A.A. Paramonova

The Psychoanalytic Discourse in Russia about a Child Growing up in the Second Decade of the Twentieth century (Celebrating the Centennial of the Child Psychoanalysis Establishment in Russia)

Abstract. 1. The psychoanalysis ideas of the early twentieth century in Russia had been distributed among a wide range of professionals; psychoanalytic concepts of S. Freud and his followers had been used by Russian doctors, teachers and psychologists for the systematic investigation of children in order to study their early mental development and the process of their socialization. 2. Understanding of the child’s mental life in its foundations in the study of Russian psychoanalysts such as M. Wolf, I.D. Ermakov, V.F. Schmidt, S. Spielrein, etc. does not contradict the cultural-historical theory ideas of L.S. Vygotsky. The shift of focus towards the child’s constitutional development study is balanced by the analysts understanding of the environment creation necessary for their socialization, and practical recommendations for teachers and educators. 3. Many ideas of Russian analysts regarding the child’s development anticipated the ideas of Western ones, but they were interrupted by the historical conditions of Russia development in the 1920s. 4. Social and cultural conditions in Russia of the 1920s and 1930s prevented psychoanalytic ideas developing further because of the acute demands of reality: the country’s social situation crisis, the necessity to develop fast effective psychological means of help for a child and a teacher, the lack of the required number of experts in this field, a large number of children and other problems. 5. The restoration and interpretation of Russian psychoanalysts’ ideas in the 1920s in the field of childhood are important for modern researchers. On the basis of this material they understand the uniqueness of the historical development path of domestic psychological knowledge about a child and the introduction of psychoanalytic ideas in the field of child development into the modern psychological knowledge circulation.

Keywords: child’s mental life, psychoanalysis ideas, socialization, teachers, educators, social conditions, cultural conditions, psychoanalytic ideas, child, Russia.
The most explorative work of Russian psychoanalysts and pedagogues in the Solidarity International Experimental Home is described in the context of the existing ideological ups and downs in psychoanalysis in the 1920s-1930s. Scientific research, dedicated to experimental home work content, disclosure of psychoanalytic ideas of domestic analysts and the results of their children’s studies in the 1920s-1930s are extremely underrepresented in scientific literature.

Historically, after the 1930s, psychoanalysis in Russia ceased to grow as a scientific discipline, which led to an exclusion of the entire child psychoanalytic layer of knowledge of the 1920s from the domestic psychological knowledge evolution. The author of the scientific article turned to the work of psychoanalysts with children, tracing the internal logic of children’s psychoanalytic studies as it unfolded from the modern child psychoanalysis ideas, which as a scientific discipline emerged in Western Europe much later than the psychoanalytic "experiment in Russia" of the 1920s.

**Child psychoanalysis as a scientific and practical course** of infant and adolescent counseling arose in the frame of adult psychoanalysis at the beginning of the twentieth century. Historians of psychoanalysis consider 1909 as a starting point of child psychoanalysis, being the date of the Freud’s psychoanalytic work publication «The analysis of a phobia in a five-year old boy» commonly known among scientists as «The case of Little Hans»². The psychoanalytic approach to children in different countries developed over the next century and gradually evolved into a scientific and practical course of modern psychology.

Since then slightly over a century has passed and for the moment a paradigmatic "History of Little Hans" was published in Russian in 1912 and received a wide response among scientists.

Initially, the child analysis was understood by scientists as "psychoanalysis of children's neurosis." Scholars of contemporary child psychoanalysis define it as the treatment method of children's mental disorders by clarifying the interaction of conscious and unconscious elements of the psyche and the transference of suppressed feelings and conflicts into the state of awareness.

At the present stage of development child psychoanalysis is a dynamically evolving system of psychoanalytic knowledge about the child including: 1) the concept of the child’s socio-emotional development; 2) the deep psychological study of the child’s inner world; and 3) the technique and practice of children's psychoanalytic therapy³.

A common thread associates the generation and establishment of research and the practice form of therapy that has become child analysis at the present time with the detachment of the "child-patient" concept in a psychological scientific environment.

The "child-patient" concept stood out in the scientific world since the first child psychoanalysts, such as G. Hug-Hellmuth, S.N. Spielrein, A. Freud, M. Klein and others, found scientific interest in the world of childhood fantasies, phobic reactions, anxieties and emotional difficulties. "The child-patient" is a child with his emotional drives, distinct from the emotional drives of the parents and the adults, who care about him and bring him up, with his features of mental apparatus development, growth and development patterns and a personal history. The main goal of psychoanalytic work with children, as it was a hundred years ago, is still the seeking of specialists "to help a child to get back his normal way of development"⁴.

The historical path of the child psychoanalysis in Russia was intermittent and full of tragic experiences. Having begun to flourish in various Russian cities in the 1920s, psychoanalysis of adults and children in the 1930s was abruptly stopped in Russia by the authorities; offices and institutional sites were closed and the studies stopped.

**The origin of interest in psychoanalysis.** S. Freud’s psychoanalytic ideas penetrated Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century. Domestic psychoanalysis history research carried out by V.M. Leibin, V.I. Ovcharenko, P.S. Gurevich etc. note 1904 as the starting point for psychoanalysis development in Russia when Freud’s work “On Dreams” came out in Russian⁵.

Studies by S. Freud were met with keen interest in intellectual circles and by experts in various European countries as well as in Russia. The psychoanalytic litera-

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² Freud S. Psychoanalysis of a child phobia (The analysis of a phobia in a five-year old boy). – M., 1913.


tecture series "Psychotherapeutic library" was started in 1910, through which the first Russian editions of Freud's work came out. Since 1909 publications of Freud and his disciples have appeared extensively in Russian.

