



THEORIES OF SYMBOLISM

The **Ontogenesis**
of **Symbols** From
Prelateny
to the
Adult Years

CHARLES A. SARNOFF MD

THE ONTOGENESIS OF SYMBOLS FROM PRELATENCY TO THE ADULT YEARS

Charles Sarnoff, MD

e-Book 2016 International Psychotherapy Institute

From *Theories of Symbolism* by Charles A. Sarnoff

Copyright © 2002 by Charles A. Sarnoff

All Rights Reserved

Created in the United States of America

Table of Contents

[THE ONTOGENESIS OF SYMBOLS FROM PRELATENCY TO THE ADULT YEARS](#)

[LATENCY AGE SYMBOLS](#)

[THE CONCEPT OF LATENCY](#)

[FANTASY PLAY DURING LATENCY](#)

[THE SYMBOL TRANSITIONS OF LATE LATENCY](#)

[LUDIC SYMBOLS](#)

[ONEIRIC SYMBOLS AND UDIC SYMBOLS COMPARED](#)

[LATE LATENCY](#)

[THE SHIFTING SYMBOL MODES OF LATE LATENCY THROUGH EARLY ADOLESCENCE](#)

[DEVELOPMENTAL MARCH OF SYMBOLIC FORMS IN EARLY LATENCY](#)

[MIDLATENCY AND SYMBOLS](#)

[LATE LATENCY—EARLY ADOLESCENCE, AND SYMBOLS](#)

[THE PATHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF PERSECUTORY FANTASIES IN THE LATENCY AGE CHILD](#)

[THE ROLE OF SYMBOLS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF AFFECT](#)

[PUBERTY](#)

[ADULT SYMBOLS](#)

THE ONTOGENESIS OF SYMBOLS FROM PRELATENCY TO THE ADULT YEARS

LATENCY AGE SYMBOLS

Four-year-old children are buoyed by a sense of omnipotence; they have a feeling of being invulnerable. They speak unguardedly even though they have had the capacity, available since 26 months of age, to alter the impact of their words. The altering skill is achievable through the use of masking psychoanalytic symbols to adjust word choice to social needs.

At six years of age, with the acquisition of sufficient ability to support behavioral constancy, the situation changes. Socially acceptable verbal choices are chosen. They dominate speech, and behavior responds reliably to social needs. Symbolizations replace unguarded drive expressions, which, though still active, are relegated to the system unconscious.

During The age of latency (6-12 years) the child's sense of omnipotence is overwhelmed by an awareness of humiliated smallness. This is produced by the addition to oral phase problems such as fear of loss of love, of phallic phase sources of conflict such as castration fear, and the incest barrier. Provocative speech is avoided. Fantasies that involve parents in sexual and aggressive contexts become unbearable.

Poor reality testing in the area of response and an intensified impact of reality in the interpersonal area introduce conflicts that cannot be resolved in reality. The age appropriate cognitive function of the early latency child enables the resolution of this conflict through the intensified use of repression, fragmentation, and displacement. These defenses produce psychoanalytic symbols. The synthesis of such symbols into distracting fantasy patterns, becomes a primary adjustment technique in childhood.

THE CONCEPT OF LATENCY

The process of adjustment by discharge of drives through the capacity to create and use symbols

and fantasy first begins in the third year of life. It remains a primary modality until the development of adult organs for sexual and aggressive functions with entrance into adolescence. The part of the ego involved in these activities is called "the structure of latency" (see Sarnoff 1976). It consists of the function and effect of cognitive potentials, which dominate adjustment from 6 to 12 years of age (the age of Latency).

The typical latency age child is capable of periods of educability during which he is calm, quiet and compliant. Sexuality is expressed in fantasy through the symbolizing function. Drives and conflicts are processed in states of latency through internal mechanisms, leaving the child free to adapt comfortably to society, which in turn expects little in the way of contribution from the child.

As the child passes through the sixth year of life, the threatening nature of Oedipal concerns during the phallic phase calls into action regression as a defense. As part of this regression a recathexis of anal-sadistic drive energies occurs. This does not result in manifest sadomasochism. Ego mechanisms, which involve restraint of impulse, blunt it during this period producing calm where aggression would have been expected. Provocative aggressive stimuli from peers and environment, which could alter the child's attempts at calm demeanor, are buffered by the fantasizing function of the ego, which produces cryptic symbol laden fantasy play to invoke distraction, and prevent disruption. These play fantasies routinely contain highly symbolized sadomasochistic content. Cops and robbers, war stories, kidnappings, and cruel elements in fairy tales are examples of this. Manifestations of masochism during the early latency age period primarily take the form of such fantasies, or are experienced as hostility projected through interpretation into relations with peers. This is often actualized as being "picked on".

Whether masochistic fantasy is reinforced by actualization or dissipated, it is subject to the modifying effects of the phallic phase. Progression through phallic-phase interests (competition, object-relatedness, penetrative urges, oedipal concerns) and parentally encouraged progress in cognitive development aids in the neutralization of drive energies. There results a lessening of the energetic cathexes of masochistic fantasies to the benefit of more mature functions.

The older the child, the more realistic and external are the sources of the symbols called upon to represent these masochistic fantasies. There is a veritable march of age appropriate symbolic forms,

ranging from early latency amorphous danger figures (demons) to reality-based threats (potential bullies), in the selection of fantasized persecutors. Such fantasies discharge drives and master conflict on a symbolic level, in the manner that a novel, a play, a fulfilling dream, or a daydream offers one a cathartic resolution of conflict.

As a result of the discharge function of latency age fantasy, the latency age child has the potential to function and learn in a state of calm, cooperativeness, and educability. This is referred to as the "state of latency", the clinically observable traits of which dominate behavior from 6 to 12 years of age. The process and the time frame associated with such resolution through symbols are called latency and the latency period.

FANTASY PLAY DURING LATENCY

Fantasy play as a form of psychic activity dominates adaptive drive discharge from late in the third year of life to the end of the latency period (twelve years). As early as 26 months of age there had been evidence of the development of a precursor of the structure of latency in the form of fantasy distortions in dreams and play for conflict resolution and drive discharge (see above—Little Jan). These beginnings at 26 months can be roughly correlated with the simultaneous ontogenetic appearance of distortion dreams and psychoanalytic symbols. The presence of psychoanalytic symbols in distortion dreams and play implies latent content, which is not immediately available to the conscious awareness of the dreamer or to the player at the time that the manifest form of the symbol is being experienced. During therapy sessions primary drive discharge through the dreamlike ludic symbols of fantasy play diverts energies from dream reporting to fantasy play in the early latency years.

The symbolizing, mythopoetic, and fantasy producing function of the ego is one of the primary building blocks of ego structure in latency. No matter what other mechanisms or adjustment patterns the child may have, this aspect of the structure of latency provides a defense of last resort, particularly in dealing with the interface between the drives and the world. The child is poorly equipped, both in stature for using aggression effectively, and in the availability of a mature primary sexual organ for the expression of his sexual drives. In the absence of these resources during the latency years, the symbolizing function in the service of fantasy provides an organ for catharsis and for discharge.

