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Introduction

The Beginnings of the Relationship between Psychoanalysis and Education

In the first third of the 20th century, a heterogeneous movement developed, in which psychoanalysts and psychoanalytically interested educators dealt with questions of education on the basis of psychoanalytic theories (Hierdeis, 2016, pp. 34ff.). This movement originated in Vienna in the environment of Sigmund Freud and spread outside Austria, especially in Prague, Berlin, and Zurich (ibid.). In particular, psychoanalysts and psychoanalytically interested educators drew on aspects of S. Freud's writings on developmental and cultural theory and developed them further in explicit connection with educational topics (ibid.). S. Freud's theory of human drives and of sexual development of the child as well as his neurosis and culture theory, questioned German idealistic conceptions of humanistic education (*geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik*) established in Germany (pp. 23ff.).

In addition to the psychoanalytic-theoretical foundation, the various initiatives of the movement had in common that they focused on the inner world of children and adolescents and the appropriate support of their development (Datler, Fürstaller & Wininger, 2015, p. 10) including the suitability of educators (Hierdeis, 2016, p. 19). Accordingly, various educational projects (pp. 40ff.) as well as courses for educators emerged (Datler, Fürstaller & Wininger, 2015, p. 11). Among the pioneers of the psychoanalytic approach to education were Anna Freud, Hans Zulliger, August Aichhorn, Willy Hoffer, Fritz Redl, and Siegfried Bernfeld (ibid.; Hierdeis, 2016, pp. 38ff.). Publicly, the concept became established under the term of *psychoanalytische Pädagogik* with the founding of the *Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Pädagogik* in 1926 (Datler, Fürstaller & Wininger, 2015, p. 10).

The direct translation of *psychoanalytische Pädagogik* would be psychoanalytic education. However, since the term psychoanalytic education is mostly used to refer to the professional training of psychoanalysts, the direct translation could be misleading. As mentioned above, *psychoanalytische Pädagogik* dealt with questions of education under the lens of psychoanalysis. Therefore, I will use the term psychoanalytically oriented education henceforth for *psychoanalytische Pädagogik*.

University education, which was dominated by German idealistic conceptions of humanistic education (*geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik*), was largely critical of psychoanalytically oriented education (Datler, Fürstaller & Wininger, 2015, p. 10). Moreover, sociopolitical

movements such as National Socialism and antisemitism made the development of psychoanalytically oriented education more difficult and led, among other things, to its being institutionally located outside of university education until World War II (ibid.; Hierdeis, 2016, pp. 20ff.). Due to National Socialist persecution and the Second World War, the movement of psychoanalytically oriented education in German-speaking countries largely came to a standstill (Datler, Fürstaller & Wininger, 2015, p. 12). Part of the emigrated representatives of the movement continued their psychoanalytic and educational work, especially in the Anglo-American area: Anna Freud and Melanie Klein in England, Bruno Bettelheim, Siegfried Bernfeld, Lilly Roubiczek-Peller, Ernst Federn and Edith Buxbaum in the USA (Hierdeis, 2016; Kaufhold, 2001). One of them was Rudolf Ekstein (Steinlechner-Oberläuter, 2021, pp. 83ff.), whose writings on education are the focus of my master thesis.

Rudolf Ekstein

Rudolf Ekstein was born in Vienna in 1912, received his doctorate from the University of Vienna in 1938 on the subject of *Zur Philosophie der Psychologie* (Ekstein, 1936) and began his psychoanalytic training in 1935 (Steinlechner-Oberläuter, 2021, p. 78). As a Jew, a psychoanalyst and a socialist active in the resistance, he was threatened by National Socialism, which is why he fled first to England and then to the United States in 1938 (Ekstein, 1987, p. 472). In the USA, Ekstein managed to take a job as a teacher, was trained as a social worker, and completed his psychoanalytic training (Steinlechner-Oberläuter, 2021, pp. 87ff.). From 1947 to 1958 he worked as a psychotherapist, teaching analyst, and supervisor at the Menninger Clinic in Topeka, Kansas (pp. 103ff.), and from 1958 to 1978 at the Reiss-Davis Child Study Center in Los Angeles, California (pp. 109ff.). Between 1970 and 1996, Ekstein taught every year as a visiting professor at the University of Vienna (Datler & Gstach, 2021, p. 23). In 1995, he was awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Vienna (Gstach, 2009, p. 148). Rudolf Ekstein died in Los Angeles in 2005 (ibid.).

Rudolf Ekstein (1912-2005) was a pioneer in the field of psychoanalytic therapy of children with autism, psychosis, and borderline disorder (Steinlechner-Oberläuter, 2021). He is considered a significant second-generation representative of psychoanalytically oriented education (Kaufhold, 2001). His scientific work includes the areas of psychology and therapy of children with autism, psychosis and borderline disorder, the philosophy of language, supervision, the history of psychoanalysis and the application of psychoanalysis to education (Steinlechner-Oberläuter, 2021). In the field of education, Ekstein was concerned, among

other things, with the relationship between psychoanalysis and education, the social conditions of education, the teaching-learning process, and the professional education of teachers (pp. 237).

Current State of Research and Research Gap

As part of a master's thesis at the University of Vienna, representing the German-language publications on the life and work of Rudolf Ekstein, the author Elina Toumbaleva (2021) concludes that previous research has focused far more on Ekstein's biography than on his scientific work. Dorothea Steinlechner-Oberläuter (2021, p. 329) also states a need to catch up with regard to the theoretical reception of Ekstein's scientific work. Roland Kaufhold (2001), in a monograph on the emigrated psychoanalytically oriented educators Bruno Bettelheim, Rudolf Ekstein, and Ernst Federn, dealt with Ekstein's life and work from a biographical-historical perspective. Steinlechner-Oberläuter (2021) provides a general overview of Ekstein's life and his basic theoretical concepts in a monograph derived from her dissertation. In one chapter of the monograph, Steinlechner-Oberläuter (pp. 237ff.) outlines Ekstein's theories on the application of psychoanalysis to education. In particular, an overview is given of Ekstein's concepts of learning and teacher education as well as his theories on the relationship between psychoanalysis and education and the relationship between education and society (ibid.). Müller (2002) compared the concepts of school learning of Fritz Redl, Rudolf Ekstein, and Ulrich Oevermann in an article focusing on Ekstein's essay *Psychoanalytic Notes on the Function of the Curriculum* (Ekstein, 1966b). There are hardly any English-language publications on Rudolf Ekstein. Daniel Benveniste published an edited dialogue with Rudolf Ekstein (Benveniste, 1998). David James Fisher, an American psychoanalyst and former analysand of Ekstein, published an obituary for Ekstein (Fisher, 2005) and devoted an article to his biography and his debates with Bruno Bettelheim (Fisher, 2012).

Little attention has been paid so far to the discursive contexts of Rudolf Ekstein's works. Historical research on Rudolf Ekstein's writings on education has focused primarily on the references that Ekstein explicitly made, especially those to Siegfried Bernfeld (see Kaufhold, 2001, pp. 120-124). To my knowledge, there are no studies that explore the ideological languages or, in other words, discourses that are brought to the fore in Rudolf Ekstein's writings from a discourse-analytical perspective. However, considered that texts are acts of

communication that are shaped by ideological discourses, a discourse-analytical contextual approach is highly relevant to analyzing them (Tröhler, 2007, p. 16).

Research Interest and Research Question

Ekstein's writings were situated in various social, and discursive contexts. Before 1938 he was confronted with the First World War, the end of the Habsburg Monarchy, the First Austrian Republic, Austro-Fascism (*Ständestaat*) and the annexation of Austria by Nazi-Germany (*Anschluss*) (Steinlechner-Oberläuter, 2021). After his emigration to the USA in 1938 he experienced the Second World War, the Cold War, the Cuba Crisis, the Vietnam War, and the Sputnik Crisis, among many other political and social processes (ibid.). Ekstein also never lost sight of the events and discourses in Europe, especially since the 1960s, since when he regularly visited Austria and Germany (Kaufhold, 2001, p. 120). The scientific and political movements present at the time and place of Ekstein's writings were also manifold, including Fascism, National Socialism, Austro-Marxism, psychoanalysis, the Vienna Circle (*Wiener Kreis*), pragmatism, behaviorism, cognitivism, constructivism, and humanistic psychology, to mention only some of them (Steinlechner-Oberläuter, 2021; Taubman, 2012).

The goal of my master thesis is to examine the ideological languages (*langues*, discourses) that are implicitly brought to the fore through the explicit utterances (*paroles*) in Ekstein's writings on education. In this context, ideologies are not meant in a pejorative sense, but as collectively shared systems of making sense of the world in thought and/or language.

In the center of my master thesis is the following research question:

- What is the dominant ideological language (*langue*, discourse) brought to the fore in Rudolf Ekstein's conception of education?

Related to this, the following aspects are explored in my master thesis:

- What is the discursive context of Rudolf Ekstein's life and work?
- Are there other discourses besides the dominant one that are expressed in some way in Rudolf Ekstein's articles on education?

Relevance for Educational Science

In order to investigate Ekstein's educational concepts it is highly relevant to analyze their discursive contexts. In addition, the reconstruction of the ideological languages that Ekstein's

writings were conducted in contributes to the research of the history of educational ideas. According to Skinner (2002c, pp. 88f.), the historic reconstruction of discourses increases the awareness of the situatedness of ideas as well as of the manifold possibilities to formulate questions as well as to answer them.

Structure

The first chapter (I) of the master thesis explains the methodological approach to answering the research questions. In the second chapter (II), the discursive context of Ekstein's life and work is presented. The focus is particularly on the discursive emergence of psychoanalysis as well as of psychoanalytically oriented education. This is followed by the analysis of the dominant ideological language brought to the fore in Ekstein's conception of education as the main part of the master thesis (III). The fourth chapter (IV) deals with the question of which other discourses are expressed in Ekstein's articles on education and how they were adapted to the dominant discourse. At the end of the master thesis (chapter V) the results are summarized, discussed, and an outlook for further research possibilities is provided.

I. Methodological Frame

1.1. Methodological Approach

My master thesis follows methodological assumptions of the *linguistic turn* of the Cambridge School. More specifically, I draw upon the methodological concepts of Quentin Skinner (2002a, 2002b, 2002c) and John Greville Agard Pocock (1987), which have been further developed by Daniel Tröhler (2011a) as a methodological approach to analyzing educational languages. The research approach of the *linguistic turn* developed from the 1950s onwards (Tröhler & Fox, 2019, p. 3). It is characterized by the assumption that the world cannot be objectively perceived and explored independently of the subject, but that cognition is linguistically constructed (ibid.). Accordingly, language not only serves to convey scientific knowledge, but creates it (ibid.). The *linguistic turn* originated from the philosophy of language and increasingly found its way into historical scholarship in the 1970s (ibid.). In Cambridge, England, researchers, such as Quentin Skinner and J. G. A. Pocock further developed the concepts of the *linguistic turn* with the aim to reconstruct, above all, the history of political ideas (p. 11).

A central thesis of the Cambridge School is that texts can only be understood in the discursive contexts in which they were created (Tröhler & Fox, 2019, p. 12). Following Wittgenstein and Austin, Skinner (2002a, pp. 2ff.) understands utterances as performative communicative acts which are situated in specific historical ideological contexts or, in other words, discourses. Therefore, Skinner (2002a), as a political historian, argues that “one of our principal tasks [is] to situate the texts we study within such intellectual contexts as enable us to make sense of what their authors were doing in writing them” (p. 3). According to Skinner (2002a, pp. 6f.; 2002b, p. 77) both, the author of a text and the researcher who tries to understand it, are situated in specific historic social conditions and linguistic ideological contexts. Skinner argues that language has an illocutionary force that provides agency for intentional speech acts, but also limits them (Skinner, 2002c, pp. 104f.). Similar to Skinner (2002c), Pocock (1987) understands language as a repertoire that enables and limits speech acts. Following Ferdinand de Saussure, Pocock distinguishes between language systems (*langues*) and concrete speech acts (*paroles*), which are interrelated (p. 20). Of particular relevance to my master thesis is that Pocock (1987) extends De Saussure's distinction between *langue* and *parole* from natural language systems such as German or English to ideological language systems. According to Tröhler and Fox (2019), “fragt [Pocock] konkret, welchem

ideologischen Sprachdepot (*langue*) ein Satz (*parole*) entspringt und von ihm spezifischen Sinn erhält, wobei er auch untersucht, wie sich die *langue* über die Zeit just durch den Gebrauch im Wort (*parole*) ändern kann” (p. 15, emphasis in original).

The methodological concepts of Skinner (2002a, 2002b, 2002c) and Pocock (1987) can be applied to historical educational research in a comparable manner in order to reconstruct educational ideas in their historical contexts (Tröhler & Fox, 2019, p. 26). Tröhler and Fox (2019) characterize the *linguistic turn* as:

Versuch, sprachanalytisch die ideologischen Prinzipien oder Motive sichtbar zu machen, welche regulieren, was wo als wertvolles Wissen und Handeln in der pädagogischen Praxis und welche Themen und Fragestellungen in der Forschung als forschungswürdig bestimmt werden und wie Kinder und Lernende kulturell unterschiedlich als Subjektivitäten verschiedener Gesellschaften und ihren dominanten Visionen sozialer Ordnung konstruiert werden. (Tröhler & Fox, 2019, p. 27)

In my master thesis, following Skinner (2002a, 2002b, 2002c) and Pocock (1987), discourses are understood as collective, ideological systems of thought (*langues*) that come into being, are brought to the fore, and can change through linguistic utterances (*paroles*). Discourses are therefore shaped linguistically (Pocock, 1987). Since discourses are tied to linguistic acts, they are also historical; that is, they emerge, spread, and change in their respective historical, cultural, and social contexts (ibid.). Discourses shape how people actually perceive, think, act and speak; that is, they are ideological in character (ibid.). Similar to natural languages such as English or Chinese, they both enable and limit a wide variety of speech acts (ibid.). Therefore, following Pocock (1987) discourses are understood as ideological languages. Pocock (1987, p. 20) points out that natural languages and ideological languages are distinct but intertwined entities.

1.2. Sources and Text Selection

In order to analyze the discourses expressed in Ekstein's articles on education, the *Rudolf Ekstein Collection* at the library of the University of Vienna has been consulted as a main source, allowing me to access a large portion of Ekstein's publications to answer my research question. The descendants of Rudolf and Ruth Ekstein, Jean Ekstein Tiano and Rudolf Jr. Ekstein, donated most of their father's scientific estate to the University of Vienna (Schaukal-Kappus, 2009). This includes hundreds of monographs and journal volumes as well as some objects from Ekstein's private archive (pp. 154f.). In 2006, the resulting *Rudolf Ekstein*

Collection was opened at the Library of the Department of Education (ibid.). In addition, the collection includes unpublished manuscripts, teaching documents, reprints, therapeutic case reports, letters, and other documents of Ekstein's that are being digitized, as part of an ongoing research project of the research area of *Psychoanalysis and Education* at the Department of Education at the University of Vienna, to enable further examination of Ekstein's life and work (Datler & Gstach, 2021, p. 24).

Ekstein's publications, as listed in the book by Steinlechner-Oberläuter (2021, pp. 282-309), have been filtered according to whether they deal with educational questions and are accessible at the *Rudolf Ekstein Collection* or digital journal archives. The resulting list of publications (see sources) represent the text corpus analyzed in my master thesis. Rudolf Ekstein wrote his publications mostly in English and partly in German. Whenever possible, Ekstein's writings have been consulted in their original language.

1.3. From Methodology to Method

Based on the methodological assumptions of the *linguistic turn* presented above, the investigation has been carried out in the following steps: First, as implied by Skinner (2002a, 2002b, 2002c) and Pocock (1987), the discursive context of Ekstein's life and work has been explored. According to Pocock (1987, pp. 22f.), if one wants to study the ideological languages of a theory, one must learn the ideological languages that were present at the time and place the theory emerged and compare them with the theory. Therefore, the discursive contexts of the emergence of the theories of psychoanalysis and psychoanalytically oriented education have been investigated. For this purpose, research literature and additional primary sources were consulted. Based on this examination of the discursive contexts of Ekstein's life and work, hypotheses have been derived regarding the ideological languages expressed in psychoanalysis and psychoanalytically oriented education. These hypotheses have formed the basis for the second step of the examination, namely the investigation of which dominant ideological language is brought to the fore in Rudolf Ekstein's articles on education. This has been followed, as the third step, by the discourse-analytical investigation of which other discourses are expressed in Ekstein's articles on education and how they were adapted to the dominant discourse. In order to identify the ideological languages expressed by Ekstein, I have followed the methodological differentiation of *paroles* and *langue* by Pocock (1987). In this sense, the explicit utterances (*paroles*) in Ekstein's publications on education have been

analyzed with the aim of investigating which ideological languages (*langues*, discourses) are implicitly brought to the fore through the explicit utterances (*paroles*).

II. The Discursive Context of Ekstein's Life and Work

The main theoretical points of reference in Rudolf Ekstein's writings on education are the concepts of psychoanalysis and psychoanalytically oriented education. Therefore, subchapters 2.2. and 2.3. investigate the discursive context of the emergence of psychoanalysis and psychoanalytically oriented education. Based on this investigation, hypotheses are derived regarding the discursive emergence of psychoanalysis and psychoanalytically oriented education, which form the basis for the examination of the ideological languages that are brought to the fore in Rudolf Ekstein's conception of education. First, an overview is given of Rudolf Ekstein's life and work.

2.1. Rudolf Ekstein's Biography

Rudolf Ekstein was born on February 9th, 1912, in Vienna, Austria, two years before the beginning of the First World War in 1914 (Kaufhold, 2001, p. 97). His parents were Jews (ibid.). His father worked as an accountant (ibid.). Since Ekstein's mother died shortly after his birth, he was raised by a Catholic foster mother for the time his father served in the war (Steinlechner-Oberläuter, 2021, p. 20). When attending secondary school, Rudolf Ekstein began tutoring other students.

After the end of the First World War and the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy in 1918 the Austrian First Republic was founded after the signing of the Treaty of Saint Germain in 1919. During the Austrian First Republic there were high tensions, including violent clashes between the Socialist Party (*Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei Österreichs, SDAPÖ*) and the Catholic and bourgeois Conservative Party (*Christlichsoziale Partei, CS*) (Pelinka, 2017, pp. 18f.). At that time of enormous social and political conflicts, Rudolf Ekstein was strongly engaged in the socialist political and educational movement (Kaufhold, 2001, pp. 99f.). When the Austrian Socialist Party (*Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei Österreichs, SDAPÖ*) was banned in 1933, Ekstein became illegally involved in the Communist Youth Association (*Kommunistischer Jugendverband*) (Kaufhold, 1993, p. 47). He was arrested several times and spent some weeks in prison (ibid.).

Rudolf Ekstein started his studies of psychology and philosophy at the University of Vienna in 1930 (Steinlechner-Oberläuter, 2021, p. 61). At university, he dealt especially with the psychological concepts of the Viennese School of Developmental Psychology (*Wiener Psychologische Schule*), especially those of Charlotte and Karl Bühler, as well as with the

philosophical theories of the Vienna Circle (*Der Wiener Kreis*), especially of Moritz Schlick, who was his dissertation supervisor (Kaufhold, 2001, pp. 103f.). After Schlick was assassinated in 1936, Ekstein submitted his thesis *Zur Philosophie der Psychologie* (1936) to Karl Bühler and passed his doctoral viva in 1938 (Steinlechner-Oberläuter, 2021, p. 72).

In 1935, Ekstein began the psychoanalytic seminar for educators of the Viennese Psychoanalytic Society, a two-year training program, the central elements of which included the self-reflection of the educator in a psychoanalytic process (Kaufhold, 2001, p. 32). Ekstein started his training-analysis with Eduard Kronengold, which, however, had to be interrupted due to the political situation (Steinlechner-Oberläuter, 2021, p. 80.). The annexation of Austria by Nazi Germany in 1938 represented a major threat to Ekstein as a Jew, a psychoanalyst and a socialist active in the resistance (p. 84), which is why he fled, with the support of friends, first to England and then to the USA (Ekstein, 1987, p. 472). Ekstein managed to get his father out of Nazi Germany; almost all his other relatives, however, were murdered by the National Socialist regime (Kaufhold, 1993, p. 49). In the USA, Ekstein got a job through a refugee organization as a teacher in New Hampshire (ibid.). In 1941, he completed his training as a social worker in Boston (ibid.). After finishing his psychoanalytic training with the psychoanalyst Eduard Hitschmann, who had also fled from Vienna, Ekstein worked as a psychoanalyst in private practice as well as a research assistant at Harvard University (ibid.). In 1942, Ekstein married an American, and they had two children (ibid.). From 1947 to 1958, Rudolf Ekstein worked as a psychotherapist, teaching analyst, and supervisor at the Menninger Clinic in Topeka, Kansas (ibid.). At the Menninger Clinic, Ekstein's psychoanalytic research focused mainly on two areas: psychoanalytic training and childhood psychosis (Steinlechner-Oberläuter, 2021, p. 104). In collaboration with Robert Wallerstein, Ekstein developed methods of supervision and of teaching supervision that were incorporated into the psychoanalytic training program at the Menninger Clinic (p. 105). In 1958, Ekstein and Wallerstein published their insights from the research project in the book *The Teaching and Learning of Psychotherapy* (ibid.). In addition, Ekstein pioneered a research project on childhood borderline disorder, and tried to find new ways of understanding the inner world of, and communicating with, children with autism, psychosis, and borderline disorder (p. 107).

From 1958 to 1978, Ekstein worked at the Reiss-Davis Child Study Center in Los Angeles, California, where he continued his psychoanalytic work and research with children with borderline disorder (Kaufhold, 1993, p. 50). His central publications from the research project

on childhood psychosis were published in the book *Children of Time and Space, of Action and Impulse* in 1966 (Steinlechner-Oberläuter, 2021, p. 107). Another research focus of Ekstein at the Reiss-Davis Child Study Center was building a “bridge” between psychoanalysis and education (Ekstein & Motto, 1967, p. 2), especially school education (Steinlechner-Oberläuter, 2021, pp. 116f.). In collaboration with R. Motto, Ekstein developed a psychoanalytically oriented post-graduate program for teachers, which was offered at the Reiss-Davis Child Study Center in collaboration with the Psychoanalytic Institute of Los Angeles (Kaufhold, 1993, p. 51). In the field of education, Ekstein was concerned, among other things, with the relationship between psychoanalysis and education, with the social conditions of education, with the psychic development of children, with the teaching-learning process, and with the professional education of teachers (Steinlechner-Oberläuter, 2021, pp. 116ff.). Several of Ekstein and Motto’s articles on education were published in 1969 in the book *From Learning for Love to Love of Learning* (p. 120).

Next to psychoanalytic training, childhood psychosis, and psychoanalytically oriented education, Ekstein’s research includes philosophical works, many of which were published in *The Language of Psychotherapy* in 1989. After Ekstein’s research projects at the Reiss-Davis Child Study Center were discontinued in 1976 due to financial reasons, he worked as a psychoanalyst in private practice and continued to publish articles and give lectures, in the USA as well as in Europe (Kaufhold, 1993, p. 51). Between 1970 and 1996, Ekstein taught every year as a visiting professor at the University of Vienna (Datler & Gstach, 2021, p. 23). In 1995, he was awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Vienna (Gstach, 2009, p. 148). Rudolf Ekstein died in Los Angeles in 2005 (ibid.).

2.2. The Emergence of Psychoanalysis

In the following subchapter the discursive context of the emergence of psychoanalysis is explored based on research literature as well as primary sources. As a result of this investigation, a hypothesis is derived regarding the ideological languages expressed in psychoanalysis. This hypothesis forms one basis for the examination of the discourses that are brought to the fore in Rudolf Ekstein’s conception of education.

The Development of Psychoanalysis

According to Ellenberger (1985, pp. 750f.) the dominant current within the newly institutionalized modern psychiatry in the second half of the 19th century was somatic psychiatry (*Somatiker*), which dealt mainly with structural anatomical causes for mental

illnesses. In somatic psychiatry, the concept of the soul was rejected as metaphysical (ibid.). Instead, the brain was the focus of attention (ibid.). During the 1870s and 1880s, Sigmund Freud dealt scientifically with neuroanatomical and neuropathological questions and investigated the effects of cocaine (Blüml & Doering, 2017, p. 92). As much as Freud identified with the positivistic view, there were questions he dealt with that he could not solve with the help of the somatic approach (ibid.). Therefore, Sigmund Freud reached out for other methods in psychiatry and became very interested in hypnotism (ibid.). Various types of hypnotism and suggestion were used by healers and exorcists throughout history (Stumm, 2017, pp. 36ff.). Stumm (ibid.) argues that since the end of the 18th century, hypnotism was no longer considered a magical, religious, or mystical procedure, but a more or less scientific technique (ibid.). The leading figure of the method of hypnotism at that time was the Austrian physician Franz Anton Mesmer, who founded the theory of animal magnetism, also known as mesmerism (ibid.). The central aspect of the theory was the assumption of a physical life force, the magnetic fluidum, that could be influenced through the induced trance of the patients (ibid.). The French Royal Commission denied the existence of the magnetic fluidum and attributed any success to placebo effects (ibid.). Nevertheless, hypnotism, somnambulism (which refers to a lighter trance) and suggestion remained central methods for medical treatment until the beginning of the 20th century (ibid.).

Freud got to know the techniques of hypnotism from leading figures of dynamic psychiatry, namely the French physicians Jean-Martin Charcot, Ambroise-Auguste Liébeault and Hippolyte Marie Bernheim (Stumm, 2017, pp. 36ff.). Charcot was the most prominent neurologist to deal with hysteria, which was one of the big mysteries in 19th century neurology and psychiatry (Blüml & Doering, 2017, pp. 92f.). Stumm (2017, pp. 36ff.) points out that, whereas Charcot, a materialistic psychiatrist, saw the triggerability of trance as a hysteric pathological symptom, Liébeault and Bernheim considered hypnotism a normal psychological phenomenon. Freud, who was very appreciative of Charcot's theories and initially used hypnotic and suggestive techniques under the term of *Hypnokatharsis*, later rejected them, because according to him they did not result in a lasting cure of the symptoms (Blüml & Doering, 2017, p. 93).

According to Ellenberger (1985, p. 209), at the end of the 19th century, the pathology of hysteria was the main center of attention within European psychiatry. Hypotheses regarding hysteria had been linked to womanhood and the uterus since antiquity (ibid.). In accordance with its predominantly somatic orientation, 19th century psychiatry mainly attributed hysteric

symptoms to hereditary and biological causes (Blüml & Doering, 2017, p. 93). However, in the second half of the 19th century, psychiatrists became more and more interested in investigating the psychological causes of hysteria (Ellenberger, 1985, p. 209). The therapeutic methods in dynamic psychiatry were mainly hypnotism and suggestion (pp. 220ff.). According to Ellenberger (p. 85), the Jewish Viennese neurologist Moritz Benedikt was the first to systematically describe his approach of a form of talk therapy for hysteric patients, which assumed as the cause of hysteria a painful secret of the patient that was often connected to sexuality. Ellenberger (ibid.) shows that Benedikt, in his publications between 1864 and 1895, describes how the patient's verbalization of the secret and the working through of the problems during talk therapy can bring about cure. The Viennese Jewish internist Josef Breuer also developed a sort of talk therapy during the treatment of the Jewish feminist Bertha Pappenheim, who suffered from various hysteric and psychotic symptoms (Blüml & Doering, 2017, p. 93). The treatment of Bertha Pappenheim began in 1880 (Ellenberger, 1985, p. 661). According to Blüml and Doering (2017, p. 93), Breuer attributed the symptoms to strong affects which were caused by traumatic experiences that could not be remembered. The goal of the talk therapy, which Breuer called cathartic (*kathartisch*), was the discharge of the unconscious affects by making them conscious (ibid.). According to Blüml and Doering (2017), Bertha Pappenheim referred to the treatment as "chimney sweeping" and "talking cure" (p. 93).

Josef Breuer and Sigmund Freud, who had collaborated since the 1890s, further developed their theory of hysteria, the unconscious and psychotherapy on the basis of the treatment of Bertha Pappenheim and many other patients with hysterical, neurotic and psychotic symptoms (Blüml & Doering, 2017, p. 93). According to Ellenberger (1985, p. 492), their publication *Über den psychischen Mechanismus hysterischer Phänomen - Vorläufige Mitteilung* of 1893 contains references to Moritz Benedikt and Pierre Janet, a French student of Charcot, who attributed hysteric symptoms to unconscious parts of the personality that have been split off because of traumatic experiences. Pierre Janet used mainly techniques of hypnotism and suggestion to dissolve these parts of the personality (ibid.). Blüml and Doering (2017, p. 94) argue that in Freud's and Breuer's publication *Studien über Hysterie* of 1895, which is considered the hour of birth of psychoanalysis, hysteric symptoms are understood as symbolic expressions of unconscious psychic conflicts. Whereas Breuer did not pursue the issue of psychotherapeutic treatment any longer, Freud, who initially focused, like some French psychiatrist, on the reconstruction of the traumatic causes of neurotic symptoms, especially sexual abuse (*Verführungstheorie*), shifted the focus to the unconscious psychological

processes underlying hysterical, neurotic, and psychotic symptoms (ibid.). According to Blüml and Doering (p. 98f), Freud developed the concepts of psychic conflict and psychic defense (*Abwehr*), which refers to an unconscious process by which psychic content, which is considered indecent, or dangerous if it became conscious, is made unconscious. However, Freud assumed that the repressed psychic content pushes continuously into consciousness and, even if made unconscious, has a great impact on psychic experience and behavior (ibid.).

