



## **Book of Abstracts**

### **ESHHS, CHEIRON & SHP: Three Societies Meeting**

ESHHS—the European Society for the History of the Human Sciences

CHEIRON—the International Society for the History of the Social and  
Behavioral Sciences

& SHP—the Society for the History of Psychology (APA division 26)

The American University of Paris, Paris, France

July 1st–July 5th, 2025

## **ESHHS, CHEIRON & SHP: Three Societies Meeting**

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## **Acknowledgments**

We thank the following people and institutions for their support and assistance in planning our annual meeting this year:

### ***Board members of the three societies:***

ESHHS: Sharman Levinson (President), Kim Hajek, Janka Kormos, Júlia Gyimesi  
Cheiron: Larry Stern (President), David Devonis, Jennifer Bazar, Ian J. Davidson, Zed Gao,  
Rodrigo Lopes Miranda, Mark Solovey, Pache, Stéphanie, Verena Lehmbruck  
SHP: Jeremy T. Burman (President)

***Conference Host:*** Special thanks to The American University of Paris for providing the conference venue, funding, and technical & administrative support.

***Conference Support:*** Our thanks to the members of the CLiPsy Research Unit (University of Angers, France) and especially Professor Aubeline Vinay for their continued support for historical and epistemological research on clinical contexts and history of psychopathology and for supporting this conference in particular.



***Proposal Reviewers:*** We thank each reviewer for their valuable comments and recommendations.

Our enduring gratitude goes to Kim Hajek for her very judicious and precise feedback and suggestions at all stages of the conference preparation and program organization.

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## **Conference Schedule**

### **Day One: Tuesday, July 1st, 2025**

#### **2025 Cheiron Book Prize: Governed by Affect: Hot Cognition and the End of Cold War Psychology**

**Michael Pettit, York University**

Citation from the Book Prize Committee:

Cheiron's book prize committee unanimously recognizes as the 2025 joint winner, Michael Pettit's book, *Governed by Affect: Hot Cognition and the End of Cold War Psychology*, published in 2024 by Oxford University Press (OUP).

Michael Pettit is Professor in the Psychology Department of York University in Toronto. His scholarship and graduate teaching are aligned with the Historical, Theoretical, and Critical studies in Psychology graduate program there. Trained as an historian of science, his scholarly work has focused broadly on modern psychology from a critical viewpoint. He has organized a new series for OUP, *New Histories of Psychology*, and this monograph stands as that series' first volume.

This book offers a sweeping overview of the changing understanding of the foundations and role of the discipline after the Second World War. Focusing primarily upon the United States, Pettit notes that the schools and systems approach which marked so much of the discipline during the first half of the 20th century had culminated by 1970 in what seemed to be "a triumphant cognitive revolution at mid-century" (p. 2). Yet that triumph was short-lived. Pettit proposes that, beginning in the early 1970s, the discipline underwent a broad realignment in its self-understanding through three major transformations: "(1) a change from being a social or natural science to a health one; (2) an increasing orientation of university-based psychological scientists and their organizations toward the realm of self-help and public policy; and (3) the overshadowing of cognitive science by theories of affect" (p. 3). He traces the rise (and fall) of particular themes and "hot" topics with a particular eye for multiple methodological fallacies and missteps which have often forced psychological researchers to question their own theories and experimental techniques. He offers sobering and challenging analyses of serious ethical lapses in both organizational activities and laboratory research in psychology's recent history.

Long-term instructors of psychology will recognize in this narrative how the teaching of theories and "facts" in the field have required alteration or reconsideration as the overall

discipline has evolved. Indeed, Pettit's detailed and comprehensive mastery of the literature and the way he has woven together so many controversies struck one committee reviewer "as a powerful critique of the pretensions of psychology's 'scientific' grounding that so dominated the field in the first 2/3rds of the 20th century."

The review committee believes that Pettit offers a deeply-researched and significant re-evaluation of psychology's history over the past half-century and will serve as a crucial resource for scholars and teachers in the decades ahead.

**2025 Cheiron Book Prize: Enlightenment Biopolitics: A History of Race, Eugenics, and the Making of Citizens**

**William Max Nelson, University of Toronto**

Citation from the Book Prize Committee:

Cheiron's book prize committee is delighted to announce the 2025 joint winner, William Max Nelson, for his book *Enlightenment Biopolitics: A History of Race, Eugenics, and the Making of Citizens* published in 2024 by the University of Chicago Press.

A writer and professor at the University of Toronto, Nelson specializes in the history of the Enlightenment in France and its colonies and the French Revolution. His work combines intellectual history and the history of science to explore the ways in which ideas about race, gender, and the body, and about time and progress, emerged, circulated, and shaped conceptions of citizenship and social order. He has also written extensively on art and aesthetics, experimental modernist prose, and early modern globalization.

Many of these themes are taken up in innovative and compelling new ways in *Enlightenment Biopolitics*. Starting from the premise that eugenics was not a twentieth century invention, but actually has deep roots in the eighteenth century, Nelson argues that Enlightenment themes of liberty, equality, and fraternity were connected with and dependent upon demarcating and defining their obverse: hierarchical categories based on race, gender, sex, and class. These twin projects—inclusionary and exclusionary—did not simply coexist but were dialectically related, stemming from a common assumption, a fixation on human quality and belief in human malleability in the service of the state that Nelson calls "biopolitics."

Through his incisive readings of works of natural history and political economy, Nelson examines a startling range of ideas about controlling human reproduction and classification: the "manufacture" of mixed race soldiers (especially to guard the rebellious populations of Saint-Domingue); the restriction of the bodily autonomy of certain "others" to create a designated underclass of laborers; the forbidding of intermarriage between whites and people of African descent; even proposals for crossbreeding humans and apes to create a race of "natural slaves." As he persuasively documents, equality and inequality, inclusion and exclusion, the human and the dehumanized, rights and race, were intertwined and co-constitutive ideals.

On the committee, we praised Nelson's book as beautifully written and highly original, and in illuminating the complexities and ironies of the project of human equality, revealing for us

how much there is still to learn about the Enlightenment and the Age of Revolutions. Because questions of human rights and of citizenship—whether and in what ways to extend them, who deserves them—remain current and fraught, Nelson’s book also has much to teach us about our own present day.

### **Making the Experimental Body: Claude Bernard and the Genealogy of Experimentation**

**Elizabeth Stephens, University of Queensland**

This paper examines the new concept of experimentation elaborated in the work of Claude Bernard, in the context of his experimental studies on living bodies. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the word “expérimentation” remained an obscure term, rarely found in written texts or spoken language. While the noun “expérience” [experiment] had moved into written language as early as the mid 1300s, and its adjectival form “expérimental” was in relatively common use by the late 1600s, the word “expérimentation” only begins to appear in language at the turn of the twentieth century, when there is a sudden sharp spike in its use.

Although no one figure can be single-handedly credited with inventing the concept of experimentation or introducing it into language at this time, it is in the work of Claude Bernard that we find one of the most detailed early accounts of experimentation as a new concept and sustained explanations of its epistemological significance. Where the word expérimentation appears only four times in François Magendie’s *Leçons sur les phénomènes physiques de la vie* (1837) and not at all in Xavier Bichat’s *Recherches physiologiques sur la vie et la mort* (1859), in Bernard’s celebrated *Introduction à l’étude de la médecine expérimentale* (1865) expérimentation is referenced over 100 times. Bernard’s earlier work, including the text of his course on experimental medicine, *De La méthode expérimentale, de l’expérimentation et de ses perfectionnements* (1858), also made frequent mention of experimentation, but it is in *Introduction* that Bernard provides his most detailed account of this then-unfamiliar term, explaining its conceptual significance and foundational importance to the establishment of experimental medicine as a scientific discipline.

Bernard articulates and frames his concept of experimentation as a response to criticism of the use of experimental methods in medicine: while experimental methods may be applicable to the study of *les corps bruts* in the physico-chemical sciences, Bernard explains in his text, it was claimed these methods were not applicable to medicine, with its study of the more complex *corps vivants*. In arguing for the extension of experimental methods to the study of living bodies, Bernard elaborates a new concept, that of experimentation, whose historical and conceptual specificity is the focus of this paper.

Scholarship in the history of science and medicine has tended to move between the terms experiment, experimental, and experimentation as though they were interchangeable (see, most

recently, Rheinberger 2023). Bernard, however, demonstrates what was at stake in the emergence of a new concept of experimentation at this time, one that was more capacious and applicable to a much wider range of fields than previously. This paper recovers the historical and conceptual specificity of this term as articulated in the *Introduction*, and the significance of its emergence in the study of the living human body. Drawing on recent scholarship on Bernard's legacy in the history of medicine, this paper argues that the term experimentation named something new for Bernard: not just the practice of conducting experiments or use of the experimental method, but a new concept, an epistemology, an ethos that allowed a wide range of investigative practices, technologies, and theories to be framed as expressions of the same thing for the first time.

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**An externalist approach to the internal milieu: Early influences of industrial health problems, policies and regulations on Claude Bernard's developing concept of the *milieu intérieur***

**Sharman Levinson, UR CLipsy Université d'Angers & the American University of Paris**

This paper is a second instalment in a larger project “Exposing the Permeable Subject” that is a genealogy of the current concern with “toxic stress” in psychology, psychiatry, pediatrics, and environmental epidemiology, as well as the popularization of what I previously called the “toxic signifier” in public discourse. My previous presentation at ESHHS 2024 focused on poisoning in the context of chemical industrial *progress* in early 19th-century France, as well as on the study of chemical *nocivité*, mitigation and regulation in French public hygiene and forensic medicine (1829–1849). I also discussed the investigation of nutritious, poisonous or fraudulent foods during this same period.

The current presentation focuses specifically on the possible impact of issues related to industrial production and regulation on experimental physiologist Claude Bernard's (1813-1878) early scientific socialization and will suggest ways that the industry-related problems of this period may have shaped his ideas on blood as a *milieu* in 1854, and then explicitly, the *milieu intérieur* concept in 1857 and its subsequent developments through 1867 in his *Rapport sur le Progrès et la Marche de la Physiologie Générale en France*.

Claude Bernard's concept of the *milieu intérieur* in living organisms, like his ideas on internal secretions, has attracted significant attention in the history and philosophy of biology and medicine. Most of this secondary literature discusses the evolution of Bernard's concepts in relation to his experimental work, his teaching, and the larger epistemological project he developed from the mid-1850s until his death in 1878.

Little attention has been paid, however, to the extent to which Bernard's thought may have been informed by medico-social and political problems related to the rapidly developing French chemical industry (and chemical by products of industry) in and around Paris's urban environment. I will argue that this context not only contributed directly to Claude Bernard's early work in the 1840s, but also that it left a lasting mark on the physiological problems that interested him, and most notably the concept of *milieu interieur* whose premises he began to formulate at least as early as 1851.

After briefly presenting the genesis of Bernard's *milieu intérieur* concept, the paper will consider examples of Claude Bernard's early physiological interests as well as his work with figures in the public hygiene movement, like the industrialist D'Arcet in relation to the nutritional properties of gelatin; and his collaboration with the *hygiéniste* François Mélier that reexamined D'Arcet's and Parent Du Chatelet's conclusions regarding the effects of tobacco manufacture on workers.

The paper introduces the idea that Bernard's understanding of the living body in the 1850s-1860s as a site of physico-chemical production, distribution and regulation may have been influenced by some of the specific problems and concerns raised by industrial chemical production and by-products in France during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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**Will the Real Charcot Please Stand Up? Image and Myth of Charcot on the Bicentennial of His Birth**

**Daniela Barberis, North Central College**

On the centennial of Charcot's death, in 1993, I wrote an article in *Osiris* which analyzed the commemoration of Charcot as a founding father of neurology up to that point in time. In this paper, I will offer an overview of the literature since 1993, which has become broader (new disciplines, such as art history and performance studies have produced works on Charcot) but has continued to reproduce significant features of older narratives, despite critical approaches that tried to undermine this presentation of Charcot—as the work I've alluded to in my title, *Le Vrai Charcot*, by Gauchet and Swain, attempted to do. Do these aspects of Charcot's life get repeatedly presented in the same way because they are simply the information that is available about him? Or is there something more to their persistence? Is there a "true" Charcot?

The "legend" of Charcot started during his own lifetime and is particularly connected to his work on hysteria and hypnosis and to his association with Sigmund Freud, who played a role in propagating the image of a visually fixated Charcot incapable of listening to what his patients were telling him. The valorization of his work on neurology and the rejection of his work on hysteria continued a trend started by his own students immediately after his death, when the carefully constructed theory of a neurologically-caused multi-phase hysterical disease unraveled. Yet Charcot and the spectacle of hysteria continue to fascinate, and the number of works written about him continue unabated. Charcot is still treated as a "genius"—now a genius of "choreographic analysis," the "stage manager of the Salpêtrière" (Marshall, 2016). This paper will examine what has changed and what has stayed the same in the treatment of this historical figure, including the fact that the "great man" approach to Charcot continues unabated, despite its waning fortunes in historical approaches in general.

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**Théodule Ribot and the boundaries between philosophical and scientific psychology**

**Marco Innamorati, University of Rome Tor Vergata**



The role of Théodule Ribot can be considered a paradox in the history of psychology. Universally regarded as the founder of French scientific psychology, he has been the subject of a correspondingly low number of monographic studies. In fact, his fame has been overshadowed by that of his pupils Janet and Binet, as well as that of other figures he somehow launched thanks to his *Revue de Philosophie*: such as philosophers as Boutroux and Bergson, or sociologists as Levy-Bruhl and Durkheim.

There are singular historical circumstances that have certainly contributed to his relative historiographical oblivion: Ribot died during the First World War; the centenary of his birth fell at the outbreak of the Second; upon his wife's death, no heir took care of his legacy (Centenaire, 1939; Dugas, 1917, 1924; Nicolas, 2005).

However, despite the fact that Ribot developed an essentially systematic thought (see in particular: Ribot, 1881, 1883, 1885, 1889, 1896), his psychology of cannot be considered in its historical context as a new paradigm. In the history of science, since Kuhn's publication of *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962), the term paradigm and the expression paradigm shift have often been abused in general to convey the idea that a theory or a particular set of theories constituted a radical, or, literally, revolutionary turning point in the history of a scientific discipline. Regardless of the correct definability of the term paradigm, which has been hotly contested (cf. Lakatos and Musgrave, 1970), and assuming it is possible to apply it to the history of psychology, its use would certainly be more legitimately suited to Watson's behaviourism and Freud's psychoanalysis, models that received very wide adherence from the practitioners of their respective fields (experimental psychology, in one case; psychotherapy, in the other).

In any case, Ribot's theorisation does not constitute a decisive starting point for a new 'school' that identifies itself, as far as its origin is concerned, with his work. Ribot's contribution is, however, important in identifying theoretical elements that are potentially useful to psychology, drawing them from different research traditions and in certain cases, prior to Ribot's work, lacking reciprocal contact. We use the expression research traditions here in the sense that was established with the contribution of Larry Laudan (1977), except that we extend it by calling a philosophical current a research tradition as well. We will call the potentially useful theoretical elements paradigmatic ideas, wanting to emphasise with this expression: (a) the fact that they come from different research traditions; (b) the fact that these ideas constitute, in the research tradition of origin, a central aspect for new theories (Foschi & Innamorati, 2023).

A typical example of a paradigmatic idea in the history of psychology is the principle of the conservation of energy enunciated by Helmholtz, which is imported by Ribot (as before him by Herbert Spencer; Clarke & Jacina, 1987) into psychology, according to an analogical principle that, moreover, will also remain alive in Freud's thought, as seems now to be acquired by historiography, starting with Sulloway's study (1979), significantly entitled *Freud Biologist of the Mind*. Equally important is the use in psychology of the 'Broussais principle' (Comte, 1828), i.e. the continuity between the normal and the pathological, which became for Ribot the starting point for every field of study in which he decided to engage (Carroy & Plas, 1993; 1996). More complex

is the use of the idea of psychological inheritance (Ribot, 1873, see Delay, 1959; Conry, 1974; Dowbiggin, 1991).

In order to illustrate this issue, this contribution will specifically analyse Ribot's writings in which the problem of method for psychology is thematised (Ribot, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1879).

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**Sabina Spielrein and the (Swiss) French language and culture: her period in the Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute in Geneva**

**Katalin Faluvégi, Budapest University of Economics and Business**

The oeuvre of Sabina Spielrein, which is quantitatively not large but rich in valuable ideas, is also worth considering from the perspective of how the influence of the various places she lived in and of the masters and colleagues there can be detected in her works.

If we want to give a short summary of Spielrein's scientific interests, we can say that throughout her whole career, she was devoted to exploring the quality of thought processes. Her life and the perspective that defined her academic engagement were shaped by three cultures and languages, as well as people thinking and writing in and studying these languages: Russian in her home country and in the last two decades in her life, German during her university studies and in the first part of her career, and French in her Geneva period and somewhat previously in Lausanne.

Due to the place and theme of this conference, and also because despite its shortness, the three-year period Spielrein spent in Geneva is frequently considered the peak of her academic work, I put this town in focus when investigating the influence of the environment on her perspectives.

The (Swiss) French language and culture became important in Spielrein's life in 1920, when she began to work in the Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute in Geneva. Here her colleagues were Édouard Claparède, Raymond de Saussure and young Jean Piaget. With the latter, their common research interest resulted in a decisive intellectual cooperation. Within the exploration of thought processes, understanding symbol creation was a central theme for both of them. Spielrein as a psychoanalyst approached this question from the perspective of thinking in dreams; Piaget, as a developmental psychologist, from the thinking of the child. This intellectual connection was beneficial for both: through getting a deeper understanding of dream thinking, Piaget discovered parallels between that and the characteristics of children's thinking, so he reinforced his experiences in developmental psychology with the results of psychoanalysis. Spielrein, on the other hand, supported her psychoanalytic knowledge with developmental psychology, and the development of children's thinking became one of her key research areas.

At the same time, Spielrein was extremely interested in the linguistic development of children, and in the relationship between language and thinking.

As a conclusion of her unique perspective, which combines psychoanalysis with developmental psychology, she states that children have similar thought mechanisms to those that appear while dreaming, in a hypnagogic state, as well as in certain neurological and psychiatric pathologies (aphasia, certain types of schizophrenia etc.) Her explanation for this is that in the cases listed above, abstract (conscious) thinking fades into the background behind visual (unconscious) thinking. At the same time, she points out that not even the most developed, most conscious abstract thinking of adults is devoid of unconscious, visual elements. The main characteristic of thinking is indeed the continuous interplay of the conscious and the unconscious. While in the pre-Geneva period, when she combined classical psychoanalysis and the Burghölzli tradition, she attributed this to the intertwining of our conscious experiences and the experiences of our ancestors that unconsciously survive in us, in this period her explanation relies on the joint presence, though to different extents, of visual (unconscious) and abstract (conscious) thinking.

When studying the development of language, she also combines psychoanalysis and the psychology of cognitive development. Spielrein interprets the development of children's language

based on the relationship between the infant and their environment (autistic, magical and socialized language), but at the same time – probably not independently of Piaget – positions language within cognitive development as well. She considers language a medium of expression for our ideas, and though in our social life, the central role is played by a language of words, she also discusses other languages, like those of images or movements.

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### **The International Network of Metapsychics: Mirabelli and the Circulation of the Extraordinary in the First Half of the 20th Century**

**Carolina Bandeira de Melo, Universidade Federal de Viçosa and Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CREDA)**

Carlos Mirabelli (1889–1951), a Brazilian medium of Italian descent, gained notoriety in the first half of the 20th century for phenomena such as materializations, levitations, and xenoglossy. Investigated by psychic circles in Brazil and Europe, his name appeared in both national and international scientific and spiritualist journals. An early reference appeared in *Revue Métapsychique* in 1916, where he was described as "a star of the first magnitude" among mediums. That year, his name dominated the press in São Paulo, Brazil, with newspapers selling out amid heated debates. Although the controversy surrounding Mirabelli persisted in Brazil, he resurfaced in European discussions a decade later, in 1927, when the book *O Médium Mirabelli: Resultado de um Inquérito* (1927) was translated into German and published in *Zeitschrift für Parapsychologie*. The text reports phenomena occurring under intense lighting and in the presence of distinguished witnesses, with signed records. International interest led the German Hans Driesch (1867–1941) to investigate Mirabelli in 1928 during a visit to South America. A few years later, in 1934, May C. Walker had three meetings with Mirabelli in Brazil. She published an enthusiastic account, stating that she had witnessed "the best telekinesis I have ever seen." Also in 1934, Theodore Besterman (1904–1976) traveled to Brazil specifically to investigate Mirabelli, funded by the Society for Psychical Research (SPR), and reported that he had not identified anything unusual in his observations. Videos of the phenomena attributed to Mirabelli were produced, but it is unclear whether they still exist or where they might be found, whereas his photographs are preserved in Brazil and have circulated in multiple countries. The aim of this study is not to determine the veracity of these phenomena but to analyze the circulation and reception of the case, leaving the question of authenticity to specialists in parapsychology. In France, the Mirabelli dossier was archived by the *Institut Métapsychique International* (IMI) as fraud. The fraud allegation, far from closing the Mirabelli case, intensified polarization: for believers, the accusations were insufficient to shake their convictions; for skeptics, they were enough to dismiss any possibility of genuine phenomena. For many scholars, however, the controversy underscored the need for more rigorous investigations. Paradoxically, the fraud accusations helped amplify the case's impact. The debate generated an intense circulation of reports, articles, and analyses, demonstrating how metapsychics operated within a transnational network. While Mirabelli's name was debated in Europe, Brazilian publications referenced foreign researchers such as William Crookes (1832–1919), Charles Richet (1850–1935), and Albert de Rochas (1837–1914), mentioning research and photographs of materializations occurring in Europe and fueling the controversy around Mirabelli. Despite the broad international repercussions and ongoing interest in Mirabelli abroad, he has been forgotten by the historiography of Brazilian psychology and erased from national spiritist literature. In academic circles, the preference for studying pioneers of psychology's institutionalization led to the neglect of paranormal phenomena. In spiritism, the controversy surrounding the medium created ambiguities: while some of his feats were used to legitimize spiritist beliefs, alternative explanations were offered for the reported phenomena, avoiding direct association of the controversial medium with spiritism. The Mirabelli case also allows for a critical reflection on the boundaries between science and belief, challenging the traditional view that rigidly opposes them. The historical analysis of these discourses provides a

better understanding of how different societies have interpreted psychic phenomena and altered states of consciousness, offering a critical perspective on the challenges faced by psychology in the past and present, particularly in Brazil, where trance phenomena remain common in rituals of Afro-Brazilian religions, spiritists, evangelicals, and charismatic Catholics.

**Funding acknowledgement:** this research received funding support from National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq).

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## **Day Two: Wednesday, July 2nd, 2025**

### **Roundtable: Brains out of the Vat: Neuroscience and Milieux in the Twentieth Century**

**Yvan Prkachin, Danielle Carr, Jean-Gaël Barbara & Andreas Killen**

From Descartes' evil demon to Gilbert Harman and Hilary Putnam's musings on the 'brain in a vat' thought experiment in the 1960s and 70s, the human brain and nervous system have been framed by philosophers as a potentially isolable substratum for human experience. Yet the history of the neurosciences, a historically unique reconfiguration of the sciences of brain and mind in the middle of the twentieth century, displays the profoundly important relationship between the human brain, its environment and milieu, and the sciences that study both. In this session, we seek to take the brain and neurosciences *out* of the vat and, in so doing, historicize the rise of the neurosciences as a science that seeks to mediate between human and environment in ways that are both intellectually generative, yet also politically fraught.

The papers presented in this session address the relationship between brain, neuroscience, and cultural milieu in different ways. We interpret the meaning of 'milieu' broadly, from the linguistic and cultural milieu of mid-century Canada, to the intellectual and political climate that fostered interest in deep brain stimulation within the radical racial upheavals of America in the 1960s, to the complex and charged philosophical debates that occurred between neurophysiologists and cyberneticists in mid-century France. In this respect, this session seeks to invert the traditional historical narrative of the rise of neuroscience that sees it as the triumph of reductionistic thinking in post-World War II science. Despite the representations of neuroscience as an unmitigatedly reductionist enterprise, the papers in this session reground the history of neurosciences in its historical context, and expose the holistic and even anthropological methods of the neurosciences, and their impact on debates about politics and culture. This session will explore not only how the post-war neurosciences fed into debates about the development of language or the nature of violence and crime, but also drew upon this cultural and political milieu in ways that profoundly shaped the development of neuroscientific knowledge.

This session, then, employs the history of the neurosciences to examine not only their relationship with their cultural, social, and political milieu but also to examine how environment and milieu have been understood by the neurosciences as experimental variables, prompts for investigation, and spurs to applications and implementations of knowledge about the brain. In this respect, this panel represents a first attempt to integrate the history of the brain with the histories of other sciences that investigate humans as organisms, social agents, and producers of culture. By taking the brain - and neuroscience - *out* of the vat, this session seeks to bring modern neuroscience into a more critical dialogue with the history of other human sciences and reframe neuroscience as a complex historical product of grounded science and human culture.

### **Aggressive Epileptics: Psychosurgery and the Black Power Movement**

**Danielle Carr, UCLA**



Ethologist Konrad Lorenz's 1963 book *On Aggression* hit American markets in 1966, quickly becoming a huge commercial success. As Dagmar Herzog has argued, Lorenz's popularity in Germany was largely due to the implicit benediction he offered to the post-war German psyche: there was nothing particularly brutish about Germans, because all human beings have a natal proclivity to Aggression. But while Lorenz's German popularity was bound up in a post-war refusal to reckon with fascism, in the United States, the discourse of aggression was soon operating as a proxy for race. The 1970s saw brutal state violence unleashed on the Black Power movement. As the crackdown intensified, increasingly the violence was discussed as a problem of "aggression"—that is, the Black population's potential innate proclivity for violent behavior.

Within this context, and squeezed by the evaporation of federal funding for basic science, neurophysiologists began making bids for research support to find the neurophysiological basis of violence. In part, this research program involved psychosurgery conducted on incarcerated populations. In this paper, I trace the connection between brain surgery for epilepsy and psychosurgery for violence; I argue that these psychosurgeries were often classified as surgeries for epilepsy. Within this period, I argue, the concept of epilepsy began to expand to encompass violent behavior, with the justification that perhaps violent behavior was in fact a movement disorder. Such an expansion also allowed such surgeries to be conducted without being classified as psychosurgery, thus raising the alarm for prison rights groups.

**The machine "has stolen the human brain": Neurophysiology and Cybernetics in the French Popular Press in the 1950s**

**Jean-Gaël Barbara, Sorbonne University**

The history of neuroscience is becoming increasingly aware of the need to consider neuroscience not only as a reductionist approach, but also as a holistic one, from its very beginnings and in relation to other fields of science and the humanities. To this end, the characterization of the most famous advances in neuroscience, which forges a myth of a central reductionist approach, must be accompanied by new forms of historicization of the beginnings of neuroscience. An important element of this historicization concerns not only the role of scientific, cultural, and political milieus in the rise of neuroscience, but also the role of neuroscientists in the evolution of these milieus. These developments are often achieved by intervening in the media, and this paper concerns the self-justification of neurosciences by neuroscientists in the scientific and cultural circles of the early 1950s, dominated by debates concerning the brain, intelligent machines, and their relationships.

This paper explores the emergence and reception of neuroscience in France during the 1950s, particularly in public discourse and media representation. The study examines how scientific

advancements in neurophysiology intersected with the rise of cybernetics, artificial intelligence, and public debates about the brain-machine analogy. A key focus of the paper is the role of the French press in shaping public understanding of neuroscience. Early articles often sensationalized brain research and cybernetics, playing into fears and hopes about intelligent machines. Science journalists such as Guy Marester and Robert Clarke were crucial in balancing scientific rigor with public engagement. They challenged simplistic comparisons between the human brain and computers, arguing that machines, despite their increasing complexity, lacked human cognition, creativity, and adaptability. The paper also explores intellectual and institutional struggles within neuroscience. French neurophysiologists sought to assert their scientific authority against cyberneticians who portrayed machines as analogous to human thought. The 1951 CNRS symposium, which brought together leading neurophysiologists and cyberneticians, marked a turning point where neuroscience positioned itself as distinct and modern, capable of standing alongside and apart from cybernetics, and able to contribute to philosophical and cultural debates.

**Mother's Method and the Second Career: Wilder Penfield, Eric Lenneberg, and the Origins of the Critical-Period Hypothesis of Childhood Language Learning**

**Yvan Prkachin, University of Zurich**

The so-called 'critical periods' hypothesis of childhood language learning has shaped theoretical debates within linguistics and language teaching worldwide since the 1960s. It is also a crucial concept in popularizing the science of language. This article traces the origins of the critical-periods hypothesis from its surprising source - the Montreal neurosurgical clinic of Wilder Penfield. The critical-periods hypothesis grew from Penfield's scientific research, his idiosyncratic concern for social cohesion, and the language politics of mid-century Quebec. Its distinctive appeal to language teachers and associations allowed the critical-periods hypothesis to provide scientific legitimacy for new experiments in language immersion education from Canada to newly decolonizing nations. At the same time, the notion that children were uniquely capable of learning languages led the critical-periods hypothesis to a position of central importance within debates roiling American linguistics in the 1960s, largely through the work of the American linguist Eric Lenneberg. However, in popularizing the critical-periods hypothesis, Lenneberg nearly reversed its meaning, aligning it with Chomskian arguments for the innateness of language rather than its learned quality. The story of the critical-periods hypothesis can serve as a revealing case study of the relationship between science, folk wisdom, cultural politics, and education amid battles over human nature and multiculturalism in the mid-twentieth century.

**Moderator/Commentator: Andreas Killen, History Faculty, City University of New York**

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### **How to relax in a dictatorship. Autogenic training in cultural and political context**

**Martin Wieser, Sigmund Freud Private University Berlin**

This paper provides a historical, contextualised view of the origins, development and popularisation of autogenic training from the First World War to the last decade of the Cold War in the German context. The roots of this medicalised approach to relaxation go back to the early 1920s, when the physician Johann Heinrich Schultz began experimenting with practices of “autogenic organ exercises” which combined elements from hypnotism, holism, and stratification theory with his personal experience as a military psychiatrist. First published in 1932 in book form with detailed step-by-step instructions, autogenic training quickly became popular in the psychotherapeutic field throughout Germany. Through a rigorous training routine, Schultz aimed to teach patients to initiate an “autohypnotic switch” to empty their minds, release muscular tensions, animate their bodies and explore deeper “levels” of the unconscious. Schultz argued that his method of “concentrative self-relaxation” needed to be carried out under strict medical supervision, which he recommended for the treatment of psychophysiological dysregulations such

as asthma, chronic pain, insomnia or neuroses of various kinds. After the Nazi party took over power, Schultz soon became a leading member of the Göring Institute in Berlin, where he was responsible for training psychotherapists and instructing medical officers of the German air forces. In this position, Schultz managed to introduce autogenic training into the curriculum of psychotherapists, while at the same time promoting its use in the treatment of soldiers suffering from war-related stress symptoms. Although Schultz' holistic approach, which he called 'bionomic psychotherapy', never caught on after the war, he remained one of the most influential psychotherapists in West Germany until his death in 1970.

After the onset of the Cold War, the further development of autogenic training went into different directions in the West and East: In the FRG, the physician and author Hannes Lindemann gained some public fame after crossing the Atlantic twice in a canoe in the 1950s. In several of his publications, Lindemann presented autogenic training as a key ingredient in his struggle for survival, supposedly helping him to stay on course and keep his body going when his mind was filled with despair, disorientation, and pain. Later on, along with other former students of Schultz', Lindemann popularised autogenic training in West Germany as a universal technique self-control and self-improvement for the stressed-out worker or parent, a method that fit well with the rapid expansion of "psy"-practices during the 1970s in many Western countries.

In the GDR, where psychoanalysis was officially banned, autogenic training became the most widespread psychotherapeutic treatment from the 1960s onwards. While what GDR psychotherapists dismissed as the "excessive preoccupation with the subjective side of mental processes" of Schultz's "upper level", the potential of autogenic training to calm nervous and paranoid patients and its use in group therapy seemed to have great practical value.. While autogenic training was much less popular with the GDR public, some dissidents also used it as a means of preparing for and defending themselves against arrest and interrogation, effectively transforming what was once conceived as a clinical method into a practice of psychological self-defence.

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## **Constructing Human Agency in Psychosomatic Healthcare in Communist China, 1949 – 1965**

**Zed Gao, The American University of Paris**

Human agency can be defined as the capacity of human beings to make choices and take actions that can effect desired changes in their environment (Alkire, 2008; Emirbayer & Mische, 1998; Schlosser, 2015; White, 1985). The concept of human agency is often romanticized, as discourses about it promise the betterment of human conditions. On the flip side, it implies that we are forced to come to terms with circumstances that lies outside of our control. Thus, in sociology, for example, “agency” is often pitted against “structure”: the idea that the subject is capable of agentically resisting an oppressive social structure (Hays, 1994; Walsh, 1998). This sociological treatment of human agency is often reproduced in other disciplines, including historical research. Yet, scholars do not always view agency in a positive light. Teo (2018) and Gill and Orgad (2018), for example, argue that the concept of human agency plays an indispensable role in neoliberalism as it contributes to the justification of capitalism and the blaming of non-conforming individuals. In this presentation, I would like to join the critique of human agency, albeit in a different context: China’s communist movement. In particular, I discuss how psychosomatic healthcare constructed a revolutionary discourse of human agency.

In healthcare, it is an ordinary practice to tap into the patient’s subjective qualities, such as confidence and optimism, to enhance treatment outcome (Daaleman, 1999). In communist China between 1949 and 1965, a radical discourse of human agency became a defining feature of healthcare and keenly promoted by copious medical professionals, patients, and celebrities (Chen, 1964; Deng, 1960; 1963; Han, 1960; Larson, 2016; 2019). My presentation examines a progressive model of psychosomatic healthcare as an assemblage of several ideological, scientific, and medical sources with human agency as its focal point. I argue that Mao Zedong’s dialectical materialism, originally meant to reconcile idealism with materialism, ended up lopsided in favor of a utopian vision of human agency (Mao, 1938; 1963; Shapiro, 2001). Next, Mao’s radical ideology appropriated traditional Chinese medicine and Pavlov’s neurology for their common recognition of the role of mental state in influencing rehabilitation (Department of Health of the Chinese Military Committee, 1954; Research Center of Harbin Number One Hospital, 1960). The resultant progressive psychosomatic model embodied a commitment to communism, which served not only as a sublime source of inspiration for fostering self-aided recovery, but also as a call for the cultivation of revolutionary personhood through combating illness. Exhorting passionate self-exertion and self-discipline, this progressive psychosomatic model overshadowed an alternative passive psychosomatic model which, as exemplified by Qigong and “therapeutic and protective regimen”, recommended restfulness and quietude as means of healing and thereby created an opening for patients to escape from unrelenting state demands (Tong, 1955; Yang, 1953). By

contrasting these two models, I discuss the flexibility in interpreting the psychosomatic complex with human agency as the scientific-political parameter (Perry, 2002).

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### **Surveillance and movement: Reflections on the impact of the Panopticon and Synopticon on liquid individuals**

**Amanda Malerba, Universität Hildesheim**

In the work *Discipline and Punish* (1975), Michel Foucault traces the genealogy of modern prisons, with an emphasis on the shift in the late 18th century from public torture to corrective institutions. This transformation was not merely about humanizing punishment but about creating a more systematic, efficient, and detailed economy of power, redistributing the monarch's exclusive right to punish into public control. Foucault argues that industrial systems influenced penal practices, focusing on reforming individuals through deprivation of liberty rather than physical mutilation. Prisons became administrative tools to shape behavior, targeting not just the body but the soul, making individuals obedient and productive. Discipline extended beyond prisons, permeating schools, hospitals, and factories, where subtle punitive mechanisms — like surveillance, reprimands, and rewards — shaped behavior to produce docile, efficient bodies. Foucault also critiques how these systems define normality, creating standards that classify, rank, and control individuals. While these norms promote uniformity, they also reinforce social stratification. One central mechanism in this disciplinary regime is the Panopticon, an architectural

model conceived by the philosopher and jurist Jeremy Bentham to organize spatial units in order to ensure better visibility of the individuals. This principle underpins the organization of modern institutions, where the architecture and hierarchical systems normalize behavior across various settings, from schools to factories. Its pervasive surveillance induces self-regulation, creating a sense of being constantly observed, which ensures that the individuals behave properly even if there is no surveillance officer in sight.

Decades later, the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman engages with French philosopher Michel Foucault to examine the transformation of modern institutions in Post-Modernity, or as he refers to it, Liquid Modernity. In *Liquid surveillance* (2013), Bauman examines that in the transition from the solid to the liquid phase of modernity, some of the institutions that Foucault listed have disappeared and others remain present, but in a liquid phase. In addition, the way in which individuals are supervised to ensure that they behave as expected has also changed. The Synopticon, introduced by sociologist Thomas Mathiesen, contrasts with Foucault's Panopticon in describing a system in which the many observe the few, as observed in mass media and celebrity culture. Facilitated with technology, the synoptic focuses the public's attention on figures such as influencers or leaders, shaping social norms through observation and imitation. This dynamic reinforces social control indirectly, as individuals internalize behaviors exhibited by a few, creating a generalized influence on culture and behavior.

