Giuseppina Marsico
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Humanity in Psychology

The Intellectual Legacy of Pina Boggi Cavallo

Springer

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Giuseppina Marsico • Luca Tateo
Editors

Humanity in Psychology

The Intellectual Legacy
of Pina Boggi Cavallo

② Springer

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"Fare ricerca significa inventarsi altre domande per cercare altre risposte e andare alla ricerca di luoghi dove queste risposte si possono trovare".

"Doing research means inventing further questions, striving for further answers, and looking for places where those answers can be found." (Boggi Cavallo, 2018, pp. 35–36)

Reference

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Foreword

I am very happy, proud and grateful to all the psychologists who contributed to this book. The gratitude is even greater to the editors, who asked me to prepare a foreword for the book about my mother, Pina Boggi Cavallo.

It's not easy to tell about oneself, and this difficulty may be easily projected also on one's close relatives. In that, if you have to tell something about them, probably, you are also telling something about yourself, looping back to the difficulty that I mentioned above.

So, I decided to divide this text in two – hopefully synthetic – parts: one on her personal and family life, and another on her academic and scientific life.

I have some connections with both of them.

Her personal and family life wasn't as happy as it could have been appeared. As she told me many times, in 1943, she was a 10-year-old girl escaped with her family from the town of Salerno, which was being heavily bombed by the Allies during the preparation for Operation Avalanche, the landing that opened the road to the liberation of Italy from the Nazi-fascist occupation.

When she and her family came back, they found their house – that was along a railway, so near a relevant tactical target – destroyed. The only thing spared by the building's collapse under the bombs was a porcelain coffee pot that she found in the ruins, perfectly intact, and kept for all her life, as one of her dearest items. I think this trauma conditioned all her life, even because her tale was invariably concluded with the description of herself desperately crying in front of the ruins, and no one of her adults – father, mother and two older brothers – giving to her a single word of comfort.

So, Pina developed a strong sense of home and family, followed by a strong connection with my father, notwithstanding their sometimes stormy relationship. She cared a lot to be called with her double surname "Boggi Cavallo", signing all her publications with both surnames, sometimes reversing them: for her "Boggi Cavallo" was the same as "Cavallo Boggi".

Even after my father passed away, she used to say of herself "I am Pina Boggi Cavallo, not Pina Boggi widow Cavallo". Unfortunately, her relatives disrespected this at her funeral announcement, and they tried to establish a foundation using her name, which I forbid them.

More than once she was offered a candidacy to a nearly certain election to Parliament, but refused: she had a diffident relationship with power, considering politics as any other public occupation, something to be made with spirit of service, and the majority of the political class was not held in great esteem by her.

Having met and known many public figures in many different settings, cultural and social events, meetings and conferences, having been for years a member of the Juvenile Court of Salerno, the President of the Music Conservatory of Salerno and a consultant for many political authorities, she ended up describing them with the expression: "every great man is a poor man".

On the academic and scientific front, she considered the three activities, teaching, research and social engagement, as the three parts of one big, single and unitary job, the Science, in which her ideal was to consider the Human Being in its totality.

Once again, her personal and family experiences produced an outcome into her scientific life: her attention for the feminine condition as research topic came from her experience as a daughter, synthesized in a sentence by her father Paolo (my name comes from the conjunction of my two grandfathers' names), that she many times reminded me. It was "*tu sì femmena, e nun può stà senza fà niente*", which translates as "you are a female and you can't stay doing nothing": this expresses, in my opinion very clearly, the cultural setting in which she grew, and from which she had to emerge to pursue and achieve her ideas.

I am not going to talk about her research, because it is the "*raison d'etre*" of the present book, I am not a psychologist and my research work has a different focus, even if, probably, the roots are the same. In fact, my interest in the scientific research began when I was 14 or so, as I worked to prepare the sheets to tabulate the data for some of her research projects, using pen, ruler and squared paper.

I used to hear conversations about mean, chi-square, and a few years later, when I was a Medicine student, I began to study and (partly) understand those subjects. Later on, my curiosity progressively turned from the "wet" sciences of laboratory to the "dry" land of the complexity and its science applied to Public Health. So, probably, I too have arrived to consider the health and its management processes as a holistic environment: same roots, different foliage.

She worked in academic institutions for more than 40 years, and some episodes of disappointment happened, the most scorching, probably, being the fact that a Psychology program was not created at the University of Salerno, due to the lack of political willingness to do that. As I am writing these words, in the first weeks of the year 2021, the obstacles have been probably overcome, and the Psychology Program will likely open, which – I hope – will be good news for her, wherever she is now.

Finally, I have to write about the most important part of her life: her students, some of whom – with her greatest happiness – became coworkers and colleagues.

I need not to list their names, as I fear to forget someone, and am also sure that they are already listed between the authors of this book, including someone who, unfortunately, is no longer with us.

In my opinion, but I am not so far from the truth, the message that Pina Boggi Cavallo may have sent to all of us, each in its uniqueness but all connected by the common substrate of joining the growth and strength of the Science with the limits and the weaknesses of the Human Being, is simple: keep studying, keep thinking, keep pushing ahead the borders of our knowledge: it's always worth it.

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Preface: Compassion for Knowledge

For us humans, *being* is crucial, and *being a woman* is a privilege. Despite the many centuries of stigmatization, suppression of desires, enforcement of life courses into marriages, or convent communities—not to speak of sexual and psychological assaults—the role of women in our lives is central as each of us. We sometimes forget that we are born once, through the hard work of labour by a woman who by that becomes a mother to whom one brings all the childish little revolts against the injustices of the world, and whose importance is felt all through one's life.

However, women are not just mothers—they are the carriers of human cultural heritage across generations. They are creators of new ways of dealing with the mundane issues of everyday life, as well as passionate innovators once they decide to act in new ways. Despite all limitations put on them over centuries in striving towards knowledge, they succeed—and give birth to new ideas that are carefully woven into the textures of humanity. This book is precisely about humanity—through the life-long efforts of one particularly dedicated person.

This book is about Pina—her consistent and compassionate search for knowing across the study of history of medicine and the possible role that psychology might play in human society. It is her own personal world—set up in the academic domain—that is the arena for her feminine identity. Efforts to force it into other frames—exemplified by the tradition of taking over the husband's last name—do not impinge upon the intellectual freedom of the woman. So adding Cavallo to Boggi as a formal reverence to the marriage customs did not—and would not—stop Pina being herself. Pina remains Pina! It is not a coincidence that Boggi Cavallo was deeply interested in another remarkable woman in European history of literary scholarship and psychoanalysis—Lou Andreas-Salome. It is the deep intellectual desire that let Andreas-Salome to reject most men's naïve proposals to marry her, preferring intellectual companionship to that of the bliss of marriage, its frictions, and surrenders. In that insistence on her own way of being a woman, Andreas-Salome faced all the usual range of social rejection from malicious gossips to outright disapprovals. Yet she persisted, and lived a life in accordance with her deep feminine desires that transcended the traditional gender roles of her time. The same

is the case for Pina Boggi Cavallo who sometimes paid tribute to her husband—by naming herself Cavallo Boggi in the reversal of her original last name in some of her publications. Yet her intellectual autonomy and deep care for relevant ideas remained her own. The reader of this volume gets a glimpse of that persistence of ideas in the translations into English of her work.

Boggi Cavallo's concern for humanity finds its best expression in her evaluation of the social role of psychology in real life (Chap. 6) as *irrelevant research*. Bringing traditional psychological methods—questionnaires of the form of opinion polls—to the site of all the devastations of a recent earthquake. The reality of the disaster was ignored and replaced by the "collection of data" for the purposes of applied research. No doubt such research practices continue at our present time as superficial rating scales addressed towards all kinds of evaluation objects have captured the social sciences with intensity comparable to that of locusts attacking crops in African cultivated fields. So—as Boggi Cavallo's humane look at the horrors of an earthquake show—human beings are attacked both by nature (earthquake) and society (psychologists doing applied research, and journalists trying to report the "opinions" of the victims).

Love starts from somewhere and someone, but it inhabits the cosmos (Traversa, chapter 11). The "cosmos" for Boggi Cavallo was her students who picked up from her not only the meaningful ways of doing research, but more importantly the general feeling into the roles that psychologists play in real-life communities. Recognition of this major contribution is felt in the description of the feelings of former students in this volume. The legacy of Pina Boggi Cavallo lives on through new generations of seekers of serious meaning embedded in everyday life-worlds.

What would be the relevance of this volume for the international psychological community around the world—the audience of this book series? First of all, it is a historical account of the relevance of personal persistence—by a woman or a man—upon making one's research and teaching both personally and socially meaningful. This focus of meaningful work in psychology has often been abandoned in the recent decades in favour of "measures" of "professional success" in gaining institutional research grants or "points" in institutional *concursus* via publications in "the right" places. Personal academic independence becomes hindered through the conformity to the institutional "standards of excellence". We might benefit from not considering these standards for real excellence—which is demonstrated by the life and work of Pina Boggi Cavallo.

Secondly, we all can learn to consider the unity of knowledge across history and that of our present psychological investigations. The eleventh-century account of women's lives should help us re-adjust the widespread cross-sectional interest in gender—moving it from the study of "gender differences" to that of gender-based resilience. As the present volume demonstrates based on the example of Pina—women are strong, capable of highly innovative scientific advancements, precisely because they make the most of *being women*—rather than adjusting to ephemeral male roles in "leadership" in various institutions.

Aalborg, Denmark   Jaan Valsiner

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Part III   Cultivating

About the Contributors

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[*Dialogical Essays: sharing and difference in I-other relationships;* in Portuguese]. São Paulo: HUCITEC. SIMÃO, L. M.; GUIMARÃES, D. and VALSINER, J. (Eds.) (2015) *Temporality: Culture in the Flow of Human Experience*. Charlotte.: Information Age Pub.; SIMÃO, L. M. (2016a), Culture as a Moving Symbolic Border*, Integrative Psychological and Behavioral Science*, 50, 14–28; SIMÃO, L. M. (2016b) Ernst E. Boesch's Ontologic Predication in Focus, *Integrative Psychological and Behavioral Science*, 50, 568–585; SIMÃO, L. M. (2017) Once More about Boesch's Ontological predication in Focus, *Integrative Psychological and Behavioral Science*, 51: 670–679; SIMÃO, L. M. (2020). Disquieting experiences and conversation. *Theory & Psychology*, 30(6) 864–877. Email: limsimao@usp.br.

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Chapter 1
Enchantment of the Mind: The Salernitan Questions

Luca Tateo and Giuseppina Marsico

Introduction

Students or visitors entering the humanities buildings at the University of Salerno for the first time immediately encounter this plaque (Fig. 1.1) outside a classroom.

Apart from this plaque, few visible traces remain at the University of Salerno of the intellectual legacy and scholarship of Professor Pina Boggi Cavallo to whom this volume is dedicated (Fig. 1.2). However, over the final 30 years of her long academic career, she could be seen every day in her favourite classroom, teaching psychology to generations of students, always arousing the same interest and passion. The editors and some of the authors of this volume also passed through her hands in this classroom.

Pina Boggi Cavallo was one of the leading figures of the University of Salerno from its inception in 1968, as it transformed from the Institute of Teacher Training (*Magistero*) into its initial nucleus as a public university. Professor Boggi Cavallo was involved in setting up the university structure and conceived many of the services it provides to students, such as student psychological counselling, which was established in the 1990s.

This book is neither a *festschrift,* nor a biography, nor the mere celebration of a beloved, critical and prominent scholar by her former students. Pina Boggi Cavallo would have rejected such an idea with a reproach. The editors and authors have endeavoured to develop new ideas and insights to once more ensure that Boggi

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Fig. 1.1 Classroom, named after Pina Boggi Cavallo, in the Department of Human Sciences, Philosophy and Education at the University of Salerno

Fig. 1.2 Professor Boggi Cavallo with Pina Marsico

Cavallo's work continues to be productive. It is no coincidence that the scientific efforts narrated in this book took place in Salerno, a town in the Central-South of Italy. So let's start by asking: *why* Salerno?

The Salernitan Questions

As early as the ninth century AD, during the late Lombard reign over the South of Italy, and the Norman kingdom later, the town of Salerno was the location of one of the most important institutions of what is known as the scientific renaissance of the Middle Ages (Lawn, 1963). For almost six centuries, the Salerno Medical School was an educational institution where Greek, Arab and Jewish medical, anthropological, botanical, and physical knowledge was translated, developed and transmitted. Salerno was called the *Hippocratica civitas* (the city of Hippocrates, in Latin) and "became a centre for the diffusion of philosophical and scientific doctrines, as well as a school renowned far and wide for its medical teaching" (Lawn, 1963, p. xi).

The Salerno Medical School's pedagogical approach featured two interesting elements. First, "its doctrines were practical rather than theoretical" (Lawn, 1963, p. 16) and second, its main textbook, one of its principal tools of instruction, was written in the form of "*quaestiones*", a didactic literary form which originated in Ancient Rome, consisting "of simple question and answer; concise, clear, easily memorized, this was the form used by both masters and pupils, and the one through which these particular doctrines were diffused throughout the length and breadth of Europe" (Lawn, 1963, p. xi). Salerno was closely connected to the Montecassino Abbey, and the two locations became an intellectual hub in which translations of Greek, Latin, Arab and Jewish texts were produced. On the one hand, the medieval renaissance was renovating and vertically reconnecting pre-Christian knowledge with the new ideas emerging across Europe. On the other, these two locations horizontally connected the North and South of Europe with the Mediterranean civilizations. Hence, there was a fundamental epistemological and pedagogical difference between the Salerno Medical School and the emerging scholarly institutions in France, which were based on theoretical, doctrinal and authoritative teaching. The subject matter of the Salernitan questions dealt with "anthropology, the various branches of medicine and zoology; the everyday behaviour of man and beast, ordinary physiological actions and processes, and simple anatomy" (Lawn, 1963, p. xiii), as well as meteorology, botany, physics and metallurgy.

The "south Italian intellectual renaissance" (Lawn, 1963, p. 17) represented a model of scholarly work and academic teaching until the sixteenth century, when the geography of European science shifted to other locations. For the scholarship of Pina Boggi Cavallo, the echoes of this intellectual, multicultural and multidisciplinary milieu, and its dialectic and experimental approach to knowledge production were foundational. Indeed, she felt a deep intellectual connection to the Medical School and one of its outstanding figures: Trotula de Ruggiero, a female doctor and teacher who was active during the eleventh century (Boggi Cavallo, 1979).

What Vision of Knowledge?

Professor Pina Boggi Cavallo addressed a wide variety of topics and avoided being bound by the strict limits of academic divisions. However, the core of her work concerned the scientific foundations of psychology and the benefits of psychological knowledge for humankind. "Do research and make use of it" (Boggi Cavallo, 1984) was her motto.

Throughout her career, she tried to answer this key question: *what are the conditions under which a discipline is recognized as scientifically rooted*? This question remains critical to our current academic context. Pina Boggi Cavallo claimed that the scientific foundations of a discipline resided not only in the rigor of its theoretical and methodological foundations but also in the dissemination of its findings, both within academic communities and with society at large. Scientific outcomes should provide change and innovation in daily life. This led her to reflect upon psychology's so-called "double soul" (Boggi Cavallo, 1984, p. 168), that is its struggle between basic and applied research. Pina Boggi Cavallo took part in the lively debate within psychology – which started immediately after World War II and lasted for decades – about the supposed "immaturity" of psychological investigation. An overview of the history of modern psychology in Italy provides a better understanding of the general academic framework within which Pina Boggi Cavallo's work was rooted. It is worth noting that in the early nineteenth century experimental psychology had hardly any "supporters" among natural scientists and philosophers. Later, the "young science" seemed to be acknowledged in Italy in the works of scholars such as Vittorio Benussi and Agostino Gemelli, which also led to international recognition of Italian psychology. However, this growth came to an abrupt halt due to opposition from idealistic philosophy and the emergence and unrestrained domination of Fascism (Miller, 1964). It was only after World War II that psychology in Italy was liberated from political oppression. Pina Boggi Cavallo, who graduated in philosophy in 1955, started her carrier within a problematic academic environment, in which many scholars believed that scientific psychology provided a kind of sloppy philosophical reasoning, neglecting the richness of empirical work on the life of the mind, conducted both nationally and internationally. Pina Boggi Cavallo built upon her extensive knowledge of the philosophy of science and contributed significantly with works that addressed debates about the scientific method and the role of the concepts of observation, experiment, measurement, and explanation in psychology. She argued that the pursuit of a level of "maturity" for psychology as a scientific discipline should involve reconciliation between the two approaches to scientific research: the basic and the applied. Furthermore, psychology should engage in forms of explanation that combine the complementarity between quantitative and qualitative and continuity and discontinuity in scientific production (Boggi Cavallo, 1984). On the one hand, Pina Boggi Cavallo defended the rigorous epistemological foundation of academic research. On the other, she believed that research should provide the scientific basis for psychological intervention. If one of psychology's "developmental tasks" in becoming an "adult science" consisted of

exploring and explaining both quantitative and qualitative approaches, its other challenge was to explicitly and more precisely address the link between pure and applied research, improving definitions of the psychologist's work and intervention arenas. The tools that basic research should make available to applied psychology are certainly not those that turn a psychologist into some kind of fortune teller (Singal, 2021). Practitioner psychologists should be allowed to progressively and constantly appropriate knowledge about communicative and relational processes, about the dynamics of interactions and social influence, paying particular attention to unbalanced and asymmetrical social situations (e.g. adult/child; doctor/patient; judge/respondent; warder/prisoner). When it is scientifically grounded, psychological knowledge sustains the knowledge of an expert who intervenes.

However, Pina Boggi Cavallo was very aware that the idea of being "scientifically grounded" was a controversial and critical one, especially during the historical and critical moment that psychology was going through. She was already aware that scientific legitimacy was unduly grounded in the patriarchal social order (Boggi Cavallo, 1984). In an interview with Serge Moscovici (Boggi Cavallo, 1983), she discussed two possible scenarios for the psychology of the future. The first was optimistic: in a few years, psychology would have disappeared because it would no longer be required. The pessimistic scenario, however, posited that psychology would survive, but with the need to renew the social and cultural direction of psychological investigation.

Almost 40 years later, we can see that psychology continues to exist and to attempt to renew itself, overcoming the illusion of an isolated man and returning the cultural dimension of human behaviour to its core. Pina Boggi Cavallo understood that the heart of psychological reflection lies in the dynamics between subjectivity and culture as a locus of both individual and collective change and emancipation.

With her extensive work on the holistic approach to the person, on art as a method of investigation and on the moral aspects of the human existence, Pina Boggi Cavallo was among the pioneers of what today we call Cultural Psychology (Fig. 1.3).

The book on the left was edited in 2016 (Valsiner et al., 2016), while that on the right was written 35 years earlier by Pina Boggi Cavallo (Boggi Cavallo & Cucco, 1981). Both titles read "psychology as the science of human being". This is not a coincidence. Pina Boggi Cavallo had already foreseen the theoretical and methodological coordinates for psychological science in the twenty-first century.

Moral Integrity and Social Commitment

Boggi Cavallo's scientific legacy includes numerous pioneering works in general, social, developmental and educational psychology. Her studies on emotions; adolescence and the construction of identity; well-being and psycho-social discomfort had a significant scientific impact. Starting with these studies, Pina Boggi-Cavallo built her social commitment to the promotion of issues such as
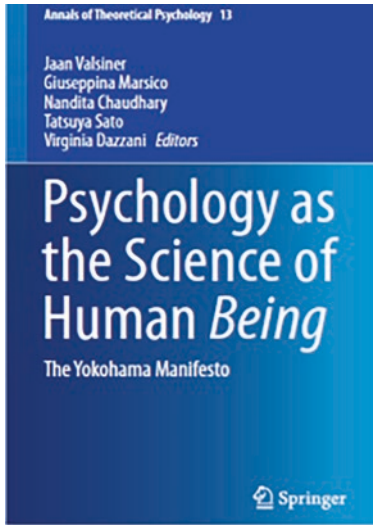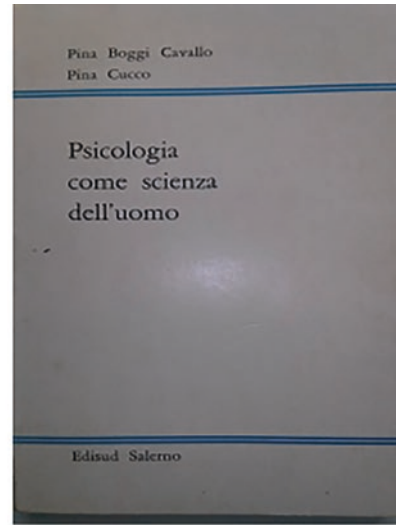
Fig. 1.3 Two books on the same topic, 35 years apart

women and science; the struggle for the democratization of psychiatry; improvements to the quality of life in vulnerable contexts; the training of teachers and social workers; and the quality of education and juvenile justice. Pina Boggi Cavallo promoted the centrality of the University of Salerno through international events, such as the study program on gesture conducted with Adam Kendon, and the organization of the first world conference on Social Representations in Ravello in 1992.

However, Pina Boggi Cavallo was, above all, one of the greatest teachers and promoters of young intelligences that the Italian academy has ever had. In the mid-90 s, her dedication to students led her to open the university's Counselling Centre, which represented one of the first Italian experiences of this kind. Her charisma as a teacher and her almost magical ability to arouse a passion for psychology, art and philosophy in her students conspired to ensure she was a significant figure for generations of researchers, teachers and social workers. The theme of the social relevance of research and of its emancipatory capacity found in Pina Boggi Cavallo an authoritative voice beyond any ideological or mystical vision. In her view, professional competence must overcome the limited space of technicality and make use of what research proposes for social and group psychology, organizational psychology, and the psychology of language and communication.

Intervention requires interdisciplinarity, which protects the psychologist from the risk of becoming trapped in the medical model.

The work of the psychologist is located where health and well-being are constructed on a daily basis, in the spaces where life is promoted and affirmed through processes of change that are both individual and collective. As we will see in the

next pages, her conception of psychology as a science of the human being continues to inspire the development of theories and methods in international research today.

The Structure of the Book

The volume is divided into three sections. The metaphor of cultivation we have adopted fits very well with Boggi Cavallo's attitude as both teacher and researcher. With her students, she was constantly promoting reflection and curiosity, literally planting the seeds of scientific passion that frequently sprouted in people who later became active researchers and professionals. As a scholar, Boggi Cavallo was always very active in promoting scientific and social debate, creating opportunities for encounters, such as the First International Conference on Social Representations (Moscovici, 1993).

The first section (*Sowing*) includes English translations of five original texts Pina Boggi Cavallo produced between 1979 and 1980, which are representative of her heterogeneous scientific interests, her commitment to building psychology from the point of view of women, and her efforts to bring psychology into public debates on a number of social issues.

Sowing

The chapter *Field-Dependence: A Strong Theoretical Model* illustrates Boggi Cavallo's anti-reductionist and anti-behaviourist position and her attention to the specificities of the female psyche. First, Boggi Cavallo acknowledged the ecosystemic and holistic perspective of Witkin's theory of differentiation. Then, she discussed the value of Witkin's theory for illuminating gender differences by differentiating between their psycho-social developmental paths, recognizing that gender characteristics cannot simply be treated in comparative terms. Differences must be understood as positive characteristics specific to the genders, which demonstrate the beauty and richness of humankind when it is not flattened to a few reductive dimensions. Differentiation through development, both organic and social, is a human characteristic, and difference is a source of richness in living ecosystems. Discourse about the positive value of difference was not taken for granted when Boggi Cavallo wrote this text, and once again appears to be in jeopardy in the twenty-first century.

In the chapter *Women and Popular Medicine*, Pina Cavallo Boggi continued her efforts to value the role of women in knowledge production and to acknowledge the value of difference. The text was dedicated to her study of Trotula de Ruggiero, historically the first woman trained as a doctor, who worked in the Salerno Medical School during the eleventh century (Boggi Cavallo, 1979). Boggi Cavallo once again claimed that women's knowledge production has certain specific characteristics

that are usually overlooked by male-dominated scholarship. Trotula understood that women's well-being and health are related to the specific characteristics of the female body and the contextual conditions that affect women's everyday lives. One thousand years ago, this ground-breaking insight led her to write medical texts that gave voice to women's needs and proposed a new understanding of healthcare. By studying the example of Trotula, Boggi Cavallo revealed the silenced voice of women in the history of European science. She also described the specific approach women have to health: holistic, compassionate, and aware of the importance of the social network in promoting health and well-being.

The chapter *Parents, Children and the Third Age: The Needs of the Elderly* was co-authored by Professor Michele Cesaro, a life-long friend, former student and collaborator at the University of Salerno. The authors deconstructed certain stereotypes about the life course and ageing to which psychological science is sometimes subject. They argued that some of the characteristics attributed to the psychological experience of elders are produced through the internalization of socially shared, ideological assumptions about ageing. As in the case of gender roles, empirical research should first dispel ideological assumptions and return its focus to real people's experiences. The chapter therefore presented the results of an empirical study conducted in a small town in South Italy. The results demonstrated how the elderly are perceived as people who become progressively useless, passive and socially disconnected. The ageing population cannot therefore help view their future as a pathway of decay and isolation, which will ultimately result in shameful institutionalization.

In Chap. 5, *Lou Andreas-Salomé: On Women and Psychoanalysis*, Pina Cavallo Boggi once again developed an argument in favour of a specific form of knowledge production from the female perspective. Although psychoanalysis was not one of Boggi Cavallo's central interests, once again she chose the figure of an overlooked yet outstanding female thinker, Lou Andreas-Salomé, to advocate for the relevance of the female perspective of psychological phenomena. Andreas-Salomé's theory of narcissism helped to consolidate the idea that the female psyche is not a "castrated" or "deficient" version of the masculine. Rather, the female libido has certain specific characteristics. Two tendencies, loving oneself and turning back to the origin, characterize female narcissism and show how female diversity is marked by a holistic, primordial unity with the wholeness that precedes our individual being.

The last text of this section, *The Earthquake and Psycho-Sociological Research*, represents one example of Boggi Cavallo's concept of the important social role that psychology can play in empowering and developing communities. In November 1980, the Southern regions of Italy were struck by a catastrophic earthquake that caused a very high number of casualties and devastated the territory. Italy had never experienced such an extensive natural disaster. This had long-lasting consequences on the population's psyche, the economy and the social fabric. Through her personal account of psychological intervention following the disaster, Boggi Cavallo provided insights into the role social psychology plays in healing individuals and communities in the aftermath of a catastrophic event. She also listed the necessary characteristics of a psychologist's profile: professionalism, technical expertise and

scientific competence, civic commitment, and solidarity. The psychologist should be an active social agent who assists in the production of life spaces that support the healing process, both individually and collectively, following catastrophic events. This description appears particularly topical in the aftermath of the recent pandemic.

Fertilizing

The second section of the book (*Fertilizing*) features scholars from various parts of the world and areas of the psychological sciences who were invited to take up Boggi Cavallo's ideas and include them in the current, and future, research landscape. This section develops along two axes. The first is the longitudinal axis, in which early-career researchers are invited to creatively and critically discuss Boggi Cavallo's insights, which often refer to parts of psychology that are no longer found in the psychology curricula. The result is a wealth of interesting potential new directions for psychological theory. The second axis is horizontal. This consists of contributions from different geographical areas, sometimes considered marginal to psychology, which provide a fresh view of old concepts.

In the chapter *Field-Dependence: A Strong Theoretical Model: A review*, Nadia Dario discusses the emancipatory potential of Boggi Cavallo's take on Witkin's field-dependence theory. Indeed, once the nature–nurture dichotomy is overcome, the differentiation process becomes a creative source for self-development in which the bio–psycho–social triad intertwine. In this sense, Boggi Cavallo's take on Witkin's theory suggests some early intuitions, which will be more fully elaborated in the developmental sciences (Lewontin, 2001).

Lívia Mathias Simão's chapter *Contemporary Considerations on "Donna e Medicina Popolare"* takes up the thread of the female side of knowledge production in health, with regards to the doctor–patient–health relationship. Although there were female scholars at the Salerno Medical School as early as the eleventh century, the role of women in the health sciences was relegated to the margins once the dichotomy between scientific (real) medicine and popular (superstitious) medicine was established. This division meant that the relational side of the therapeutic relationship and the patient's voice were excluded from scientific medicine since they were considered to be female characteristics. Today, we are still paying the price of the marginalization of women from official medicine. For instance, the biological and medical sciences are tailored to male subjects and are affected by stereotypical concepts of women (Bleier, 1984). The therapeutic relationship is (or should be) a dialogue, rather than an exercise of power. Boggi Cavallo developed this idea during her time as a young student of Renzo Canestrari at the University of Salerno in the 1960s, making contact with the emerging ideas of Franco Basaglia and the anti-psychiatry movement (Muzzarelli, 2014). According to Livia Mathias Simão, this attitude is relevant today, as we face health emergencies such as the Covid-19 pandemic. Doctors and patients have therefore become dialogical partners, allied to a common goal of healing.

Isabelle Albert's *Comment on Pina Boggi Cavallo* and *Michele Cesaro's "Parents, Children and the Third Age: The Needs of Older People"* discusses Boggi Cavallo's views within the context of contemporary theories of ageing as they have developed, for instance, at the University of Luxembourg, within the framework of the cultural psychology of the life course. In particular, they point out that certain stereotypical concepts of the elderly as people who progressively become less active, lonelier, and increasingly useless have not been completely dispelled. Rather, they have been projected from the *third* onto the *fourth age*, according to the socio-cultural development of the life course perspective. The new frontier seems to be an acknowledgment that living a good life is also possible in the fourth age.

During her scientific career, one of Boggi Cavallo's central interests was women's ability to contribute rich and innovative advances in knowledge. Over the centuries, this knowledge has seldom been appreciated in the male-dominated Western scientific establishment (Harding, 1991). Boggi Cavallo possessed the ability to sketch portraits of exceptional women, such as Trotula de Ruggiero (Boggi Cavallo, 1979), who contributed to the advancement of knowledge about humankind. Another intellectual female figure who captured her interest was Lou Andreas-Salomé. Two chapters in the *Fertilizing* section focus on the life of this exceptional woman, who crossed paths with so many intellectuals in the European cultural landscape. In the chapter *Which Woman? Which Body? Whose Narcissism?* Rosa Traversa highlights how Boggi Cavallo grasped the incredible modernity of Lou Andreas-Salomé, who anticipated the complex post-modern approach to subjectivity and feminist reflections on generativity as an active contribution to the production of knowledge, sociality and life itself. In *An Overview of Mind-Wandering According to Boggi's Approach and Interests*, Nadia Dario and Gerhard Stemberger make an original and interesting theoretical connection between Boggi Cavallo's approach to the problem of Self and Subjectivity, as discussed in Lou Andreas-Salomé and the phenomenon of mind-wandering from the perspective of Gestalt psychology.

The chapter *Yearning for Home: Place, Loss and New Paradigms of Psychological Practice* establishes an astonishing dialogue across time and space between Boggi Cavallo and the collaborative writing effort of a group of Australian colleagues – Paul Rhodes, Ruth Wells, Robert Brockman, Merle Conyer and Maria Nichterlein. The psychological sciences are increasingly committed to ecological issues, attempting to understand both the causes and consequences of the human-generated environmental crisis (Hoggett, 2019). Paul Rhodes and colleagues discuss the need not to limit thinking about catastrophic events to individual trauma or changes to individual behaviour to reduce the anthropic ecological footprint. As Boggi Cavallo suggested in the aftermath of the 1980 Italian earthquake, the response must emerge at the community level in a reconstruction of the social and affective network, which also makes us aware that we are part of an entire ecosystem.

The *Fertilizing* section is the beating heart of this volume. In Boggi Cavallo's approach, science should not be a mere repetition of existing theories, but an educated, collaborative and brave exploration of new ideas. However, to fully appreciate these ideas, one needs to learn about the process and context in which they have been generated. Science is a collective and passionate endeavour.

Cultivating

The third section (*Cultivating*) includes reflections from scholars who had the chance to meet Boggi Cavallo and to collaborate with her during her lifetime. It is indeed important to understand the intellectual *milieu* and historical context in which her ideas emerged in order to fully appreciate her work. Professor Boggi Cavallo was an active promoter of intellectual exchange. Completely devoid of the intellectual narcissism that characterizes many academics, Professor Boggi Cavallo was a patient, loving and passionate cultivator of ideas and talents, as well as a rigorous and critical scientist committed to the community. She was aware of the social responsibility of academia during a historical period in which this could not necessarily be taken for granted. The chapter in the *Cultivating* section provides an overview of the *soil* in which her legacy was sown. This section also reminds us that, to become an outstanding researcher, human qualities are as important as technical skills. Contemporary academia seems to lack the ability to promote the development of these human qualities and of personal maturation at all levels, causing distress to both undergraduates and graduates (Hammer et al., 2019; Madsen et al., 2019; Silva & Marsico, 2022). The personal experiences of many of this volume's contributors demonstrate how much care Boggi Cavallo took to address the human side of the work of teachers and researchers.

The first chapter of this section is *Pina Boggi Cavallo: The Person, the Scientific Intuitions, the Pioneering Value and Intellectual Legacy of Her Contributions* by Dino Giovannini. Professor Giovanni was a long-time friend and colleague of Boggi Cavallo and retraces the topics and milestones of her long and intense scientific career.

In the chapter *In Search of an Experiment: From Vygotsky to Lewin and Dembo – and Back to the Future,* Annalisa Sannino (one of Pina Boggi Cavallo's beloved former students) and Yrjö Engeström discuss one of the most significant theoretical approaches, which was a constant point of reference for Professor Boggi Cavallo's research group. Another significant personal memory is shared by Antonella Marchetti and Edoardo Bracaglia in the chapter *Fostering Mentalizing Communities, Knowledge and Beliefs Towards a Reflective Society*. As a member of the same national research group on human development, Marchetti and Bracaglia discuss work aimed at understanding the construction of representations, knowledge and beliefs, and the social context in which these develop. A series of studies of different points along the life course (children aged between 5 and 7, adolescents, and the elderly) led to an improved understanding of how the knowledge and beliefs people create and maintain throughout the lifespan are important for producing concrete models of behaviour that can be used to run community empowerment interventions.

In the chapter *Pina Boggi Cavallo and My "Southern Italian Gesture Project"*, by Adam Kendon, the author recalls a visit to the University of Salerno, during which he conducted what is perhaps his best-known study about gesture. Although this was not one of Boggi Cavallo's customary research topics, Kendon's autobiographical account provides a vivid description of Boggi Cavallo's work to ensure Salerno became an international scientific hub.

Another important research project in which Pina Boggi Cavallo was involved was the study of the facial expression of emotions and, in particular, of the role and expression of smiling. In the chapter *Smiling: Positive and Negative Emotions, Personal and Social Attitudes*, Caterina, Garotti and Ricci-Bitti outline the main activities and discoveries of this pioneering work.

We decided to end the volume with an account of the attention Pina Boggi Cavallo devoted to improving the quality of life and study for future generations of students. In the chapter *Attention to Student Well-Being: University Psychological Counselling*, Giulia Savarese, Oreste Fasano, Monica Mollo, and Nadia Pecoraro discuss the history and outcomes of Boggi Cavallo's commitment to providing psychological support for students. This effort had already started in 1974, when the idea of providing mental healthcare to university students as a way of improving the quality of academic life was ground-breaking in Italy. It took a long time, and an incredible amount of dedication, to build the psychological counselling service, which was a pioneering project in Italy.

Conclusion

In many instances, especially in psychology curricula oriented towards the neo-positivist mainstream, students are socialized to consider that the scientific literature constitutes a cumulative advance of empirical findings. The past is no longer relevant and becomes outdated and surpassed by new "discoveries". Students are told that the only literature relevant to their searches is confined to the previous 5 years, leading to an underestimation of books and an overestimation of journals. In psychology, this forgetful attitude produces a constant "reinvention of the wheel", which is functional for academic marketing but seldom useful for our understanding of human beings. In this volume, we have tried to concretely demonstrate the relevance of the knowledge of past thinkers, for at least two reasons. First, it is important to our understanding of the social-historical contexts and the genesis of ideas and theories. Second, ideas are like *mycelium*: they can grow underground for years and expand over kilometres. Even when we cannot observe their action from the surface, they are constantly working to recombine nutrients and fertilize the soil, helping the growth of plants' roots. When the conditions are favourable, they sprout and once more become visible through the generation of fruits. Ideas can be apparently silent and "buried" inside books, until the moment they encounter the right conditions to reactivate and inspire scholars. In this volume, we have tried to create these favourable cultivation conditions in order to allow Boggi Cavallo's ideas to once more become inspirational, just as they were for us, her students.

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Part I
Sowing

Chapter 2
Field-Dependence: A Strong Theoretical Model

Pina Boggi Cavallo

The Body, the Mind, and the Person

Lo Spirito come Comportamento, the translated version proposed by Rossi and Landi (1982) to Italian readers of Concept of Mind by Gilbert Ryle (1949), certainly was both a major milestone and achievement for the 1950s philosophical and epistemological reflection on one the most studied subject, i.e. "the problem of the mind", in particular the dichotomy, still intact, between mental and physical aspects. This is definitely a behaviourist book, according to Ryle himself, with the aim, typical of the ongoing debate of the time, of trying to destroy Descartes' myth. According to Ryle, the mind–body dualism, a fundamental issue in the modern philosophical tradition, found its resolution in behaviourism by denying at the same time the existence of a science of mind. For this reason, psychology was confirmed as the science of observable behaviour in what has been defined as logical and methodological behaviourism.

Only by paying such a high price, the problem and the mystery of the relationship between the two parallel dimensions, the one of the mind and the other of the body, could be solved: we are able to know the mind of others only through questionable inference and by analogy.

> Even if he prefers to believe that to other human bodies there are harnessed minds not unlike his own, he cannot claim to be able to discover their individual characteristics, or the particular things that they undergo and do. Absolute solitude is on this showing the ineluctable destiny of the soul. Only our bodies can meet. (Ryle, 1949, p. 5)

In Memory of H. A. Witkin

This chapter translated by Nadia Dario has previous copyright and has already been published

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After the developments in psychology in the last decades and during the current years, is logical behaviourism a sustainable position? Or better yet, today, is it possible to speak of a science of mind based on mind recognition and its scientific knowability? Distinguishing between Fodor's (1968) conceptualization of propositional attitudes and qualitative content in view of a theory of mind, it seems possible to share the position of Ryle and other scholars in philosophical psychology. According to this approach, one of the goals of empirical psychology is to elaborate a canonical pattern for internal representation, which can function as a conceptual system.

Such a system should allow internal representations to provide fields for the elaboration underlining mental processes and to identify internal representations with physical and neutral objects.

There is an area of mental processes (the internal representations) that lets us consider the mental dimension, or a part of it, as a research field to be investigated with scientific tools and techniques (Fodor, 1968, 1975).

Without dwelling on other observations, it seems possible to find in the philosophical and epistemological reflection and in the development of scientific psychology, the emergence of a discussion on the mind that, uncontroversially underling Ryle's positions against the Cartesian myth to defend behaviourism as a revolutionary theory, deals with the issue of mind and psychology as a science of mind. Certainly, it is only an approach at its beginning, however, clearly scientific and free from any kind of metaphysical resurgence and any anti-metaphysical instance.

Thus, the mind issue escapes from the boundaries of an approach that considers the spirit the only dimension in which its behaviour could be observed.

Moreover, it is a fact that observable behaviour is exhibited (and rigorously studied) by an organism, which eventually acts as an agent of behaviour.

Having hermetically closed the black box and having rejected the mind, behaviourism moves into an area in which the dilemmatic relationship between mind and body remains unsolved. Essentially, there is a lack of dialogue between these two terms, and their stories: the story of the mind and, separated from it, the story of the body. The myth of Descartes also remains after its dismissal. The developments of behaviourism and the wealth of knowledge gathered by this research tradition do not ultimately lie in the choice to deny one of the two terms in favour of the other: the refusal of the mind is at the same time the refusal of the body and of bodily experience.

The result is the emergence of dichotomous pairs that, passing over the central issue of the anti-metaphysical instances of positivism, existentialism, and phenomenology, recover within themselves both mind and body. Such new dichotomies are the following: organism–environment, innate–acquired, biological–historical, and genetic–cultural.

Within ideological positions and research in different fields, a dominance of the physical dimension is affirmed, or disconfirmed, as the transmitter of hereditarian genetic messages. Thus the body, confined into a narrow space, performs better than ever the function of an organism governed by mechanical rules and the law of causation. We can easily see how much the development of medical science

contributed to this particular way of understanding the body. The body is part of a mechanical nature, and only on this condition, it can be in an uninterrupted connection with it. Thus, psychology, as the science of behaviour, establishes itself and develops according to this assumption.

But the sciences of nature currently provides a notion of nature that diverges from the one that considered it governed exclusively by mechanical causation.

> The universe, physical, chemical and biological, which scientists now seek to understand is not a changeless vista of the Great Chain of Being governed by immutable laws imposed by the nature of Nature at the beginning of time. It is an evolving system in which the relations between the ever-changing constituent elements are constantly assuming new patterns in new combinations. In a universe of this sort the most interesting events, the events that generate change, are those which are statistically improbable.

> With the increasing attention paid to uncertainty, natural scientists have come to recognize that mechanical analogies are quite inappropriate. Ordinary machines cannot make mistakes. (Leach, 1976; pp. 175–176)

The dichotomy nature–culture is proposed in a completely different perspective and the continuity between nature and culture and their discontinuity can be seen only in relation to the idea of nature and culture that time by the time we use, as it is no longer possible to consider a human being only as a cultural animal. *Perhaps* the ability to produce intentional and calculated changes, up to now considered to be the exclusive characteristic of human beings engaged in their culture, can belong to nature in its entirety. The methodologies of "mature" science, their conceptual bases, and the possibilities to create scientific paramorphic models and verify them make credible that *perhaps*, at the beginning of the preceding sentence.

However, as far as the subject in question is concerned, it is the changed concept of nature that lead us to consider, within a cautious epistemological discussion in psychology, the mind as once again subject of investigations and body and physical dimension in continuity with it, without any additional censorship or forced deductions. Harrè and Secord (1972), resuming the terminology used by Strawson (2021), propose to define the attributes that can be ascribed to individuals as M and P, in mental and bodily terms. In discussing the subjects to which such attributes can be ascribed, the authors conclude that it is useful to consider the totality of attributes as a spectrum (the M-P spectrum) or a series along which the conditions that allow us to consider a thing a person become better defined.

It is thus stated that the continuity mind–body fully identifies the concept of person and the conditions for its definition, and for considering, under certain conditions, a computer or Washoe the chimpanzee as a person. The assumption of the central concepts of today's physics (potentiality, activity, and spontaneity) and the overcoming of the causation/finality antinomy through the notion of a system and retroaction make such a claim sustainable.

Thus, the notion of the person as a logical unity is reaffirmed, in line with Harrè and Secord's ethnogenetic perspective (1972) and on the basis of an anthropomorphic model of man. But a person as a logical unit, seen as a continuity between conscious self-awareness and biological identity, results from the reorganization of the analytical approaches related to it, in particular in the pagan representations

where the person is considered in his/her globality and wholeness, in which the physical and mental and individual and social dimensions are merged together.

Therefore, we are faced with what the division between body and mind has produced in the scientific research on man, with their ascription to worlds governed by opposite laws, in such a strong opposition to one another as to be mutually exclusive: one follows causation and the other freedom and finality.

The science of lifeless bodies, on which the science of body has gradually been constructed, has deprived the body of its primary function, the one maintained in the pagan representations of the human being, i.e. being a fluctuating signifier and a transducer of codes, within a nature and a symbolic universe to which she belongs and with which she is in communication.

In some ways, the notion of person as a logical unit and the M-P spectrum allow, in a theoretical sense and with the support of natural science, the recognition of the unity of mind and body. Thus, we distance ourselves both from those theories of the person that consider personality as the sum of behaviours generated by a stimulus–response process, and from the more pervasive ones that underline the meaning of primary qualities and integration processes; we also avoid to quantify how much should be attributed to innate factors and how much to cultural ones.

The growing, renewed interest in the body and the corporeity, the increase in studies and researches on body language, and the ever more refined investigations on non-verbal behaviour and communication show a paradigmatic change and a Zeitgeist different from the one that excluded a combined investigation of mind and body in experimental psychology. As things stand, it seems that, in the debate concerning psychological epistemology, their distinction and the need to probe their continuity are both poorly framed arguments.

The field-dependence model proposed by Witkin and his collaborators (1962) moves inside this paradigmatic change in which there is no room for separations, and consequent reunifications, between the psychic and bodily worlds and between nature and culture. The theoretical background of the model is so far sufficiently evident and completely convincing.

It is therefore appropriate to state, at this point, that the possibility it offers for multiple explanations of psychical phenomena derives from the fact that, like the psychoanalytical model, it passes over, so to speak, the mind–body dualism and assumes, vice-versa, the unity of them as the baseline for human studies. The notion of field-dependence finds its verification and its critical foundation in the notion of "differentiation": both can explain the production of lesser or higher field-dependence, in terms of "cognitive style", but also their interrelations and the lesser or greater psychological differentiation. We are presented with an individual who is certainly not static, unitary, and definitive. He/she retains the entire articulation of the integration levels in the different areas analysed, and there is either the risk of dedifferentiation or the risk of moving forward towards further differentiations, with different points of arrival, in the different areas.

We are thus faced with what Harré and Secord (1972) like to define the plurality of selves and what Witkins considers the dynamism and the constant process of

unfolding of the experience through the first and successive psychological functioning.

The acceptance of the systematic nature of the body–field relationship and the progress of the differentiation through the retro-action approach; the system and sub-system functioning through specialization; the identification, for the psychological system, of the specialization as a distinction of psychological areas, that is, feeling from perceiving, thinking from acting; the implications of integration and its effectiveness and complexity; and the interconnection between integration and differentiation place Witkin's work inside that branch of psychology that has abandoned the old paradigm and aims at establishing human studies as a science. The critical description of the phenomena under examination is followed, as a second level of their understanding, by the scientific explanation through the construction of an iconic paramorph and in the continuation of Lewin and Werner's work. The person to whom this study is applied is part of an eco-system whose spatial, temporal, economic, and social characteristics are identified but he/she is not disembodied; he/she preserves the signs of his/her belonging to a nature of which he/she is part and whose fate he/she is destined to share.

Differentiation and Differences between Genders

Confirming what stated above was made possible by applying the criterium of differentiation to the critical analyses of psychological studies on gender differences and its conclusions in the studies on development. It has thus been possible to verify the hypothesis that what is defined as masculine and feminine is to be considered the final state, while it is possible to follow the process through which the *differences* take shape (Boggi-Cavallo, 1978).

The development studies by Witkin et al. (1962) have made it possible to isolate the indicators of psychological differentiation.

Our analysis of the growth of experience of the self and the world let us to postulate that progress toward differentiation would be expressed in increasing articulation (that is, analysis and structuring) of experience. Included in this is *a more articulated way of experiencing the world*; also included a *more clearly defined body concept*, and a growing sense of *separate identity*, which together reflect particularly the *development of self-differentiation* … The achievement of *specialized, structured defences and controls* as another major manifestation of development toward greater differentiation (Witkin et al,. 1962; p. 15).

This research is faithful to the theoretical approach and solves the problems that from time to time the authors have to face. Furthermore, the postulate (iconic paramorph), where the differentiation is expressed in a growing development of the experience, in terms of its analysis and structure, is confirmed through the rigorous experimental procedures and the different experimental designs that are necessary for the continuation of the investigation.

The verification of the differentiation hypothesis in relation to the differences between male and female was not among the scopes of the research. This group of issues was addressed in other research contexts (Witkin, 1979). The very fact that the subjects who took part in the research belong to both sexes made a series of observations possible. Although the higher dependence on the field of female subjects is confirmed, it becomes increasingly clear that the difference between subjects of different sexes is absolutely irrelevant if compared to the variations found within each gender.

The authors wrote at the end of the book:

> The differentiation concept may provide a useful approach in the research now needed, which had the sex differences problem in its focus […]

> The particular sex differences with which we have been concerned seem to bear on differences between man and women in biological a cultural roles. These sex differences may therefore provide a useful medium in which to study the important problem of sex roles. (Witkin et al., 1962)

Further research, centred upon the bi-polarity of the field-dependence and field-independence, and particularly the transcultural research, greatly contributed to the ongoing research program on sexual differences in relationship to the cognitive style and higher field-dependence observed in female subjects. At this point, it is appropriate to mention here Berry's intercultural studies conducted on Scottish, Temne, and Eskimo subjects.

These research results, in addition to Berry's (1966), confirm the need, as expressed by Witkin, to set up rigorous experimental protocols and tools as faithful as possible to the studies on the differences between the sexes. In fact, subjects belonging to various Eskimo, Eastern, and Western groups disproved the established difference between the sexes in terms of perceived differentiation. Subjects belonging to both sexes showed similarities in the differentiation of perception and field dependence. That is, differences were found within the groups but not between male and female subjects. For obvious reasons and because of the maintained nature–culture dichotomy, data like these have been attributed to cultural differences against genetic ones. Furthermore, the discussion on these factors has focused the attention and placed emphasis on one of the two. Therefore, it has been possible to demonstrate how sex differences in the field theory, in accordance with the dependence-independence polarity, appear more frequently in rural areas and in groups with a strong social stratification, characterized by the pressure to conform and adapt to rules. Conversely, sex differences tend to disappear when the groups are characterized by social mobility and a less stratified and hieratical organization. The social rules tied to genders, then, seem to be responsible for a higher dependence or independence from the field: where women are granted decision-making rights in the economic and political organization, the sex differences shrink up to the point of disappearing.

The long psychological research tradition, in differential psychology and in differential psychology of the sexes, has highlighted the masculine and feminine aspects that seem to define psychological identity. Thus, male and female

characteristics and the separation of the sexes would be based on their scientific analysis.

If we consider the numerous studies conducted in the field, we can observe that the well-established certainties on what is definitely feminine and masculine have been gradually substituted, as our knowledge increases, with a reduction of certainties. We are left with three or four aspects that we can definitely say define masculine and feminine qualities. According to Maccoby and Jacklin (1978), such differences are reduced to higher verbal skills in women and to a higher visual and spatial perception, mathematical skills, and degree of aggressiveness in men.

Concerning the female universe, truly little has been attributed to women in various psychological areas.

There is no need to consider again the totally discredited differences that the authors list in their voluminous work, and there is also no need to list the differences that are still in the process of being researched and studied. Perhaps, in light of the new psychological epistemology, the entire issue will be scaled down and we will not investigate the differences but the positive characteristics of one or the other sex. Hopefully, we will not try to establish a flattening of humanity on only one of the two terms that socially define it. The heuristic value, in Witkin's model, lies precisely in the presentation of the psychological differentiation in its progression as the various area indicators concern the person in his organic, psychic, historic, and social wholeness.

Although we could be tempted to analyse the role played by individual factors, the genetic and the cultural ones, in light of Berry's results, it seems irrelevant to make them the objects of research.

Witkin's model, field-dependence and field-independence as ways of organizing the peculiar cognitive style and the personality, through their differentiation (lesser or greater) and their integration, considers genetic and cultural factors as an inseparable whole and observes them in action.

In the case of differentiation, which occurs within the socialization processes and starts with individual genetic characteristics, the fact that women, taken as a group, are more field-dependent and consequently less differentiated, particularly in what is generally defined as the creation of identity, focuses on the shaping of femininity as socially expected and accepted. The explanation of this phenomenon can be found in its description made by Witkin and those who are continuing his research.

The psychological differentiation, encompassing mind and body, that defines personality in the progressive integration of its different areas and various subsystems, shows at the same time the progressive integration of cultural and biological aspects in a dynamic unity, in which it is no longer possible to distinguish the order in which the different factors intervene.

Researchers' effort to establish definite innate bases in human beings and their behaviour, as shown by socio-biology, and to remain anchored to them only, notwithstanding Witkin's model, is to be considered a highly efficient tool in critical, scientific knowledge and research. This consideration is especially true today, when nature is explored with the purpose of establishing biology as a social and

theoretical science of nature, and when gender division is explored in light of psychological androgyny.

The merit of the field-dependence model with regard to the critical review of scientific and psychological literature on the differences between the genders lies in the possibility that it provides to measure the psychological and social costs of a psychological differentiation that involves the risk of losing some potentials (whose extent is impossible to predict beforehand).

I claimed in a different venue (Boggi-Cavallo, 1979) that the hypothesis of women's inferiority, proven and disproven research on the differences between the sexes, applied to the smallest details of behaviour and in a wide range of variables, lies in the assumption of the equations diversity = difference and the subsequent difference = inequality.

The greatest merit of the research tradition linked to Herman A. Witkin lies precisely in his having demonstrated the need to renew the hypothesis configuration through its methodological approach, its epistemological essence, and the ideological characteristics that we can see in it.

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Chapter 3
Women and Popular Medicine

Pina Cavallo Boggi

Paper presented at the National conference "Donna: come traversare la cultura fuori dalle istituzioni" [Women: how to trace culture outside the institutions], University of Calabria March 31–April 2, 1980.

Women and Medicine

Today, women and medicine are linked to popular culture and, as it should be, the areas we investigate trying to obtain information on the topic are the history of popular traditions, cultural anthropology, and popular medicine.

We go to search for the primitive, the archaic, according to different approaches, more or less sectoral, more or less complex, to reconstruct the function of the medicine of the subordinate and marginal classes, including women as active and passive key players, had and/or retains, to understand the effect that the progressive expansion of conventional and cultured medicine has triggered, in view of a reunification, through the analysis of the transformation processes, and a possible re-functionalization (Seppilli, 1975). In the field of popular medicine, this orientation tends to base its research on the two matrices that are still present in it, that is, its empirical medical knowledge and the magical conception of the world, thus directing research activities from the collection of beliefs and practices toward the analysis of historical processes of cultural elaboration and transmission within a defined

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social system. However, as regards the place of women in such a system and in the culture production process, the attempts to overcome the static nature of the rigorous documentation are only recent (Foods & Falteri, 1977).

The poles of this opposition can be, on one side, the work of Zeno Zanetti (1978), who collected in the Eugubino the testimonies and vestiges of the past in the popular medicine practice of women, who also preserved prejudices and false beliefs more than men, and, on the other one, the research directed by Tullio Seppilli on popular medicine in Central Italy. The latter shows the centrality of women in popular medicine practices, in relation to the division of gender roles and work, as custodians and transmitters of knowledge and intervention techniques.

However, even without getting into details, it seems that in their different way of dealing with popular medicine and the central role played by women in it, there is a preservation of the two *cultures*, made distant and mutually independent by their specific characteristics. The first is prevailing over the other, adopting a vision of the world that goes beyond magic and completely embracing scientific knowledge. In contrast, the second one is still enveloped in magic, on the opposite side of science, which separates health and illness.

Is there a point from which such a divergence originated? In the story of Western culture, is there a trace of a medicine that was only a practice of health, that is, of the ability to relieve suffering and of restoring well-being by offering a remedy to discomfort? In other words, is it possible to think that what is popular medicine today, in the past, was just tout court medicine? Moreover, in such a hypothetical scenario, what was the place of women?

These questions could further expand the boundaries of research on popular medicine, and besides attempting an overall reconstruction of women's centrality in daily practice, linked to the gender division of roles in domestic and social work, could aim to understand the specific elements of popular medicine practice characterizing therapeutic interventions, and maybe its greater complexity and richness from a psychological point of view. Such a reunification would occur not through the adoption of the "other" medicine remedies, empirical and naive, but rather of the type of response of popular practice to the needs of those presenting not only a symptom to read but their global reality of individuals afflicted with illness. Popular medicine embraces and preserves a tradition that is not marginal, archaic, or residual and that perhaps can help us rediscover the essential space of the unthought and reclaim it. What is now defined as popular medicine is not only the practice of empirical remedies but also the participation and sharing of suffering and remedies in a sort of complicity between patient and healer. Therefore, the question is whether there has been a historical time in which the separation between the two medicines was non-existent or at least not insurmountable.

Certainly, the watershed remains the organization of medical knowledge as a science, that is, the passage from the art of healing to medicine as a science. This tiring passage occurred throughout a millennium, with the transformation of Hippocratic medicine into a medicine based on anatomy, on the cold reality of a corpse to be opened.

It is in this millennium that the premises are laid and the sediments of a culture of health and life, which today are only traces, are progressively formed. Against it will rise, empowered by its scientific status, the culture of the dead body that defines itself as knowledge mechanisms and possible failures of the human body. Confident of its status of science, the art of healing becomes the science of the denied and non-existent body.

However, in this millennium, the alternation of theoretical positions, starting from Hippocrates, through the Greek and Roman medicine, and the effort to free the medical practice from magic, religion, philosophy, alchemy, and ethics, prevented from identifying the signs, often barely noticeable, of what will be the clear division between cultured medicine and popular medicine, between doctors' knowledge and power and the objectification and isolation of patients and diseases. The place of women in this long organizational phase led, after Copernicus and Descartes, to the definition of medicine as a science and, after Vesalius, to the supremacy of immortality and staticity over the change and contextuality of living human beings and their needs, that of equality and legitimacy. Women are not subordinate, not excluded, as they are key players creating knowledge and competence, both as women without a name and a title and as women of the highest repute and with a title.

