The Cultural Reception of Psychoanalysis in India : A Study of the Institutionalization of a Discipline (1900-1950)

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Master of Philosophy

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the Dissertation entitled **"The cultural reception of
psychoanalysis in India : A study of the institutionalization of a discipline
(1900-1950)"** submitted by **Pooja Kharbanda,** is in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy of this university. This
dissertation has not been previously submitted for any other degree of Jawaharlal
Nehru University or any other university.

Prof. Deepak Kumar
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Supervisor

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Pooja Kharbanda

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Contents

"I think that intellectuals –if this category exists or if it should still exist, which is by no means certain, which is perhaps by no means desirable-are renouncing their old prophetic functions. By that, I am not only thinking of the pretension they have for saying what is going to happen, but of the legislating function to which they have aspired for so long : *This is what has to be done, this is what is good, follow me. In your uncertainty in which you all find yourselves, here is the fixed point, here where I am.* The Greek philosopher, the Jewish prophet and the Roman legislator have always been the models which haunt those who, today, make a profession out of speaking and writing. I dream of an intellectual who is destructive of what is self-evident and of what is universal, someone who can discern in the inertias and the constraints of the present, the points of weakness, the cracks which form openings, the lines of force, someone who is forever in motion, never knows quite where he will be nor what he will think tomorrow, because he is too attentive to the present ; someone who makes his contribution wherever he happens to be, asking the question whether the revolution is worth the effort, and which (I mean which revolution and which effort), it being understood that only those who are prepared to put their lives on the line are qualified to reply."[1]

[1] Foucault, Michel. 1990. Quoted by John Forrester, Seductions of Psychoanalysis. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, p. 316.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The present study is an attempt to explore the process of institutionalization of psychoanalytic education in India against the backdrop of colonialism. The discipline of psychoanalysis was introduced as part of the psychology curriculum in Calcutta University[1], inspired by nationalist concerns during the colonial period. The spirit of nationalism also led to the establishment of Indian Psychoanalytic Society as an autonomous body[2], where the discipline was redefined in cultural terms. An attempt has been made to look into the process of cultural redefinition of the discipline through exploring the reconstructed disciplinary boundaries and the institutional context of the discipline in the country.

A further attempt has been made to explore the process of reconfiguration of the clinical discipline of psychoanalysis as the cultural goal of self-realization. The rearrangement of the curriculum of the discipline was governed by the guru-sisya relationship in the country.

Institutionalization

Institutionalization entails the construction of knowledge as it emerges in the process of its existence. The social construction of knowledge demands its reconstitution with changing interests and changing power relations. David Bloor argues that a theory has a social component because it is collectively constructed. It is a necessary part of truth and not a sign of error. He further argues that knowledge is closer to culture as it is subjected to change by collective agreement[3]. Bloor defines 'institutions' as social construction and

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[1] Hartnack, Christiane. 2001 <u>Psychoanalysis in Colonial India,</u> Oxford University Press. Delhi, p. 106

[2] Nandy, Ashis. 1995 <u>The Savage Freud.</u> Oxford University Press, Delhi, p.83

[3] Bloor, David. 1976. <u>Knowledge and Social Imagery.</u> The University of Chicago Press. Chicago p 16

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explains that : "Scientific concepts are social constructs, social constructs are institutions, and institutions are self-referring".[4] The self-referential processes that constitute institutions are an essential part of empirical discourse which are not based on individualistic premises but on collective engagement.[5]

The institutional and social processes shape the scientific tradition and establish its boundaries in the course of history. Everett Mendelsohn writes, "Science as a socially constructed reality had its origins in time, place & circumstances. The framework capable of linking these parts must be able to deal with ideas concepts & modes of gaining knowledge that is the cognitive structures & processes, but it must also include institutional forms & procedures, the social matrix, the structures and processes of the broader social order."[6]

Foucoult also points out that knowledge is not only characterized by positivities, but is also explained by the necessary conditions that have been put into operation by history.[7] It can also be found in fiction, narrative accounts, institutional regulations and political decisions.[8] He argues that knowledge can be constituted 'in a discursive practice, and which is specified by that fact: the domain constituted by the different objects that will or will not acquire a scientific status; knowledge is also the space in which the subject may take up a position and speak of the objects with which he deals in his discourse."[9]

Psychoanalytic Education

Psychoanalysis was originally institutionalized in clinical spaces as a theory of mental disorders and training in psychoanalysis was meant to develop clinical skills for therapeutic

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[4] Bloor David. 1997 What is a Social Construct?, Vest, Vol. 10, No. 1, p.13

[5] ibid, p.14

[6] Mendelsohn, Everett. 1977 "The social construction of scientific knowledge" in Everett Mendelsohn, Peter Weingart Richard Whitley (Eds.) The Social Production of Scientific knowledge. D. Reidel. Dordrecht

[7] Foucault, M. 1969. The archaeology of knowledge. Tavistock. London, p. 81

[8] ibid, p.183-184

[9] ibid, p.182

purposes. The first psychoanalytic association was founded in Vienna, called the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society in 1908. The society organized informal meetings between Freud and other medical doctors.[10] The International Psychoanalytic Association, was founded in 1910 in Nuremberg in Germany,[11] and had set up an international training board to promote uniform standards for training and provide regulations for training to different training institutes, first to be established in Berlin, Vienna and London.[12] A Common training schedule was framed that lasted at least three years and included two years of theoretical studies and training analysis by an approved analyst, and two control (supervised) analyses of at least a year each.[13] Training in psychoanalysis comprised of self-analysis of the student (training analysis), supervision of the therapeutic cases and a study of fundamental psychoanalytic writings.[14]

There was a disagreement within International Psychoanalytic Association concerning the training of lay-analysts. It was finally decided that the acceptance of candidates would be left to the decision of individual societies[15]. Although Freud was keen on establishing psychoanalysis as a science, he discouraged students of psychoanalysis from acquiring a medical education.[16] Freud considered it important that the psychoanalytic curriculum should also contain subjects such as the history of civilization, mythology, the psychology of religion and the science of literature along with biology and psychiatry.[17] Psychoanalysis in America grew and propagated most rapidly in psychiatric circles. In American institutes, a medical

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[10]Gillespie, W. H. The History and Development of the IPA. On-line version of International Psychoanalytic Association, p.1

[11] ibid, p.2

[12] ibid, p.4-5

[13]ibid, p.6

[14]Ross, Helen. 1971 "Some special aspects of psychoanalytic education". In 'Irwin M. Marcuse, Currents in Psychoanalysis. International Universities Press. New York, p.6-7

[15]Gillespie , p.5

[16]ibid, p5

[17]Ross, p.6-7

degree was made compulsory for training in psychoanalysis.[18] The discipline originated as a therapeutic method for psychological disorders. United States, which throughout its history had to deal with the problems of acculturation, adopted psychoanalysis as a new scientific theory to provide a means of adaptive functioning and ego organization[19]. The British Psychoanalytic Society kept its doors open to the lay analysts but the need to gain experience in clinical psychiatry, physiology, postgraduate work in medicine, neurology and psychiatry was also considered essential.[20]

Wallerstein and Bergman expressed the concern that in the U.S., psychoanalysis developed under the shadow of medical psychiatry. 'Who may or may not be an analyst has been a peculiarly North American question, for only in the United States was psychoanalysis originally established and maintained as the exclusive colony of medical psychiatry'.[21]

The discipline of psychoanalysis was not taken amply by the universities and grew in autonomous institutes.[22] Robert Holt argues that introducing psychoanalysis within the multicultural environment of the university could reduce the ingrown insularity within the discipline.[23] To this, Duberstein asked whether the university needed psychoanalysis and psychoanalytically oriented psychologists and could the university afford psychoanalysis? He pointed out that psychoanalysis, as an imperialist science[24], failed to communicate with

[18] Gillespie, p.6

[19] Mannoni, Octave. 1971. Freud : The theory of the Unconscious. Pantheon Books. London, p. 180

[20] Gillespie, p. 6

[21] American psychoanalysts were preoccupied with medical degree in order to gain control over the institutes. Control over institutions was to be gained by achieving the position of the training analyst, which can be received by those who have been in practice for five years after graduation. Psychoanalysts in America were insecure with the growing popularity of the European psychoanalysts who fled to the country after Hitler came to power. Psychoanalysis in America was therefore shaped by the conflicts between the European analysts who were not ready to allow the psychiatrists to play around with the theory and the American psychiatrists who translated and interpreted Freud in medical terms.

[22]Kirsner, Douglas. 1998. Inside Psychoanalytic Institutes. Unfree Associations. Human-Nature Review.

[23]Holt, Robert. 1993 "Psychoanalysis and the University". Quoted by P. R. Duberstein, On-line version of Bulletin of the Psychoanalytic Research Society, Vol.2, No.1, University of Rochester Medical Center

[24] Forrester, John. 1990 Seductions of Psychoanalysis. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, p.292

other disciplines. The survival of psychoanalysis as a clinical discipline in the university has, therefore, been threatened by its isolation from social and public health problems, which are taken seriously by the funding agencies of the university.[25]

Psychoanalysis and Academic psychology

Psychoanalysis as a discipline in the West grew separately from official psychology, which excluded psychoanalysis from its domain for its unscientific nature.[26] Psychoanalysis was rejected from the discipline of psychology, which emphasized upon the observable facts that could be tested and generalized in the external situations.[27] Psychology, (which was originated from its parent disciplines -philosophy and physiology[28]), attained its independent scientific status in the nineteenth century with the advent of experimental psychology.[29] Wilhelm Wundt propounded the theory of experimental psychology, which was meant to explain the causal phenomenon of mental life through the method of introspection in the controlled setting of a psychological laboratory.[30] The method of introspection was based on controlled observations of the elements of consciousness under experimental conditions. Other schools of thought in psychology such as behaviorism and gestalt psychology also emphasised observable behavior, which could be tested and inferred in experimental conditions.