In this sense, it becomes important to question the techniques of discipline and surveillance imposed on liquid women. Taking as a starting point the mechanisms of social control identified by Foucault and the conception of Bauman that, in Liquid Modernity, it is the freedom and movement which become the prisons of individuals, since they need to keep constantly updated and on the move, the purpose of this paper will be to reflect on the impact of this need for movement on cultural expectations of individuals in the western world, based on the relationship Bauman establishes between freedom, security and movement. This reflection is important for us because it demonstrates that not only do social media and the means of communication serve, as proposed in the synoptic model, as propagators of expected behaviors and appearances, but also that the very expectation of what it is to be a successful liquid individual in post or liquid modernity becomes inconsistent and contradictory.

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Amanda Malerba is a doctoral candidate at the *Institut für Philosophie* of the University of Hildesheim (Germany) as a *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst* (DAAD) scholarship holder. Malerba holds a master's degree in Philosophy from the Federal University of São Paulo (Brazil). She is a member of the Working Group “Philosophy and Psychoanalysis” of the National Association for Research in Philosophy in Brazil (ANPOF), an academic advisor to the *Deutsches Migrationsmuseum* and a student of psychoanalysis at the International Institute of Psychoanalysis (IIPSI).

In the second half of 2024, her first book “The question of coexistence for Freud and Bauman” (*Convivência: um estudo em Freud e Bauman*) was published in Brazil. Malerba is also the author of the articles and chapters: “The Critic and the Cure: A Reflection on the Reasons



Behind Arendt's Refusal of Psychoanalysis”, by the journal *Critical Hermeneutics*, and also “Supereu: reminiscences of the first human coexistence”; and “Tragic Antiquity and Liquid Modernity: The Myth of Orpheus from Freud and Bauman” (both in Portuguese). In her doctorate, she researches the possibilities of rethinking hospitality, based on Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, in dialogue with the thinking of Freud, Bauman and Arendt.

**Psychoanalysis and Individual psychology in exile. A comparative history of the Adlerian and Freudian diasporas in Paris (1933-1946)**

**Florent Serina, TEMOS-CNRS**

This presentation seeks to illuminate a little-known chapter in the social and cultural history of the psy sciences, one intertwined with the Jewish “brain drain” from Germany and Austria, the resistance to Nazism beyond the Reich’s borders, Austro-Marxism, the European socialist movement, and the Holocaust. It examines the exile of psychiatrists, psychologists, and psychoanalysts of German, Austrian, Hungarian, and Polish descent who fled to France to escape racial and political persecution.

Drawing upon a diverse range of sources—administrative records, police, intelligence and military reports, autobiographies, interviews, photographs, correspondence, and printed materials—my study aims to construct a panoramic and comparative history of the trajectories followed by various members of the psy communities who lived in exile in Paris between 1933 and the early 1940s. More specifically, I will propose a comparative analysis of the paths taken by followers of Alfred Adler and Sigmund Freud under the dying Third Republic and the German occupation. Among them are Aline and Carl Furtmüller, Heinz Jacoby, Sofie and Robert Lazarsfeld, Alexander Neuer, Ferenc Oliver-Brachfeld, Helene and Ernst Papanek, Paul Plottke (renamed Paul Rom after the war), Edmund Schlesinger, and Manès Sperber on the Adlerian side; and Lotte Feibel, Heinz Hartmann, Robert Hans Jokl, Hans Kalischer, Fanny Lowtzky, and Rosa Walk on the Freudian side.

After examining the conditions of their emigration and settlement in Paris and its surrounding areas, the networks of solidarity that facilitated their integration, and their contributions to the scientific, cultural, and political spheres—as well as their involvement in the external resistance to the German and Austrian fascist regimes—I will turn to the events of

September 1939: their detention in internment camps established by the French authorities, their participation in the war effort, and the various paths they followed in attempting to escape the German advance during the debacle of spring 1940. Particular attention will then be paid to the circumstances that led some of them, as well as certain of their close friends, to deportation and death in concentration or extermination camps. In conclusion, I will argue that this historical absence should not be interpreted as a simple lacuna, but rather as a significant historiographical void—especially in light of France’s position as the main “sanctuary” for psychoanalysis and individual psychology on the continent at the time, and the enduring interest in Freudianism and its history.

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**One Syllabus, three settings: American 1930s “Culture and personality” research in prewar, wartime, and postwar Europe**

**Leila Zenderland, California State University, Fullerton**

This paper explores three different kinds of writings—a monograph, a novel, and a textbook—produced by European social scientists in the years surrounding the Second World War. The first, a monograph examining the psychosocial development of adolescents based on a collection of autobiographies, was produced for Eastern European Jews and written in Yiddish in 1935. Entitled *The Way to Our Youth: Elements, Methods, and Problems in Jewish Youth Research* [*Der veg tsu undzer yugnt: yesoydes, metodn, problemen fun yidisher yugnt-forshung*], its author was linguist Max Weinreich, the head of what was then called the Yiddish Scientific Institute in the city he knew as Vilna, Poland [now Vilnius, Lithuania]. The second, a novel published in 1938 and reprinted in 1939, offered an introduction to Nazi ideology produced for young readers. Called *The Village of Oberstuben: An Ethnic German Fate* [*Dorf Oberstuben: Ein Volksdeutsches Schicksal*] it was written by University of Cologne sociologist Willy Gierlichs and aimed at the *Volksdeutsche*—that is, ethnic Germans living in other countries, in this case Czechoslovakia. The third, entitled *Fundamentals of Social Psychology* [*Grundzüge der Sozialpsychologie*], was written by former German military psychologist Walter Beck in 1953. A graduate of the University of Leipzig, his textbook was aimed at a new generation of postwar West German college students. It was evidently successful, since new editions were published in 1956 and 1960.

Each of these works was designed explicitly to function in a particular political, social, and scientific environment. Yet surprisingly, while these environments were strikingly different, all three share an underlying structure and address a common set of questions. All were deeply influenced by American “culture and personality” research of the 1930s. In fact, all three of these authors knew each other, since they had all been classmates in Yale University’s “Seminar on the Impact of Culture on Personality,” held during the 1932-33 school year.

The “Seminar on the Impact of Culture on Personality” was a Rockefeller-funded experiment designed to advance the emerging field then called “culture and personality” studies. Its purpose was to explore how distinctive cultures found in different countries could shape the development of personalities. To gather evidence, it invited social scientists from 13 foreign cultures to spend the 1932-33 school year working together in New Haven. Leading this seminar were linguistic anthropologist Edward Sapir and social psychologist John Dollard. Embedded within its syllabus was a version of social psychology blended with contemporary anthropology. And among its foreign participants were linguist Max Weinreich from Vilna, sociologist Willy Gierlichs from Cologne, and psychologist Walter Beck from Leipzig. Its effects are evident in all three of the influential European texts these writers subsequently produced, notwithstanding their differences in genre, setting, and historical circumstances. In fact, two of the three were dedicated to Sapir, while the third shows his impact just as profoundly.

This paper will first explore the common syllabus that all three of these social scientists were exposed to through their participation in this American project. It will then examine how each transformed its contents in unique ways in working within three markedly different and politically charged European environments: prewar Poland, Czechoslovakia under the Third Reich, and postwar West Germany. While focusing on how place and time affected each of them, it will also address questions concerning exchanging practices, intended audiences, and potential uses of social scientific knowledge.

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## **The International Network for Alternatives to Psychiatry and the Spatial Turn in Radical Psychiatry**

**Janina Klement, UCL**

The 1970s marked a shift in psychiatry's relationship with space. While psychiatric practices had always been affected and informed by notions of space and place – from the institutional segregation of patients to the localization of mental illness within individual minds to therapeutic communities and community-based care – this paper examines how during this period, the radical psychiatry movement came to comprehend spatial transformation as both a psychotherapeutic tool and a political instrument to reimagine and reconfigure the psychiatric discipline. This shift is traced through the forgotten history of the 'International Network for Alternatives to Psychiatry', founded in Brussels, which went beyond previous antipsychiatric critiques to advance the goal of building new futures of psychiatry globally.

The 'Network for Alternatives to Psychiatry' constituted a transnational forum through which mainly European, US-American and Latin American psychiatrists, activists and patients collaborated from 1975 until the mid-1980s. Established by European figures, including Belgian psychiatrist Mony Elkaïm, a 'network therapy' practitioner in disadvantaged Brussels neighborhoods, French institutional psychiatrist Félix Guattari, and Giovanni Jervis, an architect of Italy's psychiatric revolution since the 1960s, the Network embraced an 'act local, think global' approach to psychiatric practice. For one thing, its members advocated for a transformation of the treatment paradigm from institutional care to community integration, relocating mental distress from the individual mind to the ecosystems individuals are embedded in, spanning families, neighborhoods, and broader societal relations. Simultaneously, they sought to counteract the danger they saw when psychiatry simply integrates into the community while neglecting how social-economic structures can undergird and produce mental distress. One solution was to tackle psychiatric practice by 'deterritorialising' the psychiatrist – this included rejecting hierarchically organized labor in isolated contexts in favor of building transnational connections, distributing responsibilities between experts and lay people, and combining psychotherapeutic with political work. The goal of the Network was to link local ecosystems of care to a global level of exchange, with practitioners and activists serving as mediators between community contexts and broader international developments.

Drawing on archival materials, interviews with former Network members, and rare publications, my presentation traces the spatial reconfigurations of psychiatry that culminated in the Network's founding in 1975. It follows the Network's expansion through meetings in Paris, Trieste, Cuernavaca, and San Francisco, examining how these gatherings functioned as constitutive nodes in an emerging alternative psychiatric geography. My intervention interrogates what it meant to conceptualize psychiatry as a network – both theoretically and in practice. I examine how this networked approach materialized in local contexts, asking: What were goals or visions for the future of psychiatric treatment of patients? How did practitioners navigate the tension between psychiatric practice and political program? I evaluate what idea of psychiatry the Network's 'act local, think global' philosophy enacted, what conceptualization of 'patients' this philosophy afforded and to what extent it was successful in moving beyond entrenched power structures in medicine and produce innovative care models. The paper concludes by reflecting on the Network's enduring legacy while theorizing about factors contributing to its decline in the 1980s, including internal contradictions undermining its capacity to sustain its radical vision in practice.

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**Instincts and Images: A Proposal for Research into the Historical Foundations of C. G. Jung's Theory of Archetypes**

**Benjamin Swogger, University of West Georgia**

In honor of the theme of environments and milieus, this presentation outlines a proposal for research into the historical context of C. G. Jung's theory of archetypes. In the 1919 essay in which they were introduced, archetypes were defined as "typical modes of apprehension" alongside instincts, or "typical modes of action" (Jung, 1948/1969). Archetypes were therefore *analogous* to instincts—the perceptual corollary to the instinctive act—and, as such, helped organisms adapt to their environments. Thirty years later, however, in the essay that became Jung's definitive statement on the topic, archetypes were presented as the metaphorical "ultraviolet" to instinct's "infrared"—the spiritual-imagistic counterpart to physiological mechanisms. As such, archetype and instinct were now "the most polar opposites imaginable" (Jung, 1954/1969). These two views—that archetypes are perceptual faculties closely related to instincts and that archetypes are spiritual images in opposition to instincts—developed largely along divergent lines following Jung's death in 1961. Even today, these two competing perspectives are responsible for the lack of consensus regarding this most foundational concept within analytical psychology. In a recent report to the International Association for Analytical Psychology (Roesler, 2022), the so-called biological and transcendent interpretations of the archetype can be seen to underpin nearly all of the widely ranging definitions for the term given by contemporary analysts and scholars. As a result, Roesler (2022) has concluded that "a historical-critical investigation into the works of Jung...is highly needed." The proposed study seeks to fulfill this need.

The presentation begins by articulating the problem of the existence of supposedly disparate theories of the archetype within Jung's own writing by investigating Jung's two primary essays on the topic: "Instinct and the Unconscious" (Jung, 1948/1969) and "On the Nature of the Psyche" (Jung, 1954/1969). It then reviews the literature, which collectively suggests that the strength of Jung's biological evidence for archetypes pales in comparison to the explicitly and implicitly metaphysical dimensions of the concept, before introducing the thesis of the study that, like the notion of the *Umwelt* put forward by Jung's contemporary Jakob von Uexküll (1864-1944), Jung's ostensibly biological ideas ought to be viewed as part of the "reenchanted science" movement of postwar German culture in which biological concepts were often vehicles for vitalistic and mystical assumptions (Harrington, 1996). It proceeds to outline a research project in which Jung's reception of two psychodynamic thinkers (Sigmund Freud and Pierre Janet) and two instinct theorists (Henri Bergson and Conwy Lloyd Morgan)—each of whom influenced Jung's use of instinct as a conceptual device—may be shown to prefigure Jung's overtly mystical

speculations on the archetype worked out years later with Austrian physicist Wolfgang Pauli. The presentation concludes with a look at the methodological framework and anticipated findings.

To the extent that Jung's earlier biological rendering of archetypes is shown to be guided by metaphysical assumptions that only became explicit much later, the proposed study contributes to solving the current dilemma within analytical psychology by affirming that the so-called transcendent theory of the archetype undergirds the biological one and is therefore primary. Furthermore, and of broader significance, the proposed study seeks to more firmly establish Jung as a bona fide figure in the history of psychology and, following Shamdasani (e.g., 1995, 1998, 2021), more clearly locate him not just within the Western intellectual canon but the Western visionary tradition.

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### **“First Polish Jungian”: Jan Nelken and the early theories of Collective Unconscious at the Burghölzli Hospital**

**Krzysztof Czapkowski, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw**

Prominent medic and psychiatrist, author of 80 articles, one of first Polish psychoanalytic theorists, colonel of Polish Armed Forces, active socialist and finally a victim of Katyń mass execution held by Soviet Union – these are just a couple of brief descriptions of Jan Władysław Nelken (1878–1940) proving that he's not an easy figure to summarize with one label. Maybe due to this, his legacy seems to be largely overlooked by both academic and Jungian circles. Thus, presented speech aims to serve as a follow up to my previous ESHHS presentation in Essex – this time focusing on the early psychoanalytic period of so-called “first Polish Jungian” at the full length.

Nelken's career wasn't homogeneous and went through numerous changes which include moving from psychoanalytic theories to mental hygiene, psychic consequences of drug addiction and military medicine. His first medical studies at Warsaw University were interrupted by expulsion motivated by subversive political activity towards Polish independence. He graduated medicine in Kazań (1902) just to start over his career in Poland as a psychiatrist, engaging at the same time in the Polish Socialist Party. Initially, his psychoanalytical interests flourished at Burghölzli clinic to which he was recommended in 1909 by his mentor, Jan Pilts, who stayed in close relationship with Eugen Bleuler. As an intern from the Department of Psychiatry and Neuropathology of Jagiellonian University in Cracow, Nelken joined Carl Gustav Jung, Sabina Spielrein and Johann Honegger to work with schizophrenic patients – thus getting into the center of newly arising Swiss school of Psychoanalysis. Although his stay ended in 1912, in this intense period he managed to publish essential texts which were included in *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse* (1911) and *Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen* (1912), next to Jung's famous *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido*. In contrary to the popular belief, it was Nelken (not Jekels) to become the first Pole to join the International Psychoanalytical Association. His experience was taken to Poland - it can be said that he, as a first scholar, introduced Jung (still identified with Freudian movement) to Polish medical society with his speech *Badania psychoanalityczne chorób nerwowych* (Eng. Psychoanalytic studies on nervous diseases) presented during the memorable 2nd Congress of Polish Neurologists, Psychiatrists and Psychologists where Psychoanalysts got their separate section for the first time. His psychoanalytical roots started to fade with the end of World War I.

Presented speech aims at presenting both Nelken himself and his early Jung-influenced legacy which can be put next to *Wandlungen...* or even Freud's *Totem un Tabu* as another point of view for Psychoanalysis being in search of a theory comprising a wider specter of psychic phenomena. Nelken was valued by Jung who warmly mentioned his works in correspondence with both Spielrein and Freud (who also gives him a credit in his text *The History of the Psychoanalytical Movement*). Taken this appreciation, it should be clear that his story is not only a footnote or curiosity for Polish contexts, but it can be studied as one of original roots of the Collective Unconscious theory.

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## **Holism, Personality, and Politics at the First Psychotechnical Conferences**

**Annette Mulberger, University of Groningen**

Stern had coined in 1903 the expression “psychotechnics” and Münsterberg used it for his textbook (1914) to define a new professional area of “applied psychology” dealing with interventions in the work place, scientific management, professional orientation and personnel assessment. Psychotechnics was expanding in Europe shortly before World War I. Gundlach (1998). A shift taking place within psychotechnics in the 1920s and 1930s, moving from an interest in elemental functions and aptitudes towards a holistic personality, is widely acknowledged (see, for example, Geuter, 1992, O’Neill, 2017, and Derksen, 2014). But this change in orientation, even though representing a fundamental turn, has more often been assumed than examined in-depth.

Already in the first half of the decade of the 1920s, several talks presented at the International Psychotechnics Conferences refer to a holistic view and the need to deal with personality and the individual, while discussing psychotechnical topics such as the physiology of work, intelligence and the question about the best way to assess job candidates. My presentation will move away from the central figures appearing in previous accounts such as Münsterberg, showing that many more historical figures, professional groups, and political agendas were intervening at the early stage. With the help of a thorough contextualization, I will try to gain a better insight into the conceptual and social-political dynamics involved.

My starting questions are: Within the first three international psychotechnics meetings, who was interested in a holistic approach and personality and why? How was this interest justified and made pressing? The analysis will not only offer a better understanding of the historical process but also visibilize a network of alliances and demarcations, acting behind the scenes. Because, as will be shown, certain professional agendas are involved in the legitimization of psychotechnical personality assessments.

My analysis shows that, despite Claparède’s good intentions of wanting to enhancing peace in the world (Carpintero, 2020), the conferences were also occasions in which professional rivalries became apparent. The search for a “disposition” behind the aptitudes, put pedagogues and educators in a weak position while physicians, physiologists and psychologists would style themselves as the right experts, dealing with organic and unitarian entity such as the body. Additionally, some of the conference participants, such as Mira, Lahy, Bauer and others, were heavily involved in socialist politics, at a time, when societies was moving towards a dangerous polarization between fascism and communism. Such a position would make them feel closer to the workers’ and the union’s demands than that of the management.

Overall, it is difficult to summarize the work of such a heterogenic collection of talks as can be found in the proceedings of the early international conferences of psychotechnics. The talks

only give a very limited insight into the concepts and the psychotechnical work. Despite these shortcomings, the examination of the texts enabled me to recognize an interest among psychotechnicians in aptitudes, disposition, personality, intelligence, temperaments and character and, more generally, in all kinds of individual differences assessed in many different ways. Furthermore, I could document the four different directions from which an interest in a holistic approach and personality arrived to the psychotechnical community in the early 1920s, namely: through the idea of an organic unity forwarded by Spanish and Italian researchers, an notable influence of German Gestalt psychology and French psychopathological research exploring personalities, together with a sturdy desire to take distance from Taylorism.

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## **Individual Psychology in Russian Empire at the Turn of the Twentieth Century – the Conceptualisation of the Holistic Individual in a Challenging Post-Reform Environment**

**Daniela Munteanu, Central European University**

In this paper I study the establishment of individual psychology as a scientific discipline in Russian Empire at the turn of the twentieth century, when the empire was grappling with the challenges and pitfalls of a state-sponsored modernization, that was putting strenuous demands on the nervous system of the imperial subjects. Together with other human sciences, psychology studied the changes these new living conditions brought about in the mental development of the individuals in order to devise programs of education for the growing young imperial population, and discover which conditions were conducive to the development of the self for the overall wellbeing of the imperial society. Developed in continuation and in opposition to experimental psychology, which, according to its critics, studied only elements of the self and only simple processes of the mind, individual psychology approached the research of the self in his entirety, as an individual and indivisible whole. Rather than measuring basic abilities like perception and attention, individual psychology aimed at researching the high and complex mental processes and at establishing what distinguished one individual from the other. To achieve this, individual psychologists moved the observation from the laboratory, as a place of research, to the live surrounding environment of the

subjects. In fact, the environment played a crucial role both in the definition of the individual and in the methodology of the newly emerging discipline. Alexander Lazursky, one of the first precursors of individual psychology, argued that the individual as a “psycho-social complex” was indivisible from the social environment in which he was operating, and that what distinguished one individuality from the other was “the principle of active adaptability of the individual to the surrounding environment.” The complexity of the individual would manifest itself not in piecemeal laboratory experiments, continued Lazursky, but rather in his live experience. While praising Alfred Binet for his intelligence test, Lazursky believed that this kind of testing did not encompass the whole individual and could not outline what distinguished individuals among themselves. In their definitions and methodology, individual psychologists followed into the steps of Russian psychiatrists who conducted their research at the bedside of the patient, observing the manifestation of the pathology in his whole persona. Refusing an exclusive disjunction between the normal and the abnormal, Russian psychiatrists grounded mental health and normality in the adaptability of the individual to his environment. Rather than normative, this normality was holistic and defined in relation to every single individual and his response to environmental stimuli. By the same token, rather than measuring the individual against perception and attention time spans, individual psychologists observed the self in his wholeness and in his external manifestations in his live environment. It was in these external instances that one could study the individual’s highest mental processes – the holistic entanglement of intellect, feelings and will, and come up with types of individuals, rather than extend them as degrees (of intelligence, for instance) on a scale. Following the work of Lazursky and his colleagues in and out of the Psycho-Neurological Institute in Saint Petersburg, I look at how they formed their discipline around the definition and study of the individual in his complex wholeness, and how they contended in this endeavour with the various strands of imperial diversity. I argue that during this process of institutionalisation and professionalization of the discipline, psychologists conceptualised what for them constituted the ideal individuality or self and by extension imperial subject – an yardstick eventually employed to draft programmes of education and pedagogical guidelines. I look at how this definition was being gendered – with the ideal individual and subject being male – and how the individual qualities and roles in the society were being assigned accordingly.

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### **Charcot's women: The Case of Glafira Abricossoff**

**Irina Sirotkina, Durham University**

In an article published in 1999, Charcot's biographer C.G. Goetz challenged the myth of misogyny which had followed 'the grand priest of hysterics' for over a century. Elsewhere, Goetz mentioned that women accounted for ten per cent of Charcot's students. Yet, women are strangely absent from the scholarship of Charcot, including the very recent one, with the exception of a single article. I propose to look at Glafira Abricossoff (1860-1948), who studied with Charcot in the late 1880s and early 1890s. She originated from a wealthy merchant family, owners of confectionary business in Imperial Russia. She wrote her thesis on hysteria, published it as the first book-length history of the disease, and went on to become a medical doctor and a practitioner. While still a student, Glafira met the physiologist Charles Richet, and the two formed a life-long partnership. They had two daughters; the elder, Eugénie Abricossoff, became

a novel writer under the pseudonym Dominique Renouard. Glafira Abrocossouff's eventful life is interesting both in itself and as part of the feminist history and a forgotten story of Charcot's female students.

### **Hysteria in French and Yugoslav Psychiatric Milieus: A Comparative Study**

**Emma Puric, York University**

Historians of psychology recognize that psychiatric classifications emerge within specific institutional and intellectual environments. In the late 19th century, Jean-Martin Charcot's work at Paris's Salpêtrière Hospital was central to the theorization of hysteria, where clinical demonstrations staged before audiences of physicians helped define hysteria as a disorder of suggestibility, spectacle, and female pathology (Cole, 2021). Hysteria served to legitimize essentialist views of gender, which construed women as morally and biologically inferior, while justifying the gendered division between the public and private spheres amidst the changes wrought by industrialization, the First and Second World Wars, and the modernization of cities (Zaviršek, 2000). Studies of hysteria would profoundly influence psychiatric thought across Europe and North America, and their impact persists in contemporary diagnostic systems, most explicitly in the category of histrionic personality disorder (APA, 2022), which retains a direct conceptual lineage to the historical construct of hysteria (Novais, 2015).

The reception of hysteria in the Eastern European context, however, remains underexplored. While historical research on 19<sup>th</sup>-century psy-disciplines is scarce in the region (Zaviršek, 2000) later developments in Yugoslav psychiatry, particularly in the socialist era, are more extensively recorded. Post World War II, Yugoslav psychiatry developed within a Marxist, collectivist framework, which sought to dismantle patriarchal authoritarian family systems and promote free-thinking, democratic, and self-managing workers (Antić, 2019). During the post-war period, the Yugoslav army was beset by an epidemic of 'partisan hysteria', a novel form of neuroses observed in Communist resistance fighters which seemed to only exacerbate following the end of the war (Antić, 2014). Unlike classical war-related post-traumatic conditions, commonly marked by exhaustion, anxiety, and demoralisation, hysterical soldiers in Yugoslavia demonstrated a "heightened willingness to fight" and experienced violent epileptiform seizures simulating battles and attacks, often occurring before an audience, after which patients frequently had no recollection (Antić, 2014). This reconceptualization cast hysteria as a masculine, battle-related neurosis, in stark contrast to the passive, feminized conceptualization traditionally associated with the disorder. Such a shift demonstrates how cultural and ideological milieus critically shape the formation and articulation of psychological theorizing and modelling.

This presentation contributes to existing scholarship by comparing two psychiatric milieus: the French model exemplified by Salpêtrière and the collectivist, Marxist framework of postwar Yugoslavia. These distinct environments produced divergent conceptualizations of hysteria,

highlighting the influence of cultural, geographical, and ideological factors in the development of psychiatric nosology and theory. Examining these shifts underscores the importance of transnational historical research in psychology to reveal the cultural contingency of mental health frameworks and to advance the contemporary theorization and modelling.

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### **The nest as an environment. A historical epistemology of the nesting instinct in pregnancy**

**Lisa Malich, University of Luebeck, Germany**

Many pregnancy guides today talk about a nesting instinct. Pregnant women are said to be gripped by the urge to create the right environment for their child, for example by buying baby equipment or cleaning the apartment. The concept of the nesting instinct represents a specific configuration of knowledge: while it is widespread in the popular realm, it occupies a marginal position in the scientific realm. In my presentation, I will examine the historical epistemology (Rheinberger, 2017) of this form of knowledge. The following questions will be addressed: How did knowledge about a nesting instinct develop during pregnancy? How was the nest constructed as a specific natural-anthropogenic environment? And to what extent do ideas of gender and environment interact here?

To answer these questions, the study takes the perspective of a history of knowledge, in the *longue durée* from the 19th century to 2015 (Malich, 2021). Using the method of discourse analysis, a



wide range of published sources from scientific and popular science fields (in German and English language) are examined, from guidebooks to gynecological and obstetric textbooks to psychological studies and works on ethology and animal behavior. The study shows a gradual feminization of the concept of the environment in the knowledge of the nesting instinct.

In the 19th century, this instinct was often seen as a male behavior pattern and referred solely to animal behavior (mainly birds). Here, the nest served as an analogy to the (human) house. The background to this preoccupation with male nest-building behavior was provided by early debates on the nature and nurture of behavioral patterns and the status of instincts in the context of evolutionary theory and animal psychology. In addition, there was the context of an early conservation movement in the West, which was associated with animal observations and explicit analogies to the human world (Schmoll, 2004). A more general context is provided by the patriarchal gender order of the time, in which the husband had sovereignty over property and the home.

In contrast, in the first decades of the 20th century, the instinct was transformed into a primarily female characteristic, with the nest representing the interior of the house. In the process, there was also a gradual transformation from female animals (mainly mammals) to pregnant women, until the nesting instinct finally became enormously popularized in pregnancy guides from the 1980s onwards. This popularization took place in the context of a growing consumer culture in Western countries, which particularly affected pregnancy and childhood. In addition, there were movements critical of medicine, often accompanied by a turn to ethology and an idealization of nature. Another important context was the women's movement and the backlash it provoked, which led to conflicts over the female role and the status of domestic work, which were also played out through psychological concepts. (Vicedo, 2013). Here, the concept of the nest-building instinct legitimized the gender order, since it naturalized not only consumption but also female housework (Shahvisi, 2020).

In my presentation, I will also address the specific configuration of knowledge about nesting during pregnancy: the circulation between popular expert discourses and research is particularly intense here. Although nesting is framed as a scientific concept, it appears primarily in popular discourses, from which, in turn, it has an effect on the scientific field. A crucial precondition for this circulation of knowledge was that the nest became a “metaphorical thing” (Blumenberg, 1997). As such, the nest did not simply lead to naturalization, but rather designated a natural-social interstice that increasingly became an object in need of constant attention and female care work.

### **Winnicott and the non-destroying Environment**

**Ákos Kormányos, University of Pécs**

As one of the most prominent figures of psychoanalysis, we owe a lot to Donald W. Winnicott. From all of his significant innovations, this presentation focuses on his use of the environment.

His oft-cited statement that there is “no such thing as a baby, only a baby and someone” did not just shape the field of paediatrics, but it was also a radical departure from Freud. He is well known for not being systematic when using concepts, sometimes using them in different meanings, never defining them. This makes his oeuvre hard to interpret, but it also enriches it. Winnicott's work does not have a singular definition for the environment. While he is best known for the “holding” and “facilitating” environments that support healthy development, Winnicott also describes the environment as passive, non-constructive, and sometimes even destructive in a lesser-known strand of his work. This talk brings attention to this under-discussed aspect of Winnicott's theory, arguing that it opens up a more ambivalent and dynamic understanding of environmental influence. Winnicott is a fascinating case regarding this question. He is the first paediatrician to become a psychoanalyst, and his training in this particular field of medicine gives him a specific background in evolutionary theory. He is also affiliated with the Tavistock clinic, where the role of the environment, the baby-caregiver set-up, is one of the key concepts of psychoanalysis. From this background, the question of the environment in Winnicott's work becomes ever so interesting. Sociology and psychology have drawn heavily from biological concepts, particularly evolutionary biology, to explain human behaviour, development, and social structures. The idea of the environment plays a crucial role in evolutionary theory, shaping different frameworks of inheritance and adaptation. It is thought-provoking to try to see Winnicott through the lens of biological concepts of the environment of his time. One obvious opportunity is to explore three distinct conceptualisations of the environment's role in biological change:

(1) an environment that directly induces transformation,

In this framework, the environment directly modifies an organism during its lifetime, and offspring inherit these acquired traits. This framework of evolution implies a direct causal relationship between environmental conditions and heritable biological change. This concept is widely linked to Lamarck, although contemporary historical findings show that he did not promote this idea.

(2) an environment that indirectly induces transformation

The second type of environment is characteristic of Neo-Lamarckian perspectives, although Lamarck himself believed in it too. The environment does not cause direct modifications but serves as an indirect catalyst for change. Stress, nutrition, or exposure to toxins can affect an organism's traits inherited by offspring.

(3) an environment that does not initiate change but merely selects for survival

The third conceptualisation of the environment aligns with Charles Darwin's theory of natural selection. Here, the environment does not induce or trigger variation but acts as a filter for pre-existing differences.

This typology serves as a parallel to Winnicott's changing role of the environment. The holding, facilitating environment, which is the good-enough mother in the infant-environment set up, can be read as parallel to the biological concept where the environment induces transformation. But there are papers in his oeuvre - especially in the late 50s, early 60s - where his concept of the environment is truly passive. The inherited potential - or potentiality in other instances - governs the individual's or the Self's development. The environment's job is not to get in the way, to be

passive, because when it acts, this environment can only destroy, but never facilitate. This is where the Darwinian version of the environment can help us as a parallel.

This presentation aims to illuminate a lesser-known and short phase of Winnicott's work. Enriching his already influential body of work and bringing into play the concepts of evolutionary theory that took a scientific turn during his time.

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## **Technical Environment/Milieu in the History of Human Evolution: A Comparison between Lewis Mumford and André Leroi-Gourhan in Bio-ecological Perspective**

**Lufeng Xu, École des hautes études en sciences sociales**

The investigation of the environment or milieu cannot be dissociated from the technological factors embedded in it. The technical environment/milieu neither separates technology, life and nature, nor does it disassociate the technology of matter from the technology of living organisms (Triclot, 2012; Petit & Guillaume, 2018). The historian of technology Lewis Mumford (1895-1990) and the prehistoric ethnologist André Leroi-Gourhan (1911-1986) were not only contemporaries, but both were interested in the relationship between man and his environment/milieu through technology. In 1951, Leroi-Gourhan published a review of the first French translation of Mumford's *Technics and Civilization*, originally written in 1934, stressing that “its value lies in the clarity of his understanding of the history of human evolution” (Leroi-Gourhan, 1951). As for Mumford, he also mentioned Leroi-Gourhan in his writings such as the first volume of his *The Myth of the Machine*, published in 1967, where he praised Leroi-Gourhan's *Milieu et Technique*, first published in 1945, as an “invaluable” and a “systematic and comparative study of all aspects of material technology”, while criticizing the latter's simplistic “equation of tools and machines with technology” (Mumford, 1967). The occasional but highly targeted interaction between these

two technologists have attracted some attention today (Schlanger, 2022), but their dialogue and disagreement are worth further analysis.

It is necessary to return to their common question of the evolution of human technology and its environment/milieu, in order to deepen our understanding of the bio-ecological dimension of technology. In this regard, my paper will discuss the following three aspects: First, I will retrace the process of their not entirely manifest exchange of ideas by meticulously analyzing their mutual critiques. Second, they had each read translations of the other's work, where Mumford's use of "environment" was translated into French as "milieu", while Leroi-Gourhan's "milieu" was more often translated into "environment" in English version. However, I would like to point out that the distinction between environment and milieu in a technological context demonstrates the difference between their views on man and nature, as well as deeper epistemological divergence in their respective methodologies. Third, I will further focus on their arguments about the relationship between human and technical environment/milieu in the bio-ecological dimension. Leroi-Gourhan, in his book *Milieu et Technique* mentioned above, argued that the true source of technology lies in biology, and that the technical elements are all arranged as biological organisms (Guchet, 2005). And Mumford, who was a reader of this book, later developed the theory of biotechnics in bioregionalism under the Anglo-Saxon tradition of social organicism (Mumford, 1966; Strate & Lum, 2000), which is worth comparing with the biological philosophy of technology developed by Leroi-Gourhan in the French tradition.

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**Facing up to the Past: Challenging Histories & Changing Future Conversations at the UK  
British Psychological Society  
Jack Duggan, University of Leicester**

The archives of the British Psychological Society (BPS) have been closed for a century, despite being a hugely important source of information on the development of British Psychology and the UK-based BPS. Existing histories of the BPS have then been written without using these archives. Typically, they have been celebratory accounts of the ‘Great Men’ of Psychology, presenting British Psychology and the BPS as unified and internally consistent, with any differences ameliorated by a common quest towards scientific knowledge. What is lost in these Whig histories of the BPS is a nuanced account of a discipline and Society frequently mired in disagreements, with ideological, theoretical and methodological incommensurability between approaches and across time. Absent also is an interrogation of whether the BPS may have perpetuated or failed to challenge prejudice and discrimination, a topic which has become increasingly relevant within wider Psychology in recent years.

Such an account of the BPS is overdue. In 2021, the American Psychological Association (APA) apologised for its role in perpetuating and failing to challenge racism. The apology was rejected by the Association of Black Psychologists due to criticisms that it was performative and failed to capture the extent and impact of racism by the APA. It is in this context that the BPS has partnered with the AHRC via its Midlands4Cities doctoral funding scheme at the University of Leicester. It seeks to provide a more substantiated and thorough archival account of its history in context, to understand its impact (negative and positive) on marginalised populations. To facilitate this AHRC Collaborative Doctoral Award, the BPS have granted unprecedented access to their archives, featuring a wealth of internal documents dating from 1895 onwards.

My doctoral study utilises these neglected archives to investigate the potential prevalence of discrimination resulting from the policies, actions, and inaction, of the BPS since its founding. The central research aims are to investigate the extent to which the BPS historically failed to accommodate the views of marginalised groups; how and why discriminatory perspectives were perpetuated or went unchallenged; and to what extent this may have impacted members of marginalised groups such as Black, LGBTQIA+, and disabled communities.

While the initial research is still in its early stages, this presentation will contextualise the growth of British Psychology and the BPS. It seeks to situate it within its host culture, and often-eugenic roots, demonstrating how this predisposed the discipline and the Society to be very conservative and slow to change in ways that still matter today. It will likewise provide emerging insights from initial visits to the archives, detailing how the organisational culture of the BPS likely contributed to inaction, and giving examples of ways in which discrimination was perpetuated or went

unchallenged even as the BPS sought to accommodate UK legislation on equal opportunities from the 1980s onwards.

Graham Richards noted in *'Race', Racism and Psychology* (1997) that overtly hostile racism is noticeably absent from much British research when compared to the United States. The BPS archives present a unique opportunity to go beyond such published accounts and investigate both overt and covert attitudes *within* the BPS. Additionally, the celebratory narratives in previous accounts of the BPS tend to obscure the extent to which past discriminatory practices were caused by, and facilitated by, the Society and its UK membership, as well as the potential harm done to, and cultural infringements of, marginalised groups within its own ranks. It is the intention of my thesis to redress this historiographical neglect, to take account of the prevalence of past discrimination within British Psychology and the BPS, and investigate how prejudice was sanctioned, challenged or ignored.

