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Scope

The journal of ***Language and Psychoanalysis*** is a fully peer reviewed online journal that publishes twice a year. It is the only interdisciplinary journal with a strong focus on the qualitative and quantitative analysis of language and psychoanalysis. The journal is also inclusive and not narrowly confined to the Freudian psychoanalytic theory.

We welcome a wide range of original contributions that further the understanding of the interaction between Linguistic Analysis and Theory & Psychoanalytic Theories and Techniques. Any relevant manuscripts with an emphasis on language and psychoanalysis will be considered, including papers on methodology, theory, philosophy, child development, psychopathology, psychotherapy, embodied cognition, cognitive science, applied dynamical system theory, consciousness studies, cross-cultural research, and case studies. The journal also publishes short research reports, book reviews, interviews, obituaries, and readers' comments.

Peer Review Policy

All manuscripts will be peer reviewed by the editors, a member of the editorial advisory board, or another qualified person appointed by the editors.

For Contributors

Manuscript:
· Authors need to confirm with a cover letter that the manuscript has not been published previously and is not being submitted currently to another journal.
· Manuscripts are only published in the English language.

Word limit:
· Submissions for main articles should be approximately 3,000-10,000 words in length and include an abstract of about 200 words and up to seven keywords.
· Short research reports, book reviews, and readers' comments should be approximately 500-2,500 words in length.
· Interviews and obituaries should not exceed 4,000 words in length.

Style:
· Manuscripts should be double-spaced, in Times 12-point font, and in .doc, .docx, or .rtf format.
· Manuscripts should follow the style conventions as outlined by the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*, 5th edition.

Content

Placing Myself in the Picture – An Autobiographical Approach to the Phenomenology of Language, Identity, Trauma and Memory

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Abstract

This brief self-narrative juxtaposes philosophical and psychoanalytic theories of language and trauma with descriptions of the author's experiences as: a child and adolescent migrant, a fragmentary language learner, and a postsecondary language educator. It studies the short and long-term effects of having one's language of identification undervalued by political tensions, and examines what it means for the ego to (re)construct its identity following a language-related emotional crisis. The author defines her libidinal attachments to her introjected tongues and discusses how her present state of being within uneven languages were carved by the memory of her experiences as a child and an adolescent migrant. Similar to Jacques Derrida's (1996) description of "disorders of identity", Carrá-Salsberg blends theory with her recollections of lived occurrences to conceptualize the way in which the inscription of early traumatic occurrences within languages ground subjects' life-long responses and attitude towards their acquired tongues.

Introduction

After writing and re-writing my autobiography, I tried unsuccessfully to gather my thoughts for an introduction to this paper. I attempted to produce a paragraph that would link to my circumstances with language, but encountered nothing short of a brick wall, or as it is said in English, an intense case of writer's block. After hours of frustration and at least seven attempts to what was clearly becoming the prelude to an unsuccessful paper, I decided to take a different approach to writing and began brainstorming with questions relating to my collage of experiences as a migrant and my profound interest in language, desire, repression, identification and trauma. Similar to Freud's intent with Anna O's 'talking cure', I tried overcoming my own resistance by writing questions without knowing if my actions would lead to anything fruitful. I wrote questions such as: What is a repressed language? What does it mean to live between languages? What does my mother tongue mean to me? What does it represent? Under which circumstances do subjects feel at a loss for language? What does it signify to speak, live and house the language of trauma? And at last, what does it mean to live with the oppressor in me? During the very late hours of the night, these questions shed light to my studies, pointing me in the direction of this autobiographical, research paper.

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My History within Languages

From the early twentieth century, political, social, religious, ethnic and economic factors have contributed to the mass emigration of individuals from Spanish speaking countries. Many came to countries like Canada and the United States in search for economic stability, freedom of speech, religious, racial and sexual tolerance. Entire families have left their countries of origin in hopes for new opportunities, a fresh start and a better life. It was a combination of these factors that impacted my parents' decision to immigrate to Ontario, Canada from Buenos Aires, Argentina when I was two years of age. Since neither one of my parents was proficient in the language spoken by the dominant linguistic community, my older sister and I learned English at school. As it is common with most young immigrants, within a relatively short period of time, my sister and I became accustomed to the culture we comfortably attained by means of interactions with teachers, with our newly acquired school friends and neighbours. However, after living in Canada for six years my parents decided to return to our country of origin. My parents' major fears was raising their children in a foreign country and culture they did not understand. Naively believing that the economic and political situation had somewhat improved over the years, my parents decided to take my older sister, my three year-old brother and I from our Canadian surroundings and return to Argentina.

Even though my parents spoke Spanish in our Canadian home, being the second born in the family affected my acquisition and maintenance of Spanish. Throughout my childhood years in Canada I was not fluent in Spanish and had a distinct English accent when attempting to express myself in Spanish. Even though Spanish, and not English, was my mother tongue, as a young child English was the language I lived and breathed. While Spanish, on the other hand, was the language with which I struggled, the language that belonged to my parents and relatives. Back in Argentina, I became driven by an intense desire to become proficient in my mother tongue and to fit-in with my heritage culture. Returning to what felt like a foreign environment was difficult. According to my parents, our second migration was our return 'home'. For me, however, it marked the beginning of my first intra-subjective splitting'[2]and sense of linguistic and socio-geographical displacement. My alienation and uneasiness was present from my moment of arrival. These feelings increased, moreover, only months following our return when a war broke between Argentina and Great Britain over the Falkland Islands.

Consistent with my experience(s), language, aside from becoming the means of communication, it grants subjects a sense of belonging and identity, or, on the contrary, a sense of otherness and displacement. At the time of my return to Argentina, Buenos Aires was a province populated primarily by second, third and fourth generation immigrants. Consequently, children of my generation were not accustomed to hearing a foreign accent from a fellow classmate. My English accent, combined with the war against an English speaking country, turned me into a victim of bullying and hostility in the schoolyard and neighborhood. English 'grounded my social existence' (Bohorquez, 2008, p.49). In the eyes of my fellow schoolmates and young neighbours, it embodied my

[2] 'Intrasubjective splitting' is a phenomenological response to subjects' deep-rooted crisis or trauma. This experience is defined as a disorienting fragmentation or split that disrupts individuals' sense of temporal continuity: subjects feel stuck in a never-ending present and are thus unable envision a cohesive future. (Freud, 2006, pp. 137-139; Van der Kolk & Van der Hart, 1995, pp. 175-176).

presence into that of an enemy.

It is not uncommon for a childhood language to become deactivated by the cessation of such language's use (Pavlenko, 2014, p. 223). When a 'language ceases to be inhabited' (Adorno, 1974, p. 87) by no longer being the tongue of everyday social interactions and inner speech, multilingual subjects often become detached to such symbolic code and inevitably attached to the host tongue of daily –and nightly- function. However, in my case, the abandonment of the English language while in Argentina was not exclusively linked to this symbolic code's lack of instrumental function and social meaning[3]. My detachment of this symbolic code was concurrent with my rejection of a newly constructed foreign identity. When I returned with my parents and siblings to my country of birth, I perceived the distinct English accent that was embedded in my speech as the reason for my daily and nightly torment, my sense of otherness and pain. This traumatic experience within language not only ignited my desire to become proficient in Spanish, it also made me eager to disconnect myself from my unwanted identity as a dominant English speaker.

Language, as the essence of our existence, becomes the receptacle of emotions. It is the vehicle by which we attain and disperse our layered knowledge and construct, deconstruct and reconstruct our identities. A symbolic code forms and informs our belief systems, our perceptions, interpretations and who we believe and are believed to be (Derrida 1996, pp. 10-11). Our language's psycho-emotional and social importance may explain why for many, a negative socio-linguistic experience can easily be turned into the source of a deep-rooted trauma. In *Monolingualism of the Other or The Prosthesis of Origen*, Jacques Derrida (1996) describes his own past experience with language, identity and trauma. During World War II, as a Franco-Maghrebian child of Jewish decent, the author, along with other members of his Algerian Jewish community, was ostracized, stripped from his French citizenship and his right to attend public school[4]. As explained throughout his autobiographical narrative, since language and social culture are profoundly intertwined (p. 29-53), having his citizenship ablated for a period of two years caused a 'disorder of identity'[5] (pp. 16-17, p. 29) which was an alienating confusion that extended to his feeling towards French and his French identity:

> I was very young at the time, and I certainly did not understand very well...what citizenship and loss of citizenship *meant to say*. But I do not doubt that exclusion- from the school reserved for French citizens- could have a relationship to the

[3] In this paper, a language's social meaning is tied to its ability to become a vehicle for communication within a dominant linguistic community.

[4] Derrida (1996) emphasis that the removal of citizenship did not occur under 'the Occupation': "It was a Franco-French operation, one even ought to say an act of French Algeria in the absence of any German occupation" (p. 17).

[5] A language may give a sense of identity if it forms part of the speaker`s reality. For Derrida, not only did French not represent his Algerian reality, such tongue became the language that, along with its culture, made him feel as an outcast within the compounds of his only home.

> disorder of identity...I do not doubt either that such "exclusions" come to leave their mark upon this belonging or not belonging *of* language, this affiliation *to* language, this assignation to what we peacefully call a language (pp.16-17).

This passage describes the manner in which language, whether spoken, or written, echoes our past and thus carries within it our cultural and personal history. For Derrida, his French language became the language of trauma, the one that engulfed his history. His French belonged to those who ostracised him during tragic childhood years of oppression and overall injustice. Equally important, it was the language that linked to his identity: Derrida's French was connected to a childhood identity that became challenged the moment the author was segregated from the non-Jewish sector of the population and denied his right to be and feel French. This conflicting sentiment, the opposing connection of discrimination in the hands of his government, combined with his childhood fidelity towards his French language, culture and identity, amounted to Derrida's trauma or the "meaning of -his- obsessive act" (Freud, 1935, p. 245).

Sigmund Freud suggests that sufferers of distressing events demonstrate a fixation to the moment of the traumatic occurrence. Being unable to become released from the moment of traumatic experience makes subjects feel constantly alienated from their present and their future (pp. 242-243). Such patients, continues Freud, may produce the traumatic situation in their dreams or may, as seen with Derrida, experience the need to repeatedly describe their traumatic obsession in hopes of understanding and, or releasing themselves from such occurrence. Traumatic encounters with language and identity may not only trigger a sense of alienation, repression, obsession and confusion, in extreme cases of distress, the event of a trauma may also cause gaps of conscious memory or amnesia. As argued by Derrida:

> …it is suitable here to think of tensions and the play of forces...of the generative fury of repression- amnesia...active, dynamic, powerful, something other than a mere forgetfulness. The interdiction is not negative; it does not incite simply to loss. Nor is the amnesia it organizes from the depths, in the nights of the abyss, incited to perdition. It ebbs and flows like a wave that sweeps everything along upon its shores...It carries everything ...enriches itself with everything, carries away, brings back, deports and becomes swollen again with what it has dragged away.... (Derrida, 1996, p. 31).

For Derrida, the aforementioned amnesia and repression relates to his childhood experiences. Repressing memories is an unconscious act that protects the subject against unpleasant, traumatic events. It is a build-in defence that releases the emotional tension of

a trauma by blocking, at least part of, its conscious memory, or replacing it by falsifications (Freud, 1935, p.251). Returning to my experience, I am aware that the memory of my childhood experiences is flawed. My family often recounts childhood stories of happy and sad incidents that involved me. These are situations of which, no matter how hard I try and how much detail I am given, is never brought back to the surface of my consciousness. One aspect of my past I do remember, nonetheless, is how, as a pre-teen and a teenager, the sound of the English language was enough to trigger feelings of confusion and distress. The undeniable link between language, knowledge, relationships and identity made me openly blame the English language for my adverse circumstances. It is for this reason that for years of my life English became a language I had perceptually lost, for it was consciously forgotten.

