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“Tensions and Flows in the Life & Work of Judith S. Kestenberg”

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Tensions and Flows
in the Life & Work of Judith S. Kestenberg



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Abstract

The doctoral dissertation concerns a comprehensive historical and theoretical analysis of the life and work of Judith S. Kestenberg (1910-1999) with particular focus on the somatic orientation that permeates her oeuvre. Kestenberg's story is of a female inside/outsider, a Polish-Jewish emigree arriving to the New York Psychoanalytic circles at the outbreak of World War II. A nonconformist, innovative albeit eclectic thinker who gravitated towards the unknown and unspoken, the somatic precursors of psychic development and the kinaesthetic imprints of transgenerational trauma. These seemingly dissimilar topics of interest could signify a dislocation in Kestenberg's oeuvre however on closer look a somatic thread becomes conspicuous.

Although Kestenberg's contribution to the psychoanalytic understanding on movement behaviour was substantial, it remained largely unreflected. There hasn't been a historical study conducted to trace the evolution of her concepts or the significance of the human body and movement within the context of her professional and personal history. This study intends to fill this gap and integrate the work of a female, Eastern-European emigre psychiatrist's work into the historical recollection of American psychoanalysis.

Through the study of Kestenberg's work, the study explores issues of professional belonging, rejection of the body within psychoanalysis and the changing attitudes towards transdisciplinarity in American psy-sciences from the mid to late 20th century. A comprehensive historical survey of Kestenberg's oeuvre contributes to our understanding of the post-war discourses in American psy-sciences within which the study of bodily movement became central to the pursuit of the democratic project.

1. Introduction

On February 23, 1971, at the 565th meeting of the New York Psychoanalytic Society, Judith S. Kestenberg presented, for the first time, her psychodynamic theory of movement, "Development of the Child through bodily Movement I." At the symposium, Margaret Mahler (1971) stated that "*Dr. Kestenberg's research has placed psychoanalytic observation in a truly new key*" (p. 1) and predicted that Kestenberg's "*alphabet and grammar will be learned*" and "*her interpretations of the kind of body language [...] will become a source for enriched understanding of psychoanalytic theory and practice*" (p. 15) (New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society Meeting Notes, A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections, 565th meeting proceeding 1971).

Mahler's forecast of the wider dissemination of the Kestenberg Movement Profile proved to be overly hopeful in light of the fact that Kestenberg's theories of movement behaviour and her method of movement analysis remained almost entirely unreflected within psychoanalysis. Kestenberg chose a new research direction in 1974. Together with her husband, Milton Kestenberg and several mental health professionals, founded a research group for the '*Psychoanalytic Study of the effects of the Holocaust of Second Generation*'. Then in 1981 they launched the '*Jerome Riker International Study of Organised Persecution of Children*' which became one of the largest international research projects on the Holocaust. Through her psychohistorical studies on the transgenerational effects of Holocaust trauma, Kestenberg's name became known within psychoanalytic circles.

Kestenberg's work received a selective reception within American psy-sciences, namely psychoanalysis, psychiatry and dance-movement therapy. Disciplinary alliances and ambitions of the time lead to the fragmentation of her oeuvre along the lines of her two main projects. Her movement studies became influential in the emergent field of dance-movement therapy in the middle of the twentieth century in the USA. Her Movement Profile has been further developed by dance-movement therapists and forms an integral part of professional training still today. Contemporary discourse in psy-sciences a larger emphasis is placed on somatic experience and somatic interactions in developmental as well as therapeutic approaches that seems to echo various Kestenbergian concepts (Dosamantes-Beaudry, 1997; Tschachter & Bergomi, 2011; Luyten & Fonagy et al. 2012; Vermes, 2019, Smith, 2023).

Thus, it may be an opportune moment to insert Judith S. Kestenberg's work as a whole, into the history of American psy-sciences.

I first encountered Kestenberg's work during my dance-movement therapy graduate training. Coming from a contemporary dance and social work background with ample interest in the application of movement research and choreographic exploration to psycho-social support, I was, at first, curious to know what psychology wanted from dance; how it viewed the moving body and how it conceptualised bodily movement. Learning about the Kestenberg Movement Profile filled me with intrigue as it seemed to provide a theoretically well anchored view on the developmental aspects of movement behaviour. However, I was sceptical of the systemic and structuralist orientation embedded within it which seemed to be in slight conflict with the more dynamic and phenomenological approach of how it was presented to us during our graduate program. I found Kestenberg's approach to movement, that is, the perspective to search for the intention thus the mind in and of bodily movement, tremendously enlightening. I went onto complete the certification training in the method under the supervision of Kestenberg's former colleagues and students. Since then, the theoretical and practical knowledge of this framework not only enriched my clinical practice as a dance-movement therapist by guiding my interventions and improving my therapeutic skills but also made me adopt a metapsychological approach to thinking (within and) about the moving body. I came to be involved in the academic teaching of the Kestenberg Movement Profile at two accredited European graduate programs where the learning and interrogating the psychodynamic and conceptual underpinnings of the method are given equal emphasis. It is my opinion that Kestenberg's theory and method of movement analysis can be a sensitive, rich and detailed approach to the depth-psychology of bodily movement; it provides a unique view on embodiment which expands its relevance to artistic practice as well as to philosophical and cultural studies. However, it is equally important to understand its conceptual underpinnings, intellectual and historical context.

I delved deeper into the history and theoretical origins of the system through publications of Kestenberg which opened-up a world of further depth and detail as well as unknowns and tension. The attention and effort it took to receive the richness of her texts resulting from the difficulty of transcribing embodied experience in written language only lured me in further. I could sense the endurance Kestenberg must have applied to her quest. I was inspired by the distance she attempted to bridge over as a psychiatrist, with sporadic experiences of dance in her childhood, to create, speak and bring attention to the language of the moving body. The way she searched for the thinking body and the mind of movement, seemed to be a remarkably unique focus and an extraordinary undertaking within her field at the time. The lack of psychoanalytic reflections on her movement studies and the difference I

encountered between her original texts and the reinterpretation of her work by dance-movement therapists outlined a space for questions. Later, I stumbled upon her transgenerational trauma studies. The apparent dislocation of her interest from movement analysis to the study of the Holocaust as well as the seeming selective reception of her oeuvre in psychoanalysis and dance-movement therapy demarcated a field for my doctoral research. I hypothesised that Kestenberg's selective reception was owed to trends within psy-sciences at the time, thus I chose a history of science orientation for the dissertation.

Kestenberg was a 'spreader'¹, flowing her attention across various fields. The study musters several intertwining but still separate lines of stories, interests, contexts: as many as, one touches upon throughout a lifetime. I aim to honour the versatility of the complex life and career history of Kestenberg by tracing these lines within their own historical context working towards weaving them together. I personally resonated with this quality perhaps through my own inclinations to spread my interests across seemingly disparate fields of dance, critical theory, philosophical and historical studies (in and) of body and movement. Perhaps the comprehensive view of Kestenberg's oeuvre could be an invitation for a more lenient approach to dislocations, ambivalences and fragmentations in our own personal and conceptual histories.

1.1. Research Objectives

The dissertation concerns a theoretical and historical analysis of the life and work of Judith S. Kestenberg (1910-1999) with particular focus on the somatic orientation that permeates her oeuvre. Through a theoretical analysis, the research traces the emergence of Kestenberg's psychodynamic theory of movement development. Through the lens of the history of American psy-sciences and movement behaviour research, the research contextualises Kestenberg's work within the scientific milieu it emerged from. The research sets out to investigate the reasons for the selective reception of her movement studies within American psychoanalysis and dance/movement therapy. This inquiry into the history and development of Kestenberg's concepts attempts to establish a more unified view of her lifework re-inserting it into the historical narrative of American psychoanalysis and psy-sciences from the mid to late 20th century.

¹ A term relating to the frequent use of the element of Spreading in the movement category of Shaping in Planes of the Kestenberg Movement Profile. Janet Kestenberg Amighi described her mother as such during our personal communication on 13.11.2021.

The principal orientation of the dissertation is historical, where history is applied at several different registers. The versatility of Kestenberg's interests; her unique choice of research topics and the voluminous publication history she left behind contrasting the absence of her legacy from the history of American psychoanalysis reasoned the study of her oeuvre. In this sense history is used as a goal, uncovering the narrative of her career is the argument itself. History as a goal also appears in the biographical angle of this study. The winding roads that Kestenberg's life took; from Poland to Vienna and to New York; from a wealthy orthodox Jewish family background to forced emigration and financial hardship at the outbreak of the Second World War; from neurology to psychoanalysis; from her childhood fondness of gymnastic to movement studies; from the loss of her parents to Holocaust studies seemed and the to call for a synthesis. This is what I attempt to accomplish while simultaneously resisting the appeal of a complete integration honouring the dislocations, complexities and imperfect circles one walks in a lifetime.

As Borgos (2018, 2019) argued the life history of early 20th century women psychoanalysts sensitively shows the specific obstacles and possibilities inherent in the shifting socio-cultural norms characteristic of the period; namely expanding professional possibilities for women, professionalisation of psychoanalysis as well as the influence of gender norms on the roles women could take in the psychoanalytic movement, adversities arising from changing languages and cultural identities through forced emigration, ethnic and gender discrimination. Kestenberg belongs to a later cohort of the early 20th century university educated Jewish women. She can also not be considered part of the first women psychoanalysts. However, her life-history poignantly reflects the specific challenges Eastern-European, Jewish women in psy-sciences faced such as loss of their home and family, struggles of integrating into a new professional and cultural context, language barriers and financial hardship. Her life also demonstrates the potential of the inside-outsider position, that is, similarly to many early women psychoanalysts, gravitating towards unexplored or neglected topics thus bringing new perspectives to a largely male dominated conceptual sphere of psychoanalysis (Borgos, 2018, 2019).

On another register, history is applied as a tool to the study of Kestenberg's oeuvre to dispel the assumption that historical recollection reflects the significance and the weight of its object. Through the analysis of her work, I highlight its potential significance and through a reception study I examine the processes (disciplinary ambitions, conceptual and methodological alliances) that contributed to the neglect of her movement studies which in turn provides an example of the mechanism that led to theories and theorists becoming overlooked

or dismissed by their scientific fields in their time. Within this register I inquire how Kestenberg navigated contemporaneous disciplinary trends, how she anchored her theories and disseminated her practices. The reception study employs history also as a laboratory to test the apparent concern of psychoanalysis for the role of the bodily in psychic life. Furthermore, history is applied as a tool to demonstrate the links between 20th century modernity in the West, Cold War anxieties and the study of movement behaviour in the history of American psy-sciences through the somatic orientation inherent in Kestenberg's lifework. Touching upon tentative conceptual continuities between Kestenbergian notions on somatic processes provide a historical background to current embodied concepts within psy-sciences.

Outcomes of the theoretical and historical analysis are supported by recollections from Kestenberg's life-long collaborators and experts in the field of movement behaviour research highlighting the significance of Kestenberg's work and illuminating the connections between her personal and professional life. Opinion of graduate students of dance/movement therapy provide illustrative data on the current relevance and applicability of Kestenberg's movement-based assessment framework, the Kestenberg Movement Profile. Additionally, expert opinion of Hungarian psychoanalysts and psychodynamic dance and movement therapists was sought. The expert opinion of these professionals was presumed to be an apt source to underscore the place of the body and movement in current psychoanalytic discourse owing to the fact, that these professionals were both trained psychoanalysts and movement and dance therapists. This internationally unique pairing of expertise, namely that there is not much overlap between those with training in psychoanalysis as well as dance-movement therapy, posed these Hungarian professionals to be suitable interview subjects. Outcomes of this interview was also only used as illustrative data to underscore the findings of the historical and theoretical analysis.

1.1.2. Research Questions

The main questions of this study are:

- What intellectual milieu did Kestenberg's theory of movement development and method of movement analysis emerge from and what were the main conceptual and historical influences on Kestenberg's thinking?
- Which shifts in theorising, methodology and scientific orientation in mid-century American psychoanalysis contributed to the selective reception of Kestenberg's work that led to the neglect of her developmental movement studies? Respectively, how

would an integrative view of Kestenberg's oeuvre contribute to the understanding of the post-war history of American psychoanalysis and psychotherapies?

- Subsequently, what processes led to the close alliance between the emerging field of American dance/movement therapy and the Kestenberg Movement Profile? What do graduate students of dance/movement therapy trained in the Kestenberg Movement Profile think of its current relevance and application in dance/movement therapy?
- Where can we position Kestenberg's movement focused work within the history of movement behaviour research in the USA?
- How does a synthetic view of Kestenberg's life and work contribute to our understanding of the development of her ideas? Particularly, what are the aspects of personal life and circumstances that influenced her professional choices?

1.1.3. Expected Outcomes & Limitations

The study objective is to establish a comprehensive view of Judith S. Kestenberg's oeuvre and insert her legacy into 20th century history of American psy-sciences, particularly into the history of psychoanalysis. The conclusion of the archival research part of this study was the compilation and inauguration of the Judith S. Kestenberg papers at the Psychoanalytic Collection of the Manuscript Division at the Library of Congress, USA in January 2024.

Through a comprehensive view of Kestenberg's work conceptual echoes become palpable between her notions of embodiment and current concepts in the discourse of infant mental health and psy-sciences. In this regard the dissertation is the first step in drawing up the historical background of contemporaneous notions of somatic experiencing in psy-sciences. Furthermore, with the history of science perspective, the dissertation initiates an integrated view of the history of movement behaviour research specifically in the context of the socio-political currents of the mid to late 20th century in the USA. In both respects, where history is applied to elucidate a background to current phenomena, the contributions of this dissertation are initial and rather demarcate a field for further study.

The analytic framework of the dissertation rests upon the following pillars: personal and gender history, 20th century history of American psychoanalysis and psy-sciences and cultural analysis of the study of movement behaviour in 20th century modernity in the USA. This leads to a conscious omission of analytic perspectives which nonetheless could be auspicious to the study of Kestenberg's legacy, one of which is the philosophical study of her

conceptions on the body-mind in the wider context of Cartesian dualism. Amongst the limitations of this research, it must be mentioned that as my pivotal interest is historical, even though I discuss current studies and the present-day influence of Kestenberg's work, but examining its relevance and state-of-the art in detail falls out of the scope of this study.

1.2. Research Methodology

Corresponding to the historical orientation of this dissertation, its primary methodology relies on the toolset of historical research, namely archival research, theoretical and historical analysis of secondary sources and interviewing (Pléh, Mészáros & Csépe, 2019). Semi-structured expert interviews, according to ethos of historical research methodology, were not used as qualitative data but as illustrative, historical data. Qualitative method of focus group interviewing was also employed which forms the mixed methods aspect of the research.

During the research process I conducted rigorous archival research of primary sources, theoretical and historical analysis of secondary sources with particular focus on Kestenberg's developmental movement studies and the somatic orientation permeating her oeuvre. Furthermore, I carried out historical analysis on secondary sources to ascertain 20th century trends of American psy-sciences with specific remit to psychoanalysis, psychiatry and the emerging fields of movement behaviour research and dance/movement therapy to anchor Kestenberg's work within the contemporaneous scientific and socio-cultural milieu. The dissertation research also included conducting five semi-structured expert interviews and two focus group interviews with graduate students of dance/movement therapy.

1.2.1. Data Sources, Collection & Analysis

My sources of data during this research were predominantly archival documents of Judith S. Kestenberg's life and work, secondary sources in the history of American psy-sciences and movement behaviour research, as well as expert interviews and graduate students in the field of dance-movement therapy and movement behaviour research.

From a methodological viewpoint the dissertation follows the descriptive tradition of history of psychology as it relies on a wide array of archival material and personal recollections on Kestenberg work with the intention to present the chronology of the development of her ideas (Kiss, 2019; Pléh, 2014, Pléh, Mészáros & Csépe, 2019). Furthermore, the research

attempts the theoretical analysis of Kestenberg's conceptualisations on movement behaviour within the context of psychoanalytic thought and later in the interdisciplinary context of movement behaviour research in the USA. This latter orientation links the dissertation to theoretical research in the history of psychology (Pléh, 2014). Characteristic of the history of science approach to the history of psychology is the view of disciplinary history as the object of social history. By contextualising Kestenberg's developmental movement studies within the Cold War history of American psy-sciences and the history of movement behaviour research intends to embody this history of science perspective (Kiss, 2019). Concordantly with Pléh's (2014) assertion about this history of science approach, the dissertation aims to illuminate the relationship between the three vectors of history of psychology – ideas, individuals and society; that is, between Kestenberg, her ideas on movement behaviour, the societal context within which she lived and the socio-cultural-conceptual context from which her ideas emerged.

Primary sources included Kestenberg's training documents, professional and personal correspondence, published and unpublished scholarly work including her clinical and academic appointments and autobiographical paper. The following collections and archives were consulted: University of Vienna Archive, A. A. Brill Library & Archive of the New York Psychoanalytic Society, Berta Bornstein, Edith Jacobson, and Marianne Kris' papers at the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, USA; Paul Schilder papers at the Brooklyn College Library; Margaret Mahler's papers at the Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library of Yale University; Anna Freud's papers at the Freud Museum, UK; Martha Davis and Irmgard Bartenieff Collection at the Clarice Smith Library for Performing Arts of University of Maryland; Oskar Diethelm Psychiatric Library of the Weill-Cornell Hospital; Archives of the Mount Sinai Hospital; Archives of the New York Academy of Medicine; and private collections of Kestenberg's family and former colleagues, namely Janet Kestenberg Amighi, Helene Bass-Wichelhaus, Mark Sossin and Susan Loman. The conclusion of the archival research part of this study was the compilation and inauguration of the Judith S. Kestenberg papers at the Psychoanalytic Collection of the Manuscript Division at the Library of Congress, USA in January 2024. The archival research was made possible with the support of the Hungarian Fulbright Foundation.

During the theoretical analysis of secondary sources, I attended to publications of Kestenberg and publications of others concerning her work. Secondary sources for the historical analysis included publications of the Institute for Non-verbal Communication Research, the Kinesis Report and psychoanalytic journals, Whitney Laemmler's (2016) study on Rudolf von Laban's dance notation technology, Lucia Ruprecht's (2019) work on

gesturalism in the 20th century, Martha Davis' (1972, 1980, 2001) works on the history of movement behaviour research, Bican Polat's (2021) analysis on the history of mental hygiene movement and child guidance, Nathan G. Hale's (1995) survey on the history of American psychoanalysis, Gerald N. Grobb's (1991) study on mental health policy in modern America, Deborah Weinstein's (2013) research on the emergence of family therapy, Alrene Stein's (2009) study on the construction of second-generation Holocaust survivor identities in the United States, Harriett Pass Freidenreich's (2002) and Klara Naszkowska's (2023) social history studies on European, Jewish women in academia.

I conducted five semi-structured expert interviews and two focus group interviews. The expert interviews were conducted between 11/2021- 02/2023 via Zoom platform and in person with Kestenberg's colleagues and lifelong collaborators, namely Janet Kestenberg Amighi², K. Mark Sossin³, Susan Loman⁴, Sylvia Birklein⁵ and Martha Davis⁶. The data was recorded through the Zoom platform in video and audio or through a mobile audio recording device. An additional group expert interview was conducted on 31 January 2024 with three Hungarian psychoanalysts and dance and movement therapists. Experts were provided the questions of the semi-structured interviews in advance⁷. Opinions and recollections of the experts were used to underscore the outcomes of the historical research.

Focus groups interviews were conducted via Zoom platform on 26 February 2023 with the five graduate students of dance/movement therapy from the USA and on 25 April 2023 with the three graduate students of dance-movement therapy from Germany⁸. The data was recorded through as video and audio footage. Files of all interviews have been stored on the researcher's private computer with password protection. Subjects signed consent forms for part taking in the interviews where they were given prior information about the aim and scope of the research. The focus group interviews involved an international group of graduate students

² Interview conducted on 13.11.2021.

³ Interview conducted on 01.11.2022.

⁴ Interview conducted on 15.11.2022.

⁵ Interview conducted on 22.02.2023 and published in Kormos, J. (2023). A mozgás helye az analitikus térben [The place of movement in the analytic space]. *Lélekelemzés*, 18(2), 43-51. Interview by Sylvia Birklein.

⁶ Interview conducted on 31.01.2023.

⁷ Please see Appendix: Folder Expert Interviews/Document 1

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Folder Expert Interviews/K Mark Sossin/Document 1 & 2.

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Folder Expert Interviews/Martha Davis/Document 1

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1do8T5bw9BTL3STL0_crg8GHVHUDIm4zM/view?usp=drive_link

Folder Expert Interviews/Susan Loman/Document 1

https://drive.google.com/file/d/16NALd41a0PCBF2-13ko-LErn4poL1oOt/view?usp=drive_link

⁸ For the consent form templates please see Appendix/Folder Focus Group Interviews

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1PT5GZBFY0oUPqscGQb9guB--17U2P-sp?usp=drive_link

of dance/movement therapy trained in the Kestenberg Movement Profile. Data from the focus group interviews was thematically analysed focusing on pinpointing the main themes present in participants' opinions about the potential relevance of the Kestenberg Movement Profile in clinical work in dance-movement therapy. Thematic analysis is an analytic method of qualitative research which is well-suited to research questions where the meaning sought emerges from the narrative shared by interview participants (Birtalan, 2023). In the case of this dissertation, I intend to show the relevance and potential of the Kestenberg Movement Profile to dance-movement therapy practice partly through the opinions of graduate students of dance-movement therapy and partly through reviewing current research on the topic.

My hypothesis regarding the opinions of graduate students as data source for this research question lies in the assumption that the current and further potential of an assessment framework of a discipline is well illustrated through the attitude of the next generation of practitioners towards it. The opinion of graduate students is by no means representative of the whole potential and relevance of the framework, however alongside the array of publications on contemporary research and clinical applications of the method, it may sufficiently outline the state-of-the-art. I searched for themes directly related to my research questions in the data of the focus group interviews and applied a deductive orientation (Birtalan, 2023). The analysis pertained to identifying the main themes emergent in students' opinions regarding the relevance and applicability of the Kestenberg Movement Profile in dance-movement therapy practice.

1.3. Dissertation Structure

Chapter two is an overview of Judith Silberpfennig Kestenberg's life from her childhood in Poland to her final home in New York, USA. I discuss the circumstances of Kestenberg's upbringing, education, emigration, marriage and professional development. I intend to draw up the outline of her career and briefly present the significance of her legacy to set the scene for these to be explored in detail in the later chapters.

Chapter three pertains to the theoretical and historical analysis of Kestenberg's work with particular focus on her developmental movement studies. The focus of this chapter is Kestenberg's (psychiatrist and psychoanalyst) psychodynamic theory of movement development and method of movement analysis, the Kestenberg Movement Profile. In the first part of the chapter, I provide a theoretical analysis of Kestenberg's developmental approach

highlighting dominant schools of thought and professionals who influenced her conceptualisations. Then her most important publications will be chronologically surveyed as an attempt to trace the evolution of her ideas. Lastly, the metapsychological framework of the Kestenberg Movement Profile will be discussed inclusive of the conceptual and methodological currents embedded within it. In the last part of the chapter, I take an outlook onto the last major project of Kestenberg, her studies on the transgenerational trauma of the Holocaust with particular focus on the relationship between the earlier epoch of her work, the movement studies and the last epoch, her trauma studies.

Chapter four presents the difference in reception of Kestenberg's developmental movement studies within psychoanalysis and dance/movement therapy in comparison to her Holocaust studies in a concise format. In chapter five, I survey theoretical issues, disciplinary boundaries, and historical context of the American psy-sciences which led to the selective reception of Kestenberg's work. Here, I'm concerned with the contextualisation of Kestenberg's developmental movement studies within the mid to late 20th century trends in American psy-sciences and in movement behaviour research. To understand the relevance and reception of Kestenberg's work an examination of its alliances and inconsistencies with the contemporaneous trends in psy-sciences is essential. In doing so, I present a focused history of psychoanalysis and psychoanalytic psychiatry in the United States with specific attention on the changing trends in theorising and methodology in psychoanalysis in the 1950s and the 1970s. Then I discuss the changing trends within American psychiatry of the mid 1960s. In the later part of the chapter the scope of analysis is expanded onto the kinetic project of modernity highlighting the intimate relationship between the study of movement behaviour and socio-cultural processes of 20th century modernity in the West.

Chapter six presents the contemporary application of Kestenberg's work in the clinical practice of dance-movement therapy, parent-child psychotherapy, and psychoanalysis. I expand onto discussing current studies in which the Kestenberg Movement Profile is applied as a method of movement analysis or in which aspects of Kestenberg's framework are tested. I also take an outlook onto embodied concepts in contemporary discourse of psy-sciences which echo Kestenbergian notions. The last part of the chapter presents an integration of Kestenberg's life and work as a whole highlighting the continuities and dislocation across her oeuvre, identifying inner threads of interest throughout the course of her life.

2. The Life of Judith Silberpfennig Kestenberg⁹

This chapter provides an overview of Judith Silberpfennig Kestenberg's life from her birth and childhood in Poland around the turn of the century to her final home and death at the end of the 20th century in New York, USA. This herstory is of a female inside/outsider, a Polish-Jewish emigree arriving to the New York Psychoanalytic circles at the outbreak of World War II. A nonconformist, innovative albeit eclectic thinker who gravitated towards the unknown and unspoken, the somatic precursors of psychic development and the kinaesthetic imprints of transgenerational trauma.

I intend to draw an outline of Kestenberg's life in broader strokes at first that can provide the backdrop to the detailed analysis of her work in the forthcoming chapters. It is necessary to highlight that this overview as well as the dissertation as a whole weighs more towards the analysis and discussion of Kestenberg's professional career than her personal life experiences. This asymmetry is partly owed to the lack of detailed biographical information found about Kestenberg's personal life and perhaps also influenced by her somewhat career-focused lifestyle. In the latter sense this imbalance in the discussion of her oeuvre reflects her orientations throughout her life.

To uncover the life history of Kestenberg, I conducted rigorous archival research at various medical, psychoanalytic and university archives internationally. I accessed Kestenberg's training documents through the University of Vienna Archive and the A. A. Brill Library & Archive of the New York Psychoanalytic Society. I consulted collections of those psychoanalysts who were central to Kestenberg's work or with whom Kestenberg had direct contact, namely the Paul Schilder papers at the Brooklyn College Library, Berta Bornstein, Edith Jacobson, and Marianne Kris' papers at the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, Margaret Mahler's papers at the Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library of Yale University and Anna Freud's papers at the Freud Museum London. To trace Kestenberg's relation to dancers, dance/movement therapists and movement researchers, I visited the collections of Martha Davis and Irmgard Bartenieff at the Clarice Smith Library for Performing Arts at the University of Maryland. Information on Kestenberg's clinical appointments were obtained through medical archives in New York City, namely the Oskar Diethelm Psychiatric Library of the Weill-Cornell Hospital, Archives of the Mount Sinai Hospital and the Archives

⁹ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival research/Pictures of Kestenberg
https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1dWUJXpn1a7WoqUNnXZyQwnLHkVG9ibGB?usp=drive_link

of the New York Academy of Medicine. The archival research presented in this chapter also involved the discovery and appraisal of documents accessed through private collections of Kestenberg's family and former colleagues, namely Janet Kestenberg Amighi, Helene Bass-Wichelhaus, Mark Sossin and Susan Loman.

