a boy beaten since 1978 and I'm proud of that record, that I don't need to(1,1)

I once took a dislike to a couple and I realised it was a social status thing. I was actually being snobby and my husband hasn't got an ounce of snob in him(1,2)

I've gained the ascendancy(over my dad). There's no doubt who's in the ascendancy(4,2)

I suppose in a way I was a bit avant-garde - going to varsity(4,2)

I was not going to marry a man who abused me in the way my father orally abused my mother(3,1)

Very often there wasn't any dignity especially if he was drinking too much(4,1)

I don't think I've been unsuccessful. I've got a good career, I've got a stable marriage, I've brought up stable children(4,2)

I must have been a teacher's dream. I always did what I had to do. It was important that I did. I was responsible for getting A's and playing hockey, being a prefect and housecaptain - it was expected, so I did it (4,2)

I was a good cook and I'd produce a nice meal that make people want to stay and eat, and we sat and ate at the dinner table(4,1)

My mother, doyen of dozens of committees and women's groups. And Edna, her loyal maid, famous for her cooking(S,2)

A husband'd infidelity is an insult to you as a woman, and a threat to your security. There is no way that I would take him back(2,2)

Anne

Maybe one does all these things like making ballet costumes so people are going to say what a clever girl you are. And the kids think "a gee, that's mum"(1,1)

If I think back to the early days of my marriage, I was very much into proving myself to my husband that I was the perfect wife. The dinner parties, the parke floors in the entrance hall and diningroom had to be...and the edges round my flower beds were just so neat(1,2)

I don't have an enormous amount of respect for men. I don't think that they are much better than women. I can read a computer programme written by a man and think "what garbage, I can do better than that" I know I can(3,1)
 # Most of our socialising is with business people, so you've got to behave yourself(1,2)
 # When I returned from AFS I was ashamed of (my longterm boyfriend) because then he was potting and being political (like my father) and I didn't want anything to do with him (1,1)
 # That bar they had at home ..that's something I'll not have in my home(3,1)
 # My father was a total embarrassment. I was ashamed. He used to jump off the mantelpiece and play 'bok bok' that sort of thing. And he had some really awful friends too. Alch'ies (2,1)
 # You couldn't admire my father because he was in and out of jobs all the time. You couldn't admire him.No,because we didn't ever have much-we didn't have the sort of things that would make children admire parents, a flashy car,or...(2,1)
 # My husband didn't embarrass the kids either.(Q:They could look up to him?) Mm,which we couldn't with dad, we really couldn't(1,1)
 # Why can't we be like other families? Why can't my mummy and daddy be like my friends' parents(S,2)
 # Instead of my daddy getting up and going to work like other fathers, he only gets home before I have to go to school. He gets sick and mummy and the m aid have to undress him and put him to bed(S,2)
 # Sabrina laughs at us. I know she is laughing inside by the look on her face. I heard her tell the cook that it's a good thing mummy has so much money but that at this rate we'll be in the poorhouse before long(S,2)
 # Deborah is probably envied by her friends and acquaintances - doting husband, beautiful children, mansion for a home and all the material trappings of a northern suburbs society wife. Who wouldn't envy her - overseas holidays - a month every year at their beach cottage and you can't believe the clothes and jewellery. Everything anyone could dream of. But just lately she's given up bridge and tennis (to) garden and supervise her gardener(who's) quite attractive if he wasn't so low class(S,2)

Leanne

I hate seeing other people lose control. Like when my husband drinks(3,1)
 # Baby Huey and Little Lotto were my (father's)nicknames(for me)because I was overweight. so I grew up with and still do have a very poor body image(1,1)
 # I have a fear of being replaced(as his wife) (1,1)
 # She controls and manipulates the strings and watches in triumph as judy destroys Punch. She stands above them as the omnipotent goddess who protects all females from violence and abuse(S,2)

Tia

I became a nurse and got quite far with my nursing, got quite a few diplomas(1,1)
 # I always regretted that I never finished my schooling, and never told anybody. Sometimes I would lie on the application form. So it's always been a shame that I've got that I never finished, but at the same time I went quite far without it(1,1)
 # I was a good nurse and got good reports(1,1)
 # In my adolescence I was very frightened of losing my virginity. That was uppermost in my mind. I knew I had to protect THAT part of my life.Perhaps it was one aspect of my life where I felt I needed to retain my dignity,it was something that I had to hold on to,it was all I had(1,2)
 # There was lots of embarrassment, I was often disgusted by him,ashamed of him(1,2)
 # I'm the strong one dealing with my father. They all seem to be looking at me. I'm the one who takes control, is in charge. It could be me looking after a sick man in hospital. My sister is quite happy to leave it to me(S,2)

THE THEME OF NEEDS FOR HONESTY, FAIRNESS AND RESPONSIBILITY FROM OTHERS AS A RESULT OF PAST DECEIT AND DISAPPOINTMENTS

Vivian

- # I think I probably married the most honest man of the lot (1,1)
- # I find boys very straight. They will never pretend to like you if they didn't and I think girls do (1,1)
- # I trust men a lot except for their egocentric sexual behaviour(1,1)
- # The ogling, leading to behaviour that's not right. You only have to look at the number of middle aged men who go off with young women. Sexuality in a man is far more of an ego-thing in a man than it is in a woman - their sexual prowess as it were. Do women ever discuss how good they were in bed? It's that double standards thing. It's a continuation of that double standard thing and that comes from medieval times when they put their wives in chastity belts and went off to war. It's an insult to you as a woman, as a person. It's also a threat to your security - is he actually going to go off with that 22 yr old and leave you holding the baby or whatever? But I do know I wouldn't take him back. There is no way I would take him back (3,1)
- # People have got to be fair. That's one of the few things we've got left. (I react with anger) if people are unfair. (Q: And must they be honest?) Absolutely yes(3,2)
- # When he picks on my son I react strongly because I don't think it's fair(3,2)
- # In consummating a relationship did women become the opposite of what the world saw them as. Paula, my mother, the doyen of dozens of committees, a hard selfish virage, determined to sate her needs at whatever the cost? (S,1)

Anne

- # I think in every marriage there's a time when the wife thought the husband was having an affair. I think the average woman has a better developed sense of responsibility. The way we've been brought up was that once you're engaged or married or going out with a fellow, I don't look at somebody else's boyfriend, that sort of thing. Women, because of family responsibilities, will forego the possibility of a relationship because they know what the consequences will be (1,2)
- # I think you've got to be loyal to your partner. I do not want him to hear about himself from a third party (1,2)
- # You have to be fair because there are other people out there. You have to think about people's feelings(3,1)
- # (Q: Do you like things to be honest?) Yes. (Because) there was a dishonesty (in that family) because we never said what we felt(3,1)
- # It suited my mother to have her mother around and I think her relationship with my father was such that she couldn't give a stuff about how he felt about it(1,1)
- # I like things to be transparent. My daughter didn't tell me about a guy she saw for six months because she knew I disapproved of the antics of the parents. And I didn't like the deceit of that (3,1)
- # Mummy doesn't talk to me because she doesn't want to upset me. I wish she would because I really feel so alone (S,1)

Leanne

- # And sometimes she smiled and cooked him lovely meals - even though he sometimes smashed them against the wall. And they had two more children - she told me that babies were the product of two people who loved each other. These mixed messages confused and angered me (S,1)
- # I resented being this cosy available mother because I wasn't getting any help from my partner, unless there's a huge crisis and then he helps(1,2)

Tia

- # Now if someone hurts me in any way, I cut them out of my life. I divorce myself from them instantly. I don't contact them. Even if it was my best friend - they're out. It's almost as if I'm punishing them (1,2)

My husband had an affair at one stage . I'll never forget that. I was utterly devastated and ended up taking an overdose of tablets. It took me a long time to get over that. In fact I suspected every woman that he got friendly with, as thought it would happen again. But he's gone out of his way to prove to me it won't, he really has (1,2)

THEME OF DIFFICULTIES WITH CRITICISM/ANGER FROM OTHERS.

Vivian

#My mother-in-law often made me feel inadequate as a mother. I ended up hating her as I was made to feel more and more inadequate.she used to arrive at our house with a cake in a tin and say "I just brought you this cake for the children because I know you never have time to bake" (1,1)

My kids used to resent it sometimes that I spent so much time at school and then I felt guilty(3,1)

I've never had any trouble with discipline,ever and a dear old man (I taught with)called me over and said "now listen my girl", I was about 30 then,"I just want to tell you that if you have any trouble in the classroom don't hesitate to send the boys to me". I was wild and I said to my husband "how dare he, how dare he think that because I'm 'my girl', I can't control those boys" and my husband said to me " He's probably just trying to be nice". But it's a matter of pride to me that I don't need help from men (1,1)

One day I'd had a hell of a day at school and we got home and I'd ranted all the way home in the car, got out of the car and slammed the door, and his head came up from the driver's side and he said "bit of a bitch arn't you?" And I think that kind of flattened things out(1,2)

I get such a lecture when I smoke that it's not worth it(3,2)

I suppose I went for him knowing he wasn't emotional(1,2)

I couldn't bitch to (my husband) the way that I bitched to my best friend(1,2)

Leanne

We'd been married for one month and I lifted my hand to strike him but all I did was tap him on the cheek. And he had a twentyfirst that he was supposed to go to that night and he went to it without me, kind of not speaking to me, not telling me when he'd be back. And I was left at home and I felt incredibly abandoned and alone, because that was something that my father used to do. When he used to get really angry, he would, anytime of the night, he'd get into the car and scream off. And we never knew when he was going to come back or if he was going to come back for that matter (3,2)

The first time my husband showed his anger was about three months into our marriage. We were lying in bed and he hit me. I do not remember how it felt but what I did was take down the suitcase and started packing. I think I go mute or did go mute when confronted with anger and didn't know how to deal with it (3,1)

I hadn't yet been confronted with my husband's raging furies where he goes right off the edge and lashes out(2,1)

In a way I was mirroring my mother because that's what she'd do, go mute(3,1)

I'm terrified of my husband's anger (Q:Does it bring back feelings of being back in that situation again?) Yes, it oppresses me. It frightens me (3,1)

My husband calls me a radical feminist which I'm not. He blame feminism for the fact that the marriage is going wrong(1,1)