The work of the structure of latency during the age period 6 to 12 in developing manifest fantasies, which distort the latent fantasy to the point that its content is unrecognizable and its affect unfelt, depends heavily on the capacity to form masking symbols. This in turn depends upon the acquisition of abstract thinking, delay, and repression.

SYMBOLS AND AFFECT

It is not the content of the latent fantasy alone that calls into action repression, which forces referents out of conscious awareness. Associated affect is the active element. Psychoanalytic symbols are not binary units consisting of a referent and a representation, as is the case with simple symbols. To understand the workings of psychoanalytic symbols, a third factor, affect, must be considered. Affect completes the representational triad of the symbol. The representational triad consists of referent, affect and representation. (see Sarnoff 1976 p 159) The strength of the affect associated with the referent is the primary element that makes it a target for repression. The valence for attracting affect of the representation is inversely proportional to its capacity to serve as a masking symbol. Concepts and words without affects are not turned into symbols. Referents without affects do not to complex symbols go.

Verbal concepts, that are encoded in memory during prelatency, drives, and their associated high charges of affect, are defensively excluded from consciousness to a greater degree, when latency begins. There is little hope for return to awareness until adolescence begins. They take up permanent residency as the referents for which the manifest fantasies of the state of latency serve as masks. Manifest symbols that have other meanings are utilized to represent them. Their latent import becomes hidden to such a degree that painful affects are lost to consciousness. Repression of the link to incestuous objects and manifest symbols, which is used as a fantasy element, produces neutral representations. A representation of the referent may persist in consciousness if shorn of affect by the mechanism of isolation. In this circumstance the referent is permitted to persist as a conscious element. This special symbolic form, the deaffectivised word or object, makes possible the persistence of relationships with parents in spite of latent rage.

Recourse to the use of symbols as discharge agents hide true meaning. As a result direct access to working through, recognizing, and modifying of distortions through the correcting and validating effects

of the confrontational aspect of secondary process thinking is lost. It is common for a child, one leg of whose ambivalence to a parent is repressed, to reject an interpretation of anger at the parent with the statement that it can't be so since the parent is so loved. One of the roles of the child therapist is to seek the reversal of this process through interpretation of fantasy and symbol. In the latency-age child, this requires recognition that the symbolizing function and its derived fantasies serve as an organ for the expression of otherwise inexpressible aggressive and sexual drives. Play expressing these fantasies is often the sole conduit that brings insight into conflict into the psychotherapeutic dialogue. This process is not limited to latency, though it is at its height as fantasy play during the latency years. For instance dream interpretation of psychoanalytic symbols occurs during all subsequent ages.

Faced with humiliations or tasks beyond his ken, the child with an effective structure of latency can always turn inward for comfort. There he can fall back upon a web of symbols, which, woven into a kind of mythic map, can be used as guide to a fantasy land where his power and self-esteem are reinstated. Thus restored, his energies are freed to pursue the business of the day. Personal fantasies and myths are evoked that may be used to organize play while releasing the child from tensions that would interfere with his capacity for calm, pliability and educability. A child whose symbolizing function can support such a "latency" enjoys the symbolic content in movies, plays, and TV programs. A child with impairments in the symbolizing function watches TV for the affect and the excitement of its fights and noise. To evaluate this difference, it is only necessary to ask the child to tell you about a favorite TV show or movie: the child with an immature symbolizing function will tell of excitements, while the child with mature symbolizing will tell the story.

THE SYMBOL TRANSITIONS OF LATE LATENCY

The latency age period is marked by constant maturational change, consisting of a remarkable forward flow of specific growth in physical, physiological, psychological, and cognitive areas. In step with changes in age, size, and reproductive potential, there are transitions in symbolic forms that support the shift to reality and object relations as the zone of effectuation for problem solving and for seeking partners.

LUDIC SYMBOLS

The persistent characteristic which defines the latency period psychologically is the existence of the structure of latency as a manifestation of the cognitive capacity to utilize Ludic (play) symbols in waking periods—as dream (Oneiric) symbols are used in sleep—to master trauma and instinctual stress. Ludic symbols are psychoanalytic symbols used to express referent content through fantasies in play. They appear initially during the first half of the third year of life. *Ludic demise* means a fading of the use of highly symbol-based fantasy play as an outlet for drives and as an arena for the resolution of early longings, traumatic experiences, and the reorganization of behavior. Most of these longings and experiences involved the parents.

The term "Ludic" was introduced by Piaget in 1945. The word "ludic" is derived from "Ludens", the Latin word for play. In late latency, maturation strips the fantasy symbol of much of its discharge potential (ludic demise). As play (ludic) symbols mature, they become less evocative and more communicative. When the use of the ludic symbol diminishes (at about 12 years of age), one of the most important steps (*ludic demise*) in psychological readiness to begin adolescence has begun.

"Ludic demise" refers to a decline, from 11 to 12 years of age, in the ability to use playthings as ludic symbols through which drives can be discharged. It is associated with decline of the influence of the structure of latency; and the shift from focus on the "reality" one can feel to focus on the "reality" one can touch. Hidden meanings in play practically disappear. Primacy shifts from play (ludic symbols) to the dream (Oneiric symbols) in early adolescence as the vehicle through which evocative psychoanalytic symbolic contents can be detected by the therapist. Spontaneous dream reporting becomes a primary source of data when this happens.

Clinically, ludic demise may be detected both in the therapy situation and the diagnostic interview: the child simply prefers to talk, and disdains or eschews use of the playroom or toys. This observation has had a direct influence on the office setting for my professional practice. I have both a consultation room and a playroom. They are connected, and free movement between them is usual. At the beginning of each session I provide access to both, giving the child a choice. The child who has moved away from ludic symbols is under pressure to handle stresses and affects generated by object relations difficulties and the environment directly. Therefore verbalization in the consultation room is chosen.

In the ongoing psychotherapy situation, it is possible to observe the transition that is ludic demise. Usually there is a period of some months during which the child is unpredictable in his choice of room, and may even wander between them as the forward movement of his cognition ebbs and flows. There is no question that during the transition, unresolvable stress situations produce regressions that reactivate play as defense. Yet there is a point beyond which regressions to the use of play symbols are rejected. At this point reactive depressions, temper tantrums, rages, and frank attempts to manipulate as techniques for avoiding affects are emphasized. Fantasy becomes less effective as a latency defense, and play therapy begins to lose "play," which is the very source of its name and the therapist's primary means of communication with the secret and unconscious world of the child.

ONEIRIC SYMBOLS AND LUDIC SYMBOLS COMPARED

Dream (oneiric) symbols and play or waking-fantasy (ludic) symbols are very similar in structure and function. Impairment in one may indicate impairment in the other. Ludic symbols are normally used during latency, but not after the onset of adolescence. This explains a major difference between psychotherapy in latency and adolescence: oneiric and ludic symbols can be used interchangeably as information sources with latency-age children. In adolescent treatments, verbal free association and dream reporting take center stage. The adolescent rejects Ludic symbols. The latency child lives by them. Ludic symbols are constructed primarily out of objects with physical dimensions with limited ability to metamorphose and which contribute meanings alien to the child's conscious play intentions. Oneiric symbols are primarily visual images. They are freely malleable and through metamorphoses and substitution can be changed to suit or to disrupt any conscious scenario. There is less control by the dreamer over the oneiric symbol. It is more apt than the ludic symbol to permit breakthroughs of affects that betray the dreamer to secret stresses associated with the referents that the dream represents. Therefore, nightmares are common in dreaming, and rare in playing with toys.

