PSYCHOANALYSIS AND VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

A LECTURE

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There are many reasons why we need, at this time, all the light that can possibly be thrown, from any source, on this subject of vocational guidance. Diversional occupation, vocational education, industrial rehabilitation have become almost household terms, at least with a considerable proportion of the population, and the application in practice of the principles that are implicit in the procedures so designated, is supposed to have a distinct therapeutic value. Then again our society is organized along industrial lines and many of its most serious illnesses are supposedly due to industrial factors, so it becomes of the first importance to discover, if possible, the nature of the forces that are operative and of the mechanisms that underlie the more obvious surface manifestations of their activities.

Those of us who have had for many years to deal with the more malignant types of psychoses and have at once felt our helplessness in the matter of therapy and seen the slowly growing spirit of scepticism in the face of repeated therapeutic promises and failures ripen into a hopelessness that expressed itself in an attitude of do-nothingness have had finally presented to us the principles uncovered by psychoanalysis. Those of us who have not been permanently repelled by the crudeness with which these principles were at first expressed, and who have not been misled into wrong ideas by over-enthusiastic but half-baked propagandists, those of us, in other words, who have been able to see past and beyond the bungling efforts of the new-born idea in its first

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attempts to make itself understood, cannot but feel a profound gratitude for what psychoanalysis has taught us.

In the old asylum days our ideas of the meanings and the significance of the symptoms of mental disease were indistinct and hazy to say the least and if we were honest with ourselves we could not help but be appalled at the depth of our ignorance. While today our ignorance may still be abysmal we at least feel that its depths can be sounded and that we know in what direction to go and how to search for further light.

The outstanding dissatisfactions in the mind of the medical superintendent of about fifteen or twenty years ago, at least I can speak for myself, were his fundamental ignorance and the hopeless inadequacy of the machinery at his disposal for tackling this ignorance with any hope of dispelling even a minute portion of it. Coupled with this and dependent upon it was his feeling of utter helplessness in the face of the simplest practical problems because he had no principles from which he could reason. He had to treat his patients *en masse* and not individually for the very simple and practical reason that he only had one physician to every two hundred patients.

Now psychoanalysis, as the result of the principles it has discovered, has been a very great if not the greatest factor in changing all this. For while we are not yet able, even in our very much better constructed and equipped hospitals and with a very much more extensive and better trained personnel, to work out each case with a thoroughness corresponding to that secured in the best general medical and surgical hospitals, still we, for the first time, are beginning to understand the real significance of mental disease, the meaning of symptoms and to know the means available for the treatment and how to use them and the character of material to be dealt with in the person of the individual patient.

While psychoanalysis may not have enabled us to cure many more patients, for it must be remembered that we are dealing with relatively malignant types, still we are able to handle the problems much more intelligently and with a far greater feeling of certainty and understanding and we are gradually transforming institutions from asylums to veritable hospitals, accumulating a wealth of
invaluable information, and beginning to distribute it beyond their walls through the media of the medical schools and medical societies to the profession and by way of out-patient departments and various other avenues to the public in general.

What psychoanalysis has done for psychiatry I believe it can do for vocational guidance. Perhaps at this time it can do no more, surely it can do no less.

It will be impossible here to outline all of the principles that bear upon the successful choice of a vocation. I will only mention those that are directly concerned trusting that the examples will make the mechanisms involved sufficiently clear.

In the first place psychoanalysis has replaced the sensation as the unit of the psychic life by the wish. It has come to consider what may be called the motor set of the organism as more important than its capacity for sensory perception. The wish is thus raised to paramount importance in the consideration of all things psychic and the important thing about the wish is that it gets its driving force from the affective rather than from the intellectual side.

The corollaries that flow from these assumptions, so far as they relate to the successful choice of a vocation, are, that the individual, in order to be successful and happy in his work, must do something that he wants to do and that, other things being equal, his success and his happiness will be in direct proportion to the correspondence between his vocation and his desires.

This formula sounds somewhat more simple than it really is. As stated it would seem to indicate that if an individual were left free to choose he would choose right every time. Of course this is not so, as everyone knows. The trouble is that there are not infrequently two opposing aspects of the individual which would choose diametrically the opposite of each other so that if either choice is made it leaves the individual at war with himself, one half of him, as it were, arrayed against the other. It is such situations that have given rise to the false assumption that work of itself, hard work, may produce neurasthenia. What does produce neurasthenia is the waste of energy which is lost in the conflict. No one becomes nervous doing what he really wants to do.
In this phrase, what he really wants to do, lies the secret, for that means, not what some one aspect of his personality wants, but what he as a whole wants, what he wants to do as a united not a divided personality. Many a boy has studied law or medicine to please his father, and mark you, because he wanted to please his father, but he has failed because his instinctive drives could find no outlet by these channels. There was another aspect of his personality that wanted still more to do something else. Failure and success can perhaps be thought of in terms of the proportion of the personality that is satisfied with the occupation followed.