Before Freud came to psychoanalysis he had conducted a number of explorations in the field of histology, physiology and neurology; he had trained in France and for a few years he had been working as a doctor with adults as well as with children. In 1886 he spent several weeks in a Children's Hospital in Berlin and for several years was head of the neurological department at the Vienna Childhood Diseases Institute.

While working with children, and later with adults, Freud paid much attention to their traumatic experiences and drew the attention of the specialists to the importance of the study of childhood experiences and memories in psychoanalysis. In virtually all psychoanalytic exploration and descriptions of clinical cases, he paid great attention to the psyche infantile manifestations of adult patients, finding the roots of adults' neurotic conflicts in their childhood experiences.

Foreign analysts at the beginning of the twentieth century were discussing the application of psychoanalysis to the views on parenting. Sh. Ferenczi in 1908, at the First Psychoanalytic Congress in Salzburg, applied psychoanalysis to pedagogy for the first time, reporting on the problems of child education. "Unnecessary compulsion – he says – "burden a child's consciousness with unwanted and pathogenic repressions that are the source of anxiety, hypochondria, fear of death." The main task according to the researcher is the reform of social institutions that would provide more freedom for children's desires gusts. "Civilization," – said Sh. Ferenczi – "is not a goal object in itself but rather a means to reach a compromise between self-interest and the interests of others."

S. Freud wrote little about children but in almost all his descriptions of clinical cases he paid great attention to the psyche infantile manifestations of adult patients finding the roots of adults' neurotic conflicts in their childhood experiences.

Russian psychiatrists and neurologists were actively interested in the psychoanalytical work of Freud and his disciples. Some of them having passed through the personal analysis of the members of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society and having become globally recognized psychoanalysts, began to use Freud's ideas for understanding the dynamics of their clinical practice. Psychiatrists, psychologists, pedagogues were actively interested in the psychoanalytic work of S. Freud and his disciples and maintained a close relationship with them, read lectures about the works of Freud's school that opened a new understanding of the psychic apparatus and the neurosis concept.

The first Russian analysts developed their perception of the child in accordance with the so-called "early" Freud. Despite the fact that Freud's views changed and his theory of the psychic apparatus evolved, in Russia there was a single psychoanalytic discourse that agglomerated the different stages of psychoanalytic theory development in application to the education of normal and defective children.

For the first time in the world, in Moscow and St. Petersburg, domestic psychoanalysts and psychiatrists among them, A.N. Bernstein, I.D. Ermakov, S.N. Spielrein, R.A. Averbukh, M.V. Wolf, M.E. Friedman, V.F. Schmidt, A.S. Griboedov, T.K. Rosenthal and others began, after the Russian Revolution, to actively use the method of psychoanalysis in the practice of supervision and education of normal and morally-defective children.

For Freud's doctrine early childhood is of great importance, as the psychoanalytic theory cornerstone is the unconscious and its specific dynamics; the main feature of the unconscious is its connection with the infantile, the unconscious is infantile itself. Having discovered the unconscious, S. Freud revolutionized the mental life existed in classical philosophy and psychology of the late nineteenth-early twentieth century.
century. This discovery is not a hypothesis but a result of systematic clinical observations; before Freud’s works appeared the “conscious” and “mental” were synonymous. Consciousness, according to S. Freud, was the main regulatory system that, if not fully developed during childhood, reaches maturity in adolescence and then becomes the basis of all mental experiences. Along with this formal organization exists the life of feeling with its own laws and principles of needs and passions. It was the discovery of the dynamic unconscious by Sigmund Freud that led to a complete revolution in the clinicians’ previous thinking categories worldwide.

Only with the recognition of the unconscious as a dynamic phenomenon can a child’s development become a center of the debate. Psychoanalysis cannot say anything about the adult that would not affect the income a center of the debate. Psychoanalysis cannot say a dynamic phenomenon can a child’s development be worldwide. The therapeutic systems of late XIX – early XX century. – St. Petersburg.: Publishing House “Janus”, 2004. -668p.

The main conceptual points specified by S. Freud: phases of development (oral, anal, genital), auto-erotic sthenia in infancy; frustrations and fixation points as the pathology basis in early childhood that modify infantile neurosis into ephic stage neurosis; oral and anal types of characters, proedipean instincts and forms of their expression in infancy; infant night fantasies specific as forms of expression and enactment of infantile fantasies; Oedipus conflict as a universal clash that structures infant psyche as well as the adult one; defensive psychic construct separate forms: sublimation, reaction formation, repression, etc.; and the extraction of psychopathological psychical processes from these conceptual objects. These and some others theories and concepts were the basis of the psychoanalytic interpretation of a normal psychic and a pathological basis of the individual psyche originating in infancy.

After the First World War, working mainly with theories on battle neurosis, Freud revised and expanded a number of his concepts. Thus the concept of the psychic apparatus structure, which since 1923 had previously manifested itself in the division of the psyche into the unconscious, preconscious and conscious, has been pressed by the second topography presentation about the psyche structure expressed in the constructs of Id, Ego and Superego and their interaction with the old notion of the unconscious, preconscious and unconscious in the child’s psyche. From the pen of Freud and his disciples, psychoanalytic works came forth. They were dedicated to the study of aggression as a cultural phenomenon and its relation to the development of psychopathology at the individual clinical level. S. Freud and his followers tried to comprehend the sources and consequences of the First World War, find psychohistorical and culturological roots of human aggression, the phenomena of mass culture and the human Self. Works on the origin of destruction and aggression processes were very much in demand in Soviet society where problems of homelessness and child and adolescent aggression were massive.