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**The role of Jacobus van Essen in the amputated first decade of the *Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor de Psychologie en haar Grensgebieden* (Netherlands Journal of Psychology)**

**Sandra Schruijer, Utrecht University**

The beginning of the *Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor de Psychologie en haar Grensgebieden* (Netherlands Journal of Psychology) (NTP) is situated by its postwar editors in 1945, starting with Volume 1. However, the journal was factually established in 1933 by J. van Essen and C.H. van der Leeuw, joined by L. Van der Horst in 1935. In reviews and editorials of NTP, the period 1933-1945 is either ignored or labelled as a ‘false start’ without much elaboration (Eshuis, 2006; Van Geert & Van Hezewijk, 2005; Van Hezewijk, Bos, Cima, Van Geert & Schutter, 2006). In 1995, mention was made of NTP’s national socialist message during the war (after the journal was ended by the Germans in 1942 (Van Delft, 1995)). It appeared that in 1943 J. van Essen, as a sole editor, produced a volume of NTP containing national socialist content. The editorial by editors L. Van der Horst and G. Révész in May 1945 did not mention the war nor NTP’s vicissitudes during it (Van der Horst & Révész, 1945).

This paper has two aims. Firstly, to introduce the person of J. van Essen. Who was he? How did he acquire such a powerful position in NTP and what happened with him during and after the war? Van Essen was considered a promising scholar, working at the *Valeriuskliniek* and having obtained two PhDs: one with Bühler in Vienna and one with Piéron in Paris. Although he had aspirations to work at the university, he never did, despite an elaborate publication record. He was a driving force behind NTP, publishing many articles and almost all book reviews. He also had published widely internationally. Van Essen was convicted after the war and served time in prison. Afterwards, he started a clinal practice while also founding a postdoctoral programme to educate professionals in ‘psychocurientie’, a sort of social work. Although it was a legal programme that also acquired international acclaim, the programme itself was never acknowledged by Dutch academia, and Van Essen was given the silent treatment. A second aim is to present the prewar content of NTP and its authors. Between 1933 and its final appearance during the war in 1942, hundreds of articles were published and even more book reviews written. The paper will end with some thoughts regarding the lack of acknowledgement of NTP’s prewar years, despite the many articles published by a wide variety of authors between 1933 and 1942, and even though Van Essen stepped down as editor in 1939 and editors E. Carp, P. Esser, P. Hugenholtz, A. Hütter, B. Stokvis were added. Also, some reflections on the life and work of Van Essen will be shared.

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### **Emilio Mira y López and the Popularization of Psychological Knowledge in the Brazilian Press (1960-1964)**

**Filipe Degani-Carneiro, Rio de Janeiro State University [Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, UERJ]**

Emilio Mira y López (1896–1964) played a crucial role in the institutionalization and professionalization of psychology in Brazil. He founded the Institute for Selection and Vocational Guidance (ISOP - 1947), the journal *Arquivos Brasileiros de Psicotécnica* (1949), and the Brazilian Association of Psychotechnics (1949). This association was responsible for drafting the preliminary bill that led to the regulation of the psychology profession, culminating in Law 4119 on August 27, 1962. Between the 1940s and 1960s, Mira y López brought together a significant number of professionals interested in the study and professional training in psychology. He actively promoted psychological knowledge and increased its visibility as an emerging professional field in Brazil, particularly amid the country's ongoing modernization, industrialization, and urbanization. He also moved within political, business, and academic elite circles, delivering courses and lectures. Additionally, he was frequently invited by the media as a psychological expert to comment on current affairs and political news. Undoubtedly, his prominence was partly due to his status as a European scientist in exile (after 1939, by the end of Spanish Civil War) and the connections he maintained abroad, as well as those he built in Brazil. However, we must also consider the historical and cultural factors that shaped a demand—particularly within the press—for scientifically grounded opinions that could help the general public understand the psychological dimensions of everyday phenomena. This growing interest suggests the increasing relevance of psychological knowledge during that period. An analysis of archival records of Clio-Psyché Laboratory (UERJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) identified a weekly column written by Mira y López in the *Folha de São Paulo* newspaper. This column comprised 173 articles published between September 1960 and February 1964, the year of his passing. These documents were analyzed using Discourse Analysis as a theoretical-methodological framework. The reading and analysis of the articles led to a thematic classification, highlighting four primary topics: Counseling (n=44), Vocational Guidance (n=32), Psychopathology (n=27), and Family Relations (n=16), among others. The category “Counseling” includes articles written



in a guiding, advisory tone, offering psychological or philosophical insights to the general public on topics such as emotions, intimate life, and emotional issues. As the central theme of Mira y López's work in Brazil, the category "Vocational Guidance" contains texts discussing vocational profiles of different professions, as well as topics related to health, safety, accident prevention, and work-related illnesses. "Psychopathology" includes articles that cover diagnostic classifications, substance abuse, the relationship between psychopathy and crime, and the use of psychological tests for diagnosing psychopathological traits. "Family Relations" presents texts addressing domestic life, parenting, marital relationships, gender differences, and various aspects of child and adolescent development. Mira y López's professional trajectory demonstrates a commitment to disseminating and popularizing psychology as a science with practical applications across various aspects of human life—not only in the fields of work, education, and healthcare institutions but also in everyday life. His work engaged both micro-level concerns (such as family relationships and personal life) and macro-level discussions (such as national and international political conflicts). Additionally, the growing demand for psychological counseling, literature, and services—particularly among Brazil's urban middle class—suggests that psychology was not only developing as an institution but was also gaining societal relevance. As this research progresses, further investigation will focus on the role of psychological discourse in shaping the regulation and professionalization of psychology in Brazil during this period.

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### **Emilio Bodrero at the crossroads of fascism and the crisis of psychology**

**Renato Foschi & Andrea Romano, Sapienza Università di Roma**

Born in 1874, Emilio Bodrero (1874-1949) was an academic and politician known for his nationalist and Catholic ideals, which set him apart from the prevailing positivist currents of the time. Bodrero, who served as the Rector of the University of Padua, was undersecretary of the Italian Ministry of Education and a key figure in the institutional history of psychology and the humanities during fascism. Bodrero had a significant cultural influence during Fascism. He often appeared alongside Mussolini in his speeches from the balcony of Piazza Venezia. We find his figure again at key moments in Italian psychology and pedagogy history. For example, in Padua, he opposed the replacement of Vittorio Benussi for the chair of experimental psychology when Benussi committed suicide in 1927. Bodrero even became president of the Opera Montessori, aiming to fascistize Montessori education and create a Montessori Method without Montessori. Italian psychologists, out of necessity, maintained good relationships with Bodrero. However, understanding his institutional actions during fascism also requires understanding how psychology changed during the fascist era and what truly happened during the crisis of Italian psychology in the early decades of the 20th century.

With the fall of fascism, Bodrero was removed from both political and academic life, and there was a kind of oblivion of memory about him. Very few papers on the history of Italian philosophy and psychology have dealt with his biography and role in the fascist era. This paper also delves into the Emilio Bodrero Fund within the “Archivi di famiglie e persone” at the Central State Archive of Rome, focusing on the correspondence between Bodrero and prominent Italian psychologists, spanning from the late 19th to the mid-20th century.

Despite his antipositivist stance, Bodrero engaged in correspondence with scientists whose work aligned more closely with positivism, indicating a complex interplay of intellectual exchange and ideological divergence. The archival research reveals Bodrero’s interactions with figures such as Vittorio Benussi, Ugo Cerletti, Luigi Credaro, Sante De Sanctis, Francesco De Sarlo, Agostino Gemelli, Mario Montessori, Cesare Musatti, Alfredo Niceforo, and Scipio Sighele and shed light on the nature of these relationships and the underlying motivations for the epistolary exchanges. Through a detailed analysis of the letters, Bodrero’s evolving relationships with these scientists were enlightened, ranging from initial alliances based on shared nationalist sentiments to later interactions marked by power dynamics and the need for protection in the face of adversity.

The presentation also examines Bodrero's significant roles in academia and politics, including his tenure as

rector of the University of Padua and his involvement in the fascist regime's educational reforms. Bodrero's influence extended beyond academia, as evidenced by his contentious presidency of the Montessori Opera, which ultimately led to a rupture with Maria Montessori herself. Overall, this study offers insights into the intersections of politics, ideology, and science in early 20th-century Italy, highlighting Bodrero's multifaceted role as a participant within this complex landscape.

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**Adriano Ossicini's contribution to Italian psychology's rebirth after World War II**

**Elisabetta Cicciola, Sapienza University of Rome**

The years following the Second World War in Italy were characterized by the monarchy's end and the founding of the Italian Republic in 1946. Catholic, liberal, socialist, democratic, and communist intellectuals who had fought in the Resistance with the Anglo-American forces participated in writing the Constitution. It was the period of post-war reconstruction and the rethinking of the human sciences that had been put in crisis by Croce e Gentile's neo-idealist philosophy.

This study aims to explain the contribution of Adriano Ossicini (1920-2019), a renowned psychiatrist, clinical psychologist, and academic, to the resurgence and evolution of psychology in the post-Second World War era—a crisis and flattening of the discipline on applications characterized this period. Ossicini actively participated in the Roman Resistance against Nazi-fascism and led a partisan group that bore his name. After the liberation of Rome, he completed his medical studies, specializing in occupational medicine and nervous and mental illness. In addition to his research and clinical work, Ossicini also carried out intense political activity until he became Minister for the Family and Social Solidarity from 17 January 1995 to 17 May 1996. Ossicini trained in the experimental psychology and child neuropsychiatry texts of Sante De Sanctis (1862-1935). After completing his studies, Ossicini was employed at the CNR's Experimental Centre for Applied Psychology. In addition, he initiated training as a psychoanalyst. In 1944, following the liberation of Rome from Nazi-fascist occupation, the National Liberation Committee appointed him deputy for health care for the Province of Rome, entrusting him with the responsibility of overseeing the management of asylums. During this period, the primary focus of his efforts was on the study and treatment of mental illnesses in childhood. He tried to reform psychiatric wards, particularly the orphanages. Since 1944, he has been a vocal advocate for the closure of asylums, which he has defined as pathological facilities. As an academic, Ossicini dealt with Gestalt and psychoanalysis, always trying to apply psychological knowledge to society.

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### **The 1950s and the 1960s: Two Decades in the History of Psychology in the Dominican Republic**

**Carol López Catheline, Instituto Tecnológico de Santo Domingo (INTEC)**

The history of psychology in the Dominican Republic during the 1950s and 1960s marks a crucial phase in the development and institutionalization of the discipline within the country. This period, while often overlooked, laid the groundwork for psychology to become a recognized academic and professional field in the country. During these decades, the introduction of psychology courses in universities and key conferences, played pivotal roles in shaping the future of the discipline. One such event was the First Interamerican Congress of Psychology, held in 1953, which brought together experts and practitioners from across the Americas (Interamerican Society of Psychology, 1955). This gathering fostered an environment of collaboration and intellectual exchange, which not only accelerated the progress of psychology, but also contributed to its development across Latin America and the Caribbean. The event highlighted the increasing importance of psychology on an international scale and demonstrated the interest of Dominican Scholars in joining the global community.

During this event, it can be appreciated that the celebration of this event opened the doors for Psychology by giving a stage for the exchange of the cultural, social and political aspects of science (Bigg, C., et al., 2023). This holds specially true when taking into account that said congress took place with the support of the Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo (La Nacion, 1953a).

Although the discipline was gaining traction, it faced numerous challenges in terms of formalization and institutionalization. The process was gradual, with psychology existing in fragmented forms. Prior to the establishment of dedicated psychology departments, psychology was typically taught as part of broader courses in various areas of study, with limited recognition as a field (Rodríguez, 2009; Zaité, 2013). Psychology was not yet seen as a fully-fledged discipline, and its professional identity was still in the process of being shaped.

The aim of this research is to shed light on a neglected chapter in the history of psychology in the Dominican Republic by examining the processes through which psychology gradually became institutionalized. The central research question guiding this study is: How did psychology become institutionalized in the Dominican Republic during the 1950s and 1960s? To answer this question, the research will explore a variety of primary and secondary sources. Such materials entail: transcripts, newspaper articles, and secondary sources such as articles that tell the history of psychology in the country and of the congress itself. By analyzing these sources, the study aims to

provide an understanding of the factors that influenced the development of psychology in the Dominican Republic and its eventual recognition as an academic and professional field.

My findings, which are modest due to the exploratory nature of this study, show that there was significant interest in various areas of psychology. Additionally, it is clear how this interest expanded within the academic community, culminating in the almost simultaneous establishment of two psychology departments in 1967. The continuation of this line of research will offer a clearer picture of the development of psychology in the Dominican Republic and highlight the key figures who drove the discipline forward.

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### **Narrativizing Nerves and Minds in the Munich Psychiatrische- und Nervenlinik Kim Hajek, Technical University of Munich & Mira Schwarzer, Ludwig-Maximilian University**

In the early years of the 20th century, the psychiatric clinic at the Ludwig-Maximilian University (LMU) in Munich counted as one of the most prestigious institutions for the study of psychiatric disorders. Built according to scientific principles and directed by the renowned Emil Kraepelin from 1904–22, this “model institution” (Engstrom 2010) would treat and diagnose around 2000 patients per year by the 1920s (Hippius et al. 2005). It may seem surprising, then, that the workings of the LMU clinic have attracted relatively little attention from historians of the human sciences.

Oswald Bumke (1877–1950), who succeeded Kraepelin as director in 1924, and interim director Eugen Kahn (1887–1973) are largely forgotten today. Moreover, patient records from the clinic have only intermittently been accessible to historians, are largely uncatalogued, and only considered complete for years from 1927.

In this paper, we analyse a selection of the extant patient files from the Munich clinic to open up initial insights into its workings at a pivotal time in its history. For the years around 1924 saw notable shifts in the ways mental disorders were conceptualized and treated, as Bumke assumed control. Indeed, Bumke was an unexpected choice to succeed Kraepelin, given notable divergences between the ways each physician understood the dynamics of mental illnesses, their causes, and their treatments. Indicative of their differences is Bumke’s decision to bring neurological patients under the same roof as their psychiatric counterparts, in what he renamed the Psychiatrische- und Nervenlinik (Psychiatric and Nerve Clinic). Files thus record patients as admitted for arteriosclerosis and chorea alongside those eventually diagnosed with schizophrenia, depression, and hysterical personality.

Patient files are about much more than (eventual) diagnostic labels, however. They provide valuable witness to the “mess[y] practices and strategies involved in the production of ... knowledge” (Engstrom 2010, 49) regarding psychological and psychiatric categories, practices, and therapies. In its textual and material particularity, each file reveals something of the ways clinic workers (often subaltern) narrativized the intersection between daily encounters, therapy, and diagnosis, as they centred on an individual patient. Clinical narrativizing of this kind is active scientific work that combines writing (or textualizing) and reasoning (Hajek 2022). While such narrative work precedes that of grouping or ordering cases (e.g. Mendelsohn & Hess 2010), it has received rather less attention from scholars. We take the textual practices of clinical narrativizing as our major window into examining how the LMU clinic functioned, such that our paper aims to contribute to scholarship on textual/paper tools in psychiatry, as well as to illuminate the history the clinic in its own right.

Specifically, we analyse such files as still exist from 1924 to March 1926 of recurring women patients. Interleaved into the records from the 1920s are those from the women’s previous stays at the clinic—our only glimpse of practices before the mid-late 1920s; they allow us to compare textual, therapeutic, and diagnostic practices across time, notably between the Kraepelin and Bumke eras. We ask to what extent diagnoses and therapies shifted under each director, and whether any such shifts can be linked to their respective views on psychiatric research and practice. Alternatively, the clinical texts may remain predominantly vague or ambiguous. If so, what might this imply for the ways case-based reasoning is abstracted into larger nosological generalizations, of the kind found in Kraepelin’s or Bumke’s renowned Handbooks?

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**Lost in cognition: From the centrality of the organism-environment distinction in behavioural and humanistic psychotherapies to its decline in cognitive therapy**  
**Ivan Moya Diez, IMGWF, Universität zu Lübeck**

In this talk, I will examine the shifting role of the organism-environment distinction in psychotherapy, particularly its marginalization in cognitive therapy (CT) compared to its centrality in behavioral and humanistic therapies during the mid-20th century.

The conceptualization of human beings as organisms interacting with their environment was crucial in shaping both behaviorist and humanist psychotherapies. However, this distinction began to erode in the 1960s with the rise of cognitive therapy, which shifted focus from the organism to the mind, downplaying the environment's role. On the one hand, behavioral therapies, rooted in experimental psychology and stimulus-response conditioning, viewed the environment as the principal force shaping behavior, relying on an understanding of the organism as reactive to external stimuli based on a physiological theory of reflexes. On the other hand, humanistic psychotherapies emerged partially in reaction to the mechanistic views of behaviorism and emphasized developing the autonomy and potential of the individual. This perspective required a



biological foundation of human development. Maslow and Rogers appropriated Kurt Goldstein's holistic approach to the organism, which characterized any activity of the organism as situated in a debate or coming to terms (*Auseinandersetzung*) with its environment (*Umwelt*). Despite their focus on individuality, humanistic therapies made the environment a crucial participant in human experience and growth.

In contrast, cognitive therapy, developed by Aaron Beck in the 1960s, marked a significant departure from the conceptualization of the organism-environment relationship. Beck's cognitive therapy focused on cognitive distortions in our way of thinking as the source of emotional distress and mental health problems. This shift had several significant implications. First, cognitive therapy moved away from the endeavor of founding psychotherapy on biological and experimental knowledge, which since Darwin had made the organism-environment distinction central. Notably, Beck rejected evolutionary theories of emotions. In the first formulations of cognitive therapy, emotions and subsequent behavior were seen as the result of irrational thinking, not as evolutionary adaptations. Second, Beck's approach revived a form of Cartesian dualism, viewing the mind as an isolated and rational entity—and later, as a rational information-processing entity—that needs to control the body. “Mind over body” became a central motto of therapy, separating the mind from the body and the external environment. Third, cognitive therapy moved away from experimental methods, adopting clinical trials and statistical methods to validate treatments, emphasizing efficacy over a biological understanding of human processes. Finally, the detached and disaffected mind of cognitive therapy exacerbated the individual's responsibility for mental health through rational thought, diminishing the relevance of environmental conditions and interactions that shape human experience.

**The Development and Interpretation of Ideas About Training Clinical Psychologists:  
Natural Science, Human Science, and the 1949 Boulder Training Conference  
Alan Tjeltveit, Muhlenberg College, Emeritus**

The standard account of the history of American clinical psychology emphasizes the scientist-practitioner model of training clinical psychologists, a model adopted by the 1949 Boulder Conference on Training in Clinical Psychology. The Conference drew on the 1947 Shakow Report, named for David Shakow, who chaired an earlier committee on training. According to this model, training in science (i.e., knowledge derived from natural scientific methods) provided *the* basis for practice. Or *should* do so.

However, the actual Shakow Report and Boulder Conference recommendations diverged in important ways from the standard account. In this paper, I explore some of the factors that led to that divergence. Shakow did originally espouse a narrow traditional scientific background for clinical psychologists, with all prospective clinical psychologists majoring in the biological and physical sciences. But his views (or those of committees he chaired) changed over time. The

Shakow Report made several recommendations that added a human science component to Shakow's early all-natural-science approach. Shakow and the Boulder Conference did want clinical psychologists to be trained in science and wanted empirical research in clinical psychology. However, they also affirmed a pluralistic epistemology: The ideal preparation for clinical psychologist included life experience and a liberal education. Trainees, the Shakow Report stated, should have had experiences ... involving close relations with both ordinary and unusual persons in field, factory, institution, or laboratory. In addition ...[they] should have had indirect acquaintance with people that comes from immersion in great literature, because of the emphasis which such portrayals place on the molar aspects of behavior and the insights into human nature that they give. (pp. 213-214)

Undergraduate course work in the social sciences and history of culture was recommended. Graduate students should be exposed to "cultural anthropology's contribution to the understanding of personality" (p. 229).

Complicated historical developments led to the widespread misunderstanding that the Boulder Conference training recommendation was the scientist-practitioner model, and only that. I will focus on three. First, from 1942 to 1947, Shakow and committees he chaired changed their training recommendations, trending in the direction of more acceptance of human science approaches. I will also discuss how the David Shakow Papers at the Archives of the History of American Psychology at the Cummings Center for the History of Psychology (not cited in historical accounts of Shakow's Report) contribute to an understanding of his broad epistemological views and to compromises among Committee members.

Second, psychiatrist-psychologist-Veterans Administration (VA) executive James Grier Miller endorsed Shakow's approach prior to the Shakow Report. Miller's support was instrumental in clinical psychology's receiving a massive increase in federal funding for training clinical psychologists, which funding shaped the Boulder Conference and clinical psychology. I will report on explorations of VA records that address Miller's views and influence.

Finally, Stuart Cook cleverly redefined what the Boulder Conference espoused in a 1958 article. He introduced the notion of "models" of training, a term *not* used at Boulder. Although the Boulder Conference endorsed a variety of training approaches, most programs were housed in academic psychology departments, and so based primarily on science, understood as natural science. This became known as the scientist-practitioner model, or, significantly, the Boulder Model. In contrast, most clinicians drew on a broad array of other ways of knowing, e.g., psychoanalytic and humanistic, with openness to human science approaches. The training programs those clinicians developed were not considered "Boulder Model" programs, although they were often entirely consistent with the actual Boulder recommendations.

My overall goal is a more nuanced, historically accurate account of the Boulder Conference, including its epistemological breadth, and the uses to which it has been put. 598

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## **Why did Historical and Cultural Preservationists Resist the Suicide Net at the Golden Gate Bridge?**

**Heather Murray, University of Ottawa**

In 2009, a poignant temporary exhibit of shoes of people who had committed suicide by jumping off the Golden Gate Bridge became a centerpiece of public protests in favour of a suicide prevention net on the bridge and suicide prevention activities more broadly in the Bay Area. Entitled “Whose Shoes?”, this exhibit traded in a long-standing circulation images of victims’ shoes as a form of political protest. What is especially striking about this display is that it also featured chalk outlines of shoes to symbolize those whose bodies had never been found.<sup>1</sup>

This memorial was not conceived by the public historians who normally design commemorations, though, but by mental health professionals, anti-suicide activists and family members. After years of such memorials, lobbying, and protests, the Golden Gate Bridge completed a suicide net in 2023. But why was there such tension between mental health practitioners, who advocated for the suicide net, and cultural heritage preservationists, who resisted its idea and implementation, to begin with? Why did historians with training in the humanities resist it, while mental health professionals with more of a scientific training, advocated it? Why did so many humanists insist that suicide was simply a part of human life about which nothing could be done, at this site and elsewhere? More broadly, what is the relationship of cultural heritage and historical aesthetics to mental health and trauma?

This paper explores these questions between the 1960s and the 21<sup>st</sup> century, using archival documents from the San Francisco City Council to illuminate both the voices of the heritage preservationists on the one hand and the suicidologists and mental health practitioners on the other. I also explore the archival collections of suicidologists such as Dr. Edwin Shneidman, who founded the Los Angeles Suicide Prevention Center and worked to establish national suicide centers throughout the 1960s; he also urged the Golden Gate Bridge Highway and Transportation District to install a suicide net throughout the 1960s and 70s. In turn, I explore the writings of Dr. Richard Seiden, who published a study of Golden Gate suicides in 1978, famously likening the bridge to having a loaded gun on display in the middle of the house.

I suggest that these debates illustrate the cultural preservationists’ placing of aesthetics and cultural authenticity above all else, as well as an aesthetic affront that they felt about the severely depressed as individuals. I also suggest that these debates illuminate a wider, more commonly held belief that depression and suicides are simply inevitable parts of human nature. Ironically, it was scientific and biological evidence, often in the form of graphic autopsy reports, rather than appeals to humanism, that ultimately swayed these humanists. This in itself suggests a

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<sup>1</sup> Lea David, “The Victims’ Shoes Trope and Emerging Solidarity in Political Protest,” *Nations and Nationalism* 31 (1) 2025: 64–78. <https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.13061>.

privileging of a scientific ontology that not only animated these debates but broader social justice concerns in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, such as Truth and Reconciliation Commissions.<sup>2</sup>

My paper responds to the call for papers in that it explores a vital and well-known “site of memory” for suicide while discussing the concept of “human nature” in relation to this storied site.

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**Kurt Lewin, Carl Bernstein, Ian Parker and I: A Critical Auto-ethnographic approach, reconciling memories, published accounts, and personal written documents and 8mm films saved in a "teenage wasteland" archive (1959-1971).**

**Ian Lubek, University of Guelph**

Ian Parker's (2020) thoroughly documented "critical auto-ethnography" skillfully weaves events from his own development and education, competing idea systems, and world events. Over in critical health psychology, a number of contributions to a special issue also used contextualized autobiographic accounts of disciplinary development in different countries (see Stam et al, 2018; Lubek and Murray, 2018). Around 2021, I saw Carl Bernstein as a TV news commentator and some memories were revived. Carl has a long career in journalism, beginning with the Pulitzer-prize winning book (Bernstein and Woodward, 1974). I read his (first) autobiography (Bernstein, 1989), describing how left-wing politics and youth group activism shaped his teen-age years. I recalled how our itineraries crossed at conferences in 1961 and 1962. I consulted my personal archive of correspondence, films and notes (1959-71) to better document events in the "teenage wasteland" of the 1960s.

Handwritten letters served in the 1960s as teenage links between friends and family. I joined the AZA/BBYO international youth group in 1959, and also saved printed notices, newsletters, etc. Issues included: Who shall we elect as president of our local Chapter of 30 young men? How can we organize dates for chapter dances? Or New Year's? How could we travel to neighbouring cities? I played leadership roles starting in 1959 in the chapter, and in the regional organization for about 20 chapters in Southern Ontario and NY state, and in 1963, I became treasurer of District One (covering North-eastern USA and Canada). Some letters were about parental concerns, alcohol experimentation, and staying in hotels. (Many of these teenagers grew up to become "non-wasted" prominent folks; Facebook allows us to keep up friendships of 60+ years ).

In August (1961,1962 ,1963), I attended the International Conventions of the AZA/BBYO youth group at Camp Bnai Brith, in Starlight, Pennsylvania, USA. In 1961, I also attended a 7-week summer International Leadership Training Conference there, and in 1962, a second similar leadership program off campus. Carl Bernstein (1989, pp.149-153) was at his own District conventions in North Carolina and at the International conferences in 1961 and 1962. I also served as summer camp staff there 1963-1971, with some of the same staff who ran the leadership programs. Enter the work of Kurt Lewin.

Kurt Lewin's (1946) action research, developed just prior to his death, had been used to attempt to reduce community conflict between Jews and Blacks In New York. His community action work, group dynamics , Jewish identity, and leadership studies were taught by the Bnai Brith social worker staff (Most had been trained in social work, several with doctorates ( e.g., Dr Sy Cohen, Dr Irving Kantor and Dan Thursz, who helped launch Kennedy's VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) program, and later became Dean of School of Social Work, U. Maryland.) At university (1963-1971), my course notes show that I learned more about Lewin and action research; the reduction of aggressive conflicts was part of my PhD in 1971. Weekly letter writing (1959-1971) was later replaced by cheap long-distance phone calls. Correspondence after 1971, when I joined the University of Guelph, consisted of secretary-typed letters and carbon-copies, and eventually by 1980, e-mail . In 1974, a unique Canadian graduate program in (Lewinian) Applied Social/Community Psychology was begun. Then, in 1999, on a 3-day visit to Cambodia, I converted overnight into a critical community health psychologist, using Lewin's (1946) Action Research framework to guide our community-based efforts to combat HIV/AIDS, workplace violence, alcoholism, poverty, illiteracy, and trafficking of women and children. (Lubek et al, 2002; Lubek and Wong, 2003)

Freedom-rides began in 1961 and 1962, to confront the segregated businesses in the South. At the 1961 leadership conference , I heard a presentation from one of the first "freedom riders", a Columbia University professor. Also during July,1961, Carl Bernstein (1989) reports his chapter's desegregation activities in his hometown. He was the Regional president for Maryland chapters, and travelled in a chartered railway car with a hundred others, en route from Washington to a District convention in Hendersonville, North Carolina. During a lengthy stop in Greensborough, North Carolina, he led his teen-age colleagues into a station restaurant, not noticing the "colored only" sign. They refused requests to leave from the local police and later one prominent member



of the Jewish community. Next day, when they arrived at the District convention, Carl was taken aside by adult B'nai B'rith leaders and admonished for his "activism" which might upset the delicate existing community balances among Jews, non-Jews and blacks. In August, 1961, he and I both attended the AZA International Convention in Pennsylvania. We were both active there as the minutes show. Each of us had a "best friend" running for international office. Carl wrote that he wanted to run for international president. A year later, at the August 1962 International Convention, I wrote 2 versions of a speech nominating Carl for international president. I mentioned that his "actions and thinking have come perhaps too soon for his time and for our order". But it doesn't seem, from the minutes of the meeting, that he was nominated by me, or by anyone, from the floor. Other people won the elections and Carl then received an honorary "Life Membership" award for his contributions and leadership over 4 years. Soon he was following a journalism career, first with the Washington Star and then the Washington Post; there he won a Pulitzer Prize for his investigative critique of the Nixon presidency (Bernstein & Woodward, 1974).

On Sept 15th, 1963, a horrendous bombing in a Birmingham church killed 4 young black girls, shocked the world. Both the youth and adult B'nai B'rith organizations immediately began working on the community segregation issue, something Carl Bernstein had advocated for in 1961 and 1962. (In fact, the correspondence with numerous US friends, 1959-64, shows individuals expressing concerns about segregation and inequality somewhat earlier). Then, in June, 1964, three civil rights workers, Goodman Schwerner and Chaney were murdered in Mississippi. That same month, with two AZA friends from Toronto, and stimulated by planning conversations and letters from friends, we spent a month driving through the segregated South, staying with local BBYO members we had met at Leadership conferences and conventions the previous summers, taking notes, and documenting racial prejudice with 8mm footage (now on DVD).

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**In memory of David Lynch - our indoor-outdoor environment as presented by him**  
**Tímea Deák-Kovács, University of Pécs**

This year we lost one of our greatest filmmakers, so I like to pay tribute to his work in my presentation. In his films, David Lynch has attempted over the years to do what few had done before him: to show us what we really are. His films are about our surroundings, he was a master of creating meaningful spaces, and he was also able to show the dark recesses of the human psyche to a degree that is exceptional. In my lecture, I want to show through David Lynch's filmmaking what he must have thought about the human condition over decades. Who are we, in what environment, what are we capable of?

To celebrate the centenary of Sigmund Freud's essay *Das Unheimliche* (1919), the Freud Museum in London has organised a three-month series of events in 2019, *The Uncanny: A Centenary*, to mark the anniversary. One part of the series was a one-day course focusing on the work of David Lynch as a fundamental and inescapable figure in the visual representation of the 'uncanny'.

The organisers of the programme stated outright that if the term *Unheimliche* could be anthropomorphised, it would most certainly be in the person of David Lynch. Indeed, if you have ever seen even one Lynch film, you know that there is always something elusively mysterious and haunting in his films.

Freud (1919) says of the possible ways of the uncanny that this includes cases where we encounter objects with souls, or people without souls, in the course of a story. David Lynch provides a repository of these in his movies. „An uncanny effect is often and easily produced by effacing the distinction between imagination and reality, such as when something that we have hitherto regarded as imaginary appears before us in reality” (Freud, 1919), which is a fundamental motif of many David Lynch's work.

Lynch's films are worth examining, mainly in terms of the *Unheimliche*, from *The Eraserhead* (1977) to *Blue Velvet* (1988) and *What did Jack do?* (2017). Lynch's oeuvre is extensive, starting in 1967 and active until 2017, which means that we have 40 years of films to analyse.

The length of the oeuvre also allows us to reflect on the challenges of the period, as it is interesting to see how the ways of dealing with the same theme change over the years, and how they correspond to the conflicts of the time. What Lynch saw as topical. To highlight, what he noticed and how he sublimated his anxiety in the context of the time and society. What is also interesting

about Lynch's person and work is that, as a multi-faceted artist, he not only records his films as a director, but often edits them, often writes the scripts and is responsible for special effects. Unheimliche can thus appear on many fronts in Lynch's oeuvre and can be an object of study. My task is to show the differences “over decades”; I would like to contrasting scenes from his earliest, mid-career, and later works. The best source material is *Twin Peaks* (Lynch & Frost, 1990-91, 2017), for which Lynch made the final season 25 years later, as promised to Agent Cooper by Laura Palmer in the series: „I’ll see you again in 25 years”.

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### **Our current historiographic crossroad: Where are we and where can we go?**

*Annette Mulberger, Luciano Nicolás García, Catriel Fierro, & Martin Wieser*

This round table proposes a discussion of the current state of History of Psychology as a scholarly field, alternatives for it and perspectives for its development, both in terms of research and academic inclusion. Since the beginning of 2010s a series of articles has discussed the current direction of History of Psychology (Robinson, 2013; Rutherford, 2022; Mülberger, 2023; García, 2024; Salas et. al, 2024), particularly reviewing the impact and productivity of the approach based in sociology of knowledge as proposed since the late 1970s by several authors (Samelson, 1974; Watson, 1979; Danziger, 1979; Woodward, 1980; Furomoto, 1989). This latter approach, usually presented in dichotomous terms as “New (historicist) history” vs. an “(old) presentist” type, has tried to define the basic deficits of celebratory approaches and internal accounts to the History of Psychology. Alternatively, these authors proposed a perspective that views psychology as embedded in social processes, which leads to several directions, such as exploring how political agendas affect research and professional activities, the connection of psychological concepts to cultural traditions, and the revision of epistemological claims about psychological findings.

While reaching certain resonance within and beyond the English-speaking world, this social approach, sometimes simply presented as “Critical History”, has not brought major consensus beyond the rejection of simplistic celebratory accounts of History. Furthermore, some

historians have criticized the shortcomings of a sociological approach in relation to its ethnocentrism and the development of psychology beyond the North Atlantic context (Talak, 2022), the lack of consideration to gender issues (Rutherford & Pettit, 2015), the limitations to address the dynamics of power tied to psychological knowledge (Rose, 1996), the neglect of philosophical problems (Araujo, 2017) or the disregard of individual agency and creativity (Ball, 2012). Yet these criticisms do not seem to have impacted in a fundamental way how History of Psychology has been researched in the last quarter century; on the contrary, they have become minor and self-contained approaches, with their own set of shortcomings.

The roundtable aims to trigger an open debate (together with the audience) about historical methods, the limitations of current approaches and the perspectives to move the specialty forwards. We don't want the debate either to deal with abstract and theoretical discourses or work towards a unifying closure arguing that only one approach is the right one. On the contrary, we want to open the space for a tolerant exchange of opinion and try to keep the conversation on a very practical level, working with clear definitions and concrete examples. Several layers of analysis will be considered, such as the status of History of Psychology in contemporary academia, both in respect to research agendas as well as its articulation with the teaching of Psychology, the situation of archival material and new procedures to preserve, analyze and share documents, the connections with other disciplines, particularly professional History and its historiographical debates, and Philosophy of science and the role of history for a scientific account of psychological phenomena, as well as the actual exchange among specialists from different geographies. It will also bring to discussion contemporary institutional problems relevant for the field, such as: where can we find and secure a stable institutional home for the history of psychology (e.g. history of science departments, psychology faculties, or elsewhere)? Where do newcomers to our field get proper training, and is there any difference between their training and that of historians of science specializing in other fields? Does the history of psychology need to remain in the curricula of psychology departments to survive, or are there other ways for it to survive as an independent field of research?

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**Expositions: Basic? Applied? Theory? Practice? Historiographic Reflections from a  
Philosophical History of Psychotechnology  
Catriel Fierro, Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB), Spain**

One of the most enduring debates in the historiography of both psychology and science more broadly concerns the role, if any, played by philosophical or epistemological considerations in the historian’s reconstructive and elucidatory work (Nickles, 1995). Prompted largely by the dominant sociological approaches that have shaped the history of science since at least the 1980s, a number of historians have recently issued a pressing call to “bring science back into the history of science” (Chang, 2016; 2021). Only very recently, however, have such approaches begun to influence the historiography of psychology proper, and even then, they have mostly focused on the history of fundamental, basic, or experimental research (Araujo, 2017; Feest, 2025).

Assuming a pluralistic, hybridizationist stance toward the historiography of psychology (Chang, 2021), this proposal outlines how the philosophy of technology and praxiology, and particularly their analytic traditions (Bunge, 1967; Carpenter, 1974; Mitcham, 1994), can serve as heuristics to enrich our historical reconstructions and interpretations of psychological thought and

practice. Adopting a psychotechnological perspective in historiography allows us to engage more deeply with the cognitive content, scientific claims, and epistemological normative systems of historical actors by (1) uncovering technological theories beyond (or below) material devices, artifacts, instruments, or apparatuses; (2) bringing technological reasoning, predictions, and pivotal operations to the forefront of our historical analyses; (3) highlighting how the research (or representational) and technological (or interventionist) aspects of past psychology either interacted or diverged; (4) focusing on the ways (logical or intuitive) in which past psychologists articulated basic or fundamental science with technological or praxiological applications; and (5) critically reframing commonsense notions such as “applied psychology” and “theory-practice relation” in a more precise light. Ultimately, a philosophical historiography of psychotechnologies serves as a necessary supplement to any systemic analysis of historical practice of theory construction (e.g., Van Strien, 1993), particularly by foregrounding the conception, assessment and instrumentation of technological theories.

