

# DYNAMICS OF INTERIORITY

## Ruptures and Transitions in the Self Development

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*Als das Kind Kind war,  
warf es einen Stock als Lanze gegen den Baum,  
und sie zittert da heute noch.<sup>1</sup>*

—Peter Handke, *Lied Vom Kindsein* (1987)

How does one become, who one is? What are the events who have given a person shades and shapes, who are the others whose voices have become one's own, what are the events that redefine one's trajectory? Here, I will only examine the role of poems, novels, and images, and other objects made out of signs in the fabric of self. I will also examine only one life story; and I will only focus on its moments of ruptures and possible transformations. Through this one case study, I will propose conceptual tools which might enable to examine other lives in the making.

## DIFFERENT LIVES OF A MAN

The life story we will examine is the following. It is that of a man called alternatively Hans-Peter, Peter, Juan Pedro, Uri<sup>2</sup> and Professor U. Uri is the name that I will use here unless I am referring to particular periods of his life. Uri was born in Germany in 1928, from a Jewish upper middle class family, liberal, and assimilated. He grew up as the first child, brother of two girls. His childhood happens in the shadow of political events: the National-Socialist Party takes the power in 1933, and relatively quickly Jews start to be the object of discrimination and persecution. Uri's parents decide to move the children away from Germany as often as they can. In 1938, Hitler annexes Austria; pogroms and arrests become constant; Uri and his sisters are sent to Switzerland, before being joined by his parents; the family then moves to South America. From 1939 to 1948, Uri grows up in Argentina. His childhood and youth happen in the contact with European refugees, who are antifascists, socialists, Jewish immigrants, some of them Zionists. Uri tries out various professions—he starts medical studies, works as a clerk, engages an apprenticeship as a carpenter, sells advertising spaces for cinema, and eventually learns agriculture.

Uri moves to Israel in 1949, where he stays until 1957. He becomes one of the founders of a Kibbutz—cooperative farms—where he works as a tractor driver, and becomes general secretary. As a soldier, he protects the frontiers and participates to the war in 1957. In that year, though, Uri leaves Israel and moves back to Switzerland. He registers in an applied center for psychology, joins the University, and becomes a guidance counselor. He creates a group for educational research and planning, which questions the dynamics of school selection and social inequalities. In parallel, he studies sociology and trains to become a psychoanalyst. In 1967, aged 39, he marries his first wife, with whom he has two sons.

In 1971 Uri becomes head of educational research in a Swiss canton, president of the pedagogic commission of the Swiss Conference of Ministers of Education, while he practices as a psychoanalyst. He becomes an expert for planning and evaluation of teaching, works for the World Bank and for various organisms supporting development in Asian countries. He divorces, and marries his second wife in 1991. Officially retired since 1992, Uri still works as an expert for national research programs, educational reforms, theoretical explorations for the OECD, and for the first time teaches at University—he becomes professor U.

Uri's life course is striking by its richness and diversity. It is constructed through ruptures, radical changes, and life reorientation. Some of these ruptures are imposed—the war, the emigration—others are chosen—marriages and professional moves. Each rupture has required an important work of transformation. Uri had to redefine himself in each new situation,

had to acquire new languages, skills and expertise, and had to maintain a sense of continuity through time. What supported such transformations, and how could such changes be facilitated? Or how can we, as psychologist, describe such changes and highlight developmental dynamics?

### LOOKING FOR THEORETICAL MODELS

The study of development of self in the life course is still searching for its theoretical frame. Major contributions have been given by the patient study of life courses, and various theoretical sketches have been proposed to capture the dominant shape or patterns of such life development (Smelser & Erikson, 1980). However, for each model that can be proposed, other voices raise to signal the cultural, moral, or social blind spots of researchers. Hence, thinking life in terms of growth and decline supposes a clear sense of what is the "maximum" of a human's life (a person's physical strength?); stages models are quick to be read as norms (one is expected to get a professional position, and then to have children). Even models that propose general principles—physical and biological sources are progressively supported by cultural ones—tend to suggest that there is a maximization of a person's possible uses of resources (Baltes, 1997).

It is a common place to say that development is constrained by biological, psychical, material, social, and societal forces. Change, however, is constant—for consciousness and activity are a stream (James, 1892/1984), and experiencing the world is ever moving; the transactions between a changing person and her changing world, is what we can study. Change has no particular direction in itself (Valsiner, 2000). If it is so, should we say that development is change, or rather, that every change is developmental?

### Ruptures and Transitions

The unit of analysis given by the pair *rupture-transition* might help us to analyze the flow of change, and thus to clarify this point. The model is inspired by biological or mathematical models suggesting that a given system, with its normal changes, might be disrupted by a catastrophe—a brutal modification of its environment or its functioning (Thom, 1975). In order to subsist, the system must be rearranged or modified until it finds a relative stability. Similarly, ruptures can be seen as "catastrophes" in people's lives; transitions are the processes of restructuration that follow. The pair rupture-transition thus corresponds to the processes identified by Piaget and Inhelder (1966/1969) as disequibration-equilibration,

with this main difference that the former apply to cognitive structures, while ruptures-transitions can affect a great variety of human conduct.

### *Ruptures*

Ruptures are interruption of the normal flow of events. Humans have a sense of being specific and themselves, and of having some continuity through time (Erikson, 1968; James, 1890). Consequently, the first criteria to consider an event as a significant rupture, is that it is subjectively, consciously or unconsciously, perceived by a person as questioning her sense of self and sense of continuity. From a person's perspective, a rupture is felt when her representations and understandings of a part of the world are not anymore adequate to apprehend and organize the given of her experience. Ruptures can thus wake emotions and have unconscious prolongations—each rupture, even the happiest one, always supposes a loss, and mourning (Bowlby, 1980; Bridges, 1980/1996).

Ruptures can be very diverse. Humans have a wide variety of experiences in various spheres of their life. Some ruptures affect the whole sense of who one is, as do crises (Erikson, 1950/1995, 1968), challenges (Smelser, 1980), or turning points in the course of a life (Rutter, 1994). Other ruptures can be more local, and affect only one sphere of experience, without dramatic disequilibrium of the whole person. As we will see in the case of Uri's life, ruptures are at times caused by a single event—as when Uri moves place—and at other, by an accumulation of events—as when the Nazi power progressively modifies the environment from a familiar, to a hostile anti-Semitic one. Some ruptures are actively initiated by a person—such as when Uri moves away from his country; others are imposed, either being culturally set (such as being sent to school), or being accidental. Ruptures also have various scales. Some ruptures are caused by changes at the scale of the societal conditions, as it is the case with the *Anschluss* of Austria. A person's immediate sphere of experience can be changed, as it is the case when Uri is taken away from his family or they all move country. Interpersonal relationship can be modified—Uri gets married, has children. Finally, some changes are internal, such a when Uri enters in adolescence.