The history of the Salerno Medical School has still to be entirely written, as far as it concerns the role performed by the Salerno women and the teachers (Magistrae) of that institution, which in the year 1000 issued doctoral degrees in medical art, intended as the art of healing. The rare literature on the subject proves the thesis we supported so far on the space of the unthought that we need to reclaim, on the quality of the therapeutic intervention and the meaning of popular medical practices, still well preserved in the very heart of our cities, where a headache is still cured with some oil in a dish full of water to exorcise the evil eye, despite having rapidly effective pills at hand.

The few certain elements provided by the documents that have come down to us give us a glimpse of a few interdisciplinary lines of research that can enrich our knowledge about medicine and women.

In fact, Zanetti (1978) counterpoints his collection of women's medical practices with quotations from ancient medical texts to validate the hypothesis, not explicit and perhaps not even conscious, which identifies the historical roots of those practices in the authority of a tradition, transmitted through the writings known only to a few and a shared and well-established oral tradition. Zanetti indicates the sources of certain remedies, such as the use of a herb or a galenic preparation. Among these sources, we often find the name of a medical authority of the year one thousand, such as Trotula de Ruggiero, also in her male version as Eros (de Ruggiero, 1979), but also Ascelpiade of Prusa, Galen, Heraclid of Taranto, Cleopatra, Paracelsus, Bernardo of Cardon, and Gilbert of England. I just mention a few without following a specific order, as my intention is contradicting an accurate and, perhaps, disadvantageously biased scholar.

Despite Zanetti's intentions, however, La medicina delle donne [Women Medicine] proves to be neither separate nor irrevocably distant from the medicine

practiced by the representatives of the medical corporations. The latter will be formed much later based on an interpretation of the medical professionality that connects its power and possibility of preservation with professional secrecy, while the medical practice is still following the empirical tradition and the attempts of the imagination.

It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the scientific status of medicine was defined, thanks to Virkow's cell theory, Pasteur and Kocks' bacteriology, the introduction of anesthesia, the development of Lister's antiseptic and aseptic surgery, and the introduction of X-rays. These discoveries and knowledge revolutionize the way of fighting and managing illness, progressively replacing the traditional pharmacopoeia. At the beginning of the nineteenth-century, remedies were still empirical; they were not connected to pathological processes, for the simple reason that they had not been discovered yet. It is amazing how these same remedies were used by doctors, with their costly and erudite expertise, and by women, with their consummate art of participating in discomfort and pain, aware of their mystery and feeling powerless before them. However, didn't these empirical remedies and magical beliefs share the same origin?

Cabanis' accurate reflection on "medical certainty" is from the years when medicine began its journey toward the medicalization of life and man through the introduction of its scientific status. At the same time, its practice is still entangled in the residues of tradition. With an act of trust in medicine as a science, it is possible to read the recommendation to doctors to consider themselves the bearer of duties toward science, their patients, and society. However, this encouragement was given in the historical time of the French Revolution, when the Montagnards attempted the design of a pedagogical medicine as a form of dissemination of knowledge for preventive purposes (Cabanis, 1828; Foucault, 2012). The history of medicine as science continues according to organizational rhythms, which reflect the production methods, the division of labor, and the advent and the triumph of industrialization.

Only at this point, in the nineteenth century and up to the present day, the irremediable divide between what we call popular medicine and what we call official, scientific, cultured medicine is established and consolidated. It is only starting from this point that within popular medicine, the prevalence of women becomes more relevant and women assume a crucial role as holders of knowledge and intervention techniques. At the same time, in the other, and for so many reasons that cannot even be mentioned, the female presence has long since disappeared. Thus, we witness the laughable discovery of the first female doctor, here and there, in the various countries of Europe, in the several centuries of the millennium that separates the advent of medicine as a science from the art of healing that has always been the prerogative of women, and for some time also of men.

The continuation of forms of magic in popular practice and its enrichment with the inclusion of practices apparently more distant from the controllable, concrete reality is a common aspect of the story of the two medicines. Mainly, they follow the unfolding of the hegemony of one class over the others and the turning of natural magic into ceremonial and black magic, within a still magical-religious vision of the world, especially in Southern Italy.

Women and Medicine in Salerno

The history of the Salerno Medical School shows the concrete conjunction of popular medicine and cultured medicine, the official one at the time, as it was followed and practiced by the doctors of the College of Salerno. It is known that in Salerno women, magistre, also practiced medicine, about whom I will tell later. However, alongside them, the other women of Salerno were recognized for the practice they were carrying out as the authors of remedies, which the Magisters welcomed in their writings.

In *Practica Brevis*, Johannes Platearius II (1090–1120) welcomes the indication of the Salerno women about the expulsion of monstrous moles. Another Platearius (1140–1180), Matteus, mentions the Salerno women and their remedies.

In the article on *Bernix*, there is a cosmetic; in the article on *Ciclamen*, two recipes for hemorrhoids and splenic affections; in the article on *Calamentum*, an astringent for the uterus; in the article on *Papaver*, a sedative; in the article on *Parietaria*, a remedy for abdominal pain; in the articles on *Rosmarinu*s and *Spica*, recipes for suppositories; in the article on *Terra sigillata*, a recipe to combat hair dryness; and in the article on *Tetrahit*, a recipe for urination disorders.

De Renzi warns that many of these practices refer to the common use of domestic medicine shared by all peoples to minimize the importance of the inclusion of such recipes in the work of the two Platearius. However, for what concerns our topic, it is just the popularity of these remedies and their consolidated use to make their acceptance in a medical text more relevant. So relevant it is to make it possible to assume that Salerno represents the junction point between what will become two separate medicines, perhaps in continuity with what was already practiced, in other historical and cultural contexts, or perhaps unlike them, but certainly in a real and concrete way during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. So, the Salerno women practiced and proposed remedies, likewise the other women who had different operational and educational competencies.

In the eleventh century, between the years 1048 and 1050, Trotula wrote or dictated the text "De Mulierum Passionibus," which has come down to us, perhaps, due to the author's undisputed prestige in the following centuries. However, we have other legends on the female doctors of Salerno, as well as we know some of the titles of their writings.

During the Angevin domination, Venturella Crisinato graduated on January 5, 1322, and Francesca de Romana on September 10, 1930. However, Costanza Calenda was a prestigious figure, who certainly gave lectures also at the University of Naples, during the reign of Giovanna I d'Angio (1326–1382), about whom we know truly little, as regards her scientific interests and her writings. Abella was practicing before Constanza. She was from Salerno, and we only know the titles of two of her works: "*De atrabile*" and "*De natura seminis Humani*." We cannot indicate the era in which two other female doctors lived and operated, but only the titles of their works. Mercuriade would be the author of four works, namely "*De crisibus*," "*De febre pestilenti*," "*De curatione vulnerum*," and finally "*De unguentis*." Rebecca Guarna, who undoubtedly belonged to one of Salerno's most prestigious

families, possibly wrote "*De febribus*," "*De Urinis*," and "*De embrione*" (De Renzi, 1857; Bayon, 1940).

This picture, indeed impoverished by the lack of documentation, shows that a cultural institution stood out on the cultural scene of Salerno. Such an institution ensured doctors' preparations by Royal Decrees (the first issued by Robert Guiscard himself) – to which, over the centuries, granted, cancelled, and regranted privileges were added, and examined the aspirants to the profession of medical art granting diplomas, taking care of the professional preparation of young people from various European country, and ensuring the continuity between educated medicine and popular practice, deemed necessary both by doctors and patients.

What is described above was due to a common vision in the political and economic situation, at least in the Lombardic Salerno of the eleventh century, characterized by a management of power shared to varying degrees by the various social partners.

After the silence of the women follows, both of those graduates and of those who prepare remedies recognized as effective by the doctors of the school; they will be excluded from cultured medicine, at least from the written tradition, as attested by the absolute impossibility of dating the female doctors mentioned above. Perhaps the only trace of their practice and their teachings remains in the remedies and beliefs of the women dedicated to alleviating the suffering of other women, children, and all those who are in pain.

We could put forward a hypothesis, starting from a reflection on the personal and professional story of one the most prestigious representative of the school. The radical changes that take place in the political and cultural organization of Europe and Italy, with the progressive clericalization of the culture, do not tolerate the presence of women, if not in a subordinate role. Such a subordination internal to the differentiation of social groups takes the woman away from participation and management of the real present. In particular, in Southern Italy, the succession of the Norman, Suevian, Angevin, and Aragonese dominations, with the alternation of alliances and blocks, will see on one side the closure of the peasant community in its certainties and the preservation of its cultural characteristics and on the other the official culture subject, in particular with regard to the Medical School, to protective or self-serving interventions by the Sovereigns. Moreover, if it is still possible to award degrees to female doctors, they seem to have no relevance. It is not mentioned, as there is no mention, if not in a distorted way, of Trotula de Ruggiero whose works have been read, followed, and appreciated before.

She is the author, as I have already said, of the "*De mulierum passionibus*," which many medical historians indicate as only part of a larger Medical Compendium, known in the world of medicine and followed for her teachings on children; her work was translated into other European languages, summarized, and transcribed in verse. However, it was enough that an editor, Wolff, indicated on the front page of an edition that the work was foolishly attributed to Trotula, but it belonged to Eros, Julia's freedman, to make the magistra's historical, cultural, and scientific reality disappear into thin air. Cultured medicine continues empirically, as it has done for centuries, to prepare the same remedies for diseases it knows only in relation to their

symptoms, like popular medicine. However, the first arrogates the right and the space of intervention on the disease, on the remedies and the authorship of the same, excluding Trotula because she is a woman and keeping the others on the sidelines, although they also continue the Salerno tradition, leaving to what Zanetti calls "our ordinary women" the task of continuing the ancient recipes.

However, would it be possible to discover and maybe demonstrate, if the research allows it, that women were active not only in popular medicine but also in cultured medicine by researching the written documents kept in the libraries of various German and even Italian cities?

Body and Health: Trotula and the "De Mulierum Passionibus"

The study on women's diseases, before, during, and after childbirth, by the best known and followed *Magistra* of the Medical School of Salerno that has come down to us, is the text for which she was most often cited and that she was encouraged to write by a noblewoman from Salerno, including female suffering.

It is one of the most relevant texts of the Salerno School, as Bayon pointed out, however, the object of a few controversies during medicine history. The various manuscripts and editions available today could finally allow producing a critical edition destined to definitively close the controversy over the text probably originated from the transformation of Trotula's identity into a male, mentioned before, on which I wrote a reflection, as known by those who read the introduction to Trotula's work that appeared in the Italian edition a few months ago, and that I cannot include in this text (Cavallo Boggi, 1979). The preceding argument, instead, is what urges me to make of the text by Trotula a first, but basic, occasion to verify the hypothesis I have advanced. Trotula embraces, like the two Platearious mentioned above, and includes remedies used by the Salerno women without the detachment and ill-concealed contempt shown today by medical professionals toward this humble and domestic medical practice. Trotula worked and lived in Salerno in the year 1000, before the Platearius to whom she was supposedly related, who knows if it will ever be possible to prove the conjecture that she was the wife of the first Johannes Platearius, the forefather of a family of Salerno doctors. I was encouraged to edit the publication of the text in Italian not only by the affectionate pressures of scholars to whom I had spoken about the project but also by the current status of the practice of medicine, particularly with regard to women's health, in the sense of medicine applied to maternity and sexuality, and to the female body. I realized how relevant she still is today, as a doctor and a woman, not only for the prescriptions and remedies she suggests, but above all for the characteristics of such remedies. In a situation so distant from the present one, and distant in many ways, it seemed to me that Trotula spoke the language of those who had to limit themselves to wanting, and in vain, a relationship with their doctor, their illness, and the treatment without a decontextualization of the disease, the treatment, and their body.

In the middle of the millennium that separates medicine as the art of healing from medicine organized according to scientific standards, an official, cultured medical text reintroduces a way of understanding illness, treatment and the body in terms of empirical practice, typical of women only, and much more. Indeed, what Trotula's text brings back is so much more. Perhaps it is key to identifying the specificity and with it the survival, despite all evidence, of popular medicine.

Trotula does not deal with the single organ but the whole body, considering it as belonging to a person in her daily reality, into her network of relationships with the other members of her community. This text on female medicine does not deal only with the reproductive organ and the disease that medicine can cure. The woman's body is considered in its entirety, in its globality, and, a thousand years even before Freud, in its psychophysical entirety. Discomfort is studied in its affective, emotional, dynamic, and organic components: the individual that may be attacked by illness in every part of her body, eyes, teeth, or face skin remains a person historically defined and present, with her specific different characteristics, which are recognized as decisive for her well-being.

Psychosomatic medicine, after Freud's teaching, produced some attempts to recover this entirety, which in Trotula is common practice, as it was for the Masters of the Salerno School. The woman about whom Trotula thinks, and who is one of the many cured by her, is not just an organ, detached from the concreteness of her whole body, she plays a key role as an individual, and the disease belongs to her, the doctor prepares a remedy for her, that is for that specific woman, thus helping, supporting, and giving her relief. The doctor and the woman, and with them the community to which they belong, are connected to the mystery represented by the disease, as they do not know the causes that could eradicate it at the roots. Trotula's targets are the whole body and the life to which it belongs; women's diseases before, during, and after childbirth, therefore, affect both female and male sexuality, infertility, birth planning, and body health coinciding with its beauty and pleasantness.

Trotula gives female sexuality the same attention received by male sexuality, and libido, finally, has no origins to show and to practically imitate: a female libido that belongs to life and the right to it, so much so to provide remedies for those who decide to practice abstinence to preserve their health. She suggests these women: "take some wool soaked in moss or mint oil and apply it to the vulva. If this oil is not available, take some trifera magna, melt it in a bit of hot wine and introduce it into the vulva with cottonwool or freshly shorn wool. This remedy effectively dulls sexual desire and lust, alleviating pain and itching" (chap. XXXVI). Furthermore, frigidity does not appear to be only a female characteristic, which to date is differently interpreted. In essence, it can also be a male characteristic and Trotula indicates remedies for women and men, such as baths in seawater sweetened with juniper, catmint, mint, laurella, absinthe, artemisia, hyssop and other hot herbs, and good warm food, very nutritious, accompanied by good wine.

Sexuality is seen as natural vitality and completely devoid of taboos. In essence, it is still *ars erotica*, and Trotula guarantees it to the couple, bearing in mind the sufferings that can affect it and for which she offers remedies, addressing them to both men and women, in a perfect symmetry of the sexes and corporeity. The body treated by Trotula seems to be the community body, not the single body, a body that

lives connected, not isolated, to things and other bodies. The singularity of this body is that it is a body in communication with the whole nature and culture. It is a body transducing codes, a body that has not yet been emptied, split, separated, objectified, or made absent. When this will occur, in a slow progress until the fragmentation of scientific medicine, the instance of a community body will survive in popular medical practices and, perhaps, in the *other* medicine in general, thus fighting the expropriation implied by such a limited view.

Pregnancy and childbirth are community events: around the woman, the doctor and the others work to make the event as safe and happy as possible, without harm to the woman and her health, with great regard to preventing harm to the child. During pregnancy, many herbs, such as ameos, celery, mint, lentisk, cardamom seeds and cloves, carrots, castor, zerloaria, iris, moss, amber, calamint, and pennyroyal are used in various ways for decoctions, suffumigations, and baths, besides anointings with rose and violet oils.

During birth, there are many reassuring figures around the woman, who help her sneeze, putting close to her nose incense powder or candisio, pepper, and euphorbia, always in powder. The woman will be accompanied to the house, and while she walks slowly, those present carefully avoid looking her in the face, to respect her modesty in these special moments. All the remedies that are recommended for different childbirth-related events involve the presence of other people. Thus, the doctor and the people from the family and the community, all together, prepare the remedies to alleviate the woman's suffering, including those to save the child, using herbs, heaters, baths, linen, or wool cloths, remaining close to the woman, next to her. Childbirth appears as a collective event concerning the entire community, which is engaged and participates in its whole process.

Moreover, the same community sets up for the newborns, together with the doctor, the conditions that support them in their growth. The woman never appears alone: maternity belongs to her but not as a condemnation to a folie a deux, from which it is often impossible to get out, or from which the child has to be freed, as is observed in many clinical situations today. Newborns are often rubbed, oiled, and cleaned by the mother and the other women, who often speak to them using simple words in a soft and sweet voice. They should not be exposed to loud noises or blinding lights, but clothes of different colors, various paintings and plumes, and colored pearls are brought before their eyes. They should be breastfed, and when they start eating well, they should not be fed at night. They should be weaned in summer. As there are many conditions preventing women from breastfeeding their babies, Trotula indicates some child-feeding guidelines, giving advice on wet nurses' diet, foods to be avoided as they are harmful, and highlighting the importance of avoiding stress, which can compromise lactation. Moreover, when newborns suffer from any ailment, the milk of the wet nurse should be examined to remedy the newborn's suffering.

Various injuries can occur to giving birth women, intense pain in the abdomen or vulva, the onset of hemorrhoids, prolapse of the uterus, and aerophagia; Trotula examines these ailments and provides the appropriate remedies, indicating the substances to be used, how to apply them and the quantities in which they must be taken.

I have talked extensively about Trotula's remedies to retrace, through this description of the text, the way of responding to the overall needs of the person who suffers that she and the doctors of the past embraced. Presumably, the women who guarded and passed down popular medicine remedies did the same. This way is characterized by two conditions that might be the cause of the preservation of the popular practice and at the same time of the effectiveness that such remedies, empirical and naive, seem to possess.

The symptom, the syndrome, or the disease does not appear to be decontextualized. The disease is faced by the doctor and the patient together, in the complete disclosure and comprehensibility of the remedy used, visible, manipulable, and recognizable and when it is not so, in any case, its effectiveness is validated by the consent of the community (the therapeutic value of gems and metals). It is a sort of complicity, an alliance of the two parties, the doctor and the patient, in the face of the suffering to be eradicated. It is the first form of reassurance that patients get. Besides, there is the reassurance they get from remaining with their illness, their ailments in their life, in their personal and communitarian context. The non-expropriation of the disease and the non-expropriation of the body are the hallmarks of popular medicine. They were also the characteristics of cultured medicine before the birth of clinical medicine when women took over the role of their guardians. A possible reconstruction of the separation between the two medicines, the popular one and the scientific one, could be their integration into scientific medicine at the various levels of health care. Notably, the result of centuries of medical practice can offer its potential for change, albeit through, once again, other scientific disciplines, only if women and medicine meet.

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Chapter 4
Parents, Children, and the Third Age: The Needs of the Elderly

Pina Boggi Cavallo and Michele Cesaro

Do We Know Elderly People?

> Old people – with certain exceptions – don't **do** anything anymore. They are defined by an **exis**, not a **praxis**. Time carries them towards an end – death – which is not **their** end, which is not intended as a project. And this is why they appear to active individuals as a "foreign species" in which they do not recognize themselves. I have already said that old age inspires biological repugnance; for a sort of self-defense one pushes it far away. But this rejection is possible only because in their case the fundamental connection with all human undertakings is no longer at play.
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> To some extent, the condition of the elderly is symmetrical to the condition of children: in fact, even with children the adult does not establishes a relationship on mutual terms. It is not by chance that in everyday family language one talks about children who are "exceptional for their age", but also about elders who are "exceptional for their age". The exceptional is that, despite being not yet or no longer active persons, they still have human conducts. (De Beauvoir, 1971, p. 217)

With the strength that characterizes her prose, as well as her stances, Simone de Beauvoir maybe touches upon the sore point of the elder's condition. Indeed, the perception of the elderly, what characterizes the reality of their being, thinking, acting, and planning as capable of exhibiting human conduct, is completely unknown to those who interact with him, from a position of power on a daily basis: the mature adult, the son, the grandson, the doctor, the nurse, the social worker.

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They all apply to him their prejudiced knowledge based on the idea that old age is the condition of those who do nothing. The elderly are locked in the cruel cocoon of its "uselessness", in the sense of economic productivity. They lose their human characteristics, that is, the ability to think, to judge, to hope, to love, to help, and to continue building relationships with people and things.

The psychological research contradicts this stereotype about the elderly, showing that, in old age, the development and change of personality affect some aspects while leaving untouched some other ones.

The factors responsible for social adaptation, that is, those connected with adaptation and with the tendency to move towards a goal, which fall within the stable patterns of individual behavior, remain stable in all ages of life. Therefore, we remain integrated, *defensive, passive, dependent, and engaged* all life long, without differences among age classes. Another characteristic of personality, which does not undergo changes as age increases, is the sense of completeness and satisfaction in life, the optimism towards the facts of life. In other words, the structure of personality is more stable and predictable in the elderly rather than in young people. The elderly tend to behave in the same way, to be themselves. And maybe these personality characteristics related to change emerge during old age, as, for instance, the tendency toward introversion and introspection. The elderly are focused on themselves. The changes observed concern the energy of the ego, the style of the ego, and the perception of the sexual role. The elderly respond to internal stimuli more than to external ones. They do not get involved in situations implying emotional commitment and active participation, in this way avoiding risks and challenges. They tend toward an inversion of the traditional sexual roles: active-authoritarian in the male and passive-dependent in the female. These data have been collected with different methods and tools, but they are consistent both in experimental psychology and in the research conducted by psychoanalysts.

It is evident that stable factors are correlated to evolving factors. Old age, with the retreat from productive activity, is defined as the age of decline. Withdrawing into oneself, instead of interacting with the outside, takes on a meaning of self-protection, in a condition made even more threatening by the physiological changes linked to age.

It is exactly this interweaving of evolved and stable aspects to prompt the question about the self-perception of the elderly, in relation to the current values of the social group they belong to. That is, whether old age is synonymous with passivity and disengagement, or activity and engagement are tolerated and encouraged in their possible different forms. Such a consideration allows us to formulate some hypotheses about the correlation between these factors and their consequences. There is no doubt that Western social organization stresses engagement related to productivity in young and adult age, while relating disengagement to old age. Therefore, the third age has been studied as the age marked by the frustrations caused by the conditions in which individuals live their everyday life. Those conditions are in rapid transformation, involving the family structure (from patriarchal to nuclear), and thanks to the processes of both horizontal and vertical social mobility

and the radical change of the traditional gender roles (feminine extra-domestic labor).

The interweaving between stable and developmental elements of personality is thus clarified in relation to the frustrating conditions in which the elderly must live, which are "expected" by those who see, in perspective, old age in terms of those conditions.

Old age and elders could be the outcome of a cognitive assumption, a stereotype, which is created and maintained by individuals along their life span. The elderly enact these assumptions in concrete models of conduct, when they are called to play the role of an "old person", at the moment of their retirement and the withdrawal from their productive activity.

Once again, the action of social roles covers, blunts, or harmonizes the most exquisitely psychological, individual, and characterizing elements of the personality. The stable factors of the person are silenced, while they could direct the conduct and suggest plans of action, harmonizing with the developmental factors. We generally talk about older people only to stress their maladjustment. We study the areas of their maladjustment and even healthcare programs only focus on the elderly's "passivity", consequent to the acceptance of their condition, perceived in its negative aspects. The positive aspects, considered in their psychological reality and in the individual characteristics, which emerge from the studies on the elderly's personality, are overlooked. The stereotype, which is shared by everybody, not only by the elders, regulates older people's everyday life and compels them to accept themselves as old and to follow the rules governing the role of older people. Canestrari et al. (1967) examined these frustrating conditions and described what has been discussed above. Such conditions concern both the social role and the personality of older people. The authors define the following areas related to the social and relational conditions that are a source of frustration: family ties, economic situation, self-esteem, professional identity, perception of physical decay in relation to sexuality, and cognitive abilities. These areas are related to the developmental factors of the elderly's personality. Thus, it is possible to observe the action of the conditions that promote those factors, their onset, and their stabilizing. At the same time, it is possible to observe the shaping of older people's role in aging individuals based on the expectations of all the other members of their social group.

The response to these frustrating conditions can be either adaptive in a broad sense or maladaptive. The responses are analyzed based on their goal-orientation, objectives, and desires, and within the social relationships, i.e., the interactions with selected, desired, or rejected partners. One of the reasons for the reaction to frustrations, the discomfort within the intergenerational relations, arises from the frustrating conditions caused by the changes in the family structure. The relationship between the elderly person and young people, inside and outside the family, is affected by the decline of the authority that the parental role, and age in general, conferred to the elders. The relationship with their partner and children is changed. While a plurality of psychological mechanisms is triggered, which overturn the traditional parent–son roles, the figure of the partner becomes increasingly

important. This confirms older people's incapability to initiate or promote new relationships, which is the inhibition of the impulse towards novelty, as one of the typical features of aging people. The partner is the pole of their emotional life, an irreplaceable element against the threat of solitude, both supporter and person to protect, catalyzer of the libidic and aggressive energy of the Ego. This fact has been repeatedly confirmed by clinic observation, therapeutic situations, and research with psycho-diagnostic tools such T.A.T. and clinical interviews. What should be further investigated is the potential impact of cultural factors, such as the social value and expectations regarding the elderly's social relationships.

What type of social relationship (what range they have, and, among the possible ones, which ones are chosen) do the elderly aim for? Is the choice between possible relationships actually a free choice? Or it is rather a condition in which the elderly is gradually induced to? Maybe the core of the question we are asking is what kind of relationship exists, in general, between young people and the elderly. There are mutual expectations, supported by the passivity attributed to old age, that put the two age groups in opposition. All the things that are characteristic of the young and adult age groups do not belong to old age anymore. All the things that define old age do not belong to the other two age groups. As a consequence, social relationships narrow to children and even more to the partner. It is a response to the frustrations affecting the area of interpersonal relationships, but it is an adaptive behavioral response, rather than a peculiarity of old age.

The watershed is the ideological way of understanding the aging process, the deep sharing of its negative characteristics, that is, the concept of old age as *uselessness*, as exis rather than praxis. The withdrawal into the relationship with children and the partner is the ultimate defense against more and more dangerous situations of marginalization and exclusion. In the same way as the *private child*, the adult and mature age create the *private elderly*.

The elderly, useless and passive, although only and barely not completely self-sufficient, are faced with the solution of institutionalization. The privatization of the elderly is so accomplished. The frustrating conditions eventually turn into a state of passivity and indifference, which leads to a daily life spent waiting for a non-intentional exis.

The process we have so far described accentuates and stabilizes the personality developmental characteristics proper of old age, such as the withdrawal into oneself, introspection and introversion, the shrinking of the Ego, and its energy. The most individual and original characteristics, that is, the stable factors, are strongly jeopardized by the significance and the prevalence acquired by the developmental factors in a favorable situation. We can talk about a second identity of the elderly that they are forced to take on. Such identity must be assumed in a moment of the elderly's life in which their original identity could have further developed and expanded before the final progressive decay.

Finally, it is worth noting that the hypotheses discussed so far are supported by the evidence provided by studies conducted during the last decade in biology, biochemistry, gerontology, and endocrinology.

From a strictly scientific point of view, the notion of old age and the concept of aging, as we commonly know them, are no longer acceptable. The extensive research currently carried out worldwide, adopting different sophisticated approaches and large economic resources, let us foresee a better definition of the gap between *being old* from the biological and psychological point of view and the way it is lived and experienced from the social point of view.

What needs to be changed are the stereotypical images and the role expectations. We need to better understand how they work in young, adult, and older people who share them. It is essential for the future of the elderly's everyday life, in a social reality that does not tolerate the waste of energy, competence, and ultimately existence, as it now happens in the life of aging men and women. Once again, one can draw a comparison with childhood. The child, who has the whole life in front of him/her, is forced to live it following the ways decided by those mature adults who have the power to direct and guarantee it.

Parents, Children, and the Third Age: The Needs of the Elderly

The following are the results of research conducted in the town of Cava dei Tirreni[1,2,3]. Our random sample is made of 105 individuals of different age, gender, education, and job, active and resident in Cava dei Tirreni, and randomly extracted from the municipal lists of voters.

To collect the data, we used the same interview questions that Canestrari et al. (1967, p. 80) had used only with elderly people. In our research, we excluded the items investigating the conditions of the elderly in institutions or hospitalized, while we used the items addressing the elderly's relatives. Therefore, the items of the interview used, which address the elderly and their relatives, are the following: 1,2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 58.

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[1] The town of Cava dei Tirreni is situated 10 km north of Salerno, in the Campania region, Italy. It is on the way that connects the town of Salerno to the city of Naples. Cava is located 195 meters above the sea level, it is surrounded by mountains, and it is composed by a number of small hamlets. It has been the historical holiday venue for the inhabitants of the two larger towns nearby, following their fate during the centuries. The local traditional economy is based on craft and commerce, and during the last 20 years a number of industrial SMEs has been created. This has attracted back many of the emigrants who had moved to the North of Italy or abroad, as shown by the demographic trend until 1978.

[2] Canestrari R., Bettacchi MW, Crociani GC: Il disadattamento degli anziani e il problema dell'assistenza pubblica, Bologna, Cappelli, 1967, pp. 118–123.

[3] The complete data will be provided in a future publication.

Results

As the amount of research data collected is quite large, we can present here only some observations. The subjects of our sample see the elderly as well-adapted to their condition and to its frustrations. They spend their time, all *free* now, engaging in activities aimed to "passing the time". Their desires are focused on the present. They desire the things they did not have before. They engage in leisure activities to compensate for their frustrations. They have no problems in their old age ($r = 0.675$, $P \leq 0.05$).

It is clear that old age is the age of uselessness, as also confirmed by other studies. The elderly appears as a person situated in his own precise time and space, which he does not leave, neither to move towards the past nor towards the future.

The area of frustration is consequently that of family ties, while the other areas seem less relevant. This finding matches the results of Canestrari et al. (1967). Considering our sample, however, we can stress that this is the area of frustration *expected* by those who are not yet older and who perceive old age as characterized by solitude and isolation, as a consequence of a diminished identity.

The answers indicating the relevance of family ties have a positive correlation with those inquiring about the problems caused by the presence of an elderly in a family ($r = 0.654$ and $P \leq 0.050$). The problems related to health issues positively correlate with the problems related to the conflicts caused by coexistence ($r = 0.659$ and $P \leq 0.05$).

The condition of solitude is expressed by the answers of our participants to the items exploring the range of possible social relationships and the concrete opportunity of social relationships available or desired by elderly people.

The elderly are seen as satisfied and eager for relationships with people of their same age, who, like them, live in a time and space restricted to the present, and in which the *diversity* of being old is better tolerated. Their relationship with younger generations is challenging. While they are in a collaborative relationship with younger relatives, they seem to have a conflictual relationship, characterized by misunderstandings, with young people in general. Our subjects ascribe the reason for these contrasts to the fact itself of being young or being old, to the *nature* of things. The elderly have needs that are reduced to one dimension. This dimension coincides with their marginalization from the larger social context, with the withdrawal into a group of people of the same age, or better with the withdrawal into the relationship with their partner ($r = 0.987$, $P \leq 0.001$), where they overcome this *natural* antinomy.

The diminished identity of the elderly suffers from the frustration related to their economic situation. The elderly are seen as unfairly and poorly compensated and, therefore, in need of financial aid and assistance. According to our interviewees, the economic problems of the elderly can be solved with the intervention of welfare services but also with the help of the family. However, we can see that the subjects of the sample belonging to the class age above 61 years old have indicated welfare services as the source for their economic needs and assistance. The elderly prepare

themselves to become dependent on an institution, as the process of marginalization unfolds. Our interviewees reject the solution of admission into a retirement home. But if we look more carefully into this trend, we can at least conclude that there is some ambivalence in the subjects towards admission into an institution. Such a decision can be motivated in different ways. The most recurring motives are difficulties in family relationships for the single elderly, who feels tolerated, like a burden, etc. Their strongly negative evaluation of the institution remains thus an isolated occurrence, considering the attitude towards a possible admission. Even though our participants consider admission into a retirement home something to be avoided, because it is considered depressing and shameful, they do not foresee any other solution to the everyday life problems of the elderly.

The positive perception of the institution is negatively correlated with its opposite negative perception ($r = 0.914$, $P \leq 0.01$), but the conditional positive perception is positively correlated with the same modality of evaluation ($r = 0.680$, $P \leq 0.001$).

The elderly subjects of our sample coherently indicate the solution of institutionalization as inevitable, though depressing and shameful.

The above observations lead us to agree with Mead (1925) when he says that "we own our selves in so far as we can assume and assume the attitude that others assume towards us, and we respond to these attitudes." (p. 273).

The image of the elderly and of their restricted needs to be attributed to the condition of dependency, passivity, and marginalization is certainly a stereotype, and we have caught it in action. But if we consider the elderly as members of a group to whom are applied the categorizations that define them, we must recognize their negative efficacy in providing them with a devalued identity, which they are forced to assume and enact, in a fate they are not allowed to fight back. This is indeed prevented by the contents of the stereotype and the general agreement about them that we have been able to grasp in our study.

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Chapter 5
Lou Andreas-Salomè: On Women and Psychoanalysis

Pina Boggi Cavallo

We have left the land and have gone aboard ship! We have broken down the bridge behind us, – nay, more, the land behind us! Well, little ship! look out! Beside thee is the ocean; it is true it does not always roar, and sometimes it spreads out like silk and gold and a gentle reverie. But times will come when thou wilt feel that it is infinite, and that there is nothing more frightful than infinity. Oh, the poor bird that felt itself free, and now strikes against the walls of this cage! Alas, if home sickness for the land should attack thee, as if there had been more freedom there, – and there is no "land" any longer!

 Friedrich Nietzsche – The Gay Science
 Book III – Aphorism # 124

Behind the Keyhole

I am very pleased to hear that you are working at your memoirs. It has often annoyed me to hear your relationship with Nietzsche mentioned in a way which was obviously hostile to you and which could not possibly correspond to the reality. You have put up with everything and have been far too decent; I hope that now, at last, you will defend yourself, even though in the most dignified way" (Freud, 1932, p. 198). This is how Freud addressed Lou in his letter dated 5/8/1932, referring to what will be subsequently called in 1951 *Lebensruckblick* (Memories). As it seems evident, it was common to maliciously delve into private life looking through a keyhole, and

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Freud showed to be bothered by it; nonetheless, Lou replied to him with her usual determination and detachment, mentioning some other work in progress related to "strictly scientific evidences over Nietzsche's disputes", confirming that the book was about to be published and concluding that "this is not a major issue" (Andreas-Salomè, 1932, 198–199).Actually, the truth about the intellectual relationship between Lou and Nietzsche was so distant from how it was depicted publicly to the point that it could be easily noticed by those who really wanted to, as Freud properly argued. Lou and Nietzsche met in a crucially creative time of their formation, and more than in terms of reciprocal contribution or influence, it seems appropriate to emphasize that such a wonderful and necessary bond was originated by the special stage they respectively were going through in their life.

Lou's and Nietzsche's thinking reached a special connection that, later, will turn into its exact opposite, and certainly not for personal reasons.

By that time, Nietzsche had just finished "The Gay Science". The confutation reasoning was getting more and more widespread especially through the strictly evidence-based scientific paradigm. The Aphorisms shed light on Nietzsche's perspective on ontological and phenomenological matters. After his positivist stage, Nietzsche sees the possibility to unveil and ultimately defeat religion, metaphysics, and morality. Thus, science that allows it is "gay" and turns mere sceptical liberation from pure illusions into a sort of blessed new message, an Annunciation. A free, kind of man comes forward who dares, tries, and experiments with life. Hence, the unmasking of the unmasking is a short step. It was the introduction to Zarathustra (Fink, 2003; Vattimo, 1974).

"One thing is undeniable: among all people I know, the friendship with Ms. Salomè is the most valuable and productive for me. Since I met her, I became mature for my Zarathustra", wrote Nietzsche in 1883 in a letter to Ida Overbeck (Montinari, 1972). As a matter of fact, after meeting in Tautenburg, the coincidence of their two singular evolutionary moments became a definitive divergence. Nietzsche will continue with his unmasking endeavour towards liberation, whereas Lou will be constantly looking for a landing place. That is, a landing place for her all-human need of certainty, after the Death of God and before madness. This becomes quite visible in her 1894 intellectual biography of Nietzsche, where Lou – after realizing about her melancholic friend's disease – closely describes the evolution of Nietzsche's perspective until the radical dichotomy between the Apollonian and the Dyonisian concepts, his demolition of Socrates' *ratio*, and the prevalent concept of Classicism, the rise of his Overman and Eternal Recurrence theories.

According to Lou, "Nietzsche's paradigm" consists of a complex interplay of his philosophical background with his very existential reality; ultimately, she portrayed him as someone who is declining and hides his descent behind a laugh. "Only now we can understand the glorious optimism we find in his last works, which is like the touching smile of a child showing on its flip side a Herod-like face, with altered features full of horror" while "his smile echoes a moving double sound: the laugh of an insane man and the smile of a winner" (Andreas Salomè, 2009, p. 192).

Later critical views won't agree on this point since the contrast between Dionysus and Socrates, the freedom of symbols and the *ratio* society, that Nietzsche discussed, unveiled, and transcended, stands as the rebellion of human Dionysian creativity

against every kind of oppression, or just inhibition slowing its development (Vattimo, 1974).

This is exactly the point of their separation. Lou didn't follow the path Nietzsche travelled all the way through evidence-based scientific reasoning. Still, all the theoretical issues she addressed with the German philosopher required an explanation and accurate elaboration. It is also possible to assume that Nietzsche's anti-metaphysical instance was shared by Lou only to a certain extent. In other words, the longing for totality wasn't so overwhelming for Lou to make her embrace the utmost profound and exclusive solitude. The death of God didn't lead Lou to replace him through a process of self-deification while the urgency of explaining human beings in their essence and complexity remains, radically separating appearance from reality, breaking up with tradition, the past, and their authority, reclaiming the right to freedom and happiness.

Exploring human beings becomes possible, then, through psychoanalysis as a therapy and as a scientific paradigm, which was created by a scientist and consequently can investigate unconscious phenomena. Thus, Lou relies on scientific evidence-based reasoning as well, but she does it within a specific interpretative boundary. Its implications are influential on her approach to psychoanalysis, its methodology and theoretical framework, to which she contributed with Freud's great appreciation.

In her 1912–1913 posthumous diary edited by Pfeiffer and originally titled "Learning with Freud", Lou reported how Freud explicitly asked her about the reasons of her interest in psychoanalysis. "To begin with, it was nothing but the kind of neutral objective interest that one feels when embarking on new researches. Then, the opportunity came in all its liveliness and personal urgency to stand in the presence of a new science, again and again to be at the beginning and thus related to the problems of the science in an increasingly intimate way. What settled the matter for me, however, was the third and personal reason that psychoanalysis bestowed a gift on me personally, its radiant enrichment of my own life that came from slowly groping to the roots by which it is embedded in the totality" (Andreas Salomé, 1964, pp. 89–90).

Lou does not mention here what she will then emphasize in her autobiography, that is the apprehension aroused in her by the observation of the neurotic episodes of Paul Rée and Rainer Maria Rilke, but also, I would add, of Nietzsche. Moreover, she also does not mention her Russian heritage, which gives her the typically introspective background of those people.

Still, regardless of the formal explanation for her involvement in psychoanalysis, her choice seems coherent with the intellectual path she started with the negation of God, tenaciously searching for an existential reason in a tragically changing Europe, full of uncertainties and doubts, usually defined as irrationality; they will actually be only the premise to what will gradually unfold in the collective Western consciousness after Nietzsche, Freud, and Marx.

Her choice of psychoanalysis l will be definitive and mark Lou's life until her death. The proof is the 25 years of correspondence with Freud, which shows the empathy between the pupil and the teacher, the passionate common understanding, and explaining, of human phenomena, the anguish they experienced in the crucial

years of their old age, during which they consoled each other, the close relationship between Anna Freud and Lou and all the deep affection between such great personalities. Finally, we learn how much Lou was involved in the practice of psychoanalysis from the variety of themes discussed that – unusually for Lou – she did not turn into written works. Her psychoanalytic works, in fact, were much fewer if compared to Lou's previous writing production. Hence, the reflective stance is central and pervasive.

The deep dedication to psychoanalysis and the long elaboration leading later to her published works, often stimulated by Freud, suggest that Freud highly valued Lou's collaboration (Freud, 1937) and that he considered it as a guarantee for the reliability of the psychoanalytic doctrine.

Even if such contributions are not included in Lou's works on psychoanalysis, due to the characteristics of her personality mentioned in her autobiography, it is worthwhile to focus on one of her major concerns, as an intellectual and as a woman: the definition of femininity. It is quite likely that her largely unknown contribution in this respect was made in a historical period during which exploring femininity meant identifying its specificity.

Women and Psychoanalysis: The Paradoxical Femininity

In 1912, Freud asked Lou to write an article about femininity for *Imago*. It was published in 1914 with the title "The woman type" on the first number of the third-year issue (Andeas-Salomè, 1914).

Femininity appears as characterized by two paradoxes. Rather than showing interest in the so-called feminine values and sounding competent to talk about happiness (also given the fact that emancipated women are supposed to get rid of them), she agreed with Freud that female sexuality is characterized by a sort of regression. But such a regression enables her life drives to be constantly connected to the point of origin. It's not a "return to the past", rather a kind of recovery of what once was located at an upper level. "*The feminine* (always broadly taken and regardless of the various degrees and nuances of the personal union of *masculine* and *feminine*), just because of the inversion of sexual drives towards the self, is able to experience the paradoxical situation of separating sexuality and the impulse of the Ego just because it connects them. The feminine is then intrinsically divided, whereas the masculine is uniquely aggressive but still coherent when his explicit aggressiveness splits, being more sexual or more selfish, in opposite directions". Femininity as lack, as loss, as incompleteness, is visible in this first paradox, according to which it is defined not through an external, negative, other than self, but through itself, in its entirety, starting from the psychic qualities of the life drives.

Second, there is a more basic, structural, paradox related to love affairs and erotism, letting women to keep on living their fundamental unity where it seems to disappear.

"Living the most vital as the most sublimated" is the second paradox. If we consider that sexual drives are typically longing towards an aim but also lingering on an object, the feminine is characterized by its willingness to include and leave space. During sexual development, it becomes prevalent achieving a goal, an object: aggressiveness plays a central role and ultimately establishes a clear-cut separation between *tender* and *sexual*. According to Lou, femininity maintains such a unity: what happens is a sort of reversal of drives that does not stand as a premise but, rather, that sets its goal in lingering and balancing. To Lou, this is the reason why women cannot produce a similar over-evaluation of sexuality like men do, and which Freud highlighted. The evaluation and the overvaluation are related to what has been accomplished and what has been desired: it is typically feminine to be connected to the origin in a primordial unity with the wholeness preceding our individual being. Consequently, the feminine *action*, giving birth, looks like a sort of warm egoism affecting the mother–son relationship as a sort of bond in which the first one communicates and withdraws through separation. Men live such experiences through creativity, whereas women live autonomously the experience of the unity of opposites and the making of the eternally insufficient in its eternal fulfilment, in themselves. This is the female narcissus.

Is this maybe the point of definitive separation between Lou and Nietzsche? Is it possible to say that for Lou science remains "gay" with her approach to Freudian psychoanalysis of human existence and the consideration of a comprehensive humanity – which includes its drives – beyond the Socratic *ratio*, recovering the notion of origin with the notion of libido?

And it is precisely libido that stands out as the noumenon, the metaphysical remnant that Lou will never get rid of; on the contrary, she will reclaim it as necessary to solve her fundamental problem, which is the very human free choice. In this line, she approaches the issues of maternal egoism, which is sacrifice and sublimation at the same time; more generally, she refers to femininity as the exemplar coincidence of opposites, unfulfilled and unachievable otherwise. The concepts of libido and sublimation, fully visible in the feminine, can more easily turn into theories due to her being a woman; theories close to Freud's ones, but not identical. Her distance from Nietzsche is now unbridgeable.

Indeed, it is necessary to continue the research.

When, in 1915, Lou wrote her long letter to Freud on narcissism as a commentary to his "Introduction to narcissism" published 1 year before, she was basically continuing her elaboration on femininity and keeping the concept of narcissism itself – that she will formulate in a unique way – as the theoretical ground of the feminine. In her letter to Freud, Lou takes up what she wrote in her journal on Wednesday, March 5, 1913, more specifically about an evening of discussion between Silberer and Freud (Andreas-Salomé, 1915).

Freud found a balance between the ego-libido and the object-libido and he had seen in the example of the amoeba and its pseudopodia a way to explain the Ego's object-investment and withdrawal. The Ego is conceptualized as a huge reservoir of libido directed towards objects and absorbing libido from objects. The study of the Ego's impulses, libido and libidinal investments, defines the notion of narcissism, which Freud distinguished as primary and secondary.

The primary one is primitive narcissism, occurring when children choose themselves as the object of their love in the stage of omnipotent thinking. The secondary narcissism occurs when the libido charge moves back from the object to the Ego because of primary narcissism (Freud, 1957). Lou wrote to Freud what she had already described in her Diary, trying to demonstrate how narcissism – even as a borderline concept incapable of solving almost unsolvable problems – is not a given, rather *it constitutes the very essence of Freudian unconscious mind*. Unconsciousness is a solid reality in narcissism, not solely as a Base but as a Whole.

Freud appreciated such arguments without seeing them as criticism but as relevant suggestions for further clarification, and Lou kept on reflecting on them as well.

In 1921, she finalized her formal analysis on narcissism, which became the major foundation for her previous theories on the feminine.

Avoiding the distinction between narcissism in primary and secondary, Lou considers narcissism as a dual tendency, as a dual orientation (Andreas-Salomé, 1921).

This double orientation is defined by Lou as self-affirmation and abandonment to what is still limitless. The objective investment by the ego does not limit narcissism to a primordial and finite state: the distinction between Ego's drives and libido drives can only partially clarify this point. For Lou, object investments imply the emergence of a Subject and the evanescence as a Subject, in other words vanishing into the monolithic primordial condition without distinctions.

In this sense, narcissism is not only self-appreciation and Ego-consciousness, but also preservation of that particular affective identification with the wholeness, a sort of new fusion-with-the-whole as a positive object of libido in its anxious orientation towards the confined Ego.

This is the reason why it (*narcissism,* tr. note) is not a threshold to be crossed but remains a constant characteristic of deep experiences. It is not the limit psychoanalysis cannot overcome. The authentic narcissism is the self-less identification with everything surrounding the individual in the form of a re-born Ego. If, on the one hand, object relationships are an outcome of excessive libido, previously narcissism-oriented, on the other hand they are still conditioned by narcissism: the object of libido moves from an undifferentiated subject–object unity to a singular entity, even though not permanently entrapped in its isolation.

Lou tried to defend her theoretical approach in three respects: object-relationship, ethics, and art.

When dealing with object-oriented investments, she could ground her thesis over narcissism on the "feminine-oriented" libido. The characteristics of feminine-oriented libido, passivity, and masochism, as primary characteristics, are combined with Ego-repression that consequently shows the other side of narcissism. Regression to passivity reactivates erogenous bodily parts in their primordial lingering and restrain and re-enables the erogeneity of the entire body as in the infancy stage. The original narcissism leads, ultimately, to the figure of the mother – who, in the very act of separating from herself, holds herself to her breasts.

Lou discovers a way of theoretically defining the two paradoxes of femininity through the notion of narcissism as twofold, self-oriented, and rooted in the

undifferentiated cosmic whole from which we come. It separates and connects sexuality with Ego-drives while experiencing the most vital as the most sublimated.

The tendency to love oneself and the tendency to turn back towards the origin, which are typically feminine and associated with narcissism according to Lou, are the evidence of a feminine diversity, still in line with Freudian theory.

As a matter of fact, the elaboration of a different feminine libido, other than the masculine one, characterized by its own functions, which fits Freud's view of femininity, will allow Lou to reclaim such sexual diversity.

However, a question arises. Is this, then, a working hypothesis? I do think so, and I leave the task to answer it to those that can verify and properly develop it. I am referring to the clinical field, to female psychoanalysts, who hopefully will be able to verify the unique contribution, based on Freud's approach, made by Lou, as a psychoanalyst, to psychoanalysis.

Due to the current state of the debate on femininity and female sexuality, it is impossible to put Lou's contribution among the most well-known and discussed ones; also, it doesn't seem that her approach has ever influenced Freud's view on narcissism that he continued to see as a borderline concept in psychopathology or as a mere stage of personality development.

In conclusion, I believe I can state that Lou Andreas-Salomé's undeniable theoretical contribution requires a proper revision in order to emphasize what was her true mission: being a woman and being a psychoanalyst.

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Chapter 6
The Earthquake
and the Psycho-Sociological Research

Pina Boggi Cavallo

We all have been in the earthquake and experienced the fear that the seismic event of November 23[1] and all the countless following ones aroused in each of us. In order to talk about the psychological aspects of the phenomenon, we need to begin precisely from this fear and from the phenomenon that it activated and still maintains. This is required for the purpose of cognitive analysis but also for the proper planning of preventive interventions.

Talking about fear means, first of all, to define it in proper terms, according to the needs of prevention. Fear is a primary, innate, emotion that most of the time serves life and its conservation. Fear is present in animals as well as in human beings. It mobilizes defensive energies but also offensive ones in situations of danger or in situations that are appraised as threatening. It facilitates social contact and collective defense. However, it can become disorganizing and harmful, compromising control over reactions, including perceptual coordination, and can alter processes of thought, ideation, and creativity. Fear and anxiety sometimes end up becoming synonyms in human experience, belonging to the same emotional response. Yet, it can happen, and maybe it is happening now before our eyes, that fear trespasses to anxiety and

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[1] Original edition: Boggi-cavallo, P. (1981), Il terremoto e la ricerca psico sociologica. Confronto. N. 1–2. January–April 1981, pp. 55–67. The article refers to the 1980 Irpinia earthquake, which took place in Southern Italy on November 23 with a moment magnitude of 6.9 and an extreme grade intensity. The number of casualties were at least 2483 people dead, at least 7700 injured, and 250,000 homeless. Damage was spread over more than 26,000 km². The event represents a still open wound in the social, economic, and historical fabric of Center-South Italy.

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presents itself free from the immediate circumstances that can be appraised as dangerous. It can thus become so persistent as to inhibit positive and advantageous solutions and reactions for all of us, inhibiting even the most common everyday activities.

Besides, the gradual deepening of fear into anxiety implies the emergence of anguish, which is a more intense and pronounced emotion, colored by depression and despair, until the panic is produced, over which it is extremely difficult to exert any control.

The fears, anxiety, anguish, and sometimes panic are emotional states we all often experience. They follow a developmental line that goes from experiencing these states without even being able to verbalize them, as during childhood; to the increasing capability to talk about them, as in adolescence; to the capability to dominate them (when it is possible to do that) that we have in adult life. The scientific study of fear, anxiety, and anguish is conducted in a variety of disciplines, from ethology to experimental psychology, from social psychology to psychoanalysis and to psychopathology, seeking a better definition of the phenomenon, an ever more accurate definition of their pathogenicity, and the prevention of different mental disorders. Fear, anxiety, and anguish are the affective core of every mental disorder. They are emotions that activate the most varied behaviors, both in the neurotic syndromes of major or minor intensity and in the most severe form that mental disorder can take in psychosis. Psychopathologists have widely investigated the phenomenon, according to different traditions and approaches. However, we are not interested here in such perspectives. We leave this to the experts, both researchers and psychotherapists. We are rather interested in grasping those aspects of fear and anxiety that can be useful to build a discourse about their relation to the experience that still affects many of us.

Fear serves life: it led many to escape during those terrible 30 s of the earthquake, and during all the following moments that have been experienced in the same negative tone. Yet, fear has marked the hours and the days following November 23. Fear prevented people from returning home, even when their houses showed no signs of damage. It led people to sleep in their cars, out in the open. Fear has prevented people from resuming the mundane articulation of everyday life. Fear had turned into anxiety. Initially, it led people into a state of alert, the mobilization of their energies, but it also altered their perceptive capabilities, leading people to feel movements that they then attempted to verify through confirmation with others. Anxiety enabled the circulation of completely unreliable information, including predictions of earthquakes at precise days and times, attributing this news to a specific source, such as an old lady or someone else. The news was clearly fake, as nobody can accurately forecast the day, time, and intensity of adjustment earthquakes, which usually follow a big one for quite a span of time.

Fear that turned into anxiety has been before our eyes for several days, maybe months, and we can guess that it is still among us. So, fear as a positive emotion, useful for life and security, can show the vastness and morbidity of its dark side in the face of the collective event of the earthquake. There was no active elaboration of fear as such. Thus, it has been mixed with grief and depression in many people: in

those who suffered losses and in those who attended for days the scenes of devastation and sorrow of many, helpless and frozen.

Outside of the exciting field of disaster psychology and sociology, in the field of psychopathology, it is possible to find a number of studies about fear, its outbreak, and its objects, especially during adolescence, studies that consider the peculiarities of this phase of human development. I will refer to the latter field, and I do not want to refer at all to the former. The sociological and psychological studies about *disaster* have a taste and smell of "looting", no matter how one approaches them. A systematic study of disasters requires the passive involvement of those affected, like with classic experimental subjects. This is an unacceptable form of involvement for those who are experiencing dismay, sorrow, and grief. Such people deserve attention and reflection. They may be studied but not exploited. Besides, the goal of such studies, to the extent that they include the setting of preventive measures, can be achieved through different methods, precisely through reflection and critique. One does not need to fall into the mere descriptive activity of what has long been defined as *irrelevant research*, aimed at supporting academic careers rather than knowledge and understanding.

International studies about fear and the objects evoking fear have typically chosen adolescents and young people as their experimental subjects. These studies assume that adolescence is the age in which one experiences the deepest identity crisis and that it is also the age of the stabilization of fears, leading to the presence or absence of emotional stability in adulthood.

Research conducted in France, Italy, and the USA presents a variety of objects able to evoke fear, ranging from violence to solitude; from death to illness; separation from loved ones; physical pain; incomprehension; rape; depression; exams; failure; and so on. Moreover, there are fears of the dentist, authority, jail (Oliverio Ferraris, 1980) or even accidents, water, fire, vertigo, loneliness, darkness, death, the afterlife, diseases and hospitals, catastrophes, animals, the toleration of uncertainty, sexuality, the nothing, and many other things (Giovannini et al., 1979). Among these objects, as one can see, there are also catastrophes and earthquakes, though diffused with respect to other objects of fear that can be accounted for in various ways. First, we need to specify that the Italian–French studies were conducted with younger adolescents, while the study by Oliverio-Ferraris was conducted with young university students. It is important to note that 17.6% of university students (130 interviewed participants with average age of 24.20) nominated an earthquake as an experience that could be lived at any moment, similar to illness or separation from parents or loved ones (Oliverio Ferraris, 1980). Among younger adolescents, the fear of earthquakes was nominated by only 10% of participants in the town of Città di Castello and only in the 2% of the participants in Ravenna (Giovannini et al., 1979). For these adolescents, the earthquake was seen as one type of catastrophe among many, including storms and tsunamis. This information leads to a precise reflection: the experience of natural disasters appears to be a less relevant fear for adolescents than young adults, who have greater integrity of the self, personal identity, body integrity, and self-esteem. The fear of disaster is one of many threats to self-integrity, in the form of an attack or permanent damage, that constitutes a

fear of the unknown, thus losing the features of an event more likely to occur than other ones and to which one can oppose a clear defensive strategy. By comparing the data between French and Italian adolescents, between rural and urban residents, and between men and women, it appears that the fear of earthquakes is not marked by realistic expectations. It does not belong to the fears that one can possibly experience or cope with, from which one can defend oneself.

In the days immediately following the earthquake on November 23, a delegation of Japanese experts visited the devastated area and met social, political, and cultural stakeholders of the cities of Salerno and Naples. These Japanese experts were engineers, seismologists, firemen, and also one psychologist. They met citizens, scholars, and journalists, and they gladly answered a variety of questions. As expected, many questions were about the predictability of seismic events, ways to identify risk and how to select locations for the reconstruction of buildings, the prevention of earthquake damage, the education of people regarding basic defense and security behaviors, and the reactions of people. The last question was addressed to the psychologist, Doctor Abe. He answered the question without fully grasping its real meaning. He began to describe the effects of the earthquake on people, using words, gestures, and posture, with respect to static equilibrium. He even seemed to enjoy the performance, apparently. The intention of the question was to know more about the type of initiatives and methods that had been adopted in Japan, the land of recurrent earthquakes, to defeat the disruptive and sometimes devastating effects of fear in seismic events.

Doctor Abe employed a questionnaire, which included a number of items about seismic events and people's reactions. He wanted to collect information, based on those items, in the shortest possible time. The items were aimed at investigating behavior exhibited by the people in response to the earthquake, the experienced fear and its magnitude, and also losses they had experienced, including damage to their homes. This questionnaire did not attempt to capture the depth and breadth of the social and emotional experiences of residents; the disorganization of habitual behavioral patterns; the abandonment and escape; the difficulty resuming one's normal lifestyle; radical changes to collective and communitarian forms of life; the work stoppage; the experienced loss of one's own life space; the tremendous suffering resulting from the destruction of one's village and from the loss of the beloved ones; and after days of effort and cries shouted in vain: all this seemed not to be taken into account by the questionnaire that Doctor Abe had kindly committed to Italian researchers, who should have collected data about the earthquake on November 23 and about people's behavior during that event.