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### Microhistory as a historiographical tool

**Annette Mülberger, University of Groningen, Netherlands; Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona**

In 2014, James H. Capshew reported on the latest historiographical trends in the history of American psychology. He noted that by the end of the 20th century, there was a “remarkable rise (...) in analytical microhistory,” an approach characterized by its “high level” (p. 170). However, in his review, he only discussed general works without dedicating further commentary to this type of historiography. It is a style of research with social, anthropological, and cultural characteristics, still widely used by professional historians today. Using a metaphor employed by the microhistorians themselves, we can imagine their practitioners swapping a telescope (used for broad, global, or long-durée history) for a microscope, with which they study in depth a relatively small unit. It is focused on “a particular event, a rural community, a group of families, [or] even an individual” (Magnússon and Sziártó, 2013, p. 4).

In the field of the history of psychology, the microhistorical focus is usually on the work of a psychologist, an idea or concept, a debate, a social practice, or a scientific instrument. Given the decentralized nature of microhistory, Trivelatto (2015) describes it as an “intellectual galaxy,” without a defined center. Following this idea of microhistory referring to a wide array of historiographies, I will, first, present some of its main variations. In the second part of my talk, I will give a couple of examples dealing with a chapter in the history of psychology, followed by a discussion (hopefully involving the audience) about the advantages and the disadvantages of this kind of research.

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## **The uncomfortable place of Intellectual History in the History of Psychology.**

**Luciano Nicolás García, Sigmund Freud PrivatUniversität; Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas**

This presentation will address two topics. On the one hand, signs of persistent shortcomings in the History of Psychology literature when it comes to historiography since the 1990s, once the main renovations of the 1970s and 1980s, namely sociology of knowledge, feminist perspectives and Foucauldian genealogies, become “normalized”. Since the 2000s, despite some criticism of those

models, these have not been a thorough renovation of the field, but rather a process of methodological detachment from other disciplines and ritualization of established approaches.

On the other hand, this presentation will examine specifically the case of Intellectual history in Anglo-Saxon literature (i.e. Robinson, 1995; Sternberg & Pickren, 2019), and the limitations of those approaches compared to both past models, such as the conventional Lovejoy account, later alternatives such as Reception Aesthetics (Hohendahl, 1983) and Intellectual fields (Ringer, 1990), and current proposals about how to examine the genesis, circulation and uses of ideas (Sapiro, 2018; Hartog, 2020; Jay, 2022). In particular, it will be proposed that a Latin American tradition of thinking about intellectuals can offer both updated and more sophisticated accounts to make history of psychology (Schwarz, 1992; Altamirano, 2005; Palti, 2015). The aim is not to highlight the virtues of certain contexts or traditions, but to offer renewed historiographical outlooks to foster research and offer reflexive tools about the practice of the specialty in current times.

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## **History of Psychology – institutional boundaries and opportunities Martin Wieser, Sigmund Freud Private University Berlin**

Since Kurt Danziger's critical analysis of the state of the history of psychology in 1994, its representatives have been searching for the field's proper institutional environment. This paper aims to facilitate discussion of Danziger's question in the current context. Where and how can we establish and maintain a stable institutional presence for the history of psychology, for example in history of science departments or psychology faculties? Where should newcomers to the field receive proper training, and how does this training differ from that of general historians of science?



Should the history of psychology defend its place in psychological departments and curricula, or are there other ways for it to survive as an independent field of research? Finally, what opportunities and difficulties arise from the growing number of clinical and applied branches within psychology departments? The paper explicitly aims to open a forum for perspectives from different national contexts, with the aim of understanding the relationship between the institutionalization and indigenization of the historiography of psychology.

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## Day Three: Thursday, July 4, 2025

### Freud's Concepts of Penis Envy and Castration Complex Reconsidered

Ruud Abma, Utrecht University

Freud's concept of 'penis envy' in women has been one of his most contested concepts within and outside the psychoanalytic world. The concept is closely linked to Freud's concepts of the Oedipus complex and the castration complex: little girls follow a predominantly 'masculine' track until – in the 'phallic phase' of development – they go through the castration complex, which in normal cases is their first step towards womanhood.

Commentators such as Appignesi and Forrester (1992) emphasized that Freud's main interest was to formulate a theory of psychosexual development and at first did not pay any specific attention to differences between the sexes. This corresponded with his early view that both boys and girls display masculine and feminine traits; only in puberty do they develop into men and women. From 1909 onwards Freud starts to relate sexual differences to the – much earlier – Oedipus complex, i.e. the different psychological relationships girls and boys develop towards their parents. It is in this constellation that Freud starts to use the concept of 'penis envy': girls become aware that boys have something that they do not, and from then on their separate, typically female development is set in motion.

Although Freud did not present this as biologically determined development and also allowed for social influences on the process of becoming a woman, his view already in the 1920s received criticisms from (female) analyst colleagues, and from the 1960s onwards from the feminist movement. The gist was that Freud's theory reflected the situation in his own society, being a patriarch from the Victorian Era, and that it consequently was unfit for an analysis of the changed social position of women.

Presently, there are two social developments that warrant a renewed interest in Freudian theory: (1) the growing attention for non-binary and transgender persons, (2) the masculine backlash against feminism and femininity. Freud emphasized that becoming a man or a woman is a complicated psychological process and that anatomy is not destiny; this might help explain why attaining a match between body and psyche is not self-evident for everyone. Regarding the second topic: where does the anger of the likes of the Tates and the Trumps towards any deviation from 'normal' masculinity and femininity come from?

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### **On the affiliation of Freudian vocabulary to the vocabulary of neurology: the case of Übertragung**

**Pedro Fernandez de Souza, Federal University of São Carlos (UFSCar)**

The transition from neurology to psychoanalysis in Freud's work is one of the most debated subjects among Freudian scholars. One way to approach this issue is to question Freud's psychoanalytic vocabulary, in a possible relationship (or even affiliation) with neurology of his time. A contextual analysis of Freud's psychoanalytic vocabulary shows the recurrence of markedly neurological terms in it. This is the case of the terms Übertragung (more commonly translated, in the psychoanalytic field, as "transference"), Erregung ("excitation") and Reiz ("stimulus") (found in Waldeyer [1891], Golgi, [1894] and His [1886]). In fact, in neurology texts from the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the term Übertragung is constantly used to refer to the "transmission of the nervous impulse" and the verb übertragen can denote the act of "transferring", but also that of "transmitting". In Freudian vocabulary, these terms are used in these same meanings, including Übertragung, which would later become a central concept in psychoanalytic theory and clinic. In Freud's first abstract and universal theoretical elaboration, the Project for a Scientific Psychology (1895), there is a conception of the "neuronal system" as a system whose function is to receive stimuli (Reize) and deal with them, discharging them through the motor pathway (motor neurons); its primary tendency, therefore, is to become reizlos (free of stimuli) or, in the worst case, with a low, constant quantity of stimuli. To explain a specific function of this system, memory (a psychological function par excellence), Freud starts from the principle that some neurons are impermeable to the excitations (Erregungen) that reach them (these would be the perceptive neurons), while others are permeable to these Erregungen and therefore can change after being excited (these would be the memory neurons). Thus, among neurons, what exists is Übertragung of this Erregung. Translations generally render the term as "transference", but would not it be better to translate it as transmission? After all, this is the same neurophysiological idea found in the texts of Golgi, Ramón y Cajal, Waldeyer, among others. The most interesting is that even in the Interpretation of Dreams,

the book in which Freud first published his abstract scheme of the “psychic apparatus”, the terms *Erregung* and *Reiz* continue to be present, even though the neurons have practically disappeared from the theoretical construction. The Freudian psychic apparatus is not made up of neural pathways, but rather of psychic “systems” or “regions” without an exact correspondence with bodily locations. At its sensory end, the *Reize* are received, which will have to be discharged via the motor pathway, as occurs with the neural system of 1895. The “laws of association”, for example, which govern the formation of memories, are described by Freud as the emergence of “facilitated pathways”, with which “the excitation [*Erregung*]” of a mnemonic element “propagates to a second Mn-element, and not to a third” (Freud, 1900, p. 544). It is also between the psychic elements (*Vorstellungen*) that *Übertragung* will occur, in the so-called “displacement”: “by means of the dream-work, the intensities attached to the representations are completely transmitted [*übertragen*] from one to the other” (Freud, 1900, p. 548). I.e., neurons have practically disappeared from theory, but the neurophysiological terms that described their energetic dynamics have not disappeared, but continue to be present, with considerable theoretical importance, in the psychoanalytic vocabulary, which is eminently functionalist. Thus, in the discontinuity between neurology and psychoanalysis, a fundamental, albeit incomplete, continuity can be perceived: in Freud’s psychoanalytic vocabulary, the dynamic and functional terms of the neurology of his time continue to be present, in a kind of lexical shift full of epistemological consequences.

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## **Building a Place for the History of Psychology: Reflections on the Past and Discussions of the Future**

**Jennifer Bazar, Cummings Center for the History of Psychology**

In 2025 the Archives of the History of American Psychology (The University of Akron, Ohio), the Society for the History of Psychology (Division 26 of the American Psychological Association), and the *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* are all celebrating their respective 60<sup>th</sup> anniversaries. Although formally separate organizations, their origins are inseparably linked, with shared founders, foundational meetings, consultants, and advisors alike. Together, their members and contributors also influenced the subsequent establishment of multiple organizational bodies representing historians of psychology and their counterparts in the broader history of the human sciences as evidenced by the founding of Cheiron: The International Society for the History of Behavioral & Social Sciences in 1968 and the European Society for the History of the Human Sciences (“Cheiron-Europe”) in 1982.

Each of these organizations and institutions boast a laundry-list of successes that have helped to grow the field in the years since their establishment, and the crossover between their respective memberships and contributors remains strong. But declining overall membership numbers combined with an aging demographic among scholars in the field and increasingly restrictive funding opportunities have cast a shadow over an uncertain future.

Capitalizing on the first-ever Three Societies Meeting during this triple anniversary year, I propose a roundtable discussion to reflect on the intertwined origins of these foundational organizations in the history of psychology as a framework through which to look forward to the challenges and possibilities that the future holds for the field. The session will open with a brief presentation focused on the establishment of the Archives of the History of American Psychology, the Society for the History of Psychology, and the *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* in 1965 as a way to ground the subsequent roundtable conversation in the people, places, and ideas that shaped this history. The presentation will draw on a mix of published accounts and the archival collections held at both the Archives of the History of American Psychology and the American Psychological Association Archives. Archival sources include the personal papers of John A. Popplestone and Robert I. Watson, as well as the organizational records of the Cummings Center and the Society for the History of Psychology.

Attendees to the roundtable discussion will be guided to divide the session time between the sharing of additional, personal memories of this foundational history and proposals for the future. Participants should note that the session organizer will make an audio recording of the discussion in order to subsequently summarize and share a report of the memories and ideas raised with the leadership of the Three Societies Meeting.

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**Michel Foucault's critical history of thought: the centrality of conceptual analysis**  
**Kaira Neder, University of the State of São Paulo (UNESP)**

The search for the unity of Foucault's thought is an arduous task that demands caution, precisely because of his refusal to philosophies and historiographies that claim to be totalizing. However, the establishment of some methodological parameters is necessary to define Foucault's historiographic-philosophical method. Our objective is to highlight the centrality of conceptual analysis in Foucaultian's method of philosophical-historiography analysis, within a framework of theory of history. To this end, we believe that one of the possible keys is to situate Foucault in a field of knowledge opened by Kant (that of critical philosophy and critical historiography). Field in which are found names of historical epistemology that directly influenced Foucault's thought (Canguilhem, Bachelard e Cavaillès), but in which there are also other historiographical perspectives that use philosophical methods of concept analysis as historiographical methodology (Koselleck and *Begriffsgeschichte* German School). It is necessary to delimit not only, as has been done, what differentiates Foucault from the school of historical epistemology (discontinuity and criticism of progress / notion of knowledge to the detriment of science / refusal of normative analysis), but what brings it closer: namely, the focus on resorting to the analysis and historicization of the concept within a philosophical perspective of the critical history of thought. Foucault's project is not limited to the study of the transformations of concepts into certain types of *savoirs*, but starts to encompass, from the beginning of the genealogical project, the articulation between the conceptual level of enunciation (*savoir*) with the practice that sustains knowledge or derived from it (*pouvoir*). Foucault proposes a shift in the historical epistemology's level of analysis: going *beyond* the analysis of the historical transformation of the concepts with which *savoirs* operates. What we defend and would like to demonstrate is that Foucault carries out this shift, without giving up the analysis of conceptual transformation, so central to historical epistemology and other forms of Neokantian historiographical methodologies. Whether dealing with *savoirs* and the configuration of an episteme, or analyzing the experience of madness, or the rationalities that underlie practices of power or the games of truth that involve objectification and subjectification within a field of experiences, Foucault's historiography operates from the analysis of the transformation of concepts. As an exemplification, we intend to demonstrate how Foucault's historiography recurrently revisits some concepts that he diagnosed as constituting modernity and how its analysis is deepened by also covering the level of genealogical analysis [practice-*pouvoir*]

without abandoning the level of analysis of the concept [concept-*savoir*]. This is visible when we analyses the transformations of *milieu*'s concept in Foucault's analysis: a) the condition of possibility of its appearance from the moment life appears and a functional relationship is established between *milieu* and living being (*Les mots et les choses*); b) emergence of a set of practices in the history of clinical and psychiatry in order to intervene in the *milieu* due to their importance for the constitution of the living being (*Histoire de la Folie, Naissance de la clinique, Il faut défendre la société, Sécurité, territoire, population*); c) the moment in which these two levels [concept-*savoir* / practice-*pouvoir*] are articulated in the formulation of the biopolitics (*Sécurité, Territoire, Population*). In this way, we intend to demonstrate how Foucault, by *conjugating* the dimension of conceptual analysis with the dimension of analysis of practices (dimension of the exteriority of discourse), offers a fortuitous theoretical-methodological alternative in the field of history of sciences. Balance that is particularly necessary when carrying out a historiography of the *human sciences*, as such psychology, in which frequently there is a tendency to prioritize one dimension of analysis – external/social or internal/conceptual - over another.

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<sup>[1]</sup> University of the State of São Paulo, Phd student. Financial support: CAPES (2023-2024), FAPESP (2024/00778-6).

### **History as method: Why is there no place for it in psychology?**

**Thomas Teo, York University**

The idiom “history as method” draws on the idea that in order to understand first-person mental life, psychoscientists need historical knowledge, which not only includes the history of psychology, historical methods, the history of methods, but also programmatic approaches such as historical psychology, historical ontology, or recent works that expand contextuality to temporality. Proponents of such approaches agree that history is necessary and essential when discussing human experiences, to the degree that history could be understood as a method. For instance, history as method demonstrates more convincingly than technical-methodic analyses, why certain substantive psychological results cannot be reproduced. Indeed, arguments in this tradition are sophisticated and conclusive to the point that it is difficult to find disconfirming evidence. This

ranges from Gergen's (1973) highly cited article on Social Psychology as History to recent suggestions that scientific psychology would be stronger if history were to be included (e.g., Muthukrishna, et al., 2021). Despite exhaustive materials about the importance of history as method, the psychological community has not cared about proceeding along these streams of thought. One can reasonably ask: Why was there no change in psychology towards history, in other words, a historical turn of psychology? Further, one should ask whether proponents themselves adhered to the idea of psychology as history. It is shown that the significant theoretical, conceptual, and methodical implications suggested in this research tradition have neither been incorporated in research practices by the authors themselves nor in the discipline more broadly. It seems worthwhile to theorize why this has not happened, thinking about the entanglement of external and internal reasons and sources. History as method has never entered mainstream methodological practices because of the power of methodological facticity and the methodologism of psychology that functions as an embodied and enacted practice on how to do research; adhering to a recipe-book-style of research can be highly successful and is rewarded in discipline as the complex technical studies that are published in psychology show, with arguably minute knowledge contributions, but providing the resemblance of an exceedingly dynamic and successful science; following a discipline in the humanities would render futile the long-standing battle to identify and market psychology as a true science; psychology is a highly presentist discipline in a highly presentist culture; in studies of contextuality, culture is preferred over history; and, from the perspective of academic subjectivity, there is no reason to transform the knowledge practices of the discipline, with power, money, and machines, financial and reputational successes in the public, being part of its milieu. Although, from an epistemic point of view there is a strong case to be made for psychology as history and the idea of focusing on history as method, psychology will not shift in the short term (perhaps long-term if one takes temporality seriously), because science is as much a social enterprise as it is a rational project. The call for history as method remains idealistic, finding its real-world barrier in the way academic psychologists conduct their everyday lives of research. Equally, the hope that change could come from the periphery remains equally defeatist. Consequences of these reflections are discussed.

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**Elisabeth Scarborough Keynote Lecture**  
**Onto-Angst: Figuring the Subject in the History of Psychology**

**Jill Morawski, Wilbur Fisk Osborne Professor, Psychology Department and Science and Technological Studies, Wesleyan University**

During her career Elizabeth Scarborough witnessed and contributed to major advances in the history of psychology. She brought awareness to the importance of studying lived experience and the social structures girding psychological science, notably gender. Elizabeth's work along with that of colleagues and friends have boldly advanced the historian of psychology's charge to document psychologists' efforts to produce knowledge about the psychology of others. In the end, our historical interpretations themselves can be psychological. Fascinated by that densely layered psychologizing, my work has paid attention to both psychologists and historians' representations of their numerous human subjects: research participants, consumers, financial supporters, and themselves. The variations and asymmetries of these ontological claims (of agency, rationality, self-awareness and so on) are telling, albeit sometimes disconcerting. This talk takes up a related onto-angst, an uneasy feeling that emerged while studying the recent history of popular psychology. The discomfort arose when reviewing historians' modes of understanding the publics, the objects and/or consumers of psychology, who are oftentimes configured as neoliberal subjects, yearning learners, sufferers of maladies, vulnerable groups, oppressed persons or harm-sensitive liberal individuals. Assessing these interpretive modes can enhance scholarly integrity yet, I propose, such appraisal also is crucial to our meaningful participation in the deeply distressed contemporary world. We need ask, what are the effects (if any) of our representations of psychology's public? To whom (if to anyone) are these characterizations of psychology's recipients useful? Should we endeavor to make them useful? These queries coalesce in an overarching question of whether our histories can or should serve interventions in science, public discourse and/or public life.

### **Diagnosing Ourselves? Historical Perspectives on a Social Issue**

**Stephanie Pache, Shaul Bar-Haim, Ian J. Davidson, Ulrich Koch, Jill Morawski, & Michael Pettit**

This workshop will explore questions relating to the content, problematics, and audience for a proposed collaborative book. The inter- and multi-disciplinary team of authors share a common concern with the proliferation of a highly psychologized vocabulary in recent years when it comes to talking about personhood and especially when it comes to the public understanding(s) of harm, vulnerability, and recovery. Has psychology become a milieu, a culture in itself or should we consider this psy language as a way for individuals to relate to their social environment? Our broadest question is simple but elusive: how to make historical sense of this sociological phenomenon? This workshop contributes to a resurgent historiography of the contested politics of health (Metzl & Kirkland, 2010) and popular meanings of diagnosis (Murray, 2022a).

A number of common themes unite this project. The first is the historical emergence of a new vocabulary of psychological damage shaped by the proliferation and normalization of “trauma talk” since the coining of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder in DSM-III (1980) (Fassin & Rechtman, 2007). Once reserved for select populations exposed to extreme conditions (originally soldiers and soon after the survivors of natural and humanitarian disasters) (Young, 1997), trauma became a ubiquitous terminology for talking about the effects of personal adversity which recognized its social roots while providing a medicalized language of care (Marecek, 1999). Overcoming such adversity became a marker of adulthood in an age where traditional markers of independence (such as lifelong employment) waned (Silva, 2013). A second key feature of this new vocabulary is the psychologization of interpersonal relations as a fraught site of potential harm. “Toxic” parental and peer relationships emerged as a key vector of risk to the developing self. This led to the identification of various “security measures” to mitigate the harms others represented. These included the creation and maintenance of various psychological “boundaries” and “safe spaces.” These new forms of self-diagnosis also advance theories of healing in the form of self-care, resilience, regulation, and growth. As the above description suggests, this new psychologized vocabulary borrows freely from social and developmental psychology alongside the psychiatry and clinical psychology more familiar to critics of popular self-help (Illouz, 2007) and therapeutic culture (Cushman, 1995; Cloud, 1998; Aubry & Travis, 2015; Amouroux et al., 2023).

Contributors to this workshop will explore the following core questions central to the volume’s conception. In attempting to write a history of psychologized vocabulary, what stance should the historian adopt? Is our role in “correcting” the record by providing more accurate accounts of these terms’ original meaning and intention (Burman, 2022)? Alternatively, should the historian focus on tracing the proliferation of meanings as terminology moves into new contexts and communities

(Brinkmann, 2005)? What are the proper “spaces” for such an inquiry? Much of this psychologized vocabulary originates in the Anglosphere and circulates via social media platforms such as Tumblr, Reddit, Instagram, and Tiktok. Should such a volume take the Englishness of a psychologized vocabulary for granted or problematize it? How might historians examine the nature of “looping effects” on digital platforms which blur historical distinctions between expert and publics (Marwick & Boyd, 2011)? Who is an audience in this context? Who is a producer? The final set of questions revolve around our own communication strategies. How can historians contribute to these contemporary debates? What form should our intervention take to reach different audiences?

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## **Back to the Future: From Traumatic Event to Traumatic Trigger**

**Shaul Bar-Haim, University of Essex**

In this paper I explore how the organizing principle of trauma discourse shifted from the 'traumatic event' to the 'traumatic trigger' in the early 2000s. At the core of PTSD as a medical category stands the idea that traumatic events need to be incubated for an unknown period of time before any disorder can emerge (Horwitz, 2018; Scott, 1990). Therefore, anyone who seems to be coping well with a traumatic event may still suffer from PTSD in the future. The major symptom is the 'flashback' which can appear when 'triggered' by a sensory reminiscence of the traumatic event (e.g., image, film, article on a 'triggering' topic).

In the twenty-first century, 'trigger warnings' have become prevalent in progressive political subcultures, academia and the arts (Gerdes, 2018). Debates over 'trigger warnings' have turned in the last decade into a major front in the 'culture wars', and while often characterized as conflicts between safety and free speech, their significance extends beyond political controversy (Halberstam, 2017). In this paper I will present a brief history of triggering before arguing that triggering culture departs from previous moments in the history of PTSD by focusing on the avoidance of future events rather than on the originating traumatic event. This shift in temporality indicates a major discontinuity with previous ways of 'diagnosing ourselves' in trauma discourse.

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### **Austerity and the Psychologization of Resistance**

**Michael Pettit, York University**

Strategies of self-care have emerged as a sustained concern among those who identify with the political Left in the English-speaking world. Faced with retrenchment if not outright defeat, activists have turned to a psychological vocabulary and techniques as tools for sustaining action and supporting their communities. Rest, refusal, and resilience have come to be seen as acts of radical hope and maintenance, often replacing acts of straightforward resistance. Indeed, activism itself is often seen as a source of burnout needing psychological care to continue (Proctor, 2024). This is in marked contrast to an earlier generation of activists within the new social movements of the late 1960s who looked at psychiatry, psychology, and their diagnostic labels with considerable suspicion (Rutherford & Pettit, 2015; Lewis, 2016). The goal was erasure of individual bourgeois identity in favor of the collective. How to make historical sense of these shifts? Drawing on theoretical work on genetic/biological citizenship (Heath, Rapp, Taussig, 2007), I will suggest that part of the new enthusiasm for labels is political. In an earlier period getting labeled with a psychiatric diagnosis often resulted in the removal of basic rights and freedoms (through forced confinement and unwanted behavior modification). In contrast, in austere times, receiving a diagnosis has served as one means of securing certain rights, accommodations, and entitlements denied the general population.

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### **Retiring Rehabilitation, Rehabilitating Recovery?**

**Ulrich Koch, George Washington University**

Addiction has become a central category for problematizing individuals' attachments to various substances and objects as well as their conduct within both expert and lay discourses. In North American societies in particular, addiction is increasingly treated as a "normal feature" of subjectivity (Park, 2024). Alongside this, "recovery" has seen a similar semantic expansion and refocusing. In this paper, I will use the emergence of recovery as a central aim of addiction treatment as a lens to draw out the socio-political stakes of this development and to interrogate the tensions between expert and lay discourses.

First, I briefly outline the crisis of rehabilitation as a central aim around which various stakeholders in the addiction treatment field could rally up until the 1970s, and why the notion of recovery was poised to take its place. Tied to the twin-ideals of productive employment and moral redemption, "rehabilitation" became outmoded under various economic, political, and cultural pressures, I argue. "Recovery" promised more individualized, seemingly less moralizing interventions. It presents the aims of addiction treatment as more open-ended, while placing greater responsibility on the individual in articulating goals and applying technologies of accountability. The central normative demand, now, is to be "in recovery", which is also a psychological state, whereas the question of what successful recovery entails remains unsettled. In a second step, I will reflect on the fact that both terms, rehabilitation and recovery, are still widely used but not applied equally. Not everyone gets a chance to be in recovery, some can only hope for rehabilitation. Such distinctions continue to depend, I will suggest, as much as on medical categorizations as on assessments of respectability.

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**Knowing Me, Knowing Us: Attachment Styles, Love Languages, and the Spread of Commonsense Relationship Advice**

**Ian J. Davidson, Concordia University of Edmonton, Canada**

Marketed advice and received wisdom on one's relationships and love life have long used psychologized language. Currently, promissory systems of relationship matching through typified self-understanding saturate online spaces. Such systems promise that through self understanding (either through casual self-categorization or therapeutic encounters), you can achieve a better understanding of past, present, and possible relationships. Attachment styles, though founded on mid-century psychiatric and comparative psychological theories of parental love and deprivation, have secured its place in the contemporary moment as an everyday fact of life, especially the love life. Likewise, the rise of "love languages" also places the expression of affection into styles, with varied suggestions as to the roots and fruitful combinations of such styles. These cases of self-categorization serve as an extension and complement to still popular systems of astrological signs and personality types. The more recently prominent notions of *the* four attachment styles and *the* five love languages blend scientific theory and instrumentation with amorphous and profitable messaging of the wellness industry as entertaining and fulfilling ways to revise oneself with reference to others.

In an attempt to trace some of the popularization of psychological/psychologized concepts, I will focus on available instances in self-help and relationship-advice literature and related sites (such as quizzes) where attachment styles and love languages initially spread. Though both examples have gained traction in everyday and online discourse, their research roots and current scientific credibility substantially diverge. I'm hoping this two-case study will provide some insights into the multipath usage of psychologized self-categorizations.

**Therapeutic Entrepreneurism: From Self Actualization to Self Defense**

**Jill Morawski, Wesleyan University**

Notions of self actualization and nearly everything self empowering flourished in the 1960s and 70s, even capturing the attention of experimental psychologists who made the "self" an empirical object. Yet even as the empowered self was being promoted, making way into conservative rhetoric, fascination with this apparently bountiful self was short-lived. Scholars began noticing the modern self to be "saturated", "empty", "burdened", or simply "a problem". In popular psychology writings the mood likewise was changing to articulating the self's vulnerabilities. Notably, what were taken to be potential threats to a healthy self shifted from the constraints of social structures and institutions to harms rendered by personal life experiences, what Daniel

Rodgers (2011) identified as a shift from “ideas and metaphors” reflecting aggregate life to individual conditions. Effectively deemed fragile, the self was impaired by addiction, co-dependency, stress, pathological relationships and childhood trauma. In addressing such vulnerabilities, popular psychology, particularly self-help discourse, drew upon concepts and language of psychic disorder, etiologies of harm and therapeutic strategies for repair and resistance.

Long dedicated to aspirations for social mobility and financial success, much self-help literature after 1980 amalgamated those competitive, entrepreneurial objectives with therapeutic measures for repair and protection. This paper uses the case of popular boundary psychology to examine this meshing of therapeutic and entrepreneurial logics. It finds that boundary psychology’s imbrications of worldly success and mental health depend on an internally contradictory heteroglossia of self psychologies along with fantasies of capitalism and entrepreneurship.

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### **Feeling oppressed? It might be psychological**

**Stéphanie Pache, Université du Québec À Montréal (UQÀM)**

The entanglement of political positions with both psychological knowledge and vocabulary runs through various social movements, from the very birth of the psy disciplines to the present day. From the critique of psychiatric power to the political use of psy expertise, “psychopolitics” provide an entry point into the history of political psy culture and the need to historicize psychological understandings of oppression. This paper focuses on an example of psychological terms contributing to contemporary readings of the dynamics of power relations and to the evolution of their political use over time: microaggression, a term also associated with specific historical conceptions of “trauma” and “violence”. At the heart of the social and political changes examined is the question of how to politicize the personal. What does it mean and how psy knowledge could contribute to it? Psy sciences have suggested words to express the political dimensions of personal suffering: how has this language evolved; and to support what politics? Psychological understandings of oppression tend to focus on harm, but whereas evidence of psychological suffering from oppression used to be a source of political anger calling for political action, it now often appears as a cause for inaction and avoidance. From being denounced as an

effect of oppression, harm has become proof of a vulnerability that constitutes the oppressed. Historicizing these psychopolitical theories helps us to situate different understandings of oppression as an experience and the role that mental health and psychological views have played and continue to play in the politics of equality.

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### **The soul of place: notes on secular soul Roger Smith, University of Durham**

Place is more than a geographical location or set of satellite coordinates. Evaluative and affective dimensions of place are deeply embedded (and embodied) in subjective, experiential worlds, individual and collective. Bachelard affirmed: 'the house is one of the greatest powers of integration for the thoughts, memories and dreams of mankind ... It is body and soul. It is the human being's first world.' In this paper I propose to examine references to 'the soul of place', as one dimension of a larger project on historical and contemporary concepts of soul. References to 'the soul of place' have a considerable history; they are not simply figures of speech.

Three comments on the project's framework. Firstly, though the religious/secular divide is highly problematic, this paper is concerned with the secular ends of usage. The paper focuses on performative usage of 'soul', as in 'soulfull' and 'soulless', rather than substantive usage, as in Christian references to 'the soul'. The interest is in the way language about soul (or 'soul-talk') conveys that something or some event matters (or has 'worth', Whitehead's term). Thirdly, I distance my comments from universalist claims, such as the opening statement to The Soul Hypothesis: 'most people, at most times, in most places, at most ages, have believed that human beings have some kind of soul'. References to soul require understanding in context, and their local character may be crucial to the ascription of soul to place. This particularly applies to references to *genius loci*, to the spirit or soul of a building or landscape feature held to reveal or express true or essential identity.

There are, clearly, historical reasons why the language of soul appears marginal, or even a subject of scorn, in modern western cultures. And why the most vivid everyday usage is indebted to the African-American and Caribbean slave inheritance. All the same, there is much impressionistic evidence that notions of soul still have an implicit place. President Macron, touring the restored Notre Dame before its official re-opening, described the church as ‘the soul of the nation’; people choose to be buried or to have their ashes scattered in places distinctively significant for them. There are conflicts of interest – around Ayres’ Rock in central Australia, or around Mount Kailash in western Tibet – between different understandings of the soul of place held by indigenous people and tourists. Faced by modern work patterns, mass migration, diaspora and global tourism, it appears plausible to link decline of explicit soul-talk to loss of a sense of home.

A significant narrative thread in the history of the biological, medical and human sciences since the seventeenth century records dismissal of soul concepts as too imprecise and too empty of empirical content to serve for scientific knowledge. Few people dispute this (though some Christian therapists do). The shift in the English language from ‘soul’ to ‘mind’ and from ‘soul’ to ‘self’ are established historical themes. Yet, ascriptions of soul have often not referred to an entity but, rather, conferred identity and significance, authenticity and meaning. This is particularly clear in references to ‘the soul of place’. Denial of the reality of the soul as an entity hardly touches the performative and evaluative content of soul-talk, though it may have led historically to its decline. Whatever the claims of the sciences, there remains language for articulating value, meaning and significance. The paper illustrates the argument with reference to place.

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### **‘To the things themselves’ - Psychology’s uncertain relationship with phenomenology Henderikus Stam, University of Calgary**

Phenomenological psychology has remained a constant minority position in psychology for the better part of a century. Originating with the work of Edmund Husserl (1859- 1938), it remains a small but apparently viable orientation in contemporary psychology. It would be difficult to call

it a “theory” or a “practice” because there are multiple versions of phenomenology at play. In addition, the term phenomenology is often used to describe experience more broadly. Here phenomenology refers to little more than the perception and interpretation of the world and is far removed from the origins and developments of the philosophical position formally recognized as *phenomenology*. From the outset phenomenology was contrasted in opposition to the newly emerging, empirical psychology that had by 1900 embedded itself in the German speaking universities, mainly in philosophy departments as a part of a new experimental orientation to that discipline. As psychologists continued occupying chairs in philosophy departments in German-speaking universities resistance among philosophers grew. In 1913, the same year that Husserl published his major work on phenomenology (*Ideas: General Introduction to Pure Phenomenology*), a petition started by him circulated among German-speaking philosophers that was signed by 107 philosophers from Germany, Austria and Switzerland. The petition demanded that experimental psychologists be prevented from occupying any more philosophical chairs. All German-language universities and ministries of education received a copy of the petition and called on governments to create independent departments of psychology since psychology was an independent science (Kusch, 1995, 2024).

In the *Crisis of the European Sciences* (Husserl, 1936/1970) defends his transcendental idealism and continues his evaluation of psychology. Husserl’s idealism means that consciousness comes to possess “absolute being.” He thereby wishes to place phenomenology in the place of the first science, preceding any and all claims of the established sciences. Thus psychology comes *after* the phenomenological grasp of essences; it is the descriptive theory of the “essence of pure experience.” By bracketing one suspends judgement to arrive at the phenomena as they are given in consciousness. This latter claim would weigh most heavily in the creation of a new psychology, a phenomenological psychology that would be put into motion after World War II in both Europe and North America influenced by Husserl but also Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Martin Heidegger. Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands will each see the beginning of a phenomenological psychology that comes to exist inside psychology departments. This tradition will swing across the Atlantic in the late 1950s, first at Duquesne University (Giorgi, 1970; Smith, 2002), followed by individual psychologists in multiple settings. But as always, the Atlantic crossing does not occur smoothly. The demands of the North American psychology departments for practical knowledge leads to an early focus on methods. Just how should one *do* phenomenological psychology? Furthermore, the emergence of a “humanistic psychology” movement brings questions of therapy into the mix and leads to the creation of a new kind of existential-phenomenological psychology. I follow this trajectory from Europe to North America and articulate the major moves that eventually lead to a version of subjectivity palatable to the dominant discipline. As a history of a movement, it demonstrates how questions of subjectivity remain fraught in psychology, lying forever outside the mainstream.

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### **“A physician needs imagination”: Huarte’s professional profiles in relation to medical theory and practice**

*Pengchen Dai, University of Groningen*

Juan Huarte de San Juan, a Spanish physician and philosopher, establishes a connection between the faculty of imagination and the practice of medicine in his seminal work *Examen de ingenios* (1575). He argues that imagination is a requisite for physicians tasked with handling individual, specific cases, such as diagnosing a patient's illness. This perspective stands distinctively within early modern medical discussions, which often associated imagination with negative connotations such as frenzy, mania, and melancholy (Vermeir, 2004; Sumillera, 2016). As he writes (Huarte, 1989 [1575], p. 500), it is through imagination that a physician, using sight, hearing, smell, and touch while examining a patient, comes to know things about the disease that would “otherwise seem impossible to know” (“alcanza lo que parece cosa imposible”).

My presentation builds upon this striking yet understudied view of imagination in Huarte's treatise, exploring how his professional training, practical experience, and reflections on the 16<sup>th</sup>-century medical context might have shaped this perspective. While there is considerable scholarly interest in the concept of imagination in early modern thought, and previous research has noted Huarte's emphasis on its creative capacity (Orobitg, 2022) and relevance in medical practice (Arrizabalaga, 2018), a critical gap remains. Specifically, the available literature has yet to fully explain why Huarte regards “good imagination” as essential for a physician's practical expertise and how his own medical profession might inform this stance. Unravelling this connection can offer deeper insights into Huarte's intellectual sources. In addition, it enriches our understanding of the interplay between medical theory and practice, as well as the intersection of physiological and philosophical-psychological discussions on the human mind in early modern times.

To address this theme, I will first provide an overview of early modern discussions of the imaginative faculty, particularly in humanist and medical texts that Huarte likely encountered during his university training. I then turn to a close analysis of Huarte's own text, examining how he argues for the importance of imagination in the physician's diagnostic process, with specific attention to the role he attributes to imagination in combining clinical observations into diagnostic insight.

