The Envy of Love Feeling as a Factor of Influence on the Self and Its Deviations

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To cite this article:
Celia Blini de Lima. The Envy of Love Feeling as a Factor of Influence on the Self and Its Deviations. Social Sciences. Vol. 10, No. 3, 2021, pp. 125-131. doi: 10.11648/j.ss.20211003.17

Received: February 18, 2021; Accepted: May 12, 2021; Published: June 21, 2021

Abstract: In this article we discuss the theme of envy given its importance in the analytical work, especially when it presents itself as a central point within the analysis work. I tried to handle it within a somewhat broad view, quoting some authors who discuss the theme to enlighten less evident aspects of its expression, emphasizing the personal damage of the coexistence of this presence within the self. We bring cutouts of our work with Guida, a 45-year-old woman to present the traces of her presence and promote a moment to think about which theory we supported to understand her, since this choice changes the clinical work development. Although envy is a feeling that can create difficulties in relationships, especially the most intimate ones, its internal marks are deep and permanent, and lead to a feeling of perennial dissatisfaction. I’ve used an intersection between a short story in the Brazilian literature to approach the envy of a feeling, a love’s feeling, the mother’s love feeling that could only be saw in the mother’s perspective look to her other children’s. I also present their consequences to the self’s construction and their posterior choices.

Keywords: Envy, Desire, Frustration, Incompleteness, Environment Fault, Narcissism, Ideal

1. Introduction

The theme of envy has been pertinent and relevant for us psychoanalysts for a long time. In this paper I present an excerpt from a clinical session with a woman under analysis for six years. I sought to relate this experience to some psychoanalytical theories, enriching my text with excerpts from Brazilian literature.

I mention some theories and some authors, including Klein, Bion, Kyrle, Mezan, and Winnicott, to help me understand and justify my associations, in an attempt to discuss the thoughts that came to my mind during that session. Between the dream and its connections, I was able to bring out an outlook of envy in this clinical case, which seems original to me when approaching the theme.

This discussion intends to shed light on the less evident subtleties in which envy is expressed and how they affect interpersonal relationships, considering that such subtleties guide interpersonal relationships silently and unconsciously, but with force of action on the paths taken by a person.

Therefore, in addition to highlighting the marks of envy that remain in the person, I want to open space to think about which theories we analysts use to understand envy, since it promotes a feeling of perennial dissatisfaction, as we will see throughout this text.

2. Development

Under the golden locks, lots of stories to tell... about a suffering female soul who wandered lost looking to be held. And as she carried feelings that were encapsulated within herself and transformed into something very "distant" from the original sense, her feelings remained hidden for long years. And as we are not just a part - the one we would like to be - I believe that Quintana [2], in his poem, tells us that we are whole and imperfect, neither entirely good nor entirely bad.

In this article, we will focus on the theme of envy, which is quite important in the psychoanalytic work, although it is not new and it is unlikely that analysts will not recognize envy in their work, especially when it becomes prominent in the analysis process. Undoubtedly, this feeling can happen many times in the analysis of patients when the analyst reaches a good interpretation that satisfies the patient or when he puts
ideas that have not yet been thought or - in other words - the analyst becomes a “good breast”, capable of nurturing the patient. In this situation, the differences between the dyad get clear in the analytical work, thus turning into a target of admiration, a positive feeling, which can make envy emerge.

We see envy as a human feeling that can openly and clearly appear in comments or attitudes that easily lead us to recognize its presence, as in the case of the Verba Testamentária, a short story by Machado de Assis:

...“since the earliest years, he has shown by repeated acts that there is some addiction, some organic fault. There is no other way to explain the obstinacy with which he runs to destroy the toys of other boys. I do not refer to those boys that are the same as or inferior to him, but to those that are better and richer than him.” (p. 164) [5]

That boy was Nicolau who exchanged his toys for the beauty of the clothes he tore, for the faces he scratched after attacks on the best students at school.

“Nicolau loved submissive natures in general, just like the sick love the drug that restores their health; he caressed them paternally, offered them abundant and cordial praise, lent them money, distributed treats to them, opened their souls.” (p. 166) [5]

The eyes that can see and desire what others have are the eyes of envy, but as Mezan stated: What is desired is to get hold of something, which already belongs to others. And what belongs to others does not necessarily refer to something concrete, which you can touch, damage, or have.