If ruptures are defined as events questioning a person's sense of taken-for-granted, they do not necessarily overlap objective changes. For example, moving place as a child might be a major rupture; but in Uri's adult life, moving place has become a normal event, which requires some arrangements which have become routine, or for which he has some expertise.

## *Transitions*

Transitions are the processes that correspond to re-equilibration subsequent to ruptures. These might involve processes going in a direction of assimilation or accommodation. They aim at restore one's sense of continuity and integrity of self beyond the rupture (Carugati, 2004; Erikson, 1968; James, 1892/1984; Palmonari, 1993), and to allow a person to define conduct and understanding for the new given. Processes of transition thus reduce uncertainty by creating normality.<sup>3</sup> Note that this definition of transition as processes contrasts with approaches that see transitions as period between well-defined stages (e.g., the school to work transition).

Transition processes can be seen as belonging to interdependent classes of events, that have usually have been analyzed under three different headings: processes of identity change and repositioning; process of learning and skill acquisition; processes of meaning making, including emotional regulation and elaboration of the unconscious processes awoken by the rupture (Perret-Clermont & Zittoun, 2002).

*Repositioning and identity change* imply social and subjective change. For example, as a young man arriving in Israel, Uri was confronted to a new space, new persons, who would react to him very differently than he was used to. In terms of social positioning, his relatively privileged upper class identification is replaced by that of newcomer not speaking the shared language. The others' gaze also brings one to perceive oneself in a different manner, which might, or not, harm one's self-perception. Transition obviously involve *new forms of knowledge*: acquiring new languages, becoming a South American youngster, becoming a tractor driver or an academic professor require some learning, In turn, we see how these will be part of the identity transformation just identified.

Transition also include *meaning-making*. How will one give sense to such incessant changes? Consecutively to each major rupture, Uri had his first names changed. Name changes signal transformations of self for oneself and for other, and are the crystallization of various streams of meaning (Zittoun, 2005a). Meaning is established along two axes. On one side, it is fabricated by the linking of time: by maintaining a sense of the past, and, in the present, by working toward a future (Vygotsky, 1925/1971). On the other side, meaning is built thanks to a system of orientation—an organized system of values and criteria that are used as a basis of thinking and actions, as “piloting system.” For example, one might think that Uri has, quite early, defined a “socialist-humanist” project, which has taken various forms through his life: a Zionist project in his early adulthood, a work of educational counselor, and then, as expert in education in developing countries.

## Ruptures and Transitions in Development

Rupture and transitions are, for humans, motivational: disruptions of life self-evidence in irreversible time bring people to move away from what has been, and tenses them toward what will be. The work of transition is the activity in which one is engaged by moving away from a just-lost past, in order to create a better future.

With this model of ruptures and transitions I can now attempt to define development as *a sort of change*. Rupture call for transition processes, which are catalyzed periods of changes. Changes might be good enough to enable a person to restore a sense of self consistency and continuity, as well as a good enough adjustment to her environment. Changes might however leave the person with a sense of alienation—loss of self, loss of continuity, or loss of contact with her environment. A senseless self become highly problematic for further changes, for it reduces human striving, and limits possible agency in finding resources when facing ruptures. Consequently, transition processes might become minimal self-maintenance processes, often of a repetitive nature. In situations of self alienation, distancing becomes problematic, and it might be difficult for a person to apprehend the nature of a rupture, to realize the novelty of a situation, to explore its possible requirements; social alienation might limit access to means likely to be used as resources for transitions.

On this basis I will say that change in ruptures and transitions is developmental as long as it enables the person to generate new conduct, and therefore, to address new transitions with renewed possibilities. Change is not developmental when it prevents the person to engage in new transition processes, thus rather taking the form of mere repetition. However, life is often surprisingly flexible, and change which leads to apparently repetitive conduct (such as repetitive games in children) might in some cases be part of a temporary phase of reinforcement of some aspect of the person, which might then lead to more openly generative changes.

## Resources and Symbolic Resources

Cultural systems are classically organized so as to provide people with support for transitions required by canonical or expected ruptures, on social or biological grounds. Traditional adolescence “rites de passage” are culturally organized supports for transitions processes required by the rupture caused by biological maturation, itself followed by the rupture of a social status change. In contrast, societies which have not developed collective representation or cultural means to address a given type of rupture

leave people with the need to create, or to define support for their transition processes.

### ***Constraints on Resources***

The work of transition can be supported by the use of social, symbolic, and material. The availability of means to be used as resource is bounded by the nature of the rupture at stake. A rupture caused by an unexpected war might leave people with very little means to support transition, while a deliberate and local rupture, such as deciding to attend a chess club to learn to play, provides the person with resources to facilitate the transitions (other players, instructions, a setting, etc.). If sorts of ruptures bond possible resources, they also canalize the work of transition that can take place.

### ***Four Main Resources—Uri's Case***

What are the resources that support Uri's work of adjustment in new situations, which trigger, guide, and reinforce the emergence of new conducts reducing uncertainty? Four main types of resources can be identified. First, social support and interpersonal relationships are of major importance: parents, relatives, refugee help groups, are fundamental in the survival and the relocation of Uri's family. Material resources are equally important—one has to have financial means, clothes, food, in order to overcome ruptures such as the one the family lived. Third, one can mobilize various forms of knowledge and experience: social, cognitive, technical knowledge, skills, or strategies that might enable to overcome this or that aspect of the new demanding situations. Fourth, to support the work of meaning making, people need cultural resources—cultural constructs that carry meanings that other people found in their experiences. Social representations, shared beliefs, patterns of conducts might be used as cultural resources. One particular subgroup of cultural resources are these made on the basis of objects of fiction—novels, poetry, music, films. When these are used to illuminate some aspect of one's real or inner life, I will call them symbolic resources (Zittoun, 2004b). A *symbolic resource* is therefore here: (a) a configuration of semiotic units; (b) which are bounded, materially (as a symphony is "bounded" by a CD) or socially (as a religious ritual is "bounded" by a religious institution); (c) which requires an imaginary experience.

