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PSYCHOLOGY OF WORK CHOICE  
AND WORK DISTURBANCES

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# Work Choice

## *I. The General Drive Motives for Working*

We saw already with the discussion of the relationship of the subjective tension situation and the *pressing* structures that choice thus proceeds from a *pressure* from certain need constellations and from that area of the projective world, which forms the link between subject-emphasized inner world and object-emphasized environment.

The choice of a certain *pressing* structure in many cases seems obvious to prepare for work disturbances (see Example 3).

From these need situations, which have a guiding operation regarding the occupation and the work choice, a group of *general* drives rise up that push for work *as such*, at first regardless of the *manner* of this work and of their *pressing* structure. These fundamental drives are effective in each subjective work implementation, which are specifically however responsible why *this* and not exactly another work is selected.

First are basis factors of a general manner in each human work available, but little personally modified (the more fundamentally the drive, all the more atypical is it for individual persons), the latter factors are always already drives for a *certain* work.

If we comprehend briefly the representation of the *general* drives and then if it is based thus in fact, that justifies that their being unspecific is hardly of importance for the work *choice*. Thus their importance is not in any way to be misjudged.

Concerning the work disturbances also two disturbance forms can be differentiated in accordance with this classification of the drives:

1. If fundamental drives are disturbed (approximately in the sense of the inhibition, failure, or hypertrophy [becoming too large]), then the work difficulties, caused thereby, in *all* work forms will arise.

2. If specific drives are linked to a neurotic conflict, then the disturbance concerns primarily the work form selected along with this drive or work forms that have an affinity with the *pressing* structure.

It is probably valid from this thereby: The stronger a neurotic conflict is, all more generally will be its disturbing operation regarding all forms of work and all the more deeply reaches impairment in the sector of the fundamental drives.

Certainly this thesis in the course of our investigation will have to be partly corrected and still refined, because fundamental drives and choice-guiding factors in the work can not be separated in principle (as our division perhaps could appear to indicate).

Furthermore the general drive motives differ from individual to individual; the same occupation can be practiced by persons from different motives. In addition, the individual can change these motives. One can pursue this very beautifully by the example of the advancement *within* an occupation.

An employee will work with the least pay and the least personal participation in the work first mainly to the alleviation of his vital necessity. Beside this, different motives may be present (for example the ambition to be for once a socially powerful man); these motives arise however only in the form of accompanying fantasies of the future. If he succeeds with passing of time to become a rich industrialist and then if his desires become a reality, now the dominating and manifest drives arise.

Mass investigations make quite doubtful this varying of the drive motives (not only the specific but also the general) and the statistical working up of an occupation profile, an “occupation character,” and an “occupation drive picture.” One commits easily a statistical error with such investigations by computing average values from different elements. <sup>1</sup>

A baker can have selected this occupation for example for only earnings reasons, because in an economic state of distress only this possibility for employment was offered to him. Another member of the same occupation learns this occupation in order to take over the business of his father, although perhaps he is drawn in reality to a completely different vocational activity. Further he loves sweets or the warmth of the baking room, which gives a feeling of security for him. Then again one encounters with other baker candidates the noteworthy opinion that baking is a crisis-free occupation and that one becomes never unemployed because people would finally always eat and would need bread.

One sees already how complicated conditions are from the fact that the drive motives involved are still not only differently and strongly represented from person to person but also within certain persons. The relationship of their importance also makes an essential component of the work attitude and the work ethos of the concerned persons.

The most important general drive motives for work are briefly specified in the following:

### *1. Satisfaction of Vital Needs*

Vital necessity is certainly the original drive to work. Its being indicated in all work proves, or at least in all forms of the work, that it is related to it and its problem. It alone does not constitute however human work, because there are possibilities of avoiding this vital necessity in other ways.

Thus it will be more nearly appropriate for the South American to avoid his concerns by a rich marriage or by good relations with the dominant regime. The occupation comes only in second place, contrary to the European and, in particular, to the Swiss tradition. In many tropical cultures, in which people without great effort can meet their needs in eating, drinking and clothes in natural ways, the division of labor goes hardly very far and, therefore, many work less. The mere satisfaction of the primary physical needs (air, water, food, urination, defecation, pain avoidance, avoidance of heat

and cold, sleep and rest, sexuality, and suckling -- to use Murray's enumeration of vital needs), we do not call this work, because of the strong and exclusive subjective anchorage. *Work becomes satisfying as an occupation only then when procuring the means and the objects happens within a group. Work is need satisfaction by outer task division.* The history of work proves that the original occupations of the basic tribes proceed everywhere by gathers, hunters, herders, and field farmer, activities, thus, which served exclusively one's livelihood. Only with the creation of the state and the religious church hierarchy did further occupational groups emerge, which one can describe in a further sense as political. <sup>2</sup>

In the today's earnings system of the technical occupation world, the aspect of the protection of the vital needs obviously increased again, and in a deficiency condition of the work, finally, in the modern and national compulsive labor, the drive motives diminish again onto the exclusive goal: To maintain naked life in the best possible way.

## 2. *The Activity Drive*

Apart from the vital necessity motive, the activity urge is one of the most fundamental drives for working.

The liberal economic system, which is developed mainly on the principle of remuneration, would not have for such a long time maintained itself so, if the work had been dictated only by hunger. Even in the modern type of form of the current anxieties (which accuses one often enough of mental cruelty) many workers are content. They want to fit themselves in and would be bristled if one compelled them constantly to decide for themselves the speed, duration, extent and intensity of the work. They would probably complain and have, in addition, also grounds for this; these however lie in their own anxieties, being unfulfilled and feeling empty. The machine forms an obvious cause in seeking for the cause of the problems. During the interpretation of such complaints one must be therefore careful. Many anxieties have been given already with the vital

endangerment and therefore always there, indifferent to whatever structure the working sphere accepts.

Monotony is a further characteristic of human work. The distribution of the tasks in an increased degree already causes a repetition of the assigned activity. The fact that people accept this monotony is easily astonishing, but the desire for activity and the possibility for the distraction during the work is made responsible for this.

This desire for activity emerges in the literature under the different designations. Freud refers to a mastering drive and his idea was continued to be developed by Bernefeld.<sup>4</sup> Veblen discusses the question in his sociology and K. Bühler<sup>5</sup> speaks of the function desire. Angyal<sup>6</sup> formulates this need as the “trend to autonomy.” Furthermore Adlers’ power drive probably stands in the closest relationship with this function desire. In the newer psychoanalytical literature finally Hendrick<sup>7</sup> postulates an “instinct to master,” about which separately we will return later. Furthermore Schultz-Hencke<sup>8</sup> also reminds us of manual striving.

In order to bring some order into these many never-completely-covered concepts, we hold separate two manners of motor pleasure, which can both develop in work:

a) A kind of “*general function desire*” would be assigned to the activity urge, thus the diffuse motor expression drive.

We would like to avoid the concept activity drive, because we regard the motor function as a basic function of the personality and that lets itself not be reduced further, exactly like fantasy, temperament and others. It stands probably primarily in the *service* of the drives and is however later controlled by the ego. Since it is subject both to the impulses of the drive sphere and the ego sphere, it is better to speak of drive or of function.

b) Now this drive for diffuse motor expression rarely appears in pure form in the work. With motor differentiation and ability as a check a further motive of desire is added: pleasures at a certain, defined movement execution in the sense of a *mastering of*

*the situation* (master instinct, Hendrick). A goal of this mastering need is appropriate for the control and the change (for the time being purely drive-like) of an ego-strange situation piece of the environment by the skillful use of perceptive, motor, and later also intellectual means. The specific function desire develops then if the person succeeds with a movement executed as rapidly as possible to accomplish with skill and greater effectiveness. From the descriptions of Friedmann<sup>9</sup> that this differentiated form of work desires to be taken as the main concern plays a paramount role in American industry: “To perform the work quickly and efficiently” is a main objective of the American worker. This desire component can be found in the most monotonous work.

*The specified mastering desire* results from a differentiation from the *general movement desire*. Their relationship remains always in such a way that *both* desire components are present in a varied mixing proportion in the work.

Lewin gives a psychological sketch of this differentiation.<sup>10</sup> The child moves first with the whole body according to the principle of the mass movement and acquires only gradually the ability to implement movement of parts of his or her body. Motor tensions are much more holistic and more compulsive in the child than with the adult controlling himself or herself. There is less inhibition ability. Likewise little ability exists for regulatory reactions. If the child is diverted, he jumps up and down, and if he is annoyed, he rolls on the ground. His motor behavior is not differentiated, and nearly all his movements are still accompanied by synkinesis (associated movement) [involuntary movement in one part when another part is moved]. The development of the movement apparatus consists in the creation of “functional barriers” (Luria<sup>11</sup>), which concentrate the excitations of the entire nervous system on certain limited systems, which enable the child to operate those amounts of energy and those particular reaction forms that are demanded by the situation. The transformation of the motor function stands in close relationship with the ego development. The level of development of both together

characterizes the way of the activity, which goes through different stages from play to work.

For the work disturbances the condition and the manner of the motor differentiation are extremely important. Persons, who still in themselves carry remainders of the childlike inclination to mass movements, are badly suitable for parceled out work, which always requires the same motor execution in a one-sided way. The hyper-motor type, for example, does not let himself in the long term bind to a work that requires small motor expenditure.

### *3. Ensuring Social Position and Prestige*

It is surely correct that -- so long as the primary vital human needs, its demand for appropriate food, clothes and protection, are not satisfactory -- these needs are what drives people to work. If they are however once satisfied, then other motives step into the foreground. Personal prestige, security of one's position, and demand for success now stand in the center. And it can not be denied that in our culture sphere achievement brought out in the work becomes social authentication. The possessing classes make an exception, in which the personal work is replaced by the possession of money.

Work is not exhausted therefore in vital self-preservation. Already the protection of the vital necessities happens within a social group and in a system of the task division, which serves an increase in output and which benefits again all members of this group. A person must accept a certain form of division of labor, even if often directly forced by the society. The insertion into the system of the division of labor never takes place smoothly. This causes a restriction of the personal drives according to "TPMO" [Technology Program Management Office (TPMO) of the Research Development] pattern -- partially still in a stronger degree than in the education of the child. The neurotic often cannot do this in a sufficient degree, since he carries also the whole involvement of the childhood period into the working sphere. One thinks only of the drive of many neurotics of having

to do everything himself and alone as stemming from that childlike omnipotence, which Abraham<sup>12</sup> understood and represented so beautifully. The question why people take on generally this large adaptation is not easy to answer. Some of this was already stated in the initial chapters. It seems that human anxieties in the community can better be avoided. If persons would withdraw from the community, then they would have, in most cases, to bear more ills. People take only displeasure on themselves in order to avoid still larger displeasure. One is afraid of being cast out or of being punished for not sufficient achievement by the power authorities of the society.

In positive terms the work serves for avoiding anxiety by one's incorporation into society. In negative terms one adheres to the fear of punishment and banishment. This normal human situation is already distorted by the neurotic, because with him or her the physiological preliminary stage of the adaptation and fitting into the area of the family through conflicts did not succeed. Intrapsychic and familial conflicts are projected therefore into the work environment and intensify the displeasure, anxiety and claims to power within the work sphere.

To be added that in the western countries' world the principle of achievement as a measure of worth is the basis for the social prestige. The sick drive after success, the stubborn drive after "advances" on the vocational ladder is so glaringly increased by the principle of achievement as a sign of legitimacy of the existence of persons in our form of culture that the work ethic of the individual can hardly anymore withdraw itself from these influences. The person -- whether he wants it or not -- is shaped by the achievement of the person. In former times there were other non-work ways to success, which have disappeared to a large extent today. *It is essential that work for most people today is the most obvious form of success and concentration of power.* With this statement we already came into the area of the joint satisfactions of subjective desires of all kinds, which go beyond the mere vital and security of social existence.

## 4. *The Social Performance of Duties*

As the most important of the the basis underlying drives for working in social life that we recognized in the last section are the drives for avoiding anxiety, protection of the personality, the insertion into the system of the task division, and the expansion of personal authority.

To these fundamental drives is a newer, but an ethically super-ordinate drive, addition: *The personal obligation to provide for one or more persons.*

From the general striving to conserve social position by work, social performance of duties differentiates itself thereby in that it refers first of all to an individual person or to a group of intimates (never to society as a total body) and that it is based secondly in another feeling relationship, i.e. in loving contribution.

To the general drives the care of others is counted because it is laid down in *each* person as possible, even if it does not appear because of certain social conditions or internal mental obstacles in each individual and also not in each period of a person's life.

It would be possible to state a whole succession of such personal obligations; however, we limit ourselves to the most important forms:

- a) Providing for members of one's original family,
- b) Providing for the partner,
- c) Providing for the family, in particular for the children,
- d) Providing for mankind as if it were an autonomous drive for the fulfillment of the obligation for their sake as an ethical demand.

How subtly the question of the social performance of duties must be concerned and how easily one can err in what one is inclined to respond as performance of duties (and the performance of duties emerged as an illusory motivation) only becomes quite clear if individual examples are pointed out:

Example a) The providing for a member of the immediate family without means and the "obligation to pay alimony" will not be discussed in detail.

Example b) A goal of this concern is the desire to make the life for the loved partner as pleasant as possible and to give joy to him or her with gifts. This tendency can be an important drive motive for the work, whose stimulating operation can not be underestimated. From a social performance of duties in our meaning, however, there can be no more discussion if presenting this resembles more as a garnishing and if the partner becomes the sign of one's own material power. In this case one can speak of a narcissistic giving impulse; the gift to the partner serves in final analysis then of one's own increase in worth.

Example c) In the providing for the family the relationship to the children is still more illuminating:

The social advancement of the child is often determined from the father, who did not himself presently succeed in achieving, fulfills the child's advance with his material support. The performance of duties becomes in this example a false motivation if the father's power of his authority is unconcerned about the child's interests and abilities when determining the social goal of his child.

Furthermore is indicated a frequent form of work disturbances, which has its cause in the unconscious refusal of the parent to play the father role. If one considers how frequent jealousy reactions of parents are vis-à-vis their children, the frequency of this "work refusal" will be hardly astonishing. This jealousy is a neurotic attitude, which easily conflicts with the social obligation.

Example d) The performance of duties as such (in relation to mankind) has quite doubtful independence. Whether it steps into consciousness in general as a demand is connected with the degrees of the ethical differentiation and sensitization. Depending upon the religious and social opinions, the performance of duties is an expression of the love of people or is actually experienced and interpreted as a fulfillment of a set of ethical, over-subjective and autonomous values. Their strength regarding the drive

motives for working varies therefore from culture to culture and, in addition, considerable differences from person to person are to be found.

It appears that generally the performance of duties can with time by the refinement of ethical feeling become a virtually autonomous work drive and a drive, which further lets itself be reduced perhaps genetically; in the actual situation, however, it possesses great autonomy and further works its own dynamics, without further connection with underlying drive excitations and drives.

## *5. The Role of Making Money*

In the end the relationship of the money with the work is still raised up separately. The form of the work predominating today is the acquisition of work with compensation through money.

The ranges of application of the money go far beyond the objective of only protection of existence, because fantasy desires and plans can be attached to the money acquired by the work. "Were the money only an article of exchange and rather not a crystallization point of an unlimited, vague, and potential power, which is borne to it by a far predominant part of wish fantasies, then its actual meaning in the practice of life would be incomprehensible." <sup>13</sup> It becomes the means of the need satisfaction and takes thereby the position, which in the eyes of the child's look at the adults.

One can, for example, buy everything and have everything with money. This opinion is found with all neurotics, with whom the relationship to money -- exactly like his relationship with his fellow man -- is disturbed. These disturbances of the relationship to money are particularly appreciated in detail in psychoanalytical literature. The manner of a person's dealings with money offers in-depth conclusions about his drive structure. <sup>14</sup>

Apart from this unconscious meaning of the money as means of any desire fulfillment, the monetary compensation draws a stronger separation between the economic work sphere and the private realm. It makes only the possible immersion into

the intimacy of the personal and familial range of experience. On the other hand this separation has the disadvantage that the personal taking part in many forms of work sinks to a minimum.

In application to the problem of work disturbances, many widespread opinions are to be corrected, and the disturbances made possible only with work with strong personal involvement and with work thus that the drive tendencies of the individual offer expression and satisfaction possibilities. The prohibition of unconscious morality (its bearers of the superego in the Freudian sense) can be directed also toward the acquisition of money (indifferent about which means) as such. If this acquisition is prevented, then thereby the possibilities of a satisfaction of the rejected desires shrink. But this form of work disturbances is soon rare, because splitting of work and the private in any case decreases its formation.

Money continues to be -- to illuminate still another another side of this problem -- the yardstick and documentation of the work performance. Money serves the social authentication thus in the same way as the work performance.

Since money lets itself be stored up and accumulate endlessly, the personal work performance can be replaced by the possession of money. The owner of funds actually enjoys high prestige also without any work performance. If money did not possess a background of magic power, from which also those without possession cannot extract, then the noteworthy appreciation of this currency would be virtually incomprehensible.

## *II. The Specific and The Work Choice Causing Determinants: A Contribution to the Szondi Thesis of Work Tropism*

The elementary needs, which we characterized in the preceding as general drive motives of work, have little portion despite the absolute necessity for their satisfaction of the personality figuration.

It stands differently with the large group of psychogenetic needs, ethical attitudes and ego activities, which have an importantly smaller vital-somatic anchorage, hence also is more accessible for a personal modification.

For these drive and attitude areas it is typical that the mental contents are not simply engines of the work but always also drives to a *certain* work. They are responsible for the work choice, as far as social conditions permit a free choice in general.