Psychoanalytic concepts were misconstructed within the framework of psychology, and the image of psychoanalysis as a theory of bodily pleasures of a mechanistic nature

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[25] Duberstein, p.2

[26] Richards, Barry. 1989. Images of Freud. St. Martin Press. New York, p.6

[27] Marx, M. & Hillix, W. Systems and Theories in Psychology. McGraw Hill. New York, p.241

[28] ibid, p. 13

[29] ibid, p.113

[30] ibid, p.114. Wundt established the first psychological laboratory at the University of Leipzig in 1879, to explain the psychological phenomenon on scientific lines.

emerged[31]. Barry Richards provided us with the report of a 1943 survey of academic psychology textbooks published since 1900(total 248), and a sample of texts of abnormal psychology and psychiatry. 'Rejection [of psychoanalysis] refers less frequently to concrete statements of Freud's theory but rather to a stereotypical concept of psychoanalysis in general.'[32] Twenty years after, another survey reported 'a widespread ignorance on the specifics of psychoanalytic theory and methods, which was partly based on the unsatisfactory nature of the secondary sources on which they relied'.[33]

The discipline of academic psychology in Britain, therefore, gave little space to psychoanalytic studies. The course was crowded with perception, learning, cognitive science, computer modeling and animal behaviour studies.[34] Academic psychology gave prime importance to humanistic psychology, which grew immensely in 1960s, serving the needs of market ideologies.[35] The practice of humanistic psychology in counseling services was also hostile to the discipline.[36]

Methodological concerns

Michel Foucault pointed out that in any age, knowledge forms and institutional practices are reciprocally related and embedded within the power relations of society. Psychoanalysis originated as a discourse on 'sexuality', along with psychiatry and pedagogy in nineteenth century Europe, which were defined within the power-knowledge-pleasure

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[31] Richards, p.84

[32] ibid, p.91

[33] ibid, P.92

[34] Young, Robert. 1998. "The Cussedness of Psychoanalysis" in Whatever happened to Human nature. Human-Nature Review.

[35] Richards, p.8-9

[36] ibid, p.6

regime.[37] 'Sexuality' was described by Foucault not as a stubborn drive, but as an element in power relations, "It appears rather an especially dense transfer point for relations of power: between men and women, young people and old people, parents and offspring, teachers and students, priests and laity, an administration and a population."[38] The theory of psychoanalysis originated in an adverse position to other medical sciences[39], which considered the source of madness in the body.[40]

Foucault recognized psychoanalytic discourse as similar to the confessional method of Christianity (in which the person was made free from his moral burden by confessing in front of the absolute authority), which strengthened the authority of the analyst.[41] Freud 'acknowledged' the sexuality of women and children, which had been suppressed by patriarchal authorities of European culture. Through recognizing their subjecthood, he surpassed the social autocracy of the doctor and all other authorities including parental

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[37] Foucault, Michel. 1978. History of sexuality. Penguin Books. New York, p.11. The disciplinary discourses on sex were rooted in power relations of the society with European notions of normality and abnormality, revolving around the themes of robustness and inherent weakness of the body. The sciences were based on the moral and social values of the patriarchal culture of bourgeoisie society, which was preoccupied with its own sexuality and failed to acknowledge the sexuality of lowers - which included women, children, poor and all others who remained at the margins of the society. The sciences of pedagogy deployed sexuality in rational and scientific manner and cured it through gaining an expertise over it. The feminine sexuality was medicalized and the problematic nature of children was handled through the method of instruction. The science of psychiatry originated with liberators like Pinel and Tuke who were credited with recognizing 'madness' and therefore liberating the mad person from the category of unreason, which included criminals and poor. The patient was alienated in the asylum structures by isolating the illness within them and was morally imprisoned within its own conscience. The doctor exercised its authority over them by judging and condemning their behavior.

[38] Foucault. History of sexuality, p.103

[39] Foucault, History of sexuality, p.130

[40] Foucault, Michel. 1965. Madness and Civilization. Random House. New York, p.159-161 In the classical age, the themes of madness also revolved around the idea of inherent weakness in the person. Hysteria, recognized as a disease of 'idle women', was a disorder of the body and it attacked women more because they live a more soft and delicate life. Medical doctors acknowledged female hysteria as a symptom of natural inferiority (easy degeneracy) of women.

[41] Forrester, John. 1990. Seductions of Psychoanalysis. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, p.297

authority.[42] Psychoanalytic discourse built upon the relationship between doctor and the patient, which was made central to the therapeutic process and was called the phenomenon of transference-counter transference.[43] The patient's compliance with the doctor not only brought the authority of the doctor into existence but also centralized it in the therapeutic process.[44]

The powerful emotionally charged relationship between the patient and the analyst, which developed during analysis, was defined as the phenomenon of transference and counter transference in the psychoanalytic discourse[45]. Freud 'universalized' the phenomenon of transference by interpreting it as a symptom induced during analysis,[46] which was to be analyzed by the analyst. He argued that the patient during this transferential relationship 'acted out' his past relationships towards the therapist.[47]

The therapist's interest or pre-occupation with the analytic situation, which aroused as a result of the patient's transferential position, was conceptualized as the phenomenon of counter-transference in analysis.[48] Freud regarded these reactions as an obstacle in the analysis and therefore needed 'psychoanalytic purifications'[49]. He recommended self-analysis as a

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[42] Foucault, M. 1965. Madness and Civilization. Random House. New York, p.274. The theory of psychoanalysis was constituted around the desire to analyze hysterical women, whose desires were unknown and were to be unraveled. Freud's healing powers lied in allowing the patient to structure her experiences, but he could not bring himself in a position to listen. He acted as a paternal scientist in order to protect his science from any subjective influences and refused to enact the feminine part in the analysis.

[43] Forrester, p. 27

[44] ibid., p.41 Freud passed over all the powers to the doctor by making him the central figure in the analytic situation. The inverted role of the doctor allowed the patient to speak, rather than him speaking and giving instructions. The patient submitted to the doctor and acted out his feelings towards the doctor, who allowed him to restructure his experiences and recognized his person hood.

[45] ibid, p.82

[46] ibid, p.8

[47] Roazen, Paul. 1976. Freud and his followers. Allen Lane. London, p 166

[48] Forrester, p. 239

[49] Fleming, John. 1971. "Freud's concept of Self-analysis : Its relevance for psychoanalytic training" in Irwin M. Marcuse, Currents in Psychoanalysis. International Universities Press. New York, p.17

remedy to the occurrence of counter transferences, which would help the analyst contain his emotional reactions within himself.[50]

The phenomenon of transference –counter transference also shaped the relationship between the psychoanalytic educator and his student during training analysis - during which the supervised analyst remained in filliation with its supervising analyst. Real psychoanalytic knowledge is transmitted during **training analysis** where the affective relationship with one's analyst determined the nature of knowledge transmitted and constituted the institutionalization of psychoanalysis. The prime concern in psychoanalytic institutes has been the attainment of the position of the training analyst, through which the analyst gained control over the transmission of psychoanalytic knowledge. McDougall writes :

"I think our greatest perversion is to believe we hold the key to the truth.... Any analytic school who thinks this way has turned its doctrine into a religion....when we make our particular psychanalytic theories into the tenets of a faith, then we're restricting our whole capacity for thinking and developing... But what is our insecurity? Perhaps it's partly determined by the tranmission of psychoanalytic education which is largely based on transference : the attachement to one's analyst, as well as to supervisors and teachers, is permeated with strong transference affects. This may result in the idealization of thinkers and theories as well as leading to the opposite - the wish to denigrate them. But I guess this is the part and parcel of the history of pyschoanalysis and something we must strive to understand"[51].

An Introduction to the present study

Although psychoanalysis emerged as a critique of bourgeois society and as a tool of emancipation, it could not transcend the Enlightenment vision of its times and was guided

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[50] ibid, p.18

[51] McDougall, Joyce. 1998. Quoted by Douglas Kirsner, "Life among the analysts". On-line version of Unfree Associations. Human-Nature Review.

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by the progressvist discourse of colonialism. Psychoanalysis was introduced as a discipline in India when the country was under colonial rule. Christiane Hartnack mentions that in India psychoanalytic theory was politically appropriated in implicit or explicit ways that shifted perspectives depending upon which sides of the colonial divide the psychoanalyst was positioned.[52] Although she explained that the theory was reconstituted within the cultural categories on both sides, she did not dwell upon the cultural meanings that were evoked by it. So, it is important to look into the process of cultural appropriation and institutionalization of the discipline in India.

The institutionalization of the discipline in India was shaped by the nationalist concerns of the time, which proceeded in response to the colonial conditions in the country. Psychoanalysis was reconstituted as one of the methods of self-realization of Hindu philosophical tradition, and was retained within the 'cultural' introspective tradition.

Chapter 2 explores the reconstructed boundaries of the discipline introduced in Calcutta University and the Indian Psychoanalytic Society. An attempt has been made to relate this phenomenon with the nationalist concerns of the country.

The discourse on psychoanalysis was developed as a clinical discipline, and was rooted in the authoritarian relations between the therapist and the patient. In **Chapter3,** an attempt has been made to explore the process through which the clinical form of the discipline was redefined as the cultural goal of self-realization. The psychoanalytic discourse was re-patterned within the cultural reality as the ultimate Hindu ideal, and was formed within the traditional guru –sisya relationship re- invoked in the psychoanalytic context.

Chapter 4 deals with the issues in the institutionalization of the discipline of psychoanalysis in the present context. An attempt has been made to elaborate upon the issues concerned with the establishment of the psychoanalytic knowledge in India, which were related with the power relations of society.

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[52]Hartnack, p 8

Objectives of the study

To explore the institutionalization of psychoanalysis in Calcutta University and the Indian Psychoanalytic Society in India

To explore the reconstructed boundaries of the discipline and its cultural appropriation in the country

To explore the process of reconfiguration of the clinical form of discipline as the cultural goal of self-realization

Chapter 2

Psychoanalytic Education in Calcutta University and the Indian Psychoanalytic Society

The chapter brings up the issue of the cultural redefinition of the discipline of psychoanalysis introduced in Calcutta University during the period of colonial rule. The introduction of psychoanalysis as part of psychology reflected the cultural attempt to assimilate the science 'within' the Hindu philosophical systems, which it was acknowledged, would be enriched by psychological knowledge. The establishment of Indian Psychoanalytic Society in 1921 also paralleled cultural efforts to reassert the value of indigenous forms of knowledge and was inspired by the idea of nationalism.[1] The attempt to anchor it within the Brahmanical worldview and reconstitute it as a method of self-realization in Hindu philososphy culturally appropriated the discipline. This process of transplanting the discipline on the template of Hindu philosophy has been discussed in the chapter.