What are these affective and emotional aspects of the personality that must be satisfied? In the first place they are the fundamental instincts which psychoanalysis has reduced to two, namely, the self-preservative or ego-instinct and the race-preservative or sexual or creative instinct.

Now the great amount of antagonism which psychoanalysis has met has been due to the prominence which it gives this second group of instincts as causes of the neuroses and psychoneuroses, in fact, the great importance it has attributed to the sexual in all important matters of life. In fact as Freud says, "psychoanalysis claims that these same sexual impulses have made contributions whose value cannot be overestimated to the highest cultural, artistic and social achievements of the human mind." His explanation of the aversion to this conclusion runs as follows: "We believe that civilization was forged by the driving force of vital necessity, at the cost of instinct-satisfaction, and that the process is to a large extent constantly repeated anew, since each individual who newly enters the human community repeats the sacrifices of his instinct-satisfaction for the sake of the common good. Among the instinctive forces thus utilized, the sexual impulses play a significant rôle. They are thereby sublimated, i.e., they are diverted from their sexual goals and directed to ends socially higher and no longer sexual. But this result is unstable. The sexual instincts are poorly trained. Each individ-

3 Freud: loc. cit. (p. 8).
ual who wishes to ally himself with the achievements of civilization is exposed to the danger of having his sexual instincts rebel against this sublimation. Society can conceive of no more serious menace to its civilization than would arise through the satisfying of the sexual instincts by their redirection toward their original goals. Society, therefore, does not relish being reminded of this ticklish spot in its origin: it has no interest in having the strength of the sexual instincts recognized and the meaning of the sexual life to the individual clearly delineated. On the contrary, society has taken the course of diverting attention from this whole field. This is the reason why society will not tolerate the above-mentioned results of psychoanalytic research, and would prefer to brand it as esthetically offensive and morally objectionable or dangerous. Since, however, one cannot attack an ostensibly objective result of scientific inquiry with such objections, the criticism must be translated to an intellectual level if it is to be voiced. But it is a predisposition of human nature to consider an unpleasant idea untrue, and then it is easy to find arguments against it. Society thus brands what is unpleasant as untrue, denying the conclusions of psychoanalysis with logical and pertinent arguments. These arguments originate from affective sources, however, and society holds to these prejudices against all attempts at refutation."

So much for the controversial side of the matter. I shall not again refer to it. You may consider that the significance of the sexual in these affairs is a matter of opinion. You may believe the sex instinct to be controlling, to be important but not all-important, or to be a negligible factor. I do not see just how you can take this last position but the facts must speak for themselves. The important psychoanalytic principles brought out thus far are first, the necessity for satisfying the fundamental instincts and the danger that they will escape from control altogether if some means for their satisfaction is not found and secondly, that the most important of these means is by the process of what is called sublimation to which Freud refers4 as follows:

4 Loc. cit. (p. 299).
“Among these processes which resist the ill effects of abstinence, one in particular has won cultural significance. Sexual desire relinquishes either its goal of partial gratification of desire, or the goal of desire toward reproduction, and adopts another aim, genetically related\(^5\) to the abandoned one, save that it is no longer sexual but must be termed social. This process is called ‘sublimation,’ and in adopting this process we subscribe to the general standard which places social aims above selfish sexual desires. Sublimation is, as a matter of fact, only a special case of the relation of sexual to non-sexual desires.”

In this quotation the words “genetically related” are of the utmost significance. The individual may abandon his selfish sexual aims and take on some form of socially useful activity but, and here is the point which we shall see illustrated later, the new form of activity must be “genetically related” to the abandoned one so that although the selfish sexual aims are abandoned they get at least a partial outlet in this new, related type of activity.

I have discussed thus fully the matter of sexuality not only because I think it of great importance but because the only psychoanalytic writers who have discussed the choice of vocations with anything like an attempt at thoroughness, namely Brill\(^6\) and Stekel,\(^7\) consider the sexual component of the greatest significance. Inasmuch as these two authors stand alone in having specially treated the subject of the selection of vocations I shall draw fully from the material they have offered. Adler\(^8\) should also be mentioned in this connection because his theory implies

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\(^5\) Italics not in the original.