For the starting point of the discussion of the unconscious determinants of the work and occupation choice we take the concept of *work tropism* that in the psychoanalytical literature was occasionally discussed but only by L. Szondi in this form was defined. A goal of these remarks is a critical examination, processing and an advancement of the connection, which psychoanalysis and fate analysis according to Szondi have supplied so far.

## *1. Economical, Social and Constitutional Restrictions of Work Tropic Occupation Choice; Derivation of the Forms of Work Tropism by an Example*

The thesis of work tropism<sup>1</sup> states that the choice of the occupation or a work apart from other determinations is decided also by the specific drive structure of humans. Work tropism is according to Szondi only one special case of a general tropism, which is to be already found according to him in the mutual attraction of related gene factors. By genotropism, as Szondi designates this most general attraction, he understands as “the power working by identical or related gene existences in the gene existence of two persons, which draws these two to each other.”<sup>2</sup> Concerning its origin, it is a gene-biological feature and its operation extends however to the area of the mental, above all the drive-driven mentality. One can therefore speak on firm grounds of the psychological level of a “drive” tropism and eliminate the discussion of the genealogical anchorage of the drives. For the occupation psychology in particular this procedure is quite legitimate. We do not deny thereby the importance of genealogical research.

Next to the tendency not to drag in questions of the scientific basic research continuously into the problems of its practice is still another existing basis to speak about in this chapter of drive tropism: Work tropism is only one special case of this general tropism. A drive structure can become apparent in a certain disease picture, in a character trait, in the choice of an erotic partner, in the choice of the vocational field and in the choice of the kind of disease. These phenomena go back all together to a common origin, to a certain drive structure, which produced the unconscious determinant and *affinity* phenomena. Character characteristic, occupation choice, partner choice, etc. are attracted regarding one or several of such determinants. The original genotropism too makes itself noticeable with the occupation and work choice in two ways:

1. An environment is selected by the occupation by coworkers or clients, whose members in higher degree are libido related and gene related.
2. The working process in a narrow area offers real or symbolic satisfaction possibilities of unconsciously determining needs in a socially acceptable form.

Generally work tropism only then in large extent will be effective, if the original form of the tropism -- the libido tropic partner choice -- does not succeed or later fails (See Environmental Analysis, Chapter II, Position of Work in Human Experience). The energetic engagement of the occupation is different from person to person and varies also with individual persons in the course of time.

The work tropic choice also becomes more obscure than for example the libido tropic partner choice, because we are always prepared in the vocational field to modify the drives by the social conditions and do not deal any more with the drives themselves (See Environmental Analysis, Chapter V, *Subject of the Work Situation*). The expression "occupation drive," which is from time to time used, stems from an all too large simplification of the facts. If in family trees the genealogical examined families of certain occupations are numerous, as Szondi proved in his extensive investigation, then *beside* the drive-conditioned and with it the gene-conditioned choice of these occupations speaks also for the stability of the economic system in whose division of labor this occupation arises.

One could exclude the social restrictions (missing possibility of learning the desired occupation or financing of the training with the individual, or the occupation becoming extinct in the society) in these investigations. So the frequency of the same occupation carriers would be still greater in these family trees and the power of the proofs stronger. One finds characteristically in these family trees only occupations, which correspond to stable needs of the society and from that do not become extinct like so many others, which came from temporary social needs.

Work tropic operation is often difficult to prove. This thesis means only that an activity is selected due to this affinity relationship. One may not draw from this conversely that the conclusion that all occupation carriers of an occupation must have also affinity drive structures. The occupation (now seen as an objective social thing) offers generally the most diverse satisfaction possibilities for needs. In other words: Most occupations participate in several drive circles; an occupation can belong to several affinity systems.

Our Example 11 mentioned on page 69 shows that clearly: The goldsmith career aspirations show two determinants that, by the way, quite rarely couple themselves: First, the need to shine, to play a great lady, and to be occupied with shining things, and, furthermore however, an anal pleasure in the valuables, gold, the glistening things, and possessions. A bridge between these two motives for occupation choice is the formation of the desire for a love replacement, based on the unconscious demand after love in the displacement: After material payment has been substituted for the missing love that the ego has spoiled.

Statistically exhibitable connections between occupation and drive structure are also only with very pronounced drive structures that are still close to the native ways of satisfaction, thus with criminals and the perverse.<sup>3</sup> With nervous persons, neurotics and psychotics the system of the determining factors in the occupation choice becomes multilayered and complex in such a manner that only detailed monographic studies are able to enlighten the career aspirations in each case. The experimental drive diagnostic of Szondi<sup>4</sup> renders practical help in the search for these drive motives. It must be considered however that the work tropic condition of the occupation choice is only one factor (and not always the most important and crucial). Unfortunately the test is often used in a negligent way as the exclusive means for vocational guidance; thus, for the occupation decision by the determination of the drive structure one judges the occupation

that can be used. This procedure results from an inadmissible simplification of the problem and from a wrong interpretation of the work tropic thesis.

The connections are precisely far more complex than it first appears: There is a succession of factors, which restrict the effect possibility of work tropism, and furthermore a group of phenomena, which almost prevent its realization, because they are much stronger in their penetration than the work tropic radiation. The occupation and still more the work is a personality peripheral phenomenon, in which drive strivings can satisfy themselves only by transformation and transposition on the level of the reality principle. Differently said: The vocational work is one the strongest forms of social formation and from there, to a large extent, subjected to social processes, on the other hand, since the reality principle belongs to a range of human experiences, which is dependant on the structure of the ego and its relationship to the drives.

We begin with the *social restrictions*: The work tropic satisfaction plays out only in a field decided by cultural and economical conditions. A desire for a certain work (conscious or unconscious) arises in general only if this work is known and is a component of the work organization and division of labor of this group.

Primarily the career aspirations of the structure of the society is determining here, and the dependence is the greater, the more closed is the group. There is a whole succession of social influences on the career aspirations, which can not be discussed here extensively.

Social opinions about certain work often act more urgently on the occupation choice more than the work tropic affinity. There are always with certain young people even "fashionable occupations," which are hardly to be eliminated by factual examination. These career aspirations are based on grafted inclinations, which occur only by the suggestion of the environment and by the assumption of its opinions. A collective, although hardly recognizable drive dependence, is present: Not only an occupation or an activity becomes fashionable, but also the pertinent mental attitude. If the individual

person is seized by suggestion and carried by this fashionable wave, then this choice can happen *against* his actual drive structure.

Further, long continuing-to-become-outdated and wrong prejudices known in detail can be lodged and prevent each independent decision. The occupation can have so far changed its structure by the economic shaping process that in the occupation those drive attitudes, which cause an unconscious attraction, no longer can be lived out. This selected occupation is probably still work tropic, but due to the wrong occupation knowledge, no work tropic satisfaction can occur. The prejudice and the preconceived opinion, for instance, of the family or a certain social class bring a material explanation to the case and prevent the conversion to really another work tropic solution.

A further unresolved question concerns the relationship of tradition and work tropism. Also the problem of the reaction of the occupation environment to the working has so far hardly been examined. Concerning test investigations of members belonging to health professions, one does not know how one is to interpret the statistical results.

We mention here as an example the results of Dreyer<sup>5</sup> of the completed investigations of mine (underground) workers in the Ruhr district by means of the experimental drive diagnostic according to Szondi. Dreyer found a quantity of a certain drive reaction, the need to hide oneself (hy- reaction according to Szondi) with the good workers. This result is to be interpreted here that these workers work therefore well, because they have chosen the occupation (underground work = to hide oneself) work tropically whereas the others did not select themselves? Our experiences would contradict that, which we try to represent in the result: The work tropic choice can lead in many cases also to vocational failure. This fact forces us, apart from other bases, to a differentiation of work tropism.

Or, with this test result. is the shaping operation of the occupation based on the individual drive structure? Does each man work well underground, who has adapted best to these conditions of work? Does one interpret this test method as not unique, but also

through the social conditions of adapted behaviors in this case? Also this interpretation finds support in the peculiar fact that the test results of criminal are probably determined by the environment (the prison) and falsified to certain degrees (adaptation, detention depression etc.). If we determine a meaning and an importance to early childhood traumatic experiences with the environment for widerange meaning for drive development (quite rightfully), why is then an activity for many years in an occupation, which forces a certain mental attitude strongly, not also a shaping influence on the drive?

We do not dare now to make a decision between these interpretation possibilities. In order to overcome these difficulties, we support not a statistical investigation of these occupation groups, where if necessary the secondary imprinting through the occupation were therefore not comprehended, but on the analysis of the occupation choice motive and inclinations. Into these areas we are safe to find pure work tropic processes as raw material.

Conversely -- to go to the internal ranges of the personality -- there are *constitutional traits*, which limit the work tropic choice. This may sound amazing, and it requires from this a closer explanation as to what is to be understood in this case by constitution: We mean with it a certain hypo or hyper functioning of basic factors of the personality, which are to a large extent independent of the drive needs (independently in the sense of the reducibility to the drive systems). We select here only a particularly frequent and instructive example: The mental vitality.

The lack in mental vitality with psychasthenia, as we with all caution will designate as this minus variant of the energy,<sup>6</sup> causes a smaller activity in contact with other persons. Such people are afraid of their own weakness and, on the other hand, of their environment, usually meaning that this becomes too powerful for them and too great in its requirements in their situation. The weakness and the easy fatigue as well as the meagerness of the feeling expressions (because little is present in feelings) form the guidelines of orientation in the environment.

Out of this very short described disposition one sees how the psychasthenia person limits himself willingly to activities with small energy expenditure. They become people of habit and pedants. Despite becoming easily fatigued they are however industrious with a strong occupation urge; however, external influences decide easily the direction of the activity. If this vital deficiency is very large, then occupations are sought, which exhibit firmly outlined structure, painfully exact limits, and not too many various tasks. Personal initiative, application and expansion step into the background; indeed, they are carefully avoided and often secondarily justified with a pseudo-morality and any expansion equated with aggression is therefore rejected. Primarily a homogeneous and calm environment is looked for, at which the waves of the life rush by. It is clear that also neurotic factors can be a cause for this specific choice, which resembles a self-isolation. An exact analysis shows however that the work tropism still lets itself show the drive structure works in a minimum degree nevertheless in its guiding. "Psychasthenic occupations" are then looked for within that vocational field, which is decided by work tropic operation. A frequent choice of the psychasthenic person comprehends the occupation of the technical draftsman, in whom the isolatedness of the quiet drafting office lets be joined to it the pedantry of the implementation and the reactive, essentially however dependant, work completion according to exact regulations. Paroxysmal natures select within the group of drafting occupation in preferred industries, which are closely related to traffic, or they choose occupations of the heating draftsman, foundation engineering draftsmen; members of the group of paranoid drives are aggressively stigmatized and soon dream about a draftsman place in a research department in the machine or electrical industry. The preference for the building trade, which can be recognized again and again with the psychasthenic person, is based *not* on a work tropism but on completely different factor, i.e., a projection and a compensation mechanism. In building, the steadiness and stability are symbolically established, which these persons are lacking in their structure of personality.

We take as *Example 4* a 17 year old boy, who shows clear psychasthenic traits apart from a neurotic development. The diagnosis of the psychasthenia is secured by Rorschach test findings as well as by a graphological analysis. The question arises around the fact whether, despite difficulties in the middle school, he should stay there further or should change to a practical occupation.

The occupation advisor's investigation results in the following picture: A traumatized and deeply scared boy, who strives not to conflict with anyone and not to fail in any regard, and, generally speaking, is not stable and independent. How far his good-nature and his decent behavior are genuine is decided with difficulty, because he has much fearful caution behind his behavior. In work he is industrious but confused and at the same time slipshod and pedantic like a small time shopkeeper with also fuzzy thinking. Missing in him are courage, desire for undertakings and free activity. A vitality weakness is united with a high degree of sensitivity. He lets himself be impressed immediately, feels quickly threatened from the environment, without being able however to mobilize his powers against this threat. What is missing in him is not will power but intensity and mental energy. He lives without pleasure; there in a dull mood, without being impassive against the outside. His anxiety encourages it, not the vital centrifugal force. The curiosity and the active observation in him that could proceed and happen are rooted in anxiety and not in sharpness and openness to life. This missing clarity of consciousness, this fear of failure, the high degree of suggestibility and irresoluteness have actually something of a sickness in it. Although many of these traits can be explained from the dispositional manner of the psychasthenics, a suspicion remains that insists on a latent psychosis. Already from preventive grounds it would be good for him if one could induce in him a withdrawal from the school. Indeed in respect to the work, he burdens himself beyond his powers (and that will be the case of a failure in the higher classes of school); then he probably will have more difficult disturbances in his mental balance.

His intelligence is formally intact, but he is missing insight into his higher problems. He is a detailed observer, a collector of intellectual knowledge, which from a lack of overview and synopsis, he does not succeed in bringing the collecting into a clear order. Also when thinking, the thread of the accompanying vitality soon runs out: He does not think about such situations to the end. The associative wandering is stronger than his own ideas. Despite a correct effort and a positive attitude for work demands, nothing sufficiently complete comes out in achievement. In short: A boy, from his work techniques and moderate intelligence and from a psychological hygienic basis, does not belong in a middle school.

On the *question of his occupation*: Concrete career aspirations are not present -- except a quite weak and shallow inclination to technology, particularly with airplanes and cars and how one must develop them nowadays -- in order to be an effective youth among his comrades.

He would prefer most of all to remain at school on two grounds: First, because he puts each resolution aside and, secondly, because as a person whose fear led to an adaptation at any price, he feels best in the school environment. He can proceed positioned on the same rails through life even as the switches are placed there for him. If one nevertheless looks for occupations, then two determination circles result:

1. *“Psychasthenic occupations.”* This group of determinants is by far the strongest. Thus occupations are to be considered that require no expansion, no active intervention, and no above average activity and versatility, one in which relatively continuous tasks always repeat themselves and where initiative and independence are replaced by a firm structure by regulations and demands and instead of creative work, pedantic diligence and a heightened feeling of obligation. His imbedding into a system of order and constant operational sequence decreases the fear of life’s more fully unknown situations. Conceivable are: Occupations involving vehicles, accountants, archivist (while the remaining commercial occupations are to be excluded) and the group

of drafting occupations, if his interests (however superficial) are in technical problems, which includes mathematics and technical drawing.

2. “*Work tropic occupations*” to be chosen from out of an affinity for certain determining root drive striving. On the distinction of different work tropisms we will speak further later.

We rely on the analysis of 6 profiles of the experimental drive diagnostic:

Nr.	S		P		Sch.		C		Σ <sub>0</sub>	Σ <sub>±</sub>	T T Sp	Ich-Bild
	h	s	e	hy	k	p	d	m				
1	+!!	+	0	±	—	—!!	0	0	3	1	4	Cp
2	+	+	—!	—	—	—	0	+	1	0	1	C
3	+	+!!	—	—	—	—	—	0	1	0	1	C
4	+	+	0	—	±!	—	—	+	1	1	2	A <sub>2</sub> C
5	±!	±!	0	—	0	0	0	±	4	3	7	F <sub>2</sub>
6	+	+	0	—	—!	—	—	+	1	0	1	Ck
Σ 0	0	0	4	0	1	1	3	2	11			Σ 0
Σ ±	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1		5		Σ ±
Sp. Gr.	1	1	4	1	2	1	3	3			16	S% 33

<i>Latenzproportion:</i>	<i>Formel:</i>	<i>Klasse:</i>
$\frac{\text{Phy} -}{3} : \frac{\text{Schp} -}{1} : \frac{\text{C}}{0} : \frac{\text{S}}{0}$	$\frac{e^0_4 d^0_3 m^0_3}{k_2 -!}$	Phy - triäqual
	$\frac{h + !!_1 s + !!_1 hy -_1 p - !!_1}{}$	

The drive dangers are localized <sup>7</sup> in the drive classes with greater latency tension (here Phy-) and in the factors with quantity tension (here h+!! , s+!! , p-!!).

We meet the same factors again as a group of roots of the drive formula: h+, s+, hy-, p-. One would have thus in accordance with the theory of work tropism an affinity of this drive structure for the occupations of the Phy- Class, further to the occupations, which can be assigned to the factors h, s and p, and to assume a guiding of the occupation choice by these background needs, which cannot satisfy themselves (symptom reactions are missing in these factors). However nothing is to be discovered from a liking of occupations of an aggressive content from an exact affinity analysis. To ascribe the work tropic operation now simply to the theoretical complement reaction (the “background” in

Szondi's terminology) would be wrong, because first of all there are no signs for occupations of a masochistic character or for vocational situations in which he is the underling (he has throughout the aspirations always to be "above," in leading position and to reject occupations of service) and secondly are the empirical complement reactions in the normal profile (likewise s+ and never s 0) in the same direction. If one dissociates oneself from being swayed by the technical interpretation, then the absence of a work tropic attraction to the occupations of aggression is easily evident (a certain affinity, but only a bow to authoritarian positions is there as was already discussed). Three factors are to be made responsible:

a) The strength of the defense mechanisms is too great; a strong superego is at work, whose objection is totally against the drive satisfaction:

	P		Sch	
	e	hy	k	P
(2,3)	—!	—	—	—
(1)	0	±	—	—!!
(4)	0	—	±	!—
(5)	0	—	0	0
(6)	0	—!	—!	—

With exception of profile 5 hy and k, the position-taking factors, strictly speaking, are always both minus.