As Stumm (2017, p. 34) argues, Freud developed a new form of treatment, which is considered to be the beginning of modern psychotherapy. The principle of psychoanalytic treatment is free association (*freie Assoziation*), which means that the patient should say everything that comes to their mind (Blüml & Doering, 2017, p. 112). According to Heenen-Wolff (1987, p. 57), this approach differed significantly from the dominant psychiatric methods of hypnotism and suggestion, which were based on a directive approach on the part of the physician.

Heenen-Wolff (1987, pp. 57f.) argues that at that time, Freud's theories were decisively rejected by the medical profession because of his departure from traditional medical principles. Furthermore, Freud's central theory of the psychosexual development of the child (*Libidotheorie*), including the Oedipus conflict, was opposed to the sexual morals and taboos of predominantly Catholic Austria and as such provoked strong counter-reactions (Kaufhold & Wirth, 2008). However, Freud continued his investigations and engaged in a systematic analysis of his own psyche with the support of his pen friend Wilhelm Fliess, a German Jewish physician (Blüml & Doering, 2017, p. 94). Another place where Freud discussed his psychoanalytical theories in the beginnings was the *B'nai B'rith Loge Wien*, a Jewish Masonic lodge (Kaufhold & Wirth, 2008). According to Blüml and Doering (2017, p. 94), in 1900 Freud published *Die Traumdeutung*, in which he described the interpretation of dreams as a key to the unconscious, as dreams are considered expressions of wishes, which are the more deformed and disguised the more they contain repressed psychic material. After 1900, the theories of Freud aroused more and more interest (ibid.). Since 1902, Freud met weekly with interested colleagues to discuss clinical cases and psychoanalytical theory, as well as personal, social, and artistic topics (ibid.). The original members of the Psychological Wednesday Society (*Mittwochsgesellschaft*) were Alfred Adler, Wilhelm Stekel, Max Kahane and Rudolf Reitler (Roudinesco & Plon, 2004, pp. 818f.). Otto Rank, Paul Federn, Isidor Sadger and Fritz Wittels joined later (ibid.). In 1908 the *Mittwochsgesellschaft* was transformed into the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society (*Wiener Psychoanalytische Vereinigung*)

(Blüml & Doering, 2017, p. 94). Most of the 58 members in 1910 were Jews from Galicia, Bukovina, Russia, and Hungary (Roudinesco & Plon, 2004, p. 819).

According to Blüml and Doering (2017, p. 95), based on the weekly discussions and the empirical insights that Freud gained from his cases, he elaborated his theories and revised them multiple times. Many of the members of the psychoanalytical societies also developed the psychoanalytic theories further, which led to fruitful discussions and revisions and sometimes also to considerable conflicts (Blüml & Doering, 2017, p. 95). The first prominent example of a split is the Jewish Viennese physician Alfred Adler, who distanced himself from psychoanalysis in 1911 and founded his own psychological school, called individual psychology (*Individualpsychologie*) (Stumm, 2017, pp. 56f.). Psychoanalytic theories spread more and more internationally. For example, there was an important connection to the psychiatric clinic Burghölzli in Zurich in Switzerland, led by Eugen Bleuler (Roudinesco & Plon, 2004, p. 913). C. G. Jung, a student of Bleuler, collaborated intensively with Sigmund Freud for several years (ibid.). According to Stumm (2017, p. 60), Freud had high hopes that Jung could be his successor and as a Christian could defend psychoanalysis against antisemitism. In 1908 Freud wrote to his Jewish colleague Karl Abraham in reference to Jung: “Ich hätte beinahe gesagt, daß erst sein Auftreten die Psychoanalyse der Gefahr entzogen hat, eine jüdische nationale Angelegenheit zu werden” (Freud, 1908, May 3, p. 107). In the same year Freud wrote to Abraham: “Unsere arischen Genossen sind uns doch ganz unentbehrlich, sonst verfiere die Psychoanalyse dem Antisemitismus” (Freud, 1908, December 20, p. 153). In 1909, Jung accompanied Freud in addition to Ferenczi on his journey to the USA (Roudinesco & Plon, 2004, p. 1093). However, the discrepancies between Freud’s and Jung’s theories became more and more obvious and led to a split in 1912 (Stumm, 2017, p. 60). Brumlik (2006, p. 59) argues that the conflicts with Adler as well as Jung originated from the fact that Adler and Jung disputed the high relevance of sexuality in human development, which Freud considered the central part of psychoanalytical theory. The International Psychoanalytical Association was founded in 1910 (Blüml & Doering, 2017, p. 94). In 1920 Freud received a full professorship at the University of Vienna (ibid.). In 1930 he was awarded the Goethe Prize of the City of Frankfurt (ibid.)

As Kaufhold and Wirth (2008) show, National Socialism forced most psychoanalysts and psychoanalytically oriented educators to flee and put a temporary end to psychoanalysis in Austria and Germany. In 1933, psychoanalytic books were burnt (ibid.). Nearly all members of the Viennese Psychoanalytic Society were Jews and emigrated (ibid.). After his daughter

Anna Freud was arrested and interrogated by the Gestapo in 1938, Sigmund Freud left Vienna together with his daughter (ibid.). Bruno Bettelheim and Ernst Federn survived the imprisonment in concentration camps and became the founders of a psychology of terror (ibid.). Twenty psychoanalysts were murdered (ibid.). The terrible experiences caused many psychoanalysts to deal with the social processes of war, fascism, national socialism, antisemitism, and the holocaust (ibid.).

In the course of the 20th and 21st century, psychoanalytical theory spread globally and differentiated enormously (Blüml & Doering, 2017, p. 92). Anna Freud and Melanie Klein were the first to adapt the psychoanalytic method for the treatment of children (p. 120). Melanie Klein, Wiliam Fairbairn, Donald Winnicott, Wilfred Bion, and Edith Jabobsen among others further investigated the relevance of interpersonal relationships for the development of the psyche (Object relations theory) (p. 103). Based on Anna Freud's theories on the development of the ego (*Ich*), another current within psychoanalysis developed, namely ego-psychology (*Ich-Psychologie*) (p. 96). The ego-psychology was the dominant psychoanalytic current in the USA with representatives such as Heinz Hartmann, Ernst Kris, Rudolph Loewenstein, René Spitz, and Rudolf Ekstein (ibid.). In France, the most prominent representative of psychoanalysis was Jacques Lacan, who understood psychoanalytic theory as language (ibid.).

The Discursive Roots of Psychoanalysis

Ellenberger (1985, p. 742), who investigated the development of dynamic psychiatry, argues that, despite the large amount of research literature on psychoanalytical theory, the origins of psychoanalysis are still incompletely researched. Research literature focusing on the emergence of psychoanalysis is remarkably heterogeneous, if not to say conflicting. There are plenty of hypotheses that interpret the emergence of psychoanalysis from various perspectives. Some of these perspectives are for example the interpretation of psychoanalysis as an expression of Sigmund Freud's biographical issues (e.g., Robert, 1975), or as a reaction to social processes such as antisemitic racial theory (Gilman, 1994) and the immense destructive crisis of European modernity (Brumlik, 2006). Research literature shows that 19th century theories that focused on the main issues that psychoanalysis deals with, such as psychopathology, the unconscious, human drives, dreams, and sexuality were manifold (Gstach, 2015; List, 2014). However, according to Stumm (2017, p. 38), psychoanalysis is considered the first empirical approach to systematically investigate the unconscious aspects of the psyche, which led to a revolutionary system of scientific theories. Brumlik (2006, p. 13)

argues that the issues that are dealt with in psychoanalytical theory are not new, but that until the 19th century they had their place mostly in art, literature, or music as well as religion, mysticism, and philosophy. According to Brumlik (2006, pp. 10, 13), part of the innovative character of psychoanalysis is the result of the combination of philosophical, religious, and artistic topics with an empirical scientific approach that is tied to the single case, to the interpretation of the personal psychic experience of the individual. However, this special characteristic of the psychoanalytic approach does not explain which discourses exactly are brought to the fore in psychoanalysis. In the following, I discuss the research literature on the discourses that enabled the emergence of psychoanalysis.

Enlightenment, Materialism, and Positivism

According to Gay (1993, p. 976), psychoanalytic theory expresses materialistic, religion-critical discourses of the European Enlightenment and the *Vormärz*. Parallels can be found especially with the anti-idealistic philosophy of Ludwig Feuerbach, which Sigmund Freud appreciated (Gay, 1988, p. 65). Ellenberger (1985, p. 751) shows that Freud called himself an atheist and that there are no signs in his texts that he believed in anything metaphysical. In his religion-critical work *Zukunft einer Illusion* Freud writes: “Es gibt keine Instanz über der Vernunft” (Freud, 1927, p. 350). Freud assumed that the belief in something religious or metaphysical was opposed to science (Freud, 1927). According to Gay (1988), it is an issue of psychoanalysis to understand empirically the psychological phenomenon that humans believe in something metaphysical or religious (p. 62). Ellenberger (1985, p. 751) argues that Freud shared the positivist approach of many of his medical colleagues. According to him, early psychoanalytic theory expresses the ideological language of scientism, and adopts principles and language of physics and mechanics to describe psychological processes (ibid.). In addition, Ellenberger (1985, pp. 335f.) argues that there are analogies between psychoanalytic theories and the theories of Charles Darwin. However, the research approach of modern natural science, which was represented in somatic psychiatry of the 19th century, is adapted in psychoanalytic theory. As outlined above, somatic psychiatry rejected the concept of the soul as metaphysical and focused mainly on anatomy, the brain, and genetics (Ellenberger, 1985, pp. 750f.). The focus of psychoanalytical theory, however, is the concept of the psyche and culture in an empirical, anti-idealistic way (Gay, 1988, p. 59). According to Gay (1988, p. 67) and Ellenberger (1985, p. 746) similarities can be found especially to Ludwig Feuerbach and Friedrich Nietzsche, who also dealt with psychological and sociological issues in an anti-idealistic, though mostly philosophical way. Freud was also critical of philosophy, albeit less

than of religion: “Die Philosophie ist der Wissenschaft nicht gegensätzlich, ... entfernt sich aber von ihr, indem sie an der Illusion festhält, ein lückenloses und zusammenhängendes Weltbild liefern zu können” (Freud, 1933b, p. 173). According to Gay (1988, pp. 59ff.), psychoanalytic theory brings to the fore discourses of Enlightenment that emphasize the importance of reason to explain (even the seemingly irrational) aspects of life. However, Brumlik (2006, p. 22) points out that psychoanalysis, although it emphasizes the importance of reason, simultaneously questions the determining role of consciousness in human experience and behavior. The Enlightenment was not exclusively a Christian endeavor but was also represented by Jewish philosophers, such as Moses Mendelssohn, in the so called *Haskala* (Brumlik, 2009, pp. 137-142). Freud was an active member of a Jewish Masonic lodge, the *B’nai B’irth Loge Wien*, where he discussed his psychoanalytical theories in the beginnings (Bakan, 1958).

19th Century Theories of the Unconscious, Human Drives, Sexuality, and Dreams

According to Gstach (2015, p. 72), references of Freud regarding the antecedents of psychoanalysis are rare. Studies that investigated the ideological roots of psychoanalysis highlight 19th century theories on the unconscious, the instinctual character of human nature, dreams, and the significance of sexuality in psychopathology (Ellenberger, 1985, pp. 742-760). Gstach (2015, p. 72) shows that concepts of unconscious aspects of the mind, or soul, were widely debated in the 19th century, not only in art, literature, and music, but also in philosophy and science. Authors who believed in the existence of unconscious psychic forces were for example Friedrich Schleiermacher, Jean Paul, and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (List, 2014) as well as Immanuel Kant, Johann Friedrich Herbart, and Moritz Lazarus (Gstach, 2015). According to Gstach (2015, pp. 80f.), 19th century philosophers that dealt with unconscious aspects of the soul were mostly representatives of German idealistic philosophy (*Naturphilosophie*). Concepts of German romantic *Naturphilosophie* found entry into the so-called *romantic medicine*, which was especially popular in Germany (ibid.). Two prominent representatives of romantic medicine, who dealt with unconscious aspects of the mind, were C. G. Carus and Eduard von Hartmann (Ellenberger, 1985, pp. 292ff., 297), about whom C. G. Jung, the founder of analytical psychology, which, like psychoanalysis, is considered a form of depth psychology, wrote the following in 1969:

Although various philosophers, among them Leibniz, Kant, and Schelling, had already pointed very clearly to the problem of the dark side of the psyche, it was a physician who felt impelled, from his scientific and medical experience, to point to the

unconscious as the essential basis of the psyche. This was C. G. Carus, the authority whom Eduard von Hartmann followed. (Jung, 1969, p. 152)

The question of the dark side of the soul was widely debated during the 19th century within romantic medicine and romantic philosophy, which had its peak between 1800 and 1830 (Ellenberger, 1985, p. 281). According to Ellenberger, the theories of Freud and Jung express romantic traditions (ibid.). However, psychoanalytical theory, lacks central discursive features of German idealistic philosophy and romantic medicine, namely the philosophical ideology of monism that assumes that there is a universal metaphysical principle of the world. Nevertheless, as Blüml and Doering (2017, p. 100) show, Freud adopted many aspects of romantic philosophy, for example the pleasure principle (*Lustprinzip*) from G. T. Fechner.

Ellenberger (1985) shows that unconscious aspects of the soul played an important role also in the theories of Pierre Janet, a French representative of dynamic psychiatry, which relied mainly on hypnotism and suggestion as treatment methods. In addition to unconscious aspects of the soul, the instinctual character of human nature as well as dreams and sexuality were widely debated topics in the philosophy and literature of the 19th century (Ellenberger, 1985, pp. 679f., 693ff.).

Contrast with Predominantly Christian Discourses

In 1918, Freud wrote to his psychoanalytic colleague and friend Oskar Pfister, a Swiss Protestant pastor and psychiatrist: “Ganz nebenbei, warum hat keiner von all den Frommen die Psychoanalyse geschaffen, warum mußte man da auf einen ganz gottlosen Juden warten?” (Freud, 1918, October 9, p. 64).

Freud articulated a question, that many historians and psychoanalysts have dealt with ever since, with very heterogeneous results. As presented above, research literature argues that psychoanalysis brings to the fore discourses of materialistic philosophy, European Enlightenment, and positivism (Ellenberger, 1985; Gay, 1988). Freud noticed a difference in the theoretical positions of representatives of psychoanalysis that were Jewish and those that were Christian. In 1908, Freud wrote to Karl Abraham, who became increasingly suspicious of the theoretical deviations of C. G. Jung:

Seien Sie tolerant und vergessen Sie nicht, dass Sie es eigentlich leichter als Jung haben, meinen Gedanken zu folgen, denn erstens sind Sie völlig unabhängig, und dann stehen Sie meiner intellektuellen Konstitution durch Rassenverwandtschaft näher, während er

als Christ und Pastorensohn nur gegen große innere Widerstände den Weg zu mir findet. Um so wertvoller ist dann sein Anschluß. (Freud, 1908, May 3, p. 107)

Abraham replied: “Die talmudische Denkweise kann ja nicht plötzlich aus uns verschwunden sein” (Abraham, 1908, May 11, p. 109). In the same year, Freud wrote to Abraham: “Wir Juden haben es im ganzen leichter, da uns das mystische Element abgeht” (Freud, 1908, July 20, p. 125).

The difference to Christian idealism is also illustrated from the other side by the following statement of C. G. Jung, the son of a Swiss pastor and the first president of the International Psychoanalytical Association, who separated from Freud after seven years of collaboration:

Meines Erachtens ist es ein schwerer Fehler der bisherigen medizinischen Psychologie gewesen, daß sie jüdische Kategorien, die nicht einmal für alle Juden verbindlich sind, unbesehen auf den christlichen Germanen und Slawen verwandte. Damit hat sie nämlich das kostbarste Geheimnis des germanischen Menschen, seinen schöpferisch ahnungsvollen Seelengrund als kindlich banalen Sumpf erklärt. (Jung, 1995 [1934], p. 191)

C. G. Jung’s theory focuses, like psychoanalysis, on the unconscious. However, as Stumm (2017, p. 60) points out, in contrast to psychoanalytical theory, C. G. Jung’s analytic psychology assumes a transcendent collective dimension of the soul. Brumlik (2006, p. 55) argues that Jung opposed the individualistic and anti-idealistic approach of S. Freud because it reduced the human soul to the fragile outcome of the individual socialization. Other Swiss psychoanalysts, who came from the tradition of Protestantism, such as Oskar Pfister, Hans Zullinger and Eugen Bleuler aspired a synthesis of psychoanalysis and pastoral care (Roudinesco & Plon, 2004, pp. 547, 1166f.).

Greek antiquity

Brumlik (2006) argues that psychoanalysis expresses an anthropology of “violated human self-references” (“verletzte menschliche Selbstverhältnisse”) (p. 13), which, according to him, has its forerunners in Greek tragedy, as well as in the work of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. According to Brumlik (2006, pp. 10ff., 13), the emergence of psychoanalysis can only be understood as a reaction to the deep destructive crisis of European modernity in the first half of the 20th century, i.e., the racist, nationalistic, and totalitarian ideologies, the barbarian First and Second World War and the systematic genocide of the Holocaust. Brumlik (2006, p. 53) argues that psychoanalysis brings to the fore anthropological discourses of Greek mythology,

especially Greek tragedy, which Freud was very familiar with. Brumlik (2006, p. 246) points out that, in contrast to the Protestant parts of Germany, the study of Greek antiquity in the Catholic Habsburg monarchy was not so much dominant in the Christian, but rather in the well-educated Jewish middle class. According to Brumlik (2006, p. 260), the Jewish fascination with Greek antiquity can be understood as a counter movement to the Catholic cult of Latin, Roman civilization. In some contrast to this, Böhme (2011, p. 449) argues that the reference to Greek antiquity enabled the assimilation of Jews to the dominant culture without them having to identify with Christianity. At this point one must add that both Christianity as well as Judaism express interpretations of discourses of Greek antiquity (Beierwaltes, 2014; Grözinger, 2005; Halfwassen, 2008; Idel, 2009; Oberhänsli-Widmer, 2007). This will be returned to later.

As Traverso (2011, p. 43) points out, the Austrian school reform of the *Gymnasium* made antique literature a central subject. S. Freud was fascinated by antiquity and read Greek and Latin literature and philosophy since childhood (ibid.). Later, he also collected antique objects and often compared psychoanalysis to archaeological work (Benthien et al., 2011). Research literature shows that many of the major discursive topics of psychoanalytic theory have analogies to discourses of Greek antiquity. For example, Traverso (2011) as well as Böhme (2011, p. 423) argue that Freud's dream interpretations resemble the theories on dreams of Aristotle and Artemidor. In addition, Weissberg (2011) as well as Anz (2011, p. 196) show that both Breuer and Freud referred to the psychotherapeutic method by the Aristotelian concept of *catharsis* and that Aristotle's concept of *eudaimonia* has similarities to the psychoanalytic *pleasure principle* (*Lustprinzip*). Besides theories of Aristotle, research literature suggests similarities to Platonic concepts. According to Böhme (2011, p. 445), the psychoanalytic theory of *eros* has analogies to Plato's concept of *eros*. Anz (2011, p. 200) argues that Plato's model of the psyche in *Phaidon* resembles the psychoanalytic differentiation between the *id* (*Es*) and the *ego* (*Ich*). In addition, Böhme (2011, p. 445) shows that the psychoanalytic differentiation between the two human drives, namely *eros* and *thanatos*, is very similar to the dualistic conception of the cosmological forces of *philia* (*love*) and *neikos* (*strife*) of the Greek pre-Socratic philosopher Empedokles. Böhme (2011, p. 443) as well as Beland (2011) argue that the anthropology expressed in Greek myths, especially the tragedy *Oedipus Rex* of Sophokles, was of great significance for the development of psychoanalytic theory. Despite of this similarities, research literature partly argues that although S. Freud referred explicitly to many of the antique theories mentioned above, he

often did so subsequently in order to support the psychoanalytic concepts (Benthien et al., 2011, p. 24; Böhme, 2011, p. 445; Anz, 2011, p. 192).

Interestingly, most of the mentioned discursive topoi of Greek antiquity that are similar to central topics of psychoanalytical theory, can also be found in Judaism. For example, Rabbinic Judaism as well as Hasidism bring to the fore interpretations of the Platonic discursive topoi of *eros*, bisexuality, the battle between the good and evil drive, and the cultural relevance of sublimation.

Judaism

According to Bakan (1958), from the perspective of the history of ideas, pre-Freudian theories on the unconscious and on the importance of sexuality in psychopathology cannot fully explain the emergence of a theory so rich as psychoanalysis. Therefore, Bakan (1958) concludes that psychoanalytic theory brings to the fore traditions of Jewish mysticism. Since the beginnings of psychoanalysis there is an ongoing debate on the question of the relation of psychoanalysis and Judaism. In contrast to several publications that argue for psychoanalysis to be an expression of Jewish discourses (e.g., Bakan, 1958; Rice, 1990; Yerushalmi, 1991), Gay (1993) interprets psychoanalysis as a strictly secular science, “deren Prinzipien dem Positivismus des 19. Jahrhunderts am meisten und dem Judentum nichts verdankte” (p. 978).

Interestingly, the religious and secular interpretations of the emergence of psychoanalysis seem to oppose each other, as if both Jewish as well as positivistic discourses could not be expressed simultaneously in psychoanalytic theory. In addition, in this debate it is not considered that the discourses of modern science may themselves have religious roots. The studies of Daniel Tröhler (2011a, 2011c) show that modern European science in its various currents, especially its psychological disciplines, expresses religious discourses. The debate on the discursive relation of psychoanalysis and Judaism, however, seems to create the choice between either depriving Judaism of psychoanalysis or depriving psychoanalysis of its scientific character. Freud himself was rather ambiguous concerning the relation of Judaism and psychoanalytic theory but was very clear in his claim of psychoanalysis as a non-religious and universal science (Roudinesco & Plon, 2004, pp. 507f.). In this connection it is very relevant to point out that the existence of psychoanalysis was highly endangered by the massive antisemitism and national ideologies that dominated large parts of Europe (ibid.). According to Roudinesco and Plon (2004, pp. 507f.), the claim that psychoanalysis was a Jewish undertaking was frequently used by its critics in order to devalue the scientific character of psychoanalysis and present it as a particularity that had nothing to do with the

German mind (*Geist*). During National Socialism psychoanalytic books were burnt, and many psychoanalysts had to flee or were forced into concentration camps and murdered (ibid.). This explains that one cannot deal with the question of the relation of psychoanalysis and Judaism without considering century long murderous antisemitism and the systematic genocide of six million European Jews.

Since Sigmund Freud was the central figure especially in the beginnings of psychoanalysis, the following section deals with the historic context of his life and work. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that Freud developed his theories in discussions with his colleagues and students, who were in the beginnings mostly Jews (Brumlik, 2006, p. 27). Freud was born in 1856 in Freiberg in Moravia, which is called today Příbor and is situated in the Czech Republic (Heenen-Wolff, 1987, pp. 33ff.). Freiberg, at that time part of the Habsburg monarchy, had approximately 5000 German and Czech inhabitants, who were predominantly Catholic (ibid.). The Jews who lived in Freiberg were mostly German. Sigmund Freud's father was a Jewish wool merchant from Galicia, who was connected to Hasidic Judaism (ibid.). Sigmund Freud's mother came from Brody, where she grew up in a Hasidic family with her grandfather being a rabbi (Roudinesco & Plon, 2004, p. 274). When Freud was four years old, the family migrated over Leipzig to Vienna (Heenen-Wolff, 1987, pp. 33ff.). Vienna as the central city of the Austrian Empire respectively the Austro-Hungarian Empire after 1867, was an international metropolis inhabited by various peoples, such as Germans, Czechs, Ruthenians, Hungarians, Slovenians, Ukrainians, Italians, Polish, and Slovaks (Brumlik, 2006, p. 8). According to Hanak-Lettner and Spera (2013, p. 163), despite the failure of the 1848 revolution, Liberalism grew in Vienna and the economy experienced an upswing, which attracted immigrants from all parts of the empire. Hanak-Lettner and Spera (2013, p. 163) show that in 1880, only 38 percent of the Viennese population was born in Vienna, and that by 1880, ten per cent of the Viennese population were Jewish. Kaufhold and Wirth (2008) argue that when Freud attended the *Gymnasium* in Vienna, the number of his Jewish classmates increased from 44 to 73 percent. According to Gay (1988, p. 29), in the 1880s at least half of all Viennese journalists, doctors and lawyers were Jews.

Brumlik (2009, p. 137) argues that liberalism was strong within modern Judaism, for which the *Haskala*, the Jewish Enlightenment, was the basis for. The *Haskala* advocated the equalization of the Jewish population (ibid., p. 138). Within the 1848 Viennese revolution, Jewish activists, who identified themselves as equals within the German culture, were strongly represented (Hanak-Lettner & Spera, 2013, p. 155). Heenen-Wolff (1987, p. 33)

argues that for liberal Jews, liberal ideas of the Enlightenment were connected with a strong optimism that antisemitic discrimination could be overcome. However, their emancipatory optimism was countered by a new rise in antisemitism, that became increasingly characterized by nationalism (Hanak-Lettner & Spera, 2013, p. 155). The 1867 State Basic Law (*Staatsgrundgesetz*) of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which promised the fully legal equalization of all inhabitants, was far from implementation in real life (ibid.). Although many Jewish people assimilated, in the 1870s, a form of political antisemitism emerged, supported by Georg von Schönerer, the leader of the Austrian nationalistic *Deutschnationale* party (Heenen-Wolff, 1987, p. 47). In addition, antisemitism became a major part of the political program of the Austrian catholic and bourgeois Conservative party (*Christlichsoziale Partei*), as represented for example by Karl Lueger, who was the founder of the *Christlichsoziale Partei* and Viennese mayor from 1897 bis 1910 (ibid., pp. 48f.). According to Heenen-Wolff (1987, p. 39), assimilation, emancipation, and antisemitism led for many Jews to a double identity that was shaped by the culture of the Jewish minority as well as that of the Christian majority.

Beside liberal Judaism, the Jewish current of Hasidism was popular in 19th century Europe, especially in the eastern parts, from where Sigmund Freud's father and mother, like many other Jewish immigrants came to Vienna (Bakan, 1958, p. viii). According to Heenen-Wolff (1987, pp. 51, 37), Sigmund Freud was not raised in a Jewish-orthodox way and his youth in Vienna was shaped by assimilation. In an interview in 1926 by George Sylvester Viereck, Freud said:

Meine Sprache ist deutsch. Meine Kultur, meine Bildung sind deutsch. Ich betrachtete mich geistig als Deutschen, bis ich die Zunahme des antisemitischen Vorurteils in Deutschland und Deutschösterreich bemerkte. Seit dieser Zeit ziehe ich es vor, mich einen Juden zu nennen. (Viereck, 1930, p. 34, as cited in Gay, 1989, p. 504)

According to Gay (1988, p. 131) Freud's Jewish religion teacher Samuel Hammerschlag, that he was very fond of, focused more on ethics than on theology. However, Heenen-Wolff (1987, p. 37) argues that even though Freud identified himself as an atheist and did not practice Jewish religion, he remained connected to Jewish culture. Freud mostly referred to his Jewish identity in texts which were specifically addressed to Jewish people. Freud's references to his Jewish identity became more frequent as Antisemitism increased in Vienna.

In 1926 Freud wrote to his colleagues of the *B'nai B'rith Loge Wien*, a kind of Jewish Masonic lodge that he was an active member of:

Daß Sie Juden sind, konnte mir nur erwünscht sein, denn ich war selbst Jude, und es war mir immer nicht nur unwürdig, sondern direkt unsinnig erschienen, es zu verleugnen. Was mich ans Judentum band, war – ich bin schuldig, es zu bekennen – nicht der Glaube, auch nicht der nationale Stolz, denn ich war immer ein Ungläubiger, bin ohne Religion erzogen worden, wenn auch nicht ohne Respekt vor den »ethisch« genannten Forderungen der menschlichen Kultur. Ein nationales Hochgefühl habe ich, wenn ich dazu neigte, zu unterdrücken mich bemüht, als unheilvoll und ungerecht, erschreckt durch die warnenden Beispiele der Völker, unter denen wir Juden leben. Aber es blieb genug anderes übrig, was die Anziehung des Judentums und der Juden so unwiderstehlich machte, viele dunkle Gefühlskräfte, umso gewaltiger, je weniger sie sich in Worte erfassen ließen, ebenso wie die klare Bewußtheit der inneren Identität, die Heimlichkeit der gleichen seelischen Konstruktion. (Freud, 1926, May 6, p. 381)

In the preface to the Hebrew translation of *Totem and Taboo*, Freud wrote about himself as the author of the book:

No reader of [the Hebrew version of] this book will find it easy to put himself in the emotional position of an author who is ignorant of the language of holy writ, who is completely estranged from the religion of his fathers—as well as from every other religion—and who cannot take a share in nationalist ideals, but who has yet never repudiated his people, who feels that he is in his essential nature a Jew and who has no desire to alter that nature. If the question were put to him: ‘Since you have abandoned all these common characteristics of your countrymen, what is there left to you that is Jewish?’ he would reply: ‘A very great deal, and probably its very essence.’ He could not now express that essence clearly in words; but some day, no doubt, it will become accessible to the scientific mind. (Freud, 2001 [1939], p. xiiv)

Critics of psychoanalysis frequently claimed in an antisemitic way that psychoanalysis was a particular Jewish science (Roudinesco & Plon, 2004, pp. 507f.). However, Freud emphasized that psychoanalysis was a general science that deals with the human in general (ibid.). Freud left unanswered the question of whether psychoanalysis had Jewish discursive roots. In 1927, he wrote to the Italian neurologist Enrico Morselli: “Ich weiß nicht, ob Ihr Urteil recht hat, welches in der Psychoanalyse ein direktes Erzeugnis des jüdischen Geistes erkennen will, aber wenn es so wäre, würde ich mich nicht beschämt fühlen” (Freud, 1926, February 18, p. 380).