2.1. Childhood and Family History

Judith Silberfennig Kestenberg, was born as Judyta Hadasa Silberpfennig (called Ida or Idus by her friends and family) on 17th March 1910 as the third child of an orthodox Jewish family, in Krakow which was under Habsburg rule at the time. Both her mother, Sara Salome Silberpfennig (maiden name Bauminger, 1883/1884/1887–1941) and her father, Yeshayahu Silberpfennig (called Szaje, also Chaim, Jesaia Kaim, 1883/1884/1886–1941) came from wealthy Jewish families. Judith had two older siblings, Henry (1905–1961) five years older, and Helen Silving (maiden name Henda Silberpfennig, 1906–1996) four years her senior. The family lived in Tarnow which was a main Galician town (now Poland), a multinational and multicultural region created in 1772 with the first partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from lands annexed by the Habsburg Empire (Naszkowska, 2023). Tarnow had a large Jewish community which comprised about half the population forming a community of some 25,000 (Spector & Wigoder, cited in Naszkowska, 2023). Judith's family was an affluent, well-connected family in their hometown, they lived in one of the most beautiful townhouses of the city filled with artwork according to her sister's recollection (Silving, 1988, p. 36).

Judith's mother, Salome was a vibrant and intellectually minded woman according to her daughter's recollections (Kestenberg, 1992; Silving, 1988). She spoke six languages, enjoyed Hebrew poetry, played the piano and apparently secretly attended courses at the University of Krakow before women were allowed to enrol, however this could not be substantiated through archival research by Naszkowska (2023, p. 200) who conducted archival research of the university records reports. Salome later audited courses in political science at the University of Vienna, where her son Henry studies, and made close connections with Hans Kelsen, the well-known jurist and legal philosopher and professor at the University at the time (Naszkowska, 2023; <https://geschichte.univie.ac.at/en/persons/hans-kelsen>). Her daughter Helen wrote that: "*She refused to be identified as a housewife*" (Silving, 1988, p. 75). Judith remembered her mother as psychologically gifted with unending love for children. During the

Great War, Salome frequently visited a large orphanage in their town where she took Judith with her to play with the children (Kestenberg, 1992, p. 151). Judith believed that her mother wanted to become a doctor but as women couldn't enrol to university at the time, she never managed to fulfil her intellectual ambitions, which she tried to overcome by living vicariously through her children (op.cit).

Szaje Silberpfennig, Judith's father, was an entrepreneur who accumulated great wealth through his investments. He owned a large car and frequently took the family on lavish vacations. Judith's sister, Helen's memoir, Szaje was a radiant, kind-hearted, and socially engaged person, a great public speaker who later became the head of the Jewish community (Silving, 1988, p. 5). Szaje was a socialist and a generous philanthropist; established an orphanage for toddlers in Tarnow after the First World War which Judith visited with her mother on a weekly basis as a child (Kestenberg, 1992, p. 157). Due to her father's business endeavours he was absent a lot during her childhood. "*He had various factories [...] He also used to disappear here and there*" (Kestenberg, 1992, p. 151. author's translation).

Judith was born with dorsal scoliosis and had to lie in an inclined position half an hour a day in a scoliosis brace that was attached to her hips and her neck. It was a device she was strapped in and could not get out of by herself. It caused her physical discomfort as she remembered, but her mother sat with her and read her stories everyday (op.cit. p. 148). Later she attended gymnastics classes with her brother. Judith enjoyed the physical freedom of climbing and jumping and flying in the air during these lessons. Her fondness for gymnastics and dance never ceased. She kept doing gymnastics even in her adolescent years (op.cit). She had the tendency to daydream about dance choreographies. Kestenberg also aspired to be a choreographer according to her daughter's recollection (Kestenberg Amighi, 1990, p. 10)¹⁰. These (day)dreams may have lent the foundation for her later interest in movement behaviour.

Typical for Orthodox Jewish customs of the time, Judith received her education at home from private tutors. Her studies consisted of Hebrew reading and writing, Jewish religion, culture, and traditions. As she remembered: "*The Bible was my elementary book, the source of my knowledge, what was allowed and what was not*" (Kestenberg, 1992, p. 162). She remembered her Hebrew teacher Mr. K. as an empowering educator who allowed her to find her own way to God, he was also devoted to the cultural and social aspects of Judaism which made a lasting impact on Judith's thinking (op.cit). She attended the synagogue with enthusiasm

¹⁰Kestenberg Amighi, J & Loman, S. (1990) The Past of the Kestenberg Movement Profile: A panel discussion Kestenberg, J. S., Buelte, A., Marcus, H., Berlowe, J., & Lamb, W. In S. Loman & P. Lewis (Eds.), The Kestenberg Movement Profile: Its past, present applications, and future directions.

and greatly enjoyed the singing and the community spirit she experienced there as a child (op.cit. p. 156). Her first book was the Bible and a prayer book. She wrote in her biographical sketch (1992) that the Bible was a foundational book for her, and she believed that answers to every question can be truly found through rereading of the Bible (op.cit. p. 156). As there were no public high schools for girls in Galicia at the time, Judith was enrolled in a private gymnasium for girls where she received college-level education (Naszkowska, 2023). In the interwar years antisemitism was gradually growing in the Second Polish Republic. Judith remembered that she had experienced antisemitism at her gymnasium from her teacher (Kestenberg, 1992, p. 165; Naszkowska, 2023). In the early 1920s, after multiple bad investment decisions Szaje Silberpfennig lost large amounts of the family's wealth which forced them to sell the family home (Kestenberg, 1992, p. 11.).

2.2. From Poland to Vienna

In 1923, Judith's older brother graduated from high school and decided to study political science at the University of Vienna. His mother Salome accompanied him, in 1924 Helen and Judith joined them as well. Judith was enrolled in a private high school for girls in Ottakring, a working-class neighbourhood of Vienna. The girls' gymnasium was led by Ludo Moritz Hartmann, a well-known social democrat and historian, the father of Heinz Hartmann (Naszkowszka, 2023). Judith stated that she acquired a leftist ideology from the years spent at this gymnasium which stayed an integral part of her worldview throughout her life. She recalled: "*Nevertheless, I was sent to a private middle school in the Ottakring working-class district of Vienna, a kind of socialist high school, to the Ludo-Hartmann-Volksheim*" [...] (op.cit. p. 158, author's translation). Judith remembered these years as foundational in cementing her socialist worldviews and reinforced her appreciation for community welfare (op.cit). Later, even though she did not join the socialist student movement officially, she collected membership fees from door to door for the Viennese socialist party¹¹ (op.cit. p. 154).

¹¹ I was unable to confirm due to after several attempts I was unable to access the membership documents of the Austrian Socialist Party

2.2.1. Medical School in Vienna

In 1928 Judith enrolled at the Medical School of the University of Vienna and pursued a specialisation in neurology which she later changed to psychiatry (University of Vienna Archives; Naszkowszka, 2023). Her first love, Walter, who also studied at the medical school introduced her to Freud's work which she did not take to at first. As she put it: "*My resistance to psychiatry and psychoanalysis was linked to my idea that a man must be flawless and heroic and not allowed to complain*" (op.cit. p. 159, author's trans.). Towards the end of her studies the political situation worsened in Vienna, Judith recalled "[...] *my red Vienna disappeared [...]*" and she found herself struggling with issues of belonging (op.cit. p. 161, author's trans.). She passed her final examinations in the summer of 1933 and graduated as a doctor of psychiatry on 8th June 1934 (University of Vienna Archives). In the same year she published her first paper.

[...] I went to the Neurological Institute, whose head was Professor Marburg. I wrote my first paper on pseudotabes¹², which was published in 1933. What particularly interested me was how the histological picture could explain the patient's symptoms. So, I saw that one can deduce the brain change from one's external behaviour (op.cit. p. 160, author's trans.).

Judith recalled that Max Schur¹³ (1987-1969), who she acquainted earlier, told her that she has neurosis, and she should seek treatment. Judith recalled: "*That was too much for me. I didn't want to be a patient*" (op.cit. p. 161. author's trans.). Perhaps through the interest in her own mental health, she decided to intern at University's Neurology and Psychiatry Clinic (Nervenlinik) where she found Freud's work again, which at this time she saw to be relevant to her studies on brain injury.

¹² A syndrome with the characteristics of tabetic neurosyphilis but not due to syphilis. <https://medical-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/pseudotabes>

¹³ Polish, Jewish emigree to Vienna, a member of the Viennese Psychoanalytic Society and family doctor of Sigmund Freud

I started working in the psychiatric ward and slowly began to become acquainted with Freud for the second time, but at a higher level. His ideas were very related to my brain studies. From the beginning, his thinking was that of a neurologist, and I soon saw the connection between body, brain, and psyche, especially since I found Paul Schilder's works very stimulating (op.cit. p. 161. author's trans.)

Judith worked with cases of aphasia who were confined to the psychiatric ward which allowed her to continue pursuing her neurological interest within psychiatry. Judith met Margaret-Schoenberger Mahler at the Neurology and Psychiatry Clinic where she was a senior resident (op.cit. p. 162). Mahler taught Kestenberg the Rorschach test which they applied in their research about the relevance of the Rorschach test in cases of brain injury. They published their manuscript in 1938 in Switzerland (Kestenberg, 1989a). Through their research, Judith stated to have understood the relationship between psychological and physical loss, through cases of amputees who lost love-objects did not develop phantom sensations. In a way the reality of the psychological loss made it impossible for them to deny the loss of the limb. She concluded that the psychological process played the main role in adjusting the body schema (op.cit. p. 163).

In 1934, she applied to the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society where she was interviewed by the Polish-speaking Dr. Ludwig Jekels and Dr. Helene Deutsch. They discouraged her training at the time (Naszkowska, 2023). However, she began her psychoanalytic training with the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society for free in February 1935¹⁴. Dr. Eduard Hitschmann became her training analyst who she saw for 20 months before she was admitted to theoretical education in 1936 (Freud Museum London, Anna Freud Papers, WPV/01/223; New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections. (Kestenberg training documents, application form, 18.09.1937).

2.3. From Vienna to New York

According to a report from Hitschmann on 25th June 25, 1937, Judith showed some 'syndromes' that were typical for the beginning of analysis but as these were deemed insignificant, she could continue her psychoanalytic education. Hitschmann wrote that Judith's analytic education was interrupted as she was offered an internship position in the USA. He

¹⁴ See Appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Training Documents/Vienna Psychoanalytic Society/ Document 1 & 1a.
https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1t0gqPE-XUIdXq5BlboQ8Si1PGUVP_vyN?usp=drive_link

highly recommended her to be admitted to the New York Psychoanalytic Society to continue her education¹⁵. Dr. Hubert Urban, a clinician at the Vienna Nervenlinik provided her with an affidavit for her American visa through his friend. Judith's former neurology professor Hans Hoff contacted Paul Schilder (1886-1940) to arrange an internship for her at the Bellevue Hospital which was managed by Schilder at the time. Schilder provided the invitation letter for her. However, by searching the Paul Schilder papers at the Brooklyn College Library & Archive, I could not find any documentation about their relationship, correspondences, mentions or even the invitation letter. Judith did not have the funds for the transatlantic journey, and her mother discouraged her leaving. Her father sent her 100 dollars, which was her dowry money, from Poland and she was able to leave (Kestenberg Amighi, interview, 2021).

Judith left Vienna on 30th June 1937 and became an intern at the Bellevue Hospital's Child Psychiatry Department under the tutelage of Paul Schilder, Viennese emigre psychiatrist and psychoanalyst (Kestenberg, 1991; Naszkowska, 2023, Kestenberg 1971). Judith remembered Schilder as someone who was generous in welcoming her to the Bellevue professional community. She invited her to clinical discussions even though she was not a trained analyst yet. "*Personally, Schilder tried very hard to make my life in New York easier*" (Kestenberg, 1992, p. 164, author's trans.). He invited her to attend group therapy sessions as well, which reportedly had an influence on her. Judith only received food and board during her placement at Bellevue, so she struggled financially. Max Schur gave her the contact of someone at the council for Jewish Women, an organisation providing help for emigrants at the time. She received a stipend of 20 dollars a month, which covered commuting expenses. She became friends with two women from this organisation, who helped her by sending refugees and emigrants to her for analysis later. They also helped her with publishing scientific papers in English (Kestenberg, 1992, op.cit.).

Kestenberg recollected that "*the first thing I noticed in the psychiatric ward at Bellevue Hospital was that my English, which I had learned from a Scot, was not sufficient to understand the colleagues and the patients*" (1992, p. 164, author's trans.) which caused her further hardships in grounding herself within the new professional community. At the same time the political situation worsened in Europe, and it became clear to Judith that she wouldn't be able to return (Naszkowska, 2023). Her family sent her belongings and their china, but Judith could

¹⁵See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Training Documents/Vienna Psychoanalytic Society/Document 1-1a.
https://docs.google.com/document/d/13IwrQNBO6j7iPoaoBPxKRfcZG8VIhipZ/edit?usp=drive_link&oid=103572963465420908506&rtpof=true&sd=true

not pay the fee at customs, so the package was sent back (Janet Kestenberg Amighi, interview, 2021). She worried for her mother, sister, and brother in Vienna and for her father in Poland. She went into analysis with Edith Baxbaum in New York (Naszkowska, 2023).

Judith recalled that she was scared when she arrived in New York, which she did not realise at the time. Her supervising analyst pointed it out during the analysis of her heightened state of anxiety (Naszkowska, 2023, p. 205). She was worried for her family and really wanted to get them out of Austria. Personal letters from 1937-1938 between Judith, her sister and mother in Vienna and father in Poland, found during my archival research at Judith Kestenberg's daughter's estate, attest to her worries. Her father seemed to be worried about Judith's sister and wanted to help her to go to New York as well. Judith had an issue with her residence permit in the US due to a missing document, her father helped her resolve the issue through a public notary he knew¹⁶. Due to these accumulated struggles, she didn't complete her psychoanalytic training until 1943 (Kestenberg, 1992). Judith finally managed to secure funds for her brother Henry through the Emergency Committee on Relief and Immigration of the American Psychoanalytic Association (Naszkowska, 2023). Henry was able to travel to Cuba and later settled in Florida (Janet Kestenberg Amighi, 1946-).

Her sister, Helen was able to flee the country on her own on 15th March 1939 and came to New York. Helen later became the first female law professor in the USA (Naszkowska, 2023). With Germany's invasion of Poland, Judith's mother, Salome fled Vienna towards the east to Stanislavov, which was in Soviet-occupied Poland. Judith recollected: "*She received permission from the Russians to leave. I sent her a ticket immediately (with Kubie's help), but it was too late. She couldn't leave anymore. I don't know what happened in this little town of Stanislavow*" (Kestenberg, 1992, p. 20, author's trans.). On 26th July 1941, Stanislavov was taken by the Germans and Salome was murdered in one of the three massacres that year (Naszkowska, 2023, p. 206). Her father, Szaje Silberpfennig, who was still in Tarnow, was imprisoned in Tarnow in 1941. After December 1941 the correspondence between Judith and Szaje ceased, he was deported to KL Auschwitz concentration camp where he later perished. His death was noted on 23rd December 1941 by Stanislav Ryszter (Naszkowska, 2023, p. 206.). Judith only learned after the war, when the list of Jewish survivors was published in 1945/1946, that both of her parents were killed. She recalled that this was the moment when she "[...] realised for the first time that [my mother] would never speak to me again, but I still didn't

¹⁶ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Family letters 1937-1938/Document 1. https://drive.google.com/file/d/1rgNde6wt9Agkjt4JsQuUzB7klYdI0bGf/view?usp=drive_link

believe it” (op.cit. p. 182). According to her own memories, she became extremely depressed, ridden with guilt and submerged into a period of latency as she defended against the trauma by throwing herself into her work and avoided the topic of the Holocaust (Kestenberg, 1992; Naszkowska, 2023). “*The period of latency served as a distancing manoeuvre from the trauma that could not be averted*” (Kestenberg & Kestenberg, 1988, p. 34). She refused to talk about the Holocaust even with family members (her cousin who emigrated to the US) who were similarly affected by the loss of their parents (Naszowska, 2023). Struggling with the loss of her parents, Judith returned to analysis in 1948, this time to Marianne Kris (Kestenberg, 1992; Naszkowska, 2023).

2.3.1. Marriage and Family

A year after she lost contact with her parents, Judith met her husband in 1942 who became her true companion for life professionally and personally. They got married in 1944 and had their first child in 1946 (Kestenberg, 1992; Naszkowska, 2023). Milton Kestenberg (1913-1991) was a Polish-Jewish lawyer who arrived in the United States by chance and could not return to Poland due to the outbreak of World War II. He studied at St. John’s University in Queens, New York. Judith and Milton both came to the United States with plans to return to Europe which was barred by the outbreak of the war for both. They lost close family members during the Holocaust which they learnt only after the war (Kestenberg, 1992).

Judith remembered that Milton reinvigorated her long-buried feelings towards her father as a role model. “[...] *The trust that I had in my father as a child was reawakened [in Milton]*” [...] and “*I felt like a new-born*” (op.cit. pp. 181-182). Milton, also a Polish, Jewish emigre, wanted to become a psychiatrist but did not get admitted to the university due to numerus clausus. He became a litigator for restitution cases for Holocaust survivors. Milton was psychologically minded and admired Judith’s profession which was demonstrated later in their joint project of the international studies on the Holocaust. Judith and Milton Kestenberg had two children, Janet Jane Kestenberg (1946, married Kestenberg Amighi) and Howard Kestenberg (1956, who was adopted when Judith was 46 years old). They both recall their mother being a caring and attentive mother, who was charismatic, energetic, socially conscious, and sensitive to the needs of children (Kestenberg Amighi, interview, 2021; Naszkowska, 2023). Janet Kestenberg Amighi (married name) ended up working alongside her mother on her developmental movement studies. The Kestenberg family moved to Long Island, Sands

Point, New York in 1959. Their family home was often a location of various fundraising and community development events as well as the office for Judith Kestenberg's psychoanalytic practice (Kestenberg, 1992).

2.3.2. New York Psychoanalytic Society

The Third Reich gaining power in Europe from the early 1930s onwards led to waves of emigration of European analysts to the USA. By 1942 the centre for the analytic movement shifted to the USA. Repercussions of the Great Depression lasted well into the 1930s which only exacerbated the struggles of the newcomers and earning from private practice was precarious. The potential for employment in state hospitals was also scarce, as state institutions were cutting back on funding and staff. These economic hardships made it even less likely that an emigrant would receive a position when there were many well-trained American professionals looking for extra income (Hale, 1995).

In 1931 disputes broke out within American psychoanalysis. Several schisms formed that divided the community to groups of young classical theorists and older eclectics, Americans and European emigres, Jews, and gentiles. Intellectual and cultural orientation of the American and European analysts were also somewhat dissimilar. American analysts, like Lawrence Kubie, tended to embrace a culturally liberal tradition and the capitalist medical economics of American private practice (Hale, 1995, p. 118). He stood against free analysis as he argued that it would hinder the motivation of the analysand. European emigres were, in larger proportions, politically left leaning which became somewhat muted in the cultural milieu of the USA. They delved into topics of social work, psychosomatic medicine, theory and technique and organisation of psychoanalytic training (op.cit.).

At the same time as questions of theoretical orthodoxy versus eclecticism rippled through the community, a new structure and function of the American Psychoanalytic Association was proposed. It became an umbrella organisation for local societies and its main focus was to raise the standards of psychoanalytic training across the country (Hale, 1995, pp. 115-116). Its new constitution was accepted in 1935. The New York Society was characterised by more orthodox than others and made attempts to exclude more experimental societies such as Baltimore-Washington. This conflict was fuelled by Sandor Rado's dislike of Karen Horney who lectured at Washington-Baltimore. However, Rado's diversions from Freudian theory also created fractions within the New York Society, observed by a recent European emigre Heinz

Hartman (Hale, 1995, p. 116.). With the annexation of Austria in 1938 the final wave of emigration of European analysts started. Issues of theoretical orthodoxy versus eclecticism, control over psychoanalytic training and child analysis, the relationship between psychoanalysis and psychiatry and medicine enduringly complicated American psychoanalysis during the years of the war (Hale, 1995, p. 156).

These social and economic adversities shaped the context within which Judith Silbepfennig had to build her new home and find a new professional community. She entered the New York Psychoanalytic Society in 1937. She remembered that when she joined the Society, oppositions between Rado and Horney divided the New York psychoanalytic community (Kestenberg, 1992). She stated to have been very intrigued by Horney's concepts but was also aware how it could not be reconciled with Freudian psychoanalysis (Kestenberg, 1992). Herman Nunberg became her supervising analyst (Kestenberg, 1991, pp. 171-172; New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections Kestenberg training documents¹⁷). Kestenberg became an associate member of the New York Psychoanalytic Society in 1943 and a full member in 1945¹⁸. Her first years in the New York Society were about being reunited with several former colleagues from Vienna (Kestenberg, 1975), including Margaret Mahler.

Mahler and Kestenberg knew each other from Vienna and worked together on a research project at the Nervenlinik in the 1930s (New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections. Kestenberg training documents; Kestenberg, 1992). They were both devoted to child guidance and mental hygiene, strongly relied on Freudian structural theory, and conducted direct infant observation studies. Mahler was one of the few analysts who seemed to comprehensively understand Kestenberg's work and shared her interest in the relationships between bodily movement and psychic development. They followed each other's work closely and remained close colleagues throughout their lives, however their relationship was not without conflicts¹⁹. A letter correspondence between Mahler and Kestenberg from 1955 attests to a conflict between them.

¹⁷ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Training Documents/New York Psychoanalytic Society/Document 1 & Document 4.

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1uBcY0fDOv48ipeGOt_sWa4AcJrUU0dK/view?usp=drive_link

¹⁸ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Training Documents/New York Psychoanalytic Society/Document 2.

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1uBcY0fDOv48ipeGOt_sWa4AcJrUU0dK/view?usp=drive_link

¹⁹ See Appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Correspondences/Margaret Mahler Correspondence/Document 1

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1pqOQ_GZKnnYFNs_nPyDJr_hlTPZ98M-/view?usp=drive_link

Kestenberg seems to have addressed Mahler's work with critical comments at a plenary discussion to which Mahler responded negatively. Kestenberg was surprised by Mahler's response to her which she conveyed in her letter while reassuring Mahler that she did not mean any harm towards her or her work. In her response, Mahler expressed that she experienced Kestenberg as unpredictable, characterised by strong hostility mixed with guilt driven bursts of goodwill and generosity²⁰. They both expressed appreciation for the long-standing friendship they have. They seemed to have overcome this conflict which is attested by their later frequent and affirmative correspondence. Kestenberg invited Mahler to her daughter's first confirmation. She also took active part in organising a party for Mahler in 1971²¹. Sossin expressed that both Kestenberg and Mahler were of strong characters, and they had their footprint which some colleagues found difficult to work with. "[...] *Many didn't feel comfortable with her because of the authority she carried*" (Sossin, interview, 2022).

Kestenberg (1992, p. 183) recounted that due to certain differences between Berta Bornstein, her close association with Mahler resulted in Bornstein opposing her becoming a training analyst on Mahler's recommendation. It is demonstrated in their correspondence that Kestenberg viewed Mahler as a supporter of her work and relied on her as a translator of her ideas on movement in front of the less acquainted analytic audience²² (New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections, M. Mahler, and J. S. Kestenberg correspondence). Apart from Mahler, Berta Bornstein, Phyllis Greenacre, Edith Jacobson, and Marianne Kris were supportive of Kestenberg's work. In the 1940s, while still in training, Kestenberg began to attend Marianne Kris' child analysis seminars where Berta Bronstein and David Levy also gave lectures. As there was no child analysis training at the time the seminars were held at Kris' home (Naszkowska, 2023; Kestenberg, 1992). Marianne Kris wrote an approving report of Kestenberg's training progress in 1942²³. Kestenberg sent Edith Jacobson a manuscript of a paper in 1950 looking to receive

²⁰ See Appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Correspondences/Margaret Mahler Correspondence/Document 1

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1pqOO_GZKnnYFNeS_nPyDJr_hlTPZ98M-/view?usp=drive_link

²¹ See Appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Correspondences/Margaret Mahler Correspondence/Document 1 & 2.

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1yornAY9NrOO6D5rH-lUiYvRBIFwjZ_cm/view?usp=drive_link

²² See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Correspondences/Margaret Mahler Correspondence/Document 2.

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1h6qsrDB2YvY7Z7-dhHdGAXkMEzAgpPa5/view?usp=drive_link

²³ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Training Documents/New York Psychoanalytic Society/Document 3.

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1aTljGr0-Ivrulae0rL-G3DzNA2FoIx0K/view?usp=drive_link

feedback from her²⁴. I was unable to substantiate which manuscript this was or Jacobson's feedback. In 1952, she sent a lengthy proposal of a curriculum for a stand-alone training centre for child analysis which was planned for the Long Island Jewish Hospital. Based on Kestenberg's letter to Bornstein her proposal was seen as unfeasible at the time. Bornstein welcomed her proposal with interest but also thought it was an overly ambitious plan²⁵. In the same year, Kestenberg sent an adapted proposal for training in child analysis within a hospital setting to Sandor Lorand. The proposal pertained to infant observation studies with a focus on movement development for psychiatry, neurology, and obstetrics trainees²⁶. Phyllis Greenacre wrote the foreword of the edited volume of Kestenberg's papers that was published in 1975 entitled '*Parents and Children; Psychoanalytic Studies in Development*'. Greenacre (1975) remembered that she met Kestenberg for the first time at Herman Nunberg's private seminar as a fellow student. She described her as a gifted and devoted student well trained in neurology who presented a rare combination of interests (xiii).

Even though Kestenberg stated that formal integration into the analytic circles was never her ambition she was a member of various psychoanalytic associations namely the American Psychoanalytic Association, New York Psychoanalytic Society, Long Island Psychoanalytic Society, Association for Child Analysis, and the Psychoanalytic Association of New York. She was very active and presented at myriad conferences across the country throughout her career (Sossin, interview, 01.11.2023; Kestenberg, 1992). After her internship at the Adult and Child Psychiatry Department of the Bellevue Hospital, Kestenberg pursued further training in child psychiatry as an assistant attending psychiatrist at the New York University Hospital between 1939-1941. She was a psychiatry consultant at a coloured orphan asylum between 1939-1940. Alongside Rene Spitz (1887-1974), she was a clinician at Mount Sinai Hospital between 1941-1942 (Kestenberg, 1992). With the recommendation of Sandor Lorand, she became a clinical professor of psychiatry at the New York State University Downstate Medical Centre in 1959 (Kestenberg, 1992; New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections. Kestenberg training

²⁴ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Correspondences/Jacobson correspondence/Document 1.