LATE LATENCY

The first stages of emotional growth that mark the beginning of the move away from the ego organization of latency are manifested in a change of cognition. There is a shift from self-cathexes and intuition to an intensified cathexis of the object world and reality testing. Foremost among the mental

elements involved is the shifting, into the service of object ties and reality testing, of certain symbolic forms. These include the shift of the waking arena for the expression of fantasy away from latency symbols (ludic demise) toward communicative symbol-based objects in reality. This differs from the use of parents as subjects of latent fantasy activity that occurred in the prelatency period.

The transitions at the adolescent brink are: cognitive—(i.e. evocative to communicative symbols and speech), Physiological—(i.e. the appearance of orgiastic potential), and Psychological—(i.e. Ludic Demise). A shift from self cathexes and intuition to an intensified cathexis of the object world and reality testing and a shifting of symbolic forms into the service of object ties and reality testing, the appearance of communicative speech and the appearance of tertiary elaboration results. The acquisition of the latter cognitive skills paves the way for the acquisition of the ability to fall in love.

THE SHIFTING SYMBOL MODES OF LATE LATENCY THROUGH EARLY ADOLESCENCE

All symbols at all stages of development have the potential to serve in both evocative and communicative modes (See Sarnoff 1987 p 47). The symbolic forms that are most important in the latency years are evocative mode symbols. These are symbols influenced primarily by drives and inner life. The forms that are most important in adolescence are communicative mode symbols, such as the symbols involved in aesthetics, creativity, future planning, and pursuing love objects. These are symbolic forms influenced primarily by communicative needs involving the real world and love objects. A shift to the latter more mature symbolic forms is an indicator of emotional health. The shift in the dominant polarity of symbols from the evocative to the communicative mode is an early sign of the shift from latency to adolescence.

The needs of the audience determine the nature of the communicative symbol. Communicative speech is verbalization tuned to the listener's needs for empathy, clarity, and completeness in the words of the speaker. The beginnings of tertiary elaboration, which is verbalization shaped by a knowledge of the background, point of view, and philosophy of the listener, is also a source of insight into the inner workings of the communicative mode.

Communicative symbols represent a victory for altruism, reality testing, and non-egocentric

influences. These symbolic signifiers work for the benefit of object relations. Through communication and transformation, fantasies are modified by changing their symbols and symbolic forms to match the will of the world. When such contact with reality is achieved, past traumas can be de-emphasized, reparatively mastered, and processed. The communicative symbol dominates art and therapy from the beginning of adolescence. It is in turn dominated by society.

The symbol in the communicative mode takes into account the real world and the needs of the audience in the selection of the signifier, i.e., communicative symbols are shaped by choices based upon consensual recognition of meaning. Therefore, they play a significant part in communicative work, art, and writing as well as character formation.

For the most part, prelatency fantasy style emphasizes the use of symbols for the evocation of inner needs and feeling states. This use of the evocative polarity is continued in latency augmented by markedly distorted manifest symbols. Adolescent fantasy style and its mature cognate, future planning, shows a return to the direct representations of prelatency using symbols in their communicative and adaptive polarity.

THE MARCH OF FANTASY STYLES

In dealing with stress, distorted representations are available for the formation of manifest symbols and fantasies from as early as twenty-six months of age. However prelatency fantasy style usually consists of relatively direct manifest representations of core fantasies. Sexual role oriented wishes are expressed with direct representation of the parent as the object. (e.g. "When I grow up I'll marry daddy.") Latency fantasy style, as the result of intensification of the strength of repression, emphasizes ludic symbols. The fantasy activity of latency is characterized by marked displacement and symbolization. Vast distances are created between the latent and manifest contents (unconscious and conscious) of fantasy. The parent becomes a king in a distant land or an amorphous monster. Sexuality is represented as aggression and can even appear as hostility. Core fantasies are expressed through symbols distorted by the structure of latency. With the advent of ludic demise communicative symbols move to center stage producing the fantasy style of early adolescence. At that point, recruitment of real objects occurs. They serve as symbols to be used in fantasies that pursue resolution of the current and future needs of the child.

During late-latency through early adolescence, a dearth of play symbols and increased drive energies confronts the growing personality with a new challenge. Achievement of mature object relations involves a final resolution of that part of the prelatency parent child relationship that did not succumb to fantasy working through and improved reality testing. The best outcome occurs when the unresolved bonding involved, surrenders to the "removal" of the child's cathexes from the parent to a peer. Less happy are the outcomes in which unresolved prelatency object ties, often pathological, become a model for relating to significant peers, and a prototype for other attachments.

With the advent of puberty, there bloom new elements within the relationship. The insecure child on entering puberty opens the door to new supplies for self esteem based on the fact that the parent finds the child to be newly interesting and lovable. The child's maturing physical attributes invite the parent's admiring glances, which in turn enhance the child's confident sense of sexuality. Intimate interpersonal and heterosexual relationships with peers are patterned on relationships with the parent of the opposite sex. Ego fulfillment boosts self-esteem, and alters the patterns of referents for interaction with others. It is the parent child relationship that occurs between ludic demise and removal that informs adult choices. Remnants of that relationship shape the symbolic representations that intrude upon and guide recruitment of new objects for playing out old scenarios and shaping the realities of future relationships.

DEVELOPMENTAL MARCH OF SYMBOLIC FORMS IN EARLY LATENCY

Symbolic forms change as the child matures. In earliest childhood the sexual drive found outlet through a parasitic protosymbolic arrangement whereby other organ functions, such as sucking with the mouth to obtain food, were also used as a pathway for sexual discharge. Such a parasitic arrangement is called autoerotic. Subsequently, excretion and manipulation of parts of the body, including the genitals, served in a similar capacity vis-a-vis the sexual drive. With the development of conceptual thought during the period of 18 months to 3 years, concepts (both affectomotor and verbal) provide an erotic substitute discharge pathway, in the form of fantasy symbols. Latency-age sexual expression through symbolic forms are attempts on the part of the organism to express drives in the absence of a mature physiological organization for discharge, namely an exclusive effector organ and an object in reality.

In the normal transition of symbolic forms that lead into the latency period, symbols tend to take on the characteristics of amorphous images such as ghosts and robbers who might break into the home. Their very vagueness helps to hide their latent meaning (usually hostility projected onto parents) of masking manifest persecutors or adversaries. Ghosts are typically chosen for their dissimilarity to parents, The appearance of parents or animals as symbols at this stage is a sign of immaturity.

We turn now to the developmental march of persecutory symbols. The primary developmental direction of the march of symbols through the latency period moves the latent source of fearful manifest symbolic forms away from the inner world of the child and replaces it with a content populated by reality-based imagery. Creatures with human form come to be feared, a condition that foreshadows the step of giving up toys in favor of people in the fantasy creation that follows ludic demise.