Post-Trauma

In Argentina I eventually became proficient in Spanish and re-invented my existence. Within years of my return to Buenos Aires I was able to disguise myself as a Spanish speaker who mixed among the dominant linguistic community, without an apparent trace of a foreigner's accent and, or identity. In Argentina I repressed my memories of my Canadian life and embraced my accepted identification. In three years' time I had made a home in Buenos Aires: a home that was build upon the discontinuity and shattering of my experiences, and the rejection of anything English. Within my own linguistic exile and displacement, I became a new, distinct self that was oblivious of my own colonization, of my psyche's undertaking and thus, of the constant undercurrent that overwhelmed my being and filled my unconscious mind.

Disruption of a Sense of Permanence

I recognize that had Buenos Aires been my last city of migrations, English would have remained a severed language: a language potentially disconnected with my inner life and daily social interactions. Nonetheless, unlike subjects who may be able to consciously neglect a previous language for their entire lives, I was unwillingly made to return to Canada at the age of seventeen. Returning was an event that marked my second intra-subjective split and forced me to bring the English language back into light.

My parents' decision to migrate back to Canada was due to the economic and political crisis that existed -and still exists- in Argentina. Even though I returned to the place and the language I use to live and breathe, becoming immersed once again in its environment as a non-English speaker made me feel estranged, empty of language and disoriented. During this period of my life, I missed feeling at home with the English language and desperately tried to overcome the infantile stage of language to which I was re-subjected. Most of all, I loathed feeling lost within an environment I no longer understood. As it is for many child and adolescent migrants, during the initial stages of host-foreign language immersion I felt socially unfit in Canada and experience a despairing need to return to Argentina. During those times of re-lived strife, I clearly recall feeling as if a massive force oppressed my chest and placed me within glass walls: I could see the outside world, but without a common language, I could not participate in it. After a total of five years[6],

[6] Within two years I re-learned English in second language classrooms. Approximately five years following my return to Ontario, Canada I regained fluency

however, my Spanish become partially replaced and I once again achieved instrumental mastery of the English language.

My Present

Glancing back at my life, I can affirm that regardless of my present immersion within the English-speaking community, my proficiency in the English language and thus, my apparent assimilation, I have not achieved a full translation. At times and depending on the group of either Spanish or English speakers with whom I interact, I notice that I often lack in both linguistic codes. Frequently, when either language makes me feel socially displaced and emptied of words, my inner self feels like an empty urn that has never been fully occupied. As an adult, I often feel that I do not have a linguistic vehicle that provides me with a sense of psychic wholeness, continuity and belonging. Looking at my past, however, the one and only language that has ever made me feel close to being whole was my childhood English, the language I spoke before my trauma. As an adult living in Canada, although English is, more often than not, my language of social function, it is still not a language of absolute comfort. As an adult, I commonly feel that I am caught between languages. I sense that although I sound native in both English and Spanish, I can never fully master either language. I still feel intimidated when I try to express myself in English spoken lectures and in uncomfortable social gatherings. At times, I get so anxious that I partially block what others say and therefore cannot produce the words or the thoughts that would allow me to engage in a cohesive argument. In addition, I dislike and sometimes struggle when I am asked to read out loud in front of a crowd in either language. I often wonder if, in part, my lack of confidence in my adult English language is consequential to the traces of negative feelings I have experienced in Argentina during the months of war. I also question if my insecurity with all language - and not just English- relates to the inner struggle that exists within my psyche, a discussion I intend to turn our attention to shortly.

As for Spanish, my so-called mother tongue: the language linked to my 'earliest maternal imago' (Akhtar, 1995, p. 1069), the symbolic code of meanings that 'developed through and within my history of affect' (Carrá-Salsberg, 2015, p. 46), such language has been downgraded following my return to Canada. Its internal occupancy has become shared as part of an unstable conundrum that exists within me. What most individuals find puzzling is that although I have been teaching Spanish grammar at the postsecondary level for the past fifteen years, I find myself unable to teach Spanish to my twelve and ten year-old daughters. Even though English has been openly linked to my traumatic past, English has also become my language of love and choice with my children. It is the language of storytelling, fairy tales, dreams and deep-rooted conversations I share with my daughters and life-partner. Through my children, I am able to re-live my childhood language, the untouched, cherished symbolic code I spoke and lived before my rupture and first intra-subjective split.

The opposing effects of language are constant in our everyday lives, yet become more evident with those who suffered from language and identity related traumas. My attraction to the language of related trauma could, in part, be linked to Derrida's (1996)

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in English and, when communicating in English, spoke with little, to no trace of a Spanish accent.

feelings towards French. At the conscious level, Derrida describes his duality of resistance and, simultaneously, the obsessive attraction towards the accomplice and perpetrator of his oppression, which in his view is his own French language. According to Paulo Freire, an oppressed individual houses the oppressor *-in this case the French language-* by internalizing her or his rules and thus, wanting to be like *-and or speak like-* the oppressor (Freire, 2000, p. 48, *my italics*). For Derrida, his attraction to the French language is expressed in the way he tries to emulate the accent and abides by the strict grammatical rules of Parisian French, the colonizing language of the other[7]:

> My attachment to the French language takes forms that I consider 'Neurotic.' I feel lost outside the French language. The other languages which, more or less clumsily, I read, decode, speak, are languages I shall never inhabit. Not only am I lost, fallen and condemned outside the French language, I have the feeling of honouring and serving all idioms, in a word, of writing 'the most' or 'the best' when I sharpen the resistance to *my* French, the secret 'purity' of my French... (p. 56).

In *Monolingualism of the Other and the Prosthesis of Origen*, Derrida asserts that a mother tongue can only exist in relation to another tongue (p. 36). It is a reconstruction facilitated by the incorporation of other symbolic codes. Upon migration, subjects' language of origin becomes incompatible with their socio-linguistic reality. It encompasses, nonetheless, the memory of wholeness, comfort, belonging and linguistic fluidity individuals experienced before their linguistic rupture. Migrants' primary language becomes reconstructed as a memorial of an idealized life, as a signifier of permanence in displacement (Akhtar 2012). Such language, argues Bohorquez (2008), comes to "signify the most unalienable possession, the self-guard of self-sameness of one's sense of continuity and permanence in place and time" (p. 90).

As stated by Derrida: "We dwell on our language of origin only upon having forgotten that the language we call maternal is never purely natural, nor proper, nor inhabitable" (Derrida, 1996, p. 58). In agreement with this philosopher, the wholeness and possession of a migrant's mother tongue is an illusion. From the moment of migration the mother tongue becomes, in its incompatible, unstable nature, the language of the other, a language that often has no genuine utility or social meaning to the migrant. Throughout his book, Derrida speaks of his attraction to his mother tongue: to his language of oppression(s), an oppression that stemmed from his colonization and childhood trauma

[7] Derrida (1996) explains that to be a French speaker in Algeria meant to live between two cultures: that of the colonizer and that of the colonized; to want to be like the mainstream French, while belonging to the Algerian subculture. Thus Derrida explains feeling that he spoke the language of the other, while never having a mother tongue to consider as his own. In other words, French was a language that did not represent him in its entirety, even if it was his only language of genuine affiliation (pp. 30-31).

and one that was born within his being. There are many aspects of Derrida's text worth exploring and one is the manner in which the author wrote his text. According to Bohorquez (2008), Derrida's dialogue between himself and an objector represents "the contradictions between his philosophical stance and the vestiges of his own colonial subject position" (p. 104). She suggests that in *Monolingualism of the Other and the Prosthesis of Origen* Derrida is expressing the internalized double bind of colonial impersonation, whereby he is expected to be similar, but never the same as his colonizer. It is a stance, according to Bohorquez, that "inevitably destines subjects to the failure of never measuring up to the ideals from which the colonial subject is structurally excluded" (p. 104). I would like to propose, moreover, that Derrida's linguistic struggle for perfection may also relate to the unnerving pressure of his superego.

According to the psychoanalyst and former adult migrant Erwin Stengel (1939), to acquire and speak a language is an achievement of the ego (p. 475). As such, speaking a language evokes on the ego a psycho-emotional sense of accomplishment or of inappropriateness, depending on the speaker's aptness or level of proficiency in the target language and on the sternness of her superego (p. 472). When expressing oneself through language, the stricter the superego adheres to the enunciation and grammatical rules of the linguistic code, the more difficult is for the ego to adjust to the emotional process of speech and, as it the case with migrants, the process of language acquisition (p. 473). Bearing this theory in mind, one may agree that subjects' sense of linguistic deficiency may in part rely on their superego's imposition of its ideals and unreasonable expectations, which, like "the double bind of colonial impersonation" (Bohorquez, 2008, p. 104), destines individuals to failure, to a sense of diffidence and possible lack of self-confidence. In my case, living between tongues, housing the oppressor within me and speaking the language of oppression have led to my sense of general discomfort in language and eventually, to the writing of this paper.

Conclusion

Language, as we know it, has the antagonistic ability to wound and to heal. One may assume that for Derrida, his autobiographical testimony became a story of his return home. It was a testimony of healing, acceptance and understanding. In agreement with Felman and Freud, a language offers pedagogical and clinical benefits (Felman, 1991, p. 56; Freud, 1935, pp. 253-254). Writing can become a medium that carries an underlying testimony of the consequences of an emotional atrocity. It can become a 'writing cure': a vehicle that not only informs readers of harrowing occurrences, but also heals the writers from the pain, suffering and isolation inflicted by a unique, unforgettable experience.

By means of a lived symbolic code subjects are able to share their experiences in hopes of giving closure to the conflicts that stem from having lived through a trauma. In time, Derrida was able to objectify his existence within his world (Freire, 2000, p. 99), to name his word (pp. 83-88) and thus, overcome the existential situation that limited and prevented him from his ontological right to become a subject *free from his haunting past* (pp. 88-99, *my italics*). Expressing himself by means of oral and written language allowed the philosopher to critically perceive and understand his reality (Freire, 2000, p. 53) in order to translate himself.

As studied thus far, it is through language that we learn about our world, our reality and

ourselves (Freire, 2000, p. 35). Our language moulds us as subjects and becomes part of what engages the self to the outer and inner compounds of its existence. It is a central aspect of our existence that is not immune to our possible inner and outer oppression, torments, repression, sense of otherness and pain. My particular history has left me lost in transition. Although my internal language is mostly governed by the English symbolic code, when under stress, my adult language does not grant me safety, nor does it stop me from feeling paralysed and at a loss for words. Until now I have blamed English for my socio-linguistic and emotional sense of tragedy. After writing this autobiographical testimony, however, I realize that my so-called heritage home is also to blame for my sensed strife. The culture that ostracised me for being a linguistic minority in Argentina during the months of war was not Canadian, but Argentinean. Nevertheless, being a child thrown into an overwhelmingly unfair situation made me turn against my identity and what was felt as the language of the enemy. Looking back at my reconstructed experiences between languages, it seems commonsensical to state that the anger I transferred to the language of my childhood and to my being, made me reject, replace, and eventually block English from memory. I also understand that when I lived in Argentina, being and feeling Spanish, after having successfully lost all traces of my English accent, was an artificial construction. Reclaiming my mOther tongue under my given circumstances was a gesture of hostile assimilation: a way of unknowingly becoming colonized by a language and a society that my well-intentioned parents believed were rightfully mine. I often wonder if I will eventually overcome the long-lived psycho-emotional and linguistic consequences of my experiences between languages. I recognize, nonetheless, that understanding my existential condition is a start: it is the beginning of a journey of learning, forgiving, self-acceptance, liberation and ultimately, of a much desired translation and sense of home.