From this point, I will demonstrate how Huarte, with his practically-oriented mindset, deviates from the prevailing negative connotations of imagination by highlighting its practical applications. His approach extends the humanistic recognition of imagination as an active power, broadening its scope beyond artistic creations and emphasizing its practical relevance to early modern civic life. Finally, I will relate Huarte's view on imagination to his view on the medical professions, linking imagination and understanding respectively to the practice and theory of medicine. Given the disconnect between theoretical proficiency and practical expertise in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Spanish medical context (Slater, López Terrada, & Pardo Tomás, 2014), I argue that Huarte's unconventional view on imagination reflects his preference for the practical application of knowledge and aligns with his ideal for societal betterment through matching each individual's ingenium with the most suitable profession.

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## Writing at a Distance: Tele-graphics and Spiritism

David Horn, Ohio State University

In 1873, William Crookes (1832–1919) was having a problem. He had been attempting, with the aid of the Scottish medium Daniel Dunglas Home, to get spirits to write—in this case, not by guiding the hand of a living “automatic” writer, but by taking up a pencil and writing, as it were, “directly.” Home had a reputation across Europe for enabling this sort of work. Crookes was a chemist and physicist who had been elected to the Royal Society in 1863—he is credited, among other things, with the discovery of the element thallium. Like many scientists of his day, Crookes hosted séances —first with the American medium Kate Fox (these spanned several months) and then with Home (from 1870 to 1873)—that he also framed as *experiments*: “crucial tests, with carefully arranged apparatus, and in the presence of irreproachable witnesses” (Crookes 1871, 347). In 1871, Crookes wrote that his investigations suggested the existence of a new force, which he dubbed the Psychic Force. His report was rejected by both the Royal Society and the British Association, but Crookes eventually published the piece in *The Quarterly Journal of Science*, which he edited.

In the dining room of his home in the early 1870s, Crookes had been trying to reproduce results obtained at a previous séance with Fox, when “a luminous hand” had come down from the upper part of a darkened room, “took the pencil from my hand, rapidly wrote on a sheet of paper, threw the pencil down, and then rose up over our heads, gradually fading into darkness” (1874, 89). But in the session with Home, when Crookes asked for a written message the results were disappointing. The spirits complained that their “power was exhausted.”

Crookes would return to the project of spirit communication in a later session, but this time he would call upon a newer technology for writing at a distance: Morse code. When a small piece of wood began to tap as Crookes called out letters (a spiritist practice that dated back to the 1840s in Hydesville, New York), Crookes asked for a message using the Morse alphabet. Although none of the séance participants could decode the meaning of the message delivered, Crookes heard enough to convince him “there was a good Morse operator at the other end of the line, wherever that might be” (1894: 91).

Crookes’ story is a striking example of the movement of ideas, technologies, and meanings across multiples kinds of boundaries at the end of the nineteenth century. Although the use of Morse code was uncommon in spiritist circles, communicating with the dead was frequently compared to telegraphy, and later to radio, while these novel media retained, even for some scientists, an occult element (Noakes 1999) or the promise of thought transference (Doyle 1926). And while some spirits (Benjamin Franklin among them) went so far as to take credit for the invention of the telegraph, most historians of science and technology have been interested instead in the ways spiritist writing practices drew both inspiration and tools from the world of commercial communication (Kittler 1999; Sollors 1983).

This paper seeks to complicate this picture, sketching a three-way traffic among telegraphy, spiritism, and emerging understandings of the brain’s electrical activity.



I also explore the ways new relations of work (in the telegraph office, the steno pool, and elsewhere) helped to mediate the boundaries of the spiritual and the scientific, to expand the meanings of authorship, and to structure the project of writing at a distance.

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### **Observations on the Psychic Phenomena of Mrs. Fässler**

**Sonu Shamdasani, University College London**

In 1903, following a referral by her pastor, Oskar Pfister, the clairvoyant medium Wihelmine Faessler came to attention of C. G. Jung. In the course of the year he conducted 24 sittings with her, exploring the veridicality of her visions, as well as probing her with his evolving methods of psychological tests: exploring her word associations in normal and somnambulistic states, and musical and visual phantoms induced by playing pieces of music and presenting postcards. Jung wrote it up for publication as a follow up to his doctoral thesis, *On The Psychology and Pathology*

of so-called Occult Phenomena, presenting her as a case of spontaneous somnambulism in the field of hysteria. However, he left the incomplete manuscript to one side. Observations on the Psychic Phenomena of Mrs. Fässler forms the missing link between his dissertation and his association experiments, traversing the environments and settings of spiritualistic seances and the psychiatric university clinic, and how these were generative of new psychological approaches. This talk presents this case, and explores the intersection of psychical research, abnormal psychology and experimental psychopathology that it demonstrates.

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### **The so-called “Nancy Hypnological School” and psychical research**

**Renaud Evrard, Université de Lorraine**

From 1884 onwards, Professor Hyppolite Bernheim's work on suggestion and the memoir submitted by Jules Liégeois to the Académie des sciences morales et politiques gave substance to a certain “Hypnological School of Nancy”. It was the Parisian neurologist Charcot who thus identified, “not without a certain disdainful nuance” (Bernheim, 1909, p. 139), La Salpêtrière's rival school of hypnosis, while his pupil Joseph Babinski (1890) assimilated it to a “village university”. The tutelary figure of this school was unanimously recognized as Dr. Liébeault, a doctor who developed the therapeutic aspects of animal magnetism while striving to break with its sulphurous past, and whose work was nevertheless ignored by his colleagues for two decades.

However, even in the opinion of those who were associated to this school, the name is hardly appropriate. Professor of Medicine Henry Beaunis (in Andrieu, 2009, p. 46-47), for example, asserts that the convergence of its members lay solely in their challenge to Charcot's doctrine and their affirmation of the power of suggestion and its use in therapy. In all other respects, their ideas varied, and the research undertaken by these four leading figures from Nancy was relatively independent. As a result, the unity of a so-called “Nancy School” is now being called into question

by historians (Andrieu, 2009; Klein, 2010), and a third, intermediate school is even being considered (Carbonel, 2008).

However, these boundaries between doctrines and researchers can also be investigated in terms of their position in relation to psychical research, emerging at the time, in a veritable “geopolitics of the psyche” (Méheust, 1999) that reveals the fertile conflicts between animal magnetism, spiritualism, hypnology and psychology (Plas, 2000).

Liébeault never closed the door on the most unexpected phenomena, and his observations were relayed by the Society for Psychical Research, established in London in 1882. One of his favorite subjects, the adolescent Camille Simon (Turbiaux, 2007), whom he nicknamed his “little witch”, helped push back the frontiers of hypnosis. Not only were other local researchers able to experiment with her on written suggestions (Liégeois) or remote visions (Beaunis), but researchers from all over the world (such as Myers, Gurney, Van Eeden, etc.) were brought to meet her and testify to her prodigies. “Mlle Camille” quickly established herself in the city as a professional somnambulist and enjoyed great success (Turbiaux, 2007).

While Liégeois (1889) sidesteps the question of psychical research to focus on the links between law and hypnosis, Bernheim was readily hostile to this procession of marvels, although he did carry out astonishing experiments on hyperesthesia (Wetterstrand & Petersen, 1897). Beaunis, who founded the physiological psychology laboratory at the Sorbonne in 1889, was the most committed supporter of the French psychical research, and later of what Richet renamed metapsychics in 1905. We can thus read other fault lines within this so-called Nancy School, while identifying an original way of dealing with the psychic marvel (Plas, 2000) that reinforced the rivalry with Charcot's doctrine.

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**At Sanity's borderlands: entangled sovereignties and Greek reactions to modern psychiatry in Kefalonia, protectorate of the British Empire and Saint Gerasimos, the patron saint of madness 1815-1864**

**Thiseas-Nikolaos Stefanatos, University College London**

This paper will explore the politics of space and identity through the ways mystical peripatetic practices were enshrined in the landscapes of earthquake-prone Kefalonia. It will study the entanglement of modern psychiatry with spiritual practices on an island where the saintly protector is known as the patron saint of madness, analysing Greek reactions to the introduction by the British of modern psychiatry, as they constructed the first ever modern psychiatric hospital in the colonial capital of Corfu in 1838

It will examine the colonial police testimonies of families who petitioned for their relatives to be detained for being mentally unwell and how this pilgrimage to the police station became entangled with pre-colonial spatial practices of communal 'exorcism', 'excommunication', and carnival parades.

It will argue that the very public pilgrimage from one's village to the colonial police office echoed mystic practices of banishment and catharsis, observing how communal ideas of 'selfhood' were inscribed in the very landscapes of Kefalonian villages, as communities policed the boundaries of their moral and psychiatric worlds through peripatetic practices and public exorcisms, along the village walls, under the light of the communal gaze

I explore how the coloniality of power operated through state medicine, as families were given the legal right to detain their family members in the Corfu Psychiatric Hospital for being 'mentally damaged'. I observe how the language of spiritual customs and modern psychiatry were employed in the same breath in the testimonies to the colonial police of family members seeking to detain their unwell relatives, and the coloniality of power of a British state seeking to discipline the frontiers of sane society.

## **Notes on the self in deportation: An analysis of Marinette Dambuyant's experience in Nazi camps**

**Noemí Pizarroso, UNED (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia)**

In World War II, Marinette Dambuyant (1907-2001), philosophy teacher and disciple of the psychologist Ignace Meyerson (Pizarroso, 2019), endured the experience of being deported to a concentration camp as a political prisoner due to her participation in the Resistance. A few months after her return, she spoke of the experience before the Psychological Studies Society of Toulouse in a workshop entitled "Disruptions of Life", in March 1946. Her story, published shortly thereafter in the *Journal de Psychologie Normale et Pathologique*, was not presented as a testimony, per se, of her imprisonment, which did irreversible damage to her health (arthrosis, intestinal trouble, exhaustion, insomnia, memory loss), but as a psychological analysis of her experience, from her arrest by the Gestapo (November 1943) and incarceration in Fresnes Prison to her arrival at Ravensbrück (late August 1944, to which she was transferred after time at the Romainville and Sarrebruck camps) and her ultimate flight a few days before Germany's capitulation.

As Dambuyant herself said, her goal was not to give an account of what happened or prove it was true, but to analyse its effects on her experience of self. On this point, she explained, she did not exactly set out to contribute to a psychology of deportation, either, but instead endeavoured to use this exceptional case to elucidate a psychology of the person by recording the continuities, disruptions and transformations of the ego.

She followed her initial analysis of her concentration camp experience, published under the title of "Notes on the Self in Deportation" (*Remarques sur le moi dans la déportation*), with a second account, this time a collective effort, published nearly twenty years later (*Les Françaises à Ravensbrück*, 1965). Dambuyant's voice there was one in the chorus of the Association of Women Deportees and Prisoners of the Resistance. The collective story added, with the perspective of time, an analysis of what these women experienced on their return home: in many cases they found that their family and social environment had given them up for lost.

Experience of Nazi concentration camps gave rise to must-reads like Primo Levi's 1947 classic. Less attention has been paid to the case of non-Jewish deportees and political prisoners, and even less, to the case of women, especially French women (Hutton, 2005).

The objective of this presentation is to rediscover Marinette Dambuyant's story, as told both in her private version (1946) and in the collective retrospective version (1965), and to examine her accounts in the framework of other first-person testimonies of the horror experienced in Nazi camps, with an eye to gender and identity issues and the analytical tools involved in her psychological perspective.

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**A 'civilized' woman among the 'primitive' ones? A pioneering survey by Annie de Villeneuve (1935-1937) on the sexuality of excised women**

**Alix Vogel, University of Lausanne**

In 1937, Annie de Villeneuve (1896-1972) published *Étude sur une coutume Somalie : les femmes cousues* [Study on a Somali Custom: Sewn Women], probably the first investigation by a Western woman into female excision and infibulation (de Villeneuve, 1937). A year earlier, seeking to understand the role of the clitoris in frigidity, she traveled to Djibouti. By combining observations and interviews with excised and infibulated women, and by directly questioning them about their clitoral and vaginal sensitivity, Villeneuve aimed to describe this custom in detail.

However, her view of otherness has drawn much criticism for its Western-centric reading of sexuality. In her seminal work *La parole aux négresse* [Negresses Speak], first published in 1978, Awa Thiam, a key figure in French-speaking African feminism, denounced Annie de Villeneuve's colonialist attitude toward excised women (Thiam & Groult, 1983). These women were perceived by the ethnologist as submissive, accepting the practice of excision and infibulation without resistance. Furthermore, as the French psychoanalyst Françoise Couchard (2009) later pointed out, Annie de Villeneuve condemned Somali mothers, whom

she considered cruel. Her investigation, marked by a binary opposition between the "civilized" and the "primitive," is nonetheless a rare example of a female perspective on sexuality (Gardey, 2021).

Although long journeys and periods abroad were traditionally the prerogative of men, mainly due to family constraints weighing more heavily on women (Daiane, 2023), little attention has been given to the career of this pioneering yet little-known ethnologist: Who was she? How did she gain access to this field of investigation? Did she work alone? Unpublished sources, including personal correspondence and memoirs<sup>1</sup>, allow for a deeper exploration of the study's scope. Far from being isolated, Annie de Villeneuve was part of a larger intellectual network. Her approach to pleasure and sexuality was based on her cousin Marie Bonaparte's (1882-1962) reflections on female frigidity (Amouroux, 2012; Frederiksen, 2008, 2018). The latter, unable to find answers from her network of male scientists—given the difficulty of accessing excised women for male ethnographers such as Bronisław Malinowski (1884-1942), Géza Róheim (1891-1953), Felix Bryk (1882-1957), or Marcel Griaule (1898-1956)—sought the help of her cousin, whom she advised and whose fieldwork she supervised.

By questioning the dynamics of domination in the production of knowledge about female sexuality and the scope of the investigation, this intervention reflects on the ambiguities of a Western female gaze (Levin, 1980; Mianda, 2022; Peiretti-Courtis, 2021): How can the approach of these women be both pioneering and yet marked by racial prejudice? How did they position themselves in a male-dominated field? These questions are part of a broader reflection that drives a PhD project, namely the role of women doctors and amateurs who experimented with and investigated female sexuality in France and Switzerland in the 19th and 20th centuries.

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**My dear Doctor Menninger: The search for psychiatric guidance in 1930s America**  
**Matthew McLaughlin, University of Toronto**

This presentation explores how psychiatric knowledge in 1930s America was shaped by the experiences and expectations of women who turned to psychiatrists to fix their everyday problems. To do so, it analyzes the 2,000 letters the American psychiatrist Karl Menninger received during his tenure as mental hygiene adviser for the *Ladies Home Journal*. In this role, Menninger wrote a monthly column titled “Mental Hygiene in the Home” from October 1930 to May 1932, which responded to problems submitted to him by readers of the magazine (Menninger, 1930; Menninger, 1931; Menninger, 1932). Women throughout the country wrote to Menninger asking for his guidance on problems in various areas of their personal lives, including marriages, familial relationships, friendships, childcare practices, and vocations. He responded to every letter, regardless of whether it appeared in the column. In analyzing Menninger’s correspondence with these women, this presentation has two objectives. The first is to recover the writers’ agency in requesting psychiatric assistance and their role in developing psychiatric knowledge, complicating the popular interpretation of psychiatric self-help literature as a form of social domination and depoliticization (see Lasch, 1979; Salerno, 2005). The second is to highlight the importance of self-help literature in the professionalization and popularization of psychiatric thinking in the United States, demonstrating the essential role of non-institutional settings in the early evolution of psychiatry as a discipline.

The women who sought out Menninger’s expertise were living in a new urban-industrial society recently impacted by a significant economic downturn. Rapid industrialization and urbanization had transformed the everyday experiences of twentieth century Americans in the private and public spheres. Overwhelmed by these changes, many people turned to psychiatry for guidance on how to navigate life in the modern world. Many psychiatrists saw this demand as an opportunity to



expose Americans to their profession and began publishing self-help books that addressed people's everyday concerns (Illouz, 2008; Starker, 1989; Wright, 2011). Menninger wrote "Mental Hygiene in the Home" when psychiatrists were striving to legitimate their role as medical practitioners and used this column to prove how his professional knowledge could help Americans navigate their everyday problems (Pressman, 1998; Lunbeck, 1994). The creation of the therapeutic self-help genre legitimated and promoted the potential of psychiatry in managing personal issues and allowed psychiatrists to reach a wider audience than they could in institutional settings. An analysis of Menninger's published columns and correspondence demonstrates how popular periodicals served as a critical tool to promote the medical legitimacy and utility of psychiatry beyond the clinic while enabling him to gauge the needs of the American public.

Reviewing the letters written to Menninger illustrates how these women understood their personal experiences, emotions, and relationships, and why they regarded psychiatry as a legitimate resource for managing issues in these areas. Recovering the voices of women who actively sought counsel from a psychiatrist illuminates how their concerns, expectations, and values influenced the scope, content, and style of psychiatric knowledge. Indeed, analyzing these letters reveals the interactive yet asymmetrical relationship between psychiatrists and the public in producing psychiatric knowledge. By identifying the ambitions of these letter writers and the responses Menninger provided, this paper will highlight how the efforts of a psychiatrist to expand and legitimate his professional jurisdiction beyond the clinic drew heavily on what consumers of his work sought assistance with.

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**Moving beyond the biomedical model: Xanax and depression in *Deux Jours, une nuit* (2014)**

**Joshua Clark, University College London**

As conversations about mental health proliferate, depression appears as the central figure: perhaps the most well-known and talked about category of mental illness. We are regularly reminded about the global impact of depression in statistics published by the WHO and are made aware of increasing diagnosis rates. There appears, however, to be a universal depression which is talked about, rigidly defined via symptoms presented in the DSM 5 and ICD 10/11. Many continue to call into question the usefulness and accuracy of these diagnostic manuals which collapse the distinction between personally and culturally disparate experiences to a monolithic notion of depression. Conversely, across a range of disciplines, depression is variously painted as; an imbalance of chemicals in the brain (neurology), cognitive and perceptive distortion (psychology), a response to changing societal values (sociology), and as profoundly altered subjective experience (phenomenology). With this, it seems we can only talk about depressions in the plural.

What, then, can contemporary film offer in terms of engaging with concepts of depression and mental ill-health? With this question in mind, I focus on comparing English, French, and German filmic narratives that attempt to represent depression experiences. Using aspects of linguistic analysis, I explore the bringing-together of depression concepts from different fields despite theoretical tensions. In this sense, I suggest that close analysis of these narratives can encourage us to move beyond the narrow framework of conventional psychiatric diagnostics. Exploring different cultural and linguistic viewpoints is fundamentally important to continuing efforts to destigmatise mental ill-health, and to nuancing our understanding of different experiences of depression which do not neatly reflect the available diagnostic criteria.

One way of approaching the representation of depressions and mental illness in film is by looking to on-screen depictions of antidepressants and other psychotropics. As Peter Byrne points out of filmmakers, they “learnt what they know about mental illness and its treatments at the cinema, not from books or in the clinic.” (Byrne 2009). Lay-audiences, too, often form opinions and judgements regarding topics like mental illness from the popular films that they have seen

represent them. Films can, in this way, be a significant resource for analysing cultural perspectives on mental illness as well as the medications that are used in treatment. Among narratives that show support for neurobiology's "brain-disease model of mental health" (Vidal and Ortega 2017), and those that raise questions of dependence and efficacy when it comes to certain medications, films offer an important occasion to consider whether we are still living in what Karp, discussing biological psychiatry, once called a "pill paradigm" (Karp 1996). One such film is from the Dardenne brothers: *Deux Jours, une nuit* (2014), which offers an intriguing portrayal of depression and Alprazolam (Xanax). Though Xanax is a benzodiazepine and is more often associated with the treatment of anxiety and panic disorders, the film itself refers to Sandra (Marion Cotillard) suffering, specifically, from depression. I argue that the choice to represent Sandra's depression by including, on the one hand, psychotropic medication and by absenting, on the other hand, mental health professionals is a conscious one. Subsequently, rather than an overtly medical perspective, the film foregrounds the social and economic determinants of mental ill-health. In the film, the precarity of Sandra's work and the financial security it offers are intricately bound up with her depression. In considering how this film represents depression, as well as its depiction of psychotropic medication, we can acknowledge how different cultural perspectives interface with medicine in terms of understanding the dynamic relation between mental illness and employment.

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### **What Do We Know About Psychologization? A State of the Art of the Academic Production (1990–2015)**

**Hernan Pulido-Martinez, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana**

As researchers aiming to examine the psychologization process we sought to explore this concept from a critical perspective. Broadly speaking, our objective was to conduct a study that critiques the critique itself, specifically focusing on the ways psychology appropriates elements from frameworks that simultaneously describe themselves as critical. To achieve this, we analyzed 184 academic texts published between 1990 and 2015 in Spanish, English, French, and Portuguese that explicitly included the term psychologization or its equivalents: *psicologización*, *psicologização*, *psychologisation* in their titles.

To undertake this task, we chose to follow the literature focused on ethnography within and through archives (Bosa, 2010a; Bosa, 2010b). This approach does not suggest that documents can replace fieldwork; rather, it offers a way to engage with archives and their construction using tools drawn from ethnographic reflection and description (Pulido-Martinez, in press). It emphasizes constructing, reading, and interpreting archives as a complex process where the experiences and conceptual frameworks of the researchers play a central role (Bosa, 2010a). In this perspective, the recounting process evolves into the construction, description, and interpretation of the archive as a means of constituting the object of study (Restrepo, 2003; Lopera-Espinosa & Betancur-Roldán, 2024). As noted in the literature, this approach emphasizes that both the creation of the archive and the analysis of its texts actively define and shape the object of study, in this case, the dynamics of psychologization within psychological and social sciences knowledge production. La creación del artículo siguió las recomendaciones de (Barbosa, Barbosa, & Rodriguez, 2013) This method facilitates a detailed exploration of the recent past, as reflected in the documents, interpreted through the lens of the researchers who compile and analyze the archive (Bosa, 2010; Dudley, 1998).

Building on this framework, Bosa (2010) highlights the importance of adopting an ethnographic perspective to examine a field retrospectively. This involves not only a continuous reflection on the subject of investigation but also a critical analysis of the inquiry process itself, with archives serving as a central focus. In this particular case, the objective was to analyze how psychologization operates as both a conceptual tool and a cultural practice through a critical lens (Crespo Suarez & Serrano Pascual, 2011; De Vos, 2012; Mulvale & Teo, 2020). This entailed exploring the types of critical exercises proposed and identifying how, as the mosaic of descriptions takes shape, unexpected and distant dimensions or connections emerge, becoming visible through the overall composition of the mosaic (Marcus, 1995).

Furthermore, the recommendations of Roberts and Sanders (2005) regarding the three phases of ethnographic research—before, during, and after—were particularly valuable when applied to the archive's construction. These guidelines facilitated the organization of the research phases, which, as the authors suggest, emerge not only during the process itself but also through subsequent reflection on the events and analyses carried out throughout the development of the archive.

## Day Four: Friday, July 4th, 2025

### Reel to real: the recording history of Sanity, Madness and the Family

Michael Roper, Independent Scholar

When in 2008 the novelist Hilary Mantel was asked about books that had changed her life, she cited R.D. Laing and A. Emerson's 1964 study *Sanity, Madness and the Family*. Its portraits of people diagnosed as mad were 'vivid, direct, gripping'; the patients and their families who comprised the eleven case-studies in the book 'seemed close enough to touch.'

How did Laing and Emerson achieve such affective power? Among historians of psychiatry, the book's contribution is typically seen in terms of a 'social diagnosis', a shifting of attention from the pathology of schizophrenia to the milieu of the family, wherein as Mantel observes, 'plain speech had been penalised and where children had been taught, as they grew, to distrust their own perception and memory, and give way to the memories and perceptions of others.'

Such a shift entailed considerable methodological innovation, a means of capturing intra and cross generational relationships, and close attention to the spoken word. This paper investigates the methods that Laing and Emerson adopted in the more than two hundred interviews they undertook in the study. It describes how they were conducted, the recording technologies that assured a permanent record, and the authorial decisions and narrative techniques that allowed readers like Mantel to feel as if they were present in hospital consulting rooms and family homes, witnessing the confusion of the patient and the family members who rendered the patient unintelligible.

Above all, for Laing and Esterson, the researcher must listen – and their book transforms the reader into a listener. The reel-to-reel tape was the vehicle through which the 'real' - the patient's subjective experience of the world, and the mystifications and double-binds that had led them to psychiatric hospitals – could be laid bare. Through the recorded word, readers were transported into the milieu of the patient, whose distress then became intelligible.

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**Bringing Something to the (Turn)table: Carl Rogers' Psychotherapy Research Program and Phonographic Sound Recording in Psychology in the 1930s and Early 1940s**

**Catriel Fierro, Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB)**

A careful review of historical works on mental hygiene, clinical psychology, and psychotherapy reveals that Carl Ransom Rogers (1902–1987) is frequently credited with pioneering both process and outcome psychotherapy research through "objective" methods in "controlled" settings at the psychological clinic of The Ohio State University in the early 1940s (Russell & Orlinsky, 1996; Strupp & Howard, 1992). His use of phonographic recording equipment to capture and transcribe entire therapy sessions has been described as "revolutionary" (Braakman, 2015, p. 42; see also Hill & Corbett, 1993, and Guenther, 2022). However, the historical canon surrounding Rogers often oscillates between partisan celebration and superficial epistemic judgments, lacking a balanced, contextualized, and in-depth analysis of the methodological innovations in his clinical research program.

Most notably, these accounts also overlook other contemporaneous efforts to use sound recording technology in psychological research. Still, during the 1930s, at least a dozen projects in the United States sought to employ sound recording technology in psychological research, many

of which focused on recording and transcribing psychotherapeutic sessions or clinical interviews (e.g. Lempert, 2019; Levy-Landesberg & Pinchevski, 2023). These projects involved prominent scholars such as B. F. Skinner, David Shakow, Saul Rosenzweig, Harold Lasswell, Earl Frederic Zinn, and Percival Symonds, and were conducted in diverse institutional settings, including state hospitals, outpatient psychiatric clinics, public schools, and experimental psychology laboratories. Despite this broader context, Rogers' work has dominated the historiography, overshadowing these parallel efforts. In light of the above, this paper provides a critical, contextual understanding of the pioneering aspects of Rogers' early psychotherapy research by situating it within the broader landscape of his contemporaries' attempts to incorporate sound recording into psychological research. Drawing on both published and archival materials, I offer a comparative analysis of a dozen phonographic recording research programs in psychology between the late 1920s and early 1940s.

My analysis suggests that Rogers' historical relevance and subsequent canonization can be attributed to a complex interplay of theoretical and material factors. First, Rogers demonstrated a sustained commitment to making therapy sessions accessible to the public by mimeographing and publishing verbatim transcriptions of entire sessions and treatments. This approach garnered significant professional attention and scholarly recognition in terms of visibility and notoriety. In contrast, other programs, such as those led by Zinn and Lasswell, either failed to publish verbatim transcriptions or produced only fragmented, disjointed articles. Second, Rogers exhibited remarkable dynamism and swiftness in planning, institutionalizing, executing, and disseminating his recording project. While Lasswell took five years to publish his first results and Zinn failed to make his transcriptions public after a decade of recording a single individual, Rogers planned, executed, and published his initial findings plus sponsored two doctoral dissertations within a mere 24 months.

Third, Rogers' recording program was deeply rooted in a coherent set of cognitive and research interests that dated back to his early graduate studies. Most other recording projects were often experimental or peripheral to their authors' broader research agendas. Conversely, Rogers' turn to phonographic recording of therapy sessions in the late 1930s was an organic development, the only logical step forward in terms of research methodology. Finally, Rogers benefited from a horizontal, permissive, and stimulating academic environment at The Ohio State University's psychological clinic. In contrast, other programs, such as those attempted by Zinn, Shakow, and Rosenzweig at Worcester State Hospital, were constrained by heavy clinical duties and a rigid professional hierarchy that relegated psychologists to psychometric and diagnostic tasks, limiting their access to therapeutic spaces necessary for psychotherapy research.

A contextual and comparative analysis of these programs indicates that while Rogers' project was not the only sound recording initiative in academic and clinical psychology during the 1930s, it possessed several distinctive advantages. Boiled down, Rogers' program was more publicly visible, executed more swiftly, more organically integrated into a broader, systematic research agenda, and emerged from a progressive and supportive academic environment. These

factors help explain Rogers' canonization and allow us to move beyond celebratory hagiography and toward a more nuanced and critical understanding of his role in the emergence of psychotherapy research.

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### **Putting Psychoanalysis in Its Place: The Ambiguity of Telephone Use in Freudian Psychoanalytic Training in South Korea (1980–2010) Jimin Choi, EHESS (CCJ)**

The global circulation of science and knowledge in the 21st century raises fundamental questions about how scientific disciplines take root in local contexts. The intensified globalization of the



human sciences compels historians to reconsider the historical and sociocultural specificities that shape knowledge transfer and its local repercussions. Psychoanalysis, alongside psychology and psychiatry, represents a Western psychological science that has expanded beyond its European and North American origins to East Asia, particularly China, South Korea, and Japan. However, professional psychoanalysts who adhere to an internalist approach often interpret this expansion purely from within the discipline, invoking Freud's "spirit of the conqueror" to justify it. Their analyses frequently rely on binary oppositions such as Orient/Occident or Global/Local and tend to overlook the infrastructural and technological mediations that have either facilitated or constrained the dissemination of psychoanalysis in different regions. This analysis is grounded in a range of primary sources, including internal publications of the Korean Association of PsychoAnalysis (KAPA), unpublished documents from its 40-year institutional archive, and correspondence between KAPA members and international psychoanalytic associations. Both Korean- and English-language materials were used to trace these transnational exchanges.

This presentation examines how geographical factors and communication technologies have shaped the circulation of psychoanalysis in South Korea, with particular attention to the ambiguous role of remote psychoanalytic supervision via telephone in psychoanalytic training. Founded in 1980 in Seoul by six psychiatrists trained in American psychoanalytic psychiatry, the Korean Association of PsychoAnalysis (KAPA) sought affiliation with the International Psychoanalytical Association (IPA). However, in the absence of an IPA-accredited training program in Seoul, KAPA first attempted to invite English-speaking training analysts to set up a local program. When this IPA-sponsored initiative failed, KAPA members pursued an alternative strategy, sending young South Korean psychiatrists to the United States for training. This, too, proved impractical, as South Korean candidates were not allowed to treat American patients for clinical supervision. By the late 1980s, amid the lay analysis debate in the United States, American psychiatrist-psychoanalysts strongly opposed allowing South Korean psychiatrists to work with American patients under supervision. A turning point came with the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, prompting the IPA to authorize telephone-based psychoanalytic supervision for candidates in regions lacking IPA-accredited training institutes under the Eitingon model. As a result, the first South Korean Freudian psychoanalysts underwent a hybrid training process. After completing personal analysis and theoretical coursework—primarily in the United States, and, in rare cases, the United Kingdom—they returned to Seoul, where they continued remote psychoanalytic supervision via telephone. In this model, they conducted psychoanalytic treatment with Korean-speaking patients in Seoul while discussing cases in English with English-speaking analysts remotely. By the early 2000s, however, remote psychoanalytic supervision via telephone became a contentious issue. A South Korean psychoanalyst trained at the Tavistock Clinic in the United Kingdom and based in Zurich proposed conducting full psychoanalytic treatment over the telephone for KAPA members, sparking internal disputes. Some future KAPA psychoanalysts challenged this practice before the IPA, arguing that if telephone analysis were officially sanctioned, it would undermine KAPA's institutional legitimacy by allowing psychoanalysis to occur remotely, bypassing the Korean

group's institutional oversight. The conflict was ultimately settled when the IPA ruled against telephone analysis, allowing it only in cases of absolute necessity. KAPA members who insisted on continuing remote psychoanalytic supervision via telephone between Seoul and Zurich were subsequently excluded from the organization.

While full transcripts of telephone supervisions were not preserved, a few psychoanalysts affiliated with KAPA also published their personal accounts of remote supervision, further illuminating how this form of training was experienced and interpreted from within. This controversy over remote psychoanalytic supervision via telephone in psychoanalytic training offers a critical case study for historians of the psychological sciences, particularly regarding the role of telecommunication technologies in shaping the geography of knowledge transmission. This case also invites reflection on the shifting significance of long-distance telephone technologies in the late 20th century, a period when telecommunication infrastructures became increasingly entangled with new modes of professional training. The telephone, far from being a neutral medium, redefined the spatial and epistemological boundaries of what counted as legitimate psychoanalytic and, by extension, psychotherapeutic practice. The case of KAPA highlights the tensions between global psychoanalytic institutions and local professional groups, as well as the broader implications of technological mediation in psychoanalytic education, institutional legitimacy, and disciplinary expansion.

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**In the eye of the beholder: Norman Mackworth and the development of eye tracking technology in the mid-20th century**

**Melody Xu, Johns Hopkins University**

This paper examines the development of several eye tracking devices by the psychologist Norman H. Mackworth in the mid-20th century. As an innovative tool in the fields of psychology and cognitive science, Mackworth's eye trackers were created during a pivotal time when experimental psychology was transitioning from strict behaviorism to new cognitive paradigms. I investigate how Mackworth's background in military research and public safety shaped his approach to creating devices intended to 'see' through the eyes of others. I argue that Mackworth's devices not only sought to provide a window into the mind but also reflected the growing fascination with visual technologies in scientific inquiry.

I trace the role of motion picture and film technologies in shaping how psychologists have measured and analyzed human action and behavior. In doing so, this paper contributes to a deeper understanding of how scientific practices are mediated by the tools and technologies employed, even as the theoretical frameworks through which these practices were originally implemented have changed. Through a detailed exploration of Mackworth's engagements with diverse scientific communities, the paper highlights both the enthusiasm and trepidation surrounding eye tracking technologies and their implications for understanding human perception and cognition. Furthermore, I address the challenges Mackworth faced in promoting his technologies, revealing the tensions between technological ambition and the limitations of available methodologies.

By situating this narrative within the broader history of technology and psychology, this paper contributes to a deeper understanding of 20th century psychologists transformed film and motion picture technologies into tools of disciplinary validation, knowledge production, and scientific communication. I also show how psychologists in this time period have negotiated different notions of measurement, precision, and mechanical objectivity as represented by their use of technology.

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### **Girls in the virtual asylum: disembodiment after deinstitutionalization**

**Nina K. Fellows, The Open University**

A lack of physical places for the psychiatric care of 'mad' people has emerged since deinstitutionalisation and the decline of state-run psychiatric facilities under neoliberalism. The asylum has always been a politically contentious construction, and it persists in the cultural imaginary even as it disappears from our social infrastructure. At the same time, digital technologies have made different forms of collective psychological support available, and they present new challenges and opportunities. To explore this, I am using the phrase 'virtual asylum' to characterise the online mental health spaces which developed in the late 1990s and early 2000s, using the dual meaning of 'virtual' as both '*digital, not physical*' and '*almost, but not quite*'. These 'virtual asylums' can be productively situated in the long history of British and European asylums: from Charcot's clinic at Salpêtrière and the private madhouses of the 18th century, through humanitarian reforms in the 19th century, to the early 20th century deinstitutionalisation movement and the current precarity of mental healthcare in 21st century Britain. This critique asks: What kinds of dis/embodiment inside 'virtual asylums' are available to the 'mad' in the absence of physical spaces of care and community? Of particular interest here is how modern girls and young women who practice embodied expressions of distress, like self-harm, make use of disembodied online spaces, digital images, and dispersed communities. I will use the asylum stories of two of my doctoral research project interviewees to help articulate the problems, potentials, and complex social politics of these spaces. This will be related to critical work on the conceptual relationship between femininity and self-harming behaviour by Barbara Brickman, Amy Chandler, and Veronica Heney, as well as feminist psychoanalytic cultural theory, Julia Kristeva's theory of abjection, and Luce Irigaray's critique of patriarchal medical epistemology, which offer insights into the problems of agency, embodiment, and representation experienced by girls in the 'virtual asylum'.

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### **“I’m starting to feel as though I’m an inanimate object”: Sexology and performance in Sue Johanson’s *The Sunday Night Sex Show* Hannie Smolyanitsky, York University**

In the late 1990s and 2000s, Canadian sexologist Sue Johanson (1930-2023) hosted call-in radio and television shows. Originally trained as a nurse, Johanson began her public career as the founder of a birth control clinic in a Toronto high school in 1970. Slowly making media appearances in her capacity as the clinic’s founder, Johanson eventually had a media career as a public sexologist. In the format of her radio and television shows, audience members phoned Johanson live on the air and asked her a question about sex, which she answered.

Sue Johanson’s career is a case study for questions of how sexology changes when it becomes a part of a performance. Johanson’s self-help cited and was based on the research of American sexologists. Her sexology was an early 2000s continuation of Alfred Kinsey’s conceptions of sex as a broad range of practices and outlets, all of which were permissible if they existed in people (Igo; 2007; Hegarty, 2013; Drucker, 2014); William Masters’ and Virginia Johnson’s physiological and medical view of sex on the body; the public performativity of sex in the work of Albert Ellis (Pettit, 2024); and a focus on women’s sexuality and abortion rights from the 1970s books *Our Bodies*, *Ourselves* and *The Hite Report*. In continuing on these sexologists’ ideas, Johanson brought sexology into participatory audiences for the duration of her career, an opportunity for examining the ways audiences interacted with sexology during a performance.