Robert (1975, p. 10) rejects substantive connections between psychoanalysis and Judaism as speculative, although she briefly mentions several analogies to rabbinic literature such as the relevance of dream interpretation, of sexuality, of the earthly-material dimension of daily life, of language, and of the technique of permutation in exegesis. According to Robert (1975, p. 10) such analogies are speculative and could be found in various other cultural traditions. I agree that analogies are not unambiguous as they can indeed be found in various discourses. However, the pattern of the wide range of analogies between psychoanalysis and Judaism and the predominantly Jewish milieu of the development of psychoanalysis indicate a discursive connection. Robert (1975, p. 10), like many other authors, belief that the drawing of connections between psychoanalysis and Judaism, underestimates the profound differences as well as the relevance of other discursive roots. The most profound difference is that psychoanalysis does not assume anything metaphysical, but understands itself as an empirical science that interprets the creation of religion psychologically:

Ich glaube in der Tat, daß ein großes Stück der mythologischen Weltauffassung, die weit bis in die modernsten Religionen hinein reicht, nichts anderes ist als in die Außenwelt projizierte Psychologie. ... Man könnte sich getrauen, die Mythen vom Paradies und Sündenfall, von Gott, vom Guten und Bösen, von der Unsterblichkeit u. dgl. in solcher Weise aufzulösen, die Metaphysik in Metapsychologie umzusetzen. (Freud, 1901, pp. 287f.)

However, this does not exclude the possibility that patterns of thought that are connected to Jewish religion are expressed in a non-metaphysical way. Studies that investigated the connection between Jewish traditions of thought and psychoanalytic theory focused particularly on Rabbinic Judaism (e.g., Oberhänsli-Widmer, 2007) as well as the Jewish mystical tradition, which is represented in the Kabbalah and Hasidic Judaism (e.g., Bakan, 1958; Drob, 2010; Lutzky, 1989; Merkur, 1997; Silverstein, 2012; Wasserman, 2004). Similarities between psychoanalysis and Judaism have been proposed regarding both the psychoanalytic method as well as psychoanalytical psychological and cultural theories. Several studies emphasize the immense significance that the practice of interpretation respectively exegesis has in Judaism (e.g., Aron & Henik, 2010; Ostow, 2018 [1982]). They focus especially on the method of Midrashic inquiry that tries to find new hidden meanings in sacred texts (Cushman, 2010; Meghnagi, 1993). In addition, analogies to the psychotherapeutic method have been proposed regarding the Hasidic pastoral care (Wasserman, 2004; Grözinger, 2008 [1992]). Grözinger (2008 [1992]) argues that in Hasidic

Judaism, the Kabbalah is interpreted in a psychological way. The importance of the individual psyche is emphasized on the basis of the Hasidic assumption that the individual is a microcosm in which the macrocosm is reflected (ibid.). Destruction and repair are considered processes that pervade the macrocosm as well as the microcosmos (Drob, 2010; Lutzky, 1989).

Frosh (2022) argues that psychoanalytical theory expresses a relational Jewish ethic that regards the “human subject as fundamentally interrupted by otherness” (p. 78). Wasserman (2004) investigated analogies of Freud’s structural model of the psyche to the model of the psyche in the *Tanya*, an important book in Hasidic Judaism, which describes three psychic forces: the animal soul, the godly soul, and the individual. Oberhänsli-Widmer (2007) proposes similarities between the rabbinic assumption of the opposing good and the evil human inclination and the psychoanalytical differentiation of the id (*Es*) and the ego (*Ich*). Other similar discursive topoi of psychoanalysis and Judaism proposed in research literature are *eros* and sublimation (Drob, 1998-2006), language (Lutzky, 1989), as well the interpretation of dreams (Wasserman, 2004).

Hypothesis

According to Ellenberger (1985, p. 742) S. Freud combined various topics of 19th century philosophy and science in a powerful synthesis. S. Freud certainly was familiar with and referred to many of these theories. However, I agree with Bakan (1958) that this hypothesis does not explain most of the discursive characteristics of psychoanalytic theory. Like Bakan (1958), I assume that the topoi that Ellenberger (1985) argues were synthesized by Freud, already belonged together in an ideological language, namely the discourse of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism. Based on the investigation of the discursive context of the emergence of psychoanalysis, the hypothesis can be derived that the ideological language of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism combines the following discursive topoi of psychoanalytic theory: *eros*, bisexuality, the strife of the human soul, the cultural relevance of sublimation, dream interpretation, the emphasis on psychological interpretation, the emphasis on the individual, the analogy of the individual and society, the importance of interaction and relationships for human development, remembering as salvation, and the focus on language. Interestingly the investigation of the discursive roots of psychoanalysis indicates that some of these discursive topoi of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism, such as *eros*, the strife of the human soul, sublimation, and bisexuality interpret topics of Greek antiquity, especially of Platonic and Aristotelian ideas (Idel, 2009; Oberhänsli-Widmer, 2007).

The hypothesis presented above regarding the discursive emergence of psychoanalysis forms an important basis for the discourse-analytical investigation of the ideological languages that are brought to the fore in Rudolf Ekstein's conception of education. Several of the discursive topoi mentioned above are discussed in more detail in chapter III with regard to Ekstein's articles on education.

2.3. The Emergence of Psychoanalytically Oriented Education

In the previous subchapter, I discussed the research literature on the discursive emergence of psychoanalysis and formulated a hypothesis that forms an important basis for the investigation of the discourses that are brought to the fore in Ekstein's conception of education. However, psychoanalysis is not the only theory received in psychoanalytically oriented education. That's why the following subchapter discusses the discursive context of the emergence of psychoanalytically oriented education with the aim of identifying the discourses that are expressed in it. The hypothesis derived from this investigation forms the second basis for the examination of the ideological languages that are brought to the fore in Rudolf Ekstein's conception of education.

The Development and the Discursive Topics of Psychoanalytically Oriented Education

Among other issues, the discussions of the Psychological Wednesday Society (*Mittwochsgesellschaft*) addressed the questions of appropriate educational interaction and how educators can be educated to realize it (Hierdeis, 2016, p. 19). Based on the reconstructive insights gained in psychoanalytic practice with adults, S. Freud considered the sexuality of the child a central aspect and motor of development (p. 29). In addition, the interpretation of the phantasies of the patients led him to the assumption that the excessive repression of childhood drives causes neuroses (p. 31). At the first psychoanalytic congress in Salzburg in 1908, the Hungarian Jewish psychoanalyst Sándor Ferenczi carried this theory further in his lecture *Psychoanalyse und Pädagogik*, in which he strongly criticized authoritarian education (p. 35). In his article *Analyse der Phobie eines fünfjährigen Knabens* of 1909, S. Freud dealt with the phobia of a five-year-old boy, which he interpreted as an expression of the Oedipus conflict (ibid.). Like Ferenczi, Freud problematized traditional forms of education:

Sie [die Erziehung] hat sich bisher immer nur die Beherrschung, oft richtige Unterdrückung der Triebe zur Aufgabe gestellt; der Erfolg war kein befriedigender und

dort, wo es gelang, geschah es zum Vorteil einer kleinen Anzahl bevorzugter Menschen, von denen Triebunterdrückung nicht gefordert wird. (Freud, 1909, p. 376)

In the same year there was a discussion of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society about the goals of education (Fatke, 1995, p. 9). S. Freud emphasized that the task of education is slowly helping the child to transform their primitive drives into forms that are socially valuable, so that the socialization brings upon minimal damage to the individual psyche:

Sie [die Psychoanalyse] kann aber auch lehren, welche wertvolle Beiträge zur Charakterbildung diese asozialen und perversen Triebe des Kindes ergeben, wenn sie nicht der Verdrängung unterliegen, sondern durch den Prozess der sogenannten Sublimierung von ihren ursprünglichen Zielen weg zu wertvolleren gelenkt werden. Unsere besten Tugenden sind als Reaktionsbildungen und Sublimierungen auf dem Boden der bösesten Anlagen erwachsen. Die Erziehung sollte sich vorsorglich hüten, diese kostbaren Kraftquellen zu verschütten und sich darauf beschränken, die Prozesse zu befördern, durch welche diese Energien auf gute Wege geleitet werden. (Freud, 1913, p. 420)

According to Bittner (2010, p. 10), the focus of psychoanalytically oriented education in the first third of the 20th century was on the critique of traditional authoritarian education from the perspective of psychoanalytic theory as well as the application of psychoanalysis to education with the aim of preventing neuroses. Ferenczi as well as S. Freud argued that adults are unable to understand children, because they cannot understand their own childhood, of which they have forgotten most of:

Ein Erzieher kann nur sein, wer sich in das kindliche Seelenleben einfühlen kann, und wir Erwachsenen verstehen die Kinder nicht, weil wir unsere eigene Kindheit nicht mehr verstehen. Unsere Kindheitsamnesie ist ein Beweis dafür, wie sehr wir ihr entfremdet sind. Die Psychoanalyse hat die Wünsche, Gedankenbildungen, Entwicklungsvorgänge der Kindheit aufgedeckt; alle frühen Bemühungen waren in ärgster Weise unvollständig und irreleitend, weil sie den unschätzbaren wichtigen Faktor der Sexualität in ihren körperlichen und seelischen Äußerungen ganz beiseite gelassen haben. (Freud, 1913, p. 419)

Therefore, Ferenczi and S. Freud concluded that adults must learn to understand children by dealing with psychoanalytical knowledge about the development of the child and by psychoanalytic confrontation with their own psyche (Hierdeis, 2016, p. 35).

The first representatives of psychoanalytically oriented education were women and men from Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Hungary, Italy, and Russia, who came from the fields of education or psychoanalysis (Fatke, 1995, p. 9). Their common goal was the improvement of education based on psychoanalytic insights on human development (ibid.). Their work in the first third of the 20th century was accompanied by great enthusiasm, optimism, and a utopian belief in social change (Kaufhold, 2001, p. 14). Among the pioneers of the psychoanalytically oriented education were Anna Freud, Siegfried Bernfeld, Willy Hoffer, August Aichhorn, Hans Zulliger, Fritz Redl, Bruno Bettelheim, Rudolf Ekstein, and Ernst Federn (Datler, Fürstaller & Wininger, 2015, p. 11; Hierdeis, 2016, pp. 38ff.; Kaufhold, 2001). In 1921, a series of lectures was offered at a Viennese people's education center about the topic of psychoanalysis and education, which included lectures by Siegfried Bernfeld, Hermine Hug-Hellmuth, Joseph Karl Friedjung, and Eduard Hitschmann (Kaufhold, 2001, pp. 30f.). In addition, the anthology *Das Psychoanalytische Volksbuch*, which was first published in 1926, contained many articles about psychoanalytically oriented education by authors such as August Aichhorn, Paul Federn, Heinrich Meng, and Ernst Schneider (ibid.). In the preface, Federn and Meng (1926, pp. 12f.) criticized moralistic educational concepts as well as genetic theories that attribute dissocial behavior to hereditary causes. Federn and Meng emphasized that dissocial behavior is in most cases the result of the life story of the children and adolescents, which has impeded their development:

Das Psychoanalytische Volksbuch legt dar, daß die meisten Kinder, die an Charakterfehlern leiden, nicht ‚böse‘ sind, nicht eine falsche Veranlagung haben, sondern durch Ereignisse und Einflüsse bestimmte Störungen, z. B. Zwangsvorstellungen, erworben haben, die sie an normalem, naturgemäßem Tun und Lassen hindern. Es lehrt also die gestörte, gehemmte Kinderseele verstehen, lenken und heilen. (Federn & Meng, 1926, pp. 12f.)

After the First World War, psychoanalytically oriented educators such as August Aichhorn, Siegfried Bernfeld, Willi Hoffer, and Anna Freud worked with neglected children and adolescents with behavior problems (Hierdeis, 2016, p. 40). From 1918 to 1922, August Aichhorn, who had worked as an elementary school teacher, became head of the youth welfare institutions in Oberhollabrunn as well as St. Andrä, and subsequently of the Viennese youth welfare institutions (ibid.). In 1925, Aichhorn published the book *Verwahrloste Jugend* (*Wayward Youth*), in which he described his psychoanalytically oriented approach of working with dissocial children and adolescents (Aichhorn, 1994 [1925]). The approach aims at

helping the child to develop a positive inner ideal of themselves (*Ich-Ideal*) through pleasurable activities as well as reliable, understanding, and supportive relationships with adults that the children can identify with (pp. 181ff.). In 1921, Wera Schmidt founded a children's home in Moscow (*Kinder-Laboratorium*) that was based on psychoanalytical theories of Anna Freud as well as August Aichhorn (Kaufhold, 2001, pp. 30, 40).

Sigfried Bernfeld, whose dissertation dealt sociologically with adolescence, is considered a pioneer of modern youth research as well as of psychoanalytically oriented education (Hierdeis, 2016, p. 44; Datler, Göppel & Herrmann, 2013, p. 603). Until his emigration to the USA, Bernfeld was strongly engaged in the Zionist youth movement and socialism (Hierdeis, 2016, p. 44). In 1919, together with Wilhelm Hoffer he opened an orphanage for 300 Jewish children in Vienna (*Kinderheim Baumgarten*), where they endeavored to implement Zionism, several liberal concepts of progressive education, as well as psychoanalytically oriented education (ibid.). A main goal of the project was to prepare the orphans for their emigration to Palestine (Kaufhold, 2010). In the *Kinderheim Baumgarten*, psychanalytical concepts formed the basis for the self-reflection of the educators, for child observation, as well as for the understanding of the affects and needs of the children (Hierdeis, 2016, p. 44). In the book *Kinderheim Baumgarten: Bericht über einen ernsthaften Versuch mit neuer Erziehung* (1921) Bernfeld pointed out that the peer group and comradeship were central aspects of education:

Aber die Histadruth war viel mehr als eine Arbeitsvereinigung, sie war durchpulst von Freundschaft und Liebe und das war ihre affektive, ihre pädagogische Leistung, zunächst wurde auch sie zu einem wichtigen Mittel der Sublimierung von sado-masochistischen Triebanteilen. ... Offenbar geht der Weg vom Ich zum Du sehr oft über den Freund, in dem noch ein gut Stück des eigenen Ich geliebt wird; aber im Unterschied zum Narzißmus doch schon an einer Individualität außer dem Ich. (Bernfeld, 1921, pp. 77f.)

According to Kaufhold (2010), the educational concepts of Bernfeld strongly shaped Kibbutz education although the orphanage had to close after one year. In 1925, Bernfeld published the polemical essay *Sisyphos oder Die Grenzen der Erziehung* (*Sisyphos or The Limits of Education*), which criticized traditional education for its idealistic, unrealistic illusions about the efficacy of educational efforts (Bernfeld, 1928 [1925]). In opposition to German idealistic conception of humanistic education (*geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik*), Bernfeld advocated an empirical educational science that should critically examine idealistic educational assumptions (ibid.). According to Bernfeld, the efficacy of education is limited due to several

factors, among them the biographically shaped psyche of the individual children, the biographically shaped psyche of the individual educator, and the social conditions (ibid.). Hierdeis (2016, p. 45) argues that while many representatives of psychoanalytically oriented education focused mainly on the individual child and their life stories, Bernfeld furthermore critically reflected upon the social conditions of education. In this sense Bernfeld (1928 [1925]) emphasized that the traditional educational illusions do not take into account the impeding institutional structures and functions of the school system as well as the impeding social conditions. According to Bernfeld, education, albeit different depending on the specific culture, shares the conservative goal of preserving the state of society and its power relations, which, however, is frequently concealed and justified by conventional educational ideals (ibid.). Like many representatives of psychoanalytically oriented education, Bernfeld emphasized the necessity that educators deal with their own childhood and with their biographical experiences that shape their interactions:

Dies Kind vor ihm ist er selbst als Kind. Mit denselben Wünschen, denselben Konflikten, denselben Schicksalen. Die wirklichen Unterschiede wirken hier leicht. Sie sind Unterschiede des Ichs, soweit sie überhaupt zählen, aber nicht Unterschiede der Triebe und ihrer Wünsche. Und sein Tun, sein Erfüllen und Verbieten ist das seiner eigenen Eltern. ... So steht der Erzieher vor zwei Kindern: dem zu erziehenden vor ihm und dem verdrängten in ihm. Er kann gar nicht anders, als jenes zu behandeln wie er dieses erlebte. (Bernfeld, 1928 [1925], p. 147)

Publicly, psychoanalytically oriented education became established under the term of *psychoanalytische Pädagogik* with the founding of the *Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Pädagogik* in 1926 (Datler, Fürstaller & Wininger, 2015, p. 10). Many of the articles of the *Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Pädagogik* contained case descriptions and dealt with social taboos, such as the sexuality of the child, child masturbation, sex education, nudity, bedwetting, shame, learning disorders, neglect, student suicide, and dissocial disorders (Hierdeis, 2016, pp. 35f.). As Hierdeis (2016, pp. 35f.) points out, this led to public irritation and outrage, especially in Catholic circles, who saw their traditional values in danger. The accusation of Pansexualism (“Pansexualismus”) against psychoanalysis was frequent, as can be seen from a protest declaration of the Association of Catholic teachers in 1929:

Freuds Pansexualismus, der alle seelischen Äußerungen aus dem Geschlechtstrieb erklärt, lehnt die christliche Psychologie ab. Wir gehen hierin einig mit bedeutenden Autoritäten auf dem Gebiet der Psychiatrie, den Univ. Prof. Dr. Bumke, München,

Oppenheim, Berlin, und Hoche, Freiburg. Als eine Entartung der übelsten Art und einen unerhörten Angriff auf die Ethik und christliche Sittenordnung betrachten wir es, wenn unter dem Deckmantel der Wissenschaft in den einzelnen Abhandlungen das Gewissen als etwas Relatives bezeichnet und der freie Wille des Menschen in Frage gestellt wird; oder wenn im Ernst behauptet wird, daß ,die Fähigkeit ungestört onanieren zu können zur seelischen Gesundheit gehört‘, Dr. Reich, Wien (Wochenschrift für katholische Lehrerinnen, 1929, as cited in Meng, 1929, pp. 301f.)

Moreover, most representatives of university education, which was dominated by German idealistic conception of humanistic education (*geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik*), were largely critical of psychoanalysis and its implications for education (Datler, Fürstaller & Wininger, 2015, p. 10).

In 1927, Anna Freud, who worked as an elementary school teacher during the First World War, founded together with the American Dorothy Burlingham and the German Jewish Eva Rosenfeld a private experimental school in Vienna that was based on psychoanalytic principles (Roudinesco & Plon, 2004, pp. 277ff.). Among the teachers of the *Burlingham-Rosenfeld-School*, which was mostly attended by the children of Americans who came to Vienna to undergo psychoanalysis, were Anna Freud, Peter Blos, Erik Erikson, August Aichhorn, and Siegfried Bernfeld (Kaufhold, 2001, p. 32). In addition, Anna Freud founded with the support of the American psychoanalysts Dorothy Burlingham and Edith Jackson in Vienna the *Jackson Nursery*, where they for the first time systematically observed infants in order to gain insights on child development and adaptation (pp. 32, 266). The *Jackson Nursery* had to close in 1938 (ibid.). Nevertheless, psychoanalytic infant observation remained a central aspect in the work of Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham, which they continued in London in the *Hampstead War Nurseries*, where they cared for infants, partly orphans, during the Second World War (Roudinesco & Plon, 2004, p. 280).

Another field of practice of psychoanalytically oriented education was educational counseling (Kaufhold, 2001, p. 30). After the closure of the youth welfare institution in Oberhollabrunn in 1923, Aichhorn was in charge of the psychoanalytical educational counseling center of the Viennese youth welfare office until 1930 (ibid.). In addition, in 1923 an educational counseling center was founded at the ambulatory care center of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society (ibid.). The educational counseling center of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society was first headed by the child analyst Hermine Hug-Hellmuth, later by Flora Kraus and Editha Sterba (ibid.). The target group were families from destitute sections of the population, which

were transferred by schools, teachers, associations, school physicians, pediatricians, or the families themselves (ibid.). Psychoanalytically oriented education became increasingly popular among educators, which resulted in 1926 in the establishment of a psychoanalytic seminar for educators of the Viennese Psychoanalytic Society (ibid.). The seminar was directed by Anna Freud, Wilhelm Hoffer, August Aichhorn, and Hedwig Schaxel (ibid.). Between 1933 and 1938, a two-year training program of the Viennese Psychoanalytic Society was offered for educators, the central elements of which included the self-reflection of the educator in psychoanalysis (p. 32). Overall, approximately 180 educators participated in the training program, among them Rudolf Ekstein (ibid.). In addition, several psychoanalysts began to elaborate techniques for child analysis, among them Anna Freud, Melanie Klein, and Hermine Hug-Hermann (Hierdeis, 2016, p. 38).

According to Heinemann and Hopf (2010, p. 7), the symposium in Budapest in 1937 on the revision of psychoanalytically oriented education (*Revision der Psychoanalytischen Pädagogik*) marks a shift regarding psychoanalytically oriented education. The initial focus on the liberation of the child and their drives brought more and more into view the concurrent necessity of helping the child to learn to tolerate delayed gratification and renunciation (ibid.). The original hope that psychoanalytically oriented education could prevent neuroses was now viewed more skeptically (Kaufhold, 2001, p. 25). As Datler, Göppel & Herrmann (2013, p. 616) as well as Hierdeis (2016, p. 26) show, this more differentiated and less optimistic perspective was already taken by Bernfeld and S. Freud beforehand. In *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur* S. Freud (1930) stressed the ambivalent character of cultural norms that enable human social life but can also cause suffering, neuroses, and destructiveness through the excessive repression of individual needs. This is why, according to S. Freud (1933a), education has to find its way “zwischen der Scylla des Gewährenlassens und der Charybdis des Versagens” (p. 160). Therefore, at the latest after the symposium of 1937, the major goal of psychoanalytically oriented education was seen as slowly helping the *ego* of the child to integrate and sublimate the sexual and aggressive drives in order to support both the autonomy and sociality of the child (Hierdeis, 2016, p. 32). Moreover, education should help the child to resolve inner conflicts and thus strengthen the *ego* of the child (Heinemann & Hopf, 2010, p. 7). This was in line with the psychoanalytic current of ego psychology, which became especially prominent in the USA (Blüml & Doering, 2017, p. 96).

Several psychoanalysts and psychoanalytically oriented educators, such as Rudolf Ekstein, Ernst Federn, Edith Jacobson, Edith Buxbaum, Muriel Gardiner, Marie Langer, Thea

Erdheim-Genner, and Wilhelm Reich were active in the illegal resistance against fascism and National Socialism (Kaufhold & Wirth, 2008). In 1938, the journal *Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Pädagogik* was prohibited (Hierdeis, 2016, p. 40). Most representatives of psychoanalytically oriented education, who were largely Jews and socialists, had to flee (Fatke, 1995, p. 12). Bruno Bettelheim and Ernst Federn survived the imprisonment in the concentration camps Dachau and Buchenwald (Kaufhold & Wirth, 2008). Twenty psychoanalysts were murdered (ibid.). Anna Freud and Melanie Klein emigrated to England; many other representatives of psychoanalytically oriented education fled to the USA, among them Rudolf Ekstein (ibid.). As Kaufhold and Wirth (2008) point out, their flight was possible because the group of Viennese psychoanalysts was strongly internationally connected. Many representatives of psychoanalytically oriented education managed to continue their psychoanalytical and educational work in their countries of emigration, such as Anna Freud, Siegfried Bernfeld, Bruno Bettelheim, Ernst Federn, Rudolf Ekstein, Erik Erikson, Fritz Redl, Peter Blos, Edith Buxbaum, Lili Roubiczek-Peller, Berta und Stefanie Bornstein (ibid.). According to Kaufhold and Wirth (2008), much of the reformist spirit of the collaborative movement, which was strongly tied to the Vienna of the interwar period, was destroyed by fascism and National Socialism. In 1945, Anna Freud founded in collaboration with Heinz Hartmann and Ernst Kris the journal *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* (Hierdeis, 2016, p. 40). In 1952, A. Freud opened the *Hampstead Child Therapy Clinic*, a center for psychoanalytic therapy and psychoanalytic research (Roudinesco & Plon, 2004, p. 280). Psychoanalytically oriented education was further developed especially in the USA by psychoanalysts from Vienna such as Rudolf Ekstein, Bruno Bettelheim, and Ernst Federn (Kaufhold, 2001, p. 17). However, their publications of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s were hardly received in Europe (ibid.).

Kaufhold (2001, p. 17) points out that in central Europe it took until the late 1960s that psychoanalytically oriented education experienced a renaissance. The 1968 student movement in West Germany rediscovered early aspects of psychoanalytically oriented education, especially the critique of authoritarian education and the focus on the liberation of the drives (Heinemann & Hopf, 2010, p. 8). Therefore, many publications on psychoanalytically oriented education of the interwar period were reprinted (Kaufhold, 2001, p. 17). Through increased reception also in academic educational science, an increasing university institutionalization of psychoanalytically oriented education succeeded since the 1980s (Datler, Fürstaller & Wininger, 2015, pp. 13ff.). Within the *German Educational Research Association, GERA (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft, DGfE)*,

psychoanalytically oriented education was represented for the first time at a symposium at a congress in Kiel in 1984 (Bittner, 2010, p. 11). The great interest in the symposium as well as the initiative of Fatke, Datler, Müller, and Schäfer among others led to the establishment of a temporary working group and later a permanent commission (*Psychoanalytische Pädagogik*) within the *GERA (DGfE)* in 1993 (Datler, Fürstaller & Wininger, 2015, p. 15; Bittner, 2010, p. 11). In 1989, the journal *Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Pädagogik* was first published (Heinemann & Hopf, 2010, p. 8).

The Discursive Context of Psychoanalytically Oriented Education

So far, the development of psychoanalytically oriented education has been traced and its main discursive topics have been presented. According to Pocock (1987, pp. 22f.), if one wants to study the ideological languages of a theory, one must learn the ideological languages that were present at the time and place the theory emerged and compare them with the theory. Therefore, following Pocock, the next part of the subchapter deals with the discursive context of psychoanalytically oriented education. Similar to the previous subchapter on the emergence of psychoanalysis (see 2.2.), the comparison of the surrounding ideological languages with psychoanalytically oriented education leads to the formulation of a hypothesis that forms the second basis for examining the discourses that are brought to the fore in Rudolf Ekstein's conception of education.

The emergence of psychoanalytically oriented education in the first third of the 20th century occurred during a period that was shaped by the formation of an international socialist and communist movement, as well as various youth movements and currents of progressive education (Hierdeis, 2016, pp. 20f., 58ff.). According to Oelkers (2005, pp. 112, 281), before the First World War discipline and obedience were the dominant educational goals for most parents, teachers, and school administrators. Authoritarian education found its peak in the military education during the First World War and remained a stable educational ideal for a long time (ibid.). At the beginning of the 20th century the Habsburg monarchy came increasingly under pressure by the striving of several territorial areas for autonomy and fell apart after the First World War, which led to widespread poverty and misery (Hierdeis, 2016, pp. 20f.). During the First Austrian Republic, socialist, nationalistic, as well as Catholic conservative parties struggled for supremacy (ibid.). As Hierdeis (2016, pp. 20f.) and Engelbrecht (1988, p. 15) argue, education was considered a central instrument for achieving political goals. According to Engelbrecht (1988, p. 15) the central educational goal of the

Austrian Catholic, conservative *Christian Social Party* (*Christlichsoziale Partei*), that was in lead in Austria between 1920 to 1930, was the promotion of Catholic moral values in the school and the family. Therefore, they advocated the continued collaboration of the school system and the Catholic church (ibid.).

Socialist Education

However, the public educational situation during the interwar period was different in Vienna, which was continuously governed from 1919 to 1934 by the Socialist Party (*Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei, SDAP*) (Engelbrecht, 1988, p. 73). Among the first reforms of the SDAP (*Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei*) was a broad educational reform, which was carried out under the leadership of Otto Glöckel (Oelkers, 2005, p. 294). The primary goal of the educational reform was the establishment of a school system that was in line with the democratic principles of the Austrian Republic (Glöckel, 1919, p. 4). As such, the declared intention of the school reform was the making of free democratic citizens instead of obedient subjects:

War die Vorbedingung des Absolutismus die Heranbildung eines denkfaulen, geistig wenig regsamen, stets nach Führern ausblickenden Volkes, so liegen die Grundfesten der Demokratie in einem stolzen, arbeitsfreudigen, klugen Volke, das von seinen Rechten den richtigen Gebrauch macht und jeden einzelnen befähigt, ein gut Stück der Verantwortung zu tragen. (Glöckel, 1919, p. 4)

As shown by Jandl (2023, p. 75), another topos of the socialist school reform discourse around Glöckel was that education was considered the right of all children, not only the privileged bourgeois but also the oppressed proletarians. The central element of the educational reform was a new curriculum of the elementary school (*Volksschule*), that provided for a comprehensive school and was led by principles of progressive education, such as child-centeredness, the autonomy and activity of the child, as well as object lesson (Oelkers, 2005, pp. 294f., 300). In addition, the school reform of Otto Glöckel advocated the separation of the school and the Catholic church (Engelbrecht, 1988, p. 14), which was a central element of the socialist discourse on education (Jandl, 2023, pp. 75f.). As a result, the socialist school reform was vehemently criticized by representatives of Catholic education, who in turn saw socialism as the enemy (Nakowitz, 2023, pp. 65ff.). Engelbrecht (1988, p. 56) as well as Oelkers (2005, p. 305) argue that the school reform of the SDAP was more of a liberal character and pursued goals of progressive education.