Biographical Note

Fernanda Carrá-Salsberg has been a postsecondary foreign language educator for the past fifteen years. Born in Buenos Aires, Argentina, her interest in language, culture, migration, trauma and identity formations stems from her repeated migrations as a child and an adolescent, and from experiences as a language pedagogue. She has taught English as a Second language and Spanish. Carrá-Salsberg is currently teaching elementary and intermediate Spanish Grammar and Spanish for Native Speakers at York University, Ontario, Canada.

Carrá-Salsberg has obtained a Bachelor of Arts Degree with Honours in Spanish Language, Literature and Linguistics at York University, a Bachelor of Education Degree in Second Language Acquisition and History at the University of Toronto's Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, a Master's in Arts Degree in Spanish Language and Literature at the University of Toronto. She has also graduated with a Doctor of Philosophy Degree in Language Acquisition, Language Philosophy and Psychoanalysis from the Faculty of Education, York University.

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Mentalization And Personality Organization In Heroin Addicted Patients[1]: A Narrative Analysis

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Abstract

The relationship between the dimensions of personality organization and the quality of mentalization is an important object of study in contemporary psychodynamic theory and it also contributes to the understanding of heroin addiction with comorbid personality disorders. The current study aims to assess levels of personality organization and its main domains (Identity, Object relations, Defense Mechanisms) in patients with opiate addiction, as well as the quality of affect mentalization and possible connections between them. In order to do so we have adopted quantitative text-analysis method of affect mentalization to parts of a interview, trying to show that the language which participants use could be in itself a psychodiagnostic means. A group of 30 heroin addicted patients in a methadone treatment programme and a control group of 30 healthy participants were assessed with the Structured Interview of Personality Organization (STIPO), VEA (Verbal Elaboration of Affect Scale) and The Measure of Affect Contents (MAC). Results show significant differences between the two groups, concerning all dimensions of personality organization as well as some core areas of affect mentalization. The capacity for affect mentalization is significantly correlated to the level of personality organization. The results are discussed from the point of view of the adopted theoretical models and the implications for psychotherapeutic work in the bio-psycho-social model.

Introduction

The onset of drug addiction is determined by a complex combination of constitutional, social and psychological factors. Psychodynamic thinking has from the very beginning associated addiction with experiences of early childhood trauma. It has been demonstrated that psychic trauma in childhood leads to a disturbance in the capabilities for mentalization and affect regulation. Mentalization theories see childhood trauma as a consequence of failure of the environment to provide the conditions necessary for the development of self and identity. Clinical data relate psychic trauma to the basic characteristics of the personality organization in patients with drug addiction, most often described as borderline (suffering from identity diffusion, partial object relations, predominance of primitive defense mechanisms), but extensive research is still lacking. In this paper, after a brief review of the some important trends in the development of the

[1] A shorter version of this paper with some of the results of the study is published in Atanassov, N. & Savov, S. (in press). 'Psychic trauma and addiction'. In: Hamburger A. (ed.). *Trauma, Trust and Memory: Social Trauma and Reconciliation in Psychoanalysis, Psychotherapy and Cultural Memory*. London: Karnac Publishers.

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psychodynamic conceptualizations of addictions, we present our study of the interconnections between the basic personality characteristics of heroin addicted patients and their mentalization capacities. Before presenting the empirical study we review a series of developments in the understanding of substance abuse starting with classical psychodynamic approaches based on drive/conflict models. Then, we present comprehensive theories of affect regulation which we see as a starting point for the transition to modern mentalization based conceptualizations. We describe the shift from the initial emphasis on instinctual gratification to the investigation of Ego development and pathology. We show how contemporary psychodynamic clinicians and researchers increasingly rely on mentalization based theories to explain personality pathology. We see the evolution of psychodynamic approaches to addictions as parallel to the general development in psychodynamic clinical theories.

Classical Psychoanalytic Approaches to Addictions

Many psychoanalytic pioneers were interested in the problem of substance abuse and addictions. Abraham (1926) tried to conceptualize this form of pathology from the point of view of libidinal theory, that is, as a symptom of regress to oral fixations and striving for 'orgasmic' experiences. Radó (1928) pointed out that not the toxic agent itself, but the impulse to use it, defines addictions. In general these authors understood substance abuse from the point of view of euphoric-pleasurable experiences, and believed that the symptom has a 'hidden' meaning (for example, symbolizing an orally gratifying object). Glover (1932), however, made an important breakthrough with his hypothesis that the psychoactive substance could be used 'progressively' - not only for regressive satisfaction, but also for protecting the subject from primitive (destructive and self-destructive) impulses or even psychosis. Later on Fenichel (1945) underlined the deep seated depression and anxiety in addicts. These ideas would later serve as a basis for Khantizan's work on the 'Self-medication hypothesis'.

Second generation models: Ego disturbances and affect regulation

The next generation of psychodynamic models came largely from the ego-psychological tradition. The main difference between ego-psychological theories and classical drive/conflict models is that ego psychologists shifted the focus from the symptom to the personality deficits of addicts and their incapabilities for coping with traumatizing anxiety. Drug use was related to specific ego pathology manifested in quick shifts from depressive states to intensive arousal in conflictual relations with important others (Woody, 1977). Addicts react to situations of crisis with affect regression (totalization of feelings), which is dealt with by splitting unacceptable parts of internal or external reality and denying their existence. However, only when these series of operations are pharmacologically reinforced, a sense of mastery and raised self-esteem can be restored (Wurmser, 1977).

This generation of psychodynamically oriented clinicians concentrates on the clinical reality that patients with drug addiction complain of being either overwhelmed by intolerably painful affects or cut off from their emotions. Referring to these characteristics of the affective life of addicts, Wieder & Kaplan (1969) define drugs as 'prosthesis' helping patients to regulate their impaired affective life. The primitive

defense mechanisms drug addicts employ do not efficiently protect them from excessive anxious and depressive states. Consequently, addicts present not only interpersonal difficulties, affect storms and impulsive behavior, that are typical for patients with borderline personality disorder (Kernberg, 2003), but their whole emotional life is in a way much more easily 'somatized'. Thus, impaired affect regulation comes into focus as a central diagnostic feature of the disorder.

We can generalize that the contemporary psychodynamic approach to affective disorders in drug addicted patients abandoned altogether early conceptualization of pleasure seeking and symbolic importance of the drug. Instead, leading authors like Khantzian (1980, 2003) see the motivation behind substance use as an attempt for 'self-medication'. Patients addicted to opiates rely on the anti-aggressive effects of the substance which block disorganizing and threatening affective states of anger, pain, shame and loneliness. Drug addicts don't just search for an 'escape' or 'euphoria'. They actually *need* a shield that protects them from excess in anxiety. The lack of such protective system is a central characteristic of the borderline personality disorder as we will describe shortly.

Clinicians became naturally interested in the developmental origins of these affective disorders. Krystal (1974) points out that only when the small child is protected from exposure to continuous trauma in early relations, it can develop affect tolerance during latency and adolescence. He makes it clear that primary self-regulation deficits in drug addicts encompass a tendency for affective regress, deficient capability for using anxiety as a signal, as well as impaired tolerance for painful emotions, especially the primitive affect of undifferentiated anxiety-depression.

These deficiencies showing failure in the desomatization, verbalization and symbolization of affective experiences are quite often observable in psychosomatic conditions characterized by the state of 'alexythymia' (Sifneos, 1973). Addicted patients often share some of the basic components of alexythimic functioning (Taylor, Bagby & Parker, 1997). Clinical experience shows that addicts also have severe difficulties in putting their mental states and affectivity into words. Without having a good enough understanding of them, these patients cannot modulate emotions and show tendencies for direct discharge of anxiety in behavior or somatizations. Interpersonal disappointments easily trigger rapid changes in mood, which an individual with certain predispositions would try to regulate by pharmacological means. Interestingly, alexythimia – a concept highly applicable to addictions, is also one of the roots of contemporary mentalization-based theories, on which we will focus next.

Contemporary mentalization-based understanding of addiction

The concept of mentalization was introduced by Pierre Marty (1991) in the 70s as an extension of the research into psychosomatic phenomena (De Mijolla, 2005). Classically it refers to the quality and quantity of psychic representations, their verbalization and connections with affectivity. From another perspective - that of modern developmental psychopathology - Fonagy (2008, p. 4) defines mentalization as "a form of mostly preconscious imaginative mental activity, namely, interpreting human behavior in terms of intentional mental states (i.e., needs, desires, feelings, beliefs, goals, purposes, and reasons)". This conceptualization integrates the notion of 'theory of mind' in cognitive developmental models with attachment theory. It is based on three main assumptions (Weinberg 2006): 1) the feeling of the self as agent is rooted in the experience of being

attributed psychic states by a significant other; 2) this capability is a function of the interaction between the caring figures through a process of mirroring; 3) its development can be impaired by traumatic experiences.

Attachment is seen as the main factor in the development of mentalization and the formation of internal representations of affective states. According to Bateman & Fonagy (2004), patients with borderline personality disorder have difficulty in mentalizing mainly in interpersonal and intimate situations, where they are most vulnerable to excesses in anxiety. Deficits in mentalization prevent them from having a good enough 'buffer' from affects and trigger 'fight or flight' mechanisms. These observations seem highly relevant for the conceptualization of addictions, having in mind the high percent of co-morbidity with borderline personality disorder (Trull et al., 2000).

Allen, Fonagy & Bateman (2008) describe a two-way interaction between substance abuse and mentalizing. Intoxication impairs mentalization of own emotional states as well as those of the attachment figures. Deficits in mentalization on the other hand contribute to an inclination for substance abuse under emotional stress caused by interpersonal conflicts with attachment figures.

Contrasting, but also complementing Fonagy's model, Bouchard and Lecours (2008) present a theory of mentalization focused on the development of thinking through binding of instinctual pressure in representative networks. These processes of psychic working through prevent direct discharge into actions or somatizations. Influenced by psychosomatic research done by Marty, Krystal's theory of emotions and Piaget's (1956) conceptualization of the child's intellectual development from sensor-motor activity towards formal verbal thought, Bouchard and Lecours understand affects as positively or negatively valenced psychological phenomena with a somato-motor tendency for action. This tendency is 'desomatized' by a complex process of psychic working through. They assume that representative deficits lead to an excess of the quantitative element (excitation), which has not been transformed into a psychic conflict. Forms of impulsivity, addicted behavior and somatization are understood from this point of view as an expression of accumulated drive impulses with no attributed psychological meaning.

The qualitative transformation of somatic, motoric and intersubjective excitations into mental contents can be seen on a continuum of increasing "mental" quality (Lecours & Bouchard, 1997). Mentalization is seen as a "general class of mental operations, including representation and symbolization" (p. 857) whereby representation is a formation of stable mental images, and symbolization is their linking and using them in an abstract manner as opposed to concrete dealing with experience.