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1k8kOaXWQ1HYdtGm7qzv3wI9LdVrIE46?usp=drive_link

²⁵ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Correspondences/Berta Bornstein correspondence.

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1wjYp2p8U0JRDxd5kIv6O9_9YyYaBeJA/view?usp=drive_link

²⁶ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Correspondences/Berta Bornstein correspondence.

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1wjYp2p8U0JRDxd5kIv6O9_9YyYaBeJA/view?usp=drive_link

documents, CV; Downstate Medical Health Centre Medical Research Library, Archives and Special Collections Department). In 1956 she was appointed training analyst at the Psychoanalytic Division of Downstate Medical Centre at the State University of New York²⁷ and taught the introduction to the theory and technique of child analysis and infant observation. From 1960 she taught general practitioner and paediatricians at the Long Island Jewish Hospital's Psychiatry Department. Kestenberg was a member of American Psychiatric Society and the Association of American Academic Child Psychiatry²⁸.

2.3.4. Developmental Movement Studies

The first major project of Kestenberg was the development of her psychodynamic theory of movement development and her method of movement analysis. The focused and enduring interest of Kestenberg's in movement development characterised her professional life from as early as the 1930s until the late 1970s. As a budding neurologist in the 1930s in the era of emerging modern brain studies, her first neurological publications dealt with effects of various-brain injuries which provided ample opportunity to investigate the relationships between cognitive function and movement behaviour. Her nascent interest in bodily movement were already present which were later perhaps further reinforced by her personal struggles with language barriers during her internship at the Bellevue Hospital's Child Psychiatry Department in New York City, USA. On a personal and professional level, Kestenberg found the language-based psychiatric assessment methods of the time extremely limited and applied herself to the task of understanding, conceptualising and transcribing movement.

In 1953, Kestenberg started her longitudinal observation study at the new-born nursery of the Vassar Hospital in Poughkeepsie²⁹. She followed the development of three infant-mother dyads from birth to 25 years (Kestenberg, 1992). Her daughter recollected that Kestenberg kept in very close touch with the families. "*She worked with them for like 20 years until the children were grown up and they would come to our house, and she would bring them presents all the time*" (Kestenberg Amighi, interview, 13.11.2021). To be able to record her movement observations, Kestenberg began to study a dance notation technique called Labanotation in

²⁷See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Clinical Appointments/ Document 1 & 2. https://drive.google.com/file/d/1c8_QcY0U7fyoC6xTcdLwsiQeNqzOqK_R/view?usp=drive_link

²⁸ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Clinical Appointments/ Document 3. https://drive.google.com/file/d/1JJ1iTpMyPiJLzA4AqWAr8GV72sR3OYT/view?usp=drive_link

²⁹ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Clinical Appointments/ Document 4. https://drive.google.com/file/d/1mtFaaxGrhAi6WvykWsAZ_xJaZua1Fd9h/view?usp=drive_link

1957. This required that Kestenberg steps outside of her usual professional circles of psychosciences and enters the loosely defined and multidisciplinary groups of movement researchers and dancers. The Labanotation, developed by an Austro-Hungarian dancer, Rudolf von Laban, like a musical script, provides a standardised way to document bodily movement (Kestenberg Amighi et al., 2018a, p. 5). It allows for the segmentation, systematisation, and notation of structural and dynamic elements of movement behaviour (La Barre, 2018, p. 244; Sossin, 2018, p. 284). Kestenberg learnt the Labanotation between 1957-1967 from Laban's students, Irmgard Bartenieff (German emigree dancer, physiotherapist, later pioneer of dance-movement therapy) in New York and from Warren Lamb (management consultant, movement researcher) in London through a correspondence course³⁰ (New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections. Kestenberg training documents, CV; Downstate Medical Health Centre Medical Research Library, Archives and Special Collections Department). Learning the notation of movement behaviour through letter correspondence with Lamb, one of the few experts in the technique at the time attest to Kestenberg's drive to understand the phenomena of movement as well as showing tenacity in bridging the (geographical and conceptual) distance.

In 1962, Kestenberg, alongside child psychiatrists, mental health professionals and movement researchers founded the Sands Point Movement Study Group. Her daughter recollected the beginnings of their study meetings that took place in the dining room at Kestenberg's home as the following:

I was an adolescent at the time and [...] My reflection on the Group was that I was sort of embarrassed to take my friends through the dining room because they (the Group) would be on the floor doing various strange movement patterns, and if they were not doing that, they were sitting at the table writing indecipherable little squiggles (Kestenberg Amighi, 1990³¹; Kestenberg Amighi, interview, 13.11.2021).

The Movement Study Group developed a movement-based developmental assessment method, the Kestenberg Movement Profile from an integration of Rudolf von Laban's movement

³⁰ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Clinical Appointments/ Document 4. https://drive.google.com/file/d/1mtFaaxGrhAi6WYjkWsAZ_xJaZua1Fd9h/view?usp=drive_link

³¹ Kestenberg Amighi, J & Loman, S. (1990) The Past of the Kestenberg Movement Profile: A panel discussion Kestenberg, J. S., Buelte, A., Marcus, H., Berlowe, J., & Lamb, W. In S. Loman & P. Lewis (Eds.), *The Kestenberg Movement Profile: Its past, present applications, and future directions*.

theories, Warren Lamb's Shape-Flow notation, psychodynamic theory, and the adaptation of Anna Freud's Diagnostic Profile (Kestenberg Amighi et al., 2018a, pp. 8-10; Kormos, 2021b, p. 64).

Kestenberg applied her Movement Profile to various contexts to test its validity. In 1955 and later in 1965, she travelled to London, to the Hampstead Clinic run by Anna Freud, where she compared her movement-based observations with developmental data recorded with Anna Freud's Diagnostic Profile³² (Kestenberg, 1991, p. 166, Library of Congress. Manuscript Division, Anna Freud Papers: Correspondence, 1902-1983, Box 54, Kestenberg, Judith, 1955-1969). There was significant agreement between their developmental interpretations which encouraged Kestenberg's contention that bodily movement can be a reliable indicator of genetic, dynamic, and developmental material (Amighi Kestenberg et al., 2018a, p. 9). Between 1969-1970, Kestenberg collected further data in Israeli kibbutzim. She used the Movement Profile to observe a total of 150 infants, including blind children and twins (New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections. Kestenberg training documents, CV).

In 1972, Judith's husband, Milton Kestenberg founded the Child Development Research, an umbrella organisation which they led until 1989. The Child Development Research managed a well-baby clinic and a child-guidance project, the Centre for Parents and Children where psychoanalytic infant observation studies were conducted, parental support and creative therapies were offered to families. The aim of the work at the Centre was to prevent childhood trauma through early detection of emotional disturbance and potential pathogenic factors in the parent-child dynamic (Amighi Kestenberg et al., 2018a, 6). Professionals provided educational sessions to parents about child development They facilitated early bonding of the caregiver-child dyad through play sessions, psychoeducation, and movement retraining. They trained parents to identify typical patterns in their own and their child's movement repertoire, and suggested exercises to somatically attune with their child's affective states (Loman, 2016). The Centre later served as a placement institution for dance therapists in training (Loman, 1980).

³² See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Correspondences/Kestenberg & Anna Freud Correspondence 1955-1971
https://drive.google.com/file/d/1WQC2EV5_-HsKmelL0gvThp3lmeT7fiVw/view?usp=drive_link

2.3.5. Holocaust Studies

Kestenberg (1992) wrote that “[...] *I woke up from my latency period*” in 1968 when she treated a child of Holocaust survivors in her private practice through which she could approach the long-suppressed topic of the Holocaust. She became interested in the process of transgenerational transmission of trauma. Milton Kestenberg became a litigator in Holocaust restitution cases and discovered that those who were children during the Holocaust did not qualify for compensation for psychological injuries as they could not fully remember what happened to them in camps and German psychiatrists believed they were too young to be severely impacted. Judith and Milton Kestenberg took on the task of advocacy for child survivors and developed a psychoanalytically informed interview technique to recover early childhood experiences to be able to use this in court. Judith became interested in identifying the process of trauma transmission through her somatic developmental orientation. In 1974, Milton and Judith Kestenberg founded a research group for the psychoanalytic study of the transgenerational effects of the Holocaust. In 1981, they secured funding from the Jerome Riker grant to conduct one of the largest international research projects on the transgenerational trauma of the Holocaust, entitled ‘International Study of Organised Persecution of Children’ (Naszkowska, 2023, New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections. Kestenberg training documents, CV). Judith Kestenberg with her mental-health professional collaborators Dr. Mark Sossin, Ira Brenner, Eva Fogelman, Helene-Bass Wichelhaus and Robert M. Prince conducted psychoanalytically oriented interviews with Holocaust survivors, with children of survivors as well as with children of Nazi persecutors.

Kestenberg died after a long illness on 16th January in 1999 in Sands Point, New York (Sossin, 1999). She published 127 articles, some of which were also published in the collection of her papers entitled ‘*Parents and Children: Psychoanalytic Perspective on Development*’ (1975). She is remembered by her colleagues as an inspiring and generous mentor, a pioneer of movement observation, industrious and determined theoretician, with unending curiosity and sensitivity towards children (Sossin, 1999; Sossin, interview, 2022; Loman, interview, 2022; Kestenberg Amighi, interview, 2021; Naszkowszka, 2023). Her children Janet and Howard think of her as a caring mother and hardworking professional, a socially and politically engaged person with a strong Jewish cultural and later in her life more religious identity.

2.4. Conclusion

According to Friedenreich's (2002) study on the history of Jewish university educated women of the early twentieth century Judith Kestenberg belongs to the younger cohort of 'New Women'³³ who were born between 1900 and 1916 and received their higher education during the interwar years. According to Naszkowska's (2023, p. 200) studies on social and personal histories of early Jewish women psychoanalysts, Judith's case was somewhat atypical. Her family was an observant, Orthodox family which was in contrast with most early Jewish women psychoanalysts whose families were more often non-observant. Another difference in Judith's upbringing was the strong intellectual interest of her mother and her support for her female children to pursue university education (op.cit.), however her parents were unhappy with her choice of medical study as they found it inappropriate for a female to be looking at male corpses during her training (Naszkowska, 2023, p. 201). In most other studied life histories of early Jewish psychoanalysts, their mothers were either not supportive of their university education or indifferent to it due to their identification as a housewife (Naszkowska, 2023). More often their fathers were role models for them to pursue further education. The financial instability of Kestenberg's family in the 1920s influenced her choice of profession as she wanted to be able to sustain herself and support her family (Kestenberg, 1992, p. 165). Kestenberg seemed to have fulfilled her mother's dream of becoming a highly educated woman, however she also stepped out of parental prescript when she chose to study medicine (Naszkowska, 2023). Based on Kestenberg's recollections (1992) her mother was psychologically inclined, and her father was a person for the community; she seemed to continue and embody both features in her lifework by becoming a psychiatrist, child development researcher and setting up a community centre and advocating for the Jewish community. She (Kestenberg, 1992) also mentioned that she wanted to heal her own family and perhaps her own neurotic inclinations by studying psychiatry.

³³ Friedenreich (2002, p. xvii) defined 'New Women' as "[...] Jewish university women of the early twentieth century, who defied conventional expectations for middle-class German and Jewish women by seeking personal self-fulfilment through higher education and careers in traditionally male professional fields, and, in many cases, by opting not to marry or have children".

3. The Work of Judith S. Kestenberg³⁴

In this chapter, I'm concerned with the theoretical analysis of Kestenberg's work concentrating on her developmental movement studies. The main period of development of Kestenberg's movement focused work was between 1940s – mid-1970s, its professional context was the New York Psychoanalytic Association. The themes, theoretical issues and new trends in psychoanalytic discourse that emerged in this period become palpable in Kestenberg's thinking. Therefore, my analysis expands onto discussing previous studies in the realm of Kestenberg's interests as well as dominant schools of thought and professionals who influenced Kestenberg's conceptual development. Kestenberg's interest lied in uncovering the relationship between personality development, bodily sensation and movement behaviour. In doing so she delved into the questions of libidinisation of internal organs, the significance of inner-genital sensations in female sexual development, principles of grouping and syntax of bodily movement as well as into methods of recording and visualising movement behaviour. Her first point of focus was the issue of tension which crystallised in her proposition of early vaginal tensions, a feminine, inner-genital developmental phase and later in her notion of Tension-Flow Rhythms. A few years later, she conceptualised the developmental line between id and ego expressed in movement behaviour of the developing child. Then, she attended to the issues of shaping and their link to the development of object-relations.

I surveyed Kestenberg's publications in which she delineated the results of her infant observation studies that provided the backbone for her psychodynamic theory movement and method of movement analysis, the Kestenberg Movement Profile. I discuss her work in chronological order to demonstrate the evolution of Kestenberg's interests and ideas from her movement focused work to her Holocaust studies. I present Kestenberg's transgenerational trauma studies to highlight the distinct somatic orientation herein which forms a line of continuity with her earlier interest. This part of the research predominantly used secondary

³⁴ The content of this chapter pertaining to the theoretical and historical analysis of Kestenberg's work have been published by the author in:

Kormos, J. (2022). History and the psychoanalytic foundations of the Kestenberg Movement Profile. *Body, Movement and Dance in Psychotherapy*, 17(2), 101-116. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17432979.2021.1915871>

Kormos, J. (2023). Judith S. Kestenberg pszichodinamikus mozgáselmélete és a mozgáselemzési módszere: A Kestenberg Mozcás Profil története. *Lélekelemzés*, 18(2), 16-42.

Kormos, J. (2020). Movement Profile - The Psychodynamic Theory of Movement. Conference presentation. In I. Koncz & I. Szova (Eds.), *TIZENHÉT ÉVE AZ EURÓPAI SZINTŰ TUDOMÁNYOS MEGÚJULÁS ÉS A FIATAL KUTATÓK SZOLGÁLATÁBAN*, Professzorok az Európai Magyarorszáért Egyesület XX. (E/2.) PhD – Online Konferencia (pp. 114-123).

sources and employed the limited number of unpublished articles discovered through archival research at the private collection of Kestenberg's daughter.

In the first part of the chapter, I review the psychoanalytic debates on female sexual development as these provide a backdrop to understand Kestenberg's propositions on the libidinalisation of internal bodily organs and her inner-genital psychosexual phase. Then, I prepare the presentation of Kestenberg's psychodynamic theory of movement by discussing studies on movement behaviour within psychoanalysis predating her work. Further on, pioneering studies of direct infant observation in early developmental psychology and psychoanalysis will be reviewed before I introduce Kestenberg's developmental framework as a whole. Then, the metapsychological framework of the Kestenberg Movement Profile will be discussed inclusive of the conceptual and methodological currents embedded within it. In the later part of the chapter, I present the Kestenberg Movement Profile and its application at her child-guidance project, the Centre for Parents and Children. Lastly, I shift the focus of discussion onto Kestenberg's last major project, her Holocaust studies.

3.1. Female Sexual Development

The first psychoanalytic concepts that Kestenberg attended to were linked to female sexual development. She reconsidered the questions of libidinal activity and passivity of internal organs and argued the significance of inner-genital sensations in the development of sex-specific identity. This following section attempts to provide contextualisation of Kestenberg's thoughts on female sexual development by reviewing the debates on the same within psychoanalytic circles around the 1920s and the 1950s when Kestenberg formulated her theories.

3.1.1. Psychoanalytic Debates on Female Sexuality

Debates on female sexual development were central in international psychoanalytic discourse of the 1920s and rippled across Anglo-Saxon psychoanalytic circles once again around the 1960s (Birksted-Breen, 1993). A number of, predominantly female, analysts (Deutsch, 1925, 1930; Horney, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1928, 1933; Muller, 1932; Klein, 1927, 1937; Lampi-de Groot, 1928; Bonaparte, 1935; Brierly, 1936, Jacobson, 1937) took to the reconsideration of the oedipus complex and the female superego between the 1920-1930s. Deutsch (1925),

Bonaparte (1935) and Lampl-de Groot (1928) followed Freud's anatomical determinism and mostly expanded his notions without significant criticism. Horney (1924, 1925, 1926, 1928, 1933) and Klein (1927) challenged basic tenets of the classical psychosexual development theory.

In the Freudian view anatomical sex initiates psychological organisation which in turn influences the development of femininity and masculinity (Birksted-Breen, 1993). Freud posited psychosexuality opposing the notion of natural sexuality, denoting the psychic process of grappling with the givens of anatomy inclusive of the processes through which they acquire meaning and influence object-relations (op.cit. p. 3). Most of the critique was directed at Freud's phallic phase as the onset of femininity and his notion that the pre-phallic girl, before turning to her father as a passive love object upon the realisation of her lack of a penis, is identical to a little boy. His linking femininity to passivity and masculinity to activity was also challenged. Lampl-de Groot (1982) reported to have observed a considerable number of infants of both sexes to have exhibited behaviours with both active and passive aims. Horney (1925) and Muller (1932) noted masturbatory behaviours in girl infants in the early anal phase even though roots of femininity were considered to have started in the pre-phallic stages. Lampl-de Groot (1928) argued that the girl needs to overcome a double oedipus complex where she introjects both parental imagos upon which her superego is formed which in turn contributes to its less energetic or unified quality. She added that in achieving this resolution, the girl child also exercises her masculinity.

Deutsch (1925) posited a vaginal phase of development for the girl which she transitions to after renouncing her clitoris and masculinity of the phallic phase. The girl must discover a new organ of pleasure, the vagina, within herself through the masochistic subjection to the penis. In this sense the vagina becomes the miniature version of the woman's ego (Grigg, et al. 1999, p. 93). Bonaparte (1935) following Freud, argued the significance of anatomical differences and stated that the two pillars of femininity are passivity and bisexuality (L. Thompson, 2003). The woman possessing two interrelated erotogenic organs, the clitoris, and the vagina, determines her inherent bisexuality. According to Bonaparte, in the oral phase infants of the two sexes exhibit no difference in activity or passivity. However, in the anal phase the boy's libido gets projected onto his active muscular system whereas the girl's centres on her passive cloacal zone. In the subsequent part of the anal phase both sexes focus libidinal energy onto the phallus as the erotogenic zone with the mother as the object and display active masculine masturbatory behaviour. The castration complex of the girl arising from the anatomical reality of lacking the phallus creates the first step toward becoming a woman by

accepting the loss of the phallus-clitoris and enters the passive oedipus complex with the father as the object. Here the wish for a phallus is converted into a wish for a child. Bonaparte permitted a role to the vagina in early development as she argued that the girl infant does not differentiate between vaginal or clitoral sensations because the cloacal organisation is the main organising force of her psychosexual development (L. Thompson, 2003).

In relation to the concept of penis envy, Horney (1924, 1925) supposed that the visibility of the male organ as opposed to the relative inaccessibility of the vagina for tactile exploration is responsible for the envious attitude of girl children. She also argued for the existence of early vaginal sensations in infancy which get repressed due to the girl's fear of punishment owing to her incestuous wishes and turns to clitoral sexuality. This view presupposed vaginal sexuality before a clitoral one (L. Thompson, 2003). Greenacre (1950, 1958) discussed the process of superego formation in both sexes and argued for the existence of early vaginal tensions based on her clinical data with severely regressed women. She highlighted that cultural factors have neutralising or reinforcing effects and anatomy primarily determines the character formation. She (1958) argued that "*body is the greatest part of its own first environment, it seems justified to stress the influence of the reactions within and to it of the developing ego*" (op.cit. p. 636). She anchored the genesis of the superego in the early introjective-projective mechanism of the first eighteen months. The next step is made by habit-training when much depends on toddlers' ability to gain mastery over their bodily urges and functions. In the oedipal period around five years, the children need to renounce their wishes, loosen his oedipal attachment which is also reinforced by social influence and identifications with the same sex parent.

Greenacre (1950) discussed the nature of somato-instinctive urges of the first year of life which are characterised by the expectation of infants that what they feel within their own body towards their environment may also be returned onto them. Therefore, ego and superego formation are largely influenced by infants' reactions to their own bodies inclusive of the difference in genital organs and muscular development between the sexes. Greenacre (op.cit.) highlighted that the difference in superego formation between the sexes could also be influenced by visibility, and tactile accessibility of the male genital as opposed to the vagina. Endogenous sensations and sensory appreciation intensify the awareness of an organ which in turn becomes a more stable part of the body image. Greenacre (op.cit.) highlighted the girl's mystery towards her genitalia often remains to some extent throughout life. She (op.cit.) challenged the widely accepted notion that clitoral sensitivity precedes a vaginal one. She contended that the overflow of vaginal sensations often is not strong enough to produce

masturbatory behaviour but nonetheless should be viewed as promoting vaginal awareness which become part of the female body image. Greenacre (op.cit.) imagined that these diffuse, early vaginal sensations provide an intuitive knowledge of the vagina as opposed to the tactual and visually concrete experience of the penis for boys. She added that (op.cit.) the girl's emotional attachments are also more complicated than the boy's from the early years onwards. The boy child remains firmly attached to the mother until the oedipal crisis, the process of renunciation and deferment of libido onto female love objects, ensues and the identification with the father sets in. However, the girl needs to turn from her mother to her father as her main attachment while remaining dependent on the mother's care to fulfil her bodily needs. The girl's love-attachment to the mother and sharper attraction to the father creates a continuous division of attachment due to which her oedipus complex is less firmly resolved than the boy's. Greenacre (1950) also linked the greater affinity of social skills and the appreciation of social relationships in girls to this double attachment to the mother and father. In relation to body image formation of the girl, Greenacre's (op.cit.) view on the differences in the stable formation of the superego between the sexes was the following: the castration fear of the boy provides his advantage in the greater degree of resolution of the oedipus complex whereas the girl's penis envy and denial of her lack through the wishful hallucinatory assumption of the penis disturbs her sense of body reality. The girl's deferment of her wish for a penis is transferred into her wish for a child which is also a compensation against the invisibility of her sexual organ. Greenacre's (1950) clinical data from psychotic women in regressed states also confirmed the existence of some genital tensions in girls preceding clitoral sensations.

3.1.2. Theorising the Insides of the Body - Kestenberg's Inner-genital Phase

"It is true, that here and there, reports have been made that tell us of early vaginal sensations as well; but it cannot be easy to discriminate between these and anal sensations or from sensations of the vaginal vestibule; in any case, they cannot play a very important role"
(Freud, 1933, p. 161).

Kestenberg began to formulate her developmental theory in the late 1950s starting with the development of female sexuality. Kestenberg drew upon the formulations articulated in the earlier debates and published her first work on the subject in 1956. Based on direct infant observations and material from analysis of adults and children, Kestenberg discussed the

question of early vaginal tensions as the biological basis of femininity and maternity (1956). Kestenberg critiqued classical psychoanalytic perspective on feminine development for neglecting the role of inner genital organs such as prostate, ovaries and uterus in psychosexual development as opposed to the emphasis placed on the external genitals such as clitoris and penis (Kestenberg, 1985).

The psychoanalytic phase-hierarchy conspicuously omits the female phase, while claiming that both sexes pass through the phallic phase, in which the penis or clitoris is the primary erotogenic zone. Femininity is assumed to develop during the positive oedipal period. This means that the girl must pass through a masculine phase before she can become feminine (Kestenberg, 1985, p. 117).

Freud (1933, 1938) linked female sexuality to the recognition of sexual difference, ensuing castration complex, penis envy, transferring cathexis from the clitoris to the vagina and a wish for a baby from the father. Kestenberg (1956) proposed a modification of Freud's contention through the criticism of a lack of precision in psychoanalytic theory about the meaning of activity and passivity of organs in relation to their significance in psychosexual development. In psychoanalytic theory the activity of an organ is assumed by cathexis (libidinal or aggressive) to this organ whereas passivity denotes energy being withdrawn from the organ resulting in its psychic representation disappearing from consciousness. "*Complete relaxation is generally used as a model for passivity. Contraction of muscles with its concomitant innervation and vascularization serves as a model for activity*" (Kestenberg, 1956, p. 455). She asserted that children regard activity as something visible and movement producing such as a moving object. Activity that does not produce visible movement such as contraction of perineal and laminal muscle groups, could only be regarded as 'real' activity if it is recognised by the individual as relating to them and the individual knows that they produced the sensation. Kestenberg (op.cit.) argued that tension in muscles with diminished activity value such as innervations are often experienced as pulling, swelling or some kind of diffuse discomfort in which cases "*the activity of the organ is not recognised*". These instances, from the perspective of the ego, the organ is alienated and could indeed be classified passive, as they take on the characteristic of an external force inflicting upon the ego.

Kestenberg however pointed out with precision, perhaps fuelled by her nascent interest in the details of the physical process, that "*reception is an active function of the living organism. [...] Passive reception is a quality of inanimate objects, determined by their shape*"

(Kestenberg, 1956, p. 454). She further argued that numerous bodily organs function continuously without psychic organ representations. She then asked whether the vagina is to be considered a passive, uncatheted and psychically non-existent organ before its cathexis through manual or hormonal stimulation in puberty. Analysis of children revealed to Kestenberg, that there is no awareness of the vagina as an organ before puberty however the vagina shows activity long before. Like other organs with an opening to the outside, it is active from birth and gets absorbed into the body image through ego development. Kestenberg (op.cit.) further argued that pregenital children react to vaginal tensions. These tensions lacking a visually graspable locale remain without appropriate mechanisms for discharge. Kestenberg explained:

Such seems to be the feeling arising from latent vaginal activity, prior to its acceptance as an organ, a part of one's own body: a sensation of something being inflicted upon the ego, an inability to discharge tension (identified with an aggressor) and a yearning for relaxation (identified with passive dependence). A swelling of the mucous membranes, a muscle contraction or both create a persistent need for release (Kestenberg, 1956, p. 456).

As a resolution to this problem, the ego needing to give up its authority in mastery of the somatic, occupies itself with mastery over people through which to gain satisfaction and relaxation for these urges. This manifests in the young girl's wish for a baby and the emergence of maternal behaviour in doll play. These inner genital tensions latently dominate the world of the developing girl. *"Yearning for passivity dominates her, but true passivity is only attained with the experience of complete relaxation of genital tension in adulthood"* (op.cit.).

