




Adolescence, Facilitating Environment and Selfobject Presence: Linking Winnicott and Kohut's Self Psychology*

Adolescência, ambiente facilitador e presença de “selfobject”: conexão entre Winnicott e a psicologia de *self* de Kohut

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Resumo: Nesta apresentação, a perspectiva sobre a adolescência de Winnicott será discutida em relação à consolidação a à “expansão” do *self* na maturidade e idade adulta. As ideias de Winnicott sobre o “ambiente facilitador” para o amadurecimento de adolescentes serão apresentadas e elaboradas a partir do conceito de *selfobject* de Kohut, referindo-se a necessidades específicas de *selfobjects* que são intensificadas durante a adolescência. Introduzirei a ideia de que o processo de amadurecimento na adolescência leva à obtenção de duas capacidades específicas: a capacidade de altruísmo empático, compromisso social e responsabilidade e a capacidade de alegria. A relação entre estas ideias para o processo adolescente será demonstrada por meio de um cenário clínico.

Palavras-chave: adolescência, ambiente facilitador, “selfobject”, Winnicott, Kohut

Abstract: In this presentation, Winnicott's view on adolescence will be discussed in relation to the consolidation and the “expansion” of the self in maturity and adulthood. Winnicott's ideas on the “facilitating environment” for adolescents' maturation will be presented and elaborated with Kohut's “selfobject” concept, referring to specific selfobject needs intensified during adolescence. I will introduce the idea that the maturational process of adolescence leads to the attainment of two specific capacities: the capacity for empathic altruism, social commitment and responsibility and the capacity for joy. The relation of these ideas to adolescent process will be demonstrated with clinical vignettes.

Keywords: adolescence, enabling environment, selfobject, Winnicott, Kohut

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1. Introduction

In one of his early lectures on adolescence, Winnicott describes the familiar phenomenon of adolescence as a “*stormy time. Defiance mixed with dependence, even at times extreme dependence, makes the picture of adolescence seem mad and muddled*”. Several lines further, his deep and empathic understanding of human development is reflected in the following unequivocal statement: “*Adolescence, which means becoming an adult, is a phase in healthy growth*” (Winnicott, 1965u[1963]/1965, p. 244).

I believe that in this statement Winnicott was reacting to the general psychoanalytic tendency to pathologize development, as is reflected in the concept of 'infantile neurosis' as well as in the viewpoint of adolescence as an intra-psychic “crisis”.

Winnicott's overall developmental approach suggests that crisis or breakdowns occur as a result of environmental failure to respond empathically to the subject's emotional needs. This approach reflected Winnicott's paradigmatic shift (Loparic, 1999) from the Oedipus complex to the maturational process. A similar perspective was expressed by Kohut (1977) who proposed, for example, to differentiate the oedipal phase, a normal maturational stage, from the oedipal complex, a pathological outcome due to environmental failure.

These ideas underlie the recognition, shared by Winnicott and Kohut, of the importance of the environment in the growth and formation of the self. This recognition is articulated through Winnicott's concept of the “*facilitating environment*” and Kohut's concept of the “*selfobject*”. Both concepts were formulated initially in the context of early developmental processes, but they were later ascribed to the full trajectory of emotional development.

Thus, a “facilitating environment” and the “selfobject presences” during adolescence are vital for the maturation and consolidation of the self. Their essence is derived from the identification and recognition of the adolescent's specific needs and mental processes. This interdependent approach to the subject of adolescence necessitates reference to three issues :

- The essence of maturity and adult health
- The features of the maturational process during adolescence
- The characteristics of the “facilitating environment” and the "selfobject presences" in relation to adolescence

2. Maturity and adult health

Winnicott's observations on adult health are dispersed over his abundant writings, and it is rather difficult to sum them up. However, it seems to me that we can group his ideas on this subject under three headings:

- *Being* – The feature of health which belongs to the personal (isolate) sphere or in Balint's term – to the "area of creation" (Balint, 1968). It refers to a sense of being alive, being creative and feeling real (Abram, 1996, p. 225).
- *Existing* – The feature of health which relates to the achievement of capacities: the capacity to be alone, the capacity for concern, the capacity for a sense of guilt, the capacity to use the object, the capacity to play, and the capacity to compromise. It refers to having a sense of connection and communication with others.
- *Devoting* – This feature of health which relates to a social sense of being. This sense involves feeling commitment and readiness to contribute to society. "*In maturity, environment is something to which the individual contributes and for which the individual man or woman takes responsibility*" (Winnicott, 1988, p. 152). This can be formulated as *the capacity for empathic altruism*, which refers to social commitment and responsibility. Parenting belongs to this capacity.