Because of the frequent developmental changes in the defenses and cognitive functions of latency, symptom changes often occur. For this reason, one must be on guard not to attribute a new symptom to the nearest stress, or to view the disappearance of the symptom as the result of a therapy.

The manifest forms of symbols themselves undergo changes with growth. It could be confusing if one were to lose sight of the phase-specific normalcy of symbolic forms chosen, and as a result judge the child by adult standards. The fantastic persecutory symbol of early latency is most often a normal finding.

There is an age related march of persecutory objects used as symbols, which is normal. The first psychoanalytic symbols associated with neurotic fears and pathology appear during the first half of the second year of life (approximately 26 months). They take the form of animals (zoophobias i.e." Little Hans") or rarely, plants (phytophobias). The latent content referents associated with these symbols are affects such as anger or people such as close family members (ie. parents or sibs).

Fears that were manifest in the first year of life and persist through the third year should be differentiated from these. Such early childhood fear gives rise to phobic avoidance reactions involving fear of large animals, fear of the dark, fear of being alone, and fear of high places. These can be attenuated by behavior modification techniques, such as directing the gaze away from the precipice as a response to fear of heights.

There is an enhancement of fantasy and play activity utilizing ludic psychoanalytic symbols for the resolution of conflict that occurs with the advent of "latency" at about 6 years of age. Much of this use of symbols is pleasant for the child and is experienced as under the child's control. Concomitant with this enhancement of fantasy play, infantile phobias such as the zoophobias resolve. The projection of introjects, which underlies the zoophobia persists in the manifest content of the bedtime phobias and the fears of amorphous attackers from the darkness. This is an early manifestation of a phase in which projection in appropriate doses is constructive. When limited in intensity, night fears are part of the *normal neurosis of latency*. Intensification and expansion of the phenomenon that involve these fears in dreaming and day fantasies, is an indicator of current conflictual problems in the child. The absence of the normal neurosis occurs in childhood schizophrenia. (Bender 1970)

MIDLATENCY AND SYMBOLS

During midlatency (about 7V to 9 years of age) there is a change in the objects that are chosen for manifest symbolization and incorporation into fantasy. There is a shift away from amorphous, internally conceived and informed monsters such as the formless ghosts, which appear in night fears. Manifest symbolic forms become humanoid, (i.e. witches). Persecutory symbols become more anthropomorphic. Reality elements are utilized to actualize the feared fantasy objects that occur in phobias. Such external reality elements are used to rationalize symptoms. This change in manifest symbol content occurs at its earliest with a cognitive shift at 8 V years of age. [In this regard, see also Anthony (1959) and Piaget (1945).] The move is necessary and normal, and presages a normal shift into adolescence. This shift is a manifestation of the increase in reality testing that is associated with the move from intuitive responses to stimuli to the use of abstractions based on memory modified by external reality (Piaget's "concrete operations"). Symbols that do not hew to this developmental line tend to be affect-porous and interfere with the function of the structure of latency, which becomes useless except as a template for future planning, when with early adolescence, real people are recruited to serve as symbols in fantasy derived scenarios. The latter is especially so for those fantasies, which serve to discharge drive energies linked to forbidden objects and forbidden wishes.

LATE LATENCY—EARLY ADOLESCENCE, AND SYMBOLS

During a period concurrent with late latency (the time from 9 to 12 years of age) a process is initiated in which maturation moves the march of persecutory symbolic forms toward completion. As part of the process of ludic demise, fantasy formation involving threatening fantastic imagery is replaced by fantasy formation involving threatening realistic images. Threatening anthropomorphic figures, which have become more human by the age of 12, may still exist as latent content. Manifest symbols come to be newly modeled in psychic reality by the characteristics of real people. Fantasy continues to be woven around these new manifest symbols under the guidance of personal wish determined motivations.

The completion of the shift, from fantasy objects to reality objects as manifest symbols, is a characteristic of adolescence. Then the drive discharge mechanisms of the ego undergo a transition from seeking fantasy symbols for evocative expression to seeking accurately perceived reality data to provide the rational feedback needed to populate realistic plans for the future. The loss of fantasy based ludic symbols coincides with this transition to real objects, which fulfills the maturational reproductive imperative that puberty imposes on a life. This occurs at a time when the ultimate goal of the drives replaces simple discharge with procreation in reality.

Transition from real people who have been distorted by fantasy to real people who are realistically interpreted and who contribute the influence of their own needs to the framework of the relationship is a normal step. Failure to achieve this step is crippling. Fixation before the point of transition to a feared real object, which can be validated, leads to constant fear as in agoraphobia, and adolescent shyness.

PERSECUTORY FANTASIES AND LATENCY AGE PHOBIAS

In common parlance, phobia refers to a fear of a specific object or situation. This fear is sufficiently great to cause the subject of the fear strenuously to avoid contact with the feared object or situation. Phobic avoidances such as that which result from fear of horseback riding or fear of a fall from a horse could be fit into this definition. The specific medico-scientific term phobia implies the existence of a more complex condition than such a phobic avoidance reaction. Psychoanalytically informed terminology implies by "phobia" the existence of a feared object, which is a manifest symbol for a referent whose identity is unknown to the subject of the fear. The subject, or patient, has his conscious awareness

diverted from the feared object by repression. In place of the feared object, and hiding it, the mind itself creates the symbol. The manifest symbol is related to the hidden referent through some cryptic, often abstract bridge. Avoidance of the symbol makes possible continued contact with that which is the true object of fear.

THE PATHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF PERSECUTORY FANTASIES IN THE LATENCY AGE CHILD

An exaggerated use of projection as manifested in persecutory fantasy, though creating much pain for the child does not preclude a normal and healthy adult emotional life. It is difficult to predict adult pathology solely on the basis of adjustment destroying *nocturnal* manifest fear fantasy symbols in the Latency age child. There are yet to occur events and relationships that will influence the transformations of cognitive skills and ego functions in Late-Latency Early Adolescence. Whether the persecutory fantasies will be transformed into art by sublimation or will cast the youngster and the adult he is to become into a narcissistically dominated world of fear depends on adolescent experiences such as encouragement or discouragement of removal, the adventitious coming true of a fantasy or one of its derivatives and the innate potential of the child to cathect reality more strongly than his own inner fantasy life. The latter can be evaluated while watching a child play. If the child's emphasis during play is on the communicative aspect of his play symbols rather than excluding others from knowledge of their meanings, the prognosis is good. The presence of a thought disorder in the content of the fantasy is an ominous sign. (see Despert, J.L.(1940).

In the absence of contradictory evidence, the presence of dominating *daytime* persecutory preoccupations in the Latency age child points toward an impairment in the symbolizing function. One expects the fear fantasies of childhood to be better symbolized and masked, or at the least reserved for the hours before sleep. It is considered to be a sign of poor functioning during Latency for a child to focus full attention on persecutors, and to change the pattern of life, to withdraw, to hide, or to avoid playmates because of teasing and persecution at the hands of peers.

Children normally recognize bullies and seek associations elsewhere giving little heed to mean ones once they are out of sight. Children who have difficulty in dealing with their aggressive feelings and project them into persecutory fantasies, are drawn to be with bullies, bullying and being bullied.