The concepts of the unconscious, infantile sexuality, the psychic apparatus structure, primary and secondary narcissism, infantile neurosis, the Oedipus complex, infantile amnesia, infantile masturbation, etc. developed by S. Freud aroused the interest of researchers in the observation of the child’s development. Russian analysts were the world’s pioneers in this field. Their research experience served the development of child psychoanalysis in Europe and other countries.


Freud’s explanatory principle was very important for the revolutionary situation in Russia as many people had undergone mental unity disintegration and needed a new set of theoretical explanatory constructs to maintain their unstable mental balance. Theoretical explanations were also necessary to understand the unique historic situation of Russia which had suffered within a short time two revolutions and the First World War. Perhaps that is why the interest in Freud’s ideas was so high in Russia in the early twentieth century.

“The library of psychological and psychoanalytic literature” edited by the Russian Professor, I.D. Ermakov, 1922–1925, consisted of thirty-two releases of translated literature, seven of which were entirely devoted to child psychoanalysis. This reflects the high level of interest of domestic experts in children’s unconscious manifestations.15

“Institute of the child”. In Russia the post-revolutionary decade society was faced with large-scale problems of homelessness and juvenile crime, increased child mortality and child and adolescent prostitution and a rise in alcoholism and other critical social problems of children. That is why the “new man” educational project was proclaimed in a young, developing country and named after the social order became the project that much of Soviet society was involved in. Government bodies demanded from scientists, including psychologists and psychoanalysts, the necessary institutions characteristics provision, children and professionals educational programs drafting and implementation. The main issues related to the government bodies involved with the “new man” education project were what the study, work environment and social life of children should be. The interest of the authorities in the educational problems of children was clear: the national experts in the field of child psychoanalysis, but these items were destined to come out into the light. See the list of books on psychoanalysis edited by Prof. I.D. Ermakov that were out of print and are prepared for printing. SARF, f. a-482, inv. 11, f. 79, l.l. 180 – 183 (October 1921). The program of the 3d All-Russian Congress of Children’s Health Protection (26.09 – 05.10. 1921), adopted at the meeting of the Board of the People’s Commissariat. SARF, f. a-482, inv. 11, f. 79, l.l. 40 – 41. (04.08.1921), Regulations on the reorganization of the People’s Commissariat. SARF, f. A-482, inv. 11, f. 79, l.l. 40 – 41. (October 1921). The 3rd All-Russian Congress (26.09. 1921). SARF, f. a-482, inv. 11, f. 79, l.l. 30 – 39 (26.09. –05.10. 1921).

However the problem of child sexuality reflected in Freud’s early theory was not of vital importance for post-revolutionary Russia because at the forefront of practical problem solving was the question of child aggression, a child’s uninhibited instincts, his protest activity forms and other questions.

The problem of homelessness and high infant mortality was one of the most acute in pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary Russia. Children of all ages, as the most vulnerable part of the Russia population, found themselves in a life and death situation, on the edge of survival. In the streets of Russia in 1922, according to various archival sources, there were between six and nine million homeless children and adolescents. The reality in Russia demanded the manifestation of increased concern about the children. The idea of defectiveness and “degeneracy of the population” that existed at that time among scientists was historically confirmed and caused alarm among authorities as well as in intellectual and academic circles of the country.

In the process of solving the homelessness problem Russian psychoanalysts, psychiatrists, psychologists and teachers gained the opportunity to explore children scientifically in specially organized government orphanages and children’s homes. A large number of children were collected in specially arranged places such as prisons, orphanages and children’s homes, put questions of the child’s psyche and features studying to the forefront and made it possible

15 One of the issues of the library was dedicated to the report of the national experts in the field of child psychoanalysis, but these items were destined to come out into the light. See the list of books on psychoanalysis edited by Prof. I.D. Ermakov that were out of print and are prepared for printing. SARF, f. 2307. Inv.9. F.222. L.L. 21.21a (not earlier than November 1923), Psychological and psychoanalytical library ed. by Prof. I.D. Ermakov 1922–1925.: A bibliography. – Izhevsk: ERGO, 2010. – 88 p.
to aim the issues of psychology and psychoanalysis in the direction of the children’s training and educational practical problems solving.

The difficult epidemiological situation in Russia, the problems of hunger in various regions of the country in the 1920s, the high mortality of children of all ages was resolved by placing children into a state institution where members of the collective became their family. A child in these homes was considered as a part of a team and the “early” Russian analysts examined his mental features in the described social conditions based upon Freud’s theory of infantile sexuality development phases. The child’s social ties were understood as collective ones. That is, finding himself among similar people in equal competitive conditions without reference to intimacy.

It is paradoxical, that despite the different debates and pessimism in the global scientific community and in the world of intellectuals, that time of crisis a variety of scientific disciplines, related to improve care for children and their life value revaluation, that were supported by authoritative not always suspended during this crisis period decisions, began to develop rapidly. Accumulated at the beginning of the twentieth century, pediatric and psychoanalytic knowledge of the child, foreign educational concepts and the aggravation of Russia’s traditional problem of high infant mortality and neglect had led to unprecedented activity in academic and intellectual circles towards solving the problem after the change of government in 1917.

