41st Conference of the European Society for the History of the Human Sciences

August 30 – September 2, 2022

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

INSTITUT FÜR PSYCHOLOGISCHE FORSCHUNG AN DER SFU BERLIN E.V.

SIGMUND FREUD PRIVATUNIVERSITÄT BERLIN

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Berlin, 2022

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SIGMUND FREUD PRIVATUNIVERSITÄT BERLIN

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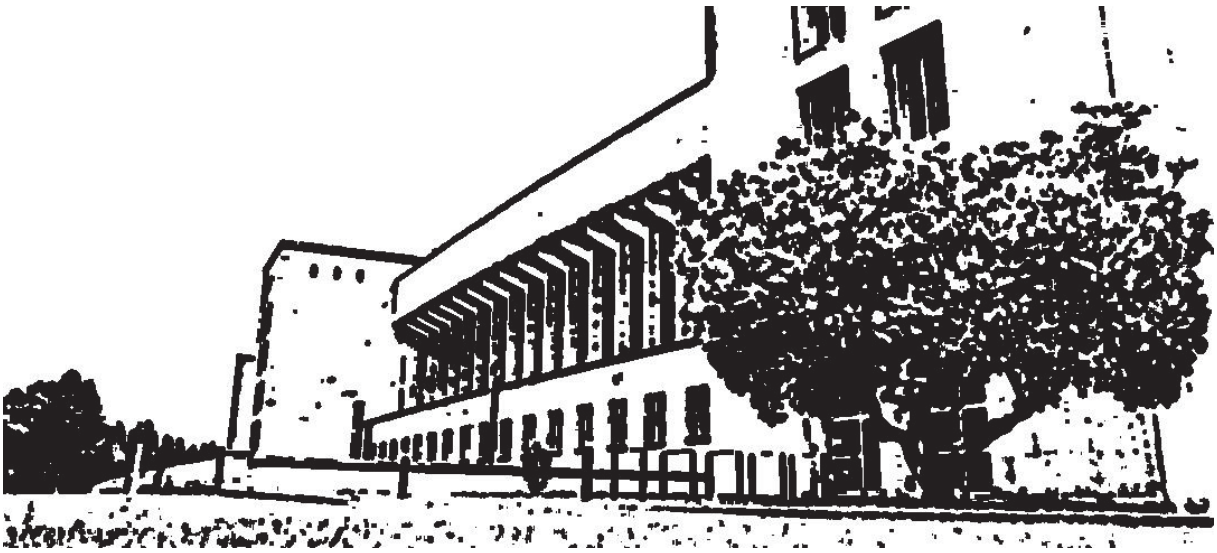

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

ROOM 03 & 04

POSTERS

The course in History and Sociology of Sexual Behavior at Sapienza University

Andrea Romano & Massimiliano Pompa (Sapienza University of Rome, Italy)

The course of Clinical Psychosexology was established at Sapienza University starting from the academic year 2019/2020. Currently it is the only master's degree course in Italy with a specific preparation on the discipline and its clinical applications. At the same time, it is one of the few courses on the subject offered by European universities. The growing interest in psychosexology has ensured the Sapienza's course an immediate success, attracting students from abroad. (Among the 27 students enrolled in 2019/2020, two are from Germany, one from Slovenia, one from Russia, one from Pakistan, one from India and one from Azerbaijan.)

The course of History and Sociology of Sexual Behavior is part of the Master's degree program. It aims to deepen the historical and contextual aspects of the expression of human sexuality, the movements, and milestones that have marked its evolution up to date, and to spread historical knowledge to a new category of scholars.

Based on the constant change in the field of sexuality, it may be useful to propose a historical awareness regarding this topic, studying the different historiographical attitudes toward sexual expressions and how knowledge about sexuality evolves over time. This would make it possible to combine contemporary drives related to identities, desires, and rights with paths and interpretations that have found space throughout the twentieth century.

In our poster we show the characteristics and the approach of the course of History and Sociology of Sexual Behaviors to the historiographic analysis of the literature on the history of sexuality and how it has evolved in the last forty years. We will provide data and graphics about the first three years of this didactic experience in order to show its development to date.

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Mental Health as a social issue. The Italian case of Popular Therapeutic Activity, 1960–1980

Paola Panciroli (Sapienza University of Rome, Italy)

By the early 1960s there was widespread discontent, within the psychiatric profession, politics, and society in general with the conditions of Italian psychiatry and its mental hospitals. What emerged in this context, and began the process of innovation, were a series of local initiatives—Gorizia, Perugia, Parma etc.—which captured the energies of psychiatrists and administrators, who aimed to reform psychiatry and overcome asylums (Donnelly, 1992; Babini, 2011; Foot, 2017). Alongside these initiatives, Italy also experimented with collective forms of mental health management without recourse to psychiatry and drugs.

On the basis of printed materials, and archival and oral sources, I will present a lesser-known experience of community treatment of mental illness, called Popular Therapeutic Activity (PTA), which was founded in Modena by the physician Antonietta Bernardoni (1919–2008) between the 1960s and 1970s. Starting from a Marxist perspective, Bernardoni focused on the material aspects of life and on the relationships of power and force. Her opinion was that, in the absence of organic lesions of the nervous system, there was a situation to be transformed rather than a sick person to be cured (Bernardoni, 1976). So, PTA was not a form of psychiatric or psychological treatment, but a popular-preventive activity. It was free, concrete, collective, continuous, and mutual. It took the form of assemblies in which mutual aid was pursued. Its object was the transformation and promotion of the personality and quality of life of participants (Bernardoni 1973; 1976). For about 25 years Antonietta Bernardoni practiced PTA in a collective, but not public, form, in ways that came closer to the form assumed around the mid-1970s. The first conference of Popular Therapeutic Activity was held in Modena, from March 29 to March 31, 1975.

This first reconstruction of PTA experiences enriches historical understanding of Italian psychiatric debates of the sixties and seventies, which have mainly focused on asylums. It sheds light on experiences of collective and non-institutionalized treatment as an alternative to closed institutions.

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ROOM 01, 13.00-14.00

Exploring the ESHHS Archives

Eva Surawy Stepney, Jannes Eshuis & Martin Wieser

The European Society for the History of the Human Sciences is not only a society that connects academics with a common interest in history; as it approaches its fourth decade since its founding, we can now start to look back on its own history. As with the concepts, methods, and theories of psychological science, the history of the ESHHS is rooted in a particular context, and shaped through distinct intellectual debates and developments. Over the past few months, we have been collecting textual material (programmes, proceedings, newsletters) and conducting oral interviews with early members of the society to create an archive containing the traces and stories that make up this history.

This session intends to present a first look at this archive and the historical events that are documented by it. It will give a short overview of the material collected and present a timeline with facts and figures about the first two decades of the society's existence. We will then draw on the archival material to outline three themes relating to the history of the ESHHS. The first will concern the formation of Cheiron-Europe, as it was originally called in 1982, and the early efforts to establish itself as an 'official' society with clear aims and structures. The second, and most extensive, aspect will explore how the society facilitated intellectual (and personal) connections between scholars from East and Western Europe—at a time when the continent was divided by the iron curtain. Attention will be given to two particular conferences which seem to have played a pivotal role in this regard. The first was held in Varna (Bulgaria) in 1986, where state limousines picked up Cheiron-Europe members from the airport, and young Bulgarian psychologists had their careers shaped through conversations with Western colleagues. The second is the conference in Budapest (Hungary) held in 1988, a year before the fall of the Iron Curtain. With the largest attendance the society had ever seen (and probably ever since) there was a sense of anticipation and change in the air, and for the first time Soviet psychologists presented their research to Cheiron-Europe members. Conversations extended beyond questions of history and psychology to debates about the future of Europe, and how the society could or should accommodate and reflect such transformation. The third theme looks at debates over the intellectual aims of

the society, which crystallised in 1996 in a discussion about the name of the society. Several contributions to newsletters from that period reflected concerns about the threat of Americanization of the social sciences in general, and subsequently the identity of the society in particular.

These three themes will be traced chronologically to show how the society has struggled with the balance between its formal status and the informal nature of its origin in a close-knit group of like-minded people. In giving this overview of the early history of the ESHHS, we will provide a context for the conference today, positioning our coming together in Berlin as part of a broader lineage of intellectual exchange and cross-border collaboration.

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Becoming doctoresse of social sciences at the turn of the 20th century: Trajectories and opportunities for female students at the Université Nouvelle de Bruxelles
Margot Elmer

Social sciences, gender, and academic research: Following the paths of female social scientists in early twentieth-century United States (1910-1940)
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Psychology & sexology: International exchanges
Chair: Zed Gao

Giving American psychology away. The birth of the French journal Psychologie (1970-1975)
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ROOM 01, 9.40-11.00

KEYNOTE LECTURE

The Impact of the Franco-Prussian War on Physical Anthropology as a Science: Dealing with Racism in the Science of Race

Peter Cryle (The University of Queensland, Australia)

Chair: Kim Hajek

Race and racism pose quite particular difficulties for intellectual historians. Blanket condemnation of an unrelievedly racist past is of course an option, albeit a thoroughly repetitive one. It is certainly not absurd to say that vast swathes of cultivated writing in the nineteenth century were racist. Once that is said, one can simply be content with identifying a handful of exceptions. But that kind of generalisation offers no understanding of the intellectual context which, in the nineteenth century, made "race" an object of collegial enquiry for progressively-minded anthropologists. How could people be so preoccupied with the study of race without being racist by definition?

I will argue in this paper that there is merit in examining just how physical anthropologists understood "race," and in attempting to understand the stated intellectual purpose of their endeavours. Leaders in the field such as France's Paul Broca and Germany's Rudolf Virchow were committed to the study of race as a set of so-called characters passed on within an ethnic group through heredity. They sought to identify and measure those characters in musculo-skeletal features, particularly cranial ones, believing that skulls were the most stable feature of the human anatomy. Racist theories certainly did emerge at much the same time, but they were not founded in craniometric inquiry as practised in professional societies like the Société d'anthropologie de Paris and the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte. In France, Arthur de Gobineau had actually developed, not a physical study of racial characters in Broca's and Virchow's sense, but a full-fledged theory of racism that naturalised the ideas of racial inequality and racial conflict. Gobineau had to pursue his theory without the support of the Société d'anthropologie de Paris, which systematically ignored his work. Broca, the Society's Perpetual Secretary, produced a scathing attack on Gobineau for his lack of scientific rigour, and even that attack was carried out at another venue.

Yet when the Franco-Prussian War broke out in 1870, physical anthropology was, so to speak, disturbed from within by racist discourse. Armand de Quatrefages, who had served as President of the Paris society and was internationally acknowledged for his work, published an essay entitled *La Race prussienne*. Quatrefages clearly knew that there was something improper about his choice of topic. He did not mention Gobineau's name, but he did take up some of Gobineau's racist discursive habits. His key claim was that the "ethnological elements" of Prussia were not the ones that had given birth to "the real German nation." In other words, modern Germany had not developed as a racial whole, and should not be taken

as one. Germany as a nation would always be lacking in unity because it contained an irretrievably foreign element. The Germans were certainly proper Aryans just like the French, but the Prussians were not. Dealing with this claim in properly scientific terms was a demanding task for anthropology. The response continued to resonate in the proceedings of the Berlin and Paris societies for at least a decade.

ROOM 01, 11.30-13.00

Organized Session: A gateway to science? Exploring opportunities for women in the human sciences (1860-1940)

Chair: Marie Linos

Nowadays, the human sciences stand out for their relative openness to female researchers, compared to STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) (Huang et al., 2020). This seemingly bright perspective prompts us to question the nature of the human sciences and their connection to gender issues. Were the human sciences always a field with opportunities for women? By going back in time, this panel wants to highlight how the human sciences might appear as a "gateway" to scientific research for female academics, and questions the various dynamics that led women to undertake human-scientific studies, careers, or research. Historians of science and gender have pointed out the numerous mechanisms by which women were left out of the scientific arena, the human sciences being no exception (Fauvel, Coffin, Trochu, 2019). Nevertheless, as many researchers have suggested, the invisibility women endured did not mean they did not contribute to science, but rather that traditional pathways were still locked for them (Rossiter, 1982; Charron, 2013).

The three papers, addressing the trajectories of women in Europe and the United States from the mid-19th century to the mid-20th century, draw the contours of various tensions that underlined female experiences in different disciplines of the human sciences. They especially tackle this issue through two dimensions. On the one hand, the panel discusses the educational barriers that women faced, leading them to follow various, and sometimes peripheral, paths. Were women able to pursue their education in the human sciences, and in what kind of institutions? The Université Nouvelle, established in Brussels in 1894, and female liberal colleges in the United States were keen to integrate the new social sciences in their curriculum. They thus offered new opportunities for women, typically contained in amateur roles, and forced to venture on the path of self-education. On the other hand, this panel investigates the opportunities as well as the challenges faced by women working in the human sciences. Were these women able to make a career and which strategies did they implement to do so? The three papers thus address the ways female scientists gained a foothold on a still strictly masculine stage, but also the tacit rules that reigned over the scientific game. In that sense, the investigation reveals as much about the history of women and gender, in general, as about the history of the human sciences and its respective institutions.

These two structuring axes—training and career—are rooted in broader issues. The first concerns disciplinary divisions. Were the social sciences, as a newly institutionalized discipline, more (or less) welcoming to women than long-established specialities in the humanities, such as philosophy? This question necessarily addresses the legitimacy of scientific discourses and the implementation of new disciplines on a highly competitive stage. The gender perspective, appearing as a structuring matrix, therefore, offers fresh

perspectives on these complex power dynamics. The second is related to the timeframe. By examining cases from the mid-19th century to the mid-20th century, some broad trends appear, as well as shifts in socio-economic conditions that created or restrained opportunities for women. The third issue is a spatial one. Framing the narratives in several geographical contexts allows us to question the link between science and culture, and highlights both national and transnational phenomena.

To conclude, switching the focus to women opens new vistas on long-studied issues such as education, professionalization, and institutionalization. Therefore, this investigation focuses on actors' trajectories to better describe the institutional framework. By doing so, it offers an incarnated history of the human sciences, through the lens of its female protagonists who, despite being marginalized, carved out their way to social research.

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"A revenge on the philosophical disdain so often shown to my sex": Clarisse Coignet, a self-taught woman in philosophy?

Mélanie Fabre (Institut d'Études Politiques d'Aix-en-Provence, France)

This paper aims to analyze the trajectory of Clarisse Coignet (1824-1918), a little-known female philosopher living in 19th-century France. The objective here is less to study her philosophical production in itself than to understand the way she got into the very masculine sphere of philosophy despite her lack of training in Latin, Greek and humanities. Indeed, she never went to university, and she satisfied her appetite for intellectual things by herself. After marrying a rich Saint-Simonian manufacturer willing to let her live her own intellectual life, Clarisse Coignet met a freemason thinker who introduced her to philosophy and encouraged her to publish her first works at the end of the 1860s, when she was already an adult and a mother. Beyond Clarisse Coignet's path in the intellectual world and the specific obstacles that she encountered as a woman, this paper also wishes to focus on the legitimacy she ended up earning among scholars and on the way she reviewed her own experience as a woman in philosophy in the memoirs she wrote at the end of her life.

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Becoming doctoresse of social sciences at the turn of the 20th century: Trajectories and opportunities for female students at the Université Nouvelle de Bruxelles

Margot Elmer (European University Institute, Italy)

Against the backdrop of the slow institutionalization of the social sciences during the Belle Époque, the Université Nouvelle de Bruxelles created in 1898 one of the first European diplomas solely centered around the study of the social sciences. Aiming to become "doctor of social sciences," female students of the Université Nouvelle, mostly originating from Central and Eastern Europe, were strongly inclined to choose this curriculum over the others offered by the institution. By highlighting some of these female student trajectories, this paper aims to question the professional and academic opportunities for women trained in

social sciences and, therefore, to better grasp the variety of reasons behind this gendered choice of education.

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Social sciences, gender, and academic research: Following the paths of female social scientists in early twentieth-century United States (1910-1940)

Marie Linos (Harvard University, USA)

This paper aims to display some women's careers in the American social sciences during the first half of the twentieth century, so as better to grasp the peculiarities of their experiences. Overall, it intends to better understand the specificity of gender on the social sciences' body of knowledge as well as on institutions. Statistics gathered by the U.S. government seem to show that the social sciences appeared as a welcoming field for female students, especially after 1910 (Snyder, 1993). This paper will explore this alleged openness by comparing the experience of several women who obtained their Ph.D. in social sciences during this period. Eleanor Glueck, Helen Lynd, Dorothy Douglas, Jessie Bernard, Ida Craven, Elsie Glüeck, while all securing a Ph.D. in social science disciplines at the beginning of the 20th century indeed experienced very different career settings throughout their lives. Bringing together these women's experiences in social research allows us to analyze the ways gender necessarily impacted the social sciences during this period.

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ROOM 02, 11.30-13.00

Psychology & sexology: International exchanges

Chair: Zed Gao

Giving American psychology away. The birth of the French journal *Psychologie* (1970-1975)

Elsa Forner (University of Lausanne, Switzerland)

In May 1967, Nicholas Charney, a young psychologist who had recently graduated from the University of Chicago, moved to Del Mar, California, and created *Psychology Today* (*PT*), a monthly magazine whose goal was to take psychology out of the academy and disseminate the discipline's findings to a wider audience, giving special prominence to Skinner's inspired behavioural therapy in its early days. Notably, *PT* was the first media talking about desensitization therapy in 1969. With a glossy, full-color, A4-size magazine, *Psychology Today* quickly reached a million-copy print run per month by 1970.

In February 1970, Jacques Mousseau, a French journalist already known for his position as editor-in-chief of *Planète*, a magazine exploring "fantastic realism" through paranormal phenomena, came back from a trip to the United States. He returned to France very impressed by what he had seen and with the project of replicating in France the American success of *Psychology Today* and Charney's "cultural effort" (Mousseau 1971) to make psychology and the humanities accessible to a wide audience. The first issue of *Psychologie* appeared in the French press with an auspicious print run of 50,000 copies.

In 1971, Nick Charney and Jacques Mousseau signed an agreement that defined a collaboration between the two magazines. Each month, two royalty-free articles were translated and published in the French and American editions. This original initiative linked the editorial destinies of the two magazines and offered French and American readers a panorama of "psychology" at that time. *Psychologie* was soon to be nicknamed the "little French sister" of *Psychology Today*.