Kestenberg hypothesised the link between these vaginal tensions and the infant's body being flooded with maternal hormones up until four weeks after birth which caused swelling of inner-genital organs (op.cit. p. 457). In terms of psychosexual stage development, she argued that these early vaginal tensions become absorbed into stage appropriate developmental drives such as the oral and anal and add to a general discomfort. She further elaborated that as girls have less tactile or visual access to their genital organs, they develop object-constancy later than boys who discover pleasant sensations arising from the handling of their penis as early as the age of two-and-a-half (op.cit. p. 459). The anal phase of the boy is concluded with cathecting his penis, which he enjoys handling demonstrated by the games he plays while peeing stood up holding his penis. The girl, according to Kestenberg, projects her cathexis onto

an imaginary penis, the doll, in lack of a fully coherent organ-imagery and organ-concept. She argued that:

In the process of experimentation during the anal stage, the girl seems to get a somewhat hazy idea of inside pressure unrelieved by anal maneuvers. This unrelieved pressure is projected upon the baby at the end of the anal phase (Kestenberg, 1956, p. 461).

Kestenberg proposes an early maternal stage of development following the anal phase when the projection of these inner genital sensations onto the baby and the insides of the body are equated with the baby. This stage is also characterised by an identification with the mother, which for Kestenberg included boys as well who seem to develop parental, caring attitudes and show interest in playing with dolls unless particularly discouraged by social environment (op.cit. p. 462). Kestenberg presupposed abdominal sensations in boys too which similarly get projected onto the baby doll. In boys, she added (op.cit.), there is a wish for a baby from the mother first then from the father which turns into the wish to give a baby to the mother.

Kestenberg (op.cit) further clarified however that the girl takes narcissistic pride in actively caring for her doll and she does seem like a busy mother. In the phallic phase of girls, the inner genital tensions from the cathexis of the internal genital organs get transferred onto the external genital, such as the clitoris. The phallic phase is characterised by vigorous masturbatory activity, aggression towards the mother, playing with urine and urine retention and penis envy. The negative oedipus complex sets in through which the father is viewed as a godlike figure who only possesses the ability to please the mother (Kestenberg, 1956). This concept reconciles the little girl with the mother, and she competes with the father for the mother's attention. In the next phase of the positive oedipal phase, sexual urges get projected onto the father and masochistic fantasies are awakened about being taken by the father. The vaginal region is treated as non-existent or inanimate, argumentativeness and verbal outbursts serve as discharge for genital excitements (Kestenberg, 1956). The girl expects the father to take the responsibility of her yearnings, seduce her and satisfy her wish for a baby. The disappointment in the father, who does not fulfil these wishes concludes the oedipus complex. The period of latency is entered by the girl, disappointed in both parents but somewhat less so in the mother, so she identifies with her but retains her independence (Kestenberg, 1956). Relying on her own resources she finds identification through peer relations with girls that are strictly exclusive of boys. In puberty with the onset of menstruation, earlier conflicts of

castration and the injury or the death of the baby (equated with the internal genital organ) are reawakened, but as blood passes through the vaginal opening the existence of the vaginal cannot be denied and is truly discovered. The menstrual cramps and penetration during intercourse accentuate the sensation of the vaginal walls which thus acquires its boundaries. Pregnancy and giving birth compensate for the difficulties in the mastery of the vagina (Kestenberg, 1956).

Kestenberg concluded that the mechanisms resulting in the rejection of the vagina and development of penis envy could be traced back to early childhood. She further asserted that maternal feelings are anchored in early, diffuse vaginal tensions, the lack of sensory and perceptual access to the sources of these urges and their necessary transformation and projection onto the baby (Kestenberg, 1956). The resolution of these struggles rested upon the integration of the urges of the whole genital region and the acceptance of early bisexuality without shame. Furthermore, she proposed that the acceptance of bisexuality is a precursor of tolerance and social adjustment between the sexes as masculine sublimations in women and feminine wishes in man instate the possibility of love and understanding without guilt and fear (Kestenberg, 1956a, p. 475).

In her paper presented in front of the Child Analytic Division of the Washington Institute for Psychoanalysis in 1964, Kestenberg further expanded on her concept of the inner-genital phase and the presupposed hormonal changes that substantiate it (Kestenberg, 1967b). She supposes an adultlike hormonal state of the neonate which is succeeded by a period when no significant growth happens in the reproductive organs. In the pre-genital phases, oral, anal, and urethral there is rapid growth of body and brain structures which counterpoint the gradual changes of the gonads. She posited that the subsequent inner-genital phase between two-and-a-half and four years of age, characterised by neurohormonal changes create a certain psychic instability the resolution of which contributes to the integration of pre-genital, inner and outer genital component drives (Kestenberg, 1967b, p. 587). Kestenberg cited data of current endocrinology which suggested sex-specific hormonal secretion of immature gonads and measurable differences in hormone levels in the two sexes in childhood (op.cit. p. 579). In the inner-genital phase children process the losses of earlier pre-genital phases, integrate bodily changes and their relationship to objects. They become aware of diffuse inner-genital tensions which are transient and seem to yield no product. Through the externalisation of these inner tensions, they recall their lost babyhood by creating a baby of their own. This phase is succeeded by the phallic phase with a presumed increase in androgens and divided into two subphases, one of growth and another of differentiation. In latency, drive discharge is

significantly consolidated, and this inhibitory function outweighs the increased steroid production occurring in this phase. Prepuberty is initiated by the activation of inner-genital organs and the development of secondary sex characteristics. In this phase a diffusion of psychic functions coincides with an increase in sex-specific hormone production; later on, puberty starts with the maturation of gonads (Kestenberg, 1967b).

Freud's (1905, 1925, 1933) concepts of psychosexual development was a confluence of some reformist and conservative ideas. His notion of innate bisexuality revealed a quite modern position but his anatomical determinism in relation to sexual development and superego formation, castration complex, penis envy and universal passivity of the girl embodied the contemporaneous stereotypical views of gender and sexuality. He often oscillated between a normative argument and more subtle propositions regarding sexual difference and gender identity. In the debates of the 1920s on female sexual development some of the subtleties of Freud's position were lost in the hands of the group of Freudian female analysts such as Deutsch, Benedek and Bonaparte (Birksted-Breen, 1993). Even though Freud spoke of feminine masochistic desires, that is the child adopting a passive position towards the father, present in both sexes. These women analysts, looking for essential feminine characteristics, posited masochism as the root of femininity (Birksted-Breen, 1993). Deutsch argued that the active libido of clitoral cathexis is turned into masochism and the wish to be castrated by the father. She viewed childbirth as the fundamental gratification of female desire and the epitome of masochistic pleasure (op.cit. p. 7).

Bonaparte (1935) viewed sexual intercourse as an essentially masochistic pleasure for women. Kestenberg stated to have been very intrigued by Horney's concepts but was also aware how it could not be reconciled with Freudian psychoanalysis (Kestenberg, 1992). She (1956a, 1956b, 1980), joined in on the search for the essentially feminine; followed the Freudian group in their orthodox application of anatomical determinism and contended that maternity and childbearing is what constitutes true femininity. Kestenberg proposed a developmental duality perspective on feminine sexuality, contradiction being its essential organising principle (Birksted-Breen, p. 22). She reconsidered notions of organ activity, argued for the existence of early vaginal tensions, and proposed a pre-phallic, inner-genital developmental phase. Her concept of maternal, inner-genital phase is congruent with Deutsch's (1925) vaginal stage in which the girl child appears more passive compared to the boy who is outwardly oriented and takes active pride in his penis in the phallic phase proper (op.cit. p. 463). The influence of Greenacre's (1950) heightened focus on the instructive forces of early somato-instinctive processes, tactile accessibility of genitalia, inner vaginal sensations and the

girl's bodily dependence on the caring mother is also palpable in Kestenberg's formulations on female sexual development.

3.2. Movement Studies ³⁵

Between 1933 and 1941, Kestenberg published ten neurological studies, some under the name Ida Silberpfennig and her maiden name Judith Silberpfennig (Silberpfennig, 1933, 1935a, 1935b, 1938, 1939, 1941a, 191b; Silberpfennig & Urban, 1937a, 1937b; Silberpfennig & Schoenberger, 1938; Silberpfennig & Birkmayer, 1938). One of which was a result of a joint research project with Margaret Schoenberger (later Mahler). Mahler taught Kestenberg the Rorschach personality test which they applied to cases of brain injured. Kestenberg (1975) stated that this project marked her shift of interest from neurology to psychoanalysis (p. xvi). These studies, examining the links between perception, cognition and bodily movement, also laid the foundation for her movement studies (Kestenberg, 1975; New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections. Kestenberg CV). Kestenberg recounted (1975) how a child who could not move her eyes due to a medulla-lesion learnt to move her head to interact with other people or how spatial awareness of two patients was affected who could not react to stimuli on the left side due to cortical lesions, as formative experiences for her interest in the relationship between psychic functioning and bodily movement.

In 1941, at a meeting at the psychiatric ward of the New York Hospital, she presented case studies of mother types she encountered at a child guidance clinic where she explored the links between the mother's psychological problems and the child's behavioural problems (Greenacre, 1975). A year later, she published several papers on issues of child placement, separation from parents and adoption (New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections. Kestenberg CV³⁶). These papers covered

³⁵ Content of this chapter has been published by author in:

Kormos, J. (2021). Kinaesthetic attunement, clashing and mismatches of early interactions and their influence in later development – Theoretical introduction to the Kestenberg Movement Profile. *Imágó Budapest: Pszichoanalízis Társadalom Kultúra*, 10(1), 42-54. Retrieved from

http://imagobudapest.hu/images/lapszamok/2021_1_Intersubjectivity/6-Janka%20Kormos.pdf

Kormos, J. (2021). A személyiségfejlődés megtestesülése a pszichoanalitikus mozgáselemzés szemszögéből [Embodiment of personality development from the perspective of psychoanalytic movement analysis]. *Replika*, 121-122, 63-71.

Presented by the author on 24/09/2021 at conference of the *Hungarian Association of Movement and Dance Therapy*, Psychodynamic Theory of Movement

³⁶ See Appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Clinical appointments/Document 4. https://drive.google.com/file/d/1mtFaaxGrhAi6WYjkWsAZ_xJaZua1Fd9h/view?usp=drive_link

the fields of social work, child protection and child psychiatry. Her first psychoanalytic presentation was in 1945 in front of the New York Psychoanalytic Society entitled '*Early Reactions to Tension*' which remained unpublished (New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections Kestenberg CV; Kestenberg, 1945 unpublished³⁷). This led to Kestenberg's first topic of interest, inner-genital tensions and to her later formulations on the rhythmicity in the flow of tension throughout development.

In 1953, Kestenberg began her first longitudinal study of infant observation of three subjects whose development she followed for 25 years. Infants and their mothers were recruited at the maternity unit of the Vassar Hospital in Poughkeepsie (New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections. Kestenberg CV; Kestenberg Amighi, 1990). The research subjects were of a mixed background, one of the dyads was of white Caucasian and two were of African American descent (Kestenberg-Amighi, interview, 2021). These developmental movement studies formed the basis for her theoretical considerations about movement behaviour. In 1954, Kestenberg presented the preliminary outcomes of her direct observation study at the Arden House Conference entitled '*Preliminary Report on Three Infants*' (Kestenberg, 1965a, 1992). Her collaborators were child psychologists and mental health professionals, namely Jacqueline Friend, Stephanie Librach, Sybill Escalona and Irmgard Bartenieff³⁸ (Kestenberg, 1965a). They periodically observed and documented rhythmic movement patterns in the behaviour of the infants. They conflated observed movement behaviour with psychoanalytic developmental theory and associated patterns of movement with temperament, modes of discharge, defence mechanism and object-relationships. Observations were administered in nursery and home settings (op.cit.). Kestenberg reported the data of their observations in a case study format. In the same year, she presented her paper entitled '*A Stage in Development of Female Sexuality*' in 1954 in front of the Psychoanalytic Study Group in Seattle and published an enlarged version of this in 1956 entitled '*Vicissitudes of Female Sexuality*' (Kestenberg, 1956a).

In 1962 Kestenberg founded the Sands Point Movement Study Group which included mental health professionals, dancers and educators interested in movement behaviour

³⁷ See Appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Training Documents/ New York/Document 4. https://drive.google.com/file/d/1vgHiCekVdgyCyNI2liuEekg1QEJhPogi/view?usp=drive_link

³⁸ German emigree dancer, physiotherapist, and later pioneer of American dance-movement therapy whose acquaintance opened up the world of dancers, dance therapists and movement researchers for Kestenberg which came to play a central role in Kestenberg career later on.

(Kestenberg Amighi & Loman, 1990)³⁹. The founding members of the Group were Jay Berlowe, Hershey Marcus, Esther Robbins, child psychiatrists, Forrestine Pauley, Penny Lewis and Martha Soodak, dance/movement therapists and Anrhilt Buelte, early years educator. Informal members of the Group were Warren Lamb, movement researcher, Marion North and Irmgard Bartenieff, dancer, and dance/movement therapist. They began meeting at Kestenberg's home in Long Island on Fridays (Sossin, interview, 2022; Kestenberg Amighi interview, 2021; Kestenberg Amighi & Loman, 1990). Marcus and Berlowe⁴⁰ remembered that they talked for long hours around the dining table at Kestenberg's home about how to document and analyse movement. They started to notate on paper and then went to observe infants in local hospitals where they had affiliations (Kestenberg Amighi & Loman, 1990). Marcus (op.cit.) remembered that the Group, composed of mainly psychiatrists, seemed to have a significant lack of personal movement experience which hindered their progress.

It was Forrestine Pauley who held the first movement experiential sessions for the group encouraging them to embody the observed movements which advanced their understanding of the relationship between psychic and somatic experience. Between 1960-1970, the Sands Point Movement Study Group developed the psychodynamic theory of movement development and a movement-based developmental assessment method, the Kestenberg Movement Profile. As the following quote illustrates, Judith Kestenberg⁴¹ recalled her first years of developmental movement studies as somewhat lonesome.

I was sort of a lone investigator, and I did not have anyone to talk to because you cannot talk to psychiatrists, apart from these (the members of the Study Group, added by author), about movement. When we first published a paper together on movement patterns it went in the Psychoanalytic quarterly. One of the people who read it called me 'The lady with the rhythms'. So, I was somewhat of a novelty then (Kestenberg Amighi & Loman, 1990, p. 18).

³⁹ Kestenberg Amighi, J & Loman, S. (1990) The Past of the Kestenberg Movement Profile: A panel discussion Kestenberg, J. S., Buelte, A., Marcus, H., Berlowe, J., & Lamb, W. In S. Loman & P. Lewis (Eds.), The Kestenberg Movement Profile: Its past, present applications, and future directions.

⁴⁰ Kestenberg Amighi, J & Loman, S. (1990) The Past of the Kestenberg Movement Profile: A panel discussion Kestenberg, J. S., Buelte, A., Marcus, H., Berlowe, J., & Lamb, W. In S. Loman & P. Lewis (Eds.), The Kestenberg Movement Profile: Its past, present applications, and future directions.

⁴¹ Kestenberg Amighi, J & Loman, S. (1990) The Past of the Kestenberg Movement Profile: A panel discussion Kestenberg, J. S., Buelte, A., Marcus, H., Berlowe, J., & Lamb, W. In S. Loman & P. Lewis (Eds.), The Kestenberg Movement Profile: Its past, present applications, and future directions.

In the mid to late 1960s, Kestenberg published three papers ‘*The Role of Movement Patterns in Development*’ (1965a, 1965b, 1967a) in the *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* that delineated her psychodynamic theory of movement development. In the first publication (1965a) was concerned with the concept of rhythms in movement behaviour which came to be her key contribution to the study of movement. At the end of this paper, a glossary of terms was published to aid the understanding of Laban and movement studies derived terms of its psychoanalytic readership (Kestenberg, 1965b). The synthesis of Kestenberg’s developmental theory was published in 1971 in *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* under the title ‘*Development of the Young Child Expressed through Bodily Movement I*’ (Kestenberg et.al. 1971a). In this paper Kestenberg and her colleagues brought together their theoretical formulations and observational data to outline the developmental framework as a whole. The *Development of the Young Child Expressed through Bodily Movement II*, only published in an edited volume containing all Kestenberg’s essays on development in 1975. Kestenberg’s developmental assessment technique and movement notation methodology was published in 1985 in the paper entitled ‘*The Role of Movement Patterns in Prevention and Diagnosis*’.

In the following section I review movement studies within psychoanalysis, focusing on classification and interpretation of movement behaviour as a prelude to the discussion on Kestenberg’s psychodynamic movement studies.

3.2.1. Psychoanalytic Views & Studies on Bodily Movement

Freud assumed parallel processes in the body and mind which places psychoanalysis within the realm of Cartesian⁴² dualism, even though some of the implicit consideration in his theory contradicted this position (Csabai & Eros, 2000, p. 87). As the basic tenet of psychoanalytic theory, Freud asserted the central significance of instinctual drives, located in the topographic sphere of the unconscious. The boundary, a permeable membrane between body and mind are the instinctual drives which originate from the innermost parts of the somatic interior but enter the mind as psychic stimuli. These drives could be understood as certain quantities of pressure that result from the mind’s connectedness with the body (Csabai & Eros, 2000). Even though Freudian psychoanalysis brought somatic and bodily processes into the realm of psychology through drive theory, these remained peripheral to its overall theoretical framework. The

⁴² Cartesian body-mind dualism assumes a separation and a hierarchical relationship between these two faculties. Following the rationalist philosophical tradition, the thinking mind is superior the biologically determined matter. Cartesian dualism significantly influenced Western, positivist scientific discourse and determined the notions on the body in modern psy-sciences (Kiss, 2021; Boros, 2007).

absence of a comprehensive psychoanalytic theory of movement behaviour was also asserted by Balint in the following quote:

I was surprised to find how little is known about the psychology of movement. [...] neither in the Three Essays nor anywhere else so far as I know does Freud mention any connection whatsoever between one's attitude towards movement, and one's object-relationships or one's relations to one's environment" (1959, pp. 117-118).

A few psychoanalysts focused some attention on the psychoanalytic study of bodily movement, however these remained disjointed effort and were never integrated into a whole until Kestenberg's work. In the following section I review the key considerations on movement behaviour in psychoanalysis predating Kestenberg.

In early psychoanalytic thought, movement behaviour was regarded as a component of sexual drives (Abraham, 1913; Freud, 1905; Reich, 1933, Ferenczi, 1914a, 1941b, 1921, 1925); as executive function of the ego under conscious control (Freud, 1915, 1923), instrument of defences (Deutsch, 1947, 1952, 1959; Reich, 1933); as well as an instrument and possible source of aggression (Freud, 1915, Hartmann et al. 1949); and as a means of overcoming anxiety by changing a passive experience into active (Freud, 1920-1922). Expressive and affective motility had been viewed as modes of tension discharge (Mahler, et al. 1945). The issue of tension, excitation and discharge occurred often in Freud's writings with not only its neuropsychological underpinnings but accompanying observational movement data (Freud, 1893-1895, 1901-1905, 1923, 1925).

Changes in muscle tension observable in tonic or clonic movements and their relation to affective and ideational states were well within the focus of Freud and Breuer's Studies on Hysteria (1893-1895). They paid attention to activity types and related the differences between people to congenital differences between their nervous systems and temperamental profile. *"These differences which make up a man's natural temperament are certainly based on profound differences in his nervous system-on the degree to which the functionally quiescent cerebral elements liberate energy"* (Freud & Breuer, 1893-1895, p. 176). Without a systemic approach to movement observation, Freud made two significant contributions to psychoanalytic interpretation of motility. In the case of Little Hans (1909) he interpreted the child knocking his head against the abdomen of his father as a manifestation of aggression and the child's use of reel represented an attempt to turn his passive experience of separation from

his mother into active (1920a, Mittelmann, 1957). In the Three Essays (1905), Freud wrote “*Children feel a need for a large amount of active muscular exercise and derive extraordinary pleasure from satisfying it*” (p. 202). He also highlighted the close relationship between movement and aggression “*One of the roots of the sadistic instinct would seem to lie in the encouragement of sexual excitation by muscular activity*” (1905, p. 203). In a later writing he particularly tied aggression to musculature. In *The Ego and the Id* (1923), he assigned the control of motility to the structure of the ego. Freud (1920-1922) also discussed shadow movements, which are small, fidgeting type of movements carried out on the body or on objects connected to the body such as clothing, as ‘accidental’ symptomatic acts which [...] *merge, without any definite line of demarcation into the gestures and movements which we regard as expressions of the emotions [...] All such performances have meaning and are genuine mental acts*” (p. 55).

Karl Abraham (1913) observed pleasure in dancing when exhibitionistic aim was not present as in dancing in solitude at home and noted strong pleasure derived from walking and individual tendencies for adopting a certain rhythm of walking. Ferenczi (1921) considered the function of tics to be motor defence, an active flight against unbearable external stimulus. He stated that the need for a motor response, the excessive libidinal attachment to the body and an over evaluation of one's organs are all present in narcissism. He assumed a connection between muscle tension and emotional expression.

Ferenczi connected motility with ideational process in his observation that some people inhibit movement in order to think while others may increase motility to deal with the overflow of ideas. “*The regular parallelism of motor innervations with the psychic acts of thinking and attention, their mutual conditioning, and frequently demonstrable quantitative reciprocity, speak at any rate for an essential similarity in these processes*” (Ferenczi, 1952, p. 231). Ferenczi (1925) linked motor behaviour and the formation of gesture-language to the development of the ego, the sense of reality, perception and thought. He (Ferenczi, 1925) differentiated between developmental stages governed by the pleasure principle and the reality principle. He termed the initial phase after birth as a 'stage of hallucinatory omnipotence', where the infant in an optimal caring environment would experience effective hallucinations of omnipotence, facilitated by caregivers' prompt gratification of desires. However, instances of delayed gratification led to inhibition of hallucinatory investments, prompting the child to distinguish between memory and perception. Subsequently, the child learns to seek desired objects in the external world, marking the onset of perceptive and cognitive development. Ferenczi (op.cit.) elucidated this transition from pleasure to reality principles as a gradual

process necessitating the tolerance of displeasure, indicative of the emergence of the sense of reality. He (op.cit.) further divided the initial phase into stages, namely the 'period of magical hallucinatory omnipotence', characterised by the infant's reliance on motor actions as 'magic signs' to seek satisfaction which forms a rudimentary gesture-language; and the 'period of omnipotence by the help of magical gestures'. These stages, marked by introjective experiences, lack differentiation from the external world. As needs diversify and satisfactory conditions diminish, prompting relinquishment of omnipotence feelings. Ferenczi (op.cit.) highlights the subsequent transition to a 'stage of reality', wherein the child projects qualities onto the external world, experiencing an 'animistic period' imbued with symbolic relations between body and objects. Symbolic aptitude enriches gesture-language, enabling direct expression of bodily and environmental desires.

In the early 1950s a few psychoanalysts took to the systematic study of movement behaviour. Their work not only expanded theoretical understanding of bodily movement and its therapeutic relevance but proposed sound methodologies for its study. In the following section I provide an overview of the key systematic movement studies in psychoanalysis predating Kestenberg. Felix Deutsch (1952) published his case studies of observing changes in postural behaviour during long term analytic therapy. He recorded postural behaviour of thirty-two patients during the analytic hour on posturograms for the entirety of the analytic process for seven years. He argued that previous studies in functional behaviour focused on too complex behavioural configurations and that psychosomatic symptoms should be broken down to isolated units to examine the way they intertwine thus aid analytic investigation. His objective for this research was to establish prognostic value of postural behaviour in analysis. Deutsch (op.cit) believed that “*postural pattern appears as signal and symbol during the analytic process, preceding, substituting or accompanying verbal expressions*” (p. 197). He defined posture as the relative positions of the limbs to the trunk of the body, to the head on the couch (1952, p. 198). Later he added the observation of the position of hands, finger, and feet with particular attention on how they related to the whole postural pattern. Deutsch argued that during the psychoanalytic process the large quantities of psychic energy that gets stirred up is accompanied by less visible physiological adaptations. He clarified that the movement observer during analysis should be mindful of the fact that motor reactions that happen in certain parts of the body are reflected in the whole body as well as become integrated into the whole functioning of the person (op.cit. p. 196).

According to Deutsch psychic stimulus that presses for discharge activates muscular movement which may lead to posture change which can be understood as completing the

psychological process, thus he further assumed that the physiological discharge corresponds with the amount of dammed up psychological energy (op.cit. p. 197). Deutsch asserted that voluntary musculature is synchronised to the demands of both the conscious and the unconscious ego. Asynchronous postural patterns signal loss of ego control. The motivation for movement, he clarified, is inseparably connected to unconscious innervations and these proprioceptive stimuli trigger for movement which then the ego decides to carry out. The how and when the movement comes to be executed is within the ego's control. An altered position, according to Deutsch, then can be understood as an integrated, unconscious motivation. Uncoordinated movements however were viewed as results of unconscious forces that could not be reconciled and pressed for expression. "*The appearance and disappearance of a posture represents, it would seem, the attitude of the ego toward a certain impulse with which the specific movement is associated*" (op.cit. p. 199). Prognosis from motor behaviour in psychoanalysis becomes possible for Deutsch if one considers that special motor phenomena and postural patterns reflect regressive behaviours. He understood "*a hand kept permanently on the mouth; the position of a leg which presents the anus; persistent rocking of the head or wriggling of the feet [...]*" to be such signs of regressive behaviour (op.cit. p. 213). He considered the prognosis of recovery poor if basic posture became fixed, remained unchanged or returned after several interruptions to their configurations during analysis.

Margaret Fries and Paul Woolf (1958) investigated the relationship between congenital activity types and personality development. They defined congenital activity type as follows: "*The Congenital Activity Type is a descriptive term, referring to the amount of activity a newborn infant shows in response to certain stimuli*" (1953, p. 47). Lacking observational criteria and framework, they gravitated towards the observation of motor behaviour as this was the only area where they saw obvious differences between infants from previous studies (Gesell and Armatuda, 1941). Observable aspects of movement behaviour pertained to tempo, excursion and duration of movements, quality of muscle tone. Fries (1944) stated that some aspects of the excitability of the neuromuscular system are results of inheritance and intrauterine life and other aspects are shaped by temporary bodily changes due to the process of birth, myelination, growth, emotional state, and parental emotional attitudes towards the infant (Fries, 1941). Therefore, together these combine into a "congenital rather than an inherited tendency to react to the environment in a characteristic manner which may be described according to activity type" (1958, p. 48).

They distinguished Activity Pattern from Congenital Activity Type, the former referring to the actual way how the child reacts to their environment at any specific time inclusive of the

modifying effect of temporary factors previously mentioned (op. cit.). They asserted that the Congenital Activity Type, like other constitutional factors play a significant role in discharge of id impulses, ego, and superego development. Fries and Woolf (1958) argued that Congenital Activity Type could have a predisposing influence on later personality but found it important to argue against any simplification of one-to-one relationship. According to their observations the startle response for example varied in form and duration amongst infants with different Congenital Activity Types which may in turn contribute to dissimilarities in psychosexual development. In relation to drive-discharge and id processes, they argued that throughout development different body parts come to be libidinally cathected to different extents which could account for differences in libidinization in later life. The Congenital Activity Type significantly influences the child's methods of reality testing and forms of mastery thus influences ego development as well. They pose the following questions to illustrate this:

“The question must be considered: does the child with a quiet type have as much opportunity to develop its ego through testing reality as the active one? For while the number of active encounters with reality is reduced kinaesthetically, the quiet child may nevertheless compensate by more intensive utilisation of its experiences or by greater use of other senses such as unusual use of eyes by two quiet children. Then, too, since the quiet child is more inclined to have a symbiotic relation with its mother on a biological basis, it has more experiences through its mother's activities, by introjection and identification. On the other hand, we must consider whether the active child might not have greater difficulty in the transition from general motoric discharge to action controlled by the ego” (Fries and Woolf, 1958, p. 52).