The compromise readiness of the superego is small: A strict, unconscious moral system permits little drive satisfaction. These moral barriers are supported by repression mechanisms (k-) and projections (p-). The internal equilibrium of healthy persons between drive demands and the realm of the ideal values of the ego is disturbed; the drive repressing factors are excessively strong; the superego becomes an omnipotent idol of the prohibition, to which also a work tropic satisfaction falls victim. In other words: The stronger the superego on all sides and the more quantitatively stronger and generally forbidding its operation, all the smaller the possibility of work tropic choice and satisfaction. Here first a good piece of this unconscious moral prohibition system would have to be reduced before the affinity for aggressive occupations could express itself again. In order to prevent a misunderstanding, it is again stressed that this original form

of work tropism is surely present and can with increasing strength of the neurotization, however, less and less realize itself and progressively becomes deformed. However this thesis stands in contradiction with the general version of genotropism, which is always to become apparent, when a gene cannot manifest itself directly. It is as if it were the back door of the satisfaction.

On this it is surely false in work tropism to see itself as an equivalent and likewise penetrating and always executable form of the genotropism as is to be said in the partner choice. Finally human work is a peripheral phenomenon of psychic happening and by no means a human constituent like erotic relations. Already in the addition of Szondi to his definition of work tropism: "... that the conductor through the choice of the occupation bindings happens to such individuals who are the open or latent bearers of the gene in question..." the work tropic form subordinate itself clearly to the libido tropic form of genotropism and serves only the implementation of partner relations on the detours over the drive-distant field of human work.

Work as ego close phenomenon of human life expressions and as an essential component of the reality principle, nevertheless, is not identically to it and is subject, therefore, to the many influences of the ego structure as of the drive structure. Conditions are in such a manner complicated and multilayered and that must be discussed in another place. As a consequence consider this application: The work tropic operation of a need, contrary to the libido tropism, can be completely *paralyzed* by the ego structure.<sup>8</sup>

The occupation and work choice is directed in our case -- thus we conclude, before this excursion about the value of work tropism was put forth -- not by the dangerously accumulated s + need but was decided by the defense system of the ego. This form of affinity in a work tropic manner between occupation and the specific form of the drive defense mechanisms is discussed further down as *Work Tropic Defense*.

In action and truth are found many inclination components in his career aspirations, which correspond to the syndrome hy- k- p-, are:

The closing off, the retreat into the quiet room or behind the drawing board, the “peace,” the stabilized situation, schematizing all processes, the adaptation at any price out of fear, “will not expose himself,” the fearful observance of regulations, this eternal separation between “permitted” and “not permitted” of officials -- thus what becomes sought for in the occupation is primarily the defense function, embodied extensively and socially, and only secondarily and hardly more demonstrably generally is the accepted libidinal drives.

b) It may appear strange when arranging things to find similar interests under a) the occupation factors with the defense syndrome  $hy- k- p-$  (mostly with  $e 0$ ) as they were called typical for the psychasthenic occupation choices. No misunderstandings are present: the constitutional psychasthenic is inclined to neurosis forms, whose appearance is decided by the combination of repression and projective fear defenses. Differentially and diagnostically this boy is constitutionally psychasthenic *and* neurotic.

The mentioned inclination components are doubly determined, therefore also particularly persistent and therapeutically difficult to treat: The psychasthenia explains itself from the lack of vitality and only from this; with the neurosis the rigid organization of the defense mechanisms forms this specific occupation character, whereby the choice of the neurosis form is decided by the lack of mental vitality.

We regard now the relationship of the aggression drive to the psychasthenic: Psychasthenics are mostly aggressive persons; the  $s +!!$  reaction fits quite well into the overall picture. The drive weakness and the vital blässeness are made the constituents of the behavior. “I am stopped now and have no power; the world must therefore take me into consideration” is the motto. No conscious attitude needs to be present concerning this drive weakness. The psychasthenic is therefore a drive character with minus signs; the behavior is thus decided throughout from the side of the drive. The aggressive behavior is recoined; the psychasthenic becomes a tyrant from weakness. The

environment is forced with all his cunning to take him into consideration. He actually lives on the interest from the guilty feelings of other persons.

A mentally weak person cannot be however expansive and still active. Therefore there is no affinity for the group of aggressive occupations. A psychasthenic will never become a butcher or still less an executioner, but soon an official who torments by his pedantry the subordinates with fine needle pricks and takes advantage at home from the compassion of his family.

The constitution is first stronger with the occupation choice than with the tropic operation of the need. If a need goes however into the course of the psychasthenic's behavior, as in our case the hy- need, then is promoted the connection of the constitution and the drive goal "to pull himself back" and "to hide himself from the world" and the "observation from the background."

The same views can be employed to the remaining factors of the drive danger. Since our goal is not a complete analysis of the test profiles but the working out the fundamental principles, we have selected only the accumulated aggression (s +!!) for illustration.

c) The affinity analysis brings interests to light that one can assign without difficulties to the symptom factors e, d, m in the drive formula. The motives for occupation choice rise thus from those needs, which became symptoms and in those the possibility of a libido primary discharge is present. These are the factors:

$$e_0 \ m_0 \ d_0$$

One can assign his passionate interest in traffic, which shows up substantially in his leisure activities as in all his affinity tests, to the factor reactions  $e_0$  and  $m_0$ . The preference of epileptic conductors for the traffic system has long been well-known. Traffic is, in addition, a means of communication; one speaks of traffic facilities that must be maintained. The joy in the change of places, which is typical in the epileptic form of occupation choice, steps in his case into the background. Because with travelling

he would constantly encounter new things and to him unknown situations, which as a psychasthenic he does not like. His ideal is therefore an occupation with traffic problems without having to go out of the circle of recognized things and tasks.

As occupation therefore as a station official or civil servant of a transportation enterprise would have to be selected, not however a conductor, a locomotive engineer or a pilot. The question and suitability for the time being is not to be given any attention.

The factor d shows up in an expressed joy in collecting. He is an enthusiastic philatelist. Also at school his favorite subjects are appropriately geography, natural history and history. It is sufficient there to have gained and to be presented as much knowledge as possible.

In this affinity from symptom factors (or vents, as one can designate them in a libido economic viewpoint) and career aspirations is present a further form of work tropism, which is described more further below as *vent work tropism*.

This form of defense mechanism comes into force apparently if the defense system of the ego works uncompromisingly and the repressed needs can not express themselves any more except in hidden form. The libido flows back then and encourages older development stages, in which other needs dominated, again encourages these, and has the possibility to express themselves perhaps there. The “vents” are then in a drive area that is not identical to the rejected needs any more. But an exact causal investigation would be necessary in order to support these theoretical assumptions.

3. *Summary*: With exception of the hy- need an original work tropic operation is missing in our example.

The occupation choice is essentially determined by the following three factors:

- a) by the psychasthenic work character;
- b) by the defense system and by the specific kind of defense of the ego (work tropic defense);

c) by needs, which are determined by the regressive course and by the shifting process of the libido to vents (vent work tropism).

The psychasthenic constitution can promote the original work tropic operation (as in case of the hy- need) or restrain it (as in case of s+!! need).

A particular strength of the ego, and/or its defense function, is able to convert original work tropism into a vent work tropism. The vent work tropism choice is inconsistent, because it follows the frequent change of the vent.

If it would be successful to moderate by therapeutic influence the excessive strength of the defense attitude, then thereby the way to original work tropic choices would be opened and the vent satisfactions would thereby become redundant.

*Consequences for the Use of the Experimental Drive Diagnostic  
Concerning the Question of the Occupation Choice*

As our example has explained, the same work tropic factors do not always work, and that for their test determination requires great difficulty. Three main groups were differentiated for the time being for work tropisms, which can often be effective *at the same time* and are responsible in this way for the variety of apparently diverging career aspirations. There are the original work tropism, the defense work tropism, and the vent work tropism.

According to our experience most occupation choices have affinity to the specific defense mechanisms. Also Szondi approximates this interpretation in his newest work about sublimation when he divides the sublimation types in accordance with the ego forms.<sup>9</sup> Although up to certain degree a relation between drive danger and choice of the defense mechanism regarding the drive danger exists; nevertheless, we believe to have kept these two work tropic principles apart. The relation between drive danger and defense mechanism is not also by any means so close, as in the psychoanalytical literature has been sometimes assumed.

There are given factors, which affect by promoting or restraining the realization of the work tropic choice, thus economical-social conditions and the constitution types (however only the extreme). Since neither the range of social fate and still that of the constitutional hypo or hyper functions (for example the psychasthenia) can to be decided with the Szondi Test, it is inadmissible with this test *alone* to solve the question of the occupation choice.

It is valid now to describe the different forms of work tropism more closely. For the time being must the meaning of work tropism to be illustrated in an insertion.

## *2. Excursion about the Meaning of Work Tropism*

*Work tropism is a secondary form of the libido tropism.* Whether work tropic factors thus are to be involved with an occupation choice or not depends primarily on the libido tropic situation. Exact knowledge of humans in their erotic and social regards is an indispensable condition for the application of work tropic principles in vocational guidance.

Two things must be considered:

1. *The meaning of the occupation in human experience is the greater, the more the personality is neurotic.* This in a double sense: *The work tropic determinations of the occupation choice increase, because only an unsatisfied need works tropically. At the same time the neurotic has far more work disturbances than normal persons.* The tendency to work difficulties increases thereby progressively and also more strongly than the work tropic satisfaction. Therefore the more severe neurotics become often completely incapable to work. The same is valid for asocial psychopaths and psychotics.
2. The time of the occupation choice coincides mostly with puberty, in a development phase, thus which expresses itself by a thrust-like increase of the libidinal power. Since in puberty, however, the libido tropic satisfaction ways are only tried out

hesitating and gropingly, particularly in restrained youths, the work tropic determination of the occupation choice can be particularly strong at this time.

One can generally and completely assume thus *that in the time of puberty (also with normal persons) the work tropic expression of the libido swells suddenly and in the adult it then drops again appreciably*. These developmental moderate fluctuations combine themselves with different effectiveness in the different groups of diseases. The strongest work tropic operation is to be found therefore in the time of puberty with severe mentally disturbed persons.

The following *table* shows the process of the work tropic operation, the work difficulties and the reality-adequate behavior in the different fate forms of mental conflicts:

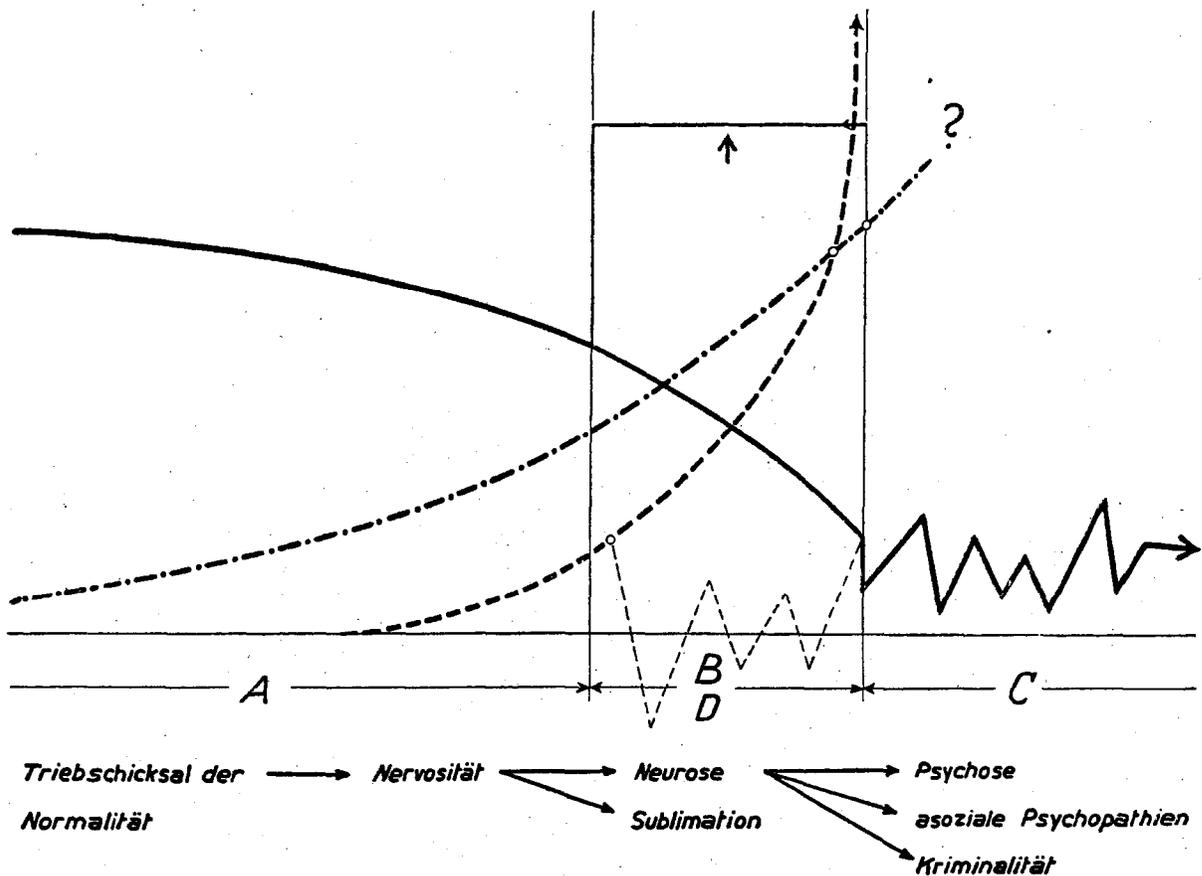
Axes: Increasing Difficulty and Depth of the Conflict.

— • — • — Work tropic effectiveness.

— — — — — Work difficulties. ( - - - - Process with sublimation)

\_\_\_\_\_ Reality-adequate behavior. (\_\_\_\_\_ Process with sublimation)

(Reality principle)



[*Triebchicksal der Normalität* = Drive fate of normality; *Nervosität* = nervousness; *asoziale Psychopathien* = asocial psychopathy]

We will now examine briefly the relationships of **A, B, C, D** in graphic designated zones:

*A. Zone of Normality, the Nervous Characters, and the Less Severe Neurosis*

The question of the differential diagnosis between normality and neurosis is not to be dealt with here. The transitions are flowing and normality is not to be equated with a sublimated ideal form but to be understood as the most frequent drive fate in society (social norm). In this area the work tropic operation of the drive structure rises with increasing neurotization. However normal work difficulties are missing. The less severe neurotic makes the integration more difficult in work, however, not without any achievement. Work disturbances are more of a subjective nature. The objective efficiency is not achieved or only the least harmed. Into this area is the socialization possible by suitable occupation choice. Work tropism plays a small role with the normal person: Without harming himself too strongly, the normal person can easily become happy in the most diverse kind of work.

The work tropic part in the motivation of the occupation choice is overlaid by other more strongly working determinations (prestige, economic possibilities, source of earnings, etc.). The ability for fitting into reality disappears, however, with the neurosis in certain complex-conditioned sectors.

*B. Zone of the More Severe Neurosis*

The work disturbances increase in this zone so that the ability to work is always put more into question. The curve approaches asymptotically the complete inability to work. The discrepancy between the desire to adjust and the inability for adaptation continues to increase. The work, in still a larger degree the occupation as one of the strongest social forms of connection, becomes filled with emotion. The personal relevance becomes superior and unconscious tendencies seize the ego activity and, under some conditions, paralyzes it completely.

Above all is the principle of *one-sided* dominance of one of the work tropic forms, which is to save the disturbed mental equilibrium by a false compensation maneuver.

The more severe neurotic -- if he or she is in general still capable of work -- can only do that in a one-sided work tropic area. Also the reality behavior changes. While with the less severe neurosis the misjudging only arises in the individual and definite outlined sectors of reality, with the more severe neurosis forms there becomes all the more a constant and collective falsification of reality.

### *C. Zone of the Asocial Psychopaths and the Psychotics*

These two disease forms may not be summarized so easily. The autoplasmic shaping reality is nevertheless more important than in the neurosis; in psychotic phases this shaping of reality reaches a maximum with both as the relations with reality is broken off completely. Work disturbances are increased and, more or less consciously, work like any social adaptation is refused or carried out only if it inserts itself freely into the autistic obstruction. How does the work tropic work choice position itself here? Since the psychotic, for example, is no more anxious to bring into agreement his unconscious psychic reality -- his worldview-- with actuality on the one hand and with the social structure on the other hand, the work tropic choice drops there. The recourse to the native libido tropic relations and -- when they are no longer possible as such -- to appropriate fantasy surrogates makes a mental shift. Energies to the work area are redundant. Always, however, it is valid, as with the more severe neurosis, that a work therapy has the best chances in one of the mental structure affinity work areas (work tropic). We are from this of the opinion that a work tropic guided work therapy would supply deep-striking results as far as the arbitrary "occupation therapy" operates.