This paper is based on personal archival research working with extant copies of *Talk Sex*, the American version of the identically formatted Canadian *The Sunday Night Sex Show*, surviving in the possession of the show's director. It provides a close reading of an April 13, 2003 episode. The show's episodes were produced as standard-format standalones, rather than following any overarching trajectory or containing plot. Its director R.J. Gulliver did not keep a complete collection of all episodes that would have enabled a corpus analysis. This provides an opportunity to instead stay with the details of a specific performance, examining the ways in which Johanson's performances and sexology worked.

In this talk, I will present excerpts from each of the April 13, 2003 episode's ten aired ten live calls, each of which opens room to cover different themes and experiences in the recent history of sexuality. The questions asked include a woman concerned with her boyfriend's interest in anal sex, which ensued in Johanson's use of what Myers (2008) describes as "body-work", the contortion and gestures of the body as a process in the social life of scientific explanation, in this case of how anal sex worked. A man's call about safely sharing sex toys with his boyfriend connects to sex toys as a prominent visual motif on the show, commercial objects and kinetic props that elicited laughter with their phallic and yonic forms. Johanson's answer regarding condom use is a part of her broader work's context following the AIDS virus' discovery in 1981, and the subsequent irreparably altered public discourse pertaining to sexuality (Schulman, 2021) of which she was a part. A man, identified with a Hispanic name and accent, asked about his wife's preference for having sex in public places, to which Johanson refused an exploration of the matter and instead emphasized that it would lead to imprisonment. Tonally, the episode ranges from scatological humor originating in a caller's concerns about his fiancée's flatulence; to grief in a disabled woman's sorrow at her husband's not having touched her in years; to levity in a man's call about how to have sex with his pregnant girlfriend.

In following these calls as performances, particular attention is paid to the ways in which the audience members changed sexological conventions through the varying timbres of each call. Through this exploration, the ways in which sexology changes when it becomes a part of a performance emerge.

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### **Female literary translators in Hungary in the context of women's history and cultural policy**

**Anna Borgos, HUN-REN Institute of Cognitive Neuroscience and Psychology**

In my presentation, I'm going to explore the career and oeuvre of two outstanding 20<sup>th</sup> century female literary translators, those of Margit G. Beke and Klára Szöllősy. The paper will present their life, work, reception, family- and intellectual connections, self- and worldview, in a social and literary context. I will also explore how the circle of authors they chose (or were suggested) to translate during their life represent the changing literary/political circumstances in Hungary. I'm going to touch their relationship with translation and (vs.) writing as creative activities, their emancipation through translation (into literature, into society) and their attitudes toward gender roles. My resources are primary works, ego-documents, correspondences, interviews, the accounts of contemporaries, descendants and disciples, and secondary literature on Hungarian literary history and translation.

Margit Beke (1890–1988) was self-taught in Norwegian, Danish and Swedish, which were the main source languages of her vast oeuvre as a translator. The authors she translated include Ibsen, Strindberg, Knut Hamsun, Selma Lagerlöf, Astrid Lindgren, Sigrit Undset among many others. She also translated from English, German, French and Russian, the latter with her husband Imre Görög, including Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment*. She translated more than 160 novels and a few biographies into Hungarian, working until the end of her long life. She also published

articles in Hungarian women's journals, studies on children's psychology, and later volumes of northern myth revisions, as well as a volume of poetry – anonymously. Her father was the renowned mathematician Manó Beke, an advocate of equal education for women, her daughter, Ata Kandó became a world-famous photographer in the Netherlands. Beke's two-part memoir's (*Our Story is History*) first part contains diary notes she wrote about her two-year-old daughter during WWI (and her thoughts about literature and society), while the second part documents the persecution she lived through as a Jew during WWII. Margit Beke was equally receptive to scientific observation and art, forming a bridge between her father's and daughter's vocations. Translation was both a channel for her creativity and a means of earning a living, and through them a way of realizing modern women's roles from the interwar years. She had the ambition and talent to mediate – across languages, cultures, disciplines and generations.

Klára Szöllősy (1913–1970) was the translator of prominent classics of modern world literature, from English, German, French, Russian and Greek: Tolstoi, Thomas Mann, Bulgakov, Katherine Mansfield, Lawrence Durrell, Simone de Beauvoir, Saul Bellow, Graham Greene, Chekhov's short stories and Goethe's autobiography. She also wrote a lot of literary reviews (about Goethe, Tolstoi, Muriel Spark, Theodor Dreiser, Saul Bellow, Katherine Anne Porter, Truman Capote, Alain Robbe-Grillet, Romain Gary etc.), a few essays on translation, two travelogues (about Greece), and (at the beginning and end of her career) three novels. After WW2, for a few years she worked as an interpreter at the Prime Minister's Office, in the 1950s she was a lecturer at the Russian Institute and gave a seminar on literary translation at the Budapest University. I'm exploring her path to translation, her professional networks and place in the translator's community.

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### **Retailing Psychosexual Knowledge in the *Demi-Monde* of French Publishing (1885-1910)**

**Peter Cryle, University of Queensland**

This paper will consider some catalogues produced during the period 1895 to 1910 by undistinguished French publishers who no longer hold a place in mainstream histories of French literary culture. To modern readers, the catalogues themselves are likely to appear quite disconcerting. A few examples will be presented in order to ask what might have held these collections together in the minds of those who produced and used them. The answer to that inquiry cannot be simple for modern readers. Titles and topics are mixed in ways that now appear incongruous. But apparent incongruity of that kind, as Foucault shows in *Les Mots et les choses*, can be read as a challenge to intellectual history. What would readers need to suppose in order to extend their custom from one genre of text to another?

The mixture includes:

- Medical knowledge of a broadly sexual kind
- Novels of passion (*romans passionnels*)
- Books about sexual delights in hot countries
- Histories of debauchery across the ages, etc.

These publications dwelt at the edge of respectability for more than one reason. Their authors regularly asserted that the choice of their subjects was driven by the requirements of scientific observation. As they saw it, scientific writing, fictional or otherwise could not be pornographic by definition. “Science purifies everything it touches,” said Jean-Claude Dubut de Laforest, one of the more publicly visible members of this rather shady group, many of whom published under *noms de plume*. The catalogues of *demi-mondain* publishers like Offenstadt, Paul Fort, and Ollendorff showed them to be dealing in a kind of knowledge that moved between the medical and the fictive, the historical and the contemporary—always attending to the psychosexual, or

something of that ilk, wherever it could be found. While laws passed in France in 1882 and 1898 no longer made it an offense publish obscene books, advertising and selling them in a public place was still subject to legal sanction. That made the catalogue itself an object of punitive attention, and in 1909, the publisher Offenstadt was fined and jailed for including at the end of his publications advertising material that “had no other aim than to provoke unhealthy curiosity.” It could be said indeed that these *demi-mondain* publishers made their living out of “unhealthy curiosity.” But even as they did so, they were contributing, albeit in a disorderly manner, to both the circulation and the piecemeal construction of a form of knowledge that has much in common with what Michel Foucault analysed as *scientia sexualis*. The books in these catalogue did not represent medical or literary writing at their most authoritative or most grand. This was a milieu that took advantage of emerging psychosexual notions and made narrative capital out of them, sometimes adjusting them for convenience. The latter part of this paper will consider three examples that took up the “grand malady of the century,” hysteria, and made it into the stuff of a novel—with varying degrees of success.

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## **The Discourse of Child Development in Recent Decades: The Focus on Children and Parents at Risk**

**Dennis Bryson, Independent Scholar**

My paper will deal with the recent history of child development discourse. Influenced by scientific developments in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, much of this discourse (or set of discourses) dealt with the problems and stresses confronting children and adolescents, on the one hand, and parents, on the other; as it evolved, certain shifts in focus and thematization emerged within this discourse, as I will demonstrate. In my paper, I will construe child development discourse<sup>[1]</sup> in the wide sense as encompassing not only the “scientific” discourse of developmental psychology, neuroscience, and such clinical specialties as pediatrics, but the discourse produced

by popular writers on parenting and children (often informed by such scientific perspectives), as well as that elaborated by historians, sociologists, economists, political scientists, and philosophers. An expanded notion of child development discourse will enable my paper to deal not only with those specialists directly involved in the production of scientific knowledge on child development, but with those disseminating such knowledge to the wider public as well as those contextualizing such knowledge in its socioeconomic and historical milieus and thereby promoting critical reflection upon it. Accordingly, I will examine the discursive productions of such figures as Alison Gopnik (developmental psychology), Jack Shonkoff (pediatrics and administration), Robert Putnam (political science), Jonathan Haidt (social psychology), Annette Lareau (sociology), Paula Fass (social history), Matthias Doepke and Fabrizio Zilibotti (economics), Amy Chua (popular writing), Judith Warner (popular writing), Jennifer Senior (popular writing), and Michael Sandel (philosophy).

All the writers and researchers mentioned tended to task the field of child development with dealing with crisis-inducing circumstances and environments, especially as children, adolescents, and parents came to confront a competitive, globalizing world, characterized by rapidly increasing levels of economic inequality. These writers and researchers dealt with these issues in varying ways, some endorsing enhanced skills acquisition by children and parents via more intensive parenting as well as strategies to improve parenting (especially aimed at working-class and/or impoverished families), while others, seemingly critical of skills-oriented approaches, advocated less intensive parenting, thus allowing children more leeway for independent play (in order to alleviate the high levels of stress and anxiety experienced by affluent middle-class children and their parents). These specialists and writers were all immersed in a shared discursive world; not only were they engaged in producing books, articles in scholarly journals and popular magazines, newspaper items, online blogs and pieces, interviews, and the like, focused on common topics and themes, but they frequently engaged each other by directly citing or alluding to each other in their work. The discourse thus produced aimed not only to formulate knowledge on children, parents, and their relationships, but to construct and manage these individuals and relationships with the goal of producing mentally healthy and “successful” and productive citizens.

Both Shonkoff and Putnam were concerned with recent findings in the neurosciences and the manner in which “toxic stress” could impede the healthy development of the child’s brain and thus prevent the child from developing the skills, both cognitive and non-cognitive, necessary for a satisfying and productive life. Both endorsed enhanced parenting techniques, such as the conscious performance of “serve-and-return” interaction of parents and their infants and children, thus seeming to endorse more intensive parenting styles, especially within working-class and impoverished families. Indeed, Putnam explicitly asserted that he saw no problem with the “concerted cultivation” style of child-rearing (which Lareau saw as characteristic of American middle-class families). In a sociological vein, Lareau, in her important book *Unequal Childhood* (2003, 2011), examined how the parenting styles of middle-class and working class families diverged in the manner alluded to above—while Doepke and Zilibotti examined how the level of economic inequality characterizing various nations has had a major impact on the prevailing

parenting styles within those nations; in general, parenting became more intense the higher the level of economic inequality, more relaxed the lower the level of economic inequality. Most of the other writers were critical of the intense style of parenting of the affluent American middle class, seeing such parenting as producing high levels of stress and anxiety among both children and their parents. Mothers thus became “control freaks” (Warner), while one psychologist (Haidt) described contemporary young people as the “Anxious Generation.” Paula Fass, the prominent historian of childhood and adolescence, also worried about the overly-intensive guidance by parents of the young in the US, even speculating about “the end of American childhood.” Her 2016 book on parenting contributed a significant dose of historical contextualization and critical reflexivity to child development discourse.

My paper will indicate how an examination of the evolving discourse of childhood in recent decades can provide a sense of the manner in which childhood and parenting have been socially constructed within varying socioeconomic and historical environments during this period; it will also suggest that child development discourse can be seen as a register demonstrating and monitoring the intensity of socioeconomic tensions and pathologies. Most importantly, my paper will suggest that child development discourse, as it was continuously elaborated, incorporated into itself critiques and popularized perceptions of the problems it faced.

I also intend to deal briefly with the discourse of child development—and the issues and societal problems that it faced--during the interwar years (the 1920s and 1930s). This will provide a useful historical comparison vis-à-vis more recent iterations of child development discourse.

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[1] I am indebted to the work of Michel Foucault for his elaboration of the notion of discourse. I have also found Edward Said's book *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1978) useful in this regard.

**'Kingdoms of Babes': Home Nurseries as 'Medico-Moral' Domains of Infants in America, 1850s-1920s**

**Elisabeth M. Yang, University of Leeds**

Directions for constructing and setting up home nurseries were a common feature of child-rearing and domestic medicine manuals, during the mid-to-late 19th and early 20th centuries. Physicians and other child-rearing authorities offered detailed directions on the location, design, decoration, material components, and daily management of children's nurseries. The notion that the house had both a physiological and psychological impact on the child urged mothers to design the children's nursery in appropriate ways under the aegis of medical experts.

In this article, I explore the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century home nursery as a site of 'medicalised', 'sacralised' and 'romanticised' infancy—a concourse of religion, politics, science, and technology. I argue that the material world of babies—the nursery and baby-rearing objects—"speaks" on how authorities of infant care invoked certain ideas about the moral, spiritual, and physiological nature, agency, and telos of infant care and health. Drawing from child-rearing manuals and domestic medical encyclopedias authored by both physicians and other child-rearing authorities, I discuss how these experts conceptualised infants' engagement with material objects and spaces as catalysts for the moral and spiritual agency and formation of infants. Thus, an intimate link exists between the physical topology of babyhood and the moral ontology of babies, as suggested by the prescriptive literature on children's nursery design and management.

Demonstrating how child health and medicine treaded beyond its ambit to the realm of metaphysics and theology, I point to the theoretical entanglements between the material and moral in the making of the idealised American healthy and happy infant in the home nursery which emerged as an ideological concourse of various tropes of the model baby—mechanistic, plant-like, savage, tyrannical, impressionable, innocent, individualistic, and patriotic.

**The nervous mother and the deviant child: Attachment knowledge and the shaping of domestic environments in West Germany from the 1950s-1980s**

**Viola Balz & Verena Lehmbruck, University of Erfurt**

Based on Bowlby's research on attachment for psychologically healthy child development published in England in the 1950s (Bowlby 1952), attachment theory also gained particular importance in West Germany in the second half of the 20th century (e.g. Dührsen 1953, Grossmann 1981). The new knowledge was also discussed in (child) psychiatric and (social) educational journals in Germany in the post-war period before it reached the psychological community. The discourse on the “nervous” mother was of particular importance. It was intensively discussed how much the mother should be allowed to work so that she could offer the child psychologically healthy development (e.g. Hellbrücke 1964). However, it was stated that a dissatisfied housewife could also impair the child's psychological development (e.g. Lehr 1973). This article analyzes the discussion about the right form of care and the relationship between nature and nurture that needs to be formed. It combines the question of the right domestic milieu for the prevention of mental developmental disorders with the question of the reorganization of gendered concepts of care in a time in which the traditional family has been replaced by a new one.

It combines the question of the right domestic milieu for the prevention of mental developmental disorders with the question of the reorganization of gendered concepts of care at a time when traditional family concepts were increasingly diversifying. The analysis focuses on the health education of the mother towards a psychologically healthy lifestyle through psychological and (social) educational counseling and the first forms of family education in West Germany. In addition to the discourse analysis of specialist journals, particular attention is paid to campaigns (e.g. films) and the Federal Center for Health Education (BzGA) as a central institution for health education and the implementation of (attachment-sensitive) educational support in the context of new family constellations. The focus here is on the discussion of how the child's environment can be shaped in an optimal way through the correct design of the maternal environment in order to prevent the development of mental disorders.

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**The zoo and nursery of Prof. Jouvét**  
**Michaël Roelli, Université de Lausanne**

Although the study of dreams is usually reduced to introspections carried out on a divan or in a bedroom, it has undergone a major revolution in the last century with the development of new technical tools and animal experimentation. A notable illustration of this material and spatial evolution in scientific oneirology can be observed in the laboratory of the French neurophysiologist Michel Jouvét (1925-2017). After his fortuitous discovery of a distinctive state of the brain characterised by complete muscular atony, heightened cortical activity and vivid dream experiences, which he termed “paradoxical sleep”, Jouvét swiftly converted the experimental medicine department at Claude Bernard University into a zoo. He and his team then recorded the brain activity of sleeping fishes, reptiles, birds, and mammals in the hope of unravelling the enigma of the function of dreams. The many observations made revealed that paradoxical sleep is a recent state on the evolutionary scale, as it is exclusive to the most “evolved” species (homeothermic vertebrates). Intriguingly, these animals repeatedly risk great peril by succumbing to this periodical paralysis during their sleep.

Concurrently, Jouvét investigated the emergence and progression of this state within the individual, with studies also being conducted on various animal species. Another part of the laboratory functioned as an inter-species nursery, overseen by Jouvét’s female collaborators who specialised in the in-ovo and in-utero recording of the nervous activity of hens, guinea pigs, mice and cats. One young researcher, Marc Jeannerod (1935-2011), even took advantage of the opportunity presented by the fact that several wives of members of the laboratory, including his own, became pregnant in the 1960s. These circumstances allowed him to simultaneously record the cerebral activity of both the foetus and the mother as she slept. These observations indicated that paradoxical sleep—or a primitive form of paradoxical sleep known as “seismic sleep”—plays a very important role in the early life of mammals but decreases early on until it stabilises at the end of the development of the central nervous system.

How is it that a mechanism which exposes animals to such high levels of danger in their natural environment has been maintained over thousands of years to the point where it has become the norm in the most evolved species? Why is this state of functioning so important during development? This conundrum has prompted extensive research in several disciplines, including anatomy, bioenergetics and genetics. As a result, Jouvét advanced a hypothesis concerning the function of dreams that, although groundbreaking, is largely unrecognised. His theory challenges

the prevailing views on the aetiology of dreams, namely that they are driven by unconscious desires—or, at the very least, past events. Instead, he proposed that dreams are an endogenous production of the brain with the purpose of periodically “reprogramming” the individual. Rather than reinforcing the emotional, cognitive, or phantasmatic influences of our environment, the purpose of dreams could be to preserve us from it by reinforcing the heritage of behaviours specific to our genetic strain and instincts specific to our species.

Jouvet’s laboratory, which can be broadly described as a “physiology factory”—to use an expression that the historian Daniel P. Todes (1997) used to describe Ivan P. Pavlov’s laboratory—therefore housed both a zoo where men were trying to shed light on the phylogenesis of paradoxical sleep and a nursery where women were trying to shed light on the ontogenesis of paradoxical sleep. Until recently, the faculty of dreaming was mainly considered to be a unique human trait. However, the mid-twentieth century witnessed a shift in the study of dreams with the advent of non-human animals in laboratories in large numbers.

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### **Poster: Origins of Psychological Testing for Infants and Children in Pre-World War II Japan: Linking Health Checkups and National Policy**

**Tomoko Suzuki, Yokohama National University & Miki Takasuna, Tokyo International  
University**

Psychological testing is a professional and scientific activity that is socially embedded and linked to historical change (Mülberger, 2014). From this perspective, this study examines the historical emergence of psychological testing for infants and children in Japan before World War II, positioning it within evolving social welfare and national policies. In the 1920s, high infant mortality rates were caused by mothers' poor knowledge of child rearing and inadequate breastfeeding (Nakajima, 2011). We explore how infant health checkups, beginning with the



Healthy Baby Contest in 1922, addressed high infant mortality rates. Sponsored by the Ministry of Education, these contests—held nationwide in department stores—recognized healthy children based on physicians’ assessments, encouraging mothers to prioritize child health. The National Eugenics Law of 1941 and the revised National Physical Fitness Law of 1942 further institutionalized infant checkups to bolster military strength and population growth. We highlight two prominent psychological tests: the Kyoto Scale of Psychological Development (KSPD) and the Aiiiku Research Institute’s Infant Mental Development Scale. The KSPD, developed from Sonohara et al.’s (1935) Kleinkindertests, integrated items from Gesell’s Developmental Diagnosis and Binet’s Intelligence Test. Similarly, Ushijima et al.’s (1939) Infant Mental Development Scale incorporated Kleinkindertests, the Kohs block-design test, and the Knox Cube. These initiatives shifted cultural norms, as the Healthy Baby Contests heightened maternal interest in child health, while wartime policies reinforced this focus through mandatory checkups. Psychological tests for infants and children were incorporated into Japanese culture in the era when raising healthy children became the norm for mothers.

### **Keywords**

psychological testing, infant health checkups, pre-World War II Japan, eugenics policy

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### **Paradoxical Responsibility: Obsessive-compulsive disorder, Cognitive-Behaviour Therapy, and 1980s Britain**

**Eva Surawy Stepney, University of Sheffield/Independent**

At the OCD UK conference in 2021, the prominent clinical psychologist Paul Salkovskis described obsessional-compulsive disorder (OCD) as resting on a ‘pre-existing dysfunctional schema’ which revolves around ‘being responsible for harm.’ In other words, he explained, when individuals diagnosed with OCD experience certain thoughts, they interpret them through a psychic system attuned to questions of responsibility. This, according to the psychologist, produces a series of ‘false beliefs’ which prompt the ‘obsessional’ to engage in acts that diminish feelings of responsibility. Within the context of this model, clinical psychologists operating within the British mental health care system, are advised to treat OCD with cognitive-behavioural therapy. This

involves helping a person understand that they are not responsible for their thoughts, only their actions, through encouraging them to take responsibility for their own treatment.

The model of OCD, where responsibility sits as both the site of pathology and the focus of intervention, was based on account first put forward by Salkovskis in *Behaviour Research and Therapy* in 1985. Rather than the central facts of obsessionality being the presence of repetitive and visible behaviours, as had been the case in the behavioural models of the 1960s and 70s, Salkovskis positioned ‘faulty thinking’ and an ‘inflated sense of responsibility’ as key to the obsessional experience.

This presentation will contextualise the development of the cognitive-behavioural model of OCD in 1980s Britain, foregrounding its historical, institutional, and political significance. The first section will show how ‘obsessions’ were reconceptualised through the lens of the cognitive model of depression, which provided the blueprint for making ‘faulty thinking’ and ‘meaning making processing systems’ the centre of the obsessional pathology. The second section will elucidate the therapeutic techniques engendered by this new model and how they chimed with a broader ethical shift in behavioural approaches, from environmental modification to the self as the locus of change. Both these intertwined aspects (conceptual and therapeutic) revolved around the concept of responsibility which lies at the heart of OCD in two ways: excessive responsibility is the cause of obsessional ‘disorder’ and, at the same time, ‘obsessionals’ are treated through being made to take responsibility. The final part of the presentation will illustrate how the language of responsibility embedded in the new mode of OCD reflected the political and social context of neoliberalism which took hold over Britain over the course of the 1980s, where responsibility was individualised in terms of economics, health, and citizenship. At particular moments of time, prevailing models of distress do not merely reflect, but are produced by and reinforced through the existing socio-economic context.

The transformations in OCD outlined in this presentation reflected a shift in the scope of British clinical psychology: from the experimental empiricism used to establish the concept of compulsive behaviours, to a salesman psychology that was much more embedded into the broader systems of British healthcare. Whilst there is a growing scholarship on the development of CBT, and its expansion in both Britain and internationally, little attention has been paid to the conceptual consequences of the intervention and how it renders a subjective experience of distress. The cognitive-behavioural model of OCD represents a particular way of envisaging the mind, one defined by a model of intervention that is both operational and enmeshed with government healthcare priorities. The result is the paradoxical role of responsibility at the heart of OCD, where it functions as both an individual excess and a social lack.

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## **Borderline nosological categories in Polish People's Republic's psychiatry, 1946-1989**

**Jan Kornaj, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw**

This paper is a continuation of the paper “Borderline nosological categories in Polish psychiatry in the interwar period”, presented at the 2024 ESHHS Conference. It aims to track further development of original nosological categories relating to diagnostically problematic clinical pictures, located on the border between then-existing psychopathological labels, developed by Polish psychiatrists in the interwar period, as well as to trace the first uses of the American borderline category in Polish psychiatric literature.

In the United States, the difficulty of classifying some forms of mental illness into the category of neurosis or psychosis was first noticed in 1919 by the American psychoanalyst Leon Pierce Clark (1919), who wrote of “borderland neuroses and psychoses”. In 1921, Thomas Verner Moore (1921) first used the term borderline to describe these problematic states. The problem raised by Clark and Moore did not attract the wider attention of American psychiatrists at first. The discussion on cases on the border between neuroses and psychoses began in the environment of American psychoanalysts and psychiatrists only after the 1938 article by Adolph Stern (1938). The interest in the borderline category was established in 1953 by another psychoanalytically oriented psychiatrist, Robert Knight (1953). In the 1960s, the understanding of borderline shifted from the borderline between neurosis and psychosis to character/personality disorders (Stone, 1986, 2005). In 1980, with the release of DSM-III (APA, 1980), borderline personality disorder became an official diagnostic category, which resulted in its worldwide expansion.

In interwar Poland, original categories regarding the borderline between neuroses and psychoses were proposed by Adam Wizel, Maurycy Bornsztajn, Jan Nelken, and Władysław Matecki (Kornaj, 2024a). Wizel (1925, 1928) coined the term underdeveloped schizophrenia, Bornsztajn (1916, 1922, 1927a, 1927b, 1933, 1936) introduced and developed the categories of *schizothymia reactiva* and hypochondriac (somatopsychic) schizophrenia, Nelken (1935) described mild schizophrenia, Matecki (1937) presented the category of neurosis-like (pseudo-neurotic) schizophrenia. All those categories described various forms of psychogenic mental disorder resembling schizophrenia but mixed with neurotic symptomatology. Julian Dretler (1936) after studying the borderline between schizophrenia and manic-depressive psychosis coined the term mixed psychosis, expressing the conviction that it is an independent nosological entity. As a borderline category *par excellence* Polish psychiatrists considered the category of psychopathy. Influenced by Kurt Schneider's and Eugen Kahn's concepts and Ernst Kretschmer's notion of character, the category of psychopathy in interwar Polish psychiatry was considered a borderline between health and mental illness as well as a “constitutional” predisposition to psychosis (Kornaj, 2024b).

After World War II, Poland became politically subordinate to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The Polish communist state was officially known as the Polish People's Republic. The new regime forced Pavlovism as an official ideology of psychiatry and condemned psychoanalysis as a bourgeois ideology. In 1948, Maurycy Bornsztajn (1948), who survived the

war, published the second issue of his psychiatry textbook, which contained a description of the categories of *schizothymia reactiva* and somatopsychic schizophrenia. Bornsztajn's textbook was heavily criticized for its psychoanalytic background. The categories of underdeveloped schizophrenia (Wizel), mild schizophrenia (Nelken), and pseudo-neurotic schizophrenia (Matecki) became forgotten and were no longer referred to by Polish People's Republic psychiatrists. As a borderline category between health and mental illness, the category of psychopathy was continuously utilized denoting various personality disturbances.

For the first time in Polish psychiatric literature the American label "borderline" was used by Leszek Welbel (1966) in his 1966 article *Schizophrenia latens*. The article attracted virtually no attention among Polish psychiatrists. The first articles in Polish psychiatric literature, dedicated exclusively to the American borderline category, appeared only in the 1980s, after the publication of DSM-III (Czernikiewicz, 1986; Dąbkowski, 1981; Tyra, 1986, 1989).

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**The curious case of Captain England - How Sir Ernest Shackleton and the men of the Nimrod Antarctic Expedition (1907-1909) viewed male hysteria and anxiety**

**Kellie A. Vernon, University of Leeds**

The early twentieth century saw mental illness closely linked with concerns around cultural and social expectations of what it meant to be a man.<sup>[1]</sup> Polar Exploration created a category of manliness which 'entailed authority, independence, discipline, a sense of duty, dignity of labour, moral responsibility which overlayed deeper associations with vigour, virility, endurance and above all courage.'<sup>[2]</sup> Exploration involved the interplay between multiple different

environments, often simultaneously : man vs nature, heroic vs weak, explorer vs reader, mind vs body, men on the ships vs men on shore.

In 1907 Sir Ernest Shackleton began his first attempt to reach the South Pole, Sailing to Antarctica on board the exploration ship, Nimrod. The ship's party comprised sailing crew, scientists, and those whose primary focus was the heroic exploration of the unknown.

Tensions aboard the ship between Shackleton and the ship's experienced Captain, Rupert England, led to the suggestion by Shackleton that England had 'lost his nerve' and was mentally unfit to continue as Master. For the men on these expeditions the focus on manly attributes was irrevocably linked to inter-personal environments which led to the validation of themselves as men in the eyes of their peers.<sup>[3]</sup> Even for men who were felt to be able to control and hide symptoms of anxiety, the very nature of experiencing anxious or melancholic thoughts was considered equivalent to an inability to fully control emotions. This was seen as effeminised, with the effect that those experiencing such thoughts were considered unfit to marry or pursue a career.<sup>[4]</sup>

Robert Hogg argues that these unexplored social environments were areas where the usual social dynamics did not exist, and so the idea of 'manliness' faced both a new challenge and a new presentation.<sup>[5]</sup> Micale and Clark demonstrate that nervous illness and male hysteria was moralised as defects of 'depraved nature'.<sup>[6]</sup> Despite Charcot's work on hysteria in men, it was rarely identified as affecting British men in this period.

This presentation will focus on how the social understandings of 'loss of nerve' and male anxiety in the period, reflected concerns around the links to degeneracy both personally and environmentally. It will be argued that England's removal from command was as much a result of social anxieties about the mental health of men and the tensions this created within the established codes of masculine heroism, as it was about a definable illness. By providing England with a 'diagnosis' of 'loss of nerve', Shackleton and others were following Edwardian cultural environmental norms. For Shackleton this idea of manliness meant a positioning of the men, not simply as individuals, but as representatives collectively of the men of the British Nation.<sup>[7]</sup>

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**Poster: ‘Therapy is Change not Adaptation’ – A Case Study on Feminist Therapy in 1970s and 1980s Germany**

**Antonia Sieler, University of Lübeck**

In 1975, the feminist initiative BIFF (Beratung und Information für Frauen) founded the first psychological counselling centre specifically for women in Germany, with the programmatic slogan: ‘Therapy is change, not adaptation’ (BIFF, 1975). It was rooted in the social, intellectual and political milieu of the 1970s - characterised by the second women’s movement (Großmaß, 1986), the popularization of *psy-sciences* (Borgos et al., 2019), and the anti-psychiatry movement (Tändler, 2016). BIFF challenged the patriarchal structures embedded in mainstream psychotherapy. Its practitioners critiqued dominant gender and psychological norms, while proposing a feminist therapeutic approach. This research analyses the emergence and development of BIFF as a historically and epistemologically situated response to its environment.

Drawing on rarely explored archival materials, publications, and oral history interviews, this study applies historical discourse analysis (Sarasin, 2003) and praxeological methods (Reckwitz, 2015) to contextualize the BIFF’s practices. It focuses on two interests:

Firstly, the negotiation of concepts of gender and mental health - BIFF activists sought to empower women through collective identification as women, freeing them from social isolation and psychological suffering. The negotiation of boundaries, in particular, of who qualified as a woman, also underpinned practices of exclusion and inclusion. Debates about the interconnectedness of gender, health and care need to be understood as conflicting within feminist movements and in opposition to mainstream psychology. Secondly, the institutionalization and professionalization of BIFF is of particular interest when analysing the historical environment. The analysis shows how a specific historical moment, with its personal and political constraints and opportunities, allows such an initiative to develop.

By historicizing BIFF within its specific time and place, this study helps to understand the interplay between social movements, spaces of knowledge production, and shifting conceptualizations of gender, mental health and care. It contributes to a systematic understanding of the history of feminist therapy in (Western) Germany.

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## **Women, speech and madness in the 19th century** **Camille Jaccard, Université de Lausanne**

In the 19th century, the language of mentally ill patients gradually came to the attention of doctors, who sought to identify the symptoms of madness and clarify their diagnoses. As a result, alienists invented methods for collecting patients' speech and established criteria for deciding whether these data were pathological. This presentation will look at how gender norms shaped this clinic of the spoken word and whether women's expression was the subject of a particular approach. The historical analysis will focus on case studies drawn from the scientific literature and archives, reporting the swearing of a marquise, the learned reasoning of a young peasant girl, the dialogues of the first French woman psychiatrist with her patients, and invented language associated with hypnotic or hysterical states.

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**Helene Deutsch's Place in the History of Psychoanalysis**  
**Miriam Bergen, University of Groningen**

In the early 20th century, psychoanalysis emerged as both a revolutionary intellectual movement and a reflection of its time. It was an era of rapid social change, shifting gender norms, and women's struggle for professional recognition. We find amidst these historical changes Helene Deutsch, a figure who embodies both the potential of psychoanalysis and its contradictions. A student of Sigmund Freud, Deutsch carved out a space for herself in a male-dominated field, becoming one of its first female practitioners, the first director of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Institute and a pioneer in the psychology of women. She made significant contributions to the field, yet her legacy remains curiously overlooked. While some scholars recognize her as a pioneer in psychoanalytic thought (Sayers, 1991), others dismiss or neglect her work altogether (Webster, 1985; Wimpfheimer & Schafer, 1977). This discrepancy raises key questions about intellectual authority, institutional recognition, and the ways in which women's contributions to psychoanalysis have been historically framed.

One of the most intriguing aspects of Deutsch's career is her complex relationship with Freud. She was regarded as one of his most loyal followers and was even considered a favourite of his (Roazen, 1985). While this close affiliation helped her establish credibility in a male-dominated field, it may have also constrained her intellectual independence in the eyes of later scholars. Unlike figures such as Karen Horney and Melanie Klein, who openly challenged Freud, Deutsch remained largely within his theoretical framework, a stance that may have contributed to her mixed reception.

Deutsch's work intersects with some of the most pressing intellectual debates of her time, particularly concerning gender, identity, and the evolving dynamics between patient and therapist. Her landmark contributions, including *The Psychology of Women* (1944–1945), explored crucial aspects of female experience, such as motherhood, sexuality, and emotional development. She examined the psychological conflicts women face in their development, often emphasizing the tension between independence and traditional gender roles. However, her theories, such as her views on female masochism, passivity and the idea that women's fulfilment is primarily linked to motherhood, have been met with both admiration and critique. Some scholars argue that her work reinforced patriarchal norms, while others view her as a radical thinker who expanded psychoanalysis to include the female experience in ways previously unexplored (Webster, 1985). This divergence in interpretation reflects broader tensions in the field regarding the role of gender in shaping psychoanalytic theory.

This presentation will examine the varying portrayals of Deutsch in the literature, analysing the works that discuss her contributions. I will begin with an overview of the relevant literature, highlighting key differences in how she has been represented. Some sources depict her as an essential figure in the development of female psychology, while others critique her theoretical positions. By comparing these perspectives, I will explore the possible reasons behind her inconsistent legacy.

Ultimately, this presentation seeks to show how a woman can be simultaneously celebrated and dismissed for her pioneering work on the psychology of women, for her loyalty to Freud, and for her role as a practicing psychoanalyst. Deutsch's case serves as a lens through which we can examine the complexities of intellectual authority, gender, and historical memory in psychoanalysis. Recognizing the contradictions in her legacy not only deepens our understanding of psychoanalytic history but also prompts us to reconsider the ways in which women's contributions to intellectual thought are remembered or forgotten.

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### **Break on Through: Betty Eisner's Problematic Use of Psychedelics, Groups, and Control for Integrative Experiences**

**Patric Plesa, Toronto Metropolitan University**

Betty Eisner represents a prominent figure in the “golden age” of psychedelics research, as well as a cautionary tale about questionable therapeutic practices, exercising authority and control, and

the misuse of psychedelics during the counterculture of the 1960s and 70s. Situating her work and the consequences of her problematic practices in the counterculture, the Human Potential Movement, and integrative experiences helps provide some context for the decline of the first wave of psychedelics research and the more cautious and conservative approach to the second wave of psychedelics research. Some of the dangers associated with figures like Eisner, and consequently the first wave of psychedelics, may help explain the slower development of group therapy approaches and the inclusion of social context in the second wave focus on psychedelic-assisted psychotherapy.

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### **The Milieu of “Transplantation”: Racism, Psychosis, and a West African Practice of Psychoanalysis in 1960s Paris**

**Mischa Suter, Geneva Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies**

The proposed paper presentation engages with a group of West African psychoanalysts working in Paris in the sixties. Based on archival materials, the paper zeroes in on the group’s concept of “transplantation”, that is to say, the ways the group made sense of the psychological conditions of African migrants. To that aim, the paper takes George Canguilhem’s notion of “milieu” as a theoretical lens to examine the clinical practice of the group (Canguilhem 1952/65; for explorations of Canguilhem’s concept of “milieu” in African history, see Hunt 2015).

Founded in 1961 by Solange Faladé, a Dahomey-born Lacanian analyst, the *institut d’ethnopsychopathologie africaine* investigated the social-psychological situation of African migrants, notably students and factory workers. I argue that the group undertook three epistemological displacements that are of significance for a historical reconstruction: a vista on Europe as seen from West Africa; a shift away from neurosis and towards psychosis as the main object of psychoanalytic therapy; a move from a focus on “culture” to an inquiry into the dynamics of racism, as experienced by African migrants in France. In the process, the group thought about subject-formation in new ways, pointing out the salience of racist hostility for subject formation.