All this must have an explanation, and it is easy to find it given the unrealistic fear that the earthquake still maintains in a highly seismic land such as the South of Italy, among the other well-known fears. Doctor Abe acts in a social, geographic, and seismic reality in which the earthquake is part of people's everyday life; in which it is an event that disturbs the regular course of events and activities. It does not take, however, the color and tone of the collective tragedy. The house does not collapse in a few seconds, taking away the personal stories, the beloved and meaningful things, and the life space that holds and comforts us. Together with the

houses, in a gray and suffocating dust, it does not take away also the people inhabiting it and making it warm and lively. The questionnaire's items could just try to get the people's behavior in the moment of the earthquake shock, the experience of fear, measured as "a lot", "a little", or "not at all", and the immediate needs, related to the survival, such as food or warmth for a few days.

The Japanese delegation explained that the aim of their visit was to learn from the tragedy in Southern Italy in order to help the Japanese people deal with their own earthquakes. They also hoped that the knowledge gained by Doctor Abe could have been useful for his compatriots, but I do not know how much. The Japanese delegation also explained that fire was a specific danger for Japanese residents. This danger was included in items in Doctor Abe's questionnaire, which asked specifically about the types of combustibles used in people's homes. In Japan, the earthquake is not a fear among the many possible ones: it is not a fearful though remote event. It is within people's everyday habits, through the emergency exercises that children and young people do at school, by simulating the search for a safe place in the event of earthquake. Active prevention methods are also in place, for example, the automatic stop of the gas supply in the event of a seismic shock.

The behavioral patterns that I described before, including transposition of fear into anxiety and, sometimes, into anguish, are apparently unforeseen events in Japan. It appears as a different reality, given it is equipped for such recurring events. Thus, the questionnaire appeared different from the reality experienced by the Italian researchers, a reality that they had just lived in first person and that was still before their eyes.

Was it psychological research about disasters? It is possible to consider this type of study to be similar to an "opinion poll", as an Italian scholar in the epistemology of psychology and human sciences has called it. This type of study focuses on descriptive features, classifying phenomena and leaving out explanations, whether causal or not. The same features characterize *irrelevant research*, whereas *irrelevance* means an ideological approach and non-neutrality, which is descriptive rather than emancipatory. It can be the case, but it can also be otherwise.

It is important to say that reflection on the psychological aspects of the seismic event that we are still experiencing cannot be grasped by scientific research of this kind, to the extent that such a reflection must be aimed at preventing damage, that which is currently existing but also that which may appear dramatically in the future. So, the prevention of damages that at the present time we can only guess at and that can be provoked by the experience of fear can be supported by the media, at school, at the workplace, and at home. Information must be provided in these forums about the earthquake phenomenon, how to cope with it, and how it can affect people and things. Prevention is enacted by observing the law, the geographic areas of seismicity, by building according to anti-seismic safety rules. We must defy the earthquake as a devastating event on the grounds of safety guaranteed by building rules, and we must defeat the earthquake as a dreadful and exorcizing event that triggers unrealistic fear. We must recognize it as a recurrent event, belonging to the history of our land and our region. And yet, the work of prevention is not to stop fear all together. There is still fear, as a positive emotion, that must be safeguarded as

such, as a mechanism activating vital resources. The work is then to prevent it from becoming anxiety or, even worse, anguish.

In the aftermath of the earthquake, lines of aid convoys of many kinds arrived from other Italian regions, as did healthcare professionals and teams of psychologists. The local authorities then received intervention plans, prepared by the psychologists, for the organization of services to children, the elderly population, and the community. It was indeed clear that the earthquake represented an enormous danger to mental health, for the emergence of new mental disorders and their worsening in people already affected. This period of such serious bereavement implied an incalculable psychological cost, requiring significant intervention. The acceptance of reality, and the need for extraordinary changes, meant that many people required support. This was also the case for those forced to leave and experienced separation from people and place. I do not know about the outcomes of all of this voluntary work. I can analyze with extreme accuracy, however, the reasons why these types of intervention were flawed. Comprehensive interventions in the aftermath of the earthquake should have been built on the solid ground of psychological services. This was clearly as urgent as that which was provided with excavators and bulldozers, with camps and clearing hospitals.[2]

The foundation of psychological support services, as one can easily infer, should be a network of territorial social services, and through such a network the development of an embryonic *culture* of social and healthcare services. This kind of intervention could be achieved through the commitment of several social workers, with a common background, professionally trained to respond to psychological emergencies in similar situations, gradually developing an emergent approach over time. Volunteers could contribute their skills for a limited time, but longer-term intervention would be required. This could have been achieved by an established service, experienced in dealing with such emergencies, who could have developed further through this opportunity.

What has been achieved has been based on civic commitment, solidarity, and professional, technical, and scientific competence. It would be interesting to listen to the comments and the conclusions of those who made the interventions based on their experience. Many things could have been done: a complex intervention tailored to the specific and varied needs of subjects. One can say that the primary and unique reason for the lack of intervention has been the absence of any territorial network of social services in the earthquake affected area.

No one, unless gifted with prophetic powers, can tell what effect these missing psychological services will have on the people, children, youth, and elders of these communities. It is obvious, however, from what we have discussed so far, that there

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[2] The earthquake in Irpinia represented a watershed in the history of the country after the WWII. Indeed, it mainly affected poor rural areas of the inner lands. The country had no civil protection for the prediction, prevention, and management of exceptional events. In 1980, the State was not prepared and aids required a very long time to reach the affected population. Only after the enormous tragedy and the following public scandal, Italy created an institution of civil defense (*note of the translator*).

is an urgent need to plan for preventative services. The essential role of social service, which includes psychologists, is to prevent fear from being devastating and disorganizing, to allow it to be progressively canalized into choices and decisions fitting with people's purposes.

So, anxiety that was poorly controlled led people to stay for many days in open spaces, interrupting their everyday activities. It led people to run away from their ravaged land, preventing many from coming back and starting again. Anxiety has marked the life of many, unchained symptoms that were previously under control, reducing the strength of the Ego. These are just some of the appearances that anxiety has taken, though a small range compared to the variety that might emerge in the future.

Anna Oliverio-Ferraris wrote: "Everybody's life is actually a continuous challenge to fear, an effort to overcome real or imaginary fears, conditioning, constraints. Every time the human being can realize a project, to overcome an obstacle placed by nature or by the hostility of his fellow humans, he scores a victory against the ancestral fear to be destroyed or annihilated by adverse forces" (1980, p. 10). As for the experience of the earthquake, if we are to appropriate this truth, to make it a lived reality, we must elaborate a project to understand the phenomenon better, to develop better methods for the prevention of damage to both things and people. For people, the method will be the socialization of fear without recurring to collective exorcisms or escapes from reality. It will rather be a matter of giving people back their ability to scrutinize reality and cope with the anxiety in order to reduce it to its authentic and original connotation.

There should be programs to rebuild devastated areas, accompanied by the expression of sorrow for all the ruins and the many losses of cultural, artistic, and architectonic heritage, but based on observation and commitment to culture. There should be projects of the reconstruction of houses and the refoundation of villages. There should be plans to reactivate the economic, agricultural, and industrial resources of the affected areas. Besides the demands for the salvation of the cultural identity of the population and the salvation of the folk traditions, it would be opportune and urgent to plan the reconstruction of persons, or at least to show signs that this is one of the many problems to face.

This is what a very young girl in the village of Grottaminarda was asking. She had lost her house in the village of Lioni and she had lost two adolescent brothers. She was living with her grandmother in a half-ruined and probably tumbledown house. Yet, such instability was no longer a source of fear because she was accustomed to it. She was asking us to focus, as soon as possible, on the reconstruction of persons, through social bounds, encounters, talking, and the exchange of fears and desires. She called for us to come together first in order to be ready to handle the projects of reconstruction and rebirth afterward. For that young girl, it was urgent to reorganize herself inside, to find herself inside again and with others, to defeat the anxiety, and to find the hope to succeed together.

Indeed, these questions should be answered by social services, although they still do not yet exist today. The events have shown us all how relevant and significant they might be, exactly because they were missing and were not even planned. With

the presence of social services, it would have been possible to try to live the fear, to live with the fear, and to defeat it. The modalities to accomplish this task were those suggested by the young girl from Lioni, as each one resumes the life rhythms, the plans, the place besides one's own beloved survivors, and the life perspective. Psychological aid should have addressed the expression of grief and the capacity to cope with anxiety during moments of collective life. Such moments are experienced by persons, children, elders, and women, that is, by all to whom everyday life was torn apart. Each person must now again find her own place through the dimensions of everyday life; a commitment to the common good; through the resumption of social roles; and the invention of a communitarian space, if necessary, through the collective activities in which the ludic and the symbolic can take again their proper place.

The earthquake has been a fundamental experience for many. As a matter of fact, it has marked their existence forever. Maybe for many people, the earthquake has been the fear from which liberation will be slow. At the end of these notes, the advice that can be provided by a psychologist is that the experience of the earthquake can be productively integrated with other experiences, such as the acceptance of reality and the mobilizing of one's own resources for the planning of life able to defeat both earthquake and fear. It must be stressed that such an achievement is possible, although we must not reductively and clumsily psychologize the collective event. The event is indeed inscribed in our collective experience, requiring responses to the many long-term problems that the earthquake has unveiled besides the immediate emergency. It is possible to think about the reconstruction of persons without diminishing all the other aspects of reconstruction. Social reality is made by life spaces, both private and public, and by people. In such spaces, we make our life together, we preserve it, and we defend it.

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Part II
Fertilizing

Chapter 7
The Field-Dependence: A Strong Theoretical Model: A Review

Nadia Dario

In the paper "The Field-Dependence: A Strong Theoretical Model", the object of our critical analysis, and in her book "Self Image and Sexual Orientation", Boggi demonstrates a unique ability to express and reopen new doors in psychology by distancing herself from classical behaviourists and naturalists. The two works, although of different argumentative breadth, develop along a continuum with the aim of reconsidering psychology as a science of humanity, a science of the embedded mind. In these works, Boggi supports and revives the ideas of Politzer and Lewin,

> to denounce the fundamental ideological nature of psychology as aimed at classification, abstraction, and law based on regularity and frequency of phenomena and […] to do research steered towards emancipatory aspects. (Boggi-Cavallo, 1978; p. 13)

Thus, Boggi's idea of psychology goes further than functions, factors, vectors, correlations, and mere application of mechanical laws. She reiterates the critical, historical, social, and especially emancipatory relevance of research. She is highly critical of the mass of experimental data in which the differences between the sexes in relation to age, learning, memory, and perceptual situations end up being simply a classificatory description, even if detailed and exhaustive, of a reality whose genesis is completely neglected. Her writings are a vehement denunciation of these tendencies.

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According to Boggi, even the subject of femininity, so dear to her, is poorly treated because it is often relegated to laboratory and segmented studies on the difference between male and female samples, unable to grasp the genesis of the phenomenon. Instead, we should aim at a progressive, historical, sociological, and anthropological analysis of femininity in its making in which the psychological dimensions emerge from their relationship. Thus, in "The Field-Dependence: A Strong Theoretical Model", Boggi decides to rely on Witkin's contribution to understand the genealogy of psychological differentiation and the differences between the sexes. In particular, Boggi stresses Witkin's need to apply "with profit" the cognitive style to cross-cultural studies (Witkin, 1967; p. 245). In fact, in line with Séve (1973), Boggi diverges from the scientific construction of an abstract man, produced by "regularity and frequency": "the concrete individual can be studied in accordance with the relationships and processes within which the human personality is produced" (Boggi-Cavallo, 1978; p. 36).

> The person is part of an eco-system whose spatial, temporal, economic and social characteristics are identified but it is not a disembodied person. He preserves the signs of his belonging to a nature of which is a part and with which he is destined to share its fate. (p. 13)

"The Field-Dependence: A Strong Theoretical Model" is divided into two sections: in the first one, Boggi's focuses on the person and on the body–mind problem; in the latter, on the differentiation and the difference between sexes, according to the aforementioned Witkin model.

The first body–mind dualism is used by Boggi for a critical analysis of psychology as a science of mind. Ryle's behaviourism (logical and methodological) disconfirming the assumption of mental objects, impressions, and images is criticized. To his concept of human as a bodily entity and to mind as "ghost in the machine" governed by mechanical laws, Boggi opposes Fodor's representationalist position to open up the reflection on internal cognitive experience and on internal representation "that lets us consider the mental aspect, or a part of it, a research issue, investigated with the scientific tools and techniques" (p. 6). In this manner, she hints at a further insight into cognitive processes and competencies: they are elements common to all human beings and the product of a variety of experiences that are responsive to biological characteristics as well as to ecological, cultural norms and social situations (Berry & Sam, 1997).

However, Boggi does not stop at the criticism of Ryle's behaviourism but she also criticizes the sciences of nature that treat and describe the body in terms of mechanical causality. In this manner, we have a further reduction of complexity and the mind, as an obsolescent metaphysical relic, is thrown into the oblivion of psychology and philosophy.

In Boggi's opinion, Ryle's logical behaviourism is unable to dissolve the dilemmatic relationship between mind and body because dealing with one makes it necessary to talk about the other. Ultimately,

> the developments of behaviourism and the richness of knowledge collected from this research tradition are not to be found in the choice of denying one of the two terms in favour of the other: the repudiation of the mind is at the same time the repudiation of the body and bodily experience. (p. 8)

Furthermore, other dichotomies, born also out of positivist, existentialist, and phenomenological approaches, contain in themselves both objects of discussion. To talk today of organism–environment, innate–acquired, biological–historical, and genetic-cultural aspects means to re-establish the mind–body dichotomy. So the dyad remains.

In conclusion, Boggi wants to get away from any reductionism of complexity, typical of normal science that tries to find regularities and fixed visions. Boggi would like to treat the phenomena overcoming the limits of the frame and of the methods of the single disciplines. She avoids the trivialization in which the sciences measure themselves and follow blind paradigms far from the reflective, temporal, and dialogical dimensions of human experience because encapsulated inside their disciplinary pathologies.

Boggi decries the fundamental idea of scientific naturalism that claimed to be able to explain what we normally call "nature", physical and bodily, with mechanical and statistical laws: such an approach denies human sciences the possibility of being linked and connected to natural sciences and of defining themselves as scientific because they are unable of expressing veridical judgments on the world according to the mechanical and statistical laws. To support her contentions, Boggi uses the words of the anthropologist Edmund Leach (1976) to explain how a new perspective is coming about and re-evaluates the contribution of human sciences.

> (*The physical, chemical and biological universe*) is an evolving system in which the relations between the ever-changing constituent elements are constantly assuming new patterns in new combinations. In a universe of this sort, the most interesting events, the events that generate change, are those which are statistically improbable. (From Leach, 1976, pp. 175–176 in Boggi-Cavallo, 1978; p. 9)

Leach considers nature a system in evolution governed by immutable laws where the pre-eminence position of physical, mechanical, and causation laws become inappropriate. This mutated and changed concept of nature, within the circumspect epistemological debate concerning psychology, creates the possibility of returning to the inquiry of the mind, together with the body or the matter that is an integral part of it (Boggi-Cavallo, 1978, p. 9).

Starting from what Boggi defines a "changed concept of nature" and diverging again from the concept of an abstract man, Boggi inserts thoughts from Harré and Secord's ethogenic point of view (1972).[1] It is a further point of contact with Witkin's work. The two thinkers, Harré and Secord, are used by Boggi to introduce the notion of the person as a logical unit "presenting physical and mental, individual and social dimensions merged together". According to her, there is no space for a breakdown between body and mind, culture and nature, especially if we consider the embedded person. Witkin's model is based on this last assumption of unity of mind and body for the analysis of the person. Witkin creates a dimension in human cognition, which he calls "field dependence", referring to the degree to which the

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[1] Harrè and Secord (1972) synthesize the work of ethologists, ethnomethodologists, and social psychologists within the tradition of Erving Goffman.

perception of an object is influenced by the background or the environment in which it appears. This author has broadly treated the issue of psychological differentiation and one of its main conceptual components: field dependence–independence in cognitive style dimension. In particular, he stresses how the person is not a static and defined entity, but it is the product of experience, of a growing articulation of it. He considers the influence of socialization, culture, and ecology in its development and sex differences.

In Boggi's opinion, this is possible because we restart from a continuum between body and mind, nature and culture, and new concepts in physics (such as potentiality, activity, and spontaneity) and an overcoming of antinomy causation/finality through the notion of system and retro-action (p. 10). Furthermore,

> we distance ourselves, in this manner, from those theories of the person that consider personality the sum of behaviours generated by a stimulus-response process or from the more pervasive ones that underline the meaning of primary qualities and of processes of integration; (*the same way in which*), we distance ourselves from those who simply count how much should be attributed to innate and how much to cultural factors. (p. 11)

To conclude this part, according to Boggi,

> The model of field-dependence put forward by Witkin and his collaborators moves inside this paradigmatic change in which there is no space for fractures, to eventually be filled in and sewn again between psychic and bodily worlds and between nature and culture. The theoretical background of the model has up to now been sufficiently evident and completely compelling. (p. 12)

In the second section of the paper on differentiation and differences between genders and cross-cultural studies (Berry, 1966, 1976a, b; MacArthur, 1967; Witkin, 1967), Boggi reconsiders Witkin's field-dependence–independence model and underlines the need to develop experimental levels and tools to be able to intercept and scientifically analyse femininity and the differences between sexes. In this manner, Werner's differentiation concept, reconsidered and developed by Witkin, is a logical instrument for understanding the origin of the differences between the sexes.

> The final point of the differences, namely femininity and masculinity, could be traced in its production, through the phases and modes of psychological differentiation to achieve the realization of that individual identity, which permits the process of growth and development. (Boggi-Cavallo, 1978; p. 49)

Among the indicators of this differentiation, Witkin points to the articulation of world- and self-experience, the body concept (schema), the sense of separate identity (awareness of his own needs, feelings, and attributes of others), and the structure of defence and control. The dependence–independence field is also analysed in terms of the analytical and global approaches in which Witkin connects the bipolar perceptual activity to the intellectual one within the four expressed indicators.[2]

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[2] According to Witkin et al. (1962), in the articulation of world and self-experience, "the evidence suggests the children who tend to experience analytically are also better able to structure their experiences and they are more likely than children with a global approach to impose organization upon the ambiguous stimulus material of the Rorshach (*cognitive clarity*)" (Witkin et al. 1962; p. 113).

According to these ideas, Witkin et al. (1962) begin to identify the sources of these differentiations in a complex interplay among child-rearing, cultural, and ecological factors. For example, the body pattern encompasses the experiences of pain and pleasure, success and failure, and pride and shame in relation to cultural values; the body schema of the individual thus acquires a great number of highly personal meanings, emotions, feelings, and values (Boggi-Cavallo, 1978; pp. 56–57). By centering on the subject's experience as an element of differentiation not only between the sexes but also within them, Boggi comes to a critical analysis of the uselessness of the persistence of the nature–culture dichotomy because there is the risk of emphasizing one over the other. While acknowledging Berry, Witkin, and MacArthur's contributions (which emphasize the determining impact of an eco-cultural system to determine the person's preferred cognitive style[3]), Boggi warms us against maintaining a dichotomy that often makes us lean towards a dimension (the cultural one) over another (the biological one).

> The psychological differentiation, which encompasses mind and body and defines personality in the progressive integration of different areas and various subsystems of which it is composed, shows at the same time the progressive integration of cultural and biological aspects, in a dynamic unity in which it is no longer possible to distinguish the order in which the different factors intervene. (p. 19)

Furthermore, Boggi asks us to pay attention to how femininity shows itself, to its heterogeneity, to its genesis without neglecting the biological factors in favour of the cultural ones. For this reason, she cites Witkin's model as a research tool, a means to reach a critical and scientific knowledge. She writes:

In "measures on sophistication-of-body-concept scale, developed to evaluate children's figure drawing, children with an analytical approach tend(ing) to have a more articulated body concept" (Witkin et al. 1962; p. 132).

In addition, "individuals with an analytical field approach, in contrast to people with a global approach tend to be less dependent on the examiner in test situations for the definition both of the task and their role in it; they are regarded by others as socially more independent; they show less interest in and need for people and relatively intellectual and impersonal approach to problems; they are less influenced by authority, tending to be guided by values, standards, needs of their own" (Witkin et al. 1962; p. 155).

At the end, "children and adults with an analytical field approach tend to have a relatively developed defensive structure and to use relatively specialized complex defences (as isolation and intellectualization, rather than primitive denial and massive repression)" (Witkin et al. 1962; p. 175).

These relationships tend to indicate that people with an analytical field approach tend to show greater self-differentiation than people with a global approach.

[3] Witkin and his colleagues argued that field dependence is in part the result of an orientation toward people. An outward orientation towards the social environment encourages an orientation towards the field in general. Consistent with this proposal, Witkin and his colleagues found that more socially oriented people were more field dependent than more introverted people (Witkin 1967). They also found that Orthodox Jewish boys, who live under substantial social constrains and with strong social role obligations, were more field dependent than more secular Jewish boys, who were in turn more field dependent than Protestant Boys. Both sets of finding were obtained even when IQ was controlled.

> In case of the differentiation, which takes place within the socialization processes, starting with individual genetic characteristic, the fact that women, taken as a group, are more field-dependence and consequently less differentiated, in particular in what is generally defined the creation of identity, focuses on the production of femininity as socially expected and accepted. (pp. 18–19)

In line with her masterly analysis, Boggi concludes this paper by stressing the debt that psychological research owes to Witkin's field dependence–independence model. On the one hand, it analyses the differentiation between sexes and its psychological and social cost for the subjects involved; on the other hand, it invites insiders to renew the methodological and epistemological approach based on the equations diversity = difference and difference = inequality.

In this manner, Boggi returns to the issue of the emancipatory capacity of research that, instead of emphasizing the historical contradictions and legitimizing them, should denounce them and indicate possible methodologies to study femininity by changing the epistemic and ideological bases.

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Chapter 8
An Overview of Mind-Wandering According to Boggi's Approach and Interests

Gerhard Stemberger and Nadia Dario

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to pay homage to Pina Cavallo Boggi's work and to treat the issue of mind-wandering and correlated phenomena. According to Boggi's approach, we consider the early psychoanalysis and Gestalt psychology in order to better understand this phenomenon in terms of its psychological function, processes, and genesis.

In her research in psychology, Boggi developed new perspectives and paths, but she always did it concentrating on the feminine aspects. She treated gender differences, women and medicine, and women and psychoanalysis.[1] Using this idea as a guideline, we will talk about mind-wandering by referring to psychology and above all to two women whom she herself mentions, Lou Salomè and Anna Freud. We will

[1] She wrote the following: De Ruggiero, T., Boggi, P. C., Nubié, M., & Tocco, A. (1979). Sulle malattie delle donne. La Rosa; Boggi (1978). Immagine di sé e ruolo sessuale: analisi psicologica della condizione femminile. Guida; Boggi (1979). Lou Andreas Salomé: donna e psicoanalisi. XVIII Congresso degli Psicologi Italiani Acireale, 29/X-2/XI, Palladio/Quaderni. Boggi (1980). Donna e Medicina Popolare. Palladio/Quaderni.

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go through the prevailing view of experimental psychology in order to arrive at the Gestaltian view, the other approach dear to her. Inside this last view, the reader is accompanied by the discovery of Stemberger's multiple-fields approach.

Mind-wandering is a mental process, an interior monologue, sometimes somewhat a more elaborate fantasy that seems to occur spontaneously in association with events in the outside world or in the chain of sequences of early memories. As Lichtenberg et al. (2015) wrote,

> one of the most famous demonstration of mind-wandering in literature is the musing of Stephen Dedalus, the hero of James Joyce's Ulysses. Daniel Goleman (2013) considers Joyce's Ulysses to be an exquisitely sensitive depiction of a musing mind, a mind that is at play, focused, and yet unfocused as Dedalus monitors his thoughts without reining them in. Dadalus gives an illustration of narratives centered on past, present and future and have a person, the doer, the "I" at their center. Mind-wandering show us that we are self-regulating across a spectrum of fluctuating affects, intentions, and goals while regulating your interactions in virtual reality, observing yourself in relatedness through the eyes, or rather "I"'s, of your desires, hopes and plans. (p. 102)

For the first half of the twentieth century, most evidence concerning mind-wandering was provided by patients in psychoanalysis, by writers in literature and treated as daydreaming. And who better than Lou Andreas Salomè can represent that?

Lou Salomè was a Russian woman who inscribed in her DNA her inclination to interiority, to analysis of the psyche, of the soul, and of the mind, and Lou was a psychoanalyst, being one of few females maintaining a friendly relationship with Freud based on respect and love. Therefore, she is the most qualified author to introduce mind-wandering. Lou Salomè was a feminist icon. Without being revolutionary, she lived in extreme freedom, beyond what was usual and common for the time: she depicted women in her fictional works just as feminism was beginning to emerge, revealing a complex engagement with the issues of narrative and identity. In all this, Boggi follows Lou closely. They almost seem to talk from a distance and both in their works end up investigating the concept of identity and its relationship to gender, sexuality, and narrative representation, giving a further development to contemporary discourses on them (Cormican, 2009). Certainly, Lou's incubation and writing inspiration, as she herself declared, was the result of a mind-wandering process, specifically daydreaming.

We can define Salomé both as a daydreamer and as an analyst of daydreamers. She was a daydreamer because she was a writer[2] and she experienced mind-wandering, as Freud noted, when she wrote/put down a literary work as expressed by her characters (and as other greater writers such as Joyce, Faulkner,

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[2] Salomé lived from 1861 and 1937 in St. Peterburg, Berlin and Gottingen. She was an evocative writer, in particular after the encounter, when she was 21, with Nietzsche (She is typically remembered for her intimate relationships with Friedrich Nietzsche, Rainer Maria Rilke, and Sigmund Freud). She was a regular contributor of reviews, essays, and articles. She not only wrote novels and short stories but also tried her hands at drama (Joelle, 2005).

and Bellow remind us); she was an analyst because she discussed this phenomenon in-depth with Anna Freud and her famous father.

Here are some abstracts from her works in which we find a description of her characters' daydreams:

> Hans Ebling does not contribute much to the conversation, but he has a finely thinking, finely perceptive way that draws her out, encouraging her to tell, as does the wine that he pours her. And that is just what he wants to do. For now, he feels as if they were wandering together through the fields as they did so often back in Swabia in the mild summer evenings, when Edith would let the quaking blades of grass glide through her fingers and so trustingly let him partake of all her life and living. And in her chatting words he sees so clearly the whole of daily life there again, this calm and healthy mix of practical and spiritual interests—and the lovely, fresh, even-tempered cheerfulness that Edith's whole being exudes impart character to everything, everything. (from "Prima del risveglio," p. 30, Italian version, the translation is mine)

> Edith opens her eyes. A shudder goes through her entire body, but she says not a word. Her eyes, wide open, stare straight ahead into the twilit room, on past the man beside her. All within her is as if under the spell of a profound amazement, of an astonishment with which one sometimes awakens in a dream, in a totally foreign, totally improbable reality. Into this reality not even her fantasy has ventured before, nor has she toyed with it in dreams. Well might she too have once dreamed darkly of a grand love and of almighty passions, of a mysterious storm of madness that can inspire ecstasy and also destroy with a crushing force because a single person inwardly feels the rise and fall of life in its entirety. (from "Prima del risveglio," p. 31, Italian version, the translation is mine)

> She thinks this thought at first only in defiant bitterness, with the desperate longing to immerse herself totally in that thought and be really unhappy with it—but then she thinks it with horror and tries in vain to free herself from it. She imagines she is hearing again the conversation from before, only this time not only her reason is following the words—for this time the whole mood of death overtakes her and holds her fast (from Una note, Italian version, p. 48, the translation is mine)

According to Marcus (2008), both Anna Freud and Andreas–Salomé took day-dreaming as their self-definition, describing their childhood and adolescence as bound into a continuous process of story-telling, of auto-narration, which culminated in detailed written stories of their invented worlds. In particular, Lou and Anna continually exchanged information about their daydreams and Anna confessed to Lou that she really loved her daydreams. Furthermore, in her autobiographies, Lou Andreas-Salomé wrote of a childhood full of lonely reverie, and repeatedly returned, in her functional texts, to the ways in which much of her childhood was spent in the creation of an imagined world, peopled with characters whose faces she had seen in passing. Her fictional works have a dream-like quality and are often stylized psychological explorations of women (p. 113).

Mind-wandering had been an early psychoanalysis' and Berlin School's Gestalt theorists' (Wertheimer, Köhler, Koffka, Lewin) research issue: Anna Freud and Lou Andreas Salome treated mind-wandering in terms of daydreaming and fantasy, auto-eroticism, and narcissism in connection with femininity; Gestalt theorists

consider it as a particular variety of a more general kind of processes of a holistic restructuration of the psycho-physical field that follows identifiable laws and depends not necessarily on attention. Between these two perspectives, we find trends in experimental psychology that conceptualize it as an attention-related phenomenon. This fluctuation and identification of mind-wandering and daydreaming are common but probably not useful. Only in the 1970s, researchers started making this distinction but even nowadays the borders are not that clear, so that Seli included daydreaming in the range of phenomena in the mind-wandering family-resemblances. For example, according to Klinger (2009) and Smallwood and Schooler (2006), mind-wandering is closely related to the construction of daydreaming: they present each one's engagement in thoughts and images unrelated to current activity (an aspect that for reason of space we cannot treat here).

The experimental prospective, expressed by Smallwood, Schooler, and Singer, that tries more than other perspectives to define the phenomenon ended up seeing a double meaning in it and a multiple nature as Freud and his women have already done. Mind-wandering in fact is relegated to be: on the one hand, associated with beneficial processes such as goal-directed thinking, planning, and creativity, a "functional precursor of doing" (James, 1890); on the other hand, correlated with costly outcomes such as attenuated processing of the environment, driving accidents, learning distraction, affective dysfunction, and impaired performance in daily life (Dario & Tateo, 2019). However, just like in Freud's days, especially in the psychological and educational areas, this second-sided and pathologizing mind-wandering view dominates[3] – i.e., ADHD, Asperger's syndrome, "split personality," dissociation and the like – and in consequence "disease causes" and "treatment techniques" are sought – all this, even before the process has been well understood, what is going on here and what we are dealing with. Stemberger, in this chapter, proposes an alternative overview on mind-wandering and related events: the multiple-field approach of Gestalt Theoretical Psychotherapy, focusing on fundamental questions such as: on which conditions these processes (mind-wandering and related phenomena) depend, appear, and disappear, how they come about in concrete individual cases, which precursors or transitional stages might be involved, which regularity or regularities may be determined, what function these processes have in the concrete situation of a person, how these events may be influenced by others, if the situation should require such an external influence, and how it is integrated with it. This change, in perspective driven by the transformation in the concepts of health and learning, marks for us a new step toward an idiographic vision of MW that looks at the unrepeatability and specificity of human beings.

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[3] See for the educational field (Dario & Tateo, 2019).

The Early Psychoanalytical Approach to Mind-Wandering: The Trio's Prospective

Early research on mind-wandering was concentrated on daydreaming. It was sparked by Freud's exploration of narrative in self-representation that was perceived as one of the determinants of daydreaming content and in particular on the structural characteristic (organization, logic, relationship to basic biological needs).[4] Thus, introspection was the first method of analysis of mind-wandering; it fell into disfavor in the early part of the twentieth century (Pavlović et al., 2010; Singer, 2014). In fact, around 1913,

> The shift to behavior (Behaviourism) and its emphasis on the measurement of observable action was at the same time a shift away from the interior life of the mind and the method of introspection. Behaviourism, however, was ultimately replaced by cognitive approaches that returned to the earlier interest in the interior processes of mental life, this time armed with computational models developed in computer science, and more recently, all of the scientific advancements in brain research. Finally, in the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s, researchers again focused on attempts to understand and explain consciousness.
>
> This story is distorted and oversimplified even in its broad strokes. One could easily point to historical evidence that suggests, in complete contrast to the standard story, that behaviouristapproaches and attempts to obtain objective measures were common in the earliest psychology laboratories of the nineteenth century, and introspection was frequently considered problematic, even by the so-called introspectionists, although it continued to play some part in psychological experimentation throughout the twentieth century. (Gallagher & Zahavi, 2013; p. 3)

In Loù Salomè's psychoanalytical explanation of the phenomenon, she embraced and expanded Freud's position on daydreaming as a fantasy[5] or better yet a "psychical reality", a term coined by Freud referring to "mental productions … to possess a reality of a sort" (Freud, 1916–1917, p. 368).[6]

Freud interpreted daydreaming based on a hydraulic energy model, developed in physics in the late nineteenth century, and on Aristotles' theory of the function of tragedy, catharsis (Singer, 2014), integrated into the topographical model.[7]

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[4] The effectiveness of the clinical method is based on this Freud's and Jung's intuition while much of the research that followed was directed upon verification of aspect of Freud Theory and content of dreams and daydreams.

[5] The concept of fantasy reveals as this is not unambiguous term for Freud: it "covers a vast field of phenomena from daydreaming, the manifest narration of the patient's world of imagination, to unconscious fantasies and primal fantasies" (Gammelgaard & Kristiansen, 2017; p. 1).

[6] But in this manner, Freud introduces a distinction between the imaginary world of fantasy and the external world of reality. A concept that we can find in the idea of disengagement, "perceptual decoupling", separation from the *hic et nunc* in recent research (Barron et al., 2011; Baird et al., 2011; Smallwood et al., 2013).

[7] Freud's theory was the discovery of the differential characteristic of conscious and unconscious thinking. In the topographic theory, daydreaming is located in the preconscious between the dynamic unconscious and conscious. It represents the storehouse for retrievable memories and knowledge and for affective investments in general, thus daydreaming is a « place » in which the reality principles of conscious are loose, and derivatives of the dynamic unconscious might emerge. Free associations, in fact, primarily tap the preconscious, as well as the layer of conscious defensive operations, which oppose the emergence of material from the dynamic unconscious.

Using the hydraulic energy model, Freud believed that man, like other animals, was essentially driven to action by arousal of the basic instincts built around the satisfaction of the urge, thirst, and sexual drives, and furthermore, they were periodic and rose and fell as a function of opportunities for their discharge through satisfaction. Indeed, the model that characterized psychoanalytical thinking until the 1960s implied that all thought or imagination grew out of suppressed desires.[8] While psychoanalysis changes in its positions from that model, it remains related to the explanation of the nature of daydreaming. In any case, it has got the characteristic of a cathartic process: as the view of the representation of a goal or conflict reduces some energy associated with the original aroused drive, so daydreaming reduces them and permits the toleration of frustration a little bit better.

> Freud wrote of the 'well-brought-up young woman' being 'allowed a minimum of erotic desire', and of the young man who must learn to subdue an 'excess of self-regard' to gain acceptance in society. At the extreme, to allow one's daydreams to become 'over-luxuriant' and over powerful was seen to risk the onset of 'neurosis or psychosis. (Morrison, 2016, p. 29)

This is the power of art in Freud's thought but it indicates the Freud's prospective on generative process as creativity[9] and imaginative life: there is a continuum between the normality and abnormality of them. In Studies on Hysteria (1895), Anna O[10] describes her "Private Theatre" (referring to mind-wandering) as a phenomenon that is at one moment seen as an aspect of a creative and active imagination, in which energetic mental work is carried on, at the next an habitual reverie: the first step toward pathogenic auto-hypnosis.[11] Freud and Breuer (1895) wrote:

> This girl, who was bubbling over with intellectual vitality, led an extremely monotonous existence in her puritanically-minded family. She embellished her life in a manner which probably influenced her decisively in direction of her illness, by indulging in systematic day-dreaming, which she described as "her private theatre". While everyone thought she was attending, she was living through fairy-tales in her imagination, but she was always on

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[8] While psychoanalysis today is in a state of considerable change from this energy model, the fact remains that more than half of this century the primary theoretical position is related to the nature of daydreaming and fantasy through stemming from the basic model of psychoanalysis, which was stated in perhaps most formal terms by great integrator of psychoanalytic theory (Rapaport, 1960).

[9] The term creativity is not used by Sigmund Freud but the concept is Freudian if we understand it to mean the creative imagination embodied in fantasies or daydreams. These may or may not receive further elaboration and be transformed into a work of art, regardless of its specific nature. However, it is the primarily Melanie Klein and Donald Winnicot who are responsible for establishing the concept as an active attitude of the ego with respect to its objects.

[10] It is used by Breuer to indicate one of his women patient: Bertha Pappenheim.

[11] In fact, in *Studies of Hysteria*, Breuer offered the notion of a hypnoid state, a hypnoid form of reverie, to explain Anna o'S Psychosomatic difficulties. "Daydreaming, like meditation, during a more or less mechanical activity, does not in itself necessarily produce a pathological splitting of consciousness, for any disturbance, such as someone addressing the dreamer, will re-instate the normal unity of consciousness, and it is unlikely that amnesia will result. Yet in Anna O's case the ground was prepared … for the effect of anxiety and dread to set in once that affect had transformed her habitual daydreaming into a hallucinatory absence" (Breuer & Freud, 2009; p. 45).

the spot when was spoken to, so that no one was aware of it. She pursued this activity almost continuously while she was engaged on her household duties, which she discharged unexceptionally… this habitual daydreaming while she was well passed over into illness without a break. (p. 74)

In *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie* (1905), Freud also emphasized the freedom of the intellect in the face of highly constrained situations. Literacy creation (1908) appeared to Freud as an extension of children's daydream situation in which the fantasy is affirmed in the face of the empire of reality, without, however, leading the subject to misinterpret as it happens in delusional states. It is precisely this ability, whose origin remains mysterious, that turns fantasies into the reality inscribed in a work of art and therefore something that can be shared with others. Freud was especially interested in literary (Dostoyevsky, Hoffmann, Jensen) and artistic creation (Leonardo Da Vinci, Michelangelo), and in "Creative writers and Daydreaming" (1908), he analyzed mind-wandering with an introspective approach, using patients' self-reports: on the one hand, he described the origins of MW and the relationship with children at play; on the other hand, writers' creativity ("every child at play behaves like a creative writer, in that he creates a world in his own").[12] In particular, Freud's idea of daydreaming is "to take our play" and it is something serious, opposite to what is real (p. 144), a praxis for a writer. So writers[13] are creative daydreamers because "a strong experience in the present awakens in the creative writer a memory of an earlier experience (usually belonging to his childhood) from which there now proceeds a wish which finds its fulfillment in the creative work. The work exhibits elements of the recent provoking occasion as well as of the old memory" (p. 151).

We know that Freud attributes to great writers a special capacity to communicate, through narratives, poems, and plays, aspects of emotional truth in symbolic form, and these works of art help make sense of and give meaning to our emotional experiences.

> Only the creative writer, argued Freud, was uniquely able to articulate 'his [sic] personal daydreams without self-reproach or shame'. The aesthetic qualities of prose were seen by Freud to 'soften', 'disguise' and sublimate the egotistical elements of the daydream, allowing author and reader alike covert indulgence in the pleasure of fantasizing. (Morrison, 2016; p. 29)

Freud made it clear that he thought that great writers know all that it is possible to know about this function of the human mind and psychoanalysts can learn a great deal about their subject by reading literature. Trilling (1950) quotes Freud saying: "The poets and philosophers before me discovered the unconscious. What I

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[12] Freud, in this paper, divided ancient authors from "writers who seem to originate their own material" (149). It referred to the latter. He defined novelist, poet as dreamers "in broad daylight."

[13] Freud's description of writer is referred to story writers, authors of novels, romance, and short stories that originate from their inner material. In the same manner, myths, studied by folk-psychology, are secula dream of youthful humanity, "a distorted vestiges of wishful phantasies of whole nations."

discovered was the scientific method by which the unconscious can be studied" (Sodré, 2014). These meaningful words explain why Freud decided to introduce a writer such as Lou Salomé to psychoanalysis and define her as capable of anticipating his thought. Talking to Salomè, Freud said:

> if I found myself in need of continuing to edit my theory, you'll be able to recognized with satisfaction in some new ideas thoughts that you have long sensed or even announced. (Freud, 1978; p. 59)

In Freud, as later in Green (1923), daydreams remain a fulfillment and temporary partial gratifications of repressed infantile wishes and an unconscious enduring attitude toward the world. Specifically, daydreaming gives a productive value to fantasy in order to legitimize and give imaginary productions the same scientific dignity as investigation of the material world.

Furthermore, Freud stresses how daydreaming is also:

- The "best source of knowledge, and we have since found good reason to suppose that our patients tell us nothing that we might not also hear from healthy people" (Figueira, 2018; p. 146).
- It has a changeable nature and it is different between the sexes. He wrote about daydreams: "… They fit themselves into the subject's shifting impression of life, change with every change in his situation, and receive from every fresh active impression what might be called a "date-mark" … thus past, present and future are strung together, as it were, on the thread of the wish that runs through them" (Freud, 1908; p. 148).

In "A Child is Being Beaten" (1919), Freud was surprised not to find in girls the three phases of beating fantasy that he found in boys. Furthermore, the masochistic fantasy is inverted "In the case of the girl the unconscious masochistic fantasy starts from the normal Oedipus attitude; in that of the boy it starts from the inverted attitude, in which the father is taken as the object of love" (Quinodoz, 2005; p. 175).[14]

The subjects of female sexuality, love, and issues surrounding narcissism and sexual differences link the trio Freud, Lou Salomè, and Anna Freud. There is an ongoing correspondence between the two women who were determined to debate "important issues and solve them in a blink of an eye" and in particular, they had been working since their first meeting on the problematic node of dream, daydream, imagination, and literary creation (Molfino, 2012). Together they invented a short story between a boy and a girl and Lou always encouraged the young woman to become a writer and use her daydreaming.

> … I'm always under the impression that many interesting facts are actually occurring (she is referring to those at the Psychoanalytic Society but above all to dealings with the psychopedagogist August Aichhorn[15]) but I fear precisely for this reason, for a few weeks, at night (and so not even useful for our daydreams) I dream of more incredible and compli-

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[14] Let's not forget that one of the cases described by Freud is precisely that of his daughter Anna.

[15] Aichhorn is remembered as a Viennese teacher and pedagogist who integrated the principles of psychoanalysis into the social pedagogy. He showed Anna Freud his work in juvenile hospital.

cated fictional scenarios, of which during the day I'm no longer sure, as if I had not really experienced them. (Anna's Letter to Lou dated 18/01/1922; D'Antonio, 2013)

As far as our work is concerned (Anna refers to daydreaming) I only take a few notes during the section, but inside of me it is very much alive and makes little gems appear. (Lou's letter to Anna Freud dated 30/01/1922)

with regards to the child's inability to differentiate between dream and realty, I think that too much emphasis is placed solely on its negative side, the confusion due to which the daydreamer is in the wrong regarding reality; in some ways however his confusion is in the right, for a portion that only late and rarely (for example in poetry, art and sculpture) is actually considered legitimate and good; but this portion is really present from the beginning, for the fact that the very young child does not limit himself/herself not-yet-differentiate in a fullest way, but in that part he lives and experiences the unity between what he has dreamed and reality, a unity which consequently and through our consciousness is divided into two elements: subject and object. He still has on foot in this objectively available total reality, beyond any specifically human or humanizing world, and all peregrinations of all the poets are created on this foot. (Lou's letter to Anna Freud dated 11/04/1922; D'Antonio, 2013)

For the first time I had a daydream or a story with a female (it was even a love story) and I kept thinking about it for a long time. I would like to rush to my desk and write it down but dad (Freud) was of the opinion that I should have let it go and I should concentrate on my conference. (Anna's Letter to Lou dated 18/05/1922; D'antonio, 2013).

In this manner, we understand how Lou Andreas Salomè,[16] as mother-like figure, was relevant in Anna Freud's first paper "Beating Fantasies and Daydreams".[17]

In the first independent psychoanalytic work, Anna traced the development of masturbation fantasies in a small girl and their transformation into socially accepted written stories in adolescence. She described the daydreaming through the narration of a girl of about 15 before describing a beating fantasy and the nice stories. She said: "I have been able to find one daydream, among a large variety of them, which seemed especially well suited to illustrate this brief remark […] In her fifth or sixth year-the exact date could not be established, but it was certainly before she entered school, this girl formed a beating fantasy of the type described by Freud. In the beginning its content was quite monotonous: "A boy is being beaten by a grownup"" (Freud, 1922; pp. 318–319).

In this last case, we find the artistic superstructure of daydreams that is deeply connected with the initial beating fantasy but with a recognizably narrative structure, weaving a storyline around our desire in a way that carries us through their functional attainment: "all the figures in these nice stories had names, individual

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[16] When Lou met Anna for the first time she was 60 years old while Anna was 26 and so even from a strict anagraphical point of view we could about a mother–daughter.

[17] Anna wrote: "This paper was written following several discussions with Lou Andreas-Salome" (p. 317). It is certainly also the result of reading of "The Psychology of Daydreams" written by Varendock and of the exploration of the issue exposes by Freud "Creative Writers and Day-Dreaming" (1908) and "A Child Is Being Beaten."

faces, external appearances that were detailed with great exactness, and personal histories which frequently reached far back into their fantasied past" (p. 142). Here we find the theoretical approach of the father that puts together sleeping dreams and daydreams both sorts of phenomena proceeding along lines of secondary revision, a process whereby a sequence of images or imaginative processes in a night dream or daydream becomes reworked into a more consistent or comprehensible scenario (Meta Regis, 2013).

Anna wrote:

> The dreamer herself was quite unaware of any connection between that nice stories, contin-ued stories[18], and the beating fantasy and Anna Freud underlines their relatedness came later in the analysis…The girl admitted that on some rare occasions a directed reversal of nice stories into the beating fantasy had taken place. Thus, Freud finds three important links between beating fantasy and nice stories: a striking similarity in the construction of the individual stories; a certain parallelism in their content, and the possibility of a direct rever-sal of one into the other. This point of view suggests an explanation of the difference between beating fantasy and daydream: what appears to be an advance from beating fantasy to nice story is nothing but a return to an earlier phase. Being manifestly removed from the beating scene, the nice stories regain the latent meaning of the beating fantasy: the love situ-ation hidden in it. But this assertion still lacks an important link. We have learned that the climax of the beating fantasy is inseparably associated with the urge to obtain sexual grati-fication and the subsequently appearing feelings of guilt. In contrast, the climax of the nice stories is free of both. At first glance this seems to be inexplicable since we know that both sexual gratification and sense of guilt derive from the repressed love fantasy which is dis-guised in the beating fantasy but represented in the nice stories. (p. 152)

These findings suggest differences between the daydream and the written story: the abandonment of the individual scenes and the renunciation of the daydream, like pleasure, reach specific climaxes. The written story must have been motivated by different factors and serve functions other than the daydream (p.155). Somehow, Anna supported by Lou expanded her father's work and seemed agreed with Bernfeld's work (1925)[19] who held that daydreaming is a private fantasy that becomes a communication oriented toward others. Therefore, if daydreamings become a liter-ary creation, this creative production is able to overcome the neurotic personal ele-ments. As he wrote in the transcription of daydreams (Anna's nice stories), there is

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[18] Anna Freud offers an example of continued story: "In her fourteen or fifteen year, after having formed a number of continued daydreams which she matained side by side, the girl accidentally came upon a boy's storybook; it contained among others a short story set in the Middle Ages. She read through it once or twice with lively interest; when she had finished, she returned the book to ist owner and did see it again. Her imagination, however, was immediately captures by the various figures and their external circumstances which were sescribed in the book. Taking possession of them, she further spun out the tale, just as i fit had been her own spontaneous fantasy product, and henceforth coorded this daydream a not insignificant place in the series of her nice stories … Instead of spinning out and continuing the tale 8 as in a novel published in installments, the girl made use of the plot as a sort of outer frame for her daydream" (Freud, A., 19 p. 144).

[19] Siegfried Bernfield was a Viennese psychoanalyst who introduced the poetry of adolescents to the Viennese Psychoterapy Society. Here, he analyzed the relationship between daydreaming and literary creation. Nothing is known of Freud Comments regarding the work.

an exaltation of one's ego as the hero of the daydream. According to Bernfeld interpretation, the daydreamer identifies with the hero of the daydream and it is useful for his narcissistic gratification and for the repair of altered sense of self. This is way Lou often advised Anna to start writing in order to transform the nice stories (daydreams) into creative works,[20] letting them work from the inside and forgetting the paternal recommendations. According to Lou, there is a different thread that leads from daydreaming to creative fantasy and the latter distances itself from the psychotic manifestation where the patience indulges completely in the daydream.

Beyond Psychoanalysis: Toward New Approaches on Mind-Wandering

According to Meta Regis (2013) and Schupak and Rosenthal (2009), Anna's notion of daydreams, derived from her father, as a functional scenario imagined during the waking state, a fantasy, is the baseline for other models: Varendonck (1921)'s idea of daydreams as a process of hypothesis and rejoinders; Jerome Singer's task distraction model; and Eric Klinger's model of daydreaming as a general reverie.[21]

Julien Varendonck, Freud's disciple, offers an interpretation of daydreaming as "an escape from a censorship that is too stringent in its repression, and consequently constitutes a safety-valve for the constrains of strong affects. This is a cathartic aspect of mind-wandering" (p. 355). He proposes the first systematic observation and investigation of daydreaming with the book "The psychology of Daydreams" (1921) where there is a collection of his introspective observations (retrospective reports),[22] meticulously recorded over the years, of his own daydream experiences that attempt to safety-wish or to solve problems.

> The individual deals with emotional conflict or internal or external stressors by experiencing emotional reactions in advance of, or anticipating consequences of possible future events and considering realistic, alternative responses or solutions. (Varendonck, 1921; p. 244)

The submission of his daydreams to be discussed was appreciated by Freud, but he admonished the author for not placing the phenomenon under the framework of reverie. Varendonck (1921) postulates that daydream sequences originate with an "emotionally-emphasized recollection", which is triggered through association with

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[20] Creative work is not the result of something more real than reality.

[21] Eric T. Mueller and Micheal G. Dyr's computer daydream and Ethel Person's concept of creative rehearsals are other two models and prospectives that for reason of space we don't treat in this paper.

[22] These methods used also by Singer & Antrobus (1972) are based on the description of a previous stream of thought as it is recalled from memory. We have at least two problems: on the one hand, if daydream is recalled, it will be subject to confusion, distortions, and omissions typical of memories and on the other hand, it is difficult to recall at all (Mueller, 1990).

an external stimulus or with an idea which is selected experimentally, but daydreaming is also a sequence of hypothesis and rejoinder which attempt to solve one or more problems or satisfy one or more wishes. According to him, mind-wandering is a *creative imagination* (V.'s French words).[23]

These properties could still be valid in particular when we notice that they are behaviors already in the dreamer's repertoire; they come in segmental units (with a delineated beginning and end); and their contents could be playful or serious and tend to drift, distinguishing it from working thoughts and from the daydreamer's serious goals.

In the current paper, we build upon the theoretical and empirical importance of Jerome Singer's (1966) research and theorization of daydreaming because Singer and his colleagues' work inspired and provided researchers with paradigms to assess distinct patterns of inner experience or daydreaming styles (Singer, 1975), and to examine how those styles relate to a myriad of psychological processes (e.g., personality, mental health). Singer's pioneering work quickly emphasized that daydreaming could serve adaptive functions in people's lives and that it could be fruitfully investigated in systematic ways. These approaches have continued to have substantial impact, particularly in regard to the growing body of research on mind-wandering in experimental psychology (McMillan et al., 2013).

This author's research program (1966), overcoming psychoanalysis, is the first substantial view on daydreaming in the modern scientific psychological tradition: he studied mind-wandering with tools and methodologies (experience sampling methods and in particular retrospective ones), underlining how people are continuously engaged in mind-wandering that involves judgments about the actual selves

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[23] Here, the listed elements of mind-wandering reported by the author:

1. A fore-conscious chain of thoughts is a succession of hypothesis, of questions and answers occasionally interrupted by memory hallucinations.
2. These suppositions and criticism look like a mental testing of memory elements adapted to meet a future situation.
3. The associative process is directed by one or several wishes, and is the more unsteady as the directive wishes are weaker.
4. Every chain originates with a remembrance that is as a rule, emotionally accentuated and which is either brought forward on the occasion of an external stimulus or simply obtrudes itself upon our fore-conscious attention.
5. As the chain progresses, their depth varies continually; visualization is predominant when proceeding closest to the unconscious level; in the reverse case, verbal thoughts prevail; but when the ideation proceeds in images, the relations between the visual representations are kept in mind without being represented, and only words can render them adequately when we decide to communicate these fantasies, which are not meant for communication.
6. The more only in a forward direction, which renders the later correction of their constitutive part impossible except through the intervention of conscious functions. Another cause of errors is the mind's unlimited capacity for forgetting as well as for remembering.
7. These streams of thought are brought to an end (before of after their aim has been reached) at a moment of mental passivity under the influence of some affect which causes them to rise to the surface, or because memory is set in action in the service of apperception, following upon external stimuli. In both cases, the result is a return to the conscious state (p. 249).

and how these relate to ideal or socially accepted selves. In this line of research, he focuses on the influence of self-representations on daydreaming patterns; thus, he discovered three Big Personality traits connected with daydreaming or focused mind-wandering: openness to experience,[24] reflecting curiosity, sensitivity, and exploration of ideas, feelings, and sensations. He called this kind of mind-wandering: daydreaming or positive constructive mind-wandering. This keynote author characterizes mind-wandering with an optimistic future orientation: Mw is a playful, wishful imagery and a playful, creative thought (McMillan et al., 2013); it reflects thoughts ranging from wishful to intentional; people with a high degree of positive constructive daydreaming enjoy them and find in it positive functions.

Furthermore, research on imagined interactions, a critical part of daydreaming, specifies what some of these functions are:

- *Social cognition and mental imagery* (Honeycutt, 2003). In fact, during these waking phases, we imagine conversations with others for a variety of different reasons: conflict linkage, rehearsal, self-understanding, catharsis, and compensation (Honeycutt, 2010). In this case, mind-wandering is "an integral part of each person and its tone and tempo reflect each person's personal traits" (Klinger, 1990; pp. 306–307).
- *Guilt, fear of failure, and poor attentional control*, individuated by Singer. In contrast to positive constructive daydreaming, on the one hand, we have *guilty/fear of failure mind-wandering,* based on negative emotions and containing thoughts marked with anguished self-examination and fear of failure. In this case, the narrative analysis reveals that the daydreamer produces a psychic phenomenon often focused on negative events and concerns not living up to high standards. On the other hand, we have *poor attention control daydreaming,* a style that reflects the inability to focus on the present ongoing task. This last mind-wandering type is of interest for experimental research on cognitive science concentrated on Singer's model because it offers the possibility to analyze and study the interplay of external stimulation and ongoing inner states of thinking (Williams & Vess, 2016; Meta Regis, 2013). Finally*, guilty/fear-of-failure daydreaming* positively correlates with neuroticism, self-criticism, and sleep disturbances, and *poor attentional control* negatively correlates with conscientiousness (Zhiyan & Singer, 1997; Golding & Singer, 1983; Starker & Hasenfeld, 1976).

In the fourth approach that we analyze, we find Klinger who offers an empiric prospective of mind-wandering as a reverie in contrast with instrumental thinking: mind-wandering is a reverie, composed of a subject's current concerns, including thoughts about a future event but without the self-reflexive processes, characteristic of instrumental thought. It is a shift from an operant thought to a respondent content (Klinger, 1971). His proposal (1971) is a baseline state of mind to which thought reverts in the absence of external demands. Klinger shares with us a path that defines daydreaming as unintended mental, non-working, non-instrumental content that

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[24] According to Marcusson-Clavertz and Kjell (2018), it is a not tested relationship.

comes to mind unbidden and effortlessly, that is, spontaneously and fancifully. Also when the person deliberately mind-wanders, it remains independent from the ongoing activity (i.e., a tropical beach or sexual escapade), but these thoughts, as dream contents, are produced by the goal-relatedness of the stimuli that precede thoughts and dreams:

> The state of having a goal – i.e. a current concern about a goal – automatically gave processing priority, in the individual's cognitive systems, to cues associated with that goal. (Klinger, 2013; p. 34)

Thus, Klinger sustains the possibility that mind-wandering occurs because pertinent goals can be automatically activated in people's waking thoughts. In addition, mind-wandering is also part of a mental process that continues through sleep and appears to serve a planning function, including not only the outcome desired by the person but also the different steps toward the goal attainment (Oettingen & Mayer, 2002). In a sense, goal-related cues outrank others in processing priority.