I think men are sometimes quite contemptuous of women's emotions. That comes out in things like "hysterical female,irrational,etc." Ja, so I didn't talk much about my emotions(1,1)

In the beginning I felt sex was my duty and I would be labelled frigid unloving or whatever, if I didn't oblige (1,1)

I don't think I deal with criticism very well. I think I become very defensive. There's been the odd occasion when my husband's criticised a part of my body albeit lightheartedly to friends when I wasn't there and then naively told me about it afterwards and I was incredibly angry about it, and quite humiliated that he could do that. But in a way I forgave him(3,1)

I get quite afraid of my childrens' anger, especially my daughter's anger. I find it difficult to deal with. I get quite afraid of it, I don't know how to deal with it. I think what frightens me about it is that she feels free enough to express it and to express it to me whereas that was a privilege that I didn't ever have. There's also some guilt because I think "why is this child so angry? Is it something that I have done - the typical mother-daughter syndrome. Very complicated (3,1)

I don't know how to act on my own judgements. I think twice and feel that I'm irrational(2,2)

I feel guilty when I feel angry (2,2)

Anne

I still don't like people who are angry and unreasonable(like my dad). I don't like arguing (2,1)

(When my husband returned from an overseas business trip) he responded better to the fact that the machine was broken than the fact that I'd fixed it. He didn't like me being hyperefficient. So it was easier not fixing something than having him with a dropped lip because I've done everything(1,1)

I'm not the type of person to deliberately cause trouble or hurt. But that's probably also self-defence. (You don't have to deal with) the consequences of what you've done(1,1)

I'm reticent to to say "I hate my husband at the moment" to other women because I feel it might come back to me and cause repercussions(1,1)

To just be yourself without worrying about the consequence. Most of our socialising is with business people. So you've got to behave yourself(1,2)

Tia

I was always frightened of people in authority. I grew up in a very authoritarian environment, my mum and dad were very strict with us. If I went to the shop my dad would want to know who was in the shop, who did I speak to (1,1)

And then when I went to the hospital I had very authoritarian figures, matron, doctors, senior nurses. I was in awe of them and respected them. In those days you had the battle-axe sister, so you never spoke unless you were spoken to. And even now if I go into a hospital I have that same sort of fear. (Q: Fear that they may be critical of you?) Ja (Q: So you have to control your own behaviour so as not to attract that criticism?) Absolutely (1,1)

THE THEME OF RESENTMENT OR ANGER TOWARDS THE MOTHER WHO DENIED
OR DID NOT PREVENT THE DRINKING BEHAVIOUR

Vivian

Retrospectively, I don't think she could've been anything else but what she was, given the circumstances in which that generation grew up, half educated(2, 1)
I didn't want to end up in the same boat though(2,1)
(If I tried to discuss my father with her, she used to say things like "he's been a good father, he's given you the best that he can, and supported you"(4,2)
I think she simply accepted that he'd come back from the war like that. Those women had to just carry on. I think they just accepted drinking after the war(4,2)
In consummating a sexual relationship did women become the opposite of what the world saw them as? Paula, my mother, doyen of dozens of committees and women's groups, a hard, selfish virago, determined to sate her needs at whatever cost?(S,1)
I only know that I don't love my mother, and haven't since that day(S,1)

Anne

My mother had a boyfriend(1,1)
Maybe she could have improved our life. She was a career woman and wasn't there much. She wasn't there to pick us up from school or things...(1,1)
I think pity would be too strong a word but I can't actually say I admired her. My relationship with her was actually quite shallow. As a child I don't remember her telling me about things. I'm still waiting for her to tell me how babies are made. You know we didn't have that kind of relationship. We didn't talk about anything...which may be why I don't talk about sex. We just didn't, never, ever(1,1)
I wouldn't say she didn't have enough backbone, but it suited her to have her mother around and I think her relationship with my father was such that she couldn't give a stuff how he felt about it(1,1)
My mother minimised my father's drinking. I think she was very loyal(3,1)
Mummy doesn't talk to me because she doesn't want to upset me. I wish she would because I really feel so alone(S,2)

Leanne

My mother took it all. That's part of the reason why I'm angry. she was always compliant, always sweet, always nice to him. He was a club man and before he came home at night the house had to be quickly cleaned and homework put away because dad was coming home now. And he got the nicest portions of food...whereas we got sausages and mash he'd have T-bone steak, that sort of thing. There was a lot of violence and physical abuse as well. My mother told me that he once tried to shoot her(1,1)
It was symbolic of what my mother had done to me as a child...that she was the observer...she didn't actually step in and help and protect and nurture... she was just there as the observer while other people were doing things to me(1,1)
I think my parents let me down(1,1)
I don't have a good relationship with my mother, it's very stilted when we get together(1,2)
I'm really angry with my mother and haven't even begun to deal with it yet. I know that part of my anger with her is that she didn't defend us(2,1)
She colluded in a way but it was out of her own needs, and I can understand it was a matter of survival(2,1)
I couldn't ever talk to her about my fears. She just defended him. When I went to see her three years ago and discussed it, her parting words to me were "you tend to focus a lot on the negative aspects of your childhood without looking at the positive things that happened. That may well be true but those are the things I remembered(2,2)
My mother always used to say that I was the one person in the family she didn't

THE THEME OF NEEDS FOR A DEPENDABLE, STABLE, CONGENIAL, IDEAL, CONFLICT-FREE MARRIAGE AND MARRIAGE PARTNER IN CONTRAST TO THE GENERIC FAMILY.

Vivian

- # My husband is much more rational than me. He's not a fighter, he's quiet (1,1)
- # I'm not as rational as he is. He's more sensible than I am (1,1)
- # I suppose I went for him knowing he wasn't emotional. My father was very emotional. I've realised it's ridiculous to cause a furore when there's no need (1,1)
- # I think we've had a much more stable and peaceful home and our kids communicate a lot better with us than we did as kids (1,2)
- # We've established a home with an even tenor, it's quite peaceful (1,2)
- # I think I married the most honest one of the lot (1,1)
- # I knew I was not going to marry a man who abused me in the way that my father...ja...orally abused my mother and the rest of us. No ways. I looked for a quiet, gentle (and reliable) person (2,1)
- # I get such a lecture (if I smoke) that it's not worth it. And as I said before, I don't look for hassles (2,2)
- # I don't look for arguments. Anything for the quiet. I'm too tired to waste my energy on emotion (2,2)
- # My husband is very good mannered and very gentle (2,1)
- # My husband only drinks the odd beer socially (3,1)
- # (I went for someone the total opposite of my father) in terms of lack of aggression, concern for other people. My husband's quiet, studious, intellectual (and stable and our marriage is more predictable) (3,1)
- # I didn't want (the type of marriage my parents' had) (3,2)
- # My husband's certainly been a very different father to our kids than my father was to us in terms of always being there for them, encouraging them. When my son took up gym, he qualified as a gym judge, that sort of thing. Whereas my dad's interest was sailing and we got dragged out to the damn yacht club. We fitted in with his interests. So my husband's fitted in with our kids' interests rather than making them fit in with us. He's not selfish at all (3,1)
- # From the time the kids were old enough to sit at the dinner table with us, the TV got switched off, and we ate and we sat at the table and we talked. It was always our time together. I was a good cook, and I'd produce a nice meal and that made people want to stay and eat. And we sat and talked at the dinner table (3,2)
- # I would have postponed the meal if they were watching something that they wanted to see, but we sit down at the table and eat. And sometimes when the kids were at school it would be 9 O'clock before we got up from the table - and sometimes we'd be there for two hours (3,2)
- # I'd taken a lot of trouble with the meal, even if sausage and mash I still liked to serve it and present it nicely. And I don't think they ever left the table without saying "thanks mum that was a super meal". My friend once said "the men in your family are very gentle" and they are. I get a lot of stroking. A lot of my son's friends come for dinner and say how super it was to sit round a table, because they never to. It's been important. Ja, I suppose it was one of my fantasies for marriage. It was going to be a happy family (4,2)
- # And that fight with my father and son (at the dinner table), I felt totally...I was so angry that MY dinner table had been...there was a disruption (4,2)
- # What I've realised today is that my reaction at the dinner table with (my father arguing) with my son - my anger was that he was indirectly doing what he did to me in the past (4,2)

Anne

- # In the early days of my marriage I was very much into almost proving myself to my husband that I was the perfect wife. The dinner parties, the parke floors in the entrance hall had to be...and the edges round my flower beds were just so

neat. And I still worked. Maybe it's also because it's the time that husband's are starting to show their ambition, and you actually want to keep up with them (1,2)
 # We have to make sacrifices. I would be lying if I said I didn't get satisfaction out of doing the wifely bit (1,2)
 # It's easier not fixing things (when he's away) than having him with a dropped lip because I've done everything (1,2)
 # I don't tell him if the kids are irritating me because then he'll yell at them (1,2)
 # When my daughter gets stroppy with her father I may step in and smooth things over (3,1)
 # I used to shut up and say nothing (1,2)
 # (Marriage is sacred to me). I think you've got to be loyal to your partner (1,2)
 # My husband is more ambitious and fussier (than my dad) - dad was never worried about the state of the home and tidiness - more pernickity (2,1)
 # My husband was loads of fun when he was young. But then so was dad - everyone thought he was loads of fun. Although my husband's far more restrained than dad and he's never drunk, and he doesn't have a drink every night (2,1)
 # I suppose my dad was more unpredictable. He used to do irritating things (2,1)
 # My husband was more solid, very dependable (2,1)
 # (He didn't embarrass me) and didn't embarrass the kids either (2,1)
 # I love sitting round a dinner table. I find it very congenial (2,2)
 # We couldn't look up to dad, we really couldn't (2,1)

Leanne

I had to prove to myself that I had an ideal marriage. I didn't have to prove this to my friends but to myself, and to him (1,2)
 # When I first got married I was incredibly idealistic. In my head I knew that he and I would never have a fight. It would be glorious bliss for the rest of our lives. What happened in my family was just unusual, I thought (3,2)
 # (I) was very idealistic. I painted this picture in my head of the way things were going to be (3,2)
 # I was pissed off by my husband returning to varsity and not me but went along with it for the above reasons. so I buried all that anger and didn't articulate it in a vociferous way (2,2)
 # With young children I kind of... I grew up in a home where my father was very aggressive and there was violence in the home (2,2)
 # (In cf. to my father) who was taciturn, moody, oppressive and complicated, my husband was quite open, full of fun, much easier to get on with (2,1)
 # My husband gave the impression of being a really happy person. Generally he's an uncomplicated happy person, which has changed over the years (3,1)
 # He's conservative (3,1)