The theoretical problem of subject-formation was approached by Faladé and her collaborators from the clinical vantage point of “bouffe délirante”, a specific form of psychosis they encountered in their patients.

While other experiments in what in the period of decolonization came to be termed “ethnopsychanalysis” built up on psychoanalytically inclined cultural anthropology (in particular, the US culture-and-personality movement; see Devereux 1951, 1978, Parin, Morgenthaler, Parin-Matthèy 1963, 1971; Meyerowitz 2010) and thus advanced “culture” to a main *explanans*, the group around Faladé refrained from wholistic models of culture. Instead, with their idea of transplantation, they highlighted specific social, experiential conditions in patients’ personal trajectories. To that end, the group took up Frantz Fanon’s considerations on the white gaze (Fanon 1952). They moreover focused on what they called the “image of the body”, as it appeared in patients’ self-descriptions, as a means for deciphering patients’ psychotic episodes. The work of this group thus represents a steppingstone in the entwined genealogies of psychoanalysis and the body in theories of racism (Mbembe 2017; Boni/Mendelsohn 2021).

Taken together, the group’s perspectives represent a crucial node to posit decolonization as an analytic frame for the 1960s’ avalanche of experiments in subject-formation (Deleuze/Guattari 1972; Herzog 2017; Robcis 2013, 2021). In that sense, the paper is part of a larger book project that attempts to write the history of African decolonization into the history of psychoanalysis on one hand, and on the other, to retrace decolonization’s political-epistemological reverberations in Europe.

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### **Intimate Extractions: Epistemology and Emotion in the Work of Reservation Physicians Courtney Thompson, Mississippi State University**

Settler colonialism is the dominant construct through which the American West and the work of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been understood by scholars, especially for the post-Civil War period. Following Ann Laura Stoler's accounts of the intimacy of settler colonialism, I consider what this intimacy made possible for physicians assigned to reservations. First, I suggest that, due to the role of these men as Agency physicians, the intimacy of settler colonialism enabled a particular form of *extractive* colonialism—and what was extracted was an episteme of indigeneity itself, one focused on Indigenous bodies, health, and health practices. The reservation context and settler colonialism enabled the extractive processes which allowed Agency physicians to produce composite epistemologies of indigeneity as “salvage clinicians,” in Adria Imada's terms.

Second, intimate colonialism also encompasses emotion-work, both the expression of emotion and the observation of emotion of others. Of course, intimate colonialism engendered emotional responses in itself—consider, for example, the emotions roused by the removal of Indigenous children from their homes and families, to be reeducated at boarding schools. But here I focus on the emotional responses of white, male physicians to their roles as healthcare providers, researchers, and experimenters making use of these frontier spaces. The subaltern status of Indigenous patients was one factor that shaped the emotional responses of Agency physicians, allowing them the emotional distance to transform patients into subjects. However, this disaffection was incomplete, challenged by face-to-face encounters with these same patients and the process of witnessing their trials.

Extraction, episteme, and emotion were thus intertwined within the work of Agency physicians, enabled by the intimacy of settler colonialism. In this talk, I use the manuscripts and other materials produced by Andrew Bowles Holder, Josiah Janney Best, and Charles Buchanan on indigeneity and health in the late nineteenth century to reveal the tensions between settler



colonial medical rhetoric and lived reality on the reservation. The writings of these physicians often replicated then-current beliefs about the “Vanishing Indian” and the insalubrious nature of Indigenous practices. Yet these Agency physicians *also* challenged the very project of assimilation, suggesting the fault for the decline of Indigenous populations’ health, mortality, and morality should be placed at the feet of the white settler government and army. Their emotional responses to the travails of Indigenous peoples under settler colonialism—though tempered by their assumptions of white superiority—ultimately shaped the sharp critiques they directed towards the very system and government for which they labored. I thus unpack both the epistemological work *and* the emotional responses of Agency physicians to this extractive project embedded within settler colonialism on the reservation.

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## **Mental anatopism, déracinement and ecological psychiatry: French psychiatry perspectives on Migration**

**Marianna Scarfone, University of Strasbourg**

Through an historical exploration of psychiatric responses to migration in mid-20th-century France, this paper aims to question the enduring impact of colonial legacies on mental health systems and contemporary concerns about racialized diagnoses (Keller 2007, Fassin-Rechtman 2005, Shepard 2017).

After analysing the concepts of *anatopisme mental* and *déracinement* as ‘ecological’ explanations for psychiatric troubles and social maladaptation (Courbon 1932, Sivadon 1948), this paper will explore some institutional spaces where the psychopathology of migration emerged and developed in mid-20th-century France, where a key concern was the North African migrant population, with its ambiguous administrative status and its increasing number in industrial cities. In Marseille, Dr. Alliez sought to attribute to different “ethnic groups” specific psychological characteristics, reverberating in their psychopathology. In Paris, Dr. Daumézon conducted a significant statistical and demographic study of North African patients at Sainte-Anne asylum. Meanwhile, in Lyon, some young doctors working under Professor Dechaume—including Dr. Fanon, Dr. Colin, and Dr. Sanchez—began to reflect on issues of uprooting, poor social conditions among immigrants, and the pervasive effects of racism.

By examining these psychiatrists’ observations—often deeply inspired by social sciences (Bastide, 1965)—this paper will trace the development of different frameworks for understanding migrants’ suffering (Sayad, 1999) in the 1950s and 1960s. Some explanations remained rooted in colonial perspectives, essentializing race and culture (Boittelle, 1952). Others combined ethnic and sociological factors in an “ethnosociological” approach (Alliez, 1950). Still, others condemned the social deprivation migrants endured, leading to a “social psychopathology” approach, where the milieu factors played a dominant role (Le Guillant, 1954). Showing the progressive transition to a more social-informed framework, this contribution aims also at highlighting how social sciences gradually entered the psychiatric field through the multifaceted analysis of migrants’ experiences they offered, becoming an essential tool for any psychiatric perspective that seeks to address the role of social environment.

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## **The Heymans Cube at the intersection of psychology and education in the Netherlands**

### **Rinske Roos Vermeij, University of Groningen**

Gerard Heymans (1857-1930) was a philosopher who became the first Dutch psychologist, founding the first psychological laboratory in the Netherlands. In 1905, Heymans started his investigations of what eventually became his three-dimensional temperamental typology, 'the Heymans Cube'. This personality theory was based on a study of over one hundred biographies, as well as three questionnaire inquiries that collectively yielded thousands of individual descriptions (Vermeij, 2023). The cube was meant as a tool to navigate daily life by giving people insight into individual personality differences, and it became a widely known phenomenon in the Netherlands (van Strien, 1993). One important audience with an interest in the cube were teachers, and this paper will focus on how Heymans engaged with teachers and pedagogues in relation to the cube.

The 1910's are a fascinating period for psychology in the Netherlands. Generally, in the first decades of the 20th century, the interests of (Dutch) psychologists and pedagogues were largely aligned (van Hilvoorde, 2002). Pedagogy was a primary audience for psychological work (Derksen, 1999). However, the idea of Psychology as an autonomous scientific discipline was just starting to be entertained, and that meant that researchers and practitioners started to explicitly debate and negotiate psychology's boundaries, methods and topics in relation to neighbouring

disciplines. This led to tensions between the disciplines of pedagogy, education and psychology, and a closer investigation of the cube provides window into these tensions.

There are various ways the teachers engaged with Heymans' theory. His university courses were broadly attended, also attracting teachers and pedagogues. A few of those teachers then wrote educational materials on child psychology, one example being pedagogue Otto Barendsen who based his *Eenvoudige zielkunde*, a teacher training booklet, almost entirely on Heymans' lectures. However, the exchange between Heymans and teachers was far from one-directional. The major part of the cube's data came from teachers whom Heymans had requested to fill out questionnaires based on their own students (*de schoolenquête*). This led to a back-and-forth in which the teachers made suggestions regarding the questionnaires, and Heymans, in turn, consulted the teachers to make sense of the results. Using correspondence, teacher journals and conference proceedings, this paper will delve into this process of co-construction that occurred around the questionnaire.

This analysis yields a complex picture. On the one hand, Heymans managed to benefit from the networks and questions that were already in place, in order to recruit and engage the teachers for the advancement of his theory. On the other hand, discussions in the teacher journals suggest that his theoretical views did not blend well with the teachers' experiences and practical knowledge of the classroom (Gunning, 1913). When Heymans finally presented the results of the school-questionnaire at the first Dutch Paedological Congress, the proceedings show that his presentation elicited a critical response (Bussy, 1913). However, to characterize the teachers as a unified group does also not do justice to the various viewpoints and level of acceptance that they had for the theory that Heymans proposed. Finally, Heymans' pursuit of objective information and truth will be problematized as his data was mobilized within heated issues about political topics such as religious education and the education of women.

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**The Computational Rift: Diverging Tools and Methods in Academic and Corporate  
Psychology**  
**Alja Pehar, University of Ljubljana**

Since the emergence of contemporary psychology in the late 19th century, quantitative research methods derived from the natural sciences have been fundamental to its establishment as a scientific discipline and its consolidation as a socially relevant field (Danziger, 1994). The adoption of scientific practices—particularly carefully designed and controlled experiments—during this early era helped define the object of psychological inquiry and laid the foundation for statistical investigation (Stigler, 1992). Between 1940 and 1955, inferential statistics was introduced and rapidly institutionalized as a core component of scientific psychology's methodological toolkit (Gigerenzer et al., 1990; Gigerenzer & Murray, 1987).

The introduction of inferential statistics in the first half of the 20th century provided psychology with a standardized framework for analyzing research data. The set of statistical tools that became known as null hypothesis significance testing (NHST) offered relatively straightforward decision rules for drawing conclusions based on empirical data. The consolidation of this unified statistical framework fostered the growth of psychology as a discipline in the latter half of the 20th century (Flis & van Eck, 2018). At the same time, the previously fragmented field coalesced around a common methodological core, while its practical relevance was further legitimized through the assertion of quantitative objectivity.

Despite its persistent dominance in scientific psychology, the seemingly monolithic statistical framework used in psychological research is by no means the only approach to handling data and drawing conclusions. Alongside the NHST framework, other statistical paradigms developed in parallel (e.g. Bayesian statistics; Edwards et al., 1963), but only found wider application in the 21st century. Driven by increasing computational power, improved computational algorithms and larger data sets, the early 2000s saw a major shift in mainstream statistics, characterized by a rapidly growing number of tools for modeling increasingly large and complex data structures (e.g. machine learning and predictive modeling).

Although these novel statistical and data science methods have been partially integrated into psychological research, they have yet to be widely institutionalized. Their application is often accompanied by the promise of addressing methodological concerns exposed by the replication

crisis in the social and behavioral sciences during the 2010s. However, the integration of applied statistical and computational research with psychology has grown significantly over the past decade, particularly in contexts outside academia (Keuschnigg et al., 2018; Lazer et al., 2020). Psychological concepts and theories have formed a remarkably strong bond with computational and statistical tools in other domains, such as business and government (Stark, 2018). The discrepancy between methodological developments in academic psychology and the successful coupling of computational tools and psychology in other fields, such as computer science, has been noted previously and raises concerns about whether psychological science can maintain its relevance in the information age (Lazer et al., 2009; Kosinski et al., 2016).

In this paper, I aim to trace the rise and adoption of new statistical and data models in contemporary psychological research between 2000 and 2025. While this will not be an exhaustive overview of the evolving statistical toolkit, I will outline key events, interdisciplinary debates, and tensions surrounding the expansion of computational approaches in psychological research in the 21st century.

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**Nature as Metaphor: Epistemological and Conceptual Implications in Psychology**  
**Rafael Alves Lima, University of São Paulo (USP)**

Metaphors, often relegated to the status of mere rhetorical ornaments, play a foundational role in the development of science, particularly in psychology. Since its emergence as a scientific discipline in the late 19th century, psychology has relied on metaphors to translate, illustrate, and conceptualize phenomena that would otherwise remain inarticulable. Terms such as stream of consciousness, introduced by William James, evoke images of fluidity and continuity, shaping the understanding of thought as a dynamic and uninterrupted experience (James, 1952). Similarly, expressions like cognitive gears apply the logic of machinery to the mind, reflecting the influence of the Industrial Revolution and cybernetics (Searle, 1992). Freud also has his own repertoire of metaphors, which includes the topical representation through the image of an iceberg as well as his famous essay on the Wunderblock (Spence, 1987). The metaphor of development, widely adopted in the theories from Piaget to Bowlby, encapsulates a teleological vision of human beings as organisms evolving through stages, carrying cultural and normative assumptions about progress, maturity, and self-realization (Vicedo, 2013).

These metaphors, however, are not neutral. They do not merely describe psychological phenomena but actively participate in their construction, influencing both research methodologies and the interpretation of data. This performative function of metaphors has been explored by scholars such as Kurt Danziger (1997) and Douwe Draaisma (2000), who examined the historicity of psychological concepts, or, in a broader sense, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (2003), and Hans Blumenberg (2010), who emphasized the role of metaphor in structuring human thought and scientific language. In psychology, metaphors are not simply communicative tools; they are epistemological strategies that reveal the interplay between scientific inquiry and the values, ideologies, and cultural contexts in which they emerge.

Metaphors thus constitute an arena of epistemological negotiation, where different scientific and philosophical traditions contest the meanings attributed to psychological phenomena. This work seeks to investigate metaphors as critical moments of conceptual effort, exposing the tensions and commitments underlying psychological theories. We will take as our starting point the collection *Metaphors in the History of Psychology*, edited by David E. Leary, a work that can serve as a guide for this discussion (Leary, 1990). In turn, Jacques Derrida, in *Margins of Philosophy*, warns against the fossilization of metaphors, where originally creative images become rigid concepts, obscuring their historical and contingent nature (Derrida, 1982). Similarly, Jacques Bouveresse highlights how analogies and metaphors can serve either to clarify or distort, depending on their application (Bouveresse, 1999).

Thus, the study of metaphor in psychology transcends linguistic or rhetorical analysis, emerging as an inquiry into the epistemological foundations of psychology as a discipline. By examining how metaphors function within psychological discourse, this work seeks to uncover the

power dynamics, historical contingencies, and creative processes that shape the construction of psychological knowledge. It aims to demonstrate how, through metaphorical frameworks, psychologists not only translate the complexity of the mind and behavior but also project their own cultural, philosophical, and scientific assumptions onto the objects they study. Ultimately, this work sheds light on the ways in which metaphor mediates psychological theory and practice, influencing the conceptualization of human development and mental processes.

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### **The “Other” Genius: A Historical Approach to Gender, Precocity and Talent**

**Victoria Molinari & Marta Ramírez Morillo, MSCA Postdoctoral Researcher - IMF CSIC**

The figure of “the genius” has traditionally been defined through the masculine Romantic ideal—a heroic individual who battles against all odds to achieve significant artistic, political, and scientific accomplishments. However, historical conceptions of genius have been far more complex, shaped by intersecting ideas of gender, age, disability, and sexuality (McMahon, 2013). The scientific discourses of the 19th and early 20th centuries, particularly in fields such as phrenology, early psychology, and psychiatry, sought to explain genius as an innate quality, often linked to specific physical or psychological traits. Yet these interpretations were deeply informed by broader social values, reinforcing some stereotypes while marginalizing others (Chaplin & McMahon, 2016). Thus, the recognition of genius and the conditions surrounding it depended on evolving medical, scientific, and cultural frameworks.



This panel examines the ambiguous and contested ways in which genius was defined during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Western Europe and the USA. It focuses on how medical and psychological sciences classified exceptional talent and intelligence through categories like gender, sexuality, precocity, and disability. The three papers in this roundtable investigate other types and notions of genius, such as precocious children, the idiot savant, and the asexual genius, to explore how genius was conceptualized at the intersection of ability, pathology, and social norms.

The first paper addresses how the relationship between genius, marriage, and sexuality was debated in the 19th and early 20th centuries. While genius was often framed as an inherently masculine trait, scientific and literary discourses frequently suggested that extraordinary intellectual ability required detachment from conventional domestic life, including sexual relationships, which suggested a feminization of genius. The idea that genius was linked to celibacy—whether voluntary or pathological—played a key role in discussions of both male and female intellectuals, shaping broader anxieties about gender, reproduction, and heredity (Delap, 2016). This paper explores how the association between genius and asexuality reinforced scientific and cultural assumptions about intellectual exceptionalism and its contributions to society.

The second paper examines the role of precocity in 19th-century debates on genius. Many intellectuals and scientists of the time believed that true genius manifested early in life, as seen in prodigies like Mozart and Pascal. However, as Joseph Kett (1978) argues, the term “precocity” historically carried a dual meaning—it was both celebrated as a sign of human potential and pathologized as a condition requiring medical intervention. Some experts warned that excessive intellectual activity in childhood could lead to physical and mental exhaustion, reinforcing the idea that genius came at a cost (Rawlins, 2006). This twofold conception of precocity—both as an extraordinary gift and as a potential threat to one’s well-being— influenced how societies structured education and approached intellectual development.

The third paper explores the category of the idiot savant, a concept developed in 19th-century psychiatry to describe individuals who exhibited extraordinary intellectual abilities alongside significant cognitive impairments. The term, introduced by figures like John Langdon Down and Édouard Séguin, positioned these individuals within broader debates on mental deficiency and human variation. While some saw savant abilities as a paradoxical form of genius, others used the category to delineate the boundaries of normal and pathological intelligence. By tracing the medical and cultural history of the idiot savant, this paper examines how scientific and popular discourses negotiated the limits of talent and disability, and the impact this had on the way in which society was ordered (Carson, 2007).

By bringing together these three perspectives, this panel challenges dominant narratives of genius and highlights how scientific and medical frameworks constructed, constrained, and redefined intellectual exceptionality across different historical contexts. Through the analysis of psychological, psychiatric, and medical discourses, we explore the shifting boundaries between ability and pathology, the tensions between innate talent and social conditioning, and the enduring cultural significance of genius beyond the Romantic ideal.

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**Androgynous Genius: Marriage, Celibacy, and Sexual Nonconformity in Europe (1870-1920)**

**Victoria Molinari, Institución Milà i Fontanals (CSIC)**

The 19th century saw an increasing tension between the ideals of marriage and the concept of genius. While marriage was framed as a stabilizing institution central to bourgeois respectability, genius was often depicted as a solitary, erratic, and even pathological condition. This paper examines how scientific and literary discourses positioned genius in relation to marriage and sexuality, exploring its implications for gender roles, eugenic discourse, and social order.

Romantic and degenerationist theories alike portrayed genius as incompatible with conventional domestic life, reinforcing the idea that intellectual greatness required detachment from bodily and emotional distractions, including sexual desire. Figures such as Cesare Lombroso (1872) and William Hirsch (1897) associated genius with nervous disorders, celibacy, or even sterility, suggesting that marriage and sexuality could hinder intellectual achievement. At the same time, Victorian and positivist thinkers, especially within evolutionary and hereditary sciences, framed marriage as a duty for the preservation of superior traits. Francis Galton’s early eugenic ideas emphasized selective reproduction (Galton, 1892), highlighting anxieties about heredity, degeneration, and intellectual decline.

This paradox between the perceived desexualization of genius and the imperative to reproduce intelligence raises critical questions about the historical construction of genius and sexuality. While male geniuses were often exempt from marital and domestic expectations, women of exceptional intellect were frequently accused of frigidity or unnatural celibacy (Battersby, 1990; Elfenbein, 1998). Their intellectual ambitions were framed as inherently incompatible with both marriage and normative sexuality, reinforcing the association between female genius and sexual

deviance. For both men and women, the inability or unwillingness to conform to traditional gender roles positioned genius as mentally androgynous or hermaphrodites.

By analyzing medical treatises and literary representations, this paper explores how 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> -century debates on genius, marriage, and sexuality reflected broader concerns about gender norms, asexuality, and the biological future of humanity in an era shaped by degeneration theory.

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## **Defining Genius: Precocity, Intellectual Achievement, and Gender in the 19th Century**

**Marta Ramírez Morillo, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB), Barcelona**

The concept of genius, as understood in modern terms - denoting individuals with exceptional creativity or intellectual abilities – gradually took shape in the early modern period and gained prominence in the eighteenth century. By the nineteenth century, research on genius had expanded significantly, encompassing various dimensions such as gender, childhood development, and the perceived link between genius and madness. Concurrently, there was an increasing interest in deviations from normative model of child growth and maturation (Shuttleworth, 2010), particularly in Anglo-American and European contexts. This renewed focus led to a fascination with precocity and its relationship with genius.

In the late nineteenth century, precocity was examined in relation to contemporary theories of genius. British psychologist and philosopher James Sully (1842-1923) played a foundational role in this discourse with his paper, “Genius and Precocity” (1886), where he outlined a general theory of the relationship between rank of talent and the rate of development. His work laid the groundwork for subsequent studies by American psychologist Joseph Jastrow (1868-1944) and British physician John Langdon Down (1828-1896), who further explored and refined the relationship between early achievements and genius.

This first part of the talk will analyse the dialogue established among these scholars and how each shaped, modified, and constrained the concept of precocity concerning genius. Key

notions such as age, success, and productivity will be examined to highlight their evolving perspectives. By comparing their findings, we can gain insight into how precocity was positioned within the broader discourse on greatness.

The second part of this lecture will examine gender's role in the interplay between genius and precocity. Nineteenth century research predominantly focused on male figures, reinforcing the idea of genius as inherently male. Although some studies included eminent women (Sully, 1886; Jastrow, 1888; Langdon-Down; 1907), their treatment differed significantly from that of their male counterparts. Finally, I will explore how gendered views of precocity shaped societal expectations and academic discourse. This analysis highlights how genius was framed differently based on gender, incorporating female voices reflecting on their experiences. Understanding these biases helps reveal their lasting influence on modern conceptions of genius.

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***Idiots Savants: The medical construction of a genius disabled 'Other', c.1850-1920***

**Violeta Ruiz, Institución Milà i Fontanals (CSIC)**

This paper explores how Western society grappled with the relationship between talent and disability during the second half of the nineteenth century, by analysing the emergence of the figure of the idiot savant. Since the establishment of the Republican nations of the Enlightenment, the notion of talent was a driving marker for the distribution of rights and responsibilities within these societies (Carson, 2007). The sciences of the mind became central in this period to explain the apparent paradox of exceptional talent and intellectual disability, in a society that attributed great importance to individual merit as a way to legitimise governance (Thornton, 2022). As

historians have shown, idiocy was widely accepted because it fulfilled an important social-symbolic function: the concept of the "idiot" evolved into a contrasting group that helped modern individuals define themselves as rational and intelligent, reinforcing their claims to respect and authority (McDonagh, 2011). However, the figure of the idiot savant – characterised by their exceptional skills in a particular ability (mathematical, musical, or artistic), while demonstrating an impairment in the rest of their mental faculties – constituted a problem for the legitimisation of this social order.

This paper analyses the medical discourse surrounding the figure of the idiot savant in the late 19th century to explore how physicians dealt with the threat that they posed to notions of talent. Appearing as a medical type in the last third of the nineteenth century, its naming occurred at the intersections of broader medical discussions regarding the boundaries of idiocy, the nature of genius and the problem of precocity. Physicians like James Langdon Down (1828 - 1896) in the UK and Eduard Séguin in the USA (1812 – 1880) proposed different ways to understand these individuals that had broader implications to the role that intellectually disabled people were given in society. Physicians offered different explanations for the phenomenon that ranged from neurological abnormalities to an extraordinary ability to imitate and memorise information – explanations that sought to limit the social value generally attributed to talented individuals. At the same time, however, this paper shows that these interpretations did not necessarily impact the idiot savant's capacity for creation and expression. Figures like the US American pianist and composer Thomas "Blind Tom" Wiggins (1849-1908) and the British woodworking sculptor James Henry Pullen (1835 – 1916) were able to carry out their art regardless of the medical discussions that belittled their talent (Tambling, 2020; Wright, 2023). Indeed, taking a cue from disability studies (McRuer, 2006), the paper argues that the very existence of talented intellectually disabled individuals constitutes a threat to the ableist heteronormative paradigm that continues to dominate today.

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### **Explaining Human Behavior with Biology: Behavioral Sciences, Ethology and Sociobiology in the 1960s and 1970s**

**Cora Stuhmann, Cécile Hauser, Rüdiger Graf & Philippe Fontaine**

Recent scholarship in the history of the social sciences during the Cold War has identified two influential developments for the configuration of the field: the lasting impact of state-sponsored social science research during World War II and the importance of interdisciplinarity. Both developments also shaped the so-called Behavioral Revolution of the 1950s and 1960s. In the aftermath of World War II, the prediction and control of behavior became a central concern for both politics and science. Researchers sought to understand the mechanisms driving human actions, conceptualizing behavior as an independent category that could be studied apart from individual motives and desires. However, the rise of the behavioral sciences as an interdisciplinary research field did not only encompass such social science disciplines as psychology, sociology, anthropology and economics, but also drew from biological disciplines such as ethology and sociobiology.

How did biological knowledge contribute to the understanding of human behavior? This question is at the core of the three case studies presented in this panel, which explore the ways in which different social science disciplines engaged with biological knowledge in order to explain human behavior—and vice versa—during the 1960s and 1970s in West-Germany and the USA. Rather than attributing behavior to individual choices alone, many biologists argued that to explain and guide human actions successfully, they must be examined through the lens of biology. They emphasized the ways behavioral impulses were shaped by instincts or evolutionary imperatives. Biological-minded behavioral scientists theorized about common evolutionary principles, undertook cross-species comparisons and enlisted behavioral analogies in order to offer practical applications for addressing contemporary societal and geopolitical challenges.

However, the incorporation of biological knowledge into the human sciences was far from uniform. The debates of the era were not merely framed as a simple dichotomy between nature and nurture but rather as complex interactions at the boundaries of the biological and social sciences. Some scholars embraced biological explanations, while others criticized them for

oversimplifying human behavior and ignoring cultural, social, and psychological dimensions. The tensions between these perspectives shaped the trajectory of behavioral research, influencing disciplines such as psychology, anthropology, sociology, and economics. Three case studies highlight the intricate interplay between biology and the behavioral sciences in shaping understandings of human behavior.

The chosen case studies highlight different modi of interaction between biology and social sciences, ranging from applying ethological methods to humans, urging social scientists to adopt an evolutionary theory frame of analysis or integrating inspiration drawn from animalistic analogies into economic models of decision-making. Behavioral economists used animal behavior analogies to gain insights into the human decision-making processes. This was thought to provide valuable strategies for designing effective governance and regulation systems. Trained ethologists like Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt applied their methods to the cross-cultural study of human aggression. In doing so they aimed to generate insights into sustaining global peace. Similarly, according to E.O. Wilson's sociobiological perspective understanding patterns of social behavior across species was necessary to inform social engineering efforts aimed at preserving social order and environmental resources. All of these case studies reflect a broader scientific and political optimism that biological knowledge could be harnessed to guide human societies toward, peace, progress and prosperity by channeling destructive impulses and guiding human behavior.

**“Specimen of Reality” – Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Aggression in the Kalahari, 1963-1975**  
**Cécile Hauser (LMU Munich)**

In the 1960s, Konrad Lorenz' *On Aggression* had a major impact on public discussions about human nature. While Lorenz' as a public and scientific figure and the American reception of the book have been studied in recent years, this paper follows the reverberations effected by *On Aggression* down a very different path. It reconstructs how a group of human ethologists in Bavaria switched from studying animals to studying humans and travelled to the Kalahari Desert in Botswana to collect data on aggression. This group, led by Lorenz' successor Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt subsequently became involved in contentious debates within the American anthropological community about territoriality and the role of biology in explaining human behavior. These anthropological discussions were also popularly disseminated within West-Germany, for example by psychotherapist Wolfgang Schmidbauer. His contributions were explicitly aimed at countering the rise of the New Right and their use of ethological concepts in justifying hierarchy and tradition in human societies.

In the paper I examine the way in which these actors in West-Germany from very different disciplinary backgrounds used ethological and anthropological theories of human behavior as they argued for a variety of political measures dealing with the “problem of aggression”. By studying scientific publications in specialized journals, popular literature and private correspondence, I want

to highlight the way in which “aggression” was singled out as a particularly important kind of behavior and how its origins were debated. Especially striking is how these debates used arguments mainly crafted on field sites in the Kalahari Desert, based on observations of cultural environments radically different from those the researchers were used to. Therefore, the “aggression debate” in Germany displayed a complex interplay of different geographical, cultural and disciplinary surroundings and “aggression” ended up as an intellectual battle-field on which much broader societal themes were hotly debated.

**“Whether the social sciences can be truly biologized in this fashion remains to be seen.” –  
The reception of E.O. Wilson’s Sociobiology in the social sciences, 1976-1980  
Cora Stuhmann (LMU Munich)**

When E.O. Wilson's *Sociobiology: The New Synthesis* was published in 1975, it sparked an immediate controversy about applying evolutionary explanations to human social behavior. Wilson’s attempt to treat humans as just another social species was publicly criticized by biologists and social scientists alike, and the debate surrounding this approach continued for several years. This public debate was often seen as yet another round of the nature-nurture debate, concerning the respective influences of genes versus culture or the existence of an innate human nature versus the influence of environmental factors. But far from rejecting sociobiology outright, social science disciplines engaged critically with sociobiology and its ideas of applying an evolutionary perspective to human behavior. Alongside the public debate, yet overshadowed by it, sociobiology was debated in US social science journals, conferences, and edited volumes that appeared between 1975 and 1980.

In these publications, the spectrum of the reception of sociobiology becomes visible: Between embracing the evolutionary and ecological perspective and rejecting sociobiology’s disciplinary imperialistic aims a variety of nuanced and curious reactions to *Sociobiology* can be observed. This paper traces the reception of sociobiology in social science disciplines and argues that engagement with sociobiology influenced the trajectory of psychology, anthropology, and sociology by deepening disciplinary rifts between evolutionary-minded and culturally-minded scholars, mirroring internal divisions between scientific and interpretivist camps. Eventually, these developments contributed to the rise of the evolutionary social/behavioral sciences, as a field of hybrid disciplines that integrated an evolutionary perspective into social science disciplines.

**Homo Economicus and Decision-Making Organisms. Human-Animal Analogies and the  
Production of (Behavioral) Economic Knowledge  
Rüdiger Graf (ZZF Potsdam)**



According to a widespread misunderstanding, twentieth century economists generally believed that human beings were rational and selfish utility maximizers, who knew their well-ordered preferences and acted accordingly. Yet, even neoclassical economists acknowledged that homo economicus was not an adequate description of actual economic behavior. Rather they considered it a necessary assumption if economics was to become an autonomous scientific endeavor. Behavioral economists, in particular, explicitly challenged this idea, trying to develop more adequate models of actual economic behavior. Rejecting human exceptionalism, they understood human beings as decision-making “organisms of limited knowledge and abilities” (Herbert A. Simon) in specific environments.

In the paper, I will examine the methodological and substantive inspirations behavioral economists drew from human-animal analogies and ethology. Starting with early transatlantic attempts to re-formulate economics in behavioral terms in the 1950s, I will focus on its rise since the 1970s. In particular, I will scrutinize what I call the split personality theories of human agency, with which behavioral economists explained decision-making as the outcome of the interaction between a reflective and specifically human, and an automatic, sub-human part of the mind. Examining both scholarly articles and strategy papers disseminated by behavioral public policy think tanks, I will also analyze the political influence of these theories in the governance debates on behavioral regulation in the new millennium.

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## Day Five: Saturday, July 5<sup>th</sup>, 2025

**Egon Brunswik, Johannes Linschoten, and the unity of psychology**  
**René van Hezewijk, Open University in the Netherlands**

When working on the now-finished volume on the life and work of Johannes Linschoten (Van Hezewijk & Stam, 2024). I noticed similarities with the work of Egon Brunswik. Although differing two decades of birth they had been educated in the Austrian and German psychological and philosophical traditions of the first half of the twentieth century.

Their work can best be understood by looking first at the problem situation they encountered when starting their careers. In Vienna, this can be traced to the debate on the proper philosophy of science for psychology (Kusch, 1995, 1999). The tension between the experimentalist (empirical-analytical) natural sciences-oriented view versus the phenomenological *\*Geisteswissenschaftliche\** view had led to challenges in the new science of psychology. I will argue that Brunswik learned from Bühler (who never chose one or the other but used both views) what the problem was in (or with) psychology. Contrary to objects in the ‘other’ natural sciences, psychology’s objects can make reasoned or reasonable judgments in perception and thinking. Often this latter statement is interpreted through the methodological, epistemological filter. To become a real science psychologists had to do what the physicists do: experiments. Or explicitly *not* what the physicists do: phenomenologize.

What was ignored was the metaphysical problem. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century there were more discussions in the natural sciences about the metaphysics of their enterprise, than about their a priori methods. Almost all of these instruments were developed after the theory was suggested.

This was acknowledged by at least a few psychologists in the first part of the 20th century. I would count Bühler and Brunswik among them. In his *Krise*, Bühler analyzed the problem very clearly, suggesting that the unity of psychology could be found by accepting some sort of complementary principle à la William James, except that in psychology the complementarity of three aspects would be involved (Bühler, 1927).

Brunswik studied engineering, became an assistant to Karl Bühler but also frequented the meetings of the Wiener Kreis (Benetka, 1997). He started his career demonstrating psychological experiments for Bühler’s students. He soon began working on size constancy. After emigrating to the USA Brunswik spent the rest of his career looking for a solution to the tension between natural science and *Geisteswissenschaftliche* approach such that the unity of the sciences, including psychology, would be preserved. In the predominantly experimental oriented USA this was poorly recognized (Brunswik, 1934, 1952, 1956; Wieser, 2018).

Linschoten was a member of the alleged Utrecht School of Frederik Buytendijk, the phenomenologist with roots in the European psychological and philosophical tradition. He started his career in the late 1940s at Utrecht University, where some psychologists claimed that phenomenology was the only answer to what psychology was or should be about. Initially,

Linschoten seemed to agree, as can be concluded from the many articles he wrote in the phenomenological tradition (Linschoten, 1949, 1954, 1955). However, from the start, he also conducted experimental work. In his PhD thesis on binocular depth perception, he reports of 130 experiments (Linschoten, 1956). His later work also reflects his preoccupation with the tension between phenomenology and empirical psychology (Linschoten, 1959, 1964). In our biography, we claim that he advised to not choose one or the other as a definitive and exclusive approach (reductionism) but only as a temporary reduction to understand the relation between a person's situation and reaction (Van Hezewijk & Stam, 2024)

I will point at several clues, if not cues, in their work which suggest the theoretical (not experimental) focus on the unity of psychology led to partially resembling, partially differing solutions to the most fundamental problem of psychology.

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**“A strange coincidence, or perhaps I should say a misfortune”. The experiments of Wundt and Helmholtz on perception of the visual field between 1851-1867**

**Juan David Millán, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso (Chile) & Universidad Santo Tomás (Chile)**

There's not much written about the relationship between Wundt and Helmholtz, and most of it comes down to ‘rumours,’ a term used by psychologist and historian Edwing Boring to describe certain events that marked the relationship between the two. Among the most notable events are, for example, that Wundt was forced to resign from Helmholtz's laboratory because he had proved incapable of carrying out the mathematical work he was asked to do. Another rumour that became popular at the time was that Wundt's ‘almost certain’ failure to be appointed Helmholtz's successor to the chair of physiology in Heidelberg was a manifestation of a possible personal rivalry. These issues, which may seem trivial and anecdotal, are essential for a more detailed analysis of both intellectual projects. This article analysed the research on the formation of the visual field carried out by Helmholtz and Wundt respectively. In the case of Wundt, a total of  $N = 18$  minor texts published between 1858 and 1863 were used. Most of these texts ( $N = 7$ ) correspond to transcripts of lectures given by Wundt in Heidelberg, including: *On the History of the Theory of Vision* [Geschichte der Theorie des Sehens], *On the Movements of the Eye* [Über die Bewegungen des Auges], *On the Origin of Brightness* [Über die Entstehung des Glanzes], among others. The Scientific reports ( $N=3$ ) and news and/or acquisitions of equipment ( $N = 3$ ) published in scientific journals were also analysed. Four articles published under the title *Beiträge zur Theorie der Sinneswahrnehmungen* in the *Zeitschrift für rationelle Medizin* between 1858 and 1861 were also analysed. Two years later, these were republished together in book form under the same title, which became Wundt's second book. Helmholtz's articles published between 1851 and 1867, when he published his famous book *Handbuch der physiologischen Optik*, were also analysed. On the one hand, Wundt considered Helmholtz's work on the physiological theories of perception to be ‘a kind of conclusion’ and, in this sense, Wundt, who at that time had the same theoretical interests, thought that it would be best to develop a project that had another ‘starting point’. In this sense, Wundt considered that the great difference between his experimental psychology project and Helmholtz's physiological optics was that the former considered sensory perception as a psychological problem, while the latter sought to interpret sensory perception by physiological means. In his *Handbuch*, Helmholtz distanced

himself from Wundt's hypotheses on the effects of eye movements and muscle innervation sensations on the evaluation of distances in the visual field, he acknowledged that a decade earlier there had been opposition and aversion to psychological research in the field of vision, which led to the work of Wundt and other physiologists and physicists such as Wheatstone, Volkmann, Meyer, Nagel, and Classen being ignored for many years. Before the publication of his *Handbuch*, Helmholtz showed an emerging interest in evaluating some psychological hypotheses regarding the formation of visual space more seriously, and it was not until 1863 that he referred to Wundt's texts written years earlier. Four years later, he made an explicit criticism of his texts. In this sense, this work presented in greater detail the theoretical, procedural, experimental and technical differences between the two, based on experiments that were little publicised and discussed by Wundtian historiography.