"It is not something that is in the object or in others, but in the fantasy of the envious - it lies in the imaginary and the envious assumes that whoever possesses such a thing is happy with it.” (p. 167) [7]

“Envy rejoices in someone else's pain, but that does not make the envious happy.” (p. 168) [7]

I intend not to go further into the expression of envy that can be perceived by objective evidence and clustered clues with greater reach, as in the case of Nicolau in the abovementioned short story. A boy who cannot hold on to his impulses and live with differences without promoting destruction.

Certain feelings of envy are not easily identifiable because they are only in the eye of the beholder and in the heart of the one who feels and cannot always be seen from the outside. And the feeling comes from the inside, from the deepest of the being and cannot initially be contained by the subject; it emerges as an impulse, a desire that demands passage. And it can happen silently, without any smell or color and still be experienced by the subject as something condemned or “ugly”, and something that can create shame and disguise, and remain hidden. This is the case of Guida, now a grown woman, who will be the focus of this article.

Many theorists have approached this topic and have taken a different perspective on whether its origin is innate, constitutional, or generated by an environment fault. It was M. Klein who focused her attention on the study of envy that she considered as a primary feeling, an expression of destructive and constitutionally based impulses, and she was primarily concerned with observing primitive mechanisms of babies. Authors such as Winnicott, M. Kyrle, Green, Bion, among others, considered it important to recognize a phase of total dependence of the baby on the environment, therefore dependence on the good breast (Klein) or a good enough mother (Winnicott), which shifts the focus to the analysis of envy and raises the possibility of referring either to an environment fault or to an interplay of emotions between the mother and baby, an interface where something is missing to accommodate the anguish derived from some deprivation for the baby, which could be the mother's inability of reverie (Bion) [1]. If we consider that the baby's projections were not contained by the mother for any reason (depression, anxiety, or some other state), this frustration might give rise to aggressive emotions that will be directed at her, because she could not transform them, before they were introjected by the baby.

All those issues are important and provide us with the chance to pave the way for investigation. If we followed the assumption of the mother's gaze containing disappointment or envy, could we consider that this feeling introjected by the baby would lead to a distorted concept of self? Could the baby incorporate an envious mother and could envy become part of the baby? Could we speak of a mother whose emotional conditions would be insufficient to cope with her baby's anxieties in the face of a difficult and long process of giving birth, as was Guida’s? How would these factors have interfered in the constitution of the baby’s being?

Can we here observe how it is possible that the mother's gaze reflects the baby's emotions or her own desire and emotions, favoring the “false self”. We can say that "One refers to the Other”. In that exchange, Winnicott showed the mirror role of the mother's face, more precisely her eyes. The baby must see himself in the mother’s face (mirror) before seeing the mother, to form his subjective aspects, that is, his idealized image (of the One or the Other) or, on the contrary, a persecutory image (of them).” (p. 47) [4]

“Identity is not a state, it is a search for the self that can only get its reflexive response through the object and the reality that reflect it.” (p. 45) [4]

The first object, the mother, that reflects the reality, must not only receive her baby but because it was conceived biologically on a relationship with her partner. The baby must be received and be recognized as a being of the couple’s desire, as an adoption situation. This must be a welcome moment where the baby finds a “place of welcome belonging”, in this family.

Winnicott draws our attention to his idea of the baby's first moments of life, where a terrifying situation existed, stating that in those situations there is a variance between the good-enough mother and the not-good-enough mother, a mother that is sufficient for the baby to have experienced the existence of a good breast. As I mentioned earlier, the baby can project his suffering and discomfort, and such content may not be contained and transformed by the mother;
therefore, the breast can stop being a rewarding and calming breast. Therefore, it can lose its good-breast quality. In this variance of the mother's care, says the author, there is enough for "the baby to have known of the existence of a good breast, but that he has not been able to have it, except as something that emerged as an invasion or impingement." (p. 345) [11]

"Thus, envy could result from a process of disillusionment that begins with the mother's adaptation and includes her gradual failure to adapt, combined with the baby's growing ability to cope with that failure. Therefore, envy would be a byproduct of the developing mother-baby relationship and the organization of the baby's self. The hatred that can appear in these conditions can refer to the failure to be cared." (p. 340) [10]

In Klein's [6] view, however, envy would be directed to the breast that feeds the baby and to which the baby must give credit. This would set in motion the destructive impulses and generate attacks on the breast and a possible devaluation and depreciation and the desire to deprive the breast-object from its value.