One of the solutions to the child’s life problems and the beginning of a great pedological experimental project in Russia became the project of creating the “Child’s Institute” in 1918. In contrast to the current understanding of the scientific institution, the “Child Institute “ of the 1920s in Russia presented itself not as an isolated scientific – research institution, but as a huge network of research institutions built by the People’s Commissariat for education and the People’s Commissariat for health, that organized, explored and protected the life and physical and mental health of children. These institutions engaged in scientific research, educational, professional, ideological and other relevant functions and served the social call of the elimination of illiteracy by development of the schools construction and the “new man” creation scheme.

With the advent of a “new man” nurturing social order, a child in Soviet Russia was no longer accepted as a weak creature in need of charity, he became a reservoir of the government’s and society’s idealized projections, a creature that can be filled by the necessary ideological content. The child becomes the object of a powerful totalitarian control. All research concerning children, including the work of early Russian psychoanalysts fell under the total control.

The solution of children’s social problems, homelessness, hunger, poverty and illiteracy was found in Russia by the powerful, large-scale introduction of Western psychological knowledge on the population of an impoverished, hungry country that failed to overcome the minimum level of hygiene, required for the natural development of society.

All the scientific studies of children in Russia, including the work of psychologists, doctors, psychiatrists, paedologists in the 1920s-1930s were built and executed under the supervision of the following institutions: the People’s Commissariat for education (A.V. Luncharsky and N.K. Krupskaya), the People’s Commissariat for health (V.M. Bonch-Bruevich, A.N. Semashko, T.E. Segalov, E.M. Radin) the Main Department of Social Education (M.M. Veysberg, I.I. Glivenko, R.G. Vilenkina, Lazurskaya, etc.) and the People’s Commissariat of Justice; between them there was little consistency, they were in a competitive relationship and this in its turn influenced the development of child psychological and psychoanalytical research and children’s issues. For the realization of scientific and research purposes many of the scientists were part of the governing bodies, combining the scientific – research work of psychologists, psychoanalysts and paedologists with work in bureaucratic departments; the others were in a very close board meeting minutes of the defective child’s Institute on the opening courses on children’s defectiveness under the House of the child’s study. SARF. F. A-482. Inv.11. F.29. L.8 (17 December, 1919). Regulation of the Government Commissioner V.M Bonch-Bruevich on transfer of the estate of S.Y. Ryabushinsky with all the buildings and land, hygienic department at school for the defective child’s Institute with consent of the Working and Peasant Deputies County Council. – SARF. f. A-482, inv.11, f.16, L.20 (13 August, 1918).

17 Information letter about the Child’s Institute establishment under the PC for Education – the child’s nature research center. Izvestia VTsIK, №162. SARF. F. 1575. inv. 1. f. 424. L. 7 (from 01.08.1918); Informational letter of the People’s Commissariat for Education defective child subdivision work – about the defective child’s Institute organization project / Izvestia VTsIK, № 169. SARF. E1575. Inv. 1. E.424. L.7 (from 08.09.1918); An extract from the defective child’s Institute board minutes on the organization of a course of lectures on psychiatry, neurology and psychology of children for staff (nurses and teachers). SARF. F. A-482. Inv. 11. E.29. L.6 (12 November, 1919); An extract from
relationship with power structures that influenced the quality and the content of the research. During the first years of Soviet power, many research scientists combined teaching and research work at the same time in different schools because of a lack of qualified personnel who were able to provide the necessary level of fast opening pedological and pedagogical institutes of higher education in the country, as well as work in the government. This led to a decrease in the objectivity and reliability of the results of their research, the personal factor emergence, researchers’ fatigue and the mixing and entangling of duties.

Most of psychoanalysts of that time, like S. Freud, worked with adult patients and studied their mental life, but the interest in pathology knowledge in the adult is directly connected with the tracing of this disease development at an earlier age in a child’s life. The shift of the analysts’ interest to the earlier development caused a wide resonance in the world of pedagogy and laid the groundwork for child psychology development – research in Europe from the position of creating new children’s training and education principles.

What was interesting for Russian psychiatrists and educators and why did they start psychoanalytic children’s explorations in a difficult time of revolution? Interest in research in children arose among Russian psychiatrists, educators, psychologists and others as a result of their commitment to S. Freud’s ideas.

Russian psychoanalysts of the 1920s-30s such as M.V. Wolf, V.F. Schmidt, I.D. Ermakov, S.N. Spielrein etc., trying to trace Freud’s theory of the little child’s libido development stages, make their own emphasis on the importance of emotional relationships with the child’s first carer focusing on “the development of affection and feelings of love feelings the mother” as the basis of the child’s mental health development. In their work the idea of early object relations was discussed, which had not been not described by S. Freud yet. By exploring the child’s early imagination, tracing the development of his fantasies and thinking, understanding the psychological meaning of children’s games and drawings, the development of children’s speech and byrevealing the psychology of children’s whims and, the local analysts in the 1920s placed a major emphasis on their explorations on the basis of children’s emotional life development. Those internal and external conflicts that the child undergoes in the course of his socialization through, as well as on the basis of recommendations for educators and teachers in education.

**The Solidarity International Experimental Home.** Russian analysts were the first in the psychoanalytic world history who launched an experimental application of psychoanalytic theory to a real child nature appreciation, sought to explore the child’s development based on the knowledge of psychoanalytic theory. Their experiment for the observation of children and their development started in 1921 with a group of infants and preschool children in a specially designed facility, an experimental home, established the same year at the Moscow Psychoneurological Institute.