Tia

My husband's a very stable person. He's not a very sentimental person, he's very down to earth (1,1)
 # My husband's been very supportive of me. I've had to work through a lot of things and deal with my own shortcomings (1,1)
 # My husband was always the stronger one and I always depended on him. I always felt that he was like a second arm (1,1)
 # I couldn't depend on my father for anything (1,1)
 # I think I found everything that my mother and father never had. I remember when I got married I was dying to have a baby that I could shower all my love onto and do the things for that child that my parents didn't do, to prove to myself that one could do it (1,2)
 # We've had a good marriage. I don't think my kids have ever doubted that their parents weren't happily married. We didn't burden them with any problems that we may have had (1,2)

THEME 9: RESURRECTION OF IDEAL FATHER (AND MOTHER) PLUS
REPARATION OF THE FAMILY

Vivian

- # My father was very emotional, ranting and raving. He was undemonstrative (1,1)
- # My husband is more rational, not a fighter, quiet, sensible (1,1).
- # I used to fly off the handle with my father in my youth. (Did that affect your choice of husband?) Jolly sure. I knew I was not going to marry a man who abused me in the way my father verbally abused my mother and the rest of us. No way. I looked for a quiet, gentle person, and reliable (3,1)
- # I don't look for arguments now. Anything for the quiet (3,3)
- # I lost respect for my father in my late teens. In fact we fought like cat and dog then. (3,1)
- # I wanted less power. I was socialised into believing that was how it ought to be (1,3).
- # He was liberated (left wing) when I met him (1,1)
- # My husband was shattered when he first came into our house, he couldn't believe that people could shout at each other like that. It was a very temperamental home (1,1).
- # We've had a much more stable and peaceful home and our kids communicate better with us than we did as kids (1,3).
- # We've established a home with an even tenor and its quite peaceful (1,3).
- # I suppose I went for him knowing that he wasn't emotional and I've become more tolerant than I used to be, I'm less inclined to go for people (1,1).
- # My husband is well-mannered and very gentle (3,1)
- # My husband shares his feelings and inadequacies (2,1)
- # My mother was a peacemaker. I was determined I was never going to be a peacemaker. I was going to do my own thing (1,2)
- # My mother was very strong but I didn't want to end up in the same boat (2,2)
- # My father was always in the ascendancy. He was very conservative and very right wing and we'd sit at the dinner table and slang each other. He would belittle me. I wasn't allowed to have an opinion. I became insolent and nasty and knew everything. I disagreed with his opinions which I thought were ill-based and illogical, arbitrary. He didn't like being challenged. He's not a well educated man. A lot of this aggression I thus got from him (4,1)
- # I think my father would have been a lot worse married to someone like me. If he'd married less of a peacemaker (than my mother) that marriage wouldn't have stood a hope (2,1)
- # Certain things I looked at in their home or marriage and thought "well I'm not going to do that within a marriage" (1,3)
- # We had a granny at home who did the cooking (1,2)
- # I believe attrition often wins wars. So I just keep going, I'm very stubborn (1,1)
- # I was always sure I could do better than anyone (at being a good wife).
- # I think I would like to retire and become a little housewife who does the baking and all that sort of thing - become a fulltime homemaker (3,2)
- # I've always been a disciplinarian. I'm not as powerful as I sound (1,1)
- # My husband said to me "he's probably just trying to be nice" (defuses things?) (1,1)
- # I wouldn't have liked to live with my father (1,1)
- # He took my mother pretty much for granted (1,1)
- # He never lifted a finger round the house or helped with the kids (1,1)
- # I felt frustrated and irritated with my father (1,1)
- # My father lost jobs because of his aggression (3,1)
- # My father wasn't a demonstrative man (3,1)
- # My dad was desperate for a son. I did all the son things with him like going to

rugby(1,1)

He seemed to resent our achievements but on the other hand would brag about his girls at the pub(4,1)

I think I probably married the most honest man of the lot(1,1)

I couldn't bitch to my husband(1,1)

My husband trusts my intuition. He quite proudly tells others "she's mistrusted him from the beginning or she'd been right to take the kids to the doctor"(1,1)

My husband doesn't like me smoking and I get such a lecture that it's not worth it(3,1)

I don't look for hassles(3,3)

I learnt my manipulateness from my mother(3,2)

My mother was very funloving, not a doormat. she worked for as long as I can remember(4,2)

I actually thought men drank a lot. I accepted it as the status quo and when I first went to varsity I went out with guys who drank a lot (and then what changed?) I met my husband. He only drinks the odd beer socially(4,1)

(would you say you went for the opposite man?) Yes in terms of lack of aggression, concern for others. My husband's quiet and studious, intellectual, stable(more predictable?) Absolutely whether it was a conscious thing or not I don't know(4,1)

I didn't want my children to grow up with that unpredicable anger. And its in me. I know personality-wise I've got a lot of my father in me. I wasn't going to have illogical arguments with my children. I learnt to control my anger. There's a joke in our family about the lost temper(4,3)

Often there wasn't any dignity in our family especially if he was drinking too much(4,3)

My father was so restless we moved from city to city(4,1)

I didn't want the kind of marriage they'd had(4,3)

My husband's certainly been a very different kind of father to our kids than my father. He's always there encouraging them, fitting into their interests rather than making them fit in with us (like my father who always dragged us to his yacht club every Sunday). Also the drinking was always more important than we were(4,1)

I don't hate him, but I don't like my father. I think he's a selfish man. I think he made my mother's life miserable. He was horrible to her(4,1)

My husband is not selfish at all(4,1)

The dinner table - that's something I consciously changed in my marriage too. It was always our time together and we talked. I was a good cook and I'd produce a nice meal that made people want to stay and eat. At home, we'd eat and bugger off and often the atmosphere was tense because that was where the arguments were. He often complained about the food. I take a lot of trouble with the meal and present it nicely. I get a lot of stroking. Our mealtimes have a magic, poetic quality(4,3)

My mother was not a good cook.

Ja I suppose the dinner table was one of my fantasies. It was going to be a happy family(4,3)

I was so angry that MY dinner table had been disrupted(4,3)

Anne

I made sacrifices to make married life easier(1,3)

I get satisfaction from being a wife and mother. People will say I'm clever if I make ballet costumes, etc(1,2)

In the early days of my marriage I was much more into proving myself to my husband that I was the perfect wife... the dinner parties, the parke floors...(1,3)

Women have more family responsibility(1,3)

My mother was powerful. She was definitely the stronger of the two(1,2)

My husband has always had the stronger character. He's authoritarian.

My husband is difficult, very possessive. He was an only child(1,1)
 # My (generic) home wasn't exactly the most harmonious atmosphere(1,3)
 # My father and mother used to bicker(2,3)
 # My mother could have improved our life(1,2)
 # My folks were both busy doing their own thing. We missed out on not having a close relationship(2,3)
 # My father was never demonstrative. He was definitely not an affectionate person. He was actually quite thick too(1,1)
 # My father was aggressive. Drink made him aggressive(1,1)
 # On my return from America I was ashamed of my long-term boyfriend because he was potting and being political and I didn't want anything to do with him(2,1)
 # I didn't think about marriage. I didn't even think about white wedding dresses(3,3)
 # He was much more of an embarrassment than something to fear. Silly. I felt shame(2,1)
 # I didn't like him very much. I certainly didn't admire my father. He was unreasonable at times. I still don't like angry unreasonable people. I don't like arguing(3,1)
 # I don't think I ever had any respect for him. You couldn't admire him because he was in and out of jobs all the time, so we didn't have security(2,1)
 # My husband is more ambitious and fussier about the state of the home(2,1)
 # My husband is more solid and very dependable(2,1)
 # My dad was more unpredictable and irritating. We didn't talk at all(2,1)
 # He was loads of fun but then so was dad, though my husband's far more restrained and he's never drunk(2,1)
 # The children could look up to him(2,1)
 # I feared that my folks would get divorced(2,3)
 # There was tension at the dinner table if he'd been potting, then he'd complain about the food. But we could actually have some nice times round the dinner table. Today I love sitting round the dinner table. It's congenial(2,3)
 # That bar they had in the house. Now that's something I will not have in my home(3,3)
 # My mother was a peacemaker. There hasn't been much need for me to be, except if my daughter gets stroppy with her father, I may step in and smooth things over(3,2)

Leanne

I had to prove to myself that I had an ideal marriage, not to my friends but to myself and to him(1,3)
 # I think I loved my father and he let me down(1,1)
 # My father was very autocratic, aggressive, and there was violence in the home. He used to shout and scream and upend tables(1,1)
 # My father was a very intense person, very embittered, an absolute patriarch. Morose, uncommunicative, oppressive and very violent. I am absolutely terrified of him(3,1)
 # He was suspicious, possessive and incredibly jealous(1,1)
 # My father was an extremely taciturn, moody, oppressive person and quite complicated as well, whereas my husband was quite open, full of fun, much easier to get on with. I hadn't yet been confronted with his raging furies where he goes off the edge and lashes out(2,1)
 # There was a lot of name-calling - names deriding my body like 'Little Lotto' because I was 'overweight'.
 # Control is now a big issue in my life(1,1)
 # Now control is the biggest issue in my life. (Like your father had absolute control?) Absolutely. and there's no way I would allow my husband to have control(3,1)
 # If men become too close and needy then I'm no longer interested(1,1)

My father was very possessive. One never knew what kind of mood he'd be in. Very unpredictable - happy or morose. The constant fear of being picked on was oppressive. He once upended the table, plates and all. The dinner table was always an unpleasant experience for me. Today we don't sit round the dinner table, it makes me feel uncomfortable(2,1)

My husband's anger now oppresses me. I'm terrified of it(3,1)

(Did you think your husband was capable of anger when you married him?) No no definitely not. He gave the impression of being a really happy person. But I think that generally he's an uncomplicated happy person, which has changed over the years(3,1)

He once left me at night without speaking to me and I felt incredibly abandoned because that's what my father would do when he got angry, get into the car and scream off(3,1)