### **Interiority**

To say that a cultural experience can mediate thinking or mind and the making of the self, requires a certain definition of self. The subject, the

person, and her inner world, have been the great losses of some streams of social and human sciences at the end of last millennium. As dialogical approaches have shown, interactions with others require for a person a form of decentring—a partial imaginary move to the position of the other, as if one would see the world from that perspective (Gillespie, 2006, in this volume). A person's experience can be seen as a story of subjective de-location and relocation (Benson, 2001). Some of these positions are evanescent and adopted once; others are taken on a regular basis. They thus progressively become the armatures of the "architecture of the self" (Gillespie, 2007; Zittoun, 2005a). The architecture of the self is the imaginary structure offering guiding lines for the moves of the center of one's consciousness and attention. The *center* is not as much a place, as a constantly changing moment.

Fiction and cultural experiences are techniques for guiding such relocation of aspects of self. Cultural experiences offer to a person an imaginary semiotically constructed world. To render a cultural experience meaningful and alive, a person has to mobilize her past memories and embodied experiences. One understands an English novel because one has memories of castles, woods, aspirations, and sadness. The memories are reorganized and composed following the narrative line; they are however arranged in a new fashion. In that sense the might bring the person to adopt new perspective on woods and sadness, and experience new feelings. Cultural experiences offer "vicarious experiences" (Nell, 1988)—they bring in a time and space beyond the here and now, but also, they might transform one's apprehension of this shared reality subsequently (Zittoun, 2005b). Cultural experiences are powerful because they suppose the meeting of one's unique embodied feelings, memories, and experience, and symbolic objects made out of sign designating or containing other possible human experiences. Having a cultural experience supposes the blending of two realities—inner life and the social, or an embodied first person perspective and a distant third person perspective (Gillespie, 2005b, in press). It is this mixed interface that can be called "interiority."

*Interiority* is thus not a place that needs an eye to be seen. It is a moment or a quality of human experience. It is the moment "between" one's reading, hearing, watching of cultural elements, and one's subsequent reflection, expressions or forgetting of it—it is between internalization and externalization. It is also, as psychoanalysts underline, between the socially shared reality (language, rules, coded) and the innermost private thoughts and desires; it is "between the found and the created" by the person (Green, 2002/2005; Winnicott, 1971/2001). Interiority thus enables us to conceptualize an architecture of self constantly reshaped by the meeting of one's embodied memories and the given of a particular

cultural experience or its memory. Uri could thus be moved when hearing Israeli songs for the first time—crystallizing the emotions and the expectations of leaving one's country, and of being one among young people with infinite freedom and possibilities in a new land. Later on, he can think back at these melodies, and remember the emotions he had at that time; this might trigger thoughts related to his present position, such as nostalgia or disillusionment. The process of moving through these self-positions will lead Uri to a new emotional state, which is a composite of embodied memories and thoughts, from different times and places, crystallized around a symbol (Janet, 1926, 1928; Zittoun, 2004c).

### **Otherness in Ruptures, Transitions, and Resources**

In a model of development through ruptures and transitions, otherness acquires an important function. Personal or general others can cause ruptures. Other can shape transitions, by providing means to facilitate them, or by limiting access to these. Also, others can become symbolic; crystallized experiences of others might become resources for transitions, by implementing voices and echoes of others within the person in the making (Bakhtin, 1979/1986). If transitions and ruptures are part of the movement of a striving self, otherness is likely to dynamize, shape, or enable that movement, from within and from without self.

### **Methodology**

There are various ways to study ruptures and transitions in a life course. Here, we decide to examine one single life story, and to identify various ruptures and transitions through time. Our analysis is enabled by a model developed through previous comparisons of equivalent life trajectories (Valsiner & Sato, 2006). Here, the question examined is, what are the changing resources a person uses to support the work of transition though his life?

The present paper is based on a case study. Case studies have a long history in the study of adult development (see the works of Freud, Janet, Erikson, among many others). They enable to identify the evolution of some lines of change, having the complexity of human lives as a background. They can maintain complexity as they can be constructed through a multiplicity of perspective. Here, I present some chosen episodes within the life story thus reconstructed, as exemplary material to illustrate some insights on the work of transitions in development.

The data have been produced as follows. Uri has been a psychoanalyst for 25 years. This means that he has developed an "expert" self-reflectivity, which is the main tool of analytical practice. He was also eager to engage in autobiographical writing. I proposed him to do so by picking up moments of his life that he remembered as a rupture, with its feelings of loss or eagerness facing uncertainty. During a few months, Uri has sent me autobiographical sequences. We have then closely discussed each of them. We have identified 15 ruptures and transitions, for which I have proposed analyses in terms of resources. In each case, we have thus questioned: what is the rupture, what has been used as resource, is it of social, experiential, or symbolic nature? What was the outcome of these uses? In what sense were such uses constrained or facilitated, by whom or by what? (see Table 8.1).

Uses of symbolic resources suppose that one has been exposed to cultural elements, and has, somehow, internalized them. Methodologically, the only way to know what symbolic resources have done "in the mind" of the person, is to observe externalizations that carry traces of the initial cultural elements. Such externalizations are conducts implying communication through one or the other mode of symbolization: discourse, nonverbal language, bodily expression, music, and so forth (Tisseron, 1998, 1999). Letters written, decision taken, action, discussions one had with others, can thus be shaped or tainted by earlier cultural experiences. These appear as "voices" making one's discourse, either being directly quoted, or adding echoes or harmonics to current experiences (Bakhtin, 1979/1986). Traces of voices are testimonies of the steps that have brought the person to the standpoints from which she currently expresses herself. Hence, observing and analyzing externalizations (which are symbolizations), one can identify cultural elements relevant to that person, and measure the transformation of the latter into the former. One can induce how that cultural element has been used as a symbolic resource.