Jandl (2023), who examined the socialist discourse on education in Vienna of the interwar period, distinguishes the socialist school reform discourse around Glöckel and the discourse of socialist education that was politically to the left of Glöckel. Among the representatives of Austro-Marxist educational philosophy to the left of Glöckel were Max Adler, Otto Bauer, and Otto Felix Kanitz (ibid.). M. Adler (1924) argued that the revolutionization of society in the sense of the liberation of the proletariat requires not only reformed material conditions, but also the psychological emancipation of the subjects by the means of education. Representatives of Austro-Marxism to the left of Glöckel demanded that education must be freed from the grip of the bourgeoisie that was assumed to instrumentalize it for the oppression of the proletariat (Jandl, 2023, p. 83). Therefore, Austro-Marxist educational philosophy to the left of Glöckel was highly critical of traditional educational institutions such as the state schools and the family and therefore focused on intellectual education (*Geistesbildung*) as well as emotional education (*Gefühlsbildung*) outside the school system (ibid.; Engelbrecht, 1988, p. 56). The Austro-Marxist philosophy of education was implemented particularly in out-of-school education, especially the workers' association for children (*Die Kinderfreunde*), rather than in the school system (Adam, 1983, p. 275). Jandl (2023, p. 91) shows that the socialist educational discourse to the left of Glöckel was characterized by the demand that the collective goal of the social liberation of the proletariat be placed above the individual. Individuals were morally required to deal responsibly with alcohol and sexuality in order to be prepared for the collective revolutionary struggle (ibid.). According to M. Adler, educational goals need to be judged sociologically according to their value for collective progress:

Sagt man also: Sozialistische Erziehung, das ist Parteisache, so antworten wie [sic] gelassen: Ja, sie ist es, aber Sache jener Partei, deren Parteiinteresse die gesellschaftliche Zukunft ist. Diese stolze *Partei der Zukunft* zu bilden, *neue Menschen* zu gestalten, denen die Fortentwicklung der Moral, des Rechtes, der Kultur zu einer wirklichen Gemeinschaft für alle *Parteisache* wird, deren Parteigoismus, ja Fanatismus die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung ist - einen solchen Vorwurf der Parteimäßigkeit darf sich die sozialistische Erziehung getrost gefallen lassen. (Adler, 1924, p. 53, emphasis in original)

M. Adler (1924) considers as the central educational goals the promotion of independent thinking and solidarity. According to Jandl (2023, p. 97), the advocacy of freedom as a goal

of socialist education implies the assumption that freedom of the proletariat will in any case lead to a confrontation with the bourgeoisie.

The educational reforms of Austro-Marxism were characterized by the importance attached to scientific knowledge about psychological child development (Weidenholzer, 1983, p. 418). Individual psychology in particular, and to a lesser extent psychoanalysis, were closely linked to Austro-Marxist educational practice (Oelkers, 2005, pp. 298f.). This can be seen in the fact that Alfred Adler, the founder of individual psychology, as well as representatives of psychoanalytically oriented education such as Anna Freud and August Aichhorn were among the lecturers at the newly established educational institute of Vienna (*Pädagogisches Institut der Stadt Wien*) that was dedicated to teacher training (Adam, 1983, p. 280). Several representatives of psychoanalytically oriented education were engaged in the socialist political movement, such as Siegfried Bernfeld, Otto Fenichel, Berta Bornstein, Edith Buxbaum, Rudolf Ekstein, Ernst Federn and Anny Angel-Katan (Kaufhold, 2001, pp. 33-38). The psychoanalyst Wilhelm Reich integrated psychoanalytic ideas about sexual liberation and socialist discursive topoi (Reich, 2020 [1933]). In 1928, Wilhelm Reich and the socialist Marie Pappenheim-Frischauf founded a socialist society for sexual counseling and sexual research (*Sozialistische Gesellschaft für Sexualberatung und Sexualforschung*) as well as several centers for socialist sexual counseling in Vienna (Kaufhold, 2001, p. 36). Several representatives of psychoanalytically oriented education, such as Edith Buxbaum, Annie Reich, and Annie Angel-Katan worked at the Viennese socialist centers for sexual counseling (pp. 36-38). Siegfried Bernfeld is one of the main representatives of psychoanalytically oriented education, who were eager to integrate psychoanalytic as well as Marxist theories (Datler, Göppel & Herrmann, 2013, p. 603). In accordance with the discourse of socialist education (Jandl, 2023), Bernfeld (1928 [1925]) argued that the differentiation of further education in the traditional school system aims at separating children of the bourgeoisie from those of the proletariat in order to indoctrinate them with conservative ideologies. According to Bernfeld this is the mechanism by which the traditional school system reproduces and strengthens the existing power relations (ibid.).

Individual Psychology

Especially individual psychology, to a lesser extent also psychoanalysis, and the Viennese school of developmental psychology were closely connected to Austro-Marxist educational practice (Oelkers, 2005, pp. 297ff.). Alfred Adler, a member of the *Psychological Wednesday Society*, later known as *Vienna Psychoanalytic Society*, distanced from psychoanalysis in

1911 and founded an independent psychological school, called *individual psychology* (*Individualpsychologie*) (Stumm, 2017, pp. 56-60). Stumm (2017) points out that individual psychology as well as psychoanalysis share the emphasis on unconscious processes, on experiences in early childhood, and on the processes of transference and countertransference (ibid.). A main difference between individual psychology and psychoanalysis is that in individual psychology the personality is considered an indivisible unity (ibid.). In this sense, individual psychology rejected the psychoanalytic models that distinguish different parts of the psyche, such as the unconscious, the preconscious, and the conscious, or the *id*, the *ego*, and the *superego* (ibid.). Whereas in classic psychoanalysis, sexuality and the Oedipus conflict were the main points of reference, in individual psychology feelings of inferiority and the striving for their compensation were considered the main motors of development (ibid.). Oelkers (2005, pp. 297ff.) argues that according to individual psychology the individual development of the human being follows an inherent plan that leads to growth and sociality. However, adverse environmental conditions may lead to resignation, neuroses, and destructiveness (Stumm, 2017, pp. 56-60). According to Stumm (2017) this teleological approach of individual psychology rejected the psychoanalytic assumption that the human being is determined by drives and instead emphasized the active striving of the person for a goal, i.e., for power, and for social community (ibid.).

Alfred Adler, the founder of individual psychology, Sophie Lazarsfeld, Ferdinand Birnbaum, Oskar Spiel, and Franz Scharmer among others were intensively dedicated to questions of education based on the concepts of individual psychology (Oelkers, 2005, pp. 297ff.). Stumm, 2017, pp. 56-60) points out that the promotion of personality growth as well as solidarity (*Gemeinschaftsgefühl*) and the benefits for the community (*Gemeinschaft*) were central educational goals of individual psychology. Oelkers (2005, p. 298) argues that central elements of individual psychology, such as the optimistic educational philosophy, the holistic anthropological and teleological developmental conception, as well as the emphasis on the community fitted well with central ideas of Austro-Marxist educational philosophy, which is why socialist educational reforms integrated ideas of individual psychology. In addition, educational counseling centers were established in Vienna by representatives of individual psychology (ibid.).

Child Psychology

As Eckardt (2010, p. 180) shows, during the period of Enlightenment in the 17th and 18th century, the ideal of human perfection became a central focus of attention. The child was seen

as imperfect but equipped with the potential for perfection which was to be reached by education (p. 185). This resulted in an intensified debate about which kind of education could lead to human perfection (p. 180). Consequently, within the field of psychological studies in the 18th century (*Erfahrungsseelenkunde*) the subfield of child development emerged (ibid.). Eckardt (2010, p. 186) argues that in Romanticism during the first half of the 19th century, childhood became a central focus due to the emerging view of the child as the Christian ideal of humanity, which was also a central discursive topos of progressive education. Childhood was increasingly seen as an independent life period with its own inherent value and characteristics (p. 207). According to Eckardt (2010, p. 189) it was representatives of romantic idealistic philosophy (*Naturphilosophie*), such as Carl Gustav Carus, who established a genetic mindset in science, which was later received by Charles Darwin and Ernst Haeckel (p. 189). Darwin considered evolution a process determined by laws of nature which is directed to higher development and perfection (p. 191). Darwin's assumption that man is descended from the animal kingdom formed the basis of Haeckel's biogenetic principle, according to which ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny (ibid.). Haeckel subsequently transferred this so-called recapitulation theory from embryogenesis to the psychological development of the child: "so hat sich auch die wunderbare Seelenthätigkeit des Menschengeschlechts im Laufe vieler Jahrtausende stufenweise aus der unvollkommneren Seelenthätigkeit der niederen Wirbeltiere Schritt für Schritt hervorgebildet, und die Seelen-Entwicklung jedes Kindes ist nur eine kurze Wiederholung jenes langen phylogenetischen Processes" (Haeckel, 1874, p. 706). William Thierry Preyer, who further investigated this assumption, became one of the founders of scientific child psychology (Eckardt, 2010, p. 180).

According to Eckardt (2010, p. 197) the emergence of scientific child psychology at the end of the 19th century took place largely independently of the establishment of general psychology as an autonomous scientific discipline. As Eckardt (2010, p. 197) shows, W. Th. Preyer, the main pioneer of scientific child psychology, and W. Wundt, the central figure of German experimental psychology, were largely critical of each other's research (ibid.). In contrast to Preyer, who interpreted psychological processes predominantly from a biological perspective, later representatives of scientific child psychology at the beginning of the 20th century, such as William Stern, attributed individual development to inner as well as environmental factors (*Konvergenztheorie*) (pp. 200ff.; p. 207). Eckardt's (2010) investigations on the emergence of child psychology indicate that a central discursive topos of developmental psychology that runs through from the *Erfahrungsseelenkunde* of

Enlightenment to scientific child psychology at the beginning of the 20th century was the concept of an ever higher evolution and perfection of the individual, nature, and mankind. In the USA the main pioneer of scientific child psychology was Granville Stanley Hall, who invited Sigmund Freud in 1909 to give a series of lectures at the Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts (p. 213).

In Vienna there was a special connection between academic educational science and psychological science via the *Viennese School of Developmental Psychology*, a center for child psychological research founded by the German Jewish married couple Karl and Charlotte Bühler, who came to teach at the university of Vienna in 1922 respectively 1923 (Engelbrecht, 1988, p. 43). The experimental psychological institute of Karl and Charlotte Bühler was initially set up in the building of the Viennese City School Board and Karl Bühler was obligated in return to give lectures at the newly established educational institute of Vienna (*Pädagogischen Institut der Stadt Wien*) that was dedicated to teacher training (ibid.). Karl Bühler dedicated his research to various psychological fields, among them *Gestalt psychology* (*Gestaltpsychologie*), psychology of thinking (*Denkpsychologie*), linguistics, and child psychology (ibid.). For Charlotte Bühler child psychology was the primary field of interest (ibid.). Based on the interpretation of diaries and other biographical material, Ch. Bühler formulated teleological phase concepts of childhood and adolescence (Eckardt, 2010, pp. 221f.) as well as of the entire life cycle that assumed phase-specific meanings of the human life course (pp. 227ff.). In 1972, Rudolf Ekstein, who had studied psychology under Karl and Charlotte Bühler, retrospectively characterized academic psychology in Vienna as follows: “University psychology at that time was not interested in the inner, the deeper and unconscious world of children” (Ekstein, 1972b, p. 268). Both K. and Ch. Bühler emigrated to the USA in 1938 (Engelbrecht, 1988, p. 43).

Youth Movements

Around 1900 a youth movement emerged in Germany, later also in other European countries such as Austria, (Hierdeis, 2016, pp. 59f.). In the course of the first third of the 20th century the youth movements became increasingly heterogenous, especially in political terms. In Vienna, for example, a Zionist youth movement emerged between 1915 and 1919, in which Siegfried Bernfeld was strongly engaged (Rechter, 1996). In 1925, the Austrian socialist youth association *Die Roten Falken* was founded (Oelkers, 2005, p. 296), of which Rudolf Ekstein was an active member both as a youth and a youth leader (Steinlechner-Oberläuter,

2021, p. 52). In 1972, Rudolf Ekstein retrospectively characterized the socialist youth movement as follows:

This youth movement, rebellious in spirit, wanting to change the world, held ideals which combined social purpose – a society of peace, free of the struggle of competing classes – with a requirement that each member also achieve for himself, move toward a better self, an expanded mind. ... This youth movement never gave up on society, never spoke about withdrawing from social life and escaping to nature. ... He [Ekstein] saw himself now as a youth leader ... who wanted to lead the young people into a better world which would urge everyone to strive towards self-realization. Often he was confronted by more radical leaders who did not see the goal of education as leading people out and upward, but as indoctrinating them for political ends regardless of their individual fates and opportunities. He did not want youth to be mere tools of the state and the party apparatus. (Ekstein, 1972b, pp. 267f.)

Besides Rudolf Ekstein, many other representatives of psychoanalytically oriented education were strongly involved in the socialist youth movement, for example Otto Fenichel, Edith Buxbaum, Ernst Federn, and Bruno Bettelheim (Kaufhold, 2001, pp. 34ff.). In addition, adolescence was a field of interest for several representatives of psychoanalytically oriented education such as Otto Fenichel, Wilhelm Hoffer, and Siegfried Bernfeld, who is considered a pioneer of modern youth research (ibid., pp. 34, 37; Datler, Göppel & Herrmann, 2013, p. 603). Between 1921 and 1924, Wilhelm Hoffer collaborated with Siegfried Bernfeld at the *Jewish research center for youth and education (Jüdisches Institut für Jugendforschung und Erziehung)* (Kaufhold, 2001, p. 34). Hierdeis (2016, pp. 59, 62) argues that there were diverse connections between the various currents of the youth movement and progressive education, as well as between the two movements and psychoanalytically oriented education. According to Hierdeis (2016, p. 62), the youth movement, progressive education as well as psychoanalytically oriented education shared their reformist spirit, albeit with different theoretical foundations and different goals.

Progressive Education

Bittner (2010, pp. 23f.), argues that psychoanalytically oriented education in the first third of the 20th century can be understood as a current within progressive education. Many representatives of psychoanalytically oriented education referred to their educational concepts as “the new education” (Ekstein, 1964a, p. 8), which is in line with the rhetoric of progressive education (Oelkers, 2005, p. 24). Several educational projects of psychoanalytically oriented

educators integrated concepts of child centered education (Taubman, 2012, pp. 66f.). For example, a central aspect of the *Burlingham-Rosenfeld-School*, which was established in 1927 by Anna Freud in collaboration with Eva Rosenfeld, Dorothy Burlingham, Peter Blos, and Erik Erikson, was project teaching, a method which was highly popular in progressive education (Bittner, 2010, p. 26; Roudinesco & Plon, 2004, pp. 277ff). In addition, the *Jackson Nursery*, which was founded by Edith Jackson, Dorothy Burlingham, and Anna Freud, implemented aspects of Montessori education and was situated in the building of a Montessori school (Kaufhold, 2001, p. 35; Roudinesco & Plon, 2004, p. 279). The later psychoanalyst Lili Roubiczek-Peller was especially interested in Montessori education and founded in 1922 a home for workers' children in Vienna (*Haus der Kinder*) as well as a training program for nursery school teachers, which were based on the educational principles of Maria Montessori (Kaufhold, 2001, p. 35). Siegfried Bernfeld's orphanage *Kinderheim Baumgarten* integrated, next to psychoanalytical principles, concepts of Maria Montessori, Berthold Otto, and Gustav Wyneken (Hierdeis, 2016, p. 44).

Oelkers (2005, pp. 14, 93) shows that among the discursive topoi of the debates of progressive education were the ideas of progress, child-centeredness, the development of the child and the psyche of the child. According to Oelkers (2005, p. 46), the argumentations of progressive education, especially in Europe, were partly shaped by a romantic view of the child. During romanticism childlikeness became the Christian ideal of unspoiled humanity (Eckardt, 2010, p. 186). This picture of the pure and innocent child contrasted with a central aspect of psychoanalytical theory, namely the assumption that the sexual and aggressive drives are present from the very beginnings of life, (Hierdeis, 2016, p. 29). Brumlik (2006, p. 99) points out that the assumption that sexuality and aggression play an important role in children was widespread for centuries and vanished in the 17th century. As Oelkers (2005, pp. 115ff.) shows, in many currents of progressive education, for example Montessori education, the child was seen as part of the good nature and contrasted to the detrimental influence of society, which was considered to cause the child massive suffering. Montessori argues that:

[i]n fact in every educational ideal, in every pedagogy up to our own time, the word education has been almost always synonymous to the word punishment. The end was always to subject the child to the adult, who substituted himself for nature and set his reasoning and his end in the place of the laws of life. (Montessori, 1936, p. 274)

Progressive education severely criticized traditional authoritarian and repressive education, which was not only considered to cause suffering but also to destroy the potentials and the

personality of the child (Oelkers, 2005, pp. 120, 127). In 1900, the Swedish feminist Ellen Key published the book *Barnets århundrade (The century of the child)*, in which she speaks of “soul murder in the schools” (Key, 1909, p. 203).

The early psychoanalytic critique of traditional authoritarian education was in line with the above presented assumptions of many currents of child-centered education that argued that repressive education causes suffering to the child as well as destroys the potentials and the personality of the child (Hierdeis, 2016, p. 58ff.). However, later psychoanalytically oriented education also emphasized the importance of cultural demands for the development of the child and understood culture as ambivalent (p. 26). According to Freud, the task of education is slowly helping the child to transform their primitive drives into forms that are socially valuable, so that the socialization brings upon minimal damage of the individual psyche:

Unsere besten Tugenden sind als Reaktionsbildungen und Sublimierungen auf dem Boden der bösesten Anlagen erwachsen. Die Erziehung sollte sich vorsorglich hüten, diese kostbaren Kraftquellen zu verschütten und sich darauf beschränken, die Prozesse zu befördern, durch welche diese Energien auf gute Wege geleitet werden. (Freud, 1913, p. 420)

Similar to psychoanalytically oriented education, progressive education argued that the adult generation must stop projecting their views into the child and instead learn to see the individual child as it is (Oelkers, 2005, p. 120). The assumption of progressive education that the adult generation cannot understand the child was reasoned in psychoanalytically oriented education by the psychoanalytic insight that adults have repressed most of their childhood experiences which is why they are alienated from their own childhood (Hierdeis, 2016, p. 35). This led to the demand of psychoanalytically oriented education that educators should reflect upon themselves in psychoanalysis in order to better understand their interactions with the children (ibid.).

According to Oelkers (2005, pp. 130-142), the romantic view of the child of many currents of progressive education resulted in the assumption that the right kind of education, i.e., one that lets children unfold their inherently good nature, was supposed to create new, better people and a new, better society. However, this notion does not apply to the educational philosophy of John Dewey, who is also considered a representative of progressive education. Although Dewey advocated liberal child-centered education (Dewey, 1990 [1902]), he criticized one-sided versions of progressive education for their reference to eternal ideas (p. 193, 196; Dewey, 2001 [1919], p. 119). In opposition to this, Dewey (2001 [1919]) did not assume a

natural goal of development but understood education as “continuous reconstruction of experience” (p. 85).

Oelkers (2005, pp. 76f.) argues that in contrast to the Anglo-American area, in Germany, there was a strong connection between progressive education and an anti-liberal critique of modern culture. According to Oelkers, the relation between democracy and education, which was dealt with by John Dewey (2001 [1916]), played a minor role in German progressive education (Oelkers, 2005, p. 265). After the First World War, currents of German progressive education became increasingly political and expressed in particular the idea of community or collective (*Gemeinschaft*) (Oelkers, 2005, p. 108). As Oelkers (2005, pp. 255ff.) shows, the term *Gemeinschaft* was used by right-wing movements as well as by socialist currents. Whereas in right-wing movements of progressive education *Gemeinschaft* was understood in an anti-liberal way as the inner connection of the nation (*Volksgemeinschaft*), socialist currents assumed that the unanimous collective (*Gemeinschaft*) will be reached by historical progress (pp. 255, 263).

Academic Educational Discourse

In the first half of the 20th century, German academic educational discourse was dominated by an idealistic conception of humanistic education, the so called *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* (Hierdeis, 2016, p. 22). As Tröhler (2003, p. 760) shows, the discourse of *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* conceived academic education as a philosophical discipline as opposed to an empirical science. Among the representatives of *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* were Herman Nohl, Eduard Spranger, Theodor Litt, Aloys Fischer, and Wilhelm Flitner (p. 761). The central theoretical position of *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* was the assumption of a teleological character of history, culture, and human development, which were considered expressions of an ideal, collective spirit (*Geist*), as can be seen in the following statement of Nohl (1926):

[H]andelt es sich bei dem allen überhaupt um etwas Wahres und Lebendiges, dann *muß* eine letzte Einheit dasein [*sic*], aus der es seinen besten Sinn und seine Lebenskraft bezieht: die Einheit eines neuen Ideals vom deutschen Menschen und von einer höheren geistigen Volkskultur. (Nohl, 1926, p. 58, emphasis in original)

The discourse of German *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* was shaped by nationalism and an anti-liberal critique of western, modern culture (Nohl, 1926, pp. 58ff.; Tröhler, 2003). As Tröhler (2003) argues, *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* brings to the fore German

Protestant discourses that are shaped by the emphasis on inner spirituality (*Geist*) as dualistically opposed to outer empiry (*Empirie*). The central educational goal of *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* is the so called *Bildung*, a concept which, according to Tröhler (2003), refers to the harmonious formation of individual inner spirituality (*Persönlichkeit*) in accordance with the higher ideal of the unitary, collective spirit (*Geist*) as well as in accordance with the totality of the community (*Volksgemeinschaft*). As Tröhler (2003) shows, in the discourse of *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* the human inner spirit (*Geist*) and will (*Wille*) as well as education (*Bildung*) were assumed to be autonomous and independent from political or social processes.

Some representatives of psychoanalysis and psychoanalytically oriented education, such as S. Freud and Bernfeld, were critical of this conception of education. According to Bernfeld (1928 [1925]), the assumptions of *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* were idealistic and illusionary. S. Freud (1920) particularly criticized the metaphysical idea that the human being is characterized by an inner drive for idealistic perfection:

Vielen von uns mag es auch schwer werden, auf den Glauben zu verzichten, daß im Menschen selbst ein Trieb zur Vervollkommenung wohnt, der ihn auf seine gegenwärtige Höhe geistiger Leistung und ethischer Sublimierung gebracht hat und von dem man erwarten darf, daß er seine Entwicklung zum Übermenschen besorgen wird. (Freud, 1920, p. 44)

On the other side, many representatives of *Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* were mostly critical of psychoanalysis (Hierdeis, 2016, p. 22). The main point of criticism, that can be found in the argumentations of Herman Nohl (1927, p. 76) as well as Eduard Spranger (1966 [1924], p. 123), was the psychoanalytic assumption that human culture is the result of the sublimation of the human sexual drives. This was incompatible with the significance of the autonomous spirit (*Geist*) and the will (*Wille*) in the anthropological theories of *Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* (see Tröhler, 2003).

Totalitarian Education

According to Oelkers (2005, pp. 266f.), in German education during the First World War, as well as in Bolshevistic, fascist, and national socialist education, the totality of the collective (*Gemeinschaft*) was the central point of reference. In these totalitarian patterns of thinking, plurality and individuality played hardly any role (ibid.). As Oelkers (2005, pp. 262, 270) argues, the aestheticization of the collective (*Gemeinschaft*) as well as of unity (*Einheit*) was a

central aspect of totalitarian systems of the 20th century. In right-wing educational theories, the concept of the community (*Gemeinschaft*) was linked to racist and antisemitic ideologies (p. 262). According to Oelkers (2005, pp. 243, 275ff.), totalitarian education as well as politics were pervaded by the ideal of the leader (*Führer*), an authoritarian concept which was supported by the assumption of an emotional bond between the leader and his followers.

Several representatives of psychoanalysis and psychoanalytically oriented education, such as Sigmund Freud, Rudolf Ekstein, Bruno Bettelheim, Ernst Federn, as well as Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich analyzed both Fascism and National Socialism on the basis of psychoanalytic assumptions (Brumlik, 2006, pp. 195-230; Kaufhold, 2001).

Hypothesis

Based on the investigation of the discursive contexts of psychoanalytically oriented education I arrive at the following hypothesis regarding the discourses expressed in psychoanalytically oriented education: Next to psychoanalysis, which was examined in the previous subchapter (2.2.) for its discursive roots, psychoanalytically oriented education of the first half of the 20th century is shaped by discursive topics of progressive education and child psychology, such as the ideas of progress, development, the psyche of the child, the autonomy and activity of the child, and the critique of authoritarian education. In addition, the investigation of the discursive emergence of psychoanalytically oriented education showed that part of the representatives of psychoanalytically oriented education expressed discursive topics of Austro-Marxism, such as solidarity, democracy, and social reform. The hypothesis presented regarding the discursive emergence of psychoanalytically oriented education forms the second basis for the examination of the ideological languages that are brought to the fore in Rudolf Ekstein's conception of education. Part of the above-mentioned aspects are investigated in more detail in chapter IV in connection to Ekstein's work.

III. Jewish Discourses and Rudolf Ekstein

The Languages of Rudolf Ekstein's Conception of Education – Hypotheses

The hypotheses presented at the end of subchapters 2.2. and 2.3. regarding the discursive emergence of psychoanalysis and psychoanalytically oriented education have formed the basis for the examination of the ideological languages that are brought to the fore in Rudolf Ekstein's conception of education. In subchapter 2.2. I arrived at the hypothesis that psychoanalytic theory expresses discursive topoi of Jewish discourses, especially of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism. In order to investigate this hypothesis with regard to Ekstein's conception of education, I have carried out a discourse-analytical examination of Ekstein's articles on education as well as Jewish primary sources and research literature on Jewish currents. The results are presented in the following chapter on Jewish discourses and Rudolf Ekstein (III).

Chapter IV will then deal with the question of which other, less dominant ideological languages, besides the discourse of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism, are expressed in Rudolf Ekstein's conception of education. Specifically, subchapter 4.1. will investigate the hypothesis put forward in subchapter 2.2, according to which the discursive emergence of psychoanalysis indicates that psychoanalytic theory is shaped by ideas of modern science. In addition, subchapters 4.2. and 4.3. will examine the hypothesis derived from the investigation of the discursive context of psychoanalytically oriented education (see subchapter 2.3.), according to which psychoanalytically oriented education, next to the discourses expressed in psychoanalytic theory, brings to the fore discursive topics of progressive education and socialist education. Chapter IV will also deal with the question of how the recessive discourses were adapted and related to the dominant discourse.

Jewish Discourses

Relying on a discourse-analytical examination of Ekstein's articles on education as well as Jewish primary sources and research literature on Jewish currents, I identified five discursive topoi of Hasidic Judaism and rabbinic Judaism that are articulated in Ekstein's conception of education. These are: sexuality and aggression, sublimation as modification of the natural drives, psychic conflict, understanding the inner world of the individual, and associative interpretation. Each of these five discursive topoi will be discussed in the following subchapters (3.1.-3.5.) on the Jewish discourses that are brought to the fore in Ekstein's

conception of education. In addition, I use several texts by S. Freud to further demonstrate the link between Hasidic discourses and Ekstein's concepts. This is an important aspect of my argumentation, because Ekstein refers to a great extent to S. Freud. As I pointed out in subchapter 2.2., Freud, who played the central role for the emergence of psychoanalysis, had a Hasidic family background (Heenen-Wolff, 1987, pp. 33ff.; Roudinesco & Plon, 2004, p. 274). The movement of Hasidic Judaism was popular in 19th century eastern Europe, from which many Jewish immigrants came to Vienna (Bakan, 1958, p. viii). Before discussing the common discursive topoi of Ekstein's conception of education and Jewish traditions, I briefly present what is known about Rudolf Ekstein's relation to Judaism and give a short overview of Jewish currents.

Rudolf Ekstein's Relation to Judaism

Neither Ekstein's articles nor research literature explicitly reveal much about Rudolf Ekstein's relationship to Judaism. According to an interview with Rudolf Ekstein on the topic of Judaism by Koelbl (1989), Ekstein's relatives were so-called assimilated members of the Jewish religious community (p. 57). When Ekstein's father was at war during the First World War, Ekstein was raised by a Catholic woman (ibid.). In school, he received Jewish religious education (ibid.). In the interview by Koelbl (1989), Ekstein retrospectively described his connection to religion as follows:

Die meisten von uns jungen Leuten waren damals zwar nicht atheistisch. Aber die Kirche oder die Synagoge hatten keine Bedeutung mehr. Wir hatten neue Ideen, aber haben sie nicht vergöttert. Selbst unser Rabbiner im Religionsunterricht hat uns eigentlich nur Ethik beibringen wollen. Ich führe hier in Los Angeles gerade einen Kurs über die Psychoanalyse des Alten Testaments durch, und ich habe schon einen über das Neue Testament durchgeführt. Ich möchte zeigen, dass hinter der Sprache der Religion ethische Forderungen stehen. (Koelbl, 1989, p. 57)

To the interview question, whether being a Jew includes a special commitment, Ekstein answered: "Allenfalls eine bestimmte Ethik: Denke nicht nur an dich, tue etwas für deine Mitmenschen. Erziehe die Menschen und trage dazu bei, daß sie irgendwann in einer anderen Gesellschaftsordnung leben können. Ich glaube, daß es Juden ziemlich leicht fällt, so zu denken. ... Wenn man selbst viel Leid erfährt und sieht, kann man sich mit dem Leiden anderer identifizieren" (Koelbl, 1989, p. 58).