M. Kyrle also points to a failure in the mother's care function. The author thus presents his conception of the baby's first relationships: That he (the baby) seeks to find suitable realizations to match his innate preconception and, if he does not achieve them because the object does not have the capacity to accept his suffering, an environment fault is triggered which may reveal the presence of an anxious or narcissistic mother.

"Envy could then appear toward the counterpart - a baby who suffers, a mother who is free from suffering. There is a great chance that envy will be aroused by a mother resistant to the introjection of the child's painful states of mind. Thus, the two factors - the child's envy and the mother's resistance - can mutually strengthen each other, preventing the formation of the concept of a good mother, felt as capable of providing both love and the ability to manage difficulties with the help of thought." (p. 416) [8]

"Wrong recognition (which would be a secondary failure) is a defense against the pain of envy." (p. 417) [8]

I have addressed a point of divergence between Klein and Winnicott, but I also found points of convergence in them and in Green, M. Kyrle and Bion, among others: they all place great importance on the initial baby relations with the mother and the relevance of the quality of continence and reverie in these initial relations, because they are determinants for the construction of a good internal object, and of the ability to restore the lost prenatal unity as well as the baby's feeling of emotional security. If there is any failure in this circulation of investment, harmful consequences may occur in the formation of the self. And, owing to the possibility of generalization of these initial relationships, distrust in loving relationships may appear in other relations as well.

Psychoanalytic listening makes us attentive and alert to other facts and reports or pieces of evidence in attitudes so that this assumption can be confirmed. As every report is subjective and can also involve us and take us away from the origin of facts, as in a reported dream - already modified by the narrator - being patient and prudent when interpreting dreams is the best thing to do.

We could never assume that "Golden Locks" was not blond. Her hair was intense brown. I refer to Guida, a girl who has been blonde since she was a small child. And, as it was a secret between her and her mother, who also preferred her to be blonde, no one ever guessed what was under her golden locks. This story was masked and denied to everyone who knew the girl, except those closest to her family. Only in analysis, after establishing a relationship of great trust, did Guida disclose the fact. But not directly. She told me about her child drama: That she was not accepted by her mother who wanted her blonde and that her mother applied chamomile tea and exposed her to the sun to lighten her hair, until she could take her to a beauty shop to finally dye them, something that Guida keeps doing to this day. An attitude that undoubtedly raises, in those who are faced with a mother like this, the assumption that she will make her daughter an object of desire, without worrying about the damage that it could cause her - a narcissistic, intrusive attitude, undoubtedly [3]. Was this girl born with hair? Was it brown? How would this mother have expressed herself in her first contacts when looking at her girl? Would she have been disappointed when she saw her daughter's hair color? And how could this mother-baby relationship, the beginnings of the relationship with the breast, have been established?

Guida is now 45 years old. She is the first born, has a sister two years younger, and a brother 4 years younger than her. She has a difficult relationship with her mother who, according to her, does not value her. On the contrary, her mother has an affective and empathic relationship with her sister Berenice, although her mother's total preference is for her brother. Her brother was born with health problems and demanded a lot of care and attention from his mother. Later, when he was a little older, he had behavior problems at school. Her sister was quite extrovert and showed to be dispersive at school, unlike Guida, who was more introvert and had good results as a student. It was always very difficult for Guida to understand her mother's connection with her sister, since she (Guida) was the well-behaved daughter and - in her view - she should be more valued and loved.

Guida seemed to feel like she was in an unfair situation and considered her mother inadequate when assessing reality, and unable to adequately handle the difference of affinity she had with her children, seeming to promote rivalry, jealousy, and lack of confidence in love.

To get closer to what could best be associated to something as hidden as in the case of Guida, we relied on our attentive, free, floating listening and on our relationship with the patient as aiding elements. One must be careful and get rid of the attachment with which the narrative of each session and the sequence of narratives can involve us. When the narrative is made to confuse or direct our thoughts, it becomes even more difficult. That is why I believe that analysis, as Bion would put it, must progress with caution, especially when it puts us in such a well-designed path to achieve something.
that is almost a "verdict". On the contrary, when everything leads us to believe something, I think it is time to "open our analytical eyes and ears" and put the doubt in the certainties that take our minds and let the developing relationship bring facts that have not yet been reported or experienced, and that can be confronted. Thus, they could lead us to another perspective and interpretation, perhaps driving changes in the narratives, or in the very version of the same facts and providing insights in the analytical dyad.