Based on the work of Luquet, Marty and Bion the authors present a bi-dimensional model of the psychic elaboration (*ibid*). The first dimension encompasses four channels of expression of affect: somatic, motor, imagery and verbal expression. For each of these channels five degrees of containment can be considered: the disruptive impulsion (discharge of the overflow of excitation through uncontrolled direct expression), the modulated impulsion (affect is expressed but not reflected upon, although it has been minimally transformed by the preconscious); on the next three levels up – externalization, appropriation and meaning associations – affects are tolerated and contained, less intense and accessible for reflective activity.

Bouchard and Lecours describe mentalization as the 'immune system' of the psyche, because it modifies external and internal pressures. Normally, mentalizing contributes to the coherent and meaningful experience of one`s own psychic states. Instead of acquiring this tolerable distance from direct affective pressure drug addicts often suffer from severe anxiety and depression. These conditions are triggered by the deep conviction that the individual is helpless in regulating not only external reality but also his or her emotional states. Substance abuse is the copying mechanism which replaces mental processing of helplessness, apathy and emptiness, and thus brings back temporary control.

Since empirical research on personality organization and mentalization capacities in heroin addicted patients is scarce, in the present study we aim to find connections between levels and domains of personality organization according to Kernberg's structural model (1975) and the quality of affect mentalization.

Narrative analysis in psychotherapy and psychoanalysis

A long tradition in psychotherapy research is based on narrative analysis which is of no surprise since psychotherapy itself is a form of narrative research. The psychoanalytic therapist listens to the patient's discourse and finds meaning which is not obvious in the manifest language. This is possible because in the manifest content there are clues for the hidden meaning, or in other words, the conscious language includes information about the preconscious and unconscious languages, that is, contents outside the immediate awareness or repressed psychic material. One of the first attempts to connect linguistics with content analysis in clinical psychology is the study of pathological and normal language by Laffal (1965). Shortly after that Gottschalk & Auerbach (1966) present their own method of content analysis of psychotherapy protocols. Luborsky & Spence (1971) demonstrate the potential of computer technologies. Bucci et al. (1992) study verbal and non-verbal representations through computer analysis of referential activity. Hand in hand with that research tradition goes the use of semi-structured interviews. Shedler, Mayman & Manis (1993) show that self-report instruments have limited validity since standard questionnaires tend to fail in differentiating mental health from the illusion of mental health created by defense mechanisms. Analysts are well aware that psychological distress is often expressed in a concealed way beneath the manifest content. Having all this in mind, we decided to adopt a methodology which combines the use of a semi-structured interview and a comprehensive system for content analysis, which would allow us to explore the material in a deeper way. Although structured interviews show higher psychometric qualities compared to semi-structured or unstructured formats, we attempted to grasp the complexity and richness of the whole personality through this approach.

Method

Design and Procedure of the Study

We formed a clinical group of 30 heroin addicts treated in a methadone maintenance programme. They were recruited by the medical staff of the treatment facility and were given information that their participation is absolutely voluntary. All the participants were reimbursed with 10 euro for the efforts. Before the study each one of them was tested for drug intoxication and those with positive results were excluded from the study.

We interviewed all the patients individually with the Structured Interview of Personality Organization 1.07 (STIPO) (Clarkin et al., 2006), after which we evaluated the transcribed narratives with the Verbal Elaboration of Affect Scale (VEA) (Lecours, 2013) and The Measure of Affect Contents (MAC) (Lecours, 2002). These instruments have never been used conjointly before.

The STIPO administration takes between 90 and 120 minutes, and the length of the narratives is between 14 and 20 pages (mean = 16 pages). The interviews have been audio recorded and fully transcribed. For the goals of the narrative analysis with GEVA and MAC we used only the first three sections of the interview (Identity, Object Relations and Primitive defenses). The reason for this decision lies in the necessity to shorten the amount of material to be coded, but it is also theoretically guided - these are the three dimensions of personality that are critical for the structural diagnosis according to Kernberg's model.

The data were compared with the results of a control group of 30 healthy individuals, parallel in age, sex and education, and with no history of drug abuse. They were recruited with an advertisement in a social network and interviewed in the office of one of the researchers. The whole procedure has been approved by the Ethical committee of the Department of Cognitive Science and Psychology in New Bulgarian University, Sofia. Informed consent was obtained from all patients for participation in the study.

Participants

The mean age in the clinical group is 29.9 years (SD = ±4.19, range 22-38 years). The majority (70%) are between 26 and 34 years old. 15 participants (50%) are female. 3 patients have (10%) basic education, 23 (76.67%) have high school education, and 4 (13.33%) have university degree. 18 (60%) work. The mean period of heroin abuse is 11.3 years (SD = ±4.01, range 5-20 years). The average dose of methadone is 139.83ml (SD = ±77.75, range 30-300ml). The mean age in the control group is 29.3 years (SD = ±5.08, range 20-44 years). The majority (60%) are between 26 and 34 years old. 15 participants are female. 3 participants (10%) have basic education, 17 (56.67%) have high school education and 9 (30%) have university degree. 18 (60%) work.

Instruments

STIPO

The Structured Interview of Personality Organization 1.07 is a manual for operationalized assessment of personality organization according to Kernberg's structural theory. It measures the following dimensions: Identity, Quality of Object relations, Primitive defenses, Coping and rigidity, Aggression and Moral values. The STIPO explores both the patient's behavioral world and inner world, and it is scored by the interviewer while it is administered: Each item is rated on a 0–2 scale, with zero reflecting the absence of pathology, two reflecting the clear presence of pathology, and one representing an intermediate status. In addition, the interviewer also completes a 5-point rating for each domain, which defines the range of health and pathology for each section being rated. The instrument has been translated into Bulgarian by two clinical psychologists and their translations have been compared in order to reach an optimal final version. A back-

translation did not take place due to minor differences in the compared translations and good response from study participants in three exploratory interviews. The use of the instrument has been periodically consulted with the authors either 'live' or through e-mail. The available data show that STIPO offers a reliable and valid assessment of the organization of personality (Hörz et al., 2011; Stern et al., 2010).

VEA

Verbal Elaboration of Affect Scale (VEA) is an observer-rated instrument that brings the content analysis tradition into psychodynamic theory. The scale is based on Bouchard and Lecours' (2008) theory of mentalization, and measures verbal elaboration of affect by segmentation and coding of narratives. It consists of two orthogonal dimensions: 1) four channels of affect expression: somatization, motor activity, imagery and verbalization, and 2) five levels ot affect tolerance and abstraction: disruptive impulsion, modulated impulsion, externalization, appropriation (subjectivation) and meaning connection. These are 20 possible forms (4 channels x 5 levels) in which a given affect expression could fit in. They are used for calculating a weighted score for the quality of affect mentalization. The scale can be used on verbal material with a free enough expression of affect. The method is based on coding the narrative by trained experts. The different channels are coded as follows: verbal - 'v', imagery - 'i', motor - 'm', and somatic - 's'.

The scale has been shown to provide reliable and valid assessment of affect mentalization in individual patients or whole clinical groups (Lecours et al., 2000; Lecours et al., 2007; Bouchard et al., 2008). The two experts in the present study have participated in a 5-days training with the author of the instrument.

MAC

The Measure of Affect Contents (MAC) is a companion instrument to VEA, allowing categorization of two affect groups: 1) basic, universal and inborn emotions (for example, joy), and 2) secondary emotions, which can be regarded as a combination of two or more basic emotions (for example, admiration for others, which can be viewed as a combination of joy, interest, love and wish). While GEVA assesses formal aspect of expression, MAC is focused on affect content. The total number of categories is 24. In the present study we have focused on the following affect categories relevant for personality pathology: sadness, anger towards others, love towards others, fear, contempt towards others, as well as positive and negative affects in general (meaning all affect categories with negative valence).

Results

Reliability

The internal reliability in the present study is very good. We have calculated Cronbach's α for the 6 big scales of STIPO, and it ranges between .74 (Coping and rigidity) to .93 (Identity), while the total internal reliability for the 87 items is .97. These results are comparable with the data from the German adaption of the instrument (Doering et al., 2013).

Three raters took part in the assessment of the material. The inter-rater reliability of the STIPO was assessed by calculation of inter-class correlations of the 'clinical' (1-5) ratings, put by two independent raters who have either conducted the interview or listened to an audio recording. The correlations vary from .87 (Coping and rigidity) to .94 (Identity), and 100% for the assessment of the level of personality organization, which shows a very good inter-rater reliability. We calculated correlations between the two STIPO algorithms - clinical scales (1-5) and arithmetic scales (0-2), varying from $r = .70$ ($p < .01$) for the Object relations scale, to $r = .87$ ($p < .01$) for the Moral values scale. These are relatively lower scores compared to those demonstrated by Doering et al. (2013), and yet they show that the two algorithms could be used alternatively. In our study we used only the results from the STIPO arithmetic scales.

The inter-rater reliability of the narrative analysis has been calculated by the author of the instrument on the basis of 3 segmented and coded interviews before the actual start of the coding. These results are in the lower, yet acceptable spectrum. The percentage of agreement on the identification of affect units between the two experts and the author of the instrument is shown in kappa coefficients: .74 for expert 1 and .70 for expert 2. For the categories of MAC we calculated coefficients ranging from .83 to .60, for the channels - .55 and .54; for the levels - .62 and .54; for the valence - .76 and .62. This means that the highest disagreement has been observed in the decision which channel to code (for example, verbal or imagery), and the lowest disagreement - in the affect categories of MAC and the valence of the affects (positive or negative). The differences in the coding procedures have been discussed so that a unified approach was applied in the actual assessment process.

STIPO

The data obtained from STIPO support previous research showing that patients with borderline personality disorder receive significantly lower results on all STIPO domains in comparison to a control group (Doering et al., 2013). Our study reached similar results for heroin addicted patients, who score lower on all dimensions in comparison to the clinical group (see Table 1 and Table 2[3]) – the highest difference has been observed in the Identity rating (mean: 1.10 in the clinical group and .37 in the control group, $p < .01$). The lowest difference is observed in the scale Coping and rigidity (mean: 38.53 in the control group in comparison to 22.47 in the clinical group, $p < .01$). Rentrop et al. (2014) have conducted a study dealing with the levels of personality organization based on the STIPO in a group of polydrug-using opiate-dependent patients. It fits well to the present work: 90% of the patients had at least one axis II disorder, and according to the STIPO, 100% of the patients were located at the level of borderline personality organization, indicating identity pathology according to Kernberg's model.

[3] The Identity scale of STIPO is the only normally distributed scale in the current study, so we used t-test for the statistical analysis. All the other scales were analyzed with the nonparametric Mann–Whitney U test. As previously noted, we used the 0-2 ratings for all the dimensions of personality organization (PO). The 1-5 rating was used only for the overall level of PO (normal, neurotic, borderline).