Thus, on the basis of Uri's writing, we have tried to identify cultural elements that once were meaningful for him. I have tried to read or hear them. I have also gathered secondary testimonies about situations similar to these described by him (for example, stories of the German Jewish community in Argentina). Comparing transitions in his life and mentioned cultural elements, I have made hypothesis on the nature of their uses as resources. Each of these analyses has been discussed with Uri. We have then presented our work to a group of graduate students, mature learners and colleagues, who have discussed it. Data and its analysis are thus the product of a reiterative process and a multiplication of perspectives. The training of Uri has brought him to develop a particular awareness of his memories and inner life, and a strong reflectivity. Sequences

**Table 8.1 Transition in Uri's 35 First Years**

<i>Historical Time</i>	<i>Factual Events</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Significant Ruptures and Transitions</i>
1928	Birth of U in Germany	0	
1929		1	
1930		2	
1931		3	
1932		4	
1933	Nazis take power	5	T1. U. is let alone in the garden, he plays with a carriage U. has to take the train by himself, plays with timetable
1934		6	T2. U. is rejected by other children as a Jew
1935	U. starts school	7	T3. Family excluded from usual restaurant because Jewish; U. discovers positive contents of Judaism T4. Rejected by school mates, U.'s first love, finds beautiful papers
1936		8	T5. U. and sister are sent to school in Italy, U. writes fictional letter
1937		9	
1938	Anschluss, Kristallnacht	10	T6. Children are hidden in Switzerland; U. explores it by bike
1939	Family to South America	11	T7. Family crosses ocean to Uruguay, U. imagines it through fiction
1940	Children in colony	12	T8. U. in house for immigrant children; U. reads on trees, listens to music T9. U. initiated to politics and songs
1941	Family settles in Montevideo	13	
1942	World discovers concentration camps	14	T10. U. and friends start philosophical education
1943		15	
1944	U. starts medical studies	16	
1945		17	T11. U. wants to define possible socialism; after traditional Jewish experience, opts for Zionist project
1946	U. starts carpentry	18	
1947	U. works as accountant	19	
1948	Creation of Israel U. learns agriculture	20	
1949	U. moves to Kibboutz in Israel	21	T12. U. arrives in Israel; learns language thanks to novel
1950		22	

Table 8.1 continues on next page

1951	U. is general secretary of Kibboutz	23	
1952		24	
1953		25	
1954		26	
1955		27	
1956		28	
1957	U. soldier at war	29	T13. U. leaves Israel to study in Switzerland
1956		30	
1958	U. goes back to Israel	31	T14. U. becomes a school psychologist
1959		32	
1960	U. gets psy. diploma	33	
1961	U. creates research group on school planning	34	
1962		35	T15. U. redefines professional identity, studies sociology, and psychoanalysis

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presented here are the product of a long work of remembering practiced over years, triggered by me, and jointly interpreted. Data has thus a particular, exemplary status.

## BECOMING PROFESSOR U

In what follows I present ruptures, transitions, and uses of resources in sequences of Uri's autobiographical narrative. These are organized around three periods of his life, corresponding to his childhood, youth and adulthood. These periods have not been defined on the basis of age, but of his given or chosen first names. His first name changes clearly follow major ruptures in his life. As symbolic entities, names reveal (or enact) identity repositioning; they designate associated memories and fantasmatic resonance; they have a poetic force, for their sound and shape; and they have a projectual dimension (Zittoun, 2004a, 2005a). Here, after each rupture, changing first names expresses, or externalizes, identity repositioning, associated ideas and feelings and thus reveal that some work of transition has taken place.

The questions I will examine are: What are the cultural elements used as resources in this life story, for what results, in what constraints? What are the experiences that have enabled a person to turn cultural elements into symbolic resources? And do uses of symbolic resources change across a lifetime?

## Childhood: From Presymbolic to Symbolic Resources

Uri was named Hans-Peter by his mother, after her brother Hans. As a child, he rejects the name "Hans"—he dislikes the uncle, and other association to the name, such as the children's songs depicting a weak "Hän-schen" (little Hans) exposed to the world. His mother, he was said, wanted to have a little virile, brave sporty son:

At that time, modern educational techniques dictated children not to be spoiled; they have to become hard. The father was ill, and this cult of "health" culture was even reinforced. They let him in the immense garden, in a little enclosure in the snow, in the winter, for hours: Peter shouts his lungs out. Desperation. Cold. His mother carries him in her arms. Warm.

Peterchen (little Peter) is obedient, talks beautifully, and learns quickly what others want from him. At 3 years, he discovers the game of the "Leiterwagen" (wagon). During hours, he walks up a pathway in the garden, and from the top, drives quickly down the way that has a "dangerous" curve. Go up, down, and up, and down. The more times, the better. Peter drives his little wagon. Aged 6, Peter is sent to take the train from Frankfurt to Zurich on his own. He is given a watch and a train schedule. The most important is to watch (and write down on a piece of paper) each stop, to check whether the train is punctually entering the station, leaving the station. He watches the train and the landscape that moves backward. He knows, yes, yes, he is the one moving. Why couldn't one think that the trees are? He is asked to write [a letter to his parents] about his trip. He is proud to write "we arrived in Darmstadt 9:32 (3 minutes late) and left at 9:40 (on time), at Mannheim we arrived at 10:15 (on time) left at 10:25, Karlsruhe ... and we arrived in Zurich at XXX hour with 15 minutes delay." Peter is proud of his letter. Later he is told, "You did not have much to say in this letter of yours." He vaguely feels it is unfair. Close to the aunt's house there is a streetcar terminus, where the carriage have to make a beautiful circle. The 7 comes every 6 minutes. It is beautiful to see them come and go; one knows when they will come and go. Peter stays there for hours. "Today I have seen 20 of them!" The aunt seems to understand the importance of these streetcars. "You liked it, little Peter?"

The ruptures little Peter has to face are separations, losses of his everyday, familiar environment. In various ways, he is removed from the warmth of his home and the attention of his loving mother and ill father. The trip to Zurich is exemplary. Here, little Peter is dragged away from his normal sphere of experience and forcefully immersed in uncertainty: a train station, a train. He does not know what it is to be alone in train, nor does he understand why he has to do this trip by himself. However, Peter is not free to be scared, for others expect him to be a brave young boy.

Peter finds resources to manage the displacement: the train schedule and the watch are used to transform the whole trip in a very special kind of "game." Using the train schedule as resource has multiple advantages. It offers a new definition to the situation: the trip is no more immersion in uncertainty; its meaning is now "controlling precision of trains." It gives an active role to Peter: instead of being a passive victim of adult's decision of moving him away, Peter now plays being the chief of the train, who "instructs" trains to be more punctual by registering departures and halts and their deviation from the norm. It enables emotional regulation: fear and anxiety are turned into the emotions related to the game: the excitement before the next station, the joy of arrival on scheduled time. Instead of fading out in a forgotten past and an unthinkable future, time is mastered: future is the next station, past the previous one. Uncertainty is canalized: the whole trip becomes a suite of redundant events. Strangeness is not totally deleted from the picture: there is still some uncertainty focused in his evaluation of the reverse trip of the trees.... Train schedule and objects are symbolic objects; yet, normally speaking, they are not the best objects to open imaginary spaces. Yet, they are the props that enable Peter to deploy the space of role-play, which is an imaginary "as-if" experience, that enable Peter to maintain himself through the rupture-experience (Josephs, 1998; Winnicott, 1971/2001).