I suggest referring to a self achieving the state of devoting as an *expanded self* (Kohut, 1966). What I mean is that the adult self includes both the immediate and wider society into his primal system. The immediate society refers to the personal environment – mate and children. The wider society refers to the various groups to which the individual belongs, including humanity. This idea is clearly expressed by Winnicott various references to socialization, as the following one: "*Maturity of the human being is a term that implies not only personal growth but also socialization. Let us say that in health..... the adult is able to identify with society without too great a sacrifice of personal spontaneity*" (Winnicott, 1965r[1963]/1965, p. 83).

What is missing in this portrayal of health is its accompanying affect. Kohut advanced the idea that healthy development is associated with *joy*. For example, in regards to the oedipal phase, he stated that "... *the healthy child of healthy parents enters [this phase] joyfully. The joy he experiences is due... also to the fact that this achievement elicits a glow of empathic joy and pride from the side of the oedipal-phase selfobjects*" (Kohut, 1977, p. 14). In this connection, Winnicott's capacity to use the object arouses the "*joy inherent in being enriched by the particular qualities found outside one's*

omnipotent control" (Goldman, 1993, p. 204). I suggest, therefore, that *the capacity for joy* be added as an important characteristic of healthy development and maturity.

The following clinical example illustrates the reemergence and unfolding of these two capacities¹ in a therapeutic process.

Michelle's adolescence was interrupted at the age of 16, with her father's sudden death. She had a very close and meaningful relationship with him, especially in regards to her activity as a dancer in an ensemble. He used to drive her to the rehearsals and watch all her dance recitals. It seemed that he was very proud of her. Shortly after his death, she sank into a mild depression and stopped all her dancing activities, feeling powerless to make any move in her life. Besides that, she cherished a dream to become a stage actress and even applied to some acting schools, but failed all the auditions. In this state of increasing despair, she turned to me for treatment.

Working through her father's loss helped her change some aspects of her life, yet she remained passive and joyless. I thought then that she was still struggling with the acceptance of reality and the giving up of her "childhood dream". Reflecting on her persistent passivity and lack of joy, I realized that becoming an actress, for her, is not a childhood dream but a life dream, which contains some kind of social commitment and of devotion to an important cause.

Following my reflections, I shared with her my conviction that to be an actress was not only a very important and joyous move for her, but for society, as well. I told her that she feels that she has a very special talent, but it seems as though she hesitates whether she should grant it to society, as it is "society" which took her father away from her. She stared at me gratefully, crying and smiling simultaneously.

Some weeks later, she decided to apply again to acting schools, and this time passed the auditions. I believe that my different and new position towards her life dream assisted her in this significant shift. It was accompanied with a lot of excitement and enthusiasm which reflected the emergence of her *capacity for joy*, and with an uncompromising devotion which reflected the unfolding of her *capacity for empathic altruism*. Subsequently, for Michelle, adolescence began to resume its path towards consolidation and expansion of her Self.

3. Features of Adolescence – Winnicott

Winnicott came to work directly with adolescents in the latter part of his career as a psychoanalyst (McCarthy, 2000), and his observations are grouped in three of his later papers. Nevertheless, he made several references to the adolescent stage in his writings, and his overall description of the dynamics of the adolescent passage is mostly empathy-based.

But one of his views on adolescence seems to be extrapolated from his general metapsychology. He boldly stated, "*...If, in the fantasy of early growth, there is contained death, then at adolescence there is contained murder...In the total unconscious fantasy belonging to growth at puberty and in adolescence, there is the death of someone*" (Winnicott, 1969c[1968]/1971, pp. 144-145). This statement reflects the position that adolescence is the recapitulation of the oedipal phase –

¹ Although these two capacities initially bud during early development, it is only during adolescence and its facilitating environment that they fully emerge in adulthood.

and it seems incompatible with his description of the “*joy at the object's survival*” (Winnicott, 1969i[1968]/1969, p. 716).