### *D. Zone of Sublimation*

In this zone the combination of small work difficulties (from affective, unconscious disturbances) with a middle-sized strength of the work tropic work choice (with a relative equilibrium of original work tropism and defense work tropism) was

regarded as basis for the libido process of the *socialization*. We examine the relationship of reality behavior, work tropism and work difficulties now in the comparison to the socialization with the process of the *sublimation*.<sup>10</sup>

According to our sketch (p. 32) the sources of the neurosis and the sublimation are extraordinarily close (zone B and zone D fall together). Sublimating persons stand closer to neurosis than to normality. The neurosis gives also (like each problem) always a chance to get ahead because it has a retrograde and a prior degree aspect. If a traumatic working experience in one's life course occurs and the flow of the libido is interrupted, then a congestion develops. An obstacle cannot be overcome; a more difficult situation can not be mastered. This libido affects congestion works negatively only if the libido regresses and old experience forms are revived. Then maturing is interrupted; a person lives but does not experience any more situations and time adequately. He reacts like a child or in an immature and in an apparently bold anticipation of the future tries to jump over this mature phase without further ado. Thus the state of affairs are given for the neurosis. In sublimation, there is a victory against the prior degree aspect of the libido congestion. The libido does not flow back; it does not escapes from the influence of the ego; rather the ego collects and organizes it, so that the situation can be better mastered after a time of standing still. The same dilemma, which leads with the neurosis to the regression, causes a phase of fruitful latency with the sublimation. Together however with both, the neurosis and the sublimation, is the experience of a conflict. The sublimated person always lives close to affective conflicts. He is and remains a potential neurotic. Each sublimation brings inevitably an increased mental endangerment with it. Therefore the adjustment at higher spiritual and ethical values holds the danger from emerging conflicts being weakened from the inside out. It is not harmless to let flow one's emotion into the area of the intelligence, and some sublimating persons drop back again into neurotic gloominess or into spiritual derangement.

Sublimation differs in meaning in our representation in two things from the neurosis: Momentary moving of the location (the ego points) in the condition of congestion before an obstacle leads not to a partial reality blindness and reality transformation (decreasing curve [\_\_\_\_\_] with the neurosis), but to the distance and to the clear estimate of the situation and its own possibilities. The sublimated person lives reality as normal persons do but comes into the danger of departing (high curve [\_\_\_\_\_] from the average opinion of society.

The work disturbances disappear, but sublimated persons are very susceptible, because unconscious emotion play out more strongly in work. Dialectically speaking, the sublimating person is at the same time able to work (curve [— — —] under the axis) and at the same time disturbance (curve [— — —] higher than with the normal) as the normal person. His work behavior is therefore significantly inconsistent and bends more to the change.<sup>11</sup>

The work tropic steering of the work choice is equally strong with neurosis and sublimation. But the one-sided dominance of a work tropic form disappears in sublimation. Original work tropism and defense work tropism are in equilibrium; that is, the work is satisfying at the same time as the ego defense mechanisms (with the superego requirements standing behind it) and the affective needs.

### *3. The Kinds of Work Tropisms*

After this excursion over the meaning of work tropism with different drive fates, we return again to the different *kinds* of work tropism, as they were differentiated in the course of the analysis of the Example 4 on page 21. Four forms of work tropism are therefore to be kept apart:

#### *a) Original Work Tropism*

The work choice is with this form drive-conditioned; it originates from mostly unconscious sources. The particular strength of a drive need or the power and the

repetition compulsion of an affective situation decide the occupation choice. Work tropic operation can proceed thereby with:

1. *A simple, original need* (for example aggression or strivings to show off), earlier if it is hypertrophic or the satisfaction encounters particularly strong obstacles.

*Example:* Aggressively inclined persons become an executioner, prisoner guard, wood cutter, excavator leader or dissection assistant in anatomy.

In this simple form of the direct satisfaction of a need, this kind of work tropism is found particularly in normal persons.

2. *An affective pattern*, which already is caused by a certain drive constellation; this affective pattern seeks to realize itself in attitudes and passes into employer-employee relationships, whose structures have an affinity to this pattern.

*Examples:* A man, who from an unresolved Oedipal situation must always share the woman with other men, becomes the pimp of a prostitute, who at the same time is his friend.

A young person with a defloration mania, who is possessed by the idea to make girls women, wants to become a gynecologist.

A mother-child relationship in the sense of a dual-union relationship is set up again in occupations as the nurse or kindergarten teacher with reverse designations.

It would be the direct realizations of such affective patterns in the occupation to be distinguished from compensating occupation situations. A direct realization would be present in the first and second examples and a form of compensating reversal in the third.

In the affective pattern the portion of personal experiences is larger, one can also only speak of causes of a genotropism, because it is hardly to be accepted that such a behavior pattern is inherited as a whole.

3. *A complex-like mental form*, which differs from the mere affective pattern by the inability for direct realization. One can only speak of a partial complex, if an

affective pattern is rejected by the superego, and consequently an expression of the complex is always accompanied by unconscious guilt feelings. A complex is a mental conflict that has not been overcome (so far identical to the affective pattern, but covered up against insight and consciousness), which impairs from the unconscious the flow of the mental life. It is -- in the actual words of Jung -- to speak of a personality part, which has split itself off and became autonomous. It has the inclination to radiate and to falsify the value attitudes and to color the judgments subjectively without the subject suspecting thereby the connections of the motive.

In principle no difference exists between the work tropic operation of an affective pattern and a complex. But the examples typical for the case of the affective pattern for the work tropic operation of a complex cannot be stated. The defloration mania mentioned under 2 is not a complex but an affective pattern in the form of an overpowering idea. It stands central in consciousness (he also in reality always deflowers girls) and probably limits the range of the field of vision but lights up a certain field with super sharpness. The smooth operational sequence of mental happening is not disturbed, but is only steered to a one-sided limited area. A frequent result from this is the higher priority of the work tropic selected occupation. A complex, on the other hand, arises at the most at the edge of consciousness and arouses the superego as soon as the complex wants too much to press into consciousness. These factors intervene and prevent the forbidden drive action. *The complex-like work tropism is hindered and also is the realization of the complex wishes.*

*Example 5:* A student selects pharmacy study with the rational explanations of having an interest in chemistry and desiring to help people. He wishes to deal with curing people. After a short duration of studying, difficulties arise. He does not believe he has progressed, does not understand the simplest things in the lectures, does not dare to take the examinations, and begins himself appreciably more to stumble. In the worst despair -- at home he does not dare to say anything, because the father, as owner of a pharmacist,

would like to see him as his successor -- he goes to a vocational adviser. The investigation shows that he does not lack intelligence but that this occupation study however is sabotaged by the unconscious. Behind the colorless and little convincing rationalizations in his explanation of his occupation choice are other motives, which form together a complex formation of unconscious desires and fears.

We encounter in the unconscious an unresolved Oedipal situation: Once the father was wished away, in order to be able to put himself in his father's place as the dearest one of the mother. This death desire, as a dream analysis makes clear, has already adopted certain forms of poison murder fantasies. Through his study he now comes into constant dealings with poisons. The defense against the desire by the vocational socialization (the poisons serve for healing and not for killing) does not succeed. The superego is so strict that his unconscious morally forbids completely the practice of this occupation to him. Furthermore the assumption of the paternal pharmacy as a dethroning of the father would be the same within the family. This desire he has in the unconscious naturally in the highest degree, but this rivalry of archaic punishing principles following the superego is not tolerated. Conscious to him are only the symptoms of this "unconscious morality" (Odier); the insight into the true motive connections is not given.

The occupation is thus chosen here from the work tropic operation of a complex (Oedipus complex). The same complex causes indirectly the sabotaging of this vocational career. The following is valid therefore: A complex-guided occupation choice sabotages and makes it impossible eventually, contrary to the occupation choice due to an affective pattern that is consciously enabled and can realize itself without objection of the superego.

Thus original work tropism is descriptive in its three kinds of action. It exercises itself certainly rarely in pure form and already within a short time it changes usually into a defense work tropism, or then into a vent work tropism. First the original work tropism corresponds to the structure of the superego, the latter contains a form of substitute need

satisfaction, which is tolerated, because it stands in a greater mental distance from the core of the complex.

*b) The Defense Work Tropism*

With this kind of work tropism the choice of the occupation takes place similar to the most common defense attitude of the ego that is mobilized against the rejected drive needs, affective patterns and complexes.

Naturally already each vocational work actually works to consolidate itself; the facts alone that one is integrated into a work situation, whether now voluntarily or under compulsion, makes the satisfaction of a need a socially useful manipulation.

Thus however the demands of the superego are not sufficiently completed, and nevertheless this by no means always coincides with those for society. The superego contains requirements and prohibitions, which originate from childhood and are indeed -- according to the views of Szondi -- even taken from the ancestors.

Valid in the superego are the laws of the heteronomy morality of childhood (Piaget). Social morality and superego morality, as has been stated, are different things and do not stand always in agreement. They fall in practice together in close and closed cultural forms and diverge increasingly the more differentiated a society is developed. The position of this superego is so strong in this second case that drive tendencies cannot operate themselves work tropically any more. Occupations are chosen, which have affinity to the defense mechanism.

A compulsive character, for example, will choose an occupation that supports the compulsions -- as it were socially embodied -- a work, which is exhausting in conscientiousness, accuracy and strict rites of the discharge. This form of the work choice marks itself by the preference of formal characteristics and the neglect of content structures. The *functional* character of a work is sought. Occupations such as geometrician, accountant, taxidermist, goldsmith, notary, statistician, tax expert, lawyer, proofreader, philatelist, geologist have all the same affinity for the compulsion structure

of the choosing, even if so much different in content. This affinity drowns out then all other reference motives so much so that in extreme cases the person choosing feels equally strongly attracted by all occupations.

The drive determination with this constellation falls to less importance, because it can operate itself less; it is, however, in reality very different with the aforementioned occupations. The geologist and the lawyer have a relationship to paranoid inclinations, the philatelist like the goldsmith belong to the affinity group of “anal” occupations, the tax expert and tax adviser protects humans against exploitation, the proofreader is a background aggressor, and the taxidermist is a socialized necrophiliac. With the defense work tropism these drive determinations are neglected.

At the same time we can note already for later that the same occupation can belong to different affinity groups and therefore can be sought for also from the most diverse mental motives. The list of such affinity groups is a task of a psychological occupation science, to which already certain beginnings are present. [trans.: Martin Achnich in his *Der Berufsbildertest* (Occupation Test) manual normally lists at least two affinity groups for each occupation; also see Arthur C. Johnston’s *Szondi Test: Its Interpretation and Graphological Indications* (without graphology) on [www.szondiforum.org](http://www.szondiforum.org) for extracts from Achnich’s manual.]

### *c) Vent Work Tropism*

We likewise encountered this form of work tropism in our analysis of the profile of a psychasthenic (Example 4, p . 21). There was an affinity between the symptom factors in the Szondi test and the career aspirations. The occupation determining factors were in this case needs that were not in a degree rejected and that were in such a manner felt dangerous as the root factors represented. The occurrence of “vents” in areas of mental happening has already been long well-known. Already in the animal realm one knows this feature under the name surprise movement (Tinbergen).<sup>12</sup> If the operation of an

instinct with an animal discharge in a stimulus condition were inhibited, then courses of motion and reflexes later arise, which belong to *another* instinct.

If one provokes for example an ape in a cage, then it can not let run free its defense instincts because of the bars. It is compelled to regard everything. It can not also flee. After a short time of confusion, it begins to scratch itself intensively: The scratching instinct was released. Certain fish react to disturbances again differently, for example with swimming movements, which are typical as a preliminary stage of mating or which are connected with the care of the nest.

One of the most frequent processes with humans is *releasing reactive aggressions* when malfunctioning.

We accept that a person has drives to become unfaithful to his partner or perhaps the reverse. The superego reacts, and unconscious guilt feelings, which refer to the partner cheated, are the result. This condition can remain thereby, and then the guilt is accepted. However if further adapted forms of these guilt feelings arise, then the picture changes: If one is, for example, taciturn, sharp and unfriendly, then one would be *particularly* friendly, and then one could interpret this as a sign of the guilt. Since one at any price represses the guilt feeling, the least minute signs of a confession are also uncomfortable. If this process turns into a projective execution of the guilt (“You are guilty that our relationship has broken up, not I”), then one’s own guilt is openly fought *in the other one*. It would be surely wrong in this example to see the drive danger in the aggression because confounded with it is a reactive happening with an autonomous need.

This first group of vent work tropism we can attribute to those mental powers, which we call reactions of the ego to the unconscious guilt feeling: The aggressiveness from guilt and fear and, conversely, the moral masochism, the self-degradation from unconscious need for punishment. With many persons the motives originate from these sources for a certain occupation choice.

Many compulsion neurotics, who suffer from more severe guilt feelings, do not feel anywhere as well as in the military. They are there quite efficient and charging people (often contrary to masochistic, unfit-for-life behavior in everyday living). The joy in the service by these compulsive persons is based on two work tropisms. The internal compulsion is completed through the outside. The military culture and the many rituals release people. The defense protection against the compulsion and the military environment have an affinity to mental “areas.” We recognize easily a work tropism operation, like those that under b) were described as a defense work tropism. Beyond the compulsive moderate regulation of life, the military service sanctions certain forms of aggression, because the charging nature belongs to the cardinal virtues of the soldier. The guilt is with the enemy, no longer with oneself; he therefore can be fought. A projective circle develops: The opponent takes over the role of the superego. All his reactions have a mimosa-like sensitivity. The reactive aggression to this vivid self-reproach becomes soon provoking. The opponent must be made guilty, and one tries to move to attack him, because an innocent opponent is not suitable any longer for the projection of the unconscious guilt feeling. This *circulus vitiosus* [a vicious circle] reminds us also of the politician. And indeed high politics is a “drive vent” for many politicians.

*Moral masochism* shows itself in the so-called “occupations of service.” The fundamental trait of these occupations is the self-sacrificing devotion to other people, which can extend to glaring self-degradation. This motive of sacrifice is found with nurses, with housemaids, and even with certain forms of prostitution. This moral masochism is not to be confounded with the sexual. It rises not from a libido need (this can be however satisfied along with the moral one), but an unconscious need for punishing, which directs persons in extreme cases into those peripheral professions of the society, the caste of the consciously despised, however unconsciously highly estimated, where degraded existences are practiced.

Open professional prostitution is never free from these motives of moral self-destruction. Erotic masochists selects however in original work tropic choice probably masochistic work situations (for example psychologist, physician, nurse, social worker), but only in such, which is first of all socially highly respectable and secondly emerges under close examination as sadomasochistic relations.

The more moral a masochistic striving is (the more strongly it is decided by an unconscious need for punishment dependant on the superego), all the more strongly the inclination to socially least respected occupations, all the more categorically each sadistic course is switched off. The self-degradation occurs to excess in accordance with the heteronymous law of punishment (Piaget: The highest and only conceivable punishment).

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One sees that an original work tropic choice can lead with an erotic masochism to the same occupation as a secondarily work tropic choice of a moral masochist. Which of the two motivations led to the occupation choice can only be decided by an exact analysis of the method of working. As differential criterion it is considered that the moral masochism is tougher than the erotic masochism and the moral sadism more decisive than the erotic sadism. In erotic experience sadism and masochism *belong together*, both are only extremes of the same need. A sadist becomes a masochist, if he finds a still more sadistic partner. Potentially each erotic masochist or sadist is inclined also to experiencing the opposite.

In the case of an original work tropic satisfaction, from there are selected regularly sadomasochistic occupations, occupations with a double relationship of the erotic orientation.

In an authoritarian structured society faithful servants and lawyers of the respective authority become aggressive from guilt feeling, and moral masochism turns up in situations and occupations, despised by the authoritarian class, even when they are not fought. Both are dictatorship-susceptible structures; that is, they can not from internal

obstacles oppose resistance to a dictatorial rape of a society, because they are unconsciously inclined to radical realizations of sadistic or masochistic principles.

This discussed group of phenomena is very close to the defense work tropism, because moral sadism like moral masochism is one of two ways of the relationship of the ego to the superego, both are reactions to an unconscious guilt feeling, which is processed in a narcissistic form. (In the moral masochism we see a negative narcissism; for instance, the slogan: “Whom God loves, he punishes” can be put as the basis of it.)

Despite this similarity, differences clearly come to light. The unconscious guilt feeling is not by any means the genuine problem. It is already a reaction to the stirring of a forbidden drive striving, a feeling thus, which develops only during the rejection of drive desires. The defense work tropism rises from the specific kind of drive defense, the vent work tropism of the particular processing form of the unconscious guilt feeling, which arises with the defense. A certain coupling of defense work tropism and vent work tropism is however always present.

Moral sadism paired with the ego defense mechanisms of inflation or projection, easily will lead to the occupation of the psychologist; however if older and paroxysmal defense mechanisms dominate, then this combination pushes work tropic operations to occupations of a theologian (of that manner, who inquisitorially fights everything and who does not agree with the letter of teachings). Certainly one can state that with the example of the psychologists also, original work tropism plays a role, in which in the therapeutic situation a dual relationship is restored. This is without a doubt in many cases correct, but does not have to be however always like that: The career aspirations to become a psychologist can arise from each the work tropic form:

- Original work tropism: One wants to become a psychologist to be able to live again in a dual union (in the psychotherapy transference).
- Defense work tropism: This occupation offers many possibilities of using projective tendencies. One wants to check up, to recognize, and exactly to know

the other one, because one unconsciously feels persecuted by him. Or also inflative: One is the all-knowing God in the areas of consulting practice.

- Vent work tropism: Moral masochism: One torments oneself for other people and sacrifices oneself for “border existences.” Moral sadism: One “roots in the unconscious,” “breaks the resistance of the patient,” and furthermore one fights other opinions and trends with vehement inexorability.

Decisive is the relationship of the portions of a, b and c. Each one-sided determination is crucial although one of these forms leads to an appropriate way of the practice of the profession and to a dominant affective tendency. The danger is then great that the occupation ethos is decided unconsciously and that personal attitudes lacking maturity creep in and form an incorrect occupation morality. Practice shows that these unconscious motivations occur perhaps under certain conditions and can be correctly judged and that justifiably then the person’s gift for this occupation must be doubted.