I go mute when confronted by anger. In a way I am mirroring my mother because that's what she used to do, go mute(3,2)

when my husband heard I was pregnant he came straight back and we married straight away and then it was a kind of dependability (on his part) (2,1)

My mother took it all. that's one of the reasons why I'm angry(1,2)

She was always compliant, sweet and nice to him(1,2)

She was just an observer, she didn't step in and help and protect and nurture(1,2)

I'm really angry with my mother for not defending us. She defended him(2,2)

She was absolutely powerless(2,2)

I now make all the decisions with respect to the children because he's out of touch(1,2)

I get what I want by manipulation (in marriage)(2,1)

My father came from an environment where women weren't to be trusted. Women were bitches and whores(2,1)

My brothers recently agreed that my father was a bastard but with a chuckle that implied he was a 'real guy', without them acknowledging that it had damaged them in some way(2,1)

I cannot stand it when my husband drinks. I will then not engage with him in any way at all. I hate seeing other people lose control. Like when my husband drinks and becomes garrulous and 'hale fellow well met' with an inane smile on his face and I can't tolerate it and won't let him touch me when he's like that. he's stopped doing it now because he knows I dislike it and hate him when he does it. He becomes megalomaniac. It drives me insane(3,1)

On the odd occasion when my husband has criticised a part of my body - I was incredibly angry and quite humiliated that he could do that(3,1)

I don't think he realises how conservative he is(3,1)

My husband always gives the rational point of view(3,1)

When I first got married I was incredibly idealistic. In my head I knew that we would never fight. It would be glorious bliss for the rest of our lives. What had happened in my family was just unusual I thought. So it was devastating to me when I felt anger before my husband did(3,3)

I feel guilty or bad when my daughter is angry with me(3,1)

I didn't expect people to expect me to fulfil all the roles my mother had. Very idealistic. I painted this picture in my head of the way things were going to be(3,3)

I think I used marriage as an escape from home(3,3)

Tia

My father was like Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde, unstable. When drunk he was uncontrollable (1,1)

He was violent and used to go for my mother. We were always frightened of

him(1,1)

We had no respect for him and often felt disgusted by him. Ashamed of him(1,1)
My mother and I were not close. I punished her in later life for not loving me by not phoning her. It wasn't the kind of mother-daughter relationship I would have liked, like I've got with my own daughters. I'm here for my kids and get involved (and discuss things with them). She wasn't a demonstrative person, though she was sensitive and emotional(1,2)

I had to protect my mother(1,2)

Even now I take the protective role with friends and family(1,2)

Thank heavens that I married the person I did, because if I'd married the wrong person I don't know what would have happened to me. Because my husband's been very supportive of me(1,1)

(Do you think You actually chose a man who was stable and predictable?) That's an interesting question. When I was a nurse, two doctors tried to seduce me but I didn't give in to them. From the moment I was introduced to my future husband I knew I was going to marry him. I had no doubts. He's a very stable person, very down to earth. He's not a feeling person but when I look back I know he was the right person for me(1,1)

He used to challenge my father's bizarre ideas(1,1)

When I met my husband I was very young. I was able to unburden a lot of (my unhappy childhood) onto him(1,1)

My husband was always the stronger one and I always depended on him. I always felt that he was like a second arm(1,1)

I couldn't depend on my father for anything. Untrustworthy(1,1)

My husband had an affair and I was devastated(1,1)

I think I found everything my mother and father never had. I was dying to have a child that I could shower all my love onto and do all the things for that child that my parents didn't do, to prove to myself that I could do it(1,3)

I don't think that my kids have ever doubted that their parents' weren't happily married. We didn't burden them with our problems(1,3)

My mother was a very private person, didn't share, was hard and cold(1,2)

APPENDIX D

THEME SYNOPSES

THEME 1: THE EXPERIENCE OF THE ALCOHOLIC HOME

Vivian

Vivian maintained that post-war fathers, like hers, did drink. She just accepted it as the status quo and thought men did drink a lot. Yet her father was aggressive with it and had lost jobs from aggression. He did not like being challenged and suppressed this until drunk, whereupon she became a threat to him. It was a sort of false courage, since he was insecure. He would often attack Vivian, telling her that a university education did not entitle her to express opinions, that he knew just as much as she did. Vivian thought his opinions were ill-based, arbitrary and illogical. They irritated her. He was not a well-educated man and she did not respect him in her teens. He had no dignity. They fought like cat and dog. She had tried to reason with him about his drinking but he became aggressive. The drinking was always more important than they were. He was not abusive but would pick arguments since they were poles apart politically. They would sit at the dinner table and slang each other. He would belittle her opinions. Hence the dinner table was a tense time for her. He also complained about the food. Vivian would just eat and then retreat to her own room and cut herself off.

Her father used to be in the ascendancy with three daughters and a wife who ran around him. Her mother was a pacifier, a peacemaker, which made Vivian determined not to be and to do her own thing. His drinking controlled the household a night. He would have two or three drinks before, and more drinks after, supper and when there were visitors he drank too much, sometimes expressing explosive anger towards Vivian rather than her mother. He was emotional and ranted and raved. The family all blew their tops, shouted at each other and then were friends the next moment.

Vivian thought it had been worse when she was very young since she remembered her mother joking about not knowing when her husband was coming home for supper. On one occasion her mother had been very worried since he had been drinking and had a car smash, receiving a wound to the head. At the age of 14 they had had a terrible fight and her mother had thrown a plate at him. Vivian had run up to her room, crying. When she had asked them why they stayed together he had replied that she was old enough to know why, protesting that they were happy together. Vivian presumed that there was a strong sexual attraction between them since he was a goodlooking man. Yet she regarded her father as a selfish man who made her mother's life miserable since he was horrible to her. He had taken her for granted and never helped in the kitchen or with the children.

There were frequent house parties with his cronies, where the men drank a lot. Vivian actually grew up thinking adults partied all the time. She could remember at about the age of 5, lying in bed with a uproaring party taking place in the lounge. Her mother was also very funloving and gregarious, she was not a doormat. But those women had just accepted that their husbands had returned from the war heavy drinkers. Vivian also thought most of her friends' fathers drank. Her boyfriend's father also drank and they used to joke about whose father would be smashed on a Sunday night, and hence whose house they would avoid. Joking became her coping mechanism.

Vivian's father had moved from job to job and town to town, so that by the time she was in Standard 7, she had been in six or seven schools and had become a very independent child, doing her own thing. Her father had hated being a printer.

Vivian had been a responsible child, a teacher's dream - responsible for getting A's, being a prefect, then head prefect and housecaptain. She had also taken responsibility for her sisters, being the trendsetter. She was, for example, in charge of returning them home on time at night after socials. Once they were late and her father had belted her, not the others. She agreed that as a result she had been a parentified child who had lost out on experimentation and exploration. She had also not been close to her sisters. She had her own room and she did not, for example, remember them discussing the drinking.

She characterised her mother as a coper who fed the visiting, ravening hordes on tight finances, was always gracious and friendly, and made all their clothes. Vivian claimed her mother's generation were half-educated and were programmed to think that marriage, husband and family were the be-all and end-all of life. She could not have controlled her husband more. Instead, she defused situations and was a peacemaker. She had worked as a full-time secretary and still coped. Despite the fact that it was a very temperamental home which Vivian was determined not to emulate, she believed that it had nevertheless given her a solid basis in life.

Leanne

Leanne feels her parents, especially her father, let her down. He was always drunk, very autocratic, aggressive, taciturn, morose, oppressive, complicated and violent. She characterised him as an embittered patriarch who regarded his wife and children as his belongings. She claimed she had always been terrified of him. He would shout, scream, smash plates against walls and upend tables so that she repeatedly had food flung in her face at the other end. He also resorted to corporal punishment. Leanne was angry because her mother had taken it all. She was always nice, sweet to him, and compliant, despite the fact that there was a lot of jealousy, possessiveness, suspicion, violence and psychological abuse, with him once trying to shoot and strangle his wife. Leanne was angry with her mother for being a mere observer and not stepping in to help or protect her from her father. She was a role model of submissive womanhood. She always kept the best cuts of meat for her husband while the children ate sausage and mash.

When he returned drunk from the club every night, her mother insisted that the house be quickly cleaned and homework put away. They would be lying over the lounge floor doing homework, with her mother reading the paper, when the lights would come down the drive causing a mad panic to tidy up since her father did not like untidiness. They never knew what mood he would be in since he was very unpredictable. Mostly he would be in a foul mood and morose. The constant fear of being picked on was oppressive.

When her father was really angry he would leave in his car at any time of the night without telling them if or when he would return. This led to her later feeling abandoned if her husband did the same thing.

From the age of about 2, Leanne cut off totally in order to survive. She knows she was hurt and emotionally abused. When her father hit her she would not give him the satisfaction of seeing her cry since she hated him. That would anger him since he felt powerless. Most of her father's wrath had been directed at her and her mother. Her father had come from an environment where women were not to be trusted since they were whores, and this was projected on to her mother and herself. There had only been one uncomfortable occasion she remembered involving her brothers, when they were forced to box each other by their father for bickering at the dinner table. Her father had been obsessed with boxing, often staging Punch and Judy shows over the weekend for family entertainment.

During adolescence, Leanne had borne the brunt of her father's suspicious nature since he would admonish her to stop ogling boys from the car. He would also call her names such as 'bombastic bitch' and 'Little Lotto' because she was overweight, causing her to grow up with a poor body image. When she first had sex she had vaginismus and discovered that she was not a virgin. While she has vague flashbacks of being overpowered, and admits to being emotionally abused, she is not sure whether she was sexually abused. In addition to body issues Leanne claimed she also had food issues from her father's drunk behaviour at the dinner table, often throwing or upending plates of food. Hence she had hated sitting at the dinner table and even today feels really uncomfortable there. They seldom eat at the table.

To this day Leanne does not have a good relationship with her mother. It is very stilted. The drinking behaviour had never been discussed in their home, even amongst siblings. It had been denied. Leanne had presumed it happened in every home. Her mother had only confirmed that things were bad after their divorce, three years ago. Leanne can understand that her mother colluded in the drinking behaviour out of survival. Today she claims she has nothing in common with her two brothers and sister.