Both editorial projects seem to have been guided by the same liberal and democratic ambition: to make advances in psychology and humanities accessible to a wide audience. Some scholars have briefly documented the history of *Psychology Today* as part of an overall

American project to create educational media (Alexander 2010, Alexander 2014) in a post-Sputnik era in which the advent of news magazines corresponded with the emergence of a liberal middle class concerned with social issues (Fox & Lears 1983, Sharp 2000). Two successive content analyses (Smith & Schroeder 1980, Moran & Moran 1990) showed the decreasing proportion of academic psychologists writing articles over the years in favour of journalists. These studies have pointed out that the magazine moved away from its original editorial ambition of presenting the content of an academic discipline in a popular format to a lifestyle newsmagazine dealing with pop psychology issues. As such, observers have noted *PT*'s damaging influence on the discipline and profession of psychology, having made it difficult to position psychology as a scholarly scientific discipline (Epstein 2006). On the French side, very little investigation has been done in sociology on the birth of *Psychologie*, mentioned among other news magazines dealing with science vulgarization read by the emerging middle-class in the 1980s (Boltanski & Maladier 1977). More recent research has briefly retraced how *Psychologie* contributed in the contemporary era to position on a wellbeing market and how the editorial strategy of *Psychologie* developed over the years (Garnoussi 2008, Lemerle 2014), but no research has been done to understand specifically whether *Psychologie* contributed to the spread of "therapeutic culture" (Illouz 2008) and behaviour therapy into the French context.

From a historical perspective, the initial trajectory of the magazine, the networks that contributed to its creation and the study of its content evolution have remained largely unexplored. How similar were the careers of *Psychology Today* and *Psychologie*? In this first exploratory archival analysis—letters, first-hand archives, published testimonies of the founders through the magazine—this paper will briefly undertake a first synthesis of the trajectories of each magazine, from their creation in the early 1970s through their successive mutations until the late 1980s. Focusing on the destiny of *Psychologie*, we will highlight the impact that the French magazine had on the circulation of psychotherapeutic knowledge between the United States and France, through a brief analysis of the main contents of the first period of both magazines (1970–1975). What does the French magazine reveal about how American psychology was understood at the time? How was the project of "giving psychology away" to the masses, by democratizing research through a magazine and making it accessible, fulfilled over the years? This research will pay particular attention to the way psychology and its tools—and psychologists—are represented in the magazine, in order to understand to what extent *Psychologie* was a major intermediary in the diffusion of American psychotherapeutic culture in France.

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Industrial psychology in the early 20th century: Comparing the US, Germany, and the Soviet Union from a critical perspective

Susannah Mulvale (York University, Canada)

Psychologists were instrumental in increasing economic productivity in the US in the early 20th century. Hugo Münsterberg (1863–1916), a German psychologist who worked at Harvard University, is known as the harbinger of the sub-field of US industrial psychology, with his 1913 publication *Psychology and Industrial Efficiency*. The concept of efficiency featured prominently at the time, as there was a perceived need to eliminate wastefulness in industry and government. Rapid developments in technological innovation had led to a significantly increased capacity for production. To maximize the efficiency of production, Frederick Taylor's (1856–1915) system of "scientific management" was widely implemented in US factories. Münsterberg and psychologist Lillian Gilbreth (1878–1972) contributed to scientific management reformism by focusing on the "human element" of industrial production.

Münsterberg's unique contribution to US psychology was to fuse German Idealism with the positivist and functionalist frameworks that dominated the US intellectual landscape and characterized experimental psychology (Hale, 1980). In both the US and Europe, systems of

centralized planning were replacing older forms of social organization. German intellectuals, such as Max Weber (1864–1920) and Georg Simmel (1858–1918), lamented that the rationalization of the world had led to a culture of "emotional deadness" and "disenchantment." Münsterberg departed from these critiques by holding firm to scientific management—but he also addressed them by highlighting the need for scientific management to be supplemented by subjective feelings in workers of loyalty to their companies and pride in their nation. Moreover, Münsterberg sought to maintain the "purity" of psychology as a science that characterized its development in Germany by arguing that even in the applied, technological form psychology was taking in the realm of US industrialism, it should remain a "value-neutral" discipline.

From a critical-Marxist perspective, I argue claims of value-neutrality in early industrial psychology obfuscated the key role the field played in ensuring the success of capitalism. Industrial psychologists were instrumental in fostering the cooperation of workers with scientific management and thereby stifling labour conflict. Psychologists like Münsterberg and Gilbreth were at pains to defend the system as the "one best way" to organize work, and as beneficial for workers, yet its dehumanizing effects were plain, and worker resistance was plentiful (Braverman, 1974; Nadworny, 1955). The purpose of my argument is to engage with the complexity of this historical development which has had varying and contradictory consequences. That these psychologists did not see themselves as biased in their commitment to scientific management, which they saw as a value-neutral system no less, is indicative of the pervasiveness of capitalism as an ideological social force in which their work was embedded.

Yet scientific approaches to labour were not unique to the US industrial-capitalist system. In Germany, Wilhelm von Helmholtz (1821–1894) applied the principle of conservation of energy to human labour power; and Emil Kraepelin (1856–1926) argued that individuals should be sorted according to their capacity to work, supporting the division of labour (Koppes & Pickren, 2007). In the Soviet Union, Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924) attempted to extract the positive elements of scientific management and apply them in a socialist manner (Bedeian & Phillips, 1990). My paper explores the affinities that existed between industrial psychology in the US, Germany, and the Soviet Union in the early 20th century, despite differences in their political economies. I am interested in if and how the scientific organization of work may be conceptualized in a way that does not replace worker control with an expert management class, but instead is worker-led and centres worker well-being instead of production and profits.

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Marxist, Freudist, Modernist? The development of sexology and sexual psychology during the late socialist period in Hungary

Gergely Csányi (Eötvös Loránd University & University of Pécs, Hungary)

As Foucault puts it, sexuality is a saturated node in the knowledge-power matrix. This discourse regulates and classifies the practices of sexuality, and in it, gender relations, class relations, demography and economy are intertwined. The sexual discourse—psychoanalysis, clinical sexology, (sexual) public health—is part of the biopolitics which, according to Foucault, is a precondition for the emergence of industrial capitalism. So these discourses mobilize techniques of power that control the health and reproduction of workers, and ultimately the labour force necessary for industrial capitalism.

After the sexual discourse boom of the 19th century, the norms and discourse of sexuality in the core countries underwent a “revolutionary” change from the beginning of the 20th century, after the First World War, but most of all from the 1960s onwards. Beyond industrial capitalism, much less is known about the role of sexual discourse in socialism. In Hungary, sexual discourse (including psychoanalysis) more or less disappeared after the 1950s, following the Soviet model. From the end of the 1960s, sexual discourse re-emerged in the country, but its role, function and relationship to the state apparatus is much more complicated than in the “Western” sexual-booms. The aim of my paper is to examine to what extent Foucault’s theory on sexual discourse in the era of a powerful state and the emerging psy-sciences can be understood in the context of a socialist state in crisis and the barely tolerated psy-sciences. Furthermore, what are the specifics of the late socialist, and more specifically Hungarian, sexual discourse boom?

What calls for a Foucauldian (focusing on labour reproduction) interpretation is that, after the legalization of abortion in 1956, also following the Soviet model, birth rates fell precipitously until the end of the 1960s, and that demography and sexology began to be institutionalized at the same time. Indeed, the sexology-themed articles in the health education discourse from the 1960s onwards point in this direction, and sex education in schools also started in the early 1970s. Furthermore, the re-institutionalization of psychology

also occurred at this time in connection with the state apparatus—promoting mobilization pedagogy and worker-intellectual training.

Meanwhile, by the early 1970s, the semi-peripheral countries, characterized by dependent development models, had almost simultaneously exhausted their internal resources and became increasingly and unmanageably dependent on capital and technology from the Western core. This brought about many social changes. Borders became more open, mainly due to the need for foreign exchange, which led to the import of foreign products, some of which were sexual products (e.g. pornography). On the other hand, the need to stimulate domestic consumption increased the role of advertising. This provided a legitimate context for the intensification of sexualized representations of (mostly) female bodies in public—for advertising purposes, following the Western model. Free nudity and free speech about sexuality began to be associated with modernization and "Westernization." The nudist movement, for example, was a distinctly modernist movement.

The advisory books of the Kádár regime, the clinical sexologist and sexual psychologist discourse of the late Kádár regime (i.e. the work of Béla Buda, Elvira Lux and Vilmos Szilágyi), and sexological advice in the newspapers that was produced alongside scientific sexological discourse (e.g. Pál Veres's sexual advice column in the columns of the *Magyar Ifjúság* (Hungarian Youth), entitled Az orvos válaszol (The doctor answers)) can all be understood through this duality. Alongside the re-emerging psychology and demography, sexology and sexual psychology were partly a discourse controlled by the socialist state apparatus, and partly linked to the modernist and "Westernist" discourses accompanying reintegration into the world economy. Thus, the discourse around sex, driven by psychologists, doctors, journalists, mixed at least nominally Marxist elements linked to "socialist morality," semi-state-controlled psychology, psychoanalysis re-emerging after the relaxation of state control, and "Western" ideas of free expression and free sexuality linked to democratic oppositionism. This particular combination was fraught with contradictions—and from this we can understand the broader contradictions of Hungarian society at the time.

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--END OF SESSION 1--

ROOM 01, 14.15-15.30

Organized Session: Liberation and legibility: Exploring the emancipatory potential of the psy-disciplines through the history of feminist psychology

Chair: Zoë Martin

Speakers: *Tal Davidson & Desiree Salis (York University, Canada)*

Discussant: *K. Zoë Martin (York University, Canada)*

Does Psychology have anything to offer activist movements? How can Psychology support social and political transformation? Is it possible for grassroots institutions to remain insurgent when they draw on the resources of the psy-disciplines? These questions lay out the field of possibilities and constraints that characterize the relationship between the psy-disciplines and social justice efforts. We will present a structured discussion around this relationship, using the history of feminist psychology as a backdrop. Beginning in the 1960s, the gender politics of the discipline of Psychology came under heavy scrutiny. Radical feminists such as Kathie Sarachild and Shulamith Firestone sharply criticized Psychology for promoting theories of mental life rooted in patriarchal ontologies of gender. Feminist voices from outside and within Psychology likewise criticized sites of clinical activity (such as psychiatric institutions and psychotherapy practices) for serving the social functions of pathologizing noncompliance with gender roles, naturalizing a subservient gender role for women, and using clinical intervention to enforce women's adherence to their prescribed gender role. At the same time, many of these feminists expressed the aims of the Women's Liberation Movement in terms that implied a relationship between social revolution and women's psychological transformation. An important example of this was "consciousness-raising," a group process wherein women gathered to share their personal feelings about and experiences of living in their gender, and to build a social-scale analysis of patriarchy in the process.

While feminists at the time considered the psy-disciplines oppressive both in theory and application, they also saw an important role for psychological subject matter in feminist discourse. This session will anchor its discussion in two historical processes where feminism and psychology met: The formation of feminist psychotherapy in the 1970s, and the codification of "battered woman syndrome" (BWS) in the 1980s. Despite radical feminists' frequent insistence that consciousness-raising was fundamentally distinct from psychotherapy, psychologists who participated in the practice became inspired in the early 1970s to apply their insights to reshaping their profession. Heeding the critiques of Psychology that circulated in feminist discourse and finding value in a space for women to freely explore the effects of patriarchy on their personhood, feminist psychotherapists redrew psychotherapy into a practice that took social causes for individual suffering seriously, and helped clients create the emotional capacity to participate in activism more effectively. In this way, feminist psychologists devised a way to engage with their discipline

such that they maintained allegience to social justice, rather than to the preservation of psychotherapy's credibility under mainstream expectations.

Near the end of the decade, shifting focus within the women's movement gave rise to an interest in bringing violence against women (VAW) into the public eye. The emergence of BWS demarcated the uptake of VAW discourse into Psychology, the transformation of domestic violence from a symptom of patriarchy into psychological theory and praxis, and ultimately, a shift away from the radical politics of the feminist movement. Emerging into the 1980s, domestic violence was increasingly seen through the lens of medical and trauma discourses ushered in by DSM-III. Whereas feminist psychotherapy represented the elevation of political revolution over disciplinary priorities, the medicalized codification of BWS insured widespread recognition of domestic violence at the expense of its political implications. Presented beside each other, these stories convey two contrasting views of the relationship between feminism and Psychology, one where disciplinary allegiance was undermined in favour of executing a social justice agenda, and another where social justice became predicated on Psychology's power to legitimize gender-based violence as a medical condition legible to mainstream society. The historic relationship between Psychology and feminism is thus a fertile source for thinking through present-day concerns about Psychology's political possibilities and responsibilities.

Getting Free: The feminist psychotherapy of the Long Sixties and the construction of the self as a site of liberation

Tal Davidson (York University, Canada)

This project explores the relationship between Psychology and the Women's Liberation Movement of the 1960s and '70s, and the history through which a group of feminist psychologists began to conceptualize psychotherapy as a tool of social and political liberation. The Women's Liberation Movement was an activist movement that aimed to free women of gender roles that restricted their full participation in society, either by fighting to attain gender equality in male-dominated social spaces, or by unearthing and overhauling the patriarchal foundations of society itself. In the latter case, radical feminists conveyed their purpose under the slogan "the personal is political," and in part worked to understand how patriarchal social structures embedded themselves within women's personal lives. They advanced a group discussion format called "consciousness-raising" as a foundational tool for building a text about the manifestations of patriarchy in women's personal lives, and for building solidarity among women. Despite centering psychological subject matter such as personal feelings and experiences, consciousness-raising was sharply distinguished from psychotherapy, a practice that radical feminists claimed reduced problems of societal origin into individual neuroses and suppressed political agency in the process. Nonetheless, through their own experiences in consciousness-raising groups, feminist psychologists such as Laura Brown and Hannah Lerman came to perceive psychotherapy as a space that could

support women to learn how gender socialization shaped their psychic lives, to heal wounds and access personal strength, and to become empowered to participate in feminist activism. Using archival and oral-historical resources, I explore these psychologists' lives and careers to understand how psychotherapy became reconciled with radical feminist critiques of clinical psy-practices.

Finding the battered woman: Feminist psychology and the anti-domestic violence movement in Ontario from 1980 to 1990

Desiree Salis (York University, Canada)

The women's anti-violence movement brought violence against women out of the privacy of the home and into the public eye as a social problem starting in the 1970s, while research on domestic violence began to rise within psychology in the later part of the decade. Critical histories and analyses that examine the relationship between the women's anti-violence movement in Ontario and domestic violence research in psychology are underdeveloped. This project examines how domestic violence became conceptualized in psychology starting in the 1980s through the lens of biomedical and neoliberal discourses. I chart the development of domestic violence research alongside that of the women's anti-violence movement, attending to the shift in fundamentally radical politics of the feminist movement toward a depoliticized and medicalized approach to addressing domestic violence. I draw on archival sources on the women's anti-violence movement in the province, as well as psychological research on domestic violence conducted in the 1980s by both Canadian and U.S. based researchers. Specifically, I problematize the medicalization of domestic violence within psychological research and extend my analysis to "look at psychology looking at domestic violence" in order to examine how neoliberal and biomedical discourses have influenced the discipline, as well as theory and praxis related to domestic violence research. Through an intersectional analysis, my project sheds light on both the societal distribution of structural inequalities and of power within the multi-faceted network of relationships that form between the women's anti-violence movement and psychology.

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ROOM 02, 14.15-15.30

Psychological & psychiatric concepts

Chair: Junona Almonaitienė

It's a fight—whole personality of the patient to win. Concepts of psychosis in The Jewish Hospital in Warsaw, 1898–1943

Jan Kornaj (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University, Warsaw, Poland)

Psychosis is the term describing the emergence of such phenomena such as hallucinations, delusions, and disturbances of thought, speech and motor behaviour. It was a dynamically evolving concept in European psychiatry in the first half of the twentieth century. For Gustaw Bychowski (1928), one of the psychiatrists from The Jewish Hospital in Warsaw, the matter of psychosis and its treatment is was a fight with nothing to lose, but a the whole personality of the patient to win.

This presentation investigates the concepts of psychosis developed in The Jewish Hospital in Warsaw within the contexts of: social and historical processes to which the hospital was the subject; the broader scope of European concepts of psychosis; and hospital psychiatric personnel and their influences.

The Jewish Hospital in Warsaw was organized and funded by the Jewish community. The psychiatric ward was founded in 1898. The official opening of the hospital took place in 1902. In the beginning, the hospital was well funded and equipped (Lis-Urdycka, 2012). But the unstable political situation in interwar Poland, strikes, and economic problems reinforced by The Great Depression in 1929 (Davies, 2005) damaged the functioning of The Jewish Hospital. In 1933, due to severe overcrowding, many psychiatric patients were moved to another hospital (Lis-Urdycka, 2012). The Jewish Hospital in Warsaw was closed in 1943 during World War II.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the most popular taxonomy of psychoses was Emil Kraepelin's division into *dementia praecox* and manic-depressive psychosis. In 1911 Eugen Bleuler introduced the term schizophrenia, which eventually replaced *dementia praecox* (Gilman, 2008). Two general approaches to psychosis in European psychiatry of this period can be distinguished: the biological and the psychological (Ellenberger, 1970). The first orientation stressed the superior importance of the nervous system, brain anatomy and various biological factors in the aetiology of psychoses. The second one, represented mainly by psychoanalytically or phenomenologically oriented psychiatrists, underlined the role of psychical conflicts as well as environmental factors in aetiology, and focused on the clinical picture and the meaning of psychotic symptoms.

The main contributors to the understanding of psychosis in The Jewish Hospital were Maurycy Bornsztajn, Gustaw Bychowski, Władysław Matecki, Władysław Sterling and Adam Wizel. All of them were of Jewish origin. Bychowski, Bornsztajn, Matecki and Wizel

incorporated a psychoanalytically oriented approach to psychoses. The Polish adaptation of psychoanalysis was, however, highly idiosyncratic, as it incorporated elements of phenomenology, hermeneutics and original reinterpretations (Dobroczyński, 2021; Dybel, 2016). Bychowski (1927, 1928) proposed a psychotherapeutic method of treatment of the psychoses based on psychoanalysis. Bornsztajn (1927a, 1927b, 1927c, 1936) postulated autism as a fundamental feature of all schizophrenic psychoses and introduced two new clinical categories: schizothymia reactiva, a specific kind of reactive psychosis and "somatopsychic schizophrenia." Wizel (1921, 1925, 1928) proposed a concept of "underdeveloped schizophrenia." Matecki (1925a, 1925b, 1928, 1937) mainly studied manic-depressive psychoses in search of the psychological mechanisms, and constitutional and genetic factors underlying delusions. He also described a pseudoneurotic form of schizophrenia. All of the aforementioned psychiatrists had in common an orientation towards understanding the psychological meaning of symptoms and connecting them with the patient's personal history. The only advocate of the somatic approach was Władysław Sterling (1927), as he tried to investigate connections between schizophrenia and internal secretion. Sterling was mainly committed to neurological studies, but he acknowledged the importance of psychology and some psychoanalytic discoveries (Dobroczyński & Gruszka-Gosiewska, 2019).

In conclusion, most of the Polish-Jewish psychiatrists of The Jewish Hospital in Warsaw were committed to a more psychological approach to psychosis, as they were influenced by psychoanalysis. Due to processes of indigenization (Danziger, 2006) of psychoanalytic theory in Poland (Dobroczyński, 2021), many psychoanalytically influenced concepts of psychosis developed in The Jewish Hospital in Warsaw were original and innovative.