\(^6\) A. A. Brill: The Psychopathology of Selection of Vocations; Preliminary Communication. The Medical Record, February 23, 1918. The same matter with some slight additions appears in his Fundamental Conceptions of Psychoanalysis as Chapter XIII, Selection of Vocations. Pub. by Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1921.

\(^7\) Wilhelm Stekel: Die Impotenz des Mannes, Chapter II, Beruf und Sexualität. This work is Vol. IV of the author's monumental Störungen des Trieb- und Affektlebens.

that the choice of vocations would be determined by the ego-instinct rather than the sexual. For Adler it is not the drive of the sex instinct that is of importance; it is the will-to-power, the desire to dominate, which desire is particularly whipped into activity by any sense of inferiority, in particular, any sense of inferiority dependent upon an inferior organ. From this point of view the efforts of the individual are directed to overcoming the sense of inferiority, to securing safety, and the choice of a vocation would therefore depend upon the nature of the feeling of inferiority and the means required to overcome it and produce a feeling of safety, security, what I have called the safety-motive for conduct. We shall find numerous examples that can be explained by this mechanism.

Whether a particular type of conduct, such as the choice of a vocation, be explained as dependent upon an emotional drive originating in the ego-instincts or the sexual instinct, the mechanism can be expressed as follows. Considering the emotional state of the individual as an energy system we can explain what happens by assuming that as a result of the lack of satisfaction of the instinctive needs of the individual a state of tension is brought about which expresses itself psychologically as a degree of discomfort and which by finding an adequate means of expression is resolved and replaced by a state of equilibrium which is psychologically expressed by a feeling of satisfaction. The conclusion seems to be implicit that disequilibrium is essential to action, is what makes the machine go, and that the strength of the affective drive and perhaps the vocational success is in proportion to the degree of disequilibrium.

This conclusion may not be a very acceptable one but it is borne out by what we know of the lives of many at least of the great artists, scientists, statesmen, etc., and explains what we so often find, namely that the individual not only chose his vocation because it offered him an opportunity to do what he wanted to do but that the thing that he wanted to do he literally had to do,

See my article on the Adlerian Concept of the Neuroses. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, August 1917, and my Introduction to Adler's Neurotic Constitution.
in fact it was not a matter of choice at all but a matter of the sternest necessity, almost, one might in many instances say, of life and death.

We know for example the persistence with which many of the successful men of history have pursued their ends; how they have worked and suffered, gone without food, clothes and almost all of the necessities of life for the sake of the faith that was in them and how finally they have succeeded. Examples will come to the mind of everyone who has read biographies—I think of Darwin, of Beethoven, of Charles and Mary Lamb, of Strindberg, of Michael Angelo, of Swedenborg, of Byron, etc. Let me illustrate to make my meaning clear.

I have in mind a very prominent physician, a laryngologist, who finally died of cancer of the throat. Adler would say that it was because of an organ inferiority (throat, larynx) that he chose his specialty and for the same reason developed the disease that ended his life. His sense of inferiority was focalized by his organ inferiority; the totality of the process of progressive integration and adaptation which is fundamental in the development of the individual breaks down at the throat segment. Therefore it is right here, at this same region, where the individual feels the necessity for reinforcement. Perhaps the classical example of Demosthenes, the stutterer, who became the greatest orator of Greece, will be better understood.

The drive in the case of the laryngologist was obviously of completely unconscious origin. A case cited by Brill will make the matter still plainer. It is that of a child who was unjustly suspected by his father for a wrong initiated and suggested by an older brother. In the course of the inquiry by the parents he swore falsely that he had not done the act of which he was accused (taking a puff of a cigarette) and thereafter felt that he had committed a great crime against God and his parents. This impression remained with him throughout his life and resulted in his choosing the law as a profession and finally getting on the bench. He was determined, that so far as he could, he would save others from such injustices.
In this case the strength and enduring force of the affective drive are evident. I am reminded of a personal experience which illustrates my statement that the choice of what one does may be a matter of life and death. A beginner in psychoanalysis was telling me about a patient he had been working with who had attempted suicide by swallowing some one of the disinfectants, I believe lysol. We discussed the choice of the means of suicide with the result that the evidence seemed to indicate that the patient had a feeling of sinfulness and that the disinfectant had been taken as a means (symbolic of course) of purification much like the attempt of Lady Macbeth, but not so harmless, to wash from her hand the "damned spot" that symbolized her guilt. I suggested that if the patient had such a drive for purification and cleanliness he should go into some business that would give this desire an outlet and that thereby he might get some relief. I was informed that he had been in the business of selling laundry soap.