In my understanding, this joy points to a different *unconscious fantasy*, one which contains harmony, permanence and growth rather than murder, and depicts an image of living together in peace and unity. It is not a defensive fantasy, i.e. a denial of hate and aggression. I am quite certain that empathic listening to our patients will undoubtedly lead us to the recognition of this primary fantasy as a basic portrayal of the essence of existence. However, we can adhere to the idea that these two unconscious fantasies co-exist in the human mind on the basis of Winnicott's view on the centrality of paradox.

According to this line of thinking, the defiance and rebellion we usually encounter in adolescents are not a reflection of an inner desire or wish to attack and kill the parent. Rather, they signal an obstinate determination to build a new world and a new society in keeping with this primal fantasy. Therefore, the idealistic ideas and activities that characterize adolescents should not be interpreted as an expression of an aggressive rebellion. Rather, these ideas and activities rather belong to *immaturity*, which “*is a precious part of the adolescent scene*” (Winnicott, 1969a/1971, p. 146). The immaturity of adolescents is especially manifested in their belief regarding the existence of a potentially perfect society which contains “*the most exciting features of creative thought, new and fresh feeling, and ideas for new living*” (Winnicott, 1969a/1971, p. 146). The attainment of a perfect and right society seems to them a very achievable goal and they usually devote themselves wholeheartedly to this cause. An empathic approach to adolescents may reveal their wealth of enthusiasm and energy for social matters and ideals, and the fact that they are not fighting *against* something, but *for* something, devoting themselves wholeheartedly.

However, alongside this defiance, there is also dependence – the adolescent swings between these two states of mind, “*struggling through the doldrums*” (Winnicott, 1962a[1961]/1965), as Winnicott described. “Doldrums” is a term borrowed from nautical and air navigation and it refers to a belt of calm as well as strong winds between the northern and southern trade winds of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. In this area sailors experience turmoil and turbulence, not knowing if and when the wind will emerge and whether the storm will subside or intensify. Winnicott's metaphor suggests that the mental state of the adolescent is characterized by turbulence, instability and unpredictability.

This mental state seems to be the product of the “invasion” the adolescent mind and body undergo by new capacities – physical, sexual, cognitive, emotional. These “newcomers” to the

adolescent's body and mind produce an *internal chaos* which requires time and space to achieve organization and integration.

The space needed is an area of “*personal isolation*”, where the adolescent can find the contours of his own identity and shape his authenticity. Winnicott observes that for the adolescent “....*that which is truly personal and which feels real must be defended at all cost and even if this means a temporary blindness to the value of compromise*” (Winnicott, 1965j[1963]/1965, p. 190). Indeed, we commonly witness the obstinacy of their refusal to identify with their parents as well as their refusal to learn from the experiences of others.

Adolescents also like to belong to groups, resembling each other. The similarity to other group members is not only an imitation of external features, but a sharing of the need for isolation as well as the need for *social attachment*. Their similarity refers to the experience of a common bond to others as human beings, to the feeling of being like others. They are “social isolates”. Especially during this period in life, these feelings are intense and the meanings associated with them are acutely experienced. The adolescent has to find his way in combining his innate tendency towards becoming a member of society while simultaneously safeguarding his individuality.

4. Features of Adolescence – Kohut & Self Psychology

Unlike Winnicott, Kohut did not work closely with adolescents, and thus his work contains few references to adolescence², never having discussed issues concerning adolescents directly. However, we can make inferences about his specific outlook on adolescence from his general theory of emotional development.

Kohut's theory focused on the identification, description and understanding of the basic configuration of narcissistic needs, from which the self emerges, takes form and expands. Kohut (1966) assumed that narcissism follows a separate developmental line, from primary (infantile) narcissism to adult narcissism. One of the basic elements of his theory is that narcissistic needs are continuously present and active, from birth until death. These needs demand specific responses from the environment – and when the environment provides the required response, the subject has a “selfobject experience”, that is – an attunement between his need (self) and the response (object). It is akin to a “click” experience, such as when something falls exactly into its place or when a puzzle piece “finds” its correct place. Kohut refers to these needs as “*selfobject needs*” (Kohut, 1984). He

² His only contribution was the discussion of the paper by Wolf, Gedo and Terman (1972); Kohut, (1972).

identified three selfobject needs which are ever-present in one's life cycle. I will present them in a rough outline:

- Mirroring needs – a need to be affirmed and confirmed, accepted and appreciated; getting a sense being worthy and competent.
- Idealizing needs – a need to be protected, calmed, reassured and provided with hope; getting an experience of safety and trust.
- Twinship needs – a need to experience an essential affinity and similarity with the other; getting the feeling of belonging and being a part of humanity and society.