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Nostalgia: Towards a genealogy of a 'universal emotion'

Danielle Christie (York University, Canada)

Whether through divisive injunctions to 'Make America Great Again' or countless anesthetizing spinoffs and remakes, our current epoch *appears* one of nostalgic sensibility. Across disciplines, there is consensus that nostalgia is heightened in times of stress and change—functioning as an escape from an inhospitable present (Batcho, 2013). It follows

then, that our rapidly shifting social, economic, environmental, and geopolitical terrain fosters the ideal conditions for nostalgic sentiment to flourish. While its interpretation has vacillated significantly, contemporary psychological research frames nostalgia as a positive psychological 'tool' that shores up optimism, a sense of purpose, and social connectedness (FioRito & Routledge, 2020). And yet, if nostalgia is manifestly exploited by politicians and the culture industry for political and economic gains, how does this figure with mainstream psychologists' claims that nostalgia is a natural and depoliticized 'positive' emotion? Untethering nostalgia from its psychologized status, then, is critical to grasping its key routes of circulation. Theoretical considerations include nostalgia's shifting conceptual status, particularly in relation to modernity, connecting nostalgia's emergence as a positive emotion with a distinctly neoliberal logic, and the uptake of psychological knowledge about nostalgia in broader public discourse. Furthermore, although nostalgia certainly has clear psychological dimensions, reducing it to a positive emotion is conceptually impoverished and neglects its potent political and aesthetic functions today.

To these ends, I will provide a historical sketch and critique of nostalgia as a psychological construct, with particular emphasis on its manifestations in the 20th and 21st century American context. Here, I connect nostalgia's emergence as a positive emotion with a distinctly neoliberal logic. While historically understood as a disease stemming from a strong desire to return home in the 17th and 18th centuries, nostalgia was conceptually restructured by modernity, where identity and home became increasingly understood in abstract terms (Dodman, 2018). As nostalgia progressively lost clinical relevance, its potent ideological function came into sharp focus. This became particularly salient in the context of 20th-century American culture, where both the professional and public sphere grappled with the rapid changes resulting from industrialization, mass immigration, consumer culture, and urbanization (Matt, 2007). Influenced by a distinctly evolutionary and developmental framework, American psychologists disparaged nostalgia—and its conceptually related yet distinct contemporary 'homesickness'—as a trait suggestive of underlying mental deficiency and even deviance (Matt, 2007). Still, research on nostalgia fizzled out until the latter half of the 20th century, when cognitive psychologists began to investigate the role of nostalgia in memory and personality development (Batcho, 2013). Here, a distinction is erected between historical and autobiographical nostalgia—the former consigned to the abstract realm of theory, while the latter was of empirical interest.

Notwithstanding historical evidence of its social construction, the demand for definitional clarity has certainly influenced the progressive naturalization of nostalgia today (Brinkmann, 2005). In response to frustrations over nostalgia's indiscriminate application as sentiment, mood, state, and personality trait, psychologists developed methods for the empirical investigation of its characteristics, triggers, correlates, and functions at the *individual-level* (Sedikides & Wildschut, 2018). This transition to apolitical, individual resource aligns paradigmatically with neoliberal forms of cooptation. In response to these concerns, it seems appropriate to retheorize nostalgia as a dynamic affective field of *conflict* and *(re)articulation* (Hook, 2012). Framing nostalgia in this way permits us to ask: *for whom* is

nostalgia a structure of feeling, and under what particular social, historical, material circumstances? While nostalgia may indeed be a psychological resource for some—what are the nostalgic 'objects' sustaining these benefits (Berlant, 2011)? Are they tied to a bygone, 'golden era' built on the foundations of exclusion and injustice? On what grounds does nostalgia unite us, as psychologists in the main claim?

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--END OF SESSION 2--

ROOM 01, 16.00-17.30

Using feminist history

Chair: Lisa Malich

Ostracised and othered: Attitudes towards men, masculinity and madness in England from 1870 to 1910

Jack Duggan (University of Manchester, United Kingdom)

Research into the relationship between sex and gender with madness and the asylum is often grounded in feminist literature, typified by Elaine Showalter's depiction of madness as a female malady, and with good reason. The works of Showalter and other feminist scholars have shed light on the harsh injustices suffered by 'mad' women, particularly in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. However, there remains comparatively little research investigating male experiences of madness and the asylum. This is particularly problematic given that many asylum records show a relatively balanced population of men and women residing within the asylum in the nineteenth century. Accordingly, a sufficiently nuanced historical approach to sex, gender and madness must account for males also, and if descriptions of nineteenth-century madness as a female malady are accurate, we should expect to see this reflected in male experiences of madness during this period. This research serves to reduce the disparity in the historical study of sex, gender and madness by demonstrating attitudes towards madness in men from asylum doctors, male patients, their families, and wider society.

This paper builds on previous feminist literature on gender and madness, but to account for the large population of men in asylums, it locates madness not in the biological and the female but in the sociocultural and the feminine. In other words, this research uses the approaches and terminology traditional to feminist literature such as the role of patriarchy, but instead asks how male madness and masculinity were perceived if madness in general was understood to be feminine. This paper first establishes and follows English conceptions of masculinity as they developed throughout the nineteenth century and became increasingly dichotomous with femininity, produced through a confluence of class, industrialisation, eugenics, evolutionary theory, opposition to woman's suffrage and more. Rigid attitudes constructing men as dauntless and indomitable left no room for weakness, and forms of moral weakness and madness commonly diagnosed in men such as intemperance and masturbatory insanity took on a distinctly feminine quality. Against a backdrop of an increasingly threatened patriarchy and conceptions of madness as feminine, madness in men is argued to have contradicted the supposed male indomitability which legitimated patriarchal attitudes, making it a form of weakness that could not be tolerated.

With the relationship between madness, masculinity and femininity in English society established, this research then follows male madness into the asylum. Primary archival data

from the male patient casebooks for three asylums in the Lancashire area of England between 1870–1910 is used to further elucidate how madness in men was conceptualised and understood. This analysis incorporates data from asylum doctors, male patients and the families of these patients, demonstrating professional and layperson beliefs about madness including aetiology, symptomology and what behaviour was deemed sufficiently shocking or abhorrent to necessitate the removal of a man to an asylum. Furthermore, this analysis investigates how male asylum doctors attempted to resolve the contradiction between the supposedly indomitable male and the thousands of male patients in asylums. Primarily, this contradiction was resolved through the othering of men, removing from them categories of maleness to account for their madness. Descriptions of male patients by male asylum staff construct male patients as childish, as feminine, and in some cases harness the language of degeneracy to construct male patients as less than human. The research concludes by referring back to the feminist literature in which it is based, asserting that nineteenth-century madness was not a female malady but a feminine malady. These conceptions of madness harmed men and women both and serve as an important reminder that patriarchal attitudes could serve to alienate and ostracise men as well.

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The Psychological is Participatory. Feminist critical participatory action research with women's counseling centers and their clients

Nora Ruck, Barbara Rothmüller, Emelie Rack & Vanessa Siebauer
(Sigmund Freud PrivatUniversität Wien, Austria)

Both psychology and feminism have gained increasing importance in the everyday lives of Austrians since the late 1970s when activists of the women's movement started analysing the psychological dimensions of gender inequality. Most of the then newly founded women's counselling centres provided psychosocial counselling that would change the landscape of psychosocial services and the lives of many women. Drawing on oral history interviews with founders and counsellors of early women's counselling centres in Vienna, our project *The Psychological is Political* has analysed the production of psychological knowledge in these centres. Interviewees pointed out, however, that our project lacked the perspectives of clients of women's counselling centres – a perspective counsellors are themselves curious to learn more about: What are their stories before and after counselling? What are women's socially and culturally situated experiences and how has feminist

psychological counselling empowered former clients of women's counselling centres? Counsellors at women's counselling centres furthermore pointed out that documenting the meaning of women's counselling in the lives of clients was vital but their resources to do so were systematically lacking. In the history of science and therapy, clients' perspectives are hardly every included; rare exceptions can be found in the field of so-called mad studies. Clients' perspectives are lacking in the history of psychology generally and, more specifically, in the history of feminist psychology and feminist therapy.

Our oral presentation will introduce our follow-up project *The Psychological is Participatory*, which uses a citizen social science and critical participatory action approach to research the lives and experiences of clients of two women's counselling centres (Frauen* beraten Frauen* and Peregrina). An intersectional perspective that aims at including and empowering marginalized women (e.g., migrant, refugee, older, trans women and/or women with disabilities) as citizens allows to situate women's biographies and experiences within their everyday lives and social context. Women's counselling centres are included as *knowledge communities* and clients participate as *citizens*. The project pursues the following objectives: (1) Including the lives and experiences of clients of women's counselling centres in the history of feminist psychology in Austria. (2) Empowering marginalized women in the creation of socially and culturally situated narratives about women's lives, experiences, and communities. (3) Training knowledge communities as multipliers by creating didactic materials and a workshop on training citizens in oral history research that will be continued by knowledge communities after the completion of the TCS project. Participatory contact zones are used to train citizens and knowledge communities in scientific methods and to collectively decide on all parts of the projects that are still open to change. Data is collected by citizens using biographical oral history interviews with clients of women's counselling centres. Citizens then create biographical profiles of interviewees on the basis of interview transcripts while university researchers triangulate these interviews with interviews with feminist psychologists and with archival material on the history of feminist psychology in Austria. To our knowledge, this project is the first of its kind to add a participatory research approach to the history of feminist psychology.

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A wound of body and mind: The impact of sexual abuse on children

Andrea Josipovic (The University of Queensland, Australia)

"Freud […] believes that sexual attacks on children can cause severe neurosis […]."[1] This is the rather bewildered comment Albert Moll made in relation to Sigmund Freud's claim children could experience disturbing psychological shock as a result of sexual abuse and become mentally unwell later in life. In his text *The Sexual Life of the Child*, Moll advised there were significant consequences for children resulting from an experience of sexual abuse. Much like his predecessors and contemporaries, however, he focused predominantly on physiological and moral effects that could impact children negatively and stunt their development. Moll's exploration centred around the notion of a corruption of character which could lead to sexual perversion, child prostitution, habitual sexual practices from an

early age, premature pregnancy, and sexually transmitted infection.[2] Wounding effects on the psyche, on the other hand, Moll did not consider to be the subject of a credible investigation. Moll made it quite clear that he had his doubts about Freud's claim, questioning its validity and openly wondering whether psychoanalysis could actually be called a science.[3] The so-called case studies of patients Freud had published to verify a pathway to neurosis, Moll said, were not convincing at all.[4]

This paper will investigate the rhetoric in a number of analyses of Freud's seduction theory, with a particular interest in examining claims by some feminist writers that he had recoiled from his earlier claims to help "cover up" the sexual abuse of children.[5] Freud's early writings on hysteria explore wounding impacts of sexual abuse in great detail. In his paper *Über die Ätiologie der Hysterie* [On the Aetiology of Hysteria] that he presented to his colleagues at the *Verein für Psychiatrie und Neurologie* [Society for Psychiatry and Neurology] in April or May 1896 in Vienna,[6] Freud first proposed publicly a version of the seduction theory. He discussed that many of his patients who presented with symptoms of hysteria had been sexually abused early in childhood and as a result developed a neurosis as adults. Some have argued the widely reported anecdote that the paper had received an icy reception by his colleagues, and that Richard von Krafft-Ebing had called it a "scientific fairy tale"[7] had less to do with the content of the 'scenes of seduction' Freud claimed to have discovered, but with the way he obtained these narratives from his patients. The paper aims to show that Freud's colleagues and predecessors were very much aware that children could be subjected to sexual attacks and that the evidence of such violations was ubiquitous. What some of Freud's colleagues grappled with and partially rejected, then, did not have to do with the prevalence of child sexual abuse per se. It was more about the highly speculative process Freud had applied with his patients and then described in the paper while presenting psychoanalysis as a scientific method with a claim to medical validity.

Of particular interest for the paper will be the discourse surrounding the historic event of his apparent withdrawal of the theory. It intends to make a case that this has shaped how professionals have responded to encounters with child sexual abuse narratives throughout the twentieth century and into the present.

Notes

[1] Moll, *Das Sexualleben Des Kindes*, 205.

[2] Ibid., 205-7.

[3] Ibid., 171-2.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Florence Rush, *The Best Kept Secret : Sexual Abuse of Children* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980), see chapter seven, "A Freudian Cover-Up," 80-104. Judith Lewis Herman, *Trauma and Recovery: From Domestic Abuse to Political Terror* (London: Pandora, 2001), 13-4

[6] The "Editorische Vorbemerkung" to the paper informs that the exact date of the paper presentation cannot be confirmed with certainty. It most likely occurred either on 21 April or 9 May 1896. See Freud, "Zur Ätiologie Der Hysterie [the Aetiology of Hysteria]," 188. Masson dates the event April 21, 1896; see Masson, *The Assault on Truth: Freud's Suppression of the Seduction Theory*, 3-7.

[7] The "Editorische Vorbemerkung [Editorial Preliminary Note]" to "The Aetiology of Hysteria" informs of this anecdote, see Freud, "Zur Ätiologie Der Hysterie [the Aetiology of Hysteria]," 188. Also see Masson, *The Assault on Truth: Freud's Suppression of the Seduction Theory*, 40; Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry, and the Making of Sexual Identity*, 88-9; Sutton, *Sex between Body and Mind: Psychoanalysis and Sexology in the German-Speaking World, 1890s-1930s*, 42.

ROOM 02, 16.00-17.30

Critical reflections on history

Chair: Sharman Levinson

Ryszard Stachowski as a precursor of History and Anthropology of Psychological Thought research programme

Andrzej Pankalla (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University, Poland) &
Konrad Kośnik (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland)

The aim of this paper is to present the research perspective of Ryszard Stachowski, the Polish historian of psychological thought. His scientific activity initiated the research perspective of History and Anthropology of Psychological Thought (HAPT) conducted by his students. This research programme assumes that psychological thought as a particular human activity is dependent on biographical, social, cultural and historical context, and therefore should be considered in a constructivist way, as an outcome of a specific thought style (Fleck, 1979).

A symbolic beginning of Stachowski's work in the historical area is 1986 when he established the Department of History of Psychological Thought at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. It was the first institutional community of this type in Poland. (Since 2007 it no longer exists, following Stachowski's retirement). During the period of the Department's existence, Stachowski's research team undertook several scientific activities, such as publications on the history of both global and Polish psychological thought (e.g. Stachowski, 1992; 2000), as well as organising Cheiron-Europe's 12th Conference in 1993 in Poznań (Stachowski, Pankalla, 1995). Despite the Department's closure, Stachowski's students follow the developmental line of his thought-style within HAPT, mainly in the area of the indigenous history of psychological thought (e.g. Pankalla, Kośnik, 2018a; 2018b; 2021).

Stachowski (2000) proposed a significant distinction between the history of psychology and the history of psychological thought. It can be considered from both ontological and epistemological perspectives. In terms of ontology, the history of psychology focuses on an academic discipline founded in 19th century, while history of psychological thought refers to any intellectual activity aiming to understand human inner functioning, both within and outside of (mainly before) psychology. The history of psychological thought is much wider,

then. From the epistemological point of view, the history of psychology includes factography and a plain report of one's scientific beliefs (history of science), while the history of psychological thought involves deep contents of intellectual achievements of a researcher or a social group in their social context (history of ideas / cultural history). According to Stachowski, the history of psychological thought is the proper perspective. He claims that a historian of psychological thought should first of all be a psychologist to be able to understand the meaning of psychological concepts as well as their evolution and references to psychic reality.

As not all of Stachowski's theoretical, philosophical and methodological assumptions were expressed in his publications, they are reconstructed on the basis of an analysis of his work. Amongst his presuppositions, examples of particular research methods may be indicated:

- Quotation Method—a "journey" through papers of different authors aiming to follow the meaning of ideas and their changes, including an "interview" with deceased psychologists (Stachowski, 2010);
- Semiotic Method—an analysis of a concept's meaning inspired by the analytical philosophy of the Lviv School;
- Counterfactual Method—understanding the significance of historical facts due to multi-path analysis leading to detection of factors determining historical reality;
- Between-the-lines Method—reading "through" a text (close reading) and revealing additional contents in reference to an author's biography and their historical-cultural context;
- Detective Method—following minor premises and finding connections between historical facts with a sense of the specified probability of conclusions;
- Virtual Questionnaire Method—answering questions "in the name of" a deceased psychologist (introspection) on the basis of knowledge of their work and historical-cultural context.

These methods allow a researcher to combine both historical and psychological competencies, which corresponds with Stachowski's understanding of the history of psychological thought, and is being developed within the HAPT research programme.

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From the Freudian Left to the 'Relational Left': Critical Theory's Appropriations of Psychoanalysis and the History of Psychotherapy

Ulrich Koch (George Washington University, USA)

The paper draws out and discusses a fundamental and paradoxical shift in how Critical Theorists in the tradition of the Frankfurt School have engaged psychoanalysis over the course of the 20th century. The first generation of Critical Theorists, notably Theodor W. Adorno and Herbert Marcuse, were staunch defenders of Freudian drive theory and warned of the allegedly dire theoretical and political implications of a turn to a more social-scientifically informed psychoanalytic theory, and a corresponding clinical practice focused on improving patients' interpersonal relationships (as opposed to uncovering their unconscious longings). Ironically, the third-generation Critical Theorist Axel Honneth, following Juergen Habermas, turned to object-relations theorists and other figures associated with the "relational turn" in psychoanalysis to anthropologically ground his brand of Critical Theory, centered on the notion of a struggle for recognition. I first highlight the theoretical stakes—including contemporary criticisms (J. Whitebook, N. Fraser)—of this shift, briefly highlighting the pragmatist and Hegelian influences on Honneth's ideas, while also situating it within a broader socio-cultural context. Adorno and Marcuse both rejected so-called neo-Freudian approaches not only on theoretical grounds, but also because they saw in them early manifestations of an ascending "therapy culture." Freud's critical insights would be lost, they feared, if revisionists succeeded in reducing psychoanalysis to an instrument for promoting social adjustment. In the early 1990s, Honneth, by contrast, pursued an integrative approach through his engagement with post-Freudian theory, selectively drawing on its insights. Perhaps crucially, he no longer treated psychoanalysis as an intellectual undertaking *sui generis* whose continuation seemed to be at stake.