Of course drinking lysol, selling laundry soap, and washing the hands are pretty concrete and, one might say, low level symbolizations of means for moral cleanliness. One can imagine more socially useful sublimations, even spiritualizations if you will, as a result of which the patient might become a social worker of a sort, a teacher of ethics, a preacher and perhaps many other things. The principal point I wish to make is that the drive may be of tremendous force, so great, as in this instance, that the individual's own life does not even stand in the way. Here we see the force expended in destruction. Think of what it might accomplish if it could be turned to constructive ends. Is it not the business of the vocational teacher to try and ally himself with this force?

The only one of the authors I have mentioned who has endeavored to systematically treat of the whole subject of vocational choice in distinct mechanistic groupings is Stekel. I shall therefore first consider with some modification, his five groups. Knowing the importance which psychoanalysis attaches to the family constellation in its effect upon directing the set of affective interests of the child we are prepared for the first group, namely:
1. IDENTIFICATION WITH THE FATHER

a. The relation is direct. Here it is a matter of the love and respect which the son bears for the father. It is so great that he longs to be like him in every way, to identify himself with the father and so naturally he chooses the same vocation. Such a choice is easily understood. It appeals not only to the son's love for the father but it is in line with the desire of the father who thus sees himself live again in the person of his son. The same industry, trade, or profession may thus be carried on generation after generation, as was the case in the days of the old trade guilds, a family becoming noted for the exceptional skill developed along some particular line by its members. In this choice by the son of the same vocation as that followed by the father the relation is direct. The relation may be indirect either as regards the father or the vocation.

b. The relation is indirect as regards the choice. The choice may not be so obviously dictated by a desire to be like the father though more careful examination will disclose that this is so. For example, the son of a butcher studies medicine and becomes an anatomist. The relation, although perhaps not at first striking, is after all quite clear, between butchering and anatomy. It is to be noted that the son's choice is somewhat more highly sublimated than was the father's. The significance of this will be referred to later.

c. The relation is indirect as regards the father. In this subgroup it is not the actual father that is taken as the type but a father substitute or, as the psychoanalysts prefer to call him, a father surrogate. One sees instances of this relationship frequently when the student adopts the profession or otherwise imitates his teacher. Goethe has well said "we learn only from those whom we love."

Now as regards the more highly sublimated choice of the son referred to above. Psychoanalysis discloses not only that our first experiences of love are focussed by the personnel of our childhood family environment, in other words, that we first learn to love our parents, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, grandparents,
servants, etc., but that our first experiences of hate must necessarily have the same personal orientation. Furthermore psychoanalysis teaches that our affective orientation toward any one person, in this instance the father is made up of both of these emotional attitudes, namely: love and hate, that is, to be technical, it is ambivalent. The son, therefore, not only loves his father but he also hates him and his relation to his father will depend upon the relative amounts of these two attitudes. And, too, we must expect to find, in any effort at identification, such as given in the examples cited, that both components are existent, for inasmuch as they are but the two sides of the same thing, namely, the emotional orientation, neither one can be destroyed.

Now we are prepared to understand the more highly sublimated choice of the son. It is an effort, on the part of the son, to excel, to overcome the father. The same thing is seen where the relation is direct and the son follows exactly the occupation of the father. Here too he endeavors to excel him. It is the everlasting conflict between the new generation and the old.

It is of course to be understood that these various groups, and those to follow, can be paralleled in the relation of the daughter to the mother.

The next group, as we might expect, is comprised of those instances in which the hate component has been dominant and the son chooses a vocation as different as possible from the father.

2. DIFFERENTIATION FROM THE FATHER

The most characteristic examples in this group are in those instances where an absolute opposite, roughly speaking, exists. Thus the father is a Republican, the son becomes a Democrat; the father is a Catholic, the son becomes a Unitarian. The tendency here is to make a selection the exact opposite of the father's.

Even when the oppositeness is not so obvious, the same tendency can often be seen to be operative indirectly where the son of a tradesman, for example selects a profession or the son of a father whose business is very materialistic chooses an intellec-
tual or artistic career and becomes a poet, painter or philosopher. Stekel says that dry pedantic fathers often have sons who become artists.

Similarly one might find a child who reacted with the mechanism of hate against a father surrogate in the person of a teacher, or guardian, or in the case of a girl, of a governess. The affective orientation toward the parent is one of predominant love or hate and the reaction one of obedience or rebellion, identification or differentiation.