However if humans succeed in making all three concrete forms of work tropism in the same occupation, then that is to put all three as the basis for an integration. Vent reactions become to a large extent redundant, since the drive sphere is rightly satisfied. The ego strengthens and becomes flexible in its defense attitude, so that no more compulsion exists to insert unwanted personal drive demands in defenses into the vocational situation. The internal equilibrium between affective tendencies and ego demands puts aside vent reactions and forms a basis for that form of the drive fates, which one calls sublimation. But more on that in a later section.

We turn for the time being to some further phenomena of vent work tropism, which are not clear or as clearly definable as is the moral phenomena already described. It was already stressed in the comment for our Example 4 on page 21 and following that in each case of vent work tropism the symptoms (the vent reactions, as we also call them) are the occupation-determining factors and *not* needs, affective patterns and complexes of the drive region. In primary work tropism the drive need finds a form of satisfaction in a

psychic “success” field of this need and formally the process of the satisfaction in the occupation remains the same as with the native. It is shifted however increasingly symbolically and, depending upon conditions, are present in the erotic experience field of persons. In principle the drive goal and the formal operational sequence of the drive satisfaction directly remain the same.

In vent work tropism this direct way of the need satisfaction is no longer possible. The prohibition system of superego pushes itself in between and stretches its long fingers into the inside of the work area. Also with many people with a strong superego is shown an allowance for a certain tolerance to permit a certain readiness and realization in the vocational field in the form of a social compromise. However if the entrance of affective stirrings is hermetically locked for direct satisfaction, then there comes a succession of different kinds of symptom formations, which move always more from direct realization. In cases of transition it is often difficult to assign an occupation choice clearly to the original or vent work tropism. The distinction of original conflict and secondary symptom is relative; it comes into view, more from the observed happening. Our conception of the mental disturbance is based on the two processes of displacement and regression. In the regression earlier development stages of the libidos are again occupied, and equally a spiral is compelled backwards after the neurotic conflict. The symptoms designate the location of the libido with this regression process. Could one regard from this that each vent work tropism is not also an original? As we will see later, this objection is not sustainable. With the vent it concerns are not around a satisfaction of an original need, but the satisfaction of a deficient condition (for example an addiction) of this primordial original. We differentiate between three important groups, which are only represented for the time being in terms of catchwords:

*A. Original Work Tropism:*

Direct conversion and realization of a drive desire in the work situation.

e.g., More aggressively --> butchers (if an indigenous aggression need is assumed)

Homosexual --> barber or masseur

Transvestite --> ladies underwear manufacturer

A phallic-narcissistic character -- > physician

Penis envy with a woman -- > doctor

An oral character -- > cook, cigarette goods dealer.

*B. Transition Group:*

Reversal of the drive goal as the most original form of defense, reversal into the opposite, and compensation in the field of work, which avail themselves of the ambivalent structure of the drives.

for example, "Cinderella" --> mannequin, actress

Impotence in erotic area --> power demonstration in the occupation

Passivity --> hyperactive businessman, manager.

*C. Vent Work Tropism:*

Discharge possibilities in other drive demands, which are encouraged by libido displacements.

Occupations, which stand in close relationship with symptoms of a mental illness.

Drive separation [*Triebentmischung*] according to Szondi [Trans.: See L. Szondi, *Die Trieb-Entmischten*, Publisher: Hans Huber, Bern, Stuttgart, Wien, 1982]

for example, penis envy --> lack of sexual inhibitions --> prostitution.

Homosexuality (passive) of a man -- > defenses by an oral addiction (for example, morphine) --> physician

-- > publican (alcohol).

*Addendum to B:* Since the ambitendency already belongs to the structure of the drives, as for instance in the drive theory of Szondi, then these examples can be counted as part of original work tropism. However this hardly is more justified for the reversals of affective patterns and complexes, if not exactly ambivalence constitutes the core of the complex. We prefer to already rank this group of transition groups among vent work

tropisms. The essential difference is in splitting this ambitendency into different experience factors.

An originally work tropic choice would be present if an anal retentive character expresses itself in areas of the erotic and at the same time makes an occupation choice in the same direction. Such a constituted person could show himself, for example, in sexual intercourse as impotent, because he holds back his semen, further takes on an occupation, in which he must professionally hold back things or money or possess these, as this is the case with a pawn broker owner, sometimes also the case with a second-hand bookseller. To behave oneself as the same character in the anal-wastefully vocational field, he throws money away freely and becomes a large speculator; then a reversal is present, which is nevertheless quite important. Because this reaction shows that in the sector of the anal in the vocational field again primarily vegetative conditions prevail and that it is not possible this person in the work to collect and restrain his energy. Everything fades away between the fingers to be never seen again. He can not let the energy play out in the erotic. In the occupation the operation of superego is not excluded totally, because humans do not need to be completely adrift -- however that form of discipline disappears, which the child in the phase of the cleanliness normally acquires familiarization. If the aggression is tied to the hidden defiance of the retention in sexual intercourse, then the activity fritters away arbitrarily and wastefully in the occupation. The power -- to describe it as analogous to the genital stage -- proves itself and to the environment in a hyperactive fuss (if he does not already bring it into sexual intercourse with prostitutes).

The divergence of the behavior in erotic experiences and in the occupational work is already fathered from a rigid superego structure, which blocks areas the way to its realization in the drive desire and in the other areas and, however, is overactive in a form that does not come clearly to illuminate one's consciousness. These reversals encompass many of the forms of compensations in occupation fields, about which will be the discussion of the explanations of work disturbances.

*Addendum to C:* Still more valid is this “suspending” superego with the forms of actual vent work tropism. The weakness of the superego is limited however mostly to a narrow sector and emerges also only at intervals. The more severe the conflict is, the stronger and more totally the superego becomes active. In more severe forms of illnesses (as in the psychoses and more severe addictions) a projection process is added: The superego again becomes, as in the heterogeneous phase of moral development that precedes the superego, identical with the society. The fight is not valid for society and one’s own unconscious conscience. In a psychosis this form of vent work tropism will hardly ever arise, because with total negation of the superego also the way for direct need satisfaction becomes freed. As we already mentioned, the work tropic choice becomes invalid with the negation of reality. *The occurrence of vent work tropism stands for satisfaction, which does not always have to take place work tropically, and is in inverse proportional relation to the possibility of an original libido tropism.* Here again our basic principle must be mentioned that occupation psychology can be only meaningful, if the entire human experience is taken into consideration. In particular work tropism from the libido economic point of view is only a secondary form of the libido tropism. Whether it appears or not depends on the entire libido relations of the person concerned.

Vent work tropism -- we see thus -- is a typical characteristic of neurosis. Thus the frequent lability of the occupation choices of neurotics is explainable. If the structure of the neurosis changes, new symptoms form with or without therapeutic influence and without pressure from the environment, then suddenly occupation inclinations have become groundless. The decrease of inclinations is a feature that each psychotherapist can observe with his or her patients.

Further: *Vent work tropism continues to increase also with the decrease of neurotic defense work tropism. Both forms stand likewise in an inverse proportional relationship.* The neuroses with addicted or asocial symptoms, further also with those psychopathies that we regard as hidden character neuroses, form the main area of the work tropic

secondary choice. The defense psychoneuroses (Brun) <sup>14</sup> are however the domain of defense work tropism, and original work tropism can occur practically in all neurosis forms.

We consider the allocation to work tropisms to the neurosis forms scientifically inadmissible, because often combinations arise. On the other hand the quantitative relationship of the three forms is distinguishable with each specific kind of neurosis.

The processes, which lead to the symptom formation, can be described well under the aspects of *drive separation* and *regression* as well as *fixation readiness*.

From the point of view of a dynamic psychology the neurosis can be seen as drive separation. At this time the two main groups of drives, the libido strivings and the aggressiveness, become separated. In the normal drive life the aggression is in the object search on the one hand and linked to self-preservation on the other hand. With the neurotic the aggression is isolated, binds itself, for example, to asocial defiance, instead of being converted into the fusion with libido drives in healthy activity. The elimination and isolation of a drive component lead to disturbances. The energetic tension in the instinct of self-preservation is lowered, the occupation work input sinks, and one becomes used up. The power to resist is missing and finally one crawls into the resentment against the evil world. Also the love ability (the object search) is impaired. One finds with such people a fearful crawling before the other sex and, at the same time, however masochistic and sadistic fantasies. The isolation leads to a disturbance of the mental equilibrium relationship. Each need is dependant on the other; each pursues a piece far from their drive goal together. If this synthesizing is waived, then insulating needs come to light and later also different drive couplings, which were typical for childlike development phases. The neurotic falls back into the “partial drive stage” (Freud).

Precondition of a mature, genuine love relationship is, according to the insights of psychoanalysis, the union of the partial drives under the primacy of genital love. The

fusion of the sexual components in genital sexuality is the *conditio sine qua non* [indispensable condition] of each form of love, who loves the other one for his or her own personal sake and for a deep You relationship such as Buber<sup>15</sup> has called it. If this partial drive (orality, anality, voyeurism, exhibitionism, masochism, sadism, phallic narcissism) is not alloyed, a certain need isolates itself and then in the unconscious it becomes one of the dominant factors of the functional behavior. The mutual control waived, the braking needs, which with these isolated needs were united in the sense of the totality of a drive goal and object, now pursue their own way to satisfaction. If the insulating need is subject to the rejection by the superego, then the uncontrolled craving becomes easily unchained. Each need can be subject to this process. There are as many addictions as there are drive needs. Addiction as a symptom unfolds from that need sector in which the superego still permits discharge and where the subjective feeling of the safety of the drive execution is still possible. We accept that for any reason from experience persons would not find and satisfy tenderness and sensibility in an object. The result is a double morality of the love life: Thus the tender connection to the mother is often transferred to a worshipped Madonna, who is not desired, and the sensuality is satisfied with a prostitute, whom one does not love. This sensuality becomes easily a sexual addiction, because more again and again love is sought, but this love is sought again and again with women who can satisfy only sensuously. And the chronic object change leads to disappointments. Inhibition of a need leads to isolation and to drive separation. The remaining components, with which this need had merged, are uninhibited, that is, potentially addicted; their goal is the direct and immediate discharge of a tension state. The ego loses rule over the motor execution, probably because it concentrates in a one-sided way on defenses of the total need. The isolation as a need felt to be dangerous devours a large part of the ego activity, which does not stand for order in other places and therefore is made possible there an impulse break-through.

The drive tenets of Szondi has probably developed this aspect of the neurosis tenets most fully, whereby further different forms of the separation [*Entmischung*] of the needs are differentiated. Szondi's teaching states that in each age group certain drive couplings decide the mental happening. The needs are as it were time-oriented and unfold their effectiveness only in certain time phases. In the first time after the birth the needs h and m, tenderness and clinging to the mother dominate; aggression is added later, for example, so that the oral-aggressive phase of psychoanalysis would correspond to a drive coupling of the Szondian needs m and s. Then follows -- similar to the Freud stage of the anal libido -- a coupling of the needs s and d (aggressiveness and anality, first in form of separating out destruction and then in the meaning of retention). In the phallic stage of the libido development is finally a dominance of the hy need, the desire to look at and to show. Only in the genital phase those need couplings are developed, which are characteristic of a healthy drive life. The connection mentioned by us with the two aspect of the neurosis theory: The regression to an earlier libido state has already been clearly covered; certain drive mixtures corresponding to certain libido stages, drive separation and libido regression designate a common process. If the step to a complete drive mixture (genitalization in a Freudian sense) can not be done, then old drive mixtures thrive, which satisfy themselves, while conversely other needs are excluded from satisfaction. This revival of old drive couplings leads to a certain neurosis form and shapes thereby also the symptom picture.

We take addiction as *Example 6*: Each addiction is in its origin a surrogate for the lost original union with the mother. It is a permanent prosthesis, an escape into nirvana, because addicted people are unable to find a substitute object for the lost or never-had mother. The person wants:

- a) to be accepted as he or she is, and indeed
- b) from a quite definite person.

The addicted bears no interruption of the dual union,<sup>16</sup> since he or she also bears no interruption of that craving. One is unable to separate oneself from this desired object. Briefly: These people can not live alone. They are “acceptance neurotics” and were never accepted from the mother to that degree as they wished. The results are:

1. An excessively increased perseverance tendency (one wants precisely to be accepted just as one is without changing oneself for the sake of the other). The demand for love is still completely narcissistic.
2. There -- as in the depression -- the acceptance by the lost mother is always sought, and the addicted person is unable to find a substitute object with which the dual union could be created again.
3. They are therefore lonely people. The isolation is still strengthened, because the addicted person destroys himself or herself with time. Since the mother has not accepted one, one does not want to accept oneself. The early time of separation from the mother strengthens the inverted identification, which always begins after the time of separation. Thus he or she remains magically connected with the partner and participates with him or her. The reactive hate from the malfunctioning of the not being accepted is directed with the identification also against himself or herself. The importance of destruction in addictions was particularly emphasized by v. Gebattel.<sup>17</sup>
4. The addicted feels internally empty, only half of a person (because he or she must live in a dual union). A goal of the addictive behavior is the abolition of the internal emptiness, which becomes intolerable, the alteration of reality, and the escape into nirvana.

Manner and place of the addiction very often are caused by personal experiences. The addiction uses different drive regions in order to manifest itself. The selection of these drive regions, in relation to which the watchfulness of superego is weak, happens now according to the principle of regression and drive separation. This interpretation of

the symptom choice of the addiction reveals itself with the experience that with the addicted one can retrace the addiction into childhood where there are preliminary stages of the addiction, which adopt other forms in the development stages of the libido. Whether now an oral or anal or genital addiction is maintained by the adult depends on the specific libido displacement. Whether artificial means for the satisfaction of the addiction are used or not, they are ascribed must probably to personal experiences.

For each form of an addiction the negation of the superego is characteristic in the mental field addicted from the worsened need. One finds the vents, where the superego becomes as it were “dethroned” and develops a subjectively felt safety zone of the drive life. It is now plausible that in the course of the conflict of the superego for a social anchorage and for a rationalization of the addicted behavior, one searches for an environment, which supplies the means for the maintenance of the illusions of reality. This is particularly valid for addiction forms that are dependant on drugs. With latent and manifest addictions, a work is easily selected, which has to do with drugs, like pharmacist, physician, publican, brewery worker, bar person.

If a sexual lack of inhibitions continues to remain as an addiction in the adult age, then this can lead easily -- coupled with the need to secure one's livelihood -- to prostitution. We call occupation choices, which run according to this process represented by the example of addiction, vent work tropism choices.

The difference between original and vent work tropism is again discussed in this

*Example 7:*

The penis envy of the woman, with whose genesis we cannot deal here, which according to psychoanalytical interpretation however is present with each small girl, can lead to completely different results. If this envy is not too intensive and if it does not become suppressed, then it may happen that essential parts are sublimated or, at the most, in certain peculiarities of the individual sexual life occur. If the penis envy is however extraordinarily strong or becomes suppressed in an early stage, then it plays an important,

often disastrous, role in the neurosis formation or the character figuration of the woman. Abraham differentiates two development types of penis envy with respect to character formation <sup>18</sup>: The wish fulfillment type and the revenge type. The first is present if a woman strives to take a more masculine role (that is, in society to be regarded as male) and by fantasies to have or to acquire a penis is fulfilled; to speak of the latter type, if drives press forward, the most happy penis possession through sexual revenge is practiced through castration. Such women imagines that sexual intercourse for one or the other partner is humiliating. Their goal lies in humiliating the man before they themselves are humiliated. Fenichel writes about this <sup>19</sup>:

The revenge may be perceived as a masculine one ('I'll show you that I can be as masculine as you are') or as a feminine one ('Because you have despised me, I'll make you admire what you have despised').

Since the revenge impulses are directed against 'men' in general rather than against a specific man, and since they can never be really satisfied, aggressive components of this kind are often determinants of 'hypersexuality' in women. Fantasies of being a prostitute are apt to express both ideas, being humiliated and taking revenge for it.

We see that the two character types of the penis envy deviate strongly from each other. The first type steps into direct competition with the man; the second type dedicates herself to revenge. The vocational fates also divide.

The wish fulfillment character will choose an occupation, which *is rated* as “typically male” (for example a university education). The missing penis is replaced by enormous knowledge, with which one goes on the stage of a male faculty. The lady doctor holds a privileged position inside this “more masculine” occupations: Apart from the high social valuation, which this intellectual occupation enjoys, still different powers work: A majority of the medical instruments are penis symbols. One is here only reminded of the injection syringe, which takes nowadays such a large role in unconscious

mental happenings. It is therefore no coincidence that medical instruments, which occur as interpretations in the Rorschach form interpretation, are symbols of the phallic-narcissistic character formation with all test subjects, not only with members of the occupations of medicine. The type of wish fulfillment of the penis envy is inclined thus to an original work tropism satisfaction.

The revenge type of penis envy leads first to the symptom of sexual hyperactivity and – if the self-humiliating is included -- to the sexual lack of inhibitions. There are also several cases well known to us, with which the wish fulfillment character threatens to turn occasionally into sexual lack of inhibitions. If the occupation of the lady doctor is *alone* determined by the penis envy, the principle “functions” outweighs the principle “values” in order to meet the beautiful distinction in the occupation choice (Odier<sup>20</sup>), then regularly a latent inclination to the sexual lack of inhibitions is found in the erotic life of these women.

This sexual lack of inhibitions is however not realized vocationally, as with the revenge type often happens, where the woman becomes the cocotte [cocotte = hen: old name for prostitute] or prostitute. In this case we speak of vent work tropism and of an affinity between occupation and mental symptom.