In a second step, I then assess both early Critical Theorists' indictment of relational psychoanalysis and Honneth's later integration of psychoanalytic object relations theory from a historiographical perspective. Critical Theory's diverging appropriations of psychoanalysis, I suggest, both suffer from their rather narrow focus on psychoanalytic theory and its normative implications, as they do not systematically engage with what psychoanalysts and other psychotherapists do in practice, which in effect leaves the social and cultural significance of psychotherapy underexposed. In light of the psychoanalytic establishment's actual political allegiances and how most psychoanalysts plied their trade in the immediate post-War era in the United States, Adorno's and, later, Marcuse's presupposition that Freudianism is somehow inherently more "critical" becomes at the very

least debatable. Similarly, Honneth was concerned with gleaning from psychoanalysis a developmental model of intersubjectivity, while failing to acknowledge that the consulting room, indeed, the field of mental health as a whole, has become a culturally salient arena in which "struggles for recognition" often take shape and unfold (such as in conflicts related to gender roles, non-conforming sexual identities, as well as in longer-standing struggles over the recognition of psychological harm caused by the traumas of industrialization, poverty, war, and sexual abuse).

In the concluding section of this talk, I thus explore some implications of applying Honneth's framework to the history of psychotherapeutic practices, testing and revising some of its theoretical premises. Conceiving of psychotherapy as a "technology of recognition," I hope to show, has implications for both the historiography of psychotherapy as well as for how one might theorize its ethical and socio-political dimensions.

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Contemporary problems and perspectives of the Russian tradition of the history of psychology

Veronika Rafikova (St.Petersburg University, Russia)

Research into the historical heritage of psychology is of special relevance today for Russian psychologists, as since the fall of the Iron Curtain, Russian psychology has faced the challenge of defining its place within the international science.

The Russian tradition of the history of psychology has a noticeable divergence from the international mainstream after the linguistic turn. Isolationist tendencies are expressed, and there are hardly any opposing trends and discussions, which we consider a positivist tendency. In our opinion, the Russian history of psychology is, in T. Kuhn's terms, at the stage of "normal science," when there is a consensus in the scientific community regarding the basic approaches and principles. Thus, one of the most cited historians and methodologists, Vera A. Koltsova, postulates historicism among the principles of the history of psychology (p. 303). This striving for the "completeness of the reconstruction of the past" we see as a positivist point of view, which is characteristic of the history of the period before the structuralist and linguistic revolution in historiography (Kroche), blind to the subjectivity of the researcher’s interpretation.

Positivist tendencies in Russian history of psychology are not surprising, as they are also characteristic of "general" historical science in Russia (Kroche), and the emergence of new paradigms does not always necessarily entail the death of the old ones. The decades of being forced behind the "Iron Curtain" inevitably entailed the disorientation of researchers after its fall: the need to comprehend what happened as soon as possible and build a new picture of the world led many researchers to follow the “safest” path—to protect themselves with the methodology of the natural sciences.

As H. Luck notes, "... the positivist formation of historical science ... was definitely progress, ... however, we must state that ... history is always a reconstruction (recreation) of the past, which is actually a construction (creation)" (p. 198). With these words, he emphasizes an important problem: history depends upon who writes it. Russian history of psychology is "written" not just by individual subjects, but by a professional community. The current situation, in our opinion, is also due to the fact that a relatively small number of scientists are engaged in research in this area. The smallness of the group of historians of psychology leads to certain specifics: close intra-group ties, which is illustrated by the fact that the sections devoted to the "methodological foundations of research" in the works of various historians of psychology include a "canonical" set of works to which it is customary to refer. Strong reliance on the "opinion of the scientific community" is a general trend. Regrettably, the pitfalls of such a consensus are greater, the smaller the group.

Aiming to overcome the potentially negative influence of the non-general view of the researcher, it is worth remembering the prevailing danger of collective influence. After all, the so-called consensus existing in the national history of psychology can lead the

community to isolation and rigidity, which does not favour the flourishing of heuristics and cognitive activity.

The study was carried out with the financial support of the Russian Foundation for Basic Researches (RFBR) in the framework of scientific project № 20-313-90004

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--END OF SESSION 3--

9:00	*Registration opens*	
Session 1 9.45-11.15	**Room 01** **Not in print: Shaping Scholarly Selves in Informal Settings** Chair: Kaat Wils Virtues in scholarly conversation: Between *parrhesia* and politeness *Maarten Derksen* *Hodegetik*: Students Calibrating the Self *Anne Por* Scholarly sociability for psychologists: National codifications *Kim M. Hajek*	**Room 02** **Unearthing influences & origins** Chair: William Woodward Neoplatonic origins of C.G. Jung's topography of the psyche *Krzysztof Czapkowski* From the Forces of Life to the Energies of Mind *Leonardo Niro* The History and Politics of Self-Esteem, c.1960-90: An Exploratory Paper *Ian Miller*
11.15-11.45	*Coffee break – Rooms 03 & 04*	
Session 2 11.45-12.45	**Room 01** **Politics, money and the human sciences** Chair: Maarten Derksen Everything Costs: The Presence of Money in U.S. Psychologists' Reports on Ethics in the 1960s *Sophia Sinins & Jill Morawski* Operative Psychology: Roots and consequences of psychology in the Stasi *Martin Wieser*	**Room 02** **Physiognomy** Chair: Sharman Levinson Tracing the expressive lines of the human face: Feeling photographs in Duchenne's Mécanisme de la physionomie humaine (1862) *Jacqueline Atkin*
12.45-14.15	*Lunch – Rooms 03 & 04*	

Session 3 14.15-15.45	**Room 01** **Emerging therapies** Chair: Andrea Josipovic Therapeutic magnetism and its academic reception in Belgium, 1830-1860 *Kaat Wils* Dance-movement becomes psychological in the mid to late 20th century: The emergence of dance-movement therapy in the USA and Hungary *Janka Kormos* "Scientificity, Efficiency and Effectiveness" – The Rise of Behavioral Therapy at the Max Planck Institute of Psychiatry in West Germany in the 1960s and 1970s *Lisa Malich*	**Room 02** **Individual Paths** Chair: Jannes Eshuis Artistic-Critical Historiography - Wilhelm Dilthey's Ranke *Henriikka Hannula* Julian Jaynes at McGill: Seeds of Conscientious Objection, 1939-1946 *William R. Woodward* At the origins of work psychology: Angelo Mosso's interest in workers' social welfare *Paolo Contini*
16.00-17.00	**ESHHS Business meeting**	
19.00	**Conference Dinner** Tomasa Villa Kreuzberg Kreuzbergstraße 62, 10965 Berlin	

ROOM 01, 9.45-11.15

Session: Not in print: Shaping scholarly selves in informal settings

Chair: Kaat Wils

We live at a time when the behaviour and character of scholars and aspiring scholars is often cause for concern, and the human sciences have certainly not escaped such controversy. Academia has had its own 'me too' scandals, leading to discussions about the behaviour of specific (usually male) academics, or male scholars in general. The use of social media by academics ('science Twitter') has led to discussions about online civility that are similar to those about the toxicity of social media in general. And whatever side one takes in the debate about 'cancel culture', opinions about the character of academics are involved: about 'snowflake' students or racist scholars, for example. In light of these current concerns, it is worth taking a closer look at the history of the scholarly self: to ask how scholars were ideally supposed to act, what virtues they were expected to embody, and which vices they had to avoid.

Studies of the scholarly self and scholarly virtues (or vices) comprise an important and growing literature. To take some prominent examples, Daston and Galison have linked work on (effacing) the scientific subject to the epistemic ideal of objectivity, while Shapin has argued for the centrality of the 'personal' and 'familiar' in twentieth-century knowledge-making. Our focus in this panel is the scholar as self in interaction with others. What virtues or norms characterized scholarly interaction—ideal or real—in earlier periods and various national-scientific cultures? Could one be critical and civil at the same time, for example?

To ask such questions is, on the one hand, to extend contemporary debates about ethics and integrity in academia by attending to the relations between scholars, not only to how they treat experiment participants or laboratory animals, or to possible fraud (plagiarism, falsification, and fabrication). On the other hand, by taking scholars 'out of print' in their interactions, we shed light on informal, often ephemeral dimensions of scholarly activity. In place of formal evaluations, such as delivered in book reviews, we examine discussions at conferences, conversations meant to train students to express emotions, and virtues associated with teaching or faculty negotiations.

Our panel ranges over several centuries and various (Western) national settings to interrogate when and how the norms of scholarly interaction were codified, which character traits were implied by these norms, and, importantly, how scholars were supposed to acquire such a character. Conversation is one strand structuring our interventions, as a key form of informal interaction, from the Parisian *salons* of the Enlightenment, through German Protestant university training, and into Twitter debates about psychology's replication crisis. A concern with psychology secondly threads through the papers—psychology as a twentieth-century academic discipline whose 'character' has been encoded in official principles of ethics, but also psychology as the practice of coming to know human selfhood.

Twined together, these strands allow us to illuminate how one might shape a scholarly self that had the virtuous character traits required for the ultimately communal endeavour of knowledge-making.

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Virtues in scholarly conversation: Between *parrhesia* and politeness

Maarten Derksen (University of Groningen, Netherlands)

In my paper I will outline a future investigation of scholarly conversation that will focus on the virtues and vices associated with informal talk among scholars. The starting point is the so-called 'tone debate', a discussion that has gone one in recent years among psychologists who use social media, especially Twitter. The tone debate is a meta-debate, a discussion about discussions on social media. It emerged after a series of heated controversies about replication studies. Apart from the merit of replication studies and the interpretation of their results, the manner in which researchers criticized each other had been a topic ever since the so-called 'replication crisis' started in 2011. Eventually, the 'tone' of the debate became the topic of a more or less separate discussion.

From a historical point of view, the tone debate raises (at least) two, related questions. The first is what place conversation, defined as more or less informal communication, has historically had in Psychology and academia more generally. Books and journal articles are the primary, official medium of communication, but what role does conversation play, and has this role been defined and considered before? In other words, what are the virtues of conversation in academia? Secondly, what virtues were supposed to be displayed in conversation? How was a scholar expected to be in conversation?

As a framework for an investigation of scholarly conversation I propose to consider it as always located on a dimension between two extremes, represented by the relentless criticism of the Cynics (their *parrhesia*) on the one hand, and the polite conversation in the Parisian *salons* of the 17th and 18th centuries on the other. *Parrhesia*, frankness, was an important virtue all through antiquity, and the Cynics arguably were its most controversial exponents, practising it as an uncompromising and shameless speaking of truth to power. In contrast, in the *salons* conversation was practised as an art defined, officially at least, by politeness, civility, and honesty, in which the conversation was almost an end in itself.

I will briefly consider the tone debate through the lens of this contrast between *parrhesia* and politeness, and finish by discussing the possibilities for studying the history of conversation in Psychology. Until the advent of social media, conversation was by its nature an ephemeral type of communication, leaving few traces in the archives. However, with its long history of crises and controversies, there will likely have been earlier debates about tone and the virtues of and in conversation.

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***Hodegetik*: Students Calibrating the Self**

Anne Por (Leiden University, Netherlands)

What actually is university education, knowledge or learnedness? How do you know when you feel sorrow, sadness or rather despair? In order to understand and articulate such abstract concepts or individually felt experiences, students at eighteenth- and nineteenth-century universities in the German lands were provided with an introductory course called *Hodegetik* (from ἄγω, to lead, and ὀδός, the way).

Hodegetical authors paid considerable attention to conversation. At least three different reasons for doing so might be distinguished. In 1691, an early hodegetical author Christian Thomasius published his *die neue Erfindung einer wohlgegründeten und für das gemeine Wesen höchstnöthigen Wissenschafft/ Das Verborgene des Hertzens anderer Menschen auch wider ihren Willen/ aus der täglichen Conversation zuerkennen*, in which he described how to use everyday conversation to find out what people kept hidden in their hearts. However, in his other works he also stressed the importance of conversation for social and societal purposes. This very motivation for emphasizing conversation was echoed by the later hodegetical author Martin Schmeitzel in his *Die Klugheit zu leben und zu Conversiren…* (1737). Schmeitzel argued that simply being devout and learned does not suffice. Students

also needed to know how to behave properly among those with whom they would often have to associate. Lastly, and most important for this talk, he claimed that seeking interaction was important because of language, which allowed humans to recognize the 'thoughts of their heart' (Schmeizel 1737: 6).

In this paper, I propose that seemingly casual discussion was an important part of educational processes, when it came to training personal awareness, especially in environments characterized by ideologies of personal freedom. I will outline several mechanisms used by hodegetics authors that allowed for what I call 'calibration': the aligning of one's personal experiences and thoughts with phrasings and terms deemed proper.

First, I will discuss how hodegetical authors used metaphorical imagery to give students an understanding of abstract concepts. Following Lakoff and Johnson's notion of the conceptual metaphor, I will address the imagery most often used and consider how it helped shape the identities of students and thus future scholars or civil servants.

Next, I will describe how hodegetics teachers helped students calibrate somatic, emotional experiences through comparing and relating different terms, reading fiction, and training their mental abilities. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a connection between being sensitive or in touch with one's feelings and being noble, developed and civilized was assumed by many. Therefore, while freedom of feeling and expression was seen as important for each individual, socially and practically, students needed a language to share their sensibility that was somehow standardized and generally accepted. The hodegetics teacher Kiesewetter described a great variety of terms to denote feelings, relating them to each other and showing their nuances. As a Kantian, he furthermore made the socially important and value-laden distinction between the faculty of feeling and the faculty of desire, showing the various adjectives belonging to each category.

Lastly, I will touch upon the possible rhetorical effects tied to such mechanisms of calibration. Using the eighteenth-century obsession with (the buzzword) *Glückseligkeit* (roughly equivalent to bliss), I will illustrate how using vaguely defined but colloquially used words might have allowed teachers/authors to take advantage of mixed connotations.

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Scholarly sociability for psychologists: National codifications

Kim M. Hajek (Leiden University, Netherlands)

Codes of ethics for psychologists are usually associated in historical scholarship with significant debates about proper experimentation, whether that be the place of deception in psychological research, the humane treatment of laboratory animals, or how to guard against scientific fraud. Alongside statements about research with human participants, the importance of confidentiality, or therapeutic settings, however, psychological ethics codes also set out principles and responsibilities that relate to the routine interactions of psychologist-scholars with academic colleagues and students. From the very first 'Ethical Standards for Psychologists' of 1953, the American Psychological Association's (APA) ethics codes have offered advice on matters such as how to present 'potentially disturbing subject matter' to students (APA 1953, §3.14).

This paper analyses precisely these less-discussed portions of psychology ethics codes for what they reveal about how psychologist-scholars have been assumed and encouraged to interact with their peers and students. It ranges in scope over the second half of the twentieth century, starting with the first APA ethics code of 1953, and across the ethical codes promulgated by psychological societies from a number of Western countries, including the USA (APA), France (SFP), and the Netherlands (NIP).

I examine, on the one hand, the various virtues (or character traits) encoded in these formal statements about psychologists' professional values and behaviour when it comes to relationships found in academic settings. 'Tact', for instance, is a virtue evoked explicitly in the 1953 APA code, as needed when psychologists teach 'disquieting facts and controversial theories' (§3.14), while the virtue of (professional) 'independence' must be maintained even in institutional hierarchies, according to the 1962 code of the Société française de psychologie (§6). How much do the societies' ethics codes say about scholarly interactions, in comparison to relationships with clients or with the public as a whole? Which virtues are named explicitly as configuring the scholar-psychologist's sociability? How do these virtues intersect with broader social norms of the country and period?

On the other hand, my analysis attends carefully to the textuality of the various codes of ethics under study. It matters, I argue, *what* was written down and *how* it was expressed. Different assumptions about being a psychologist-scholar are encoded in the imperative insistence that 'le secret doit être sauvegardé' (secrecy must be preserved) in conversation as in documentation (SFP 1962, §2.3), than in the APA's 1992 descriptive statement that 'psychologists are honest, fair, and respectful of others' (§B). One evokes departmental gossip, while the other paints an idealized picture of harmonious collegiality. Moreover, the former implies a principle or virtue (confidentiality), whereas the latter attaches virtues directly to the person of the psychologist.

Some facets of scholarly interaction remain tacit, of course, perhaps self-evident to the framers of ethics codes. Reading the codes carefully not only tells us what seemed worth writing down as principles for behaviour 'out of print' and the virtues that remain attached

to scholarly sociability in the twentieth century. By drawing attention to how ethical principles are textualized, it can also ultimately point to the ephemeral commonplaces of being an academic psychologist.

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ROOM 02, 9.45-11.15

Unearthing influences & origins

Chair: William Woodward

Neoplatonic origins of C.G. Jung's topography of the psyche

Krzysztof Czapkowski (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University, Poland)

In the last hundred years, C.G. Jung's visions of analytic treatment and self-development have gathered large groups of both critics and followers. Just to take some of the most radical views, Jung has been pictured as a prominent academic researcher (e.g. Jacobi, Shamdasani), a gnostic philosopher (e.g. Hoeller), or even a cult leader (e.g. Noll, Storr). The philosophical origins of his thought have already been presented by many scholars ever since he separated from the Viennese school of psychoanalysis. Without a doubt, Jung's early twentieth-century empirical attitude combined with his mystic approach resulted with in a peculiar system not found anywhere else in academic psychology of this period. What distinguished him from other depth psychologists was his ontological background.

The aim of this presentation is to go into the foundations of Jung's ontology of psyche (or the psychoontology, as understood by the prominent Polish philosopher, Jerzy Perzanowski).

His system is pictured here as a psychological incarnation of ancient ideas postulated by the neoplatonic thinkers, mainly by Plotinus. The presented research is intended to be a contribution to the field of the New History of Psychology.

Abandoning Freud's visions of the Unconscious, Jung turned to a multi-level model of psyche which was mainly formed during his emotional crisis following the break-up with psychoanalysis. He postulated an archetypal way of discovering psychic phenomena based on his own experience which was—as he presented it during a 1925 seminar—vastly mitigated just to stick to the clinical and academic ground. Recently published documents (*The Red Book* from 2009 and *The Black Books* from 2019) reveal that his model of psyche might have been intentionally based on the neoplatonic philosophy. His idea of the conscious ego being formed out of the undifferentiated collective unconscious, suggests that Jungian thought may be referred related to the multi-hypostatic monistic system postulated by Plotinus and his followers. Furthermore, looking into the individuation process outlined by the late Jung, it may turn out that the similarities between his system and visions of mystical growth towards the Unity held by neoplatonists may not be unintended.

Neoplatonic thought was thoroughly analyzed by many academics from the fields of history, philosophy and psychology. The presentation will provide a brief overview of neoplatonic psychology present in the thought of Plotinus, Iamblichus and Pseudo-Dionysus, as described by Blumenthal or Calouri, just to relate it to Jung's improvements to the Freudian topography. Following the arguments presented by Barnes in 1945, while Jung was still developing his ideas, there might be several fields to compare Analytic Psychology with generally understood neoplatonic thought: psychic topography, the body-soul relation, ethical values and perspectives on self-development. Although the paper fails to cover the whole Jungian theory, it points out that these two systems share some important similarities (e.g. acknowledging the psyche as a part the One) and differences (e.g. withdrawal from the body postulated by the neoplatonists). The presentation provides a link to the current state of the art covering the conclusions from recently published insights into Jung's development and helps to establish a dialogue between the concepts presented in both theories. With Jungian thought being deconstructed and compared with neoplatonic inspirations, it is also possible to present a brief draft of neoplatonic psychological lineage which may lead from the antiquity, even up to the current post-jJungian thought.