Beyond Psychoanalysis: Models and Approaches of Experimental Research on Mind-Wandering

At a time when most American psychologists associated fantasy and daydreaming with psychopathology, Singer and colleagues established that mind-wandering is a normal, widespread, and adaptive human phenomenon that occupies a significant portion of waking thoughts (Singer & Antrobus, 1963; Singer, 1966). They also found that people are aware of daydreaming and can reliably report it on questionnaires (Antrobus et al., 1967) and that individuals differ in their daydreaming styles (Singer, 1974, Singer, 1975; Segal et al., 1980; Huba et al., 1981; Huba & Tanaka, 1983). His model clearly tries to avoid reductionist frameworks: behaviorists' idea focused on over-response and the exaggerated formulation of psychoanalysis that poses drives as the bases of mind-wandering (Regis, 2013). These aspects are often discussed by critics.

Starting in the 1960s,[25] the experimental research on cognition related to the current environment has reconsidered Singer's main position on the mind-wandering phenomenon where it is treated in a dilemmatic manner: a task distracted plans (*attentional shift to inner experience*)[26] or a way of solving problems when not trying to solve a problem (it always happens in a distracted manner). There is a

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[25] There is a long research tradition on attention and in particular on how we selectively process resource of information while ignoring others.

[26] According to Barron, Riby, Greer, and Smallwood (2015) and Stawarczyk, Majerus, Maj, Van der Linden, and D'Argembeau (2011), during mind-wandering, the attention to external environment is reduced and the phenomenon must be distinguished from external distraction. Other authors consider mind-wandering as a process involving internally focused attention and as the opposite of external attention that is oriented toward the task at hand (Dias da Silva & Postma, 2018).

common idea of shifting of attention away from the task toward unrelated inner tasks or self-generated thoughts (or as expressed by Smallwood and Schooler (2006), "a shift in attention away from the perceptual demands to the main task towards processing of more personal goals"), with a proliferation of different approaches and hypothesis (Smallwood, 2013; pp. 522–525)[27]:

- The current concern hypothesis, elaborated in-depth by Klinger, that the experience of mind-wandering occurs because individuals have goals, wishes, and desires that extend beyond the perceptual moment: when there is a dearth of salient external events, generated thought will form the focus of the mental experience of the individual. Different models of mind-wandering assume that automatic processing of current concerns produces the content of the internal train of thought (Control X Concerns hypothesis (Smallwood & Schooler, 2006); Control Failure X Concern hypothesis (McVay & Kane, 2010)). The attention shifts to self-generated material when such information offers a larger incentive value than does the information in the external environment.
- The decoupling hypothesis in which mental processes are described as decoupled when the onset of their activity is not directly related to an external event; the most likely mental processes that can serve overlapping functions during self- and externally generated thought are those that are domain general in nature because these are already known to operate on multiple modalities. According to the decoupling model hypothesis, processes such as executive control do not directly control the occurrence of self-generated thought but instead are engaged once this information becomes the target of attention and acts to ensure the continuity of an internal train of thought (Schooler et al., 2011). There is a set of shared information-processes resources, and the continued attention on self-generated material depends upon the processes that aid the integrity of a train of thought.
- The executive failure hypothesis considers mind-wandering a form of distraction[28] because sustained external attention requires that executive control reduce distractions of both an internal and perceptual nature. The attentional control system fails when task-irrelevant internally generated information flourishes and mind-wandering can ensue. The attention shifts to self-generated information when the executive control of external task-relevant information has lapsed (Kane & McVay, 2012).
- The meta-awareness hypothesis postulates that the capacity to re-represent the current contents of consciousness gives the individual a chance to identify con-

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[27]All these approaches are part of the Process-Occurrence Framework where Smallwood et al. (2013) studies the events that control the occurrence of the experience and the process that ensure the continuity of an internal train of thought once initiated.

[28]Varao-Sousa, Smilek, and Kingstone (2018) underline the difference between distraction (attention toward external elements) and mind-wandering (attention toward internal elements), considering them two separate events. In particular, the study underlines how in natural enviroments, the distraction rates are higher than mind-wandering rates.

scious thoughts that deviate from the desired goal state. More generally, the capacity to reinstate meta-awareness could help the individual to regulate the amount of time he or she spends mind-wandering. The attentional shift occurs when consciousness is not being re-represented in meta-consciousness (Schooler et al., 2011).

However, recent studies have shown that the relationship between mind-wandering and attention is more complex and requires an approach toward attention and mind-wandering as a multicomponent process. For this reason, several authors differentiate among several "out of task" thoughts usually subsumed under the concept of mind-wandering (Peterson & Posner, 2012; Stawarczyk et al., 2014). They revealed that less consideration is given to the relationship among the category of mind-wandering thoughts, type of attention tasks, and boredom (Danckert, 2018).

A Gestalt Theoretical Approach to Mind-Wandering and Related Phenomena

As expressed in the previous paragraph, "mind-wandering" is conceptualized as an attention-related phenomenon, as a peculiarity of thought processes or as an altered state of consciousness (similar perhaps to the dreams state); in all these fields, one finds contributions of Gestalt psychology very early on, which are also relevant for today's Gestalt-psychological concepts contributing to the understanding of mind-wandering and related phenomena.

At the beginning, in 1920, the Gestalt theory of perception played a large role in the dispute with the so-called theories of attention where it was a key issue of the psychology of that time since it was seen as the prime source for higher mental processes. However, at the core of these theories in psychology, there was the idea that in our perception the issues are products of our processes of attention. Gestalt theory, which dealt with the study of the laws of perception, contested this view: the perception contents are not created by attention but must be perceived before our attention can be focused on them, can "attend to them." Getsalt theory has a holistic view and offers experimental findings on the laws that are effective in this process ("Gestalt factors" or "Gestalt laws"). It didn't deny the role of attention: not in "producing" but in highlighting and modifying our perceptual world. For example, Wolfgang Metzger wrote in his fundamental Gestalt psychological work "*Psychologie – die Entwicklung ihrer Grundannahmen seit der Einführung des Experiments*":

> The Gestalt theory is … not at all 'against attention'… Rather, in this theory, the effects of attention, the direction of attention, the mode of perception, have their very definite place, as special cases of the determination of the parts by the whole. (Metzger, 2001, 82, transl. from German)

And again in his "Laws of Seeing":

> the influence of attention and of past experience or habits were shown to be so limited that it would be impossible to base a general theory of perception on them without some kind of conjuring tricks. (Metzger, 2006, 181)

In this manner, the phenomena that today are referred to as "mind-wandering" are understood in the Gestalt theory neither as a special attentional behavior nor as a special form of thought process. Rather, these are specific holistic restructurings of the psycho-physical field of man, for whose formation, development, and change and disappearance certain laws can be established. Specific attention performances (or attentional disintegration of attention) and thought processes play a role in establishing "mind-wandering," but not necessarily.[29]

Rather, it is characteristic for this group of phenomena that in the phenomenal total field of a person (consisting of his experienced ego and his experienced environment in a dynamic field interaction and interdependency), there is a separation of a second total field with a second experienced ego (phenomenal ego) and a second experienced environment (phenomenal environment).

The basic principle of "mind-wandering" as well as of related phenomena – like daydreaming, so-called "dissociation," "imagining," "flash-backs," and else – is therefore a restructuring of the phenomenal world of man into a double structure, in which two phenomenal worlds coexist, one embedded into the other, which have a field-like interrelation.

A brief look at the historical development of this view may help to understand how this is meant:

In psychology, the Danish perception researcher Edgar Rubin (1915) was the first who treated the issue of a second ego's simultaneous appearance in another location. Rubin was known above all for his research on the figure-ground phenomenon. In an easily verifiable observation, he noticed that during an attentive viewing of a picture, a second ego – Rubin calls it the "pure ego" – emerges, detaching itself in a certain sense from the beholder's body, in order to move along the various contours within the image (while the first ego, the bodily spectator ego is still situated in the room in front of the picture).

> Of course you are not literally walking with both legs on the figure. The presence in question has nothing directly to do with the body or with the external, physical self. It seems most appropriate, though it sounds a bit metaphysical, to say that it is 'the pure ego' that moves around the contour. (Rubin 1921, 153; transl.)

About 70 years later, the German Gestalt psychologist Edwin Rausch extended this finding using the graphics of the artist Volker Bußmann. Based on his investigations, Rausch stated that when looking closely at the picture (and taking some time for

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[29] According to Gestalt theory, attention is a certain centring of the field of perception, which can only be understood in the context of the overall state and the overall behavior of the person. Mind-wandering phenomena can come about with and without conscious attention, with and without the involvement of thought processes.

that), not only a second ego emerges (as stated by Rubin) but also a second world in which this ego is located and to which this ego refers. This is his "second total field."

To clarify what is meant by the term "total field": In the investigation of elementary perceptual phenomena, it is customary to select the perceptual object in such a way that one can assume that the present personal conditions of the observer – whoever is, whether he is happy or not, whatever mood and health issues might have, etc. – do not play a role in the perceptual process which had to be taken into account. The investigation does not take into account the perceiving subject; the field of perception is reduced to the object pole. Under certain conditions, this works out fine, for example, in Max Wertheimer's "dot pictures" that demonstrate Gestalt factors (Wertheimer, 1923, 2012): similarity, proximity, common fate, and so on.

However, every perceptual situation always includes both sides: the perceiver as well as the perceived, the subject pole as well as the object pole. Therefore, in all naturalistic situations, it is inadmissible and impossible to exclude the subject pole of the field. Thus, for such perceptual and experienced situations, Wolfgang Metzger coined the term, "phenomenal total field" ("anschauliches Gesamtfeld") that not only includes the *object* domain of perception, but also the domain of the perceiving and acting *subjects* in their dynamic interrelations (Metzger, 2001, 194).

Furthermore, Rausch's experiments show that after some time of attentive viewing, in the phenomenal world of all subjects, a second total field emerges with a second ego and a second phenomenal environment – but there are variations. Thus, for example, some participants can see picture IV by Bußmann as "boxes," while others as "high-rise loggias." So it happens that the picture is seen by different spectators quite differently, sometimes alternatively by the same spectator. Stemberger shows here two variants into which he has drawn the "beam of looking" of the image spectator for clarity (Fig. 8.1):

These different perspectives or way of looking at a picture have something in common: the emergence of a second phenomenal (experienced) ego within a second phenomenal (experienced) world.
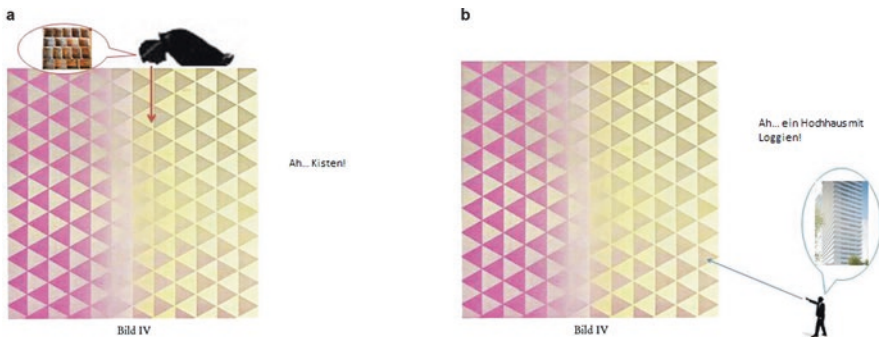

Fig. 8.1 The one picture spectator (**a**) sees crates lined up at the bottom, looking in "from above." The other (**b**) sees in front of him a skyscraper, whose front consists of loggias. (He "stands" on the bottom right, his gaze following the beam of light to the loggia, whose bottom is dark with a bright wall on the right side)
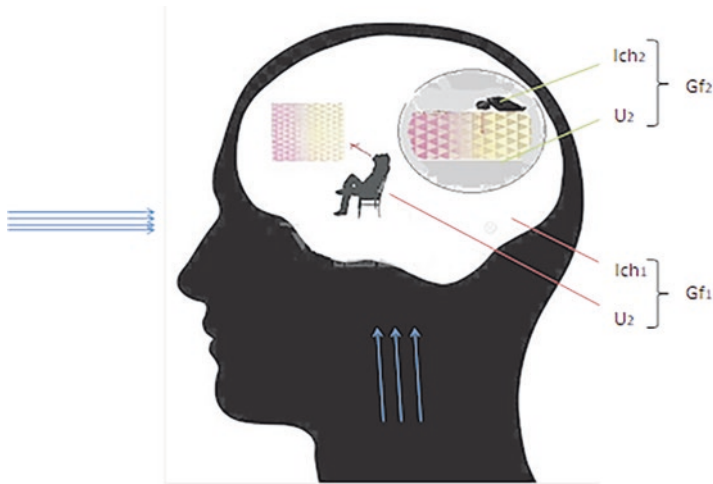
Fig. 8.2 Tf1 = primary total field with Ego1 and E(nvironment)1; Tf2 = secondary total field with Ego2 and E2

Figure 8.2 illustrates how it is meant and it completes Fig. 8.1a:

In the head of the picture spectator, a representation of his phenomenal world is depicted in this figure. In it you can see the phenomenal body of the picture with the spectator on the left hand (in the nomenclature of Rausch Ego1), which finds itself in a phenomenal environment E1 in which he sits in his chair and looks at the graphic IV of Bußmann (projected onto the wall, his gaze is directed to this graphic on the wall). Phenomenally experienced ego and experienced environment form a total field; following Rausch's nomenclature, we call it the primary total field or Tf1. At the same time, however, a further world has been separated from the spectator's phenomenal world, a thoroughly different secondary field, a second self with a second experienced environment – Ego2 and E(nvironment)2 – both together forming Tf2. The difference of this second world with its second ego is already evident in the fact that in this world the ego is oriented differently in space, its gaze goes down, and there is no picture in front of it, but a collection of boxes, etc..

Now, Edwin Rausch points out that this phenomenon of second total field separation with a second phenomenal ego from a second phenomenal environment is by no means limited to image viewing. He mentions, for example, the theater visitor's experience, who is completely engaged in the events on stage (Rausch, 1982, 32). The phenomena discussed here are thus a psychic event that is much more general in nature than image analysis. According to Rausch (1982):

> … simultaneous existence of two total fields is not limited to the cases in which both belong to perception. The primary field of perception can be joined by a (spatio-temporal) field of representation. Examples of this can be found in reading and in any number of other situations. Of course, these cases … can also be understood as initial experiences, in such a way that pure perceptual duplication … would be a noteworthy special case. Such a way of deriving the problem corresponds even better to the priority relations from the view of genesis. (p. 33, transl.)

Here are some examples:

- The first one is based on the movie "Bullitt" with its famous automobile chase through the streets of San Francisco. Here, we see the spectator Ego1 with his gaze directed toward the screen. Parallel to environment E1, Ego 1 forms the Tf1. However, the scene has fascinated him to the point that a second self has formed. It is seated at the steering wheel of the darting car: a second total field has emerged, with a second ego in a completely different environment while the Ego1 is still in his cinema seat, with a different orientation and movement in space as well as different qualities (Fig. 8.3).
- A second example is the situation of reading a story or novel: when you read a captivating story, you can notice the emergence of a second total field. When one is "drawn into" the story, the Tf2 becomes "thematic", the Tf1 fades into the background – until perhaps the pressure on your bladder reminds you that there is also an Ego1, its body and world.
- As a third example (Fig. 8.4) we see a female ski racer studying the contours of the race course. While the racer is standing at the top of the track, looking down on the course, her second self is already on the way between the bars, looking for the best line and going through all the necessary movements.
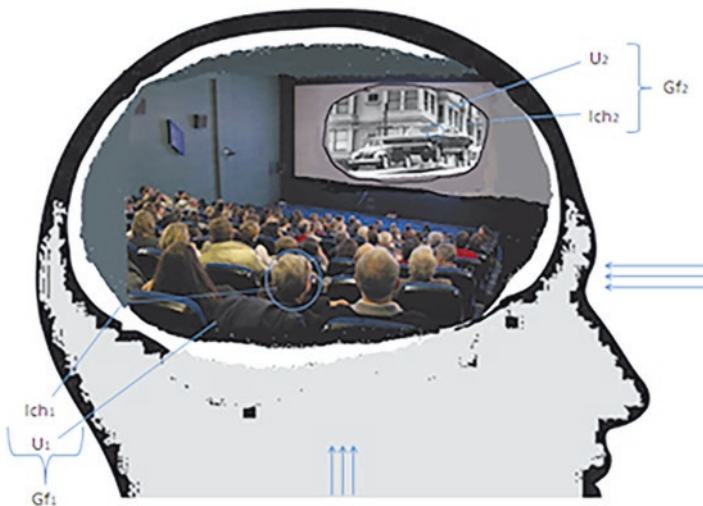

Fig. 8.3 Segregation of a second total field (Gf 2) with a second phenomenal ego (Ich 2) in a second phenomenal environment (U 2) (The psychophysical overall context is here only partially indicated: The drawing within the head is meant to depict the phenomenal world of the person. Gestalt theory assumes that this phenomenal world is created in a report adopted in the cerebrum area, the psychophysical level (PPN). The arrows directed from the outside on the organism symbolize the physiological stimuli, which are conducted via the nerve pathways to the PPN. The arrows pointing upward inside the organism symbolize the effects on the PPN via the proprioceptors as well as the trace fields in the brain corresponding to the memory. Here in this drawing, only the "input side" of the overall psychophysical context is indicated. A complete account of this view, which we follow, can be found in Bischof, 1966, 28 f.)
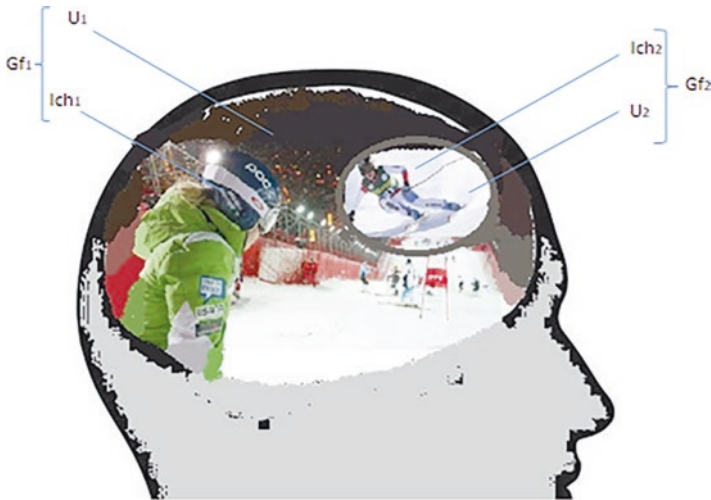
Fig. 8.4 A ski racer: Separation of a second total field while studying the set of the racecourse

Toward a New Prospective on Mind-Wandering?
A Multiple-Field Approach

These everyday examples are purposely chosen in this manner because, especially in the psychological and educational area, a one-sided and pathologizing view dominates, as mentioned before. Here we propose an alternative, the multiple-field approach4, which has been developed in the field of Gestalt Theoretical Psychotherapy, but should be useful also for other fields, focusing on such fundamental questions as we want to understand how a second total field is formed, on which conditions this segregation process depends, how it happens concretely individual cases, which precursors or transitional stages, regularity and regularities might be involved, what function this process has in real life situation, and how this event may be influenced by others (partner, teacher, therapist …), in case the situation should require such an external influence. We also want to understand how it happens that such a second total field dissolves again, regresses, and decays, and thus the fusion of perceptions and experience takes place in a singular total field. On what conditions do these processes depend, is there also a regularity or lawfulness, can this process be promoted, if this becomes necessary for the person concerned, and how does an integration in the primary overall field work? After all, one seeks to better understand how in each concrete case, in which a second total field has emerged, the interdependency between these two total fields works and what effects this interdependency can have on the whole of the processes. It is assumed that these processes – from the segregation of a second total field to the interactions between primary and secondary total fields – are not an arbitrary whim of nature, but fulfill

a function. The assumption is that these fundamental and at the same time practical questions can lead to an expansion of our possibilities of action in the psychotherapeutic as well as in the educational and other fields.

Let us now briefly turn to the first question: On which conditions does it depend whether it comes to the segregation of a second total field? Of course, this is only part of a more fundamental question: How does our perception, in our phenomenal experience, leads to the formation of coherent units? How is it decided in our experience what belongs together and what is separated from it?

In this manner, we treat a cardinal issue of Gestalt psychological research and we expand the Gestalt research that studied the "Gestalt laws" (e.g., the factors of proximity, similarity, common destiny, etc.) on the object side but less in the total field and in the involvement of the subject.

Edwin Rausch (1982), however, has formulated a general principle, which is not limited to perception, which reads as follows: if facts arise in a whole that is incompatible in one whole, then the associated experience of impraegnanz leads to the separation of another whole.[30]

How can such an impression or actual experience of impraegnanz look like in a specific case? Let's go back to one of the already mentioned scenes, namely the one in the cinema: In this case, there are several things that are not usually encountered by a human being in her/his world. We just emphasize one of them, which has already played a major role in Bußmann's graphic: if the ego experiences itself simultaneously in two different spatial positions and spatial orientations, it almost always leads to the segregation of a second phenomenal world. As a rule, we are not able to accept in our unitary world that our ego's gaze goes upward and downward at the same time, or that our ego moves in one direction and at the same time into a completely different one, etc. Where such things – experienced as incompatible in the same world – occur, or, for example, are deliberately introduced into our world, it comes to the segregation of a second experienced ego with its own second experienced world. Some of Picasso's paintings, however, warn us to be careful: multiple directed perspectives do not always lead to the segregation of a second phenomenal world. As long as it is only a Dora Maar on this painting, who can look in different directions at the same time, and not us, this does not prompt the segregation of a further total field. Only when we experience ourselves oriented simultaneously in different directions, this segregation usually happens. And even that does not necessarily have to be that way. What matters is whether such a multidirectional look seems "impossible" to us. Paul Tholey, for example, reports that lucid dreamers cut their bodily ego in half in a dream and that both halves of one's self could then look at each other (see Tholey, 2018, p. 214). What we should learn from this example is: what for us personally is or is not compatible in one single world does

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[30] "Ein Bereich wird zur Grundlage der Abspaltung eines p1-haften virtuellen Feldes aus dem reellen, wenn andernfalls das ungespalten bleibende reelle Feld sich aus zwei inhaltlich einander fremden p1-Bestandteilen aufbauen müßte. Zwei p1-hafte Felder, ein reelles und ein virtuelles, sind, besser'als ein reelles, in welchem die Bestände der beiden, obwohl einander völlig fremd, vereinigt wären" (Rausch, 1982, 301).

not necessarily have to apply to all people. This condition has to be investigated in every single case.

For example, let's consider the situation of a student, who is at the same time bored (with school) and in love (with his sweetheart). What in such a case does not go together (and is not intended to go together by our protagonist) probably needs no further explanation. Although we also see in this case the different directions and orientations in space, it is obvious that in such an experience these are not the causative factors for the segregation of a second total field; more far-reaching factors than spatial orientations are coming into play here, namely such that have to do with the overall state of the person involved, with her/his aspirations and desires, with what she/he considers useful and compatible, etc.

Depending on the specific situation, certain conditions must be met for the experience of *impraegnanz* to come about and come to fruition as a prerequisite for the separation of a second total field. In most cases, the Gestalt researchers have considered a definite condition for this was a certain amount of time, quality, and intensity of staying in a situation of viewing, reading, imagining, concentrating, or, in general, opening oneself for the experience. However, it does not always have to be a deliberately initiated or controlled event.

The role of a precursor or transitional situation in these processes is often taken by what Kurt Lewin calls the "overlapping situation," which only at a certain point "tips over" into the separation of the second total field (if this tipping over is not prevented by specific circumstances before). However, such cases, which also correspond to the cases examined by Edwin Rausch, are contrasted with others in which a "lightning-like," transition less "jump" into the appearance of a second total field can occur. Just briefly on Kurt Lewin's "overlapping situation": they "are characterized by the fact that within the same phenomenal total field, an ego is experienced as being simultaneously in two (psychologically often quite different) situations. This is different from a multiple-field structure, where each total field has its own phenomenal self. For the emergence of a second phenomenal ego with its own second phenomenal environment, overlapping situations can form a precursor in so far as this overlap can, in the case of a pronounced form, after some time contradict the tendency to be *praegnant* in the perception and experience of a person" (Stemberger, 2014; p. 33). Often people are – in shorter or longer phases – not just in one situation, but in two overlapping situations. Kurt Lewin and his co-workers have developed this concept of overlapping situations to capture constellations in which a person's experience and behavior are determined to be in two different situations with different characteristics and forces (Fig. 8.5).

Lewin wrote that a child consumes his bread (Situation 1) and at the same time listens to the twittering of a bird (Situation 2). The food can be the main activity and listening is the secondary activity or vice versa. Between these two forms, many transitions are possible. Lewin points out that the occurrence of such overlapping situations is relatively common, and the psychological structure and content of the two overlapping situations may be very different.

Fig. 8.5 The person P is at the same time in two different situations S1 and S2 (Fig. 27 from 152)
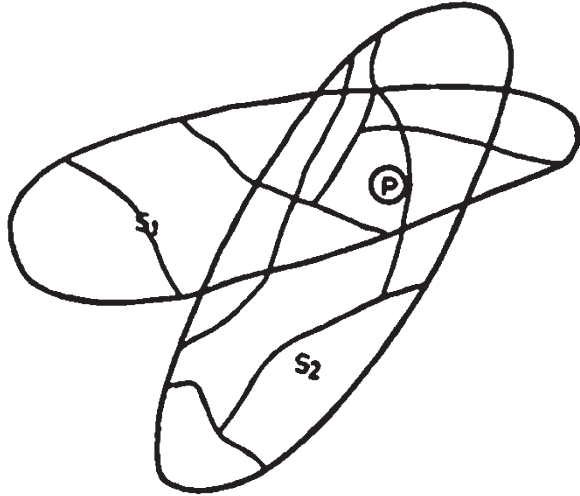
In everyday situations, this is very common. Consider, for example, the subway passenger who is talking on her phone and at the same time looking at which subway station her train is currently entering.

Overlapping Situation and Multifield Approach

Shifting her focus to S2, thinking about her mother, remembering scenes with her, eventually entering this scene, or having a conversation with her mother – this shift can also be accompanied by the person having a second phenomenal self and thus segregating a second phenomenal total field. In this case, the primary total field continues to be divided into S1 and S2 and contains an ego in two overlapping situations. By intensifying the experience in S2, however, the *recall* of an eight-year-old girl, for example, can become an actual phenomenal *encounter* with an eight-year-old girl facing her mother**.**

This leads to the emergence of a second ego since it is generally incompatible with the tendency to be *praegnant* in human experience that the same person moves in the same phenomenal world at the same time as an adult and as an eight-year-old girl. If facts occur in a whole that are incompatible in one and the same whole, then according to Gestalt psychological research findings, the associated experience of *impraegnanz* leads to the separation of another whole (Rausch, 1982, p 300f). From the phenomenal ego, therefore, a second phenomenal ego separates that of the eight-year-old girl, and this second phenomenal ego brings with it a complete environment, its very own phenomenal total field.

Such conditions and effects of a dynamical multiple-field organization of the phenomenal world during therapeutic processes have been explained in Stemberger (2009). Here are just two additional comments:

1. The multiple-field situation is not identical to the Lewin construct of overlapping situations. Each phenomenal total field in itself may contain overlapping situations. The overlapping situations are characterized by the fact that, within the same phenomenal total field, an ego finds itself in two (psychologically often quite different) situations simultaneously. In contrast, in a multiple-field structure, each total field has its own phenomenal self. For the separation of a second phenomenal ego with a second phenomenal environment, overlapping situations can form a precursor insofar as this overlap can, in the case of a correspondingly pronounced form, after some time come in conflict with the *praegnanz* tendency in the perception and experience of a person.
2. The emergence of a second total field is therefore possible and even likely in the course of certain psychotherapeutic processes (on the side of the client as well as on the side of the therapist) but does not necessarily have to be a voluntary objective for therapeutic reasons (cf. more detailed Stemberger, 2009). But it is not uncommon in this field that one has to deal with clients who come into therapy with a more or less permanently segregated second total field (cf. the examples of people with eating disorders: Fuchs, 2010) or whoever lives in constant tension because he knows from her/his experience that, over and over again, a second total field may suddenly develop and become so dominant that she largely loses control over her/his experience and behavior (see Sternek, 2014, in this issue, on the use of "screen techniques").

For the opposite case, namely the dissolution of a second total field and the return to an undivided primary total field, it is also possible to determine concrete conditions for the particular situation in which this occurs. Of fundamental importance here is, of course, the abolition of the i*mpraegnanz* – experience – be it by fading out or by the disappearance of certain facts from experience that were incompatible with each other in a singular phenomenal world; or by a shift of such facts to the level of unreality, bringing them back in such a way into a single compatible world, and so on. Willingly one can often bring about such processes of dissolution of the second total field by shifting attention to the experienced body (Stemberger, 2009).

Basic Characteristics of Multiple-Field Situation

Primary and secondary total fields have a number of characteristic differences:

- Primary total field: The body-ego in the primary total field (primary ego), in contrast to the body-ego in the secondary total field (secondary ego), is precisely determined in its localization and is usually fixed in place by the body's senses and with stronger optical means. The same applies to the various facts of his

phenomenal environment, the objects in the room, etc. (see also Rausch, 1982, p. 27).

- Secondary total field: The secondary total field is, in general, more flexible and easier changeable than the primary. The secondary ego can both be "disembodied," that is, to some extent, punctiform (example: virtual observer-ego), as well as the bodily ego. It is even able to merge with the bodily you of another person (such as in a vividly narrated scene) and to experience the scene "in the place of the other." The same applies to the secondary phenomenal environment. While it can hardly happen in the primary environment that there are suddenly new objects and people in the room, this is by no means unusual for the secondary environment. Numerous processes and operations in psychotherapeutic situations have their basis in these characteristics of the secondary total field and associated phenomena.

These characteristic differences between the primary and the secondary total field also allow concrete consequences and possibilities for therapeutic or other interpersonal situations: the high plasticity of the secondary total field offers particular starting points for much wider and perhaps more surprising variations in all areas of the secondary ego as well as the secondary environment than is the case in the primary overall field. Here is what Kurt Lewin's Berlin studies on action and affect psychology have already revealed in terms of the difference between the reality and the unreality layer in the life space.

The higher degree of determination of the primary total field, in turn, especially the anchoring of the primary ego through its body senses, can be targeted, for example, for the "retrieval" of the client by shifting his attention to the bodily perception of his primary ego and to his sensuous contact with his primary environment.

In psychotherapy, people like to ask about the interrelation of such "parallel worlds" and the idea quickly dawns that the integration of such worlds should occur here. But not everything should belong together and not everything should be integrated at once: let us consider the separation of traumatic experiences that have not yet been mastered, whose sudden breakthrough as a "flashback" can be particularly dramatic and distressing for those affected. However, self-protection can also be at stake in other contexts, and it can discourage the integration of two worlds that are more or less separate from one another (for certain cases of so-called anorexia, Thomas Fuchs has proposed this understanding, Fuchs, 2010).

Conclusion

This paper, in its first part, honors Boggi's work considering mind-wandering issues according to psychoanalysis and Gestalt psychology. Hopefully, we make it clear how for this phenomenon described by James (1890), Killingsworth and Gilbert (2010), Kane et al. (2007), and Schooler (2002) as a pervasive mental state, as a "standard mode of consciousness," "a basic-consciousness" in this context, requires

questioning the fact that most psychological theories of human experience and behavior (and many psychotherapeutic approaches) completely ignore the importance of this phenomenon and imply a constantly undivided state of consciousness of man, which we have to recognize on closer inspection as fiction. Not only but most cognitive studies are concentrated on attention and on specific tasks but even less studies consider mind-wandering a multicomponent phenomenon. Furthermore, not enough attention is given to methods of investigation: for example, one of the most used methods, self-catching (where a person reports his mind-wandering experience during an ongoing task) seems to reduce mind-wandering (Seli et al., 2018)[31] and other doubts on the research methods developed are expressed by Gozli (2019), for reason of space and time not treated here. Examples and questions about this phenomenon are still numerous, and it seems really hard to grasp it in its entirety. There is much to say and write about this phenomenon in particular in the field of psychotherapy and pedagogy, where it is quite unknown. However, we don't offer the reader a mere and limited reconstruction of the studies on mind-wandering, but we propose, through the voice of Stemberger, a new approach to the phenomenon.

In fact, the Gestalt theoretical multiple-field approach presented here in its basic essence (Stemberger, 2009, 2018) might offer new possibilities for a better-founded and, therefore, less one-sided access to a multitude of phenomena, which are currently not seen as a coherent field of research, but are dealt with under different aspects and headings – for example, "mind-wandering" (reviewed in Mooneyham & Schooler, 2013; Ergas, 2017), imagining (see Pope & Singer, 1978; Singer & Singer, 2005), and daydreaming (Hopkins (2013) as a cause of road accidents, or Somer (2002; 2019) as "maladaptive daydreaming." There are also good reasons to believe that the underlying phenomena of so-called ego-state therapy (Watkins & Watkins, 1997), as well as other approaches that deal with so-called dissociation, could perhaps be understood more appropriately within the framework of the Gestalt psychological multiple-field approach.

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[31] Seli et al. (2018) supposed a monitoring system that allows people to gain aware of self-catch and terminate a bout of mind-wandering.

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Chapter 9
Contemporary Considerations on "*Donna e Medicina Popolare*", by Pina Cavallo Boggi (1981)

Lívia Mathias Simão

"*Donna e Medicina Popolare*" (Women and Popular Medicine) (Boggi-Cavallo, 1981) is an intriguing, complex text that leaves room for readers to experiment with, and question, the plausibility of multiple paths as the text unfurls. Such paths reach our present days as we face a devastating pandemic in times still marked by the struggle for gender equality and diversity.

Given the text's complex interconnections, choices are inevitable. I chose to develop, from Cavallo Boggi's text, aspects of the physician–patient dialogy. I consider this topic has not yet been sufficiently explored from the perspective of Semiotic-Cultural Constructivism in psychology, the field in which I have developed my work. I aim to show that Cavallo Boggi pointed out and discussed matters that remain highly pertinent to our times. Both heir to the past and open to the novelty of the future, this contemporary piece of writing is nevertheless surprising and challenging for laying bare our potentials and limitations as human beings.

Cavallo Boggi focuses on the antagonistic relation developed between popular and scientific medicine since the eleventh century and consolidated in its complete form in the nineteenth century.[1] In this context, the author turns her attention to the role of women in "one type of medicine" as well as in "the other"; the activity of women, precisely, is the one responsible for the maintenance of the tenuous connection between "the two medicines", even during the period when women were explicitly excluded from scientific medicine.

In this framework, Boggi-Cavallo (1981) highlights the following:

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[1] It is worth adding, as Malet (1947) observed, that in ancient Greece the Hippocratic science already based its teachings in observation, giving rise to a lay medicine, that is, a medicine that sets aside divine and magical intervention (cf. p. 132).

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(a) The two foundations of popular medicine, that is, the empirical-medical knowledge and the magical understanding of the world (cf. pp. 1–2).

(b) The tendency to create opposite sides when discussing the relation between popular and scientific medical knowledge as if they were two mutually exclusive cultures, a hegemonic and a subordinate one. The first is thought to have a worldview free of superstition while the latter is still deep into magical rather than scientific thought. Science alone is said to hold the power and knowledge needed to set health and illness apart (cf. p. 2).

(c) An analogous polarization in the views concerning the place of women in the "historical processes of cultural elaboration and transmission within a defined social system" (Boggi-Cavallo, 1981, p. 2).

Women thus retained within their knowledge of illness and cure reminiscences of popular medicine, whether in the form of effective knowledge or false beliefs.

Although submitted to the division of labor and sexual roles, women had a central place in popular medicine "as custodian and transmitter of knowledge and intervention techniques", especially in Europe and particularly in Central Italy, with the Scuola Medica Salernitana, in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries (Boggi-Cavallo, 1981, p. 2).

In the attempt to clarify the reasons for the dichotomy between popular and scientific medicine and its consequences and understand the role of women in this context, the author reaches interesting conclusions. Her contributions are particularly valuable to our current understanding of the relations between psychology and medicine in the scope of semiotic-cultural constructivism, as developed initially, for example, in Simão and Marsico (2018).

It is noteworthy to mention that dialogics, as exposed and discussed by Marková (2012), does not only mean face-to-face dialogue between the self and the other but furthermore implies that the self and other are sources of communication for one another. In this communication, tensions and asymmetries occur, moments of accordance and discordance; these are intrinsic components of dialogic communication. Considering that these communicative encounters are unique and unrepeatable, the self and the other are placed, at each moment, in different positions in relation to one another in their respective processes of development. This entire process is only possible thanks to the "capacity of the human mind to conceive, create and communicate about social realities in terms of the 'Alter'", which is the core of the founding Ego-Alter-Objectrelation (Marková, 2003, p. xiii).

Therefore, as we have discussed in other opportunities, to talk to one another is more than to join or discard ideas, and to dialogue is more than to attempt to share. This allows possibilities and limits to the symbolic reorganization of the self and the other in the face of a given object (Simão, 2010).

Boggi-Cavallo (1981) is concerned precisely with the transformations in the Ego-Alter-Object relations that take place in the physician–patient–illness and physician–patient–health triads, which created and sustained the gap between popular and scientific medicine.

Within this dichotomy of the Modern era, women were forced into a peripheral position in science, and elsewhere – an issue still for us today. Nevertheless, and paradoxically, this gave them the power to act in the margins (Marsico, 2011). Women acted, thus, in the margins of the relations between popular and scientific medicine, that is, in both sides of a symbolic divide separating antagonistic and irreconcilable frameworks; women both knew how to administer medication and their care was valued by patients.[2]

In parallel, the schism between popular and scientific medicine has also produced, since the twentieth century, patient demand for more dialogue with healthcare providers, as Gadamer (1996) previously discussed. This appears today, for instance, in the form of complementary and alternative therapies (cf., for example, Suissa et al., 2016).

In this scope, two interrelated questions emerge from Boggi-Cavallo (1981) that I intend to explore: (1) what are the predications of patients brought forth by the author's approach and (2) what are the predications of women in their relations with patients, which in turn bring specific predications of women related to this particular context.

By predication, I mean that which differentially qualifies what a person is in a given situation, and what they are not; in our case, the differential qualifications of patients and women that may emerge from the situations examined by Boggi-Cavallo (1981).

Predication is not an isolated attribute of the person. On the contrary, it is a consequence of the person's constructions and reconstructions throughout their life, in their relations with "their others", in the sense presented by William James (1890). That is, an individual's predications are formed in the interaction with the people who affect them, forming their subjectivity. In our case, we refer to the patient and woman for one another, besides other people involved in this context.

Arising from a relational I–other process, predication is not, however, established from a specular I–other relation. Rather, it is established according to antinomies (Marková, 2003; Taylor, 1958) between the individual and the other due to a type of relationship that is at once differential and intimate, constantly changing. These others can even be moments of oneself that, for being so different from other moments, affect the individual as if they were someone else (Simão, 2016).

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[2] On this matter, see also Verdon (1999), who accounts the situation of women doctors in the Middle Ages. Despite being qualified as wise women, their medical practice was considered illegal and was frequently subject to lawsuits. Nevertheless, their presence was considered essential, due, for instance, to the fact that many women refused to show their intimate parts to male doctors (cf. pp. 75–77). Other experiences of women in the margins of what we could call antagonistic contexts, although not related to medicine, can be found in Davis (1995).

The Predications of Patients and Women in the Context of Illness and Cure

Boggi-Cavallo (1981) presents a dichotomy between popular and scientific medicine, as well as women's role in this context, represented by the author with the emblematic figure of Trotula de Ruggiero. From this, we aim to establish a dialogy that may highlight the predications of women and patients, respectively, as *women healers* and *diseased individuals* in the contexts of illness and cure.

First, the dichotomies discussed by Boggi-Cavallo show us that one of the attributes of popular medicine is the inclusion, in its practice, of a psychologically refined and sensitive therapeutic intervention (cf. Boggi-Cavallo, 1981, p. 3).[3]

We have here a dialogy between psychological and physiological aspects. Explicitly or not, admittedly or not, these aspects were involved in the popular medicine safeguarded and practiced, at times illegally, by the *women healers*.

It is with this dialogy that Gadamer (1996), for example, concludes his essay *Apologia for the Art of Healing*, in which he discusses the suitability and limits of thinking medicine as an "art of healing". For him, the relationship mode psychotherapist-patient should be recognized as universally valid (cf. p. 43). This type of relationship is characterized by a shared task, in which the psychotherapist abandons the place of the focus of the relationship to make room for the patient, aiming to free the latter from some kind of suffering.

Boggi-Cavallo advances in this sense when she specifies the nature of the dialogy between women and the sick: the *woman healer* sought to *provide* answers to the sick person, based on what the latter *offered* her to indicate their needs (cf. Boggi-Cavallo, 1981, p. 3). The healer understood these needs by interpreting the symptom as part of the global reality of the disease-stricken individual, the *sick person*.

Being present in the face of suffering, sharing it with the patient, and striving to remedy this suffering created "a sort of complicity between patient and healer" (Boggi-Cavallo, 1981, p. 3). However, given the asymmetrical positions proper to dialogical relations, this complicity is not easily established, on the contrary. Boesch (1977), for example, points out, in the scope of the said scientific medicine, some asymmetries that often make physician–patient relations difficult. In a hospital, the physician is in their institutional work environment, within their "social network". This usually grants them some professional recognition and some power, besides responsibilities and duties. The patient, as a rule, is in this environment in a weakened situation; they depend on the physician and hope to be "in the hospital for just a little while". But a dialogy unites them, so to speak: the physician's prestige is highly dependent on the patient, and the patient's cure is highly dependent on the physician. Given the difficulties of this dialogy, Boesch does not refrain from

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[3] In Italian, in the original version, "(…) quanto di specifico, all'interno della pratica di medicina popolare, caratteriza l'intervento terapeutico, la sua qualità, forse la sua maggiore complessità e ricchezza, in senso *squisitamente* psicologico" (Boggi-Cavallo 1981, p. 7; emphasis added).

making a sort of denunciation and appeal in his conclusions, which also relate to the psychological aspects that we are discussing:

> Physicians often do not realize how elementary the difficulties are with which they must help their patients cope. A patient trusts his doctor only when he understands him and when he feels understood himself (…). (p. 27)

In this dialogy, what can the healer *provide* to the person who *offers* a symptom so that this dyad may, in our specific case, be predicated as a *woman healer–sick person* in the face of an object, the illness?

The difficulties involved in establishing this kind of dialogy, and perhaps some of the answers to them, can be found in Gadamer's (1965) discussion on the suitability and limits of considering medicine as an art, to which I referred above.

The first element we can extract from Gadamer (1965) is that medicine can be considered a technique as long as it is understood as a skill in which knowledge emerges as it is being produced. In other words, knowledge emerges from experience, as opposed to the idea of technique as a mere application of previously existing theoretical knowledge. Even then, there is another limitation of the notion of medicine as technique since a technique results in a product for the use of others, which does not exactly apply to the case of medicine (cf. p. 32).

The second element of interest to us, also brought by Gadamer (1965), is the idea that considering medicine as an art rather than a technique requires admitting that healing is something new that emerges from this art, a notion that, if taken "to the letter", also has limitations:

> Here we cannot speak of a material which is already given in the last analysis by nature, and from which something new emerges by being brought into an artfully conceived form. On the contrary, it belongs to the essence of the art of healing that its ability to produce is an ability to re-produce and re-establish something. (p. 32)

We thus reach the third element presented by Gadamer (1965), the fact that what is re-produced and re-established in medical cure is health, that is, something that pertains to nature. The restoration of balance in the individual is what is created with the art of medicine. Restoration implies an idea of Nature as an organized whole, in which each being's equilibrium fluctuates, so that

> The ultimate horizon of all medical practice is defined by the fact that the fluctuating state of equilibrium characteristic of health is qualitatively distinct from that definitive loss of equilibrium when everything finally comes to an end. (p. 37)

The Gadamerian perspective lets us situate the dialogy of the *woman healer* and the *sick person* inside a whole that re-predicates also illness as a moment of loss of natural balance during life. We thus have the chance to face the issue of illness and health according to a framework broader than the strictly medical–biological one: we may regard it as part of a process in the individual's life story (cf. Gadamer, 1965, p. 42). Such a perspective opens space for bridging the gap between medicine and psychology, through the notion of restoration of balance in the sick person-healer dialogue. For this dialogue to be effective in the reconstruction of the

meanings of the imbalance as it takes place, the "others" of the sick person and the healer will also play a role.

As Boggi-Cavallo (1981) observes, the sick person's body, which the woman healer and even the registered physician address, is

> the community body, not the single body, a body that lives connected, not isolated, to things and other bodies. The singularity of this body is that it is a body in communication with the whole nature and culture. It is a body transducing codes, a body that has not yet been emptied, split, separated, objectified, or made absent. (pp. 13–14)

For this reason,

> The symptom, the syndrome, the disease does not appear to be decontextualized. The disease is faced by the doctor and the patient together, in the complete disclosure and comprehensibility of the remedy used, visible, manipulable, recognizable and when it is not so, in any case, its effectiveness is validated by the consent of the community (the therapeutic value of gems and metals). It is a sort of complicity, an alliance of the two parties, the doctor and the patient, in the face of the suffering to be eradicated. It is the first form of reassurance that patients get. Besides, there is the reassurance they get from remaining with their illness, their ailments in their life, in their personal and communitarian context. The non-expropriation of the disease and the non-expropriation of the body are the hallmarks of popular medicine. (pp. 15–16)

Here we see yet another dialogy, this time between the circumstantiality of the illness and the communality of culture, as the collective field of the healer and the sick person's symbolic actions (Boesch, 1991). In this field, women, moving along the borders of both forms of medicine, are the ones to keep alive the psychological and holistic nature of the traditional knowledge of popular medicine until today, albeit with difficulty and losses.

With the objectified and individualized notions of health and illness of today, it is not surprising that, in the circumstances of the COVID-19 pandemic that assails the world, for instance, getting people to act accordingly to the ideas we have discussed of balance and common good is so hard. The difficulties involved in social distancing are not only indicators of people's need for sharing but, paradoxically, of the prevalence of isolation, in the sense of the prevalence of individualistic attitudes, given the threats posed to the balance of Nature. Being in a group, in this case, is answering first to the demands of an individual life project that cannot be altered. Diversely, actions developed in the margins of hegemonic knowledge, like those of the women healers, seem to be gaining space and prominence in the current circumstances. Medical sciences themselves seem to be increasingly searching for dialogue at the borders with psychology and the Humanities in general to be able to deal with the challenges like the ones here discussed.

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Chapter 10
Comment on Pina Boggi Cavallo and Michele Cesaro's "Parents, Children, and the Third Age: The Needs of Older People"

Isabelle Albert

Lifespan approaches have become a major branch of today's developmental science. For a long time though, older age has been neglected in mainstream developmental psychology, which focused mostly on childhood and adolescence (although the life span was already considered in earlier theories on developmental stages and tasks, see Bühler, 1936; Erikson, 1968; Havighurst, 1972). The article by Pina Boggi Cavallo and Michele Cesaro dates back to 40 years ago when lifespan psychology started to gain momentum. The authors anticipate in their chapter many of the evolutions and theorizing of lifespan developmental psychology of the last four decades. The present commentary will focus on selected themes and outline how Boggi Cavallo and Cesaro already described development in older age by certain concepts and principles that have become essential parts of developmental science today.

Boggi Cavallo and Cesaro tackle several of the upcoming issues of their times, which are still relevant in research today. Most importantly, they have outlined how negative images of aging and stereotypical role expectations should be changed in order to improve quality of life in older age, arguing that a perspective embracing diversity in older age would be beneficial to better describe and explain processes of aging and subjective well-being of older people. This is in line with a lifespan developmental approach applying a wider concept of development that does not stop after adolescence and that embraces both gains and losses as developmental processes, acknowledging plasticity and the possibility to learn until late adulthood (Baltes et al., 1980).

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Activity Versus Disengagement

A central theme running through the whole chapter is undoubtedly the back then vivid discussion about *activity* vs. *disengagement theory*, clearly expressed in the quotation from De Beauvoir that precedes the chapter and that describes an older person as follows: "He is defined by an **exis**, not a **praxis.**[1]" Whereas Cumming and Henry (1961) had suggested that older people would typically detach from earlier roles, Neugarten and Havighurst (1969) would propose the opposite: aging well is related to staying active and involved. Boggi Cavallo and Cesaro acknowledge here clearly that the question of someone staying active or becoming passive in third age depends largely on the social group older people belong to. They note the importance of sociocultural context, with specific role expectations of elders, thereby acknowledging also social change that leads to modified expectations over time as well as a higher diversification of roles depending on socioeconomic status. Hence, a higher socioeconomic status might go hand in hand with a larger choice of roles in older age. Here, the chrononormativity of life (Brinkmann and Musaeus, 2018) becomes obvious – expectations depend on the various points in the lifespan where an individual is currently located but also on the social context where the individual is embedded and this social context changes also over time.

Continuity Theory

Also, *continuity of the life course* becomes obvious here – those who were more active in diverse areas in the past might continue to search for opportunities to stay active also in older age (Atchley, 1989). Here, again the socioeconomic status and a certain habitus or lifestyle might play a crucial role. Thus, while specific developmental tasks in different life phases might require adaptive responses (Havighurst, 1972), some preferences might stay stable over time, as Boggi Cavallo and Cesaro note. They speak here of "stable schemata of individual conduct," which are supposed to be maintained over the whole lifespan, and this is again in line with the claims of *continuity theory* (Atchley, 1989). All the more, it seems important to foster "active aging" and prepare for old age in earlier phases of the lifespan (Kornadt et al., 2019). These earlier phases are, however, often characterized by an accumulation of developmental tasks (such as founding a family, making a career) that seem to leave no time for preparing for old age. Difficulties in finding a work–family balance and in reconciling leisure time with other areas can lead to reduced subjective well-being in what has been coined as the rush hour of life (Knecht et al., 2016). And (seemingly) all of a sudden, one might reach retirement age, grown-up children leave the parental household, and one has to reorganize the whole life, searching for new roles as professional and family obligations are eased – this is the

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[1] Original bold.

critical point at which a formerly highly involved person might experience loss, struggling to overcome an unprecedented inactivity. The importance of social and cultural context is noted by Boggi Cavallo and Cesaro when they write that self-views of older people depend on "the current values of the social group" they are part of. Thus, social norms will determine if a person engages in new activities after retirement or if they become passive in line with the role expectations of their socio-cultural environment.

Aging Stereotypes

Closely linked to this theme, *images of aging* play a major role in how people experience this phase of their lives and also how they view people of older age in general. Expectations play a major role here – they are accompanied by internalized aging stereotypes that influence behavioral choices and normative evaluations (Weiss and Kornadt, 2018). When older people are regarded as "exceptional by their age" as the quote from De Beauvoir states, the underlying stereotype is clear: older people are seen as inactive and are supposed to have lost competencies in different areas. Thus, if they are still showing certain competencies, this is an exception and not the norm. Indicating a person as exceptional by their age is thus a seemingly positive attitude toward a specific person that can however be as harmful as the underlying negative aging stereotypes in general. The label "exceptional by their age" can trigger negative thoughts and reactions in the person who is confronted with this. The authors also claim that stereotypes are built and learnt throughout the whole life and influence the behavior of older people who have internalized these stereotypes. Whereas the relevance of aging stereotypes for younger people might lie in their attitude toward older people, once an individual identifies with being an older person herself she might start "playing the role of elder" when presumably entering this phase of life, which is often marked by retirement. Internalized stereotypes, role expectations, and norms are thus relevant for behavioral choices. However, there might be narrower compared to broader contexts – in the latter case, the stereotypes might be less normative and more behavioral choices for older people could be available (Albert and Tesch-Römer, 2019).

Third and Fourth Age

In the very much productivity-oriented Western context of the 1980s, however, retirement was connotated with "uselessness" in terms of economic productivity; hence, a rather pessimistic and negative view on aging was described by Boggi Cavallo and Cesaro in line with the *Zeitgeist* of the time. This becomes obvious

when they describe old age as characterized by "the retreat from productive activity" and as "age of decline". Interestingly, the authors focus here mostly on economic activity without considering social roles, intergenerational embeddedness, autonomy, and other possibilities for active aging. Through today's wider lens, one might ask what is the threshold here to define an old person. Retirement age has become more flexible, there are large differences with regard to the legal retirement age even among EU countries, and the start of retirement depends on previous occupation and profession. Being older nowadays does not automatically signify inactiveness. Except for the COVID-19 crisis, older people who travel the world are now even kind of a stereotype. In particular, third age in Western contexts is at times being described as the new age of opportunity (similar to adolescence) where older people, with their economic security provided through generous pension schemes and unconstrained by professional and family obligations, can enjoy their newly gained freedom. Certainly, a large variability among older people still exists in this regard – opportunities depend largely on social systems, family situations, and economic and health conditions. It should, however, be noted that whereas Boggi Cavallo and Cesaro localize a disadvantageous change already with the entering of retirement age, lifespan developmental psychology has distinguished between third and fourth age to account for age-related decline (for a summary, see, e.g., Smith, 2003): fourth age is typically characterized by more losses compared to gains, while third age is described rather optimistically. In a way, lifespan developmental approaches might thus have shifted their pessimistic view to later stages in life but have not completely abandoned negative views on aging.

Active Aging

With regard to initiatives to foster active aging, Boggi Cavallo and Cesaro seem to see older people rather in a passive role, in particular when it comes to healthcare programs that mostly focus on how to overcome the inactiveness of older persons; however, they claim that positive factors and developments should not be overlooked. In fact, today their wish has become partly true as *active aging* is pronounced and a policy goal in many countries and also at the EU level (see, e.g., https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=1062&langId=en). Whereas today's possibilities for older people seem much more diversified, the healthcare programs at the time of their writing seem particularly characterized by elements of epistemic injustice (Fricker, 2007; Wee et al., 2023) – activities were designed by (younger) people who thought they knew what is good for older people, more precisely by trying to make them accept or improve their (presumably negative) condition.

Aging Well

A certain deterministic view becomes obvious here, which sees aging as predominantly biologically driven. In this sense, Boggi Cavallo and Cesaro see disengagement here as a self-protection of elders in light of a declining physical status. However, biological age is not the same as chronological age, subjective age, or even functional age – in fact, the experience of age is also dependent on social and cultural factors and might vary interindividually (Albert & Tesch-Römer, 2019), and subjective age has an impact on how age-related changes are perceived (Kornadt et al., 2018). It goes without saying that older persons have to deal with challenges due to physical and social losses. However, recent discussions acknowledge that what was coined as *"successful" aging* (Rowe & Kahn, 1997) has to be regarded in more relative terms; certainly, we cannot apply certain general norms of success to aging. We have to consider the impressive adaptive and self-regulatory capacities of individuals until the oldest age, which enhance the quality of life even in light of objective impairments (Tesch-Römer & Wahl, 2017). What counts is the subjective evaluation of a life experience, not a somehow defined objective state (which might be experienced very differently by each and every individual) – as Valsiner (2014) notes, subjective experience is crucial.

Self-Regulatory Processes

We should mention here two further theoretical approaches that propose a change in goals and self-regulatory strategies related to age, which help to maintain well-being throughout the whole life, namely the *lifespan theory of control* (Heckhausen & Schultz, 1995) and Brandtstädter's *dual-process model of developmental regulation*. Brandtstädter proposes the two processes of assimilation and accommodation (see, e.g., Brandtstädter & Greve, 1994) as part of self-regulatory processes that change in relevance with age. While the former refers to a continued effort and a persistence in goal striving, the latter refers to a flexible adaptation of personal goals in case of need. Heckhausen and Schultz (1995) claim that individuals apply primary and secondary control strategies in line with changing opportunities across the lifespan. Whereas younger people use more primary control strategies, being convinced that things can be changed in line with their goals, older people use more secondary control strategies, as they might have reduced opportunities to reach their goals, thus adapting their goals to changed circumstances. Heckhausen and Schultz claim a primacy of primary control where secondary control steps in when initial goals cannot be reached, but also cultural differences in preferences for control strategies should be considered here (Rothbaum et al., 1982). Finally, Baltes and Baltes' (1990) SOC-model (selective optimization with compensation) describes how the process of selection of specific goals can be adapted to the respective

possibilities and how areas of gain can be optimized while losses are compensated for as part of developmental regulation. The just described self-regulatory processes can foster subjective well-being throughout the whole lifespan in spite of age-related losses and impairments. If such adaptive processes fail, subjective well-being is often reduced. Studies have also shown that life satisfaction decreases prior to death (Gerstorf et al., 2008); thus, the mere "waiting for a non-intentional exis" as described by Boggi Cavallo and Cesaro could have a negative impact on life expectancy.

Socioemotional Selectivity

This leads us to a further theme: the importance of *goals and expectations* in social relations (see, e.g., Freund, 2017). Different goals of younger and older people are stated in De Beauvoir's quote: "And this is why he appears to active individuals as a "foreign species" in which they don't recognize themselves." In fact, different goals have been described that trigger the preferences of older compared to younger people in their choice and regulation of social relations. Carstensen and colleagues (Carstensen et al., 1999) note in their socioemotional selectivity theory that goals in social relations change depending on the future time perspective of an individual. Hence, whereas younger people according to the theory are more interested in making new acquaintances and acquiring new knowledge, older people focus more on the emotional value of their social relationships. Their goal is emotion regulation to enhance their well-being. They invest thus more effort in strengthening already existing social relations.