They hypothesised proclivity for certain modes of defences in relation to Activity Types based on their observations that an active infant reaches homeostasis through motor discharge whereas a quiet infant does the same through withdrawal or sleep. “*Is it possible that the quiet infant is more predisposed to the mechanisms of regression, denial, and fantasy?*” (op.cit. p. 52). They further contemplated whether certain Activity Type predisposed one for certain psychopathologies such as whether the quieter type would be prone to hysterical traits when an active child to compulsive ones from which they could not draw definitive conclusions. Fries & Woolf cited Kestenberg's (1954) report on the significance of muscle tone in relation to development. Kestenberg (1954) argued that a more active child was prone to express

aggression directly through motor discharge and the resulting decrease in muscle tone, whereas the quiet infant would hold tonus evenly resulting in sustained periods of inactivity and withholding.

Bela Mittelman (1899-1959), a Hungarian emigree psychiatrist and psychoanalyst, a member of the New York Psychoanalytic Society, lecturer at New York University and Albert Einstein Medical College was concerned with normal and abnormal development of motility and its influence on psychosexual development (Schur, 1960). Mittelman (1957) postulated the existence of “[...] a motor urge (drive), and satisfaction of this urge is attended by pleasure”. Previously, Levy (1944) also posited a motor drive like other drives such as oral and anal. Mittelman further argued that bodily movement provides an important means of mastery, reality testing and integration throughout life. He added that, the influence of movement development on psychic development is most significant in the first two years of life and to a lesser extent up to 10 years of age given the extent of growth and changes in musculature, postural, locomotor and manipulative skills (Mittelman, 1957). He listed the psychological characteristics of the first years being the increasing self-assertion and aggression, growing independence with continued dependence on the environment, translation of impulses into activity like in the affectomotor patterns of joy (clapping hands together), predominance of motility-based language in communication, and lastly motor (imitative) identification (op.cit.). Motivational aspects of motility for the developing child according to Mittelman are pride in accomplishment, increase of self-esteem and self-image, interpersonal somatic experiences with others, exhibitionistic and seductive aims met via motor contact and play with parents (op.cit. p. 299).

He asserted that motility is both an urge and a means of mastery, which goes through a more or less certain course of growth in normal development (op.cit). He postulated the second year of life to be the motor phase of ego and libidinal development as motility seems to be the most dominant mode of mastery and pleasure-seeking (Mittelman, 1953). In relation to early defences, he argued that an increase in activity could represent unconscious flight or fight against an impulse or externally perceived danger as well as it can be employed in place of forbidden genital activity as a substitute motor satisfaction (p. 285). An example of bodily movement as compromise formation and as a defensive warding off anxiety could be when “child moves his hands toward the object without touching it; reaction formation: he holds his hands behind his back instead of reaching; doing and undoing: he picks up the object and immediately replaces it” (op.cit.). Mittelman mentions affectomotor, and rhythmic autoerotic movements in infants, which are present in normal development and in excessive forms in

institutionalised children who lack adequate object-relations or experienced physical restraint. He emphasised that observation of child's play may provide significant information for psychoanalytic theory and technique. Bodily movement throughout play activity could expose motivational forces behind the behaviour such their aggressive or libidinal nature, structure of defences, compromise formations, immediate affective responses, and regressions. In terms of psychoanalytic technique, the analyst could employ observations of movement-based material to inform his analysis and interpretations or choose to focus on the movement experiences of the patient during analysis. He argued that the analyst can decide to focus on the id or ego aspects of movement behaviour. Mittelman (1953) further stressed that:

Motility is one of the significant areas of function to be systematically explored in therapy, like orality or genitality. Its disturbances may arise either from traumata directed at the motor function directly or through the expression of other motivational conflicts in the motor area. The utilisation of motor data, comprising observable manifestations, motor memories, and dreams, contributes to the effectiveness of the treatment of both children and adults (p. 315).

He (Mittelman, 1960) also stated that an excessive use of gestural behaviour in adulthood may signal a tendency towards infantile motor discharge. Regarding classification, Mittelman (op.cit.) differentiated between movement patterns that are motivated by urges, object-relations, and pleasure-seeking (id derivative patterns); or those that serve reality testing, mastery, communication, and integration (ego derivate movements); or ones relating to the formation of conscience and ideals (superego derivatives). He argued (Mittelman, 1957) that skeletal motility is one of the most important mediums of mastery, reality testing and integration thus an essential instrument and indicator of ego development and functioning (p. 196). He considered the second year of life the motor phase of development dominated by seeking of motor pleasure and mastery. Bodily movement is "*closely connected with nearly every other physiological and psychological striving, such as orality, genitality, evaluation of the self, aggression, dependent longings, and interpersonal relations*" (Mittelman, 1957, p. 197). Tactile, visual experience and motor exploration of the body significantly is mastery and differentiation of self-and not-self in infancy (1960, 126).

Mittelman (op.cit.) proposed the separation of movement and action. Movement is typical for intrauterine and pre-gravitational period (first 6 months after birth) whereas action dominates in postpartum life after 6 months of age. Based on his movement studies, Mittelman

asserted that later movement patterns and their related psychological aspects have their antecedents in intrauterine and infantile motility (Mittelmann, 1960, p. 125). He noted that during the 4-5th month of pregnancy there is a noticeable increase in movement frequency of the foetus, which he called 'quickening'. He viewed this increase in motor behaviour in utero as an antecedent of the motor urge and regressive motor discharge. The precursors of expressive movements used in interpersonal communication are affectomotor movements.

He (op.cit.) distinguished between adaptive and non-adaptive motility and further divided the non-adaptive category into reflexes, random movements, expressive movements, affectomotor patterns and autoerotic movements. He saw non-adaptive motility to be dominant during intrauterine life and in the first 6 months after birth. Mittelmann (op.cit.) called autoerotic movements such as rhythmic rocking, bouncing, jumping, primary-process motility as they are aimed at the gratification of instinctual urges. "*In these movements motor pleasure is primary, but secondary anal and genital sensations or actual excitement are elicited* (op.cit.). He also noted that these often merge with expressive movements such as in expressions of joy. Those adaptive, voluntary movements which are aimed at instinctual gratification he called secondary-process motility.

Non-adaptive motility is the basis upon which voluntary movements develop such as the "*grasping reflex is a precursor of later voluntary grasping*" (1960, p. 109). The clinging and grasping reflex provides the foundation for voluntary motility and should be understood as the forerunner of handling and manipulating objects, thus reality testing. Random movements often occurring in the limbs, also have their antecedents in intrauterine motility and serve pleasure seeking through the satisfaction of motor urges. "*Random movements are among the precursors of the tendency to "discharge" tension through diffuse motor activity*" (1960, p. 110) These random movements are displaced by the development of later patterns such as turning around, crawling, manipulation of objects and expressive movements. The category of expressive movements for Mittelmann are linked to the changes in the skeletal muscle in relation to experience of pleasure and displeasure such as the crying or smiling response. He emphasised that these responses show considerable individual variations from a motor aspect. They predominate the infant's movement repertoire up until about 10 months when waving appears, manipulation of objects, reaching and withdrawing from stimulus, locomotion such as crawling takes over. Expressive movements mature throughout development; the early patterns are forerunners of later gesturing behaviour. Affectomotor patterns like the windmill movements that accompany the cry of the infant could be understood as precursors of pushing away noxious stimuli.

The affectomotor arm position, after three months of age, occurring both in smiling and in crying, seems preparatory to dealing with the stimulus positively or negatively. The extension during crying represents a pushing away of the stimulus; during smiling an attempt at closer contact with the stimulus (1960, p. 110).

Adaptive movement such as manipulation of objects contributes to reality testing, enables differentiation between the self and not-self, and serves a sense of mastery and independence. Postures similarly allow the child the experience himself as a stable, somatic unit organised by an individual postural structure within space. Mittelman stressed that the striped muscles are always involved in all libidinal actions and “*the gratification is a combination of motor pleasure, the sensations from the mucous membrane and skin, and autonomic responses*” (1960, p. 110). Regarding stage development such as the oral, Mittelman warned against the simplification to consider that all movement occurring in the first year of life could be considered oral.

It would be tempting to consider all the motility during most of the first year of life oral motility, particularly if one considered vision essentially "oral" in the sense of the infant's wanting to incorporate objects via the eyes, and the affectomotor responses and crying and smiling "oral," because of the facial expression and vocalization. This approach is too one-sided. First, motility is present in some form in utero when oral activity could hardly be considered dominant; secondly, infantile expressive movements are not oriented toward the mouth. Thirdly, long periods of the infant's gazing at his hands instead of carrying them to his mouth speak against such an interpretation of both vision and motility. Nevertheless, the oral aspect of motility is very significant during the first year of life (1960, p. 190.).

According to Mittelman, the most important oral patterns are the mouth-hand movements, predominant in the first year such as finger Sucking, carrying objects to the mouth. These movements, that are initiated and executed by the infant, are also understood to provide kinaesthetic basis for the development of self-image through the doubling of the sensory experience. Mittelman (1960) identified the rooting behaviour, which is the infant rhythmically moving its head up and down and left to right in search of the nipple when placed in the breastfeeding position, as the first postnatal movement pattern when the whole body is

engaged in satisfaction of an oral need. Anal movements come to dominate in the second year of life. The prototypes of these movements are retention and expelling of faeces, complex rhythmic sphincter control that is used during defecation. The significant repetitive characteristic of this period represents the rhythmic nature of the ego and libido development attributed to this phase of development.

In relation to psychopathology and movement behaviour, Mittelman viewed idiosyncrasies in bodily movement as important indicators of mental disorder. “*Various syndromes contain elements of regression to the motor level of development as part of total reactions of anxiety, defence, compensatory devices, and substitute gratification*” (p. 198). Such as motor aspects of hysteria, tics, phobic and obsessive-compulsive behaviours. He stated that “*Excretory motility combined with "freezing" in anxiety and restrained aggression contributes to the general muscle tension in obsessive-compulsive states*” (1960, p. 126). According to Mittelman the state of anxiety exhibited by the crawling infant resembles the state of fear expressed in people with phobias and that obsessive-compulsive conditions utilise the method of solving problems through action and repetition which is a characteristic of the early motor phases of development.

In psychopathic disorders similar mechanisms allow psychological impulses to be carried into motor action and in schizophrenia one can see a regression to the stage of motor communication. Mittelman (1960) added that severe restrictions of free movement of the child are traumatic to the libidinal and ego aspects of motility and are experienced as punishment by the child. He also asserted that movement data such as observations of expressive movement, movement memories and movement-based dream material can be effectively utilised in psychoanalytic treatment of children and adults.

Motility is one of the significant areas of function to be systematically explored in therapy, like orality or genitality. Its disturbances may arise either from traumas directed at the motor function directly or through the expression of other motivational conflicts in the motor area. In the therapy of schizophrenics, the interpretive utilisation of symbolic action is indispensable (Mittelman, 1957. p. 198).

Mittelman (1957) coined the term cross-regression which he defined as “*a reappearance of more primitive forms of behaviour which at an earlier age occur predominantly, although not exclusively, in the opposite mood*” (p. 246). He identified this phenomenon in a case of an 8-

year-old girl patient of his who in discomfort exhibited the positively excited hand-flap characteristic of one-year-olds. He asserted that movement behaviour may relate to pathology if earlier patterns appear regressively in older children or adults in moments of excitement. Movement may also contribute to the patterning of symptoms of genital disturbance (Mittelman, 1953, p. 261).

Mittelman presented a study of movement behaviour in December 1953 at the Midwinter Meeting of the American Psychoanalytic Association, New York while he worked at the Psychiatric Division of the Bellevue Hospital. He conducted long-term observations of 5 normal infants who he followed for 3,5 years and of five children and ten adults in long term psychoanalytic therapy. He looked at the correlations between rhythmic and affectomotor movements and libidinal and ego development and psychopathology, fetishism in particular. He used film recording of the movement behaviours of the infants as well as projective drawing tests. He concluded that characteristic movements were observable in some infants pertaining to motor expression of joy, discomfort and restrain; the patterning of movement changes with maturation; and that as the child discovers new parts of his body during motor development the new areas become libidinally cathected. Throughout this exploratory process the organs, body parts discovered in his own body and in others, the infant recognizes these as part objects which later gradually become viewed as parts of the total self. These processes play an integral part in the development of self-image and differentiation between self and others. The discovered new body parts also have need-satisfying aspects such as the hands for oral needs.

Mittelman (op.cit.) asserted that infants have distinctive affectomotor patterns and that regularity (rhythm) and individuality of these patterns should be noted during observation as these present congenital differences. He added that the characteristic rhythms and patterns of movement are later influenced by environmental effects. Mittelman also accessed family film footage and compared movement patterns exhibited across generations.

The grandfather had taken many films of family and playground scenes during the mother's childhood. In most of them she is seen jumping up and down at one point or another. Thus, the congenital, hereditary aspect of the pattern is very probable. [...] it will be shown later that the environment (mother) has influenced the boy's genital motor behaviour directly and indirectly through her handling of him (Mittelman, 1953, p. 247).

Bilateral rhythmic skeletal motility (such as jumping up and down) that occur in infancy during excitement, according to Mittelman, show both general and individual features. The individual characteristics are more consistent for some infants than for others. Autoerotic rhythmic activity is also viewed to show congenital differences, but their patterning, intensity and psychological structure depend more greatly on environmental influences. Affectomotor patterns of the infant become embedded into adult gesturing behaviour. Mittelman regarded dancing as propelled by the motor drive, a fusion between infantile movement patterns and skilled (creative) activity (op.cit.).

Kestenberg drew upon the classical psychoanalytic views of Freud (Freud, 1893-1895, 1901-1905, 1923, 1925), Ferenczi (1914a, 1914b, 1921, 1925, 1952, 1955) and Abraham (1913) on the association between pleasure-seeking, drive discharge, defences, ego development and movement behaviour. However, her approach was fundamentally dissimilar to bodily movement from other psychoanalysts who studied motility peripherally and predominantly as adjunct to mind processes. Her ambition was to propose bodily movement as an object for psychoanalytic metapsychology in its own right. Kestenberg incorporated Deutsch's (1947, 1952, 1959) clinical data on the parallels between psychic and postural changes; Fries & Woolf's (1958) proposition of congenital activity types and Mittelman's (1953, 1957, 1960) formulations about the motor urge, link between rhythmic movements and drive discharge, ego and motor development, classification of movement behaviour, differential diagnostic relevance of bodily expression and the relevance of infant movement observation. Kestenberg's (1965a, 1965b, 1967a, 1967b) psychodynamic theory of movement could be closely likened to Mittelman's focused movement studies, but it also presents a significantly different approach in terms of the classification of movement.

Kestenberg (1965a, 1965b, 1967a, 1967b) applied the understanding of Rudolf von Laban's dance theory and classified bodily movement based on their dynamic, structural, and inherent qualitative features as opposed to Mittelman's classification of single expressive actions and function-based categorisations. In the same year when Mittelman (1953) presented this study at the New York meeting of the American Psychoanalytic Association, Kestenberg began her longitudinal studies of observation of three infants at the Poughkeepsie Hospital (Kestenberg, 1990, New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections. Kestenberg CV). This study essentially became the bedrock of her psychodynamic theory of movement development and Movement Profile. At the time Mittelman also worked at the Bellevue Hospital as Kestenberg a few years earlier.

What is curious is that despite their common research interests, correspondence between them hasn't been found.

3.2.2. Capturing Movement

In the early 1950s, Kestenbergs began to study a dance notation technique called Labanotation from Irmgard Bartenieff (1900-1981) in New York and from Warren Lamb (1923-2014) in London. Bartenieff was a student of Rudolf Laban, a German dancer emigre who later became a pioneer of American dance-movement therapy (Levy, 1988). Lamb, another Laban disciple, further developed Laban's concepts into his method of Action Profile that served as a basis for Kestenbergs Movement Profile. From the 1940s onwards the Dance Notation Bureau, organisation in New York City dedicated to the preservation of dance choreographies, set out to popularise Rudolf von Laban's dance notation technology in the United States (Laemmli, 2016). The Bureau members made a conscious orientation in the 1950s towards emphasising objectivity, accuracy, and replicability of Labanotation as a method which foreshadowed its applications in fields other than dance, such as the psy-sciences which is demonstrated in Judith S. Kestenbergs work.

Rudolf von Laban (1879-1958), an Austro-Hungarian born pioneer of Ausdruckstanz (expressionist dance), sought to delineate the fundamental dynamic and structural aspects of human movement. Laban, as a pioneer of German modern dance, intended to elevate dance as an art form by developing its writing technology like a musical script. In his view this orthography, a standardised technology to write a language inclusive of spelling, punctuation and grammar would allow the preservation, archiving, sharing and recreation of dance choreographies (Fugedi, 2015; Laban, 1926 [2008], 1950, 1954, 1971). In Laban's view, detailed writing technology for dance also contributed to the development of bodily and movement literacy that possessed healing power for the individual mover and through him for society as a whole (Ruprecht, 2019, p. 24).

The first draft of Laban's dance notation system was published in 1928 which was a result of years of his own movement studies and observations on the basic motion factors in human movement. In his movement theory, Laban also explored the spatial configurations that the moving body creates with and within space. He assumed a reciprocal relationship between mental state and movement behaviour, that is, that movement expresses mental state, and that mental state is impacted upon, influenced by movement activity. He contended that bodily movement had the most powerful influence on the human personality (Laemmli, 2016). His

view of dance was anchored in contemporaneous psychophysical concepts formulated by Charles Bell (1774-1842) and Carl George Lange (1885/1912). The Scottish surgeon, Charles Bell whose work became widely popularised in the mid 19th century onwards, distinguished the mechanisms of the sensory and motor nerves which laid the foundations for physiologically oriented psychology (Laemmli, 2016). He proposed a reciprocity between motor nerves and emotionality. In his theory emotions were intimately tied to physicality, that is if sensory nerves provided information about the material world thus channelling intellectual life, motor nerves were the instruments of emotional expression.

Bell was fascinated by the interconnectedness of bodily movement and internal states which he exemplified with the fact that the same nerves activate during fast breathing as by states of anxiety (op.cit. p. 33). Laban found Lang's work important to underscore his movement theories because of its rigorous empirical approach to document the physical factors of emotions such as fear, joy, and tension. Lange argued that vasoconstriction or vasodilation, that is the narrowing or widening of blood vessels, accompanied all emotional states. Laban synthesised these concepts with Langley's (1921) research of the sympathetic and parasympathetic nervous system. Laban reformulated the distinctions between the sympathetic and parasympathetic nervous system in his movement theories. "*Laban argued for a deep reciprocity between mind and body, insisting that it was not only the body which expressed the mental state, but the mental state which might be transformed by the movements of the body*" (Laemmli, 2016, p. 34). As the sympathetic nervous system was understood to accelerate heartbeat, slow digestion, increase blood flow Laban interpreted this activity expressed in all actions aimed at defence and withdrawal; consequently, parasympathetic nervous activity he understood as expansive, expressive, and outward oriented. He embedded these considerations in his concepts of Free and Bound Flow, which referred to the continuous flow of activity and energy in the muscles during movement. In Free Flow the mover appears (and through the principle of reciprocity also experiences himself as) mobile, active, outwardly oriented, and expressive. In Bound Flow the mover seems to focus on stabilisation, disengagement, and self-discipline.

Laban left Germany in 1937 and emigrated to the UK where he began to experiment with new applications of his dance notation technology in large factories struggling with labour shortage of men during the war time (Laemmli, 2016). Laban recorded the movement of the female workers and recommended changes to the workflow and developed a physical training program to compensate for women's lack of muscle strength. He joined F. C. Lawrence, the first management consultant of the UK. They designed a system to maximise productivity of

the workforce which became known as the Laban-Lawrence Industrial Rhythm program in which they focused on the optimal use of Effort motion factors by the worker according to the given task. Laban and Lawrence published their book *Effort* in 1947. Laban's work had two main pillars, Choreutics, a system dealing with the path of movement in space, and Eukinetics, a system dealing with the dynamic qualities of movement, also known as Effort (Fügedi, 2015, p. 41). The latter denoted the quality of energetic investment manifest in bodily movement. Laban related the notion of Effort to the German term 'antrieb'; a drive of the organism to make itself known (Bartenieff and Lewis 2002, p. 51). According to Laban there are four motion factors of Effort, Flow, Weight, Time, and Space. Each motion factor encompasses a spectrum of opposite qualities which are Free and Bound Flow, Light, and Strong Weight, Sustained or quick Time and Indirect or Direct Space. These qualities refer to how the user engages, utilises these factors of physicality throughout during movement, that is in relation to flow their qualitative investment in continuity, in terms of weight their relationships to gravity and how they use their own body weight, in regards of space this connotes the movers attention to their bodily and external space, in relation time it would mean the use of time and periodicity during movement (Wahl, 1984, pp. 93-97).

Warren Lamb, an English student of Rudolf Laban, founded a management consulting company in 1952 and set out to transform workforce management and aptitude testing through his method of the Action Profiling, an adaptation of Laban's work (Laemmli, 2016). Lamb's approach focused on preferred ways of moving and characteristic patterns of movement qualities of individuals. HE observed people's expressions during a job interview and drew up an Action Profile based on his data which he believed to represent the unique movement repertoire of the person likened to the accuracy of a fingerprint. For instance, considering shaping patterns, Lamb contended that a person who has a preference for the use of the horizontal plane carries out his everyday movements with a tendency towards horizontal Spreading and Narrowing, whereas someone else might move forward and backward on the sagittal plane with the same gestures (Laemmli, 2016, p. 97). In his view an individual's natural movement repertoire predisposed him for certain professional roles. According to Lamb, the human body changes its three-dimensional shape throughout movement along the lines of its expressive needs. Lamb developed the Effort-Shape analysis that pertained to observing the structural shaping aspects of movement relating to the use of the three spatial planes during movement coupled with the dynamic Effort factors present. Lamb proposed an affinity between Shaping and Effort patterns.

Kestenberg anchored her developmental movement theory in Laban's concepts of Free, Bound Flow and Effort. Furthermore, she developed Laban's Flow concept into her category of Tension-Flow Rhythms and Attributes. She also added to Laban's notion of Effort a separate category, the Precursors of Effort. Kestenberg's syntax of movement behaviour incorporated Lamb's principle of affinity, but she extrapolated it onto the relationship between Shape-Flow and Tension-Flow. Kestenberg's concept of Shape-Flow was influenced by Lamb's Effort-Shape analysis which she collated with her direct observational data.

3.2.3. Kestenberg's Psychodynamic Theory of Movement

3.2.3.1. Rhythmicity in the Flow of Tension

Although both academic and psychoanalytic developmental psychology are based in good part on observation of motor behaviour, no systematic study of rhythms of motor discharge has been attempted (Kestenberg, 1965a, p. 3.).

Kestenberg's attention was drawn to the study of movement behaviour while working as an intern at the Bellevue Hospital's Child Psychiatry Department between 1937-1939 under the supervision of Paul Schilder. His work (Schilder, 1950/2013) on the development of body image and the interface between psychic and organic processes had a significant influence on her thinking (Kestenberg, 1985). Schilder was part of a group of clinicians at the time who especially encouraged the use of projective methods and creative arts in psychiatry. He was not only conducive to Kestenberg's developmental movement studies, but he was also a central figure in the professionalisation of American dance-movement therapy. As the clinical director of the Bellevue Hospital Adult and Child Psychiatry Department between 1930-1940, he encouraged the use non-verbal methods and invited dancers, Franziska Boas, and Blanche Evan to hold dance classes for psychotic children (Levy, 1988).

According to Schilder the body image is how the body subjectively appears to the individual and it is not only the collection of endogenous physiological and somatic experiences but inclusive of not only the intersubjective somatic experiences of other bodies but also of internalised aspects - prohibition, desires, assumptions - of culture (Csabai & Eros, 2000, p. 90). Kestenberg took Schilder's somatic orientation further, expanding her scope from bodily sensations and perceptual phenomena that construct the body image onto movement-based experiencing and its relation to development. Schilder noted that:

[...] there is a close relationship between muscle tension and psychic attitude, and not only is psychic attitude related to the state of the muscles, but also the sequence of tensions and relaxations produces a specific attitude (Schilder, 1950/2013, Part II).

Schilder contended that rhythmic movements are closely related to emotions and affective states (Kestenberg Amighi et al., 2018a, p. 8). The study of rhythmic movements has become a focal point of Kestenberg's work. She systematised the data from her infant observations and associated their rhythmicity with component drives (Kestenberg Amighi et al., 2018b, 2018c). Kestenberg anchored her developmental theory in Freudian drive theory. According to the Freudian definition, drives are somatically based, need-derived forces which produce tensions in the id which can be viewed as the bodily challenge of the psychic system. Kestenberg attempted to conceptualise precisely this tension between the somatic and the psychic apparatus and the mechanisms of their dynamic interplay represented in movement behaviour.

One of Kestenberg's key concepts was muscle Tension-Flow which was a synthesis of the Freudian concept of tension and Laban's notion of Flow. The Flow factor in Laban's theory pertained to the lack of constraint movement and the freeing of energy that mobilises the body and creates a continuous flow of movement. Consequently, binding Flow referred to the introduction of restraint to this continuous flow creating contained, stabilising movements or interruptions in the flow of movement. Freud (1924, p. 160) argued that pleasure and unpleasure could not be solely defined by the decrease or increase of the quantity of tension but rather by its quality. He stressed that a method to measure this qualitative aspect of tension would significantly advance psychology. Freud further contemplated that this qualitative factor of tension which qualifies it to pleasure or unpleasure may lie in the rhythmic properties of its increase or decrease or the temporal factors of its rise and fall. Kestenberg intended to fill this very gap in psychoanalytic knowledge about the psychic and developmental significance of qualitative factors in the change of tension that Freud's speculations foreshadowed, in her notions of Tension-Flow Rhythms and Tension-Flow Attributes.