In conclusion, the presentation is aimed at presenting a historical perspective on the topographical system described by Jung. It points to mutual points with neoplatonic philosophy and leads to the thesis that the theory of Analytical Psychology was—in large part—a scientific attempt to establish a neoplatonic psychoanalysis.

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From the Forces of Life to the Energies of Mind

Leonardo Niro (University of Essex, United Kingdom)

Inherited from physics and its earlier applications in the life sciences, notions of psychological force and/or psychic energy became ubiquitous in the emergent psychological sciences in the late-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century. Scientists with projects as widely distinct as William James, Wilhelm Wundt, Sigmund Exner, Pierre Janet, Josef Breuer, Sigmund Freud, Carl Jung, and Wilhelm Reich, amongst many others, have at some point of their work made use of ideas of force and energy. Although their uses of the concept(s) show marked differences, which requires a close and detailed analysis, they all emphasised the need for the psychological sciences to frame the mind (or brain) around the model of a quantity that would at least partially explain some characteristics of our mental functioning.

Heavily impacted by the recently discovered law of energy conservation, the work of the aforementioned authors necessarily entailed a debate with the physiological tradition of organic physics, as proposed by the likes of Helmholtz, du Bois Reymond, Brücke and Ludwig – as well as with the vitalism and teleomechanism the organic physicists so fiercely rejected (Lenoir, 1982). Taking into consideration Edwin Boring's still apt remark that the 'new' experimental psychology 'was really physiological psychology' (1950, p. 425), early psychologists had to consider the impact of thermodynamics in their emergent science. In either attempting to make use of the theoretical framework of the group of organic physicists, or instead in rejecting their mechanist view of life, psychologists were compelled

to engage in wider debates in physiology – and in particular, that on teleology and vital forces.

Although substantial attention has been given to the uses of concepts of force and energy in eighteenth- to nineteenth-century life sciences (Lenoir, 1982; Haigh, 1984; Rey, 2000; Stollberg, 2000; Williams, 2003; Reill, 2005; Zammito, 2017; Gambarotto, 2018), and to individual authors and projects in psychology and psychiatry (Hirschmüller, 1989; Holt, 1989; Widder, 1999; Franzese, 2008; Huneman, 2008; Normandin, 2013; Araujo, 2015; Meares and Barral, 2019; Araujo, Pereira and Sturm, 2021), and even to the human sciences (Rabinbach, 1992), no work has yet attempted to conduct a wider understanding of the different uses of notions of force and energy in the emergent psychological sciences more broadly. The early psychologists, in bringing conceptual frameworks from physiology to psychology, have re-enacted similar models, problems, answers, and disputes from the debate between mechanism vs. vitalism that were at the centre of the life sciences in the eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century. The analysis will highlight the tension present in the concept; while some researchers used it to bring their field of studies (physiology, neurophysiology, psychology, psychiatry, psychoanalysis) into the realm of the natural sciences by attempting to reduce mental phenomena to quantitative relations, others used it precisely to oppose such mechanical reduction by formulating a form of energy that was specifically psychological (i.e., a psychic energy).

The talk will therefore consist in the presentation of the larger research project, aiming to assess how different psychologists, neurophysiologists, and psychiatrists engaged with notions of force and energy as a way of conceptualising mental phenomena – in particular, it explores the function such energetic formulations had in the emergence and constitution of psychology as an autonomous science. As Kremer observed in his analysis of the impact of thermodynamics in nineteenth-century physiology, energy conservation was seen as ‘an over-arching natural law, unifying all the sciences just at a time when disciplinary and institutional specialisation appeared to be permanently splintering the scientific enterprise’ (Kremer, 1984, p. 452). As will be argued, within the context of crisis and fragmentation of science in the nineteenth century, energy provided a common currency, capable of linking psychology to both the natural and the emergent human sciences. In turn, by conceiving the human mind in energetic terms, energy itself was anthropomorphised in various ways. The talk will explore how some authors treated the concept, while concluding with a more contained analysis of how this debate was played in the work of neurophysiologist Sigmund Exner.

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The History and Politics of Self-Esteem, c.1960–90: An Exploratory Paper

Ian Miller (Ulster University, United Kingdom)

In 20th-century America, self-esteem transformed from a specialist concept into everyday idea.[1] We now take for granted that self-esteem underpins personal happiness and emotional well-being. However, self-esteem, in its modern psychological sense, is a relatively new idea. We have naturalised the concept, rarely considering it as an idea laden with invisible racial, gendered, political and class-based implications. In America, the self-confident individual, brimming with self-esteem, became a new ideal. Particularly from the 1970s, education and child care advice stressed the importance of instilling self-confidence in the young on the basis that developing inner happiness would protect them against life's worries, tribulations and events.

Needless to say, this collective personality ideal was overly simplistic. Sceptics routinely argue that self-help strategies implicitly sustain neoliberal political agendas that serves capitalist needs through approaches categorised under the term 'the therapeutic state'.[2] This paper goes a step further by examining how self-esteem concept has simultaneously upheld white supremacy, patriarchal systems and the straight state, moving the debate onwards from its usual focus on capitalist modernity.[3]

While American self-esteem advice was ostensibly aimed at all American citizens collectively, micro-practices such as reading a book on self-esteem or attending a self-esteem class tacitly supported these. Since the 1970s, self-esteem advice was geared largely towards a general audience and had little to say about the specific needs of marginalised groups. Essentially, that audience was the white, middle-class American. Due to this, it overlooked the realities of emotional distress and dwindling self-esteem levels among communities facing discrimination on the basis of race, gender and sexuality.

Hence, in addition to exploring collective psychologies and emotions, as presented in self-help literature, this exploratory paper simultaneously interrogates how some groups and communities were tacitly excluded from a dominant self-help narrative. In doing so, it seeks to shift the conversation away from narcissism towards emotions and feelings such as low self-esteem.[4] The paper engages with questions about how national collective ideals are constructed while reflecting upon the value of approaching self-help through an intersectional lens to comprehend individual and group experiential differences.

Notes

[1] John P. Hewitt, *The Myth of Self-Esteem: Finding Happiness and Solving Problems in America* (New York, N.Y.: St. Martin's Press, 1998); Peggy J. Miller and Grace E. Cho, *Self-Esteem in Time and Place: How American Families Imagine, Enact and Personalise a Cultural Ideal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

[2] E.g. Frank Furedi, *Therapy Culture: Cultivating Vulnerability in an Uncertain Age* (London: Routledge, 2004); David Forbes, *Mindfulness and its Discontents: Education, Self and Social Transformation* (Nova Scotia: Fernwood, 2019); Ronald E. Purser, *McMindfulness: How Mindfulness became the New Capitalist Spirituality* (London: Repeater, 2019).

[3] An exception here is bell hooks, *Rock My Soul: Black People and Self-Esteem* (New York, N.Y.: Atria, 2003).

[4] Christopher Lasch, *Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations* (New York, N.Y.: W.W. Norton, 1979); Jean M. Twenge, *The Narcissism Epidemic: Living in the Age of Entitlement* (New York, N.Y.: Atria, 2019).

-- END OF SESSION 1 --

ROOM 01, 11.45-12.45

Politics, money and psychology

Chair: Maarten Derksen

Everything Costs: The Presence of Money in U.S. Psychologists' Reports on Ethics in the 1960s

Sophia Sinins & Jill Morawski (Wesleyan University, USA)

Most every enterprise involves money, and science is no exception. Yet, reading extant histories of psychology, even critical histories, rarely yields details about money. With the exception of excellent scholarship on early philanthropic and government funding of research in mid-20th century (e.g., Herman, 1995; Solovey, 2013, 2020) and recent critical histories of the commercialization of science (e.g., Mirowski, 2018), scarce scholarly attention has been given to the presence, flow, meanings, and issues of money in psychologists' everyday research practices. Writing about the dearth of such studies, Graham Richards (2010) invited attention to money at the micro-level, places where "funding and practice interact" (p. 322). Richards beckoned closer analysis of the tangled "web of psychological, sociological, economic, and government forces and factors" shaping investigative practices (p. 326).

The presentation contributes to addressing this historical lacuna through analysis of an extensive data set consisting of approximately 2 000 psychologists' statements on ethical problems encountered during research. The statements were solicited from 1968 through 1970 by the American Psychological Association (APA), which aimed to use the empirical findings to ground a code of ethics for the conduct of research (APA, 1973).[1] The respondents were not limited by formal constraints of scientific writing. As such, their survey responses constituted something akin to a "reassembling of the social" (Latour, 2005).

The surveyed psychologists' responses often included mention of money. The survey responses were transcribed from their original written form, and the resultant data set was coded using qualitative data analysis software to determine the frequency of money-related terms (1 242 mentions). The responses were then recoded using coding categories that identify where and how money was discussed. Respondents noted money flows when mentioning subject payment, their own payment, costs of experiments, financial sponsors, and its functions as experimental variables. Money—or cultural practices of monetary exchange—appeared, also, as analogies and metaphors for thinking about research practices. For instance, one respondent, who described concern with awarding students credit for participation in experiments, awarding grades for students' performance as "based upon zeal and availability as a docile laboratory animal and not on the demonstration of knowledge of psychology," described this credit-awarding as a "kind of mutual blackmail" that "can probably be compared with the medieval selling of indulgences" (Survey 1377434sllfA1). Another respondent reported that "the subjects used in potentially

hazardous experiments are all volunteers, who receive hazard duty pay" (Survey 4352c442VIII). After presenting overall findings, we look more closely at respondents' various ways of discussing subjects as "volunteer" and/or "paid," as well as analogies drawn between labour in the lab, which includes volunteering, and work undertaken beyond the laboratories of psychology research.

We explored whether money had different social meanings in its different investigative appearances and under what circumstances money was explicitly connected to the ethical problem being reported. Our analyses show that when reporting on ethics, the psychologist respondents often had money in mind. The findings invite historians' closer consideration of the ways microeconomic processes have shaped psychologists' investigative practices.

Notes

[1] The surveys are located in the Archives of the American Psychological Association (Boxes 435-445), Manuscript Division, U.S. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

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Operative Psychology: Roots and consequences of psychology in the Stasi

Martin Wieser (Sigmund Freud PrivatUniversität Berlin, Germany)

This paper discusses the history and function of "Operative Psychology," a specialized branch of psychology that was established by the Ministry of State Security of the GDR. First, an overview of the development of Operative Psychology from the 1960s until the collapse of the GDR in 1990 is given. The Institute of Operative Psychology was founded in 1965 as part of the Juridical Academy of the Ministry of State Security in Potsdam, East Germany.

Members of the institute were supposed to train the future "elite" of the secret service and facilitate knowledge on practical issues such as personnel guidance, communicational skills, interrogation techniques, how to "win" secret informants, or how to identify and repress supposedly oppositional activities.

Based on archival documents and interviews with former members of the secret service, as well as victims of political persecution in the GDR, it is argued that the main tasks for psychologists who worked for the Stasi was to refine the "human factor" in intelligence work. In order to increase the efficacy and reduce failures that were supposedly caused by an insufficient understanding of relevant psychological factors, psychologists taught their students to grasp the "totality" of the personality in order to induce a profound transformation of their opponents' belief systems. Over the course of its existence, two focal points of Operative Psychology emerged: Methods to identify and persuade secret informants, and the application of techniques of interrogation to prisoners in custody. In both areas, psychologists insisted that intelligence officers need to take the current life situation and personality of citizens into account in order to induce a long-term change of attitudes. From the psychologists' point of view, overt intimidation, threats or blackmailing, at best produce a short-term adjustment of behaviour. A long-term change of attitudes could only be achieved by acquiring psychological knowledge of methods of persistent persuasion and argumentation.

Finally, Operative Psychology is analysed from a broader historical perspective by the introduction of the concept of "micro-totalitarian" practice, referring to a specific "modern" form of political repression that emerged during the Cold War. Since the political leadership of the GDR was pressured to refrain from using visible and physical methods of repression since the 1960s, the secret service had to adapt its methods accordingly. The institutionalization of Operative Psychology was one answer to that, but it also created new problems: During the 1980s it became increasingly obvious that the application of "micro-totalitarian" practices also created new problems for intelligence work, such as officers who built up a personal relationship with their informants, or interrogators who developed sympathy for their defendants. Citizens became increasingly aware about the practices of the Stasi, and some of them even prepared for their encounter in order to resist them—which, however, was again observed and registered by the Stasi.

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ROOM 02, 11.45-12.45

Physiognomy

Chair: Sharman Levinson

Tracing the expressive lines of the human face: Feeling photographs in Duchenne's *Mécanisme de la physionomie humaine* (1862)

Jacqueline Atkin (McGill University, Canada)

During the second half of the 19th century, there was a surge of interest in the study of human facial expression. To visualize their theories and promote them globally, leading men in science and medicine collaborated with artists; together, they created hundreds of images that were reproduced in scientific and popular publications worldwide. One such publication was the French neurologist Duchenne de Boulogne's *Mécanisme de la Physiognomie Humaine* (1862). Illustrated by 82 original photographic plates, *Mécanisme* shows the neurologist stimulating his patients' faces with electrical probes to trigger fantastic muscular contractions. The revolutionary study was conducted using a novel technique of localized electrization, developed by Duchenne in 1852, that permitted the neurologist to induce muscular contractions without piercing the skin. While localized electrization enabled the isolated contraction of individual facial muscles, photography permitted the neurologist to fix the fleeting expressions he drew on the faces of his models. The resulting photographs, which serve to map out the individual muscles of the face and demarcate the boundaries between them, are presented in *Mécanisme* alongside viewing instructions meant to guide the reader's interpretation of the extraordinary and, at times, grotesque images.

According to Duchenne's instructions, the reader is to conceal certain areas of the photographs by masking them with her hand, thus revealing the boundaries of each muscle made to contract under localized electrization. For him, touch had the capacity to expand the scope of his reader's vision. Following the neurologist's directions, the reader is to animate the still photograph by way of tactile manipulation, enlivening the image as she glides her fingers across it. In this paper, I consider how the interactive viewing practice delineated in *Mécanisme* reflects a broader reconceptualization of vision that took place throughout the 19th century. The viewer, previously accepted as a neutral, disembodied witness of external phenomena, was reimagined as the site upon which internal sense organs and the external objects that they apprehend meet. For Duchenne, the skilled tactile manipulation of his photographs served to activate their epistemological potential;

knowledge about his photographs and the experiments they documented was to be gleaned by way of the reciprocal and mutually constitutive relationship between vision and touch presumed in his instructions.

While scholars such as François Delaporte, Andrew Cuthberston, John Hueston, and Jean-François Debord have investigated *Mécanisme*'s lasting impact within both scientific and artistic disciplines, an analysis of Duchenne's efforts to operationalize the process of viewing his photographs has yet to be undertaken. This paper explores the rhetorical strategies of Duchenne's photographs and their accompanying text by considering how the neurologist constructed, captured, and attempted to direct his audience's reading of a novel object of study – the dormant human form waiting to be expressively activated by expertly trained hands. Further, it expands to situate Duchenne's photographic study within wider 19th-century debates about epistemology, vision, and image-making. In directing his reader to view photographs with her eyes and her hands, I argue, Duchenne sought to facilitate her participation in (or, perhaps more accurately, the illusion of her participation in) the construction of photographic and scientific truth.

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-- END OF SESSION 2 --

ROOM 01, 14.15-15.45

Emerging therapies

Chair: Andrea Josipovic

Therapeutic magnetism and its academic reception in Belgium, 1830–1860

Kaat Wils (KU Leuven, Belgium)

On Tuesday June 8 1841, Petronille Friens, a Dutch waitress of 30, was found on the streets of Brussels suffering from a cataleptic attack. She was taken to the town's main hospital, associated with the university. The following day, the hospital called upon Edouard Montius, a magnetiser of some renown. In the five weeks that followed, Petronille Friens became an object of public interest and medical experimentation. Montius' daily sessions during which he put his patient in a state of catalepsy attracted an audience of hospital doctors, in-service medical students, members of the board of the Brussels hospitals, journalists and members of the town council. Calling upon a magnetiser to assist in a medical treatment and experimenting together on (poor and mainly female) patients was not uncommon in mid-nineteenth century hospitals. Such practices have, however, hardly been documented, except for a few famous cases, among which a series of experiments in 1837-1838 by the French magnetiser Charles Dupotet and doctor John Elliotson in London's University College Hospital.

Montius' report on the case is quite unique in offering a lay magnetiser's perspective on a successful magnetic treatment in a hospital context. It provides, at the same time, a good window into the broader phenomenon of mid-nineteenth century animal magnetism and the contexts in which it functioned. The narrative indeed reveals some key tensions that characterized therapeutic magnetism around 1840. The therapeutic use of magnetism was, in the first place, never completely separated from experiment on the one hand, and spectacle on the other hand. Secondly, lay magnetisers nor doctors had a monopoly on the use of therapeutic magnetism. Even when they collaborated, power relationships were unequal and authority was contested. Montius was well aware of the initial skepticism of the head physicians of the hospital, who were also professors at the university. He nevertheless hoped that the attention he had gained through his work with Petronille would further the academic status of magnetism. A few days after her release from hospital, he contacted the University of Brussels with the request to teach a course on the topic. The negative response that followed was not surprising: the recent negative judgements on magnetism by the French Academy of Medicine were well known in Brussels and Montius did not even have a medical degree. It did not, however, imply a lack of interest in magnetism within the medical community. Medical societies had started their own investigations into the phenomenon. In the same period, German *Naturphilosophie* also inspired some academic philosophers to embrace magnetism as a scientific confirmation of the truth of psychological spiritualism.

In my presentation, these tensions will be further analysed. I start with a sketch of therapeutic magnetism's rise in 1830s Brussels within its transnational context. I then turn to discussions on magnetism within the medical and academic communities, demonstrating the diverse encounters between lay and academic knowledge and therapy.

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Dance-movement becomes psychological in the mid- to late 20th century: The emergence of dance-movement therapy in the USA and Hungary

Janka Kormos (University of Pécs, Hungary)

This paper presents a cross-cultural study of the emergence of dance-movement therapy from the mid to late 20th century, in the USA and Hungary, respectively. The professionalization of dance-movement therapy occurred within the socio-cultural context of 20th century modernization, the growth of free-market capitalism in the USA, and marketization reforms during the last decade of state-socialism in Hungary. The study demonstrates the process through which dance became scientific and psychological in the 20th century. The influx of psychological and therapeutic concepts like the unconscious and dream analysis into the field of dance could be understood as an example of therapeutic culture permeating various areas of life in the 20th century. Rudolf Laban attempted to make dance scientific by anchoring movement expression in psychophysical theories and systematizing bodily movement and within his notation system. Other modern dancers conceptualized dance activity as therapeutic, and the dancer as a (secular) healer, a therapist. The nascent years of dance-movement therapy in the USA were characterized by the confluence of dominant esoteric currents and efforts to scientifically understand, codify, and systematize movement. Modern dancers-cum-psychotherapists attempted to recuperate the spirit, speak the language of the soul, and sought to regulate individual and group behaviors through therapeutic dance practices.