Identifying the features of adolescence from the point of view of self psychology relies on recognizing the central role of various selfobject needs in the self's development. These needs carry particular characteristics, based on the form and content of the process of becoming an adolescent.

Adolescence is characterized by an arousal of *mirroring needs*. From pre-puberty and onwards, the adolescent looks in the mirror and sees his rapidly-changing face and body, an experience which arouses his needs for affirmation and confirmation. The adolescent's experience of enhanced mental and cognitive abilities stimulates mirroring needs as well.

Furthermore, the growth and expansion of adolescents' abilities also stimulate the sense of omnipotence that Kohut (1966) named "the grandiose self". A particular aspect of "the grandiose self" can be detected in the adolescent's position towards his parents: "I don't need you, I don't need anybody". Understanding this dynamic unveils the mirroring needs, just like in the stages of early childhood.

Despite his experience of grandiosity and omnipotent position, the adolescent is in a continuous state of searching for his self and identity, while groping for something and hesitating. He is on the verge of losing his way and losing his direction, a situation which intensifies his idealizing needs. The adolescent looks for safety, calmness and stability. His peer group, both as a group and as close friends, cannot provide the needed security, peace of mind and sense of direction – since they are in a similar state. And so, the adolescent is thrown back into a state of instability, searching for an idealized presence.

In fact, adolescent maturation consists of *finding new idealized selfobjects* without totally relinquishing the old ones, which still serve as a reliable anchor. Culture, ideologies, and social values, emerge as the "leaders" of the adolescent and provide him with a sense of direction and meaning.

Wolf, Kohut's close colleague and follower, stated that “...*the adolescent creates his or her own idealized set of values that will also contain aspects of the parental ideals*”. This set of values “...*will be partially in harmony with the general culture, and partially critical of the old values and traditions*” (Wolf, 1988, p. 58).

The dramatic transformations that take place during adolescence also tend to induce feelings of loneliness and estrangement. We often hear teenagers telling us – “This happens only to me”, when they relate their sexual fantasies and concerns, their worries about their body-image, or their unease about closeness and intimacy. The overwhelming experience of loneliness brings about the wish for “brothers” or “twins” who might share a similar state.³

This *twinsip experience*⁴ is crucial to the enhancement and consolidation of a sense of belonging. The adolescent's address of his age-group in order to get a twinsip experience is not to be considered a move towards a replacement of his “original family” with a “substitute family”. It is rather the creation of an additional “family” – an expansion of his sense of belonging.

A main element in Kohut's legacy⁵ is that his selfobject theory is “open” to modification and expansion. He advocated that the uncompromising use of sustained empathic immersion in the life of our patients can and will bring us to identify additional selfobject needs. Indeed, some of his followers⁶ have suggested other selfobject needs. I will point out merely three of these selfobject needs which, in my mind, are of special importance during adolescence.

- Adversarial needs – the need to experience the Other as an opposing yet benign force.
- Efficacy needs – the need to experience that one has an impact on the Other, that he can “transform” him.
- Organizing needs – the need to experience a compatibility between the inner and outer reality, and to feel enlightened and explained.

5. The Facilitating Environment for Adolescence

Based on the previously-described features of adolescence, I shall presently lay out the particular characteristics of the facilitating environment and the selfobject presence related to them.

³ In this context, we may understand the Afro-Americans' tendency to refer to their friends as “brothers”. Many Israeli young groups have developed a similar, yet more personal custom – they tend to address friends with the general nickname “my brother”.

⁴ It is interesting to note that one of the humanistic values of the French revolution was “fraternity” – brotherhood.

⁵ Cf. Kohut, 1984, chapter 10.

⁶ Wolf (1988), Trop & Stolorow (1992), Stolorow *et al.* (1987) e Tamir (2001).

Winnicott's general prescription for adolescence is "time": "*There is only one cure for immaturity and that is the passage of time and the growth into maturity that time may bring*" (Winnicott, 1965u[1963]/1965, p. 244). While I fully agree with this simple and profound notion, I believe that more specifications are necessary for parents as well as psychoanalysts.