From 1922 it started working as an autonomous institution and received the name of “International Solidarity”. This was the first and the only psychoanalytic institution in the world that provided the psychoanalytic observation of the infants and preschool children. Almost simultaneously with it, psychoanalytic institutions researching children and teenagers were opened in Vienna and Berlin. Constantly maintaining a relationship with the world psychoanalytic community, Russian analysts and the results of their work aroused the interest of S. Freud and the worldwide psychoanalytic community. V.F. Schmidt published a report about the work in the experimental home in Leipzig in 1924. By participating in international congresses and conferences on psychoanalysis, Russian analysts shared their findings with the father of psychoanalysis and his followers. Anna Freud, considered a worldwide pioneer of child psychoanalysis, pays a special attention to the “Russian scientific experiment with children in her first book on child psychoanalysis. At the present stage the children’s psychoanalytic supervision is an integral part of the child and adolescent psychoanalysts training. Historically this form of practice started in Russia in 1921.

The first Russian analysts’ names and employees of the Experimental Home and Psychoanalytic Institute are Ivan D. Ermakov, Sabina N. Spielrein, Rosa A. Averbukh, Lidia G. Egorova, Elena R. Ulrich, Maria A. Bekl-

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20 The Moscow State Psychoneurological Institute Memorandum into the research department of the PCE RSFSR on the Child’s Experimental Home for scientific study of childhood opening (previously 14.5.1921). SARF F 2307. Inv. 2. F 197. L. 112.


DOI: 10.7256/1339-3057.2014.1.10413
emisheva, Berta S. Geft, Elizabeth S. Friedman, Rosya G. Paperanova, Natalia Z. Sychugova, Lia S. Geshelina, Moisey V. Wolf, Boris D. Friedman and others\textsuperscript{23}. These scientists monitored the development of the children in the orphanage laboratories, executed the collection and processing of research and practice materials of the psychoanalytic systematic observation of children, the elaboration of practical recommendations for teachers and educators, the spread of psychoanalytic knowledge about children at specialized lectures among teachers, heads of preschool institutions, doctors and all those who were interested in the ideas of psychoanalysis; psychoanalytic psychotherapy was conducted with children and adults and the training of psychoanalytic specialists was conducted. The experimental home was located at: Malaya Nikitskaya, 6, Moscow (Ryabushinsky’s former mansion). Before the child’s psychoanalytic study in 1921 in this mansion there had been one of the orphanages for defective children\textsuperscript{24}.

In this historically psychological investigation the author analyzes the archives of the State Archive of the Russian Federation (SARF), CAM, materials of those eyewitness events, the diary records of I.D. Ermakov and V.F. Schmidt from personal archives and other materials. Attempts to reconstruct the work environment and the research process in an experimental home are associated with the archival documents study. Most researchers faced the fact that archival materials had been lost; diaries, photographs, children’s drawings and other materials had disappeared. After 2009 a group of researchers did extensive work on their search and recovery operations. It gave them an opportunity to reconstruct the scientific work of psychoanalysts and overcome more than a 70 year break in the line of psychoanalytic discourse about children.

The free atmosphere observation method. From the manuscript of I.D. Ermakov, “Psychoanalytic Institute – laboratory "International Solidarity", we find out the main purpose of the institute was “the development of methods for the study and education of high-grade in a social sense children.” Considering psychoanalysis as a defective man’s release method from his social constraints, a scientist regarded the search of new forms of education in a group as the most appropriate way, starting work with the child as soon as possible.

While observing the object (the child) it was important for the observer – the psychoanalyst – avoiding a biased estimation of his behavior and experiences, as negative, improper for an adult was not the same for a child. An atmosphere of mutual trust and respect helps a child to express himself freely. The researcher saw the child’s social development path in the form of a scheme: love for the mother, love for the educator, love for others\textsuperscript{25}.

I.D. Ermakov assigned an important role to educators (they actually replaced the natural mother for children): observation of children was a mammoth job. Apart from the daily six to seven hour duty in the group, each housemistress had to observe the kids in a special way and keep a diary of these observations, participate in sessions on pedagogical issues, as well as in the Russian Psychoanalytic Society meetings. In addition, each of them worked on any part of the material collected. M.G. Ulrich studied the expression of the essential traits of a child in his work, M.A. Egorova investigated manifestations of anal eroticism and features of children’s drawings, V.F. Schmidt collected materials about children’s whims and studied the preschool age children’s psychoanalytic approach characteristics. M.S. Fridman was also involved in a study of children’s whims\textsuperscript{26}.

The main research method in the Experimental Home was the observation of children in a free environment. According to various sources, the number of children under observation during a whole day was different. On the basis of one data, the inmates in the Experimental Home were not more than eight to eleven in number, and one expected their number to increase up to fifteen children\textsuperscript{27}; according to other data thirty children, divided into three age groups, were observed\textsuperscript{28}.

\textsuperscript{23} Memorandum to the Presidium of the PCE RSFSR on the Solidarity International Experimental Home. SARF. F. 2307. Inv. 1. F. 220. L.L. 6. (January-February 1922). The Solidarity International Experimental Home staff schedule. SARF. F. 2307. Inv. 2. F. 200. L. 86. (08.05.1922)

\textsuperscript{24} See the manuscript of Ermakov to the report “The Psychological Laboratory – Institute of International Solidarity.” The personal archive of Davydova M.P., the daughter of I.D. Ermakov (Jan. – Feb. 1922).

\textsuperscript{25} The regulations of the Solidarity International Experimental Home. SARF. F. 2307. Inv. 2 F. 251 L.1 (earlier 31.05.1922) the manuscript of Ermakov to the report “The Psychological Laboratory – Institute of International Solidarity.” The personal archive of Davydova M.P., the daughter of I.D. Ermakov (Jan. – Feb. 1922).