The emergence of Hungarian movement and dance therapy was intimately tied to the socio-political processes of the state-socialist regime, such as the institutionalization of psychotherapy in public hospitals, and the adaptation of Western group psychotherapies

within the informal setting of the 'second public sphere'. The Hungarian method was developed independently from the American and Western European traditions of dance-movement therapy and remains distinctly different in its theory and practice. Its theoretical framework is indebted to the legacy of Michael Balint and the British object-relations school. Its methodology is rooted in postmodern dance techniques which emerged as a direct critique of modern dance ideals. The differences between American dance-movement therapy and the Hungarian method reflects the shift in dance aesthetics that occurred internationally from the 1950s to 1980s.

The central focus of the study is the process through which dance-movement activity and performance became a psychotherapeutic modality at different moments in time, in two distinct geographical locations. What were the institutional and cultural forces that coalesced in this process? What were the nascent aesthetic and methodological elements within dance performance which potentiated their therapeutic application? How and what kind of practices were developed in these two different geographical locations that came to be called dance-movement therapy? Concerning the history of the discipline in the USA the question is how did dancers become therapists? In relation to dance-movement therapy in Hungary this question goes as, how did psychiatrists become interested in dance-movement practices?

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"Scientificity, Efficiency and Effectiveness" – The Rise of Behavioral Therapy at the Max Planck Institute of Psychiatry in West Germany in the 1960s and 1970s

Lisa Malich (Universität zu Lübeck, Germany)

In German universities, Clinical Psychology today is largely characterized by behavioural psychotherapy, whereas psychodynamic psychotherapy is not part of academic Psychology. In my contribution, I will examine the history of behavioural psychotherapy in Germany by undertaking a historical case study of the influential Max Planck Institute of Psychiatry (MPIP) in Munich in the period of the "therapeutic turn," that is, in the 1960s and 1970s.

Two central actors in West German psychotherapy were at work here at the time: First, Paul Matussek (1919–2003), a psychiatrist and psychodynamic psychotherapist who was given his own research centre in Munich in the 1960s, where he worked on the psychological consequences of concentration camp imprisonment; and second, Johannes Brengelmann (1920–1999), a physician and psychologist, who initially focused on personality psychology. Brengelmann had spent several years in residence at the Maudsley Hospital with Hans Eysenck in the 1950s and became head of the psychology department at the Max Planck Institute for Psychiatry in Munich in the beginning of the 1960s. Today, he is considered a central actor who had a major impact on the formation of Clinical Psychology and

behavioural therapy not only at the MPIP, but also in Germany and even in Europe (he was the initial founder of the European Association for Behaviour Therapy in 1971). In contrast, Matussek is almost forgotten and his research centre was closed after his retirement in the 1980s.

In my paper I will describe some of the strategies of Brengelmannian behavioural therapy that contributed to its rise, in particular the rhetoric of "scientificity, efficiency and effectiveness," the use of experimental-statistical practices and material means (manuals, tests, questionnaires), the explicit boundary work against psychodynamic approaches (especially against Matussek), and the formation of networks with important academic actors in the Anglo-American world and with welfare state agencies in West Germany. Finally, my paper asks about the historical conditions under which the ascent of behavior therapy took place and outlines two contextual factors in more detail: 1. The specific competitive situation in West German psychiatry, in which university psychiatry was almost exclusively somatic and traditionally opposed to (psychodynamic) psychotherapy: Here, the early behavioral therapy of the MPIP benefited from its orientation toward somatic psychiatry. 2. The political culture of West Germany in the late 1960s, which was marked by student riots and an emerging public discussion of the National Socialist past: Within this context, many psychodynamic approaches participated in socio-critical debates, whereas early behaviour therapy refrained from any political statements and research objects. While historians like Maik Tändler (2016) often associate West German psychotherapeutization with the politicized subcultures and emancipative practices of the student movement, I would like to differentiate between different therapeutic cultures in Germany. It was Brengelmann's behavioural therapy that led to a specific academic therapeutic culture of Clinical Psychology, which appeared decidedly apolitical and positioned itself ontologically and epistemically close to somatic psychiatry.

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ROOM 02, 14.15-15.45

Individual Paths

Chair: Jannes Eshuis

Artistic-Critical Historiography – Wilhelm Dilthey's Ranke

Henriikka Hannula (University of Vienna, Austria)

Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911) is best known as a philosopher of human studies (*Geisteswissenschaften*), who tried to demarcate the differences between the natural and human sciences. The proposed presentation is connected to my PhD dissertation project, which tries to trace the development of Dilthey's philosophy trough the concepts of historicism, naturalism and *Lebensphilosophie*. It pays special attention to Dilthey's relationship to his contemporary historians and the development of professional historiography during the late 19th century.

In the presentation, I argue that the historian Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886) was a crucial influence on Dilthey's epistemology and theory of history, as well as his hermeneutics. This relationship is of both systematic and historical interest, and yet it has received relatively little attention in Dilthey scholarship thus far. The Herderian and Schleriermacherian roots of Dilthey's hermeneutics have been thoroughly studied; my goal is to expand this genealogy by showing that Ranke also played an important role in it. For Dilthey, Ranke provided a more practice-oriented model for hermeneutics—one that was closely connected to questions of methodology and the development of academic, scientific historiography.

For Dilthey, Ranke exemplified the virtues of *the artistic-critical outlook* on history. As his beloved and respected teacher, Ranke was "the embodiment of historical insight as such." The theme of Ranke as "a great artistic historian" stretches from Dilthey's early publications in the 1860s until the 1910 *Formation of the Historical World in the Human Sciences.* In *Formation*, Dilthey compares Ranke with Goethe, in *The Imagination of the Poet* (1887) with Shakespeare. He also elevates Ranke to the ranks of the greatest "poetic" historians of the ancient world, Herodotus and Thucydides.

The key in Dilthey's reception of Ranke is the relationship between art (*Kunst*) and science (*Wissenschaft*). The idea of artistic historiography—and historian as a quasi-artist—was not at odds but *constitutive of* the critical ideals of Rankean scientific historiography.

For Ranke—or at least "Dilthey's Ranke"—the artistic outlook was an epistemological principle that made historical research possible in the first place. It was a constitutive element of *historical imagination* i.e. the skill or insight that every historian needs to grasp the past in terms of meaningful configurations, such as cultures and epochs. This kind of synoptic, holistic vision reveals how all singular historical facts, figures, sources, and events hang together. Dilthey recognized that this principle was implicitly present in Ranke's historiography, and set out to develop it further philosophically. The explicit motivation for

his whole philosophical project, as expressed in the *Introduction to the Human Sciences* (1883) was to find an epistemological foundation for the Historical School, of which Ranke was perhaps the most prominent member.

Furthermore, artistic-critical historiography was employed as somewhat of a *Kampfbegriff* in the struggle between academic history and philosophical history (as practiced e.g. by Hegelians and Kantians). In opposition to philosophical history that saw the past as raw material for its speculative metahistorical narratives and theories, artistic-critical historiography treated history as an aesthetic spectacle to be respected on its own terms, *as it appears*. Consequently, it treated history as an empirical subject. History was not to be explained through rational deliberation or moral principles, only through critically interpreting the remnants of the past that are available to us, i.e. sources. I claim that the discourses around artistic-critical historiography were closely connected to the virtues of source criticism and impartiality and were thus an integral part of the identity-building and professionalisation of academic historiography in the 19th century.

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Julian Jaynes at McGill: Seeds of Conscientious Objection, 1939–1946

William R. Woodward (University of New Hampshire, USA)

Julian Jaynes is known for his 1976 book, *Origins of consciousness in the breakdown of the bicameral mind*. It is also natural to want to know the origin of his breathtaking idea that humans were listening to the gods until around 1000 B.C., when they developed consciousness.

As his only history of psychology student, and a co-author (Jaynes & Woodward, 1974), I inherited his papers after his death in 1997. I will forward them to the Archives for the History of American Psychology when I have finished my biographical project. I published a chapter about the Unitarian background to his thought (Woodward, 2006). Here I want to explore his courses and mentors at McGill University, 1939–1941, his junior and senior years. He did masters work at University of Toronto, 1941–42, then returned to Massachusetts to register for the draft in December 1942. He subsequently reported to a work camp of the Civilian Public Service in New Hampshire, then walked off camp and was arrested and incarcerated at Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary in Spring 1943. I had the question: did his studies or his friendship circle influence him in choosing war resistance?

Two facts are striking about his college years. (1) His education in English literature. He took courses on Shakespeare and Chaucer and did well in them. Professor Harald Files encouraged him to write poetic verse, leading him to write at least a dozen plays and to spend several years acting and writing in Salisbury, England. A fellow student had composed the history of poetic verse (Whitehead, 1936). His plays depict struggles of character, including "Liar," "The Hater," "The Lover," "Edward the King," and "Journey to Golgotha." The latter depicted the interrogation of Judas and Jesus by Pontius Pilate.

The other little known fact (2) is his study of philosophy with Roderick MacLennan, including Sunday evening soirées. MacLennon had studied in Scotland with Norman Kemp Smith, the legendary Kant scholar. MacLennon himself did not publish much, but he mentored many dissertations, and from them we can glean something about the topics of his conversations with Julian: (1) the moral side of David Hume (Yalden-Thomson, 1948), and (2) a strangely parallel theory to Jaynes's later theory of the origin of consciousness, namely, that man's moral nature came about rather suddenly in antiquity (Panos, 1941).

Kemp Smith's discovery of the ethical foundation of Hume (1941) had impressed Roderick MacLennon (MacLennon, 1967). His student Panos noted:

> It was never suggested, I think, until Professor Kemp Smith's *Philosophy of David Hume* appeared in 1941, that moral philosophy was Hume's original, and perhaps his main, concern… Remarkably enough, there was **no such thing as a problem of moral freedom for the ancients** (sic). More remarkably still, perhaps, there was no such thing for them as the concept of will, such as we know it today. Even though some explanation can be given of the reasons which prevented the problem from arising for the thinkers of antiquity, it nevertheless remains a most remarkable fact that it did not. Upon closer examination, this fact proves itself important as it is remarkable. For the concept of moral freedom serves as the basis for a thoroughly different approach to ethics, a veritable revolution in moral thought ... (Panos, 1941).

Julian also mentioned in a letter to his mother a valuable course on psychology and sociology taught by Forrest E. LaViolette, a sociologist who had worked in a Japanese concentration camp and was preparing a book on Japanese assimilation (*The Canadian Forum*, 1946, p. 44). LaViolette (1945) exemplified moral freedom in his work on behalf of Japanese internees.

During his senior year, Julian also found time to take an evening course on water colors and to do clay sculpture, submitting a bust in a competition. He listened to the Brandenburg concerto and played piano. Graduating in May 1941, he looked for a summer job in Montreal.

Leaving Montreal, he enrolled in a master's degree at University of Toronto during 1941–1942, taking two undergraduate courses: "History of Psychology" (with George Brett) and "Mental Hygiene." He also took two graduate courses: "Introduction to Research" and "Theory of Mind" (Curriculum vita). He purchased books by Aristotle, Plato, Schiller, Kant, and James while studying with Brett.

After the Pearl Harbor attack in 1941, Julian wrote to his mother about a speech by F.D.R.: "It stirred me very much to hear the Congressmen yelling & whistling when the President declared war on Japan—it sounded like a Legion Parade or a Football Game, or some more joyous event." In a class Jaynes was teaching, he wrote: "we discussed the speech & the types of propaganda which will probably be used" (JJ to CJ, Dec. 9, 1941). Julian was critical of the patriotic enthusiasm for war.

A year later in December 1942, Julian returned from Toronto. Family letters reveal an older professor and family friend, Alfred Lane, who counselled him to seek alternative service. Meanwhile his Aunt Marian and cousin Nathan Lauriat expressed shame for the family that he might refuse to enlist. A friend described his effort to get the pacifist organization Fellowship of Reconciliation to publish a dissenting statement on the war; he also asked Julian to inquire about a possible job opening at the Campton, NH, Civilian Public Service camp.

Jaynes's brother Robert Jaynes enlisted in the army with 1A status, assigned to be a photographer. He wrote to Julian expressing envy that Julian at least had like-minded conscientious objectors at the work camp (Robert Jaynes to Jaynes, Oct. 23, 1942). Evidently, however, Julian disliked the physical work and deliberately walked off the camp, whereupon he was arrested and sentenced to prison.

Jaynes spent Spring 1943 until mid-1946 at the Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary. A fellow inmate named Arthur A. Dole (2013) knew him there, saying that there were psychiatrists doing research at the prison (Robert Lindner, Marris Peck, Milton Gurwitz): "All three of us assistants were able to use our experience in Lewisburg as a springboard to careers… Julian Jaynes, also a CO, was young and very bright, a good companion" (Dole, 2013, p. 73). Dole's reason for pacifism:

> During a 'good' war I like to think that COs serve an important function in mitigating the very real risk that our side may become like the enemy…

Dole's observations about the prison give us a feel for Julian's experience:

> A substantial portion of the population consisted of veterans who had been convicted of serious violent crimes. Some were suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder, a psychiatric condition not in the textbooks at that time… I was never approached sexually or abused, nor did anyone confront me about my war resistance (p. 74).

Julian's letters to his mother were muted: he described playing piano for weekly devotions. He also asked his mother to send him books. He wrote poems exploring the character of inmates: "The Friend," "The Musician," "The Killer," "The Electric Chair," etc. Julian was released on parole in May 1946 (Griffin to Jaynes, May 3, 1946). He entered the doctoral program in experimental comparative psychology at Yale that Fall 1946. He would have turned 26 that year. But that is another chapter in my prospective Jaynes biography.

Julian was a man of principle. As for his draft resistance, I have no doubt that it was a principled decision and that it required opposing his aunt's and cousin's wishes. I have found circumstantial evidence that he studied moral philosophy, that a fellow student espoused a theory of the emergence of will in antiquity, and that his sociology teacher worked in a Japanese internment camp. He criticized the cheering Congress when President Roosevelt announced that the U.S. would go to war. While in Lewisburg prison, he did not join 13 COs in the 1943 hunger strike for better conditions (Sibley & Wardlaw, 1945). I look forward to reading his letter to Attorney General Francis Biddle explaining his reasons for declining to serve in the military (Jaynes to Biddle, Dec. 1942). I have not located it yet.

Note

Julian's long-deceased sister-in-law in Alstead, NH, Mildred Jaynes, was apparently in possession of his letters when he died. She declined entreaties to send them to the Akron archive. She did allow me to photocopy some of them on a single afternoon circa 2004, so that I have 66 letters and a McGill transcript in photocopy. In addition, I copied his E. G. Boring correspondence about a comparative psychology book series in the 1960's. I also have his poems and dramas from prison 1943–1946 and after undated.

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At the origins of work psychology: Angelo Mosso's interest in workers' social welfare

Paolo Contini (Università degli Studi di Bari Aldo Moro, Italy)

Remembered as one of the most important Italian physiologists of the 19th century, Angelo Mosso has been studied with a particular focus on his physiological research, which embraced various topics, such as respiration, blood circulation, brain temperature, recording devices, etc. Scholars, however, have not examined the more or less hidden goal of his work: man and his working conditions. Although this theme was at the centre of attention of European scientific culture, starting with the Helmholtzian theories of the 1840s, Mosso dealt with it in a particular way that marked the beginning of researchers' interest in work psychology. In this regard, H. P. Bowditch, A. Giordano, and J. Joteyko's research has been remembered. Bowditch, with whom Mosso had frequent contact concerning laboratory work, exhibited diagrams in 1872 showing the rate of growth of boys and girls near the age of puberty that differed from A. Quetelet's findings, in that the average height of the girls

was greater than that of the boys at about the thirteenth and fourteenth years. On the basis of these results, the physiologist L. Pagliani described these boys as subjects of lesser stature, lower weight and lower life capacity due to fatigue. Using Quetelet's index, in 1905 and 1915 Giordano analysed the biometric and morphological parameters of the suffering children working naked in the Sicilian mines by comparing them with the data of children used for industry, and pupils of the same age. The conclusion was the existence of a direct correlation between physical alterations, social class of membership, and socio-economic status: the average body-weight in children of the poor class was inferior to the subjects of equal age of a wealthy class or employed in factories. Meanwhile, the Polish physiologist and psychologist Józefa Joteyko, using a modified instrument devised by Mr. Schortmann of the Atelier Markvorstifte in Leipzig and utilized by H. Kronecker in his investigations on the muscular curve, carried out research into muscle and nervous system fatigue in order to find out how science could improve workers' lives, thus leading to industrial efficiency and productivity.

Unlike most academics, who, in deference to the Saint-Simonian ethical suggestions of efficiency and productivity for the general good, studied work and treated it as a means of social reform, Mosso – probably because of his humble origins – empathised with the sufferings of children working naked in the Sicilian mines (the so-called *carusi*), of peasants working many hours a day without rest or food, and of migrant workers. Hence, his signalling of the urgent need for further experimental studies of fatigue.

Consequently, the current paper aimed aims at analysing Mosso's investigations into fatigue within the cultural horizons of the period between the 19th and 20th centuries from an integrated psycho-sociological perspective. This research approach has made it possible to shed more light on the identification of the first steps toward the creation of workers' profiles, i.e., their own individual characteristics, attitudes, and temperaments into manual or intellectual activities, the time they needed to rest or to have 'a glass of wine or a cup of coffee,' etc. The emerging picture could therefore be considered a further piece in the knowledge of a historical period that has not yet been entirely analysed.