#### *d) Integrated Work Tropism*

It often happens that all three forms of work tropism are effective at the same time, but in the form that three apparently independent groups of career aspirations arise. The main interest of the inclinations lies in that they appear at one time in one work tropic group and at other times in another one. This variation between different career aspirations, which can be clearly described as moderate inclination, is a special form of the immature occupation choice, which one encounters during the vocational guidance of neurotics from time to time. The result is an inability to decide, which the advisor tries to get around by two or more kinds of vocational activities. The mature inclination (that is, ability to train in general vocational interests) is present in this case. Often these groups

of career aspirations change, disappear suddenly and plunge even then again when the realization of a definite occupation is tried.

The variation between different occupations naturally can have also different reasons; these are already however to be considered then as actual work disturbances: Often an unconscious rejection of parents or alignment with the father and the mother plays a role. Or the swaying back and forth of occupations actually goes back to a fluctuation between a more masculine and a more feminine attitude and is thus a discharge of a sexual ambivalence.

The change of profession again, if also not in all its forms, belongs already into the category of neurotic disturbances. It is a form of the discontent, which is projected outward and is always in vocational conditions, however not in personal sources of displeasure.

We take the following as an example of a three way work tropic fixation with the dividing of the career aspirations:

*Example 8:* A 30 year old man consistently refuses each work and adaptation. Already in the middle school he constantly failed. He has not yet to this day been able to decide on an occupational apprenticeship He tries different work, however without persisting long in any one. The attempts fail again and again to bring a vocation in line for him. It seems as if he could not bear freedom and responsibility. This attitude is from an unconscious need to depreciate and to annoy his parents. The basic slogan of his behavior says: "You have brought me into the world; therefore, you are guilty for what I have become and you have to bear with me now even as I am." Not because of the defiance attitude and the self-sabotage, both having unmistakably come to light, but because of the noteworthy constellation of his career aspirations, which he sought already partly to realize, is this given here as an example.

The conflict situation is multilayered. There is present:

1. A disappointment in a friendship relationship, which was unconsciously homosexual-colored;
2. Hate towards his mother, who is not accepted, and who in his opinion gave more love to his brothers and sisters than to him. In addition, this hate develops from the conflict of the identification with his mother;
3. Orientation of the libido development to his father.

We will for the sake of simplicity seize only on point 1, that is, the work tropic fate of homosexuality:

*A. Original Work Tropism. Career Aspirations:*

a) Teacher. Leisure activities: Active leader in a youth movement. (Motive: To be together with boys, however in addition in the background: To make these boys estranged from their parents.)

b) Trumpeter in a jazz orchestra. The trumpet is a phallic instrument, the playing of it is a proof that one controls the “masculine” instrument. This probably contains, in addition, the desire to play with a penis where an original work tropic relationship would lie. The attraction to the music on the whole rises naturally from still further factors: He is gifted in music; furthermore, he grew up in a familial music tradition. Music and singing (he sings quite willingly) are further also oral arts. The affective privileged position of these two interests might be connected with problem 2. <sup>21</sup>

*B. Defense Work Tropism. Career Aspirations:*

a) Theologian. This occupation arises in most cases and quite definitely in our example from a need to escape into vocational activity with illicit drive needs. Religion serves the containment of drive impulses. Religion is also to a large extent carried out with prohibitions, for which the theologian must provide validity. (Naturally there are other sources for the religion other than those of prohibitions, but in our example the occupation is chosen from the unconscious morality of the superego, thus from the most subjective basis and not for the sake of brotherly love.) If the occupation of ministers is

selected in a defense work tropic manner, then one can not speak of a pseudo morality. In his position as a youth leader he mixes defense work tropism with original work tropism (to deal with boys).

b) Career Officer. Although he is prepared for the difficulties of the practice of authority (his suitability as an officer is questionable), he probably does not feel himself as well anywhere as in the military environment. It is an idiosyncratic fact that asocial characters maintain themselves relatively well and fit in well in a compulsive environment. This is based on a not completely transparent relationship of compulsion and asociality.<sup>22</sup> He succeeds in making manifest the background compulsion structure, thus the first step is done for socialization. In the wish to become a “career officer” is working predominantly the work tropic attraction power of latent ego defense possibilities (compulsion). In addition, in this career aspiration are still (quantitatively weaker) traits of original work tropism. The military is [relatively] a same sex environment.

### *C. Vent Work Tropism. Career Aspirations:*

The leading symptoms are here the reactive aggression (released by the homosexuals disillusionment in love and by the break in the relationship with the mother) and the drive unconnectedness of the childlike freedom urge.

Career aspirations:

- a) The aggression tried to be realized in occupations of a soldier, partly also in an older desire to race through the streets as a driver.
- b) The desire for freedom is in the stress of becoming an artist, in particular, in his plan, to be a freelance musician.

We could have drawn upon two further conflict areas for the analysis of the motives for career aspiration, but then the net of the unconscious determinations of these occupational groups would have become denser and more confused. One thing is emphasized: One never succeeds drawing sharp boundaries between the different forms

of work tropism. Our example shows the necessity of a flexible fixing of the boundaries and careful emphasis of definitions in areas of mental facts.

One of these career aspirations is decided from all three work tropic forms (for example the soldier career). With some however one work tropic form is decidedly more weighty than the others. Therefore it comes apparently to this division into contents of such opposite career aspirations. One must, by the way, be on the guard against searching to put the moderate experience connections for work tropisms secondary to theoretically derived possibilities. An exact depth psychological analysis must clarify in detail case conditions.

In this example are already preliminary stages of the integrated work tropism. We speak of an integration if the choice of an occupation will occur in such a way that in the work a fusion of original and defense work tropisms occurs, and by this reconciliation of drive and ego a vent work tropism choice become redundant. The powers of the ego and the determining power of the drive needs are in equilibrium. Between their demands develops a compromise, which becomes permanent because of the social approval through the integration into an occupation. The coincidence of ego goal and drive goal is not coincidental, but has been based on certain conditions: The plasticity of the ego is now sufficiently autonomous, in order to grant affective and drive energy to the functions of the ego and the plasticity of the drives, which must be sufficiently elastic in order to be able to adapt itself to the goals of the ego.

This plasticity is missing in the neurotic who lives in the past, petrified, and by the repetition compulsion grounded in mental behaviors, either to ego emphasis and intellectuality or to affectivity and the drive. He or she lacks in principle this readiness for internal compromise. Guilt toward this is the operation of the superego agency, which intervenes itself into connections between unconscious functions and the ego and which tears up the thread of the determinations and occasionally interrupts into certain sectors or connects incorrectly into a system with apparent and ostensible motives.

Each dominance of a mental function connection disturbs the mental dialectic and makes impossible the unity of mental acts. This one-sidedness leads to similar serious shifts in the satisfaction in work tropic fields. The predominance of a work tropic manner in the career aspirations and with the occupation choice has already been recognized as characteristic of mental disturbances.

With integrated work tropism the dynamics of unconscious functions (drive energy) are placed at the disposal of the ego, but nevertheless even so the ego considers the desires of the drive sphere and offers satisfaction possibilities to the drives on a higher level of values. The ego keeps its ability to steer and to lead. It is autonomous, but not in the sense of self isolation and breaking off of relations. True sovereignty includes acceptance of affective contents; however, knowledge of the connections between the ego and unconscious tendencies are also required.

The equilibrium, of which we spoke, is full of tension. The mental equilibrium does not exclude tensions. The expression *compromise measure* is more suitable therefore for the facts. Since libido strivings in ego activity can be realized in the form of connections -- which are permitted by the superego -- arise no more, no more are necessary libido displacements, which are the creation of vents by which mental energy can escape the watchful eye of the superego as by a back door. Vent work tropism disappears and makes an integrated place, which includes in itself original and defense work tropism in further flexible form.

### *3. Examples of Integrated Work Tropic Choice*

#### *Example 9:*

We spoke concerning original work tropism that one could designate the occupation of a butcher as an original form of satisfaction of aggression. With dentists and surgeons are now often present integrated work tropic satisfaction forms of

aggression. The dentist, for example, works without a doubt with aggression; he bores and he extracts and elicits pain. Also the physical contact is more aggressive. In contrast to the butcher now there participates not an additional drive need (satisfying hunger) but factors that we must assign to the attitude-taking areas. The dentist repairs teeth, the surgeon organs; this brings thus something into order, which before was functioning badly. In unconscious symbolism, the skilled person in repairing the teeth can be seen also as a symbolic making up for castration wishes, thus an action, which thoroughly originates from ethical areas of conscious or unconscious moralities. The surgeon saves humans from death, symbolically making a return from death wishes. The original need of the aggression is used as an agent and energy dispenser in order to cancel symbolically the aggression act. And is not inserted at the moment of the reparation in the activity of repairing, the protection and the reaction-formation, which psychoanalysis includes among the ego defense mechanisms?

*Example 10:*

Rico originates from a sectarian family with a most narrow field of vision. The father died early. The boy grew up with his mother and three nagging and arguing but pious aunts. From this woman circle (an incomplete family of an over-organized type<sup>23</sup>) he was spoiled but on the other hand held to religiously quite strict standards. After his schooling he landed by accident (because he received an offered training position) in engraver instructions. Thus one cannot speak of a work tropic choice. From the outset Rico was dissatisfied, without a deeper inclination and without suitability. Besides this another educational doubtful instructor suspended him because the youth could still scarcely even pass the final apprenticeship examination. The boy was involved in a homosexual event, was enticed, received pleasure and continued to be enticed. Furthermore he has himself once seduced a weak-minded girl. At two places he was hounded, because he already after a short time had girls in his room. So far these are the facts.

Rico is a drive character, still very infantile and sexually undifferentiated. Great importance is given to the strong binding to the mother and to exclusive orientation to women for this remaining back in his sexual development. The discrepancy between grafted morality and internal confusion is large. Thus it is not surprising that Rico cannot channel his drives. With these girl experiences only touching was involved and “child’s play” and not an actual sexual intercourse, which was also not located at the center of his desires during his infantile drive adjustment.

Between the drive conflict and his learned occupation of engraver no connections are to be seen. The occupation fulfills neither a defense function nor does it have a symptom character, nor do we find an original satisfaction. Briefly: Each affinity and each affective connection is missing. Rico selected -- after the disappointments of his previous working life he has chosen instinctively work -- and therefore we bring this example that is now conditioned to a high degree by work tropism: He became packer and warehouse worker in a corset and brassiere factory. From this job he obtains his maximum satisfactory; he feels happy for the first time in his life and would not at any price change his job. The employer issues him his first certificate for good conduct in his life. He behaves properly in relation to the feminine employees. Misdemeanors of any kind have not occurred any longer, since that he has held this job. It is extremely rare that spontaneously occurs an integrated work tropic occupation solution. That this happened with Rico speaks well for a good prognosis. In the dealings with feminine attributes we find the original work tropic relationship with his femininity (the central problem of his sexual poor development) however in the manner of the dealings with these attributes lies an essential moment of control of these drive needs, which differentiates the femininity from an only socialized transvestite: He packs the things (which willingly he would like to show as an exhibitionist); he keeps things in order as a warehouse worker. Without losing ourselves in the symbolism of packing up, we can state nevertheless that in this

work is at hand a synthesis of original work tropic strivings with a defense work tropism.  
24

With work tropism the mental conflict is carried as a whole into the occupation world, converted there to a task on a more “neutral” level and leads gradually step by step to an objectification, which retroactively accelerates now the self-healing.

The work thesis reads thusly: *An occupation is --- should it serve as a neurosis prophylaxis -- thus to be chosen that simultaneously opens a channel for a drive need or an affect pattern satisfaction in such a way that it, at the same time, opens and in a way controls these needs with the specific defense mechanism that the ego is inclined to use against the drive dangers.*

Even if the integrated work tropism serves as it were two masters, it does not lose by any means in strength, because the relationship of the ego and unconscious functions does not resemble a mutual paralysis but an increased tension, which with the coincidence of the goals leads to uniform dynamic acts. The increased dependence on drive striving however makes the person, in whom an integrated work tropism succeeds, have many vulnerabilities. The synthesis is not final and absolutely permanent, and it approaches an unstable equilibrium.

This instability has its positive results. It makes the person sensitive to the play of the ego and unconscious drives. To productive working belongs a “displacement” of the ego positions, which however in the case of integrated work tropism do not lead to the loss of the relationship with the unconscious mental systems and of the similar misjudging of reality as in a neurosis.

The integrated work tropism arises predominantly in the zone D of our schema on page 32, which is identical to the zone of the neurosis; however, in two things it differs: First of all by the promotion of the ability to work, which can on the contrary be also disturbed again, however never continuously as with the neurotic; secondly by the capability for high reality adjustment.

With the distinction of these four stages we expanded significantly the concept of work tropism introduced by Szondi. It includes now all manners of attractions (affinities), unmindful about the question to what extent they are decided by heredity (in the sense of Szondi's genotropism)<sup>25</sup> and by personal experiences. The boundaries between heredity and experience conditioned factors are so fluid that it is impossible to separate a gene-conditioned work tropism from other forms of unconscious determination of the choice of work.

*e) Socialization, Reaction-Formation, Sublimation*

Still briefly to be raised is the question, how these three psychoanalytical concepts are to be assigned to our analysis of work tropisms.

The significance of work for the libido economy was already recognized by Freud. He writes: "The possibility -- to shift a strong measure of libido components (narcissistic, aggressive and even erotic) into the occupation work and to link into human relations a value with it (the work) -- that behind its indispensability to the statement and justification of the existence in the society does not take second place."<sup>26</sup>

The connection of libido powers to work can happen however in different ways:

A *socialization* of a drive is present if the original goal were not given up, but the drive is content with the resistances because of that being the only approach to the satisfaction. This goal shift takes place in an area, in which this approximate satisfaction is approved. It is easily recognized that the socialization coincides with the original and vent work tropic satisfaction of a drive need.

With the socialization, if the social approval was waived (for example a butcher on ritual grounds was forbidden the slaughtering), then the same activity became socially forbidden (the butcher becomes a murderer).

In the *reaction-formation* the drive need keeps its original goal, but each energetic expression becomes suppressed by the ego. The ego must continuously maintain an opposite tendency (a preoccupation with opposites), which turns against the satisfaction

of the repressed drive. The ego in the reaction-formation continuously is occupied with itself and the defense fight; the ego resembles a watchful policeman. The reaction-formation coincides (in accordance with the defense function of the work) with defense work tropism.

The achievement effect of a *sublimation* can be the same as a reaction-formation. The difference between the two work forms lies however in that the sublimated person can exploit his or her abilities much more and more highly than the reaction type.

In case of the sublimation no change of direction of the drive need takes place. The drive is not turned against itself, but connects itself with the goals of the ego toward reality. Drive and ego live in harmony; in the case of the reaction-formation in contrast the ego appears to suppress and to oppress the drives. In sublimation the accent lies on the *effect* of an action; in the reaction-formation the *action as such* is the important thing and the effect more or less insignificant. Therefore only sublimated person can really rest and suspend his or her work for a considerable time interval after he or she has achieved a planned effect. Rest is just as welcome to him or her as work. If a work is interrupted with the type of the reaction-formation and then a gap in the defense structure, unrest develops and finally anxiety is the result. Sublimated persons love the work (precisely because the libido component also achieves its rights) and he *wishes* to work. The reaction type however *must* work, and indeed continuously, because nonstop he or she must be watchful of the opposite drive.

The sublimation causes an integration of drive and the ego, the play of the two power poles are lived out on a socially higher level, in such a way that the goals of both are to be considered appropriate, and always both strivings flow into an activity in relation to reality. A precondition of the sublimation is the integrated work tropism, provided that the sublimation proceeds into the field of work.<sup>27</sup>

Only sublimated persons are able in a real sense to align themselves to foreign values and to serve them in the outside world. The reaction type does this probably

innumerable times, but puts behind his value adjustment an unconscious illusory morality.

## *4. Consequences*

### *a) To the Analysis of the Occupation Choice Motives and the Career Aspirations*

One of the first tasks for the counseling of persons with work difficulties is the investigation of the motives that led them into these occupations.<sup>28</sup> Mostly a whole number of such motives can be determined: They stretch from the taking advantage of economic conditioned changes and those that depend on social appreciations of certain activities up to unconscious determinants of which we are particularly concerned in this work. The sense of this investigation is the separation between reality-adequate and unreal factors. By reality we mean it in a comprehensive meaning in that it includes beside those areas of outside conditions but also the “internal” personality structure. The gifts, which are vital possibilities and intelligence, are likewise “real factors,” which a person must integrate into his way of existence [*Daseinsweise*]. If he or she ignores them, then he or she will inevitably fail. Not each unconscious determinant of the occupation choice must lead to a failure nor be inadequate to reality. It can occur, for example, that an inadequate choice regarding the “internal reality” can lead to success in “outer reality.” Untalented persons have nowadays in many areas of social life more chances than the talented, because they are more accepting of certain attitudes of society. The fear of really independent minds in many places is very common. We do not intend to discuss this sociological problem here.