\textsuperscript{26} Ibidem

27 Education and advocacy Inspectorate Deputy Manager of PC WPI RSFSR Memorandum to People’s Commissariat College on psychoanalytic laboratory “International Solidarity”. SARF. F. 2307. Inv. 2. F. 251. LL 15. (20.02.1923)

\textsuperscript{28} See Richenbeher S. Sabina Spielrein: Almost violent love for science (biography) / Richenbeher; [Translation from Germ.]. – Rostov-on-Don: Phoenix, 2007. – 386p.; Schmidt V.F. Psychoanalytic education in the Soviet Union: The report about the Soli-
Being a director of the Solidarity International Experimental Home, I.D. Ermakov analyzed the child’s playing and creative activity, his psych nature manifestations through the analysis of drawings and creativity of normal and defective children on the basis of observational materials collected by educators of the experimental home. Owing to historical conditions and repressive measures against psychoanalysis and pedology in 1930s Russia, all materials and research diaries were lost. In our study we were able to recover and find some parts of these explorations that had been published in international journals in psychology and psychoanalysis in the 1920s – 30s and had been available to modern psychologists – researchers until 2009.

The organic approach to a child. In a series of psychoanalytic children’s explorations in the experimental home, I.D. Ermakov expresses the methodological idea of the necessity to develop a holistic “organic approach to the child’s psyche gnosis” based on the recognition of the fundamental male and female psychological differences. He pursues this idea through all of his work, revealing the children’s mental life features.

The scientist differentiates two different ways of the world experience for boys and girls, highlighting two principles that are typical in a range of manifestations of masculinity and femininity. A “haptic” principle of experience and life development is peculiar to boys, a “tactile” one to girls. I.D. Ermakov shows the effect of the two principles on the analysis of children’s drawings and ways in which children draw, their games, environmental learning, etc.

The Haptic or male principle, the investigator describes as “aggressive, grasping, wanting to get hold, motive-piercing, operating outside the lines directed to search and possession, independent machismo. In girls’ activity one notes from birth a tendency to smooth, stroke, correct errors, preserve traditions, keep boundaries, fill space, are associated with intimate experiences of a female world.”

“The organic approach to a child coming out of events and phenomena shows where the organic is given to us in reality, but it is not driven by our necessity to see it where it does not really exist.” Thus, I.D. Ermakov pursues a line of understanding the children’s psyche which is different from the adult’s one, and of a need to keep track of the adult projection on the child. The idea is to “see the baby” and his manifestations, but not to project adults’ expectations for children’s manifestation.

“The organic approach, we believe that is the approach” – writes the psychoanalyst – “that, having seen in the child what is essential to him for the time being, comes out of this moment in his knowledge of the child.” This moment, I.D. Ermakov sees in the fact of the child belonging to a particular gender. «Phenomena related to the child’s sex are revealed in an organic whole, based on certain physiological and anatomical substrate or an expression in terms of somatic symptoms.”

Taking the organic, holistic approach to the child I.D. Ermakov calls the approach that in contrast with the analytical one, splits the child into a variety of individual expressions and elements, accepts it as a kind of entity characterized by its affiliation to a particular gender. «In this regard I have proposed a plan ... of a new path to the child’s cognition.”

The researcher guesses that it is important to approach a child’s understanding and analysis not subjectively, but on the basis of criteria “organically” laid down in the observed and given legible and comparable results.

The child actively perceives the world through his activity, giving this activity to all the space around him. Since the child’s birth we may observe the so-called manifestations of “symbolic thinking.” Since birth the child’s activity is messy, irrefrainable, clumsy, uncoordinated. The child reacts categorically, making active responses for the irritation. The child learns the world through his activeness.

The world of children’s fantasy. By analyzing the child’s fantasy, real-world study specifics psychology and children’s whims, M. Wolf refers to the diary notes made by the conductresses of the experimental home. He points to the following features of the child’s psyche: the child’s self-obsession, the lack of an accurate picture of the real and the fantastic, and an inability to distinguish one from the other, the high strength of the primary instincts and desires of the child, the powerful manifestation of archaic or symbolic features in the child’s thinking, etc. The child’s appeal to fairy
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tales and fantasies allows him to get rid of the child’s unconscious experiences dictated by the primary instincts, unconscious desires. A child’s ability to dream, a manifestation of his love of fairy tales and fantasy books, M. Wolf understood as a natural way for a child to learn the world and an attempt to resolve the urgent issues related to the persons origin understanding, the role of a mother, a father and other relatives in his life, life and death questions disclosure, human relations, especially between family members, an attempt to find answers to the questions: Who am I?, How did I come into this world?, What place in the world of other people do I take? and other existential questions of children aged three to five years old. The child’s need to carry out his wishes in the form of games, fantasies, listening and playing tales expresses the desire implementation to be strong and powerful, that is very important for the development of the individual as an active member of society.

Rude and rough repression of the child’s narcissism by an adult, the elimination of his desire to process the real world (in games and fantasies) by means of adults’ various educational measures, resulting in the child’s sense of inferiority that makes him abiotic, inactive to the struggle of life, subjectively unhappy and often mentally ill, forcing him in adulthood to escape to the world of fantasy and dreams. Coarse «sobering» of a child’s fantasy by the pedagogue, inexorable reality treacherous penetration in his inner world, a thorough «correction» of all the errors of his imagination on the part of the adult, his «deception» and «self-deception» and exaggerated assessments and self-evaluations, the merciless return to real life may develop in him a feeling of such inferiority, which makes him a sick, passive member of society.