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-- END OF SESSION 3 --

9:00	*Registration opens*	
Session 1 9.30-11.00	**Room 01** **Child trauma & education: Forgotten figures** Chair: Dennis Bryson Catastrophic Times: The Pogroms of 1918–1921 and Fischl Schneersohn's Theory of Childhood Trauma *David Freis* The Renewal of the German Mind after 1945: The Psychologist Brigitte Schliebe-Lippert and the Reorganization of the Teacher Training Programs in Hesse, ca. 1945–1955 *Laurens Schlicht* Balancing science and practice: A case of Agota Šidlauskaitė (Agatha Sidlauskas) and her Venta Preparatory School *Junona Almonaitiene*	**Room 02** **Psychoanalysis: Concepts & terminology** Chair: Julia Gyimesi On the history of the death drive: Spielrein, Freud, Reich *Thomas Diesner* Bowlby and psychoanalysis: appointments derived from a vocabulary analysis *Pedro Fernandez de Souza & Kaira Neder*
11.00-11.30	*Coffee break – Rooms 03 & 04*	
Session 2 11.30-13.00	**Room 01** **Institutions & concepts around child deviance** Chair: Jamie Cohen-Cole Intersectional Expertise and the Rise of Juvenile Courts in Wilhelmine Berlin (1900-1917): Civic Engagement, Judicial Process, and Psychiatric Evaluation *Eric Engstrom* Theories and therapeutic-educational methods of early female Hungarian psychoanalysts concerning the treatment and prevention of deviant behaviour *Dóra Szabó*	**Room 02** **Using the history of psychology in psychology** Chair: Roger Smith Reintroducing 20th Century authors in current psychology: Some historiographic remarks. *Luciano Garcia* Revising Trauma: The Origins of the New Trigger Culture *Shaul Bar-Haim & Amalia Ziv*

	Child psychiatrists and psychologists in France and Switzerland in the 1940s and 1960s: the construction of a medico-psychology? *Camille Jaccard & Mathias Gardet*	
13.00-14.00	*Lunch – Rooms 03 & 04*	
Session 3 14.00-15.00	**Room 01** **Human Sciences in Interwar Vienna** Chair: Martin Wieser The Role of the Local within the History of Science: Results of the Karl Bühler Research Project *Janette Friedrich & Gerhard Benetka* Method as politics: The case of holism vs. empiricism in early 20th century Vienna *Silvia Rief & Alan Scott*	
15.00-15.30	*Coffee break & Goodbye!*	
16.00-18:00	**Tempelhof Airport Tour (Optional Activity)**	

ROOM 01, 9.30-11.00

Child trauma & education: Forgotten figures

Chair: Dennis Bryson

Catastrophic Times: The Pogroms of 1918–1921 and Fischl Schneersohn's Theory of Childhood Trauma

David Freis (University of Augsburg, Germany)

In Eastern Europe, the end of the First World War did not bring an end to the violence. Ukraine was ravaged by the German occupation, the Russian revolution, and the ensuing civil war. From the end of 1918 to August 1920, Kyiv changed hands sixteen times as different factions in the civil war struggled for supremacy. The Jewish community was particularly affected by the violence, as more than 1,200 pogroms devasted Jewish homes, businesses, and places of worship. Many Jewish children, often wounded, traumatized, and orphaned, flocked to Kyiv.

One place where these children could receive care and medical treatment was the clinic of the pedagogic institute of the University of Kyiv, headed by Fischl Schneersohn (1887–1958), a physician, psychologist, and descendant of an eminent dynasty of Chassidic rabbis. Schneersohn developed a research and treatment program that included extensive psychological examination – using an innovative methodology that relied on statistics and surveys as well as on games, narration, and art. The results of this study, initially published as a Yiddish book about the 'catastrophic times and the adolescent generation', are a uniquely rich account and a poignant analysis of childhood trauma in post-war Eastern Europe. For Schneersohn, his experiences and observations were the starting point for broader reflections about new forms of 'social and mental hygiene' that would rebuild Jewish communities, foster resilience, and create a common identity. These ideas, which merged modern psychology and Ashkenazi mysticism, became the core of his later psycho-social theories and reform activities, and led him to the DP camps in Germany after the Second World War.

The aim of this paper is to introduce Schneersohn's writings as a previously neglected source for Jewish children's experiences of the post-war turmoil in Eastern Europe, to explore his pedagogical treatment and psychological examination of his child patients, and to situate his understanding of trauma, resilience, and Jewish identity in its historical and intellectual contexts.

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The Renewal of the German Mind after 1945: The Psychologist Brigitte Schliebe-Lippert and the Reorganization of the Teacher Training Programs in Hesse, ca. 1945–1955

Laurens Schlicht (Universität Saarbrücken, Germany)

After 1945, the rebuilding of education was amongst the most urgent tasks. Schools were supposed to help turn a nation of National Socialists into democrats as quickly as possible. Material deficiencies after the war, but also a lack of suitable teachers and the need for new knowledge techniques were challenges that both the occupying powers and the newly constituted German ministries of education faced. So far, research has mainly relied on the perspective of the occupying powers on "re-education" and paid less attention to discussions within the ministries. Sonja Levsen has called for a change of perspective in her research, and in my contribution I would like to follow her suggestions (Levsen 2019). In my paper, I would like to focus on the way in which a specific psychologist contributed to reflecting on and restructuring teacher education in Hesse.

Brigitte Schliebe-Lippert (1898–1993) is one of the many forgotten female psychologists in the history of psychology. As one of the first women she did her Habilitation at Gießen university in 1932 and developed an original theory of "epochal psychology," claiming that the psychological constitution of human beings is dependent on the "epoch." From 1933–45 she worked in different positions, and showed signs of adaptation to the ideology of National Socialism (Schliebe-Lippert 1934), without however being politically active. After the Second World War, she was one of few female leaders in the reconstituted Hessian Ministry of Education and ran the department of teacher training (Schliebe-Lippert 1952).

A reassessment of the history of reeducation (Puaca 2009; Jarausch 2004) has become necessary through Levsen's central research (Levsen 2019). Using a German-French comparison, Levsen shows that one has to re-think the thesis that German post-war education was primarily characterised by a dissociation from the authoritarianism of Prussian and National Socialist education. In fact, the discussions about restructuring education after 1945 were clearly more complex. In my paper I therefore contribute to the reflection on education in times of dramatic societal changes and to the question of how psychologists responded to the challenge of dealing with what they saw as a disturbed constitution of the mind. What knowledge resources were available to inculcate the principles of democracy in the next generation? Could psychology help to decide on the fundamental norms of how people could peacefully live together? Schliebe-Lippert's extensive and, with few exceptions, unexplored papers allow for a detailed analysis of how

actors conceived of the relationship between psychology and education. Psychologists like her played an active part in creating interfaces between the human sciences and state systems. With reference to historians of psychology like Mitchell Ash (2002) I want to use Schliebe-Lippert's case as an example for deepening our understanding of the complex interactions between political and scientific constellations in the immediate post-war era.

In my contribution, I analyse the way in which Schliebe-Lippert implemented her version of psychology in teacher education within the framework of the democratisation of education after 1945. I will use archival and published sources as basis for my contribution: the extensive papers of Schliebe-Lippert kept in the Hessian State Archives, documents in the Mainz University Archives, the published texts of Schliebe-Lippert as well as persons working with her, such as the Minister of Culture Erwin Stein and her husband Georg Schliebe. A separate collection of sources are the letters that Schliebe-Lippert exchanged with Max Horkheimer in the period 1950–1955, which are kept in the Frankfurt University Library.

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Balancing science and practice: A case of Agota Šidlauskaitė (Agatha Sidlauskas) and her Venta Preparatory School

Junona Almonaitiene (Lithuanian University of Health Sciences, Lithuania)

A certain split between science and the practice of psychology can be seen throughout its history. But what happens when a scientist becomes a practitioner, and she still seeks scientific background for her practice? I present such a case hereinafter.

Agota Šidlauskaitė (later Agatha Sidlauskaite, Sidlauskas, 1914–2017) had an exceptional life and career in developmental psychology. She finished Master level studies at the Theology faculty of the Lithuanian (Vytautas Magnus) University in 1936, received a perfezionamento (PhD level) diploma at Milan in 1943 (Agostino Gemelli was one of her supervisors there),

and left emigrated to Canada. Šidlauskaitė was long a professor at the University of Ottawa, the founder and a head of the Child Study Center there.

In my paper, I will concentrate on Šidlauskaitė's late professional activity. It started after her retirement from the University, in 1981, when she founded the Venta Preparatory School at Carp near Ottawa. Šidlauskaitė held the leading position at the school until 1993, and later worked as psychologist there for about two decades.

At the school, individualized programmes of educating and socializing were created for each child, who often had learning difficulties or disabilities, on the basis of mandatory psycho-educational testing. The teaching methods applied were based on Šidlauskaitė's "deep scientific insights" (Rimkutė, 2008), and they were validated in practice by the desirable results achieved. An original set of ideas from philosophy, psychology, pedagogy, psychopathology, neurology were employed during the interventions. However, besides her publications as a professor at Ottawa University, Šidlauskaitė left rather few academic papers related to her post-University practice. This seems quite strange for a person who has had a long academic career, and has had scientifically based original ideas successfully applied in real life, and thus inspires us to take a closer look.

Šidlauskaitė's cautious approach to academic explanations of her methods was partially overcome by her Lithuanian colleague, Eglė Rimkutė, who published what can be called a reconstruction of the theoretical background of the educational practice at Venta school (Rimkutė, 2008), and shared some observations during an interview (Almonaitienė, 2022).

Relying on Rimkutė's comments, it is possible to state that Šidlauskaitė faced several challenges trying to balance science and practice in her late career. The challenges were related to dominant trends in psychology as a discipline during the last two decades of the 20th century, and the wider historical context. First, she based her practice on the proposition that the uniqueness of each individual human being must be taken into account in order to disclose abilities, but not just to overcome disabilities and "to fit a norm." Following that principle, Šidlauskaitė reached very good practical results, finding different solutions in different cases. But she could not provide scientific evidence to prove the effectiveness of her interventions, as it was expected to be expressed quantitatively. The second discrepancy was that in her practice Šidlauskaitė widely relied on scientific knowledge from a variety of fields; the idea of a holistic approach to human being was basically implemented in this way. But she compiled the knowledge following her intuition and, thus, wasn't ready to give clear scientific background for her decisions or to generalize them in order "to fit all." Third, being sceptical about generalized statistical data in many cases, she relied on psychological testing of cognitive functions during her practice. The list could be continued.

I call facing these challenges "balancing," because science and practice were equally important in Šidlauskaitė's late career. I find the way she dealt with them was creative. It inspires asking questions about the understanding of individual differences in psychology, its approach to diversity, and methodological and historical issues.

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ROOM 02, 9.30-11.00

Psychoanalysis: Concepts & terminology

Chair: Julia Gyimesi

On the history of the death drive: Spielrein, Freud, Reich

Thomas Diesner (Society for Human Ontogenetics, Germany)

The death drive is certainly still one of the most controversial concepts of Freud's psychoanalysis (1920). According to this, aggressivity is an inevitable part of human nature, something to be reckoned with and requiring normative restraint or at least sublimating efforts. This rather conservative anthropology cannot easily be supported by an approach that aims at liberating man from institutionally mediated oppression and alienation of libidinous desires. Critics, such as Wilhelm Reich (1932) and Otto Fenichel (cf. 1998), also feared the possibility of biological legitimation and uncritical acceptance of aggressive actions, such as war or exploitation.

My presentation will explore the meaning of the death drive concept by recalling its origins in the work of Sabina Spielrein and Sigmund Freud. It is therefore – first – Sabina Spielrein's contribution „Die Destruktion als Ursache des Werdens“ (1912), to which Freud (1920) refers in a footnote, whose theoretical significance for the development of the death drive concept will be examined. In her contribution Spielrein develops an innovative version of the drive. She assumes two drives, of self-preservation and species-preservation, and unfolds them in mutual dependence as processes of differentiation and of assimilation or dissolution. Thereby, the species-preservation instinct abolishes the individual in favour of the (symbolic) social and thus enables the emergence of something new:

> If we want to make this specific content, which is accessible only to us [...] accessible to others, then [...] we strip the content of the specifically personal and express it in the symbolic form, which is generally valid for the species. Thus we follow the second tendency in us, which stands in contrast to the first, the assimilation or dissolution tendency. [...] the species-preservation instinct is a 'dynamic' instinct, which strives for the change, the 'resurrection' of the individual in a new form. (Spielrein 1912, 490 f.).

It is the process of dissolution of the I into a We that can ultimately be experienced positively or negatively, as annihilation or death. Freud integrates the dynamics of destruction into his concept, giving it a permanent place in the duality of the life and death drives, which has determined the interpretation of Spielrein's variant until today. The ambivalence of the species-preservation instinct in Spielrein now seems to give way to a more rigid interpretation of two poles in Freud. However, it seems to me problematic to subsume her approach simply under that of Freud. It is not only that the theoretical influence of Nietzsche is neglected. The distinctive feature of creativity that Spielrein emphasizes is thus lost as well. Thus, the primary task is – secondly – to unfold an interpretation of Spielrein's destructive drive independent of the Freudian concept.

It is then questionable whether Reich's criticism also applies to Spielrein's conception. Reich's critique and discussion of the death drive is very influential and marks the beginning of a line of argumentation that can be traced into critical theory, especially in Herbert Marcuse. On the other hand, the concept is taken up again by Lacan in a modified form. The question is therefore – thirdly – whether theoretical parallels to Spielrein can be better found in a Lacanian perspective.

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Sabina Spielrein's use of psychoanalytical and linguistic terminology with special regard to her thinking about language development

Katalin Faluvégi (Budapest Business School &University of Pécs, Hungary)

Sabina Spielrein is one of the most original thinkers among the first generation of psychoanalysts. Throughout her career she cooperated with the "grand masters" (Freud, Jung, Piaget) in practice or in spirit. It bears witness to Spielrein's original thinking that she always adapted the results of this common thinking to her own research. This not only enriched her own ideas but also had an impact on her Freudian, Jungian and Piagetian foundations. My presentation aims to illustrate this reciprocity with two terminological questions connected to the way Spielrein thought about language, which is my main research interest.

From early on, Spielrein showed strong interest in the peculiarities of language. This openness unfolded during the Geneva period of her life. During this phase, between Autumn 1920 and Spring 1923, she wrote three comprehensive studies situated at the crossroads of linguistics and psychiatry/psychology. These are: 'Die Entstehung der kindlichen Worte Papa und Mama – Einige Betrachtungen über verschiedene Stadien in der Sprachentwicklung' ('The Origin of the Child's Words Papa and Mama. Some Observations on the Different Stages in Language Development'), (1922); 'Die Zeit im unterschwelligen Seelenleben' ('Time in Subliminal Psychic Life'), (1923a); 'Quelques analogies entre la pensée de l'enfant, celle de l'aphasique et la pensée subconsciente ('Some Analogies between Thinking in Children, Aphasia and the Subconscious Mind'), (1923b). Common features of these papers relevant to my presentation are that (1) they are centred on thinking mechanisms and their development, and (2) their key idea is that linguistic observations can bring us closer to understanding unconscious functioning.

These ideas are each strongly connected to a terminological question:
The first one is connected to how Spielrein thinks about the relationship between language and thinking and how she defines language. The most information relevant to this can be found in the third of the three papers mentioned above (Spielrein 1923b). The ideas she discusses here about language and its relation to thinking partly reflect Piaget's influence (different forms of representation, a functionalist approach to language etc.), but Spielrein sticks to her psychoanalytical base throughout (thinking and language as simultaneously

influenced by subconscious and conscious thinking mechanisms, subconscious forms as feeding conscious ones etc.).

Regarding the second idea, which raises the issue of making a parallel between linguistic and psychoanalytic observation, it is the first two papers (Spielrein 1922a, 1923a) that offer ideas worth thinking further in terms of terminology. Spielrein thinks that lessons from linguistics can support psychoanalytic knowledge because language is formed in the 'unconscious (or, more precisely, the subconscious)' (Spielrein 1922:348), or the 'preconscious' (Spielrein 1923a:307, 309). Conspicuously, the unconscious, the subconscious and the preconscious all appear as the possible 'birthplace' of language, which makes the reader wonder what is behind this.

If we try to find the answer by tracking the use of terminology in Spielrein's individual papers, we will find that before her Geneva period, she discusses almost only the conscious-unconscious dichotomy. At the same time, two long letters written by Spielrein to Jung in December 1917 (Spielrein 1917a and 1917b) shed light on the background: on her struggles in creating terminology, and on the interpretation of the unconscious, the subconscious and the preconscious (and also, tangentially, the conscious). The two letters not only bring us closer to understanding these concepts but also show how, while strongly relying on Freud and Jung, Spielrein combines their theories to create her own interpretation (e.g. in terms of the relationship between the subconscious and the preconscious).

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Bowlby and psychoanalysis: Appointments derived from a vocabulary analysis

Pedro Fernandez de Souza (University of São Carlos, Brazil) &
Kaira Neder (University of São Paul, Brazil)

Central in several theoretical fields (such as developmental psychology and psychiatry) (Keller, 2018) and even in the practical field (Rosabal-Coto et. al, 2017), by becoming a basis for political publics of various countries, Attachment Theory was formulated by John Bowlby during the 50s and the 60s, culminating in his trilogy, the first volume of which (*Attachment*) came out in 1969. It is interesting to note that Bowlby, despite of this extension of his own theory, repeatedly stated that its theoretical basis was *Freudian psychoanalysis* (Bowlby, 1969/1892). The relations (not always consensual) between attachment theory and psychoanalysis are the subject of several studies, whose foci extend from the genesis of Bowlbyan concepts to their applicability to the most varied psychoanalytical concepts (Gullestad, 2001; Zepf, 2006).

In this work, we try to approach this problem through *terminology*. Firstly, studying the development of the vocabulary employed by Bowlby, one notices that his terminology underwent important changes over the years. In 1952, in his report to the World Health Organization, Bowlby regularly employs terms such as “ego,” “superego,” and “object” (in its metapsychological sense) (Bowlby, 1952); in 1958, in an article published in the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, he still uses terms like “identification,” “ego,” and “superego,” but very rarely (Bowlby, 1958); in 1960, in another article, he uses the term “repression” to discuss the differences between normal and pathological anxiety, but this is again a rare use (Bowlby, 1960). In 1969, however, in his main book, this vocabulary is practically absent, and it gives way to the lexicon of ethology and the behavioural sciences (Bowlby, 1969/1982). This indicates that, although Bowlby tried to bring his theory closer to Freudian theory, the epistemological field in which attachment theory is situated could be very different from that in which psychoanalysis is situated.

Despite this gradual and radical change in vocabulary, Bowlby continued to point out supposed similarities between his and Freudian theories—and here again we have a terminological issue to deal with, for Bowlby weaves this rapprochement with psychoanalysis by imputing to Freud, more than once, the employment of the word “attachment.” In his 1958 article, Bowlby (1958) cited a passage from Freud in which the latter would have spoken of a “great attachment to the mother” developed by the child. Going back to the Freudian text cited by Bowlby, however, we see that the word used is “*Mutterbindung*” (connection or bond to the mother): it is the “*ebenso starken Mutterbindung*” (an equally strong bond to the mother) that precedes the “*Vaterabhängigkeit*” (dependence on the father) (Freud, 1931/1999, p. 520).

In 1969, in a similar argument, Bowlby (1969/1982) quoted Freud, according to whom the child’s love would have its origin at its “attachment” to the satisfaction of hungry; it is a citation from a 1938 text, in which Freud (1938/1999, p. 115) employed the term *Anlehnung* (support, sustentation), translated by Strachey as “attachment.” I.e., in both cases, there are

two different German words that may (or may not) be translated as "attachment"; the fact, nevertheless, is that Freud never used this term ("attachment") as a concept, which at the very least weakens Bowlby's arguments. Thus, starting from these two analytical lines, we conclude firstly that the study of Bowlby's vocabulary demonstrates his crescent and categorical separation from Freudian psychoanalysis, and also shows his (very unconvincing) persistence in trying to reconcile himself with it.