Based on Laban's theory, Kestenberg proposed the concept of Free and Bound Flow of muscle tension referring to the level of activation and interplay between agonist and antagonist

muscle groups⁴³. Free Flow is defined as the contraction of agonist muscles allowing for mobilisation (1965b). Bound Flow is the simultaneous contraction of agonist and antagonist muscle groups enabling stabilisation and inhibition of movement. Kestenberg considered Free and Bound flow as the most fundamental qualities of muscle tension. She equated Free and Bound Flow with Freud's concepts of pleasure-unpleasure and life and death instincts; Free Flow of muscle tension embodying an essential quality of organic life tending towards survival through opening, mobilising, incorporating, and connecting to the external world and Bound Flow as the basis of survival through withdrawal, fossilisation, and immobilisation in the face of too great danger (1965b, p. 557).

Kestenberg (1965a) devised further attributes of Flow that pertain to the qualitative aspect of tension change in bodily movement. She interpreted Attributes of Tension-Flow as the expression of temperament and congenital preferences for drive organisation and regulation. She (op.cit.) further added that the clearest predictive relevance of movement observation proved to be in relation to temperament. Such property of muscle Tension-Flow is the degree of its intensity for example, that is the level of intensity to which the agonist and antagonist groups counteract each other through movement (Kestenberg, 1965b). High Intensity Bound Flow leads to heavily restricted, slow motion type movement which one may use when carrying a tray of water in order not to spill it.

High Intensity Free Flow is a movement quality that uses the stabilising effect of the antagonists to a very minimal degree allowing for extremely mobile, unstable drifting kind of movements (op.cit.). Two other attributes of muscle Tension-Flow are frequency of change and the rate of change. Frequency of change refers to a continuous fluctuation between Free and Bound Flow, meaning the flow keeps adjusting as opposed to when it stays evenly held in either Free or Bound Flow throughout movement.

Rate of change of muscle Tension-Flow connotes the time factors used in the changes in flow, that is rapid, abrupt change from Free to Bound Flow as opposed to gradual change (Kestenberg, 1965b). Evenly held Bound Flow with gradual rate of change characterises Tai-chi type of slowed down quality of movement. The quality of abruptly changing, High Intensity Free and then Bound Flow is visible in a sudden but precise karate kick or strike of a hand in a punch. Kestenberg collated these qualitative factors of muscle Tension-Flow with qualitative

⁴³ "At rest there is a balance between agonists and antagonists [...]. Movement is initiated by an imbalance between agonists and antagonists. The more the antagonistic muscles participate in the movement, the more they counteract and inhibit the movement. We then feel or see inhibited or Bound Flow. The less the simultaneous contraction of the antagonistic muscles, the less inhibited the movement. We then see and feel Free Flow" (Kestenberg, 1965a, p. 522).

aspects of affect; Free Flow representing a carefree, comfortable state as opposed to degree of caution or discomfort of Bound Flow, High Intensity referring to a heightened state of positive or negative affect, Low Intensity signifying a more low-key state, abruptness denoting a sudden change in affect as opposed to a gradually changing state; evenly held quality expressing unchanging state as opposed to a fluctuating, adjusting, comfort seeking affective attitude (op.cit.).

Kestenberg (1965b) argued that these Attributes of Tension-Flow co-occur in specific constellations and when this co-occurrence has a specific periodicity, they can be understood as Tension-Flow Rhythms. The rhythmicity of Tension-Flow Attributes, she viewed as particularly suitable in the study of the development of psychic functions. From the synthesis of her observational data and the Freudian psychosexual stage theory, she assigned rhythmic patterns to erogenous zones, such as oral, anal, phallic, and proposed a correlation between the infants preferred rhythmic modes of discharge and their drive endowment (Kestenberg, 1965b). She (op.cit.) argued that all Tension-Flow Rhythms are available to the infant at birth, but they rise to dominance, as they appear more frequently in the movement repertoire of the developing child at certain ages.

These were the oral ducking and biting, anal sphincter play, anal defecatory rhythm and the phallic masturbatory rhythms. Kestenberg defined the oral Sucking Rhythm as the smooth, continuous alternation between Free and Bound Flow with very Low Intensity seen in breastfeeding and thumb sucking behaviour of neonates (op.cit.). Oral Biting and chewing rhythm referred to similarly Low Intensity movements but with a sharp accent seen in biting, chewing, or clapping of the baby. Anal sphincters play rhythms were recorded from changing tension in the accessory muscles contracting at the same time as the sphincter muscles producing Low Intensity fluctuating flow quality. Anal Sadistic Rhythms were derived from the tension changes in the abdominal muscles during defecation adopting abrupt changes between high and Low Intensity with evenly held plateaus in between. Phallic masturbatory rhythms were recorded from masturbatory jumping, hopping and pelvic thrusts and are characterised by abrupt changes between Low Intensity Free Flow and High Intensity Bound Flow (Kestenberg, 1965b). Kestenberg also pointed out that different rhythms can occur in different parts of the body or even in combination with each other. When two or more Tension-Flow Rhythms are fused together it is considered a modified or mixed rhythm. Kestenberg understood these as modes of drive organisation and regulation, according to internal strivings, inferences and demands of external reality. When these mixed rhythmic patterns endure throughout development, they become somatic indicators of personality traits.

3.2.3.2. From Tension to Effort, From Id to Ego ⁴⁴

Large portion of Kestenberg's work (1946, 1953, 1965b, 1992) pertained to the study of ego development, particularly to the movement-based indicators of the development from id to ego; primary to secondary process. Three of her studies, published in the 1930s, concerning the development of eye movements after insulin coma foreshadowed her later formulations on this subject (Kestenberg, 1938b, 1938b, 1941, 1975, 1992). Relating to these early neurological studies Kestenberg said:

To study the developmental sequences of various types of eye movement, I examined them in successive of awakening from insulin coma. During this research I began to appreciate the genetic nature of transference when one of the patients called me 'mama' just as her eye movements began to show the first signs of ego control (1975, pp. xv-xvi).

Kestenberg cited Heinz Hartmann's work as a role model for her work due to Hartmann's strong neurological foundations. Kestenberg (1975, 1992) remembered that Hartmann helped the formulations of many of her concepts by reading and commenting on her manuscripts. However, Kestenberg opposed Hartman's main concept of the autonomous sphere of the ego and asserted that there was an observable line of development from id to ego, indicated in bodily movement. According to Hartmann, Loewenstein & Kris (1946) the structure of the ego does not emerge from the id but develops out of an early undifferentiated state in postnatal life. This constitutes the autonomous sphere of the ego that is not called into existence by instinctual forces. Hartmann (1939) posited that the independent roots of the ego, that is its primary autonomy encompassing perception, motility and memory after differentiation, these functions became the ego's main control apparatus.

In *'Early Fears and Early Defences'* (1946), Kestenberg drew attention to patterns of movement that can be linked to development of defences. Kestenberg posited that the two most basic forms of defence were increasing or inhibiting muscle tension (Kestenberg, 1946, pp. 65-66). This preliminary motor control, manifested in the ability to contract muscles, later allows for the execution of goal-directed movements (Kestenberg, Berlowe et al., 1971a, pp. 750-55).

⁴⁴ Content of this chapter has been presented on 29.06.2021 by author at the conference of the *European Society for the History of Human Sciences*, The influence of drive-theory and ego-psychology on developmental movement analysis.

In *'Notes on Ego Development'* (Kestenberg, 1953), she described the dynamic interplay between ego functions and the development of early defence mechanisms, outlining the process from primary processes to the emergence of secondary processes. She cited Greenacre's concept of organic imprints, which proposed that the birth experience stimulates maturation by providing the somatic basis from which the ego and its precursors develop (Kestenberg, 1953, p. 121).

Kestenberg (op.cit.) argued that pre-stages of defences are dominated by primary processes and assigned to the pre-ego whereas basic ego functions are under the control of secondary processes and belong to the ego. Following Freud, she asserted that the id consists of free energy whereas the ego can bind energy but can also release it, however there may be precursors of binding in the id as it being a reservoir which facilitates storage of archaic heritage. She further explained that the difference between the binding of the ego and id is that the ego has specified control over what to bind and discharge (Kestenberg, 1953). Repression, which evolves through ego development is what obstructs the free access of unconscious material to the ego. The unrepressed parts of the id relate to inherited modes of reactions to somatic influences which may or may not be in communication with the ego, due to some of them never pressing for discharge. Kestenberg argued that the inertia of the id, that is demonstrated by the unrepressed that never mobilise for discharge, is the particular characteristic of the id from which the ego's inhibitory function develops. S

he further elaborated that the concept of the autonomous sphere of the ego seemed to propose a gap between id and ego, which she believed to only exist between the ego and the repressed parts of the id. This hypothesis was substantiated by her clinical data which suggested to her that the body, including the nervous system, produce tensions in the id but also seem to provide the basic motor apparatus for pre-ego control functions (Kestenberg, 1953). The Freudian unconscious is defined by the lack of concept of time, absence of negation, by the presence of condensation and displacement and the dominance of psychic reality over external reality. Motor apparatus that belongs to the id are only the organised reflexes according to Freud (1915, p. 286). Kestenberg (1953) argued that in reflexes, inhibition plays a central role and thus she imagined that somatic imprints of primitive inhibitory patterns present in the id get passed onto the ego. She argued that primitive models of motor actions undergo transformation throughout maturation in the face of external demands and through this process the basic ego functions emerge. In this sense the ego is an extension of the id.

Kestenberg (op.cit.) delineated the transformation from primary to secondary process by explaining that the infant initially reacts to unpleasant stimuli through unspecific discharge

(crying, increased motility), unspecific withdrawal (sleep) or displacement characterising primary process but external reality interferes with this process and offers certain possibilities for gratification thus interrupting the Free-flow of mobilising energy of the unspecific discharge and fixes it to certain aspects ergo enables the development of specific discharge to specific stimuli adapted to demands of outer reality. External demands force the infant to employ specific actions to obtain gratification which make binding of energy necessary. This process would be the emergence of basic ego functions which belong to secondary processes. Kestenberg brought the example of the mother turning the baby's head towards the breast to take in food which becomes a prototype of specific response 'taking in' such as in turning towards objects and in anticipatory gestures towards others (Kestenberg, 1953).

Kestenberg further argued that condensing all different aspects of the gratifying situation into a psychosomatic unit might be the first attempt of the infant to bind energy. The child gradually gives up this primitive form of condensation and transform it into ideation. Kestenberg (op.cit.) brought the example that the experience of turning towards the breast comes to represent the whole nursing situation. She asserted that through this contact with reality, condensation evolves from unspecific fusion to specific conceptualisation (Kestenberg, 1953, p. 120). Condensation, according to Kestenberg, also serves as a prototype of the synthetic function of the ego. The id gives way to concepts of time and space and through the consolidations of these external reality yields to psychic reality. She explained further that defence mechanisms such as accepting, and rejection are also modelled upon pre-stages in primary processes such as negative and positive hallucinations (unspecific withdrawal from unpleasurable stimuli and the anticipation of pleasurable stimuli based on previously stored memory traces of gratification). The ability of the id for displacement makes it possible that negative and positive hallucinations substitute for tensions which later turn into denial. She asserted that: "*Because pleasant waiting is the first solution which reconciles both id and reality demands, it represents the foundation of basic ego functions*" (op.cit. p. 118).

Kestenberg (1965a, 1965b) finalised her formulations on the pathway from id to ego in 1965 in two publications; and differentiated between drive-and ego-derivative motor patterns; aimed drive discharge and taming drives in adaptation to reality, respectively. She cited Hartmann's thoughts on the difficulties in the neonatal phase of disentangling early functions of the id that will come to serve the ego in later development (Kestenberg, 1965b). Kestenberg examined this issue and proposed systematic observation of movement patterns as a way of detecting aspects of this transition and separation of functions. She observed that with maturation initial rhythmic behaviour with the development of the ego becomes incorporated

into more complex movement patterns. She posited that throughout the development the motor apparatus serves discharge of drives, regulation of drives and adaptation to reality. Those motor patterns that are used in regulation of drives are in closer relationship to the ego apparatus than those purely serving drive discharge. She warned against the assumption that the sole study of rhythmic movement would sufficiently enable the study of the role of motility in development due to the fact that primitive adaptive behaviours to physical aspects of the environment such as space, weight time and expressive shaping structures modify this early rhythmicity (Kestenberg, 1965a).

In her developmental theory modes of complex ego functioning are viewed to derive from the id, therefore the propensity for certain zonal rhythmic discharge foreshadowed the prevalence of ego-controlled movement patterns. In other words, in Kestenberg's view preferred modes of drive discharge influence later preferred modes of drive regulation and adjustment to demands of reality. Kestenberg argued that with maturation ego-controlled mechanisms come to regulate id-derivative motor patterns (Kestenberg, 1965b). These ego-controlled motor patterns are an inherent part of the sphere of the ego's secondary autonomy (Kestenberg, 1965b, p. 518). Kestenberg designated rhythmic motor patterns to the realm of drive discharge and conceptualised Effort patterns as ego-controlled mechanisms which come to take over or regulate rhythmic patterns with maturation. She proposed that patterns of complex ego functioning are expressed in Effort movements (Kestenberg, 1965b). This category is defined as those movements that possess a visible, inherent orientation and intention towards aspects of the external reality, they actively deal with aspects of space, weight, and time. Regulation of the attributes of muscle Tension-Flow happen through the use of Effort movements, that is the drive-derived, affectively based attributes of Tension-Flow become modified to the demands of reality, thus becoming subordinated to Effort (Kestenberg, 1965b). Kestenberg defined the different elements or qualities of Effort as well. These were, Direct or Indirect in relation to the use of space, Strong or Light in relation to the use of weight and gravity and Acceleration and Deceleration in relation to the use of time throughout bodily movement. Kestenberg (1965b) outlined her psychodynamic theory of movement development in the following way:

The various rhythms of tension flow seen in the neonate become differentiated in such a way that pure rhythms serve localised drive discharge and modified rhythms are used in drive derivative functioning as apparatus of secondary autonomy. Methods of flow regulation derive their style from the elements and attributes of

rhythms from which they evolve. Selectivity in flow becomes differentiated with progressive development of the ego's control over expression of affect. Controlled selection of flow attributes is a Precursor of Effort. Developmental trends overlap and interact in such a way that patterns of tension-flow reflect changing constellations of drives, while patterns of Effort subordinate the flow of tension to their adaptive aims and reflect transitory and permanent ego attitudes to the world in which we live (Kestenberg, 1965b, p. 544).

3.2.3.3. Flowing Shape of Self-and-Other

In 1967, Kestenberg introduced the category of Shape, the developmental hierarchy of movement patterns and her syntax of movement behaviour. She cited Anna Freud referring to the changes in the child's actions from serving demands of the id to becoming the tools of the ego as a developmental step towards socialisation (A. Freud cited in Kestenberg, 1967a, p. 356). Then added that actions in movement change in relation to the self and objects. Kestenberg's categories of Shape-Flow and shaping were precisely about the development of object-relationships. By Shape-Flow, Kestenberg meant the outline or the orientation within the shape of the movement. Early patterns of Shape-Flow and later predominant shaping patterns provide the somatic basis for reaching to or withdrawing from the world of objects. The Tension-Flow apparatus was the instrument of drive discharge, the Shape-Flow system is what makes drive gratification possible through transactions with objects. Differentiation of Tension-Flow allows for drive-differentiation and Shape-Flow enables the differentiation of self and objects (Kestenberg, 1967a, p. 357). In other words, Shape-Flow is the instrument of drive satisfaction through engaging the object through which the drive's aim can be gratified.

Kestenberg anchored her theory in concept of the normal autistic phase and argued that the neonate is born into an objectless state from which she emerges into a normal narcissistic state, characterised by the anaclitic, at first merged, relationship with the object. By anaclitic relationship she meant the Freudian view of the object's existence being defined by its virtue of satisfying the needs of the infant (Kestenberg, 1967a). In this stage the self and object are fused in the near space, with the first experience of bodily separateness instated by the ability to hold muscles contracted through the minimal control over Bound Flow, hatching occurs (Kestenberg, 1967a). This establishes object constancy in space and the reach space in which, through the use of Shape-Flow, the infant reaches to a specific object to satisfy his needs. Shape-Flow attributes allow for the discharge of libidinal and aggressive drives towards the

phase-specific need-satisfying object. With the development of motility, the distance between the caregiver and infant grows, their new interactional space becomes the general space which implies advances in independence and greater physical and psychological distance between them.

Kestenberg (1985) considered in-born reflexes the basis of later developing reality oriented, ego-controlled mechanisms of self-and object-relationships. Early reflexes come under the category of Shape-Flow movements in Kestenberg's approach and as such they are viewed as early somatic patterns of object-relationships. The category of Shape-Flow pertains to outward oriented movements which are oriented towards the environment and inward oriented movements that tend towards the self. (Kestenberg, 1967a) Movements towards the self, express the need to separate from external stimuli or the need to move towards oneself. The two basic attributes (like Free and Bound Flow in Tension-Flow) are Growing, Shrinking as the two basic qualities of attraction and withdrawal according to Kestenberg (op.cit.). The more differentiated use of Shape-Flow acts through its further attributes such as Widening and Narrowing horizontally, Lengthening, and Shortening vertically and Bulging and Hollowing sagittally. One sees the use of Shape-Flow when the baby shrinks into a ball shape before dozing off or when he extends his arms horizontally and widens his body contours to break free from an embrace. Kestenberg also argued that the kinaesthetic experience derived from the use of Shape-Flow differentiate into affective images of self and other, get integrated into the body image and self and object representations thus largely influences later body and self and other schemas (Kestenberg, 1967a). Many of the early reflexes use Shape-Flow patterns according to Kestenberg's classification such as the rooting reflex with its visible whole body growing and lengthening towards the nipple and shrinking and narrowing away from the breast upon feeling full.

Kestenberg assigned attributes of Shape-Flow to the developmental phases of oral, anal, urethral, inner genital and phallic. The oral phase is characterised by the dominant use of the feeding, oral plane and horizontal Widening and Narrowing Shape-Flow. The anal phase is associated with the vertical plane, and the Shape-Flow of Lengthening and Shortening as the toddler squats and stands up (Kestenberg, 1967a). The urethral phase is related to the dominant use of the sagittal plane as the toddler starts to walk and traverses into the space with bulging forward or Hollowing backward. The inner-genital and phallic phases don't have specific corresponding Shape-Flow patterns as they did in Tension-Flow. Kestenberg stated that these phases are concerned with an overall integration of pregenital drives and objects, the construction of integrated and mature self and other schemas, the repertoire of Shape-Flow

patterns are used which give way to the more dominant use of directional and dimensional shaping patterns (Kestenberg, 1967a).

With maturation under optimal conditions, Shape-Flow patterns of early object relationships come under the control of ego-derived, more differentiated shaping patterns. Kestenberg noticed that as aspects of external reality such as space, weight and time are better adapted to, the child responds to its environment in more differentiated ways by moving only certain body parts; he no longer reaches for something with the involvement of the whole body but simply reaches one of his arms out to the space and grasps with exactness. These differentiated movements often used for localisation and orientation are called directional shaping patterns by Kestenberg (1967a). Just as Effort patterns regulate and dominate Tension-Flow, at the same time in relation to shaping aspects of the infant's movement, Shape-Flow becomes subordinated to Directional Shaping (op.cit.). The latter category is a differentiated use of body parts in specific reaction to the external world mostly using a combination of two spatial directions. Such as in reaching with one arm to a specific object in space, one may extend the arm, lift the arm vertically up then extend it sagittally forward. Opening the arms to the side to embrace someone or join them in a conversation would be an example of a directional movement (Kestenberg, 1967a). Directional patterns are also utilised in defending from external stimuli such as barring access to the body or face through a diagonal movement of the head or the arm. Another example would be, defending against distraction the learner may narrow his focus onto his book and create a barrier with his torso and arms.

Kestenberg (op.cit.) postulated another category, dimensional shaping which is characterised by complex, two-or three-dimensional trajectories that the movement traverses in spaces. An example would be the spreading of the arms when hugging. Directional and dimensional patterns create bridges between self and other by extending body boundaries into space. Dimensional shaping allows for complex configurations of self and other, self, and external world. Kestenberg understood these configurations to indicate schemas of complex relationships (Kestenberg, 1967a).

3.2.3.4. Intersubjectivity in Movement ⁴⁵

Kestenberg (1967a) contended that individual preferences for drive discharge, adaptation, and adjustment to the world of objects are represented in the individual combinations and sequences of movement qualities found in one's movement repertoire. Differences are determined by congenital patterns and kinaesthetic identifications with objects throughout development (Kestenberg, 1967a, p. 406). Congenital patterns of drive discharge are observable individual preferences in the Tension-Flow and Shape-Flow patterns. However, Kestenberg also examined how interactions with the caregivers modify rhythmic motor behaviour of the infant.

Attunement, kinaesthetic memory, and kinaesthetic identification were Kestenberg's key concepts (1985). She conceptualised attunement between mother and child as the creation of a shared state of affect by embodying the same Tension-Flow and/or Shape-Flow patterns. Through the attunement to each other's need based motor patterns (in an optimal situation predominantly the caregiver attunes to the infant) a sense of somatic and psychic merger, fusion is established. The kinaesthetic memory of communing in the same psychosomatic state is the basis for their emotional bond upon which the process of kinaesthetic identification can be built. Through attuning to the mother's movement repertoire through kinaesthetic identification, more advanced, ego-controlled movement patterns get introduced to the infant (Kestenberg, 1985).

Kestenberg understood the caregiver to act as an auxiliary ego, external nervous system for the infant in the early period providing the child with modes of regulation. These mechanisms of regulation from Kestenberg's somatic perspective are manifested in Tension-Flow Rhythms and Shape-Flow patterns she adopts with her own body, offering these as templates of emotional regulation for the child which he embodies through kinaesthetic attunement. Individual preferences for drive discharge receive inference from the caregivers' preferences as they act as the infant's auxiliary ego at first, thus becoming moderately altered by the external environment (Kestenberg, 1965b). The infant's response to internal and external stimuli is met with a reaction from the caregivers which acts as somato-affective commentaries on the self and become internalised part of the infant's body-image. Kestenberg (1967a) stressed that early, overwhelming inferences with the congenital preferences for rhythmic discharge could significantly hinder infant development. She (op.cit.) highlighted the

⁴⁵ Content of the chapter has been presented by author on 11.06.2021 at the Conference of the University of Essex, UK entitled Mutual Dances of Attunement, Misattunement and Repair

importance of the mother recognising the infant's temperament through these congenital patterns to initiate attunement. If the caregiver's Tension-Flow repertoire is narrow and largely differs from the infant's it would limit the opportunities for the creation of kinaesthetically shared affective states that allow for psychosomatic communion which may have detrimental developmental effects. Furthermore, it could also lead to the infant attuning to the caregiver's Tension-Flow suppressing his/her own congenital preferences for drive discharge. She argued that the onset of psychopathology can be detected by the observation of early rhythmic movement interactions between mother and infant (1965a, p. 6). Congenital preference for certain modes of discharge by rhythmic movement through certain erogenous zones get modified by maturation and environmental inferences. If these are not particularly hindered by external factors, they would not only become discernible overall aspects in the child's temperament but also influence character formation.

In 1965, Kestenberg presented her paper entitled '*Attunement and Clashing in Mother-Child Interaction*' to psychiatry residents of the Kings County Hospital, Brooklyn, New York. She discussed various different patterns of non-verbal interaction between mother and infant which denoted different affective responses (Kestenberg, 1975b). Her formulations were, the more complete the attunement between mother and infant inclusive of modes of perception, sensory thresholds, congenital patterns of tension increase and reduction, the more symbiotic relationship they have; larger the disparity the more likely that everyday clashes happen, and later conflict may ensue. However, Kestenberg pointed out that the process of normal development is inclusive of attunement and clashes in complex sequences (Kestenberg, 1975b). She formulated that each developmental phase is governed by harmonious and conflictual aspects of the mother-child relationship, these provide the foundations for mental life. Attunement provides the basis for shared states of affect and clashes initiate separation, adjustment, and attunement, such as providing the basis for resiliency of their relationship. Kestenberg differentiated between complete attunement, one-sided attunement, partial attunement, selective attunement, generalised clashing, partial clashing, and selective clashing (Kestenberg, 1975b).

Kestenberg mapped out these responses through her concept of Tension-Flow and Shape-Flow patterns manifest in the behaviours of the dyad. Complete attunement denoted engaging in the same Tension-Flow and Shape-Flow patterns. One-sided attunement occurred when persistently only one partner adjusted or attuned to the other. Partial attunement meant that the infant and the mother managed to stay connected through using affined, similar Tension-Flow and Shape-Flow patterns without engaging in the exact same patterns. The

dyad's needs could be met without complete attunement. Generalised clashing occurs when the partners are in opposing patterns, such as indulging and sadistic Rhythms of Tension-Flow, which denote most conflictual situations (Kestenberg, 1975b). Partial and selective clashing are methods often used by the mother to redirect and regulate the state of the child for instance in a high state of affect, the mother may partially match the high frequency or abruptness of the tension of the baby but not its intensity. She may introduce a lower intensity to initiate the decrease of tension. Kestenberg (1975b) stated that attunement initiates symbiosis and clashing promotes separation however omnipresence of attunement triggers fears of engulfment just as an excess of clashing underscores fears of separation. Kestenberg also highlighted that early somatic interactions take on the characteristic of an improvisation dance and these aspects may occur through rounds of harmonisation, sequencing and complementary phrasing between mother and child (Kestenberg, 1975b).

3.2.3.5. The Syntax of Movement Behaviour

Kestenberg (1967a) proposed a hierarchy and organisation of movement behaviour in her psychodynamic theory. She distinguished between dynamic aspects of movement indicative of affective content expressed by Tension-Flow patterns and expressive, structural aspects reflected by Shape-Flow. Kestenberg (op.cit.) proposed the concept of harmony and clashing between attributes of Tension-Flow and Shape-Flow to denote a potential intrapsychic conflict between the drive content, aim and its object. Kestenberg (1967a) stated that the study of Tension- and Shape-Flow can contribute to the knowledge of affective tones anchored in kinaesthetic experiences of infancy.

She (op.cit.) viewed qualities of movement that she associated with the discharge of aggressive drives to have a fighting quality and those used for libidinal discharge to have an indulging, mobilising quality. Tension-Flow Attributes associated with aggressive drives were viewed to be harmonious with closed shapes, consequently attributes serving the discharging of libidinal drives were viewed to be consonant with open shapes. Kestenberg called this the principle of affinity between dynamic aspects of movement and their expressive structure. This concept could also be understood as the socio-affective organisation of movement behaviour; that is a certain affective content coupled with an expressive communicative aspect constitutes non-verbal behaviour. She however pointed out that several complex combinations between Tension-Flow and Shape-Flow are present in most individual's movement repertoire (op.cit).