They migrate to the strata of society in which symbol driven aggressive interactions dominate in the relationships between people. Such a state of affairs presages difficult sadomasochistic object relationships in adulthood. The predictive value of such behavior is not foolproof. One can predict the fantasies that will dominate the adult from the fantasies that dominate the Latency years. One cannot predict the defenses and quality of strengthening of cognition that will be interposed during the developmental stage of early adolescence. Only that information can inform us if persecutory fantasies will be the basis for neurotic fears, philosophical systems, or a transmutation into creative structures through the mechanism of sublimation.

Preoccupations with persecution in the Latency age period are not always predictive of a borderline adjustment, if sublimatory strengths can drain them of their venom. Individuals lacking such a felicitous endowment and having a penchant to repeat painful traumas (strong repetition compulsion coupled with maturational lag in the shift from evocative to communicative symbols coupled with intense narcissistic cathexis of fantasy in preference to reality) will find their life at every turn dominated by their paradigmatic world view. Where circumstances do not provide the culprits, neutral situations will be enlisted in the service of the dominating fantasy theme. In the Latency years the preeminent role of fantasy and the cruelty of children combine to provide an array of early warnings that tell of masochistic patterns on the march which are ready to assert hegemony in the fast approaching adult world. In the absence of data on the sublimatory capacity of the child, psychotherapeutic intervention is indicated where persecutory fantasy is persistent and crowds out other mental content. We should err on the side of safety.

PHOBIA IN LATE LATENCY THROUGH EARLY ADOLESCENCE

With the step over the threshold into early adolescence, real people are recruited to live or play out the child's fantasies. Persecutory figures are drawn from the truly real, such as people in the environment. The symbols consist primarily of realistic figures who could have an independent existence. In the circumstance in which, the child's relationship to recruited reality takes on a life of its own, evocation can give way to communication and fantasy can give way to object love. The closer that the child gets to such expressions of instinctual energies with real people, the greater is the chance that he will manifest his forbidden wishes utilizing real world elements as symbols. Conversely, as real objects

become more in evidence as objects of drive discharge phenomena, more and more do real objects vie for the instinctual energies. The introduction of the needs of the real object undermines the distorting influences of symbols and fantasies. Character is established when fixed patterns of fantasy used for drive discharge find expression with real objects.

THE ROLE OF SYMBOLS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF AFFECT

SYMBOLS AND AFFECTS SUCH AS DEPRESSION DURING THE LATENCY YEARS

The latency age child has an organization of ego defenses that stifles uncomfortable affect through repression of the thought content associated with it, and distraction of attention to symbols. This characteristic of the period 5 through 12 1/2 years of age limits overt depressive moods. Latency age depression when manifest is usually short-lived. Usually latency age depression appears in a masked and cryptic form. Substitute symptoms such as generalized itching, sleep disturbances, poor school performance, manipulative temper fits, hyperactivity and psychosomatic symptoms appear. Uncomfortable affects are removed from awareness through dismantling and fragmenting of fantasies that had served as moieties to carry uncomfortable memories. This distancing from affect is achieved through displacement of latent fantasies, which have been broken into parts and reformed through symbol formation to more comfortable symbols. The affects of these manifest fantasies are far removed and dissociated from the latent fantasy's depressive affects, which had been a response to earlier stresses. These symbols are regrouped into pleasant mastery-oriented fantasies. This function results in discharge of drives and mastery of humiliating experiences without clinically uncomfortable affects. Successful psychoanalytic ludic symbol formation can serve as a defense against uncomfortable affects such as depression. In this regard see Sarnoff (1986) Page 222. For this reason, manifest depressive affect becomes strikingly more apparent clinically after the age of twelve and a half, with the completion of ludic demise.

PUBERTY

In late Latency—early adolescence, there is a noticeable increase in drive energies above the levels experienced during the Latency period. In males, erections become more frequent. Minor bodily changes

portend the beginnings of maturity. Sexual fantasies become more intense, and more overt. Fantasy contents begin to relate to planning around the search for objects in reality to be used for the discharge of drives. In content, the earliest of these fantasies entail looking, seeing, and fulfilling one's curiosity about the form and appearance of the mature male and female. This curiosity relates to the parents and the future self of the child. Since parents are forbidden objects, the child must displace curiosity to peers and interests to real people as symbolic forms for use as substitute formations (symbols).

The passing from dominance of ludic symbols stops play with toys. It does not stop symbolized fantasy activity within the mind, which informs play involving one's or a partner's body. Excited play using movement of the whole body is a masked manifestation of masturbation. With puberty the addition, of a sexually expressive genital, channels erotic fantasy into frank masturbation.

EARLY ADOLESCENT MASTURBATORY FANTASY AND ITS SYMBOLS

In the sexual sphere, the work of adolescence consists of: (1) the undoing of latency constraints; (2) disengagement from latency fantasy activity as a primary organ for sexual discharge; and (3) the integration of thought, action, drive, and object into an acceptable pattern for discharge using a new primary organ. One of the primary steps in this process is the rapprochement of symbol dominated sexual fantasy and genital masturbation so that both occur in concert.

Through masturbation with fantasy utilizing psychoanalytic symbols resident in the mind and free of the world's restraints, the maturing organism learns to test, experience, bear, and finally enjoy the welling sensations of orgasm, before he is called upon to experience them after having established a relationship with a person in reality. The content of concurrent masturbation fantasies provides patterns that color the search for a life partner.

PROJECTION AT PUBERTY

At puberty, the mechanism of projection, so prominent in the discomforts of the latency years, comes into the service of object seeking. Repression consisting of projection associated with symbol formation during latency gives way to denial associated with the attribution of motives to real figures during early adolescence. The search for objects in reality is propelled by puberty. As a result of the strengthening of

projection consisting of denial and displacement to real objects, fantastic interpretations of reality can be checked against reality itself.

Puberty in this circumstance enters the developmental scene bearing a two edged sword. Puberty's hormone driven object oriented push to establish a bridge to the object world and communication with reality is confronted with a converse thrust. The latter consists of pubescent bodily changes, whose presence enhances narcissistic cathexis of self, including ideas and fantasies. The use of fantasy symbols for the discharge of drive in the absence of an external object is part of this. Drive discharge through symbols and without objects is reinforced. The latter is an example of inward turning narcissistic fantasy in the absence of object relations *sui generis*. Regression to narcissistic fantasy (denial supported by displacement and symbol formation) confronts outward seeking projection (denial supported by displacement to real objects). In the tug of war produced by the influences of these two aspects of puberty, projection serves passively as a two way street serving both the inward turning and outward seeking contradictory needs of puberty.

INWARD TURNING INTENSIFICATION OF NARCISSISTIC INVESTMENT IN FANTASY WITH PHYSICAL CHANGES IN PUBERTY

Around the time of puberty, the shift in objects used for fantasy drive discharge transitions from fantasy objects adapted from reality elements to real objects with their own demands. This characterizes the healthy development in object relations that is the introduction of reality objects into fantasy thoughts. The step in moving from late latency to early adolescence requires the recruitment of reality objects, first to populate fantasy and then to provide partners in reality as the child moves into adolescent and adult life. An upsurge of narcissism in early adolescence interferes with this step.