Situating the science of psychoanalysis in the colonial period

Colonial administrators in British India introduced their education system and popularized the European culture of knowledge with their world-view of social evolution.[2] The colonial encounter between Britain and India did not merely produce social change as envisaged by the colonizers, but generated resistance to colonial rule. David Kopf has categorized nationalist responses as traditionalist, revivalist, westernizing and revitalist; out of which the revitalists critically assimilated the western and Indian forms of knowledge.[3]

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[1] Nandy, Ashis.1995. The Savage Freud. Oxford University Press. Delhi, p.83

[2] Ibid.p.140

[3] Raina, Dhruv and Habib,S. Irfan.1996. "The moral legitimation of Modern Science: Bhadralok reflections on theories of evolution", Social Studies of Science, Sage: New Delhi, Vol.26, p.14

The revaluation of indigenous systems of knowledge in the country provided impetus to the institutionalization of psychology and psychoanalysis in Calcutta University. Eminent cultural figures in Bengal such as Ashutosh Mukherjee, (who was the Vice-chancellor of Calcutta University from 1906 to 1914 and again from 1921 to 1924) and Brojendranath Seal (who was the philosopher and historian of ancient sciences in India), were involved in the process of institutionalization of the discipline of psychology in the country.[4]

Brojendranath Seal devised the syllabus fro the new course in Experimental Psychology in Calcutta University after studying various course designs offered in the universities of Europe and America in 1905.[5] Ashutosh Mukherjee insisted that N.N.Sengupta establish the psychology department at the College of Science in Calcutta University.[6] Sengupta founded a new course in experimental psychology in the psychology department in 1915.[7] The coursework included subjects like general problems of psychology, physiological psychology, abnormal psychology, and animal psychology and child psychology.[8] These subjects were considered as important not only from the theoretical but also from practical point of view.[9] Among Sengupta's early students in the department were Girindrasekhar Bose, M.N. Banerjee and H.P. Maiti.[10]

Sengupta was interested in philosophy and the first course offered by him was on modern philosophy.[11] His interest in philosophy finally gained him the professorship in

[4] Hartnack, Christiane.1995. Psychoanalysis in Colonial India. Oxford University Press. Delhi. p. 88-92

[5] Basu, Amit. 1999. "Girindrasekhar Bose and the coming of psychology in India" Theoretical Perspectives: Center for Alternatives, University of Dhaka, Vol.6, p.30

[6] Hartnack, p.91

[7] ibid. p.91

[8] Mitra, S.C.1937, "History of Psychology Department in Calcutta University", Indian Journal of Psychology, Vol.19, p.5

[9] ibid.p.5

[10] Hartnack, p.92

[11] Sarkar , Benoy. 1944. "The making of Naren Sengupta: The pioneer of experimental psychology in India", Indian Journal of Psychology, Vol.19, p.134

philosophy in the University of Lucknow in 1929.[12] Girindrasekhar Bose who received his

M.Sc. degree in experimental psychology under N.N. Sengupta in 1917, joined the department

the same year as a lecturer in abnormal psychology[13]. He introduced the discipline of

psychoanalysis as part of abnormal psychology in the new psychology department founded

in the university.[14] Bose headed the department of psychology, despite being a part-time

lecturer, after Sengupta left for Lucknow.[15]

The discipline of psychology and psychoanalysis, were introduced at Calcutta

University, and were culturally translated by the emerging fervor of nationalism during the

Swadeshi movement of Bengal in 1905.Academic psychology in the country followed the

stream of westernization in order to assimilate with the western science of psychology.

Psychology, which was striving to acquire a disciplinary identity in the country, severed its

ties with philosophy-its parent discipline.[16]

Durganand Sinha commented that the pre-independence phase of psychology in India

was imitative and replicative in nature with little originality in its approach. He wrote: "For

about thirty years till about the time of independence Indian psychology remained tied to the

apron strings of the West, and did not display any signs of maturing. As a result, very little

originality was displayed and the researches hardly added anything to the psychological

theory of knowledge, and were seldom related to the problems of the country."[17]

Psychology was pragmatic in its approach from its inception in Calcutta University.

Calcutta University also led other universities in the introduction of psychology courses,

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[12] Mitra, p.154

[13] Hartnack, p.106

[14] ibid.p.106

[15] ibid. p.154

[16] Bhattacharya, H.D., 1926. "The psychologist and his science", Indian Journal of Psychology, Vol.1, No.2, p.60-61

[17] Sinha, Durganand. 1986. Psychology in a third world country. Sage Publications. New Delhi. p.36

and remained a source of inspiration for them.[18] Practical value was provided to these subjects in order to confer the status of science upon the discipline in the country. The establishment of psychological laboratories in the country, about which proud claims were made, was the sign of such a practical action-oriented approach.[19] Sinha argued that the over-emphasis on the application of psychology, without a theoretical background led to the establishment of psychological laboratories as the site for the reproduction of stereotypical western research.[20] This was one of the nationalist responses to the phenomenon of colonization, which in fact gradually gained strength and became more prominent in the culture of psychology in India, since it responded to the demand for western education that would compensate for the sense of inferiority felt by some Indians.[21]

The meaningless and sorry state of psychology in the country in its early years conferred upon psychoanalysis its meaning. The discipline was made culturally meaningful among Bengali Bhadralok community[22] by reconstituting it within the Hindu philosophical worldview. The theory was legitimized as a universal positivist science and embedded within the school of Patanjali's Yoga rooted in Samkhya doctrine.

The discipline was not introduced in India as 'foreign knowledge' but as extensions or an expansion of Hindu philosophical system.S.C. Mitra, (who was a member of the Indian Psychoanalytic Society and became the second president of the Society after Bose's death) stated that Bose had unearthed modern parallels and similarities between

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[18] ibid.p.15

[19] Bhattacharya, p.59

[20] Sinha, Durganand .p.27-33

[21] Nandy, Ashis. 1974. "The non-paradigmatic crisis of Indian psychology: Reflections on a recipient culture of science" Indian Journal of Psychology, Vol.49, part 1,p.7

[22] The Bhadralok community comprised of the western educated, Bengali middle class intelligentsia that emerged in the nineteenth century.

psychoanalysis and the ancient conceptions of the mind.[23] In fact, Tarun Chandra Sinha , who was a student and close associate of Bose, (and who went on to become the third president of Indian Psychoanalytic Society) pointed out that the theory of psychoanalysis had indigenous origins in the country and was initiated by Bose independently.[24]

Bose showed his interest in ancient Sanskrit texts, which he studied and interpreted with the help of Pundits. He interpreted the Gita and various other mythological texts in psychoanalytic terms.[25] N.S.N. Sastry, who was a lecturer in Mysore University, argued that the original study of psychology began in the Vedas and the later psychological knowledge had grown out of the knowledge in the Upanishads.[26] He mentioned that the unconscious processes had been described as the source of creation of the whole universe in the Upanishads.[27]The attempts of Bose to adapt psychoanalysis in the Indian context were revealed in his interpretations of ancient texts, which were perceived as more socio-philosophical in nature and lacking a disciplinary faith.[28] The theory of psychoanalysis was read in philosophical terms in order to neutralize it within the culture.

Cultural redefinition of the discipline in Calcutta University

The discipline of psychoanalysis was made culturally meaningful in the light of the doctrine of Yoga, which looked for a supreme reality under every (physical and psychological) phenomenon. Bose introduced psychoanalysis in the psychology department in Calcutta University, and redefined academic psychology in the light of the discipline. He reintroduced

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[23] Mitra, S.C. "Professor Girindrasekhar Bose" Samiksa, Special No., p.59

[24] Sinha, T.C.1967 "On training analysis" Samiksa, Vol.21, No.1, p.16

[25] Mitra, op.cit.p.59

[26] Sastry, N.S.N. 1932 "Growth of Psychology in India", Indian Journal of Psychology, Vol.7, p.2

[27] ibid.p.14

[28] Nandy, Ashis. 1995.The Savage Freud, Oxford University Press. Delhi.p.87

the relation between psychology and philosophy, by searching for the foundations of the western science in traditional Hindu system of knowledge.

Bose considered psychoanalysis as relevant for academic psychology since he realized that the objective behavior of an individual had been wrongly chosen as the subject matter of its study rather than the study of inner reality.[29] Mitra also pointed out that academic psychology, focused upon the isolated components of mental life of an individual, where an individual was either a conglomeration of scores in the laboratory or a bed number in a hospital.[30] Psychoanalysis was perceived as the study of an individual in its essence,[31] which took into account the unconscious and conscious components of the mind. Mitra placed emphasis on the principle of unity in the organization of the discipline of psychology.[32] He recommended that psychoanalysis, which was the essence of all forms of psychology, should synthesize all the branches of psychology within its domain.[33]

Academic psychology, which studied observable behavior in external situations, defined the discipline as the study of conscious facts. Mitra explained that psychology, which undertook consciousness as its subject matter, regarded the inclusion of psychoanalysis as a fresh starting point for the discipline.[34] Unconscious processes as the subject matter of psychoanalysis were considered as an important background for the study of psychology.[35]

The nature of redefinition of the discipline of psychoanalysis brings into light the new cultural meanings in the institutionalization of the discipline. The Yoga doctrine placed

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[29] Bose, G. 1931. "Psychology and Psychiatry" Indian Journal of Psychology, Vol.4, No.4, p.144-145

[30] Mitra, S.C. 1943. "Need for a psychology to replace psychologies", Indian Journal of Psychology, Vo.18, p.149

[31] ibid.p.151

[32] ibid.p.151

[33] ibid.p.151

[34] Mitra, S.C. 1930. "Psychology and Psychoanalysis", Indian Journal of psychology, Vol.5, p.163

[35] ibid.p.164

premium on the purest form of consciousness through attaining the knowledge of the unconscious desires, which is the pre-requisite for the realization of that aim.[36] In a culture, high premium is placed on inner realities, which are beyond observation, psychoanalysis gained its value through its emphasis on unconscious states of mind. The theory was redefined through finding its parallels with the theory of Karma Yoga and the notion of rebirth.[37]

Bose pointed out that the doctrine of Karma, believed in the law of determinism, i.e. every action leads to a result which leads to action of another kind and so forth. The action of an individual is determined by actions of previous births.[38] He mentioned that psychoanalysis also followed the law of determinism, where unknown unconscious forces determine the behavior of an individual.[39] The unconscious forces were interpreted as the instincts pre-existing at the time of birth, which consisted of unfulfilled desires of previous births.[40] These desires, which remain unfulfilled in previous births, seek expression in the next birth.[41]

Bose who interpreted Yoga Sutras, pointed out these desires, which remain unknown to the person, direct one towards wrong actions.[42] He asserted that a person who remains ignorant about the nature of these desires attains the next birth in a 'lower order.'[43] Freudian theory gained importance in the light of these interpretations, which was regarded as providing knowledge about these desires and which would help in the climbing to a 'higher order' in the next birth.[44]