These statements of Ekstein show that ethics is the central aspect of religion for Ekstein, at least with regard to his Jewish background (ibid.). Nevertheless, the interview passages do not really help to answer the question of whether or to what extent Jewish discourses are expressed in Ekstein's conception of education. Before I turn to this question, I briefly summarize the different currents in Judaism on the basis of research literature.

Currents of Judaism

Grözinger (2004, pp. 31ff.) distinguishes eight periods in the history of Judaism. The biblical phase in ancient oriental Israel from 1400 to 587 BCE was followed by the Persian phase from the destruction of the First Temple by the Neo-Babylonian emperor Nebuchadnezzar II to the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great in the year 332 BCE, which led to a massive Hellenization of Judaism (ibid.). The destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans in 70 CE marks the beginning of rabbinic Judaism, which has strongly shaped the history of Judaism until today (ibid.). In the ninth century CE began the phase of philosophic Judaism, which, as Grözinger (pp. 31ff.) points out, interpreted rabbinic Judaism by expressing Arabic rationalistic as well as Aristotelian and Neoplatonic discourses. A little later, from 1150 CE, the mystical Jewish current emerged with the Kabbalah as the central tradition, which partly shaped the movement of Hasidic Judaism that originated around 1750 in Poland und the Ukraine (ibid.; Scholem, 1946, pp. 325ff.). At about the same time in middle Europe, especially in Germany, ideas of the Enlightenment led to a new interpretation of Judaism that, as Grözinger (2004, p. 33) argues, understood Judaism as a religious confession and not as ethnicity. According to Brumlik (2009, p. 143), Judaism in 19th century Europe was primarily characterized by liberal Judaism in the West and Hasidism in the East. Hasidic Judaism was particularly popular in the Russian Empire as well as in the eastern regions of the Habsburg monarchy, from where many Jewish immigrants, such as S. Freud and his family, came to Vienna (Bakan, 1958, p. viii). Bakan (1958, p. 112) argues that Hasidism can be understood as a synthesis between rabbinic Judaism and Jewish mysticism. This could explain the result of my examination that the Jewish discursive topoi that are brought to the fore in Ekstein's conception of education can partly be found in rabbinic Judaism as well as in Hasidism.

3.1. Sexuality and Aggression

The first discursive topoi I will discuss in the following section are the topics of sexuality and love as well as aggression and destructiveness in Ekstein's conception of education as well as

in Jewish discourses. First, I will outline what Ekstein understands by sexuality and the importance he attaches to it for educational processes. Rudolf Ekstein considers education a learning and growth process, which continues from birth until death (e.g., Ekstein, 1980; Ekstein, 1991). Ekstein (1991, p. 158) particularly emphasizes the role of emotional interpersonal relationships for educational processes. According to Ekstein, it is through emotional interpersonal relationships that intrapsychic development, including emotional and intellectual growth, is enabled (Ekstein, 1966b; Ekstein, 1972a, p. 75). The early emotional contact of the child and the parent is considered to bring about the first and most important learning processes, on which all later learning is built (Ekstein, 1966b). In this sense, Ekstein (1966b) sees the early feeding situation between parent and child as the first curriculum, the first interpersonal relationship that leads to learning:

I suggest that the first curriculum struggle ever developed does not take place in school but rather ensues between mother and infant as she is nursing her baby. The full breast is the first curriculum the baby must empty and digest in order to meet the goal and requirement of satiation. ... The mother who teaches him to acquire this forerunner of wisdom, must be – if she is a good mother, a good teacher - concerned as much with the process of eating as she is with its results. ... [F]rom now on, learning will be within an interpersonal context even if the ever-increasing automation of the school industry will try to disguise this as the work of teaching machines. ... The curriculum initiates the process, the interchange, the struggle, the mutual satisfaction, the failures and successes of teaching and learning. (Ekstein, 1966b, pp. 38-40)

In this sense, the early child-parent situation, which is assumed to be strongly shaped by the sexual (oral) desire of the child for satisfaction, is considered the basis for all relationships (ibid.). Ekstein understands the child-parent relationship as well as the teacher-student relationship – relationships in general – as dialogic processes of interchange, of giving and taking (ibid.), in which two or more people are related to each other, are in touch with each other (Ekstein, 1970a, p. 46). This mutual relation, this contact, this touch can be physical or non-physical, either more emotional or intellectual (Ekstein, 1967d, p. 32). Either way, Ekstein's conception of relationships involves inherently the dimensions of love and hate or, in other words, sexuality and aggression (Ekstein, 1964b, p. 30). The drives of sexuality and love, of aggression and hate, are considered a part of every relationship and of every learning process, between mother or father and child as well as between student and teacher: "The relationship [teacher-student relationship] is based on love in the broadest sense of the word,

which includes natural antagonism and aspects of anger when the relationship proves unrewarding” (Ekstein, 1964b, p. 30). Following S. Freud’s dual instinct theory (Freud, 1920), Ekstein considers sexuality and aggression as the two forms of human drives that are present throughout life, including childhood (Ekstein, 1950). According to Ekstein’s conception of education, sexuality and love are the primary motors of learning as well as teaching, albeit in different forms of modification, depending on the level of development of the child or the adult (Ekstein, 1964b, p. 32). This holds true for Ekstein’s description of the early feeding situation between parent and child, in which the sexual (oral) needs of the child are a central aspect for learning (Ekstein, 1966b, pp. 38ff.; see quotation above), as well as for the teaching-learning-situation at school, in which love is considered the central motivation, whether it is in the form of learning and teaching in order to be loved or in form of the love of learning and teaching: “Indeed, the best teacher needs to have a mature capacity for love. If he has a primitive capacity, his teaching is a function only of his own need to be loved and admired by the child” (Ekstein, 1964b, p. 32).

At this point it is important to mention that for Ekstein, as for S. Freud (1921, pp. 98f.), sexuality and love belong together and are basically different forms of one and the same thing (Ekstein, 1970a, p. 46). According to Ekstein’s conception of education, sexuality and love refer in a broader sense to the desire of getting in touch (physical or non-physical) with someone or something (ibid.). Sexuality and love are considered the driving forces of development that are present in every relationship and are as such an important element also of school education:

Of course, many aspects of love and sexuality can only be shared in a dialogue: between mother and child, between teacher and pupil, between two young lovers, or between husband and wife. There are also questions that can be dealt with in group situations: a ‘triologue’ among parents and child; or a ‘pluralogue’ in a school situation. All therapists must respect the fact that mental growth having to do with the issues of sex and love takes place on different planes Consequently, school education has an important part to play but only one. It cannot substitute for the necessary development which should take place during a child's dialogue with his mother, his triologue with his parents, or his monologue. (Ekstein, 1970a, p. 46)

According to Ekstein, the importance of sexuality and love does not only apply for interpersonal relationships (“dialogue”, “triologue”, “pluralogue”) but also for relations with oneself (“monologue”) (Ekstein, 1970a, p. 46), as well as for relations with intellectual

material, with knowledge, with values, with actions (Ekstein, 1964b, pp. 31f.). In this sense, Ekstein considers the intrapsychic development of a love of learning and a love of working as the major goal of educational growths processes of students as well as teachers (ibid.). Ekstein understands learning processes as processes of intrapsychic growth, including emotional and intellectual growth, whereby emotional growth through emotional interpersonal relationships is seen as the basis for intellectual growth and the development of a love of learning (Ekstein, 1972a, p. 79). According to Ekstein, love and emotional understanding as well as intellectual understanding go hand in hand:

Early understanding is to be loved, and it is based on emotional contact, not merely on reason. The first understanding is emotional agreement, so to speak, rather than the kind of understanding which leads toward intellectual insight. One might say that empathy and insight are siblings in the sequence of emotional and intellectual growth. (Ekstein, 1972a, p. 79)

As the previous statements show, Ekstein's conception of education is shaped by the enormous significance that is attributed to a broad understanding of sexuality that includes every form of desire of establishing a connection, physical or non-physical, with someone or something, including actions or abstract ideas. This discursive topos has strong parallels to the concept of *eros* which is prominent in Jewish discourses (Idel, 2009). According to Idel (2009) several currents of Judaism are "cultures of eros" (pp. 387f.). Idel (2009, p. 23) understands *eros* as "Gefühlskomplex aus ontologischen Konstrukten und Verhaltensformen in einer bestimmten Kultur ..., welcher den Trieb zur Herstellung sexueller und emotionaler Kontakte, körperlicher oder geistiger Art, zwischen zwei Wesen beeinflusst, in dem zumindest einer den anderen anzieht". Idel (2009, p. 388) argues that the significance of *eros*, that already shaped rabbinic Judaism, was further emphasized in the Kabbalah and Hasidism. As Idel (2009) shows, especially in the Jewish mystical traditions of the Kabbalah and Hasidism, the idea of the world as the female part of the divine power developed under the term of *shekhina* (divine presence). Salvation was considered to be reached by the unification of the polarities of the female and the male divine power, as can be seen in the following passage from the Hasidic collection of prayers *Likutei Tefilot* by Reb Noson of Breslov:

The joy of a bride and groom in this world is an echo of the Heavenly joy that comes about when the Holy One, blessed is He, is united with His Shekhinah, and God turns to the Jewish people with favor. (Noson of Breslov, 1993, Prayer 32:1)

According to Idel (2009, p. 324), in Polish Hasidism love and pleasure were considered cosmological forces. Hence, he argues, Hasidic teachings assumed that the feelings of love and pleasure in the world were related to love and pleasure in the celestial sphere and were therefore not only connecting male and female human beings but also the world (*shekhina*) with God (ibid.). Furthermore, Idel (2009) argues that the use of erotic language was present in Jewish philosophy, for example that of Maimonides, as well as in the Kabbalah and in Hasidism (p. 133). The use of erotic metaphors was not only used in order to describe the unification of the male and female divine powers, but also to refer to the relation of the human being and the Jewish people to God (*En Sof*) and the Torah, as can be seen from the following passage from the Hasidic text *Tanya* by Rabbi Schneur Zalman of Liadi:

This is the meaning of ... ‘Who has sanctified us with His commandments’: like one who betrothes a wife that she may be united with him with a perfect bond, as is written, ‘And he shall cleave to his wife, and they shall be one flesh.’ Exactly so, and even infinitely surpassing, is the union of the divine soul that is occupied in Torah and commandments, and of the vivifying soul, and their garments referred to above, with the light of the *En Sof*, blessed is He. ... Therefore did Solomon, peace unto him, in the Song of Songs compare this union with the union of bridegroom and bride in attachment, desire, and pleasure, with embrace and kissing. (Schneur Zalman of Liadi, 1993, *Tanya*, Part I, Likkutai Amarim, 46:6-7)

Another example for the use of erotic metaphors in the description of the relationship of the Jewish people to the Torah is the following passage from the Hasidic text *Sichot HaRan* by Reb Noson of Nemirov:

The Torah is a bride. It is written, ‘Moses charged us with the Torah, a heritage for the congregation of Jacob’ (Deuteronomy 33:4). The Talmud says: Do not read *MoRaShah* (heritage) but *Me’uRaSah* (the betrothed): ‘Moses charged us with the Torah, the betrothed of the congregation of Jacob’ (Berakhot 57a; Pesachim 49b). (Noson of Nemirov, 1973, *Sichot HaRan* 91:3)

As the previous passages from Hasidic texts show, the topos of *eros*, understood as the desire to establish physical, emotional, or intellectual contact, plays a major role in Jewish discourses to describe the relation between human beings, between the human being and the Torah (wisdom), as well as between the world and God. In this sense, *eros* is considered an anthropological, religious, as well as cosmological principle that pervades life (Idel, 2009). The Jewish concept of *eros* has strong parallels to Ekstein’s view of sexuality and love as the

desire of getting in touch (physical or non-physical) with someone or something, although Ekstein expresses it in a non-metaphysical way as an anthropological and not religious or cosmological principle. In the following statement of Freud, however, echoes can be found to the Jewish understanding of *eros* as a cosmological principle: “Wir fügen hinzu, sie [die Kultur] sei ein Prozeß im Dienste des Eros, der vereinzelte menschliche Individuen, später Familien, dann Stämme, Völker, Nationen zu einer großen Einheit, der Menschheit, zusammenfassen wolle. Warum das geschehen müsse, wissen wir nicht; das sei eben das Werk des Eros” (Freud, 1930, p. 481). Also, in the following statement of Ekstein (1991), *eros* appears as a cultural force:

Der Jugend ein positives Erbe überlassen, nicht die Trümmer zerstörter Städte und Länder, sollte unser Anliegen sein. ... Ich denke nun, daß das wichtigste Erbe jenes sei, das aus gesunden Beziehungen wächst und uns lehrt, wie man gesunde Beziehungen herstellt, geleitet von der Liebe nicht vom Haß. Freud sprach immer vom unendlichen Kampf zwischen Eros und Thanatos, zwischen Liebe und Haß, zwischen Liebestrieb und Todestrieb und gab der Hoffnung Ausdruck, daß sich Eros in diesem endlosen Kampf bewähren wird. (Ekstein, 1991, p. 157)

Another similarity between Jewish discourses and Ekstein’s conception of education is that both consider erotic desire (sexuality and love) to play an important role for learning, including intellectual activity (Ekstein, 1967d, p. 32). Bakan (1958, pp. 278ff.) argues that in Jewish mystical traditions the meanings of sexuality and knowledge are deeply intertwined. As Idel (2009, pp. 133-140) shows, Jewish neo-Aristotelian philosophy as well as the ecstatic tradition of the Kabbalah describe human intellectual activity as a process which is shaped by an intense desire of the human intellect for the divine intellect. In these Jewish traditions it is assumed that the desire of the human intellect for the divine intellect leads to the subsequent descend of the divine intellect into the material world, which is described by erotic and sexual metaphors (ibid.). Idel (2009) refers to this idea as “Nous-eroticism” (“*Nouserotik*”) (p. 139), which he illustrates by several passages from Kabbalistic texts, among them the following from the *Or ha-Sekhel* by Abulafia:

Die göttliche Liebe des Intellekts und die menschliche intellektuelle Liebe werden vereinigt, sind eins. ... eins, aufgrund der Verbindung zwischen der menschlichen mit der göttlichen Existenz während des Verstehens – was mit dem Intellekt in seiner Existenz zusammenfällt – bis er und er eine Einheit werden. Dies ist die große Kraft des Menschen, nämlich den niederen Teil mit dem höchsten zu verbinden, so daß das

Niedere aufsteigt und dem Höheren anhaftet, und das Höchste steigt herab und küßt das zu ihm emporsteigende Wesen, wie ein Bräutigam tatsächlich seine Braut aus großer und wahrer Lust heraus zum Vergnügen beider küßt, (Abulafia, Or ha-Sekhel, as cited in Idel, 2009, pp. 135f.)

This discursive topos of Jewish mysticism has parallels to the assumption of S. Freud that intellectual activity is driven by transformed erotic energy: “so wird eben auch die Denkarbeit durch Sublimierung erotischer Triebkraft bestritten” (Freud, 1923, p. 274). The assumption that pleasurable sexuality and love are the central motivation for learning is also a central discursive topos that is expressed in Ekstein’s texts: “The system of external rewards will be replaced by internal gratification. The work for love will turn into the love of work. It is at this point that repetition learning can begin to be replaced by insight learning and the pleasure that is gained from the development of cognitive processes” (Ekstein, 1967d, p. 32). In contrast to Freud, Ekstein sheds more light on the interpersonal processes through which such sublimation of erotic energy is made possible. Ekstein’s conception of transforming the sexual drives is described in more detail in the following section, which deals with the discursive topos of sublimation.

On the basis of the primary sources and research literature presented, I arrive at the conclusion that the Jewish discursive topos of erotic desire for pleasurable connection, that was especially prevalent in Hasidism, enabled the articulation of certain aspects of psychoanalytical theory that consider sexuality and love, which are summarized under the term *libido* respectively *eros*, the driving force of human life, of its biological as well as its social and cultural aspects. The psychoanalytic conception of *eros* or *libido* differs from idealistic interpretations of Platonic discourses as well as Christian discourses especially since the Middle Ages that separate sexuality as a physical phenomenon on the one hand and the Platonic love of beauty or the Christian *agape* as a spiritual phenomenon on the other hand (Eder, 2018, pp. 145, 157; Solinas, 2012, p. 139). In contrast to that, in Ekstein’s conception of education the term sexuality is used in a wider sense and corresponds to the meaning of the term love as they are both part of the concept of instinctual *libido* respectively *eros*: “Freud defined the healthy person as one who can love and work, and, of course, when he spoke about love, he included sexual love” (Ekstein, 1970a, p. 48). The following statement of S. Freud illustrates the wider meaning of sexuality in psychoanalysis and the opposition it provoked due to an incompatibility to idealistic discourses:

Den Kern des von uns Liebe Geheißenen bildet natürlich, was man gemeinhin Liebe nennt und was die Dichter besingen, die Geschlechtsliebe mit dem Ziel der geschlechtlichen Vereinigung. Aber wir trennen davon nicht ab, was auch sonst an dem Namen Liebe Anteil hat, einerseits die Selbstliebe, andererseits die Eltern- und Kindesliebe, die Freundschaft und die allgemeine Menschenliebe, auch nicht die Hingebung an konkrete Gegenstände und an abstrakte Ideen. Unsere Rechtfertigung liegt darin, daß die psychoanalytische Untersuchung uns gelehrt hat, alle diese Strebungen seien der Ausdruck der nämlichen Triebregungen, die zwischen den Geschlechtern zur geschlechtlichen Vereinigung hindrängen, in anderen Verhältnissen zwar von diesem sexuellen Ziel abgedrängt oder in der Erreichung desselben aufgehalten werden, dabei aber doch immer genug von ihrem ursprünglichen Wesen bewahren, um ihre Identität kenntlich zu erhalten (Selbstaufopferung, Streben nach Annäherung).... Der ‚Eros‘ des Philosophen Plato zeigt in seiner Herkunft, Leistung und Beziehung zur Geschlechtsliebe eine vollkommene Deckung mit der Liebeskraft, der Libido der Psychoanalyse ... und wenn der Apostel Paulus in dem berühmten Brief an die Korinther die Liebe über alles andere preist, hat er sie gewiß im nämlichen ‚erweiterten‘ Sinn verstanden Diese Liebestriebe werden nun in der Psychoanalyse a potiori und von ihrer Herkunft her Sexualtriebe geheißen. Die Mehrzahl der ‚Gebildeten‘ hat diese Namengebung als Beleidigung empfunden und sich für sie gerächt, indem sie der Psychoanalyse den Vorwurf des ‚Pansexualismus‘ entgegenschleuderte. Wer die Sexualität für etwas die menschliche Natur Beschämendes und Erniedrigendes hält, dem steht es ja frei, sich der vornehmeren Ausdrücke Eros und Erotik zu bedienen. (Freud, 1921, pp. 98f.)

Interestingly, in the previous statement, S. Freud underpins the psychoanalytic concept of sexuality in a wider sense by referring to the Platonic concept of *eros*. However, this referral can be understood as a rather materialistic interpretation of Platonic discourses as opposed to idealistic interpretations of Platonic ideas.

Following S. Freud’s dual instinct theory (Freud, 1920), Ekstein considers not only sexuality but also aggression as a form of human drive that is present throughout life (Ekstein, 1950). Although aggression and hate are considered a part of every relationship and of every learning process, Ekstein (1950) emphasizes that children and adults need to learn to master their aggressive (and sexual) impulses and modify them in such a way that they do not lead to destruction:

The kind of people they are when they join us depends on the way we have helped them through childhood, on the way we have accepted in them and in ourselves the expressions of instinctual life, on the way we have learned to master and channel these expressions; in short, on the way we have learned to help them grow up. We cannot expect them to be better than [sic] we are, but we ought to make sure that we are good enough for them. (Ekstein, 1950, p. 120)

The discursive topos of an aggressive and possibly destructive human drive is also an important feature of rabbinic Judaism (Oberhänsli-Widmer, 2007). As Oberhänsli-Widmer (2007, pp. 18, 28) points out, the special feature of rabbinic exegesis of the Thora is that according to rabbinic Judaism the human being was created by God with an inner drive that one can control but cannot get rid of. According to Oberhänsli-Widmer (ibid.), in rabbinic literature the human drives are seen in an ambivalent way; on the one hand they are considered an essential source of activity and creativity, on the other hand a dangerous force that can lead to massive destruction. This ambivalence regarding the human drives as well as the ethical and psychological need to modify them can also be found in Ekstein's conception of education:

Freud defined the healthy person as one who can love and work, and, of course, when he spoke about love, he included sexual love. ... I would like to see sexual education, the slow emancipation of the child towards sexual maturity, given in such a way that there always is work in and for love, as well as love in and for work. ... Sex can be in the service of primitive impulse, of hate and destructiveness. It can be an escape from life. Only slowly can it become a propelling force towards human creativity, tied up intimately with the total pattern of love and work, as opposed to hate and destruction. (Ekstein, 1970a, p. 48)

This leads to the discursive topos of the transformation of the human drives or, to use another word, of sublimation, which is prominent in Ekstein's conception of education as well as in Judaism.

3.2. Sublimation as Modification of the Natural Drives

According to Ekstein's conception of education, one major goal of education is the psychological development of a love of learning (Ekstein, 1964b, p. 31). Ekstein argues that the children's first motivation for learning is their desire to be loved by the parents or the teachers (ibid.). Thus, the libidinal drives of the child and the emotional child-parent or child-

teacher relationship are considered central elements of learning (ibid.). According to Ekstein, the emotional relationship between child and adult, which is based on love and sometimes also hate, enables identification processes with the adult (ibid.). Through these identification processes the child adopts psychological capacities and attitudes of the teacher (ibid.). If the teachers themselves have reached a mature form of learning and teaching, which is characterized by the love of learning as well as teaching and not merely by the more primitive need for being loved or feared, the child is assumed to “develop away from primitive learning toward genuine learning” (Ekstein, 1969b, pp. 12f.). Ekstein’s conception of the development of learning can be understood as sublimation, for it is assumed that something primitive is transformed into something higher. This concept of sublimation regarding learning is summarized in the following statement by Ekstein (1964b):

I suggested earlier that the first phase in the process of learning is that in which one works in order to get love. In this phase, much of learning might be mastery through repetition. During this repetition, identification with the teacher slowly grows. As identification develops, learning based upon the relationship becomes more and more dominant. With this identification with the teacher's way of working and thinking, with his interests and curiosities, with his attitudes toward knowledge and skill, the identificatory processes themselves may lead to the third phase. Here, the reward and the punishment, the good and the bad mark, the love or the rejection of a teacher will not be the dominant feature, or the primary motivation for the child. These factors may give way to the child's learning to love the work itself, with its progress, discovery and mastery of skill and knowledge. (Ekstein, 1964b, p. 31)

In both forms of learning (learning in order to be loved and the love of learning), the desire to establish a pleasurable connection with someone or something (including abstract ideas and actions) is the central element. In this sense, both forms of learning are motivated by love and sexuality. According to Ekstein’s conception of education, the primitive sexual drives of the child are the basis that enables the development of learning through emotional interpersonal relationships (Ekstein, 1966b, pp. 38ff.). However, Ekstein argues that the primitive sexual drives of the child slowly need to be modified in order to reach a mature desire for learning and working (Ekstein, 1964b, p. 31). Thus, following S. Freud (1909, p. 376), Ekstein and Motto (1964a) express the hope that “the individual [will be enabled] to take part in culture and to achieve this with the smallest loss of original energy” (p. 22). In this sense, sublimation is considered a process that preserves the potential of the human drives and modifies and

channels it for higher purposes of self-realization and social contribution (Ekstein, 1970a, p. 48). According to Ekstein, the process of sublimation is only possible, if primitive forms of need gratification are slowly abandoned and replaced by mature forms of pleasure in a “process which leads us to greater rewards of joy and pleasure, of an expanding world, of a wish to contribute” (Ekstein, 1964b, p. 32). In this sense, Ekstein considers education as an “eternal act of instinctual renunciation” that “turn[s] impulse into thought and act” (Ekstein, 1969b, pp. 15f.).

Ekstein emphasizes the great potential of the human drives for the individual as well as for society and at the same time highlights the need of transforming them so that self-realization and culture are made possible (Ekstein, 1970a, p. 48). The discursive topos of sublimation is prevalent in rabbinic Judaism and particularly in Hasidic traditions (Grözinger, 2005, pp. 776f.). Hasidic Judaism partly took over the model of the soul of rabbinic Judaism, which assumes that the human being is torn between a good inclination (*yetzer hatov*) and an evil inclination (*yetzer hara*) (Oberhänsli-Widmer, 2007). The evil inclination refers to sexual as well as aggressive human drives and the good inclination to the ethical part of the human (ibid.). According to Oberhänsli-Widmer (2007, pp. 27f.) and Grözinger (2004, pp. 276f.), in some texts of rabbinic literature, the human drives are considered an important life force. In this sense, not only the good inclination (i.e., the ethical part) of the human but also the evil inclination (i.e., the human drives) are appreciated (Grözinger, 2005, p. 863). This discursive topos becomes evident in the rabbinic text *Bereshit Rabbah*:

Rabbi Naḥman bar Shmuel bar Naḥman said in the name of Rav Shmuel bar Naḥman: ‘Behold it was very good’ – this is the good inclination; ‘and behold it was very good’ – this is the evil inclination. Is the evil inclination, then, very good? This is a rhetorical question. Rather, were it not for the evil inclination, a man would never build a house, would never marry a wife, would never beget children, and would never engage in commerce. (Rappoport, 2022, BerR, 9, 7)

In Hasidism, this rabbinic discursive topos of the potential of the human drives was taken up in a modified form. As Grözinger (2005, pp. 773ff.) shows, one special discursive topos of Hasidism was that no clear opposition of good and evil was assumed. Instead, evil was considered a veiled part of God (ibid.). In this sense, it was seen as the task of the individual human being to transform evil aspects of the world and of themselves into their original divine form, as can be seen in the following passage from a Hasidic text: “Und wenn dem Menschen im Gebet ein böser fremder Gedanke aufsteigt, kommt er zu diesem Menschen nur,

damit er ihn heilt (takken) und nach oben hebt” (Sefer Ba’al Schem Tov I, p. 157 § 116, as cited in Grözinger, 2005, p. 776). In addition, Idel (2009, p. 469) states that in Hasidism the transformation of evil into good was a frequently used discursive topos. In accordance with that, Buber (2016, p. 309) argues that Hasidism was characterized by an opposition to asceticism, because it was assumed that all life, including the human material drives, such as the need for food or sleep, can lead to healing when they are filled with divine intention. As Grözinger (2005, p. 777) shows, Hasidic teachings demand that the individual should not repress their material drives but use them for higher development towards God, which was expressed by Baal Shem Tov, who is regarded as the founder of Hasidism, in stating that the evil is a throne for the good. The idea of transforming the human material drives into a higher form is also conveyed in the following Hasidic parable of Baal Shem Tov's:

Das gleicht einem König, der einen Sohn hatte, den er mit allerlei für ihn nötigen Weisheiten belehren wollte. Darum diente er für ihn mehrere Gelehrte, damit sie mit ihm lernten, aber es gelang ihm nicht, auch nur eine Weisheit zu erlernen. Eines Tages sah der Königssohn eine Jungfer und empfand Verlangen nach ihrer Schönheit. Einer der Gelehrten beklagte sich darüber bei dem König, doch der erwiderte: ‚Wenn es so ist und er ein Verlangen spürt, auch wenn es fleischlich ist, so kann er auch dadurch zu allen Weisheiten gelangen‘. So befahl er die Jungfer an den Hof des Königs zu bringen. Und der König gebot ihr, dass wenn der Sohn sie begehrte, sollte sie ihm nicht zu willens sein, bevor er nicht eine Weisheit erlernte. Und so tat sie. Und danach sagte sie zu ihm, er solle noch eine Weisheit erlernen, so dass er auf diese Weise alle Weisheiten erlernte. Und als er weise geworden war, da war er der Jungfrau überdrüssig und wollte eine ihm ebenbürtige Königstochter heiraten. (Sefer Ba’al Schem Tov II, p. 67 § 4, as cited in Grözinger, 2005, p. 777)

The Hasidic discursive topos of the transformed use of the energy of the human drives, especially the sexual drive, for cultural activity was also a central discursive topos of early psychoanalytic theory, as can be seen in the following statement by S. Freud:

Sie [die Psychoanalyse] kann aber auch lehren, welche wertvollen Beiträge zur Charakterbildung diese asozialen und perversen Triebe des Kindes ergeben, wenn sie nicht der Verdrängung unterliegen, sondern durch den Prozess der sogenannten Sublimierung von ihren ursprünglichen Zielen weg zu wertvolleren gelenkt werden. Unsere besten Tugenden sind als Reaktionsbildungen und Sublimierungen auf dem Boden der bösesten Anlagen erwachsen. Die Erziehung sollte sich vorsorglich hüten,

diese kostbaren Kraftquellen zu verschütten und sich darauf beschränken, die Prozesse zu befördern, durch welche diese Energien auf gute Wege geleitet werden. (Freud, 1913, p. 420)

Although Ekstein shares the opinion of psychoanalytic ego psychology that psychic repression is to a certain degree necessary for psychic development, he also expresses the idea of sublimation: “[s]ex can be in the service of primitive impulse, of hate and destructiveness. It can be an escape from life. Only slowly can it become a propelling force towards human creativity, tied up intimately with the total pattern of love and work, as opposed to hate and destruction” (Ekstein, 1970a, p. 48).

