

*INTERPRETATION OF SCHIZOPHRENIA*

# The Basic Questions

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e-Book 2016 International Psychotherapy Institute

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## The Basic Questions

What is schizophrenia? How can it be recognized, interpreted, and treated? These basic questions are posed not only by the beginner in the field of psychiatry, but also by the professional who has spent the major part of his life treating psychiatric patients. A serious attempt will be made here to answer these difficult questions. Our long search will lead us in various directions. We shall not just collect and integrate what we know; we shall explore new areas and revisit old ones with new eyes. Even when definite conclusions will not be reached, we shall be aware that we have tried to broaden our views of man, of his suffering, and of his potentialities.

The basic questions we have posed imply that we cannot start our didactical journey with the standard procedure, that is, by defining our major theme. It is a formidable task to define schizophrenia unless we accept an unsatisfactory definition that consists of a list of the most common characteristics of the disorder. More appropriate definitions will be attempted several times in this book, after we have examined the subject from several perspectives.

Some authors consider schizophrenia an illness, others a syndrome, still others a mental mechanism or even a way of living. There is some truth in each of these views, and yet at closer analysis all of them prove to be unsatisfactory. The understanding or the clarity that they seem to offer reflect the facility of approaches that take into consideration only one or a few aspects of a complicated problem. Certainly schizophrenia is a way of living, but so is having a heart murmur, being a doctor, a nurse, remaining a bachelor, and so on. As we shall elaborate in other chapters of this book, the authors who call schizophrenia a way of living probably want to stress that it is a natural and enduring way of living, an appropriate response to certain environmental situations. This seems hardly the case to those who have witnessed the suffering that accompanies this special “way of living.”

There are particular mental mechanisms in schizophrenia, but these have to be understood in their origins and consequences. Schizophrenia, of course, can be considered a syndrome; but again, which symptoms are the essential ones in a condition that presents itself in multiple ways? Moreover, what is the interrelation between the various symptoms? Could we say about schizophrenia something

comparable in clarity to what we can say about diabetes, whose symptoms can be understood as consequent to a disorder of the carbohydrate metabolism?

Can we state that schizophrenia is an illness? If we follow the concepts of Virchow, or those derived from Virchow, which imply cellular pathology, an understanding of the pathological mechanisms, and the capacity to reproduce experimentally the condition, the answer is no. Apparently this negative answer is stressed by those authors who conclude that schizophrenia is not an illness, but probably only a special way of coping with life. Once more a semantic controversy complicates the issue. If we define disease as a state in which bodily health is impaired, we cannot at present call schizophrenia a disease because there is no uncontroversial evidence of bodily impairment. If by disease we mean an undesirable state of the subject, resulting in alterations of his basic functions, including the psychological, then schizophrenia is certainly a disease. Schizophrenia, as well as most mental illnesses or psychiatric conditions, does not fit the medical (especially Virchowian) model. This realization does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the concept of schizophrenia or any mental illness is a myth. An alternative position is that the

traditional medical model was built without taking psychiatry into consideration and does not include all the dimensions of human pathology. If we do change the traditional medical model, we can then call schizophrenia an illness. The big issues, however, remain untouched. What kind of illness? What is its nature?

Generally we consider schizophrenia a special type of illness (or disease or syndrome)—a psychosis. There are as many obscurities about the concept of psychosis as there are about the concept of schizophrenia, although the term *psychosis* refers to a broader category, to which schizophrenia belongs. As I expressed elsewhere (Arieti, 1973), psychosis is a term generally used to designate a severe or major psychiatric disorder. In theory and clinical practice the concept is more difficult to define because severity is not an inflexible characteristic and a certain number of cases diagnosed as psychosis may in fact be less serious from the point of view of the sufferer or of society than are some of those included in other psychiatric categories. The term *psychosis* is at times indistinctly equated with insanity. The latter term, when used legally or in popular language, suggests a person who is so incompetent that he may require special control or supervision. However, psychosis indicates not only actual or potential

severity, but also connotes that an unrealistic way of appreciating the self and the world is accepted or tends to be accepted by the sufferer as a normal way of living. At any rate, typical psychotics who are not under treatment do not seem to know that there is anything wrong with them. This definition of psychosis lends itself to justified criticism because it implies that we know what is unreality or unrealistic.