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[36] Bose, G. Yoga Sutras. Indian Psychoanalytic Society. Calcutta,p.46

[37] ibid.p.44

[38] ibid,p.45

[39] Ibid, p.47

[40] ibid.p.49

[41] ibid.p.49

[42] ibid.p.50

[43] ibid.p.50

[44] ibid.p.50

The unconscious and conscious processes were redefined in terms of gunas, which are considered as determining the temperament of an individual. The unconscious processes of an individual were interpreted as inferior in nature and lay at the deeper levels of the personality.[45] Ashis Nandy pointed out that Bose described gunas in a hierarchy and considered unconscious and non-manifest (together constituting Tamas, as the inferior level of personality functioning. Sudhir Kakar mentioned that the hierarchy of these gunas expressed the hierarchy of the caste system in India rather than reflecting the components of human psyche. He explained that,

"These personality types have little to do with the complexities of human type and are more the expressions of what the brahmanical tradition consider as socially desirable qualities in a person. These personality types belong to the hierarchy of the caste system from pure to the impure-the sattvic type is the Brahmin, incorporating the ideals of traditional morality, the rajasic type is the passionate and impulsive kshatriya, while the inert tamasic type represents the shudra caste which have always been sullen and dull to the ruling elites."[46]

Psychoanalysis was appropriated as a theory of individuality of the highest kind based on the hierarchical order of the Indian caste system. The theory was utilized to reassert the Brahmanical identity of supreme kind. The importance placed on the attainment of individuality in psychoanalytic theory, revitalized the traditional doctrine of Samkhya. The traditional doctrine of Samkhya, which was constructed by Brjendranath Seal as a positivist science, postulated the development of individuality from a less differentiated state to a more differentiated state.[47] Sastry proposed that Samkhya doctrine is more scientific than religious in nature.[48] He argued that the doctrine, which placed high premium on individuality, came closer to the modern view of psychology, in which the individual was considered as

[45] ibid,p.50

[46] Kakar, Sudhir.1982.Shamans, Mystics and Doctors. Oxford University Press. Delhi,p.249

[47] Seal, Brojendranath, 2001. The Positive Sciences of Ancient Hindus. Sahitya Samsad. Kolkata.p.2

[48] Sastry, p.18

the unit of society. This emphasis on individuality, reflecting the supreme goal of Hindu philosophy, was guided by the nationalist concern to revive the indigenous traditions in the country.

Methodological appropriations in the discipline of psychoanalysis

The boundaries of the discipline were redrawn by bringing psychoanalysis from the domain of psychiatry to that of academic psychology. Bose culturally appropriated the discipline through reallocating its emphasis from change in external reality(through the method of hypnosis) to transformation in inner reality (through the method of introspection in academic psychology).

Hypnotic method and 'magical activities'

Psychoanalysis was culturally constructed as a magical science and was developed as a method to attain supernatural powers. Bose developed his interest in psychoanalysis due to his readings of English periodicals[49], with which Bose familiarized himself during his psychiatric practice. He used the method of hypnosis since 1914[50], which, though was rejected by Freud was retained as a method of American psychoanalytic psychiatry.

Hypnosis was a popular technique of psychiatry, in which the doctor dispelled the symptoms of the patient through his authoritarian influence. The removal of the symptoms through altering the consciousness of the patient created the magical aura around the doctor and strengthened the authority of the doctor. The imagery of the magical removal of the symptoms through the suggestive influence of the doctor perhaps developed Bose's interest in hypnosis. One of the students of Bose, D. Ganguly, pointed out that Bose showed his

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[49] Basu, Amit, p.30

[50] Kakar, Sudhir.1997. "Encounters of the psychological kind: Freud, Jung and India" in Culture and Psyche. Oxford University Press. Delhi.p.20

curiosity in hypnotic method through his interest in magical activities, with which hypnotic method shared certain similarities.[51]

Bose practiced magic and gained the title of 'Yogi Girindrasekhar' through the practice of these activities.[52] The mystical tradition stressed upon the attainment of supernatural powers through the practice of magic, which was also used by the practitioners of magic to bring about therapeutic changes. Ashis Nandy mentioned that Bose was also searching for omnipotent powers before he started his psychiatric practice.[53] Many of the students of psychoanalysis chose it as a vocation in order to search for magical powers. [54]

Bose believed in the possibility of realization of such omnipotent powers and interpreted the magical sciences as factual in nature.[55] He offered the evidence of these practices from ancient literature, which was considered as full of accomplishments of yogis.[56]

Introspective method and the 'Samadhi' of rishis

The method of introspection was considered as more appropriate as Bose moved psychoanalysis from psychiatry to psychology. The mystical traditions asserted that the attainment of supernatural powers could distract the individual from the path of liberation, which could be realized through the method of introspection. Introspective method was considered as the sole legacy of Indian tradition, and was appropriated as including the analysis of psychoanalytic nature. The legacy of self-analysis was retained in India through suggesting that self-analysis had been practiced in the country since ages.[57]

[51] Ganguly, D. "Girindrasekhar", Samiksa, Special Issue Bose No., p.35

[52] ibid.p.35

[53] Nandy, A. "The Savage Freud".p.92

[54] ibid.p.92

[55] Bose, G. "Yoga Sutras", p.70

[56] ibid. p.70

[57] Satya Nand, D. 1958, " The self-analysis in Arjuna-as recorded in Bhahgawat Gita", Samiksa, Vol.12, No.4, p.166

Bose asserted that the scientific information in the Vedas was acquired through the records of introspective experiences of ancient learned men.[58] Bose defined the introspective method as a method of self-restraint used by ancient rishis to reach the ultimate reality that would encompass the whole universe. This method was a form of Samadhi of ancient men gained through concentrating on one's mind. Bose believed that the attainment of 'Samadhi' through fixed concentration of mind on the memory impressions could provide a direct knowledge of previous births.[59]

The introspective method of experimental psychology was reinterpreted as the method to fulfill the goal of self-realization and included within the psychoanalytic domain. Bose brought the native method of introspection into the laboratory of experimental psychology. He asserted during his experiments on perception, that in deep introspection, perceptions lose their characteristics and fuse together in a whole.[60] He also proposed the theory of illusion, in which he emphasized upon the role of latent wishes in determining perceptions.[61] Wishes underlying the perception determine the action attitude. Unconscious wishes, which remain repressed distort the true nature of reality and lead to illusion.[62] His attempts to experiment with the introspective method were directed towards the attainment of ultimate reality in which external reality merged with the self and the individual experienced oneness with the world. The role of latent wishes was brought out in order to reflect upon the postulate of Hindu philososphy that wishes which are directed towards the external reality distort the perception and illusive in nature.

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[58] Bose, G.1930. " The psychological outlook in Hindu philosophy", Indian Journal of psychology. Vol.5, p.134

[59] Bose, G. "Yoga Sutras",p.61

[60] Sinha, Durganand. p.23

[61] ibid.p.23

[62] ibid. p.23-24

Sudhir Kakar mentioned that the Indian form of introspection was of a different kind and had different goals. This kind of introspection was meant to know the self as an object of philosophical reflection rather than the personal self in its everyday encounter.[63] The philosophical self was based on soul-searching activity that highlighted the moral sense of self. The method of introspection was was attempted to attain the Upanishadic ideal of self-realization. Psychoanalysis was also employed to develop self-restraint in the students. This method was evoked as a sign of supremacy of the philosophical ideals of the country, and also highlighted the differentiation that existed between the Supreme Being and the lay public, which was to be liberated.

Psychoanalytic Education in the Indian Psychoanalytic Society

The institutionalization of psychoanalytic education was not defined by the question of lay analysis as it was in the West. The discipline of psychoanalysis in India was constructed as a positivist science. Psychoanalytic education was introdued in autonomous terms, through the establishment of the Indian Psychoanalytic Society. The Indian Psychoanalytic Society (IPS) was founded at Bose's own house in 1921 and was recognized by the International Psychoanalytic Associaiton(IPA) the same year.[64] Krishna Kumar pointed out that the political events of Swadeshi movement in 1905 and the Non-cooperation movement in 1921 provided Indians an opportunity to assert their rights to control their own educational institutions.[65] The establishment of Indian Psychoanalytic Society, which paralleled the Non-Cooperation

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[63] Kakar, Sudhir. 1982. Shamans, Mystics and Doctors: A psychological inquiry into India and its healing traditions. Oxford University Press. Delhi. p.7-8

[64] Hartnack, Christiane, p.95, 108. Bose discussed his ideas with a few Bengali intellectuals , which formed a group called Utkendra Samiti. This group was later established as the Indian Psychoanalytic Society.

[65] Kumar, Krishna. 1991. The Political Agenda of Education. Sage Publications. New Delhi. p.117

movement was also inspired by the idea of nationalism and headed in the direction of cultural assertion.[66]

The Indian Psychoanalytic Institute was founded in 1932 to provide training in psychoanalysis.[67]Christiane Hartnack identifies fifteen founding members listed as part of the Society. This included seven psychologists-five from the Department of Psychology at Calcutta University and one each from Patna and Dacca.[68] Some of the members of the Society, who were psychologists at Calcutta University were M.N. Banerjee(the first secretary of the Indian Psychoanalytic Society), S.C. Mitra, H.P.Maiti and B.C. Ghosh.[69] The other seven members were medical docotrs, five of whom (three Indian and two European) were in the Indian Medical Service(IMS).[70] Lt. Col. Berkeley-Hill was the Superitendent of European Mental Hospital at Ranchi in Bihar and was the training and control analysts in IPS, along with Bose from 1931 onwards. D.SatyaNand was a retired majpr in the IMS who had undergone analysis with Berkeley-Hill as part of training in the institute.[71]

The candidates undergoing training in the Indian Psychoanalytic Society had to undergo a theoretical course, which included subjects, like general psychology, abnormal psychology, physiological psychology, animal and child psychology, social psychology, biology, heredity and eugenics, educational psychology, neurology and psychiatry, sexology, psychoanalysis (theoretical), laboratory work in normal and abnormal psychology, practical instructions in psychoanalysis, attendence at a psychological clinic recognized by the Institute.[72] Psychological and psychiatric texts were included as part of the coursework of

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[66] Nandy, Ashis. p.83

[67]Hartnack, p.111

[68] ibid. p.109

[69] Sinha, T.C. 1966." Development of psychoanalysis in India", International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Vol.47.p.435

[70] Hartnack, Christiane, p.109

[71] ibid, p.150

[72] Sinha, T.C. " Development of psychoanalysis in India", p.436

psychoanalysis, and was referred to as 'total psychoanalysis.' The lectures were to be held in Calcutta University.