The principle of affinity was sort of a didactic proposal to offer a baseline from an embodied perspective on which type of movement qualities fit better together physically rather than to use these combinations rigidly. Kestenberg points out that intrapersonal conflict should not be interpreted solely from clashes between attributes of Tension-Flow and Shape-Flow, but it is worth considering whether the expressive quality provides enough structure for the affective content to be expressed to a satisfactory extent (Kestenberg, 1967a). Affined qualities of Tension- and Shape-Flow to discharge aggressive drives were evenly held tension with Narrowing Shape, High Intensity of tension with shortening shape, suddenly rising tension with hollowing body shape. Suited to discharge libidinal drives, affined combinations were the adjusting tension with Widening Shape, Low Intensity of tension with Lengthening shape and the gradual rise of tension with Bulging Shape-Flow. An example of affined qualities would be the evenly held tension with Narrowing Shape with Free Flow in the hand when enclosing an object. The same combination with Bound Flow would similarly express a narrowing of attention but acquire a more constructive quality. High Intensity, Bound Flow with Shortening Shape is visible in someone shouting in anger, vertically stooped, tensed up with the core muscles. The same combination with Free Flow would be someone with similarly shrunk body shape stomping down, jumping downwards out of dissatisfaction (op.cit. p. 369). The dynamic, affective elements of movement behaviour expressed through Tension-Flow are structured, organised by the shaping patterns. In other words, affective content manifests on the level of muscle tension acquires an expressive quality through the corresponding shape used in the movement.

Correspondingly to the harmony of id-derivative, somato-affective patterns of Tension-Flow and Shape-Flow, Kestenberg proposed an affinity between the ego-controlled categories of Pre-Effort and Directional Shaping and Effort and Dimensional Shaping which she related to a harmony between ego and ego-ideal, or superego (Kestenberg, 1985). Pre-Effort and Effort movements occur with corresponding directional and dimensional shaping patterns. These patterns are all related to dealing with or impacting on the external environment, physically and socially. In gesturing behaviours most often Effort and dimensional shaping patterns are used. Kestenberg proposed a rule of harmony between these patterns which were viewed to indicate a harmony between the ego and the superego, expressed in integrated gesture-posture schemas. A clash could be for instance when an indulging Effort pattern expressed in a gesture was contained by a fighting dimensional shaping pattern that the whole body adopted as a posture. This was viewed as a discordance by Kestenberg because the gestural motif was not

supported by the whole body's postural frame to appeal to the full expression of the idea at hand (Kestenberg, 1985).

3.3. Developmental Approach

In her developmental movement studies Kestenberg drew upon the tradition of child guidance and developmental infant observation that came to the fore in psychoanalysis between 1920-1945 internationally which is demonstrated in her correspondence with Anna Freud from 1958 where she asked her the history of child analysis and about the techniques of pioneers such as Hermina Hug-Hellmuth, Melanie Klein⁴⁶. In the following section I attempt to provide a concise historical overview of direct observational studies in developmental psychology; later homing in on studies with similar orientation within psychoanalysis whose work set the intellectual scene for forthcoming studies of Kestenberg's.

3.3.1. Developmental Observation Studies

The first large-scale, systematic observational studies of infant development were carried out by Arnold Gesell (1880-1961) in the United States and by Charlotte Buhler (1893-1974) in Vienna in the first decades of the 20th century. Gesell set up a research unit consisting of an observation nursery where he compared observational data on the children. He focused on the development of observable behaviour over time; documented individual differences as well as developmental trends of motor skills, intelligence, language, and relational behaviour (Polat, 2021, p. 286). He completed his medical training at Yale University in 1915 where he was appointed professor of child hygiene. He established the Yale Clinic for Child Development in 1911 which he directed until 1948. The clinic was a sort of well-baby clinic that recruited normal and deviant children from the New Haven area for normative observation (Thelen & Adolph, 1994, p. 358).

Most of Gesell's research was focused on compiling comprehensive normative data of development. He presented these norms through quantitative measures and through qualitative case vignettes in his publications. His studies included data on adaptive, social, linguistic, postural and prehensory abilities from infancy to adolescence. He observed children cross-

⁴⁶ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Correspondences/Kestenberg & Anna Freud Correspondence 1955-1971/Nov 4, 1958
https://drive.google.com/file/d/1WQC2EV5_-HsKmelL0gvThp3lmeT7fiVw/view?usp=drive_link

sectionally and longitudinally, in monthly or yearly intervals. His original study included about 500 children. His behavioural interview consisted of standardised tests using basic everyday objects which were presented to the children repeatedly at different ages. These tests were designed to generate an active response from the infants thus reflecting their behavioural repertoire and competences. Gesell and his colleagues paid particular attention to the age-specific developments during the first year of life and scheduled observations and testing monthly in this period. Gesell focused on precursors of later behavioural patterns and organised the behavioural tests according to the supposition that mature forms of behaviour are forecasted in early forms (Thelen & Adolph, 1994, p. 367). In addition to the behavioural tests, he also collected data from parental notes and direct observation of parents and infants at the research nursery. In 1926 with the receipt of funding from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation photography and film laboratory was established to carry out action recordings which after meticulous analysis by Gesell and his colleagues, augmented the research data (Thelen & Adolph, 1994, p. 371). Gesell's legacy was an extensive, comprehensive catalogue of child behaviour. His objective was to promote infant and child mental health and aid family and parental support. His work had foundational influence on developmental psychology and various parts of his test have been imported to widely applied developmental tests such as the Bayley Scale of Infant Development and the Denver Developmental Screening Test (op.cit.).

Charlotte Buhler's legacy is equally influential for child and adolescent psychology. In 1926, Buhler was appointed the head of the Department of Psychology at the University of Vienna (Schenk-Danziger, 1963). The 10-year grant from the Rockefeller Foundation in the same year marked the beginning of a fruitful period of observational and experimental research led by Buhler. She undertook study visits to the Columbia Teachers College in New York and to the Yale Clinic of Child Development. Buhler's aim according to Schenk-Danziger, her long-time collaborator, was to establish a theory of human development (Schenk-Danziger, 1963, p. 5). She viewed development as a sequence of developmental stages, outlined a developmental profile and standardised testing methods for child development together with her collaborator Hildegard Hetzer.

In 1930, in the *First Year of Life*, Buhler published her voluminous and detailed infant research, including the methodology of Baby tests for the first and second year of life. The aim of Buhler's studies was to establish, through an exhaustive inventory of observable behaviours, developmental standards for the first year of life. They applied their methods of baby tests. They differentiated their methods from previously developed tests by arguing to apply a wider focus (Buhler, 1930, p. 192). Buhler critiqued that Binet's intelligence tests were firstly

language based and narrowly focused on intellectual development, ability, and maturity (op.cit.). Buhler further asserted that developmental tests not only focus on what a child can do but on behaviours that are characteristic of certain developmental stages to distinguish maturational levels. Buhler recognized Gesell's developmental tests to have embraced this viewpoint but points out the lack of quantitative standardisation. Buhler and her colleagues set out to gather quantitative data (Buhler, 1930, p. 193). Buhler's baby tests were standardised performance tests within the domains of bodily control, mental ability, social development, and manipulation of objects (Buhler, 1930, p. 195). Their studies involved extensive observational data as well. They conducted 24 hours observation of infants within normal every-day life conditions in 1926 between January to April. In total 69 children were observed out of which 40% lived in private homes and 60% were institutionalised children mostly (Buhler, 1930, p. 4). They also observed 4 new-borns between birth to 10 days. The observers were neutral and did not make contact with the infants. They noted the time and circumstances when new behaviours occurred, if needed with minute precision. They looked at their data collected from qualitative, quantitative, temporal, and interpretative viewpoints. Temporal analysis pertained to the analysis of the time of the occurrence and the duration of the behaviour. The interpretative factor focused on the meaning of the recorded data in relation to the outline of the developmental sequence in the first year of life (Buhler, 1930, p. 8).

However, Buhler further argued that a sole inventory of infant motor behaviour and reflexes holds limited value for developmental psychology. She asserted that single movements and reflexes should not be considered as single units of behaviour, but as a reaction from the psychophysiological system as a whole. She added that not only the observable behaviour is of interest for the psychologist but more important are the effects that is the success or failure of behaviours. Buhler called the behaviour with its effects performance and posited it to be the focus of developmental observation. "*The behaviour interests us only insofar as they may be essential in explaining the effect*" (Buhler, 1930, p. 14). They essentially observed developmental performance, recorded, and scored this data thus established a scheme for performances. Buhler and her colleagues' catalogues behaviours in categories of positive and negative reactions pertaining to pleasure and displeasure responses inclusive of motor phenomena as well as vocalisation; reactions to taking in nourishment; spontaneous reactions including impulsive movements as well as experimentative behaviour and manipulation of objects. They recorded behaviour during sleep and dozing states, recorded daily cycles and developmental progresses for individual infants. Based on their data they outlined the stages of development during the first year of life (Buhler, 1930, p. 168).

3.3.1.1. Infant Observation in Psychoanalysis

Drawing closer to the psychoanalysis, Sabina Spilrein (1885-1942), Hermina Hug-Hellmuth (1871-1924), Esther Bick (1902-1983), Melanie Klein (1882-1960) and Anna Freud (1895-1982) must be mentioned as prominent early figures of child analysis. Already at the meeting of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society in 1905, Freud emphasised the direct observation of children as a viable and important method for psychoanalytic inquiry about infantile sexuality (cited in Midgley, 2013). He later (Freud, 1909) published his case study on Little Hans which illustrated this potential. Then, the first analytically informed infant observation was published in 1913 by Hermina Hug-Hellmuth (Midgely, 2013).

Hug-Hellmuth's first psychoanalytic publication in 1912 concerned the dream analysis of her 5 and half year-old nephew. In the following years Hug-Hellmuth continued publishing in various psychoanalytic journals her analysis of children. In 1913 her monograph entitled the 'A Study of the Mental Life of the Child' (Geissmann & Geissmann, 1992, p. 42) where she provides illustrations of the Freudian psychosexual development of children based on her own observations and notes from other parents who she knew about their own children (p. 42). She emphasised the significance of play activity in relation to drive and emotional development of children. Furthermore, she stressed the observation of child's play as a viable method for developmental study (Geissmann & Geissmann, 1992, p. 43). Hug-Hellmuth (op.cit.) asserted that cutaneous and muscular eroticism are central primitive forms of sexuality, and the 'muscular sense' dominates the activities of children in the first year of life. She linked this muscular sense to foetal movements in the womb. Hug-Hellmuth's work foreshadowed many concepts that later pioneers of child analysis and infant observation developed further, such as the notions of developmental lines, necessary educational nature of analysis of children and psychoanalytic education of parents which all came to be central aspects of Anna Freud's work and the play technique of Melanie Klein (Geissmann & Geissmann, 1992, p. 47).

Spilrein's work encompassed some 34 contributions to child development and child analysis. A large number of these pertain to recorded observations of children. The years between 1920-1923 were her most prolific when she published no less than 16 articles and presented her work entitled '*The Origin and Development of Spoken Speech*' at the International Psychoanalytic Congress in the Hague. Spilrein observed her daughter, Renata's development and based her developmental formulations on this data (Noth, 2015).

Between 1920-1945, Anna Freud in Vienna and Melanie Klein in Berlin laid down the tenets of two schools of child analysis. Dissimilarities between their developmental theories and proposed therapeutic approaches sprouted the well-known heated debates between 1941-1944 in the British Psychoanalytic Society in London (Geissmann & Geissmann, 1992, p. 63). Melanie Klein's first paper entitled '*The Development of a Child*' was published in 1921. The subject of her study was her son Eric. Between 1921-1925 Klein published a large number of papers while she worked as a child and adult analyst in Berlin. Klein was interested in infantile conflicts by directly observing children as opposed to Freud's technique which was to deduce this phenomenon from reports of adults, with one exception of the case of Little Hans (Geissmann & Geissmann, 1992, p. 100). She argued for analysis of very young children to witness the inception of the unconscious and to establish a relationship with the unconscious of the child. This approach stirred considerable criticism about her work very early on within psychoanalytic circles. Klein developed the psychoanalytic play technique, which pertained to the application of play as a tool that allowed the analysis of children. Klein published a series of works in the 1930s concerning the development of the ego and symbol-formation and outlined the beginnings of her object-relations theory (Geissmann & Geissmann, 1992, p. 105).

According to Anne-Marie Sandler (1996, p. 282), Anna Freud was a "*promoter and facilitator of psychoanalytic clinical and conceptual research*" (cited in Midgley, 2013). Anna Freud's work modelled how additional research data could augment and contribute to psychoanalytic technique. She argued, following Hartmann and Kris, that psychoanalytic inquiry should adopt a trilateral focus on dynamic, historical, and genetic aspects of behaviour. The [...] "*description of a specific reaction as the outcome of an interplay of forces (dynamic); the tracing back of its occurrence to earlier situations (historical); and the exploration of the questions when, why, and how this particular form of behaviour was first established (genetic)*" (A. Freud, 1951, p. 126). She supported the developmental research of Rene Spitz (1945) on institutionalised children, Margaret Mahler's separation-individuation framework and Ernst Kris' studies at the Yale Child Study Centre (Midgley, 2013). A. A. Freud strongly believed that systematic child observation had the potential to advance understanding on the origins and development of psychological functioning, that is for genetic psychology (op.cit.). However, she did not consider traditional scientific methods such as measurements, experimental controls, and statistics to be applicable to the psychoanalytic situation and developed a tailored approach (op.cit.). Defence mechanisms were especially easily observable according to Anna Freud, however they seemed to go unnoticed until the observers had proper psychoanalytic training. She stressed the need for analytic training of observers and emphasised that their

observational approach utilised a deliberate psychoanalytic framework (op.cit.). Her psychoanalytic research method was developed through her work at the Hempstead Clinic established in 1952 (Midgley, 2013).

Through her work at the Clinic with many children traumatised by the war, A. Freud realised that the current, descriptive and the manifest symptom focused approach of psychiatric assessment was seriously limited and potentially misleading. She contended that manifest symptoms in children could be caused by a variety of different, underlying pathogenic factors depending on the development and the functioning of the child. She argued that the same symptom could have different meanings for different children (Midgley, 2013). In their method of assessment at the Clinic, she insisted that direct observational data is collected through play sessions with the child which functioned as diagnostic interviews, cognitive and projective tests are applied alongside reports from school and information from the parents. They held diagnostic conferences at the Clinic where the Developmental Profile was presented. Anna Freud's Developmental Profile or Metapsychological Profile was a systematic psychoanalytic assessment framework to guide clinicians in diagnosis and treatment. The first section of the Profile pertained to the reason for the referral, biographical data, and family history. The second part concerned developmental factors such as drive and ego development, the interplay between id and ego processes, frustration tolerance, social and moral development and structural assessment regarding dynamic conflicts that may govern the child's behaviour (Midgley, 2013, Green & Joyce, 2017). Anna Freud had strong ambitions for the Developmental Profile. She proposed the use of the Profile as an assessment technique before and after treatment to demonstrate treatment efficacy (op.cit.).

The Developmental Profile was adapted to work with adolescents by Laufer (1965), to adults by W. Ernst Freud, A. Freud & H. Nagera (1965). W. Ernst Freud () the oldest grandson of Sigmund Freud, the subject of the case of little Hans, trained and later worked with her aunt Anna Freud at the Hempstead Clinic in London (Lupke, 2008). He developed the Baby Profile which served as the main observational framework at the Hempstead Well-Baby Clinic in the 1970s (op.cit.). The Adult Profile intended to provide a metapsychological framework of assessment for the adult personality for cases when the parent and the child were both in treatment at the Clinic (Freud, et al., 1965). The adult assessment is also based on development aspects, such as drive, ego superego development, internal structural conflicts, and adaptation to the environment (op.cit.). The main domains of assessment were maturity or immaturity of personality, quality of functioning and the pleasure derived from it (such as from work, sex, and sublimations) and the quality of object-relations. The adult and child developmental

profiles were also compared at the Clinic for their corresponding sections to provide a more comprehensive picture of the parent-child dyad.

The further adaptation of the Metapsychological Profile was undertaken by the Well-Baby Research Group founded by W. Ernst Freud in 1967 at the Hempstead Clinic (Freud, E. & Freud, I. 1976). The Well-baby Clinic was an autonomous project within the Hempstead Child-Therapy Clinic funded by the Grant Foundation in New York, USA. The project was a research clinic that provided parental support and treatment with emphasis on mental hygiene and prophylaxis. The children and parents were observed and interviewed during consultations which contributed to developmental research at the Clinic. The families were provided knowledge and guidance in understanding child development. The Well-baby clinic served about 50-70 families. Parent and child consultations took place three times a week in the mornings until noon. Parents could decide how often they attended the Clinic. Most families attended once a month or more frequently with very young babies. Based on the work at the Clinic Irene and W. E. Freud developed the Baby Profile. This framework was tailored to the metapsychological assessment of infants, focused on processes of emergence from the biological and physiological to psychological phenomena (Freud, E. & Freud, I. 1976). They argued that the Baby Profile could aid the accurate recording of the development of certain basic functions in individual children, thus expanding understanding about individual differences. They pointed out the difficulties of infant observation being the large amounts of behaviours that are expressions of internal stimuli thus cannot be directly observed and need to be inferred. They had stressed that a metapsychologically informed assessment of early infancy held promise for developmental observation and with additions to the already developed child, adolescent and adult profiles completed the wide variety methods to aid sophisticated assessment on the whole developmental spectrum (op.cit.). The Baby Profile was applied by the Blind and Borderline Research Groups at the Hempstead Clinic.

The Baby Profile comprised two main parts and fifteen sections. The first part was referral and biographical information about the infant, the birth, family history before the birth of the child. Part II. had the subsections of assessment of development, ego development, affective states, forerunners of fixations points, forerunners of regressive tendencies, forerunners of conflicts and the general characteristics of the infant and prognosis for normal or abnormal development. In the subsection of developmental assessments, the profile expands on bodily needs and functions like sleeping and feeding patterns with accompanying motor phenomena such as rooting, chewing, sucking, hand, fingers arms and leg movements during feeding, elimination and sleep as well as the physical and psychological interactions of the

mother and infant during feeding. This section also considered drive development through observed behaviours in the oral, anal, and genital zones and libido distribution such as the pre-stages of self-cathexis and pre-stages of object relations. I. Freud and W.E. Freud (1976) argued that the notion of primary narcissism as originally derived from the analysis of adults was difficult to substantiate through direct infant observation. They clarified that what can be inferred is the quality of the experience based on manifest behaviour such as pleasure or displeasure responses. They assumed no distinction between comfort and its provider in the very early stage of development between comfort, thus concluded that what is cathected is the pleasurable experience itself. They called this state anaclitic libidinal relationships that are based on sole need satisfaction (op.cit. p. 186).

Another subsection of the Profile was the development and expression of aggression. It was recorded whether it was non-directed or directed towards the body or the object world. In the section of ego development, the state and functioning of the sensory, motor, and mental apparatus was assessed, reflex, random and directed/coordinated movements were categorised. In relation to defences, primitive reactions to pleasure and displeasure were recorded as precursors to defence mechanisms. In the section of affective states, the range of affects, situational occurrence of certain affects, accessibility and appropriateness of affective responses and the infants' reactions to affects of others were noted. In relation to conflicts the authors emphasised that before the differentiation between external and internal worlds and the development of personality structure conflicts proper are not expected to manifest however forerunners of these could be discerned even in the early stages (Freud E. & Freud, I. 1976, p. 191).

Margaret Mahler, soon after her emigration to New York, attained several academic positions, she became an associate at the Columbia University's child psychiatry department, from the 1950s she was appointed as paediatric consultant at the Albert Einstein Medical College and led the child analysis program at the Philadelphia Psychoanalytic Institute. Mahler was well connected in psychoanalytic circles and her work on separation-individuation became central to developmental ego-psychology (Wolfs, 2022). Mahler centred her theory of ego development on the Freudian 'bodily ego' (1923). Mahler postulated that the early sense of self is experienced "through sensations from within his own body" (Mahler & McDevitt, 1982, p. 829) by the "proprioceptive-interoceptive" functions of the ego Mahler (op.cit. p. 742). According to her conception, the function of the body-ego is to distinguish internal (interoceptive) and external (proprioceptive) bodily events, thus ego-development forecasts the emergence of self-boundaries, thus the emergence of the sense of self (Wolfs, 2022). The body-

ego in this sense is a mental representation of self, which has these bodily sensations as its building blocks. Self and other differentiation is engendered by the awareness of the self (body)-boundary registering certain sensations as internal and others as external bodily perceptions. In Mahler's developmental theory, infant life starts with a state of undifferentiation, which is without any concept or schema of self and other. She called this phase the symbiotic phase which is characterised by the infant's complete dependence on the caregiver (op.cit.). Mahler opened a therapeutic nursery in 1957 in Manhattan, New York where they provided parent-child therapy. In 1959, she received funding from the National Institute of Mental Health to study symbiotic child psychosis (Wolfs, 2022). Mahler and her colleagues continued their infant observation studies and published their findings in the between 1960s- 1970s. Mahler's direct observation approach was influenced by Esther Bick's methods at the Tavistock Clinic, which included naturalistic observations during family visits and in a day-care environment. They focused on expressive movements between mother and child and recorded these according to factors of frequency, amplitude, timing, and intensity (Wolfs, 2022; Mahler et al., 1975, p. 15). They devised standardised behaviour rating frameworks to document emerging ego functions. Categories of their observations included sensory functioning, environmental scanning and goal-directed behaviours, communicative use of the mouth and ability to elicit response from the caregiver (Wolfs, 2022; Mahler et al., 1975, p. 262).

By placing Kestenberg's developmental movement studies in the historical context of direct infant observation studies and child guidance the dissimilarity in her approach to the classification of motor behaviour becomes apparent. Instead of cataloguing and classifying discrete units of movement as Gesell and Buhler, Kestenberg classified motor patterns based on their underlying qualitative aspects. Kestenberg applied Rudolf von Laban's approach to bodily movement who outlined the basic dynamic and structural features of bodily expression. Any discrete unit of movement, like a lift of the right arm, can be performed in a myriad of ways. The question of 'how' a movement is performed; using which dynamic and structural qualities does it become expressed, was what interested Laban and Kestenberg too. The gap that she intended to fill with her work is illustrated in the following quote:

But the lack of classification of infantile and adult qualities of movement made it difficult to compare early and later forms of motor behaviour. Motor development has been primarily appraised by tests of specific achievements such as grasping or sitting, rather than of qualities or sequences of movement (Kestenberg, 1965, p. 4.).

Kestenberg's developmental movement studies are closely related to the developmental assessment frameworks developed at the Hempstead Clinic and to the work at Margaret Mahler's research nursery. Kestenberg's Movement Profile could be considered as a continuation of these.

3.3.2. Kestenberg's Developmental Framework

As previously mentioned, Kestenberg started her infant observation studies in the early 1950s, presented her preliminary results at the Arden House meeting of the New York Psychoanalytic Society in 1954. In the 1960s, Kestenberg et al. (1965a, 1965b, 1967a) published the psychodynamic theory of movement development in three articles which have been discussed previously in this chapter. It was not until 1971 that her developmental framework as a whole was published by Kestenberg, Berlowe, Marcus, entitled '*Development of the Young Child Expressed through Bodily Movement I.*'

Kestenberg's developmental theory is an (somewhat uneven) integration of Freudian drive theory, developmental ego-psychology with an object-relations perspective. However, she also made significant diversions from the classical psychosexual stage development. Kestenberg's developmental phases are as follows: oral, anal, urethral, inner-genital and outer-genital (Kestenberg, 1985). As discussed earlier, in her early works on female sexual development she argued for the existence of early vaginal tensions and posited a pre-phallic inner-genital developmental phase. Following Anna Freud, she posited a urethral developmental phase following the oral and anal phases (Kestenberg Amighi et al., 2018b, p. 14). She found observational data that underlined the distinctiveness of the urethral phase as illustrated in the following quote:

[...] urination and defecation are separate biological functions. They operate with different postural patterns, different rhythms, and different relations to attachment objects. Moreover, they are generally acquired sequentially rather than simultaneously [...] Children who have already tamed their anal impulses to a considerable extent enjoy playing with their urine and water, as well as 'running' and 'dribbling' games" (Kestenberg, 1966, p. 156).

Kestenberg et al. (1971) employed Erikson's epigenetic principle in her theory on ego development. Epigenesis is a term borrowed from biology by Erikson to liken the process of ego development to the process of intrauterine growth when the development of one organ system after another takes predominance until the complex physiological integration is achieved in the functioning of the neonate (Mitchell, 1995, chapter 6). Erikson viewed ego development similarly unfolding in a series of cumulative stages and each ego stage corresponds to a phase of drive maturation (op.cit.). Following this framework, for each phase in Kestenberg's developmental theory is characterised by a bodily zone, phase-specific drives and phase-specific developmental tasks which are built on each other in a cumulative fashion (Erikson, 1937, 1945).

Kestenberg et al. (1971) adopted Abraham's (1924) division of sadistic and erotic subphases in each developmental stage. Abraham (op.cit.) proposed that the anal sadistic phase contains two levels within it, an earlier one with the tendency to expel and lose the object and a later one concerned with retaining and controlling the object. This drive towards retaining the object comes to the fore in Kestenberg's anal sadistic Strain-Release Rhythm. In line with this Kestenberg distinguished between libidinal or indulging and sadistic or fighting subphases. In the indulging subphase functioning is oriented towards mobilisation, accommodation, indulgence; sadistic subphases tends towards stabilisation, separation, and differentiation. Kestenberg's developmental approach employed the structural model of personality, relating categories of movement to id and ego processes. Drive derivative movements were classified as libidinal or sadistic according to their respective aims. Ego-derivative motility, serving expression of affects, defences, or coping, were differentiated as indulging or aggressive. Kestenberg proposed that in developmental phases dominated by for instance sadistic drives, aggressive ego attitudes and defences come to the fore. She (Kestenberg, 1985) brought the example of an infant in the oral-sadistic phase who bites (oral-sadistic biting rhythm of Tension-Flow) may isolate oneself as a defence, pull hair or pinch whereas an infant with oral-libidinal drives would turn away from noxious stimuli as a defence and softly pat pets and objects (op.cit.).

It becomes apparent through Kestenberg's view of the relationship between id and ego development that Erikson's concept of organ-mode or mode of function permeates Kestenberg's developmental approach. Erikson's organ mode, akin to Hartmann's change of function, denotes the process through which the phase-specific dominance of modes of functioning become displaced onto other zones and come to dominate overall functioning in the given phase. Through this mechanism of generalisation these modes decouple from their

origins and come to be autonomous (Rapaport, 1959). These organ modes, turned into modes of function are influenced by social environment and become behavioural modalities of the individual in the ego's pursuit of adaptation. These modes of function in the oral, anal, and genital phase are incorporative-inceptive, retentive and intrusive (Rapaport, 1959). For instance, in the first year of life the general mode of functioning of the infant in Erikson's view is oral incorporative which is not only demonstrated in the basic need for food and nourishment but in various other receptive attitudes and behaviours. This receptive mode comes to the fore in the eyes and the ears at first passively receiving impulses from the environment. In the second part of the oral phase an attitude towards active incorporation develops with the growth of the teeth. The infant now not only passively accepts stimuli but actively seeks them out, bites and grasps objects.