The third group expresses an attempt at sublimation of the instinctive tendencies which if expressed in their crude form would be destructive but which, through sublimation can be harnessed to socially useful ends. We may call this group

3. THE SUBLIMATIONS

The group may be subdivided in accordance with the instinct that is sublimated, thus:

a. The sado-masochistic tendencies. The most obvious vocation that may serve the purpose of sublimation of the sadistic tendency is that of butcher in which the desire to kill and to shed blood may both be indulged but for recognized socially useful ends. A still higher sublimation of sadism may be seen in the vocation of surgery. Of course it should be understood that not all surgeons, for example, have chosen their profession in response to a sadistic urge although that tendency certainly could find an outlet in that vocation. They may have chosen their profession in response to other causes as, for example, those already mentioned, identification with or differentiation from the father, direct or indirect. Brill gives the example of the child who suffered from boils and to whom the doctor was very brutal, but what was apparently more to the point, he was very inconsiderate and almost insulting to his father. He could not understand his father's humility in the presence of the doctor as otherwise his father's conduct was very different. This made a profound impression on him and whenever his father punished him he thought of the doctor before whom his father trembled and wished he were a doctor.
Such a case explains the choice of a profession in individualistic terms. It also shows how a given tendency may be stimulated by certain experiences, here the tendency to differentiation from the father is based upon hate and fear of him. In a similar way the sado-masochistic as well as the other instinctive tendencies may be over stimulated during the early years by definite experiences of which the above is an example.

The sadistic component may gain an outlet in many other and quite as obvious ways in prize-fighting, wrestling, bull fighting, soldiering, hunting, foot-ball, positions of command (the martinet), dentistry, etc., though in these as in other instances other components may also be involved. In wrestling, for example, one would expect to find the muscle erotism seeking expression as well as the sadism.

The masochistic component can be as obviously taken care of in humble occupations such as that of servant, waiter, valet and the like.

Inasmuch as the sadistic and the masochistic tendencies are but the two aspects of the same thing they must naturally always go together and we might expect to find instances that would show both finding expression in a vocation. The prize-fighter who can take as well as give punishment suggests itself. College boys, after a successful cane rush, love to parade and exhibit the scars of the battle, torn clothes, bloody faces, bruised and muddy bodies that bear testimony to what they have had to go through in order to win.

Stekel mentions also the incendiary who becomes a fireman or an inventor of an apparatus for extinguishing fires, the apothecary who, in his youth, had pronounced phantasies of poisoning, and children who have committed crimes becoming policemen. These may not be pure examples of sublimated sado-masochism but it must be borne in mind that many cases might as well be put in one category as another and that there are no hard and fast boundary lines.

We find also here, as with the other instinctive tendencies, that the same tendency manifests itself in the conscious and in the unconscious in exactly opposite ways, that is by affects of opposite
sign. We are prepared therefore to learn that persons who are consciously philanthropists may in their unconscious really be sadists. An excellent example of this mechanism is seen in some of the antivivisection agitators. Some of these persons are really sadists but their sadism has been strongly repressed so that it appears at the conscious level as the opposite, namely, an effort to relieve suffering. Their method of procedure gives outlet to both tendencies for while they are consciously devoting themselves to the relief of suffering they are also occupying themselves as constantly in its contemplation. The real state of affairs is revealed when it is noted that many of the horrible devices which they picture as being in use for torturing animals have no real existence, they are but the creations of their own minds. Probably many public discussions are as unsatisfactorily motivated.

A highly disguised form of masochism is found among the players of "second" or accompanying instruments in orchestras and bands. It is obvious that a willingness to play "second fiddle" and masochism are of the same cloth. The man who plays the double bass, or the drums may lack in the initiative and aggressiveness that would make him a soloist but he is sure to make himself heard even though he does not play a leading instrument. Here the instincts that make for both humbleness and aggressiveness, belonging to the sado-masochistic pair of opposites, both get expression.

The opposite of this situation may be quite characteristically seen, as Brill has pointed out, in (psychologically) only children. Here the tendency is from the first to play a solo, a leading part, whether as musician, teacher, politician or what not, they not infrequently become domineering and officious, an attitude which often repeats their way of dealing, in childhood, with a younger brother, the younger brother characteristically coming to play "second fiddle" as described above.

b. Exhibitionism. The clearest example of the sublimation of the infantile exhibitionistic tendency is seen in the actor. Imitat-

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ing, acting, playing a part such as scout, circus performer, soldier is quite characteristic of little boys while correspondingly little girls play at mother, housekeeping, and the like. These early play activities are quite characteristically in line with the future adult interests and serve to carry those interests along from the infantile to the adult stage of development. This tendency to act a part may continue in the individual with an extra affective load on his exhibitionistic tendencies and such an individual may well find a very satisfactory outlet for these tendencies on the stage. This is particularly the case if the personality make-up remains at a relatively infantile level of development, that is in a more or less plastic state, so that they can for the time being identify themselves with almost any type of character, live the part as it were, and so truly get a real personal expression through the artificial character they have created.