In the works of M. Wolf and other Russian psychoanalysts the idea of love and affection to a first object of a child – to a mother, through which a child learns the whole world, appears. S. Freud only pointed out these questions, but never developed them in his works. These questions were developed later by child psychoanalysis foreign researchers in their works, but they are manifested in the works of Russian psychoanalysts.

Psychological nature of children’s whims. Exploring the psychological nature of children’s whims, M. Wolf comes to the conclusion that children’s whim is a “symptomatic effect,” which expresses the conflict between the requirements and possibilities of reality and the inclinations, desires, demands of the child. The child’s caprice expresses his reluctance to accept this reality and he applies a negative, stubborn mindset to it. “It is the result of an unsuccessful or even a failed adaptation to the demands of reality.” The sources of whims are as follows: 1) lack of knowledge and understanding of reality and its possibilities; 2) endogenous reasons – physical, constitutional and pathological (the latter is understood in the sense of the body violating physiological functions) – hindering adaptation to reality and increasing the “comprehensive” sensitivity; 3) the reality requirements rejection that is embodied in the object to which there is a particular affective mindset following from the relationship of the Oedipus complex, which manifests itself as a protest against an adult and a child’s conflict with an adult.

Describing actions of the pedagogues in the experimental home in his book "The Psychology of Children’s whims", a collective work of observations of children in the experimental home for two years and a real children’s observations diary processing, M. Wolf offers practical ways to resolve whims in each situation described.

Early socialization of the child. The processes of socialization of the child laying in the reality demands of a child's adoption plane run like a golden thread in the ideas of Russian psychoanalysts. These processes are supported by the results of their systematic psychoanalytic children's observation. The

33 Wolf M.V. Fantasy and reality in the psyche of a child. – Odessa. 1926. – 42p.
proposed by psychoanalytics process of natural socialization of the child we can observe in the children cognition instinct study. Investigating young children’s cognition instinct, she defines it as a sublimated way of mastering instinct to explore the world. Analyzing her diary records, V. Schmidt identifies four periods of cognition instinct:

The first period, covering approximately the first and second years of life, is characterized by the primary orientation of a child in his environment;

The second one (end of the second and the third year of life), here along with the environment research the child is very interested in the study of his own body and bodily functions: the process of urination, defecation and excrement itself, his body, genitals and various muscular perceptions of his own body. These processes take place in the mental life of a child; he begins to be interested in them actively;

The third period (the end of the third, the fourth and the fifth years) can be characterized by the expression “I and the world.” The child faces two main problems: the problem of birth and death. At the same time he wants to know the structure of the body of people around him;

The fourth period (the end of the fifth year of life) is characterized by the child’s strong interest in social and public life. Questions about God and the world order appear for the first time.

According to V. Schmidt, the intensity of the cognition instinct manifests individually and depends on the identity of the child, based on his physical build and heredity. In all her works V. Schmidt points out the value of proper character building and educational environment for the normal development process.

One can see how in the above described child development study of infant and preschool age children, the process of social and cultural development is reflected, taking into account the constitutional and biological components where one can trace theoretically similar ideas of a cultural-historical theory of L.S. Vygotsky. After the liquidation of the State Psychoanalytic Institute, V. Schmidt worked as a research associate at the Experimental Institute in L.S. Vygotsky’s team, exploring definative childhood and contributing to the development of national cultural-historical theory.

Psychoanalytic and pedagogical principles of education. V.F. Schmidt identified the general pedagogical points of the experimental home as follows:

1) no punishment; 2) never talk to children in a strict manner; 3) educators have to be extremly restrained in the presence of children; 4) demonstrations of love on the part of adults are prohibited 5) no subjective value of children 6) psychological working through various disputed moments in the life of children (“if children fight the guilty is not punished, but the pain he made the other is displayed on paper”)38.

On the basis of archive data children of nomenclative staff lived in the experimental home. They were approximately ten, this in its turn dramatized the situation around psychoanalysis

In the report on the experimental home practice “Psychoanalytic education in the Soviet Union”, published in Leipzig in 1924, Vera F. Schmidt [30, p.19] for the first time determined psychoanalytic research scientific work foundations as follows:

1. Adults have to accept that in the human psyche along with conscious mental life there is a huge world of the “unconscious”. A small child is under stronger control of his unconscious than the adult. His conscious person develops slowly and gradually. The pedagogue should be able to recognize the derivatives of the unconscious, interpret them, separate them from the conscious manifestations and help the child in overcoming them.

2. A small child is completely subordinated by the principle of complacency. His instinctive seeking is aimed at obtaining pleasure and avoiding displeasure, without a hint of the principle of reality. Thus, the task of the pedagogues is to teach a child to understand the real conditions of the outside world and encourage him to overcome the principle of complacency and replace it by the reality principle.

3. The child from the very beginning has quite a rich sex life but that is not organically linked with the genitals and of course still has nothing to do with the function of reproduction. This could be described rather as a polymorphic-verse form.


Through a series of transformations of this infantile sexuality develops a normal adult one and pedagogues have to consider these phenomena during their educational work.

4. The child’s sexual development goes through a series of pregenital phases that lead from auto-eroticism (satisfaction of the various areas of own body) to object selection (the union of all desires transferred to another object). It also has to be considered in educational work, without suppressing the child’s normal development.

5. Sublimation of the sexual instincts of childhood contributes to the cultural and social objectives and leads to the possibility of a richer free development.