Anne

Anne's parents had many noisy parties with ex-servicemen where they drank and sang. Her experience of all men was that they drank - mostly spirits. When she was younger her father used to drink at the pub but later he did not have the money and drank at home. What changed in Anne's adolescence was that he started embarrassing her because he became silly, jumping off the mantelpiece playing 'bok, bok, and singing Scottish songs and the parents became more aggressive towards each other. He had some awful 'alchie' friends. One night Anne smashed a bottle of brandy against the wall in fury because her father was arguing with her mother. They would bicker about money. At the age of 16 she once remembered reasoning with him about the drinking when he had woken up early after a night of heavy drinking and been angry with her granny for sweeping the stairs and waking him. The sisters had supported the granny and he had thumped them both for shouting at him. Anne had told him she hated him and had not spoken to him for a long time after that. That had been a torrid time for the family. She had started fearing her parents would divorce.

Anne did not respect or admire her father. He was aggressive and drank quite a lot. He became argumentative after a drink. He had disappointed her and she had not liked him. She claimed he was quite thick, did not understand women's things, and used to do irritating things. He was never demonstrative with affection. In addition, she could not admire him because he moved jobs. They thus lacked security and material possessions. However, they had had ballet and hockey lessons so it was not all bad. They would also have pleasant times at the dinner table, talking, unless he had been drinking and was in a mood. Then he would complain about the food, about people who made noises when they ate, and about Anne swinging on her chair. The latter irritated him and she would have to stand in the kitchen.

However, when he was sober he sometimes did fun things like running races and playing hockey with them.

Anne had not talked to anyone about the drinking, not even her mother. She regarded it as normal and believed everyone's father drank. Today she feels sorry that they missed out on having a close relationship.

Her mother denied and minimised the drinking. She was loyal and a peacemaker. She was efficient and powerful, the stronger of the two. According to her sisters, she may have had an affair. Anne had loved but not really admired her, since their relationship had been quite shallow. Her mother had not related stories to Anne or told her how babies were made.

Tia

Tia claimed everything had changed when she was 8, when their family had moved from a smallholding to a flat in the city. Her father then started drinking and becoming violent, slapping her mother on the face and once trying to acquire a gun. When they later moved to a house the drinking and violence became worse. He would not drink during the week but finished a whole bottle of brandy at home on a Friday night, slept it off on Saturday, and was then in a foul mood on Sunday. Nobody dared look at him on Sunday because he had a total personality change. And nobody dared to make a noise when he was sleeping because then he would be uncontrollable. Hence they would tiptoe around to prevent his waking up. Every weekend would be the same. As a result there was lots of stress in the family as well as embarrassment. Once he became so violently drunk that the police were called and he was taken to Tara. He had suffered from PTSD after being shellshocked during the war, which Tia believed was responsible for his behaviour. He had had only one secure job.

When drunk, he would attack Tia's mother and Tia would go to her mother's aid. She had protected and defended her mother because physically she had been the stronger one. She had got between her parents and sometimes he would climb into her but he did not beat her black and blue. However, the threat that he might had always been there. She had always been frightened of her father because when he was drunk he did not know what he was doing, nor did he tolerate disrespect and being challenged. Once when he had started becoming violent, she had stunned him with a long cardboard tube. Her little sister would often scream in terror but her middle sister could handle him psychologically, often being able to guide him to bed. In addition to the violence, he would also do disgusting things when drunk, like exposing himself to the maid. One day he had looked at Tia lecherously while she had been stirring the porridge. Hence the sisters grew up hating and having no respect for him. Tia left home in standard eight because she could no longer stand her father's drinking and was an emotional wreck. One weekend she visited them but he had nearly murdered her, bashing her head on the floor while sitting on top of her. He also stuck his fist through the door to get at her because she had tried to help her mother.

She had not been able to depend on her father for anything and was frightened of him. He had bizarre, uninformed ideas and sometimes seemed incapable of thinking rationally. Yet her mother had stuck with him through it all and supported them financially.

Tia claimed she had not had a childhood. It was a wrecked childhood, concerned only with survival, and it had left its mark on her. The siblings could not even support each other since it was survival of the fittest. This had harmed the family since there was never much love between any of them, with constant fights between sisters. Her mother had covered up the drinking, had avoided conflict and violence at all costs, and had not talked about it. She tended to be cold, undemonstrative and had not hugged them. While Tia protected her mother out of pity, they had not been close and in adulthood Tia had seldom phoned her, as though punishing her for not loving her in her childhood. She had never discussed her problems with her mother. Later she would tell Tia not to bring up the past and would not even talk to Tia about it before her death. Her mother had been a private, frustratingly independent person, lacking in friends and not confiding in anyone. It had not been the kind of mother-daughter relationship she had wanted and which she now had with her children. Yet her mother had even needed Tia to protect her in later life by seeking medical advice from her.

THEME 2: FEMINIST CONTRADICTIONS SUCH AS DISEMPOWERMENT, COMPLIANCY AND SELF-DENIAL.

Vivian

While Vivian is assertive in her job, and will make her voice heard again and again if she is fighting for some issue there, she is not assertive in her marriage, though she still gets her own way most of the time. She does this by feminine wiles. She is quite happy with this dichotomy since she uses any assertiveness she does have at school, and at home feels that this is how women have been socialised to get their way in marriage. She calls it manipulative. She may keep quiet or just drop a subtle hint here and there and then shut up and let it grow so that it was the husband's idea. For example, she may say that she has been sweating in the kitchen and then keep quiet. A few days later her husband will suggest going out to dinner. In this way it would be his idea and hence a pleasanter evening.

Vivian is sometimes wary of showing the tiger in herself, both in her job and marriage. She claims it took her a long time to learn that in her job, until a headmaster advised her to keep it quiet and controlled in management meetings and then come in at the end in a considered unemotional way, in order to carry what she had to say with more impact. Hence she claims she controls herself in order to get her own way. Control for her is a power thing. She initially said she did not resent having to control her emotions but then corrected herself to say that it did sometimes irritate her, but that she had learnt to live with it, since the environment she worked in was very chauvinist and the discourse was male. They are on a different emotional level. She agreed that she might be a woman trying to fit into a man's world.

Vivian admits to being a very different person at school to what she is like at home. She agreed that this was due to family ideology, claiming that the feminist poet, Denise Levertov also thought this. Levertov saw women as having two contradictory identities, the mother-figure versus the one who is as free as the wind or sea. Levertov, according to Vivian, then looked at the free poet persona and judged her as uncaring, whereas she needed the acceptance of being a good wife and mother at the same time as she wanted her own life as a poet. Vivian claims she is not quite the same since she just swaps roles when she goes to work. Sometimes the real Vivian is the one and sometimes the other.

Once, at the start of her marriage when they had argued and she had slammed the car door, her husband had called her a bitch, but she had not hated or felt disempowered by this since she claimed he had always been more sensible than she and she was being a bitch. Nowadays she does not look for hassles, preferring not to provoke his inevitable lecture by smoking. However, she realised this often contradicted her feminist attitudes.

The private spaces in their home are his and she has always worked at the diningroom table. However, since their move, they now have a room at the back which her husband is determined will be hers, and it will be called the sewing room, though Vivian does not know how much sewing she will do there.

Vivian has always been more ambitious for her husband than for herself. It was only when the children grew up that she felt she wanted more responsibility and then her husband encouraged her to go for it since he claimed she was capable and might otherwise get frustrated. Today she feels like retiring and being just a housewife. Yet Vivian remembers as a child being determined not to be like her mother, who was a peacemaker and pacifier, and existed, like all her generation, for marriage, husband and family. She was determined to do her own thing.

In the projective stories she felt the shadow on the carpet was symbolic of how she had grown up, a flat, insubstantial, nothing of a woman. This seemed very out of keeping with the Vivian I knew. Her story also revealed resentment of maternal deceit for presenting an altruistic face to the world, when in fact she

was a determined, selfish virago.

Anne

Anne is no longer hyperefficient when her husband travels abroad since he resented her being so independent and efficient in fixing machines. However, she would still prefer to fix the vacuum cleaner herself. She feels that being assertive is not the best thing in her marriage because he has always been the stronger character. He resents it if she paints a room in a different colour to the one originally chosen. She claims he takes this as an insult to his authority since she has gone ahead without his permission.

Anne claimed her mother and grandmother were domineering and it never got them anywhere. In contrast, Anne was a doormat in the early years of her marriage but she did things because she wanted to do them, not out of duty or to be a martyr.

The study in our home is his because he is very possessive about his things. She claimed he was difficult because he was an only child.

Anne claimed it was easier not to talk about emotions in their marriage since her husband would get defensive or aggressive. She was not the type of person to deliberately cause trouble or to hurt him. She recognised that she was careful and held back out of self-defence so that she did not have to deal with the consequences of what she had done.

Leanne

While Leanne had been an active feminist for about ten years, she claimed she could not express feelings such as anger in the early days of her marriage because she felt she did not have the right since women were not allowed to be angry. She also feels guilty when she is angry and does not express her emotions for fear that she would be labelled an "hysterical female", or "irrational" by men. She felt that this had disempowered her over the years. While her body tells her that what she is feeling is right, her head is saying she may be irrational. Her husband often expresses a 'rational' point of view when she makes a judgement about people and she does not know how to counter that. Her intuition is also mocked by her husband since it too is seen as irrational. Hence she also found her intuition irrational, and is only starting to listen to it now.

When it came to a decision in their first month of marriage about who was to complete university, she went along with his decision to do it and buried her anger. She did not express it in a vociferous way though she sulked in a passive-aggressive way. That was the pattern for years and she refused to talk he asked her what was wrong. Today she is afraid of the anger of others, especially her daughter. What frightens her is her daughter's freedom in expressing anger to her mother, when she had not had that freedom.

Leanne had strong needs for control of others. She felt this was not conducive to happy homes since men were supposed to have control.

In the beginning of her marriage she had also seen sex as her duty and had sexual hangups. She had seen sex as her duty and had feared being labelled frigid or unloving if she did not oblige. She found it difficult to talk about sex. Her projective stories confirmed sexual inhibitions, distress and a lack of active participation. They suggested that some men may have abused her and that she had felt she deserved it, thereby excusing them. As a result she may have wrapped herself in a cocoon of silent anger and seen her body as something not to be trusted.

Tia

In the early days Tia had not stood up for herself and her husband had always had the last say. Now, however, she challenged and confronted him.