I decided not to address this case from the standpoint of a triangular relationship where the excluded would be jealous because I believe it refers more to wanting to have what the other has than to feeling excluded. Guida wants to get the attention given to Berenice by her mother, and she would go even further, wanting to be Berenice. This starts to make sense and leads us to that endpoint - envy. A feeling that, when emerging, presents itself like an eagle, a "bird of prey", ready to pick up and take its prey, the one it desires, due to its cunning and agility. Just like the eyes of the eagle that sees the hunt for its desire, Guida's eyes highlight the love relationships that take place close to her. It should be noted that Berenice has been blond since she was born and has an empathic, loving relationship with her mother, unlike Guida, who tried to be seen by her mother as someone special, and only managed to get a certain degree of indifference. This brings our understanding closer to Guida's search for blond hair, in the hope of having this loving relationship with her mother.

Envy does not come alone. It is generally accompanied by greed. The person is hungry for everything and rejoices in the failure of the envied. Wanting to have what someone else has is not enough. The pleasure is to deprive others from what they have. Even if a person could feel pleasure otherwise, that desire never calms down. The situation is complicated when what Guida desires and recognizes is not something material that she may get hold of, but it is the love in the mother's eyes for her sister and brother and not for her, Guida.

The story is repeated when she grows up, in the choice of her partner, because she also picks a man, who has eyes for her mother only. She falls in love with him and spends many years wanting to be looked at with love, but this is not what she finds in his eyes, where what she finds is mostly hatred.

Guida grew up having that perspective and, to paraphrase Machado de Assis' short story, she seemed to have an addiction - that of wanting to be able to see love in relationships close to her, but not feeling that love in her interpersonal and significant relationships. Perhaps because she was raised like this, with a standpoint distorted by the feeling of envy, she was displaced from a presence in relationships to a compulsive observer of seeing love in the primordial and important relationships of her life displaced to others. Could we conjecture that envy is an element that makes it difficult for the subject to develop an ability to love? Perhaps for this reason, we wonder if the bonds around her are built without love, more for convenience and rationality.

3. Conclusion: Psychoanalytical Conjectures

So far, we have relied on the thought of Klein (1960), our main reference, within the analytical conceptions to give support to envy. The author places the feeling as determinant and innate to humans. With due respect and without pretending to disregard this psychoanalytic theory, so important also in the clinical practice, we see envy differently in this article as we have already pointed out - a feeling that is born from a lack in the relationship with the other. We find resonance in the ideas of Alarcão (14), who suggests in his article the possibility that envy is not innate, “but linked to the study of contexts, without establishing a priori what is the source of this feeling” (2018). The author therefore considers it important to take individual issues into account, as we did when emphasizing in this article the mother's relationship with the baby, where we began to research the origin of Guida's feeling.

The assumption of the good breast does not define what the “good” would be and we know that it can emanate more content than could fit in the good. We do not know whether it contains envy or not, for example, as I have already left open in the development of this work. However, assuming that the baby does not envy the breast, we believe that the baby receives milk and all its psychic components from the breast from the beginning.

If envy were not present at that moment, it could appear unexpectedly, in a situation of lack, created in the relationship and which brings deep pain. This was what seemed to us to happen with Guida when she discovered the sparkle in her mother's eyes towards her siblings.

Lourenço and Soussumi (15) refer to a state that "is apprehended by the self by its own body and becomes a repertoire of affective memories that interfere all the time in the apprehension of experiences". And the authors continue to say that the emotional experience meets an “affective constellation”, which becomes the protagonist of the scene of a specific act. (2018)

As we saw in the case of Guida, this specific act led her to a life collecting “good attitudes and good results”, with a view to raising the look of admiration and love for her, as children do with their mothers when taking their face in their hands for them to give you attention. This may have represented a creative search for her, or an act of reparation for the disappointment she caused in her mother. And she also seemed to me to be the motivator of her search for analysis, to understand the destiny that she has always been involved in.

The analytical relationship was always charged with sadness, but also with liveliness and interest, as if learning to relate, and “playing”, as proposed by Winnicott, reestablishing a relationship with the real maternal breast. “In a way, the child has the illusion of having created what he/she really found, said Oliveira (16). Within this view that the baby creates the breast internally, by “primary maternal empathy” (Winnicott) what object would have been created.
in that initial moment, where the encounter is with a “disappointed” or just “impacted” breast?