As Winnicott advised, adolescents should be given the *freedom and time to be immature*, to postpone responsibility. It is not unusual to hear parents who cannot empathize with their adolescent immaturity, uttering the following remark: "At your age, I was much more responsible, I didn't have all that you have, so you must pull yourself together and take responsibility for your life".

However, besides the needed tolerance for his immaturity, the adolescent must also, according to Winnicott, *be confronted with elements of reality*: "... *the adolescent striving that makes itself felt over the whole world today needs to be met, needs to be given reality by an act of confrontation...*" (Winnicott, 1969a/1971, p. 150). The *adversarial selfobject presence* is related to this idea of confrontation. The adolescent has to be provided with a "fair fight", an adversary who treats him as an equal. I believe this to be Winnicott's intention when he stated: "*Confrontation must be personal. Confrontation belongs to containment that is non-retaliatory, without vindictiveness, but having its own strength*" (Winnicott, 1969a/1971, p. 150). But adolescents need also an organizing selfobject presence which function is to provide them explanations in regard to their internal chaos.⁷

As to the prevailing of rebellion and defiance in adolescence, parents need to *restrain their instinct of defense and retaliation*. This is much more difficult with adolescents than with infants because of their physical and mental capacities. Nevertheless, parents have to survive in the same way as they do before "the use of the object". In order to successfully achieve this position, they have to be able to restrain their envy of the young generation and to come to terms with their progressing age. They have to be in touch with their wish for narcissistic continuity, and realize that their offspring is carrying on the life of previous generations. The recognition of the unconscious fantasy of peace and harmony enables parents to adapt this position, where life replaces death, and continuity replaces murder. So, they can *feel and express joy and satisfaction* from the transformation of their "baby/infant" to a mature man or woman.

According to Kohut, this parental position is possible if parents go through a transformation of their childish narcissism and consolidate an *expanded self*, where a central property is the "capacity to acknowledge the finiteness of one's existence" (Kohut, 1966).

⁷ This need is reflected in a passionate attraction to psychoanalytic literature during adolescent years.

In regard to the idealistic ideas frequently voiced and acted by adolescents, it might be challenging for the surrounding environment to go along with them, especially when they are radical (which may occur frequently). Providing a facilitating environment in this aspect means admitting that the adult world is far from perfect, accepting that Man deserves a better world, and being willing to listen to these “new” ideas. In my opinion, self psychology specifies here the essence of the facilitating environment by pointing out the selfobject functions that parents must provide. Parents have to be both a “*mirroring presence*” by providing appreciation and admiration to the adolescent's “philosophies” and activities as well as an “*adversarial presence*” by challenging those ideas, offering good and fair debate. At the same time, parents have *to show a readiness to change*, to be convinced, and also to adopt new ideas. In doing so, they provide the needed responses to the adolescent's efficacy needs, who may feel that he has an impact on significant others.

Several years ago, a 15 years-old punk was referred to me by his parents, who were very anxious. His behavior was extremely rebellious – hardly communicating with them, skipping school and spending most of his time, day and night, with his “gang”. However, despite his defiant attitude, he agreed to meet me in order to appease his parents, which to me was a prognostic sign of the presence of empathy and concern. The first time I saw him, I was taken aback by his appearance: a mid-sized boy, a stripe of red hair sticking up in the middle of his head, wearing an oversized overcoat and military boots in the midst of the hot Israeli summer. He sat down and immediately shot out: “What the hell do you want from me?” I was able to calmly reply that I see that he has a very special way of living and that I would appreciate it if he could describe and explain it to me. He lashed out again, but with a slightly softer tone: “What do you want to know?” I told him that I would like to learn more about his way of life and the ideology behind it which seems very deep and interesting [As I am a very curious person, it was very natural for me to state this]. I asked him if he is ready to be my teacher on punk culture. He agreed, and we started a long series of sessions talking about this ideology, listening to punk music, and even hosting his punk friends in the sessions. I felt that he was very satisfied to see me move from my “squareness” and that he has an impact on me. I came to see him as a healthy adolescent. My point of view was also influenced by the fact that he, with its group, used to help homeless persons by providing them with food, clothes and blankets. To me this was evidence of his capacity for empathic altruism, for social commitment and responsibility.