Not all forms of the work tropic occupation choice lead to satisfying occupation solutions that are free from work difficulties. The limits extend approximately as follows:

*The more complex-like the unconscious motivation of an occupation choice is, the sooner all that leads to a failure in the appropriate vocational career.* The diffusion of the complex makes the selecting for all objections against this motivation blind, not

always in relation to the self-knowledge, but always blind affectively. The operation of the complex is twofold: On the one hand it forms one-sided motivations and, on the other hand, makes the person unable to bring his or her career aspirations in agreement with the real conditions of himself or herself and the economic situation. The ego becomes in its judgment capability impaired, and it becomes partially blind to reality.<sup>29</sup>

And thirdly, then, could be attached the unconscious guilt feelings, whose bearer is the superego that is awakened and reacts later with sudden prohibitions in the form of unforeseen failures and self-sabotage in the occupation work. In the Example 5, page 38, we have pointed out that each complex-conditioned occupation choice is impeded with time and is with weaker operation impaired. We name this process subjective work disturbance (so long as those objectively required achievements do not become impaired), and objective work disturbance, if the achievement sinks below the requirements of the super-ordinate work entity.<sup>30</sup>

Complex-conditioned dominance -- the unilateral nature of a work tropism, as we likewise designated these facts -- leads one with consistent blindness into an economical or mentally untenable situation. This dominance carries in itself from the outset the core of the later failure. The so-called inclination choice can emerge most unpleasantly as a choice made from blindness to reality.

The task of the vocational adviser appropriately is to bring persons to approximate the work tropic choice to the ideal of the integrated work tropism and to adapt it, at the same time, to the real conditions. With neuroses the inability of the reality estimate grows so much that only a psychoanalytical motive analysis can prevent bad results. The complex tendency brings with it that the occupation is subject to increases of the radiating out of this conflict. In other words: *With increasing neurotization the work becomes more personal; it attains a personal relevance.*

The psychological diagnostic methods offer here a field of possibilities not exhausted yet. Success here is deciding the previous motives for occupation choice that

then permits one to give a prognosis about the vocational fate. We choose therefore from time to time also diagnostic protocols in the examples.

*Example 11.* Career aspiration analysis by means of the experimental drive diagnostic according to Szondi.

A 15 year old girl of modest to below average intelligence, who already for a long time expresses the noteworthy wish to be a goldsmith. There are no indications that point to her ever coming in contact with a goldsmith. She came from a mentally heavily burdened family. The father was a chronic alcoholic and committed suicide with gas. The mother let the household over time go to ruin, while well under the operation of a depression. Of four brothers and sisters the testee and a sister grew up completely lacking discipline, since the mother was no longer able to exercise any efforts of education. She is not a very active girl, who loves comfort and beauty and who is withdrawn, inflexible and linguistically inhibited.

First a short differential-diagnostic test interpretation:

The girl shows momentarily no serious or noteworthy disturbance characteristics, but is certainly mentally endangered in the future: Whether these drive dangers will manifest themselves is another question. There are however signs there that a suitable educational achievement as well as satisfying the dangerous strivings and at the same time inhibited occupation choice could be maintained in the sphere of the normal.

These drive dangers are:

<p><i>1. Lack of inhibitions, indeed different forms</i></p>	<p>S 0 0 C 0 0/++                  k +, -, 0 = weak ego brakes                  Middle:                  e0 hy± k0 p±                  (preliminary state)                  Symptom% high (49)</p>
--	--

Nr.	S		P		Sch		C		Σ 0	Σ ±	T Sp	Ich-Bild
	h	s	e	hy	k	p	d	m				
1	—	+	0	+	—	+	—	—	1	0	1	B <sub>2</sub>
2	+!	—	0	±	+	—	0	0	3	1	4	A <sub>2</sub>
3	0	±	—!	±	+	—	0	+	2	2	4	A <sub>2</sub>
4	0	0	—	±	—	+	+	+	2	1	3	B <sub>2</sub>
5	0	—	—!	±	0	+	+	+	2	1	3	Ep <sub>1</sub>
6	0	0	—	±	0	±	±	+	3	3	6	Ep <sub>2</sub>
7	+	0	—!	±	—	±	0	+	2	2	4	B <sub>2</sub> C
8	0	—	0	±	0	±	0	+!	4	2	6	Ep <sub>2</sub>
9	0	0	0	±	—	±	—	+	3	2	5	B <sub>2</sub> C
10	—	—	—	±	0	+	0	+	2	1	3	Ep <sub>1</sub>
Σ 0	6	4	4	—	4	—	5	1	24			Σ 0
Σ ±	—	1	—	9	—	4	1	—		15		Σ ± 1,6
T.sp.Gr.	6	5	4	9	4	4	6	1			39	S% 49

Latenzproportion:

$$\frac{Cm+}{5} : \frac{Pe-}{5} : \frac{Ss-}{1} : \frac{Sch}{0}$$

Formel:

$$\frac{hy9^+, h6^0, d6^0}{s5^0, +, - e4^0, - k4^-, 0, + p4^-, +, \pm}$$

m1 +

Klasse:

Cm +, Pe -  
biäqual

At the root of this lack of inhibitions lies an excessive craving for validation, which is not visible today because of the affect behavior and hides itself behind her taciturnity. This excessive craving for validation flashes however in the joy in “appearing sparkling” and in the “showing off herself” sporadically.

She is a Cinderella, who waits for release, whose love need would never be satisfied completely and who will see the world glorified and a prince directly in all men from an exorbitant love need and acceptance need. She looks for love and protection constantly and both (as with the father) will never be found, because she will select similar men according to the Oedipal pattern of the object choice of the father.

Furthermore is added a passive, almost masochistic, readiness for devotion. Like her mother she is eternally suffering. These conflicts lead to an unrestrained behavior, however, only if no sufficient strong brake authority faces them, and that is here partially the case with this weak position-taking ego:

Her feeling behavior has been based thus not on a strong ego but on repression and is an anal trait. She cannot give and only with difficulty express her feelings. The behavior is a feeble anal defiance.

hy ± / full reaction

Sch 0± / m+!

m+! / Sch + 0 in complement profile  
d+ with h+  
m+ d+ s-

s-/Sch 0±

k+, -, 0  
k+ 5 times 0

Class Pe-  
Sch + - = Autistic  
defiant ego in profiles  
2 and 3

Here two foreign natures collide: Indeed the retentive, reserved side and the exhibitionistic. This makes her behavior obscure and gives a nuance of double splitting. These two personality parts unite however in her career aspirations, as becomes explained further down.

If in forms of *lack of inhibitions* come into question at the earliest sexuality and, then, in addition, the craving to play “a grand lady” and to steal as a love replacement and as an unconscious revenge.

A familiar imprinted *suicide endangerment* continues to be present.

*On the Question of the Occupation:*

There is -- as already mentioned -- indications present for a socializing capability. Positive and negative factors however hold themselves approximately in balance. A prognosis from this is difficult to make.

There are the following sign posts for the vocational guidance:

1. It depends in high degree on the environment. One must “accept” her always. She must have the feeling of being accepted. If there is no acceptance, a cog in a big machine that does not consider anybody, then she will come soon to a steep course and will search for sexual attention. To create a warm environment is, seen from an

S 0 0 as vent

Theoretic und empiric complement p- d- m-

S - - (10) with p+  
In contrast, there is the class Pe- poor socialization

occupation adviser's point of view, here a central task.

2. The occupation maturity is not there. She still stands on a level of drive development that only permits childlike unreal decisions.
3. On the motivation of the career aspirations:

Thus her career aspiration of being a goldsmith did not result from moderate and reasonable considerations, but are purely affective conditioned.

Seen from drive psychological, this solution would be good, because the needs for validity (hy) and the anality (Pe-) are work tropically satisfied.

With jewelry one emphasizes oneself. Gold is wealth, ornament, radiant and shiny. Since she does not dare herself to wear jewelry, nor believes herself to ever come to circumstances for wearing it to become a gold-studded lady, she wants to manufacture decorative purses.

To be a model who probably occasionally wears jewelry is not what she wants, because to wear jewelry, particularly on loan, and to possess jewelry are two different things. The modeling occupation would satisfy probably her drive for prestige but not however the second determinant

of the career aspirations: The anal joy with gold.

One remembers only that the most complete form of anal collecting applies to the shining gold, where with orgiastic joy can be rooted in the glistening possession.

And the goldsmith is finally a “partial” artist occupation. It actually carries still something of the famous bohemian flavor, by which ego weak persons are attracted to so very much.

One sees that the drive dangers of causative needs unite here in these career aspirations. Should one advice her to learn this occupation?

Unfortunately she is too little talented for it, intellectually, artistically and in skills. What is to be made of it is neither clear nor understood. On this point the complexity of this career aspiration reveals itself. This lets be valid nothing to object about and means finally that if she already can not learn this occupation, does she rather want something completely different?

This principle “either all or nothing” is typical for the neurotic attitude and for an inability to make compromises with reality. If she would select an occupation that would lie nevertheless still in areas of the two work tropic strivings but would be appropriate for her talent (some related occupations were suggested, like gilder and the auxiliary occupations of embroidery and the fashion industry), then that would equal a concession of her own inability. The self-worth feeling was undermined. Therefore she rejects a work tropic solution, if this does not correspond exactly to her desire conception. One sees also here its basis in her mental attitude (“I want exactly what I wish myself down to the last detail) that can prevent a suggested work tropic solution by the adviser. The

career aspirations continue to exist naturally. They are not corrected in reality but are rejected from defiance against the environment.

*b) Vocational Guidance on the Basis of Work Tropic Criteria*

I. The drive-conditioned interest of a personality in a certain field of activity says still nothing about one's gifts [talents, aptitudes, abilities]. The depth psychological diagnostic often makes errors in misjudging this fact. There are probably many types of talent (we mention only the acting talent), which can only develop by a specific drive structure.

One can hardly imagine obsessive [*anankastischen*] psychopaths as actors. Because a great ability for fast identification as well as an exhibitionistic component belong to the basic characteristics of good and bad actors rightfully would have to be added.<sup>31</sup>

But a gift must not be confounded

- a) with a "promoting" drive structure, which unfolds the gift as agent,
- b) with the additional adaptation of the drive structure to social conditions,

since -- as we have seen -- the work has a reaction in the human personality that can not be underestimated in which the person makes a selection of work positive attitudes. This selection succeeds best with the person who shows the highest degree of adaptation to the work structure and belongs thus to the best workers of this occupation sector.

2. The vocational adviser driven by the theory of work tropism *alone* as a prophylaxis does not want to make himself guilty for misjudging reality. The work tropic factors are only then realizable and work themselves in the social arena only then successfully, if they are confronted with the real factors of the interior and outside world and adapt to them. A vocational guidance according to work tropic principles leads to disaster, if not the gift, vitality, ability to work, the conviction to work, and the economic possibilities are considered correctly and appropriately.<sup>32</sup>

3. The vocational guidance of normal persons can neglect the application of the work tropic principles to a large extent in the sense of a consideration with the occupation choice in accordance with the small effectiveness of these powers. It behaves differently with mentally disturbed persons. The misdirection, unfree and maladjusted erotic lives of the neurotics hindered by complexes (the missing libido economy in the terminology of the psychoanalysis) is operating so that the repressed drive desires begin to radiate into the occupation sphere and operate there in the form of a strong work tropic attraction. Work tropic manifesting of needs increases if the normal libido-tropic satisfaction does not function any longer. Work tropism is a substitute libido tropism. The increased mental meaning of the work expresses itself at two levels:

- a) in the occupation choice, which is decided primarily by work tropisms,
- b) in interference factors, which break into the work. They can express themselves in work difficulties, which also arise in work tropic selected occupation and furthermore in an inability to decide and release repeated and contradicting-themselves inclinations and apparently unmotivated changes of profession (often in the intention to go away from the work tropic solution).

If these interference factors are stronger and further radiate in their operation, then its intervention is limited not only to certain occupations, but they prevent working in general, indifferent as to which form of work, be it now as inability to have in general inclinations or be it in active or passive refusal to work or be it in that form of autistic inability to adapt that would as always select occupations that cannot be realized on economic grounds.

The net of the unconscious motivations and the opposite relations of conscious argumentations and actually realizing attitudes that must first completely be recognized before the question is raised whether a psychological hygienic measure can be made with the vocational guidance. A vocational guidance of a mentally disturbed person can be only a comprehensive redevelopment of the entire life situation. The occupation question

does not let itself be separate any longer from the rest of one's life, a fact, by the way, that many neurotics can only accept with difficulty. They love to uncover only a part of the path the adviser gives and to choose again a different path in order never to become healthy in this way.

First all work difficulties of the vocational problem are to be separated and analyzed. Then the question of work tropism and its portion of the problem can be examined. The analysis of the motives for occupation choice has already been covered under a). How now can the principle of work tropism be used for prophylactic purposes? If we spoke so far more of the negative side of the work tropic relationship (of "blind" reality-adequate work tropism), then the therapeutic viewpoint aspect turns around: What can the work tropism contribute to the mental reorganization or at least to the stabilization of a worsening process?

The measures are different depending upon the initial position.

A first group of cases covers those who refuse work, those with immature inclinations, the psychotics and severely work-disturbed and who through their constant failure to work are driven into another kind of work, persons, thus, for whom from a work tropic relationship nothing is to be seen. Those with immature inclination have not grown up in the real world; the mentally ill ones fall out from work; the asocial brace themselves with the work; and with the heavily work-disturbed the work tropic inclination lies in the unconscious, and they do not find thus the path to reality. With these persons the reference to work tropic inclination is at first a theoretical task. Occupations and work situations are sought from the adviser that correspond to the mental problem and that make thus the shift of libido energies possible. According to experience these problem natures are to be brought as early as possible into areas of work that has an affinity to their conflicts, because in such a way the arranged work assimilates libido powers. The internal discussion, which is usually exhausted in fruitlessness, is converted into a projection into a reality reference and becomes a reality

conflict, which the self-musing withdraws energies. The internal conflict becomes a *task*, which is socially tolerated and which is directly a useful solution of the task of the occupation. It is valid with this selection of the principle, which was discussed under the section on integrated work tropism: A work is to be selected in such a way that a drive need satisfaction possibility opens, but at the same time in a way that controls this need that corresponds to the individual defense mechanism and that the ego uses in the neurosis against this drive danger. *The vocational situation must be in affinity with the conflict situation of drive and ego, but now so that in the work a synthesis of both occurs in order that the condition of integration is reached, which was designated as a tense equilibrium.* How this condition of ideal work tropism is now to be achieved is discussed in the following section about work therapy. It is not always possible to achieve this goal of the complete conversion of the mental tension into work. In many cases only original, vent or defense work tropisms that are realized and lead to a socialization in which the existing mental conflict further remains. This condition is well-known under the name “social healing.” These persons subordinate themselves to the social standards of the working rules, however more or less remain mentally disturbed and can easily backslide.

Many work tropisms are unconscious both formally and in content. This costs much difficulty and then work to induce the concerned party to an acceptance of an ever so ingeniously proposal devised according to work tropic principles. Proposals are most capable of consciousness are those which were determined according to vent work tropism (symptom choice).

With a second group of consulting cases are manifested in the occupation wish or already met in a one-sided work tropism, which however are guided by the complex in the career aspirations and make the ego blind to reality. Unconscious functions seize the work activity of the ego. There develops a pseudo morality of the work, which soon counteracts a true work capability. This condition may perhaps remain, existing in the sense of an unstable equilibrium. Mostly however the wrong estimate of the conditions

and the lopsided worldview lead to a failure. The adviser must be able to measure exactly the degree of this autoplasmic reality transformation. This happens only in the comparison with the social reality, in which the concerned person has to live. There is not meaning in this simple reality. In certain social classes and in different occupations and in groups and regions there are sufficient chances for a pseudo-morality occupation solution. Nobody will delve into it, let alone notice what are the unconscious motivations. Schizophrenic itinerate preachers have found still their municipality and likewise dictators their following. Also psychopathic poets and philosophers were never lacking readers. If the autoplasmic reality-transformation in society encounters no acknowledgment, then certainly an examination of the muddled vocational situation becomes urgent.

The excessive dominance of a certain work tropic mechanism must be broken. A one-sided original work tropic solution becomes more adapted to reality by the installation of defense work tropic factors and a stubborn defense work tropic solution through the admission of original flexible work tropisms, until the time that both the work tropic forms can be integrated. We do not yet know today how far to assess the operation of work tropic neurosis, psychosis and psychopath prophylaxis. The basis for this lies in the meager and the completely lacking investigations that concern this question. Once again from the psychological aspect another systematic occupation science is missing. Valuable preliminary work has been achieved by the academic career counseling office in Zurich under the direction of J. Ungricht.<sup>33</sup> The same occupation can have an affinity to different needs and affective patterns. Most occupations are today already so differentiated according to subjects, functions and social positions (despite the legal uniformity) that various subjective attitudes find a place in the same occupation, if the economical conditions do not summarily limit the number of the possibilities of work tropic realizations. Diagnostic investigations of occupational groups for the extraction of so-called occupation profiles (an occupation character and occupation gift) are therefore always doubtful. That statistical average value gives a senseless and worthless picture of

the subjective as also the objective occupation. With similar occupational groups (for example hairdresser, cook), the original occupations, which remained themselves alike in the course of time, can soon supply such investigations correct results. If one tries to arrange the occupations according to the relationship of the occupation bearer to the environment and to the material, then one receives a richly differentiated scale, which lets itself be split up still further. A number of affinity occupational groups can be formed and that variously overlap. An occupation can belong to several affinity systems; these systems can again be arranged by collolated inclinations depending upon their value.

It is not sufficient to know only about these affinity conditions of occupations and mental structures; it is necessary to have fully researched also the occupations in all areas, if the solution should at the same time in every respect be adequate to reality. Most ideal work tropic solutions frequently cannot be realized, because a certain occupation does not have needs for the young people. The often failed direct work tropic solutions of more severe neurotics are hardly to be found in the occupation world or are financially in such a manner badly positioned so that they cannot be relevant from pecuniary considerations. The psychological analysis must be completed by a knowledgeable and sociological occupation investigation.