6. Transference of a positive attitude towards the educator or a substitute object helps to encourage the child to gradually replace the principle of complacency by the principle of reality. Psychoanalytic knowledge about the transferential relationships mechanism sets us a mission in the interests of the educational solicitude of the child’s relation to the pedagogue. Whether this attitude is positive or negative depends on the behavior of the tutor. This implies the necessity for serious teacher self-work. Psychoanalytic theses developed by V.F. Schmidt at the solidarity international experimental home opened up, for the first time, new horizons for the child’s perception, attitude towards him and open, liberated from preconceptions of educators work with him. The child ceased to be a «clean sheet» on which an adult could write anything he wanted; ceased to be an object of «charity», became released from the ambivalent «toilet training» of behavioral approach, and the ideal of the adult omniscient eye. The child became the object of dispassionate observation, and all records maintained by experts of the experimental home were then actively discussed at the meetings of the «Russian Psychoanalytic Society» in «seminaries on child psychoanalysis» which for two years had been carried on by S.N. Spielrein.

**Seminars on child psychoanalysis.** In the Russian Psychoanalytic Society in 1923–1924 seminars on child psychoanalysis were held weekly. S.N. Spielrein carries them on. In the seminars organized for teachers, psychologists, managers of children institutions and all interested persons, active discussions of the material on children collected during the psychoanalytic observation are executed.

Discovering the idea of the omnipotence of the child of five to six years of age, S.N. Spielrein describes the internal ties that a child makes between birth and origin of the earth theories, a passionate child’s desire to create a baby in his mother’s womb out of mysterious liquids in bottles, magic stones, etc. The ordinance of “creation” captures the child at six; he asks a lot of questions about his own conception and birth related to the mother’s pregnancy, sibling, etc. These are the questions in which the analyst brings up the content of a child’s fantasies, reflecting the experiences of the child of Oedipus conflict and the emergence of jealousy towards younger brothers and sisters.

Children’s fantasies and dreams of «to be carried away by God» appear at this age; S.N. Spielrein associates this with the unconscious drive to replace parental love. The omnipotence of the child appears in the idea that «it is possible for life to be created by an artificial way.» The child inherits the wisdom of the ancestors, which manifests itself in the form of representations and the symbols of dreams in order to come alive in his conscious mind or in the form of the energy intensity, which allow him to find a similar experience.

Children’s fantasy phenomenology description reveals before the reader the world of a child, full of emotions and fears associated with personal functioning as well as the adoption of the reality by the child. Analyzing the children's dreams, S.N. Spielrein reveals the technique of adult’s adoption of a paradoxical child’s fantasy-constructs that fill the child’s cognition in.

Children, analyzed by S.N. Spielrein, demonstrate interest in sexual issues and try to resolve them through the development of symptoms of fear, paradoxical fantasies, behavior problems, etc. The child’s fear is associated with destructive ideas about adult sexuality, which may grow up in fear of sin and sexuality.

**A mother’s love.** Considering mother’s love and imago for a child as a basis in later relationships with loved objects, S.N. Spielrein stops at situations where there is a strong fixation on the maternal image. In psychoanalysis the maternal image itself, without analysis, cannot reach conscious, but still sensual reactions are shown, as they correspond to incestuous love normal notions. When there is a strong fixation on the mother imago in a incestuous love relationship, each object of sexual love is filled with a mother-like pattern, and the sensual reactions of the child or young person appear as feelings of disgust, shame and fear.

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The development of cogitation and speech of children. S.N. Spielrein identifies three stages of children’s speech development: the first one – autistic, when language is predetermined for a child himself, the second stage – magic when the word gets extra meaning, and the third one – social, aimed at communication with other people.

The speech development stages described correspond to the principle of reality development sequence of S. Freud. Freud combines the autistic and magic stages into one. For him this is one and the same stage at which the instinct exceeds the reality and fantasy of reality, where the power of thought dominates. The principle of magic is based on the similarity of actions performed with the child’s expectation. This kind of magical belief is often found in patients with schizophrenia.

The words “father” and “mother” come from the sounds of the native language, and movements itself highly satisfy a baby because they remind of sucking and are easy-to-follow; the child tries to reproduce these sounds to induce a specific, known in advance group of sensations. S.N. Spielrein writes: «Certain sounds are associated with certain mental contents, feelings, images. These words represent them.»

S.N. Spielrein analyzes the concept of the word as a sign. For example, V. Stern says that a father is a sign of satisfaction; a mother is a sign of mourning. Only after some time words «mom and dad», having come out of the sucking act, become separate words. This occurs while the child separates himself and the world and overcomes the stage of magical thinking.

These and other questions were explored by the first national children’s psychoanalysts in the reports at the meetings of the Russian Psychoanalytic Society, in articles published or prepared for publication in international psychoanalytic journals. Historically everything went the other way.

While the experimental home and the State Psychoanalytic Institute existed, they were objects of many different committees, violated the natural course of scientific work and prejudiced the necessity and viability of psychoanalytic work with children. For the past two years psychoanalytic work had been continuing under difficult and stressful inspections. During this time analysts developed their own method of monitoring their children, gathered a large number of observation records of children, photos and descriptions of the children’s intimate lives, prepared to release the publication of their research.

In 1925 the State Psychoanalytic Institute (SPAI) per the Council of People’s Commissars of the RSFSR was reorganized and moved to Leningrad.

Despite the fact that the experiment was stopped by the psychoanalytic institute transferring to Leningrad, the interest of analysts and other professionals in children’s development continued for several years before falling off the edge of the earth for a latent 70 years. The evidence of this are books issued later and devoted to the psychoanalytic method usage for children’s education, as well as the psychoanalytic understanding of the processes of mental activity in children’s drawings.

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42 Till 2009 they considered to be lost but for the time being restored and prepared for publication in the following years.

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