REMOVAL

The shift of interest from the parent to the peer as symbol occurs as part of a lived-out fantasy. The shift is usually referred to as removal (Katan 1937). This takes two forms. The first, and by far the healthier, form of removal occurs when the adolescent discards infantile fantasy because he no longer needs or uses it for seeking sexual gratification. The second form of removal refers to the circumstance in which the fantasies, which dominated the parent-child relationship of prelatency inform new

relationships with selected peers (boyfriend or girlfriend). New partners are treated as though they were parents. Such relationships are dominated by a *living out of neurotic fantasies*. Total involvement in the relationship with a peer can become so intense that the child in treatment can lose cathexis for therapy and drop out. The fears, sensitivities, and patterns that constitute the new relationship are strongly influenced by the prelatency fantasies that involved the parents and the transference in therapy.

PROJECTION AS A BRIDGE TO THE OBJECT WORLD

Projection is a complex form of displacement, which in every phase of development distorts the relationship between the self and differentiated objects. Projection changes when maturation shifts symbol formation to the communicative mode.¹ When love objects are first sought, a communicative bridge to the object world is established through the reassuring narcissistic belief that the new object can be forced into the mold of one's personal wishes as though it were an extension of the self instead of something with an existence of its own. A sense that the object is under one's control is felt by the maturing child. Even though the wish that is projected onto the new person may be hostile and generates fear, it is reassuring that it is sensed to be under one's control. It is not as much to be feared as the uncontrollable possible motivations of the new object. (The devil that one knows is less to be feared than the angel who comes as a stranger.) Under this circumstance, projection of a familiar fantasy opens a bridge, across which the object world can respond with correctives based on its realities, that modify the subjective symbolic world image of the maturing mind.

THE ABILITY TO FALL IN LOVE

The shift in emphasis from evocative to communicative symbols, and the appearance of communicative speech and of tertiary elaboration (P 184, this volume) paves the way for the acquisition of the ability to fall in love. This is defined as the ability to include the needs of the loved one in the future planning of the lover on the level of preconscious planning. Mature love requires a shift from dependence of the mind on reality one can feel to articulation of conscious awareness with the world of reality that one can touch and share.

RETURN OF PRELATENCY FANTASY DURING EARLY ADOLESCENCE

Children are thought to "enter latency" as a result of an anxiety avoidant need to repress prelatency fantasy (i.e. oedipal urges). The repression is held in place by symbols cryptically encoded to represent those wishes in a masked form. Many, but not all of these urges are held in check in the process. In entering adolescence, the child must reconfront with symbols drawn from reality, the demands of these fantasies, and the underlying urges and conflicts that had been only temporarily resolved through fantasy based symbols during the latency years.

FROM DREAMING TO FUTURE PLANNING IN ADOLESCENCE—THE STRUCTURE OF LATENCY BECOMES FUTURE PLANNING

As adolescence approaches, manifest symbols emphasize the communicative mode. More and more they come to be selected from reality elements. As a result, fantasies become more articulated with elements from the future and the real world, and the role of fantasy becomes less a medium for discharge and more a source of remedies in the form of future planning.

In the earliest stages of this process, the child's vistas expand to include the professions that have high visibility for children. Doctor, nurse, teacher, coach, fireman and lifeguard become the professions that children favor in constructing fantasies that fulfill an inner need for adult power. They are played out in make-believes and may be accompanied by breakthroughs of excitement. With a shift of emphasis to the communicative mode in symbol selection and the advent of ludic demise, occupational fantasies become more circumscribed. They cease to be a source of momentary present excitement, and are replaced by goal directed enthusiasm about the future. They become part of the bridge that leads one toward the object world in reality. Publicly proclaimed ambitions take shape from influences that are rooted in reality. A boy with a low academic average cannot hope to achieve professional status. The short boy defers to others his hope to play professional basketball.

Mature sexuality first appears during adolescence in the form of *prospective fantasies*. These differ from those seen in latency in that their contents are reality oriented communicative symbols. They are frankly sexual and they contain considerations for the needs of the loved object. The symbols in these fantasies are so close to reality that the thought process might better be called future planning than

fantasy. However, their roots are in the unconscious drives and their symbols are much influenced by need to express these drives. This high component of the evocative mode makes their inclusion in the category of fantasy mandatory. Their claim to being considered future planning is based on the extent to which the communicative mode influences the choice of the manifest symbolic forms which lock into the real world, where they are tested for feasibility and are included as the source of symbolic representations. As such, they become stepping-stones over which the evocative child may tread with a sense of foreknowledge into the world of real objects. The contributions of the evocative mode and the communicative mode do not add up to 100. The total is infinite. The influence is that of balance and counterbalance. Although the physical changes of maturation (orgasm readiness, genital enlargement, etc.) make satisfactory sexuality possible and provide the sexual drive with an organ for discharge to be used independently of other functions, mature sexuality is incomplete without integration into future planning fantasies of the social contexts, symbols, settings and conditions that make acceptable and possible sexual encounters with love objects.

EARLY ADOLESCENCE, PUBERTY AND SYMBOLS

In dealing with unconscious drive discharge during early latency, communicative speech symbols, though available, are de-emphasized by children, who prefer to use ludic symbols in play. The latter are the tools through which gratification of drives through fantasy can occur. Real objects are not required and are hardly needed.

The basic shift in symbolic form to communicative symbol that occurs in late latency is influenced by enhancement of reality testing. This includes the loss of waking play symbols as drive discharge elements (ludic demise), and awareness of the communicative and gratification potential when using real objects for drive discharge. Real objects are needed when the arena for drive expression is extended into the world.

Maturation improvement in reality testing and cognition (e.g. improved reality testing, ludic demise, increased drive, social pressures, improved abstraction ability, and reinforcement of object influences through sexual maturation) permanently deprive the child of the use of fantasy symbols as the sole means for solving problems.

Late latency offers a transition into adolescence. Whereas the latency-age child conceives of a word as a symbolic means for expressing his drives, the adolescent conceives of words as a communicative tool in seeking love objects, overseen by an internalized representation of the loved one. Narcissism is expressed and conquered all at once when the object to be pleased can be incorporated as part of the self.

With the beginnings of adolescence, relatively undisguised manifest sexual fantasies derived from prelatency fantasy content appear. The overtness of these fantasies is derived from alterations in cognition. Cognitive alterations (such as the "march of symbols", and passing of the "structure of latency", shift from evocative to communicative symbols) mandate that there will be changes in emphasis, choice of symbols, and the organization of defenses brought to bear on the latent content of fantasy. Memories of events, traumas, and fantasies of the prelatency period are seen through adult "eyes." They are shaped into symbols that convey these influential memories. The children are propelled toward fantasy that can be articulated with reality. Behavior consonant with the cognitive capacities, cultural demands, and the expectations of their peers result. These impressive changes in the use of communicative symbolic forms occur at puberty, when a forward thrust in the use of object oriented communicative symbols is intensified by menarche and the first ejaculation.