A psychological adviser, in particular a vocational adviser, who does not think sociologically and with occupation knowledge, acts just as autistic unrealistically as the patient to whom he gives advise, because he possibly does not worry about the feasibility of his theoretically correct solution. He will not be even capable of making a psychological investigation for the areas of the work or occupation choice problem. Only a thorough occupation knowledge permits a recognizing of occupation choice important factors, that is the mental contents, which for the work experience and the work structure are of substantial importance.

Furthermore experimental investigations are missing to us about the operation of certain kinds of work on the mental life. In monographic investigations the importance of

the inclusion of work tropic factors has long been confirmed. The experimental drive diagnostic of Szondi could be pulled out here as a control test. Against the investigation of occupational groups solid objections exist, since different work tropic groups are included. More useful to us would seem the following procedure:

There are to be created in a work laboratory drive affinity work possibilities for employment, which are to be executed in a series according to the test subject. Before and after the work begins, the affect situation of the test is recorded and after changes are sought, which are to be attributed to this work. To state only one example: Is the s factor in the Szondi test emptied, when someone never for a long time chopped wood? Zulliger<sup>34</sup> used this prescription with aggressive children with good success. Such investigations not only serve theoretical interest. As final goal a work laboratory is to be created, in which the test subject can try work out so long as one finds work that is agreeable. This method of the work choice exhibits similarities with the play therapy with children. As the child analyst lets the child select a play form in which he acts out his problem, thus should also the adult neurotic or psychotic choose a work that has an affinity to his problem.

### *c) The Work-Tropic Guided Work Therapy*

“Under work therapy one understands healing through work, or, somewhat more accurately described, application of work as a means for the purpose of healing of an illness, suffering or a disturbance.”<sup>35</sup> The work therapy used very often so far and valued in psychiatry proceeded from the conviction that work (no matter whatever it is) presents a stimulating value that arouses the activity of the patients and is again capable to give to one’s life a meaning. In work groups furthermore he or she is again incorporated into a social community. The person should learn to do something without running away immediately, if it does not please him or her any longer. Tense conditions must be borne, which become always more unsolvable when discharged by outward projections and not through self-musing. The activity simply has an important psychological hygienic task.

One is quite in agreement but must however expand this by an essential criterion: The final goal is not only the occupation activity (as a means against the apathetic and parasitic method of doing nothing), but also the ability for incorporation into society and the readiness for adjustment to social conditions. If the work therapy is to contribute something to this goal -- alone it will never be capable of achieving this goal -- then it must be developed gradually and considered more thoroughly. It has up to now been paid too little attention to be able to reach what is to be selected for a work in order to achieve a maximum affective participation. Here is a valid principle that a person, who is alienated from actual reality -- we concern ourselves for the time being with psychotics -- earliest respond to work that has an affinity to their problem and in which thus work tropic relations can develop. A work laboratory with different types of work, as this was suggested in b), would have only the task of trying field work tropic accessibilities that can be confirmed psycho-diagnostically. Mentally ill persons can behave themselves like a child in his or her play room, since something is put into operation there to excite them and to pass by other work thoughtlessly. The choice of the work will be completely abandoned.

This first stage of the work therapy resembles completely the play stage. It would be psychologically wrong to begin a work therapy equally with the demand for productive work. Because in addition persons in their illnesses are not yet capable of this. The work therapy has in general at the time only a meaning if a certain reality testing is present. This must first therapeutically be worked through. According to the deep regression of the mentally ill persons on the level of magic experience in which symbols become taken as reality and are accepted, the whole maturing process is repeated. The steps would be the following:

1. Psychotherapy according to the method of "implementing the symbolic" of Madame Sechehaye.<sup>36</sup>

2. After educating with the inclusion of play therapy (we are of the opinion that one should let adults also play in certain phases of the psychoanalysis).

3. First stage of the work therapy: Playful trying out of work tropic possibilities for employment.

Now if an inclination shows up to implement a definite work more than others, then an original work tropic or a vent work tropic relationship has been established. The reality reference and the binding character of this work are however still extremely weak and fragile. The work still follows the laws of the pleasure principle completely.

Gradually one must now try to introduce the missing work tropic inclination to the work process. So far if a defense work tropism is missing, then work factors must be turned on, and the ego attitudes incorporated and the affective content of the work be curbed and braked. Certain play and work rules are introduced, amended tasks set up, and phases of operation modulated and modified. First if the defense work tropic factors dominate (for example with a rigidly catatonic attitude), then a small door must be opened for the satisfaction of the drive needs. Briefly: The structure of the further work stages must be completely individual. This relies on the exact knowledge of the problem and the personality structure of this person.

In careful dosage the work type is approximated ever more to the ideal condition of the integration of work tropism and expands the way concomitantly for the acknowledgment of the reality principle in the behavior of the ego.

With asocial neurotics and psychopaths, the steps would be exactly the same as with the so-called work-shy. The institute for education in a reformatory misses its operation partially, because it wants to force on their locked up persons the same as full-fledged work. How however are persons to be able to change their attitude to work, if one holds only again the work ethic before their eyes for which he precisely fought as allegedly the wrong ethic one's whole life? A work education must begin a work after education on the play stage and then return to the work education. The work should be

first only play, completely without obligation and nothing else, as also the person in a psychoanalytical treatment is a child and than child acts with the express permission that he may and shall be this. This shows from the dark work ethic of the pedagogy of our time that this maxim of psychotherapy probably is well established, however not in the work after education. This eternal stress of the seriousness of the work proves that it is in many places not possible for persons to recognize the playful, desire-stressed side of work. Work without a play character is just as sick as a playful lollygag without work with an adult. The work education today is based still on this idea that the pupil must acquire himself a part of love by means of stern work, instead of it being once given to him without him needing to pay somewhat for it.

The lack of understanding in relation to these problems goes in the economic life still more deeply. The average union structure of our economics brings an increasing rigidity and regimentation of the working life with it. This structure is not flexible enough in order to give experiments a place. The general overestimation of the requirements demands from a worker equally full compliance. The exaggeration of psycho-technological suitability in selections, for example, led in certain enterprises to absurd results. The people selected by strict selection for certain posts quit soon after the expensive training, which they already knew, again, because the position was below their intelligence and performance level. But many candidates were rejected, who -- somewhat less intelligent -- would have become faithful employees for the enterprise. With the same blindness one faces the attempts of work tropic work solutions. Our rigid economic structure produces a flotsam and jetsam of work-shy and work-disturbed people, who become subjects then in last instance to the employment offices for continuing national support. Whoever must advise work disturbed persons knows this chain of chronic failure because it is always required by the economic life maximum output without compromise, something these work-immature persons do not have. If one tries a change of profession, then one meets still larger distrust, because a change is foredoomed as being morally

suspect. Guilt is the anal nature of the economic life with its conception of loyalty and steadiness, which are confounded with maturity and its fundamental dislike against exceptions and the unusual. On these grounds at this time work tropic work therapy and the work tropic vocational guidance are condemned in many cases to failure.

With neurotic persons finally the work tropic guided occupation solution (according to the principle of integrated work tropism) should be completed by a work analytic treatment. A real synthesis is possible only if the play of the unconscious determinants is constantly known. Each neurotic first tries to reshape the occupation autoplastically, i.e., he tries to realize the old net of motivations again. An accompanying analysis can point out these shifts and help the defended side to its rights.

## *NOTES*

### *Work Choice (I)*

1. This difficulty can be gotten around by a skillful composition of the group of investigations. Either this group is to contain only occupation candidates, who want to enter out of their free will and to be led only by their inclinations to this occupation, or then those practicing of the occupation are selected in which these conditions were once fulfilled with entering into the occupation. Certainly through grouping formations in the latter sense, one is not yet clear about the secondary imprinting of the personality by the vocational environment.
2. Jucker, E.: Berufskundliche Vorlesungen am Psychologischen Seminar des Institutes für Angewandte Psychologie [Occupation Lectures at the Psychological Seminar of the Institute for Applied Psychology], Zürich 1947. (Protokoll.) [Minutes.]
3. Freud, S.: Die Disposition zur Zwangsneurose [The Disposition to Compulsion Neurosis]. Bd [Vol]. VIII, Ges. Werke [Collected Works]. London.
4. Bernfeld, S.: The Psychology of the Infant. New York 1929.
5. Bühler, K.: Die geistige Entwicklung des Kindes [The Spiritual Development of Children]. 6. Aufl. [Edition] Jena 1927.
6. Angyal, A.: Foundations for a Science of Personality. New York 1941.
7. Hendrick, I.: Work and the Pleasure Principle. Yearbook of Psa. Vol. I, pp. 95-108. New York 1945.
8. Schultz - Hencke, H.: Einführung in die Psychoanalyse [Introduction to Psychoanalysis]. Jena 1927.
9. Friedmann, G.: Où va le travail humain? [Where Is the Human Work?] 12e éd., Paris 1950.— Machine et humanisme [Machine and Humanism]. Paris,

pp. 79-206: Aspects du milieu technique aux Etats-Unis [Aspects of the Technical Environment in the Unites States].

10. Lewin, K.: Environmental Forces in Child Behaviour and Development. Handbook of Child Psychology, Chap. IV, 1931.
11. Luria, A. R.: The Nature of Human Conflicts, taken from Allport, G. W.: Persönlichkeit. In Übersetzung [Personality. In Translation]: Stuttgart 1949.
12. Abraham, K.: Ergänzungen zur Theorie des Analcharakters [Additions to the Theory of the Anal Character]. Int. Z. f. Psa., 1923.
13. Kunz, H.: Die anthropologische Bedeutung der Phantasie [The Anthropological Meaning of Fantasy]. Bd. [Vol.] I, p. 240. Basel 1946.
14. Abraham, K.: Ergänzungen zur Theorie des Analcharakters [Additions to the Theory of the Anal Character]. Int. Z. f. Psa., 1923.
  - Psychoanalytische Studien zur Charakterbildung [Psychoanalytical Studies on the Character Formation]. Vienna 1925.
  - The Spending of Money in Anxiety States. Selected Papers. London 1927.

## *Work Choice (II)*

1. Szondi, L.: Schicksalsanalyse [Fate Analysis]. Basel 1944. p. 185 in footnote.
2. Szondi, L.: *Ibid.*, p. 14.
3. According to the unpublished statistical investigations of occupational groups by means of the experimental drive diagnostic by F. Merei, communicated from L. Szondi. See in addition also: Berufszugehörigkeit der Kriminellen [Occupation Affiliation of Criminals]. *Switzerland. Kriminalstatistik, Berne.*
4. Szondi, L.: Experimentelle Triebdiagnostik [Experimental Drive Diagnostic]. Berne 1947.
5. Dreyer, M. H.: Experimentelle Triebdiagnostik im Bergbau [Experimental Drive Diagnostic in the Mining Industry]. 1. Part: «Mensch und Arbeit» [“Humans and Work”], *1st Jg.*, 1949, pp. 204/05.
  - 2nd part, *Ibid*, 2nd *Jg.*, 1950, P. 14/15.
  - Verlustquellenforschung auf neuen Wegen [Research of Source of Loss in New Ways]. Zentralblatt für Arbeitswiss [Central Newspaper for Work Science] and Betriebspraxis [Operating Practices]. H. 5, 4th *Jg.*, 1950.
6. Janet, P.: Les obsessions et la psychasthenie [Obsessions and Psychasthenia]. Paris 1903.

Schwartz, L.: Die Neurosen und die dynamische Psychologie von Pierre Janet [The Neuroses and the Dynamic Psychology of Pierre Janet].

Basel 1951. Sjöbring, H.: Psychic Energy and Mental Insufficiency.

Uppsala, Läkareförenings förhandlingar, Vol. 28, 1923, pp. 163-214.

Bohm, E.: The Psychastheniebegriff [Psychasthenia Concept]

(Subvalidität) [low validity] after Sjöbring. Schw. Z. f. Psychology

1948, H. 3, Bd. VII, P. 179-190.

The psychasthenia concept of Sjöbring is unclear, so far with respect to him, as mental power and tension are not as distinctive as with Janet. In our example the asthenic syndrome of Janet (*syndromes asthénique*) is also a lack of mental power.

The concept psychasthenia -- with which we are united with the critics -- designates a picture of a mental condition, which can have different causes. A dispositional lack of mental vitality can cause it (in this and only in this meaning are we entitled to maintain the retention of this concept) or also lie as the basis of affective or lesional disturbances. If we speak about the result of "psychasthenia," then we always mean a constitutional lack of mental vitality, never however pictures of a reactive psychasthenia condition. The latter have at the most a short term or hardly an influence on the occupation choice.

7. We presuppose a certain knowledge for the technical interpretation of this derivative, and we try, however, for those not knowing the test method to state the test results in generally understandably common terminology. This remark is valid also for Example 11, p. 70 and in the footnote 31.
8. Also the libido tropism is after all not always effective. Children for example are affectively in such a manner still bound and related to the original object in their libido organization so that libido tropic operation does not go out to parents and brothers and sisters and may also be so for foreign conductors of familial inclination in the vicinity. In this fact is probably also to be found the basis that with children the test pattern choices are determined obviously not alone and exclusively libido tropic.
9. Szondi, L.: *Syndromatik der Sublimation* [Syndromes of Sublimation]. Unpublished manuscript, 1950.

10. We are not of the opinion that the processes of socialization and sublimation can be understood alone exhaustively and completely by the relationship of these three dimensions (work tropism, reality behavior, ability to work).

To offer a sublimation theory is also not intended. Section e) brings the two concepts in connection with our division of work tropisms.

11. Odier speaks in detail on this fact of the close relationship of neurosis and sublimation:

Odier, Ch.: *Les deux sources consciente et inconsciente de la vie morale* [The Two Conscious and Unconscious Sources of the Moral Life]: Neuchâtel 1943.

12. Tinbergen, N.: *Die Übersprungbewegung* [The Displaced Movement]. *Z. f. Tierpsychologie* [Animal Psychology], Vol. 4, 1940/41.

13. Piaget, J.: *Le jugement moral chez l'enfant* [Moral Judgment in the Child]. Genève 1932.

14. Brun, R.: *Allgemeine Neurosenlehre* [General Neurosis Teachings]. Basel 1942.

15. Buber, M.: *I and You*. In: *Dialogisches Leben* [Dialogical Life]. Zurich 1927.

16. By dual union we understand the original affective unity of mother and child in the early condition of the relative egolessness of the child.

Guex, G.: *La névrose d'abandon* [The Neurosis of Abandonment]. Paris 1950.

17. v. Gebattel, *Über süchtiges Verhalten im Gebiet sexueller Verirrungen* [On Addicted Behavior in the Area of Sexual Aberrations]. *Monatsschr. f. Psychiatry*, Vol. 82, 1932.

18. Abraham, K.: *Selected Papers*. London 1927.

19. Fenichel, O.: *The Psychoanalytical Theory of Neurosis*. New York 1945, p. 494.

20. Odier, Ch.: *Les deux sources de la vie morale* [The Two Sources of the Moral Life].

21. The proof material would fill too many page, and therefore it cannot be submitted.
22. Binder, H.: Zwang und Kriminalität [Compulsion and Criminality]. Schw. Arch. f. Neurol. and Psychiatry, Vol. 54, 1944.
23. König, R.: Überorganisation der Familie als Gefährdung der seelischen Gesundheit [Over-organization of the Family as an Endangerment of Mental Health]. In Federn-Meng: The Psychohygiene. Berne 1949.
24. For those knowledgable of the experimental drive diagnostic: This boy gives the following drive profile:  
h +! ! ! s- / e- hy-! / k 0 p 0/ d 0 m 0. Drive danger: h+! ! ! : The increased and accumulated bisexuality. Defense mechanism: hy-!: Hiding before the public (the “packing in” of the feminine attributes).
25. The genealogical founding of work tropism was consciously placed last in these discussions.
26. Freud, S.: Das Unbehagen in der Kultur [The Uneasiness in the Culture]. Vol. XIV, Ges. W., London. Footnote p. 438.
27. Reich, W.: Character Analysis. Third ed., New York 1949. Sublimation, Reaction Formation and Neurotic Reaction Basis, pp. 173-179.
28. Ungricht, J.: Berufswahl – Lebenswahl [Occupation Choice - Life Choice]. Zurich 1946. p. 142 in footnote.
29. Freud, S.: Neurosis and Psychosis. Bd. XIII, Ges. W., London.  
- Der Realitätsverlust bei Neurose und Psychose [The Reality Loss with Neurosis and Psychosis]. *Ibid.* Freud designates the partial blindness to reality typical for the neurosis. In the psychotic conditions, however, a total reality loss prevails.

30. The distinction of subjective and objective work difficulties is extremely important for the practice. This distinction with the topic of the work disturbances becomes more closely justified.
31. For those knowledgeable of the experimental drive diagnostic:  $hy\ 0, \pm / Sch\ 0\ 0$  or  $Sch\ 0\ +$ .
32. One sees occupation proposals, which show in many psychological evaluations that these factors are kept too little apart. All too easily the psychologist overrates the abilities of the person looking for advice from his or her narcissistic feeling of self. Subjective striving for success of a treatment leads then to an overestimation of the progress of the patient in his or her social life.
33. Unfortunately this material was not published.
34. Zulliger, H.: From a report in a lecture.
35. Tra mer, M.: Lehrbuch der Allgemeinen Kinderpsychiatrie [Textbook of General Child Psychiatry]. Basel 1945. p. 401.  
Sechehaye, M. A.: La réalisation symbolique [Symbolic Realization]. Beiheft d. Schw. Z. f. Ps. No. 12, Berne 1947.