Continuity and Change in Intergenerational Relations

This is also the moment when intergenerational strain might occur, as described in the chapter by Boggi Cavallo and Cesaro when they refer to a changed family structure when people age. Notably, they state, "The relationship between the elderly person and the young people, inside and outside the family, is affected by the sunset of the authority that the parental role, and the old age in general, bestowed to the elders." An intergenerational stake has already been described by Bengtson (Bengtson & Kuypers, 1971), pointing at different goals of older parents compared to their children – continuity of relations vs. autonomy. Here, it becomes clear that roles in adult child–parent relations are newly defined and intergenerational relations might become more symmetric (Buhl, 2008). Ambivalences might occur when different expectations between older parents and their adult children prevail and are not further negotiated (Albert et al., 2018; Lüscher et al., 2015). The empty nest situation leads also to the necessity to redefine the partnership of the parental couple (see also Perrig-Chiello & Perren, 2005) – "The relationship with the partner and

with the offspring is modified. While a plurality of psychological mechanisms get underway, that overturn the traditional parent-child roles, the figure of the partner is taking a growing importance," as Boggi Cavallo and Cesaro write.

Conclusions

As has been shown in the previous paragraphs, Boggi Cavallo and Cesaro's work can be connected to theories of lifespan development, which have been brought forward throughout the past decades. The authors anticipate in their chapter from 1980 already many themes that have become a focus in more recent theories and research. They point to several factors that play a role in aging well – a concept that has been taken up again recently by Rowe and Kahn (2015) and that has nourished many discussions around a new conceptualization of what is successful aging. Boggi Cavallo and Cesaro have described the detrimental effects of aging stereotypes, which coin older people as inactive and thus deprive them of the very possibility of growth in the third or even in the fourth age. They noted the danger of inactivity and stereotypes in a time when aging was much regarded as an exis, as a time of unproductivity and "uselessness." Some of these stereotypes have been overcome – lifespan developmental approaches acknowledge today the adaptive capacities and the possibilities for growth until old age. However, the focus of the last years was much on the third age as a time of possibilities, whereas a pessimistic view still prevailed regarding the fourth age. A somehow normative orientation has been shown through the model of successful aging and only recently it has been acknowledged that also in fourth age good life is possible. It becomes clear here how each developmental theory is also embedded in a specific historical and socio-cultural context – Boggi Cavallo and Cesaro pointed in their chapter in particular to difficulties occurring for older people in a Southern Italian town in the 1980s that was characterized by high emigration of the younger population, leaving behind the older people. Many of their observations could, however, be transferred to other contexts of today and describe typical phenomena that occur when people age. Developmental contexts change with time and space; norms for development evolve, as well as views on aging. The chapter provides an impressive outlook on different phenomena that have been described by principles of lifespan developmental psychology over the last years and that have characterized recent research on lifelong development.

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Chapter 11
Lou Andreas-Salomé: Which Woman? Which Body? Whose Narcissism?

Check for updates

Rosa Traversa

At the end of the 1970s, following the shining years of the sexual revolution and the second wave of feminism, Pina Boggi-Cavallo (1979) proposed an original focus on psychoanalysis through the figure of the Russian intellectual Lou Andreas-Salomé. The Italian psychologist was mainly concerned to shed light on the interrelations between biography and the newborn-science at the beginning of the twentieth century, i.e. psychology, in explaining why the concept of 'humanity' is not asexual and the concept of 'narcissism' is differently bodily shaped if compared to the Freudian version. Compelling was, in fact, the philosophical and political effort to reclaim what will be the core issue in the 1980s, *difference,* rather than keeping the lens of equality for exploring gender and – specifically – feminine issues. Such an academic interest resonates quite relevant for the historical and psychological implications of considering women both the subjects and the objects of psychoanalysis ('*Even if such contribution is not included in Lou's works on psychoanalysis, due to her personal characteristics mentioned in her autobiography, it is worthwhile to focus on one of her major concerns, as intellectual and as woman: the definition of femininity. It is quite likely that her largely unknown contribution in this respect may be diffused in a historical period during which exploring femininity means identifying its specificity',* p. 4).

The breathing biography Pina Cavallo Boggi discusses about Lou Andreas-Salomé involves basically her mutual correspondence with among two of the most brilliant thinkers of the twentieth century: Freud and Nietzsche. P.C.B. seems very passionate in her emphasis of Lou's intellectual liaisons with both males and, especially, to show how she got to be appreciated for her intellectual commitment by them. Certainly in line with Lou's biography itself (http://www.psychomedia.it/jep/

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number14/mazin.htm, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_njH1CGtjoc "Al di là del bene e del male" by Liliana Cavani), P.C.B. argues how a Russian intellectual reached utmost levels of theoretical elaboration *being a woman*, sexually different from the masculine normative thinking. Lou embodies for P.C.B. the example of woman not needing to hide such difference, rather deserving to be put at the top of contemporary thinkers. In other words, femininity should not reject flesh for its own sake. However, which kind of body, which kind of flesh, is P.C.B. reclaiming for making sense of humanity from a psychoanalytical feminine perspective?

Lou Andreas-Salomé in this essay is described as a woman in profound solidarity with philosophers like Nietzsche, with whom she shared the fundamental political turmoil of the early 1900 in Europe, and, mostly, his central concept of the 'death of God'. A new longing for humanity was opened, and the rise of the evidence-based scientific paradigm appeared to be a novel territory for exploring the human nature. Lou's interest in psychoanalysis relies partially here, with her impossibility to "*embrace the utmost profound and exclusive solitude*" (p. 3), to substitute God with the cult of herself, of an unbearable Totality, like Nietzsche. Lou seems to need human borders in the very moment she looks for *wholeness,* and she found such complex unity in psychoanalysis and Freudian theories. Still, she dedicated to psychoanalysis because it was an *'in-process science, where nothing is achieved once and for all, and therefore quite in touch with its subject matter'* (p. 3). So, it is not a top-down science, not quite interested in the concrete overlapping and disorienting human issues, but, rather, a kind of science able to make sense of the *hesitant* yet heavy connection of humanity with the world.

I'd like to continue on this pathway about unity and differences by furthering the previous point over femininity, flesh, and mind. As it clearly emerges from P.C.B. elaboration on the dual orientation of narcissism according to Lou Andreas-Salomé, such a psychological phenomenon – mainly described as a regression in Freudian terms – is actually different for women and men in relation to their different contributions to giving birth and nurturing. If the feminine Ego *separates while associating,* like every woman does when she keeps her baby to her breasts, men can experience such introverted nature of narcissism through creativity and artistic production. Before turning to discuss such central issue, I would like to reflect on the nature of the introversion and the complex homogeneity it suggests by drawing on the experience of regretting motherhood (Donath, 2017). Such recent literature has been appreciated for its effort to shed light and analyse the specific phenomenon of women looking back at their past and expressing regret to what they became: mothers. As the sociologist Orna Donath has vividly explained, there should not be expectation to feel fragmented if women regret – not to have given birth to their own children – rather to what they had to go through for this and their experience as mothers. If Elizabeth Badinter (1982) already argued against the existence of any supposed 'maternal instinct', what we can see here is the critique to even a mere chance to think back to your past once you become a mother, to imagine a different story, given the outstanding extraordinary event motherhood represents. Women interviewed by Orna Donath, moreover, are not declaring they don't love their

children. They are reclaiming the right to think 'as if' they had an alternative past, regretting the present. For the scope of the present commentary, it is worthwhile to notice that such narcissistic maternal regression Lou was pinpointing as the peculiar feminine dimension seems to be rejected by the very experience of motherhood for these women. Giving birth and nurturing may prevent the (narcissistic) connection with oneself and the world Lou Andreas-Salomé argued about the feminine.

So, which libido is at stake here? If we consider Freudian concept of narcissism, seen as *primary* and *secondary*, we can realize how such stage-oriented view is particularly related to external objects together with the waving movement between them and the Ego. Lou Andreas-Salomé proposed, rather, a *dual-orientation of narcissism*, atemporal but affectively relevant. Such a perspective is drawn from the feminine tendency towards the process – rather than the goal – of libido, combining *tenderness and sexuality* (p. 4). 'Living the most vital as the most sublimated' (p. 4). P.C.B. emphasizes how such a position comes essentially from Lou's account of motherhood, conflating the very specific experience of being women with that of mothers, never fully individual, separated, but always already embedded into objects and context. The boundary for women is already included in their skin, their breasts, never meant intrinsically and per se. Hence, the pleasure Lou is referring to corresponds to the feeling of natural co-dependency and not quite a mutual, peer, relationship. On one hand, I do find quite pertinent and insightful this point here where P.C.B. is describing how Lou was still following Freud theories about human nature, even when she tried to revisit his notion of narcissism and reclaimed a feminine mature difference rather than a temporal regression to infantile stage of development. The dual orientation of narcissism is not the ultimate limit in psychoanalysis as a therapy; it can still be felt in intimate relationships. On the other hand, I think such revision of Freudian theories in this respect sounds as feminine libido out of history, biography, quite melting into a sort of natural cosmography whereby action is out of pleasure, unlike the dualistic representation of masculine libido in creativity. I believe such point may even be extended to a critique of the Freudian Oedipus and Electra complexes in that they assume same-sex relationships as temporal and regressive for the appropriate resolution of both developmental crisis (Butler, 1995). Yet, this is beyond the scope of the present commentary.

> Accordingly, the feminine action, giving birth, looks like a warm egoism affecting the mother-son relationship as a sort of bond where the first one communicates and drops out through separation. Men live such experiences through creativity; whereas women live autonomously the experience of the unity of opposites and the making of the eternally insufficient in its eternal fulfillment, in themselves. This is the female narcissus (p. 4–5)

As visible in the abovementioned excerpt, the libido action itself in the case of the female narcissus is the body, her body, subject, and object at the same time. Moreover, such introversion is never solely *internal* since the feminine always relies on the eternal ambiguity of giving birth to the origin, so to speak. Losing such distinctions is described as a feminine specificity, rather than being a specific cultural-historical product itself. Are the breasts subjects of pleasure themselves or only insofar they can nurture another human being? Is this a feminine destiny?

Here lies the most interesting biographical account of Lou Andreas-Salomé and her numerous male friendships (Andreas-Salomé, 1951), her virginity until 30 years old, her being a femme-fatal (Andreas-Salomé, 1962), her need to combine Science and Life, to live *psychoanalytically* rather than writing about psychoanalysis, as she did in the past. For Lou the strength of her bond to masculine figures was primarily focused on the intellectual brotherhood since during the childhood she was literally surrounded by them: '*it always seemed to me that there was a brother hidden in everyone*' (Andreas-Salomé, 1951, p. 43). Lou Andreas-Salomé rejected the position as housewife or mother, cultivating polyandry and avoiding marriage as well. She was highly appreciated for her empathic skills to understanding men, and she became particularly intimate with influential twentieth-century thinkers like Freud, Rilke, and Nietzsche. At the same time, she felt compelled to not become neither sexual object nor spiritual slave of her male friends, rather to be faithful and intact to herself. Her sexuality was not longing for husbands, but for intellectual brothers. Here, we can see how Lou reached her view on sublimated narcissism by stressing a sort of intrinsic pleasure to be female: '*having broken away from the aims of sexual domination, the libido is capable of anything that can just be imagined, and with the sublimation of the most archaic auto-eroticism it simultaneously comes to the merger of oneself and the world which it experiences*' (Andreas-Salomé, 1962, p. 12).

In her constant effort to combine body and mind, whole and borders, science and practice, Lou was struggling to find out a reason in Life, to believe in the Humankind, neither classicist nor religious reason. Contrary to Nietzsche, she felt that it is still Life, the choice of Life, an act of courage and redemption, and she found in psychoanalysis the very possibility to liberate humanity from illusions through new boundaries and challenging constraints. What is extremely interesting is the ambivalence between her private life and her theorizing over the female narcissus, as if the feminine condition might represent the other side of the coin, not the partiality and *lacking of* as it is usually portrayed, rather the complex unity of humanity. P.C.B. underlines such insight by mainly referring to Lou's focus on the *origin* and this idea of female generativity that seems in itself connecting totality with the finitude. According to P.C.B., Lou sees the experience of motherhood that which enables women to feel complete while fragmented, to feel one while being two, to care for while introverting libido.

Lou seems to put women in a post-subjectivity framework by allowing Life beyond and within them. She maintains the necessity to shape the author(ity) of the Origin, but nonetheless she stresses how the object-investment of female libido is never monolithically real. In a way, she follows what Bataille (1957, 2009) stated about eroticism: '*Eroticism can be said as the confirmation of life up inside death*' (p. 13: translation from Italian is mine). Lou Andreas-Salomé was actually trying to be empathetic with such (masculine) nihilistic tendencies without risking to be (their) love- or sex- or death-object. She found appropriate to be faithful to Life and to be productive by theorizing the magniloquence of multitude, wholeness, and physical collectivity she especially thought femininity is about.

Love always starts from somewhere, someone, but it inhabits the cosmos. Death is much more about the fear of being fragmented and losing such indivisibility.

Certainly, Pina Cavallo Boggi's focus on one of the rare female psychoanalysts and intellectuals at the beginning of the twentieth century has gone far beyond the attempt to save an important historical biography. What is at stake in her essay, 'Lou Andreas-Salomé: On Women and Psychoanalysis', is the possibility to recognize psychology as it was felt by Lou: the *always un-finished science, in touch with its subject-matter,* able to make sense of the infinite fragility and the complex unity of humankind, starting from femininity.

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Chapter 12
Yearning for Home: Place, Loss, and New Paradigms of Psychological Practice

**Paul Rhodes, Ruth Wells, Robert Brockman, Merle Conyer,
and Maria Nichterlein**

Introduction

> Solastalgia has its origins in the concepts of "solace" and "desolation". Solace has meanings connected to the alleviation of distress or to the provision of comfort or consolation in the face of distressing events. Desolation has meanings connected to abandonment and loneliness. The suffix -algia has connotations of pain or suffering. Hence, solastalgia is a form of "homesickness" like that experienced with traditionally defined nostalgia, except that the victim has not left their home or home environment. Solastalgia, simply put, is "the homesickness you have when you are still at home." (Albrecht, 2012)

The field of clinical psychology, of which we are a part, is undergoing a crisis. It maintains dominance in the therapeutic professions yet fails to respond to the problems of our age. The field emerged from the cognitive revolution of the 1960s and maintains an individualistic-cognitive view: cognitive-behavior therapy, schema therapy, and dialectic behavior therapy. Distress is diagnosed and quantified and constructed as a personal problem. We are indicted for faulty information

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processing. Clinical formulations make connections between thoughts, emotions and behavior, and mummy and daddy (Deleuze & Guattari, 1972) devoid of temporal, cultural, or local contexts. Meanwhile, the world is falling apart: the struggle of Indigenous people, the dislocation of refugees, the isolation of the neoliberal subject, and our ecological catastrophe. Psychologists are overloaded with distress. They respond to the increasing demand by pushing toward the development of apps and smart therapy and fail to lift their heads.

These problems that we have described are not personal problems but are problems of place. Local. The young Indigenous woman in Alice Springs watching young men suicide, losing touch with country/cultural practices. The Syrian man, transposed to a city he doesn't know, stoic, his children still at war, with flashbacks of home. The rich kid cutting herself in the empty house. And none will admit to pre-traumatic stress as the temperature rises. Bowlby's theory of attachment can be applied directly in this sense, the dynamics of our relationship to beloved places operating in a similar fashion as infant with mother. Separation anxiety and protest, anxious attachment and loss, are all generalizable phenomenon.

It is critical, first however, that we declare that we are all English-speaking Australian authors and our academic work is founded on settler-colonialism, on the very theft of the place we speak of. We are implicated in an academy and forms of knowledge production which have supported this theft. The very enlightenment systems of thought, on which person-place dualism and the field of psychology are based, also formed the justification for this theft of land. The declaration of Australia as terra nullius ("nobody's land") was founded on British colonial assertions that Australian Indigenous people did not practice what Locke called "mixing" labor with the land, i.e., agriculture. Notwithstanding the genocidal imperative of this assertion, recent research has demonstrated that colonial systems of knowledge production excluded evidence of complex Indigenous systems of land management and settlement from the academy as it was transported to what Connell calls the "global metropole" (Connell, 2014). That is, knowledge produced by bodies situated in the geographical spaces of Australia were displaced and disembodied in their dislocation to central British metropoles to support the extractive technologies of colonization. How might we build new forms of knowledge production which resist these processes through attending to the experiences of bodies situated in place?

The story of the Irpinia earthquake of 1980 is both a historical fact and fitting metaphor. An iconic solastalgic event. Dr. Abe was also a reductionist psychologist, culturally blind. Irrelevant. A colonist too. Pina Boggi-Cavallo was the hero, seeing the pain of bodies wrenched from place and calling for a different type of psychology. Focused on suffering, participatory and emergent. How do we help whole communities experiencing trauma when they feel they no longer belong in place? How do we help them manage their fear and still find a way to live? How do we support people to feel at home again? Perhaps reconnection to land could help psychology work toward the building of the kinds of networks of social support that Boggi-Cavallo calls for. Richa Nagar (2014) offers us a path with her call for "situated solidarities," through which academics may seek to cross borders of class, ethnicity, and other identity markers, to join with communities in their geo-located space.

Through this, we may recognize emplaced and embodied knowledge and use it to fight for the aims of communities. Let's try and cross.

In this paper, we want to try and extend on the issues raised by Pina Boggi-Cavallo, both in respect the type of social services that might have helped in 1980 and also in respect to some of our current crises. We will suggest that we need a form of community psychology that goes beyond humanism to consider materiality: terrapsychology, place-based practices that can reconnect us with our selves, collective identity, and land. Following us are a host of theorists that speak the same words as Boggi-Cavallo. Freeman' (1984) theory is on "the psychological conservation of place," which posits the preservation of the social matrix can allow continuity when the physical environment is being destroyed. Fullilove's (1996) "empowered collaboration" where communities must mourn lost places, and bond with new ones, supported by ritual, while the physical rebuilding is performed. Feminist theorists call for responses to suffering which attend to embodiment, as a way to place the epistemologies of those with lived experience at the center of knowledge production. We will be followed too by a postanthropocentrism, where the individual human being is deposed and reconfigured as part of the earth, culture, all living and nonliving things.

Our approach is as follows:

1. To consider the historical and geographical emplacement of Western psychological models and introduce the reader to a variety of relatively new fields that are attempting this shift at the moment: Australian Indigenous psychology, ecological models of adaptation in reference to refugees, open dialog or network therapy, eco-psychology, posthuman psychology
2. To revisit the 1980 earthquake for collective reflection

Indigenous Psychology (Rob Brockman)

In January to March 2019, there were 35 suicides of Aboriginal people in Australia, 3 of whom where 12 years old. In this period, nearly half of the child suicides in the country were Indigenous, despite being only 3% of the population (Allam, 2019). Aboriginal psychologist Pat Dudgeon and colleagues provide a new paradigm for practice based on Indigenous cultural values and knowledges. She calls for the radical decolonization of our field to close the gap in Aboriginal mental health. For Dudgeon (2017), mental health as a Western construct is best replaced with the idea of social and emotional well-being (Fig. 12.1), one which reflects the family, kinship, culture, community, and place. These seven nutriments for Indigenous well-being can be used in the psychological formulation and treatment of mental ill health and distress, which pays close attention to the social, historical, and political contexts that have shaped Indigenous experience.

Dislocation from country is directly implicated in this model. For Aboriginal Australians, the word "country" is vastly different from our Western conception, in

Fig. 12.1 Social and emotional well-being

that it rejects the polarity between the psyche/identity and land. Country is alive, has history, consciousness.

> Country is multi-dimensional – it consists of people, animals, plants, Dreamings; underground, earth, soils, minerals and waters, air…People talk about country in the same way that they would talk about a person: they speak to country, sing to country, visit country, worry about country, feel sorry for country, and long for country. (Rose, 1996, p. 7)

Westerman (2010) states that the non-Indigenous construct of "depression" might be recast as "longing for, crying for, or being sick for country" in Indigenous terms. This might be because of your long-term removal from your birthplace, as is the case for many of the stolen generation and their children. Albrecht (2012) points out, however, that Aboriginal people living on their own traditional land still feel the inability to find "heart's ease" due to the displacement from country in this wider definition.

> To not know your country causes a painful disconnection, the impact of which is well documented in studies relating to health, wellbeing and life outcomes… It is this knowledge that enables me to identify who I am, who my family is, who my ancestors were and what my stories are. We are indistinguishable from our country which is why we fight so hard to hang on. (Catherine Liddle, Arrente and Luritja woman, and Aboriginal activist. Common Ground First Nations)

In terms of psychological practice, Dudgeon (2017) argues for local, participatory initiatives, based on Indigenous communities solving their own problems. This is vastly different from the one-size-fits-all mentality of clinical psychology, which in this context could be positioned as a form of rational-emotive colonialism, rather than community-based healing. Ridani et al. (2014) have shown the promise of local Aboriginal-led interventions for suicide among young people, in their

systematic review of 67 programs. Many of these initiatives emphasized through cultural pride, and solidarity, often utilizing a range of creative activities, offered in workshops and camps, rather than traditional therapy rooms. A focus on identity restoration was also critical, given sociohistorical threats, including removal from family and country, substance abuse, and dependence on social welfare.

Ecological Adaption and Refugees (Ruth Wells)

> To our land,
> and it is the one surrounded with torn hills,
> the ambush of a new past
> To our land, and it is a prize of war,
> the freedom to die from longing and burning
> and our land, in its bloodied night,
> is a jewel that glimmers for the far upon the far
> and illuminates what's outside it …
> As for us, inside,
> we suffocate more (Mahmoud Darwish)

Land/place is central to both the processes that lead to displacement and a community's response to it. Yearning for the lost homeland in Palestinian art has been an enduring aspect of community identity formation, exemplified in the poems of Darwish. Social processes which promote health are geographically and culturally situated. For example, stateless Rohingya refugee women that we interviewed living in Bangladesh reported that, in their home villages in Myanmar, they had space which enabled them to exercise and play games and sport to support their physical and psychological health. However, now that they must live in tiny, confined huts in a densely populated refugee camp, suddenly home to almost a million people, they have no opportunity to move their bodies, leading them to feel tension, a Rohingya idiom of distress. Humanitarian organizations which seek to support physical activity for health in the local community thus view playing sport as an exclusively male pastime, since it is not socially acceptable for women to go and play in public. This contributes to discourses which blame gendered health inequities on local "culture" rather than the pressures produced by loss of access to land. As Abu-Lughod argues (Abu-Lughod, 2013), this can lead to misguided attempts to "save" women from the very communities which may offer them solace.

> Mental health symptoms, in addition to somatic signs of a psychological origin (classified in hospitals and clinics as "medically unexplained symptoms") are the form in which human suffering – the root of the problem – manifest. The root of suffering among people displaced by conflict is indeed the oppression of human beings and of communities which demand freedom and dignity. This is exacerbated by a lack of social justice … Metaphorically speaking, in the events of conflict and war, when programs and psychosocial interventions are adopted that neglect the root of suffering, it is like a patch on a worn-out gown. It is a cosmetic solution to a deep-seated problem. (Omar Said Youssef)

There are currently more than 65 million displaced people globally (ref), most originating from countries that have had to contend with histories of colonization. Displacement, colonization, and the production of psychiatric categories have developed hand in hand. The above quote from a Syrian refugee psychologist draws attention to the dangers inherent in uncritically applying individualistic Western therapeutic models to the context of conflict affected and displaced communities. It is essential to be aware of the ways in which these therapeutic models may continue processes of neocolonialism by overwriting local, geographically, and culturally situated knowledges with supposed international and objective psychiatric categories. Much more so now than when Boggi-Cavallo's paper was written, current psychological responses humanitarian crises occur in the context of a multibillion dollar international humanitarian industry. It is thus necessary to be critical of psychology's potential implication in processes that do harm as well as support health. Humanitarian research and practice in the 1990s was called into question for uncritical application of the category of posttraumatic stress disorder to conflict settings without attention to context or culture. For example, the concept of posttraumatic stress disorder has been challenged by Palestinian psychologists who have sought to build community-based therapeutic responses to continually continuous traumatic stress (Straker, 2013) as they live in situations of ongoing occupation. That is, occupation of land lies at the core of community-based responses to injustice.

The international humanitarian community responded to these issues by developing an approach to psychosocial support in humanitarian settings which called for resources to be devoted toward supporting community structures that may promote healing, rather than exclusively for the use of individual psychological therapy offered by fly in fly out Western therapists ((IASC), 2007). The most comprehensive example of this is the ADAPT model put forward by Derek Silove (2013). Silove argues that supporting recovery in communities that have experienced conflict and displacement must involve attending to a range of adaptive systems. These include the safety system (which trauma focused therapies often aim to target) and also our relationships and social bonds, our sense of justice, the possibilities for our roles and identities to be forged in new settings, and the ways in which catastrophic experiences might impact on our sense of existential meaning. We can thus broaden the range of activities that would be included in models of psychological intervention in such settings. It is hoped that such an approach may address the shortcomings highlighted by Boggi-Cavallo of a lack of attention to the system wide social service. An ecological model of refugee mental health put forward by Wells and colleagues (Wells et al., 2018) built on the work of Bronfenbrenner (1979) in theorizing psychological adaptation in the context of nested social systems. Thus, we can consider adaptation among Silove's identified adaptive systems in the context of individual family, social, and cultural contexts (Fig. 12.2).

The focus of this paper leads us to ask what might also be gained by attending to the role of place in sociocultural responses to displacement? What would happen if we added land/place to the ecological conception of adaptation to the pictured
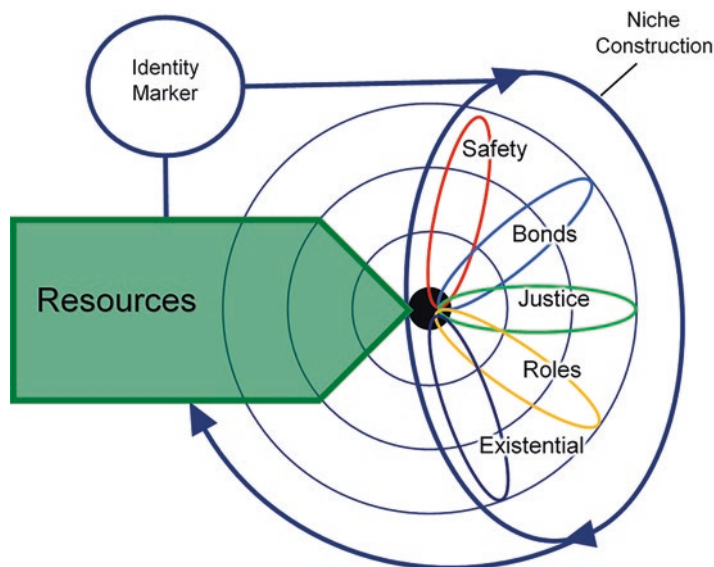
Fig. 12.2 An ecological model of adaptation among displaced communities which draws on Silove's five adaptive systems (safety, bond, justice, roles and existential meaning) considered in the context of nested ecological layers (individual, family/peers, social, cultural). Access to resources and the role of identity markers (such as gender, ethnicity, and class) are also considered in understanding how individuals and communities may adapt to displacement

above? Indeed, the ecological metaphor draws from our understanding of biological processes in geographically situated ecosystems. If we are to work toward the kinds of relationships with communities that attend to place in order to support community health and adaptation, what kind of practices could contribute to knowledge production which is sensitive to intersections of marginalization and resilience? Boggi-Cavallo bemoans to the use of un-validated reductive questionnaires which do not attend to social context and meaning-making in response to earthquake. One answer to this may be the use of arts-based research methods with displaced communities, which place the embodied experiences of research participants at the center of knowledge production. As Lenette describes, arts-based research methods enable "knowledge holders" (i.e., participants) to actively engage in the process of meaning-making (Lenette, 2019). For example, the practice of body-mapping involves making a life-size outline of one's body and then decorating it with symbols to explore how the body responds to social, cultural, and geographic space (Boydell, 2017). Research of this kind is, by its structure, situated and resists reduction to simplified psychiatric categories, opening the door to "situated solidarities" where researchers can be guided by the lived experience of communities they seek to work with.

Open Dialogue Vs. Non-places (Paul Rhodes)

> For the space that engrosses the deject, the excluded, is never one, nor homogeneous, nor totalizable, but essentially divisible, fold-able, and catastrophic. A deviser of territories, languages, works, the deject never stops demarcating his universe whose fluid confines- for they are constituted of a non-object, the abject- constantly question his solidity and impel him to start afresh. A tireless builder, the deject is in short a stray. (Kristeva, 1980, p. 8)

While dislocation from one's own home is central to the suffering of refugee populations, it can also happen within ones city of birth. Young people, in the majority of Western cities, can be discharged from their family home and community when they experience severe mental health crises and admitted into biomedically focused acute mental health facilities. Severe mental illness, including psychosis, can be experienced as a form of existential alienation from self, an abjection (Kristeva, 1980). Admission to an acute mental health service can double down on dislocation, (Erdner et al., 2006). These facilities, focused on isolation, labeling, pharmacological intervention, structure, and prescribed therapy, can promote cycles of admission dislocation (Thibeault et al., 2010) at the expense of the stability of home. They are non-places (Auge, 1992).

> If a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relation, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place. The hypothesis advanced here is that supermodernity produces non-places, meaning spaces which are not themselves anthropological places and which, unlike Baudelairean modernity, do not integrate the earlier places: instead these are listed, classified, promoted to the status of 'places of memory', and assigned to a circumscribed and specific position. A world where people are born in the clinic and die in hospital, where transit points and temporary abodes are proliferating under luxurious or inhuman conditions (hotels chains and squats). (Auge, 1992, pp. 7–8)

Even if individuals within these unit are compassionate, a process of "benevolent othering" (Grey, 2016) can still take place; hereby the construct of "mental-ill health" never gets challenged in favor of more personally resonant or existential forms of meaning-making. The danger becomes the reinforcement of a constructed identity at the expense of liberatory alternatives (Yanos et al., 2010). When family and community are not central to treatment, the cycle continues.

Open dialogue is a therapeutic practice, developed in Finland two decades ago, that aims to disrupt these processes (Seikkula et al., 2006). This model aims to decrease the reliance on hospitalization and instead generate a local social network of family, friends, and professionals, as joint decision-makers operating in the family home and community. The doctors and therapists travel to the client, returning many times per week if necessary, to join the network until stability. The poetics of these meetings are very unique to open dialog (Seikkula & Olson, 2003). In the traditional hospital setting, dislocated, decisions are hierarchical, finalized, othering. In dialogical meetings, there is an emphasis on polyphony, on creating a safe space for dialogue, where all voices, including the psychotic ones, respected. Slowness, uncertainty, and unfinalizability allow for new and unexpected developments.

Of particular interest is the embodied nature of open dialogue transactions. Seikulla and Trimble (2005) point out that participating in an open dialogue meetings involves the whole person, engaging with others "as we become fully absorbed in the profound exchanges of mutual attunement" (p. 743). This kind of relating must be embodied. The professional not cutoff, expert, objective but living flesh, and the community members expert, and not simply recipients of knowledge. The concept of home occurs vertically as each person tunes into the many voices that reside inside, and polyphonically as a "community of concern' emerges.

> Reflective practice is found to breathe life back into these uninhabited spaces known as the physical body and, as such, has potential to be a three-dimensional space rather than a flat space. Inhabited space is an embodied space. Inhabited space transcends geometric space; a house that has been experienced is not an inert box (body). Reflective space is, then, a house that is lived in. (Freshwater, 2005, p. 180)

Eco-Psychology: Home in the Anthropocene (Merle Conyer)

Today the vast majority of climate scientists agree that we are on a trajectory toward a hostile climate in which humans have never lived before, primarily due to our misuse of environmental resources (Cook et al., 2013; Kolbert, 2007; NASA, 2019). Hence the proposed term Anthropocene representing a new geological epoch, our current time in history marked by the preeminent influence of humans on essential planetary processes and evolution (Steffen et al., 2018). In this world, extreme environmental events will occur more frequently and with more severity. There are some who, informed by the climate data trajectories, forecast these will lead to the inevitable collapse of the social order because of the unprecedented scope of disruption to lives and societies that will render current institutional structures (such as financial systems, food production, healthcare, etc.) incapable of responding to the scale of need (Bendell, 2018). In these circumstances, millions of people will be forcibly and permanently displaced from their homes due to conditions such as drought, unlivable heat, sea level rise, floods, and desertification (O. Brown, 2008). This in turn will trigger unprecedented levels of migration as communities are forced to seek to live in another group's territory, compounding competition for diminishing resources and inflaming intergroup conflicts (Petrass, 2018).

Psychological Descriptors for the Anthropocene

A lexicon is emerging to describe earth-related compromises to psychological well-being when healthy links between a person and their home or lands is severed, known as arising psychoterratic conditions (Albrecht et al., 2007). Solastalgia joins the concepts of solace and nostalgia and is a type of homesickness that arises when your home is being destroyed by forces you have no control over (Albrecht et al., 2007).

Eco-anxiety refers to chronic feelings of anxiety, worry, and fear from witnessing the progressive destruction and collapse of the natural world and the risks this raises to ourselves, our communities, and other species (Pihkala, 2018). This may deepen into environmental melancholia, a pervasive state of overwhelm and loss from experiencing environmental degradation that one is powerless to influence or change. This is generally an internalized, unspoken, and unprocessed distress leading to "an arrested, inchoate form of mourning" (Lertzman, 2015, p. xiii).

Ecological grief is a profound grief for anticipated or actual losses (Cunsolo & Ellis, 2018). Anxiety and grief may deepen over time into eco-depression and eco-despair, which can also be associated with guilt and shame as we acknowledge the culpability of our own lifestyles (Gillespie, 2013). Heightened distress can also arise from the anticipation of loss and before a specific event has occurred, termed pre-traumatic stress (Clayton et al., 2017).

Joanna Macy (1995) suggests that the paramount psychological reality of our time is existential dread as until about 40 years ago, which was when the earthquake occurred, every generation could assume there would be generations to follow; however, that certainty is now lost to us.

We have entered into the "long emergency" (Buzzell & Chalquist, 2015, p. 183) with a lifetime ahead of facing challenging feelings such as these. How do we learn to cope with them and to galvanize them into deep caring and generative actions so that anxiety, fear, panic, and anguish do not paralyze as occurred with the earthquake? Polly Higgins, the barrister who spearheaded the campaign for ecocide to be recognized as a crime against humanity, suggested we need to become adept at feeling the pain and transforming it. A key question that arises therefore is how might such emotions serve life, compassion, and caring?

Deep Adaptation

Jem Bendell (2018) points us toward transformative responses of "deep adaptation" which involve personal and collective changes that can help us to both prepare for and live within climate-induced collapse of our societies. This comprises four approaches. Resilience involves strengthening the coping and adaptive capacities of individuals and communities to enable us to live well in the face of adversity and tragedy. Relinquishment requires us to let go of behaviors, beliefs, and assets which, if otherwise retained, would lead to a worsening of the situation or risks. Restoration incorporates rediscovering and reintroducing interdependent ways of living with the natural world which both sustain our biosphere and return ecological benefits. Reconciliation guides us toward peace-making between peoples – within and between countries, religions, political affiliations, genders, classes, generations – as without this the pressures on society will lead to the risk of "tearing each other apart and dying hellishly" (Bendell, 2019).

At the heart of these four approaches is a challenge to Western psychological conceptions of individualism, a separate self, and internalized pathology. These

abovementioned adaptive strategies are rooted in an interdependent understanding of psychological and community well-being and as enablers for connecting deeply with caring for our world and all that live within it. They are alternatives to being driven by fear and despair which keep us away from compassion and generative action. They are a pathway toward shaping new understandings of home in the Anthropocene.

Posthuman Psychology (Maria Nichterlein)

Posthumanism is a "new player in the block" of critical studies and, in many ways, a virtually unknown one in the field of psychology. Yet, it is important to look at what its rumblings have to tell us since it has seismic consequences to the field.

As Wolfe indicates, posthumanism "worked its way into contemporary critical discourse in the humanities and the social sciences during the mid-1990s" (2010, p. xii). The "posthuman turn," as Braidotti and Signall explain, emerges in "the convergence of posthumanism with postanthropocentrism" and constitutes "a complex and multidirectional discursive and material event" (2019, p. 1). As Braidotti explains elsewhere, the concept "simultaneously evokes a number of critical conditions around the state of what is constituted as the human and [is] affirmative and optimistic about the future of the field insofar as critical posthumanism is already up and running providing new fields of knowledge production that should help us dream and hope for the future" (2019). Wolfe (2010, p. xii) makes reference to two main genealogies of the movement: on the one hand, the work of Michel Foucault and, on the other, the Macy Conference on cybernetics.

At the end of *The Order of Things* (2004), Foucault asserts that "[o]ne thing in any case is certain: man is neither the oldest nor the most constant problem that has been posed for human knowledge" (p. 421). In fact, for Foucault, man as an object of study within European culture since Renaissance is "a recent invention" (p. 422) that came as "the effect of a change in the fundamental arrangement of knowledge" (id, p. p. 422). It is this historical awareness of the status of what we call "man" that supports Braidotti in articulating of posthumanism's critical aspect in the realization that "thinking about the human is not what [those that call themselves] humanists do" (2019). With Foucault's insights, Braidotti is then able to alert us to a foundational paradox built within the humanities that prefers to take the human for granted; the human is defined by what it is not: man is not a woman, it is not an animal, and it is not nature.

Furthermore, Foucault not only pointed out to us the "newness" of the concept, but he also alerted us that "as an archaelogy of our thought easily shows, man [is not only] an invention of recent date [but] one perhaps nearing its end" (2004, p. 422). This is not to say that we – human beings – will disappear but that the prevalent humanistic understanding of our condition is problematized to the extent that it no longer constitutes a useful concept to have. Ferrando (2017) explains this problematization by stating that "the notion of the human" has shifted from "a closed

notion" – a notion of an entity with clear and definable boundaries – to one that is "open," that is to say, a notion where the human is considered not as a stand-alone concept but one that is constituted in its relation to other elements. No longer human as the center but humans as parts of larger assemblages including humans in their interactions within technological advances, the human as the manifestation of a specific time within an evolutionary understanding, and/or the human as part of a complex ecology that is no longer centered on itself (the anthropocenic critique).

Ferrando's conceptualization brings us to the second genealogy of the term posthumanism identified by Wolfe: the Macy conferences and its product, cybernetics. The Macy conferences took place from 1946 to 1953. Supported by the Macy Foundation (Josiah Macy, 2006), a medical – not an engineering – foundation, they gathered mathematicians, neurophysiologists, and a few social scientists.[1] As Dupuy explains, "the aim of the cyberneticians was nothing less than to bring about the apotheosis of science by building a science of the mind" (2000, pp. 23–24). As a science, cybernetics went in the opposite direction of humanistic traditions both within the humanities and in science: "not the anthropomorphization of the machine but the mechanization of the human" (p. 5).

This shift of orientation in the study of the human condition meant that "man" started to be conceptualized as part of the mechanics of nature: no longer the prodigal son, but one of the cogs of the machine. In turn, this displacement afforded the expansion of interfaces between humans and new technologies, an expansion that afforded the emergence of cyborgs in cultural imagination. A cyborg, as Haraway explains, is "a cybernetic organism, a hybrid of machine and organism, a creature of social reality as well as a creature of fiction" (Haraway, 2016/1985, loc. 115). Cyborgs, as Ferrando (2013) explains, are more popular than we think. They do no longer refer to terrifying monsters of outer space but to "normal" people walking all paths of life: people with pacemakers, people accessing IVF or a multitude of other medical additions. The "machine" not as the enemy but as an extension that affords our human condition to transcend – as transhumanist approaches would assert (Lee, 2019) – its "natural" limits.

A perhaps less arrogant development of cybernetics can be found in the work of the anthropologist Gregory Bateson. Bateson was an English anthropologist and one of the selected social scientist involved in the Macy conferences (Lipset, 1980). As an anthropologist and the son of the illustrious Cambridge based biologist – William Bateson, the coiner of the word "genetics" – Gregory was ideally positioned to fully embrace the multidisciplinarity and the potentiality of cybernetics. It is in cybernetics where he found a "dynamic intellectual community [that] allowed him to expand his early insights and articulate what later became known as an ecology of mind" (Nichterlein, 2013, p. 50). The mind Bateson is talking about escapes the limits of the body and refers to feedback systems within ecologies. As he states, "the mental characteristics of the system are immanent, not in some parts [i.e. the

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[1] For an introduction of the Macy conferences and of cybernetics, see Heims (2019) and Dupuy (2000).

human brain], but in the system as a whole" (Bateson, 1973, p. 287). His most famous example of such "system" is that of a man cutting a tree with an axe: the "mind" in this case is "tree-eyes-brain-muscles-axe-stroke-tree" (p. 288).

Bateson's ecological mind has an uncanny resemblance to Deleuze and Guattari's notion of "assemblage," a central concept in their second volume of their politico-philosophical project A *Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1987).[2] As Braidotti and Signall explain, "Deleuzian materialism offers an important framework for understanding how [the] interlaced assemblages of life exist also in inextricable and constitutive connection to the nonliving forms and forces that factor in any framing of the earth for the emergence of provisional stability" (2019, p. 1). Braidotti and Signall describe Deleuze's philosophy as "geo-zoe-ethological" (id) to refer to an understanding that focuses on "the power and potentiality of thought as being materially embedded in the geoformations and trans-species influences that shape and define existence in relational terms" (p. 2).

Supporters of posthumanism would argue that it is this change of focus that is central for our ability to adapt to what is to come. This change is not only a shift from traditional critical positions analyzing what has gone wrong in the world (or a specific field of study) but, more importantly, in articulating a process of *thinking otherwise*, of letting go the common and good sense that uncritically defined our sense of self to embark in thinking alternative forms of being in the world, a world that will no longer be the one we believe we understood. In this sense, they argue, posthumanism is an affirmative response to the times of ecological crisis we currently confront.

What does this all means for psychology? At some level, we have some sense of what is at stake since, as Burman explains, in its problematization of the human condition, posthumanism has "considerable continuities and overlaps with previous critical frameworks [that] provoke relevant re-evaluation of existing models" (2018, p. 1599). It also has significant differences and, although some attempts have been made to translate the Deleuzian framework into psychology (S. D. Brown & Stenner, 2009; Motzkau, 2011; Nichterlein, 2018; Nichterlein & Morss, 2017), the discipline has yet to encounter the full force of these ideas. As said earlier, one thing is clear however: such encounter will have seismic consequences for, as Braidotti (2019) indicates, with the posthuman awareness that current definitions of humanism are negative definitions, the question that begged to be asked is the one that asks for what counts as the point of reference the unit by which the human is defined? Posthuman and Deleuzian ideas demand that traditional ideas of a clearly defined Cartesian idea of a mind-body unity be questioned in favor of new forms of imagining our way of being on this earth.

Rather than a bound rational human being, posthumanism is an invitation to conceptualize our condition as "a more inclusive practice of *becoming-human*"

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[2] The connection between Bateson and their work is in fact direct, with Deleuze and Guattari (1987, p. 21–22) acknowledging that their use of "plateau" is taken from Bateson's work on the Balinese culture (1949).

(Braidotti & Signall, 2019, p. 1).[3] Not what is but what is the task ahead to become. Rather than, as we indicated at the beginning of the chapter, psychology's insistence on returning to the "head" of the victims when dealing with responses to place-based trauma, or an equally stupid insistence to avoid addressing the complex questions that present to our lives in current times of psychoterratic distress (Albrecht, 2012), posthumanism provokes psychology to raise to the challenge of thinking new futures not in humanistic but *humane* ways, ways that ironically force us to let go of a privileged position and start thinking in less competitive ways on how to continue living on complex web of life we call earth. In this sense we might return to Albrecht.

> Solastalgia has helped revive interest in the relationships between humans and place at all scales… we are in the middle of a pandemic of earth-related distress that will only get worse. Everything that was once familiar and trusted in our environment will be experienced as the "new abnormal" as development and climate pressures continue to build…. With a new psychoterratic language to describe and "re-place" our emotions and feelings, powerful transformative forces are unleashed.

Aftershocks

After this long tour of new paradigms in psychology, we must come back to the prophetic call by Pina Boggi-Cavallo for healing beyond building, the recognition of community-based suffering from loss of home. Each of our new paradigms of psychology is an amplification of this call for something different from what she calls "irrelevant" psychology that which hides itself behind the paywall, in the quiet therapy rooms and in the surveys which no one reads. Plate tectonics is the science of how mountains are built from volcanoes and earthquakes, when rigid plates encounter molten matter. When plates meet, things transform, converge, and diverge. What would happen if these ideas and their practitioners consulted at Irpinia? Let's hear direct reflections from our authors.

Rob Brockman In Australia, it has long confused successive governments how a loss of connection to land can be implicated in the ongoing distress of Indigenous Australians, even across generations. Like the predictable response of the 1980 earthquake, much of Australia's response has been to offer new land, new buildings, and spaces for individuals and families to inhabit without consideration to the fundamental role that land and country plays to Indigenous identity, culture, spirituality, and kinship connections. Further compounding the problem has been a lack of understanding as to the importance of the community as the most relevant unit of analysis. Individuals only matter in so far as they contribute and relate to the makeup of the wider community or "mob." Responding to the earthquake, and taking heed

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[3] For Deleuze and Guattari, more than becoming human, the aim is "becoming-imperceptible" (1987, plateau 10), a double allusion to avoiding the mechanism of capture of late capitalism but also, indirectly, of treading gently on this earth. This second connotation also has significant connections with Bateson's ecological concerns (1973, part V and 1991).

of the lessons learned from the experiences of first nations peoples in Australia, would mean engaging at the level of the community to understand themes of distress in the group and for the community to collectively start to imagine possible pathways to healing for themselves. Community-based participatory action approaches (e.g., Evans et al., 2009) are well placed to drive such interventions, setting the stage for community-based healing. This would allow for the community to heal as a whole, in contrast to an approach to healing a distressed population of individuals. It is worth noting that such an approach would not discount the possibility of individuals receiving treatment but that such treatment would need to flow out of the understanding gained from a collective approach rather than be disconnected from it.

Ruth Wells Pina Boggi-Cavallo was responding to the arrival of a foreign psychologist who seeks to import psychological tools as a kind of extractive technology, to select information deemed pertinent for removal to a data processing center. It seems that she is offended by the lack of care this person takes in seeking to understand the ecological context in which these people's suffering emerges, the context which gives the suffering meaning. This sense of offence, of an outsider not taking the time to listen long enough to understand what is important to the people they seek to help, is one I have often seen among displaced communities. It is exemplified by the quote from Omar Said Youssef above. Justice is central to well-being in many contexts where human rights are violated. If psychologists do not attend to injustice, they can repeat it. This is especially important in context where there is a history of colonization, where the use of Western derived epistemologies have often served to legitimize local knowledge. An ecological approach asks us to pause, to look around and understand how community wide issues shape the meaning that people make out of difficult situations.

Paul Rhodes The risks of generalizing a Scandinavian practice of open dialog back into 1980s Italy would, of course, be highly problematic. All therapies are a product of place and time, and it is possible that Norwegian visitors might be no better than Japanese. Clearly we are experiencing some difficulties implementing open dialog here in Australia, 20 years after its inception, into a megacity far from the communities of Lapland. Having said that, however, the emergent quality of network meetings focuses on allowing slow-conversation and much, much later, tentative solutions to come "from the ground up," which might allow for embodied and emplaced practice. Network meetings might have allowed for a collective, affective response to the terratic-grief experienced by the Italian community, supporting a degree of healing not recognized by the builders. We are finding here in Sydney that this practice can generalize to the suburbs and mountains, with adaptions and our own flavor, but not as easily to the more bureaucratic mental health services in the central city.

Merle Conyer Therapeutic community gatherings offer inclusive, participatory, and resourceful spaces for responding to social suffering by bringing together and

valuing the knowledge of the clinician and local community. The "interiorization of misery" (Barreto & Grandesso, 2010, p. 34) is averted by welcoming everyone's voice, concerns, and ideas and inviting all participants to contribute to a wider conversation informed by their lived experiences. Psychologists inevitably become decentered in such gatherings, a participant within the system of engagement rather than a person acting upon it, directing it, or viewing it from the outside. Their contribution is instead redirected toward offering mechanisms that enable community members to perform actions of caring for each other and to devise and progress culturally informed integrated responses (Bracho, 2000). This in turn nurtures solidarity welded by dignity, contribution, responsibility, and relationship. These spaces and interchanges are thus a resistance to individualized and pathologically orientated therapeutic practices which otherwise relegate community members to being little more than passive recipients of professionalized expertise.

Maria Nichterlein I think Boggi-Cavallo was compassionate of our profession when she described its practice as "irrelevant." Elsewhere (Nichterlein, 2015; Nichterlein & Morss, 2017), I have called it "stupid" and dangerously so (perhaps Pina was closer to my sentiment when she stated concern at "the smell of 'looting' of some of the studies on disaster"). Words of caution however are not sufficient. The discipline needs to be further tempered in its own reflection by the increasing realization that "what we do as humans" – by ourselves and with our technology – is having a direct effect in the seismic problems we are now confronting. Psychology cannot afford to continue its willful ignorance of the social and technical dimensions that define our condition. As Bateson indicated back in 1970, one of the major roots of the current environmental crisis is the presence of "certain errors in the thinking and attitudes of Occidental culture. Our 'values' are wrong" (1970, p.466). Not only wrong but with too much power. For Bateson, this hubris is at the base not only of the environmental carnage we are witnessing but also of the amount of war and of famine humanity is experiencing (diagram in p. 467). We have to take responsibility for the fact that the carnage is of our own homes. What is the way forward? Posthumanism calls for an alternative activism (Braidotti, 2010), one that affirms our humanity in a less self-entitled and more sustainable – that is, ecologically accountable – manner. Will psychology respond honorably to this challenge and think a more harmonious and respectful position for itself?

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Part III
Cultivating

Chapter 13
Pina Boggi Cavallo: The Person, the Scientific Intuitions, the Pioneering Value, and the Intellectual Legacy of Her Contributions

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The International Scientific Day "Psychology as a Science of the Human Being: The Intellectual Legacy of Pina Boggi Cavallo" organized by the Department of Human, Philosophical, and Educational Sciences (DISUFF) of the University of Salerno in October 2016 was another opportunity for me to reflect on the role played by a representative and emblematic figure of Italian and international psychology. Thanks to the speakers' testimonies, that event contributed to add other pieces to the puzzle of the figure of a teacher who dedicated her life to study, research, and university teaching, also covering relevant institutional roles. She is a scholar who at the same time committed herself with all her energies to the social field with interventions on the territory to produce the improvements she hoped for with respect to the problems existing in her Salerno town and in the regional reality.

In order to highlight some noteworthy aspects that characterized the intellectual legacy of Prof. Pina Boggi Cavallo, it is useful to inquire how she came to think of venturing into that historical period with specific reference to research fields she identified. Beyond the absolutely relevant results, precisely because they are often pioneering, of her study and research work, it is important to underline that the scientific contribution and systematization of the knowledge she acquired have been made through an epistemological discourse that has always been developed at a wide range, thanks also to her philosophical-humanistic training.

This chapter aims to provide some useful elements to build a comprehensive and articulated vision of how her original path of ideas, intuitions, and anticipation of the times were shaped and how these variables have generated the studies, research, and publications she has carried out. I have chosen to characterize this contribution also as a testimony, using a presentation structured in terms of both content and

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history, and in a narrative key. A first reference is to both her study and research interests, completed by some hints about the specific historical, temporal, and institutional context in which Pina Boggi Cavallo worked in the 1970s and 1980s and her tendency to read the social reality and the behavior of individuals explained as the result of social interaction and, therefore, subject to change. Then the attention is focused on her as a person who as far as I knew her, especially in the last three decades of the last century, from the point of view of a social psychologist colleague from the "north" Italy in relation to what she was doing in the "south." An additional reference is two of her most important publications, in which she made a paramount contribution to the study of self-image, role identity, and the social construction of gender differences. This choice provides the reader with the possibility of a comparison with different theoretical and methodological approaches used to deal with the same issues in that historical period, useful in my opinion to confirm the originality and relevance of her scientific insights and the undeniable validity of her epistemological approach.

Her Study Interests

Boggi Cavallo's interest in the "female condition and being a woman" has been an object of continuous and constant study, never abandoned or lost sight of, investigated with great attention to what was produced by the different paradigms of contemporary psychological research. In 1979, Pina Boggi Cavallo edited the publication of the volume *Sulle malattie delle donne* (*On Women's Diseases*) written in the eleventh century by Trotula de Ruggiero, a significant exponent of the golden age of the Salerno Medical School (in 1994 she edited a new publication with a text in medieval Latin aside). In the broad introduction of both publications, in which de Ruggiero's work is presented, framing it in the history of medicine and in the history of women, Boggi Cavallo writes that one could propose a rereading of Trotula "to grasp the anticipations, intuitions, the still current <notions>, to marvel at them and praise them" (1979, p. XIX; 1994, p. 20). This statement can be transposed and applied to various areas of research pioneered by Boggi Cavallo, as it can be seen from an analysis of the works published since 1970. Her research interests and her reflections refer to general psychology, social psychology, developmental psychology, and education, areas in which her philosophical and pedagogical training takes her after initial interest in school.

The themes on which she focused her scientific production are innumerable, confirming her interest in investigating and studying the social reality at large in a psychological perspective. Scrolling through the list of her publications, it is possible to get an overall view of how the path of ideas and intuitions led her to pioneer the treatment of issues of extreme psychological and social relevance. These issues have been analyzed with a careful look at the effects that society determines in the behavior of individuals through its systems of relationships, roles, and rules of behavior.

I point out here only some of the topics covered by the studies and research published in the 1970s, confirming the interest to investigate issues not yet considered psychologically relevant at that time, such as social mobility investigated through a group of immigrants in Salerno (1971) and orientation as a decision-making process (1974). Publications on the following topics date back to 1975: perception of intelligence and educational dogmatism, frustration in the school environment, aspects related to psychological dynamics and historical reality in school situations, and perceptual selectivity and language. In 1976, the studies on creativity and language through the analysis of childish narratives and the first observations on the fundamentals of women's challenge analyzed according to role-taking and group pressure were published. The publication on the role of the sexes in the communities of Salerno countries (in French) and the publication about perception of female work as a function of the role obligations for women date back to 1976 and 1977, respectively. Publications on separation, abandonment, and adaptability; psychology of juvenile dissociability and justice; differential psychology of the sexes analyzed in terms of similarity, diversity, and identity; and the relationship between audiovisual media and evolutionary age date back to 1979 (for an exhaustive information on Pina Boggi Cavallo's scientific production, see the list of her publications).

I would like to add to this short list some works I got to know about only a few years ago on: legal psychology (1980), earthquake and psychosociological research (1981), fathers' presence (1982), and cooperation/competition (1985). With regard to these last three issues, I regret not having consult her studies, nor having did discuss them with her, nor mentioning them in my publications on the same subjects. In particular, as far as the fathers' presence is concerned (studied by me in the context of an articulated empirical research on the involvement of fathers in children' care in Emilia Romagna in 1990–1991 and subsequently in a European research on fathers and mothers' dilemmas of the work-life balance in 2004), besides my regret, there is my admiration for this scholar who 40 years ago understood the importance of pioneering the study of a problem which afterward became subject of studies, research, and legislative interventions (think at paternity leave still today of great topicality and social relevance).

Doing Research and Teaching at University: A Necessary Reference to the Context of the 1970s and 1980s

If we think about the university context and what it meant to carry out in the 1970s and 1980s the tasks related to the role of researcher or professor, it should be remembered that passing on information between colleagues took place using the telephone, fax, or regular mail. It is in fact important to remember that the Internet did not exist, that the first mail clients for sending and receiving e-mails were created between 1988 and 1989, and that e-mail entered the offices in the early 1990s. In the field of psychology, the source to update on English language journal articles,

technical reports, book chapters, and books was the Psychological Abstracts, provided they were available in the institute/department library. Moreover, in those years the research products were often made public through the "Notebooks of the Department of…" or "The Contributions of the Laboratory of…" considered as publications or with printed publications of the university to which they belonged, with all the problems related to distribution in bookshops and sales on a national level. This method was very often characterized as an obstacle to finding and consulting the results of completed studies and research and therefore an impediment to being informed about the research work of colleagues with whom one was not in contact. As I will point out further on, this aspect certainly weighed negatively on the knowledge and notoriety of Pina Boggi Cavallo's work on a national and international level, since everything that is unknown is as if it did not exist.