Bose placed emphasis upon the practical demonstration of psychiatric cases for students at Lumbini Park Hospital.[73] The hospital was affiliated with the Indian Psychoanalytic Society and was also recognized as a teaching institute by Calcutta University. Amit Basu argues that psychoanalytic discourse madae its way in India through providing a critique of colonial psychiatry.[74] The argument become less meaningful, as we see that the Lumbini Park Hospital, started by Bose in 1940 incorporated psychiatric techniques such as hypnosis and electro-convulsive therapy along with the psychoanalytic therapy.[75]

The candidates who applied for training, had to complete personal analysis of at least 200 sessions and control analysis of at least two cases of 100 sessions each under the guidance of the senior practicing psychoanalyst.[76] The coursework and practical exposure were more important components of psychoanalytic training than training analysis in IPS. T.C.Sinha, who undertook analysis with Bose, suggested that the training analysis was not taken seriously in the Society.He modified the sessions for control analysis and personal analysis, which had been increased to 500 and 1000 respectively.[77] He believed that most of the students were post-graduates students of psychology in the University and were familiar to the training analysts, who were teaching in the department. This made it difficult for them to maintain a detached attitude during analysis, which was a pre-requiiste for an analysis.[78]

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[73] Ibid. p.435

[74] Basu, Amit, p.35 Amit Basu, though points out that Ashis Nandy relocated Girindrasekhar Bose a critique of colonial psychiatry, he doen't seem to disagree with the argument

[75] "Lumbini Park Mental Hospital" , 1945 Indian Journal of psychology Vol.19, p.121

[76] Sinha, T.C. "Development of psychoanalysis in India", p.436

[77] ibid. P.436

[78] Sinha, T.C. "On training analysis", p.18

The discourse of psychoanalysis was interpreted in moral terms in the country.[79] D.S.Nand argued that the method of self-analysis was a re-corrective procedure which included self-therapy, self-knowledge and self-education.[80]Psychoanalytic education was framed as embedded within the doctrine of Yoga, and the purpose of this education was the holistic transformation of the students, through developing in them self-discipline. Yoga, as Sinha explained, was a 'practical' training which the rishis claim to have developed to know the real nautre of creation and to live in a state of bliss, undisturbed by the worldly pleasures and pains.

The theory of creation, as Sinha mentioned, was propounded in the doctrine of Samkhya. The theory of creation, addressed the existential issues of an individual, through the concepts of purusa/ prakriti. Bose, interpreted Yoga Sutras and asserted that the creation of an individual could be traced to the combination of the conscious purusa or the experiencing agent with the material prakriti, where 'the latter becomes manifest only in the presence of the interested purusa and reverts to the undifferentiated state when the purusa cease to take notice of it.'[81] The theory proposed that man, in order to conquer pain and to attain liberation, should know his position in relation to other objects.[82]. The attainment of 'consciousness' or Purusa through the realization of prakriti, was considered as the source of 'Brahma'. T.C. Sinha pointed out that the purusa-prakriti duality was in consonance with Freud's concept of bisexuality, and was explained better than the concepts of Freud.[83] The emphasis during the analysis was laid on the realization of one's feminine self (prakriti) in order to acquire the ideal kind of manhood.(purusa).

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[79] Sinha, T.C. "The ego factor in psychoanalysis",p.76

[80] Satya Nand, D., p.167

[81] Bose, 'Yoga Sutras', p.23

[82] ibid, p.20

[83] Sinha, T.C. 1967."The ego factor in psychoanalysis", Samiksa , Vol.21, No.2, p.76

T.C. Sinha mentioned that the training and the control analysts have to certify about the insight gained by a candidate and the dissolution of his complexes before he could acquire full membership in the Society.[84] The training, therefore aimed at the acquisition of insights in the candidate through the method of introspection and free association. Introspective analysis was included as part of coursework in the experimental psychology department in order to provide the students a strong grounding in such a tradition.[85] The students were experimented with the method of free association in the laboratory of psychology department. The method of free association was used to indoctrinate the patient and to compel him to gain acces to the unconscious level of the personality. Bose defined the method of introspection as, " The free association attitude is an artificially produced state in which the subject's anti-social thoughts and ideas, which run counter to his conscious waking personality, are given opportunity for expression. Of course, the expression is verbal and doesnot affect the domain of action."[86]

The implementation of the method of free association shared similarities with the didactic approach used in the meditative procedures of Hindu philosophical school, " The subject is asked to speak out whatever comes up in his mind. The subject is instructed not to direct his thoughts in any special direction: he is not to exercise his critical faculty in any way, he is not to judge whether a thought is relevant or irrelevant , reasonable or absurd or grotesque, decent or indecent , polite or otherwise."[87]

The method of free association, in which the patient was asked to speak whatever comes to his mind, was not employed to bring the element of freedom in the patient-therapist

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[84] Sinha, T.C. "Development of psychoanalysis in India",p.436

[85] Mitra,S.C. p.156

[86] Bose, G. 1926."Free Association", Indian Journal of Psychology, Vol.1, p.191

[87] ibid. p.190

contract. Bose chose the method so as to monitor the associations between various words or sentences, in order to reach the unconscious wishes lying at the 'lower' level.

The nationalist response to colonial science emerged from the need of Indians to reassert their identity in assimilative terms, but it also bared open the traditional hierarchies within society. Psychoanalysis was appropriated as the method of attaining the goal of self-realization and legitimized the discipline through the evocation of traditional cultural metaphors. The redefinition of the discipline in consonance with Indian identity re-established the Brahmanical authority and refurbished the Brahmanical ideal of self-control. This was enshrined as the highest goal of psychoanalytic training /therapy in the country.

Chapter3

Psychoanalytic Education in India: Teaching, healing and governing

The chapter discusses the process of adaptation of the clinical discipline of psychoanalysis in India. The adaptation of the discipline as a cultural /moral discourse was accomplished through the psychoanalytic process of transference and counter-transference. The universal phenomenon of transference and counter- transference in psychoanalytic discourse, which was defined in terms of the doctor-patient relationship[1], was substituted by the guru-sisya relationship.The guru-sisya relationship which developed in the psychoanalytic situation[2], governed the institutionalization of the discipline and established it as a moral discourse.

Forrester argued that psychoanalysts have created an institutional affiliation for themselves that is independent of the university or state's apparatuses of health and happiness.[3] The institutionalization of psychoanalysis in India was neither free from university affiliation nor from state's ideals of health. The discipline in the country was driven by colonial and nationalist concerns. In India, the colonial discourse on education was based on the implication of a morally superior teacher and a society whose character was in need of reform.[4] The colonial discourse of universal science was utilized for the purpose of moral transformation

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[1] Forrester, John. 1990. Seductions of psychoanalysis. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. P.20-27

[2] Nandy, Ashis. 1995. The Savage Freud. Oxford University Press. Delhi. p.107

[3] Forrester, p. 296. Psychoanalysis was suspicious of the intellectuals which although provided the possibility of reflexivity to the discipline itself, its institutes have created a dogma of themselves by holding the key to the truth. The discipline of psychoanalysis grew in autonomous and freestanding institutes rather than universitities and remained a 'private' affair between the analyst and the analysand. It has prevented itself from communicating with other disciplines and remained an isolated clinical discipline.

[4] Kumar, Krishna. 1991. The Political Agenda of Education. Sage Publications. New Delhi.p.30

of the colonized. The science of psychoanalysis was also employed as an instrument of moral reform in the country. British psychoanalysts interpreted the Indian cultural forms as pathological in nature within the guise of universal psychoanalytic categories of normality and pathology.

The colonial responsibility to bring about a moral transformation of the country was also shared by Bengali intellectuals, socialized in the colonial education system. The Bhadralok community located the science within the framework of transformation of their own society.[5] Western educated elites in the country opted for psychoanalysis in order to utilize it as a tool to 'disseminate' the psychological principles for the salvation of the country.

Psychoanalysis and the Mental Hygiene Movement

Psychoanalysis was employed within the Mental Hygiene Movement, and was developed within the broader framework of colonialism. Owen Berkeley-Hill [6] founded the Indian Association for Mental Hygiene[7] (a part of Indian Psychological Association) in 1928, which was organized for the purpose of the cultivation of mental health of the community.[8] He recommended the utilization of this association for the promotion of mental hygiene in India, which would advance the scale of public health.[9] The association was to be utilized not only to treat mentally ill, but also to identify the level of mentally deficiency

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[5] Raina, Dhruv & Habib, S. Irfan. 1989. "Copernicus, Columbus and Colonialism". Social Scientist.Vol. p.51

[6] Berkeley-Hill, was the head of European Mental asylum in Ranchi from 1919 to 1934, and used psychoanalysis as one of the methods to treat the patients in the asylum.

[7] Report of Indian Psychoanalytic Society, 1934. International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Vol.15, p.376

[8] Owen Berkeley–Hill, 1927. 'Mental Hygiene', Indian Journal of Psyhcology, Vol. 2, No. 1, p.3

[9] ibid, p.3

in children.[10] Therefore, he suggested that the components of mental hygiene be incorporated within the schools and other associations, which deal with children.[11] He also recommended that psychologists, educationists, social service workers be brought together in order to implement such measures.[12]

Berkeley-Hill pointed out that as a dynamic science, psychoanalysis could provide an understanding of the actual mechanisms that produced symptoms and therefore, could be utilized to promote the mental hygiene movement. He proposed that the 'actual' mechanisms underlying the symptoms could be explained in terms of the infantile complexes reflected in Hindu cultural traits. The fundamental underlying principle, it was suggested, behind the caste system was the 'pollution complex' since the hierarchical order in the caste system was defined in terms of purity and impurity, the lowest caste being that of the untouchables.[13] He interpreted the character traits of Hindus as the sublimation of anal- erotic impulses[14] and Brahmanical rituals as an indication of an obsessive-compulsive predisposition.[15] The antagonism between Hindus and Muslims was interpreted as the product of the motherland complex of the Hindus and the cow-totem.[16]

Berkeley-Hill's writings on Muslims and dark-skinned races reflected his focus on

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[10] ibid. p.13

[11] ibid., p.11-12

[12] ibid, p.13

[13] Berkeley-Hill, Owen. 1921"The anal-erotic factor in the religion, philosophy and character of the Hindus.". International Journal of Psychoanalysis. Vol.2.p.308. Berkeley-Hill pointed out that the desire for self-control lies at the root of Yoga was reflected in many of the position of *asanas* (postures) were interpreted in terms of anal-erotic complex and the ascetic impulses as the result of the lasting influence of an infant's ambition to achieve sphincter's controls.