Table 1

Differences in the STIPO scales between the two groups

	Group	Mean	Significance (two-tailed)
Personality organization	Heroin addicts	40.63	.00
	Control group	20.37	
Object relations	Heroin addicts	42.42	.00
	Control group	18.58	
Primitive defenses	Heroin addicts	41.65	.00
	Control group	19.35	
Coping and rigidity	Heroin addicts	38.53	.00
	Control group	22.47	
Aggression	Heroin addicts	45.05	.00
	Control group	15.95	
Moral values	Heroin addicts	44.35	.00
	Control group	16.65	

Table 2

Differences in the Identity scale between the two groups

Group	Mean	Standard deviation	Standard Error
Heroin addicts	1.10	.26	.05
Control group	.37	.20	.04

VEA

The modalities and levels presented in the findings are based on the selected MAC categories. The results obtained from VEA show that the clinical group is characterized by a significantly higher use of lower mentalization levels: disruptive impulsion (mean: 34.47 in clinical group in comparison to 26.53 in the control group; $p < .01$) and modulated impulsion (.26 for the clinical group and .16 for the control group; $p < .01$), as well as lower use of externalization (.44 for the control group in comparison to .32 for the clinical group, $p < .01$). Another significant difference is the higher use of the motor channel in the clinical group (.27 against .22, $p < .01$) and a lower use of the somatic channel (24.33 against 36.67, $p < .01$). Heroin addicted patients show significantly lower levels of mentalization of negative affects (2.61 against 2.37, $p < .01$), and contempt (23.38 against 37.62 for the quality of mentalization, $p < .01$).

Relationship between STIPO and VEA

This whole section represents the relationship between the STIPO scales and the level of mentalization of the VEA scales. A significant negative correlation is found between the Identity scale and the quality of mentalization in the affect category contempt ($r = -.52$, p

< .01), and a moderate one between Identity (r = -.49, p < .01) and the overall assessment of verbal elaboration of affect (r = -.33; p < .01). There is a significant negative correlation between the Aggression scale of STIPO and the categories contempt and negatively valenced affects (r = -.52 and r = -.54; p < .01). There is a moderate correlation between the Object relations scale and the quality of mentalization of contempt and negative affects categories (r = -.49 and r = -.47, p < .01). Primitive defenses is moderately correlated with contempt, negative affects and overall assessment of verbal elaboration of affect (r = -.45, r = -.49 and r = -.32; p < .01). Probably the most important result is the moderate negative correlation between the Personality organization scale and the overall assessment of VEA (r = -.34, p < .01), which shows that personality pathology is indeed related to deficits in affect mentalization.

We will now illustrate the results by showing how two patients approach a question from the STIPO. The question is: "Tell me about yourself, what are you like as a person?"

***Patient 1**: 'Hmm... I can think of stuff that upsets me **(v4c-(cs))**. I am not enough motivated to work, I am too kind **(m4+(aa))** perhaps. I don't feel like doing anything meaningful in my life **(v4-(de))**. When I like a girl **(v4+(aa))** and I put her above others **(i4+(ada))**, I experience difficulties talking to her."*

***Patient 2**: 'I cannot describe myself. I am sick **(s4-(ca))** of being hurt **(v4gc-(t))**. That's why I have become very aggressive **(m4c-(ca))**. This aggression was not here before **(m4g+(ca))**. If somebody says something to me, I respond: "Fuck you!" **(v2-ca))**. Then I take out the knife **(m1-(ca))**. And I will cut his head **(m1-(ca))**. I go crazy **(i1-(ca))**."*

Obviously, these are small fragments from the interview and they are clearly insufficient to provide the basis for a complete assessment, but they can be useful for an illustration how we operate with the instruments.

From the point of view of STIPO, the first patient starts describing different problematic sides of his personality providing subjective experience. The second patient, however, shows a much more fragmented, action-oriented picture of himself, dominated by primitive aggression. There are 6 levels described in the STIPO: Normal, Neurotic 1 and 2, and Borderline 1, 2 and 3. According to Kernberg's model, the three critical dimensions for the assessment of the overall level of personality organization are Identity, Object relations and Primitive defenses.

Table 3

Relationship between STIPO and VEA

		Pos. affects	Sadness	Anger towards others	Fear	Contempt towards others	Love towards others	Neg. affects	VEA
Identity	**Spearman's correlation**	.01	-.27*	.06	-.11	-.52**	-.14	-.45**	-.33**
	Significance	.96	.04	.64	.38	.00	.29	.00	.01
Object relations	**Spearman's correlation**	.05	-.18	.08	.01	-.49**	-.03	-.44**	-.28*
	Significance	.70	.16	.56	.93	.00	.83	.00	.03
Primitive defenses	**Spearman's correlation**	-.00	-.13	.07	-.03	-.45**	-.02	-.49**	-.32*
	Significance	.97	.32	.58	.79	.00	.88	.00	.01
Coping and rigidity	**Spearman's correlation**	.08	.02	.01	.12	-.27*	.06	-.33**	-.14
	Significance	.53	.87	.96	.37	.03	.64	.01	.30
Aggression	**Spearman's correlation**	-.04	-.27*	-.01	-.15	-.52**	.03	-.54**	-.37**
	Significance	.77	.04	.95	.26	.00	.81	.00	.00
Moral values	**Spearman's correlation**	.01	-.24	-.04	-.04	-.42**	.02	-.44**	-.28*
	Significance	.95	.06	.75	.78	.00	.86	.00	.03
Personality organization	**Spearman's correlation**	.07	-.34**	.04	-.11	-.47**	-.09	-.39**	-.34**
	Significance	.57	.01	.78	.41	.00	.49	.00	.01

** Significant correlation at level of significance < .01 (two-tailed).

Table 4

Relationship between Identity and the normally distributed scales of VEA

		Sadnes	Love towards others	Negative affects	Verbal elaboration of affect
Identity	**Pearson's correlation**	-.28*	-.10	-.45**	-.33*
	Significanc	.03	.45	.00	.01

** Significant correlation at level of significance <. 01 (two-tailed).

The rest of the scales (Coping and rigidity, Aggression and Moral values) contribute to a more detailed and comprehensive assessment but are not crucial for it. So, each

successive level of personality organization in that continuum reflects an increasing disturbance in the representations of self and others, the capacity to form and maintain close and fulfilling relations, and the flexible use of defense mechanisms.

If we go back to the clinical examples, the overall assessment with STIPO shows that patient 1 is a highly functioning borderline patient (or Borderline 1 in the STIPO classification). This means that he has a score 2 out of 5 for the clinical Identity scale (consolidated Identity, with some areas of slight deficit, e.g., superficiality or instability in sense of self and/or representations of others); score 3 out 5 for the Object relations scale (attachments are present, but increasingly superficial, brittle, and flawed; increasing tendency to view relationships in terms of need fulfillment; limited capacity for empathy with the other's needs independent of those of the subject); and score 3 out of 5 for the Primitive defenses scale (mixed pattern of endorsement of primitive defenses; shifts in perception of self and others are not pronounced, limited impairment in functioning due to use of primitive defenses).

Patient 2 functions at the lower borderline spectrum or Borderline 3 in the STIPO classification: 5 out of 5 for the Identity scale (severe identity pathology – highly contradictory, chaotically shifting views of self and others, inability to invest); 5 out of 5 for the Object relations scale (severe paucity of attachments; sees relationships entirely in terms of need fulfillment; no capacity for empathy; no capacity to sustain interest in others); and 5 out of 5 for the Primitive defenses scale (pervasive use of primitive defenses across situations; severe, radical shifts in perception of self and others to a degree that grossly interferes with functioning).

Then, if we look at the material using VEA, we see a major difference in the quality of affect mentalization. The first patient uses three channels of affect expression: verbal, imagery and motor. His affect representations are mainly on the 3rd level. "Stuff that upsets me" **((v4c-(cs))** is level 4 reduced to level 3 because of externalization of the affect; "I like a girl" **(v4+(aa))** is level 4. The second patient uses all channels (motor, verbal, imagery and somatic), but his language is behavior oriented (not describing subjective mental states) and is predominantly on the lower levels of affect expression ("... I will cut his head **(m1-(ca))**. I go crazy" **(i1-(ca))**). Correspondingly, the VEA score shows that patient 1 has higher mentalization capacities. Important additional information is that patient 1 started once per week psychodynamic psychotherapy and copes well in the addiction treatment programme (doesn't take drugs and has stable work) while the second patient dropped out of treatment.

Discussion

The overall results from the present study indicate several important trends. First, the clinical group shows disturbance in all personality dimensions which is an empirical validation of Kernberg's theory according to which borderline patients suffer from identity diffusion, impaired capacity for establishing and maintaining stable and fulfilling object relations, and predominant use of primitive defense mechanisms (i.e. splitting and projective identification).

Second, heroin addicted patients mentalize their affectivity to a higher extend on lower mentalization levels of abstraction and tolerance of the affect in comparison to healthy

individuals, and they use to a higher degree behavior-oriented representations. They show lower capacity for mentalization of negative affects, which corresponds to the findings of Walter et al. (2009) and Lecours & Bouchard (2011) who state that the mentalization of negatively valenced affects is related to presence of personality pathology. Significantly lower results in the mentalization of contempt category shows once again difficulties in the verbalization of emotions in intimate interpersonal relationships. Perhaps in the lower levels of verbal elaboration of affect heroin patients face a dilemma – verbalizing affects through the somatic or through the motor channel – our results show that they choose predominantly the motor channel which can be understood in the context of the sample. These are patients in a methadone assisted maintenance program who no longer suffer from the typical abstinence syndrome, as they experience a constant anti-anxiety and anti-depressive affect from the substance. This means that they most probably get oriented towards external reality, hence the use of behavioral representations.

Finally, our results show that the personality dimensions defining the differential assessment of the personality organization (Identity, Object relations and Primitive defenses) are indeed related to the quality of affect mentalization. The overall level of personality organization is significantly related to the quality of verbal elaboration of affect and also the mentalization of depressive affects, which is expected since borderline patients typically experience difficulties in working through losses and separations. These results support the findings of Fischer-Kern et al. (2010) who state that personality organization is related to the quality of reflective functioning.

To summarize, the language of heroin addicted patients is dominated by chronic negative affectivity and not well articulated intolerance for mutual dependency (that is, low mentalization of the 'contempt towards' other category). The quality of affect representations can be used to assess both reflective functioning and personality organization, possibly also prognosis of treatment response. Action-oriented words and difficulties in 'owning' emotions (that is, evacuating or externalizing them) stand for lower mentalization capacities and hence more severe personality pathology and worse prognosis. It is worth noting that it is not so much the content of the language that is important here, but how patients operate with their affects, how they verbalize them and how aware they are of the subjective mental states. This leads to the understanding that a psychotherapeutic model designed for a specific clinical group of patients might focus on affect areas that are known to be problematic – in the case of borderline patients these are depressive and aggressive emotions, but also contempt towards others as we have showed. This model might be centered on consistent work in supporting the patient's ability to put words into emotions and to subjectivise them. This is how affects would not be experienced as something coming from the external environment and hence threatening and possibly traumatizing.

Limitations of the Study

The study has several important limitations. The number of participants is relatively small (n = 30 in each group) which is due to the specific qualitative-quantitative methodology and the need for an exploratory study in a somehow new area. Second, the control group is parallel in sex, age and education, but the verbal and intellectual capabilities of the participants were not controlled, although they might affect the verbal elaboration of

affect. Last but not least, the cross-sectional design doesn't allow follow-up of the patients and test-retest reliability of the assessment.