This book will deal with the various biological and psychological approaches that have been applied to the problem of schizophrenia. It will pursue chiefly the psychological approach, which, in my opinion, has so far provided an understanding more significant than that provided by the other methods. Moreover, the practicing psychiatrist, even if he prefers physical methods of treatment, cannot help trying to understand the psychodynamics of the case and to practice some kind of psychotherapy.

All the methods that have been followed so far in this field have been rewarding to varying degrees. The simplest approach is the descriptive and taxonomic. With this method, the symptoms of the patients are recognized, described, and labeled. They are observed in their *manifest* aspect, that is, as they present themselves to a clinical



examination without any physiologic or symbolic meaning being attached to them. Whereas this method was the only one at a certain stage in the history of psychiatry, it must today be considered as the initial and most elementary approach, even though it is still valuable. Contrary to old treatises of psychiatry, which dealt almost exclusively with this aspect of the disorder, this book will deal with it only in Chapters 3 and 4.

The dynamic approach initiated an era of greater and deeper understanding. The symptoms came to be interpreted as having a meaning; the symptomatology came to be seen as having a purpose and a genetic history as well, inasmuch as it could be related to the previous, predominantly early, life history of the individual. It is impossible to overestimate the value of the dynamic approach in schizophrenia and, of course, in psychiatry in general. Nothing could be more important from a psychotherapeutic point of view. One of the major parts of this book (Part Two) will be devoted to this dynamic interpretation, as a necessary preparation to psychotherapy, which will be dealt with in Part Seven. In the first chapters of Part Two (Chapters 5-8) we shall accompany the patient from birth to the onset of the psychosis. In the remainder of Part Two (Chapters 9-14), with

the help of case histories, we shall examine the dynamisms occurring in the main types of schizophrenia, such as the paranoid, catatonic, hebephrenic, postpartum, and so forth. We shall be able to individualize patterns that tend to recur, that build to a crescendo of conflict and maladjustment, and that eventually lead to a disintegration of the defenses. This psychodynamic study will involve the patient in his intrapsychic life as well as in relation to his environment.

And yet we shall come to recognize that even this dynamic approach, in spite of the profound insights that it offers to the therapist, does not solve in its entirety the mystery of this mental disorder. Even when the symptoms are explained in their symbolic language, even when their motivation is understood, even when their relation to early life situations has been established, there is still a great deal that needs explanation. Why is the schizophrenic pattern so different from any other? Why have the symptoms such peculiar aspects? Why does the patient experience hallucinations and delusions? Why does he present word salad, catatonic postures, stereotyped activities, and so forth? Even if we accept the fact, and we do accept it, that the psychological traumata in schizophrenia were

more violent and more destructive than in patients who develop psychoneuroses, we are not able, with a dynamic approach, to understand the formal structure of the symptoms. When a regressed schizophrenic replies, "White House," to the question "Who was the first president of the United States?" how is the disorder implicit in the answer to be interpreted? Bleuler would call the phenomenon a "loose association," but this term is more descriptive than explanatory. A dynamic approach clarifies the underlying motivation that has led to the selection or facilitated the occurrence of the process, but this approach does not explain the mechanisms of the process itself.

The first edition of this book (1955), pursuing some studies started in the early 1940s, pioneered an additional approach to schizophrenia. This approach, called structural or psychostructural, aimed at the understanding of the psychological structure, was developed independently and along different lines from the studies of Levi-Strauss and preceded Chomsky's application of structuralism to other fields of inquiry. In this second edition the importance of the structural approach is reaffirmed and expanded.

In psychiatry the structural approach must be related to the

dynamic; and the way in which dynamic factors use, exploit, and change the formal mechanisms must be determined.

The structural approach does not aim at a description, as the descriptive approach does, but at an understanding of the mechanisms of the psychological functions. This approach remains at a psychological level and is not necessarily concerned with, although it may lead to, studies of the organic basis of the psychic functions.