This new relationship within the analysis would lead to positive and creative experiences, transforming the destructive, discouraging aspect of thinking and thinking about oneself, as someone unable to achieve love. Also according to Oliveira, “it could be a reaction to the initial trauma, a failure in the integration processes of primitive experiences.” 

As Winnicott would say, maternal empathy should be able to soften the impact between what is created by the baby and what the baby finds. Every creation of the baby is done through the object and its emotional qualities. If the object is not good enough and still demonstrates the impact itself, instead of softening, it creates emotional turbulence, which can affect the baby’s creative act when creating the internal object. The petrified, disappointed eyes of Guida’s mother, could mirror “dislike, disgust, rejection” and it was probably within this spectrum that the first introjections that produced the initial marks of this relationship occurred. Marks that, due to their precociousness, became guides in search of healing the wound open so soon.

As we saw in P. Aulagnier [12], who dedicates her work to seeking knowledge about the first interactions between the baby and his mother and the baby and his psychic environment, we have to point out the impact of the first experiences in psychic events, which mark everyone’s life. Likewise, Guida and her story took us back to the beginning of her life where, in the course of her analysis, her reports and the emotional experience she had in our analytical meetings, we were able to build some knowledge that could give meaning to her feeling of lack of love in the look and conduct of her mother, which made her envious of the feeling of love sought in the eyes of others. Certainly, those experiences were part of her identity construction, leading her to a lot of suffering.

Thinking about how this envy was built led me to establish relations between theories that can account for an early encounter between this baby and her mother in such a striking way that it may have made profound marks at such an early moment in her life. A mismatch promoted between the preconception of the baby that seeks the breast and the mother’s desire to find a baby with blond hair, as Aulagnier [12] would say. The baby finds a breast to feed her - milk breast - but does not find in the mother’s eyes what the baby seeks to see - the passion for her (the baby). What she sees from the beginning is a petrified look, perhaps astonished and the dislike for her dark hair. The relationship has an impact. Forced splitting, as Bion [13] says, due to a feeling of envy, separates material satisfaction from psychic satisfaction. It refers to the baby’s feelings about the breast that offers milk, by the baby’s aggressive impulses to the breast that contains what the baby does not contain. In this clinical case, I could think about whether it would be possible to use the forced splitting experienced by the mother, who would be willing to offer material satisfaction, having the impossibility of offering emotional satisfaction, due to her disappointment at seeing Guida, or even other factors added to this. It would only be a phenomenon that can be identified in the baby, if envy was primary, as defined by Klein.

In my view, in this clinical situation we have a secondary envy, which is born of something lacking. It comes to be constituted later in a compulsive search for a feeling not received by her in the initial period of her life - love. The splitting taken in this mother-baby relationship can be seen as something inverted: where the baby lived from the mother’s point of view and cannot count on the offer of a “container breast”, capable of reverie, but a split breast, capable of feeding materially. An inversion of perspective where the mother’s desire to have a blond baby girl (the mother’s imaginary) is frustrated and puts the mother at that moment unable to experience the passion for the baby, changing her gaze into a cold look. In the specular stage where Guida looks in her mother’s eyes for herself, she finds a “cold” look, which refers to an absence of pleasure.

When P. Aulagnier refers to the mother and her feelings in the early days of her relationship with the baby, she also points out that the mother’s psychic content would be linked to her emotional state at the time, including her own pleasure in the relationship with her husband. Often, it reflects feelings of hatred in the marital relationship, which may be projected on the child since birth. We do not have these data for confrontation in this case, but many times Guida referred to perceiving in the mother’s eyes a feeling of hate. And she asked me many times if it was possible for a mother to hate a daughter, since she was correct, serious, and responsible. This was also an impacting moment in our relationship.

All those conjectures lead us to believe in the difficulty of reaching the origins of a mental state, which can represent the taking of a path that, not being able to be thought of, leads the subject in one direction.

Here we have the possibility of approaching the saga of the envious - being stuck in “a life not lived”, a life that did not really happen and was lived in Guida’s imagination only. Certainly, her perception of what she lacks has become a recurring fact in her life and “it may have become a prolonged mourning or an endless and enraged whine” of which she was unable to live.” (p. 12) [9]

Another point to be discussed regarding envy is the search for the ideal, which could restore the perfection of narcissism lost in childhood or that could lead to a search for “being special”, a need that prevents us from really perceiving ourselves. It actualizes a feeling of incompleteness, typical of the “myth of potential.”