Sexuality undergoes a maturation and development during early adolescence that prepares the child for the requirements of adult life. In the successful adolescent, sexual energies pass from pleasurable discharge, centered all in self, through outlets using fantasy channels (evocation using psychoanalytic symbols), to end up using genital organs specifically developed for the communicative discharge of the drive. Biological maturation readies the genital organs. Culture and cognitive maturity define the limits and effectiveness of their use. Success is indicated by the extent to which a loved object is found in reality and the degree to which fulfillment of the needs of the self and its drives also satisfy the needs of the object. This maturation of internal cognitive structures during the transition from latency to adolescence strengthens the use of communicative symbols, a process, which enhances object relations. Another source of intensification of the use of object oriented communicative symbols is the psychological experience of puberty.

IMPACT OF AND FIRST EJACULATION ON SYMBOL FORMATION

A prime psychological feature of puberty is the "enablement" of adult sexuality, through the enhancement of communicative symbolic forms. Communicative speech is necessary for the establishment of a relationship. The open door for object ties is enhanced by the impact of menarche and the first ejaculation. These processes announce the coming of age of organs for use in an activity that requires a partner and that perpetuates society. Reality oriented object relations is facilitated, and as a result there is an increase in the use of straightforward words (simple symbols) in the search to find expression in and gain satisfaction from reality. The normal early adolescent strives for reality interactions. Characteristic adolescent unreality relates not to the symbolizing elements that he uses but in his concept of the future impact of his words and actions on his future life.

In acquiring the organ resource recognized by society to be needed for adult sexuality, the menarchic child gains the potential for sexual communication on a non-verbal organ level that involves a causative action with a powerful outcome. This new potential is broadcast to her social group through ritual and custom (See Hart and Sarnoff 1971.), which proclaim them to be ready objects for the urgent needs of males. The first ejaculation is more privately experienced and goes unheralded. The move toward objects is a more private decision for boys. The individual boy is impelled by these maturational pressures toward a dissociation of masturbatory fantasy from evocative symbols to an increased articulation of drives with reality objects and action.

The child is forced to turn inward for discharge of drives in latency. The inward turning is forced by the absence of an available physical mechanism (ejaculation) for the outward expression of sexual drive towards objects. Latency style fantasy play draws cathexes into expression through the primitive body-self symbols of late-latency. With the onset of the first ejaculation, an organized discharge pathway involving reality, becomes available. This introduces an enhancement of reality influences on fantasy content. The symbols used in these fantasies are selected on the basis of their ability to introduce reality elements to fantasy content. As a result fantasy gestures for problem solving are transmuted into conduits for future planning. Indeed fantasy gives way to interpersonal acting out of fantasied trial action during the passage through adolescence. Clinically an increase of talkativeness relating to problem solving and event reporting is often seen in sessions with menarchic girls.

For boys, the first ejaculation (See Sarnoff (1976 P82-84.) is associated with a diminution in tendencies to act on poorly displaced and symbolized fantasies. The first ejaculation that is recognized by the boy, opens a potential for increased contact with reality and the object world. A new factor has been added to the child's reality that makes sense of the plangent urges, which pressing goallessly, had confronted the child with a mystery of life whose solution up till this time had been discharge through symbol formation and fantasy. Knowing what one is here for, opens the door to sexual endeavors in reality, for which the transmutations of the symbolizing function have readied the child. Long-developing changes in the symbolizing function are organized to create the communicative symbolic structure that supports the effective adult emotional sexual apparatus. As a result, drive discharge is offered release in a reality context that exceeds evocative symbols in efficiency and productivity. The way is open for the participation in the release of sexual tensions with real objects.

Boys who are conflicted about ejaculation, usually on the basis of severe castration anxiety and girls with strong internal sexual prohibitions, may fail to achieve a consistent shift from narcissistic, poorly symbolized sexual fantasies, associated with latency-style acting out of the fantasies, to articulation of drives with reality objects.

ON THE COMMUNICATIVE POTENTIAL OF SYMBOLIC FORMS IN EARLY ADOLESCENCE

Age-appropriate increase in overt sexual activity is both an outcome of an increase in sexual drive and the product of a decrease in the influence of latency defenses, which had diverted drive energies into symbolized fantasies. Cognitive maturation both pushes the child toward reality objects and opens the door to anxiety and fear about growing up as the result of the articulation of fear fantasies with reality. Retreat to the use of evocative fantasy as a means of discharge for sexual drive tends to be slowed and impaired as the result of early adolescent maturation. With the advent of puberty, symbolic distortions decrease during the formation of fantasies. The reality orientation of manifest fantasy increases as a result. Overt masturbatory fantasies become potentially fear-inducing and a cause for retreat from overt sexuality when they attribute leftover dangers to the nature of newly sought reality. The child therapist must be careful, in exploring the less symbolized fantasies of early adolescence that panic reactions are not induced when object-finding is encouraged through the analysis of fear (masturbatory) fantasies that inhibit social growth. Here one proceeds with care. For example, a 14-year-

old girl with a masturbation fantasy that revolved around being raped was caused to retreat from dating situations by her fear of the aggressiveness that she projected into sexual situations.

The shape and direction taken by love seeking fantasies, are guided by the loved object's needs. Fantasies of reality pursuits and actions are informed by those demands of the object that have been newly set into the conscience of the love seeking youth. The acquisition of ideas involving the love object's needs is developed in the way that the tertiary elaboration of dreams alters the dream in its telling to conform to the expectations of the dream interpreter. As a result, a mark is left on the tastes and choices of the adolescent that transcends the moment and colors future concepts of ways to approach potential mates.

Projection of wishes onto the new object, recruited to play out a role in a fantasy, extends the boundary of the child to include the new object. Aspects of the object become a part of the self. If the real object so chosen is then to be wooed, won, and held, its expectant and powerfully influencing wishes must become an influence on the future planning of the love seeking child before the planning fantasy enters consciousness. Fantasy must be changed to suit the needs of the loved one.

RESPONSE TO PRELATENCY FANTASY ACTIVITY

One of the major achievements of a successful early adolescence is the resolution of fixations to oedipal and preoedipal fantasy structures. The persistence of such patterns results in evocatively oriented symbols, which color the fantasies whose acting out in adults result in repetitive painful relationships. These guide, even lock, in place the patterns of drive discharge that become characteristic for a given individual.