The dynamic and the structural approaches differ also in certain other respects. The structural approach emphasizes what patients have in common, and the common psychological mechanisms that they adopt. Although it does not do so exclusively, the dynamic approach studies predominantly what is specific in each case; the more specific are the elements studied, the more accurate and therapeutically useful they are. Both approaches must be used, because both are valuable. Every schizophrenic, like every man, is both similar to, and different from, other patients and men. Here again is that fundamental dichotomy—similarity and difference—on which all human understanding is based.

The psychostructural approach, which we shall study in Part Three, makes us enter into the world of schizophrenia. It reveals how the patient feels, thinks, acts, and relates, and how he experiences his own body, the inanimate world, art, work, the passage of time, and the looming of space. It focuses on those parts of the human being that are particularly human: symbolism, as expressed in imagery, language, thinking, interrelations; and volition, as expressed in choice and actions. The schizophrenic deformations will reveal themselves as psychodynamic conflicts that have assumed unusual and yet interpretable forms.

Whereas the dynamic approach remains predominantly a psychiatric study, the formal or psychostructural approach transcends the field of psychiatry. Excursions into other fields, such as anthropology, sociology, logic, aesthetics, neurology, and general biology, are necessary. The results obtained concern not only psychiatry, but all the sciences whose subject is the nature of man. Part Three will also disclose the influences of people who have made significant contributions in various fields—for example, Giambattista Vico, Hughlings Jackson, George Mead, Kurt Goldstein, Jean Piaget, Heinz Werner, and Susanne Langer.

The study of schizophrenia is not complete without taking into consideration the cases that proceed toward chronicity. Fortunately, these cases today are sharply decreasing in number. Although their response to treatment is by far inferior to that of recent cases, the psychiatrist must have some knowledge of them in order to understand the aspects of the schizophrenic phenomenon that are not revealed in less advanced cases. Part Four will be devoted to the longitudinal study of schizophrenia from the earliest to the most advanced stages. Many books on schizophrenia have failed to offer a detailed description and interpretation of the gradual progression of the illness. In Part Four, interpretation of some individual symptoms as well as of the whole phenomenon of regression will be offered.

The psychodynamic, psychostructural, and longitudinal approaches cover vast dimensions. Whatever they reveal seems *necessary* for the engendering and unfolding of schizophrenia. However, many psychiatrists doubt that these necessary factors are *sufficient* to cause or explain the disorder. Many researchers in the field have accumulated a vast amount of data, from the genetic code to biochemical changes. Most of the physiologic and organic changes reported in schizophrenic patients have been studied almost

exclusively from the point of view of demonstrating the organic origin of this condition. In several, but not all, instances the possibility exists that these changes are only the result of the disorder. In some respects these changes may be psychosomatic, that is, they may be sequences of the primary psychological condition. Part Five of this book will be devoted to the somatic and psychosomatic study of schizophrenia.

Part Six will deal with the social, cultural, and epidemiological factors favoring the occurrence of the psychosis. This discussion will not be exhaustive, but will cover the material that is most pertinent to the practicing psychiatrist.

The first six parts of the book will reveal how our knowledge of schizophrenia has been vastly enlarged, even in the past few years, but they will also show that all the links have not yet been placed in the right sequence in the great chain of causes and effects. Final syntheses remain to be made. In spite of the incompleteness of our understanding, I think that the reader can approach Parts Seven and Eight, devoted to therapy, with a definite sense of optimism. Our understanding of the disorder is sufficient to permit a totally successful treatment of many patients and a marked amelioration in

many others.

After a discussion of the choice of treatment, Part Seven will deal with psychotherapy. What has been learned predominantly from the dynamic and structural approaches, but also from all the other studies of schizophrenia, will be applied to psychotherapy. This is the method in which I have my largest experience, and so it will be described in greatest detail. The physical treatments, and in particular drug therapy, will be described in Part Eight.

Part Nine will reconsider the scope and extent of schizophrenia. Are such conditions as paranoia, child schizophrenia, and anorexia nervosa to be included in the great parameter of the disorder? After reexamining some theoretical concepts, I will attempt a recapitulation and synthesis of the basic concepts expressed in this work.

Before undertaking these studies, we shall review in Chapter 2 the evolution of the major concepts of schizophrenia, from the earliest formulations of the disorder to those preceding the publication of the first edition of this book.



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