Parallels to this psychoanalytic concept of psychological sublimation can be found in the Platonic concept of the transformation of *eros*, which has been received in Judaism (Idel, 2009, pp. 286f.). According to the Platonic concept of sublimation of *eros*, the physical erotic desire should be transformed into the love of metaphysic ideas, as can be seen in Plato’s symposium (211c-d):

And the true order of going, or being led by another, to the things of love, is to begin from the beauties of earth and mount upwards for the sake of that other beauty, using these as steps only, and from one going on to two, and from two to all fair forms, and from fair forms to fair practices, and from fair practices to fair notions, until from fair notions he arrives at the notion of absolute beauty, and at last knows what the essence of beauty is. (Plato, 2019, p. 540)

However, as Idel shows on the basis of the Hasidic narrative of the king’s son cited above, in Hasidism “körperlicher Eros und spiritueller Eros ... sind keine sich ausschließenden Impulse, und die Hingabe an einen von ihnen schließt nicht automatisch die Ablehnung des anderen mit ein” (Idel, 2009, p. 286). In this sense, Idel (2009, pp. 285f.) argues that the special feature of the Hasidic narrative is that sexual desire is the starting and (!) end point of the intellectual learning process, for at the end of the parable the prince marries a princess. Both the Hasidic and Platonic discourses, as well as Ekstein and Freud, emphasize the deflection of the drives from a physical goal to an intellectual goal. As Solinas (2012, p. 139) points out, Plato distinguishes between the following forms of *eros*: *eros* as sexuality, *eros* as tyrant, the love of beauty, and the philosophical *eros*. Solinas (2012, p. 142) argues that the Platonic concept of the transformation of *eros* corresponds to the psychoanalytical concept of sublimation. However, I do not fully agree, since Platonic philosophy rather assumes that the path to goodness, beauty or truth leads via the desexualization of *eros* or, in other words, via

the separation of form from matter: “die rechte Liebe ... aber lässt ihrer Natur nach nur zu, dass man das Sittsame und Schöne besonnen und der musischen Bildung entsprechend liebt ... also darf der rechten Liebe nichts mit Tollheit oder Ungebundenheit Verwandtes beigelegt werden” (Plato, Staat 403 a-b, as cited in Solinas, 2012, p. 138). In contrast to this, the Hasidic interpretation of the Platonic concept of transforming *eros* emphasizes the importance that matter is transformed into form (Grözinger 2005, pp. 863ff.). This difference becomes evident when considering that psychoanalytic theory, which brings to the fore the Hasidic interpretation of the Platonic concept of transforming *eros*, assumes that the psychic energy that is released through the process of sublimation stems, albeit in a modified form, from the natural sexual drives, i.e. from matter. This is expressed in Ekstein’s concept of sublimation in the context of the father-daughter relationship and the Oedipus conflict:

The girl's early primitive wish to marry her father, to be close to him, and to be fully (including sexually) loved by him - an impossible condition of love, to be sure - changes slowly, provided the father's response to the Oedipal demands of the little girl is not a neurotic reaction but is the response of a father who is capable of parenting. ... If, however, the father-daughter relationship takes its normal course in the life cycle within the average environment of today, we see that the conditions for love change. ... And even though these demands [of the child] are derived from earlier, more primitive wishes and strivings, they are now centered on tasks that a growing and maturing ego can fulfill. The mutual love expresses itself now in mutual interests on a higher level, whether they be interest in school tasks, in recreational tasks, or in achievement in sports. ... The wish for sensual gratification from father is slowly replaced by and supplemented with a wish for his inspiration and guidance. ... Both give up the early intimacies and develop new forms of intimacy, age appropriate and sublimated. (Ekstein, 1980, pp. 214f.)

Interestingly, the idea of psychoanalysis that sublimated sexuality is the “propelling force towards human creativity” (Ekstein, 1970a, p. 48), towards culture, was a main point of critique from representatives of the *Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik*, such as Eduard Spranger and Herman Nohl. According to Nohl “[ist] der Versuch [falsch], alle selbständigen Bezüge des Lebens – und ein solcher ist eben der pädagogische Bezug wie der ärztliche Bezug – bloß als Derivate jener primären Libido anzusehen. Das ist noch der Rest einer falschen naturwissenschaftlichen Betrachtungsweise” (Nohl, 1927, p. 76). Spranger strongly criticized S. Freud’s assumption that the sublimated sexual drive is the motor for culture, as

can be seen in the following statement of Spranger about psychoanalysis: “[Es] erscheinen mit einer höchst primitiven Psychologie alle geistigen Bestrebungen unter dem Sammelnamen ‚sozial‘. Aber davon abgesehen: die Hauptsache ist, daß hier der Sexualtrieb selbst als der Erzeuger jener anderen Bestrebungen auftritt. Er muß dazu eine seltsame Metamorphose durchgemacht haben” (Spranger, 1966 [1924], p. 123). In contrast to the psychoanalytic concept of *eros* that combines sexuality, love and intellectual activity, Spranger differentiates between intellectual *eros* and sensual sexuality:

Eine solche Psychologie ist nicht Tiefenpsychologie, sondern in Wahrheit Oberflächenpsychologie. Sie hält sich an das sinnlich Greifbarste und behauptet, es stehe hinter allem als die eigentlich erzeugende Kraft. Wir aber leugnen nicht den Zusammenhang, sondern wir leugnen die Erhebung der einen Komponente zur alleine tragenden Substanz. ... Sondern wir behaupten, daß in der Totalität der Seele beide Seiten: die ideal-erotische und die sinnlich-sexuelle gleich ursprünglich sind. (Spranger, 1966 [1924], p. 125)

The argumentation of Spranger is based on the German idealistic discourse emphasizing the distinction between *Geist* (*eros*) and *Leib* (*sexuality*). This led to a profound anthropological incompatibility with psychoanalytic theory which, on the other hand, can be understood as an expression of the Hasidic rather materialistic interpretation of the Platonic concept of transforming *eros*.

3.3. Psychic Conflict

One major basis for Ekstein’s conception of education is S. Freud’s structural model of the psyche, according to which there are three psychic structures: the id (*Es*), the ego (*Ich*), and the super-ego (*Über-Ich*) (Ekstein, 1966b, p. 43f; Freud, 1923). According to psychoanalytic theory, the id represents the sexual and aggressive drives, the ego represents the self, and the super-ego represents the internalized cultural norms (Blüml & Doering, 2017, pp. 102f.). As Ekstein (1950) demonstrates telling several situations from a child’s development, the ego has the difficult task of mediating in the conflict between the id and the super-ego: “One could observe the struggle between the impulses [id] and the conscience [super-ego] of the child. There was not much one could do to help her and she had to suffer it through” (p. 112). Ekstein (1966b) refers to S. Freud’s structural model of the psyche not only in order to understand the individual psychological development, but also to understand social processes such as school learning and teaching:

Our graphic model [of the learning-teaching process] constitutes an analogue to Freud's tripartite model. The teaching function is related to the function of the ego in terms of mastery. The learning function, the struggle against learning and requirement, is to be related to the psychic organization characterized as id. The administration function which sets the task of the core curriculum is to be related to superego formation. Our school system is then a kind of social replica of the tripartite model and expresses, I suggest, an insight into the intrapsychic and interpsychic nature of learning and teaching. (Ekstein, 1966b, pp. 43f.)

In order to trace the discourses that are expressed in the model of the psyche that forms the basis of Ekstein's conception of education, the following section deals with the conceptions of the soul in Hasidic Judaism as well as in rabbinic literature. Hasidic Judaism partly took over the model of the soul of rabbinic Judaism that assumes that the human being is torn between a good inclination (*yetzer hatov*) and an evil inclination (*yetzer hara*) (Grözinger, 2005, pp 862ff.; Oberhänsli-Widmer, 2007). In contrast to the central teachings of the Christian religion, some rabbinic authors interpreted the Torah in such a way that God created man with both a good and an evil inclination:

Rav Naḥman bar Rav Ḥisda interpreted homiletically: What is the meaning of that which is written: 'Then the Lord God formed (*vayyitzer*) man' (Genesis 2:7), with a double *yod*? This double *yod* alludes to that fact that the Holy One, Blessed be He, created two inclinations; one a good inclination and one an evil inclination. (Steinsaltz et al., 2012, Berakhot 61a:3, emphasis in original)

According to Oberhänsli-Widmer (2007), in rabbinic literature the evil inclination refers to the sexual as well as aggressive human drives and the good inclination to the ethical part of the human being. Rabbinic authors emphasized that whereas the evil inclination is "foolish" and mighty ("king"), the good inclination is "wise", but weak ("poor"), as can be seen in the following line from the rabbinic text *Kohelet Rabbah*: "'Better is a poor and wise child than an old and foolish king'" (Rappoport, 2022, *Kohelet Rabbah* 4:13). As Oberhänsli-Widmer (2007) and Cooper (2018) argue, the discursive topos of the strife of the human soul between the strong evil inclination and the weak good inclination in rabbinic and Hasidic literature resembles the differentiation between the mighty natural drives (*id*) and the struggling self (*ego*) in psychoanalytic theory. According to psychoanalytical concepts, the natural drives (*id*) constantly pressure the self (*ego*), as can be seen in the following metaphor of S. Freud (1923):

Es [das Ich] gleicht so im Verhältnis zum Es dem Reiter, der die überlegene Kraft des Pferdes zügeln soll, mit dem Unterschied, dass der Reiter dies mit eigenen Kräften versucht, das Ich mit geborgten. ... Wie dem Reiter, will er sich nicht vom Pferd trennen, oft nichts anderes übrig bleibt, als es dahin zu führen, wohin es gehen will, so pflegt das Ich den Willen des Es in Handlung umzusetzen, als ob es der eigene wäre. (Freud, 1923, p. 253)

According to Oberhänsli-Widmer (2007, pp. 29f.) the psychoanalytic assumption that the self (*ego*) has great difficulties controlling the natural drives (*id*) is also present in rabbinic literature, as several rabbinic authors warn that the evil inclination can completely take over a person. Whereas, in rabbinic Judaism, the evil inclination is assumed to be present from the moment of birth, the good inclination is considered to develop at the age of thirteen at the time of the *Bar Mizwa*, when the adolescent takes the religious law upon himself (which in psychoanalytic terms could be understood as the formation of the *super-ego*) (Oberhänsli-Widmer, 2007, pp. 33f.), as can be seen in the following passage from the rabbinic text *Kohelet Rabbah*:

‘Better is a poor and wise child’ – this is the good inclination. Why is it called a child? Because it only associates with a person from the age of thirteen onward. Why is it called poor? It is because not everyone heeds it. Why is it called wise? It is because it guides people to the straight path. ‘Than an old and foolish king’ – this is the evil inclination. Why is it called ‘king’? It is because everyone heeds it. Why is it called ‘old’? It is because it associates with him from his youth through his old age. Why is it called a ‘fool’? It is because it guides a person to an evil path. ‘Who no longer knows to receive admonition’ – he does not know how much pain and how much suffering will afflict him, but he is not cautious in their regard. (Rappoport, 2022, *Kohelet Rabbah* 4:13)

As Oberhänsli-Widmer (2007, pp. 33f.) argues, the rabbinic concept of the different times of origin of the evil and the good inclination in the course of life resembles the psychoanalytic assumption that purely impulse-driven behavior is followed by socially adapted behavior by the internalization of cultural norms. According to Oberhänsli-Widmer (2007, pp. 25f.) the rabbinic dualistic model of the soul brings to the fore Platonic ideas that are expressed in Plato’s metaphor of the soul as a chariot with an evil and a good horse in *Phaedrus* (253e-254a):

So when the charioteer sees the light of his beloved's eyes, The horse that is obedient to the charioteer restrains itself from leaping on its beloved, because as always it is held back by a sense of shame. The other horse, however, stops paying any attention to the charioteer's goad and whip; it prances and lunges forward violently, making life extremely difficult for its team-mate and for the charioteer, and compelling them to head towards the beloved and bring up the subject of the pleasures of sex. (Plato, 2002, p. 38)

However, there are two discursive elements that differ in the psychoanalytic model of the soul compared to the rabbinic concept which can be better illustrated by examining Hasidic teachings. First, psychoanalytic theory assumes a third structure of the soul alongside the drives (*id*) and the self (*ego*), namely the *super-ego*, which represents the internalized cultural norms (Blüml & Doering, 2017, pp. 102f.). Hasidic texts partly represent the rabbinic dualistic view of the soul that is assumed to be torn between the evil and the good inclination (Grözinger, 2005). However, there were also doctrines of Jewish mysticism that assumed there was a tripartite division of the soul (Grözinger, 2005, pp. 445f.; Kučera, 2017, p. 429). As Grözinger (2004, pp. 503ff.) argues, the discursive topos of a tripartite conception of the soul in Judaism begins with the Jewish Neoplatonic philosophers of the Middle Ages, who brought to the fore, in a modified form, the Aristotelian differentiation of *anima rationalis*, *anima animalis*, and *anima vegetativa*. The Aristotelian topos of a tripartite division of the soul has continued, albeit in a modified interpretation, in the Jewish traditions of the Kabbalah and Hasidism (ibid.). According to the following Kabbalistic concept, the soul has three parts (*nefesch*, *ruach*, *neschama*), with the highest part of the soul (*neschama*) connected with the divine power (*bina*). As Kučera (2017, p. 429) argues, currents of the Kabbalistic teachings interpreted *nefesh* as existence, *neschama* as spirituality, and *ruach*, the intermediary part of the soul, as ethic. This tripartite concept of the soul resembles the psychoanalytic differentiation between the natural drives (*id*), the internalized cultural norms and ideals (*super-ego*, *ego-ideal*), and the self (*ego*) as the mediator. The following passage from the Kabbalistic text *Scha'are 'Ora* by Yosef Gikatilla describes the tripartite division of the soul. Interestingly, the text also contains the description of a psychological process, which, in a non-religious form, could be interpreted as psychic conflict:

Die *Nefesch* ist mit *Ruach* verbunden und die *Ruach* mit *Neschama* und die *Neschama* mit *Bina*. Und wenn, Gott behüte, die *Nefesch* sündigte und der Abtrennungsstrafe (*karet*) schuldig wurde, dann wird sie von der *Ruach*, an der sie sich festgehalten hatte,

abgetrennt und sie verliert die Zuteilung des Guten. ... So wird auch die *Nefesch*, die von ihrem Ort abgeschnitten wurde, von einem Ort zum anderen geschleudert, mit allerlei bösen Strafen Und gemäß diesem wirst du verstehen, was das Mysterium der Umkehr ist, von dem die Tora spricht. Das ist die Rückkehr der *Nefesch* an den Ort, von dem sie ausgerissen wurde, und die nun an ihren Ruheort zurückkehrt. (Gikatilla, Scha'are 'Ora, Gate VIII, p. 171, as cited in Grözinger, 2005, pp. 445f., emphasis in original)

As the previous explanations show, both the rabbinic dualistic concept of the soul as well as the tripartite model of the soul in Jewish mysticism express the discursive topos of psychic conflict, which also plays a central role in Ekstein's conception of education. At this point it is important to note that, although Ekstein (1966b, pp. 43f.) refers to S. Freud's (1923) structural model of the soul (*id*, *ego*, *super-ego*), Ekstein understands psychic conflict in a different way. Following Erik H. Erikson (1963 [1950]), a German born American Jewish psychoanalyst, Ekstein does not focus primarily on the conflict between the *id* and the *super-ego* and the process of psychic repression but understands psychic conflict in a more general way, as ambivalences that pervade the psyche (Ekstein, 1967a). Ekstein refers to the concept of psychosocial development by Erikson (1963 [1950]), according to which in the course of life the individual experiences various psychic conflicts: "The child of this age has grown through a number of conflicts. ... Each child brings the results and resolutions of these conflicts to the school and teachers" (Ekstein, 1965, p. 23). According to Ekstein, the developing ego has the task of resolving these conflicts, not in the sense of the complete elimination of the ambivalence, but in the sense of finding a balance (Ekstein, 1967d). Ekstein understands psychic conflict as a chance as well as necessity for development because the resolving of conflict, the finding of balance, is assumed to bring about growth: "Education, then, cannot avoid conflict, nor should it avoid conflict situations. ... One might well say that the *capacity for the solution of tasks grows out of the resolution of conflicts*. An inner world without conflict could not lead to growth and mastery" (Ekstein, 1967d, p. 32, emphasis in original). The previous statement of Ekstein also shows that Ekstein draws parallels between psychic conflict and interpersonal conflict as well as social conflict (*ibid.*). All of them are considered opportunities for growth (*ibid.*).

The second discursive element of the rabbinic concept of the soul that is different from the psychoanalytic model, is that according to rabbinic literature the drives (i.e., the evil inclination) and the ethical part of the soul (i.e., the good inclination) are mostly considered to

be separate and antagonistic (Oberhänsli-Widmer, 2007). The psychoanalytic concept of the soul, however, assumes that the self (*ego*) develops out of the drives (*id*) and that the psychic energy of the *ego* comes from the *id* (Freud, 1923, p. 253). This concept is closer to Hasidic teachings that emphasize the importance of the material drives for the other parts of the soul, as is expressed in the Hasidic text *Hakhsharat HaAvrekhim* by Rabbi Kalonymus Kalman Shapira, which refers to a passage in the Zohar, a central kabbalistic text:

We find in the Zohar (1:83b), ‘Nefesh is an awakening from below. It is connected to the body and sustains it ... it is united with the body, and cures it. When the nefesh is aroused it then becomes a throne for the Ruach to rest upon Once both ... have been established, man is ready to receive the Neshama’ This passage in the Zohar must be studied carefully. That is to say, even the weakest awakening of the nefesh that man experiences in his divine service, even the most basic awakening of the vital soul that is so close to the physical body, serves to reveal the nefesh to man’s consciousness. And it does not just wake man up to his nefesh, but also reveals the deeper levels of ruach and neshama. (Shapira, 2022, *Hakhsharat HaAvrekhim* 1:8)

The previous passage also expresses a widespread discursive topos in Hasidic Judaism, namely that the hidden, albeit profane or seemingly evil, aspects of the world and the soul should be uncovered and thus elevated, healed, and transformed into good (Grözing, 2005, pp. 780ff.). In the next section I will argue that the Hasidic discursive topos of understanding the hidden depth of the individual soul is brought to the fore in psychoanalytic theory as well as in Ekstein’s conception of education.

3.4. Understanding the Inner World of the Individual

Ekstein points out that one major contribution of psychoanalysis to education is that psychoanalytic insights help the teachers to understand the psychological processes of children and of themselves, as well as the interpersonal processes of the teacher-student interaction, especially the teaching-learning process (Ekstein, 1967a, p. 207). However, according to Ekstein (1976a), the goal of understanding the psychological processes of children is not merely to modify their behavior, but to help them with their psychic development:

We would want teachers who are not only orientated towards the mere modification of behaviour, the acquisition of skills, etc., but teachers who are free enough to look at their own inner world and to allow themselves to have glimpses of the inner world of

the learning child, the parent, the colleague. I do not want them to be therapists, but educators who have access to their inner world as well as to the knowledge about the outer world. (Ekstein, 1976a, p. 406)

The previous statement shows that with psychoanalytic insights Ekstein means not only general psychoanalytically oriented psychological knowledge, but also the capacity to understand what is going on in the individual child or, with Ekstein's words, to "have glimpses of the inner world of the learning child" (Ekstein, 1976a, p. 406). Ekstein considers the individual psyche an inner world, an inner world that one needs to get access to in order to understand oneself and others (*ibid.*), as well as social processes, which are primarily understood as interpersonal psychological processes: "This classroom situation is a complex social situation but also characterizes an internal situation" (Ekstein, 1969b, p. 10). According to Ekstein's conception of education, the inner world of the individual child is deeply shaped by unconscious processes, by sexual and aggressive drives, by psychic conflict, as well as by fantasies: "He [the child] brings to us his unconscious urges, his impulsive and emotional life. He brings to us his fantasies and imagination" (Ekstein, 1967a, p. 199). Ekstein and Motto (1969, pp. 51f.) emphasize that understanding the inner world of the individual child requires the ability to have access to one's own inner world in order to better understand oneself. Therefore, following the ideas of early psychoanalytically oriented education, Ekstein and Motto (1969) suggest personal analysis for teachers:

At least one aspect of the teacher-training program in central Europe during the twenties still seems indispensable although it is hardly ever mentioned in discussions concerning the psychoanalytic training of teachers. This is personal analysis for the teacher. It is only through such an analysis that he can truly understand children, that he can learn to see the dynamics behind the different aspects of learning readiness or learning unreadiness. Out of his own personal experience, he can thus use psychoanalytic knowledge in order to develop the spontaneity, creativity and curiosity required to redefine and redevelop teaching readiness, to invent and to discover teaching techniques. ... The teacher who himself had grown through the resolution of his own inner conflicts would now be ready for the solution of tasks. (Ekstein & Motto, 1969, pp. 51f.)

According to Ekstein, the teacher in the classroom situation, who is confronted with the inner worlds of children including their psychic developmental conflicts, experiences the same psychic developmental conflicts once again on a higher level: "I would like to suggest that in

order to round out teachers' training we should develop courses and workshops to further teaching readiness, the constant self-development of the teacher. It will then become clearer that the teacher recapitulates [sic] in his training, although on a higher level, exactly what the child goes through during the first stages that I have outlined" (Ekstein, 1967a, p. 207). These inner as well as interpersonal conflicts, for example the struggle between trust and distrust, between control and autonomy, between initiative and guilt, between industry and inferiority, and between intimacy and distance, are assumed to strongly shape the teaching and learning process, including teaching and learning problems (ibid.). Therefore, Ekstein argues that teachers are once again faced with the task of resolving their own inner conflicts in order to develop a professional identity (Ekstein, 1969b, p. 9). Thus, the professional identity of teachers who have access to their own inner worlds and have developed an ability to understand the individual inner worlds of children, who have once again resolved their own inner growth conflicts and have developed a love for teaching and learning, is considered an important means of education in order to help the children to grow, by understanding them and by being an important identification figure for them (Ekstein, 1964b, p. 31; Ekstein, 1964c, p. 525; Ekstein, 1967a, p. 207; Ekstein & Motto, 1969, pp. 51f.).

The discursive topos of understanding the inner world of the individual that is expressed in Ekstein's conception of education, is a topos that especially came up in Hasidic Judaism (Grözinger, 2008 [1992], pp. 30ff.). As Grözinger (2008 [1992], pp. 30ff.) argues, one characteristic feature of Hasidism was that the Kabbalah was interpreted in an individualized psychological way. The importance of the soul of the individual person was emphasized on the basis of the Hasidic assumption that the individual is a microcosm in which the macrocosm is reflected and the other way round:

Alles, wovon die Bibel spricht, geschieht in jedem einzelnen Menschen – aber auch in der Geschichte. Darum reden diese früh-chasidischen Texte auf der einen Seite von dem sich in der Geschichte ereignenden materiellen Exil und andererseits – davon unterschieden – von einem geistigen Exil, in dem der Geist jedes einzelnen Menschen gefangen sein kann. (Grözinger, 2008 [1992], p. 31)

The Hasidic idea of the inner psychic processes of the individual as a microcosm that reflects and is reflected by the macrocosm resembles Ekstein's conception of the individual psyche as an "inner world" (Ekstein, 1976a, p. 406). In addition, the Hasidic idea is expressed in the psychoanalytic assumption of a strong entanglement between psychological and social processes, which can be seen in the following statement of Ekstein from an interview by

Koelbl: “Die Wiener psychoanalytische Schule dachte dabei an die Analyse als Weg einer inneren Befreiung, die es den Menschen ermöglicht, zu wachsen, neue Lebensformen zu finden und nicht nur die eigene Veränderung, sondern die Veränderung der Gesellschaft einzuleiten. ... Innere und äußere Freiheit bedingen einander” (Koelbl, 1989, p. 59). As Grözinger (2008 [1992], p. 31) argues, in Hasidism much emphasis was put on the liberation of the individual soul from imprisonment in spiritual exile, for psychic exile was considered to be the cause of material exile. In this sense, individual psychic liberation was assumed to cause collective material liberation (ibid.). As Drob (1998-2006) puts it, “for the Kabbalists a self restorative act is at the same time a world restorative act, and the individual who discovers the roots of his own soul also discovers his purpose in life in the world at large” (p. 16). In accordance with that, Scholem (1946) argues that in Jewish mysticism much emphasis is put on exploring the depth of one’s own inner world, for Jewish mysticism: “postulates self-knowledge ... as the surest way to God who reveals Himself in the depth of the self” (p. 18). According to Scholem, the distinctive feature of Hasidism is the postulation that “[i]t is by descending into the depths of his own self that man wanders through all the dimensions of the world; in his own self, finally, he transcends the limits of natural existence ...” (Scholem, 1946, p. 341).

One could assume that the kabbalistic and Hasidic intense emphasis on exploring the depths of one's psyche and thus liberating the individual psyche might have enabled the development of psychoanalysis that focuses strongly on helping individuals to better understand their unconscious psychic processes and thereby achieve greater psychic freedom. The psychic freedom of the individual plays a major role within Ekstein’s conception of education (Ekstein, 1976a, p. 405). In relation to the meaning of the term freedom, Ekstein argues that:

He [man] may not feel free because of inner conditions. Then, we say that a part of his inner self forced another part of his personality to feel this way, to feel enslaved. Psychology can find the causes of such inner slavery, and can help man to use the tools necessary to return to inner freedom, which is a state of psychic health. (Ekstein, 1989b [1947], p. 38)

According to Ekstein, the development of psychic freedom is not only a central goal of psychoanalytic therapy, but also of education: “This vision of psychoanalytic education as a freeing process, the freeing not only of emotional and instinctual capacity, but also of the total mind, this acquisition of creative morality and the capacity to love and to work has today become more than a vision” (Ekstein, 1976a, p. 405).

3.5. Associative Interpretation

Psychoanalysis is strongly connected to a special form of interpretive understanding of individual psychic processes. According to Bettelheim (1982), this special mode of psychic interpretation could be referred to as “imaginative interpretation” (p. 37), a kind of associative interpretation that relies on symbols and metaphors and pays attention to seemingly unimportant details with the goal of finding hidden meanings. The importance of symbols and metaphors is evident in the fact that Ekstein (1969a) relies on children's drawings to explain the inner world of children. In the article *The Acquisition of Learning Readiness: Task or Conflict*, Ekstein (1969a) uses the drawings of a child with severe learning difficulties to illustrate his psychic conflicts. The boy, who was free to draw whatever he wanted in presence of a psychoanalyst, invented a story that Ekstein interpreted on the basis of psychoanalytic assumptions on child development (ibid.). However, at the same time, the interpretation is characterized by great openness to the individual inner world of the child (ibid.). Ekstein's interpretations of the boy's drawings are mainly based on symbolism, not in the sense of general symbols, but in the sense of symbols that the individual child unconsciously uses to express his individual unconscious fantasies (ibid.). Symbols of the child's story, such as the sun, the teacher, rain and clouds, as well as thunder and lightning, are interpreted as metaphors for individual psychic processes:

It becomes clearer that the maternal principle, split by his conception of the demanding father [teacher?] and the smiling sun, is understood in terms of helplessness. The teacher cannot get him to do the work, and the smiling sun cannot stop the rains and the thunder, nor convince him that he is loved and that he can do the work, and thus magic must fail. The paternal principle, described through the thunder and clouds and the threat of falling, becomes humanized towards the part of the story when Tricky cannot escape any more to or above Cloud 9, but sees himself facing angry parents for having failed the work. Ricky sees himself as being threatened with annihilation, with castration, and finds it impossible to cope with his anxieties, except for his hope that all the threats he faces will not really come true and are only in his mind. (Ekstein, 1969a, p. 30)

Several studies emphasize the immense significance that the practice of interpretation and exegesis has in Judaism (e.g., Aron & Henik, 2010; Ostow, 2018 [1982]). This importance of interpretation in Judaism is partly due to the fact that the written Torah lacks vowels, punctuation, and numerals (Dein, 2006, p. 136). Studies that investigated the relevance of

Jewish interpretive techniques for psychoanalysis focused especially on the method of *Midrashic* inquiry in rabbinic Judaism, which tries to find, intersubjectively, new hidden meanings in sacred texts (Cushman, 2010; Meghnagi, 1993). However, the rabbinic goal of advancing to the hidden meanings of the Torah does not mean disregarding the literal outer material form of the Torah (Cushman, 2010). On the contrary, for *Midrashic* interpretation, every single detail of the material literal form of the Torah is of importance, including every word, every letter, every decorative adornment of the letters, and especially the spaces between the letter (Aron & Henik, 2010, p. 17; Cushman, 2010, p. 391). Also in the Kabbalah and in Hasidism, finding hidden meanings of the Torah is the central task of exegesis (Scholem, 1946, p. 14). In the Kabbalah and in Hasidism it was assumed that the visible words of the Torah are the garments of the Torah, while the meanings of the Torah lie underneath, as can be seen in the following passage from the Hasidic text *Sha'ar HaEmunah VeYesod HaChasidut* by Rabbi Gershon Henoch Leiner of Radzin that refers to the central kabbalistic text *Zohar*:

It is written in the *Zohar* (Beha'alotcha, 152a): Rabbi Shimon said, 'Woe is the man who says that the Torah is just a collection of stories and mundane information. The story of the Torah is the garment of the Torah. To the one who says that the garment is the actual Torah, I say, may he breath [sic] his last! He has no share in the world-to-come. For this, David said (Tehillim, 119), 'open my eyes, that I may behold the wonders of Your Torah.' Meaning, may I see that which is beneath the garment. (Gershon Henoch Leiner of Radzin, 1996, *Sha'ar HaEmunah VeYesod HaChasidut*, Introduction to Beit Yaakov 5:7)

The discursive topos of a differentiation between the overt words of the Torah and the hidden meanings, which can be found in rabbinic Judaism, in the Kabbalah, and in Hasidism, is combined with an enormous significance attributed in Jewish currents to the practice of interpretation of the Torah and other sacred texts (Aron & Henik, 2010; Ostow, 2018 [1982]). Scholem (1946) argues that in Jewish mysticism:

the Torah is to them a living organism animated by a secret life which streams and pulsates below the crust of its literal meaning; every one of the innumerable strata of the hidden region corresponds to a new and profound meaning of the Torah. The Torah, in other words, does not consist merely of chapters, phrases and words; rather is it to be regarded as the living incarnation of divine wisdom which eternally sends out new rays of light. ... Each configuration of letters in it, whether it makes sense in human speech

or not, symbolizes some aspect of God's creative power which is active in the universe. And just as the thoughts of God, in contrast to those of man, are of infinite profundity, so also no single interpretation of the Torah in human language is capable of taking in the whole of its meaning. (Scholem, 1946, p. 14)

Besides the assumption of hidden meanings of the Torah, another typical discursive topos in Judaism is the assumption that there are countless possible interpretations of the Torah, as can be seen in the statement cited above by Scholem (1946, p. 14). This assumption is expressed in Jewish mysticism through the idea that there are 600,000 possible interpretations of the Torah because there are 600,000 Jewish souls each of whom has a letter in the Torah (Dein, 2006, p. 136). This assumption of Jewish mysticism, that every letter in the Torah represents a Jewish soul, can be seen in the Hasidic text *Sichot HaRan* by Reb Noson of Nemirov: "Every Jew is a letter in the Torah. The 600,000 letters of the Torah parallel the 600,000 Jewish souls. The Torah is the root of all Jewish souls" (Noson of Nemirov, 1973, *Sichot HaRan* 91:3). This assumed parallelism between the letters of the Torah and the individual Jewish souls may have enabled the development of the psychoanalytic interpretive method, which could partly be understood as a transfer of Jewish interpretive traditions of sacred texts to the interpretation of the individual soul. Several authors (e.g., Aron & Henik, 2010; Bakan, 1958, pp. 246-270; Meghnagi, 1993, pp. 62f.; Ostow, 2018 [1982], pp. 8ff.) argue that the psychoanalytic interpretive technique is shaped by the methods of interpretation of rabbinic Judaism as well as of Jewish mystical traditions. This hypothesis is supported by the following statement of S. Freud on psychoanalytic dream interpretation:

Die gleiche Würdigung haben wir bei der Traumdeutung jeder Nuance des sprachlichen Ausdrucks geschenkt, in welchem der Traum uns vorlag; ja, wenn uns ein unsinniger oder unzureichender Wortlaut vorgelegt wurde, als ob es der Anstrengung nicht gelungen wäre, den Traum in die richtige Fassung zu übersetzen, haben wir auch diese Mängel des Ausdrucks respektiert. Kurz, was nach der Meinung der Autoren eine willkürliche, in der Verlegenheit eilig zusammengebraute Improvisation sein soll, das haben wir behandelt wie einen heiligen Text. (Freud, 1900, p. 518)

Similar to Jewish methods of exegesis, Ekstein uses the manifest aspects, in this case the symbolic drawings of a child, in order to understand the latent, unconscious processes of the individual psyche. Scholem (1946) argues that symbols are of extraordinary significance in Jewish mysticism:

[T]he mystical symbol is an expressible representation of something which lies beyond the sphere of expression and communication, something which comes from a sphere whose face is, as it were, turned inward and away from us. A hidden and inexpressible reality finds its expression in the symbol. ... The infinite shines through the finite and makes it more and not less real. (Scholem, 1946, pp. 27f.)