### **Empathy in Titchenerian laboratories: between kynaesthesia, objects and imagination**

**Arthur Arruda Leal Ferreira César Pessoa Pimentel & Marcus Vinícius Amaral do Gama Santos, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro**

In the history of psychology, one can find mentions of the terms sympathy and empathy as ways of conceiving relationships between the self and others. Authors such as Lauren Wispé (1986) and more recently Susan Lanzoni (2012, 2017, 2018), with her very historically rigorous writings, showed that the use of the term empathy covers very different meanings. Among these, the historical discussion emphasizes that the term can be linked to putting oneself in someone else's shoes, as well as the projection of sensations and images onto situations and objects. In the present work, we seek to investigate both the conceptual construction and the experimental unfolding of the notion of empathy in Edward Bradford Titchener's laboratory practice (1896, 1898, 1901, 1905, 1909, 1910, 1929). This author is mentioned as being responsible for translating the term "Einfühlung", which was used in German aesthetic theory, as empathy (Lanzoni, 2012, 2017; 2018). We propose an analysis that goes beyond this single affirmation by incorporating the work of the author's collaborators at Cornell around the theme of the projection of kinaesthetic images. Lanzoni (2018), by materializing ideas in experimental scenarios, emphasized the construction of diverse meanings of the terms "Empathy"/"Einfühlung" in Titchener's psychological laboratory. The experimental works covered conceptions of empathy as a projection of the self, which was sometimes felt like a fusion between trained observers and laboratory stimulus, sometimes as a somatic resonance of the movement of the stimulus felt inside the human observer, and finally as a movement of the individual extended in the stimulus. To clarify these different and significant aspects of the research on empathy, we propose to present 1) the scenario in which the term "Einfühlung" was first translated, which stemmed from the controversies surrounding the

introspective practice at the Cornell laboratory in the United States, which was directed by Titchener; 2) the laboratory practices that at the time investigated the relationship between imagination and perception (Cheves Perky's experiment) and; 3) how the involved actors detected parts of the self projected onto standardized objects within the laboratory. A significant aspect that remains as background for Titchener's empathy research was the confrontation with the theses about thinking without images. He sustained that we not only felt sensations and the images of stimuli, but also that we are constantly engaged with kinaesthetic images, and this provided the basis for denouncing the negligence of the introspective work of his opponents. Noting that the diversity of themes is far greater than the simple translation of *Einfühlung* as empathy, we conclude by suggesting that recent histories of objectivity and empathy could be used to complexify the image of the orthodox research process that is usually linked to Titchener. In this aspect, this work aims to connect with a lineage of historiography that looks for this effect of the complexification of Titchener's character, his works and his practices. This historiographic lineage goes beyond the simple image of a leading figure of a systematic school, linking together historians such as Rand Evans (1972), Mary Henle (1974), and more recently Francesca Bordogna (2004) and Susan Lanzoni (2012, 2017, 2018).

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### **Introducing the “New Histories of Psychology” Book Series**

**Michael Pettit York University, Martin Wieser, Sigmund Freud University & Verena Lehmbruck, Erfurt University**

New Histories of Psychology is a new book series published through Oxford University Press (New York City). Michael Pettit (York University, Toronto) is the academic series editor. Sarah Harrington is the acquisitions editor at Oxford University Press.

This session will introduce conference attendees to the series, its goals, the submissions process, as well as some of the recent and upcoming titles and their authors.

The New Histories of Psychology book series was announced in 2021 and published its first title in 2024. It builds upon the legacy of older series such as *Studies in the History of Psychology* edited by William R. Woodward and Mitchell G. Ash through Cambridge University Press. It aims to publish one or two titles a year with an emphasis on original research monographs as well as edited collections.

The series aims to promote the best research of both historians of science and psychologist-historians exploring psychology’s past. In recent years, the history of psychology has become increasingly international in scope, moving beyond the dominant historical center in North America. It is also a multi-disciplinary field, drawing upon the expertise of historians and psychologists obviously, but also historically-oriented scholars in sociology, geography, anthropology, and other areas of Science and Technology Studies.

In terms of scope, the focus of this series will extend from the history of psychology as a discipline to include the histories of cognate fields such as psychiatry, neuroscience, and psychoanalysis as well as related areas such as histories of the emotions, the senses, and subjectivity.

The series particularly seeks to acquire and promote theoretically informed books focused on new voices from the past and grounded in critical race, decolonial, feminist, queer, disability rights, multispecies and other counter-storytelling perspectives. Psychology has become an omnipresent feature of the public sphere as a set of concepts for self-understanding and as technologies of measurement and control. Understanding psychology’s public-facing nature requires grappling with the discipline’s relationship with various publics: patients, participants, neighboring professions, social movements, educational systems, policy makers, corporations, and creative artists. These different audiences adapt psychology to their own local



needs in the process of adopting its insight. Grappling with psychology's tremendous cultural impact requires attending to this circuitry and mediation among experts and publics.

**Indexing Human Capital: Concretizing Concepts at the World Bank**  
**Jonny Bunning, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales**

Launched in late 2018, the World Bank's *Human Capital Index* claims to quantify and rank the productive capacity of national populations worldwide. It is one element of a larger Bank initiative, the *Human Capital Program*, which relies on the theory that embodied skills and capacities — here measured through the proxies of mortality, stunting, and education — drive economic productivity. By creating a named, public, comparable measure, the Index (hereafter HCI) aims not just to describe investments in human capital but also to promote them. It is explicitly intended as an engine not a camera. My paper draws on literature in the history of the social sciences, science and technology studies, and organizational sociology to explore the emergence, composition, and significance of the HCI. It is guided by two orienting questions.

First, how is social science knowledge produced and used in institutional settings outside of academia? The World Bank is one of the world's largest producers of social scientific knowledge. Although precise figures are not released, estimates suggest that it employs several thousand Ph.D. economists, mostly trained in the United States, dwarfing even the largest academic departments. Its research exerts considerable influence over the field of development economics in particular. But the Bank's aims and interest in economics differ from those of a university. In an academic system, structured around competitive status positioning via the production of socially recognized novelty, the reasons for and means of promoting a theory will differ markedly from policy settings. Indeed it is notable that the World Bank studiously avoids strong claims to intellectual innovation in its discussion of the HCI, instead preferring to simply assume the framework's underlying validity or to gesture to the credentials and awards of those associated with it.

It would be easy to read the HCI as the mere application of an already complete theory in this way, but there is good reason to think that causation runs both directions. The index serves to demarcate and solidify the theory on which is ostensibly draws, a process I will call "conceptual concretization." This raises the second orienting question of the paper: what are the epistemic effects of turning economic knowledge into a policy tool like an index? By turning human capital into a simple quantity (ranging from 0 to 1) applied to nation states, then comparing these quantities as part of a branded, publicly promoted index, the World Bank has helped transform it from a contested or analytical theory about how humans relate to the economy into a neutral claim about reality. Various underlying sources of data and theoretical assumptions are simplified with

a view to increasing usability and uptake, making outputs appear more robust, while various disciplinary approaches to human life (as biological, biographical, etc.) are blended together. Because of the way human capital levels are calculated, the index assumes that countries are *always* deficient, and could always invest more; inter-country comparisons in effect reassert stadial theories of civilizational progress. By exploring these two questions my paper will use the Human Capital Index as a means to address a key but underexamined area of the history of recent social science.

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**Far-Southern Bodies and Far-Southern Bodies of Knowledge in Middle Imperial Lingnan**  
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China is, in aggregate, an ethnically homogeneous nation, but body concepts and medical practices vary across geographical locales and historical periods. Medicine in China can therefore be investigated through a number of scholarly lenses, and this paper appropriates politics and geography in examining *zhang*, a vaguely defined category of miasmatic illnesses that disproportionately burdened “northern” bodies in far-southern China, particularly the Lingnan region, which encompasses much of the southeast coastal areas of present-day China and portions of northern Vietnam. During the Song, alternative etiological explanations and treatments of *zhang* emerged among what I call “creolized literati”—diasporic Han intellectuals in the far-southern borderlands, particularly Lingnan. This paper argues that the Song facilitated the emergence of novel medical ideologies concerning *zhang*. Texts from this period, such as *Lingnan weisheng fang*, critiqued the insufficiencies of existing northern-centric texts and offered localist approaches to treating *zhang*, exemplifying the development of a regional consciousness among creolized literati which fueled new ideological commitments in medical practice. These scholarly communities were politically and geographically isolated from metropolitan China. Nevertheless, far-southern medicine was not anathema to northern orthodoxies; this paper instead proposes that the understanding of *zhang* adopted by creolized literati represented a “third way” that encompassed both their distance from the court but also their privileged position as “local elites.” On one hand, they dissented from northern-dominated medical orthodoxies. On the other, they seldom endorsed the practices of so-called *nanren* (i.e., aborigines), though they often saw their bodies as gradually becoming more “southern” in nature.

I argue that this claim, which had previously not been expressed in Chinese medicine, was both an acknowledgment of the endemicity of *zhang* to Lingnan but also a reference to growing political anxieties among creolized literati. Regionalist affinities strengthened during the Southern Song, for the southward relocation of the Song capital threatened to dilute the political autonomy that catapulted creolized literati to regional prominence during preceding centuries. During the latter half of the Song, the continued entrenchment of the regional status held by creolized literati signified that they became increasingly protective of their distance to the court; this posturing facilitated localist turns in historiography but also medical theorization and body concepts. For example, far-southern bodies were supposedly unable to tolerate the purgative regimes demanded

by conventional northern practices, as the chewing of areca nuts and other localist practices had physically weakened residents of Lingnan. Instead, creolized literati sought to emphasize the potential of restorative regimens in treating *zhang*. These medical writings, particularly their emphasis on targeting the unique physiological compositions of émigrés to Lingnan, can therefore be understood as affirmations of their status as a unique, semi-autonomous Han subculture that was distinct from residents of metropolitan China. What triggered these emergent epistemologies? As part of their attempts to politically reemphasize their differences to the imperial court, creolized literati interpreted their physical constitutions and cultural affinities as also having realigned, bearing in mind that Chinese conceptions of human difference were not essentialist but rather defined by place and habits. Given *zhang*'s ubiquity in Lingnan, it had, by the middle imperial period, become metonymy for the region, its climate, and its people. Controversies over northern and localist interpretations of *zhang* had political reverberations, for they implicated an essential component of Lingnan's identity as a largely autonomous territory governed by hereditary elites with strained attachments to metropolitan China.

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## **The Environment and Culture in the Transnational Assimilation of Scientific Ideas: A Transnational Narrative of the French contributions to 20th century American Psychology**

**David Clark, Independent Scholar**

This narrative will explore the transnational origins of 20th century American psychology focusing on the role of French experimental psychology. In so far as the history of science is the history of ideas, this thesis illustrates a transnational approach to history with an example of the migration of ideas that are then modified by the process of cultural assimilation to serve local needs by the receiving host. Specifically, this paper addresses synthesized ideas and methods that resulted in the American experimental psychology of the 20th century, a psychology that investigated human nature in terms of the capacity of individuals to adjust and adapt to their environment and in terms of the individual's development. In a general outline, presented for consideration is a brief narrative of American psychology that emerged in the 20th century following a synthesis of ideas that resulted as Americans combined elements of psychophysics from Germany, evolutionary theory from England, gastric physiology from Russia, and personality psychology originating in France.

Significant French contributions to modern American psychology have often gone unacknowledged or were eclipsed by trends in instruction. In the context of the transnational elements assimilated and synthesized into American psychology, this narrative focuses on a major turning point in the disciplinary boundaries of American psychology. This occurred during the 1920s and 30s in a conflict amongst psychologists and between psychology and extra-disciplinary forces. This would redefine American psychology's intellectual, methodological, and institutional boundaries for the 20th century (Triplet, 1983). The narrative begins in the 1880s when Morton Prince met Charcot in Paris, then it progresses to 1926 when Prince institutionalized the Psychological Clinic for the study of psychopathology in the Department of Philosophy and

Psychology in the college of Arts and Sciences at Harvard University. Prince was a bridging figure who brought French experimental psychology to American academic psychology. Following Prince as director of the Psychological Clinic, Henry Murray assimilated the French influence in a way that contributed to a fundamental changes in American psychology during the second half of the 20th century.

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### **FRANCOPHONE INFLUENCE IN HUNGARIAN DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY: A HUNDRED YEARS (1900-2000)**

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The talk shall present a survey of the impact of francophone psychology on Hungarian developmental psychology and education. French language influence in Hungarian social sciences was always an alternative and slightly peripheral trend due to geopolitical reasons. In psychology proper, there was a dominant early German (1890-1945), later shortly

Russian (1949-1965), and from the late 1960s, Anglo-American language and intellectual orientation. The francophone orientation in developmental studies implied a more child, and less institution oriented attitude and a commitment to qualitative changes in life and in actual research. I shall rely on published works as sources, and present a conceptual analysis flavored with some publication statistics grouped into 3 stages in francophone influence. The presence of francophone authors and the dominance of educational psychology is shown by this general statistics of their mention in the Hungarian Review of Psychology, and an alternative (20<sup>Th</sup> Century) and and a more mainstream journal of philosophy.

Names	H. R. of Psych. 1928-2000	20 <sup>th</sup> century 1900-1949	Athenaeum 1892-1947
Piaget	708	0	0
Binet	241	26	67
Wallon	187	0	1
Fraisse	93	0	0
Janet	86	17	88
Charcot	86	3	16
Ribot	26	45	133
Le Bon	23	136	55
Lévy Bruhl	22	34	26
Tarde	10	116	48

*Turn of century influence of Binet in philosophical psychology and educational innovation*

French influence appeared in early ideas about modern education, at the first stage outside the academic domain represented by the universities. Valéria Dienes (1879–1978) the first Hungarian woman with a PhD, turned from positivism to devoted Catholic faith. Dienes (1914) presented a summary vision of *Psychology Today* in two slim volumes. Her points of reference were the reflexologists, Pavlov and Behterev (in 1914!), Binet and the *Würzburger Schule* with their questioning of image theories, and the anti-elementaristic Bergson with his new method of intuition. For Dienes, the key feature iof modern psychology was the emphasis on *hidden factors* and functions: our mental life shows signs of several organizational systems that are not transparent to the self-reflecting conscious mind. (She is aware of Freud, but prefers Janet and Bergson.) Thinking is governed by hidden rules , and even Pavlov claims according to Dienes that learning has certain automatic algorithms that are not directly transparent to consciousness. Her methodological idea is the use of the clinical interviewing method in its broadest interpretation as she observed in Binet, in the Würzburg studies, and in the French clinical tradition in the Paris hospitals. She emphasized the importance of constructive processes of mental life and she introduced the concept of “internal movement” (Dienes, 1923). In her view, the affinity

between Catholicism and modern psychology, including Bergson, comes from the fact that they do not subscribe to the postulation of a passive mind and a passive organism.

Dienes in connection with her dancing movement orchestrica, was involved in functionalist educational reform and its psychological underpinnings in the 1920s-30s. Aligned with *reform schools* in Budapest, and as a translator of an educational book of Binet (1916) with a detailed preface about the work of Binet, she helped the propagation of French educational functionalism. The education of the child must spring from the interests and cognitive processes of the child. Instruction should not merely be the infusion of ready-to-use knowledge systems into the mind of the child.

As part of the Hungarian pedology movement, Binet was also becoming a central figure due to an early adaptation of his test by Mátyás Éltés (1914), a Hungarian special educator.

#### *Piaget and Hungarian child study in the 1930-1940.*

In the between the wars period the main influence of francophone psychology was the presence and influence of Piaget. There were several lines of this impact outside academia proper. Some Hungarian traveler scholars were pupils of Piaget in Geneva such as Tihamér Kiss and Ágnes Binét, and postdocs like Hildebrand Várkonyi also showed up there. There was a strong impact of Piaget on the different New School movements within Hungarian pedology. Elemér Kenyeres (1891-1933), one of the leading figures of the Hungarian child study movement discovered Piaget's works already in the twenties (Kenyeres, 1929).

The main influence of Piaget at the time came from academic psychology with a Catholic bend. Dezső Hildebrand Várkonyi (1888-1972) a benedictine Catholic priest and secular education professor was the central figure in brining Piaget into the curricula of academia. At the University of Szeged between 1929 and 1940, and then at Kolozsvár in Transylvania from 1940 till 1947, he included Piaget as a central theory of modern developmental psychology into his classes and textbooks (Várkonyi, 1938-40). For Várkonyi, Piaget represented the idea that education should be based on knowing children. Várkonyi had a long lasting influence since his classes were open to the Szeged based central training college for middle school teachers. Besides influential general intellectuals, such as Miklós Radnóti or Gyula Ortutay, several leaders of postwar Hungarian education and psychology, like Árpád Kiss, László Kelemen, and Sándor Nagy had been pupils of Várkonyi there.

The "Várkonyi lessons" and seminars had a sensational effect. [...] he not only praised the new trends in pedagogical psychology (Claparède, Ferrière, Piaget, etc.), but we could get acquainted with almost all the important representatives of modern psychology, including Pavlov, Freud, Jung, Adler. modern psychological literacy, which in one way or another was of great use in our later careers, could only be acquired at the University of Szeged at that time (Baróti, 1988: 181)



At the same time at the Budapest University, Pál Harkai Schiller (1908-1949) has included Piaget into his combination of Gestalt based dynamic biological psychology (Harkai Schiller, 1940, Schiller, 1948), concentrating on the relations of instinct, habit, and intellect. Through the mentoring efforts of Várkonyi and Harkai, by the late 1930s, young psychologists were not merely reading Piaget. Tihamér Kiss (1947) a pupil of Várkonyi in Kolozsvár, and Pál Harkai Schiller's students Mária Nagy (1936) as well as Klára Katona (1939) from the Budapest Faculty of Humanities used the extended clinical interview methods to analyze the child's conception of time and interpretation of death and their attitude towards dreams.

Piaget visited Hungary in March 1940, meeting colleagues at the Ranschburg founded Institute of Child Psychology and at the pedology seminary. In the name of academic psychologists, Harkai (1940: 180) had a short welcoming address, in French.

Il est tout simplement impossible de travailler tous le domaine de la psychologie sans connaître les théories synthétiques du professeur Piaget sur involution cyclique des schèmes de comportement, cette évolution qui commence avec l'intelligence sensorimotrice et arrive à la représentation verbale et à la coopération sociale.

*Piaget and Wallon in professionalized developmental psychology. 1945s-1990s*

In the half century after the devastating war and the Hungarian holocaust, the presence of francophone developmental psychology continued, but in contrast to the early Catholic reading, this time on, with a more left wing interpretation. During the years between 1945 and 1949 the Piaget influence continued mainly outside academia, in the newly developed and short lived educational institutional frames and private seminars lead by Ferenc Mérei (1909-1986). (An interview of Valachi, 2008 with Livia Nemes, the later famous psychoanalytic pupil of Mérei characterized the enthusiastic and innovative child centered framework of this time around Mérei.) Mérei as a short time leader of communist party initiated educational movements was a left wing student of Henri Wallon in Paris. Mérei (1967) remained in all his life committed to two crucial aspects of the teaching of Wallon: social interaction, imitation and sign use are more important in child development than Piaget thought of, and the developing human personhood should be seen in a more fluctuating and emotion flavored manner than the rationalism suggested by Piaget. A volume of Zazzo (1980) a fellow pupil of Wallon, that Mérei translated towards the end of his life summarized this difference of the two francophone heroes of developmental studies (see about this aspect of Mérei in Ajtony, 2004).

At the same time, while siding with Wallon, Mérei continued the promotion of Piaget as well, whom he met in Budapest in 1940. In the words of Mérei “Piaget is the one who

listened to the children, and suggested that *childlike thinking was different*. What *childlike* means as orientation, thinking, worldview has been unfolded by Piaget from the barely traceable story of becoming an adult” (Méri, 1981: 91). Mérei (1945) published a small pamphlet right after the war on child psychology. The title of the booklet — *The World View of the Child* — suggested that Mérei was paying tribute to the early Piaget. In reality, however, he provided an analysis of social organization in children, mainly relying on his ongoing social studies in nurseries and on Wallon, and his other master, Leopold Szondi. From the point of view of individual psychology, the cohesive power of society is represented by the group experience, which initially comes from being together and moving together. This is more efficient and more demanding than individual and couple experiences, because it *feeds on the sui generis cohesive power of groups*. (Mérei 1945: 108.).

The works in the Mérei’s circle during the post war years (Anna Gleimann, Erzsébet Baranyai and others in the 1947 volume edited by Árpád Kiss) continued to keep Piaget's way of thought in the center of Hungarian psychology. As an intended summary program statement the systematizing pedagogical book of Mérei (1948) argued for the case of children and for child knowledge of changing society through child-based education. By combining Piaget, Wallon, Moréno, and the Hungarian psychoanalytic tradition Mérei proposed that one can reconcile the ideas of a child-based education with the demands of the new socialist society. Modern knowledge of the mind could be combined with a commitment to new communities with new values. That was not taken well by the powerful communist authorities. The idea of a child based education was harshly criticized, and Mérei lost all his power, even his jobs in 1949, and was imprisoned in 1958 due to his participation in the 1956 revolution in Hungary. It was a tragic irony of the time, that right when Mérei was imprisoned appeared the translation of his mentor Wallon (1958), under his supervision. After coming out of the prison in 1963, after becoming the founding father of modern clinical psychology in Hungary in the 1970s, together with a colleague and his former student, who after working with Piaget, specialized in psychoanalysis, Ágnes Binét, Mérei wrote a definitive new textbook on child development. It was definitive in the sense that it was used as a textbook in the coming decades, published unchanged for over half a century. The book provided a detailed knowledge of Piaget and Wallon for the wider community of teachers. This path towards child based education has not been smooth, even in the more relaxed atmosphere of the sixties. László and Flóra Vincze's (1959/64) book about children’s world view showed for our generation the aversion of communist education against starting from the child. According to these supposedly Marxist educational psychologists, Piaget's theory is a modern bourgeois version of the principle dating back to Rousseau, claiming that children are not miniature adults. The underlying idea of self-development is misleading, they claimed, since the real question is not where the child goes, but where the adult takes him. In this sense, there is no childlike thinking.

The Vincze couple were not alone at the time in their criticism of Piaget's approach, they were just more open than other official child psychologists at the time emphasizing the flexibility and the social nature of child development. The official line represented by textbooks and university lectures in the 1960s was in harmony with the Soviet attitude to Piaget: many of his proposals about the world view of children represent the individualism of Swiss education, and we need a more social image of the mentality of children.

But no matter of criticism, there was a cold war going on, where francophone psychology was still more acceptable than American for officialdom. French textbooks were translated (this explains the frequent references to Paul Fraisse in the table) and among other things Piaget visited Hungary again as Csorna (1964) presents. He was meeting official representatives of psychology and education, and the Zoological Gardens of the university (due to his botanical interests). Even the short account shows that in the discussions with psychologists the two basic critical issues raised towards Piaget were the problem on the world view of children (Piaget mockingly remarked that these are his studies 40 years ago), and the slow development of abstract thinking.

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The general message of French influence for Hungarian psychology can be summarized in the word of Mérei .

French intellectual life was increasingly urging modern, analytical developmental psychology. Seeing through the eyes of a child not only enriches our knowledge from a further point of view, but also brings such a density of emotion and drama to the experience, and makes us see the essential in such contingencies as in children's games. The ambiguity, the transparency, the sign in the representation received artistic rights from Braque and Picasso, but its primordial source is children's drawings. The elaboration of developmental psychology valid at the level of the worldview is now the key to understanding the intellectual currents of the age and explaining their values. (Mérei 1967: 12.)

- French models were more quality oriented than the simple positivist approaches.
- They introduced the use of free clinical interviews into general usage
- Represented an interest in children and the study of development as a key to understand theoretical issues.

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## **Charles Richet's Metapsychics in Brazil: Circulation and Reception in the First Half of the 20th Century**

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Renowned physiologist and Nobel Prize laureate in Medicine, Charles Richet (1850–1935), had his name widely disseminated in Brazil during the first half of the 20th century. Surveys in the Digital Newspaper Archive reveal approximately 300 occurrences of his name per decade in Brazilian newspapers and magazines, highlighting his impact in the country. Richet visited Brazil between 1908 and 1909, primarily to study bird flight, reflecting his versatility as a scientist. However, his presence also contributed to the dissemination of metapsychics, a term he coined to designate the study of paranormal phenomena from a scientific perspective. This study aims to

analyze the reception and circulation of Richet's ideas in Brazil, with an emphasis on metapsychics, through a review of periodicals from the time and other documentary sources, investigating how his name and theories were appropriated in the Brazilian context. During his stay in Brazil, he gave a lecture on Occult Sciences in December 1908. Although Richet affirmed the reality of supernatural phenomena, he refused to adopt the spiritist theory, arguing that spiritists already had their answers about these events, while metapsychics, which he advocated, should investigate them. His critical stance on spiritism sparked debates, as a significant portion of those interested in his studies were spiritists, who viewed his research as a path to the scientific validation of spiritism. Despite his interest in paranormal phenomena, Richet rejected the spiritist explanation, bringing him into direct confrontation with authors like Ernesto Bozzano and Oliver Lodge. These debates were recorded in publications of the *Revue Métapsychique*, the journal of the International Metapsychic Institute (IMI), of which he was president, where he reaffirmed his skeptical stance. The debate also extended to conferences at international metapsychics meetings, consolidating his critical position toward the spiritist interpretation of these phenomena. His *Traité de métapsychique*, published in 1922, was translated into Portuguese in 1929 by Carlos Imbassahy, an intellectual linked to the Brazilian spiritist movement. Additionally, the only Brazilian biography of Richet was published by the Brazilian Spiritist Federation (FEB), portraying him as a late convert to spiritism. Beyond examining the reception of Richet's ideas in Brazil, it is essential to consider the reverse flow of this intellectual circulation: Brazil's presence in Richet's network of interlocutors. Three letters sent by Brazilians to Richet, found in the IMI archives, provide evidence of this exchange. Their topics include reports of premonitions and a haunted house in Brazil, suggesting the interest of Brazilian intellectuals in directly engaging with the French scientist. Moreover, the *Revue Métapsychique* occasionally reported on events and debates in Brazil. The presence of these references in IMI's main journal indicates an information flow that was not limited to the passive reception of European theories but also involved Brazilian interlocutors in the international debate. Furthermore, Richet published his novel *A Grande Esperança* directly in Portuguese before the French version of the work. Richet skillfully balanced spiritist support for the IMI without compromising his rationalism, inherited from Claude Bernard. Although he rejected the hypothesis of the soul's survival, he leveraged this alliance to establish metapsychics as a field of scientific inquiry. His legacy, with diverse appropriations, remains fundamental to understanding the interactions between science and spirituality, as well as the reception of metapsychics in Brazil. The study of Richet's metapsychics in Lusophone contexts broadens the history of metapsychics and elucidates aspects of the tensions and alliances between metapsychics and spiritism.

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## **Continuity and Change in Hungarian Psychology Education: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Consequences**

**Kata Dóra Kiss, Independent Researcher**

This presentation examines the historical evolution of psychology education in Hungary, tracing its development from the socialist era through the post-transition period and analyzing how past institutional structures continue to shape the training and professional trajectories of psychologists today. The study builds upon archival sources and institutional records (Harmatta, 2019; Pléh, 2019) as well as qualitative data from interviews with students and professionals to explore how historical contingencies influenced the formation of Hungarian psychology education and its long-term consequences for the field.

Psychology as a discipline in Hungary developed under the constraints of the socialist state, where higher education was shaped by centralized control and ideological imperatives. During this period, academic psychology was primarily structured around Soviet-influenced theoretical and experimental models, with applied fields—such as clinical and counseling psychology—receiving limited institutional support (Kovai, 2017). Professional training pathways were constrained by state policies, which dictated career progression and access to specialized knowledge. While psychology education remained part of the formal university system, informal workshops and professional networks outside official institutions played a crucial role in knowledge transfer. These alternative training spaces, though semi-legal, became centers of professional development, facilitating exposure to Western psychological theories and methods despite restrictions (Harmatta, 2019).

With the regime change in 1989-1990, the Hungarian higher education system underwent rapid restructuring. The transition from a state-controlled to a market-driven model, coupled with the influence of the Bologna Process, led to the expansion and diversification of psychology training programs (Pléh, 2021a). The introduction of a multi-tiered system—dividing psychology education into BA, MA, and PhD levels—marked a departure from the previous unitary model, but it also introduced new challenges. The massification of psychology programs resulted in an increasing number of graduates without corresponding growth in state-funded postgraduate specialization opportunities (Berde, 2013). As a result, while access to university-level psychology education expanded, professional training in applied fields became highly competitive and often dependent on personal financial resources (Harmatta, 2019).

A key structural transformation in the post-transition period was the shift in psychotherapy and clinical psychology training. Whereas under socialism, professional development in these fields was largely restricted to state institutions, the 1990s saw the privatization of postgraduate training, leading to the dominance of market-driven certification processes. The introduction of a multi-phase training model—dividing psychotherapy education into propedeutic, clinical, and method-specific stages—further fragmented the field, with specialized training often conducted outside university frameworks (Harmatta, 2019). The privatization of training, coupled with the reduction of publicly funded clinical internship positions, has resulted in limited accessibility, disproportionately affecting students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (Pléh, 2019).

Additionally, the broader restructuring of Hungary's healthcare system impacted psychology education by narrowing the availability of state-supported professional pathways. While state-funded psychotherapy departments in hospitals and research institutions declined, private practice and independent training centers proliferated (Harmatta, 2019). The decline of state-funded mental health services meant that an increasing proportion of psychologists now work within privately funded structures, shifting the profession toward a market-oriented model that prioritizes individual clients over systemic healthcare solutions (Túry & Harmatta, 2006). This transformation has had lasting consequences on the professionalization of psychology in Hungary, shaping the economic realities of training and service provision.

By integrating historical institutional analysis with contemporary qualitative data, this study highlights the long-term effects of Hungary's political and economic transformations on psychology education. It demonstrates that the legacies of socialist-era educational policies, combined with the impact of post-socialist economic restructuring, continue to influence training accessibility, professional hierarchies, and the broader landscape of psychological services in Hungary today. These findings contribute to a deeper understanding of the historical determinants of professional education and their implications for the development of psychology as an applied and academic discipline in post-socialist Europe.

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### **"What Kay Cannot Say": Critical Scholarship in an Age of Academic Repression**

**Gina Philogene, Sarah Lawrence College**

Kay Deaux's immeasurable contributions to social psychology have shaped our understanding of gender, identity, and social roles. Alongside scholars such as Alice Eagly, Sandra Bem, and Carolyn Wood Sherif, she advanced research on women and gender biases, carving out intellectual space for inquiries that challenged entrenched power structures. Beyond gender, Deaux's work on immigration invigorated discussions on the social psychological ramifications of migration, particularly in shaping attitudes, prejudice, and the agency of immigrants. By shifting the discourse from assimilation to acculturation, Deaux reframed immigration as a dynamic process of negotiation rather than passive conformity. Her work gave voice to immigrant agency in ways that remain politically and ideologically contentious today. Building on Deaux's legacy of challenging dominant narratives, the shifting landscape of academic freedom in the United States raises urgent questions about the very conditions that allow critical scholarship to thrive. The United States was always perceived as the bastion of academic freedom and a refuge for dissidents and critical thinkers from all over the world. Many groups of scholars forced to flee their home countries due to political oppression, war, or persecution built a community here. One of the most famous examples is the New School's University in Exile, founded in 1933 in New York City to provide refuge for scholars fleeing Nazi Germany. However, today the context has changed, and American scholars now face mounting pressures, restrictions, and the creeping onset of censorship here at home. The very topics that Deaux researched, advocated, and taught throughout her prominent career would struggle to secure funding or institutional backing today. Many areas of inquiry are now deemed politically sensitive. Deaux's lifelong dedication to social psychology offers a critical lens for understanding how contemporary suppression through funding restrictions, publication barriers, and ideological resistance limits both the dissemination and impact of research. The growing assault on science represents a form of exile that does not remove people from their institutions or country, but instead marginalizes ideas and silences critical thought itself.

### **The Day the Robots Came for History: Teaching and Research in the Era of AI**

**Christopher Green & Jeremy T. Burman**

Artificial Intelligence (AI) has disrupted nearly everything in the past couple of years. Anyone who is regularly on the internet sees it every day. You don't even have to go to an AI site, like ChatGPT, anymore. Every Google search produces a Meta AI summary. Apple has now installed their version of AI on many of its products. Even the Apple "Notes" app on which I am writing this very abstract is offering to compose it for me using AI. Companies of all kinds — from grocery stores to vacation package dealers — have rushed to employ AI in place of "real people" wherever they can, primarily due to the payroll savings it implies (even if the product isn't all that reliable).

The disruption has been particularly keen in academia. Reviewers of journal submissions complain that submitted manuscripts are being written by AI. Authors of journal submissions complain that reviews are being written by AI. Professors worry that they will ultimately be replaced by AI in the classroom. And, of course, students (many of whom already hardly remember a time when AI wasn't readily available) are using it to complete their assignments and examinations.

So the question is, what do we do about it? Many academics have attempted — indeed, are attempting — to resist the "invasion" of AI with all their might. But it should be obvious to even the strongest opponent of AI that, at the very best, this is a rearguard action that is ultimately doomed to failure. It is like trying to resist the printing press in favour of calligraphy. Instead, we in academia — specifically, we in history of the social and behavioural sciences — are going to have to learn how to live with AI, and we are going to have to do it fast. But what does that mean?

In the conference session proposed here, the speakers will address the use of AI in the history of psychology. Jeremy Burman will discuss various strategies for productively including AI in teaching and classroom activities, and Christopher Green will discuss his explorations of AI as a research tool. At the end of these two presentations, we would like to open up the floor to, perhaps, half an hour of discussion with and among the audience. We expect that this is a topic that will provoke strong reactions, both pro and con, and we think it is important to get those ideas out on the floor for consideration and debate. We therefore request a 90-minute session: 30 min. for each presentation (including short Q&A periods for each), then 30 min. for audience participation in discussion afterward.

**Not the Last Paradigm: Teaching History in the Age of AI, and Why We Ought To**  
**Jeremy Trevelyan Burman, University of Groningen**

The new AI tools are mistaken mirrors: they provide reflections of their training data, but not always of reality. To the extent that they are relied upon uncritically, they will also—like textbooks—become part of the “normalizing” toolbox of disciplinary governance. As a result, the tools’ reinforcement of their training data will lead true “anomalies” to be increasingly suppressed. This is then both a threat and an opportunity: historical research will become ever more important, and valued, for seeking out and explaining the invisible and the unheard.

Associated with the rise of AI is the pedagogical goal of increasing AI Literacy. This requires developing new assignments and exercises for our students. In this session, I will therefore share some examples. One that's particularly noteworthy for historians: a fact-checking assignment that brings groups of students together to collectively critique an AI output, following up with research in library databases to attach real references from high-quality sources to uncritically-presented claims. Or when references are given, checking and explaining how each source supports the claim.

As it happens, this is already very similar to the current ideal for editing in Wikipedia. Going beyond mere fact-checking, however, we can also ask our students to engage with the popularizations, myths, and illusions that are reflected in and reinforced by AI training data. And that in turn reinforces the place of archival fieldwork as the gold standard for actual research in this mode: the way to find information the AIs couldn't have known, which we can prepare even science students to appreciate.

**AI in History of Psychology Research**  
**Christopher D. Green, York University**

I decided to hold a couple of “conversations” with generative AI products — ChatGPT and Scite — about a very basic topic in the history of psychology: what are the origins of experimental psychology? My assumption here was not that AI would write an entire research article for me but, rather, that I would use it for general background to an essay of my own composition; the way in which one might normally use reference resources (encyclopedias, textbook, dictionaries) to track down basic dates, places, and people.

The most general finding was that the AIs were fairly good at producing textbook-level material but that, the deeper one probed into more specialized topics, the less accurate, and eventually bizarre, the answers became. It was as though the AI rarely reached a point where, instead of simply saying it did not know the answer to a question, it would simply fabricate a vaguely plausible response instead. This has been characterized by many as the AI “hallucinating.” For instance, it could tell me a fair bit about Wilhelm Wundt’s academic career founding the “first” laboratory in Leipzig, and training many students who spread his approach to many parts of the world. However, when I began to question it about the reasons for James Mark Baldwin’s abrupt departure from Johns Hopkins, it first identified the wrong cause (plagiarism), then, when corrected, identified the wrong participant in Baldwin’s sex scandal (another psychologist), and, finally, insisted that Baldwin had ended up at Iowa State, having confused him with another psychologist named Baldwin (Bird).