[14] ibid.p.308

[15] Hartnack, Christiane. 2001. Psychoanalysis in Colonial India. Oxford University Press. Delhi. p. 52

[16] Berkeley-Hill, Owen. 1925. "Hindu-Muslim unity". International Journal of Psychoanalysis. Vol.6.p.287

virility as an important constituent of masculine identity.[17] Another British official, Claud Dangar Daly, who had lived in India during colonial rule interpreted Hindus identification with the goddess Kali, as an unresolved mother complex and intense feminine identification was perceived as failed rebellion against the father.[18] He considered it his duty to analyze cultural pathologies and to liberate Indians from their psychological fixations.[19] These interpretations were embedded within the European categories of normality and abnormality, which were universalized and imposed on the Hindus. The Hindu identity interpreted in terms of mother-fixations was denigrated, as the Hindu failed to fit into the colonizer's notion of masculinity.

Psychoanalysis as a moral discourse

Psychoanalysis, originated as a systematic discourse on morality in the country and its applications provided for the possibility of rearranging the moral order of society. The theory of psychoanalysis was adopted as a critical posture on the self, which came into view as a theory of social criticism. During the period of social and political turmoil, psychoanalysis was employed as a device to keep the instinctual forces in control and to rehabilitate society.

Bose developed his ideas on psychoanalytic education through his notion of 'moral cleansing'. He suggested a twofold relation between moral degeneration of the society and political decline of the country.[20] The (psychoanalytic) postulates of the Mental Hygiene Movement were reinterpreted in terms of moral ideals of Hindu society. M. N. Banerjee, the

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[17] Hartnack, p. 56

[18] ibid, pg. 73 In classical model, the resolution of Oedipus complex takes place through identifying with the father as a result of castration fear in the unconscious and gaining though a masculine identity.

[19] Daly, C.D. 1930. "The psychology of revolutionary tendencies". International Journal of Psychoanalysis. Vol.11, p.197

[20] Bose, G. 1934. "Applied Psychology". Indian Journal of psychology. Vol.9.p.3

Secretary of Indian Psychoanalytic Society, emphasized the reciprocity between the Freudian tenets of mental hygiene and the family organization of the joint Hindu families[21]. He argued that Hindu families traditionally prevented the occurrence of sexual perversions by evoking feelings of guilt in the case of transgression of certain moral principles through socializing the instincts.[22] These sexual and aggressive instincts rooted in childhood, which were previously tampered by Hindu patriarchal families, had been brought under control by the Freudian theories.[23]

Bose like other psychologists of the time attempted to confer a pragmatic value to psychology in order to serve human kind[24]. He viewed the role of psychologists as similar to that of religious preachers who had a moral responsibility in guiding his disciple to the path of liberation. In one of his Bengali writings, translated by Ashis Nandy, he writes,"Human beings usually try to attain happiness by extending their control over the external world. All the material sciences help men in this endeavor. The Hindu *sāstras* advise that there is no permanent happiness in external objects; genuine happiness comes from restraint over mind (manahsanyama). The serene person (dhīra-prajña) is happy under all circumstances. To keep the mind under control, many advises / suggestions are given for rituals, institutions and asceticisms. Reduction of ignorance [unconscious?] is a way of attaining happiness and peace. The scientist of the unconscious (nirjñānānvit) assures us that when the damned instincts subside, the conflicts of mind dissolve and all sorrows are eliminated. Till now, the source of peace for the disturbed mind, tortured by mourning, anxiety, tiredness, lay in the moral lessons given by the religions. In this respect, the material scientist had to admit

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[21] Banerjee, M.N. 1944."Hindu family and Freudian theory". The Indian Journal of Social Work. Vol.5.p.184

[22] ibid. p.183-184

[23] ibid.p.184-185

[24] Bose, G. "Applied Psychology", p.13

defeat at the hands of the religious preachers. Today, psychology, by offering human beings words of assurance and peace, has moved ahead to establish the dignity of science."[25]

Bose undertook constant efforts to propagate Freudian ideas in different associations, and to make them available to the general public in order to educate them about the aspects of mental life of the individuals[26]. S. C. Mitra pointed out that Bose boldly 'preached' Freudian theories by making them available to lay public through his writings in Bengali.[27]

Bose recognized that the root of mental disorders lay in childhood, and parents and educators plaed an important part in its genesis.[28] The psychology department of Calcutta University was associated with the Indian Association for Mental Hygiene, which focused upon the mental health of juvenile offenders and mentally and educationally backward pupils.[29] Parents and educators were also included as part of the programme and were provided knowledge about the principles of mental hygiene.[30] The Indian Psychoanalytic Society established a school, Bodhyana in 1949, which was run on psychoanalytic lines and where education was provided to normal and abnormal children in separate sections.[31] Bose placed emphasis on the applications of psychoanalysis for vocational guidance and selection for industrial jobs. Various mental tests were devised for the mental survey of the youth of the

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[25] Nandy, p 129

[26] Hartnack, p. 110. A lecture was given to the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the importance of psychoanalysis to understand the phenomenon of criminology. Relevant information was provided to the theistic and reformatory bodies, which approached him to educate them about psychoanalysis.

[27] Mitra, S.C. 1954. "Professor Girendrasekhar Bose". Samiksa p. 58

[28] Bose, G. 1947. "Memorandum of the problem of prevention and treatment of mental disorders submitted to the Medical Relief Advisory Committee of the Health Survey and Development Committee, Government of India." Samiksa, Vol. 1, p. 313.

[29] "Report of Indian Psychoanalytic society". 1934. International Journal of Psychoanalysis. Vol. 15, p. 376.

[30] ibid, p. 376

[31] "Annual Report of Indian Psychoanalystic Society", 1956. Samiksa, Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 53.

country which were to be administered by an experimental psychologist and an experienced psychoanalyst[32].

P.S. Naidu, of Allahabad University, argued that the theory was adopted in the country as a substitution to the spiritual traditions of the past, which had previously kept the immoral forces in control[33]. He suggested that psychoanalysis be utilized for all kinds of plans for educational reform and for economic and social reorganization and recommended a national psychoanalytic –psychiatric service affiliated to the All-India Psychological Service.[34] He proposed that a national level organization would bring about a change in the perspective of all planning committees associated with the welfare of the country. This would help them see the psychological forces underlying the social forces. These insights would be used as the foundation for their schemes of national welfare and control and direct the enormous mental energy available in the country[35].

Naidu also recommended that independent psychology departments need to be brought out in all universities and individuals should be provided with training in depth psychology (psychoanalysis), which would be the most important service to the nation.[36] He suggested that child guidance centers needed to be created not only to treat mental ailments of children but to educate parents and educators. The psychoanalysis of elementary school teachers must be the duty of child guidance centers.[37] The unconscious must be cleansed in

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[32] Bose, G. 1934. "Applied psychology". Indian Journal of Psychology. Vol 9, No. 1, p. 7

[33] Naidu, P.S. 1947. "Psychology and the Rehabilitation of Human Society". Indian Journal of psychology. Vol. 22, p. 3

[34] ibid, p. 21

[35] ibid, p. 20

[36] ibid, p. 20

[37] ibid, p. 21

the interests of the sanity of the nation. He mentioned : "There are other causes, irrepressibly dynamic, operating from the ugly depths of the unconscious in the human mind. Often they assume the most impenetrable disguises. We must penetrate into the deep-lying, forbidding caverns of the human mind and cleanse the augean rubbish that has accumulated there. We must ruthlessly apply the lancet supplied to us by depth psychology, and drain the suppurating ulcers in the unconscious'[38]

I. Latif, one of the members of Indian Psychoanalytic Society, proposed that social anarchism and increased risk of political revolt in the country was the product of deep-rooted hostility towards early parental figures, which had been displaced towards the state authority.[39] The increasing crime rate and delinquency in the country reflected the extent of social maladjustment in the country, and the urgent need to incorporate psychoanalysis within the society from the upbringing of the child.[40] He also placed emphasis on the education of parents in the field of child psychology and principles of mental hygiene.[41]

D. S. Nand mentioned that self-analysis in psychoanalytic education replaced the *Brahmacharya* period of ancient times.[42] The great importance accorded to 'psychoanalytic teaching' of children and youth revealed the urgent need to bring back the traditional cultural meanings associated with ashram-type education. This need to protect the children and youth also reflected their attempt to revive the traditional image of an all-powerful parent.

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[38] ibid, p. 13

[39] Latif, I. 1941. "Psychology and the future of man kind". Indian Journal of psychology. Vol. 16. p. 22.

[40] ibid, p. 26

[41] ibid, p. 30

[42] Satya Nand, D. 1958. "The self analysis of Arjuna as recorded in Bhagwat Gita". Samiksa, Vol. 12, No. 4, p.180

Reconfiguration of clinical discipline as cultural method of self-realization

The method of psychoanalysis was reconfigured as the method to attain the ideal goal self-realization in India and the 'clinical situation' in the country was reinterpreted in terms of universal form of suffering. The process of healing in the clinical situation was also re-situated within the philosophical ideal of self-transformation, which would lead to liberation from all forms of human miseries. Amit Basu quotes Bose :

"All traditional sacred texts had their main intention to resolve the grief. Desire for *moksa* (ultimate liberation) is also driven by a wish to resolve grief or pain..... In orient and occident, the ideology and means of resolving grief is quite different. West teaches, make yourself capable of struggling in society; while competing with others, see that your interest and autonomy is protected; gain knowledge to utilise nature for your comfort; in short change your surroundings according to your convenience. In this thorn - ridden society, try to uproot as many of them as you can. It is not that we do not have such thing in the orient, but the *Sanatan* ideology here teaches us something else: you'll never be able to uproot all the throns, so you must construct yourself in a way that you are not hurt by the thorns. It is better to wear a pair of shoes instead of attempting to sweep away all the stones and dust of the road. One ideology tries to dominate the nature and in the other the stress is dominate your 'self'.....