Conclusion

The present study is an attempt to deepen our understanding of the specifics of the psychic structure and mentalization capacities of heroin addicted patients. The results show significant impairments in all personality domains which leads to a fragmented, unbalanced view of self and others, lower capacity for maintaining deep and fulfilling interpersonal relationship as well as strong tendencies towards aggressive and self-aggressive behavior. These impairments in personality organization are connected to a disturbed capacity of verbalization and symbolization of affectivity that leads to to impulsive behavior. The results could be interpreted as confirming that early traumatic experiences impair mentalization capacities and therefore lead to disturbances in the development of the self. It would be safe to conclude that a therapeutic program which relies exclusively on medical and social aspects of rehabilitation, but doesn't takes into consideration personality organization specifics, would have only limited and temporary efficacy, since it doesn't address core deficits in that clinical group. A comprehensive treatment program should be focused on supporting the capacity to mentalize in areas that are clinically and empirically shown to be disturbed, especially in the hostile spectrum. Last, but not least, this study demonstrates the psychodiagnostic potential of language analysis – a time consuming methodology which might, however, bring results as valid or even better than standard self-report or structured measures. This approach might be used in assessment of structural changes due to psychotherapeutic work, as well as comparison of clinical groups sharing core deficits in mentalization abilities (e.g. patients with psychosomatic pathology or eating disorders).

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Biographical Note

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Book review

Review of Adult Attachment Patterns in a Treatment Context. Sarah I. F. Daniel. London, UK: Routledge, 2015, 180 pages, £26.99 (paperback), ISBN 978-0415718745.

Reviewed by Judy Faulkner[1]
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This interesting and well written book albeit a translation, bringing attachment right into the heart of informing treatment.

Daniel covers the background to attachment research, from Bowlby, Ainsworth, Main, Lyons-Ruth, Hazan and Shaver, Mikulincer etc. She links Bowlby's theories of biological/ ethological/ psychoanalytic writings to modern day neuroscience. Ainsworth's strange situation procedure is covered demonstrating the relationship between the attachment systems of mothers and their children. Daniel mentions the often neglected aspect that it is the relationship with attachment figures not the child itself which is fundamental and that a child and father and a child and mother or other attachment figure can vary according to that relationship and is not determined genetically but rather is a psychological inheritance passed down through generations. Daniel also reiterates that attachment is a life- long process and that what has begun in childhood continues to be demonstrated or altered in adulthood as an internal working model of relationships.

Both channels of attachment research are covered, i.e. is developmental psychology stemming from Bowlby using the Adult Attachment Interview and social psychology research which uses self-report measures. It is noted that confusion exists between the terminology used in both methodologies where the same label can be used differently in each area of research. Daniel gives enough detail of both streams to help the reader understand the differences and similarities clearly and when it is best to use one rather than the other. There is some repetition of what attachment is across chapters but perhaps that is an acknowledgement that readers will not read every chapter or that an orientation for the reader is required at more than one point. Either way, this does not detract from each chapter. She also points out that this book is about attachment patterns for use in treatment and not research and that the treatment provider can be considered a secure base should the contact between them be long enough and the attachment styles of both client and therapist suit the developmental process. However, Daniel also points out that the relationship with a therapist as a secure base can never be the same as between parent and child. Further, a therapist has an attachment style too which needs understanding in the treatment context.

There are four full chapters on the Main's attachment styles that give a good understanding of how each of the four attachment classifications of: secure/avoidant/ ambivalent and disorganised present in interview.

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Daniel clearly links attachment to treatment by indicating how different attachment styles require different approaches by the therapist and that some tools used for assessment of attachment style s may be less threatening to a client but that less qualitative information will be gathered, somewhat undermining her thesis of attachment assessment in relation to treatment. Perhaps the concerns about a client feeling threatened relate more to the self-report or observational measures also discussed which again would suggest that while the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) is very time consuming, the outcome is more worthwhile. Indeed, the case is made that markers of attachment style may go unnoticed if the full assessment, coding and classification are not carried out.

The major part of this book is given over to assessment rather than treatment which somewhat belies the title. There are important markers to note in treatment such as attachment styles varying somewhat according to circumstances but perhaps more emphasis could have been placed on how danger creates an enactment of the main classification in terms of insecure or secure attachment styles.

I wonder if the chapter Adapting Treatment Style would be better placed after a short introduction on attachment, and then followed by the more in depth coverage of attachment patterns and then assessment of such. For people familiar with attachment the chapter on treatment may be more immediately relevant and people new to this area would need to re-read the chapters anyway.

The Adult Attachment Interview is covered well describing how memory systems such as semantic and episodic are drawn on during the interview. A greater differentiation within attachment classifications may have been useful for therapists or treatment providers and to this end Crittenden's Dynamic Maturational Model would have added a great deal to the understanding of how complex people are rather than placing them in Main's four areas of secure, insecure and disorganised. Crittenden's model fills the cannot classify black hole too.

In the chapter on Attachment Patterns as the Focus for Treatment, I couldn't see any reference to Ryle's Cognitive Analytic Therapy which blends both affect and cognition to great effect and can capture both avoidant and ambivalent clients' attachment styles in Sequential Diagrammatic Reformulation (visual mapping of how someone feels, thinks and behaves).

On the whole this is a very accessible book capturing the history, assessment and treatment of clients within an attachment perspective and can be recommended for both an up to date review at the time of writing for people well versed in this area and for people new to Attachment Theory and practice.

Film Review

The Place Beyond the Pines. Sidney Kimmel (Producer) & Derek Cianfrance (Director). United States: Sidney Kimmel Entertainment, 2012.

Reviewed by Dianne M. Hunter[1]

Trinity College, USA

"I didn't grow up around my dad, and look at the fuckin' way I turned out". - Handsome Luke

"The Place Beyond the Pines" spans 15 years in a three-generational plot mobilizing the intersection of three male lines of succession and dramatizing families of three classes positioned in alternative American dreams: freedom, dominance, integration. An establishment male line under the aegis of the superego is well off, though wounded. A marginal male line, drive-dominated, is recessive, and attached to a third family that is racially integrated and socially mobile. Considered from the point of view of the structural theory of psychoanalysis, the film can be seen to demonstrate how the superego (the law) derives its potency from the id, which is lawless. Driven by the superego, the word "killer" takes on its vernacular American meaning of "winner". The nexus of mobility, money, and guns organizes the imagery of the film, with the anality of money articulated among male conspirators.

Numerous fatal police shootings in the United States recently witnessed in social media and on television give political significance to Derek Cianfrance's 2012 film "The Place Beyond the Pines" for its representations of police conduct and law enforcement. The Washington Post tracked 385 killings by US law-enforcement officers as of 30 May 2015, estimating 937 for the year. The 8 April 2015 New York Times summarizes 43 at-best dubious and at-worst outrightly-murderous shootings by police officers in the USA since Darren Wilson killed Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri in August 2014. In this era of cascading reports of fatal shootings by police, "The Place Beyond the Pines" offers insightful representation of what goes into incidents of these sorts and shows their consequences down family lines.

Derek Cianfrance (born 1974) is best known for directing the film Blue Valentine, made with Ryan Gosling and Michelle Williams in 2010. His next collaboration with Gosling, "The Place Beyond the Pines", expands Cianfrance's scope from the intimacy of a couple to examination of the social fabric and political hierarchy of contemporary America and the long-range effects of its culture of mobility, money, and guns. In North America, a "killer" is a winner. Vernacular American speaks of "killer apps", "lady killers", "killer costumes", and "killer scholars" as terms of approval. One can hear how Blue Jay Jose Bautista "murdered a baseball dead". In this sense, Cianfrance's presentation of the career of killer cop Avery Cross provides a key to an American dream of ambition as well as to the State of the Union in which killer cops putatively enforce the law and come out on top. This American dream means rising through the ranks and passing on one's genes

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while paving the way for his success.

Three Family Lines

The temporal structure "The Place Beyond the Pines" spans 15 years in linear form. A three-generational plot, presented without flashbacks, mobilizes the intersection of male lines of succession and dramatizes families of three classes positioned in alternative American dreams. A dominating male line under the aegis of the superego is well-off, though wounded. A marginal male line, drive-dominated, is recessive, and attached to a third family that is racially integrated and socially mobile. The film shows a corrupt and cynical establishment, an integrated lower-middle class, and performing outsiders who are isolated, spectacular, lawless, and on the move. Rides, money, and guns comprise a thematic nexus in "The Place Beyond the Pines", with the theme of justice as an overriding issue, dramatizing the interplay between lines of succession with alternate paternal legacies.

American dreams: Freedom, dominance, integration

The film dramatizes three American dreams: 1) dominance, with the power of enforcement under the aegis of justice; 2) freedom to move through space; 3) upwardly-mobile racial integration. Considered from the point of view of the structural theory of psychoanalysis, the film can be seen to demonstrate how the superego (the law) derives its potency from the id, which is lawless. Cianfrance's narrative alters classic tales defining American masculinity, for Cianfrance is interested in what makes a father, whereas the classic American hero before the 20th century is a buddy, and not a dad. Thus, taking James Fenimore Cooper's Natty Bumppo from the nineteenth-century Leatherstocking Tales as a prime example, D. H. Lawrence claimed in the 1920s that the classic hero of American literature is white, isolated, and a killer. Citing the friendships between Natty Bumppo and Chingachgook in upstate New York during the French and Indian War of the 18th century depicted by James Fenimore Cooper in the 1820s, and Mark Twain's Jim and Huckleberry Finn on the Mississippi River in the 1880s as prime examples, Leslie Fiedler in the 1950s identified the classic American plot as one of interracial bonding between men in the wilderness. If we see "The Place Beyond the Pines" against this tradition, we can say the film alters these classic American elements by splitting the loner from the killer, and by showing interracial bonds between man and woman as crucial social cohesion. The male bonding in this film occurs between white men; and it has a sinister edge marked by corruption, aggression, and betrayal.

Three narrative strands

The film unrolls in three sections. The first strand centers on a stunt rider who becomes a bank robber in a thwarted attempt to support his baby; the second strand centers on the cop who kills him; the third strand dramatizes the clash between the son of the cop and the son of the robber.

Ryan Gosling, outlaw star, buff and tattooed, a marked man, plays a carnival stunt motorcycle rider named "Handsome Luke", who, with two other riders, races around inside a metallic mesh spherical cage that looks too small for them to avoid crashing into each other. We see three riders enter the sphere, but only Luke is shown emerging. If we

imagine the sphere as analogous to an ovum, Luke's exit can be read retrospectively to symbolize the way some sperm make it into the future and some do not.

Luke lives and travels in a caravan that looks cramped. A year before the movie opens, Luke hooked up with a waitress in Schenectady, New York when his show traveled through town. When he returns the next year, this waitress, Romina (Eva Mendes) shows up at the fairground as Luke's motorcycling act ends. When he gives her a ride home, she doesn't invite him inside the house. The next day Luke rides back there and knocks on the door. Romina's mother opens it, holding a fair-haired baby. When Luke asks, "Who's this guy?", Romina's mother (Olga Merediz) replies, "He's yours. His name is Jason". (Luke, who is blond, has a golden fleece of sorts; as a teenager, Jason goes in quest of Luke's identity.)

Luke visits Romina at the diner where she works and asks her to join him on the road with their son, free to move from place to place. She asks him how he will support them, and dismisses his plan to move on as a dream. Luke goes to see Romina the next day, as she, her mother Malena, and a black man named Kofi (Mahershala Ali) are leaving home. When Luke tries to assert a claim on his son, Kofi brushes him off. Kofi's family gets into a SUV parked across the street and drives off. Luke follows them on his motorcycle to a church, where, upon entering and then sitting down alone in a rear pew, he observes his son being baptized, with Kofi in the role of the baby's father. As he sits in sorrow, shame, and frustration, tears roll down Luke's face in tracks that parallel a tattoo, near his left eye, of a dagger dripping blood. The ritual blessing of Jason in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and then recitation of the prayer to "Our Father", reverberate painfully off Luke's observation to Romina about his own fatherlessness when he tried to lay claim to paternal duty: "I didn't grow up around my dad, and look at the fuckin' way I turned out".