Another aspect, which characterized the humanistic faculties in particular, concerns the scarce funds available for research. The availability of funding made it possible, for example, to carry out research projects and programs by entrusting paid assignments to the unstructured collaborators involved. It also made it possible to carry out missions in Italy and abroad to participate in conferences and congresses, very important opportunities to meet and get to know colleagues and obviously make themselves known. It must also be considered that the rebirth of Italian academic psychology after the Second World War began at the end of the 1950s, often struggling in the following years to obtain the necessary space and recognition to establish itself and grow. If we take as a reference the Alma Mater Studiorum University of Bologna, it was in 1960 that a chair of psychology was finally established at the Faculty of Medicine and Surgery by Prof. Renzo Canestrari, founder and reference point of the Bolognese School of Psychology for 40 years. In January 1958, Canestrari was appointed Professor of Psychology at the Istituto Universitario Parificato di Magistero (Parified University Institute of Magisterium) and "Giovanni Cuomo" in Salerno, later named Faculty of Magisterium, and it was at the chair of psychology of this institute that Pina Boggi Cavallo became in 1958–1960 Volunteer Assistant and then in 1960–1961 Extraordinary Assistant.

It is useful to remember that in general, and therefore also as far as psychology is concerned, for decades, a practice has been used by universities historically already structured in order to place own teaching resources. This strategy consisted in using newly established faculties or degree courses in medium or small universities as "annexes or colonies," with established professorships and teaching activated for lecturer who went there "on the move," often remaining there only for the necessary time to return to the university of origin. This mode was characterized by a turnover that made it very difficult, if not impossible, to create opportunities for the development and growth of young local students and which mainly, but not exclusively, concerned universities of central and southern Italy and the islands.

In the context of this synthetic reconstruction of the context of the 1960s and 1970s period, there is another aspect that deserves to be mentioned, because of the effect it had on the carrying out of the research activity and, above all, on the analysis of the data collected in both experimental and empirical research. The university course in the humanities faculties (e.g., a degree in philosophy or pedagogy)

obviously did not include lessons in research methodology or statistics, which were included in the experimental curriculum of the first two degree courses in psychology established in the faculties of Rome and Padua in 1971. Those who were interested in psychology included in their university studies curricula class of this discipline. If they wanted to acquire a further qualification, they enrolled in 3-year courses of specialization in psychology or 2-year courses of specialization in psycho-pedagogy. Alternatively, they had to go abroad to obtain a PhD since there were no such courses in Italy (PhD courses have been introduced into the university system in 1980). But I can testify that even the specialization courses did not provide the necessary tools to do research.

When Giuseppina Speltini, Bruna Zani, and myself were admitted to the Summer School of the European Association of Experimental Social Psychology at Wadham College Oxford in 1976, we were immediately aware of the skills held by our European colleagues both in the construction of experimental research drawings and in the use of inferential techniques for data analysis. However, the existing differences did not lead to any significant feeling of inadequacy. The comparison certainly led us to strive to make the most of that very high level training experience but also to enhance and make known within the Summer School the studies and empirical research in real contexts that were done in Bologna by the Palmonari group of which we were part, with an approach mainly focused on qualitative methods.

I referred to this personal experience to underline that, as far as I am aware, Professor Boggi Cavallo had a predilection for qualitative methods while not disdaining the use of quantitative methods. She was certainly rigorous in the construction of her lines of research, but she never suffered from a sense of academic inadequacy toward methodological approaches based on statistics, of which she certainly recognized the positive aspects but also the epistemological limits. Hers was an experience of approaching and integrating psychology at a time when in Italy this discipline was still in its infancy and it was not necessary to possess statistical skills (for advanced statistics, a valid support was provided in the mid-1970s by the software platform SPSS, namely, Statistical Package for Social Sciences). Strongly motivated to support in the best possible way the training of its students and collaborators and create conditions and opportunities to foster their growth, she always pushed them toward rigorous research paths, but not necessarily toward the application of advanced statistics.

Again in this retrospective context analysis, there are also other aspects to which it is useful to draw attention. Pina Boggi Cavallo was one of the figures who strongly contributed to the development of the University of Salerno and is known for having led the original Faculty of Magisterium at the University of Salerno with a propulsive function toward the birth of the Faculty of Educational Sciences, for which she continuously held institutional roles and ended her career in 2004 as departmental director. We know that the realization of what she did and the achievement of the objectives and results she set herself were a source of great satisfaction for her In such cases, it is a matter, among other things, of creating or finding new structures with classrooms for teaching, rooms for researchers and teachers, spaces for laboratories, and activating study courses, PhDs, masters, as well as positions for

researchers, teachers, laboratory technicians, and technical administrative staff. As we can easily imagine, the achievement of these goals required time, energy, and the need to cope with often stressful situations as well as problems that have inevitably conditioned the time to devote to study and research.

These statements lead us inevitably to think about the conditions in which Pina Boggi Cavallo found herself at the beginning of her university career and to reflect on the fact that we often forget to take into account the different circumstances in which researchers and university professors find themselves carrying out their work. In fact, there are conditions in which it is possible to have a "mentor" as a referent, to be part of a research group with already consolidated experience and with national and international relationships, to carry out one's own activity in realities where there are facilities equipped with adequate laboratories and instruments, to collaborate with scholarship holders or doctoral students, not to be overloaded by hours of teaching. It is another matter to find yourself in situations where everything, or almost everything, has to be prearranged and organized and often you can only count on yourself initially. This is the destiny of the "pioneers". Both at the University of Trento and at the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia, where I was the first structured full professor of social psychology in the history of the two universities, I directly experienced what it meant to achieve in a faculty not of psychology what a new discipline needs to achieve ambitious research results at national and international level. I have to admit that despite everything, I felt privileged, while at the same time I admired those who, like Pina Boggi Cavallo, found themselves in similar situations and had to follow the same path a few decades earlier in universities in southern Italy.

The Person[1]

I met Pina Boggi Cavallo in London in September 1979, and it was my friend and colleague Pio Ricci Bitti who introduced us to each other at a NATO Advanced Study Institute on Nonverbal Communication organized by Klaus Scherer and Angela Summerfield at the Department of Psychology at Birkbeck College. The lectures were given by internationally renowned scholars, including Paul Ekman (best known for recognition of emotions through facial expression), Erving Goffman (theory of "dramaturgy" in social interactions), Carrol Izard (differential emotions theory), Albert Mehrabian (nonverbal elements in face to face interactions), Jan van Hooff (best for his research involving primates), and Adam Kendon (one of the world's foremost authorities on the topic of gestures). Ricci Bitti (who was in Italy a pioneer of experimental studies on nonverbal communication and emotions) proposed for the Italian group of participants, in addition to Pina Boggi Cavallo and

myself, Chiara Levorato from the University of Padua, Camillo Loriedo from the University of Rome La Sapienza, Grazia Attili, Rosaria Conte, and Maria Miceli from CNR. We immediately formed a group and spent most of our free time together. It was a wonderful learning experience and, on a personal level, the birth of a really important and meaningful relationship between all of us.

The difference in age between us and Professor Boggi Cavallo was more or less 15/18 years. The aspect that impressed me the most was her ability to relate to us without any presumption, without any display of her culture and knowledge, remaining herself reserved but always available to listen, open to comparison and to constructive discussion, far from wanting to conform to those who were younger than her. She was a candidate and went to London at the age of 46 to participate in the Advanced Study Institute on Nonverbal Communication, strongly motivated and interested in acquiring new knowledge on these contents and to deepen others on the variables of content and process that contribute to determine the interactions and behaviors of individuals. For all of us, it was a very important opportunity for learning and training, but I am convinced that from that experience she has gained further advantages over "us younger" to reflect on what she was doing and how to characterize in perspective her study and research activity.

The friendship established with her in the years following our first encounter in London was characterized by meetings that took place mainly in Bologna, but also in Salerno. She came in Bologna for research commitments in which she was involved or for a stop in the city when she went by train to Milan. Even if the opportunities for meetings greatly diminished after 1994 when I went to the University of Trento and later to the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia, contacts by phone or e-mail, although not very frequent, have never failed. In the 1980s and in the first half of the 1990s, our opportunities to meet were therefore generally more personal than professional. In fact, there have never been occasions for research or publication collaborations between us. I have attributed this fact to various causes, including being involved in teaching activities and in research and studies that did not leave other free spaces and for having privileged, especially at the University of Trento and then also Modena and Reggio Emilia, different areas of research.

The distinctiveness and specificity of her work in the field of the female condition and being woman are demonstrated by having dealt with women in its polyhedral aspects in reference to role obligations, female condition/subjectivity, factors related to psychological evolution, illnesses, and the event of motherhood and its representations, to address also the issue of motherhood in adolescence and the relationship between femininity and maternal love. Pio Ricci Bitti certainly played an important role in Pina Boggi Cavallo's international contacts with scholars of nonverbal communication and emotions. However, it should be remembered that the attitude of attention to gender differences also characterized the studies carried out in collaboration with him on the evolutionary aspects of shame and guilt, contempt expressed through facial indexes, and sexual differences in the perception and apperception of pain.

It should be remembered that the actions implemented to establish and activate contacts for research collaborations with colleagues from other Italian and foreign

universities aimed both to achieve her projects and study goals and also to create favorable conditions for the growth of his group and his students/collaborators. It should be read in this perspective, for example, the relationship with Adam Kendon of the University of Canberra (Australia), who she met at the Advanced Study Institute in London in 1979 and then invited to Salerno as part of a program of studies on gestures conducted with him. This is also demonstrated by her participation in often exhausting conferences, her involvement and commitment in areas of study never explored before, and her willingness to get involved in the collection of data, as in the case of research on symbolic gestures studied comparatively between north and south Italy. She was a very generous, altruistic, and prosocial person. Her propensity to act for others and to try to promote a change on a social level is well represented by the quotation taken from the book *Nascita e morte della massaia* (*Birth and Death of the Housewife*) by Paola Masina (1945), published in the opening of her book *La costruzione sociale del sé: divisione tra i sessi e identità di ruolo* (*The Social Construction of the Self: Gender Division and Role Identity*, 1983, p. 5):

> How can I abandon those I promised to do good? In order to do good (of course in so many ages that you look at man you will have noticed) man needs to throw everything into one thing, he can't complete two. Evil dream that you disobeyed: you had to show me that even in recommending a sock you can find a universe, do not make me understand that I left the universe to mend socks.

If we consider Boggi Cavallo as a university professor, the three "souls" ideally attributed and connected to the performance of this role are fully found in her: that of the teacher, that of the institutional/management commitment, and that of the social engagement. Boggi Cavallo was a charismatic teacher with a great ability to raise in students the passion for psychology, philosophy, and art, qualities that made her a mentor for generations of researchers, teachers, and social workers. With an eye to the great systems, in ideal continuity with the Salerno Medical School, she lavished her commitment both to the birth and growth of psychology at the University of Salerno and to the institutional and management aspects mentioned above. She also worked for the opening in the mid-1990s of the University Counseling Centre, which represented one of the first Italian experiences in this field, and testifies her attention and dedication to the students. Regarding the third "soul" concerning social engagement, she strongly felt the need to carry out a "mission" that led her to act with great commitment in interventions made in the territory to improve the society of Salerno.

A woman of the establishment in her city of Salerno, she never hid her feeling of rebellion against gender stereotypes and always maintained her pioneering approach to a different way for "women to be woman" and to live their sexual role in a different way, not characterized, as she wrote, "by the stigma of the private, the familistic, and the marginality with respect to making history together." Courageous attitude if we consider that she was a woman of the bourgeoisie. But her being a protester also emerges clearly toward the establishment of Italian psychology, with an overwhelming male majority, when in 1976 and later in 1983, she expressed a deep disagreement with what a scholar of great and indisputable value said. With strong and

irreproachable arguments, she refused the psychoanalytic approach as the exclusive holder of the interpretation of the data produced by cognitive investigations, arguing "that a hermeneutical criterion for man's action has always existed, provided that it is outside a deterministic and linear research of causality, outside of an approach to the study of behaviour – and its explanation – which can fall within the framework of reductionist operationism: such criterion is certainly history, to be taken as an independent variable" (Boggi Cavallo, 1983, p. 11).

Daughter of her time and place, she kept at the same time a traditional soul represented by the carrying out of domestic activities such as those related to food or by always presenting and signing in her work even with her husband's surname. Characterized by a reservedness that could sometimes be mistaken for reticence, Pina Boggi Cavallo was a volcanic woman, and generous woman, with a great sense of duty and a strong attachment to commitment. She had a way of interacting and relating to others that always took into account the socio-cultural context, she was able to put interlocutors at ease regardless of age and social class, and she knew how to be empathetic and was always careful to pay close attention to the meaning of the actions taken. Her ability to decentralize and her propensity to enhance the youngest of her with an attitude that characterizes great mentors are clearly represented by the dedication written in the book *Image of Self and Sexual Role* that she gave me: *You will certainly do better than me! I wish you with much affection. Pina*.

About the Way to Study Self-Concept, Self-Image, and Role Identity

This paragraph briefly considers two volumes by Pina Boggi Cavallo (1978, 1983), confirming the originality and topicality of her intuitions and the undisputed validity of the study and research approach she used. In order to allow a synthetic reflection on the theoretical approaches and methods used to deal with the same issues, reference is made to two contributions published by L'Ecuyer in 1978 and Gergen and Davis 19 years later (1997).

To better highlight the historical context of reference, it should be remembered that at the beginning of the 1970s, the Bolognese School of Social Psychology started in Bologna under the impulse of Augusto Palmonari. In those years, all those who were part of the "Palmonari group" were engaged under his guidance to do research on issues related to the construction of identity, in reference to aspects such as personal and social identity, identity structure in adolescence, and the problem of the professional identity of young people at work. The approach used in our empirical research tended to take into greater consideration a European dimension than the American tradition, favoring the study of identity over that of the self, in relation mainly to social psychology studies on intergroup relations, social differentiation, and ethnic identity. Given the importance attributed in those years to the theme of the self and identity (the term "identity" had entered everyday language through

expressions such as identity crisis, loss of identity, construction of a personal, social and professional identity), in 1977, Palmonari organized in Bologna together with H. Rodriguez Tomé of the Laboratoire de Psycho-Biologie de l'Enfant in Paris, with whom we were collaborating on the study of "Who Am I? " in adolescence, the International Colloquium on *Aspects of Personal Identity*.[2] Both theoretical and research contributions to that Colloquium, revised by each author in the light of this debate, were published in the volume *Personal Identity: Theory and Research* (Giovannini, 1979), as they were characterized by their undoubted usefulness for further study of the concepts of self and identity.

In 1978, the book *Le concept de soi* by L'Ecuyer (University of Sherbrooke, Quebec, Canada) was published, and the following year he was invited to participate in the International Colloquium in Bologna. In his book, L'Ecuyer tries to take stock of the notion of the concept of the self (or representation of the self), with reference to the various life cycles, based on the main American and European studies. In particular, he considers four major problems analyzed in the four chapters of the book: the necessary clarification of the very notion of the concept of the self, the main theories and some conceptual models, the methods of investigation, and the development of the concept of the self throughout life. With reference to the concept of self, this author emphasizes the great confusion of terminology, both American and European, and the need for clarification for a good understanding of the differences and similarities between terms used, such as self-image, self-representation, self-concept, phenomenal self, and non-phenomenal self. Having stated that in the analysis of theories and models of the self-concept the phenomenal (or experiential) approach was the most developed, L'Ecuyer analyzes six of the multidimensional models of the self-concept, three of which are most influenced by social psychology. The way in which psychoanalytic and behavioral-experimental approaches have considered the concept of self by integrating it into their theories is also considered. The methodological problems are analyzed by comparing supporters of inferential techniques and those of self-descriptive methods, highlighting their advantages and disadvantages and arguing that the question of the value of methods to investigate the concept of self is not based on irremovable arguments. This analysis is completed by focusing on the description of some tools for the evaluation the concept of self. In the last part of the book, L'Ecuyer points out that it seemed more interesting, useful, and enriching to him to focus attention on the development of

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[2] Pina Boggi Cavallo did not attend the conference. Only several years later, I asked Augusto Palmonari why she was not involved, and the answer was that we were not aware of the studies and research she was doing in Salerno. An answer that confirms what was mentioned above about the difficulty in those years is to be aware of the research activity carried out by other colleagues. The contacts established subsequently led to the involvement of Boggi Cavallo in the carrying out of studies and research, including the collaboration for the *First International Conference on Social Representations*, held in October 1992 in Ravello (Italy) organized by her and her group. In July of the same year, Giuseppina Speltini and myself were involved in the preparation of that historic event for Italian and European social psychology, and we were privileged to enjoy the exquisite hospitality of the Cavallo Boggi family in their summer home.

the analyzed self in perspective from childhood to old age, considering that the concept of self evolves differently throughout life.

In the same year, 1978, Pina Cavallo Boggi's book *Image of Self and Sexual Role* was published, a fundamental contribution to the study of self-image, role identity, and the social construction of the differences between the sexes, conceived and written from another perspective than the volume of L'Ecuiyer. As already highlighted above, in the 1970s, this scholar was engaged in investigating aspects of the meaning that being a woman has, through an educated analysis of the contributions made by psychology to knowledge, especially, as Giulia Villone Betocchi states in the introduction to Cavallo Boggi's book "through a careful critique of those descriptive and classifying tendencies that, for too long, have characterized psychological research" (in Cavallo Boggi, 1978, p. 7). Villone Betocchi goes on to say that the author appropriately questions the credibility of the contributions made by certain nominalistic psychology to the study of sexual differences, "a study aimed at legitimizing the division between the sexes, as a crystallization of the roles attributed to them, and as functional to the wider social system" (p. 7). From the very first lines of the first chapter, the theoretical context in which the author's research effort is inserted is clear: to attempt a more consistent critique of so-called nominalistic psychology, using in theoretical and methodological terms the contribution of Lewin, Sève, and Holzkamp but also of Goffman, Argyle, Pribam, Bergher and Lukman, and Rommetveit, to name but a few of the numerous authors she has taken as reference in her contribution.

Her approach is part of the debate that began in Italy in the early 1970s, centered on the analysis of the concept of behavior and the reasons why it was subjected in those years, in its meaning of social behavior, to critical review and dissociated from the concept of adaptation. It is undeniable that this contribution is on an epistemological level an absolute innovation as represent an innovative reading and critical analysis. In fact, it takes into account in depth both the psychoanalytic perspective and in particular the contribution of Horney where she questions the possibility that knowledge about women is influenced by male reference models. But it also takes into consideration the need to use a cognitive approach to the study of roles, toward a less individualistic conception of social psychology, a study of social behavior connoted in terms of interpersonal behavior and social interaction.

In 1997, i.e., 19 years later, the volume of over 600 pages *Toward a New Psychology of Gender* was published. The editors are Mary M. Gergen and Sara N. Davis, both affiliated with the Women's Studies Program, respectively, at Pennsylvania State University (Delaware) and at Rosemont College. On the back cover of the volume, it is stated that "For the past several decades, those involved with the study of the psychology of women and gender have been struggling for recognition within the framework of psychology. Drawn from a brilliant array of voice primarily from psychology, but also from other sciences and humanities, *Toward a New Psychology of Gender* offers creative and intellectually provocative essay that investigates the social construction of gender (…) (and) brings (…) the writings from psychology, philosophy, psychoanalysis, history, women's studies,

education, and sociology that critique mainstream thinking and exemplify new ways of creating inquiry."

This is not the place to go into detail about a volume structured in 10 parts, 32 chapters, and as many or more authors. I will limit myself to point out some statements written by the editors of the volume in the Opening Conversations, in which a description of the core features of social constructionism is set forth in order to help to evaluate the contributions appearing in the volume. "The social constructionism position implies that any type of description of the nature of reality is dependent upon the historical and cultural location of that description. Every culture has its own notion of the 'real'" (p. 6). In her chapter, Mary Gergen is concerned with both form and content in the telling of life stories and she wonders: "When women write different story is it to be construed as a result of their own particular experiences, or is it because those are the story of the relationship because it is expected that they will not appear open competitive, or is that reflective of Their lives?" (p. 16). That knowledge about women is influenced by male models of reference was a question that had been asked and answered 20 years earlier by Pina Boggi Cavallo.

The book *The Social Construction of the Self: Division Between the Sexes and Role Identity* was published in 1983, therefore, 14 years before *Toward a New Psychology of Gender* by Gergen and Davis. What is striking when reading are the numerous references to psychological and literary texts, the transversal knowledge with respect to various disciplines, and the ability to interconnect knowledge even distant from each other. In his eyes, "it immediately appears how far we need to go in order to define a research hypothesis that assumes history as an independent variable and tries through it the reconstruction of all and only human paths, of that constitution of the person, as a whole of himself, among which is also the role identity" (p. 11). The variables taken as a reference are history and time as concepts through which to identify a notion of everyday life, to be understood as a hinge between the personal, therefore the psychic, and the social.

These concepts are analyzed in a very articulated way in the first chapter of this volume where it is argued that if history is science of time, every discourse about time goes through history, statements supported by numerous precise references to Le Goff, Foucault, Piaget, Fraisse, Pomian, Heidegger, and Husserl, to get to Amerio and his statements that everyday life is much less naive than you might think. As Pina Boggi Cavallo writes, "The lack of attention to the non-ingenuousness of everyday life can be at the origin of theories in psychology, such as that of identity and role, which in fact endorse a concept of a passive man as a stimulator, according to a precise preservation of the functionalist model and the principles of behaviorism. Nor does the work that cognitive psychology is doing, to this end, seem to have, to date, much importance, precisely in the opposite direction" (p. 17).

To the many other considerations and reflections that could be added, I limit myself to the conclusion of this contribution to express a conviction to which I premise a synthetic reference to the research results published in the volume *Image of Self and Sexual Role*, which shows how male models of reference influence knowledge about women. In fact, it emerges that "the sexual role appears to be

specularly organized with respect to the male, with the progressive increase of intro-jected masculine values, values based on the division of roles between the sexes and on the attribution to one of them, 'to the second sex,' of the stigma of the private, of the familistic, of marginality with respect to making, together, history. The social self in the woman appears to be characterized by an identity that presents only the negative as feminine, the cast of the man. Which is the form of oppression" (Cavallo Boggi, 1978, back cover).

I am convinced that if in 1977 Pina Boggi Cavallo had participated as a speaker at the International Colloquium "Aspects of Personal Identity" in Bologna, she would certainly have made an important contribution not only nationally but also on a European and international level to the studies of the following years on self-image, social self-building, role identity, and gender studies. That event would cer-tainly have represented, especially for foreign speakers, an opportunity to get to know her and discover the results of her studies and research. This failure to meet, a contingent moment in history and time, has in no way damaged her intellectual heritage as a psychology teacher with a very solid humanistic culture, as a thinker with multiple interests and as a scholar capable of seeing where no one was looking. A scientist who ventured into her Salerno to consider topics that no one had dealt with before, analyzing them from a personal perspective. Although she was a south-ern woman who always acted for the south, the legacy she left can be perceived as universal. In fact, the fascination of his works and writings lies also in this particu-lar/universal dynamic that characterizes in the analysis of social phenomena the contrast between the behavior of the individual and those of the group of which he is part.

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Chapter 14
In Search of an Experiment: From Vygotsky to Lewin and Dembo and Back to the Future

Annalisa Sannino and Yrjö Engeström

Introduction

The discussions with Pina Boggi Cavallo on the theme of this chapter span over a period of nearly 30 years for the first author and since 2004 for the second author. Central to these discussions was the question of the epistemological foundations of psychology as a science in the service of human development. Boggi Cavallo's early perspective (Boggi Cavallo & Cucco, 1981) on the crisis of the modern ideal of science had already brought her to turn to the works of Lewin and Vygotsky as both alternative epistemological and ethico-political orientations for the future of scientific inquiries in psychology. Our discussions became fertile ground for a project we started in Italy in 2004 with a nonconventional psychological experiment on a key theme in the work of both Lewin and Vygotsky: volition.

Much of Vygotsky writing was aimed at opening up and synthesizing a new perspective on psychology. Thus, his central ideas were commonly expressed in short and somewhat opaque forms, and their full exploitation in empirical research requires careful reconstruction and expansion. The goal of this chapter is to accomplish such a reconstruction and expansion by means of tracing the historical roots, conceptual underpinnings, and practical consequences of an experiment described by Vygotsky (1987, 1997, 1998) as a paradigmatic example illuminating the formation of volitional action.

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Vygotsky attributed the experiment to Kurt Lewin. However, Vygotsky did not give a reference to a source in which the experiment would be described in detail. Being interested in reconstructing and expanding on Vygotsky theory of will, we decided to try and trace the original experiment so that we might be able to replicate it. More generally, in spite of the widespread interest in Vygotsky, his theory of will has received relatively scant attention. This chapter is the story of our search for the experiment, enthusiastically welcomed and followed up in our discussions with Pina Boggi Cavallo. The search turned out to be much more than a technical exercise; it became a journey of theoretical and methodological reconstruction and elucidation of the basic propositions behind Vygotsky's account of the experiment.

Our initial questions were as follows: Where can we find a detailed description of the experiment? What were its actual contents? As we traced the experiment to Lewin's writings and then to the work of Lewin's student Tamara Dembo, our questions were transformed: Why was Vygotsky's account so different from the description Dembo gave of the experiment she actually conducted? What is the use of an account of an experiment that never happened?

This paper is not another attempt at analyzing Vygotsky's scientific biography and circles of collaboration (see Yasnitsky, 2011). We keep the cast of characters very small, focusing only on those that are central in our quest on the issue of volitional action and the paradigmatic experiment. The key characters besides Lev Vygotsky and Kurt Lewin are Tamara Dembo, James J. Gibson, and Peter Gollwitzer. Lewin and Dembo were direct sources of Vygotsky's idea of the paradigmatic experiment. Gibson was a key critic of subjectivist interpretations of Lewin's legacy, while Gollwitzer may be seen as a prominent representative of such subjectivist developments of Lewin' ideas of volition. A closer scrutiny of Lewin's ideas, as well as those included in the subsequent work of Gibson and Gollwitzer, leads us to identify key features in Vygotsky's work on volition as original and radically promising for adopting novel epistemological orientation in psychology as a science in the service of human development.

Starting Point: Lev Vygotsky's Account of a Paradigmatic Experiment

Vygotsky/Sakharov's blocks experiment (Vygotsky, 1987, pp. 127–130; see also Towsey & Macdonald, 2009) made available to wide audiences in the psychological literature the principle of double stimulation, which played a key role in Vygotsky's views on volition. Double stimulation is typically understood as the use of a neutral or ambiguous external artifact as a sign (second or auxiliary stimulus) that helps the subject in solving an otherwise difficult or overwhelming problem (first stimulus). In light of the Vygotsky/Sakharov blocks experiment, double stimulation is commonly regarded as a mechanism that can aid a subject in problem solving and learning of new skills. Sometimes this has been reformulated with the help of the idea of "scaffolding" (Wood et al., 1976; Pea, 2004).

It can be argued, however, that double stimulation for Vygotsky was of importance not only for the enhancement of problem solving and skill formation but also for the formation of will, volitional action, and agency (e.g., Sannino, 2015, 2016, 2020; Sannino & Laitinen, 2015; Sannino et al., 2021). In other words, the two aspects, will and skill, exist side by side in Vygotsky's accounts of the principle of double stimulation. The will aspect of double stimulation is particularly clearly expressed in Vygotsky's accounts of an experiment called the waiting experiment, or the experiment of the meaningless situation.

In Vygotsky's collected works, we find three relatively detailed descriptions of this experiment (Vygotsky, 1987, p. 356; 1997, p. 212; 1998, p. 262).

> In one set of experiments, for example, the experimenter left the subject and did not return, but observed him from a separate room. Generally, the subject waited for 10–20 min. Then, not understanding what he should do, he remained in a state of oscillation, confusion, and indecisiveness for some time. Nearly all the adults searched for some external point of support. For example, one subject defined his actions in terms of the striking of the clock. Looking at the clock he thought: 'When the hand moves to the vertical position, I will leave.' The subject transformed the situation this way, establishing that he would wait until 2.30 and then leave. When the time came, the action occurred automatically. By changing the psychological field, the subject created a new situation for himself in this field. He transformed the meaningless situation into one that had a clear meaning. (Vygotsky, 1987, p. 356; originally written in 1932)

> That in Lewin's experiments we are actually speaking of such control of oneself through stimuli is easy to see from his example. The subject is asked to wait for a long time and to no purpose in an empty room. She vacillates – to leave or to continue waiting, a conflict of motives occurs. She looks at her watch; this only reinforces one of the motives, specifically, it is time to go, it is already late. Until now the subject was exclusively at the mercy of the motives, but now she begins to control her own behavior. The watch instantly constituted a stimulus that acquires the significance of an auxiliary motive. The subject decides 'When the hands of the watch reach a certain position, I will get up and leave.' Consequently, she closes a conditioned connection between the position of the hands and her leaving; she decides to leave through the hands of the watch and she acts in response to external stimuli, in other words, she introduces an auxiliary motive similar to the dice or the count 'one, two, three' for getting up. (Vygotsky, 1997, p. 212; originally written in 1931)

> In Lewin's experiment, this was the procedure: the subject was invited to the laboratory, then the experimenter left for several minutes with the excuse that he had to prepare something for the experiment, and he left the subjects alone in the new environment. He waited ten to fifteen minutes. In this situation, the subject frequently began to look around the room. If there was the clock, he would check the time; if there was an envelope, he would check to see if there was something in it or if it was empty. (Vygotsky, 1998, p. 262; originally written in 1931)

Although Vygotsky uses the descriptions to illuminate somewhat different theoretical points, all three accounts clearly refer to one and the same experiment. In the first account, Vygotsky emphasizes the transformation of the meaningless situation into a meaningful one and the ease or automaticity of the action prepared this way. In the second account, Vygotsky emphasizes the conflict of motives and the construction of an auxiliary motive with the help of an external or second stimulus. In

the third account – the least relevant for the issue of volition – Vygotsky uses the experiment as an analogy of a child's connectedness solely to the present situation.

There is some variation of the technical description of the experiment between the three accounts. In the first account, Vygotsky seems to indicate that the key auxiliary stimulus was a clock. In the second account, the external stimulus is a watch. In the third account, Vygotsky mentions an envelope in addition to the clock. Clearly the basic idea of the experiment was more important for Vygotsky than its technical arrangement.

Although Vygotsky in each case explicitly attributed the waiting experiment to Kurt Lewin, there is no reference to a published source in any of the three descriptions. Therefore, we searched for an original description of the experiment in the works of Lewin.

Second Step: Kurt Lewin's Legacy

Not all of Lewin's publications are easily available. Graumann edited the collected works (*Werkausgabe*) of Lewin in German. Seven thematically organized volumes were planned. However, Graumann's death interrupted the work and only volumes I, II, IV, and VI appeared (Graumann, 1981, 1982a, 1982b, 1983). According to the publisher, no further volumes are expected. One of the missing volumes was to be titled *Topological and Vector Psychology*. This volume might well have contained papers that are otherwise very difficult to obtain or have not been previously published at all.

A reading of available works of Lewin led to the identification of one short passage, included in his large and foundational 1926 paper *Vorsatz, Wille und Bedürfnis* (published in English in 1951 as *Intention, Will and Need*), in which he describes the original experiment.

> A typical example, from experiments Miss Dembo undertook for another purpose, follows. The subject was forbidden to leave a certain place, yet would like to; she does not dare to, that is, cannot carry out her leaving in the form of a controlled action. Her way out is to form the intention: 'I will go as soon as the clock gets into this or that position.' (Similar occurences are frequent in everyday life.) Thus she creates valences for the future, which will then directly press her to leave, and bring about or facilitate the intended action. (It is an interesting question why, when it is impossible to leave immediately, it is possible to form such an intention. We cannot enter this problem here.). (Lewin, 1926, p. 379; English translations of excerpts from this paper are from Lewin, 1951, unless otherwise noted)

The use of the position of the hands of the clock is a significant detail that unmistakably connects Lewin's description with those given by Vygotsky. With regard to the use of this artifact, there is no evident discrepancy between Vygotsky accounts and that of Lewin.

As Lewin's widely known text appeared already in 1926, it is quite likely that Vygotsky initially learned about the experiment from this publication. Vygotsky's accounts do not contain any reference to a publication by Dembo which would offer

a description of the paradigmatic experiment. Indeed, such a publication did not exist, as will become clear shortly.

Before continuing our report on the search, we need to make a remark on the translation of Lewin's text. In the original, the German term "Aufforderungscharaktere" is of central importance. The word "Aufforderung" is usually translated as "request," "demand," or "invitation." In the very same text from 1926, Lewin defined his concept of "Aufforderung" as follows.

> Furthermore, it is common knowledge that the objects and events of the environment are not neutral toward us in our role of *acting* beings. Not only does their very nature facilitate or obstruct our actions to varying degrees, but we also encounter many objects and events which face us with a will of their own: *They challenge us to certain activities.* Good weather and certain landscapes entice one to a walk. A stairway stimulates the two-year-old child to climb it and jump down; dogs, to pet them; building stones, to play with them; the chocolate and a piece of cake want to be eaten. (Lewin, 1926, p. 350; italics in the original)

From this passage, it is clear that an "Aufforderung" is not merely a subjective phenomenon. It is firmly grounded in the material characteristics of and cultural conventions associated with specific things and practices. In this sense, an appropriate translation would be "demand characteristics," or more mildly "invitation characteristics" (see also Martin, 2011, p. 246). The concept has obvious affinities with Gibson's later ideas on "affordances" (Gibson, 1977) and with the notion of "material anchors" put forward by Hutchins (2005).

However, since the 1935 publication of Lewin's *A Dynamic Theory of Personality*, "Aufforderung" and "Aufforderungscharaktere" have in English language literature been systematically translated as "valence" and "valences." The term comes from Tolman (1932) who, in agreement with Lewin, still saw valence as stemming from the inherent characteristics of objects. As Colombetti (2005) shows in her detailed analysis, the meaning and uses of the term valence have after Lewin and Tolman shifted radically from object characteristics toward characterization of subjective emotions ("emotion valence," "affect valence"), dichotomously divided into positive and negative ones. Thus, the currently dominant mentalist use of the notion of valence does not seem having much to do with Lewin's original, at least potentially materialist, concept of "Aufforderung."

In the key quote given above where Lewin (1926, p. 379) describes the experiment of the meaningless situation, the English translation reads "she creates valences for the future," but the original German text says "Sie schafft damit für einen späteren Zeitpunkt Aufforderungscharaktere." In other words, the potentially materialist notion of "Aufforderung" is here replaced with the mentalist "valence."

In explaining the history of his concept of affordance, Gibson (1986, p. 138–139) argues that gestalt theorists, Lewin and Koffka in particular, built on the assumption of dualism: The valence could not belong to the physical object, so it must belong to the phenomenal object. The valence of an object is bestowed upon it in experience, by a need of the observer. The valence changes when the need of the observer changes. According to Gibson, his concept of affordance is different. The affordance of something does not change as the need of the observer changes.

For Koffka it was the *phenomenal* postbox that invited letter-mailing, not the *physical* postbox. But this duality is pernicious. I prefer to say that the real postbox (the *only* one) affords letter-mailing to a letter-writing human in a community with a postal system. (…) To feel a special attraction to it when one has a letter to mail is not surprising, but the main fact is that it is perceived as part of the environment – as an item of the neighborhood in which we live. (…) The perception of its affordance should therefore not be confused with the temporary special attraction it may have. (Gibson, 1986, p.139)

Lewin and Gibson seem to be at odds: mentalism vs. materialism. But this opposition is superficial. As seen above, Lewin emphasized the materiality of demand characteristics, and Gibson did not deny the "special attraction" of the postbox that arises when one has the subjective need or intention to mail a letter. The tension between the two seems to stem from different interests. Lewin was interested in motivation and will, whereas Gibson was interested in perception and cognition. In other words, Lewin wanted to predict and explain how people act in specific situations, while Gibson wanted to show that the meanings and values of things are culturally built in those very things, not just situationally added on them by the subject. The distinction resembles the categories of personal sense and societal meaning proposed by Leont'ev (1978) and also referred to in the volume by Boggi Cavallo and Cucco (1981). This interpretation may also be seen as a partial counter-argument to Martin's (2011, p. 247) claim that Lewin solipsistically considered the valence to be "in the head" of a person.

Third Step: Tamara Dembo's Experiments

Returning to our search, Lewin named Tamara Dembo as the researcher who conducted the original waiting experiment. Born in Russia, Dembo was a graduate student of Lewin in Berlin in the 1920s. In 1931, she defended and published her PhD thesis, titled *Der Ärger als dynamisches Problem* (Dembo, 1931; published in English in abridged form 45 years later under the title *The Dynamics of Anger*; Dembo, 1976). Dembo devised experimental tasks intended to create frustration and anger in the participants. In so doing, she was more than a mere observer in her study. She engaged her participants in a lengthy interaction where she encouraged, and then insisted, that subjects complete their assigned tasks, although they were practically impossible to accomplish. Dembo observed that the intensity of the need to succeed at the task had a significant effect on the resulting tension and, thus, the action of the participant. The emotional reactions of the participants as they failed to meet the goals set for them gave evidence in support of Lewin's view that behavior was a function of the total situation – a view that resonates consistently with Boggi Cavallo works on emotions (Boggi-Cavallo, 1983; Ricci Bitti et al., 1994).

De Rivera (1976, p. 322) points out that Dembo's experiments were actually studies of the dynamics of what might be called "impossible situations." He sees similarities between Dembo's work and Bateson's (1972) analyses of double binds.

As we shall see, this foundational aspect is also strongly present in Vygotsky's work on the principle of double stimulation and the generative mechanism behind volition.

Dembo's dissertation reports on two experiments. The first one consisted of throwing rings on bottles, the second one of trying to reach and grasp a flower without moving beyond a given boundary. Dembo called the first one ring-throwing experiment and the second one flower experiment. Neither one of the two experiments corresponds to the descriptions of the meaningless situation experiment reported by Vygotsky and Lewin.

However, Dembo's dissertation does not tell the whole story of the experiments she actually conducted in Berlin. We know this due to a remarkable document of an oral exchange disclosing the details of a third experiment which Dembo left out of her dissertation. This document is the transcript of a session held on December 7, 1925, in the Psychological Institute at University of Berlin in which Dembo presented the procedures and preliminary findings of all her experiments and received comments from faculty members (Vortrag, 2002). The document was brought to publication by Van der Veer and Lück who also discuss it in some detail in a paper of their own (Van der Veer & Lück, 2002). In his earlier article on Tamara Dembo's European years, Van der Veer (2000, p. 109) thanks colleagues at Clark University for supplying him "with Dembo's notebooks about the experiments conducted in Berlin and Groningen and with part of her correspondence."

Dembo called her third experiment "waiting experiment." Here is her oral description of the setup of this experiment.

> […] The subject comes into the room, I sit down. In the room there is a round table, I take a piece of paper and begin to write down what the subject does, etc., I have a lot to write because the subject does not stand still but does something else. The subject either asks 'Now?' or something else, such as 'What shall I do? What is the instruction?' – or more often nothing at all. I write, look at her, then she understands that no instructions will come – this also is common – begins to do something, either takes a chair and sits down or stands by the table and does not sit down. The subjects who have sat down have done the following: They look at something or looked around them or took some thing with which they made themselves busy, for example they took a hole-puncher from the table, or paper, or played with the lamps, or took in their hands a couple of books that lay on the table. But more often they also took things that belonged to themselves, for instance a book they carried with them, a newspaper, and began to read. There were also subjects who placed themselves by the table for an hour looked at the wallpaper on the opposite wall or looked out through the window. I had approximately 25 subjects. After an hour I asked for example one subject 'Would you not like to sit down?' She answered to me: 'Oh no, thank you very much, I am happy to stand.' Another one said: 'Thank you, it actually does not make any difference for me' – and then she took a chair and sat down. After that there was some looking around, but hardly noticeable. The leader of the experiment can hardly see that the subject looks for example out of the window, turning her head. This continued for an hour, an hour and a half. – As I said, the other subjects who had sat down began to make themselves busy and sometimes started to read a book. There were different cases: either they read so that – as they have told afterwards – they were completely immersed in the book, at least for a period of time, and did not pay any attention to the experiment, or they read and noticed that they were not really able to read, that it was somehow impossible to read, they were not able to concentrate or their thoughts were somehow difficult, or they noticed that if they had taken a book that was somehow a bit difficult, not just fiction but things which require thinking to be understood, then the subjects talked about heaviness of thoughts or

about immobility or similar things. Also with other things, such as for example in reflecting on some other tasks or other things taken up by the subjects, such a heaviness of thoughts is present – not with all subjects, there were also those who got into their work without difficulties, but these subjects felt very little pressure from the situation to begin with. Then there was the following to notice. After subjects had gotten busy, a bit later a period began during which the subject started to think about him- or herself, and specifically mostly to think about things that were personally unpleasant for them. If there was a subject who, when feeling bad, usually would think about her inferiority, she would also in this situation think about her inferiority. If a subject usually suffers from embarrassment, she would suffer from it also now. If she found for example loneliness as unpleasant, she would think about loneliness and similar things. In other words, each subject would think about different things, but what is constant is this feature of thinking about personal things, about unpleasant things, things which actually come up in people's heaviest moods. […] In the waiting experiment this was very seldom connected to external affective outbreaks. […] (Vortrag, 2002, p. 72-73; translation from German by Yrjö Engeström)

There seems to be little doubt that this is actually the experiment referred to by Lewin and also indirectly by Vygotsky. Yet Dembo's description of the experiment differs from the accounts of Vygotsky and Lewin in significant ways.

First of all, Dembo does list a number of external artifacts used by the participants, such as hole-puncher, sheet of paper, books, and a newspaper. She also mentions material fixtures of the room that may have been used by participants: wallpaper, window, and lamps. However, the artifact taken up by Vygotsky in all his discussions of the experiment, as well as by Lewin in the quote we found, namely, the clock or the watch, is missing in Dembo's description.

In both Vygotsky's and Lewin's accounts, the use of the clock is connected to the subject's volitional action of leaving the experiment physically. Interestingly enough, the clock does appear in Dembo's published dissertation where she discusses the two other experiments.

A permanent being out of the field, a final breaking off without return to the experiment, happened only once. The subject had paved his way to freedom in advance by setting a definite deadline, at which time he would break off the experiment – "I'm leaving at 1:15!" He later postponed that deadline a few times. (Dembo, 1931, p. 68; translation from Dembo, 1976, p. 375)

Here the use of the clock is indeed connected to the subject's volitional breaking out of the experimental situation. According to Dembo, this actually took place only once. This claim is, however, contradicted by Dembo's own case descriptions. At least in one other case, the subject actually left the experiment room (Dembo, 1931, p. 89–90).

In her detailed descriptions of the behavior of different participants in the two experiments, Dembo mentions a participant's reference to clock or clock time at least four times besides the quote given above (Dembo, 1931, p. 89, p. 136, p. 138). So the clock seems to have been a relevant artifact in the experiments. However, for Dembo, it had no particular theoretical significance. For Lewin and even more so for Vygotsky, the use of the clock became instead a prime example of forming an intention and executing a volitional act.

Secondly, in Vygotsky's account of the experiment, "the experimenter left the subject and did not return but observed him from a separate room." In Dembo's own description, she actually remained in the room with the subject, observing the subject and writing down his or her behavior. In her dissertation, Dembo actually points out that it would have been desirable to record the subjects' behavior with the help of film and audiorecording. This was not possible due to excessive costs and technical difficulties (Dembo, 1931, p. 7).

Thirdly, Vygotsky mentions that the subjects waited for 10–20 min. Dembo's own description tells us that the waiting times were actually much longer, up to an hour and a half and frequently at least an hour.

These discrepancies make it clear that Vygotsky was actually writing about a thought experiment of his own, not about an experiment actually conducted by Dembo. To some extent, this seems to apply also to Lewin. So why bother about an experiment that never happened?

Fourth Step: Back to Lewin

The reason why Vygotsky's thought experiment is important is that it presents an original and bold approach to the formation of volitional action. To make clear the originality of this approach, we need to take a brief look at some related psychological accounts of volition.

Although volition was a central concern for such prominent psychologists as Ach (1905, 1910), James (1890), and Lewin (1926) in the late nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth century, research and theorizing on will and conation has been chronically marginalized after the Second World War. There have been several attempts to revitalize volition in psychology. In a volume published in 1989, after tracing the demise of will in psychological research, Scheerer (1989, p. 56) talks about "the impending 'volitional revolution'." Nearly 20 years later, in another prominent collection of papers, Prinz, Dennett, and Sebanz (2006, p. 2) point out that "research on volition has lagged behind research on other aspects of the mind," but they optimistically proclaim that "intrepid forays into this long-shunned territory are at last under way."

An important strand of revitalization stems from the work of Heckhausen and Gollwitzer (1987) who distinguished between motivational and volitional states of mind. They demonstrated that focusing only on motivation and goal setting fails to explain the frequent failure of people to implement their intentions in practice. Subsequently, Gollwitzer et al. (1990) identified what they called implementation intentions, to be clearly distinguished from goal intentions. After that, Gollwitzer has produced a series of studies on implementation intentions, showing that the likelihood of actual implementation of an intention in practical action is significantly increased when the subject anchors his or her intention in some concrete circumstances, such as a specific time, place, or social situation (Gollwitzer & Sheeran, 2006). Implementation intentions work by "passing the control of one's

behavior on to the environment" (Gollwitzer, 1993, p. 173) or by "intentionally delegating the control of one's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors to specific situational cues" (Cohen & Gollwitzer, 2006, p. 153).

By demonstrating our dependency on environmental and external mediating factors, this approach implies the possibility to extend the locus of human agency beyond the skin of the individual – a perspective which is strongly emphasized by Boggi Cavallo and Cucco (1981). However, two limitations of Gollwitzer's approach must be pointed out. They are particularly clear when Gollwitzer's ideas are compared with those of Kurt Lewin.

Gollwitzer was initially influenced by Lewin's ideas of volition. In the paper where implementation intentions were first identified, Gollwitzer, Heckhausen, and Ratajczak (1990, p. 61) explicitly referred to Lewin's (1926) classic paper as a source from which the notion of "implemental intents" was derived.

The first important difference between Lewin and Gollwitzer has to do with the relationship between goal setting and implementation. In Gollwitzer's work, the initial phase of formation of goal intentions is strictly separated from the phase of construction of implementation intentions. The latter phase is launched when a decision is made: the crossing of Rubicon. The phase of forming implementation intentions is depicted as a rational process of planning "when, where, and how a set goal has to be put into action" (Gallo & Gollwitzer, 2007, p. 37). By constructing this divide between goal formation and planning of implementation, this approach tends to "clean up" the implementation part from the influence of developmental contradictions and critical conflicts of motives as historically and systemically rooted sources of volition.

For Lewin, a complete intentional action is conceived of as follows: "Its first phase is a *motivation process*, either a brief or a protracted vigorous struggle of motives; the second phase is an act of choice, decision, or *intention,* terminating this struggle; the third phase is the consummatory *intentional action* itself, following either immediately or after an interval, short or long" (Lewin, 1926, p. 334). At a first glance, this linear order looks a lot like the two-step sequence (motivational goal intentions - > volitional implementation intentions) of Gollwitzer. But Lewin was not satisfied with simple linearity. He pointed out that the decision to act in a certain way often amounts to the effecting of some kind of equilibrium between opposing directions, a situation "in which a more or less unitary tension-system controls the action" (Lewin, 1926, p. 380). However, this unification and suppression of the struggle between motives is not at all absolute or clean.

> This is not always completely successful, however. Thus it is not uncommon that in spite of the decision, the tensions originating from the suppressed systems will, even if to a weakened degree, make themselves noticeable in the action. Thus unpurposeful mixed actions may come about, often resulting in an inhibition or weakening of the action. (Lewin, 1926, p. 381)

Lewin continued by making it completely clear that a neat linear separation of the phases is not to be taken for granted.

> Intentions in the functional sense (formation of quasi-needs), and decisions in the functional sense (the suppression or equilibration of simultaneous internal tensions in their claims for control of action), appear at times as closely related, and only conceptually separable, functional components of a process; at other times they appear separately in relatively pure forms. (Lewin, 1926, p. 381)

The second difference between Lewin and Gollwitzer has to do with the nature of the environment or situation to which control is delegated. For Lewin, delegating the control of action to the environment meant above all delegating it to the "demand characteristics" ("Aufforderungschakter") of material objects. A mailbox "demands" that you put a letter into it. This is of course not a one-way street: The "demand character" is an interactive achievement between the objective features of the object and the degree to which the subject's need or emerging intention relates to these features. Lewin (1926, p. 352–353) points out that when one has, for example, decided to become a professional in a specific domain, certain previously neutral things gain positive or negative "demand characteristics" for the person. But the foundational idea is that real durable objects, not just passing situations or "specific situational cues," are the primary partners with which human beings share their volitional efforts. This is very different from Gollwitzer's subject-driven "when, where, and how" determinations.

To sum up, Lewin wanted (a) to keep an eye on the leaking boundaries and interplay between the struggle of opposing motives, the making of decisions, and the motor execution of volitional actions and (b) to keep durable material objects as the primary partners in the delegation of control of human action to the environment. In both respects, we see Lewin's ideas as more developed than the later work of Gollwitzer. If this is so, why is Lewin not enough – why do we need Vygotsky?

Fifth Step: Back to Vygotsky and Double Stimulation

A partial answer to the question posed above may be found in the fact that Lewin's theory of volition was never fully developed. Lewin practically abandoned his pioneering work on volition when he left Germany.

> When he went to the United States, his interests shifted toward group dynamics and social psychology and lost their specifically German flavor, not only linguistically but in terms of the basic presuppositions guiding them. This meant that the will was again lost, and in fact the most accessible source on Lewin's contribution to the psychology of volition is Koffka's (1935) *Principles of Gestalt Psychology,* more so than Lewin's own writings in the English language. (Scheerer, 1989, p. 56)

More importantly, Vygotsky's view of volition is qualitatively different from that of Lewin in several respects. For Lewin, the starting point was the question "How does the act of intending bring about the subsequent action, particularly in those cases in which the consummatory action does not follow immediately the act of intending?" (Lewin, 1926, p. 334). This is basically the same question that Gollwitzer has

pursued many decades later. The focus is on *actuation* or *implementation*: how an intention becomes realized in practical action.

Vygotsky's focus was broader and more comprehensive. He saw the core of volition in a struggle of conflicting motives and in the way the paralysis generated by this struggle is overcome by means of mediating artifacts, or "auxiliary stimuli." Vygotsky explicitly pointed out that "psychologists, it seems to us, erroneously assumed the actuating mechanism to be the essence of the voluntary process and paid no attention to the process itself of the *formation* of this mechanism" (Vygotsky, 1997, p. 217; italics added).

To put it in terms of the waiting experiment, for Lewin and Gollwitzer, the most interesting issue is how the subject's chosen "valence" or "situational cues of an implementation intention" (e.g., a specific position of the hands of the clock or a specific point of clock time) trigger the desired action. For Vygotsky, the most interesting issue is how the "second stimulus" or "auxiliary motive" is actually formed, what kind of a struggle and work is actually carried out in the formation of the mechanism. In other words, Vygotsky wanted to open up the making of the decision as the core of volition.

In his analysis of voluntary acts, William James used as example the daily act of getting up: On the one hand, the person knows that he must get up, on the other hand, he would like to sleep a little longer. Vygotsky (1997, p. 211) criticized James for believing that, for the person, the moment of decision passes unnoticed, as if it had not happened at all. According to Vygotsky, this kind of elusiveness of decision, "this most important moment in the voluntary act," is characteristic of a poorly developed voluntary act in which the auxiliary motive remains internal and taken for granted, not constructed externally and with effort.

> A typical, developed voluntary act in the same situation exhibits the following three instants: (1) I must get up (motive), (2) I don't want to get up (motive), (3) counting to oneself: one, two, three (auxiliary motive) and (4) at the count of three, rising. This is the introduction of an auxiliary motive, creating a situation from the outside[1] that makes me get up. (Vygotsky, 1997, p. 211)

In this example, the mediating artifact is counting from one to three. Today a more common practice would be the use of an alarm clock. The setting of the alarm is a miniature struggle: What time should I wake up exactly? Would this be too early, or too late? Couldn't I put it 20 min later? The decision itself is saturated with this struggle, and it takes place as the person manipulates the alarm clock, often physically vacillating between earlier and later points of time by means of moving the hands or the digits of the clock back and forth before settling at a certain point. In this case, the decision is practically identical with the physical manipulation of the material artifact, literally with the act of investing the neutral or ambiguous artifact with specific meaning.

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[1] The words "from the outside" are a literal translation of the word "izvne" in the Russian version of Vygotsky's collected works, kindly provided for us by Klaus Helkama. In the English translation (Vygotsky, 1997, p. 211), this expression is erroneously translated as "from within."

In a fully developed volitional action, the decision is not an ephemeral singular moment. It is a complex combination of struggle, hesitation or vacillation, paralysis, search for an external supporting artifact, fixation of the artifact, and manipulating and filling the artifact with new meaning. The fixation and filling of the artifact are not necessarily terminal and fully closed. Recall Dembo's account: "The subject had paved his way to freedom in advance by setting a definite deadline, at which time he would break off the experiment – 'I'm leaving at 1:15!' *He later postponed that deadline a few times*" (Dembo, 1976, p. 375 [1931, p. 68]; italics added). In other words, the decision may emerge in multiple successive steps of revision.

Our recent work on the use of cheating slips by students in a demanding exam provides an example of prolonged decision.

> The students describe their actions of cheating as a major struggle with their conscience, their fear, and their values. Almost without exception, they conclude that daring to prepare their elaborate cheating tools, or the second stimuli, was a personal breakthrough into self-confidence and pride through the realization that what they did was not wrong – what was wrong was the system of education strangled by exams and assessments. This is all the more interesting as many of the students mention in passing that they actually did not need to use their cheating slips in the exam situation – it was sufficient that they had prepared them, both in terms of careful selection and presentation of knowledge and in terms of at least equally careful construction of the physical artifacts, typically with the assistance of mothers, fathers and other relatives. (Engeström, 2006, p. 22; Sannino, 2017)

In this case, the decision took shape as the student constructed his or her cheating devices over a period of weeks, sometimes months, at the same time struggling with the moral and emotional conflict involved in the idea of cheating. The fact that the students often did not need to actually use the cheating slips, even if they brought them into the exam situation, is similar to the fact that after setting the alarm clock, we often wake up a couple of minutes before the alarm actually rings. The auxiliary stimulus has been internalized and its external version is not needed. The difference between waking up and cheating is that in the former, the person performs the same action (getting up) that he or she intended to perform with the help of the external stimulus, whereas in the latter case, the person decides *not* to perform the initially intended act (cheating) because he or she realizes that the internalization of the second stimuli (cheating slips) has made them superfluous.

This example makes it clear that the linear Rubicon model (Heckhausen & Gollwitzer, 1987) is overly simplified. The model suggests that a momentary and irreversible decision functions as a strict divider between the predecisional state (motivation) and the postdecisional state (volition) or between planning and implementation. Although Vygotsky also distinguishes between the decision and the implementation phases (Vygotsky, 1997; Sannino, 2015), the two form a much more complex and dynamic whole. In the cheating example, the decision to cheat was shaped over a lengthy and conflictual period by means of constructing material second stimuli or implementation devices. When the time came to implement the intention, many found it unnecessary. In other words, the decision was neither momentary nor irreversible, and its formation was tightly intertwined with preparation for implementation. One may argue that the very construction of the cheating

tools and the associated new vision of learning and knowledge were the most important outcomes of this volitional effort. In other words, the crucial issue of volitional action is its potential to build and expand the person's general capability to engage in willful transformations – agency, for short.

We see this as the core of Vygotsky's idea of double stimulation. For Vygotsky, volitional action was the pinnacle of culturally mediated human functioning.

> The person, using the power of things or stimuli, controls his own behavior through them, grouping them, putting them together, sorting them. In other words, the great uniqueness of the will consists of man having no power over his own behavior other than the power that things have over his behavior. But man subjects to himself the power of things over behavior, makes them serve his own purposes and controls that power as he wants. He changes the environment with his external activity and in this way affects his own behavior, subjecting it to his own authority. (Vygotsky, 1997, p. 212)

Consequently, the principle of double stimulation was more than a theoretical idea for Vygotsky. It was also an epistemological principle for renewing research in psychology and in particular the study of higher psychological processes.

> The task facing the child in the experimental context is, as a rule, beyond his present capabilities and cannot be solved by existing skills. In such cases a neutral object is placed near the child, and frequently we are able to observe how the neutral stimulus is drawn into the situation and takes on the function of a sign. Thus, *the child actively incorporates these neutral objects into the task of problem solving.* We might say that when difficulties arise, neutral stimuli take on the function of a sign and from that point on the operation's structure assumes an essentially different character. (…) By using this approach, we do not limit ourselves to the usual method of offering the subject simple stimuli to which we expect a direct response. Rather, we simultaneously offer a *second series of stimuli* that have a special function. In this way, we are able to study the *process of accomplishing a task by the aid of specific auxiliary means;* thus we are also able to discover the inner structure and development of higher psychological processes. The method of double stimulation elicits manifestations of the crucial processes in the behavior of people of all ages. Tying a knot as a reminder, in both children and adults, is but one example of a pervasive regulatory principle of human behavior, that of *signification,* wherein people create temporary links and give significance to previously neutral stimuli in the context of their problem-solving efforts. We regard our method as important because it helps to *objectify* inner psychological processes. […] (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 74-75; italics added)

Van der Veer and Valsiner (1991) point out the challenge this methodology poses to the experimenter who wants to control the experimental situation.