Hindu ideology will say that it is possible to resolve grief. Disease, bereavement, pain, poverty, death, fear- all these troubles might be removed if you and I try to reach these states of not being affected by sufferings. Perhaps no one else ever said such a great thing.[43]

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[43] Basu, A 1999. "Girindrasekhar Bose and the coming of Psychology in colonial India" Theoretical Perspectives : Centre for Alternatives University of Dhaka, Vol, 6 p 29.

Bose adapted the psychoanalytic situation as the means of social transformation in the country through realizing the goal of 'self-transformation'. He reinterpreted the theory of psychoanalysis as a moral discourse, which was not only inflicted upon the self, but was also directed towards society. By re- situated the educational goal of self-transformation within the terrain of healing, which was to be attained through merging with the supreme authoritarian presence of the teacher, Bose revived his image of an all-powerful father figure/ guru.

Ashis Nandy argued that in his therapeutic approach, Bose was overly didactic and interacted with his patients more actively[44]. During the therapeutic analysis, Bose emphasized the acquisition of the knowledge or information rather than the re -experiencing of emotions.[45] Bose's therapeutic attempts were inspired by the notion that wishes of opposite nature should be countered by the wishes of the opposite nature, in order to check with one's morally questionable doubts[46]. He attempted to build upon his theory of opposite wishes and postulated that an individual's mind contains wishes of opposite nature active and passive, out of which one remains in the unconscious[47].

In his therapeutic analysis, he placed a high premium on bringing together the wishes of opposite nature into consciousness and induce the patient to take cognizance of the nature of these wishes[48]. Amit Basu quotes Bose from one of his Bengali texts 'Swapna', "There is no such resistance in the human mind which holds him back to have sexual feelings towards his relatives. Only education etc. makes him aware of such immoral wishes. But this

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[44] Nandy, p. 107

[45] ibid, p.108

[46] Bose, G. "Applied Psychology", p. 4

[47] ibid, 1933. "A New theory of mental life". Indian Journal of Psychology, Vol. 8, p. 37-157

[48] Hartnack, p. 126.

explanation is inadequate. I think, an opposite wish to our sexual wishes hold us back to get sexually attracted towards relatives. I have said earlier that, if the resistance is only external then our wishes wouldn't have remained unconscious. Because, external resistance cannot drive a wish from the conscious. To do that, we need another wish. So, the main reason for not having a sexual wish towards our relatives, is having an opposite wish...In most cases sexual feelings donot arise towards near relatives, it remains as the unconscious and repressed wish in our mind."[49]

During the therapeutic analysis, Bose observed the patient's intense maternal identification, and analyzed that identification as ingrained in early intimate mother-child relationship.[50] He formulated various methods to reveal to the patient the process of identification with the mother and devised the seesaw method, in which the patient was asked to identify with the object, by reversing the subject-object relationship.[51] Along with this method, he tried out various other methods such as induced associations, active imaging and identifying with an object, in order to induce identification.[52]

Bose's therapeutic attempts to press upon feminine identification during analysis fell around mystical traditions, which encouraged uninhibited expression of femininity. The mystical traditions cultivated feminine identification by emphasizing the denial of one's sexual self.[53] The Brahmanical ideal of asceticism was to be attained in these traditions through the repudiation of one's masculinity. These cultural defenses, which were meant to

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[49] Basu, A, p. 41-42

[50] Bose, G. 1999. "The Genesis and the adjustment of the oedipus wish" in T.G. Vaidyanathan & Jeffrey Kripal (Eds.) Vishnu on Frend's Desk. Oxford University Press. Delhi, p. 26-27

[51] Hartnack, p. 126

[52] ibid, p. 135

[53] Kakar, Sudhir. 1991. The analyst and the mystic : Psychoanalytic Reflections on religion and mysticism. University of Chicago Press. Chicago.

check an individual's sexual fantasies towards the mother, oriented Bose's view of psychoanalysis as a moral discourse.

Bose was fondly adressed as "Guru Girindrasekhar" by his students. He was perceived to have a strong self-control and a detached atitude, which was interpreted as a scienctific temperament and a rational approach towards life.[54] He was eulogized as a Muni or saint who had reached the height of self-culture[55] or strove for ideal manhood in its fullest perfection[56]. Bose acted as an agent (guru) who would guide the individual to the path of liberation through pressing upon the individual to repudiate immoral wishes. Emphasis was placed on the holistic transformation of the patient, through identifying with the ideal image of the therapist. Sinha pointed that identification was one of the most important mechanisms for any kind of understanding during analysis.[57] Bose stressed the process of identification during therapeutic analysis and urged the patient to surrender to the analytic situation. The ultimate surrender to the analytic situation was considered as a pre-requisite to the process of identification with the therapist.[58] T.C. Sinha pointed out that patients exhibit resistance to surrender, which develops as a result of false ego (*Ahamkara*) attached to the self. He

[54] Sinha, T.C. 1957. "A short life sketch of Girindrasekhar Bose". Samiksa, Bose Special No., p. 68.

[55] Choudhary, R. 1957. "Our Doctor Babu". Samiksa, Bose Special No., p. 16-18.

[56] Krishna law, Sailendra, 1957. "Girindrasekhar Bose". Samiksa, Bose Special No., p. 11

[57] Sinha, T.C. 1967. "On training analysis" Samiska. Vol. 21, No. 1, p. 26

[58] Bose explained the process of identity formation on the basis of his theory of opposite wishes. The child's enclusive relationship with his mother is also defined by opposite wishes. The child reacts to the mother the way she acts towards him. Bose called this the process of retaliation-consisted of reversing the subject-object relationship, the action remains constant. This stage was called action identity. This stage leads to another stage, called ego-identity which results in identification with the mother. Identification with the mother leads to the feminine attitude towards the father. The child identifies with the father and expands the ego. This process of identity formation through taking a feminine attitude towards the father figure was also reflected in the analytic situation.

argued that this false ego was the difficult form of resistance during analysis and needed to be overcome[59].

The psychoanalytic situation in India was built around the imagery of a discourse between Krishna and Arjuna in the *Gita*.[60] D. Satya Nand argued that the discourse of the *Gita* between Arjuna and Krishna was of psychoanalytic nature and reflected the course of psychoanalytic therapy in the Indian situation. Arjuna's intense identification with Krishna in the *Gita* and incorporation of god-ideal within the self shaped the psychoanalytic context in the country[61]. The imagery of Lord Krishna, was not only that of a 'teacher' who would guide the individual through the path of self-realization, but also that of a 'healer' who would mend the psychological ruptures in him through the process of holistic transformation. Satya Nand placed high premium on *Bhakti Yoga* in the analytic situation[62], and 'a whole-hearted transference' towards the therapist, which would lead to the 'merging' with the image of the therapist[63].

Satya Nand explained psychological suffering of an individual in terms of the moral dilemma faced by Arjuna in the *Gita*. The dilemma was whether to display his aggression in war and to overthrow the government or to surrender for the good cause of peace and work for inner self[64]. In philosphical terms, Arjuna's dilemma was that whether he should merge with the god-ideal and develop a detached attitude or whether he should retain his attachment with the outer world. Nand identified the dilemma of Arjuna as that of a layperson, who is

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[59] Sinha, T.C. 1967. "The Ego factor in psychoanalysis". <u>Samiksa</u>, Vol. 21, No. 2, p. 71.

[60] Satya Nand, D. p. 167

[61] ibid, p. 167

[62] ibid, p. 200

[63] ibid, p. 179

[64] ibid, p. 170

to be guided through the path of inner psychological confusion. This interpretation of 'clinical phenomenon' was brought into light at the time when the country, during the colonial rule, was in a state of political turmoil The cultural reading of this clinical situation reflected the predicament of Indian society: to identify with the colonial image of 'masculinity' or to reassert the traditional image of ideal manhood (*purusa*) with a detached attitude and strong self-control. The social anarchism was the cultural form of psychopathology which was to be 'treated' through providing the image of a cultural ideal so that a detached attitude could be developed towards life.[65]

Collins and Desai explained that the intense identification in guru-sisya relationship reflects the fantasy of father-son unity explained in Vedic literature. The unconscious desire of father-son unity (which survive in Hindu rituals), reflect the father's need to protect himself from disintegration through merging with the image of the son.[66] In cultural terms, the identification or merging between the guru and sisya was to provide protection to one's generational continuity from disintegration.[67]

The pragmatic approach to the discipline, which conferred upon the science its scientific status, was reconfigured in the country to establish it as a moral discourse. The moral legitimation of the theory in the country also revitalized the authority of the guru which in modern times was bestowed upon the analyst.

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[65] Latif, I. p. 21

[66] Collins, Alfred & Desai, Prakash, 1999. "Selfhood in the Indian context." in P.G. Vaidyanathan & Jeffrey Kripal (Eds.) Vishu on Freud's Desk. p. 378-380.

[67] ibid, p. 381.

Chapter 4

Present Concerns in the Institutionalization of Psychoanalytic Education

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to summarize the issues involved the institutionalization of psychoanalysis in India. The discipline was culturally appropriated as a method of self-realization and was brought into practice as a moral discourse. The traditional guru-sisya relationship characterising the psychoanalytic situation in India, governed the form of institutional practices of the discipline. The nationalist struggle gave the discourse an important twist, that came undone in the years after the achievement of independence. The discipline, today has a minimal presence in metropolitan cities like Delhi and Bombay, where it was introduced as a clinical discipline. Sudhir Kakar, an Indian psychoanalyst brought back the interplay of clinical and cultural aspects of the discipline and constituted the base of the institutionalization of psychoanalysis. He pointed out that though the discipline contained the possibility of evolving into a cultural anthropology, its practice in clinical situations revived the traditional issue of guru-sisya relationship.

