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Los Sueños en la terapia psicoanalítica de familia y pareja

TRANSGENERATIONALITY AND FEMININE - DREAMS ON THE ETHNOPSYCHOANALYTIC CLINIC

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The transmission of psychic life is also undeniably of a transgenerational nature. Thus, we seek out to identify what is a transmission between generations within the frame of the clinical psychology of a psychoanalytic point of view, and immersing in a specific cultural context. We seek to know the construction of the subject beyond the individual psychic structure, in other words, to investigate the psychological processes that transmit and form the basis of belonging and identity of the subject, in the family group and in his culture of origin. So we chose to connect amid women and the transmission in the female gender. Taking into account family is the primary group membership which sets the first relational modalities, identifications and early constitution of the self that occupies a place in the world, in the lineage, culture and society, we consider indispensable the research on transgenerationality and its singularity for the understanding of the (inter) subjective formation of an individual on is feminine face.

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Stands out, from our clinical listening, that there are elements that emerge directly from the transmission, often these are not accessible on a conscious level. Each person becomes the subject and thus recipient and representative of dreams, unfulfilled desires, repressions, the resignations, the fantasies and stories of the history. These ideas lead us to reflect on the need for sensitivity, understanding, cultural and structural respect when listening to the other and with the other, in the intra-individual and inter-individual dimension.

In order to know more about what happens and how it happens in the establishment of the female symbolic in the culture, we chose Cape Verdean women, using qualitative tools as observation technique, the narrative of free association and interpretation / use of dream and cultural mythology. This methodology allows access to aspects of unconscious movements and transmission, playing them under the influence of a culture, so that we can access what is the nature of this transmission, of the phantom and its constituents. The relations between the unsaid and transmission are central: the difference between the qualities of the *non - told* in two categories, namely: what is forbidden to say and / or unspoken (first), without the words to say and inadequacy of words to which they have access (second category): we intend to access these aspects of the subject's life through this methodology.

We could say that individual psychology is also the psychology of some social such as we see clarified in "Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego," Freud (1921/1969), in which it is highlighted the presence of inter-subjectivity in the psychic constitution of the subject. In this text, it is stated that the subjective construction of an individual is invariably involved with something more, like a model, an opposition and the primary relationships. We found in René Kaës (2002) a recent glance at certain points raised by Freud in Totem and Taboo (1913/1969), Mourning and Melancholia (1917/1969), Mass Psychology and Analysis of the Ego (1921/1969), in these and other works the father of psychoanalysis had already addressed the transgenerationality. Kaës also utilizes the contributions of Abraham (1924/1994) and Maria Torok (1970) on concepts as: mourning, the fusion, the crypt and the phantom to think this mysterious unconscious inheritance. Kaës deepens the theme of the transmission of psychic life between generations, linking it to the malaise of the modern world and the rapid social and cultural changes that we have witness. Alluding to Freud's "Civilization and Its Discontents", speaks to us of the sublimation in favour of civilization secularization with their own neurotic hostages. The transformations of family ties and break of intergenerational bounds can be observed as changes in personal relations, power relations, authority and violent culture shock - with deep emphasis on the feminine roles. This reflection allows the possibility that all these changes can endanger the social, as a place of belonging and identification, shaking the narcissistic basis of identity and belonging.

"What starts to be emphasized is the failure in the transmission (encryption, foreclosures, and rejection), highlighting the role of foul concealed, secret, non-symbolization. Because of this and in spite of this, it gives a transmission whose peculiarities are painstakingly identified by encystment in the unconscious of a subject, of a part of the unconscious formations of another that comes to pursue him as a phantom, an ancestral persecution (Kaës, op. cit., pp.34). "

A secret, for example, may be a privileged form of generational psychic transmission, differentiating at least two orders spanning generations: the non - said and the nameless, as mentioned in the works of Englishman-Mazzarella (2006), Williams (2005), Benghozi (2000), Aulagnier (1975/1979) among other authors. Kaës (2002) proposed to reread Freud from the concepts of object relation of Klein, Bion's alpha function, the reverie of Winnicott, the other of Aulagnier, the intersubjectivity of Green, among other concepts. But, meanwhile, Kaës introduces the innovative distinction between inter-subjective transmission and trans-psychic transmission: the first assumes a transformative recovery of transmission, i.e, transmission between individuals is of a different kind of transmission through them: among the subjects, the object is an obstacle and there is then the experience of separation. In this model, are involved the imaginary, real and symbolic relationships between the subjects and their constituents have differentiation and complementarities. relations of Thus, intersubjective transmission of a subject assimilates elements other coordinating with psychic contents themselves. In the second, by contrast, limits and subjective spaces are eliminated, ie, the elements are not transmitted by the subject but inculcated in its raw form, acting as a blank sign in his mental life.