The symbol of Jewish mysticism as an “expressible representation of something which lies beyond the sphere of expression and communication” (Scholem, 1946, pp. 27f.) is in psychoanalysis used to interpret unconscious psychic processes of the individual. This discursive topos can be found in Ekstein’s (1969a) interpretation of the child’s drawings. The individual use of symbols by the boy in his story called *Tricky the Trickster* is interpreted by Ekstein (1969a) as expressing the boy’s object relations, his inner representations of his mother and his father:

The demanding teacher and the smiling sun are but different aspects of the mother figure. ... [T]he father in the story of *Tricky the Trickster* is shown as an impersonal threat - thunder, lightning, rain and clouds, dangerous parachute jumps, etc. - and only much later appears as does the mother, as a real person. (Ekstein, 1969a, p. 34)

IV. The Relative Relevance of Other Discourses

Chapter III has made evident how the ideological language of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism forms the discursive basis of Ekstein's conception of education. The following chapter deals with the question of which other, less dominant discourses are brought to the fore in Ekstein's articles on education. In the following three subchapters, I examine the ways in which Ekstein's educational theories express the discourses of modern science and progressive education as well as the political discourses of Austro-Marxism and democratic liberalism. On the basis of my investigations, I argue that Ekstein has adapted these discourses to the rabbinic and Hasidic discursive topoi brought to the fore in psychoanalysis. This supports the conclusion that the *langue* of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism represents the *dominant* discourse brought to the fore in Ekstein's conception of education.

4.1. The Discourse of Modern Science

In the previous chapter it was shown that Ekstein's conception of education brings to the fore several discursive topoi of the *langues* of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism. They are, however, expressed in a non-metaphysical way, by which I mean that, in contrast to the Jewish religion, no divine power is assumed. There are no references to God or anything metaphysical in Ekstein's articles on education. In an interview on Judaism, Ekstein reformulated the metaphysical notion of God as ethics created by humans:

Man macht Gott, besser gesagt: den Begriff Gottes verantwortlich für Dinge, die Menschen tun. Für mich ist der ‚liebe Gott‘ ein ethischer Begriff. Ich möchte die Frage, warum es Gott zuläßt, daß Menschen an Krebs sterben, lieber in folgende Frage übersetzen: Was kann ich tun, um den Menschen zu helfen, daß die Krankheit rechtzeitig erkannt wird, bevor sie unheilbar ist? (Koelbl, 1989, p. 57)

Ekstein's argumentation is partly in line with S. Freud's psychological and ethical understanding of religion (Ekstein & Caruth, 1965), according to which religion does not say anything about a metaphysical sphere but about human psychological processes: "Ich glaube in der Tat, daß ein großes Stück der mythologischen Weltauffassung, die weit bis in die modernsten Religionen hinein reicht, nichts anderes ist als in die Außenwelt projizierte Psychologie" (Freud, 1901, pp. 286f.). S. Freud's (1927) critical understanding of religion as a collective infantile illusion that hinders the achievement of the "primacy of the intellect"

(“Primat des Intellekts”) (p. 377) by the sciences, however, is not to be found in Ekstein’s articles on education.

Although Ekstein’s conception of education expresses several Jewish ideas about the soul, he at the same time regards the *psyche* as not metaphysical but empirical that can and should be investigated by modern science (Ekstein & Motto, 1967, p. 3). In accordance with S. Freud (1933b, pp. 170f.), Ekstein considers psychoanalysis a “basic psychological science” (Ekstein & Motto, 1967, p. 3). In this sense he sees the goal of the scientific discipline of psychoanalysis not only in treating people with psychopathology, but also in gaining scientific insights about psychological and sociological processes in general (ibid.). These scientific psychological insights are supposed to guide psychotherapy as well as other areas of human endeavor, such as education (Ekstein, 1967a, pp. 203f.). According to Ekstein, education needs to be based on scientific knowledge on child development and the teaching-learning-process, particularly including unconscious psychic and social processes:

We don't want to see education as a blind reaction to children; instead, we want to develop a rationale, an educational philosophy, backed by scientific data and scientific theories, It is in this area, then, that psychoanalysts and educators must get together in order to build a bridge which will slowly permit us to change blind reaction into a rational response, fed by the nutriment of science. (Ekstein, 1967a, pp. 203f.)

In order to examine the way in which the discourse of modern science is expressed by Ekstein, it is necessary to deal in more detail with the emergence of psychoanalysis and its claim to be an academic discipline. After completing his medical studies, S. Freud worked in the field of neuroanatomy in the physiology laboratory of Ernst Wilhelm von Brücke (Roudinesco & Plon, 2004, pp. 141f.). In 1883, S. Freud worked in the psychiatric department of the Viennese general hospital which was led by Theodor Meynert (pp. 685f.). Both Brücke and Meynert were representatives of the then dominant positivistic approach in medicine, including psychiatry, that focused strictly on somatic aspects (pp. 141f.; pp. 685f.). According to Roudinesco and Plon (2004, pp. 685f.), Meynert rejected psychic explanations and therapies for what he considered to be neurological illnesses. As Ellenberger (1985, p. 342) shows, this so-called somatic psychiatry (“*Somatiker*”) became dominant in the second half of the 19th century and followed the earlier romantic approach of psychiatry that focused on the metaphysically understood soul (“*Psychiker*”). Therefore, romantic psychiatry tried to heal disorders of the soul through moral treatment (ibid.). I argue that in this debate between metaphysic (idealistic) and somatic (materialist) understanding and treatment of psychic

respectively neurological disorders psychoanalysis had an intermediate position. For S. Freud there is no contradiction between the assumption that psychic processes are based on processes of the brain (Freud, 1938, p. 67) and an empirical concept of the psyche: “Geist und Seele sind in genau der nämlichen Weise Objekte der wissenschaftlichen Forschung wie irgendwelche menschenfremden Dinge” (Freud, 1933b, p. 171). The amalgam of the discourse of modern natural science and an abstract concept of the soul can also be found in German traditional academic psychology shaped by Wilhelm Wundt (Eckardt, 2010, p. 133). However, the conceptions of the soul in German traditional academic psychology and in psychoanalysis are fundamentally different. In contrast to psychoanalysis, German traditional academic psychology was centered around the concept of consciousness (ibid.) that was shaped, as Tröhler (2011c, pp. 134f.) shows, by the idealistic Lutheran discourse on the soul. Tröhler (ibid.) argues that Wundt’s conception of the soul expresses the Lutheran dualism between outer (sensual, physical) experience and inner (*geistige*) experience and a higher valuation of the latter. The assumed dualism between body and soul is illustrated by the following statement of Wundt: “Es fehlt uns aber ebenso an jedem Anhalte dafür, daß dasjenige, was in unserer inneren Erfahrung jenen sinnlichen Inhalt gestaltet, was ihn nach logischen oder ethischen Normen verbindet, nun an irgendwelche physischen Vorgänge besonderer Art geknüpft sei” (Wundt, 1906, p. 176). Wundt argued that although physiological and mental (*geistige*) processes partly run in parallel, they cannot explain each other causally because they are of different quality (pp. 171ff.). In contrast to this idealistic dualism between physical and mental (*geistige*) processes, psychoanalysis, which expresses several anthropological ideas of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism, emphasizes the significance of matter, more precisely of the natural drives, sexuality and aggression, as well as of the unconscious (see chapter III above).

In accordance with S. Freud’s psychoanalytic conception of the human being, Ekstein differentiates between body and psyche, albeit not in an idealistic dualistic way (like Wundt), for the body and the psyche are assumed to be closely interconnected (Ekstein, 1950). More specifically, in his conception of education, Ekstein expresses the discursive topos of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism that sexuality pervades the whole human being (see subchapters 3.1. and 3.2.). This can be seen in the following statement of Ekstein on the relevance of sexuality in human life:

When analysts, psychiatrists, and educators speak about sex education, they do not refer simply to sexual activity but to the need to educate the whole human being. Havelock

Ellis, the first great explorer of sex, said that the process of sex, as it is woven into the whole texture of a man's or woman's body, is the pattern of all the processes of a person's life. (Ekstein, 1970a, p. 38)

By this interpretation of Havelock Ellis, Ekstein brings to the fore the idea that the sexual drives, which are assumed to originate from the body (matter), pervade all the psyche, including intellectual processes (mind). That this represents an anthropological idea fundamentally different from the idealistic, dualistic German Christian one can be seen in the reaction of Spranger, a representative of German idealistic conception of education (*Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik*). Spranger (1966 [1924]) argued that the psychoanalytic focus on sexuality is not “depth psychology”, as it claims, but “superficial psychology”: “Eine solche Psychologie ist nicht Tiefenpsychologie, sondern in Wahrheit Oberflächenpsychologie. Sie hält sich an das sinnlich Greifbarste und behauptet, es stehe hinter allem als die eigentlich erzeugende Kraft” (Spranger, 1966 [1924], p. 125). Ekstein was aware that the psychoanalytic assumption that the natural drives of sexuality and aggression shape the human psyche led to much resistance in the fields of philosophy as well as science and attributed this critique to the psychological process of denial, a “negative attitude towards sexuality and aggression” as well as a “misconception of science” (Ekstein, 1989b [1947], pp. 36f.). Ekstein (1989b [1947]) states that: “[T]he ‘philosophers’ ... accuse us of seeing the ugly and immoral driving force of sexuality and aggression behind the beauty of the mind” (p. 36). The discursive relevance of sexuality/love (*eros*) and its assumed importance for the intellect cannot only be found in the psychoanalytic concept of the psyche but also in Ekstein's conception of educational science. In this sense, Ekstein and Motto emphasized that “[a] good educational philosophy should be motivated by love and guided by knowledge” (Ekstein & Motto, 1967, p. 4). Besides Ekstein's conception of education as a science, the discursive connection of love and reason finds its expression also in his assumption that the individual development towards reason is through love, and that the psychic growth of the *ego* includes intellectual development as well as the development of solidarity (Ekstein, 1976a) (see subchapter 4.2.).

The discourse of modern science is adapted in Ekstein's conception of education in at least three ways. First, the discourse of modern natural science is combined, as shown above, with an empirical, non-idealistic concept of the psyche shaped by several discursive topoi of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism, such as sexuality in a broader sense. Second, scientific research of the psyche was associated with the development of specific methods for gaining knowledge, the first and best known of which are analysis and observation of the child

(Roudinesco & Plon, 2004, p. 280). As can be seen in the following statement, S. Freud considered analysis a scientific observational – but not experimental – procedure:

Man erfährt durch die Beobachtung bald hier, bald dort etwas Neues, die Stücke passen zunächst nicht zusammen. Man stellt Vermutungen auf, macht Hilfskonstruktionen, die man zurücknimmt, wenn sie sich nicht bestätigen, Nur die Hilfe, die das Experiment der Forschung leistet, muß man in der Analyse entbehren. (Freud, 1933b, p. 188)

In accordance with that, Ekstein (1989b [1947], pp. 34f.) argued that the derivation of hypotheses from experience, which in turn must stand up to experience or be revised, is the central element of scientific research. Psychoanalytic research methods are partly connected to special ways of symbolic interpretation, which use manifest material, such as children's drawings (Ekstein, 1969a), in order to understand the latent, unconscious processes of the psyche. In subchapter 3.5., I argued that the psychoanalytic interpretive technique is partly shaped by the methods of interpretation of rabbinic Judaism as well as Jewish mystical traditions. The different psychoanalytic research approach was and is criticized as unscientific by some representatives of dominant psychological sciences (Eckardt, 2010, p. 143). The research approach leads to the third adaptation of the discourse of modern science in Ekstein's conception of education. In contrast to the dominant discourses of modern science, Ekstein emphasized the importance of the single case: "I do believe that we should turn matters around and start to understand before we start to count. If we are to understand the enormous problems of modern education, we may well start with the individual situation" (Ekstein, 1969a, p. 20). As discussed in subchapter 3.4., this idea is consistent with the central importance ascribed to the individual soul in Hasidism (Grözinger, 2008 [1992], pp. 30ff.).

S. Freud's statement, "die Stimme des Intellekts ist leise, aber sie ruht nicht, ehe sie sich Gehör geschafft hat" (Freud, 1927, p. 377) is used by Ekstein as a closing word for some of his articles (e.g., Ekstein, 1967a, p. 209; Ekstein, 1991, p. 161). Although S. Freud expressed the hope that science will achieve the "primacy of the intellect" ("Primat des Intellekts") (Freud, 1927, p. 377), he at the same time regarded the human intellect as weak compared to the powerful primitive human drives. As shown in subchapter 3.3. this idea can be interpreted as an expression of the anthropological concept of rabbinic Judaism of the mighty *evil inclination* opposed to the weak *good inclination* of the human being.

For Ekstein, science, education, individual development, as well as social and political development are closely interwoven (Ekstein, 1967a; Ekstein, 1972a). The following

subchapter deals with the question of which political discourses are brought to the fore in Ekstein's articles on education.

4.2. Political Discourses

In the following subchapter I argue that Ekstein's forced flight to the USA in 1938 was associated with a shift away from the political language of Austro-Marxism towards the political language of democratic liberalism, which remained, from this point onwards, a central fundament of Ekstein's articles on education. In addition, I deal with the questions of how the discourses of Austro-Marxism and liberalism were adapted and related to the discursive topoi of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism in Ekstein's conception of education.

Education with the goal of inner and outer liberation

During the Austrian First Republic (1919-1934) there were strong tensions between the two major parties, the Social Democratic Party (*Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei Österreichs*) and the Catholic and bourgeois Conservative Party (*Christlichsoziale Partei*) (Pelinka, 2017, pp. 18f.). During this time of enormous social conflicts and an increasing splitting of society (ibid.), Rudolf Ekstein advocated the goals of Austro-Marxism (Kaufhold, 2001, pp. 99f.). Already in his school days, he had joined the association of socialist middle school students (*Verein Sozialistischer Mittelschüler*) (ibid.). Moreover, he worked with groups of children and youths within the socialist organizations *Die Kinderfreunde* and *Die Roten Falken* (ibid.). After starting his university studies, Ekstein joined the association of socialist university students (*Verband Sozialistischer Studenten*) (ibid.). In 1933/1934, Engelbert Dollfuß, the then chancellor of Austria, from the Catholic and bourgeois Conservative Party, established a fascist state that lasted until the annexation of Austria to Nazi Germany in 1938 (Pelinka, 2017, p. 102). When the Social Democratic Party was banned by the fascist government, Ekstein became illegally involved in the Communist Youth Association (*Kommunistischer Jugendverband*) and wrote leaflets under the pseudonym *Wickerl* (Kaufhold, 1993, p. 47). One of Wickerl's/Ekstein's leaflets, with the title *Sexualpolitik des Faschismus* (Ekstein, 1937), has been preserved. In it Ekstein expresses psychoanalytic ideas on sexuality as well as feminist, pacifist, liberal and particularly socialist discursive topics (ibid.).

In the fascist *Federal State of Austria* (*Ständestaat*), which lasted from 1934 until 1938, education became increasingly anti-democratic and authoritarian (Gober, 2011, pp. 38ff.). As Gober (2011, pp. 38ff.) shows, the main educational goals of Austrofascism were religious-moral and nationalistic as well as pre-military education. These goals were meant to be

implemented by the school, the Catholic church, and youth associations such as the *Österreichisches Jungvolk* (pp. 19ff.). According to Guber (2011, pp. 10, 38ff.) the main educational principle was the authoritarian order of the *Führertum*. In the mentioned leaflet *Sexualpolitik des Faschismus*, Ekstein (1937) strongly criticized the authoritarian order of the *Federal State of Austria* (Ekstein, 1937). In addition, Ekstein's criticism was directed in particular against the tightening of laws against abortion, the restriction of coeducation and other political measures intended to regulate the relationship between men and women: "Sexuelle Verbote auf allen Linien und zur gleichen Zeit" (Ekstein, 1937, para. 4). Ekstein argued that these sexual prohibitions were means of the capitalist, fascist state to deprive the labor movement of their psychological energy for revolution:

Diese Einschränkungen ... werden heute, in Zeiten der Gefährdung des kapitalistischen Systems ins Unnatürliche, Ungesunde, Untragbare gesteigert. ... Sexualverbote, Sexualversagung, innerliche Sexualverneinung – das bedeutet Denkhemmung, Angst, Autoritätsglaube, Religiosität, Kriegsbegeisterung, Kampf gegen die Revolution. Sexualefreiheit, bedeutet Bereitschaft zum Lernen, Denkfähigkeit, Glücksfähigkeit, Verachtung der Autorität, Mut, Glaube an die Revolution. (Ekstein, 1937, para. 7-11)

As can be seen in the previous passage from the leaflet, Ekstein equated fascism with capitalism and Christian-religious authoritarian oppression. The enemy images of capitalism and of the clergy that are expressed by Ekstein (ibid.) are central discursive topoi of socialism (Jandl, 2023, pp. 75f.). Furthermore, Ekstein (1937) expresses the socialist topics of the opposition of capitalism and the labor movement as well as the goal of revolution. However, Ekstein's (1937) advocacy of sexual liberation stands in contrast to the moral demands that were conveyed by representatives of Austro-Marxist discourse, such as Otto Felix Kanitz (Jandl, 2023, pp. 49, 91). Ekstein's argumentation that sexual liberation is necessary for the socialist revolution (ibid.) does not correspond to the dominant ideas of socialist educational discourse of interwar Vienna (Jandl, 2023, pp. 49, 91), but expresses ideas of the Viennese Jewish psychoanalyst and socialist Wilhelm Reich, albeit in a less radical form. In his book *Massenpsychologie des Faschismus*, Reich (2020 [1933]) combined the demand for sexual liberation and the demand for socialist revolution:

Ich sagte, dass die individuellen moralischen Hemmungen, die sich heute im Gegensatz zu den sexuellen Ansprüchen auf die gesamte sexualverneinende Atmosphäre der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft stützen, durch Schaffung einer entgegengesetzten sexualbejahenden Ideologie soweit ausser Wirkung gesetzt werden können, dass die

Menschen zur Aufnahme des sexualpolitischen Programms des Kommunismus fähig werden und dadurch dem Einfluss der Kirche und der reaktionären Mächte entrückt werden können. (Reich, 2020 [1933], p. 176)

Wilhelm Reich's ideas on sexual political revolution met with resistance not only by representatives of socialism and communism but also by many representatives of psychoanalysis (Roudinesco & Plon, 2004, pp. 849f.). As a result, Reich was excluded from the *German Communist Party* as well as from the *International Psychoanalytic Association* (ibid.). Kaufhold (1993, p. 48) assumes that Ekstein's articulation of Reich's ideas on sexual liberation could be one reason why the *Communist Youth Association* excluded Ekstein with the accusation of Trotskyism.

The ways in which Ekstein adapts the discourse of Austro-Marxism demonstrates the incompatibilities with several discursive topoi of the dominant *langue* of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism expressed in psychoanalysis. First, the most obvious adaptation is that in Ekstein's leaflet, the discursive topos of sexuality is dominant over the socialist discursive topos of class and capital. Second, Ekstein does rather not emphasize the collective as in the discourse of socialism, but more the individual: "Jeder hat die Verantwortung für das Glück, für die persönliche Entwicklung des Partners" (Ekstein, 1937, para. 12). As discussed in subchapter 3.4., this is consistent with the central importance ascribed to the individual soul in Hasidism (Grözinger, 2008 [1992], pp. 30ff.). Third, Ekstein (1937, para. 12) focuses on inner psychological freedom next to outer freedom ("innerlich befreite Menschen"). However, according to Ekstein, inner psychological freedom and outer freedom are mutually dependent (Koelbl, 1989, p. 59). The dominant discursive topos of the entanglement of individual inner and outer freedom, which can be understood as an expression of the *langue* of Hasidism (see subchapter 3.4.), is more compatible with the political discourse of liberalism, which could be one reason why Ekstein shifted away from the ideological language of Austro-Marxism towards democratic liberalism.

Education with the Goals of Individual Freedom and Pluralistic Democracy

Ekstein's leaflet *Sexualpolitik des Faschismus* (1937) is the only surviving text by Ekstein in which the discourse of Austro-Marxism is being expressed. The exclusion from the *Communist Youth Association* as well as Ekstein's flight to the USA were connected with a turn from the language of Austro-Marxism to the language of democratic liberalism in Ekstein's writings. From this point onwards, the advocacy of the goal of liberal democracy ran like a red thread through Ekstein's articles on education (e.g., Ekstein, 1939; Ekstein &

Motto, 1960; Ekstein, 1967a; Ekstein & Motto, 1967; Ekstein, 1974; Ekstein, 1976a). In the article *A Refugee Teacher looks on Democratic and Fascist education* from 1939, his first publication on the American continent, Ekstein expressed liberal and democratic ideas without expressing Marxist discursive topoi (Ekstein, 1976a). In this article, Ekstein described his experiences during fascism and National Socialism in Austria and analyzed the fascist means of education on the basis of psychoanalytic theories:

The fascist means to education are not very complicated. ... They [the young people] must not think, because the leader is thinking for them. They should not dare to be independent individuals, to look for the truth. ... Every teacher has to be a little leader and he has all the power he wants. He uses all his power to produce fear and anxiety in every individual; to suppress every independent emotion, to destroy all independent thinking. (Ekstein, 1939, as cited in Ekstein, 1976a, p. 400)

Ekstein's characterization of Austrofascist education is in accordance with the findings of a study by Gøber (2011, pp. 10, 38ff.), emphasizing that the main educational principle of fascist education in Austria was the authoritarian order of the *Führertum* (leadership). In 1976, Ekstein commented retrospectively on his article *A Refugee Teacher looks on Democratic and Fascist education* from 1939 and pointed out that at that time he had been afraid that "the waves of tyranny might soon destroy the last refuge" (Ekstein, 1976a, p. 401), the USA. In this sense, the article can be understood as a desperate and passionate appeal against fascism and in favor of democratic liberalism (Ekstein, 1976a). Ekstein (1976a) connects the Hasidic goal of individual psychological (inner) freedom, which is expressed in psychoanalysis, and the liberal goal of individual (outer) freedom from totalitarian rule with the idea of democratic self-government, as can be seen in the following passage:

A government, 'of the people, by the people, for the people' cannot exist without free speech, free press, free and secret vote, justice, tolerance, and reasonable solution of economical problems. ... Democracy is not yet finished, it will never be finished. Democracy is an attitude to come nearer to the final goal we see – Humanity. ... I prefer that attitude, which Abraham Lincoln expressed in these words: 'As I don't want to be a slave, I also don't want to be a master'. (Ekstein, 1939, as cited in Ekstein, 1976a, pp. 400f.)

Interestingly, Ekstein never refers to John Dewey in connection with the topic of democracy, although it is more than likely that Ekstein knew Dewey's theories because he refers to Dewey in connection to other topics, albeit rarely (Ekstein & Motto, 1965, p. 6; Ekstein,

1974, p. 18). Instead, Ekstein refers to Karl Popper's conception of liberal democracy ("open society") as opposed to totalitarianism ("closed society") (Ekstein, 1971c, p. 29). During the Second World War, the philosopher Karl Popper, born in 1902 in Vienna, which he had to leave due to his Jewish ancestry, wrote the two-volume work *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, in which he analyses the philosophical background of totalitarian systems and strongly criticizes the theories of Plato, Marx, and Hegel (Popper, 2003a; Popper, 2003b). Ekstein and Popper as well as Dewey advocate dynamic democracy (Ekstein, 1976a, p. 405; Popper, 2003b, p. 448; Dewey, 2001 [1916], p. 314). However, their conceptions of democracy are different. Dewey understands democracy primarily as a way of social living, as "conjoint communicated experience" (Dewey, 2001 [1916], p. 91), a conception which, as Tröhler (2011b) shows, expresses the *langue* of reformed Calvinism. In contrast to this, Ekstein and Popper consider democracy primarily as an institutionalized social system of self-governance that establishes institutions that enable public debate and prevent the slide into totalitarian systems (Ekstein, 1969b, pp. 6f.; Ekstein, 1974, pp. 238f.; Ekstein, 1976a, p. 405; Popper, 2003b, pp. 308f., p. 448).

Whereas for Popper it is rational criticism that secures democracy (Popper, 2003b, p. 448), Ekstein considers the psychic growth of the individual the basis of a democratic society (Ekstein, 1976a, p. 405). Although rationality also plays an important role in Ekstein's conception of democratic education, he emphasizes that the development of reason is based on emotional development in childhood: "[O]ur arguments for peace and freedom were right, but they did not reach the hearts of our children. And the way to the brain, the way to independent opinion leads through the heart" (Ekstein, 1939, as cited in Ekstein, 1976a, p. 401). According to Ekstein, the central goal of democratic education, in contrast to fascist education, is helping the individual child to slowly transform their primitive drives in order to acquire the psychological capacities important for pluralistic democracy, such as tolerance, individuality and sociability (Ekstein, 1972a, p. 72). In this sense, Ekstein argues that fascism knows no real education, because it does not transform the primitive drives, but instrumentalizes them:

Die faschistische Erziehung ist keine Erziehung im eigentlichen Sinne, da sie sich die primitiven Instinkte und Wünsche eines Volkes zunutze macht. Die Faschisten haben Erfolg, weil sie diese Wünsche nicht umwandeln müssen. ... Alle Kinder sind in gewissen Lebensabschnitten recht aggressiv. Das ist etwas Natürliches. Die Aufgabe der

Erziehung ist es, diese gefährlichen Wünsche zu einer Haltung zu machen, die unserer Gesellschaft nutzen kann. (Ekstein, 1994a [1939], p. 150)

As I argue in subchapter 3.2, the psychoanalytic concept of sublimation of primitive drives expresses the *langue* of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism.