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--END OF SESSION 1 ---

Room 01, 11.30-13.00

Institutions & concepts around child deviance

Chair: Jamie Cohen-Cole

Intersectional Expertise and the Rise of Juvenile Courts in Wilhelmine Berlin (1900-1917): Civic Engagement, Judicial Process, and Psychiatric Evaluation

Eric Engstrom (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany)

In 1908, Berlin's judicial system began to create special courts for juvenile defendants. As part of a larger, nationwide movement, these courts sought to address rising rates of juvenile crime and recidivism. The paper examines the shifting dynamics of social work, legal procedure, and medical diagnosis that accompanied the creation of these juvenile courts. It concerns a certain extra-legal, subsidiary infrastructure (so-called *Jugendgerichtshilfe*) that courts relied upon to enable and enhance their courtroom practices. That infrastructure was built from pre-existing private and semi-public social service agencies and networks in early twentieth-century Berlin.

In analyzing this infrastructure, the paper relies mainly on two concepts. Heuristically, it draws on and adapts Kimberlé Crenshaw's notion of *intersectionality* to explore how this infrastructure was established amidst overlapping power formations (police, courts, poor-relief agencies, schools, medicine) and indeed how it was designed to overcome the incongruities that arose at their intersections. The paper argues that the legitimacy of Berlin's *Jugendgerichtshilfe* was conditioned upon this intersectional space and indeed had to be forged within it. The second concept is *expertise*. Here the paper draws on the work of Ariane Leendertz, Nico Stehr, and Reiner Grundmann, who argue that experts serve as intermediary "knowledge workers" who actively enable and facilitate decision-making processes. In the case of Berlin's *Jugendgerichtshilfe*, the knowledge or expertise provided by these workers was specifically designed to help courts reach decisions about juvenile delinquents. The paper claims that Berlin's *Jugendgerichtshilfe* can therefore be understood as a kind of *intersectional expertise*.

Historiographically, the paper adopts a perspective outside of existing, stock narratives about criminal justice reform in Wilhelmine Germany. Instead of exploring the well-researched parliamentary debates or the views of famous criminologists and legal scholars, it turns its attention instead to the local strategies and legal practices used in certain interstitial, socio-cultural spaces alongside the law ("praeter legem"). This shift in perspective is all the more necessary given that juvenile courts evolved, by design, in just such fissures. It was there that nascent social workers, charity organizations, psychiatrists, and pedagogues expanded their influence over judicial proceedings. Short of full-blown criminal law reform, which never materialized in Wilhelmine Germany, *Jugendgerichtshilfe* exploited existing legal ambiguities and socio-medical resources in order to address a perceived crisis of juvenile deviance. And unlike the many failed attempts to reform criminal law, juvenile courts were hailed

nationwide as a resounding success. Indeed, the renowned jurist Franz von Liszt praised them as evolving out of a "broad, popular movement rather than a narrow scholarly one."

After outlining the pre-existing protocols governing the adjudication of juvenile defendants, the paper describes the programmatic agenda used to establish juvenile courts. It then turns to the work of Frieda Duensing as the head of the German Center for Youth Assistance (*Deutsche Zentrale für Jugendfürsorge*). Specifically, it examines her efforts to mobilize and coordinate Berlin's panoply of private aid organizations, as well as the strategies she developed in interacting with juvenile defendants. It highlights the ambiguities of her role as both an advocate for young defendants' interests, as well as a collaborative arm of the criminal justice system. Finally, the paper also explores Duensing's close collaboration with local psychiatrists and their evaluations of juvenile defendants.

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Theories and therapeutic-educational methods of early female Hungarian psychoanalysts concerning the treatment and prevention of deviant behaviour

Dóra Szabó (University of Pécs, Hungary)

The characteristic manifestations of deviant and antisocial behaviour among children and the possibility of their treatment are recurrent issues in various fields of the psy-sciences (Conrad & Schneider, 1992; Rose, 1996; Rose, 1999; Kovai, 2015; Wright, 2017; Sik, 2018). In this particular discourse, psychoanalysts represented a crucial standpoint concerning psychological explanations of deviant behaviour (Freud, 1906, 1916; Ferenczi 1914a, 1914b, 1919; Aichhorn, 1925/1951; Alexander, 1937/1961). Their theories presented an opposing opinion about the dominant themes at the time and challenged reductionist theories, such as the concept of atavism or the constitutional approach (Lombroso, 1889; Rafter, Posick & Rocque, 2016; Gyimesi, 2022). In classical Freudian psychoanalysis, universal drives – for instance the death drive which is often embodied in destructive and antisocial behaviour – were identified as the main motivational forces, and their regulation through various environmental factors was a crucial determinant of proper socialization. Therefore, the failure of social adaptation – which can cause juvenile delinquency – is rooted partly in inadequate educational processes, and particularly connected to family in this psychoanalytical framework. Consequently, not just new forms of therapeutic treatments began to be developed, but the idea of prevention was also emphasized more in the psychoanalytical community. This new research area grew into a significant theoretical and practical issue among the members of the Budapest School of Psychoanalysis in the 1920s and 1930s, especially in the case of Hungarian female analysts. Those pioneers usually came from non-physician professions such as nursery education or special education. As a result, they practised as lay analysts in the Budapest Polyclinic and educational guidance services (Vajda, 1995, 1996).

This research investigates the main concepts of less-known Hungarian female analysts concerning the aetiology, prevention and possible treatment of children's behavioural problems. Therefore, this study is based on the analysis of some influential works of Klára G. Lázár (1933/1993, 1938a, 1938b), Kata Lévy (1933, 1935a, 1935b, 1935c, 1939) and Lucy Liebermann (1938, 1941, 1953 1956), with special attention to the role of Budapest-based educational guidance centres concerning the treatment of delinquent youth. This research hypothesizes that due to the general overrepresentation of lay analysts in the Budapest School of Psychoanalysis, these female analysts represented a special viewpoint regarding psychological explanations of deviance. Under the influence of Sándor Ferenczi, their psychoanalytical perspectives placed emphasis on different psychological phenomena, rather than exclusively on classical Freudian psychoanalysis. However, their work became the fulfilment of Sigmund Freud's political vision to some extent in the early 20th century (Jones, 1957): through the gradual demedicalizaton in the explanation and treatment of delinquency, psychoanalysis temporally strengthened its position outside psychopathology. Therefore, it seems that in this framework, deviance was not an *illness* that had to be *cured,*

it was rather the consequence of inadequate social adaptation which could be *modified* in a special therapeutic-educational relationship.

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Child psychiatrists and psychologists in France and Switzerland in the 1940s and 1960s: The construction of a medico-psychology?

Mathias Gardet (CNRS-Paris 8, France) &
Camille Jaccard (CNRS-Paris 8, France & Université de Lausanne, Switzerland)

Child psychiatry is a relatively young specialty, whose institutional recognition varies from country to country. Can we speak of a multidisciplinary specialty? The emergence of this field has mainly been described as that of a medical specialty and it is often psychiatric physicians who trace its history and claim authorship. However, the history of practices in specific places of professional practice makes it possible to highlight the decisive role of psychologists in the construction of this discipline, to the point that we can speak of 'medico-psychology', a term that is not often used and which is generally preferred to that of medico-educational.

This paper intends to document the construction of practices and knowledge from two case studies: 1) The Office médico-pédagogique vaudois created in Lausanne in 1942 whose aim was to carry out forensic expertise for the Chambre pénale des mineurs and which provided a consultation service designed to diagnose and treat neuropsychiatric disorders in children, and 2) the Centre d'observation pour mineurs délinquants de Paris also created in 1942 and which served as a temporary placement for minors, following the introduction of the law relating to delinquent children, which required a "psy" expertise upstream of the judicial decision. On the basis of patient files and the institutional documentation of these services, we will question the distribution of tasks and the more or less effective collaboration between the different professionals present in these structures. We will also try to identify the hierarchical relationships between the different professionals by pointing out the competencies attributed to each of them on the question of expertise and diagnosis.

If psychologists seem at first to be subject to the authority of doctors, they gradually claim a certain autonomy in the realization of assessments and even psychotherapy. We will give examples of diagnostic and psychotherapeutic techniques developed or invented in these services, which we will examine as places of legitimization of the psychologist's skill through practice.

Finally, the France-Switzerland comparison will encourage us to observe transfers of models, exchanges of practices and experiences, and study trips and observations from one country

to the other. The differences will, on the other hand, allow us to point out discrepancies, even delays, or misunderstandings, about the place of psychologists in these systems. For example, the question of lay analysis, which became controversial in the 1960s, was not necessarily be discussed in the same way in both contexts.

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ROOM 02, 11.30-13.00

Using the history of psychology in psychology

Chair: Roger Smith

Reintroducing 20th-century authors in current psychology: Some historiographic remarks

Luciano Garcia (University of Buenos Aires, Argentina & Sigmund Freud Privatuniversität, Austria)

This paper aims to examine and discuss what kind of historical and epistemological operations are involved when past authors are recovered and put into dialogue with current discussions in psychology. As in most other disciplines, psychologists regularly use authors who produced their work in distant times and geographies, though it is usually done without proper consideration of what it means for B. F. Skinner or Sigmund Freud to be cited in today's research in South America or Central Europe. Besides the regular research that refers to familiar figures for Western psychology, such as William James or Jean Piaget, there is also a growing literature that aims to bring back researchers whose production had substantial quality and originality that, for several reasons, are still unknown or has been disregarded or

"invisibilized." Yet such reintroduction of past figures is far from being a transparent operation; it involves several key epistemological and historiographical assumptions about how past theories and methodologies might work—or not—in current research. To historians of psychology, such an operation cannot be simply tackled with a mere rejection of ahistorical accounts of the discipline or the denunciation of different forms of marginalization.

The problem of current uses of past authors is connected with two issues: on the one hand, how canons are formed in a discipline and what is their function; and on the other, how to provide approaches that allow for a more rigorous and productive use of past knowledge in ongoing psychological research. This paper will present some criteria to avoid some problems with the geographical and historical relocalization of authors, and a discussion of what it means to highlight certain authors in a field that barely recognizes a shared canon of references, and because of that, is still open to new figures. Taking hermeneutic tools from theories of reception aesthetics and transnational perspectives, this paper discusses the problem of the search for anticipations of present knowledges in past authors, the assumption that past ideas and vocabulary can be used in the present despite the fact that the historical conditions that produced them are no longer available, and the status of individual authors in the context of the circulations of knowledge and the actual conditions of research, both in epistemological terms as well as non-epistemic aspects of legitimation. The historical and geographical distances between the contexts of production and the present brings to the forefront the problem of how concepts are appropriated in settings with different problems and disciplinary dialogues, how different political references change the accreditation of an author, and how innovation in psychology is considered.

These topics will be tackled with examples from three different types of recent literature: one that discusses how authors were "rediscovered" in the West, such as the case of Lev Vygotsky or Continental Phenomenology in the Neurosciences; literature that stresses how some authors have been systematically disregarded, as the case of female psychologists in the USA or traditions on the Western periphery; and a third type that advocates for mostly unknown authors considered to be still productive and relevant. The period covered is limited to the authors who produced between 1920 and 1970 in Europe and the Americas.

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Revising Trauma: The Origins of the New Trigger Culture

Shaul Bar-Haim, (University of Essex, United Kingdom) &
Amalia Ziv (Ben-Gurion University, Israel)

The paper aims to present this historical shift in discourses of trauma from a focus on the 'traumatic event' to a focus on the 'traumatic trigger'. It argues that this the epistemic change that took place in the past two decades is due to a different understanding of the temporality of trauma, as well as in the enmeshment of therapeutic culture and political culture to which it attests.

The coining of PTSD in the DSM-III (1980) designates a shift in the public understanding of trauma, i.e., trauma started to be conceptualised by and through the traumatic event itself rather than by the pre-dispositioned mental vulnerability of individuals. Under this new framework for understanding trauma, the traumatic event – it was now argued – is likely to leave its psychosomatic mark on all those who experienced it – directly or indirectly. By the late 20th century, trauma turned from a medical concept of allegedly vulnerable individuals into a central cultural and political framework for defining personal and collective *identities*, leading groups to demand recognition and rights not only on moral and ideological grounds but also by reconstructing collective traumatic histories. Examples of such 'cultural trauma' are varied geographically and historically, although many of them involve the construction of narratives of trauma in collectives that suffered totalitarian regimes in 20th-century Europe, or colonial histories in the global south (see for example, historical debates over who were the victims in post-communist societies, the trauma of the Nakbah in Palestine, and demands for reparation for slavery in the US).

In the 21st century, we are now witnessing another discursive shift, namely the emergence of a 'trigger culture', prevalent mainly in progressive political subcultures, digital spaces, social media, the arts, as well as the higher education system. After the emergence of PTSD as the organizing concept for describing psychosomatic post-traumatic symptoms, the notion of 'trigger' came to designate a sensory reminiscence (or recollection) of the

traumatic event, that has the potential to revive the event in the survivor's memory, and thus activate a set of symptoms – and therefore as something to be avoided if possible.

However, in the last decade, triggers have, in a sense, displaced the traumatic event itself at the core of the traumatic complex; put anther away, the harm of exposure to 'triggers' has become indistinguishable from the harm of the traumatic event. This has given rise to a growing demand for 'trigger warnings,' namely alerts forewarning of content that might act as a potential traumatic trigger, a demand that reflects an attempt not only to avoid traumatic events, but to shape the public domain so as to eliminate anything that can be perceived as a trigger for any form of traumatic event. This demand should be understood in the context of a growing understanding of trauma as far more pervasive than it was traditionally regarded and inflicted by oppressive social conditions on entire groups, not just individuals; and of traumatization as an ongoing and daily process, rather than an exceptional singular event. Further, we argue, the onus of responsibility for the harmful effect of 'triggers' is placed on anyone who fails to take into account a widespread vulnerability in public and interpersonal interactions.

-- END OF SESSION 2—

ROOM 01, 14.00-15.00

Human Sciences in Interwar Vienna

Chair: Martin Wieser

The Role of the Local within the History of Science: Results of the Karl Bühler Research Project

Janette Friedrich (Universität Genf, Switzerland) &
Gerhard Benetka (Sigmund Freud PrivatUniversität Wien, Austria)

Estates are an important source for the history of science, which, for the most part, contain manuscripts and the scientific correspondence of the respective researchers. However, sometimes one can also find traces of scientific activities realized in a certain place, at a certain time and in interaction with others. Such materials include: minutes and transcripts of research colloquia and association meetings and the like, announcements of events, research reports and research projects, newspaper reports, notebooks, event programs, etc. These documents have specific characteristics that distinguish them from monologic texts. One could say they were formulated 'half orally, half in writing' and usually turn out to be circumstantial events, i.e., they indicate where to look for further information on these activities. In our opinion, these sources are interesting for the history of science as they give insight into the *public spaces* in which scientific knowledge was not only presented but also produced. They show the *local scientific traffic*, about which often only little can be learned in the work of a scholar. They refer to the situational character or, in other words, the event character of scientific work. The method necessary for the analysis of these materials can be characterized as "describing in the mode of the present" (Gumbrecht), as an excursion into the 'then present'.

Using the example of our research in the archives of Karl and Charlotte Bühler, we would like to present and discuss some of these sources. On the one hand, we will thereby address the question of the relationship between an author's work and such locally situated research activities. What does one say about the other? To what extent does the knowledge of these sources influence and alter the reading and interpretation of a work? And to what extent does "describing in the mode of the present" critically challenge the notions of reading and interpretation that are, after all, central to a history of concepts, ideas, and problems. On the other hand, the article seeks to take a position in a debate that has been taking place within the history of science for quite some time. Since the 1960s there has been repeated criticism of a history of science that presents an author's work primarily as an immanent link in a cumulative production of knowledge in which predecessors and paradigm shifts are identified (Canguilhem). However, neither can the results of our research be placed in the externalist historiography that has emerged in response, which examines the dependence of scientific production and knowledge on economic, social, political, and institutional

conditions. In contrast, they seem to be a good complement to analyses that focus on research **activities**, e.g., examining the laboratory and the experiment as privileged sites of knowledge production (Rheinberger), or analyzing in more detail the material representation of scientific objects. Here we can see similarities to our approach, which proposes to start with *local constellation*s and *practical events* in order to be able to say something about theoretical research results produced in a presence that will always remain alien to us.

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Method as politics: The case of holism vs. empiricism in early 20th century Vienna

Silvia Rief (University of Innsbruck, Austria) &
Alan Scott (*University of New England, Australia)*

Holism, the anti-reductionist view that 'social facts' exist prior to and exercise a coercive influence over individuals, has been an established view ever since the publication of Durkheim's *Rules of Sociological Method* in 1895. Despite Durkheim's classic formulation, sociological holism has adopted in a variety of forms. While the French tradition of Comte and Durkheim linked holism to positivism, in the German-speaking world, the connection between holism and metaphysics was strong. In this context, holist modes of thought became popular within antimodernist movements after the First World War (Harrington, 1996). Biologists, psychologists and neurologists warned of the advance of machine science and its mechanistic explanatory perspectives. Holism similarly gained traction in quantum physics (Forman, 1971), chemistry, and in technical and engineering studies. With the 'machine' coming to stand for the opposite to the 'whole', holist alternatives centred on vitalism, teleological causality or organicist functionalism. Holist perspectives in the natural sciences resonated with the wide-spread *Kulturkritik* expressed in intellectual and popular discourse.

In this paper we turn to the case of early 20th century Vienna in which epistemological and methodological disputes were mapped onto perceived political differences. Ernst Mach's individualist sensationalism was a key inspiration for positivism in the shape of logical

empiricism, but also appealed to more conservative thinkers such as Popper, Hayek and others. The Austrian School of Economics built on subjective value theory and was firmly individualist in its epistemological outlook. Holism, on the other hand, became particularly prominent and influential within radical conservative thought, notably that of Othmar Spann.

Following our previous analysis of holism and metaphysics in the thought of Spann (Scott and Rief, 2021), in this paper we intend to explore whether there was also a holism of the Viennese 'left'. While for members of the 'left Vienna circle', notably Otto Neurath, empiricism was equated with social progress and holism with reactionary metaphysics, the picture becomes more complex when we examine more closely the various strands of left social thought some of which incorporated holistic notions of 'totality' (e.g., Georg Lukács) or functionalism (e.g., the Austro-Marxist Otto Bauer and independent socialist Karl Polanyi).

Did left-leaning social scientists and philosophers of science in the (Austro-) Marxist tradition explicitly adopt or reject holist stances, steer a middle ground between holism and individualism, or implicitly embrace holist schemes of thought? How did these stances interlink with and affect their late Enlightenment vision of social science as serving a, broadly speaking, emancipatory agenda? Were empiricism and the critique of metaphysics set in critical distance from holist perspectives or did they connect to certain kinds of holisms?

Beyond the particular case, our aim is to address a broader question: Is the relationship between an epistemological/methodological stance and a political perspective a necessary one – as many of those on both sides believed – or a contingent relationship that can vary between contexts?

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-- END OF SESSION 3--

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