"The transgenerational transmission is a psychic generational transmission from the point of view of the nature and essence of the creative link between the generations, became defective, was interrupted; stories of his characters are collapsed, glued together, are under the predominance of repetition and narcissism. Establish in generations, the unthinkable, the unspeakable, the negative, the process of gossiping, the fools debris, past silent, empty stories. The new generation, compulsory and continent of the negative, containing a toxic vesicle, singular receiver of a defective transmission, and that by being dominated by their dependence of the bound to their parents, as well as its need to occupy the place that it is determined, will try by all means to free themselves of this burden "(Kaës, 1991, pp. 56).

In summary, transpsychic transmission does not allow the articulation of content, not allowing the person to receive and integrate it. The toxic vesicle we speak makes us aware of the inability to digest, forcing the heiress to incorporate it passively, because the bond with parents' would prevent the violent expulsion. In trying to reflect on a point of listening and looking movements of the subjects psyche we find in Faimberg Haydée (1979) the development of the concept of telescoping, used to refer to transmissions between at least three generations: in short, for system of appropriation \ intrusion function and certain identifications belonging to a generation other than the patient arise. The internal parents have to work within the narcissistic system we describe prior and depending on their love or hate him getting hold of the subject independence. This reasoning would lead us to include two generations in these identifications, but the example which we support regards three generations.

"I believe the cause of this fact is that we find in the clinic that parents themselves are not the only protagonists of this relationship, but are, in turn, entered unconsciously in his own family system. This explains why three generations are involved in this type of identification (...) "(op. cit. p. 43).

The telescoping highlights a circular and repetitive time, the difference between generations rather is on the inevitable flow of time, the succession of generations. Something of irreversible happened. We consider that the exploration of the concept mentioned by the author allows us to break the deadlock between considering the simple identifications illusions of the ego or to favour the identification with the therapist. It's from a virtual point of listening and interpretation that goes through transfer and allows disidentification that one can free the subject of determinism. We also refer of relevant importance the transgenerational object in Eiguer (1991) that would comprise elements from the past, which appear in the speech of individuals as unexpected revelations in dreams, associations, memories, and allow access to parts of the psychic apparatus kept at bay by massive defences. These constellations constitute themselves as secrets, shame, pain, trauma, omissions, and no appointments or simply absent / absences. Thus, it will generate and provide an empty space of representation or a unable representation (sensory impressions level) to be thought or to have a lexicon.

The concept of the negative in psychoanalysis (Green, 1997) makes us reflect on pathological traits and also structuring ones for the process of psychic constitution. We therefore recognize the importance of working with the negative to the research psychic transgenerational transmission, especially when negative content and not represented are

psychically transmitted through generations, establishing itself as an object and causing notable damage in the construction of subjectivities. The concept of narcissistic settlement between each new member and his family is the basis for the transmission of family myths. This, in turn, if of inflexible nature, promotes the phenomenon of telescoping of generations in which time and space between generations remain undifferentiated. In all dimensions of a crisis, the question of precedence over the other and more than another - some others - the fate of the individual persists as a kind of challenge to the understanding of psychic life, the only limit determines it from inside: the question of the subject is defined as an intersubjective space, and, more precisely, a space and time of the generation, of the family and of the group, there exactly where - according to the formulation of P. Aulagnier - "The person can come into being" or has difficulty constituting itself (Kaës 1998, pp. 5.). Kaës (2001) considers identification as the main mechanism involved in the process of psychic transmission between generations. And further indicates that, in this process, not only transmits the negative, is also transmitted what sustains and ensures the narcissistic continuity, the maintenance of intersubjective ties, the conservation and complexity of forms and of life: ideals, defense mechanisms, identifications, certainties and doubts. This type of transmission is called psychic intergenerational transmission and assumes a work of connections and transformations between generations, according Granjon (2000). More recent authors, linked to the Argentine Psychoanalysis, also regard the same definition. According to Faimberg (1993), the parents' attitude of ownership and intrusion generates in the patient a psyche at the same time empty, due to the appropriation of what is good and spontaneous in the patient, and filled in excess due to the intrusion of elements rejected by parents. These rejected elements correspond to the stories of the parents with their own parents, resulting in patient identification with situations prior to the parental generations, and so Faimberg defines what he calls the "telescoping of generations". The analytical work will engage in untangling the unconscious elements freeing the patient from this plot.