Peter's uses of schedules to regulate his own fears are given some chance to be externalized, and socially acknowledged when he is asked to write a letter about his trip. For Peter, this is also a mean to communicate about this important experience to his parents. Unfortunately, the parents do not legitimize the content of the letter and do not recognize the value of Peter's experience: his conquest of fear and his acquisition of a self-technique are dismissed. Luckily, when Peter applies his techniques on the streetcars—rendering mechanical events masterable—his aunt will become the social other who acknowledges the personal importance and sense of such resource.

A few years later, in 1936, Peter and his younger sister are sent to a private boarding school in Italy. There, Peter accommodates to the new situation by doing his school work properly, avoiding other young boys, and succeeding in being admired by his teachers for his ability to recite poetry. A few were particularly striking, among which a poem by Theodore Fontane, *John Maynard*: a captain on the Eerie Sea saves his boat on fire at the price of his own life. In German history, Peter is impressed by dramatic descriptions of landscapes. Also, Peter and his sister have a wooden trunk that links them to home; they receive letter, packs, and salami, but not enough to feel comforted. Peter's sister cries often. Peter decided to write a long letter to his parents, in which he invents a dramatic story.

We, children and our teachers, went for a day trip on the sea, in rowing boats. The weather was splendid. We left the shore. Little by little, the weather started to change, clouds, not small anymore, turned black. Suddenly the wind rises. Waves are growing and growing. We fight to come closer to the shore, but the tempest creates chaos. A child falls in the water and is saved by the teacher, and I, who knows how to swim, save a little child. What a day!" (My story was much more detailed). I give the letter (which I forgot to close) to my preferred teacher for him to post. The boarding school had instituted information meetings on Sundays, ending with the distribution of delicious pastry. The following Sunday I attend the meeting as usual. One of the teachers starts a communication saying: there are among us pupils who don't bother writing stupidities about our institution. He reads my letter. See, children, this is very serious, very serious. After the first words, I wanted to disappear under earth. My preferred teacher had betrayed me ... and that Sunday I did not have the usual pastry.

The rupture Peter has to deal with is relatively similar to the previous ones. He arrives in a new setting, where he has a new position: the lonely bright boy who has the responsibility of his younger sister. Older, having access to more cultural elements than when he was 6, he now finds new resources to deal with the transition.

First, he and his sister use the wooden trunk—an object—as a way to maintain continuity with their life at home, and some of its warmth (Habermas, 1996/1999). Second, he develops social and cognitive strategies: a bright student, Peter uses his facility to be admired by his teachers and thus recreate his position of preferred son. And third, Peter has new cultural experiences: history, poetry—and they do move and touch him; he uses them as symbolic resources to work through his anxiety and sadness. How can we say so? We have the access to an "outcome" of such uses: the letter addressed to his parents and, accidentally, to the institution. It can be seen as an externalization of poems and texts that moved him. One might say that Peter did memorize and internalize them, because they made sense to him: they touched him, or rather, they seemed to echo, or represent him with feelings he was living, now symbolized under a poetic form. Such resonance can be based on structural, semiotic, or emotional resemblances: the lonely boy in the stormy wild world, taking care of a sister, is like a captain in the tempest, taking care of innocent passengers. This material is remobilized and used to say something new. The story written by Peter is indeed a transformation of the initial poem: in both cases, a tempest endangers travelers; the hero is dedicated to weaker than him; but now, he does not have to die. The space of the imaginary—the poem, the fiction-letter—is framed. It welcomes Peter's feelings, contains, represent and transforms them to him: unfocused anxieties become clearly attached to a clear danger—the tempest—and finds a resolution in

the joy of the rescue. The imaginary also enables Peter to define a new role: from passive and powerless in front of his sister's despair, he becomes an active hero. He thus explores possible roles for himself. And, finally, his appropriation of poems is part of developing his literary sensibility. The poem used as a symbolic resource thus participate to a work of transition, to render manageable a new position, new responsibilities, in a new context.

Peter's use of resources might seem successful, since they enable to transform complex feelings that have no space in the socially shared reality (the despair of a displaced, precocious child). However, as with the train schedule resource, the use of the poetic resource partially fails, as it is not socially acknowledged. Uri indeed explains that he probably wanted, with this heroic letter, to call attention (because he is a drowning child) and sympathy (because he is literary gifted) upon him. Yet the adults do not acknowledge that letter, neither as a call for help, nor as a good student's work. Again, following their own definition of truth or of appropriateness, they deny the importance of the letter and its sense for the child. With this nonrecognition, the communicative potential of the externalization is denied, no socially shared meaning is established, and the efficiency of the use of the symbolic resource is not socially validated. As a consequence of such events, Uri comments, he learned to save his privacy, to stay by himself, and recline on himself.

These two childhood ruptures are quite similar. They imply physical relocations, and endanger the sense of continuity of the child. In both cases, Peter uses resources that enable maintaining a sense of self (through the regular time checking; through the heroic image), aiming at gaining recognition from adults; they also enable emotional regulation, and a redefinition of the situation. The resources Peter uses are changing: they are proto-symbolic in the case of the train schedule, and thus enable a repetitive control, but also, probably, are reinforcing some inner sense of self or thinking scheme (Tisseron, 1998, 1999). The resources are fully symbolic in the second example. They enable the creation of a complex world, out of the here and now, where events and feeling cannot only be regulated, but also deployed, contained, symbolized, and transformed.

### **Youth—Symbolic Resources to Transform Oneself in one's World**

A few years later, in 1939, Uri moved with his family to South America. He asks Spanish speakers to be called Juan Pedro, to avoid the diminutive "Pedrito" for Peter, which sounds for him too much as a dog name ("per-rito," little dog). In Argentina, Peter and his sister are first placed in a

children's house directed by German antifascists. There, life is much more simple and rude than they are used to, and there is no space for him to play the "gifted child." It takes him some time to find a new balance—new organization of time, new role, and new resources. Eventually he finds books, which he reads perched on trees, and discovers that a room with a gramophone and discs offers a refuge of a new sort which, after all, reconnects him to the ambiance of his family home in Germany. Later on the children are placed in a public day school, where their childhood takes a more smiling face again.