A military career also makes an appeal to the exhibitionistic tendency. We all realize something of the part that a uniform, brass buttons, and parading play as inducements to enlist. These incentives have come to be played upon quite obviously in the various appeals that are made for recruits. We see also that organizations other than military, such as secret societies, often adopt gaudy uniforms undoubtedly as a bait, perhaps unconscious but sometimes at least partly conscious, to secure new members. High sounding titles have a similar significance and the gaudiness of the uniforms and the pretentiousness of the titles are often in inverse proportion to the premiums which membership in the organization has otherwise to offer.

Life savers belong also in this class according to Brill, taking delight in the display of their shapely bodies and well developed muscles. The same thing applies to many athletes and also, by a process of identification, to the onlookers.

Another comment by the way. Whether the exhibitionistic tendency, or any other tendency for that matter, shall show itself in this or that way is always an individual question. The liking for high sounding titles is an example of the Jehovah complex, a hang over from the period of omnipotence of infancy, while the love of displaying one’s prowess in athletics and showing off
one's muscles would represent an outlet for a highly developed muscle erotism.

\textit{c. Curiosity.} Curiosity is one of the characteristics of childhood, as it is also of our nearest simian relatives, and it may be that no small part of the progress that man has made in his struggle with nature has been due to his inordinate desire to find out about things. In its early manifestations it not infrequently occupies itself with the forbidden. It is the sexual curiosity of childhood which makes so much trouble for parents and teachers. In its unsublimated form it presents in the adult as a form of sexual perversion, the voyeurs and peeping Toms, but in its sublimated expression it is at the bottom of the impulse to experiment and investigate, it is the impulse of the research scientist. Brill reports four cases, a maker of optical instruments and three photographers who showed strong curiosity for sexual looking as children and were punished for indulging this tendency.

\textit{d. Anal-erotism.} The three traits which Freud originally called attention to as being characteristic of the anal-erotic character are orderliness, parsimony, and obstinacy. Jones\footnote{Ernest Jones: Papers on Psycho-Analysis. Chapter xi. Anal-Erotic Character Traits. New York, William Wood \\& Co., 1919.} has shown the enormous number of character traits that may have their origin in anal-erotism, some of them of the utmost value to the individual and to society. I will only briefly mention those that have vocational significance.

The tendency to orderliness would make for such occupations in which the painstaking carrying out of some system was required such as in bookkeeping, card indexing, the work of a librarian, and the like. Combined with obstinacy it makes for those characteristics of indefatigability, individuality, often combined with thoroughness that are such valuable traits in leaders and executives. The parsimony points towards traits that would make for efficiency and economy and especially for these and other reasons do we expect to find in this group those interested in financial affairs. Just as wealth is composed of collected moneys so do we find interest in the collection of other materials.
quite characteristically of anal-erotic origin. Thus there are collectors of stamps, coins, insects, plants, eggs, books, pictures, minerals, etc.

The ambivalent opposite of parsimony is generosity so that we might expect to find opposite those who collect and retain a group who take pleasure in giving out. At a low level is the perversion known as pygmalionism, the impulse to stain statues with ink, etc., to defile women’s clothing, to throw ink or chemicals. Higher up the sublimation tendency becomes of great social significance when it results in interest in painting and printing.

Similar to the above desire to defile and its sublimations is the desire to contact with dirty things through touch. I will refer to some of these direct expressions in group five. The sublimation of this tendency results in interest in cooking, metal-moulding, building, carpentry, engraving, sculpture, architecture, engineering etc.

The close connection between anal-erotism, sadism, and hate should not be lost sight of.

e. Miscellaneous and partial tendencies. These cases will be considered in the fifth group as the relation between the underlying instinct and its expression is closer, in other words, there has been less sublimation, a lesser degree of substitution of a non-sexual goal.

The fourth group is comprised of the occupations that are chosen as protections against unconscious tendencies from which the individual feels that he is in danger.

4. PROTECTION AGAINST UNCONSCIOUS TENDENCIES

The unconscious tendencies that threaten to break through to expression and so destroy the individual may be classified as immoral or as criminal and so we find, as we would expect to, that various religious careers are taken up to protect against the former, and legal, judicial, or police functions are assumed to protect against the latter.