> The notion of 'experimental method' is set up by Vygotsky in a methodological framework where the traditional norm of the experimenter's maximum control over what happens in the experiment is retained as a special case, rather than the modal one. The human subject always 'imports' into an experimental setting a set of 'stimulus-means' (psychological instruments) in the form of signs that the experimenter cannot control externally in any rigid way. Hence the experimental setting becomes a context of investigation where the experimenter can manipulate its structure in order to trigger (but not 'produce') the subject's *construction* of new psychological phenomena. (Van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991, p. 399; italics added)

In other words, inquiries mobilizing the principle of double stimulation always build on the subject's own will and agency and are aimed at facilitating and making visible the subject's volitional action.

Conclusion

We see Vygotsky's accounts of the waiting experiment as condensed formulations of his theory of the formation and functioning of volitional action, or will. In this sense, Vygotsky's thought experiment is indeed paradigmatic.

Following Vygotsky's line of thinking, we understand volitional action as dealing with contradictory motives by employing auxiliary cultural means to make conscious decisions and turn these decisions into action. Thus, volitional action refers to the subject's willed quest for transformation. It transpires in a problematic, polymotivated situation in which the subject evaluates and interprets the circumstances, makes decisions according to the interpretations, and acts upon these decisions. Our concept of volitional action may be summarized with the help of five necessary ingredients: (1) situation of conflicting motives; (2) identification and construction of auxiliary, artifactual stimulus-means; (3) transformation of the situation with the help of the auxiliary stimulus-means; (4) implementation or non-implementation of the intended consummatory action; and (5) intertwining and iteration between the preceding four ingredients, often resulting in a prolonged, multistep or multi-cycle volitional effort.

Vygotsky's thought experiment of the meaningless situation was turned into a set of real experiments (Sannino & Laitinen, 2015; Sannino, 2016). Such experiments generated material that allowed to specify and further develop seeds of a Vygotskian theory of transformative agency (Sannino, 2015, 2020). How were such experiments designed in the light of the five ingredients named above? The following considerations guided the experimental work. As the original model of the paradigmatic experiment stems from some 90 years back in time, these considerations needed to be translated into a detailed experimental design compatible with the current ethical standards of psychological experiments.

First, the situation of conflicting motives was established by asking the person to stay in a room in order to participate in an experiment, then leaving him or her in the room in which nothing happens. The participant's promise to participate created the motive to stay, whereas the participant's ongoing life and obligations created the motive to leave. Visible vacillation and struggle became apparent between the two motives in the form of physical movement, temporary paralysis, and interrupted or partial attempts to break away.

Second, the identification and construction of auxiliary, artifactual stimulus-means was facilitated by minimal available artifacts in the room, including a table, a chair, a door, the walls, and a clock on a wall. The subject brought whatever he or she carried in pockets or in a bag into the experiment room. This rather minimalistic setup allowed us to observe and record the subject's rudimentary efforts at identifying and constructing relevant auxiliary stimulus-means. As Vygotsky pointed out, there are benefits in not offering ready-made external means to the participant.

> In experimental studies, we do not necessarily have to present to the subject a prepared external means with which we might solve the proposed problem. The main design of our experiment will not suffer in any way if instead of giving the child prepared external means,

we will wait while he spontaneously applies the auxiliary device and involves some auxiliary system of symbols in the operation. (…) In not giving the child a ready symbol, we could trace the way all the essential mechanisms of the complex symbolic activity of the child develop during the spontaneous expanding of the devices he used. (Vygotsky, 1999, p. 60)

Third, the transformation of the situation with the help of the auxiliary stimulus-means was a subtle process of investing the external artifact with meaning. It happened entirely internally or with the help of observable physical actions such as looking at the clock or a watch, fixing a page in the book the participant is reading as a marker for leaving the room, or even setting an alarm in a mobile phone. It is not necessary that the auxiliary stimulus-means is fixed to trigger leaving the room; it may also be a means for making meaningful use of the waiting time and postponing the decision to leave. In this case, as noted already by Dembo, books, a mobile phone, and other similar engaging artifacts were actually employed.

Fourth, the implementation or non-implementation of the intended consummatory action was the act of leaving the room, or deciding not to leave the room after all. Variations included trying to find the experimenter or contacting some other people outside the room by going after them physically or by using a mobile phone, for example. These can be interpreted as variations of what Dembo (1931, p. 64–72) called "going out of the field."

Fifth, to capture the intertwining and iteration between the preceding four ingredients required that the experiment was not interrupted too quickly by the experimenter and that the subject was given a chance to reflect on and account for his or her thoughts, feelings, and actions immediately after the experiment. The latter was accomplished by stimulated recall interviews using a videorecording of the participant's behavior in the experiment room.

The experiment was conducted in three variations. The first series consisted in using individual subjects. The second set used small groups of arbitrarily selected subjects. The third set used small groups of subjects who shared an ongoing joint activity outside the experiment. Bringing in small groups opened up the discursive and negotiated construction of volitional action. Introducing the variable of sharing an ongoing joint activity helped addressing the connection and interplay between longer-term activity and short-term actions, a theme of central importance in the work of Vygotsky's followers, particularly Leont'ev (1978, 2005).

Why might this type of inquiries and such a Vygotskian theory of volitional action be relevant for today's psychological research? First of all, while Vygotsky's work is widely used in educational psychology and related disciplines, his ideas on the nature of volitional action are very little known.

Second, for researchers working within established paradigms of cognitive control and self-regulation, the Vygotskian account may offer alternative readings of phenomena such as the role of conflicts in cognitive control (Botvinick et al., 2001) and automaticity in self-regulation (Papies & Aarts, 2011). Moreover, there has been already for some time a rapidly emerging literature that calls for studies of volition and volitional action as foundationally distributed and materially mediated phenomena (Knappett & Malafouris, 2010; Murphy & Throop, 2010; Ross et al.,

2007). The pursuits of discussions in the fields of action control and self-regulation may benefit from theoretical frameworks and experimental designs inspired by the Vygotskian legacy discussed in this paper and in our interactions with Pina Boggi Cavallo and offer powerful new epistemological openings.

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Chapter 15
Fostering Mentalizing Communities

Knowledge and Beliefs Toward a Reflective Society

Antonella Marchetti and Edoardo Alfredo Bracaglia

To perceive and interpret human behavior in terms of intentional mental states, such as feeling, beliefs, purposes, needs, desires, and reason (Allen et al., 2008) is what we call "mentalizing." It is an imaginative activity, as it is aimed at constantly trying to imagine what is in someone's mind. When we reread the studies of Pina Boggi Cavallo, we try to guess what she could feel and think about the path followed by her original idea to deeply connect the social context and the self.

In this very book, you can find potential catalytic assumptions that could ignite many studies on mentalization and social cognition in adulthood, e.g., "It is exactly this interlacement between developing and stable elements to raise the question about the self-cognition of the elderly person, in relation to the current values of the social group he belongs to":

> Old age and elders could be the outcome of a knowledge assumption, of a stereotype, which is created and maintained by the individual along the life span. The elderly person enacts these assumptions in concrete models of conduct, when he is called to play the role of 'elder', at the moment of the retirement and the withdrawal from the productive activity. (Boggi-Cavallo & Cesaro, 1981)

In other words, Boggi Cavallo's assumption could lead to the hypothesis that beliefs, *created and maintained by the individual along the life span*, can affect the core of self-perception and also play a part in determining behaviors and social interactions.[1]

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[1] Original Italian text: "La vecchiaia e il vecchio potrebbero essere il risultato di una assunzione conoscitiva, di uno stereotipo, alla costruzione ed. al mantenimento del quale concorre l'individuo, nelle varie età della vita, e che l'anziano attua in modelli concreti di comportamento, allorché egli è dato di giocare il ruolo di vecchio, con l'avvenuto pensionamento ed. il ritiro dall'attività produttiva."

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From this crucial point of view, the effort to deepen understanding of the construction of representations, knowledge and beliefs, and the environment in which they develop could proceed hand-in-hand with the ongoing commitment to promote mentalizing abilities in communities.

The Budding Thought

In late 1980, a very particular research group aimed to gain an insight into the cognitive and social processes behind psychological child development in the critical age range of 5–7 years. Researchers from across Italy decided to engage in a 3-year longitudinal study, relying on a small amount of money provided through the generosity and commitment of the staff. The distinctiveness of this group was in the membership: Alongside Pina Boggi Cavallo were Guido Amoretti Ornella Andreani Dentici, Maria Teresa Ratti, Giorgio Tampieri, Loredana Czerwinsy Domenis, Cesare Cornoldi, Maria Assunta Zanetti, Giovanni Siri, Maria Luisa Tritto, and Antonella Marchetti from several universities in Pavia, Salerno, Trieste, Milano, and Genova.

The cognitive aspect of *The Budding Thought* – the title of the book that resulted from this research is *il Pensiero in erba*, which actually means the emerging and blossoming of thinking abilities in children – was investigated along several dimensions: praxic, perceptive, representational, mnestic, comprehension and memory of sentences and stories, socialization and expressiveness, and drawing. In her contribution to *Il Pensiero in Erba*, Pina Boggi Cavallo was investigating the cognitive aspects of children's drawing. Rereading this chapter now, several years and numerous studies after the "hot" 1980s of cognitive sciences, helps in recalling how the context and stereotypes could affect every aspect of development.

Professor Boggi Cavallo studied the cognitive aspects of drawing ability, asking children to draw a child, a home, and a scene of children playing. The results were slightly gender-related, but the main differences were linked to social status and – arguably – the opportunities given to the child to practice and learn. The author points out that the representation of this ability as something that could (or needs to) be nurtured was generally quite weak, especially in the school context and in disadvantaged families.

When children begin to draw, they are influenced by their predisposition, but the development of this ability is dependent on the social and educational contexts. The practice and attainment of related mediating artifacts helps children move forward in the cognitive aspects of the activity of drawing: Where and why is up to us, the adults.

A Multifaceted Mind

All the research that led to *The Budding Thought – Il Pensiero in Erba* – was significantly driven by an integrated vision of the processes and dimensions of human development: Cognitive factors and skills are woven together with ones that are

being developed, for example, in the emotional and social dimensions. This line of thought has dramatically influenced our ideas and the whole approach to our field of research, *the theory of the mind*.

In this respect, theory of mind – and, therefore, the very act of mentalizing – could basically be seen as a skill (indeed, a multifaceted set of skills) that develops in contexts across relationships and the interweaving of emotional and social cognitive factors throughout the life span, from the early stages of life up to the very late stages (Baglio & Marchetti, 2016). The context conveys social representations, knowledge, and artifacts but, for a child, is also populated by caregivers. With these attachment figures, the child establishes relationships; from birth, indeed, children are deeply embedded in social networks (Lewis & Feiring, 1998). Further, research has shown that those in full-time day care relate to their teachers as attachment figures (Howes, 1999; Howes & Oldham, 2001). Seibert and Kerns (2009) suggest also that children may, at times, directly secure base behaviors, not only toward teachers but also toward peers, siblings, and grandparents.

Fonagy and Luyten (2009) consider attachment relationships at the core of children's mentalization ability: Secure attachment relationships support mentalization development, and nonsecure ones could hinder that process. Regarding the link between development of attachment relationships and improvement of mentalization skills, several other studies help us to better comprehend the importance of primary and secondary attachment figures – especially in infancy and childhood. Nonresponsive or low responsive behaviors by the caregiver, for the child, means that the environment is not suitable for a secure relationship and drives him to an adaptive non-mentalizing attitude (Fonagy & Campbell, 2016); as recently indicated by Fonagy and Campbell (2017), the attachment relationship with parents contributes to building a representation of the child's environment nature and the possibility of mentalizing other minds in difficult situations (see also Fonagy & Campbell, 2016). Pianta (1999) supported the idea that teachers are also important caregivers, with whom the child establishes attachment relationships during the school years. Pianta's theory of developmental systems looks at children as embedded in organized and dynamic systems characterized by multiple levels of influence. In this dynamic environment, one proximal system involves the teacher-child relationship that has a direct impact on the child's emotions, behaviors, and school well-being (Pianta et al., 2003).

In respect of this, one of the most interesting topics is the relationship between the development of mentalizing abilities and the quality and consistency of child's attachment relationships. If the context surrounding the child has an impact on his/her competences and skills – including coping strategies and mentalization – the development of representations of the teacher-child relationship could have an influence on the child's mentalization style and on the operationalization of emotional regulation strategies.

In line with this perspective, Pianta (1999) supported the view that teachers may be regarded as significant caregivers who can promote attachment relationships during the school years. In this ecologically oriented systems theory, the

student-teacher relationship is considered as a dynamic, multifaceted, interactive system as well, evolving over time and across multiple situations. Moreover, children who experience supportive and positive relationships with their teachers express greater social competence with both peers and adults in school (Howes & Smith, 1995), are more involved in supportive social networks, show fewer challenging behaviors, and have higher achievement orientation and academic performance (Pianta et al., 1995) when compared to peers with insecure relationships. Pianta reported also that teachers' mental representations of their own relationships with students predicted students' academic performance in school. They also found that the interactions of internal working models (IWM) of the student and the teacher impact their relationship and classroom behavior (see also Pianta, 1999).

The majority of studies in this field are focused on early and late childhood, with limited consideration of the years in between (middle childhood). During this stage, named by Mah and Ford-Jones (2012) "the forgotten years," the classroom is an ecosystem, often led by the same teacher. It is an ideal environment in which to hypothesize that the attachment relationship with the teacher as caregiver could have a key role in orienting cognitive emotion-regulation strategies that children apply in school-based situations. This attachment relationship may also affect the children's skill in mentalizing peers' minds in the school environment – and therefore the ability to establish successful and positive peer relationships.

Our results, in respect of the child's attachment representation of the relationship with the teacher, support the idea that the relationship with an unfamiliar caregiver in an extra-familiar context influences children's socio-emotional abilities and contributes to development of a self-image that concerns not only that relationship but also the ability to mentalize and to regulate one's emotions from a cognitive point of view (cf. Lecciso et al., 2004; Valle et al., 2019).

From the Relationship to the Self and Back

In her contribution to the book *Gruppi di Adolescenti e Processi di Socializzazione* [*Teenage Groups and Socialization Processes*] (Amerio et al., 1990),

Pina Boggi Cavallo underlines how "the conversational communicative style, based on debates between parents and children, is the most widespread, both for preadolescents and adolescents." "The tension, the silence," she adds, "are the most feared moments."[2] Silence and tension undermine the relationship between adolescents and their families, jeopardizing also the quality of relations in the peer group. From the mentalization perspective, these moments and silences are on the edge of what we call "mentalization failures" (Twemlow et al., 2005a).

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[2] *Lo stile comunicativo centrato sulla discussione tra genitori e figli si conferma come il più diffuso, sia per i preadolescenti che per gli adolescenti. È la tensione, sono i silenzi i momenti più temuti* (Boggi Cavallo, 1990).

When everyone in a family, an educational context, or a peer group is able to "hold the heart and mind in the heart and mind" (Allen et al., 2008) and "to see himself from the outside and the other from the inside" (Allen et al., 2008; Marchetti et al., 2013), then silences and tensions become less scary. These moments, instead, turn into opportunities for each member of the family, community, or school to move from a high level of spontaneity to one of greater intentionality in the processes of mentalization, that is, trying to (and teaching how to) consciously see him−/herself from the outside and the other from the inside. In a mentalizing community, family, or school, children learn coping strategies to keep the mentalization "alive and kicking" in challenging situations, thus reducing aggressive behaviors and lowering potential conflict. The original insight cited above now seems well connected with the idea that "the difference between a violent and a non-violent community must be the degree to which the implicit social conventions are structured to encourage all participants to be aware of the mental states of others" (Twemlow & Sacco, 2012, pp. 195–196).

As in the representation described above, we are somehow glimpsing the outline of a picture where also "putting ourselves in someone else's shoes" could be the outcome of a knowledge assumption. The critical role of agents in the context of development contributes to molding beliefs and knowledge; this calls attention to the possibility and responsibility of fostering mentalization in schools and in the community itself.

In recent studies, we also found some interesting clues that could corroborate the insight of Professor Boggi Cavallo about the elderly: Some of these clues could be in the neural plasticity which characterizes the brain throughout the lifespan and allows compensations and adaptations of skills and abilities (see also Cabinio et al., 2015; Marchetti et al., 2016). Research on the neural plasticity dimension of development (e.g., Antonietti et al., 2014) may also, and actually does, lead to interventions aimed at increasing the empowerment of life skills in the elderly. If the role of "elder," as quoted above, could be the outcome of a knowledge assumption created and maintained by the individual along the life span, this kind of research could have an impact on the knowledge assumption itself, as long as this new information could reach the communities in an understandable and interesting way.

Fostering Mentalizing Communities

Whether is true that they play different roles and fulfill different developmental tasks, it is true that these two socialization agencies[3] endorse the change in the continuity.[4] (Boggi Cavallo, 1990)

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[3] The family and the peer group (TN).

[4] Original Italian text: *Se è vero che assolvono differenti compiti e soddisfano differenti compiti di sviluppo è vero che queste due agenzie di socializzazione acconsentono al cambiamento nella continuità.*

The opportunity to share strategies and knowledge aimed at understanding and predicting their own and others' behavior related to the intentional mental states of all the actors in the family, social community, and school could therefore allow young people to feel part of a nonviolent community and to operate what Boggi Cavallo defines as "change in continuity" in their process of growing up. In this scenario, 25 years after this assumption, the 2015 Biennial Conference of the European Association for Research on Learning and Instruction was entitled *Towards a Reflective Society: Synergies between Learning, Teaching and Research*, emphasizing the close relationship between reflective competence, learning, and personal formation.

Two projects aimed at fostering mentalizing communities are the Peaceful Schools project (Sacco et al., 2008; Twemlow et al., 2001, 2004, 2005a, 2005b) and the Resilience Program (originally named "Thought in Mind" or "TiM"; Bak, 2012, Bak et al., 2015). The Peaceful Schools project is based on five cornerstones, i.e., activities that need to be undertaken, monitored, and supported at the same time:

1. Positive climate campaigns, aimed at encouraging and supporting the awareness of mental states of each person and their critical role affecting violent contexts.
2. Classroom management, in which teachers are specifically trained not to use coercive discipline but to refer to their mentalization abilities and those of children.
3. Peer and adult mentorship, in which all the other adults are trained to become mentors and to intervene straightaway with a mentalistic approach during every possible violent incident outside the classroom.
4. The "gentle warrior physical education program," teaching children physical self-control in violent situations (low activation of the body allows high activation of the mind).
5. Reflection time, 10 min at the end of each day devoted to talking, from a mentalistic point of view, about the trends of the day and any situations of violence, or potential conflict, that occurred (Sacco et al., 2008).

The Resilience Program by Paul L. Bak (2012; Bak et al., 2015) has been translated and adapted to the specific Italian context by our "Theory of Mind Research Unit" (Valle et al., 2016). This program shares with the Peaceful Schools project the hypothesis that creating and supporting a mentalizing community can promote the mentalization abilities of its members and have an impact on the whole system in terms of behaviors and beliefs. The Resilience Program can be used in any organizational context (e.g., youth work, education, social care), providing knowledge about resilience, mentalization, and self-control, social learning theory, cognitive training, and neuroscience. This knowledge is offered through a simple set of stories, pictures, audio, and short animations and can be shared in a classroom or any other social context and accessed via the Internet (Bak et al., 2015). The core of the Resilience Program is the knowledge participants acquire through reading and listening to stories and watching short animations

or videos. For example, knowledge about the functioning of different areas of our brain when we mentalize and when we feel in danger leads to a change in beliefs about aggressive behaviors, enabling the participants to better understand both their own and others' functioning in different and complex situations and contexts.

The awareness that the "alarm system" in every human brain can, and indeed does, "freeze" the area devoted to mentalization and that this alarm system is trigged by the feeling of being in danger leads to a change in our beliefs, behaviors, and representations.

According to Professor Boggi Cavallo, if knowledge and beliefs "created and maintained by the individual along the life span, could be enacted in concrete models of conduct," then we are allowed to give our communities a chance to grow by nurturing knowledge and beliefs, thus fostering resilience (see also Stein, 2006), with "the possibility of changes that spread across domains and levels through the many interactions of systems" (Masten, 2016).

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Chapter 16
Pina Boggi Cavallo and My "Southern Italian Gesture Project"

Adam Kendon

My Debt to Pina Boggi Cavallo

I first met Pina Boggi-Cavallo on March 5, 1991, at Napoli Centrale where she had come to meet me and my wife upon our arrival from Paris on the Napoli Express. She took us by car from Napoli to Salerno where we were installed in the Plaza Hotel. Later, we had dinner with her and her husband Armando in her apartment in Corso Vittorio Emanuele. For both of us, this was our first encounter with Italy. I recorded in my diary that evening that never before had I experienced so warm, generous, and friendly a welcome.

I had come to Salerno at Pina's invitation to join her department for 3 months where I would give some lectures to her students, but also I would begin to work on a project, funded by the Wenner-Gren Foundation of New York, the aim of which was to study the origins and uses of gesture in everyday interaction in Southern Italy. My interest in undertaking this, as I will explain more fully below, grew out of my broader interest in studying communication conduct in copresent (face-to-face) interaction. In particular, I was curious about the observation, often made, that in Southern Italy, there is a greater and more conspicuous use of often highly conventionalized gesturing than is found among the peoples of more northerly parts of Europe. I was curious to see this for myself and to undertake some study of how such gesturing was used in everyday life. I thought that perhaps a better understanding of its role in everyday interaction might throw some light upon why it was so conspicuous a feature of conversational behavior in this part of Italy. With this in mind, my approach in this project was to be ecological. It would be important to observe interaction in the ordinary settings of everyday life so as to see how interactants actually made use of gestures in interaction. To do this, I planned to make

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video recordings of social interaction in as many contrasting situations as I could, to observe what the variety of gestural expressions would be, to study them in their contexts of use, and to understand how they functioned as components of ordinary everyday discourse. Eventually such recordings would be analyzed and compared to similar kinds of recordings that were to be made in England. My project was also to include a study of Andrea de Jorio's treatise *La mimica degli antichi investigata nel gestire napoletano* ("The gestural expression of the Ancients in the light of Neapolitan gesturing") of 1832. I believed that a detailed understanding of this book should be an essential part of my work. As far as I knew, this book was the first (and it is still the only) treatise on gesture in Naples ever undertaken from what, nowadays, might be recognized as an ethnographic point of view.

In order to undertake a project of this sort, however, I would need to have a good knowledge of Italian, as well as of Neapolitan and other dialects in Campania. I would need to know the history of this part of Italy, to understand the microecology of everyday life, to have informal access to a variety of social situations where I could gather useful video recordings and much help from local people in the transcription and interpretation of the material I was to gather, as well as introductions to people who could help me in undertaking my proposed research on Andrea de Jorio. At the time of my arrival in Italy, I had almost none of these things. For the Italian work I proposed to do, I was very ill-equipped. Yet, eventually, by 2004, I had produced several publications which were written wholly or partially in consequence my work in Italy. I also had published a critical edition of Andrea de Jorio's treatise, which I had translated into English and for which I also had written a long and detailed introduction, surveying de Jorio's life and his place in the history of Neapolitan archaeology, an analysis of his treatise *La mimica…*, and a discussion of the characteristics of Neapolitan everyday life which might contribute to the extensive use of gesture in Napoli and the surrounding areas. I also supervised several *Tesi de Laurea* by students at *L'Orientale* in Napoli (where I had teaching appointments) all of which were investigations into gesture use in coastal urban environments in Campania. None of this would have been possible, had it not been for the concrete help and encouragement of Pina Boggi Cavallo. It was her generous hospitality, interest, and help that made it possible for me to begin and then to continue my Italian project. For this I shall always be greatly in debt to her.

During the 3 months in 1991 which I spent in Salerno, Pina made several introductions for me which gave me access to various social situations in Salerno and certain communities nearby where I was able to make very useful recordings for future analysis. She introduced me to a very able student, Maria De Simone, who worked with me extensively on transcribing the speech recorded in the video recordings and in rendering it into Italian where necessary, as well as into English. She introduced me to several local residents in nearby communities where I was able to record interaction in everyday situations and she also went to considerable trouble to put me in touch with librarians and curators and others at the Biblioteca Nazionale and the Museo Nazionale in Napoli, thereby making it possible for me to begin my work on Andrea de Jorio's treatise. She also facilitated my contacts with Jocelyn Vincent Marrelli and Carla Cristilli at the Universitá degli studi di Napoli "Orientale"

where, in subsequent years, I was to teach and do further research with the help of a number of students.[1]

How I Decided to Undertake My "Southern Italian Gesture Project"

The work that I began in Italy in those 3 months in Salerno was to be the beginning of what turned out to be a third (or "Italian") phase of my academic career. It was to last until 2008.

After graduating from Cambridge, where I studied biological sciences and experimental psychology, I moved to Oxford to work for a D.Phil. My thesis was concerned with the temporal organization of conversation, following the method of Interaction Chronograph, as developed by one of the pioneers in the quantitative study of the structure of social interaction, Eliot Chapple, with whom I worked for awhile, visiting him where he worked at Rockland State Hospital in New York State (see Chapple, 1970 for an overview of his work). After completing my thesis in 1962, I undertook further studies of human communication conduct, first at Oxford and then in the United States. The several publications that resulted from this were eventually collected and republished together in 1990 in a book called *Conducting Interaction* (Kendon, 1990).

In 1976, I moved to Australian National University in Canberra, Australia, at the invitation of Derek Freeman of the Anthropology Department to set up a human ethology laboratory. The idea, partly inspired by the work of Eibl-Eibesfeldt in Germany, was to make films documenting various kinds of everyday social interactions in different cultures in the Pacific region. Having already undertaken an ethological study of human greetings in North America (Kendon & Ferber 1973; also Ch. 6 in Kendon, 1990), I proposed to begin by gathering films to study greetings in different Pacific cultures. The first place I went for this was the Lagaip Valley in the Enga province of Papua New Guinea. While there, quite by chance, I encountered a young deaf woman who used a local sign language developed in the valley where there were a number of deaf people, apparently following upon a meningitis epidemic some years before. I was able to film many examples of her in conversation, and, with the help of one of my field assistants, I was able to get these interpreted. A monograph describing this was published in 1980 (1980, 2019). This work effectively diverted me from my "human ethology" plans but aroused my interest in

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[1] Here I would like to record my deep gratitude to Jocelyn Vincent Marelli and to Carla Cristilli for making me welcome in their departments and for making it possible for me to teach there and for the many ways in which they facilitated and promoted my work. I would also like to acknowledge the work of Laura Versante, who collaborated with me on a study of pointing (Kendon & Versante, 2003); Rosaria D'Alisa, who tested the utility of a notation system for gesture we had developed; and Maria Graziano who went on to do significant work on the development of pragmatic gestures in children.

sign language, so I began a study of the sign languages in use among Australian Aborigines in central Australia. These are sign languages developed as an alternative to speaking when, for ritual reasons, speech is foregone. Such sign languages can have a direct relationship with the spoken language of their creators, and a question of interest is if they do so, what form might this take. Sign languages developed among the deaf, on the other hand, have not such relationship and must develop independence of it. Accordingly sign languages developed in speaker communities as alternatives to speaking may be termed *alternate sign languages*, whereas those developed among the deaf may be termed *primary sign languages*. My work on Australian sign langues, which occupied me for about 10 years, was published as a book by Cambridge University Press in November of 1988 (Kendon, 1988).

Once the manuscript for this book was dispatched to the publisher, I returned to central Australia to work on a video dictionary of the vocabulary of signs that I had collected among the Warlpiri, the Australian group I had worked with most extensively. However, it was now time to think about a new project. I wondered if there might not be, somewhere, another speaking community where the kinesic medium played a similar role to the role it played among the peoples I had studied in central Australia. I recalled that Wilhelm Wundt had written that there was a "language of gestures" in Naples, in Italy. This was in a chapter from his *Völkerpsycholgie* that is devoted to language and published separately by Mouton as *The Language of Gestures* (Wundt, 1973). I also remembered David Efron who had shown (in his comparative study of Italian and East European immigrants in Manhattan from 1941) that the Italian immigrants (most of whom were from Campania) had a large repertoire of "symbolic" or "emblematic" gestures (see Efron, 1972). Thinking about these things, I decided that I ought to go to Naples and study the language of gestures that was said to prevail there. At that time, I knew nothing more about this than what I remembered from reading Wundt's chapter. I would have much to do and much to learn if I were to do this. I did not think it impossible, but I had no idea as to how I might start on this or, indeed, whether I would ever do so.

I returned to Canberra, became taken up with other matters, and the idea of studying Italy receded to the back of my mind. Then, one day, quite unexpectedly, a small package arrived for me from Italy. It contained a copy of *Comunicazione e Gestualitá* edited by Pio Enrico Ricci Bitti of Bologna (Ricci Bitti, ed. 1987). This book included chapters by several different authors, mostly Italian describing pioneering studies of gesture using several different approaches. I had met Ricci Bitti 2 or 3 years before, when he was a visitor in Paul Ekman's lab in San Francisco, when I was also visiting there. His book had come out the previous year, and I presumed he had sent it to me as well as to others among his scholarly peers, as a matter of collegial courtesy. Since I knew no Italian, I could not read it. However, I took it as a sign and it revived my idea about studying in Italy. Accordingly, I wrote to Ricci Bitti to thank him for the book, but I also told him what I was interested in doing and could he offer any suggestions. He replied listing a number of names and addresses of scholars who, he thought, might be interested in assisting me. Pina Boggi Cavallo was one of these names. I cannot find a copy of my reply to this letter, but a little while later I received another letter from Ricci Bitti informing me that he had

written to Pina to suggest to her that she should apply for a grant to make provision for me to visit her department in Salerno for one semester, as a way of getting something started. This she did, and on October 30, 1990, I received a letter from her, saying that she had acquired a small bursary to help toward my visit and to officially invite me to come to Salerno in the spring of the following year.

Encouraged by this development, I then set about writing a proposal to the Wenner-Gren Foundation of New York, requesting one of their small grants. This request was successful, as I learned on November 5, 1990. On that day, in my diary, I noted that my idea of going to Southern Italy to study gesture use was "for real."

My "Southern Italian Gesture Project"

One of the first things that struck me about the gesturing of conversationalists in Salerno – as I watched them on the *lungomare* or the *zona pedonale* of the Corso Vittorio Emanuele – was how stylized it seemed to be. It was if everybody was drawing from the same and, so it seemed, somewhat restricted repertoire of hand shapes and movement patterns. This was something that was very striking to me as a complete newcomer to an Italian urban scene, and it confirmed at first glance the impression so often reported by foreign travellers to this region before, that gesturing among Italians, especially in the south of the country, is very conspicuous and much more extensive than it tends to be among Europeans to the north.

Indeed, since early modern times, Southern Italians, especially, have had a reputation for being high gesture users. Dilwyn Knox (1990) mentions an early Renaissance manuscript on rhetoric from Prague which comments on the lively use of gesture by the Italians. The historian Peter Burke has noted, in his discussions of the culture of early modern Italy (Burke, 1992), that it was widely held among north Europeans, at least, that the Italians were great users of gesture. In Burke's view, this reputation may have arisen as a consequence of the rise of protestantism. Protestantism, especially among some branches, with its heavy reliance on the biblical texts and its suspicion of imagery and theatrics in religious ritual, advocated sober modes of communication conduct. Burke suggests that this toned down and devalued the use of gesture in northern European cultures – but in the Catholic south, this did not occur. Once upon a time, northerners were also gesturally demonstrative, it seems. We know from the English painter and engraver Hogarth, for example, that Londoners of the eighteenth century certainly did not lack in their use of gesture in their everyday conversations (see Efron, 1972: 47–49).

Whether the soberness of communication conduct and the consequent devaluing of gesture started with the development of protestantism, or whether it came later, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, northern Europeans deemed Italians, and especially Neapolitans, to be quite remarkable for their gesturing. Indeed we can find accounts written by travellers from the north, in the nineteenth century, that suggest that the elaborate expressive behavior of the Neapolitans had become one of the charms of Naples, along with Vesuvius, Pompeii, and Herculaneum, and the

Reale Museo Borbonico (or *Museo Nazionale* as it became after 1861). Accounts of this are also found in Italian guidebooks to Naples, and there are popular prints of the period illustrating it.[2]

Video Recordings in Salerno, Napoli, and Adjacent Locations

The video recordings that I had made of conversations in public places in Salerno, and also in some more private settings (e.g., at a *Bocce* club in a nearby village), illustrated well the conspicuousness, abundance, and stylized character of everyday gesture use. In order to try to gain some understanding of this and to develop descriptions of the patterns of action involved, I selected a number of these gestural forms and started to examine where, when, and how they were being done. I found that these repetitive gestural forms, so clearly articulated as they seemed to be, were usually being used to indicate the type of speech act or move a conversationalist was making with their utterance. Rather than using gestures as depictions of things or actions in illustrating the content of what was being said, much more often they were using these actions of displaying the rhetorical import of what it was that they were saying: that they were denying something, asserting something, presenting something, asking a question, showing doubt about something, refusing to do something, emphasizing the importance or precision of what they were saying, and so forth.

Here are some examples: A speaker, when lifting up before him a hand in which all fingers were extended, but drawn together so they formed a tapered bunch, would do this as a topic was announced; if he then went on to make a comment on the topic, he would open the finger-bunch as if he were giving or revealing his comment to his interlocutor (see Kendon, 1995a; Kendon (2004: 233–236)). Lifting up a similarly shaped hand and moving it up and down as he spoke might be done when asking certain kinds of questions (Poggi, 1983; Kendon, 1995a, 2004: 231–233). Explaining an example of something might be done while a hand with all fingers extended, with palm oriented upward, is extended outward toward the interlocutor, as if the speaker is offering something to the interlocutor on an open hand (Kendon 2004: 265–269).

A hand with all fingers extended but held with the palm facing downward and moved vigorously in a horizontal rightward sweep was often observed as the speaker was speaking about something being impossible, talking about something that was not happening or could not be done, or declaring that there could be no exception to

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[2] See, for example, de Jorio (1819, p. 108, note b.). Mayer (1840) is a good example of a visiting foreigner's observations. In Mayer (1948), see pp. 70–82 for his account of Neapolitan gesturing. For an example of a popular print illustrating Neapolitan gesturing, see p. 68 in Fabiani and Fino (1985) which reproduces *Diversi gesti mutoparlanti Napolitani* by Saverio Della Gatta (c1750–c1830) showing a group in lively conversation using many gestures.

what was asserted (Kendon, 2004: 255–264; for French and English examples of this, see also Harrison, 2010). A speaker holding up his hand as the tips of his thumb and index finger were held so that they were in contact, thus forming a "ring" or "circle," would do this as the exactness or preciseness of what was being said was emphasized (Kendon, 1995a, 2004: 238–247). A speaker lifting up his hand, moving it forward somewhat while splaying the fingers and bending the hand backward at the wrist, as if pushing something away from himself, would be interrupting himself, stopping another from saying something, disagreeing sharply with his interlocutor Kendon (1995a, 2004: 251–255). A speaker who holds forth both hands, fingers extended and palms facing upward, moving his two hands laterally away from each other, sometimes lifting both his shoulders as he does so, does this as he declares his ignorance of something, that he is not concerned with something, that so far as he knows there is nothing to be done about something (Kendon, 2004: 275–281).

All of these forms, and several others not mentioned here, can be interpreted in terms of the idea that the speaker is using the hands as if he is manipulating virtual objects in various ways. It is if, in these hand actions, the "objects" of the discourse, identifiable from the words being uttered, are being picked up, offered for inspection, presented, thrown away, swept to one side, and deployed in space in patterned relationships to each other; or they are used to halt, interrupt, or otherwise interfere with the progress of something; or to invite the interlocutor to give the speaker something; or to ask the interlocutor to present or re-present some discourse object, as when asking a question, making a request, begging for help, and the like.

Kinesic Depiction and Pointing

These kinds of uses of the hands in speaking have been referred to as "pragmatic gestures" or "speech handling gestures" (Streeck, 2009), and this proved to be the most common way in which speakers use their hands when speaking. Speakers also use their hands as *instruments of depiction*. This was also found to be common among the speakers I recorded in Salerno and Naples, of course, as they are everywhere else.

The shape or size of an object may be shown with hand actions, patterns of action may be engaged in which show features of how something moves, or how it would be picked up grasped or employed by the speaker, as if the object in question were present. Virtual object handling like this, we might add, is a common way in which, by means of kinesic action, a speaker can refer to something. With such kinesic depictions, what is being talked about can be represented. They may repeat or add information to what the speaker is talking about; they can also serve to depict images or diagrams of abstract concepts. In either case, in kinesic depiction, discourse objects are brought forth, as it were made present to the conversation, and the

movements made in these depictions function by enabling the imaginations of the participants to envisage the objects being referred to.[3]

Many examples of kinesic depiction were recorded in the recordings made for my "Southern Italian Project" of course. While some of these examples are described in my publications, no separate study of kinesic depiction was undertaken as a part of a specifically Southern Italian gesture study, for how the Southern Italian speakers I observed accomplished kinesic depictions seemed no different in the expressive strategies used than those we can observe in depictive gesturing elsewhere. What seemed distinctive about Southern Italian gesturing was its conspicuousness, as I have already remarked, and, as we have also already noted, the abundance and apparent stylization or conventionalization of the kind of gesturing referred to here as "pragmatic."

Pragmatic gesturing in English speakers (in Britain, North America, and Australia) does not appear to have the conspicuousness or the degree of conventionalization that we observe in Southern Italians.

A third kind of kinesic action is *pointing*. Here the utterer engages in a body movement that is directed toward some object, as a way of drawing the interlocutor's attention to it. This is another way in which an object can be made present in the conversation. The object may be something actually there in the current environment, or it may be known to exist in a certain direction in relation to the participants but outside their immediate view, or it may be an object that has been established as being notionally present in some way.

In studying the material recorded in and around Salerno and also other material that was recorded by my students in and around Naples, it was noticed how, in various pointing actions, mostly those done with the hands and arms, the utterer did not use only an extended index finger, but other hand shapes, including an open hand in various orientations, or an extended thumb might be used. The question of what hand shapes are used in pointing and whether this has any significance became a topic of one specific investigation undertaken with the material gathered in Salerno and also a little later in Naples and communities close by. In collaboration with one of my Neapolitan students, Laura Versante, we made a collection of acts of pointing from the video material we had recorded and examined the contexts in which, in pointing, these different hand shapes were used (Kendon & Versante, 2003).

We found that people, in pointing, vary the hand shape they use in systematic ways that are related to how the object referred to in the pointing is being presented by the speaker within his discourse. For example, when a speaker wants his audience to single out some object and distinguish it from other objects, the extended index finger is used. On the other hand, if the speaker points at something that *illustrates* something he is talking about, for instance, that it is an exemplar of something, or if it is being pointed at because it is somehow related to what is being discussed, or that it is the source of some idea or concept, then the speaker is likely

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[3] For discussions of depiction in gesture, including examples from material recorded in my Southern Italian project, see Kendon (2004: 158–198). See also Streeck (2008). For a discussion of depiction as an utterance strategy in general, see Clark (2016).

to use a hand with all fingers extended, generally oriented so the palm is either vertical or held so it is oriented partially upward. If the object being pointed at is something the speaker wants his recipient to look at or contemplate, then a hand with all fingers extended is used, but with palm turned fully upwards, as if the speaker is *presenting* the object to the recipient. The thumb, on the other hand, we found to be used to indicate something that is not in the central attentional focus of the speaker – so that the thumb is used, for instance, to indicate an object when it was being referred to a second time – a sort of anaphoric use; the thumb may also be used to refer to something that is behind the speaker and which is worth mentioning only or, in other cases, which is something that has existed in the speaker's past.

In short, in looking at pointing gestures in this way, we had uncovered how speakers use different hand forms not only as a way of drawing attention to some object but, at the same, as a way of showing how that object is being treated or handled within the speaker's discourse. One could say that the hand shape used in pointing can show what the speaker *is doing* with the object in his discourse or what it is he wants his recipients to do with it, once they have recognized what it is that is being referred to. In addition to this, however, the speaker can also modify the pointing hand shape or move the pointing hand shape in various ways, as a means of depicting some characteristic of the object being pointed to and, in this way, in certain circumstances, further disambiguating the object to which attention is being drawn.

Highly Conventionalized Kinesic Expressions[4]

There are many publications that have documented the vocabularies of conventional kinesic expressions that are in widespread use in Italy, especially in the south, in Naples, and also in Sicily. Andrea de Jorio's treatise of 1832 is one of the earliest. More recently we may mention the vocabularies gathered by Efron (first published in 1972), Bruno Munari (1963), Diadori (1990), and Paura and Sorge (1998), and there are discussions by Luigi Barzini (1964) and Isabella Poggi (2007), among others. Almost all of these contain little discussion of the contexts of use of these expressions, and they tend to deal with them as if they have fixed verbal equivalents. In my work on my "Southern Italian Gesture Project," I made no attempt to collect vocabularies of this sort. Since, as explained above, I wanted to concentrate on naturally occurring instances of gesture use and to undertake context of use analyses of them, I relied upon what I could observe in the video recordings I was able to make. In Kendon (2004, especially pp. 177–185), I describe several examples in which highly conventionalized kinesic expressions are used. Although I was not able to

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[4] Several different names for gestures of this sort have been put forward. These include "emblematic gestures", "emblems" (Ekman & Friesen, 1969), "symbolic gestures" (Morris et al., 1979; Poggi, 2007), "quotable gestures" (Kendon, 1992). The term "emblem" is now very common, but "quotable gesture" has also gained in currency.

identify enough examples in my recordings to undertake the more systematic studies that were possible with the rhetorical expressions discussed above, I was able to offer a number observations about their uses and functions, which I will here summarize.

First, it can be quite often observed that someone uses a conventional gesture at the same time as they utter the word or phrase which typically glosses it. This seems to happen in contexts in which the speaker wishes to draw special attention to what they are talking about or also where they are speaking in a situation where they have more than one addressee, as if by uttering the word in two modalities at once, what is being said will not escape notice.

Sometimes it happens that a conventional gesture is held as the utterer continues to talk. For example, at the beginning of a conversation in which a speaker announces that there are two things he wants to discuss, he says "Quando si parla di Napoli ci sono due cose importante: la cucina e la presepe" ("When on speaks about Naples, there are two important things: the cooking and the Christmas tableau") – as he says "due" (two), he holds his right hand up with index and second finger extended and spread (other fingers flexed to the palm) as a gesture which signifies "two," and he holds his hand in this position as he continues to speak, listing the two things he wants to talk about. A stall-keeper in a street market, trying to assure skeptical customers of the fairness of his prices, declares "vado in galera" ("I go to prison") if he were cheating, and further he would "giurare" ("swear") by his mother that what he is saying is true. As he says "galera," he holds two fisted hands forward, crossed over as if his wrists are tied together – a conventional gesture for "prison" (or, more generally, for being held captive by the police) – and he maintains his hand in this position as he further explains this. Again, when he declares he would swear by his mother that what he is saying is true, as he says "giurare," he presses the palm of his open right hand on his upper left chest and maintains the hand in this position until he has finished what he is saying. Here we see how the idea of "prison" or his doing "swearing" can be maintained as the main point of what he wants to say. In speech, of course, words disappear as soon as they are uttered. In the kinesic medium, it is possible to present an action that stands for some idea or action and maintain it, thus prolonging the presence of the idea, almost as if it is a physically present object. Perhaps this is one way in which gestures can be useful as a means by which something may be fixed more firmly in the minds of the audience.

The capacity for gestures to be employed at the same time as a person is speaking also makes it possible for speakers to overcome the limitation speech imposes that compels a speaker to produce words in linear succession. Using kinesic expressions while speaking, however, a speaker is able, in effect, to express more than one idea at once. In the material gathered as part of my "Southern Italian Gesture Project," we recorded a number of cases where a speaker used a conventional lexical gesture while speaking where what was said in gesture added to or complemented what was being said in words, rather than paralleled it. For example, a speaker explaining to his son why he did not buy a certain pair of shoes says their price was too high. At the same time as he says this, he slams the side of his right hand into the palm of his left hand, held up so the palm is vertically oriented toward him. This is a

conventional form glossed with the expression "'*na mazzata*" – meaning a heavy piece of wood or a stout club by which one is hit or which blocks one's way. The gesture in which the side of the right hand hits against the vertically held palm of the other is a kinesic representation of this idea. In another example, a speaker is a bus driver in Salerno who is complaining about the bad behavior of the young people who ride the buses he drives. He says that the boys write obscene phrases on the backs of the seats of the buses, even in front of girls, who laugh about it too. At the same time as he is telling this, he enacts a gesture in which two extended index fingers are placed side by side, a gesture which is taken to mean "two things are equal" or "two people are intimately together – as conspirators or as lovers." In using this gesture, here he adds the idea that boys and girls are equally involved in this delinquent behavior. In yet another example, a speaker talking about the recipe for the famous Neapolitan *ragou* explains how it was her father who taught her how to do it. In uttering the phrase "mio padre," she moves her hand backward over her ipsilateral shoulder a couple of times. With this gesture, she means to say "a long time ago," "in the past," or similar. In such examples, we see how speakers may introduce by way of a different means of expression additional complementary or supplementary meanings into their utterance.

Conventional kinesic expressions may also be used in *alternation* with speech. For example, the speaker talking about her father's recipe for *ragou* comments on how very delicious it was but does so by raising her hand to her cheek with thumb and forefinger in contact at their tips, with other fingers flexed to palm, rotating it forward as she does so, a gesture that can be glossed as "delicious."

The examples briefly described here show how speakers can *deploy* their two modalities – verbal and kinesic – flexibly in relation to one another. Although there is plenty of evidence that gestural expressions are commonly created at the same time as spoken expressions, observation also makes it clear that this is not an automatic process. Speakers can adjust their usage of these two modalities flexibly in relation to their rhetorical aims, to what it is or is not appropriate in the current circumstances to express verbally, or whether one modality or another is suited to the prevailing transmission conditions, among other factors.[5]

With regard to conventional kinesic expressions, much more needs to be done on them. What kinds of things get codified in conventionalized expressions? What are the precise circumstances which encourage or discourage their use. Where they are used in alternation with spoken expressions, where in the utterance do they occur? Are there syntactic restrictions on their use? What can we understand about the kinds of impact they can have on recipients? How and when do speakers exploit these differences in impact and so forth. There is much room for further work which it would be most useful to undertake, for it could throw valuable light on processes involved in utterance generation, how we are to understand the status of gestures of this sort in relation to spoken language, all of which are of great interest for the development of the human's capacity for utterance, as more broadly conceived.

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[5] Detailed descriptions of the examples given are found in Kendon (2004: 177–185); Kendon (2004: Chapter 9) provides further detailed discussion.

Investigating Andrea de Jorio's *La mimica*…

As I said earlier, I considered an understanding of the famous book de Jorio wrote on Neapolitan gesture, *La mimica degli antichi investigata nel gestire napoletano* (*The Gestural Expressions of the Ancients in the Light of Neapolitan Gesturing*), to be an essential component of my project "Gesture in Southern Italy." Accordingly, I spent much time on reading it, investigating as best I could de Jorio's life and his work as an archaeologist, and finding and verifying as many as possible of the examples and works of other authors that he discusses. This work eventuated in the publication of a critical English edition of the work by Indiana University Press in 2000.[6]

As the title to his book suggests, its main argument is that the gestures of the ancients (i.e., the ancient Greeks) as these are depicted in the frescoes, mosaics, and painted vases being found in abundance in excavations at Pompeii and Ercolano, the cities buried by the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79, can best be interpreted with a thorough knowledge of the forms and uses of gesturing among de Jorio's contemporary Neapolitans, especially as may be observed among the *basso popolo* of the city.[7] De Jorio believed in a strong cultural continuity, in what we might today call expressive culture, between the ancient Greek founders of Naples and the inhabitants of the Naples of De Jorio's day.

His book was intended as a sort of handbook for archaeologists who are looking for a key to interpreting the images of people and social occasions so often found in these findings. To achieve his purpose in providing such a key, de Jorio felt it necessary to provide detailed descriptions of the gestural expressions used by Neapolitans and to explain their contexts of use and also to comment on the nature of gesture as a mode of expression. An understanding of this was needed also, as it was the basis for many of his interpretations. As a result, from his book, we can gain considerable understanding about what the conditions of everyday life in Naples were like. This, of course, helps us to understand how these conditions might support and promote the elaborate use of gesture found there. De Jorio's book, it turns out, one of the most complex books ever written on gesture, is the first book ever to approach the study of gesture from what today we would call an ethnographic approach (Kendon, 1995b). Unlike other treatises on gesture that preceded de Jorio, this book owes

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[6] De Jorio (2000). *Gesture in Naples and Gesture in Classical Antiquity. A translation of* La mimica degli antichi investigata nel gestire napoletano (1832) *and with an Introduction and Notes by Adam Kendon.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

[7] Although this idea of De Jorio is not looked on with much favor by modern writers, there are some grounds for believing that he might not have been completely in error. Many of the gestures that de Jorio describes are similar to those described by much older authors and also appear to be very widespread if not universal in use, and there is at least one study that suggests very strongly that a head gesture for negation (the so-called head toss) has persisted in use in Southern Europe in just those areas where, in earlier centuries, ancient Greek settlements had been established (Collett & Contarello, 1987). Studies of folklore and traditional customs in Southern Italy also testify to the persistence in this region of practices that may well have Greek origins (Blunt, 1823).

nothing to the rhetorical tradition inaugurated by Quintilian's famous *Institutiones*. De Jorio's interest was in *describing how Neapolitans used gesture*, not in how gestures *ought* to be used. De Jorio also does not discuss the idea of a "gesture language" – an idea that we find suggested in Quintilian and taken up later, first in the seventeenth century by Bonifaccio and Bulwer and later developed in the eighteenth century by such writers as Condillac or Sicard.[8]

The result of my efforts was not only a translation in which I also added numerous critical notes to explain various obscure points and also to identify all of de Jorio's bibliographical sources. As an integral part of this critical edition, I also published a lengthy essay on de Jorio's life and work and an extensive analysis of his book. All of this required, of course, excursions into Neapolitan history and Neapolitan archaeology as well as into contemporary accounts of Naples from which one could derive the outlines of an ethnography of everyday life in Naples. Much of this work was undertaken from 1996 onward. My edition of de Jorio was published by Indiana University Press in 2000.[9] Rather to my surprise, it did quite well in America and was reissued a year later in a paperback edition, and, as far as I know, it is still obtainable today. It is still my hope that an Italian edition of this can be published one day, although for various reasons work on this has been much delayed.

How Can We Account for the Prominence of Gesture Use in Southern Italy?

As we noted above, there has long been the view that Southern Italy, especially, is populated by people who have a great liveliness of expression and a notable tendency to use gestures in a conspicuous manner. The question remains as to why this should be so. Many writers have proposed answers to this question, some of which I have already alluded to, such as Peter Burke's idea that the rise of protestantism in northern Europe suppressed bodily expression there, but conspicuous bodily expression continued in the south unchecked because Catholicism, which is more tolerant of it, continued to prevail.

I had several discussions on this question with Pina. As I recall, she offered two different ideas about this, both of which have also been proposed by many others. One idea was that gesturing was conspicuous in Naples and adjacent districts because in earlier times there were so many in the area who spoke different languages – Arabic, French, Spanish – so using gesture was a way to cross spoken language differences.

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[8] For the eighteenth century interest in the idea of gesture as a universal language, see Knowlson (1965). See also Rosenfeld (2001).

[9] It was published with the help of funds from the *Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici*. I remain very grateful for this financial help and especially to Arturo Martone for his assistance.

More plausibly, Pina also suggested that because of the long history of feudalism and foreign domination in the south, the absence of any sort of autonomous power (in contrast to the city states of the north), the people of the south have a deep sense of lack of worth. She quoted psychological studies that show that, compared to people who live in the north of the country, they show a low sense of self-esteem, a high "need for affiliation," and low "need for achievement." People who are low in self-esteem, who are not sure of their worth, tend to compensate for this by assertive interactive behavior. Perhaps (so Pina suggested), the excessive gesturing, the close interpersonal distances employed in interaction (something that had also struck me in my first impressions), and the elaborate talking, often in high volume, are strategies of self- reassurance, attempts to assert one's presence, to overcome one's fear that one counts for nothing.

Maria De Simone (who helped me with making transcripts from my recordings) also expressed an idea compatible with this. She told me that because people "feel like nothing, they try to be like lions among each other." This is why, in everyday conversation, people tend to be so theatrical in their performances. They do so to enhance their interest for others as conversationalists, to try to be sure that they will win out in the competition for attention that seems so often is present in everyday gatherings. Something like this view is implied in the observations of Luigi Barzini (1964). Describing the importance of spectacle in everyday life, the tendency for Italians, especially in the south, to make something of a "show" of almost everything they do, Barzini writes that these enlivening embellishments are not "…developed by people who find life rewarding and exhilarating, but by a pessimistic, realistic, resigned and frightened people. They believe man's ills cannot be cured, but only assuaged, catastrophes cannot be averted but only mitigated" (p. 75). In another place (p. 101), he writes "…behind the amiable and touching spectacle, behind the skillful performances, real life is something else. It is often an anguished, mortally dangerous game. It is always difficult."

The idea that people tend to "perform" somewhat as if they are on a stage, always with an eye out for the effect they are having not only on their immediate interlocutors but also on bystanders and others in the vicinity, seems to be quite widely attested. In his *La mimica…*, de Jorio describes the quarrels among women which, as he notes, not infrequently would break out in the *piazze* and the *vicoli* of the Naples of his day.[10] Spectators would gather round making comments, cheering the contestants on, and the contestants themselves would be fully aware of this, sometimes repeating for the amusement of the spectators, some action or expression that had been reacted to. Other writers have commented on this as another quotation from Barzini confirms. Thus, he writes (p. 74) "An Italian will utter grave and sincere words, … and, at the same time, look out of the corner of his eye to check the impression he is making on his public."

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[10] de Jorio (1832: 342–346; 2000: 434–439). See also pp. cii–cvii in De Jorio, 2000 for discussion by Kendon.

I would agree that this idea that, in this culture, many people live with a sense of social insecurity that motivates them to try to keep this at bay by striving to be as elegant and attractive and diverting as possible in their conversational conduct, may well contribute to the practice of conspicuous gesturing. However, from my early encounters with the social and physical environments, at least in places such as Naples, Torre del Greco, Portici, and Pompeii, the tightly packed settlements of the Amalfi Coast, Salerno and adjacent locations, gave me the idea that the high use of gesture, the high voice volumes, and the flamboyance of communication conduct could also be understood as an adaptation to the prevailing physical and social ambience within which so much face-to-face interaction takes place. Previously, when I worked on the widespread uses of kinesic communication among the Aborigines of Australia, I had reflected on what the virtues of the kinesic medium might be and that, perhaps, one of the reasons it has so marked a role in Australian aboriginal culture is that, given the ecological conditions of desert living, quite apart from the ideologies that promote its use in ritual circumstances, the kinesic medium is also very adaptive. Once I had arrived in the coastal cities of Campania, settings totally different from the Australian desert, of course, it nevertheless seemed to me that, given the communicative virtues or affordances of kinesic action, in these tightly packed and highly crowded urban environments, the elaboration of the kinesic modality in everyday conversation could be understood as an adaptation to these circumstances. This was what prompted me to take an ecological approach. I wanted to see what were the uses of kinesic action in these environments and what they made possible, communicatively. I saw the conspicuousness and widespread use of gesture in everyday interactions as an adaptation to the communicative circumstances that prevailed.

At least since the defeat of Napoleon, when Europe once again was open to tourists from the north and when Naples, especially, became an essential stop on the Grand Tour, the colorful vivacity of the common people of Naples, especially their elaborate gesturing, was a matter for remark. Many foreign travellers to the city in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many visitors from the Italian north, and also Neapolitans themselves have provided descriptions of what it was like in the streets of the old quarters of the city.