Between 1942 and 1943, out of the feeling that school and family fail to answer the questions raised by the events in Europe and the world, Peter and his friends start to meet weekly at the house of a German man, whom I will call Thomas, creating "the Dienstagsgruppe" (Tuesday group). The adolescents ask the adult to teach them some knowledge, not ideology. Juan Pedro's ambition is to develop his rationality and to avoid the seduction of sentimentality.

We will have to discover how Good and Bad are shaped in history and through the becoming of societies, and define where my (our) place is in the world, and how I (we) might contribute to it. We are aware—or rather, it is an omnipresent state of mind, troubling and deep—that we are there because we have survived that terrible tempest that brought us here. But now, I want to navigate, I want to find my light, and I believe in my lucidity. We start with the Greek Polis: with Thomas, we look at maps of houses in Athens and try to imagine how people used to live.

The "Dienstagsgruppe" explores from antiquity to enlightenment, Kant, and then Bernard Shaw, Feuerbach, and of course, Marx—and here Peter discovers the beautiful rhythm of Hegelian dialectic. The members of the group define their stance: they decide to fight for the ideals of the French revolution: freedom, equality, fraternity. They realize that capitalism and nationalism have led to the war, and that future is international socialism. But now that such a set of ideas and commitments have been defined, how to implement them? In 1944-45, the group reads about the persecution of the Jews, anti-Semitism, the Dreyfus affair, the history of Zionism, and of the Jewish labor movements. They are Jews, although they did not have a religious education. They realize that communism, which might be a political solution, excludes Jews: Rosa Luxembourg has been assassinated, and Trotsky was forced to exile. Juan Pedro realizes that, as he comes from a German higher-class Jewish family, there is no proletariat in Argentina that would see him as one of them. What options are then left? Zionism appears as a possibility—but it appears first as a negative choice. Is there any positive reason to be committed to Israel, when one is not religious (see also Finkelkraut, 1980/1997; Sartre, 1946/

1995)? Peter eventually meets traditional and religious Jews coming from Eastern Europe, and is introduced to Yiddish literature and songs, as well to religious ceremonies. These ritually organized, emotionally intense, saturated with meanings, and accompanied by songs that deeply move him. This participation, the intensity of his emotion, the sense of belonging structured around symbolic action, in the whole context, suddenly give to Uri that “positive” content to his Jewish identity. For him, it is a revelation: “suddenly,” he writes, “I knew that I am Jewish, because who I am.” Hence, through the mediation of new cultural and religious experiences—or, with the use of ritual actions as symbolic resources—the new set of values, commitments, and principles given by international socialism finds a concrete possible road for action: the Zionist project.

The raptures of Juan Pedro’s youth are partly due to his growth, maturation, and the development of his thinking capabilities, that create the need to define a set of values and orientation (Erikson, 1968; Piaget, 1951; Zittoun, 2005b). The societal context is also part of these raptures: his adolescence is marked by the world’s discovery of the atrocities of Nazism in Europe, the war, and the concentration camps. Altogether, the normal and reassuring world of school and family breaks down to reveal infinite absurdity and loss of meaning. The need to define values, common in youth, takes a particular intensity in the context, and this is why the enterprise of the *Dienstagsgruppe* appears as a “genealogy of moral”: if the world collapses, where to ground values?

The resources used here are directly symbolic. Historical and philosophical texts offer the space and the perspective to rethink the world. They are used with the objective of changing the understanding and the knowledge of young people, and therefore, their identity, their system of orientation, and their projects. Thomas is at the beginning the person who mediates their relationships to the texts, and who supports and legitimize this use of texts. Although the project is to define a “rational” analysis of the world, the group creates a strong emulation, friendship, and emotional container for each of the adolescents. They used these resources to address the world, each other, and each one’s own understanding of the world. The resources are used to contain emotions—give an articulation to fear and revolt; they help to understand local events; they also enable to define categories to analyze the world. Finally, they are used to define overarching commitments and ideas.

In the youth transition of Juan Pedro, these texts support identity changes; they provide him with a knowledge of history of thought, and with new thinking heuristics. Finally, these uses of resources provide him with a time perspective and a set of values that will enable conferring meaning to history and his place in the world. Yet this is not enough. These new understandings still need to find a possible application, and it

is Jewish rites, religious texts and songs, the remembrance of the Yiddish culture of the Shtetl (the traditional village) which flesh out a very abstract project and belonging. They create a space out of the here and now, where life gets richness and an emotional quality that transcends matter. It is this mystical cultural experience that enables to turn a very abstract system of value elevated through symbolic resource, into an applicable project. Thus, as in many other cases of “illumination” or “insights,” a symbolic, relatively hermetic form crystallizes a very complex equation that rationality pains to solve (for example, when choosing first names for children, Zittoun, 2005a, 2005c).

### **Adulthood—Transformative Uses of Resources**

In 1948 Juan Pedro makes his Alyah—he “goes up” to Israel. There, he asks to be called Uri—a Hebrew name, which he describes as short and strong. He arrives in a country where Hebrew is the spoken language, as a mean to unify people of different origins. As many newcomers, Uri does not speak it. This leads to hectic experiences: to be taken seriously and be in charge of responsibilities, which will position him, he tricks people and make them believe he is competent. Yet he fails learning the language in classes aimed at newcomers. Uri and a group of comrades decide to create their own Kibbutz; once there, exhausted by the physical work, he still is very far from mastering the language. Until he realizes that, if he wants to be able to play a full role in the community, if he wants to be able to speak a perfect language (as he used to do in German and Spanish), and if he wants to charm the beautiful young girl he has met, he has to learn Hebrew—and so he decides to define his own way of doing so. He thus chooses a book he loves, the *Legend of Uelenspiegel in Flanders and elsewhere*, by Charles de Coster (1922/2003). He finds two versions of the book: a German one, and a Hebrew translation, by the Israeli poet and writer Abraham Shlonsky. He decides to work through a page a day, learning by heart words he does not know, identifying their roots, and understanding verbal declinations and grammatical rules. Which he does, sitting far from the housings in the grass on the top of a hill:

At the end of each day I want to hear the music of Shlonski’s language. It pleases me. It is like climbing on a an high tower everyday, from which one can contemplates the view from above, and then go down. The tower is narrow, it is hazardous, it will be enlarged later. The daily rhythm—so hard to keep – work the land, shower, get enclosed in the little exclusive world of my spiritual acrobaty—almost becomes a drug. More and more, the structural beauty of the language fascinates me, the main families of word rooted in three letters groups, feminine forms everywhere, often more beautiful that

the masculine, the richness of the conjugations, the syntax, and all this in a crystalline structure.