Bion's protomental model also makes an explanatory approach towards transgenerationality: is the mother (or carer) of the newborn that modulates a language that lets him build functional primary structures on which then build up their own form of structure and function - is still a non-verbal language mediated by sensorial receptors, but these communications acquire meaning as they may be received by the child. The capacity for the mother's reverie can host projections and toxic objects, returning thinkable objects and can be understood as the ability of mothers to identify the signs of the child. We think that these three

reflections on transgenerationality are actually three levels of observation that coexist; from the protomental; passing trough the full empty, the unsaid, the lies, the silences.

The female/feminine experience and their attributes remain within the mind with the same vehemence through the silence or through the word. The transmission by word among women leaves a record in the individual psyche and what happens in its absence? It will be a communication of the unspeakable, without access to the symbol that endures the negative that in turn donates a faulty transmission, impeding full access to their own self and salutary subjectivity. We seek access by observation, word and dream to this private universe of the feminine and the conversations between women, about women, their place in the world and its mandates. Remember now Saramago that in Memorial do Convento (2002) wrote:

"It is the great endless conversation of women that keeps holding the world in its orbit (...) (pp. 245).

Besides the discussion of women, says Saramago later, are also the Dreams that hold the world. The implicit reflection is about another way to transcend this world through the dreams, creativity and intersubjectivity. Dreams are in some way personal but also to some extent inherited by the transmission, of saying, of being, of belonging and of prohibitions, of places and roles of who is constituted as dreamer. Undeniably within every human lies a relationship with the female, and its dominant characteristics, which nourishes, is fruitful, mysterious, engine of reproductive cycles, of life / death, secret, terrifying; one can find these conceptions in Freud (1920/1996), Marques (2002) and Raphael-Leff (2002).

The game of opposites or of complementarities, merger or detachment, desire and reality, are a constant in various stages of woman's life, starting early. Raphael-Leff writes op. cit. pp. 22): During pregnancy there are two bodies, one inside the other. Two people that live under the same skin ... when much of our life is dedicated to maintain our integrity as distinct / separate beings, this body partnership it is unsettling".

In this reflection there's also an allusion to myths and individual myth with the necessary separation mother-daughter (populated by love and hate as it appears in mythology Persephone) to constitute subjectivity and femininity, the uniqueness, and constructs a female place. The feminine is made of identification, also with the mother body and their respective oppositions. These fusions and confusions, can see Oedipus as a relief in the logic of oscillating heterosexuality-homosexuality, of

the psychic bisexuality (and with it the desire to possess sexually the parent of the same sex and at the same time, of the opposite sex), of idyllic worship and hatred, in the necessary separation of the object. The impregnable power of the same or the double, where the boundaries between mother and daughter are raised through constant psychic work throughout a woman's life, and undergo various critical moments as: adolescence, sexuality, motherhood and death. The woman has a difficult task because it must separate herself from the internal image of her mother, at least partially, and accept her own sexual identity. The lack of separation carries with it risks that can cross generations, with each new female child the mother relives her own path of individuation, in which partnership and rivalry will be present. Another impregnable presence that we seek to understand, along with the conceptions mentioned above, are the nature of the feminine transmission, the record is in every woman-triad, constituting itself has a specific cot that as the mother cradles and allows growing.

The need for development of culturally sensitive psychology services is a requirement of contemporary societies, of which the Portuguese society is no exception, has have been widely described in the literature the importance and specificity of these services (Pusseti, 2010.2009; Ferro, 2010; Oliveira & Oliveira (2007), Rose (2007), Lechner (2007), Bentes (2004). The diagnosis found a need that has roots explored thorough the practicing in multicultural intervention, thus making sense to include these considerations in the context of current research in the area of ethnopsychoanalysis. This work seeks to make emerge from the ethnopsychoanalysis, a scientific discipline that is born of the dialogue between anthropology and psychoanalysis, some theoretical and reflective bases, to deepen on a multidisciplinary context the theory and practice of the therapy.