These descriptions often note the very high level of noise that is met with, and they draw attention to how so much of everyday life, both domestic and occupational, is carried on in the street.[11] There was no clear spatial separation but an intermixing of domestic, social, occupational, and even religious activities. An artisan, a tailor, and a shoemaker, carrying on his trade on the street in front of his *basso*, also carry on much of his domestic and social life there. And this he will do in full view of the crowds that may gather around nearby food-stalls, around the ambulant sellers of lemonade or *acqua sulfurea*, and around the purveyors of medicinal remedies, the puppet shows, the jugglers, and the public storytellers, to

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[11]Accounts of daily life in Naples from the early nineteenth century include Mayer (1948 [1840]), De Bourchard (1854/1866), and Lombardi (1988 [1847]).

say nothing of religious processions and the incessant traffic of carriages, omnibuses, horseback riders, and pedestrians that passed up and down on any of the larger thoroughfares. Furthermore, many people in such settings were well acquainted with one another and would see each other passing up and down. Just about everything one did was, perforce, done in public where, much of the time, you would be known to others. Hence, what you were doing needed to be done with some style so that it would maintain your *bella figura* and this would encourage you to "perform" in what you were doing. This "need for performance" (see, again, Luigi Barzini) would certainly contribute to the enhancement of gesturing, perhaps encouraging people to use gestures even when not strictly necessary. People spent time on rooftops or balconies of the *palazzi* and could look across and see neighbors and acquaintances opposite across the narrow streets that separated them. Thus, the opportunities for visual contact between people who knew each other were many, and communication by gesture was easy and convenient. With gesture, you could easily acknowledge or exchange brief messages with an acquaintance passing by in the street, even as you were in an ongoing involvement with others.

It may not be so surprising, therefore, that gesture in such circumstances should develop to include an elaborate shared vocabulary which permitted conversations in gesture, thereby allowing exchanges over distances too great for the voice or in the noisy circumstances that so often prevailed. As noted by C. A. Mayer, a German resident of Naples in the 1830s, who wrote a valuable account of many aspects of everyday life, in much of the city, "it is not possible to make oneself understood in words, because of the noise; therefore the coachman, and his boy who walks behind, speak a mute language with their acquaintances along the street; also the neighbours, from window to window, from balcony to balcony, from roof to roof carry on among themselves marvellous conversations with the head and hands" (op. cit., pp. 74–75). We may note here too what Andrea de Jorio wrote in the 1819 edition of his guide to Naples (De Jorio, 1819, p. 108): "the language of our common people [*popolo basso*] is double, with both words and gestures. This second language is together full of both grace and philosophy. It is amazing (*sorpendente)* to see two persons, at a distance from one another and in the chaos of the more populated streets of Naples, speaking together and understanding each other well" (trans. AK).

The need to make oneself a heightened object of attention in conversation, because of competition from other sources and the interest one has in commanding attention from bystanders, could encourage the use of gesture as display. The noise of the street, or the inconvenience and difficulty of visiting one's neighbors when they could so easily be seen from one window, balcony, or roof to the next, could also have encouraged the use of gesture as an autonomous means of conversation. Further, however, given the very public nature of everyday life, given that much of domestic life took place on the street among so much else, private exchanges between people could be very difficult. Here again, gesture is useful. Since it is silent, it is well suited to surreptitious communication. Thus, Mayer (ibid., p. 80) describes an elaborate conversation between a lover and his sweetheart which, so he claims, was characteristic: The lover comes to the courtyard and attracts his sweetheart's attention. She tells him, in gesture, that visitors are present. Through

gesture, they agree on a time for him to return, and through gesture they exchange expressions of their passion for one another.

There is a further consideration to be borne in mind, however. In "traditional" Naples (i.e., Naples as it was more or less until the Second World War and still was in the 1990s, when I was last there, at least within the *centro storico*), within neighborhoods or *Quartieri* within the city, the people living there were largely connected by extensive kinship networks. Whereas in so many cities, typically, people live in anonymous relationships outside their families, in Naples this was not so.

There were close networks of actual or quasi kin relationships, and within each micro-neighborhood, it was as if people were living together as overlapping extended families. This meant that people did not define their relationships with one another through interaction; they already always were in certain relationships with one another. Accordingly, occasions of copresence, which, in any case, were almost continuous, became loci for individuating performances. Where relationships are fixed through kinship or a kin-like permanence, and not fashioned through interaction, communication conduct can become to a considerable degree a matter of display – an assertion of individual identity. The "display" that gesturing makes possible is thus not only an adaptation to the necessity of competing for attention. It is also part of showing off who one is, what sort of a "character" one aspires to play in the drama of everyday life. The common observation that writers have often remarked on – the "theatricality" of everyday life in Naples – has already been mentioned. It seems that in this city conduct in copresence is often dramatized and the elaborate use of gesture is undoubtedly a part of this dramatization.

If we are to understand why there are cultural differences in the way in which an expressive modality such as gesture is used, in the first place we should look to what such a modality affords its users as a means of communication and consider in detail the circumstances of its use. We must look at the ecological circumstances of daily interaction. In the second place, however, we must also take into consideration the prevailing norms by which conduct in copresence is governed. And in a city such as Naples, this means that we cannot ignore its cultural and social history. What I have outlined here is no more than a beginning, but I suggest that an investigation of a communicative style in both historical and ecological perspectives may lead to a better understanding of how cultural differences in communication are sustained. This, in turn, should contribute to the view that modes of communication develop adaptively, their features becoming adjusted as the communicative tasks require change.

Conclusion

The work of my "Southern Italian Gesture Project" could not have been done without the help and interest of many Italian colleagues and friends, including Isabella Poggi, Jocelyn Vincent Marrelli, Carla Cristilli, Bruno Genito, Arturo Martone, Laura Versante, Maria Graziano, Maria De Simone, Daniele Gambarara, Stefano

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Chapter 17
Smiling: Positive and Negative Emotions, Personal and Social Attitudes

Roberto Caterina, Pier Luigi Garotti, and Pio Enrico Ricci-Bitti

Introduction

Smiling, on an ontogenetic level, develops and differentiates as early as the first month of life, during which time the smile (reflex smile) involves only the stretching of the lips and occurs during REM states, just as it can be provoked by gently tickling the skin, by gentle sounds, or by soft lights. Subsequently, the so-called social smile appears which is stimulated initially by the mother's voice, then by the moving human face, and later by the unmoving face. A further stage consists in the appearance of the so-called selective social smile, which appears in response to familiar faces. It is interesting to note that these stages occur in the same sequence in all infants, and individual differences are found solely in the duration of each specific stage. This recalls the theme of the cultural or innate origin of the facial expressions of emotion, a theme that has been the subject of much debate. Relevant authors on smiling include Birdwhistell (1970) who, in his studies conducted in different parts of the United States, observed a number of qualitative and quantitative differences and, from this, assumed a theoretical position that countered the

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hypothesis of innatism. A supporter of innatism, Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1970), referring back to Darwin's (1872) extensive work, conducted numerous cross-cultural studies and studies on blind and deaf children and found interindividual and intercultural resemblances in expressive manifestations such as smiling and laughter. The two theoretical positions were reconciled by Ekman (1972) who, in his theory on the facial expression of emotions called neurocultural theory, highlights and analyzes the interaction between cultural and innate factors. According to this author, there is a so-called facial program of emotions, at least in part innate, made up of a series of instructions coded at neural level that, by and autonomic nervous modulating the observable responses of the central system of the subjective experience, would explain the relationship between a given emotion and the activation of specific facial muscles. Cultural factors, on the other hand, can define both the particular events and circumstances able to activate the various emotions and the rules of exhibition, which are learned by the individual and which allow him to modulate the manifestation of emotions in different contexts. This would be possible, thanks to the fact that, in the event of activating circumstances belonging to interpersonal situations, the individual's internal cognitive processes would enable him to appraise the situation.

Smiling is one of the most common nonverbal signals used in communication among humans. It has many meanings and functions. There are smiles which have an emotional meaning: Some of them express positive emotions such as happiness, joy, elation, amusement, delight, and so on.

There are, however, other smiles which express negative emotions such as contempt, scorn, and even sadness. Emotional smiles can be either genuine or false. Smiling in fact is one of the most common techniques used in order to mask a negative emotion.

Other smiles have a social meaning: They indicate social attitudes such as friendliness, cooperation, and politeness. Some authors have stressed these social aspects of smiling and have considered the relationship between smiling and the growth of sociability (Duncan Jr et al., 1979;. Fridlund, 1991; Gewirtz, 1965; Kendon & Ferber, 1973; Kraut & Johnston, 1979; Schaffer, 1971; Hess et al., 2002; Miles & Johnston, 2007; Johnston et al., 2010; Niedenthal et al., 2013). It is not easy to separate the social from the emotional components in human smile, and it is somehow impossible to separate the growth of sociability from the growth of emotionality, especially if we do not consider that there are different types of smiles.

Ekman (1985) in his book *Telling Lies* described many types of smiles: The majority of them are "emotional" smiles, but some can be considered "social smiles" such as the "qualifier smile" (a reaction to an unpleasant or critical message in order to lessen the unpleasantness), the "compliance smile" (a bitter pill is swallowed without protest), the "coordination smile" (which regulates the exchange between two or more people), and "listener response smile" (equivalent to the "mm-hmm," "good"; the speaker does not think the listener is happy but takes this smile as encouragement to continue). But not all the "non-enjoyment smiles" have to be considered either false or "social" smiles. Among the genuine emotional non-enjoyment smiles we may observe are contempt, fear, embarrassment, surprise, and

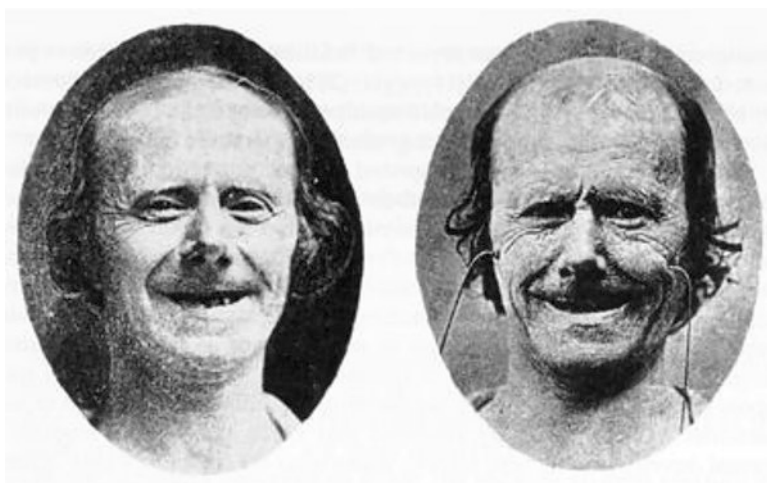**Fig. 17.1** Smiles expressing contempt, fear, embarrassment, surprise, and sadness

Fig. 17.2 Duchenne studies. Genuine smile on the left

sad miserable smiles. The negative emotional smiles follow somehow the facial expression of the emotions they refer to as you can see in Fig. 17.1, and similar considerations could be done about their social meanings (Costa et al., 2001). More detailed considerations can be done about the enjoyment smiles and their story (Fig. 17.2).

Despite the fact that smiling has so many meanings, it has often been described, in the past, as a unitary behavioral pattern. The French anatomist Duchenne was one of the first authors who observed different facial clues according to different types of smiles. He distinguished a "frank joy smile" expressed on the face by the combined contraction of the zygomatic major muscle and the orbicularis oculi from a "fake joy smile" in which the orbicularis oculi movement did not appear. According

to his theory, the zygomatic major muscle "obeys the will" and can be used in simulated facial expressions, the orbicularis oculi "does not obey the will," and it is only brought into play by a true feeling.

Some years ago, the value of the Duchenne's research was rediscovered by Ekman, Friesen, and other coauthors (Ekman & Friesen, 1982; Ekman et al., 1990; Frank et al., 1993).

By interpreting the original ideas of Duchenne in terms of FACS (Facial Action Coding System) (Ekman & Friesen, 1978), it is possible to differentiate a "genuine smile" (later called "Duchenne smile" and still later called "enjoyment smile") expressed by the combination of AUs (action units) 12 + 6, from other non-enjoyment smiles in which only AU (action unit) 12 is activated.

Expanding on Duchenne's observations, Frank et al. (1993) described some other important traits which distinguish enjoyment smiles from non-enjoyment smiles. In particular, they observed that in the enjoyment smiles, (1) there is a synchronization of action between the zygomatic major and orbicularis oculi such that they reach the point of maximal contraction (apex) at the same time; (2) symmetrical changes in zygomatic major happen on both sides of the face; (3) onset, apex, offset, and overall zygomatic major actions are smooth and not as long or short as in other types of smiles; and finally (4) the duration range of zygomatic major action is between 0.5 and 4 s.

The enjoyment smile takes into consideration many emotions, many emotional "variations," and different social attitudes. In a 1982 paper, Ekman and Friesen wrote that the enjoyment smile includes "pleasure from visual, auditory, gustatory, kinestetics or tactile stimulation; amusement and delight; contentment and satisfaction; beatific experiences; relief from pain, pressure or tension; and enjoyment of another person" (Ekman & Friesen, 1982, p. 242). We think it unlikely that all these states can be expressed by the same facial pattern given by the combination of AUs 12 + 6. More probably other elements – such as different AUs, other nonverbal signs, individual differences in the style of expression, different intensities in facial muscular movements – may add quantitative and qualitative attributes to the general meaning of the enjoyment smile.

Therefore, the combination of AUs 12 + 6 can be regarded as a basic common expressive pattern of the enjoyment smile from which other different smiles can be described. Looking at the sensory pleasure smile, it is important to consider the degree of eye opening; therefore, especially AUs 41, 42, or 43 (closed eyes or almost closed eyes) may add a specific meaning to the combination of AUs 12 + 6. In the expression of extreme happiness, elation, a person probably raises his or her eyelids and opens his or her mouth: Therefore, the AU 5 (well opened eyes) and the AU 25 (opening mouth with clenched teeth) may be present together with AUs 12 + 6. In the expression of joy and amusement, a person probably opens his or her mouth, but does not raise his or her eyelids: In this case, only the AU 25 may be present together with AUs 12 + 6.

We can assume that formal, unfelt smiles are more easily expressed by facial expressions in which only the AU 12 is present and, therefore, only the zygomatic muscle is activated, while genuine, felt smiles are more easily expressed by facial

expressions in which both the AUs 6 + 12 are present. But the combination of AUs 12 + 6 is not enough to justify so many meanings within the happy smile category.

For this reason in our research, we considered four smiles: One is the unfelt, formal smile expressed by the AU 12; three smiles come from the common root of the Duchenne's smile – a sensory pleasure smile in which AUs 12 + 6 + 43 are present, a joy smile in which a combination of AUs 12 + 6 (+25) is involved, and finally an elation smile in which a combination of AUs 12 + 6 + 5 (+25) can be observed.

The role of AU 25 has been carefully considered both in joy and elation smiles: It seems, somehow, to intensify the emotional quality and meaning of smiling. The hypothesis concerning four different categories of smiles is consistent with Ekman and Friesen's theory on "emotional variations" (Ekman, 1992); according to this theory, basic emotions can be described as "emotion families" in which many expressive variations are organized around a common core. Within the happiness family, we can find elation, joy, contentment, sensory pleasure, and so on. All these terms are not necessarily synonymous, but they express a specific meaning within a common behavioral pattern.

Our First Studies

In order to verify our assumptions, we realized in the past four experimental studies with independent groups of subjects, using for the encoding part of our experiments either actors (role-playing technique condition) or facial diagrams or schemata (Musterle mimikface program). Musterle Mimikfaces (1990) is a computer program: With this program, it is possible to simulate single facial movements independently with different intensity levels, based on the theoretical background of the FACS by Ekman and Friesen (1978). Especially for this task, the application of a computer program is very useful because it is almost impossible for an actor to keep certain facial muscles exactly constant or to produce the same facial expression a second time with only subtle changes in only one certain facial muscle. The graphical output of Musterle's program is quite comparable with real faces and not at all influenced by static personal features of the actor's face, which could bias the judgments. Thus, results can be directly referred to the different variables applied and varied in the stimulus material (Fig. 17.3).

Results

The results of those studies – with actor and facial diagrams – can be here summarized.

According to our studies with actors, it is possible to describe four different smiles in which different AUs are used.
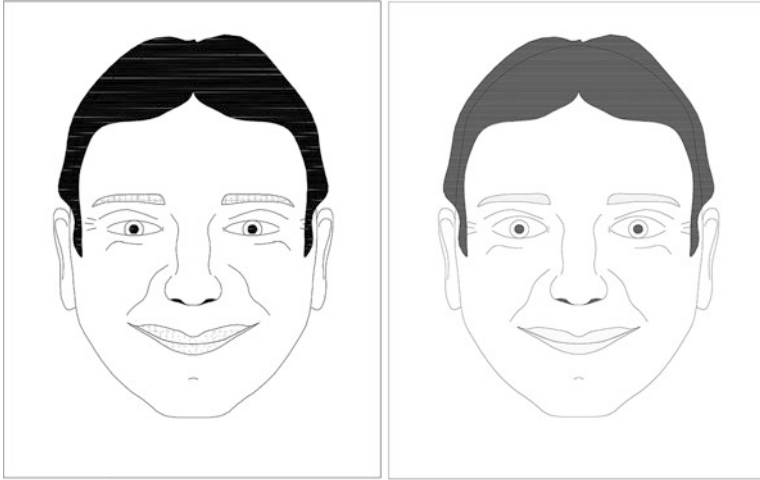
Fig. 17.3 Two examples of Musterle faces: AUs 6 + 12 (Duchenne smile, left), AUs 6 + 12 + 5 (elation smile, right)

It is possible to describe a joy smile which is a genuine happiness smile and in which not only AUs 12 + 6 play an important role, as in the Duchenne smile, but also AU 25. In fact from study n. 1, we can easily see how the smiles expressed by AUs 12 + 6 + 25 are recognized as joy smiles by most subjects (64.5%).

If we examine the smiles expressed by the combination of AUs 12 + 6 only (the so-called Duchenne smile), we can see that those smiles have been interpreted either as joy smile (33.5%) or as formal unfelt smile (39.5%).There is no doubt that the AU 12 smiles have been interpreted as formal unfelt smiles. A sensory pleasure smile is clearly defined by the combination of AUs 12 + 6 + 43. The elation smile is clearly given by the presence of AU 5. AU 12 but also AUs 12 + 6 smiles have been interpreted as more formal in comparison with the others. Joy and elation smiles have been considered significantly more genuine than Duchenne's smile ($p < 0.001$).

The results of our studies in which we used computer faces are very similar to those studies with actors. Once again, four different smiles are clearly indicated according to the different AUs.

A New Study Using Musterle's Faces

According to our previous studies (Ricci-Bitti et al., 1993, 1996), the combination of AU 12 + 6, namely, the enjoyment smile, is not the best indicator for the expression of joy and amusement. It's rather a different degree of mouth opening (AUs 25 and 26; in the AU 25, teeth are clenched, while in AU 26, the upper and lower teeth are separated) which in addition to the enjoyment smile is perceived by the observer as

the expression of a frank joy feeling. These results suggest that in particular, different degrees of the opening of the mouth (AU 25 and AU 26) and the raising of the eyelids (AU 5) both play an important role for the expression of happiness and indicate not only the intensity of the happy feeling but also qualify it for the observer. However, the interaction of these two different behavioral markers was not considered in these studies, and in order to investigate how these markers interact, a study was realized concerning only the influence and the interaction of AUs 25, 26, and 5 (in combination with the enjoyment smile AUs 6 + 12) on the subject's judgment of different positive facial expressions.

For this study, 17 facial diagrams were produced to cover all possible combinations concerning the different degrees of opening of the mouth (AU 25 and AU 26) and the degree of opening of the eyes (AU 5 and a strong AU 6; it is necessary within this program to use AU 7 in order to diminish the eye opening independently of AU 12). Constant in all stimuli was AU 12.

The stimulus set consisted of the following diagrams:

Two diagrams with the AU combination 6 + 12 + 25 (one with only slight opening of the lips, the other one with a wider opening of the lips).
Two diagrams with the AU combination 5 + 6 + 12 + 25 (the same diagrams as the abovementioned set with the addition of AU 5).
Two diagrams with the AU combination 6 + 7 + 12 + 25 (the same diagrams as the abovementioned set with the addition of AU 7).
Three diagrams with the AU combination 6 + 12 + 26 (slightly opened mouth; medium opened mouth; wide opened mouth).
Three diagrams with the AU combination 5 + 6 + 12 + 26 (the same as the previous set, with the addition of AU 5).
Three diagrams with the AU combination 6 + 7 + 12 + 26 (the same as the previous set, with the addition of AU 7).
Finally, two diagrams representing the expression of surprise (AUs 1 + 2 + 5 + 26).

Sixty students from Bologna University were asked to judge in a questionnaire the abovementioned diagrams, which were presented in a random order, changing each diagram after 10 s. On the questionnaire, the subjects could find four general categories, and in each of the categories, two or three verbal labels represent this emotional family: (1) category "joy," including the verbal labels joy and happiness and defining the more emotional aspect of happiness; (2) category "elation" with the verbal labels enthusiasm, elation, and euphoria, defining a very strong expression of happiness; (3) category "gaiety" with the verbal labels cheerfulness and gladness – this category represents the more social aspect of happiness in accompaniment with others; and (4) category "surprise" with the verbal labels surprise and amazement. This last category was added because AU 5 is also part of the facial expression of surprise and thus the subjects should also have the possibility to choose this category.

The subjects were given the choice of either to choose one of the verbal labels if they were able to assign a certain expression to a certain label or, in the case of doubt, just to choose the general category only.

This process allows on one hand a detailed examination of the subcategories and, on the other hand, after summarizing the percentages of the judgments within each

Table 17.1 Emotional meaning given to different smiles expressed by different AU combinations and different intensity (B = low intensity; D = medium intensity; E = high intensity)

N = 60	Happiness	Elation	Contentment	Surprise
6 + 12 + 25 (B) (stim 16)	**45%**	6,7%	**39,9%**	10%
6 + 12 + 25 (D) (stim 14)	**36,7%**	5%	**50%**	6,7%
6 + 12 + 26 (B) (stim 7)	**43,3%**	3,3%	**50,0%**	
6 + 12 + 26 (D) (stim 3)	**37,9%**	13,7%	**44,9%**	
6 + 12 + 26 (E) (stim 2)	6,8%	**35,7%**	**55,9%**	
5 + 6 + 12 + 25 (B) (stim 6)	11,9%	**20,4%**	**18,7%**	**49,2%**
5 + 6 + 12 + 25 (D) (stim 11)	11,7%	**25,0%**	10,0%	**53,4%**
5 + 6 + 12 + 26 (B) (stim 8)	10,0%	**23,4%**	16,7%	**46,9%**
5 + 6 + 12 + 26 (D) (stim 12)	17,0%	**32,2%**	**25,5%**	**25,5%**
5 + 6 + 12 + 26 (E) (stim 4)	11,6%	**46,6%**	5,0%	**36,6%**
6 + 7 + 12 + 25 (B) (stim 5)	**33,9%**	8,5%	**54,3%**	3,4%
6 + 7 + 12 + 25 (D) (stim 9)	**36,6%**	16,6%	**45,1%**	
6 + 7 + 12 + 26 (B) (stim 13)	**43,3%**	6,7%	**48,0%**	1,7%
6 + 7 + 12 + 26 (D) (stim 15)	**25,5%**	**27,2%**	**45,7%**	1,7%
6 + 7 + 12 + 26 (E) (stim 10)	**28,3%**	**37,4%**	**30,0%**	
1 + 2 + 5 + 26 (stim 1)	1,7%			**96,7%**
1 + 2 + 5 + 26 (stim 17)				**100%**

category, a general assessment of the results, referring to the stimulus material in a broader sense (Table 17.1).

Results

The results show that in the slight and moderate intensity, there is almost no difference between the enjoyment smile combined with the parted lips (AU 25) and the enjoyment smile with the opened mouth (AU 26). As long as AU 12 is constant,

subjects judge both expressions as happiness (composite on one part of the category of joy and on the other part of gaiety). Therefore, it is mainly the action unit 12 (in combination with either AU 25 or AU 26) which is decisive for the judgment of a frank joy expression. But, if the opening of the mouth is very extreme, the judges evaluate this as either elation (i.e., 35.7% for AU 6 + 12 + 26) or social shared happiness (category gaiety, with 55.9% for AU 6 + 12 + 26). Only a few of the judges choose the category of joy (6.8% for AU 6 + 12 + 26). Imagining that a wide open mouth within a happy expression is associated with the sound of laughter, these results are easy to understand and lead to the assumption that on the other hand the expression of a frank joy feeling is rather considered as silent and relaxed.

Concerning the action unit 5, the results show that this AU in combination with both AU 25 and AU 26 is responsible for the judgment of elation (starting from 20.4% for the slight AU 25 increasing up to 46.6% for the strong AU 26). Of course, the increasing judgment of elation is dependent on the degree of the mouth opening, when AU 5 is held constant. But a remarkably large part of the subjects choose also the category surprise when AU 5 was involved. This is not astonishing as long as AU 5 is also part of the expression of pure surprise. However, concerning the smiling expressions, AU 5 is an important element for indicating high positive arousal.

The role of AU 7 (used in this experiment to reinforce AU 6) is only obvious when it is involved in the two strongest degrees of mouth opening (AU 26). The additional diminishing of the eye opening reinforces this expression, and judges tend to assess this expression as elation (27.2% for the moderate mouth opening and 37.4% for the strongest mouth opening).

The general conclusions of these results are that around the common core of the "emotional family" of happiness (AU 12 + 6), three other behavioral markers mainly influence the judgment of observers. These are (1) a wide opened mouth (AU 26), (2) action unit 5 as a significant marker of happy excitement or "unexpected pleasure," and (3) AU 7 (therefore a strong AU 6) particularly in combination with AU 26, which underlines the amount of positive arousal in general.

These markers are significant elements for the judgment of high positive arousal within the happy expression.

The Importance of Mouth Opening in Smiling Communicative Processes

Different forms of persuasive communication concern the potential role of facial expression in the communication and arousal of emotion in advertisements. In relation to magazine advertisements, the ability of the consumer to identify an emotion correctly may, in some instances, be less important than whether the portrayed emotion was genuinely experienced rather than artificially posed. The distinction between the spontaneous and symbolic communication of emotion, in

fact, has several implications for the use of emotional facial expression in advertisement.

With regard to distinguishing between genuine versus non genuine facial expressions, the smile has received considerable attention; it is possible to differentiate a genuine smile (enjoyment smile) from other non-enjoyment smiles such as formal smile and sensory pleasure smiles. The differentiation between genuine felt smile and a voluntary unfelt smile was studied by Ekman and his colleagues, as we have previously said, using FACS which allows the measurements of all visible facial behavior. For instance, the genuine smile involves the combination of AUs 12 + 6. In reference to magazine advertisements, the question concerns whether symbolic (formal) smiles elicit the same response as spontaneous, genuine facial expression of smiles and whether the expressive patterns of genuine smile are evaluated more persuasive than patterns of formal smile.

To answer this question, we realized two experimental studies with independent groups of subjects.

Stimulus material consisted of 46 images of magazine advertisements in which different expressions of different smiles were present. The stimuli were selected by two independent expert FACS judges and were differentiated into five categories in relation to the different expressive patterns of smiles. Two hundred students from Bologna University were asked to judge the abovementioned stimuli.

The results of our research indicated that images presenting genuine smiles were considered more persuasive than images presenting formal smiles; moreover, the different degrees of opening the mouth seem to be a significant marker of enjoyment/felt smile (Figs. 17.4 and 17.5).

Fig. 17.4 Smile involving, among other AUs, AU 26

Fig. 17.5 Smile involving, among other AUs, AU 25

Our New Studies on the Components of Human Smiles

In order to verify the relationship between the emotional and social meaning of some smiles and the presence of specific AUs, we selected 24 stimuli of smiles corresponding to these meanings: sensory pleasure smiles, joy-happiness smiles, elation smiles, amusement smiles, and formal smiles. The stimuli partially belonged to Matsumoto and Ekman (1988) and were partially produced by northern and southern Italian actors. Encoding procedures were the same as used in our previous studies (role playing technique). In the decoding task, we asked 89 university students to give a verbal label among the 5 suggested on the answer sheet to the proposed smiles and to say which facial clues were relevant to determine the meaning and the interpretation of those smiles. We also asked our subjects how intense the smiles were (on a scale from 1 to 7) and how genuine or formal they were (on a bipolar scale).

Results

It was possible to find a clear-cut set of 5 different smiles in 17 (out of 24) of our stimuli. Four stimuli belonged to a "sensory pleasure" group, four to a "joy-happiness" group, three to an "elation" group, three to an "amusement" group, and three to a "formal" group. The remaining seven stimuli have to be considered as "mixed" smiles (Fig. 17.6).

Different meanings of smiles
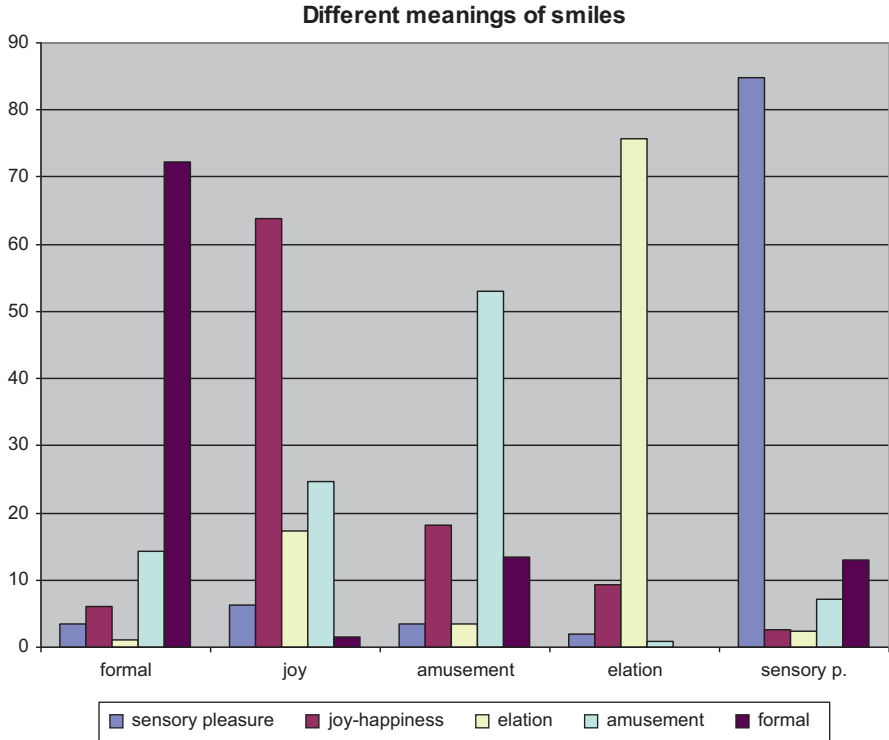
Fig. 17.6 Different meanings of human smile
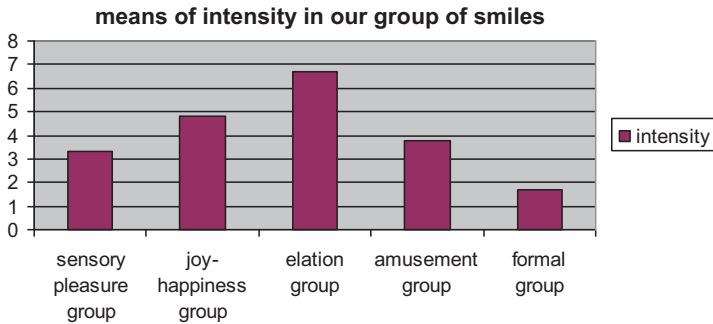
Fig. 17.7 Intensity in our group of smiles

As far as intensity is concerned, you can see from the following graph that formal smiles were considered the least intense smiles. On the contrary, the joy and elation smiles were considered as very intense (Fig. 17.7).

With regard to how formal or genuine our smiles were considered, we can see that sensory pleasure and elation smiles were considered genuine, while smiles

formal-genuine values (1formal to 7genuine)
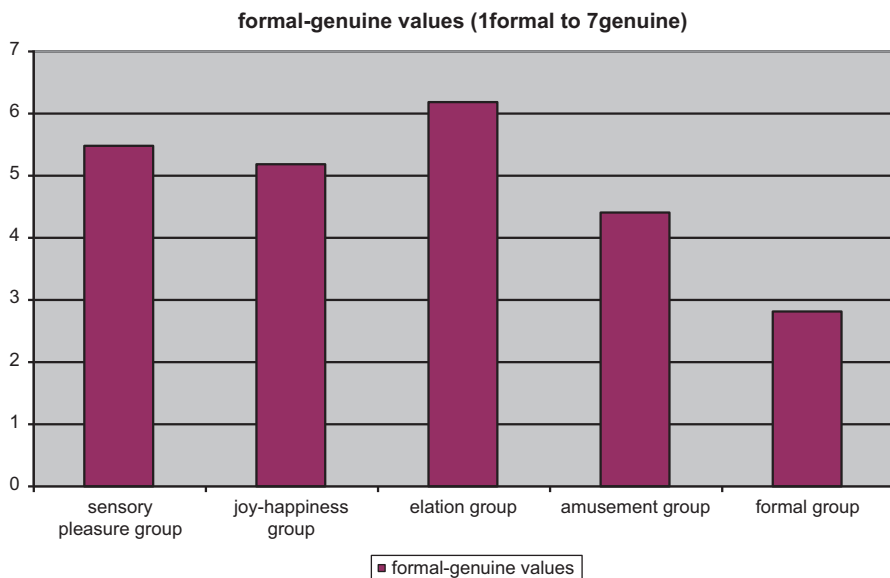
Fig. 17.8   Formal vs Genuine smiles

belonging to the formal group were considered comparatively more formal (Fig. 17.8).

Considering the different components of those smiles which had been clearly judged as formal, sensory pleasure, elation, joy, or amusement smiles, by more than 50% of our subjects (17 stimuli over 24 presented), we can see that AU 12 has an important role in the definition of formal smiles, AU 6 seems more linked with the amusement smiles, AUs 25 and 26 (jaw drop) are present both in joy and elation smiles, AU 5 is an important element for the definition of elation smiles, and finally AU 43 is clearly linked with the expression of sensory pleasure smiles (Fig. 17.9).

Conclusions and Some New Proposals Concerning the Role of Human Smile in a Multipurpose Perspective

We do not think it is correct to make a sharp distinction between emotional and social aspects in smiling. Many emotional smiles have their own specific social components: Different social attitudes and a different degree of social interest elicited by specific AUs can be seen within the enjoyment family. Sensory pleasure smile, for example, does not seem to need a strong capacity of interpersonal

Mimic movements attributed to different smiles. Percentage data
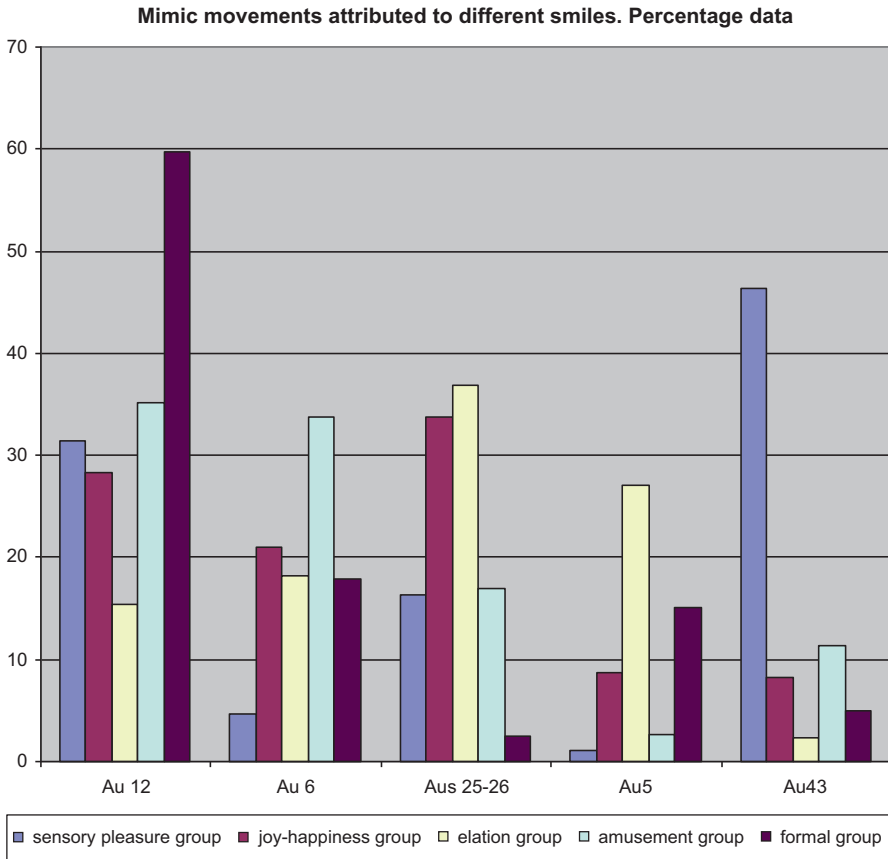
Fig. 17.9 Percentage data of mimic movements attributed to different smiles

communication, while, on the contrary, joy and elation can be properly expressed only if they elicit other people's interest.

We believe that the specific behavioral pattern of smiling is important in determining not only different emotional qualities but also different interactive approaches. Nevertheless, we should consider that the human smile can have many different meanings according to the communicative contexts. Smiling generally expresses positive emotion and is also interpreted as an approach invitation, as is the case with a greeting, for example; in addition, the smile generates an exchange in which interaction is prolonged and consolidated. In general, the reinforcement function that the smile performs can be understood by considering that, starting from early dyadic mother/infant exchanges, the smile performs the basic biological function of enabling and consolidating social nearness and that, subsequently, it constitutes an important signal that increases the possibility of interaction in interpersonal situations. The influence of the smile is not only immediate but long term, since it

encourages future maternal nurturing behaviors, thus performing the function of preserving the infant's survival. On the other hand, the study on human smiling in adult life suggests that we miss something important if we think of smiling just in terms of either emotional or social forms of communication. The recent studies of smiles as multipurpose social signals (Martin et al., 2017) go precisely toward a broader definition of smiles that include reward, affiliation, and dominance personal styles. The aim of the present work has been just to stress that in the concept of multipurpose smiles, emotional components as positive as well as negative ones (and also neutral considering the surprise) should be considered. In fact, emotional components are linked both with adaptive and social aspects carried by different smiles.

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Chapter 18
The Attention to Student Well-Being: The University Psychological Counseling

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Pina Boggi Cavallo and Psychological Counseling in the University of Salerno

Pina Boggi Cavallo contributed to the Right to Study interventions at the University of Salerno. In 1974, he wrote a paper entitled *Orientation as a Decision-Making Process* (Villone Betocchi & Boggi Cavallo, 1974). These were the years in which the first chairs of psychology were established at the degrees in the "Humanities Faculty." Pina Boggi Cavallo remembers this as follows:

> A historical moment characterized by the expansion of the educational offer and research nuclei were created within the individual faculties. Thus began to be defined numerous psychological subdisciplines such as social psychology, developmental psychology, dynamic psychology. At the same time the number of chairs already present was expanded to follow the new didactic needs. (…) The heads of the university chairs had the merit of supporting the growth of psychology in the area. We also realized the need to establish relations with the political authorities. (…) Following the establishment of the degree courses, the Italian Society of Psychology played an important role in supporting the definition of the psychological profession. Subsequently we began to discuss the establishment of the Order. (Valerio et al., 2017)

It was in this context that Pina Boggi Cavallo, working in a voluntary capacity, together with other colleagues from the Faculty of Education, established the first experiment in psychological counseling at the University of Salerno, which was one of the first experiments in Italy. In the 1980s, in a *very small studio*, we tried to create a listening space for *students* who needed it.

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In 1991, Pina Boggi Cavallo participated in the first "Ministerial Conference for Guidance in Schools and Universities" on behalf of the University of Salerno. In the *National Conference of Italian Rectors* (*Crui*), the assembly of the orientation delegates was created and Boggi Cavallo became the delegate for Salerno. The conference discussed the law and the amendment of the Right to Education. Subsequently, she also participated in the first Regional Table for the implementation of the law on the Right to Education and was part of the working group for the "Guidelines on Educational and Professional Guidance for Schools and Universities."

Boggi Cavallo believed that guidance and support for study also includes psychological help and the creation of a territorial network. University psychological counseling was likened to the *mother sufficiently good* by Winnicott ([1971](#)), which must compensate for the university environment that was considered as *rejecting*. Concerning this concept, she writes something that is both persuasive and topical:

> Then it should not be surprising to see, in the presence of a rejecting university, the high number of cases of depressed students, who reactivate their unresolved issues in the presence of such a ghost in this late adolescent phase. (Boggi Cavallo & De Marco, [1990](#))

What is a university psychological counseling service according to Pina Boggi Cavallo?

She writes:

> It is a University Service and within the University (…) an institution that is often overcrowded, impersonal, scarcely available and accessible to the individual […] a small enclave of availability, welcome, listening is created. (Boggi Cavallo & De Marco, [1990](#))

In addition, she highlights the following:

> The Service facilitates – and in our opinion a lot – the approach to psychological problems of students (…)

1. The Service is free.
2. The student can undertake it independently, without involving the family.
3. There is an immediate positive impact on the student due to the fact of contacting a service guaranteed by the university and not. (Boggi Cavallo & De Marco, [1990](#))

The end of the 1990s saw the birth of a real university psychological counseling project for students. European funding arrived (Project "*Schola 2*" academic years 2000–2006) through the "Center for University Guidance" (*CAOT*), though the end of the funding also marked the end of project.

In December 2009, the *Crui Conference* organized the first meeting of the heads of the psychological counseling services of universities. Prof. Boggi Cavallo was already retired at this time; however, she participated in it for the University of Salerno's Giulia Savarese, who was in agreement regarding the strengths and weaknesses that were necessary for discussion.

In 2010, with a view to enhancing the human and professional contribution of Professor Boggi and her collaborators, and in relation to the strong need to respond to the complex and diversified needs of university students, work on the establishment of a psychological help service resumed. The aim of this service was to become,

over time, not only a service to people but also a stable point of reference for the whole University of Salerno.

In 2011, thanks to various teachers (Michele Cesaro, Antonio Iannaccone, and Giulia Savarese), and the huge drive and modern vision of the then Rector Raimondo Pasquino, the *Center of Counseling Psychology* was founded. The center, named in memory of Prof. Michele Cesaro, who suddenly and prematurely passed away, is located in the Baronissi campus. Psychologists, psychotherapists, and experts in analysis, interviewing, and consultation are available. Herein, we briefly discuss this beautiful project that, as a result of the teachings of Professors Boggi Cavallo and Michele Cesaro, continues today.

The Psychological Service for University Students at the Counseling Center "M. Cesaro"

Mission

The Counseling Center was established as a psychological counseling service aimed at students at the University of Salerno. In Italy, other similar projects have been set up over the years (Filippi et al., 2001; Ruvolo, 2005; de Lauretis et al., 2013; Laquale et al., 2015).

Psychological counseling is conceived as a support service for the development of decision-making autonomy for university students who experience problematic moments or situations of particular difficulty and who present forms of emotional/relational distress that may affect the course of their education and, in the more general sense, their life (Iannaccone et al., 2012; Savarese & Iannaccone, 2013; Savarese et al., 2020a, 2020b).

The Counseling Center was conceived as a context that offers *hospitality*, *listening*, and *guidance* in the various phases of university life, from analyzing choices to the resolution of ongoing conflicts, to the moment of graduation and contact with the world of work. Through its activities, carried out in a network context, it attempts (a) to respond to discomfort and (b) to promote psychological well-being (Savarese et al., 2014). Pina Boggi Cavallo thought of the Center as "a University service within the University" and as an alternative not a competitor to the local health service.

The services currently available in the university, and in particular, in the University of Salerno, certainly no longer suggest a dimension of total inaccessibility and unavailability of the individual; however, as Pina Boggi Cavallo declared, what is increasingly evident is the dimension of relational solitude, rather than institutional solitude. The University of Salerno is located on a campus and it offers many services for students. At the same time, it continues to have, like all universities, ever-higher numbers of students on university courses, which makes direct relationships with teachers, and for some students with peers, complicated. The

students who come to the Counseling Center increasingly talk about the reality of loneliness, despite being engaged in a large number of extracurricular activities. The University of Salerno, which, as mentioned, is a campus, is perceived less and less as solely a place of training, but more as a "context of life" in which not only educational experiences but also life stories are built. Therefore, it is not possible to limit the scope to only encompass difficulty concerning studies; it is necessary to broaden the scope of questions being asked.

Pina Boggi Cavallo understood the function of the Counseling Center to be that of a *mother and sufficiently good* (1971) of Winnicottian memory: a concept that remains relevant as it is capable of embodying student discomfort within the university institution, which was thought of as a *refusing object* (Fairbairn, 1970, quoted by Frati, 2015). Currently, we determine *mother sufficiently good* through its function of ferrying: allowing the passage from a partial or absent autonomy and awareness to a responsibility for self. The Counseling Center, like a sufficiently good mother, guarantees growth, since, through contemplating the reception of the mother, who in turn needs the paternal push, it accepts the student's discomfort while at the same time helping on the path to autonomy by not replacing it: a sort of emotional and cognitive pit stop in the university evolutionary path.

Users

To date, around 1000 students have applied to the facility. Generally, students arrive at the Counseling Center with forms of discomfort associated with conditions of disorientation or psychological deadlock, e.g., difficulties with studies, examination anxiety, an inability to concentrate, decision-making problems associated with current or future choices, adaptation difficulties, and difficult situations and forms of emotional/relational discomfort that affect their education (and, in the more general sense, their life). The entire life of the student revolves around these events, and little by little, their mood begins to change, they lose confidence in themselves, their level of self-esteem decreases, they withdraw, they somatize their malaise, and different traits become visible in behavioral manifestations (Berrio & Mazo, 2011; Andrews & Wilding, 2004; Beiter et al., 2015); students sometimes even present with psycho-pathological symptoms of traumatic origin (Savarese et al., 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016a, 2016b).

Many students carry a sense of inadequacy linked to the impossibility of responding to an ever-stronger cultural mandate, such as "efficiency," both in university performance and in relationships, manifesting what in other words we define as "performance anxiety."

Recently, we have been increasingly witnessing the presence of students who present a discomfort, which can be either clear or veiled, in the affective/relational sphere. They ask for help in an explicit way in order to overcome these relational difficulties which sometimes affect the sphere of university performance. Other times, relational discomfort emerges during the course; it is common to meet

students who have been bullied in the past or who are involved in violent romantic relationships. In other cases, the request for intervention may be linked to other problems, such as eating disorders or identity confusion, as well as addictions.

The discomfort that students bear must be read within their personal history as well as in the evolutionary process. In terms of age, the young university student is in a delicate phase of the life cycle: The university path is not only part of the educational and training path that the student must face but coincides with a process *of identity transition* (Zittoun, 2004, 2007b, 2014). It is a dimension closely linked to the construction of the professional role but also to the transition from the condition of a teenager to the more mature condition of student and young adult (Bell et al., 2005; Manzi et al., 2010; Cortés, 2016). In this phase of change, one is called to reorganize one's social role and, more generally, one's self, through a readjustment of old and new patterns of oneself and of the world (Iannaccone, 2004). Transition is associated with changes in identity structure and well-being (Cassidy & Trew, 2004). The student must, therefore, face critical situations related to overcoming various developmental tasks, such as the modification of social relationships (with peers, teachers, family), the management of daily life, the creation of new space-time scans (example change of the city), and readjusting to life and study within the university. The resolution of these tasks generates high levels of stress and anxiety (Sica et al., 2017; Savarese et al., 2019a, 2019b), which affect university performance and require adequate skills on the cognitive, emotional-affective, strategic-behavioral, and relational levels (Savarese et al., 2016a) for the creation of a new position with respect to oneself and the lived experience. In other words, the student arrives at a *cultural integration* between his own systems of meaning and the new university codes, and it is necessary to build a sense of their own training path (Iannaccone et al., 2005) and of themselves within that context. Access to university academic life and academic life itself are not just a matter of adapting to a new social environment, but rather they have more to do with a process of *identity repositioning*, cultural transfer, and construction of new meanings (Zittoun, 2006; Martsin et al., 2016; Gomes et al., 2017). Counseling, therefore, becomes a useful relationship tool to overcome the difficulties that arise and work on these processes.

The Psychological Intervention

Counseling intervention is conceived as a *network intervention*: The Center is, in fact, connected with other services both internal and external to the university, in order to promote an appointment and an integrated intervention or, where necessary, a direct referral. Some services available in the University Hospital of Salerno are the *guidance and needs analysis help desk* and the Psychiatry Operational Unit. A protocol has recently been created to connect the center with the territorial mental health services of the local health authority (*AslSalerno and Hospitals*) of Salerno. The Counseling Center operators work in synergy in an attempt to create ever-wider

connections with the local care services, in order to harmonize and make interventions more effective and coherent.

Four psychologists are employed in the Counseling Center: one with reception functions, focusing on the analysis of the demand and implementation of expressive-type laboratory paths; the other three have small-group psychotherapeutic and management functions for the management of the anxiety and the improvement of the study method. The psychologists, with the director of the Center, carry out periodic meetings to discuss cases, the assignments for the start of the psychological interviews, and the clinic intervision activity.

The consultancy is modulated both through a *balance of skills* and interests (carried out through the *administration of tests* that provide an objective picture of the subject's potential) and through a *cycle of individual interviews*, which constitutes the real psychological counseling framework.

Specifically, the counseling intervention is divided into a first welcome meeting, in which the initial *assessment* is carried out, focusing on the difficulties that students declare they are going through, the needs analysis, and the tests. In this meeting, the clinical welcome is fundamental as it allows us to *contain* the request of the service user, redefine the question, and then implement a possible *path*.

During the first interview, students are asked to fill in various forms relating to privacy and are made aware of the type of intervention that is carried out at the center, as well as being informed of the setting rules. In this first phase, it is already possible to identify cases in which a referral to the local health authority is necessary.

The first meeting is followed by six further meetings (five interviews and one follow-up), lasting for 45/60 min each. During these courses, the psychologist, after an initial *evaluation* of the case (*analysis of the application and of the entrance tests*), together with the student focuses on the following:

– The difficulties that the student has highlighted
– The possible redefinition of the self
– The implementation of an individualized path aimed at enhancing the person and recognizing latent resources, from a systemic intervention point of view

The number of psychological interviews is indicative of the framework, as the student and the psychologist "plan" the aims and timing of the consultations, with an intervention model that favors the short and medium term, centered on the identification, processing, and overcoming of the specific problem. The psychological counseling intervention, therefore, is not intended to be a brief therapy and thus does not work on the area of the disorder but on the discomfort. Through the verbalization of the experience, the aim is to identify the cause of the discomfort, in order to direct the student toward a path that strengthens *self-empowerment* and the overcoming of developmental obstacles.

At the end of the course, there are autobiographical workshops that last about ten meetings, with the aim of supporting students, who, even if they have completed a course, could be at risk of dropout due to the areas of fragility. The autobiographical workshop utilizes the small group of participants as a context for support and

reflection, in which students have the opportunity to deepen ideas regarding self-image and relationship with others.

Specifically, the service approach is based on a systemic-relational model (Watzlawick et al., 1971; Bateson, 1979; Bowen, 1979; Formenti et al., 2008) that integrates with a socio-constructivist cultural vision (Vygotskij, 1934; Cole et al., 1978; Bruner, 1990; Fruggeri, 1992; Wertsch, 1998). The systemic-relational model builds its methodology around the idea that the action of each person must be placed within reference systems and that discomfort can be highlighted in the connections between the different systems involved in a problem (family, work, institutional, university, etc.) and on the effects that communications have on these systems (Bateson, 1979). The individual is considered to be a system that builds functioning in its relational worlds. This model integrates with the socio-constructivist paradigm, which focuses on the way in which an individual constructs their own meanings of reality within a particular cultural context. In particular, each person gives meaning to their own experience and acts, even in relationships, beginning from a set of personal premises and beliefs that derive from the specific position in the interactive situation, from the experiences lived before the given interaction, or from those experienced in one's own relationships with others.

Starting from these premises, the meetings' aims are as follows:

(a) *Grasp* the student's discomfort in its *emotional* forms (anxiety, panic attacks, psychosomatic disorders), *relational* forms (*relational* discomfort with peers, with teachers, with family), *cognitive* forms (difficulty concentrating, obstructions in study and/or decision-making), and *motivational* forms (indecision), and consider these forms to be interrelated, thus inserting the discomfort into a system of personal meanings (e.g., beliefs, expectations) that have been constructed within *macro* or *local* cultural contexts.
(b) *Clarify* the discomfort and its connections with personal life events, and direct the user toward a path that aims to strengthen *self-empowerment* and the overcoming of developmental obstacles.
(c) *Co-construct* new individual meanings of discomfort through a shared narrative.
(d) *Promote* the activation of the individual's resources, referring to the systems and relationships within which the discomfort occurred (relational aspects with teachers, with study colleagues, with the family).

Through the psychologist-student relationship, the latter is invited to understand and reconstruct the meaning of the symptom, as well as to remodel the image of themselves, of their own difficulties, and of the real possibilities and areas of change. Overcoming problems that generate a state of "discomfort" is encouraged (making decisions, improving interpersonal relationships, choosing a new lifestyle, improving the quality of life, overcoming the difficulties that emerge from change). For example, a student may revisit the nature of their obstruction at the end of their studies as a fear of change or reread this as a mandate built in previous training experiences, e.g., a need to be accepted and to maintain their identity, for example, "you are not intelligent enough, you are not worth enough, and therefore you will never be able to achieve success."

The psychologist accompanies the student in starting this process of change that will encourage them to be more autonomous, starting from the first choice: that of being willing to become involved, asking for help, and starting to tell one's own story. In fact, at the very moment in which one narratively constructs one's own story, one begins to look at it and accept it responsibly. This operation generally provides a feeling of well-being, which derives from having taken charge of oneself (Demetrio, 1996). Thus, through a different narrative symbolization, the symptom is allowed to lose its function (Milner & O'Byrne, 2004).

In this process, the psychologist acts as a *mirror*, focusing less on the projective aspects, which are stronger in a therapeutic process, and facilitating the student's introjective growth process, which will lead to the identification of evolutionary resources within oneself, even in cases where referral is necessary. Since counseling is an intervention that is carried out in a relatively short time and is above all aimed at dissolving situations of discomfort and impasse that are not characterized by psychopathologies or structured symptoms, the projective dynamics of the therapeutic relationship have a different space and configuration with respect to the psychotherapeutic path.

Therefore, the action of University Counseling, through the relationship between professional and student, aims to facilitate processes of change, to strengthen evolutionary paths, and to improve the quality of life, enhancing both resources and relationships with the surrounding environment.

Specifically, the operators of the Counseling Center carry out the task of helping students:

- To act promptly in order to reduce and prevent anxiety-laden reactions that can affect self-esteem
- To contain behaviors that tend to be risky for health or are not socially accepted
- To discover resources and potential to improve learning processes and foster academic success
- To rediscover emotions and understand how they affect behavior
- To connect the discomfort *in the present* to personal history, the strategies of coping, and contextual personal meaning systems
- To reestablish the temporal dimensions of one's own life, for example, concerning students who are stuck in the past (through negative experiences or emphasis on the child self) or in the future (through expectations and ideals that are too high or are constructed by others)
- To facilitate decision-making processes in an aware and responsible manner
- To improve self-awareness and one's own communication and interpersonal methods and to face situations in a more adaptive and functional way
- To become aware of one's limitations and be able to follow therapeutic paths of a different nature, such as psychotherapy, psychiatric counseling, and specialist advice offered by local health services

Growth, at the end of the path, takes place when intrapersonal conflicts between the individual and their world are overcome. It is a process of co-construction between psychologist and student, in which the former promotes an expanded

vision of the difficulties and possible solutions. In the student, a tension is created between their own cognitive schemes and the realities that they begin to glimpse, i.e., what Piaget (1973) described as the processes of assimilation, accommodation, and balance that lead to breaking the old schemes and the creation of new ones, which allow us to see reality from other perspectives (Zittoun, 2007a).

In this process of accompaniment and non-replacement, the student is guided to create new processes of symbolization, just as the child in the passage from the subjective object to the objective object (Winnicott, 1974) creates reality outside themselves and symbolizes it, and it generates the awareness of their own presence and of themselves. It is, in fact, a creative process that takes place in a "transactional space": The physical space, in which counseling is carried out, is above all a relational and symbolic space. In this place, in a protected way, one encounters the representations of *how I believe it is or should be* with *how it is* or *how it could be*, generating an "evolutionary depressive" moment, as a premise for integration of self and awareness. For example, a student experiencing issues with exams may become aware that their choice of study path was made by responding to external expectations, e.g., family or teachers. This will require the re-elaboration of their belief in the *study block* – which is considered as too difficult a path – and the creation of a new cognitive scheme of the choice made, of themselves, of what they want to be, of the profession they want to pursue, and of the reasons for emotional dependence that led them to make the wrong choice. This process requires cognitive, emotional, and behavioral restructuring, in which parts of oneself (e.g., *being a good medical student and a future doctor*) must give way to new projects, visions, and then actions, and through this, it is necessary to mourn for the something that *will not be as imagined*. In facing these passages, connected to moments of crisis, a new homeostasis is generated, a more mature balance (Bateson, 1984). The students rediscover themselves as an active subject in the redefinition of their own existence (Bion, 1962), learn from confrontation and experience how to face difficulties, and thus improve and become more resilient (Malaguti, 2005).

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