Stekel mentions a detective who showed on analysis pronounced criminalistic tendencies and that his extraordinary understanding of criminals was due to similar tendencies in his own mind.
He reports also a judge who was punctilious and over-conscientious in the administration of his office, who never spoke to a witness alone for fear he might be suspected of permitting himself to be influenced and was troubled if on a journey he found himself alone in a compartment with some other person. He had observed how often innocent persons fell under suspicion of robbery and murder and feared that he might compromise himself. Analysis disclosed that he had extraordinarily strong criminal instincts which had been quickened in recent years by the unscrupulous conduct of a relative who thus deprived him of an inheritance he had hoped to obtain. Phantasies of revenge played an important part in his psychic life until they were repressed and then his symptoms developed. The foundation for the neurosis reached back to childhood when he had a distressing feeling of guilt because of criminal phantasies. He chose the profession of law in order to protect himself, through a knowledge of the law, from going astray.

Schroeder\textsuperscript{12} reports the case of a professional criminal who at the age of thirty-six was converted at a Methodist revival. He had been a petty sneak thief and a forger and had three times come near to committing murder. "Tortured by his subjective conflict, and, haunted by his self-reproaches, he became an easy victim to the revivalist's suggestion, and to his offers of salvation by faith. After a period of great emotional storm, he emerged a super-righteous religious fanatic, a theomaniac. . . . . The same morbidity which formerly impelled to crime, now compelled also a feverish overcompensation in the matter of doing socially useful work."

Brill calls attention to the same mechanism which is clearly seen in such religious groups as the Salvation Army and some missions as expressed in such confessions as "I was a thief and a low sinner until I saw the light of the Lord; two years later I was a backslider, but again I found Him," etc.

A similar mechanism, but not founded upon any apparent feeling of sin, is that whereby a person who is ill but whom the

\textsuperscript{12} Theodore Schroeder: Psychoanalysis and Suggestion. The Psychoanalytic Review, January 1923.
doctors have not been able to cure, studies medicine with the idea of ultimately being able to succeed where others have failed. Here there is, instead of a moral illness, a physical illness.

In the fifth group the occupation is chosen as a more or less direct expression for unconscious sexual tendencies, and may be subdivided in accordance with the tendency expressed.

5. EXPRESSION OF UNCONSCIOUS SEXUAL TENDENCIES

a. Homosexuality. In this group are found many masseurs, rubbers, bathing attendants who may be dominated by the partial tendency of either looking or touching. In this group are also found waiters who may not only be masochistic but have a distinctly passive homosexual tendency, a "will to subjection." Undoubtedly there would be found many latent, unconscious homosexuals among the men who deal in women's clothes such as salesmen in department stores, ladies tailors, milliners, men who are interested in and do embroidery. A certain number of male cooks would probably come in this category.

To show in passing how the obvious may seem at least to lead us astray I will call attention to the case cited by Brill of the man who became rich as a result of an improvement he had made in patterns for women's apparel. He had been brought up in poverty with an unambitious father and a hard working mother to whom he was greatly devoted. She was so poor that she rarely had money for new clothes for herself and the children and as a little boy he often wept at her plight. It was his wish to grow up and work for his mother that directed his interest in women's apparel and that resulted in his making a fortune. In this case women in general and women's clothes seem to have taken the place of the mother, his love for his mother found in them a surrogate.

Similarly as we may find homosexuals among male teachers in boys' schools, and as directors of boys' camps, we may find a case, such as has recently been reported in the press, of a physician who, upon the death of his only son, turned to the specialty of pediatrics. He perpetuated his son in all children and found an
outlet and a new attachment for his love when the original love object was cut off.

b. Anal-erotism. In this sub-group we might expect to find those engaged in all sorts of occupations that involve contact with dirt in various forms but we must remember that many of these are followed not from choice but from necessity so that among these latter would naturally be a larger group who were not employed in response to any instinctive urge. Nevertheless Brill has found among street cleaners a number who have retained the infantile love of dirt. He cites Boitelle, a character of Maupassant, who “made a specialty of undertaking dirty jobs all through the country-side. Whenever there was a ditch or a cesspool to be cleaned out, a dunghill removed, a sewer cleansed, or any dirt hole whatever, he was always employed to do it.” Karpas, who comments on this character explains it by pointing out that he was prevented by his parents from marrying a negress and that he found a substitute in a vocation that was likewise dirty and disagreeable to society. Brill has reported the case of a man who in early life had a strong perverted impulse for odors who later became a successful perfume dealer. Stekel reports a perfume manufacturer suffering from mysophilia and a chemist occupied chiefly in the analysis of urine and feces who was a urolagnist.