Luke goes riding in a wooded area at the edge of town, where Ben Mendelsohn's character, Robin, spots his skill as a motorcyclist. When Luke says he plans to stick around town instead of traveling on with the carnival, Robin invites Luke to live in a trailer on his property in exchange for helping with work in Robin's motor repair shop. Robin and Luke become partners in crime after Robin reports that he himself used to rob banks and describes how getaways can be managed by having a robber escape with loot on his motorcycle and ride up a ramp into a waiting cube truck, which will pull away while police search for a motorcyclist. At first incredulous, Luke rejects and then reconsiders the idea of becoming a bank robber. Robin says, "You wanna provide for that kid? You want to edge out your competition? You gotta do that using your skill set". Robin gives Luke a pistol. This pistol allows Luke the fantasy that he can provide for his son.

Luke proceeds to rob banks, which puts him in the wrong and gets him killed; but the subsequent confiscation of the stolen money by corrupt-crony cops as well as the reputation banks have nowadays for poor ethics, and Luke's motivation as a paternal provider contextualize his lawlessness with a certain irony.

The first robberies go successfully, with Luke's helmet providing anonymity, his motorcycle speeding efficiently away, the hookup with Robin working smoothly. Robin, with Luke and his motorcycle hidden in the back of his truck, pulls into traffic from the side of the road as a police car speeds in the other direction. Robin and Luke celebrate in

Robin's digs by dancing to Bruce Springsteen's "Dancing in the dark/ This gun's for hire", with Luke holding the front paws of Robin's dog, who dangles with her back pressed to Luke's front and her exposed underside stretched out facing Robin. This varies the sexual dimension of Luke pulling his motorcycle into the back of Robin's truck. Luke is dancing in the dark in so far as he is a marked man soon to be betrayed by his partner in crime, an example of how betrayal of trust undermines male-bonding in this film.

Flush with funds, Luke delivers toys to his son and a new crib in its store packaging. Malena lets him in, he goes upstairs, and begins assembling the crib in the room where his son usually sleeps. Kofi and Romina arrive home and come upstairs angry that Luke is there. An argument turns into a scuffle in which Luke hits Kofi over the left eye with a metal tool he'd been using to assemble the crib. Blood gushes from Kofi's wound, an ambulance is called, as are the police, for whom Luke, exuding a conscious sense of doom, waits on the front steps of Kofi's house with Jason in his arms.

Luke, who already has a police record, is booked for assault. Robin bails him out of jail. When they get back to Robin's place, Luke reimburses Robin from his robbery stash hidden in the roof of his trailer, and declares his intention to carry out several bank robberies in a single day. Robin says that is a bad idea because the motorcycle bandit is already notorious in local newspapers and the only way to succeed in this line of work is to lay low for years after a successful heist, as Robin himself has done. Robin says he is not going to let Luke bring them both down. When Luke declares his intention to visit Romina while he is out on bail, Robin tells him to go by truck rather than on his motorcycle in order to be less conspicuous. Robin then tries to stop Luke from further bank jobs by dismantling Luke's bike with a blowtorch while Luke is trucking to Romina's place of work to give her a stash of (stolen) money for their child. This she refuses but he tosses it, wrapped in a black plastic garbage bag, behind the driver's seat of her car as she pulls away.

Discovering his destroyed motorcycle back at Robin's, Luke enters the room where Robin sleeps and shoves the robbery pistol into his mouth, demanding back the reimbursed bail money. This scene, suggesting a transformed fantasy of fellatio, presents a variation on the homoerotic imagery of two men dancing in the dark. It has a sinister physiological edge created by the sound of the gun clicking against Ben Mendelsohn's teeth (newly cosmeticized for this role), and picks up on a metallic sound that opens the film, where Luke toys with a switchblade knife, killing time as he waits to be called for his motorcycle stunt.

Bandit's Demise

With the reclaimed bail money, Luke buys another motorcycle and resumes his robbery routine without Robin to assist the getaway. Inside a bank, all goes as planned, but as Luke exits to get on the new motorcycle he has parked by the door but not left running, it delays him. By the time he gets on the road, a police car is behind him. Luke pulls into a cemetery, where his bike has a flat tire. A cop in close pursuit alerts cruising police in the area who track Luke's progress into a residential street where he smashes into a car that is backing out of driveway, drops his bike, and runs into the nearest house. This sequence, a marvel of photographic tracking, shows Luke passing through territory of the dead and crashing on the mundane world of middle-class residences—a car backing out of

someone's driveway. He takes temporary refuge in a middle-class house in a cul-de-sac.

Now a new set of characters appears in the film, as we see Bradley Cooper playing a rookie cop entering the pursuit upon receiving news of the runaway bandit's whereabouts. The policeman, Avery Cross, now the film's protagonist, calls for backup but does not wait for its arrival. Luke has sent the inhabitants of the house, a mother and her adolescent son, outside. With his gun drawn, Avery enters the house. Luke gets on the telephone upstairs, calls Romina, and tells her not to tell his son about him. He then opens the window and prepares to jump out as Avery enters the room and shoots Luke. Luke shoots back as he is falling out the window. Hit in the knee, Avery looks down from the window at Luke sprawled dead in a pool of blood, his legs folded behind him so that he looks cut off at the knees. Since Ryan Gosling was the biggest movie star in this film when it was made, having Handsome Luke die a third of the way through comes as a shock.

Killer Protagonist as Superego

The movie now centers on Bradley Cooper's character. In hospital for his bullet wound, Avery is regaled as a hero for killing the notorious motorcycle bandit and supposedly rescuing two hostages. District Attorney Bill Killcullan (Bruce Greenwood) arrives to ask about the shooting, which Avery reports as "by the book", claiming Luke shot first. When Avery goes home to recuperate, wearing a cast on his leg, it becomes clear that his wife Jennifer (Rose Byrne) does not appreciate her husband's job as a policeman and cannot understand why a man who has a law degree wants to work as a cop. As in the household of Kofi and Romina, Jennifer's mother lives with her daughter and grandson, who is the same age as the son of Luke and Romina. Jennifer finds it difficult to have her husband home all day during his recuperation. During a session with a police psychologist, it comes out that Avery has difficulty looking at his own son because he has learned from news reports that Luke had a son.

Around dinnertime one night, three cops arrive to take Avery, still in his leg cast, out for some unofficial police work. The visitors are invited to share the family's meal, Jennifer showing reluctance to have these cops in her house. She evidently disapproves of the ringleader's remark that Avery deserves special reward for killing a *white* bad guy. In this scene, putative representatives of the law occupy a family space organized around food. If placed in the context of the idyll created when Luke and Romina take Jason to taste his first ice cream, and a scene later in the film where Kofi, Romina, their daughter, and adolescent Jason are shown having dinner, the guests-for-dinner scene at Avery's house suggests a pattern of family togetherness disrupted by male-bonded intruders. When the three police intruders leave Avery's house with him in tow, Ray Liotta's character, DeLuca, who evidently disapproves of what he thinks is Jennifer's bossiness, asks Avery as a joke whether his wife tucks her balls up at night, hinting that DeLuca thinks Avery's masculinity is in question.

Avery is surprised to find himself driven to Romina's house, where the cops enter without a warrant. DeLuca takes charge, telling Romina to pretend he has a warrant and he will pretend her mother has legal immigration papers. DeLuca stays downstairs with one of his minions, talking to Kofi, Romina, and her mother; a second minion, Scott (Gabe Fazio), goes upstairs. Avery, bewildered, stands in the front hall, and then goes

upstairs, where he finds Scott searching the baby's room. Scott tells Avery to pick up the baby from his crib (the crib Luke brought the day he was arrested for assaulting Kofi). When Avery has Jason in his arms, Scott raises the crib mattress, and removes a black plastic bag, which he carries downstairs wrapped in his jacket with Avery following along. In the police car, Scott counts up the bagged money as $14,000. Avery is given half of it as hazardous duty pay, which he does not want. The cops call the stolen money they steal "shit", enunciating the fantasy that being powerful is being part of a corrupt conspiracy for getting your hands on other people's "shit". When DeLuca urges Scott to hurry up counting the stolen money in the police car, Scott retorts, "Got a money counter in your asshole?" After Scott tries to involve Avery further in compromising police business, Avery goes to the parking lot of the diner where Romina works and waits for her to come out to her car. He tries to give her back $7000, but she refuses it. He takes it home, where his wife watches from upstairs in their house while he hides it in their garage. He then takes the money to his supervisor, Police Chief Weirzbowski (Robert Clohessy). Upon returning to work after his injury, Avery had asked Weirzbowski for a promotion and been refused. Instead, Avery had been assigned to work in the wire cage where evidence is stored. Weirzbowski, who does not want to hear about the money Avery tries to report, grabs a tissue from a box on his desk so he can pick up the dirty money without touching it, tosses it at Avery, and tells him to take it and get back to his cage. Avery puts the $7000 into Luke's backpack, stored in the evidence cage, where Avery had previously put the pack on his own shoulder and then unzipped a compartment and found a folded photograph of Luke, Romina, and Jason from the day they had together as a family when Jason first tasted ice cream. Guilty and protective toward Jason, Avery keeps this photo in his own wallet.

Scott, now promoted to the Vice Squad, where he works with DeLuca, asks Avery discreetly to hand over a stash of cocaine from an evidence locker inside the cage. Scott explains this as a fair exchange for having given Avery half of Luke's stolen money. Avery indicates that he plans to cooperate with Scott's request, implicating himself as one of the boys.

Leaving work on his way home, Avery sees that DeLuca knows about his report to the Police Chief. DeLuca stages a traffic stop in his police cruiser and says he needs to discuss the plan to hand over the cocaine from the police cage. DeLuca has Avery follow him into a woodland. This woods is the source of the name of the town Schenectady, a Mohawk word meaning "The Place Beyond the Pines". Avery cocks his pistol, drives part way into the grove, then takes off when he sees where DeLuca has parked. This traffic stop as an occasion for potential murder by a police officer resonates with videos that as of 2015 were flooding the Internet.

The Way Out

Frightened, Avery decides to tell his father, a New York State Supreme Court Judge, about Schenectady police corruption. The judge (Harris Yulin) tells his son there is a way out but he won't like it. He asks Avery whether there is anyone in the police force who trusts him. Avery thinks of Scott, and decides to surreptitiously record him discussing the plan to remove cocaine from the police cage. Avery, on the right side of the law, now undermines his partners in crime.

Next we see Avery in the office of the District Attorney, who does not want to hear about

corruption any more than the Police Chief did. Avery says that if Bill Killcullen won't take the case, follow it through, grant Avery full immunity, and appoint him Assistant District Attorney, Avery will go to the newspapers with his evidence and his story. Avery shows that he is now following a path his father had recommended after Avery claimed that he wanted no other "line of work" than being a cop. The phrase "line of work" that Avery uses in his rousing speech accepting his hero award echoes Robin's use of the phrase, suggesting that cops and robbers are counterpart ways of making a living.