“The myth of potential makes complaining and suffering seem like the most real actions we take in life, transforming our frustration into a secret life of grudges.” (p. 13) [9]

Due to her difficulty to accept frustrations and overcome them, Guida carried the pain of believing that she had the power inside her to make changes in the world and in people, a recurring and delusional thought that took up most of her life. I see envy as a possible engine of continuity in her way of being.

Thus, with eyes open, Guida may have built a life of
illusion, the illusion of her own potential, the illusion of changing the world, trapped by fixed ideas, as well as recurring and perhaps delusional thoughts. Perhaps it was this pain of what the eye sees - what she wants to be addressed to another – her certainty of existence. She often seems to want to think and thus achieve a conclusion about the world – an unfair world.

Regarding desire - so frequent in envy - to strip away from the envied the things that he has, I could not observe any explicit desire of this type in Guida’s closest relations. What I perceived was a certain joy when these people were facing rejection’ by what she sees in Guida. Projections of the as a look of ‘disconcerted disappointment, perhaps even as her first baby, not as eyes that are delighted to see her, but constitutive of the baby's internal world, but also as a transmitter of the 'disappointments' of the caring object (the mother). This mother's gaze could contain feelings other than love and responsiveness and could have been internalized with this content by Guida. What was it that her mother has perceived was a certain joy when these people were facing rejection’ by what she sees in Guida. Projections of the as a look of ‘disconcerted disappointment, perhaps even as her first baby, not as eyes that are delighted to see her, but constitutive of the baby's internal world, but also as a transmitter of the 'disappointments' of the caring object (the mother).

In this case, we could think of the mother’s gaze at Guida, as her first baby, not as eyes that are delighted to see her, but as a look of 'disconcerted disappointment, perhaps even rejection' by what she sees in Guida. Projections of the mother, unfulfilled desires, a baby born with dark hair and frustrating the mother’s desire for a baby with “golden locks”. This would be a key point to be considered as primordial in the analytical work, the first relationships not only constitutive of the baby's internal world, but also as a transmitter of the 'disappointments' of the caring object (the mother).

This mother's gaze could contain feelings other than love and responsiveness and could have been internalized with this content by Guida. What was it that her mother has transmitted in her mirror-eyes?

I think of the assumption that those eyes have contaminated Guida's story. From what I can add to the continuity of this work, Guida grew up with ‘dyed blond hair’, but that fact didn’t change her life or her mother’s look at her, still discriminating her against her brothers. This has undoubtedly hindered her own perception, her self-esteem and her self-confidence in her ability to love and be loved. She has experienced a lot of professional growth and a stable life, has built many things in her life so far, but those things have not changed the way "she is looked at by her mother"; she always hears demanding comments, generally critical and hard, which reinforce her feeling of continuous search for that loving gaze and her endless dissatisfaction.

Guida moves on in life like that, with a restless soul, filled with unanswered questions, including the strongest one - what would I have to be or have done to deserve a loving look from my mother?

In several occasions, I came to think about the fact that this mother might have feelings of envy towards her daughter, which I conjectured based on some attitudes reported in the sessions. Sometimes, I even have an impression of the mother’s negative feeling towards Guida. A daughter who, since she was a little girl, seemed to have a strong personality, a child that was not at all docile, but challenging and intelligent. Guida has shown to be an admirable person in her way of managing her life and responsibilities, is generous to all family members, is quite available, but perhaps a little harsh in the way she expresses herself and has a great 'disposition to truth and coherence'. Her mother observes and perceives her but has no words of acknowledgment or gratitude for her way of being or for her achievements, even though she stands out from her brothers in several aspects. With Guida, the mother is just cordial and demanding, quite unkind and little affectionate, but she always asks her to take care of problems, like someone who recognizes her competence and uses it.

The mother’s negative look may have been internalized by Guida since her first contacts and may have been a factor of great influence in her development. As a perceptive person, as it seems to me, she was able to detect the difference between her mother's look toward her siblings, and that has become the core of her life until now.

"Under the golden locks..."

"Our imaginary lives are not - or at least, are not necessarily - alternatives or havens for real lives, but an essential part of them.” (p. 18) [9]

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