c. Fetichism. The fetichist substitutes a symbol such as some portion of the body or some article of clothing for the love object. Thus there are hand, foot, hair, shoe, glove, and handkerchief fetichists. Foot fetichists may become shoemakers, shoe salesmen, chiropodists; hand fetichists may become glove makers, glove salesmen, manicures and, Stekel says, as painters, pay special attention to the hands; those who have adopted the hair as a fetich may become hairdressers; while those that have linen and wearing apparel for fetiches may engage in the manufacture or sale of these articles. Stekel reports the case of a physician who should probably be classed in this group who in his childhood had a great passion for beautiful noses and as a physician specialized in rhinology.
Enough instances have been cited and suggestions offered to indicate that my treatment of this subject is only in the nature of the briefest of sketches. It is only offered as a sort of suggestion and comment thereon. It will also be apparent that the classification is but a rough one, that many cases could be as well classed in one group as another, that the factors in other cases belong in more than one group, and that still other cases do not lend themselves readily to classification in any of the groups suggested. For example, Brill mentions two sons who became real estate agents in order to outdo the man with whom their mother was in love. Here the motive is obviously jealousy and the case could be put under group two as an instance of differentiation from the father, in this case overcoming the father in the person of a father surrogate. Stekel's instances of neurotics whose dream it is to introduce a universal language is, however, not so easy of classification. He believes it is a reaction from the feeling of being misunderstood. This is the fate, he comments, of those who live together in restricted environments. They fail to understand each other, their plans are frustrated because of the misunderstanding encountered in their environment. This he suggests may be the real meaning of the Tower of Babel myth. If we spoke the same language the heights would be reached. Jones, however, would probably carry the explanation still further back and see in the language effort a sublimation of anal-erotism.

Stekel's statement that all inventors analyzed by him were neurotics who were attempting to solve their psychic conflict by displacement, by transporting it to the field of mechanical technics offers a still further problem for classification.

However, I have not aimed at completeness but only at presenting what I conceive to be the psychoanalytic point of view of the selection of vocations. I have had to assume some knowledge of psychoanalytic principles else I could not have covered the ground in anything like the compass of this lecture. The psychoanalytic point of view may be summed up in the formulation of

13 Loc. cit.
Freud, namely; that the permanent distinguishing traits of a person are either unchanged continuations of the original impulses, sublimations of the same, or reactions formed against them.

If I have conveyed any conception of the infinite complexity of the adult character, depending as it does upon the interplay of so many forces, you will be prepared for the conclusion that vocations cannot wisely be chosen for others. The effort to do this is pretty apt to be little more than a suggestion along the lines of our own prejudices and predilections and so can only be doomed to failure. Spontaneous choice, on the other hand, if only free from distorting factors, is bound to go right. The trouble is that these distorting factors are present in such a large number of instances. The method of clearing away the distortions is by use of the technic of psychoanalysis which I cannot discuss at this time except to say that, if psychoanalysis has been successful in clearing away the distortions then a spontaneous choice is possible, leastwise, it is just as unwise to offer advice and suggestion, and unnecessary.

Many an individual is a failure in life because he has been forced to follow an occupation for which he is not fitted and becomes a success only when that necessity is removed and he can turn in the direction of his choice.

Finally I will only mention in a few words the various psychological tests that are used to determine vocational selection. This method of getting at the answer and the method of psychoanalysis seem to be quite as different as possible. I am wondering, however, whether perceptual acuteness in a particular sensory field, peculiar alertness in relation to certain types of stimuli and such other qualities may not easily be conceived as correlated with certain instinctive tendencies, certain lines of interest, within the meaning suggested in this lecture. It would seem at least that whatever is true in either method must harmonize with what is true in the other.

In the matter of mental levels the relation is probably somewhat different. Undoubtedly the mental level of an individual is a determining factor in the choice of an occupation. For example, probably a considerable number of those who are in
the simpler occupations that make the least demand upon the individual have drifted into such positions from others that were more difficult to fill so that, in general, a given occupation will tend to accumulate those that are within the limits of the two extremes of mental level beyond which, in either direction, success in that occupation is not to be expected. There must be, however, numbers of occupations all of which will fit indifferently a given mental level. The contention I make is that the affective trend will, under such circumstances, tend to a choice as within such a group that will satisfy best the affective needs of the individual.