It is demonstrated that culture is experienced differently by different normal or pathological context, and that psychic the vicissitudes of cultural material. transformations suffer psychoanalytic therapy technical discussion, under the influence of cultural factors, should begin with a preliminary analysis of the culture nature, and their expression in mental health, psychological disorders and psychoanalytic therapy (Devereux, 1953). Saller (2004) presents very convincing arguments to understand the culture as a continent function and a repressor function, taking into account their field studies inspired by psychoanalysis and anthropology. Analytically one may consider two unconscious, one shared in the culture of immersion and another based in the culture of origin and the exchange between the two is inevitable. Immediately imposes a question about the social position of women, the cultural imaginary and its impact on the constitution of the female subjectivity, and this presentation in contemporary practice.

In place of the obligation of hypotheses arises qualitative methodology, with the requirement that those be suspended until the reach of some knowledge, brought to the intervention field to which we can assign personal and relevant meanings to each patient. It is clear that qualitative methodology derives from the observation and intervention. Thus we predominantly reject hypotheses in advance, precisely because there is awareness that knowledge influence the observation and action. With reference to the qualitative research we intend to listen to free narrative or free association, according to the methodology of Hollway and Jefferson (2000). The authors do an application of a psycho-social understanding of subjectivity that pours into the practice of qualitative research, involving the transformation of the researcher and participants as co-producers of meanings, on an intersubjective logic. The authors use the notion of "defenses of the subject" to indicate that people will serve themselfes from their defensive system against any anxiety evoked upon request of the research material. To interpret the responses of the interviewees there is room to develop a method in which narratives are central, in which free associations take precedence over narrative coherence, as well as a strategy of interpretation. This approach is followed on the clinical practice and empirical research. The use of free association method on interviews represents richness complexity, autobiographical and subjective individual uniqueness, in a way of making a unique innovative qualitative research.

A verbal interview involves a relationship between two persons, the situation is however asymmetric. For the interviewer the relationship is inscribed in a professional and scientific activity but for the participants are they own private life which is subject to scrutiny (Devereux, 1967). Despite the professional nature of the relationship it does not exclude the conscious and unconscious manifestations: on research, on therapy, on clinic or technical work. The concept of countertransference originated in the field of psychoanalysis and describes the analyst's unconscious reactions to the patient. Was exported from the field of therapy to research by Georges Devereux, this author appropriated the term countertransference to describe unconscious attitudes of a professional, more specifically their subjectivity in relation with the purpose research field. The countertransference on these situations can be thought as all the emotions and feelings that the other makes arise on the clinician. This point of view will allow for better understanding of what we collect and how to give it sense(s) and meaning(s); it should not be felt more as resistance or technical impediment but as a tool for understanding, the transference movements are in fact part of the individual/cultural living unit. Data analysis follows an interpretive approach, taking into account the following points of analysis, according to Hollway and Jefferson (2000): What do we notice? Why do we notice it? How can we interpret what we notice? And how can we know the *truth* of our interpretation?

The development of the concept of transfer and its clinical applications can be thought as another "royal road" to access the pre-conscious and unconscious elements, since the transference movements are a kind of displacement (instinct deviation into another object), the interview has a reduced directivity so the interviewee can express their fantasies and conflicts more freely. We chose methodologically to hear about dreams, about the dream thought, since the richness of what can emerge leads us to trace this route. The dream is personal, subjective, unique, influenced by the subject, culture but still transmitted in other ways, within the same generation or across generations. We also hear awaken stories, with the internal commitment agreement that can reveal about desire, female narratives, from whom dreamed on the feminine. In myth, folklore, fairy tales there is a meaning deformation that can be recovered in part by interpretation and also by the return to the original; these is a glimpse of their profound effects on humans. We undertake further readings into mythology and local folklore whenever these arise in the observation process with the participants. In "Dreams in folklore" (Freud, 1911) there was an in-depth study of folklore through dreams which have been narrated and where were highlights two aspects which are of main interest: the first relates to the coinciding symbolism of dreams with what is employed psychoanalysis and, secondly, the fact that these dreams are understood by the people the same way as they would be interpreted with recourse to psychoanalytic method, i.e., not as premonitions but as wish-fulfilments - dreams are personal and culturally inscribed. Fairy tales and folklore also appear as materials to be dreamed by the dreamer; although these vary culturally but having a common denominator, thus transposing the universality of the unconscious. The dreams are still as a substitute thought process, full of meanings and emotions, the pictorial image can help maintain what is latent and is more difficult to access. Freud's Interpretation of Dreams, p. 349, says:

"We make use of any symbolization that is already present in the unconscious thought because these are more acceptable to the requirements of dreams construction, due to its representativeness and also because these escape censorship".

There are transgenerational legacies that are transmitted on the feminine and within a given culture, literally on breast, to be nourished by these nutrients produced by a cultural reference. The dream-work gives a meaning to dreams but unintelligible, also as more it's presented an unacceptable content further it needs distortion (and greater is the censorship). Dreaming brings back the control of the pre-conscious, unaware elements that were left free, while dreaming the dream one discharges unconscious excitation, i.e., as a "safety valve" and at the same time preserves the sleep of the pre-conscious. This commitment allows the dream process to cooperate between the two systems, thus enabling dreams to act as guardians of sleep. If the agreement between the two systems is not possible, become disruptive of the sleep, the commitment is broken and the dreamer awakes. Dream interpretation or the "royal road to the unconscious" (Freud, 1900, p. 608), is one of the best examples of our unconscious life, Freud both developed the argument that the unconscious exists, and developed a method to gain access to it. His revolutionary discovery about the functioning of dreams provided systematic evidence of the unconscious. Freud asked patients to associate freely about dreams in order to avoid censorship, since the manifest content is a compromise between the repressed and censorship (through condensation and displacement) and the end result is a dream full of symbolism and distortion.

Our participants are from the Cape Verdean community from a nonclinical population. These participants are for three generations of Cape Verdean women of the same family (grandmother-mother-daughter), and this procedure is followed in three Cape Verdean families. The singularities are relevant, as parallels are, but also the diversity, which we can observe among these groups of women. The interviews, according to the proposed method by Hollway and Jefferson, are handwritten at the end of each encounter for data collection and accompanied by information from psychoanalytic observation and reflective field notes recorded at the end of each individual and group interview. These field notes are based on some rules of observation technique. Psychoanalytic observation is a method that derives from infant observation of originally established by Esther Bick in 1959 and subsequently applied to other research areas. Among the models to observe that evolved from the original work of Bick is included the Tavistock Model (later integrating contributions from Martha Harris, among other Klein, Bion, authors), which methodological since we have experience and training on this specific model. This method allows us to integrate affect, the inter-subjectivity, the unconscious, the identity and various situational and especially transference movements - This methodology it is sensitive to our

research question. The timing of subsequent interviews will aim to seek new evidence and test possible interim hypotheses, following with the final interviews in which will take place in a more structured time with more targeted and fine-tuned questioning, analysis and interpretation process (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). During this process, the relationship between pairs evolves and became denser, allowing the individual expression to be less defensive and freer - on inter and intrasubjectivations.

The qualitative methodologies emanating from the intersubjective encounter and from the individuals personal saying, converge in their basic assumptions providing bulk cohesion to the methodological body. This methodology also serves a vital purpose which translates in safeguarding data, its coherence, its context and interpretation capacity – it's not from a demonstrative nature.

Illustration of a dream: The mother had a dream and the daughter began to tell me about it. The dream was about a pregnant woman and how the mother always can tell if it's real or not (the pregnancy) and if it's a boy or a girl and if there will be any real danger for mother or child during pregnancy. I begin listening to the daughter that tells me the mother is always right, she just knows! "When she sees this little bug, like tonight on her dream, a centipede or hundred legs (an arthropode animal), I always think that maybe it's my on child coming!". The mother adds: "but be of this pregnancy aware because in the dream I had to kil the bug - (culturally it means a risky pregnancy, I learn latter on). The mother say to me: "this is a very ancient tradition (cultural traditional folklore and myth -cultural and individual), which she learned from the grandmother, and so one till the beginning of times and some women know about this things and others don't have the feeling for it". She is very good and the community always asks for her opinion, mother explains to me. But these matters are a women "thing" and to be kept a bit secretive, she says. The mother goes on "I have learned about it with the ancient, men know about the sea or the weather, it's just different!" - Men know about other "stuff" but not about the feminine, reproduction cycles, life/death. Then arrives grandmother and both mother and daughter tell that she knows even more because she is the oldest, old and wise knowledge about feminine world and that we could continue for days...I would say that what is male and female are poles apart, we can also appoint that the female individual identity is well maintained as well a coherent and shared cultural family heritage; it's maintained the same, the transgenerational, but also each female individual subjective boundaries are also in place. The feminine folklore allows human access to the divine - female generations till the