And so he learns Hebrew. Of course, his girlfriend is very surprised to receive letters in a complex and poetic Hebrew! Here, the rupture is obviously that of arriving in Israel—a new country, with different climatic, material, economical political conditions, in which people gather with particular projects, and where activity is organized and justified under very different principles than the ones to which Uri had been used. In this country, the mean to communicate is Hebrew. Uri, not speaking it, is also excluded of the position he used to give himself, that of talented young literary person, and he can not apply its usual social strategies. He then realizes that he is powerless without mastery of the language, and, in the mid of the fields, chooses a personal mean to learn it. He chooses an epic novel as resource for learning Hebrew. Is that choice random? It is not so sure.

First, it is a story in German, that Uri new on the past; the novel reconnects him with his past and his previous, literary self, thus reinforcing his sense of continuity through change. It creates a known zone in this new and uncertain world. Second, looking at the novel, we can see how it might have “spoken” to Uri. It is the story of Till the mischievous, an errand and good-for nothing, who scares crowds, fools wises, and courts girls. The narrative line thus seems a comic figuration of Uri’s own situation in Israel, where he is a good-for nothing, falling in love with young women, and getting involved in absurd situations in which he finds his ways through tricks and bright inventions. The story of Till also provides Uri with the metaphor of the tower, which condensates various of his lines of thinking: Uri sitting on the top of the hill to read, is the same person than Juan Pedro reading in the tree in his antifascist home; Uri on the hill is, like Till in his tower, distancing himself form a world than he hopes to master; and the heights of the hill are like the tower of language, mean to both escape the world and mastering it. Third, the novel is used for the esthetical pleasure it provides—in German, and through it, in Hebrew.

Eventually, thus use of the resource is successful. On the one hand, it enables indeed Uri to speak Hebrew—that is, to acquire a specific knowledge. With it, he triggers an identity change: he is now a speaker, who can fully communicate, participate to the Kibbutz’s life, and take on responsibilities. On the other hand, the use of the novel as resources is validated by others: the girlfriend is indeed charmed by the eloquence of Uri’s letters; and the Kibbutz, recognizing Uri’s abilities and aspirations, decides to be lead by him.

About 9 years later, Uri has lost his illusions about the Kibbutz. For various reasons, he decides to study and emigrates back to in Switzerland,

where he now will sign his work Uri Peter—an interesting compromise between the “leader” Uri and the sensible child he once used to be. Uri Peter chooses to study psychology, and this has various reasons. Practically, it is a mean to build up on his earlier studies in South America. But on a more abstract level, psychology can be seen as a choice consistent with Uri Peter’s previous commitments: it is the way for implementing social level at a microlevel, whereas his previous action was aimed (and failed?) at a collective level. Uri describes his choices at that time as being guided or supported by the image of the “Zauberer,” the magician “who, with his clear sight, will illuminate the drama of the psyche.” The image of the magician seems to be a crystallization of various literary figures. It mostly refers to the work of Thomas Mann with which Uri had a lifelong familiarity. Thomas Mann is a German writer from the higher upper class; his children used to call him the Magician. Two of his novels are titled after this image: *Mario and the Magician*, and the *Magic Mountain*. Both refer to exceptional men, having access to genial dream worlds, thanks to which they are distinguished from all others. In Uri Peter’s personal culture (Valsiner, 1998), the image of the magician also refers to the shows of the mime Marcel Marceau, whose mime of the lifecycle deeply impressed him in those years.

Here, the personal rupture is coming back to academic life. The symbolic resource that is used here is a condensed image—or rather, is used a *symbolic image* that crystallizes a whole network of cultural elements functioning as resources. On the Thomas Mann side, there are emotionally invested images that refer to Uri Peter’s past—his past as member of the German upper class, his feeling of being particularly talented, but also, alienated from the world of others because of his ability to generate poetic world. The image of the mime refers to the normal gains and losses of the lifecycle. Uri mentions the extreme lightness and delicacy of this mime, and its contrast with the heavy, laborer’s life in the Kibbutz. Leaving the Kibbutz implies losses—losses of one’s illusions, loss of what one has constructed, of one’s life, of one’s identity. The mime of the lifecycle might enable to reintegrate the loss in a narrative of development—one loses part of self, to become another one. The use of such resources then also enabled to confer a new coherence to Uri Peter’s life. His past dreaminess, often cause of Uri Peter’s rejection, is now fused with a social commitment—improving the world. A crystallizing symbolic image thus guides his investment in new learning and a new self-position and experience—that of a psychologist. Eventually, psychology will then enrich the image itself. Uri Peter will define his practice of psychology as the art of a magician: as a counselor psychologist, he manipulates projective texts which reveal the hidden “true” potential of his young patients.... Later on, reunifying his social and political projects and his care for the individ-

ual person, Uri Peter will become both psychoanalyst and a nationally and internationally known specialist in education. But this is another story. Let me now come back the uses of symbolic resources.

### **USES OF SYMBOLIC RESOURCES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SELF**

Based on an autobiographic exploration, I have tried to indicate some of the turning points, or the transition processes through which a young boy playing in a snowy courtyard became a professor of education. What makes such a life story is weaved in complex streams of historical and political events, contextual affordances, interpersonal relationships, but also, as I have suggested, through one's uses of symbolic resources.

Fully aware of the reduction I am imposing on a life story, I have highlighted three main transitions, and for each of them, the resources mainly used. Through his childhood, adolescence and adulthood, Uri learned to develop social strategies—being recognized and admired by adults, or being estimated. This went along with Uri's development of cognitive abilities—learning by heart literature, developing heuristics of learning and thinking (so as to acquire new languages or to understand philosophy), and acquiring various skills (such as writing, singing, etc.). Uri's experiences also become resources: having traveled as a very young child becomes a past experience on the basis of which to apprehend the next ones. Additionally, there where social, cognitive, and experiential resources do not suffice to apprehend new situations as such, Uri mobilized available objects of culture and used them as symbolic resources. I have discussed the developmental issues in uses of symbolic resources elsewhere (Zittoun, 2005b, in press).