THEME 3: ACA DENIAL OR AVOIDANCE OF FEELINGS, RESULTING IN NEEDS FOR SELF-CONTROL AND INTERPERSONAL CONTROL WHICH MAY FIND EXPRESSION IN MANIPULATION AND COERCION

Vivian

As a child Vivian would retreat and cut herself off by going to her own room, and reading. She thought she might have just repressed the hurt caused by her father's behaviour. She had no time for self-pity. She just did not care and often minimised it by joking about it with her boyfriend. She did not talk to her sisters about it. There was a fair amount of suppressed anger towards her father.

Today she admits to being a controlled person and recognises that there is a connection between her need for control and the explosive anger she witnessed in the family. She feels she has inherited her father's aggression. She does not want her children subjected to unpredictable, illogical anger. So she bundled it up. When she is forced to shout at home or at work she feels she has lost control and demeaned herself. Hence she learnt to keep her mouth shut, and wait in order to react in a considered way, to have more impact in meetings. Control is a power thing for her, in order to get her own way, and she enjoys controlling people without them knowing it. She learnt from a headmaster to thus suppress her emotions in the interests of power. She claims she gets satisfaction from manipulating people. She believes she must sublimate because the discourse is male in the male environment.

She gets her own way in the marriage by manipulation as well. She uses feminine wiles rather than assertiveness (which she defined as making one's voice heard again and again). While she would do the latter in school if she was fighting for some issue, in her marriage she found she could get her way by just keeping quiet. Or by dropping subtle hints and quietly letting them grow, so that they became other people's ideas. She often dropped hints over the course of a week about it being hot in the kitchen so that her husband eventually suggested going out to dinner. In that way it was his idea and it was a more pleasant outing. Her husband does not like her bitching. They sort things out in a cool way. She claims she is irrational when she loses her temper and that she can work things out better when she is cool headed.

Today she craves quiet and does not waste energy on emotion, preferring to nurture her resources.

She claimed it had taken her a long time to show affection demonstratively.

She felt she had finally gained ascendancy and control over her father.

In her stories she characterised herself as a shadow, a flat insubstantial nothing of a woman, who could not trust herself to establish any sort of relationship with a man. She portrayed marriage as a coffin, which satisfied her sexually but subjugated her as a woman.

Anne

Anne did not talk to anyone in her family, not even her sisters, about her father's drinking. She also controlled her irritation with him. It was easier to just opt out. Today she cannot believe she did not worry about it.

She is concerned because she cannot remember anything about her childhood (and may have repressed it). When, as an adult, she tried to talk to her mother about the shame of her father's drinking, her mother did not say a lot.

When she first married she could not express anger and used to withdraw and get uptight. She has only recently started expressing her irritation with her husband. She does not talk to him about emotions because it is easier not to and she does not want to talk to him about sex. She claims she does not want to talk about her emotions because it might hurt him and he would get defensive or aggressive. She recognises that she controls herself out of self-defence so that

she does not have to deal with the consequences. She had made sacrifices of parts of herself in marriage to make life easier and less of a hassle, for self-preservation.

Leanne

Control of her own emotions and outside situations is the biggest issue of Leanne's life and she claims this was confirmed by her therapist. If she was not in control, it meant someone else was and she did not like others having control. She will no longer get drunk to the point of losing control. She controls her husband's drinking too. But being into control means her whole life is on edge. She claims she gets what she wants in marriage by being manipulative.

Leanne claims that she cut off emotionally from about the age of 2. That was her defence. It was important for her survival, because she knew that she was abused (physically). She hated her father. She remembered her father hitting her and she refused to give him the satisfaction of seeing her cry. She repressed the anger and sadness and was known as the strong one in the family. Her mother saw her as the coper whom she did not have to worry about because she never cried and was matter of fact about things. Once she had turned the other cheek when her mother had slapped her, devastating her mother by her coolness.

Feelings were also never spoken about in her family. The siblings never spoke about feelings because it was taken for granted that that was the way all families were. She could not talk to her mother about her fears either because her mother defended her husband and accused Leanne of focussing on the negative. She claimed she had not yet begun to deal with her anger at her mother for not defending them.

In the early days of her marriage Leanne did not feel she had a right to express anger, even when her husband decided he alone was going to finish varsity. She went along with it because money was tight but buried her anger, which came out in passive-aggressive sulking, experienced by her husband as being pushed away. It frightened her that she could feel such anger towards someone she was supposed to love. She had also resented male expectations that she must cook and this was her first glimpse of disillusionment and feminism. She claimed she had suppressed the anger for 18 years of her marriage. She felt like a pressure cooker which could not be allowed to release a little pressure for danger of exploding. Even when she went into therapy she found it difficult to talk about the anger. There was often an unbelievable urge to throw a glass of water against the wall in therapy. Once she had hyperventilated to control herself and her therapist had reflected that it was as though someone had a hand over her throat to prevent her from expressing what she was feeling. She agreed, saying that if she was to release the anger it would destroy the therapist and the room. Even her friends are afraid of the little bits of anger she is allowing to show.

She also believed women felt their anger was an alien thing because women were not supposed to feel angry. In one feminist group they had done an exercise involving talking to oneself as a young girl, in which she had had to leave because she couldn't do it. She had felt the need to say sorry to her because she had let her down in terms of dreams and ideals.

She feels guilty when angry because it overpowers her. She sees red and responds on an emotional level, with a quavering voice that frustrates her. She goes mute when confronted with others' anger.

Leanne does not trust her own intuition because it is ridiculed as irrational in her marriage to such an extent that she also found it irrational.

In the beginning she felt sex was her duty and feared being labelled frigid or unadventurous if she did not oblige. Hence she did not have quality sex or orgasms. She believed she was sexually repressed in her adolescence, possibly afraid of losing control rather than becoming pregnant, since control was a huge issue in her life. She did not want boys to touch her. She feels she may not be

capable of having a relationship with a man since she does not trust them and when they become too close or needy she is no longer interested. She thinks she got married to escape home.

Her stories reflect many of the above sentiments. There are references to sexual inhibitions and vaginismus, combined with not wanted to be labelled prudish or boring. She refers to keeping quiet after she felt she had been symbolically raped and instead wrapped herself in a cocoon of silent anger and felt that her body was not to be trusted. She had fantasies of controlling and manipulating men as an omnipotent goddess who protected all females from violence and abuse. This allows her to enjoy her sexuality and to honour her anger. But she now needs peace, calmness and equilibrium.

Tia

As a child, Tia just buried her emotions, only revealing a bit of her feelings to a best friend, but not the whole thing. She never discussed her problems with her mother since her mother did not like discussing some things and, before her death, berated Tia for bringing up the past. Fortunately Tia could unburden herself to her husband in the early days of her marriage, but as she grew older she needed therapy because she was always crying when she talked about herself. She had controlled this when she was young.

Her sisters have always seen her as the one in control and still phone her when there is a problem. She was always frightened of her father hurting her mother and needed to control him. In her projective story she was the strong one controlling her father and giving orders, keeping the others calm. She has often been in such a position of control in her nursing career.

In the early days of her marriage she had not stood up for herself but now, she did challenge and confront her husband.

'Little Lotto'.

Today she also hates people losing control like her father did and as her husband does when he drinks.

Her stories reveal that she needs control and power over men like an omnipotent goddess who protects all females from violence and abuse. Hence her needs are for power rather than status and approval, though she married a professional man and does not lack these things.

Tia

Tia used to be ashamed, embarrassed and disgusted with her father. As a result of this lack of dignity, she felt she had to protect her dignity by retaining her virginity, for that was all she had.

She regretted that she had fled the home without finishing her schooling and sometimes lied on application forms. Nevertheless, she had gone far in nursing and had always got good reports. She takes charge in her job in the same way as she did in the family. Hence she is proud that others see her as the strong one, who takes control.

THEME 5: NEEDS FOR HONESTY, FAIRNESS AND RESPONSIBILITY FROM
OTHERS AS A RESULT OF PAST DECEIT AND DISAPPOINTMENTS

Vivian

Vivian gets angry if people are unfair or dishonest. She feels men are more honest than women and that she married the most honest man of the lot. She trusts men more except for their egocentric sexual behaviour, like ogling other women, and having affairs. She believes that male affairs represent a double-standard and show a lack of responsibility. They are a threat to her security and she would not forgive them.

Vivian also hates it when women use their family or husband as an excuse for having to go home after visits, believing that women should rather accept responsibility for their own actions and feelings.

Anne

Anne needs honesty because she claims her generic family was dishonest in that they never said what they felt. She used to wish her mother would talk to her because she felt so alone. She felt her mother was also unfair since she did not care what her husband thought about the grandmother staying with them.

Today, she needs things to be transparent and recently disapproved of her daughter's deceitfulness in surreptitiously dating an undesirable boy for six months. She also needs transparency in marriage and feels that many women have feared their husbands were having an affair, whereas women had more of a sense of responsibility and bore in mind the consequences of affairs.

Women were also fair and left other women's men alone. She believes people must be fair because one had to take other people's feelings into account. She felt she needed to be loyal to her partner so that he did not hear about himself from a third party.

Leanne

Leanne felt confused and angered by her mother who had always been sweet and nice to a husband who abused her. As a consequence Leanne hated mixed messages.

In turn Leanne felt it had been unfair that she had to be a cosy available mother when she was not getting much help from her husband.

Tia

Tia now needs people to be fair and unhurtful, otherwise she cuts them dead. She took a long time to forgive and regain trust in her husband after he had had an affair. She had initially taken an overdose and had suspected every woman he became friendly with.

THEME 6: DIFFICULTIES WITH CRITICISM/ANGER FROM OTHERS

Vivian

Vivian had had difficulty in the past with what she perceived as indirect criticism from her mother-in-law and children about the lack of time she spent on wifely duties such as baking cakes. She had also resented an implication from a male teacher that she could not discipline her pupils, when she knew she disciplined them well. She later recognised that he had only been trying to protect her.

It seemed she had chosen her husband because he was not emotional or tempestuous. And she avoided bitching, ranting or causing hassles with him.

Leanne

Leanne becomes defensive, humiliated and angry when confronted with criticism. She claims she is afraid of her children's and husband's anger. The former makes her feel guilty about having done something wrong, and the latter oppresses and frightens her, reminding her of the situation with her father. After one of their first arguments, her husband had gone to a party without her, without saying anything to her, and she had felt as abandoned as she used to feel when her father left angrily in his car, without the family knowing when or if he was coming back.