Because Avery has a sense of responsibility and loyalty to the law, he serves as a guilty mediator between the American drive for freedom and the American wish to be on the right side. Avery wants to escape his cage and he also wants to be a good guy. In a scene set in the swimming pool at Judge Cross's upper-middle class house, the judge tells his son, still recovering from his gunshot wound and basking in his glorious speech as a police hero, that he should go into politics, where his newly acquired wound would be an asset. The judge says, "A limp can go a long way in politics. Look what it did for Roosevelt!"

The Next Generation

The final sequence of this film unfolds 15 years later with yet another set of characters. Avery, now District Attorney and running for the position of New York State Attorney General, delivers the eulogy at his father's funeral, demonstrating once again that he is an effective speaker. Jennifer, now estranged from her husband, tells Avery at the cemetery that their son, who is going off the rails, wants to move in with his father. Avery Junior, called AJ, has been living with his mother in Troy, another small, upstate city not far from Schenectady, though AJ strives to appear metropolitan and speaks with what Jason hears as a Long Island accent. Played by Emory Cohen, Avery Jr. is a liar, a dominator, and a voluble wannabe-Hip Hop dude who looks and acts like a young but flabby Marlon Brando. (Cohen was originally called to read the part of Jason, but did not want that role and was not a team player; by default, he was cast as AJ.)

Entering his Senior year at Schenectady public high school as an outsider looking to become leader of a pack, AJ spots the recessive Jason (Dane DeHaan looking and acting like a young James Dean). Seeing Jason as a loner stoner, AJ, wearing a black hoodie and spouting rap rhymes, asks Jason for help in obtaining the drug Ecstasy. Jason takes him to a neighborhood where we see a black teenager wearing an orange hoodie open a house door. When Jason emerges from the house with dope, police arrive in a cruiser to arrest Jason and AJ, who has been waiting in the street. One wonders whether Schenectady cops have been keeping an eye on AJ as the son of the man who exposed police corruption or on Jason as the son of the notorious motorbike bandit.

Called back from his political campaign, Avery is appalled to see his son under arrest and to recognize Jason as the son of the man he killed. He gets AJ released immediately and aggressively orders him to stay away from Jason. Jason goes to jail and then court but the District Attorney's office has his drug charge reduced from a felony to a misdemeanor. Jason returns to school, having been told that somebody is looking out for him and curious about the source of the legal intervention. AJ, now a nascent big shot at school, takes in with interest Jason's arrival there in a car driven by Kofi.

Puzzled to hear that someone in the legal establishment has been looking out for him, Jason asks Kofi, "Who was my dad?". Kofi answers in a mock Darth Vader voice, "I'm your father". Jason says he knows that, but had heard from his mother that his dad died in an accident, and from his grandmother that his dad was an outlaw. Jason learns his father's name, and looking it up online, finds an account of Luke that names Robin Van Der Hook as an acquaintance.

Jason rides his bicycle to Robin's address, where Robin has saved a newspaper reporting Luke's death. This he digs out to show to Jason. "That guy's your dad", he says, pointing to a photo. Pointing to another photo, he says, "And that's the pig … that bagged him". Robin shows Jason the trailer where Luke had lived, and gives him the pair of sunglasses Luke had left there. These have Hollywood-style, reflective lenses and a lime-green strap. When Jason puts them on, Robin says, "You're callin' him back". He tells Jason that Luke was "the best motorcycle rider I've ever seen in my life".

With Avery back out on the campaign trail, AJ throws a party at the grand house owned by the Cross family. AJ tells Jason he had better be there and he had better arrive with plenty of drugs, pointing out that he never got back his $500 or the dope he bought with it that got them arrested. Reluctant, but manipulated by complicity in the drug deal and its aftermath, Jason decides to go to the party, stopping at a pharmacy on the way. Having parked his bicycle around the corner, Jason slips into the store, sneaks behind a counter while the druggist is busy elsewhere, and grabs a package of Oxytocin. Wearing a long-sleeved white undershirt, he has a short-sleeved Boy Scout uniform shirt on top of it and a backpack with a prominent Marijuana-plant icon. The theft sequence is shot from behind so that we see how Jason wears his pants--prison style, beltless and half way down his backside with his boxer shorts showing. Running out of the pharmacy with the druggist in pursuit, Jason hops on his bike and pedals to AJ's house with the Oxycontin. The tracking of DeHaan from behind in this sequence puts him in the same position vis-à-vis the camera as Ryan Gosling's in the first third of the film.

The use of drugs by the teenagers can possibly be grouped with the ice cream scene of Jason's infancy and the two dinner scenes as fantasies of oneness. Both the Ecstasy and the Oxycontin scenes end badly—the Ecstasy leads to arrest by police, the Oxycontin party ends with Jason's beating.

AJ's party is crowded and rowdy. The teenagers, dancing to hip hop, are pleased by the Oxycontin delivery. A girl takes Jason's hand and leads him upstairs. On the way up, the Boy Scout-shirted thief sees a framed portrait of Avery in his police uniform that he recognizes from Robin's old newspaper. Furious, he starts a scene that disrupts the party and ends with AJ beating Jason to the point that he has to be hospitalized, with AJ shouting, "Fuck him up!" AJ's role in this beating suggests the kind of leader AJ aspires to be.

At the hospital, Jason, his face cut and swollen, tells his mother she's a liar, and then leaves her there waiting for him while he slips off to neighborhood of the drug dealer's house and asks for a gun. Armed, he goes to the Cross house, finds AJ upstairs, shoots him in the leg, and leaves him incapacitated in his room. When Avery arrives home, Jason confronts him at gunpoint and orders him to "just drive". Avery drives to the same woodland where DeLuca had frightened him 15 years ago. When they walk into the forest, Jason, nervously holding the gun and unsure what to do, tells Avery to get down

on his knees and clasp his hands behind his head. Avery bows his head, cries, and apologizes. Like Luke and unlike Avery, Jason doesn't kill anyone. He takes Avery's jacket and wallet, finds the Dairy Circus photo of Luke's one day of family intimacy, and drives away in Avery's BMW, leaving the District Attorney kneeling in the woods, without his wallet or dark-blue jacket of authority.

As the movie ends, we see Jason walking to an isolated house in an open landscape. A man comes to the door and leads him to a barn to look at a Honda motorcycle that has been advertised for sale. Jason buys it and rides away down an empty road, taking on his father's image as a motorcyclist. Jason rides through open space rather than being contained as Luke had been in his carnival sphere. Here he can be imagined to be a version of Luke as the one rider we see having emerged from the caged three in the movie's opening sequence.

If we take the "Pines" of this film's title to symbolize family trees, we can see that Jason looks to have gone beyond them, with no one (so far) in pursuit, though there is a faint sound of a police siren on the soundtrack. But this "on the road" ideal of American freedom has an uneasy undercurrent if we think of the resemblance between De Haan's Jason and James Dean (1931-1955), who died in a crash.

Conclusion

The social fabric of characters in this film shows three classes in alternative American dreams. The Cross line is socially well positioned, dominating, twice wounded, with established resources of law enforcement on its side. Luke's line is spectacular and exciting, skilled, socially marginal, recessive, sacrificial, capable of stealing and wounding, but not killers. Fatherless himself, Luke is an outsider whose name has not passed down to his son. Being without a father, in other words, means being without resources and on the wrong side of the law.

During the 15 years following Luke's death, Kofi's family achieves a middle-class American dream. They move to a larger house in a better neighborhood than the one of Jason's infancy. Jason goes by Kofi's last name. When Romina opens her suburban mailbox and finds that Jason has sent her the old photo of Luke's family the day they went to the dairy bar, we see a shiny, new-looking red Chevrolet parked in her driveway. This family represents the part of the American psyche, the ego, which integrates and makes peace with reality.

Romina, who speaks Spanish with her immigrant mother, and whose name suggests Romany or gypsy folk as well as roaming, moves between the migratory and the rooted. She has a son with a carnival performer who suddenly quits his job in an ill-fated attempt to act the role of provider. Their son's name evokes the Greek myth of Jason, who quested for the Golden Fleece. Romina has a daughter with a middle-class black man who is stable and peaceable. After she moved into Kofi's house, Romina had sex again with Luke, who is apparently the love of her youth if not of her life. When Luke invites her to go on the road, she tells him it is a nice dream and continues to live with Kofi. She is without her mother, her son and Handsome Luke by the end of the film, but she has her new car, her middle-class house, a mate, and a daughter. Whatever attracted her to Handsome Luke has passed into Jason.

Visibly a white boy, Jason has a Latina grandmother and a black-Hispanic sister. He is evidently known and accepted in the neighborhood where he buys drugs and gets a gun. He rides west alone on his new motorcycle but maintains his bond with home by sending his mother the photo. He is headed for the unknown. Not only does he penetrate space by traveling west, traditionally the American frontier, he penetrates the unknown by finding out the truth about his father and then assuming his image.

AJ, a spoiled, rich, white boy, grew up with a single mom, and now lives with a single dad who has very little authority as far as his son is concerned, though Avery does get elected State Attorney General. AJ, who is Avery Jr., bears his father's name. AJ, like his dad, has been shot in the leg in act of revenge for a prior aggression. Whereas Jason's only grandfather figure is the Scorpio Rising-style grease monkey who made Luke famous as the Moto Bandit, AJ had a judge for a grandfather and a lawyer-politician of dubious heroics for a dad. One imagines AJ limping his way after his dad into political office, with fewer scruples, while Jason rides free as an outsider.

Like Romina, Robin mediates between outlaw freedom and lower middle-class rootedness. When Robin meets Luke, he is riding a 4-wheeled dirt bike that he hauls around in a pick-up truck. His attraction for Luke's riding skills shows both an economic and an erotic motive. Formerly a bank robber, Robin has staked himself, now owns property where he lives and works, rooted to a place where he keeps files of records, and grows old. He has a new partner 15 years after Luke has been killed.

Ben Mendelsohn, born in Australia, brings an outsider aura to his Hollywood film roles, as does Ryan Gosling, born in Canada. In this regard, they can be linked to Australia-born Rose Byrne, who plays Avery's estranged wife; and to the two Cuban-American performers who play Romina and Malena, who speak Spanish to each other in the film. The international cast plays in an American context with American-born actors in the majority, in a film directed by an American who is examining ideals of freedom, justice, and family.

Avery as a character is a mediator because he is a guilty cop and a liar who receives immunity as he uses his complicity and his law degree to get into political office. He identifies with the law of his father the judge, but uses his position as District Attorney to get his son out of trouble. Because he has a conscience, Avery lets Jason go free, reporting AJ's wound as caused by an unknown intruder. Shot by Luke but still walking, Avery is a wounded father, as is Kofi. Kofi was bloodied by Luke but continued to act as a father to Luke's son. When Avery kills Luke we see the dead man splayed in blood with his legs twisted so that he looks looks truncated. Judge Cross's remark about President Franklin Roosevelt declares that a wounded man can be a powerful man. In the role of wounded hero, Avery becomes politically influential. As a dead father, Luke proves to have a powerful effect on Avery's career and family as well as on Jason's fate as a motorcyclist.

Luke did not grow up around his dad, but Jason has had a trinity of fathers looking out for him: Luke, Kofi, and Avery. Collectively, they give Jason freedom to ride away. Jason ends the film on the wrong side of the law, but he has shown that he acts on what is fair. Called an "aimless youth" by the Police Chief, Jason has a better sense of justice than AJ has. The logo of "The Place Beyond the Pines" shows three pointed trees of differing heights. If Avery apparently stands the tallest, AJ is morally the smallest of the three.

Biographical Note

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