Similar to Dewey (2001 [1916], pp. 92, 104), Ekstein emphasized that a special form of education is necessary for democracy. However, Ekstein focuses less on “conjoint ... experience” (Dewey, 2001 [1916], p. 91) than on conflict and resolution of conflict (Ekstein, 1976a, p. 405). According to Ekstein, the individual psychic growth necessary for democracy is enabled through the resolution of psychic conflicts (ibid.). Ekstein transfers this concept of conflict and resolution of conflict from the individual psychological dimension to the social dimension of pluralistic democracy (ibid.). In this sense, Ekstein argues that, although there will always be social conflicts, individuals can develop a psychological capacity, and society can develop an institutionalized system, that enables the resolution of social conflicts:

I do not speak about a world that could be free of conflict ..., but rather I speak about social and emotional development, both of a society and individual man, in which paralysing and destructive conflict can be turned into an adaptational conflict. We cannot avoid conflict, but we may be able to turn destructive conflict into conflict that can be resolved. (Ekstein, 1976a, p. 405)

Ekstein emphatically defended individualism and individual freedom as the most important values of a democratic, pluralistic society (Ekstein & Motto, 1967, p. 3). It must be added that individualism as understood by Ekstein does not correspond to the meaning of the term individualism that is frequently used to criticize the German idealistic concept of education (*Bildung*) for neglecting social processes (Koller, 2010, pp. 99f.; Dewey 2001 [1916], pp. 96ff.). According to Ekstein, individual psychic growth includes both self-realization as well as solidarity, which are assumed to go hand in hand: “The goal would be individualism within a social matrix so that as a nation we could be enriched by antagonistic or differing opinions living creatively and productively side by side” (Ekstein, 1974, p. 239). According to Ekstein, individual (outer) freedom from totalitarian rule and authoritarian education represents a condition for individual (inner) psychological freedom (Ekstein, 1971a, pp. 47f.), which is in turn considered a condition for establishing dynamic pluralistic democracy, thus securing outer freedom and peace (Ekstein, 1976a, p. 405), as can be seen in the following statement of Ekstein:

Die Wiener psychoanalytische Schule dachte dabei an die Analyse als Weg einer inneren Befreiung, die es den Menschen ermöglicht, zu wachsen, neue Lebensformen zu finden und nicht nur die eigene Veränderung, sondern die Veränderung der Gesellschaft einzuleiten. ... Innere und äußere Freiheit bedingen einander. (Koelbl, 1989, p. 59)

As shown in subchapter 3.4., the discursive topos of the entanglement of inner (psychological) liberation and outer (social) liberation can be understood as an expression of the *langue* of Hasidism. In addition, Ekstein's political emphasis on individualism is consistent with the central importance ascribed to the individual soul in Hasidism (Grözinger, 2008 [1992], pp. 30ff.). It must be added that Ekstein's strong advocacy of individualism and individual freedom is expressed as a reaction on the one hand to his experiences with totalitarianism in Europe (Ekstein, 1939, as cited in Ekstein, 1976a) and on the other hand to the educational and political situation in the USA in the second half of the 20th century (Ekstein, 1967a). Ekstein sharply criticized educational politics in the USA for paying less and less attention to the individual developmental needs of children and their autonomy (ibid.). According to Ekstein, U.S. educational reforms of the 1950s and 1960s, such as the *National Defense Education Act* and *Head Start*, were mass programs that were short-sighted, instrumentalizing children, and led by deep anxieties of the adult generation (pp. 197ff.). Ekstein was particularly critical of Skinner's vision of a technology of behavior in education, including the use of teaching machines (p. 207). In contrast to this, Ekstein emphasized that individual psychic development, and thus democracy and freedom, depend on understanding interpersonal relationships, including professional teacher-student relationships (ibid.).

Accordingly, it may be stated that Ekstein's conception of democratic education represents an amalgam of the Hasidic discursive topos of individual psychological liberation (see chapter 3.4.) and the rabbinic discursive topos of sublimation of the primitive drives (see chapter 3.2.), both of which are expressed in psychoanalysis, with the political discourse of democratic liberalism.

As chapter 2.3. shows, the discursive context in interwar Vienna was shaped, next to the political ideological languages of fascism, national socialism, (democratic) liberalism, and socialism, by the educational discourse of progressive education. The following subchapter deals with the question of whether Ekstein's conception of education expresses discursive topoi of progressive education and, if so, how they are related to the topoi of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism articulated in psychoanalysis.

4.3. The Discourse of Progressive Education

Bittner (2010, pp. 23f.), argues that psychoanalytically oriented education of the first third of the 20th century can be understood as a current within progressive education. Subchapter 2.3. has shown that educational initiatives of psychoanalytically oriented education in interwar Vienna were linked with currents of progressive education, especially Montessori education (Hierdeis, 2016, p. 44; Kaufhold, 2001, p. 35; Roudinesco & Plon, 2004, p. 279; Taubman, 2012, pp. 66f.). The following subchapter investigates the discursive topoi of progressive education expressed by Ekstein as well as their adaptation. Before that, the discourse of progressive education is briefly characterized in order to serve as a basis for comparison.

Progressive Education

As Brehony (2001, pp. 414, 428, 431) argues, progressive education or, in alternative terms, child-centered education or new education, represents a heterogeneous discourse which is characterized by both continuities and discontinuities as well as both international connections and national idiosyncrasies. Among the common discursive topics of progressive education are the critique of traditional forms of education and the focus on the individual child as well as on childhood (pp. 424f.; Oelkers, 2005, pp. 14, 93). These discursive topoi can be found in European progressive education (e.g., Key, 1909, p. 203; Montessori, 1936, p. 274) as well as in US-American concepts of child-centered education, as can be seen in the following statement of John Dewey:

I may have exaggerated somewhat in order to make plain the typical points of the old education: its passivity of attitude, its mechanical massing of children, its uniformity of curriculum and method. It may be summed up by stating that the center of gravity is outside the child. It is in the teacher, the textbook, anywhere and everywhere you please except in the immediate instincts and activities of the child himself. (Dewey, 1932 [1899], p. 35)

However, Brehony (2001, p. 414) argues that although ideas of progressive education traveled internationally, they were also characterized by local idiosyncrasies. In central Europe, the discourse of progressive education was particularly shaped by ideas of romanticism (p. 432). The romantic narrative of the good nature of the child, which stands in dualistic opposition to the harmful influence of society, can also be found in the concepts of Maria Montessori (1936, p. 274). In this sense, Montessori argued that:

[i]n fact in every educational ideal, in every pedagogy up to our own time, the word education has been almost always synonymous to the word punishment. The end was always to subject the child to the adult, who substituted himself for nature and set his reasoning and his end in the place of the laws of life. (Montessori, 1936, p. 274)

Another local characteristic of the discourse of progressive education is shown by Oelkers (2005, pp. 76f.), who argues that in Germany, in contrast to the Anglo-American area, there was a strong connection between progressive education and an anti-liberal critique of modern culture. In interwar Vienna the situation was different again, as currents of progressive education were especially linked to Austro-Marxist educational practice, which included the goal of democracy (Engelbrecht, 1988, p. 56; Glöckel, 1919, p. 4; Oelkers, 2005, p. 305).

The early psychoanalytic critique of traditional authoritarian education was in line with the above presented ideas of many currents of progressive education, according to which authoritarian education causes suffering to the child as well as destroys the potentials of the child (Hierdeis, 2016, p. 58ff.). Later psychoanalytically oriented education, however, also emphasized the importance of cultural demands for the development of the child and understood nature as well as culture as ambivalent (p. 26). This shift of psychoanalytically oriented education, which was explicitly addressed at the symposium in Budapest in 1937 (*Revision der Psychoanalytischen Pädagogik*) (Heinemann & Hopf, 2010, p. 7), is also expressed by Rudolf Ekstein (Ekstein, 1967a). This is investigated in more detail in the following section.

Ekstein and Progressive Education

Ekstein's conception of education expresses several topoi of the discourse of progressive education, such as the focus on the development of the child and on the needs of the child, as well as on understanding the child and respecting the child as an active, autonomous subject (Ekstein, 1967a, pp. 203f.; Ekstein & Motto, 1969, p. 47). According to Ekstein, children have their own needs, wishes, ideas, emotions, and fantasies as well as abilities, and they interact actively with their environment (Ekstein, 1967a, pp. 199, 204). Ekstein contrasts these ideas of child-centered education not only with traditional authoritarian forms of education, as representatives of progressive education did, but also with the educational theories of behaviorism he was confronted with in the USA:

Instead of molding the child, as older educational philosophies expressed it, or 'conditioning' the child, as some current theories suggest, the authors understand the

child as possessing his own internal structure, his own inherent possibilities, and his own reaction to the influences of external forces. He is not merely a block of marble to be turned by the sculptor into an ideal piece of art. (Ekstein & Motto, 1969, p. 47)

In accordance with the discourse of progressive education (and child psychology), Ekstein assumes that childhood and adolescence are developmental stages of life that differ from adult life (Ekstein, 1967a). Therefore, according to Ekstein, the educator must have psychological, especially psychoanalytic knowledge of the child's development in order to help the child to grow up (ibid.). In addition, Ekstein expresses the focus of many currents of progressive education on the individuality of the child as well as the assumption that it is difficult for the adult to understand the child (ibid.; Ekstein & Motto, 1969, pp. 51f.). Similar to psychoanalytically oriented education, progressive education argued that the adult generation must stop projecting their views into the child and instead learn to see the individual child as it is (Oelkers, 2005, p. 120). Following early psychoanalytically oriented education, Ekstein links these ideas of progressive education with the Hasidic discursive emphasis on self-knowledge and the individual soul expressed in psychoanalysis (see subchapter 3.4.). In this sense, Ekstein argues that, in order to develop the ability to understand the individual child, the educator must deal with their own self in personal analysis:

At least one aspect of the teacher-training program in central Europe during the twenties still seems indispensable although it is hardly ever mentioned in discussions concerning the psychoanalytic training of teachers. This is personal analysis for the teacher. It is only through such an analysis that he can truly understand children, Out of his own personal experience, he can thus use psychoanalytic knowledge in order to develop the spontaneity, creativity and curiosity required to redefine and redevelop teaching readiness, to invent and to discover teaching techniques. ... The teacher who himself had grown through the resolution of his own inner conflicts would now be ready for the solution of tasks. (Ekstein & Motto, 1969, pp. 51f.)

The above presented ideas of progressive education brought to the fore in Ekstein's conception of education are remarkably compatible with the Hasidic discursive topos of *understanding the inner world of the individual* expressed in psychoanalysis (see subchapter 3.4.). However, there are ideas of central European progressive education that are explicitly adapted by Ekstein. In his articles, Ekstein points out that early psychoanalytically oriented education resembled progressive education in so far as both criticized authoritarian education and instead advocated the liberation of the good nature of the child or, in psychoanalytic

terms, the natural (sexual) instincts of the child (Ekstein, 1950, p. 107; Ekstein & Motto, 1964a, p. 9). The romantic narrative of the good nature of the child can be found, for example, in the concepts of Montessori education, which were particularly popular among representatives of psychoanalytically oriented education in interwar Vienna (Kaufhold, 2001, p. 35; Montessori, 1936, p. 53; Roudinesco & Plon, 2004, p. 279). Montessori emphasized that education should not interfere with the evolving nature of the child:

He [the adult] has not to help the baby to form itself, for this is nature's task, In short, the adult must continue to provide a suitable environment for the psychic embryo, just as nature, in the guide of the mother, provided a suitable environment for the physical embryo. (Montessori, 1936, p. 53)

The romantic narrative of the good nature of the child contrasted with a central aspect of later psychoanalytical theory that was first explicitly articulated by S. Freud in 1920 in *Jenseits des Lustprinzips*, namely the assumption that destructive drives are present from the very beginnings of life. In *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur*, S. Freud (1930) related the ambivalent character of the natural drives to the ambivalent character of cultural norms, which, according to him, enable human social life but can also cause suffering, neuroses, and destructiveness through the excessive repression of individual needs. As shown in chapter 3.1., the psychoanalytic assumption that the human natural drives are, on the one hand, an essential source of activity as well as creativity and, on the other hand, a force that can lead to destruction, brings to the fore the rabbinic and Hasidic discursive topos of the *evil inclination* which Man is created with by God. The assumed ambivalence regarding the human drives results in the psychoanalytic assumption of an ethical as well as psychological need to modify them through sublimation, which also brings to the fore rabbinic and Hasidic ideas (see chapter 3.2.). Therefore, at the latest after the symposium of 1937 *Zur Revision der Psychoanalytischen Pädagogik*, the major goal of psychoanalytically oriented education was seen not so much in liberating the natural drives, but in slowly helping the ego (*Ich*) of the child to integrate and sublimate the sexual and aggressive drives in order to support both the autonomy and sociality of the child (Hierdeis, 2016, p. 32). This adaptation of the romantic dualism of European progressive education to the psychoanalytic discursive topoi of the ambivalence of the human drives as well as of sublimation is also expressed in Ekstein's conception of education (Ekstein, 1967a). According to Ekstein, the modification of the primitive drives is to be achieved through the educational balance between gratification and limitation of the child's impulses (ibid.). Thus, Ekstein argues, the growing *ego* of the child

slowly develops the ability to tolerate frustration and delayed gratification and thereby the capacity to both adapt to reality as well as to adapt reality (ibid.). Ekstein (1967a) points out that “that early reality was viewed previously by us as primarily a frustrating reality, but we know now that it also offers the nutriment for growth, maturation and development” (p. 202). This statement by Ekstein shows that the romantic dualism between good nature and detrimental society, which was expressed by central European progressive education (Oelkers, 2005, pp. 115ff.), is adapted by Ekstein in such a way that neither the nature of the child (drives) nor society (reality) are seen as either good or bad.

In this sense Ekstein neither advocates authoritarian nor laissez-faire education, but what he calls “authoritative education” (Ekstein, 1976a, p. 406), by which he means that the educator becomes a link between the generations and as such both guides the children as well as lets them go their own ways (Ekstein, 1971c, p. 30). Ekstein expressed the hope that this authoritative form of intergenerational interaction enables peaceful (not harmonious) societal change:

The generation gap ... is slowly being understood as a necessary continuum by means of which tradition is maintained while at the same time change is made possible. Peace depends on our capacity to secure evolutionary change rather than being pushed towards violent revolutions and counter-revolutions as well as international wars. (Ekstein, 1976a, p. 404)

Ekstein’s idea of intergenerational change contrasts with the assumption of many currents of European progressive education that the right kind of education, i.e., one that lets children unfold their inherently good nature, was supposed to create new, better people and a new, better society (Oelkers, 2005, pp. 130-142). In contrast to this, Ekstein points out that it is the responsibility of the adult generation to change their attitude towards and handling of the natural drives in themselves as well as in the children:

[t]he kind of people they are when they join us depends on the way we have helped them through childhood, on the way we have accepted in them and in ourselves the expressions of instinctual life, on the way we have learned to master and channel these expressions; in short, on the way we have learned to help them grow up. We cannot expect them to be better than [sic] we are, but we ought to make sure that we are good enough for them. (Ekstein, 1950, p. 120)

In summary, the adaptation of the ideological languages of modern science, Austro-Marxism, and progressive education to the discursive topoi of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism supports the

result of this Master thesis that the *langue* of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism represents the dominant discourse brought to the fore in Ekstein's conception of education.

V. Conclusion and Discussion

In this master thesis I investigated which discourses are brought to the fore in Rudolf Ekstein's conception of education. In order to answer the research questions, my master thesis has followed methodological assumptions of the *linguistic turn* of the Cambridge School, especially of Pocock (1987) and Skinner (2002a, 2002b, 2002c). Following Pocock (1987), discourses have been understood as collective systems of interpreting the world (*langues*), which come into being, are brought to the fore, and can change through linguistic utterances (*paroles*). According to Pocock, discourses shape how people actually perceive, think, act and speak. Therefore, following Pocock (1987), in my master thesis discourses have been understood as ideological languages that emerge, spread, and change in their respective historic contexts.

Rudolf Ekstein (1912-2005) is considered a significant second-generation representative of psychoanalytically oriented education (Kaufhold, 2001). Therefore, by examining the discourses that Rudolf Ekstein brought to the fore in his conception of education, my master thesis has dealt with the discursive emergence of psychoanalysis and psychoanalytically oriented education. As the first step of my investigation, I have examined previous research on the discursive roots of psychoanalysis. The study has shown that the origins of psychoanalysis are still incompletely researched despite the large amount of research literature. Research on the discourses that come into play in psychoanalysis is remarkably heterogeneous. Similarities of psychoanalysis have been proposed to discourses of Enlightenment and positivism (e.g., Ellenberger, 1985; Gay, 1988), German romantic, idealistic philosophy (*Naturphilosophie*) (e.g., Ellenberger, 1985; Gstach, 2015), Aristotelian and Platonic concepts of Greek antiquity (e.g., Benthien et al., 2011; Anz, 2011), as well as the Jewish traditions of rabbinic Judaism and Jewish mysticism (e.g., Bakan, 1958; Oberhänsli-Widmer, 2007). As a result of my exploration of previous research on the discursive context of psychoanalysis, the hypothesis was derived that the discursive pattern of proposed analogies between psychoanalysis and Jewish discourses as well as the predominantly Jewish milieu of the development of psychoanalysis, indicate a discursive connection. In the second step of my master thesis, this hypothesis has been examined by analyzing the discursive topoi expressed in Rudolf Ekstein's conception of education. Relying on a discourse-analytical examination of Ekstein's articles on education and Jewish primary sources as well as on research literature on Jewish currents, I have identified five discursive

topoi of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism that are brought to the fore in Ekstein's conception of education. These are: sexuality (in a broader sense) and aggression, sublimation as modification of the natural drives, psychic conflict, understanding the inner world of the individual, and associative interpretation. Since the discourse-analytical examination has shown that the Jewish discursive topoi expressed in psychoanalysis provide the fundamental interpretations of the human being and society in Ekstein's conception of education, it has been concluded that the discourse of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism represents the dominant ideological language of Ekstein's conception of education.

The examination of previous research on the discursive roots of psychoanalysis has shown that since the beginnings of psychoanalysis there has been an ongoing debate on the question of the relation of psychoanalysis and Judaism. In contrast to several publications that have argued for psychoanalysis to be an expression of Jewish discourses (e.g., Bakan, 1958; Oberhänsli-Widmer, 2007), other authors have interpreted psychoanalysis as a pure expression of positivism (Gay, 1988) and have rejected the proposed similarities to Jewish discourses for being speculative (Robert, 1975). Interestingly, the argumentations in these debates seem to oppose each other and do not consider that several discourses of modern science have religious roots (Tröhler, 2011a). In this connection it is crucial to point out that the existence of psychoanalysis was highly endangered by antisemitism and national ideologies (Roudinesco & Plon, 2004). The claim that psychoanalysis was a Jewish undertaking was used, in an antisemitic way, in order to devalue the scientific character of psychoanalysis and present it as a particularity that had nothing to do with the German mind (*Geist*) (ibid.). During National Socialism psychoanalytic books were burnt, and most psychoanalysts had to flee, or were forced into concentration camps or murdered (ibid.).

From a discourse-analytical perspective it is assumed that every theory brings to the fore certain interpretations of the world that shape, enable and limit the theory (Pocock, 1987; Skinner, 2002c). What is considered relevant theoretical knowledge depends on the then dominant ideological languages (Tröhler & Fox, 2019). Discourse-analytical research has shown that several currents of European and US-American philosophy and science, especially educational and psychological disciplines, express different Protestant discourses (Tröhler, 2011a). For example, Tröhler (2011a) has shown that German traditional academic psychology shaped by Wundt, as well as German idealistic conceptions of humanistic education (*Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik*) express Lutheran ideas.

The discourse-analytical examination of Ekstein's articles on education has shown that Ekstein's emphasis on understanding the inner world of the individual child (e.g., Ekstein, 1976a) is an expression of the Hasidic focus on the individual soul, which was based on the Hasidic assumption that the individual is a microcosm in which the macrocosm is reflected and the other way around (Grözinger, 2008 [1992]). In addition, the Hasidic emphasis on individual psychological liberation through the exploration of the depth of one's own self (Grözinger, 2008 [1992]; Scholem, 1946) is highlighted in Ekstein's concept of psychoanalytically oriented teacher training (e.g., Ekstein & Motto, 1969). The Jewish (particularly Hasidic) emphasis on sexuality/love (Idel, 2009) is reflected in Ekstein's assumption that interpersonal emotional relationships, which are assumed to be fundamentally shaped by sexuality/love, are the central means by which psychic (including intellectual) growth, education and learning take place (Ekstein, 1970a). For Ekstein, as for Freud, sexuality and love belong together and are basically different forms of one and the same thing (Ekstein, 1970a; Freud, 1921, pp. 98f). Ekstein's conception of education is shaped by an understanding of sexuality/love that includes every form of desire to establish a connection, to get in touch (physical or non-physical) with someone or something, including actions or abstract ideas (Ekstein, 1967d). This discursive topos brings to the fore the topos of *eros* in Jewish currents (see Idel, 2009). The Jewish discursive topos of erotic desire for pleasurable connection, which was especially prevalent in Hasidism, enabled the development of a central feature of psychoanalytic theory that considers sexuality and love, which are summarized under the term *libido* respectively *eros*, as the driving force of human life, of its biological as well as its social and cultural aspects. Ekstein's psychoanalytic assumption that the human natural drives (sexuality and aggression) are, on the one hand, an essential source of activity as well as creativity and, on the other hand, a force that can lead to destruction (Ekstein, 1970a), brings to the fore the rabbinic discursive topos of the *evil inclination* which the human being is assumed to be created with by God (see Oberhänsli-Widmer, 2007). Both in Hasidism and in Ekstein's conception of education, the assumed ambivalence of the human drives results in the assumption of a social as well as psychological need to master and modify the primitive drives through sublimation, so that their energy can be used for higher, social, cultural, and intellectual purposes (Ekstein, 1994a [1939]; Ekstein, 1964b; Ekstein, 1980).

Various currents of Judaism express interpretations of discourses of Greek antiquity, especially of Plato and Aristotle (Grözinger, 2005; Idel, 2009; Oberhänsli-Widmer, 2007). Interestingly, most of the discursive topoi of Greek antiquity that research has shown to be

similar to psychoanalytical theory (e.g., Benthien et al., 2011; Anz, 2011), can also be found in Jewish discourses. For example, rabbinic Judaism as well as Hasidism bring to the fore interpretations of the Platonic discursive topoi of *eros*, bisexuality, the battle between the good and evil inclination, and the cultural relevance of sublimation. However, an interesting result of my study, which has been proposed by literature on Jewish discourses (Grözinger, 2005; Idel, 2009; Oberhänsli-Widmer, 2007) but has, to my knowledge, so far not been addressed in research on the discursive emergence of psychoanalysis, is that psychoanalytic interpretations of Platonic concepts differ fundamentally from idealistic Christian interpretations of Plato. The investigations of my master thesis have shown that whereas psychoanalytic interpretations of the Platonic topoi of *eros*, the strife of the human, and sublimation emphasize matter (the human drives) as well as the transformation of matter into form, the idealistic Christian interpretations of the Platonic topoi emphasize form (soul, *Geist*) as well as the separation of form from matter (Eder, 2018; Solinas, 2012). This is consistent with the identified contrast of the psychoanalytic as well as Hasidic broader understanding of sexuality/love, which includes body as well as soul/mind (see Idel, 2009), and the idealistic Christian one that separates physical sexuality from spiritual love (Eder, 2018; Solinas, 2012). In my study, these discursive incompatibilities have been found to be addressed in the debates between representatives of psychoanalysis and representatives of idealistic or Christian discourses (Freud, 1921; Spranger, 1966 [1924]; *Wochenschrift für katholische Lehrerinnen*, 1929, as cited in Meng, 1929). In contrast to the idealistic dualism between physical and mental (*geistige*) processes, psychoanalysis, which expresses several anthropological ideas of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism, emphasizes the significance of matter, more precisely of the natural drives (sexuality and aggression) as well as of the unconscious. Ekstein differentiates between body and psyche, albeit not in an idealistic dualistic way, as the body and the psyche are assumed to be closely interconnected (Ekstein, 1950). More specifically, in his conception of education, Ekstein expresses the discursive topos of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism that the natural drives (*matter*), sexuality and aggression (*the evil inclination*), pervade the whole human being. This represents an anthropological idea that is fundamentally different from the idealistic, dualistic German Christian one.

Almost all research on the discursive roots of psychoanalysis relies on articles by S. Freud. The results of my master thesis have shown that several of the Jewish discursive topoi expressed by S. Freud are also dominant in Ekstein's conception of education. This result represents a highly relevant extension of the current state of research on the discursive emergence of psychoanalysis. However, the focus on Ekstein's articles also represents a

limitation of my study. Theories of psychoanalysis and psychoanalytically oriented education have become highly differentiated. Therefore, further discourse-analytical research is needed that includes texts by various representatives of psychoanalysis and psychoanalytically oriented education in order to gain more comprehensive insights into the discourses brought to the fore in currents of psychoanalysis and psychoanalytically oriented education. As a further area of research, it would be interesting to investigate, from a discourse-analytical perspective, the debates between Jewish and Christian representatives of psychoanalysis and psychoanalytically oriented education and to examine if their theories differ with regard to their interpretations of the human being, society, and education.

As the third step of my master thesis, I have examined which other ideological languages, next to the discourse of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism, are brought to the fore in Ekstein's conception of education. Specifically, I have explored the ways in which Ekstein expresses the discourses of modern science and progressive education, as well as the political discourses of Austro-Marxism and democratic liberalism. Based on my investigations, I have argued that Ekstein has adapted these discourses so that they become compatible with the discursive topoi of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism expressed in psychoanalysis. Ekstein's adaptation of incompatible elements of the ideological languages of modern science, Austro-Marxism, and progressive education to the discursive topoi of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism further supports the central result of this master thesis that the *langue* of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism represents the dominant discourse brought to the fore in Ekstein's conception of education.

The relation of theories of psychoanalysis and psychoanalytically oriented education to discourses such as modern science, progressive education, or political discourses, are areas that are still incompletely researched. The investigations of my master thesis have shown that psychoanalytic methods are partly shaped by the ways of interpretation of rabbinic Judaism as well as of Jewish mystical traditions. The epistemological approach brought to the fore in psychoanalysis represents another highly relevant area for further investigations. The results of this master thesis indicate that the rabbinic and Hasidic discursive topoi brought to the fore by Ekstein were and are fundamentally different from the dominant discourses in Europe and US America expressed in the dominant currents of psychological and educational science. Further research into the discursive emergence of the various psychological and educational currents is needed, in order to reconstruct the interpretations of the world and the human being that are brought to the fore therein.

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Appendix

Abstract / Zusammenfassung

Abstract

Rudolf Ekstein (*1912 in Vienna; † 2005 in Los Angeles) is considered a significant second-generation representative of psychoanalytically oriented education. So far, research has paid little attention to the discursive context of Rudolf Ekstein's works. This master thesis examines the question of which ideological languages (discourses) are brought to the fore in Ekstein's conception of education. The discourse-analytical exploration of Ekstein's articles on education has followed methodological concepts of the *linguistic turn* of the Cambridge School, especially of Skinner and Pocock. By examining the discourses that Rudolf Ekstein expressed in his conception of education, this master thesis deals with the discursive emergence of psychoanalysis and psychoanalytically oriented education. Relying on a discourse-analytical exploration of Ekstein's articles on education, five discursive topoi of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism were identified that are brought to the fore in Ekstein's conception of education as well as S. Freud's psychoanalytic concepts. These are: sexuality (in a broader sense) and aggression, sublimation as modification of the natural drives, psychic conflict, understanding the inner world of the individual, and associative interpretation. Another result of this master thesis is that Ekstein adapted the ideological languages of modern science, Austro-Marxism, and progressive education to the discursive topoi of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism expressed in psychoanalysis, which further supports the central result of the master thesis that the ideological language of rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism represents the dominant discourse brought to the fore in Rudolf Ekstein's conception of education.

Zusammenfassung

Rudolf Ekstein (*1912 in Wien; † 2005 in Los Angeles) gilt als ein bedeutender Vertreter der psychoanalytischen Pädagogik der zweiten Generation. Bisher haben sich Forschungsarbeiten wenig mit dem diskursiven Kontext von Eksteins Werken beschäftigt. Diese Masterarbeit geht der Frage nach, welche ideologischen Sprachen (Diskurse) in Eksteins Erziehungsverständnis zur Geltung gebracht werden. Um diese Forschungsfrage zu beantworten, wurde, basierend auf den methodologischen Konzepten des *linguistic turn* der Cambridge School, genauer gesagt von Skinner und Pocock, eine diskursanalytische Untersuchung der Artikel Eksteins zum Thema Erziehung durchgeführt. Indem die Diskurse untersucht werden, die in Eksteins Erziehungsverständnis zur Geltung gebracht werden, beschäftigt sich diese Masterarbeit mit dem diskursiven Entstehen von Psychoanalyse und psychoanalytischer Pädagogik. Als zentrales Resultat wurden fünf diskursive Themen des rabbinischen und Hasidischen Judentums identifiziert, die in Eksteins Artikeln zum Thema Erziehung zur Geltung gebracht werden, nämlich Sexualität (in einem weiteren Sinn) und Aggression, Sublimierung als die Modifikation der natürlichen Triebe, psychischer Konflikt, das Verstehen der inneren Welt des Individuums, and assoziative Interpretation. Als weiteres Ergebnis dieser Masterarbeit zeigte sich, dass Ekstein die ideologischen Sprachen der modernen Wissenschaft, des Austro-Marxismus, and der Reformpädagogik an die diskursiven Themen des rabbinischen und Hasidischen Judentums, die in der Psychoanalyse zum Ausdruck kommen, angepasst hat. Dies unterstützt das zentrale Resultat der Masterarbeit, dass die ideologische Sprache des rabbinischen und Hasidischen Judentums den dominanten Diskurs in Eksteins Erziehungsverständnis darstellt.