### **Methodological Advantages of Life Stories**

This chapter has proposed to come back to life stories, as basic material for expanding developmental theories that account for the complexity of life in worlds of culture. I have offered a set of theoretical tools which enable to highlight various dynamics of change in a life story. Of course, Uri's life story has been particularly thought through and his memories have a reconstructed accuracy which is probably above average. It might be that other life stories will lack precision about early childhood memories. Nevertheless, life stories can also be reconstructed with a multiplicity of sources, as when Gillespie confronts archives, biography and letters for reconstructing the life of Malcolm X (Gillespie, 2005a). Theories can then be expanded through a confrontation of comparable analy-

ses of the development of self. Comparability is given by two minimal conditions. The first one is a shared set of basic theoretical assumptions underpinning analyses: assuming the ever-changing nature of the person, the semiotic and dialogical nature of the psyche, and the role of the contexts. The second condition is the comparisons of trajectories or events which can be theoretically considered as equivalent (Valsiner & Sato, 2006). Transition and ruptures in development give a simple unit of analysis that greatly facilitates the comparisons of particular stories. The notions of resources and symbolic resources and their use give a mean to follow the role of others and culture in the development of self. The notion of interiority finally provides with an attention to emotional and unconscious dynamics.

### **Symbolic Resources: Bringing Otherness in the Making of Self**

Facing a new situation or a problem, people can rely on their personal experience and knowledge, or on the experience or the presence of others, as when one asks for cooperation or help. In contrast, using a symbolic resource might seem a more solitary experience, where one relies on cultural objects as helpers or enabling means.

Yet sociality is not absent in such uses. For one part, using a cultural element is of social nature, since one mobilizes the experience or the knowledge of others, which is concretized and symbolized in the cultural object, in a specific social situation. For the other part, if we examine the origin of Uri's symbolic resources, or the structure of the situation in which these are used, the presence of others is striking.

Let us go back to the situation in which a train schedule is turned in a symbolic resource. Here, Peter is sent alone away. Yet adults give him the train schedule and the watch, which then become invested of their presence. Once alone, these objects are the sole link Peter has to his parents. Holding to these, is also holding to them. Additionally, one might think that these have been given to him with a special solemnity and intensity (parents telling him that is going to behave like a little man, trying to reassure themselves while worrying for their son, etc.). This emotional load might have been felt by Peter, which has then given a stronger importance to the objects. Thus, adults transmit a double message to the child: on one side, the objects have a socially simple shared meaning—they are meant for ensuring to be on time; on the other side, the same objects have a particular dramatic sense for them—possibly linked to feelings of responsibility, guilt, and fear. The objects Peter receives are thus constituted as resources in this particular social-emotional configuration.

Constructing a simple object meant to “be on time” is captured by the emotional charge, and thus hijacked. Even if Peter manages to use it not only as a way to regulate his own emotional state, but also according to the socially shared meaning, the latter will be charged with this strange intensity. Finally, once the object is used as symbolic resource, the parents’ non-recognition of the importance of this control for Peter is a nonrecognition of this double value; in contrast, the aunt acknowledges the emotional sense of these. Later in Peter’s life, the use of fiction as resource is also dependent on an emotional valence given by others. His investment in learning and writing appears as a direct function of adults’ recognition of his giftedness.

In adolescence, Juan Pedro invests music as a way to become closer to the Headmistress, and discovers philosophy with his friends and with the estimated Thomas.

What I am suggesting, is that any transformation of a cultural element into a symbolic resource requires two moments of social presence. First, to become involved within a cultural element is an emotional dynamic; it is, most of the time, enabled by the presence of an other, acknowledging the object, or one’s link to the object (that is, sharing its meaning, or acknowledging its sense for self). Second, mobilizing a cultural element as resource is possible when one is authorized by such others, in the concrete situation where others legitimize such a use, or in one’s mind, when others and their reactions (and one’s own reactions to these) have been internalised. Constructing a cultural element into a symbolic resource, or using a symbolic resource, thus always put one in the presence of others. This is the configuration I propose to capture in a semiotic prism (Zittoun, 2005b). The pole of the prism are the self, the cultural object, the social meaning or/and the personal sense it has for others, and the sense it has for self, or the meaning one perceives of it. Consequently, the relations between these poles are both representational and emotional (Fonagy, Gergely, Jurist, & Target, 2002), based on knowledge and affects or feelings. At times, these two aspects find a balance, and one knows that there is a distance between the socially shared meaning of objects (what is the usual function of a watch) and the personal sense they have for self (the vicarious presence of a worrying mother) (Vygotsky, 1934/1971). At other moments, the latter captures the former, and objects become “mad” objects. If they are mad in that, that their uses can not be acknowledged by the community, they remain social in the sense that they can still carry the shadow of others (Zittoun, Duveen, Gillespie, Ivinson, & Psaltis, 2003).

Such analysis thus suggests a basic configuration enabling a person to turn a cultural element into a personally meaningful symbolic resource, and describing the presence of Other in the background of any later use

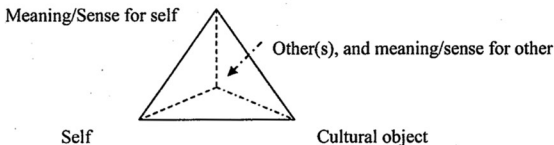


Figure 8.1. Semiotic prism.

of symbolic resources. The development of uses of symbolic resources can thus be described as sedimentation of semiotic prisms, either when constructing the usage of a cultural element as symbolic resource, or when mobilizing it. Through time, poles of the prisms are replaced by new realities. For example, the "other" who gives a train schedule to Peter is his mother, the "other" who recognizes its usage is his aunt; the "calming object" is a carriage, and then a train schedule. Thus, others, objects, as well as sense for self change, and can eventually become more distanced from the here and now (see Zittoun, 2005b for a developmental account); one's others can become a generalized Other. Finally, the semiotic prism gives a structure to analyze the process through which cultural elements can become used symbolic resources, and thus cultural technique for the development of self. And what this analysis reveals, is that Other is never absent of the use of symbolic resources.

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## NOTES

1. "When the child was a child, It threw a stick like a lance against a tree, And it quivers there still today." Peter Handke, "Song of Childhood." (Unpub-

- lished in English, translation available at [http://www.wim-wenders.com/movies/movies\\_spec/wingsofdesire/wod-song-of-childhood.htm](http://www.wim-wenders.com/movies/movies_spec/wingsofdesire/wod-song-of-childhood.htm))
2. With the exception of these first names, all the other name and places mentioned in this chapter are masked.
  3. Some authors seeing transitions as processes have attempt to describe sub-sequences in transitions, including the acceptance of the loss, a period of exploration, and a new beginning (Brammer, 1991; Bowlby, 1980; Bridge, 1980).

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