Kakar mentioned that there was a gradual decline in the progress of the discipline in the Indian Psychoanalytic Society and by the 1940s, Indian psychoanalysis lost its emphasis on the cultural aspects of psyche.[1] Psychoanalysis in India was institutionalized as part of academic psychology, which gradually dropped out of the discipline after the country gained independence from colonial rule. Nandy pointed out that by the time Bose died in 1953, psychoanalysis was already regarded as belonging to the history of psychology.[2] Bose's

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[1] Kakar, Sudhir. 1997. Culture and Psyche. Oxford University Press. Delhi. p.24

[2] Nandy, Ashis. 1995. The Savage Freud. Oxford University Press. Delhi. p.139

attempt to indigenize the discourse on psychoanalysis failed, as Indian psychology repudiated the vernacular form of the discipline and adopted the western culture of psychology- which promised to be a universal, objective science. Psychology in India gradually assimilated with global trends in psychology and the constant efforts to retain the tag of science compelled Indian psychologists to rigorously follow the Western model of psychology.[3]

The interaction between Western and Indian psychoanalysis was driven by the colonial and nationalist ideologies and the institutionalization of this discipline was little more than a victory of the colonial science. The marginality of psychoanalysis in India lies in the historical roots of the discipline, which concerned itself with the universality of its concepts and showed little possibility of cultural exchange. Freud considered psychoanalysis as a movement and regarded all kinds of disagreements as a resistance to the establishment of the truth[4]. In his correspondence with Bose, Freud showed little interest in the cultural redefinition of the theory.[5] Psychoanalysis, as a Western science, has shown greater concern with gathering evidence for its theories.[6] Carl Jung, though, showed an interest in the mystical traditions of India and incorporated various terms from Hindu philosophical tradition in his theories, but this cultural exchange was also guided by his colonial interests.[7]

Octave Mannoni points out that Freud knew from the beginning that his discoveries had an orientation towards anthropology and the therapy of neuroses and ethnography were

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[3] Nandy, Ashis. 1974. "The Non-paradigmatic crisis of Indian psychology: Reflections on a recipient culture of science". Indian Journal of Psychology, Vol.49, Part1,p..5-6 India as a recipient culture of science soon began to replicate the experiments done in the Western psychology and even the understanding of social phenomenon in the country was determined by the tests standardized on the Western population (though translated according to the needs of Indian studies).

[4] Mannoni, Octave. 1971. Freud- the theory of the unconscious . Pantheon Books. London.p.13

[5] Kakar, p.27

[6] ibid, p.37

[7] ibid, p.28-32 Some of the psychological concepts of Yoga that Jung found common were *citta* parralled by 'Jungian psyche', *tapas* was called as 'active imagination' ,*atman*- 'the Jungian self' and *guru*- 'thought beings'.

merely two applications of this new anthropology, which he named psychoanalysis.[8] Sudhir Kakar mentioned that this science of psychoanalytic anthropology has been asymmetrical in nature, since it extended its method to the anthropological world in order to appropriate the cultures according to the needs of the discipline.[9] He points out that Western culture with its well-defined goals of mental health viewed Indians as over-stimulated and their behavior as the result of intense libidinal gratification and showed little concern 'in entertaining the possibility that other cultures, with their different world-views, family structures and relationships, could contribute to its models and concepts'.[10]

Sudhir Kakar trained in the Eriksonian framework, stressed the importance of cultural aspects for understanding the inner psychological world of an individual. He reflected upon the maternal-feminine self of Indian males, developed due to prolonged relationship between the mother and the child, observed in clinical cases.[11] This maternal- feminine presence, which forms the inner world of Indian males, is reflected in the mythological world of the goddesses.[12]

Kakar explained that India, with its differently constituted images of body and self, has its own distinctive healing traditions, which have been revived more doggedly after they have been challenged by Western medicine.[13] He interpreted the processes of identity

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[8] Mannoni, Octave. 1972 "Psychoanalysis and the Decolonization of Mankind" in Jonathan Miller (Eds.), Freud, The Man, his world, his influence. Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd., London, p.87

[9] Kakar, 1997, pg.3. Octave Mannoni argues that Freudian anthropology had little to do with Freud and it was not him but anthropologists of his time who believed in primitivism and totem religion.

[10] ibid., p.33

[11] ibid, p.60-62

[12] ibid, p.62

[13] Kakar, Sudhir 1982 . Shamans, Mystics and Doctors: A psychological inquiry into India and its healing traditions. Oxford University Press. Delhi. p.3-4. Kakar explains that there are traditional physicians, vaids of Ayurveda and Siddha system and the hakims of Islamic unani system that have explained psychic distress and its alleviation in Indian culture through ages. Besides there are sorcerers, diviners, horoscope specialists and a variety of shamans, whose therapeutic efforts combine elements from classical Indian astrology, medicine, alchemy and magic, with beliefs and practices from the folk traditions.

formation in Indian culture by investigating the psychoanalytic meanings of anthropological forms. Kakar also brought the comparisons of his theoretical constructs of 'maternal-feminine presence' in Indian males with Bose's theoretical postulate of 'wish to be a female'. He pointed out that Bose brought cultural presence to the discipline by giving a vernacular form to its theoretical concepts. Bose emphasized on the distinctive cultural meanings associated with the passing of Oedipus complex in the Indian situation through observing that Indian males strongly identified with their mothers.[14]

He pointed out that an individual in the Indian context is less an individual but a 'dividual' merged with its surroundings, and individuality is a stage, which is to be attained at the later stage in the Hindu life cycle.[15] The normalcy of the Hindu personality was rooted in culturally distinctive child-rearing practices. Kakar mentioned that Indians, with their interpersonal identity, lack a psychological modernity, which is a pre-requisite for psychological analysis. Psychological modernity, in Kakar's words implied the recognition that one is possessed of a mind in all its complexity.[16]

Alan Roland, an American psychoanalyst, also emphasized upon the 'we-self' of an individual enmeshed within the hierarchical relationships of the family, that constituted an important aspect of the identity of Indian men.[17] An individual, in the Indian context, derives his identity through merging with authority figures of the family (especially in traditional joint families with a large number of authority figures).[18] Roland pointed out that in the Indian context, the concept of normalcy is brought from the inter-connected self of an individual as compared to America, where personal autonomy and self-reliance are regarded as the signs of normalcy.[19] Psychoanalysis as a value-laden science with a socio-cultural

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[14] Kakar, Sudhir. Culture and Psyche. p.62

[15] ibid, p.41

[16] ibid., p.51-52

[17] Roland, Alan. 1997. In search of self in India and Japan. Princeton University Press .Princeton. p.225

[18] ibid, p.225

[19] ibid, p.225

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orientation, Roland suggests, needs to take into account the socio-historical realities of the civilization and should bring about the integration of the discipline with other disciplines, such as sociology, history and anthropology.

Furthermore, the therapeutic situation in the Indian context is differently constituted as compared to the contractual relationship between the therapist and the patient in the West. During the therapeutic analysis, Indian men relate to the analyst as a guru or a family elder and expect guidance from him. The therapist is expected to show a real involvement in the difficulties of the individual during the therapeutic session.[20] Roland discovered that Indians psychiatrists and other psychotherapists belonging to different schools of thought confirmed to this view.

Many of the psychiatrists revealed that during therapy, they take up metaphors from the *Bhagavad Gita* to deal with the resistances of the patient during the session.[21] Professor Narayan from N.I.M.H.A.N.S.(National Institute of Mental Health and NeuroSciences) mentioned that he confronted the patient with the image of the heroic Arjuna suffering from depression and asking for help. This allowed the patient to own up their unhappy feelings and begin to explore their psychological difficulties. Roland gives an example of another psychiatrist, V.K. Alexender(1979), of Alwaye, Kerela, who also cites the *Bhagavad Gita* with educated patients. The imagery of the *Bhagavad Gita* is evoked for the patient, who is then asked to reveal everything and the therapist will help him understand the meaning of his symptoms in relation to his life.[22]

Psychologists or psychotherapsits in India belonging to different schools perceive that they, with their heritage of enriched pscyhological knowledge, have an advantage over their Western counterpart, and have the special duty of promoting htis knowledge among

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[20] ibid, p.60

[21] ibid, p.69

[22] ibid, p.69

the people. Durganand Sinha, as late as 1980s, suggested, "It is no way implied that the observations of the ancient seers were unreliable and invalid. What is emphaiszed is that by adopting the scientific methodology, the subject became 'public' rather than a private preserve of a few seers (drasta) whose insights were the basis of psychological theorisation"[23]

In Indian context, the patients come for therapy with the image of the therapist as a superior being, who would take the responsibility of his sufferings and deal with his crises actively. This has been complemented by the fact that the therapist accept these grandiose images provided to him. It has been suggested that the guru-chela model will be widely acceptable in the therapeutic situation in the Indian context, where the goal of the therapy is to inculcate self-discipline rather than self-expression.[24] Surya and Jayaram pointed out that Indians are ready to accept the situational support and less ready to accept intrapsychic explanations, involve the therapist in direct role-realtionships, and idealize him as the good joint family elder. Therefore, Indian therapists needs to understand and fulfill this role if they are to succeed as therapists.[25]

Kakar also observed that individuals come for therapy with a full-fledged guru fantasy-the existence of someone, somewhere who will heal the wounds suffered in all past relationships, and expects the therapist to show warmth and compassion.[26] Such fantasies are rooted in hierarchical relationships in India, where the male submits to the father/father-figure and wishes to merge himself with his ego ideal. Kakar accepted the grandiose parental representations of the patient but refused to act on them. He regarded the traditional healers

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[23] Sinha, Durganand. 1982. Psychology in a Third World Country. Sage Publications. New Delhi.

[24] Neki, J.S "Psychotherapy in India: Traditions and Trends", in M. Kapur, V.N. Murthy, K.Sathyavathi, R.L. Kapur(Eds.), Psychotherapeutic processes. National Institute of Mental health and Neuro Sciences, Bangalore p.26

[25] Surya & Jayaram, quoted by Neki in ibid, p.124

[26] Kakar, Culture and Psyche. p.49

sharing cultural symbols with the patients as more appropriate in the culturally defined therapeutic situations.[27]

Kakar recommended that anthropological psychoanalysis, where there is a possibility that psychoanalytic concepts can be refashioned according to the needs of the culture, could be better fitted for the study of cultures.[28] The psychoanalytic meanings associated with cultural forms were also brought into the psychoanalytic course introduced as a clinical discipline in Delhi University in 1985. This provided for the interplay of clinical and cultural aspects within the discipline. In Bombay, a psychoanalytic training and research center was started in 1974, with the help of M.V. Amrith, who was associated with Calcutta University. The institute is affiliated to the Indian Psychoanalytic Society, and focusses upon the mental health of children and adults. Sudhir Kakar mentioned that psychoanalysis in Bombay with its orientation towards the object-relations school placed little importance on the cultural aspects of an individual's reality. The object-relations school stressed upon the pre-oedipal stage of an individual's development, which is considered as the most universal stage of development in psychological growth. This stage was considered as free from any cultural influences. The nature of interaction between the clinical and cultural aspects of the discipline and the institutional practices shaping the institutionalization of the discipline in Delhi University and the psychoanalytic institute in Bombay has been left for future study.

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[27] Kakar, Shamans, Mystics and Doctors : A psychological inquiry into India and its healing traditions, p.43
[28] ibid, p.3

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