An additional source of facilitating my punk adolescent patient came from his parents who, following my advice succeeded in remaining an idealized presence for him, providing stability, hope and endurance. On the basis of the doldrums metaphor, it means being the ship's mast for him – something strong he can lean on. This is an adolescent version of “holding” which enables the adolescent the “*freedom to have ideas and to act on impulse*” (Winnicott, 1969a/1971, p. 150) and is based on the specific availability of the parent.

It might be difficult for parents to embrace this position since the adolescent's adherence to his peer group, along with his intense isolation, both challenge their narcissism. Parents may easily feel dismissed from their role and rejected, when instead of spending time with family, the adolescent “runs away” to his room or to his group. They may misunderstand this behavior and develop the impression that they are no longer needed. Winnicott described this state of affairs very clearly: *“Parents, who are much needed over this phase, find themselves confused as to their role. They may find themselves paying out dollars to enable their own children to flout them. Or they may find themselves being necessary as people to be wasted, while the adolescent goes for friendship and advice to aunts and uncles and even to strangers”* (Winnicott, 1965u[1963]/1965, p. 242). The danger during adolescence is parental retaliation which takes as the form of giving up.

One of my adolescent patients used to ask very frequently to change the regular time of our appointment. Sometimes it was due to social, formal and informal activities (such as a spontaneous get-together with friends, organizing a party for a friend, a short trip with friends). At other times, it was due to weariness and the need to make up sleep. Occasionally, he used to call me at the beginning or during a session, apologizing and telling me that he has just awakened and will not be able to come. When it occurred more and more frequently, I felt manipulated and unneeded. I also felt the urge to confront him, and tell him that he has to make up his mind if he really wants and needs therapy. I was aware that this confrontation might bring therapy to end – I was ready to give up. I took some time to reflect upon this situation and I realized that whenever I offered him an alternate time option, he readily consented. Moreover, he also used to call me from time to time, asking for some advice concerning social or school matters. I said to myself that indeed, there is a real connection between us. Therefore, I decided to suspend my readiness to give up and to go along with his way of utilizing our relationship. Ultimately, I did not confront him. I decided to take responsibility for the maintenance of our relationship, allowing him to find his way (and his self) while wandering between areas of isolation and social connections. I understood the importance of his being in touch with friends, even at the cost of his missing a meeting with me, and that he needed me as a home base. As therapy progressed, it became clear that his parents didn't succeed in providing him with this necessary environment, or in other words these crucial selfobject functions. This state of affairs went on for almost a year until he became more mature which enabled him to take more responsibility.

We may now return to Winnicott's general recommendation and restate that what is needed from whoever deals with adolescents is *patience* – “giving time to time”. But time is not enough. What is also needed, especially from parents and therapists, is to understand that they have a critical role: to be there for the adolescent as an everlasting “home port”, and to take responsibility for both the unfolding of the adolescent process and for the maintenance of the relationship.

We must remember that *“adults are needed if adolescents are to have life and liveliness”* (Winnicott, 1969a/1971, p. 150). Our role as adults for adolescents is fulfilled when we are able to

see their specific signs of “life and liveliness”: the emergence of social commitment accompanied with real and true joy. This is our reward.

6. Summary

In the last decades, psychoanalysis has neglected the subject of adolescence. The interest in this important phase of development gradually waned and had shifted to an increasing concentration on primitive mental states and early development. This biased emphasis resulted in a lack of clinical study and research on the essence of the environmental provisions and failures in adolescence, of the disturbances emanating from these failures, and of the environment’s contribution to adult health and maturity. Winnicott and Kohut, as field-theorists, emphasized the importance of the environment throughout all phases of life. They have provided us with a theoretical framework, through the concepts “facilitating environment” and “selfobject presence”, for studying the specific elements of the emotional provisions needed for a healthy and joyful adolescence.

From a clinical perspective, their theoretical framework has broadened our understanding of adolescent disturbances through the identification of specific environmental failures. Those failures lead to an adolescent (developmental) stagnation or derailment, which can induce an “adolescent transference”, demonstrated in the clinical vignettes.

From a socio-cultural perspective, Winnicott’s and Kohut’s theories advance the point of view where adolescence is an essential timeline for the development of an expanded self which contains the capacity for empathic altruism. This capacity refers to social responsibility, to being a parent, to being a member of society, to being part of humanity. We may also say: to saving humanity.

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