By the age of 18, there are available on a maturational level the capacity for realistic evaluation of others; reality-bound object relations; the capacity for object-bound sexual relations; sufficient judgment for independent functioning, and physical size and strength for self-support and marriage. Psychological factors can have slowed the development of any of these elements. For instance, neurotic inhibition can delay the onset of sexual activity and have carried neurotic patterns of object relations to peers when "removal" of cathexes from parents to peers occurs. Experiential factors may have deprived the

adolescent of realities against which to hone skills. For instance, military service or a college with an unbalanced ratio of boys to girls may delay dating or integration into the community. Social factors can cause a delay in implementing the possibilities made available by appropriate development at this time. For instance, the individual who is ready for marriage may have a career ambition that requires that marriage be delayed in order to complete necessary education. By late adolescence object seeking is a serious matter. Sustained relationships are expected. If reality objects cannot be found to fulfill evocative fantasies, displacement and recathexis of referents results. There follows a reactivation of prelatency symbolizations, with the return of neurosis described by Laughlin (1967)

LOSS OF NEUROSIS IN ADOLESCENCE

Laughlin's (1967) observation requires notice here. He pointed out that within the general population neurotic symptomatology lessens remarkably during adolescence, only to reappear in the early twenties. From the standpoint of symbol ontogenesis, there is a shift to communicative symbols in the search for objects that results in reduction in the use of psychoanalytic symbols and the neurotic symptoms that they support. A search is initiated for objects in reality, which deflates the power of internal prohibitions. Internal prohibitions had, in the latency years, forced repression of wishes producing a shift of objects to symbols in place of seeking gratification in the world. Such prohibitions lose power when their agents, psychoanalytic ludic symbols, are lost, permitting direct venting of drive energies toward tempting or offending objects. This obviates the need for the defensive production of psychoanalytic symbols. Adolescent persistence of internal prohibitions occurs when there is an absence of availability of objects in reality, inability to give up newly found love objects who have then been lost, social restraints, and the loneliness invoked by poor innate object relationship skills. The ability to use psychoanalytic symbols in discharge fantasies hovers ever present after twenty-six months. It surfaces in the infantile zoophobias, the normal night fears of early latency, and the persecutory fantasies, somatization reactions, and obsessive-compulsive symptoms of late latency. It is ever lurking and ready to come to the surface when the balance of influences (level of anxiety, availability of objects, internal prohibitions, outcomes of exploration of reality in search of love objects, social pressures, innate capacities for object relations) favors them. The return of neurotic symptoms in the twenties relates to the shift in the balance of power that occurs when life events squelch drive expression or internal

prohibitions are reasserted in the late twenties with the intensification of the influence of parental imagoes.

ADULT SYMBOLS

Adult thinking deals primarily with non-symbolic world realities. The chapters of Vol. 2 will deal with failures in this endeavor and the pathological symbols that are generated in response (i.e. the evocative symbols that populate masturbatory fantasies and contribute narcissistic coloration to fate neuroses). In this section we will deal with the average expectable vicissitudes of late adolescent and adult symbols.

The healthy psychoanalytic symbols that persist into adulthood are: oneiric symbols, which go unchanged for a lifetime, ludic symbols which persist as a talent in artists, poets, playwrights and child therapists, and actively generated symbols that populate future planning. The psychoanalytic symbols that continue into adulthood as pathology (i.e. phobia) become muted elements in adolescence that succumb for the most part to the influence of reality. They persist in adolescence but with less global impact.

PASSIVE SYMBOLIZATION

Through passive use of other's symbols, one's own fantasies can be discharged. The creativity of others such as writers, poets, composers, and artists can be used to satisfy needs served by the personal symbolizing function. This type of symbol usage becomes more intense in use and usefulness as the years of development pass. It is first experienced passively as external to the self and unrelated to one's creativity and responsibility. It achieves enhanced importance in adulthood, as the manifest symbol comes to be more and more drawn from a context whose source is cultural and external. Projection is supported by the apparent external locus of the manifest symbol elements. Stories in which the hero can be covertly identified with the child's own self, such as the myths of a culture or the characters of a video game, provide ready-made heroes for fantasies that challenge the child's sense of smallness with dreams of glory fulfilled. Peller (1958) has noted that in early latency "daydreams become an essential release. Finding his own

daydream woven into a story multiplies the release. . . . [The] child can enjoy his own, his personal fantasy without feelings of guilt, shame, reproach" (p. 57). Clinically this potential presents a major pitfall in child therapy. The child who responds to requests for information about his fantasies with a repetition of a Batman (TV) episode seen just the hour before, may be revealing the source of his identifications but the nature of his own personal fantasies and the symbols of which they consist are often excluded from the session.

PASSIVE MASTERY AND PASSIVE SYMBOLIZATION

Through myths and cultural capture of the mind, the mechanisms of the structure of latency are adapted to provide passive identification with tales and legends characteristic of the child's social group. Ethical patterns conveyed by legends are incorporated into superego contents. The structure of latency persists beyond latency in the form of this psychological mechanism. Through it, books, plays, and works of art can be enjoyed and used for drive discharge and catharsis. Through it, the adult finds a mechanism for acquiring acceptable tension discharge and in the process imagoes for cultural patterns of function and beliefs to guide his life, his mores, his opinions, and his social reactions for a lifetime. The use of the symbols and fantasies of others for the discharge of drives in latency is called passive mastery. Its persistence into adulthood is called passive symbolization.

THE DEFFECTIVISED WORLD; A SYMBOL THAT REPLACES REALITY

A deaffectivised image of the reality of danger often occurs in the early years of the third decade of life (early twenties). An alternate view of the world is created in which there is little danger. This image can be sufficiently removed from reality to constitute a symbol shaped context. From this memory moiety a pseudoreality can be created in the mind's eye, which encourages immoderate or dangerous behavior. This self-created conscious world can serve as a game board on which narcissistic fantasy may be played out. By 30 years of age, when the bland deaffectivised pseudoworld of the daredevil, or adventurer is repopulated with reality stress as the result of increased responsibility with accompanying intensification of obsessional mechanisms, affect returns. The real risks of situations are recognized and appropriate fears are generated giving rise to changes in life style. Clinically I saw this phenomenon in Air Force pilots who faced peril with no fear of flying or awareness of danger while in flight during their

twenties, who after thirty years of age were overtaken by the danger of their mission when marriage, children, and the deaths of friends awakened them to a reality, whose uncertainty now awed them. Unable to admit their new-found fear as a result of military obligations, they regressed to the expression of their need to withdraw from flying status in symbolic symptoms such as loss of depth perception, which made it impossible for them to land a plane. (See Sarnoff 1957.)

OBSESSIONAL MECHANISMS CAN SERVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CULTURAL EGO IDEAL

There is a commonly manifested intensification of the effect of the cultural ego ideal on the life of the individual that begins at 26 years of age and is completed in the early 30s. The part of the ego that implements superego demands, acquires sufficient strength to override the demands of the id in its relations to the world. A reorganization and intensification of the use of obsessional mechanisms diverts drives into symbol-based symptoms. This makes possible the development of inhibitory control as part of character.

A clinical example follows.

A woman of 30 presented herself to a university clinic. She complained of a severe fear of open places that incapacitated her. She was unmarried. She described herself as having been a "man's woman." That is, she had made herself available to a number of men of her acquaintance in the jazz music field for sexual intercourse under conditions of "equality". She was now living with a girl friend. She had obtained a job. She had stopped her promiscuous sexual activities. She had said it was "time to settle down." She then developed her agoraphobia.

Having described the basic symbols and the vicissitudes of symbolization that occurs with maturation and development over the years, we now turn to the study of the neuronal infrastructure that underlies symbol formation and the characteristics and functions of symbols associated with specific neuronal circuits.

NOTES

¹ Projection is a mechanism of defense that is most often associated with pathological states. Prohibited urges and wishes generated within the self are projected onto others. Even an acceptable urge, such as anger, when it exceeds the tolerance of a person, may be

assigned (projected) to someone else. This produces distortions of perceived reality. The role of projection in the production of impaired reality testing tends to give projection a bad name, which is not necessarily well earned.