Today Leanne goes mute when confronted by anger (as her mother did) and does not know how to deal with it. She tends to flee others' anger. She also avoids her own anger because she feels guilty, thinks twice and concludes that it is irrational. She claims her husband tends to be contemptuous of women's emotions, calling them "hysterical females, or irrational". He also, incorrectly, labels Leanne a radical feminist and blames this for any marital problems.

She used to fear being labelled frigid or unloving if she refused sex.

Anne

Anne claims she does not like people who are angry or unreasonable like her father and does not like arguing.

In self-defence, so that she does not have to deal with the consequences, she avoids causing trouble or hurt. She has also stopped fixing machines in the home since her husband resents her perceived efficiency and independence. At the moment she is reticent to say she hates him because it might cause repercussions.

Tia

Tia fears and avoids criticism, and has always feared people in authority, since she grew up in a very authoritarian environment. Her father would question her even if she went to the shop. As a result she had been anxious about criticism from hospital sisters and doctors when she first nursed.

She claims that if someone hurts her, she cuts them dead, as if punishing them.

THEME 7: RESENTMENT OR ANGER TOWARDS THE MOTHER WHO DENIED OR FAILED TO PREVENT THE DRINKING BEHAVIOUR.

Vivian

Vivian remembered her mother once talking in a joking manner that she did not know when her husband was coming home for supper. Her mother had been a pacifier and peacemaker when Vivian and her father had had slanging matches at the dinner table. She had lived, like most of her generation, for her marriage, family and husband. Vivian was determined she was not going to be like that, she was going to do her own thing instead.

Vivian seemed to receive little confirmation of the effects of her father's drinking from her mother who just accepted that he had returned from the war that way. Her mother would just reply to Vivian that he had been a good father. Vivian felt that that generation of women couldn't have been anything else, given that they were half educated and lived for their marriage and family, but she did not want to end up in the same boat. Her stories, however, suggested little love or respect for her mother whom she characterised as a hard selfish virago.

Anne

Anne's mother minimised her husband's drinking out of loyalty to him. Anne had not admired her mother since she had not been around very much and her relationship with Anne had been shallow. She had not told Anne things and Anne was still waiting for her mother to tell her how babies were made. She surmised that this accounted for her present inability to talk about sex. Her stories confirmed that her mother had not talked to her about her father's drinking and hence she had felt alone.

Further resentment was expressed in that she claimed her mother had had a boyfriend and that she had ignored many of Anne's father's wishes by having her mother live in the same home.

Leanne

Leanne is angry because her mother let her down by taking the violence and abuse, and by always being compliant and nice to her father. She did not step in and defend or protect Leanne, but was just there as an observer while her father did things to Leanne. For this reason Leanne was really angry with her mother and had not dealt with this anger yet. However, she recognised that her mother had colluded out of survival. Her story confirmed that her mother had never expressed her anger but that Leanne had absorbed it. Her mother had gone mute when confronted by anger and Leanne copied this behaviour today. When her own daughter expressed anger Leanne felt guilty and realised that her own mother-daughter relationship may have been responsible for these feelings.

She claimed she had a stilted relationship with her mother and had never been able to talk to her about her fears, since her mother defended her father and denied the drinking problem, telling Leanne not to focus on the negative aspects of her childhood. She had only admitted things were bad after their divorce three years ago.

In her childhood, her mother had insisted the home be quickly tidied before her father came home and had ensured that he always had the best cuts of meat. She had accepted the violence and abuse as well. She had always believed that Leanne was a coper and that she did not have to worry about Leanne because she never cried.

Tia

THEME8: NEEDS FOR A DEPENDABLE, STABLE, CONGENIAL, IDEAL, CONFLICT-FREE MARRIAGE AND MARRIAGE PARTNER IN CONTRAST TO THE GENERIC FAMILY

Vivian

Vivian's father was very emotional and caused ridiculous furores. She decided she was not going to marry a man who orally abused women, and looked for a quiet, gentle and reliable person. She went for someone the total opposite of her father in terms of lack of aggression and concern for others. She claimed her husband was rational, sensible, unemotional, gentle, good-mannered, honest, quiet and not a fighter. He was studious, intellectual and stable. She was attracted to him because he was unemotional. He also only drank the odd beer socially.

Their marriage, as a result, was more predictable than that of her parents, and the home had a peaceful, even tenor. She did not look for hassles or arguments and would do anything for quiet. She is too tired to waste energy on emotion. She had not wanted a marriage like her parents had. Her husband is also a very different father to their children, encouraging them in new activities and even unselfishly joining in and fitting in with them, whereas she as a child had had to fit in with her father's love of sailing. There was also much better communication between parents and children.

In terms of communication, the children have always sat at the dinner table with them. The TV is switched off and they talk, sometimes for as long as two hours. Vivian deliberately takes a lot of trouble to cook and present nice meals to make people

want to stay and eat. The family are very grateful for these and she receives a lot of stroking from them and compliments from her son's friends. One of her fantasies for marriage had been to have a happy family and attractive dinner table. A recent irrational argument between her father and son had angered her because her father had disrupted HER dinner table, and she realised this had reverberated with what her father had done to her at the dinner table in the generic family.

Anne

Anne's husband is far more restrained, solid, ambitious, pernickity; dependable and predictable than her father was and he is never drunk. Moreover, he did not embarrass her or the children as her father had. She had never been able to look up to her father. While everyone thought her father was fun, so was her husband when he was young, but in a more restrained way.

In the early days of their marriage she had needed to prove to her husband that she was the perfect wife and wanted to keep up with her husband's ambition, by arranging perfect dinner parties, having perfect parke floors and flower beds. She got satisfaction from doing the wifely bit even though she had made sacrifices in terms of self-assertion. For example she used to shut up and say nothing. She does not tell her husband if the children are irritating her because then he would shout at them. If her daughter became stroppy with him she would step in and smooth things over. In addition, she claims it is easier not to fix machines herself since he resents her independence and efficiency.

She claims marriage is sacred to her and she believes one must be loyal to one's marriage partner.

Leanne

Leanne's grew up in a home where her father was very aggressive and there was lots of violence. Her father had been moody, taciturn, oppressive and

complicated whereas her husband in his youth was open, full of fun, and easier to get on with. He had given the impression of being a really happy, uncomplicated person, which she claimed had changed over the years. He was now conservative.

She had been incredibly idealistic when she first got married and believed it would be glorious bliss for the rest of their lives, without arguments. She had thought what had happened in her generic family was unusual. She had felt it necessary to prove to herself and her husband that she had an ideal marriage. She had thus often buried her anger and had not articulated it in a vociferous way, but gone along with major decisions such as who would complete their university career.

Tia

Tia could not depend on her alcoholic, aggressive father for anything. In contrast her husband is a very stable, unsentimental, strong, down to earth, supportive person and she had been able to depend on him like a second arm.

She believes she has found everything her mother and father never had. They have a good marriage and her children have never doubted that their parents were not happily married. They did not burden their children with any problems that they had (unlike her parents). One of her ideals for marriage had been to have a baby that she could shower with all her love to prove that she was able to do all the things that her parents had not done for her. She too is a perfectionist when it comes to her home and garden.

THEME 9: RESURRECTION OF AN IDEAL FATHER (AND MOTHER) PLUS REPARATION OF THE FAMILY.

Vivian

Vivian claimed her father had been emotional, verbally abusive, restless, belittling, illogical, defensive and poorly educated. She and her father would fight like cat and dog and he also made her mother's life miserable. She relishes the thought that she has now gained ascendancy over her father after all his belittling of her. She had obviously done this through her own and her husband's intellectual status. In this respect she had pushed for her husband's career more than hers.

She admitted that the drinking, aggressive behaviour of her father, and his belittling of her, had affected her choice of husband since she was determined not to marry a man who verbally abused her. She had also realised that if her father had married someone like her, the marriage would have been doomed. Because she realised that she couldn't marry the same type of man, her only option thus would have been to marry a man who did not drink, become aggressive, or hold opinions diametrically opposed to hers. Her husband first stood out from the rest of her varsity acquaintances because he did not drink. In addition her husband held the same politics (left wing) as she did, which meant that she would not be belittled for her opinions as in the past, since their opinions would be more congruent. Her father had belittled her yet boasted of her achievements to his friends in the pub. From reports, her husband also validated her intuition. Being validated and holding the same opinions meant that she would not be provoked into any illogical anger which she felt she may have inherited from her father. Hence her children would be spared an illogical angry parent. Her husband is also described as not being a fighter, but rational, quiet, educated, sensible, well-mannered, gentle and reliable - qualities that suggest he does not look for arguments. Indeed he defuses her negative emotional reactions and thus defuses arguments. He also does not tolerate her "bitchiness", and she had learnt "to keep her mouth shut". He had also been horrified during their courtship by the way the members of her generic family had shouted at each other. She too does not look for arguments in her marriage, but rather, peace. She claimed she was not even uncomfortable with the dichotomy between her assertive behaviour in her career versus her compliant behaviour in marriage. Yet she acknowledges that this contradicts her feminist attitudes.

Vivian claimed she had not wanted the type of marriage her parents had. She described her generic home as temperamental and, in contrast, she has now established a stable, peaceful home with "an even tenor". She alluded to the fact that she wanted to shield her children from the type of shame and chaos she had experienced. This home is so important to her now that she even wants to retire and become a fulltime homemaker. Her husband is also a very different father to their children than her father was, since he encouraged and fitted in with the children's interests.

Vivian had been determined not to be a peacemaker like her mother. She "did not want to end up in the same boat". She seemed to have had a notion of the ideal wife/mother since she had always been sure she could do better at this than anyone. This included being a good cook and homemaker since her father had always complained about the food, whereas she makes a ritual of dinner, always cooking and presenting it well, so that people want to stay and talk and "stroke" her for her efforts. There is a possibility that she may use the dinner table to prove her refinement and status. This was unlike her generic family dinner table

which had been the locus of arguments and tension, and where family members had eaten and then disappeared. Since her generic family was described as often having no dignity, she consciously strove to repair this in her present family. Her dinner table now has a "magic, poetic" quality, and she is outraged when this is disrupted.