beginning of times and there's a secretive knowledge that comes from dreams too.

There is a Doctor appointment a week later and a pregnancy biological confirmation and a risky one as well, the mother is actually right yet again!

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Transgenerationality and Feminine – Dreams on the ethnopsychoanalytic clinic

RESUMEN

En este artículo se reflexionará sobre el proceso de la transmisión psíquica entre las generaciones, específicamente en términos de transmisiones transgeneracionales psíquicos y sus influencias en la construcción de las subjetividades individuales, los significados y los lazos familiares, haciendo hincapié en la abuela ligâmens abuela- madre - hija mientras que la generación de lo simbólico femenino.

Como metodología de recogida de datos se utiliza un modelo de entrevista psicosocial y por el relato de los sueños y los mitos de las personas involucradas, que vamos a examinar clínicamente como herramientas para acceder a la constelación de representaciones, identificaciones y conflictos, sobre la vinculación del mundo interno - externo, individual, interindividual y cultural.

El inconsciente tiene dimensiones universales, pero con diferentes expresiones de las diferentes culturas y con, y desde este paradigma va a ser la discusión de este campo de investigación. Nos centraremos en una población que consta de las mujeres de Cabo Verde, con el objetivo

de aclarar del transgenerational en un contexto cultural específico; vamos a utilizar la metodología propuesta para llegar a los aspectos relevantes que sin duda se traduciría en trabajo técnico y clínico más ajustado, como así como la adaptación ética a esta población.

Palabras Claves

Sueños - transgeneracional - femenino - etnopsicoanálisis - cultura.

ABSTRACT

We propose to reflect on the process of psychological transmission throughout generations and its influence on the construction of individual subjectivities, significations and family connections, emphasizing the ligâmens grandmother - mother - daughter while feminine symbolic generators.

We used a qualitative, opened and narrative approach using psychosocial interview combined with reports of dreams and myths. We analyzed these materials as means of gaining access to the constellation of representations, identifications and conflicts in the connection of the inner and external world, of each individual, inter-individual and culture. Considering that the Unconscious has universal dimensions but with different expressions in different cultures, it is from this paradigm that we will be the basis for discussion of this research field. We focus on a population consisting of Cape Verdean women, using the proposed methodology with the aim of clarifying aspects of transgenerationality in a specific cultural context, suitable for a more tailored intervention for the clinical, technical work and enabling an ethic adaptation to this population.

Keywords

Dreams – Transgenerationality – Feminine – Ethnopsychoanalysis - Culture.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article prétend réfléchir sur le processus de transmission psychique d'une génération à l'autre et la façon dont il influence la construction de

subjectivités individuelles, significations et liaisons familiales, tout en soulignant les liens grand-mère/mère/fille comme générateurs de symboles dans l'univers féminin.

Notre méthodologie - qualitative, ouverte et narrative - s'appuie sur l'usage combiné des interviews psycho-sociaux et des rapports sur des rêves et des mythes. Nous analysons ces matériaux comme outils d'accès à une constellation de représentations, identifications et des conflits, dans la liaison entre monde intérieur et extérieur de chaque individu, interindividuelle et culturelle.

L'Inconscient ayant de dimensions universelles, mais s'exprimant de façon différente en chaque culture, c'est à partir de ce paradigme que nous allons constituer le domaine de discussion. Le centre de notre attention est une population de femmes du Cape Vert, qui nous aidera à clarifier des aspects intergénérationnelles dans un contexte culturel spécifique, dont la pertinence viabilisera une intervention plus adéquate lors du travail clinique et technique, tout en permettant une adaptation éthique à cette population.

Mots Clés

Rêves - transgénérationelle - Féminin - Ethno Psychanalyse - Culture.