In contrast to the above, however, her projected stories portrayed marriage as a "coffin", resulting in the "death" of the self.

Anne

Anne described her father as unpredictable, irritating and unreasonable. He lost jobs, and left them feeling insecure and lacking in respect for him. He embarrassed them with his 'silly' behaviour at parties, when drunk. Her mother and father had also bickered to the extent that she had once feared they might divorce.

In contrast, her chosen husband is more dependable, solid, ambitious and fussier about the state of their home. He also does not embarrass her children the way her father had. In fact, she had rejected her long-time boyfriend because he had started drinking and politicking. Her husband, while also full of fun like her father, is far more restrained and her children can admire him rather than feel ashamed of him. To avoid drinking parties she also will not have a bar in her home.

Her husband is the stronger character in relation to her and could be quite authoritarian. This is the opposite of what occurred in her generic home, where her mother was the stronger of the two parents and a powerful woman.

Yet she claimed her mother was also a peacemaker. Anne has no need to be, hence one could draw the corollary that she chose differently, in order not to have to play this role of peacemaker. She perceives herself to have more family responsibility than her mother had since she believes her mother might have had a boyfriend. Interestingly, this is consistent with the content of one of her projected stories of a housewife who has a lover.

She claimed her mother could have improved the lives of her children. Instead both her mother and father had been "into doing their own thing". In contrast, Anne had tried to be the perfect wife by having perfect dinner parties, parke floors, and garden. Her projected stories reveal a similar need for status, with all the material trappings of the middle-class lifestyle.

She also made sacrifices to make married life easier. She does not like arguing and "smoothes things over" if her daughter opposes her father. She also does not fix appliances she could fix since her husband does not like her to be efficient and independent.

In Anne's projected stories, she reveals a clear need to repair the generic family as well as to have an ideal father and mother, when she asks "why can't we be like other families - why can't my mummy and daddy be like other parents?", since her father drank, and the family dishonestly never said what they felt.

Leanne

Leanne claimed her father had "let her down". He had been autocratic, morose, embittered, unpredictable, aggressive, suspicious, possessive, intense, violent, and controlling to the extent that she would not allow her husband or anyone to control her now. Today she also cannot tolerate her husband occasionally drinking in case he becomes as "out of control" as her father was.

When she first met her husband, he had given the impression of being an open, uncomplicated, really happy person who was full of fun and easy to get on with - the opposite of her "embittered, morose, aggressive" father. She claimed she had not then encountered his "raging furies" which now oppress her in the same way her father's anger had. They leave her as mute as her mother had been in the face of anger. In the beginning of their marriage she had also not expressed her anger in order to prove she had an ideal marriage.

Her generic home had contained verbal and physical abuse, and secrets. Her stories refer to abuse and rape. Leanne's husband is a lawyer.

The generic family dinner table had been an uncomfortable place and as a result she had remaining "food and body issues" and still felt uncomfortable sitting around the dinner table. Since her mother had been "powerless", Leanne had "imbibed her silent anger", and in her projected stories, her mother instead becomes strong and powerful, an "omnipotent goddess".

Tia

Tia's father was perceived to have been as unstable as Jekyll and Hyde and had only had one stable job. He became so violent and uncontrollable when drunk that his children were all frightened, disgusted and ashamed of him. Tia had protected her mother, and her father had once hit his fist through a door to get to Tia.

In contrast, Tia had married a very stable, predictable, supportive man. She too had recognised that if she had not married such a man, it might have been disastrous. Now she "has everything her parents never had". In fact she had, as a young nurse, rejected two unpredictable, womanising doctors as partners. In contrast to these doctors, when she met her husband, she had immediately known she would marry him, since he was very stable and down to earth. He was an engineer, built homes and restored furniture, while her father had destroyed furniture in rage. Her husband had also challenged her father's bizarre ideas. Furthermore, she could unburden herself to her husband. He was always strong and she depended on him like a second arm. She had not been able to depend on her father for anything.

Her relationship with her mother was described as disappointing since her mother had been a cold, hard and a private person. She was determined to have, and has, a very different relationship with her own daughter, since she is close to

her, always there for her children, gets involved with their activities, talks to them and is demonstrative. Tia's ideal mother would also have protected her children in contrast to the protective role her mother needed her children to play. As a young woman Tia had longed for a child to shower with love in order to prove to herself that parents could do everything for a child and shield a child from its parents' problems.

APPENDIX E
SILENCING THE SELF SCALE

Please circle the number that best describes how you feel about each of the statements listed below.

Strongly disagree Somewhat disagree Neither agree nor disagree Somewhat agree Strongly agree

1. I think it is best to put myself first because no one else will look out for me.
1 2 3 4 5
2. I don't speak my feelings in an intimate relationship when I know they will cause disagreement.
1 2 3 4 5
3. Caring means putting the other person's needs in front of my own.
1 2 3 4 5
4. Considering my needs to be as important as those of the people I love is selfish.
1 2 3 4 5
5. I find it is harder to be myself when I am in a close relationship than when I am on my own.
1 2 3 4 5
6. I tend to judge myself by how I think other people see me.
1 2 3 4 5
7. I feel dissatisfied with myself because I should be able to do all the things people are supposed to be able to do these days.
1 2 3 4 5
- *8. When my partner's needs and feelings conflict with my own, I always state mine clearly.
1 2 3 4 5
9. In a close relationship, my responsibility is to make the other person happy.
1 2 3 4 5
10. Caring means choosing to do what the other person wants, even when I want to do something different.
1 2 3 4 5
- *11. In order to feel good about myself, I need to feel independent and self-sufficient.
1 2 3 4 5
12. One of the worst things I can do is to be selfish.
1 2 3 4 5
13. I feel I have to act in a certain way to please my partner.
1 2 3 4 5
14. Instead of risking confrontations in close relationships, I would rather not rock the boat.
1 2 3 4 5
- *15. I speak my feelings with my partner, even when it leads to problems or disagreements.
1 2 3 4 5

16. Often I look happy enough on the outside, but inwardly I feel angry and rebellious.
1 2 3 4 5
17. In order for my partner to love me, I cannot reveal certain things about myself to him/her.
1 2 3 4 5
18. When my partner's needs or opinions conflict with mine, rather than asserting my own point of view I usually end up agreeing with him/her.
1 2 3 4 5
19. When I am in a close relationship I lose my sense of who I am.
1 2 3 4 5
20. When it looks as though certain of my needs can't be met in a relationship, I usually realize that they weren't very important anyway.
1 2 3 4 5
- *21. My partner loves and appreciates me for who I am.
1 2 3 4 5
22. Doing things just for myself is selfish.
1 2 3 4 5
23. When I make decisions, other people's thoughts and opinions influence me more than my own thoughts and opinions.
1 2 3 4 5
24. I rarely express my anger at those close to me.
1 2 3 4 5
25. I feel that my partner does not know my real self.
1 2 3 4 5
26. I think it's better to keep my feelings to myself when they do conflict with my partner's.
1 2 3 4 5
27. I often feel responsible for other people's feelings.
1 2 3 4 5
28. I find it hard to know what I think and feel because I spend a lot of time thinking about how other people are feeling.
1 2 3 4 5
29. In a close relationship I don't usually care what we do, as long as the other person is happy.
1 2 3 4 5
30. I try to bury my feelings when I think they will cause trouble in my close relationship(s).
1 2 3 4 5
31. I never seem to measure up to the standards I set for myself.
1 2 3 4 5

If you answered the last question with a 4 or 5, please list up to three of the standards you feel you don't measure up to:

100

APPENDIX F
PROJECTIVE STIMULI

Dear Anonymous,

Please fill in the questionnaire and write two stories matching the paintings. then place all in the stamped envelope provided and return them to me. In this way, your reply will be anonymous.

You will notice that the paintings chosen are by women and are very ambiguous. There are many possible matching stories, none of which could be called 'right' or 'wrong'. This is precisely why they were chosen - to give you free rein in weaving whatever story you choose. However, please make them as plausible as possible, and as long as possible.

While names have been provided for the central characters for your convenience, you may, if you prefer, rename them or take the part yourself, if you so wish.

Please phone me if you have any other queries.

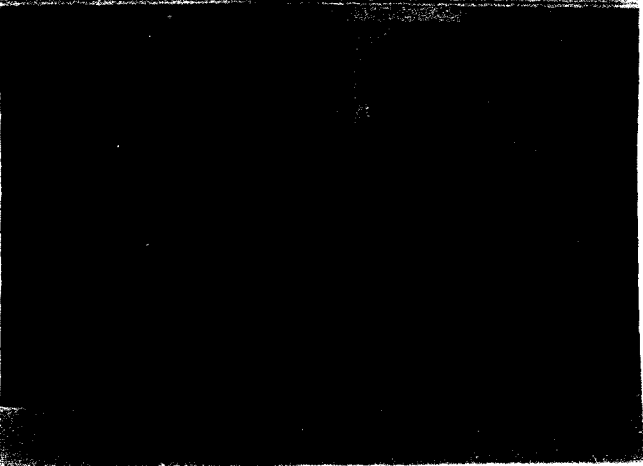
Thank you for taking part in this project.



Paula Rego(1985). The Family.

Weave your own fantasy story (using this picture as a starting point), one or two pages in length, about the characters in the painting, concentrating mostly on the main female character with her back to you, whom you may call Paula. The man on the bed is her husband and the woman in black and white above them, kneeling on the bed, is the maid. As a guide, you may refer to the character's facial and bodily expressions and their possible motives, conflicts, needs etc. as well as what they are thinking and feeling. Try to include what is currently happening, what might have led up to this, and how the story might end. You may also connect any articles or symbolism in the room to the human relationship. As this is anonymous, you have license to give your fantasies free rein, or personalise the story if you wish. Feel free to take whatever liberties you like without worrying about what the artist intended or finding the 'right' answer.

11. Bell, D.
(1988).
Inside Out



Deborah Bell(1988). Inside Out.

You may name the woman in this painting Deborah. She is depicted four times. The man in the painting (depicted twice) is her lover/husband. Once again, weave a fantasy story about them, including expressions, feelings, possible conflicts, needs, past, present and future, as in the previous story. Again feel free to take whatever liberties you like as this is anonymous, and do not worry about what the artist intended, or what the 'right' answer is.