The first phase is characterised by relaxation, mostly in the horizontal prone position and taking in the world, the anal phase is accomplished by secure sitting, differentiation of finer motor movements and perhaps standing. At this time the toddler enjoys selecting, organising, piling things, and throwing them away with vehemence. The third, genital intrusive phase is achieved by the child's ability to move independently and forcefully. The child at this stage enjoys playing with intrusion, jumping at someone as a surprise, talking aggressively or being vigorously curious (Erikson, 1959). The direct application of these concepts becomes evident in Kestenberg's view of zone-specific discharge patterns that come to be generalised and dominate the movement repertoire of the infant in the given developmental phase. According to Kestenberg's developmental view, the rhythm of oral Sucking encompassing the receptive mode of passive incorporation is not only present in feeding actions but most other behaviour of the infant in the first six months of life. Subsequently, the Snapping-Biting-biting rhythm prevails in the overall attitude and movement repertoire of the active incorporative phase expressed in clapping, tapping behaviours of the end of the first year (Kestenberg, 1985).

Kestenberg also embedded Mahler's separation-individuation process within her developmental framework and reconceptualised Mahlerian concepts from an embodied perspective (Kestenberg et al., 1971a, Kestenberg, 1965a, 1965b, 1967a, 1971b). She attended to the concept of object-representation in her article entitled '*From Organ-Object Imagery to Self- and Object-Representations*' (1971b) which was published as an anthology for Mahler's eightieth birthday. Kestenberg asserted that self and object-representations are organ-imageries and organ-object-representations, as they are anchored in the experience of bodily contact and somatic interactions between caregiver and infant, i.e., organ-object or body-object sensations. Kestenberg et al., (1971) emphasised that the way caregivers attend to the needs of the infant

become part of the child's body image. Kestenberg et al. (1971) linked the development of shaping patterns of movement to the development of object relations. In terms of object-related movement patterns, they differentiated between centrifugal and centripetal shaping movements; those tending towards the self and other tending towards the external world, or in other words those that adopt closed or open shapes. Kestenberg et al. asserted that attitudes towards objects are neither sadistic nor libidinal; however, they support the expression of sadistic or libidinal wishes in a certain organisation. The principle of affinity posited that closed shapes, tending towards the self-support the aims of aggressive drives and open, externally focused shapes bode well with libidinal wishes (Kestenberg, 1985, p. 117).

Typical for psychoanalytic thought, Kestenberg claimed that each developmental phase is distinguished by a dominant organ or bodily area. Developmental processes are initiated by a bodily or physiological event which are in this sense the somatic precursors of the ensuing psychological developmental tasks of the stage (Kestenberg et al., 1971). Kestenberg et al. (1971, pp. 750-755) observed that the infant's early involuntary, poorly controlled movements gradually evolve into a coordinated movement process and postulated that the first motor control is manifested in the ability to bind muscle tension, i.e., to contract muscles. With the ability to bind muscle tension and keep them contracted, the infant becomes able to coordinate the flow of his movement. This control over muscle tension produces a noticeable change in the infant's musculature as a whole. The new-born's soft and pliable muscle tone gradually develops more tonus. According to Kestenberg, it is also through this binding of muscle tension that the infant experiences himself somatically as a separate, solid unit. The first psychic experience of separateness is inaugurated by the bodily sensation of the enveloping musculature that signifies the body and self-boundary (Kestenberg et al., 1971, p. 752).

Kestenberg et al. (1971) equated Mahler's (1968) concept of '*hatching*' with the ability to bind muscle tension, that is to keep muscles contracted. According to Kestenberg, this tensing of muscles that creates the somatic experience of a hard shell initiates the bodily awareness of the skin surface thus accentuates the body boundaries, inaugurating the first somatic and then psychic experience of separation. Control over the flow of bound muscle tension also plays a major role in guided movements, which provide opportunities for expressing interest in objects and others. Grasping objects and reaching out to the caregiver are all motor expressions of the infant's intentionality and autonomy (Kestenberg et al., 1971, pp. 750-764). They further elaborated that standing on one's feet also facilitates the construction of body image through the sensorimotor perception of the self as a vertical, solid entity.

In Kestenberg's view, each developmental phase is characterised by a certain confluence of drives and ego attitudes towards reality and the world of objects which determine the predominant organisation of the psyche, the main mode of functioning of that phase (Kestenberg, 1985, p. 116).

The first phase is characterised by the dominance of the oral mode of functioning, such as feeding, sucking, biting, incorporating. The physiological event that inaugurates psychic development in the oral phase is sucking reflex and the function of taking in nourishment (Kestenberg, et. al., 1971). The incorporating mouth serves as the prototype of the oral body image. The Sucking rhythm of muscle Tension-Flow utilised in feeding actions, ripple through to the whole body and dominate the rhythmicity of hand and feet movements as well. The low intensity pulsating Sucking Rhythm that enables feeding (biological need) promotes merging (developmental need) between the caregiver and infant through the creation of a tactile sensation of blurred body boundaries. The bodily sensation of this fusion creates a situation of psychic containment and symbiosis, which underpins the development of trust in the caregiver and the environment (Kestenberg Amighi et al., 2018b, pp. 20-31; Kormos, 2021b, p. 67). Horizontal Widening and Narrowing of arms and legs dominate in terms of Shape-Flow patterns as the infant embraces the mother's body, clings onto her, opens his body up for contact or closes it in withdrawal (Kestenberg, et. al., 1971). In the sadistic/fighting subphase the Rhythm of Biting and chewing predominates, which can be observed in frequent clapping and tapping actions (Kestenberg et al., 1971).

The developmental task of this phase is to establish the system of communion and communication, a sense of merger and fusion promoted by the soft but frequent pulse of Sucking Rhythm blurring body boundaries and the first separation instated by teething. Teething physically separates the mother and the baby as the infant bites the nipple and the mother pulls away, however Kestenberg also thought that the tapping and clapping on surfaces that is usually done with the Biting Rhythm accentuates the tactile experience of the enveloping tissue around the infant's body brings about the awareness of skin which in turn signifies somatic separateness (Kestenberg et al., 1971). Kestenberg proposed that the infant gains object-constancy in space in the oral phase through the exploration of the near space of his and his mother's bodies. He learns that objects in space are constant which together with the somatic experience of bodily separateness lays down the building blocks for communication (Kestenberg, et. al., 1971). Kestenberg's observational data suggested that object-constancy develops in successive stages according to physical aspects of external reality such as space, weight, and time (Kestenberg, 1967).

The bodily change that initiates Kestenberg's anal phase is the profound growth and morphological and functional maturation of the digestive system, particularly the rotation and elongation of the sphincter muscles which creates various kinds of rotations in other parts of the body such as twist of the spine necessary for turning over and for crawling (Kestenberg et al., 1971). Through the rhythmic twists the infant learns to integrate the left and the right side of the body which is a prerequisite for turning to the side and to contralateral movement of crawling and later walking. The movement exploration of left and right is the somatic precursor of ambivalence, through the changing perspective of one side or the other in turning over and turning away. The sadistic subphase of the anal phase is characterised by the ability to contract muscles in high intensity, hold them taut and abruptly release them (Kestenberg, et. al., 1971). This is also the rhythmic pattern necessary for passing more solid stool but this pushing, holding, and letting go can be observed in other typical actions of a 1,5-2-year-olds such as squatting and standing up, pushing heavy toys or even in the rhythms of temper tantrums. This Strain-Release Rhythm is also utilised in standing up; the toddler pushes away the ground and holds tension in his legs and abdomen to stabilise, then releases tension when he reached balance in his verticality (Kestenberg et al., 1971). Typical Shape-Flow patterns are vertical Lengthening and Shortening of the torso also needed for crawling, squatting, standing up, reaching, and climbing. Through lengthening and shortening the developing child brings the lower and upper parts of his body, in coordination thus 'grasps' the concepts of below and above. Kestenberg stated that in the anal phase mother and infant establish the prehension-release system, which allows for grasping, holding as well as letting go both in a somatic and psychic sense. The body image of the anal phase could be characterised as a weightful, solid vertical unit (Kestenberg et al., 1971). The toddler achieves object-constancy in weight, that is he is especially interested in the weight of things, fascinated by tiny and then very large and heavy objects.

At the beginning of the third year of life control over urination is achieved. The libidinal subphase of the urethral stage is concerned with high letting go and release of tension necessary for urine flow. The sadistic subphase pertains to stopping this flow on demand; the control over the complex muscle coordination needed for the whole action of urination. The organising bodily experience in this phase gains urethral muscle control and the start of walking (Kestenberg, et. al., 1971). According to Kestenberg, toddlers begin to walk by 'pouring' their body weight like a fluid forward and allowing gravity to pull them off balance which brings them into their first step. They adopt a drift type walk which is characterised by the forward orientation of the body weight that creates continuous drifting through the space. Their

attention also adopts this flowing, drifting quality. They often lose sight of the mother at this age and appear absent-minded, diffuse in their focus. Their body image is fluid and uncertain which becomes agile and buoyant in the sadistic subphase (Kestenberg et al., 1971). As the child gains control over his drifting, he learns to slow down and stop on demand by shifting his body weight backwards. The Start-Stop-Go Rhythm becomes dominant in the sadistic subphase, which is utilised in games of tag, running to a specific aim in space, darting from thing to thing. Kestenberg claimed that through the somatic explorations of the continuous flow of movement in drifting and the embodiment of discontinuity through start-stop established the sense of time, object constancy in time. The mother-infant dyad establishes the mobilising-containing system in this phase, that enables the growing independence for the child and distance between them but still allows for rapprochement, recharging, and containment (Kestenberg et al., 1971).

The next two phases in Kestenberg's developmental theory pertain to the overall integration of pre-genital drives and ego-attitudes into a coherent whole of a self. Development in these phases is mainly concerned with development of sexuality and gender identity. As discussed earlier, Kestenberg introduced her formulations about the inner-genital phase that precedes the phallic phase in the late 1950s. In the Inner-genital phase feminine Rhythms of Tension-Flow predominate, according to Kestenberg's observations which can be seen in the movement of boys and girls. As discussed in the section on Kestenberg's thought on female sexual development she posited the inner-genital phase of sexual development for girls at first. This was expanded to include children of both sexes through the work of the Sands Point Movement Study Group, namely Esther Robbins and Marth Soodak "*discovered the existence of inner-genital rhythms in the scrotum of boys*" (Kestenberg, 1990, p. 24). Children of both sexes were observed to become motherly and creative through identification with the mother, in this period. Kestenberg viewed this phase as the origin of later parental love. Kestenberg hypothesised an increase in the secretion of gonadotropic hormones which cause wave-like inner-genital contractions and sensations in both sexes. These inner-genital sensations direct attention onto the insides of the body and children become preoccupied with conception and birth stories and caring roles (Kestenberg et al., 1971). Dominant rhythms are the libidinal Swaying, sweeping across from left to right, up and down in complex shapes and the sadistic Surging-Birthing Rhythm which is characterised by High Intensity tension and graduality needed for deep commitment to a project (such as caring and nurturing of a pet or a baby doll). The developmental task of this phase is the complex integration of pre-genital experiences, the

loss of toddlerhood and transition into childhood (Kestenberg, et. al., 1971). Mother and infant build a complex relationship with awareness of the subjective inner worlds and psychic reality.

After the sadistic inner-genital subphase, children of both sexes enter the phallic phase when due to the influx of narcissistic tendencies and identification with the father prevail (Kestenberg, 1985). The outer-genital phase of Kestenberg corresponds to Freud's phallic phase. The organising somatic experience is the externalisation of drive discharge onto the outer parts of the body and the environment. The child enjoys narcissistic exhibitionism of frequent, High Intensity jumping, hopping and experiences his impact on the outer world through precise punches, kicks, and stomps of the Spurting-Ramming Rhythm. The body image of the child is a whole, mobile, elastic but solid unit with the ability to deliver complex, planned and coordinated environmental impact. The mother and child create a complex relational matrix inclusive of the sense of self-coherence and self-agency (Kestenberg et al., 1971).

3.3.3. Expanding Boundaries

In this final subsection on Kestenberg's developmental and movement-focused work I review her later key formulations. In this epoch of her oeuvre, Kestenberg was already engrossed in the study of a separate topic, transgenerational trauma; however, she revisited several of her early developmental concepts such as sex-specific behaviours, innate bisexuality, and parental attitudes. She expanded her developmental view to include parenthood and intrauterine life.

3.3.3.1. Transcending the Body, (Trans)Sensing the Other

In 1958, Kestenberg reviewed Winnicott's book entitled '*Mother and Child. A Primer of First Relationships*' (Kestenberg, 1957). She praised Winnicott's sensitivity towards the multi-layered aspect of mother-child relationship as well as for his affective approach towards the developing infant. Kestenberg also welcomed the author's emphasis on the significance of understanding the quality of the mother-child relationship in service of treatment success as opposed to meticulous reconstruction of factual events of the early years.

Kestenberg noted Winnicott's appreciation for the somatic knowledge which is largely embedded in the creation of the early bond. In 1968, Kestenberg published an article on acting-out where she cited personal communications with Winnicott which helped her understand the nuances between the creative factor of transitional phenomena in the child's play activity and the fossilising nature of acting-out. Kestenberg expanded the object-relations perspective of

her theory through engaging with Winnicott's concepts of maternal holding, transitional phenomena, and intermediate zone in two essays published in 1978 in a collection of texts to commemorate Winnicott's legacy (Kestenberg, 1978a, 1978b). In her paper entitled '*Transitional Objects and Body-Image Formation*', Kestenberg (1978a) focused specifically on somatic experiences regarding transitional phenomena and distinguished three types of transitional objects: intermediate, supplementary, and transitional. Intermediate objects are food or bodily fluids to which the experience of gratification is linked, and which are associated with both the infant's and the caregiver's body. Complementary objects are experiences that substitute for bodily interactions with the caregiver, usually somatic experiences with other close persons. And the transitional object is conceptualised, following Winnicott, as objects that both evoke and replace the experience of satisfying bodily experiences with the primary object, through the linking and transference of these experiences to a new object, i.e., they are formed by the child's own creative impulse.

In her other essay (Kestenberg, 1978) entitled '*Transsensuous-outgoingness and Winnicott's Intermediate Zone*', she attempted an integration between the Volkmar Glaser's concept of transsensuous based on Chinese medicine and Winnicott's notions of the intermediate zone and transitional object in relation to the development of body image. Even though Kestenberg firmly positioned her theory in alliance with Mahler's normal narcissistic and autistic phase after birth (Mahler, Pine, and Bergman 1975), in this article she carves out a space within her theory for the primary object-relatedness however remained rather vague about the consequences for such an idea for her developmental theory overall. According to Kestenberg (1978) reaching, stretching, grasping movements performed by the symmetrical Shape-Flow movements that are present at birth, demonstrate the infant's basic tendency to move from itself towards the world of objects, to merge with, incorporate and grasp the external world.

Kestenberg (1978) stated that Balint's idea of primary object relatedness was to be understood in relation to environmental objects such as the air, light which the infant takes notice of very early on rather than discrete love objects. She further contended that her observational data pointed towards observable movement patterns in the neonate indicating comfort or discomfort, sense of security or unease that are inherently relational as in, they encompass an attitude towards the environment (op.cit.). Kestenberg added that based on parental reports infants seem to notice their primary caregivers based on the tone of their voice or outline of their body as early as four weeks after birth. The root of the early psychosomatic

interactions between mother and infant is anchored in the activation of the Gamma motor neurons through holding and touching each other's body surfaces.

Kestenberg posited the action of stretching out, expanding the outline of our body through the elasticity of the muscles such as in an inhale, or the reaching of the arm as a primary tendency for outgoingness, a prototype for the wish to incorporate others. She employed Volkmar Glaser's⁴⁷ concept of transsensus which Kestenberg viewed as the psychophysiological foundation of the basic trust established within the mother-infant dyad which provides the foundation for transference and countertransference.

Glaser (Behrens, 1997) theory claimed that human beings are designed for contact and communication. He equated health with being in touch with the external world, and this connectedness of the individual is betrayed by his involuntary movements. He believed that breathing and the muscular system are essential organs of communication. They fulfil their task by involuntarily entering action within the framework of 'meaningful' performances. He viewed disturbances in breathing, posture, and bodily movement to have a communicative dimension which could be treated through bodily contact. His core concept embedded within this theory was transsensus, that is to be understood as the embodied basis of intentionality. Transsensus, a somatic intention and awareness of the other and the surrounding space is always embedded in every movement even in breathing. In his more concrete terms, this meant that every intention, whether as outwardly directed perception or action, or occupation with objects of thought or imagination, is more than a purely mental process as an involuntary muscular movement and breathing activity is always involved in posture changes or bodily actions.

Glaser believed that through involuntary actions, posture changes and embedded breathing patterns the individual organises his or her relational space (op.cit.). Glaser further elaborated that the continuous flow of muscle tension between contraction and release has a gestural character that seems to tend beyond the body boundaries into the space, into the world of objects. He argued that the external space is never a neutral space but vitally charged by the intentions of people who organise and influence the space by their psychomotor activity. Glaser (Schmicke, 2012) further theorised that there were elementary movements of social behaviour

⁴⁷ Volkmar Glaser (1912-1997) was a German doctor, who became one of the pioneers of psychosomatic breathing and body therapy. He wrote his doctoral thesis in the 1930s on the involvement of breath and perception, action and relating to the external world. Glaser emphasised the importance of a holistic approach in medicine and criticised Western pathology focused and compartmentalising approach. He posited compassion, orientation towards the patient as important as medical skills. He founded a working group on respiratory health in 1958 and taught at the College for Music in Stuttgart. He established a Training Institute for respiratory health and breathing massage in Freudenstadt in the 1970s (Behrens, 1997).

that were prevalent in most people's bodily movements and those related to the meridian channels postulated by Chinese medicine. Glaser explicitly engaged with the six meridian theory which is associated with diagnosis of pathology and healing.

He contended that vitality and tension flows along these meridian lines which is responsible for the interconnectivity of all parts of the human body and its organs as well as getting in contact with the environment through involuntary movements. The external world and its pathogens also impact the vitality of this flow within the body (the flow of muscle tension or Qi as in Chinese medicine). Glaser's psychosomatic respiratory therapy used touch, breath, and compassionate connection between the bodies of the patient and masseur as therapeutic tools (Schmicke, 2012). The masseur delivered physical touch to the patient along meridian lines and patients were asked to breathe into the area touched and imagine the masseur's hand was part of their own body (Kestenberg, 1978b, p. 67). The expected outcome of this therapy was the treatment of muscle dystonia and the restoration of vitality, flow, and state of relaxation in the muscles.

This transsensus-outgoingness or "*trustful stretching toward*" the environment is viewed not as a reaction to stimuli but a total sense of being in relation to others that is present in the movements of the neonate (Kestenberg, 1978, p. 66). Kestenberg offers the metaphors of seeking out or melting into the external world of objects. She further clarifies this transsensus-outgoingness is dissimilar to expressive movements of higher cortical areas; it is an aspect of basic functioning like the breathful flow, a rise and fall of the body within its own and in the near and reach space. Kestenberg theorised that the activation of transsensus happens through tension travelling across the body through the lines of the meridians. The meridians receive a touch with a certain amount of pressure through the somatic interaction of the early nursing situation. Holding the baby to support his tonic reflex by placing his head in the corner of the mother's elbow, stretches the meridians in the inside of the mother's arm as well as activates the frontal middle meridian of the infant through the physical connection of their bodies. As the baby reaches to embrace the mother's back, meridians of his inner arms receive tactile stimulation (op.cit.).

The early object-related movement of the neonate which Kestenberg called Shape-Flow qualities are mainly governed by in-born reflexes and their setting is the near space, the intermediate zone between the mother and the infant's body. This intermediate zone is the origin of transitional objects and play. Kestenberg explained that as the mother-infant dyad are engrossed in the everyday somatic interactions of care and attune to each other's Tension-Flow Rhythms and adjust to each other's body Shape-Flow, non-nutritive actions also come to the

fore such as the baby playing with the mother's clothing, or their own fingers on the mother's body (op.cit.). The hand becomes a tool to explore the external world and the arms support this through maintaining muscle Tension-Flow, staying taut during reaching movements. Somatic building blocks of the body image are these psychophysical experiences of grasping objects, discovering body-boundaries of the mother, and simultaneously exploring self-boundaries and body integrity of the infant in the intermediate zone (op.cit.). During development, as the distance increases between the child and mother's body, the early transitional objects come to be reconstructed in the reach and the general space through creative play. Transitional objects represent a fusion between me and not me and belong to both the child and the mother. Kestenberg thus called the 'near space' the psychophysiological bedrock of creativity (Kestenberg, 1978b).

3.3.3.2. Parental Attitudes ⁴⁸

In 1976, in the Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Associations' supplement on female sexuality, Kestenberg published an essay entitled '*Regression and Reintegration in Pregnancy*'. She proposed that due to orgasmic changes during pregnancy the mother revisits certain aspects of the childhood inner-genital phase and progresses towards a new integration of the tensions and conflicts of that phase. In this publication Kestenberg drew upon the outcomes of direct observations and movement profiles conducted through the work with expectant mothers at the Centre for Parents and Children between 1972-1976, notes from analysts working with pregnant women and group discussions with nurses and doctors of the Long Island Jewish Hospital's Neonatal Unit (Kestenberg, 1976). She hypothesised that the regression during pregnancy follows the first three phases of psychosexual development, as in revisiting oral, anal, and urethral conflicts in the first, second and third trimesters. Kestenberg reconsidered this systematic proposition and stated that pregnancy should be viewed as a new inner-genital phase in feminine development in which regressions to pregenital phases occur (op.cit.). In the first trimester oral incorporative wishes aid the attachment to and (psychic and physical) containment of the foetus, in the second trimester anal drives support the conceptualisation of the foetus as a separate being and in the third trimester urethral patterns of letting go prepare the mother for birth. These regressions cannot be viewed as duplicates of the childhood psychosexual sequence (Kestenberg, 1976).

⁴⁸ See Appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Publications & Presentations/Document 2 & 4. https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Jc5U3c5wrKblyC5GhvCNx2WKLwMWlnG6/view?usp=drive_link

Kestenberg & Javaid (1983) examined the development of maternal attitudes in the first year after birth centering on their concept of maternal entrancement. Kestenberg & Javaid (1983) collected observational data of seven mothers and their children between birth to four years. Observations were conducted twice a week for 2,5 hours at a time for an average of 33,5 months per family. The data was supplemented with interviews with twenty mothers. They defined the concept of entrancement as the deep sense of love between the parents and the new-born characterised by admiration and engrossment in the baby's development. Maternal entrancement, according to the authors, is a somato-affective basis for the survival of the new-born as it counteracts aggressive urges which may be activated before or after delivery. The authors argued that the special mutuality between the mother and her new-born was based on somatic interactions and shared somato-affective states. It denoted a primary outgoingness of the baby towards the mother or a mutual sense of enlarged body boundaries that contains the other, which Kestenberg (1978) earlier called transsensu.

Kestenberg & Javaid (1983) listed alternative roads to the development of deep maternal love in the cases when the emergence of entrancement is delayed or hindered. Obstacles in the development of this intimate relationship could arise from postpartum depression, or from negative pregnancy and birth experiences. They specifically emphasised the relevance of child guidance work in these instances to support the bond between mother and new-born. This can happen through the mother witnessing others admiration of the baby or through assisted somatic exercises of attunement to the baby. The overflow of maternal entrancement with the new-born consequently creates an estrangement with the older child. The authors stressed the father's supportive role in caring and nurturing the disappointments of the older siblings thus reducing the mother's guilt over her diminished attention towards them. They further argued that this period of estrangement also promotes growth and individuation in the older child with compassionate support from the father.

Kestenberg published several essays in the late 1970s and early '80s within which she revisited questions of her earliest theories on innate bisexuality, the development of sex-specific behaviours (Kestenberg & Marcus, 1979; Kestenberg, 1976, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1982). Kestenberg and her collaborators (Kestenberg & Marcus, 1979) even though appraised Freud's idea of innate bisexuality (1905, p. 220) she critiqued his strivings to determine the purely male and female characteristics through which he brought the monosex model into psychology (p. 146). They (Kestenberg & Marcus, 1979) argued that instead of intuitive evaluation of sex specific characteristics, systematic study of movement behaviours and their specificity to sex should be studied. They proposed that through movement observation,

characteristic sex-specific patterns of movement and phrasing can be demonstrated. They emphasised the notion of borrowing characteristics from the opposite sex, which was the normal bisexual image of female and male they proposed as opposed to the monosexual view. The authors (Kestenberg & Marcus, 1979) mention Buytendijk (1959) who expressed that both sexes use movement patterns essential for the task at hand, their sex-specific behaviours can only be determined by looking at the underlying qualities used in actions. He decided to look at these qualities, movement attitudes in walking. He stated that there was a characteristic distinction between the sharply accelerating stride of a man and a flowing, smooth sway of a woman's steps (cited in Kestenberg & Marcus, 1979, p. 171).

In relation to Kestenberg's movement categories they proposed that indulging movement qualities of Tension-Flow which are comfort seeking, accommodating and flexible along with open shape of Shape-Flow that tend towards connection and union are more characteristically female; and that the masculine movement repertoire more frequently exhibits the use of fighting Tension-Flow elements, Bound flow aiming at separation and stabilisation along with closed, self-focused Shape-Flow patterns (op.cit.). However, they also argue that it is necessary for both sexes to borrow aspects of the monosexual view of movement repertoire of the other for healthy functioning. Such as they assert that the bisexual conflict of the feminine is between a passive, adaptive ego attitude and the active aim of inhibiting drive expression (op.cit. p.175). The masculine conflict is conveyed by the tension between the active aim of aggression towards objects and the passive desire to be contained and filled (op.cit.). Furthermore, they believed that female components in men's behaviour, the use of indulging Tension-Flow and incorporating, open Shape-Flow prepares them for a certain necessary receptivity, on the other hand the masculine behaviours in women enable them for self-containment, caution, stability through which they can care for and safeguard their children. They concluded that tendencies of sex-specific behaviour can be demonstrated through the study of movement patterns but against the monosexual view they proposed an adaptively bisexual view of femininity and masculinity. They also emphasised the significance of culture that can exaggerate monosex or unisex ideals (op.cit. p. 147).

In a later essay, Kestenberg (1980b) proposed three developmental phases of femininity during childhood which influence later maternal behaviour and types. She traced the development of the girl child from the inner-genital phase to the oedipal phase. In the pre-phallic inner-genital phase, the young girl needing to externalise diffuse inner genital sensations, sublimates these into early maternity. With the build-up of tension expressed in characteristic nagging, the girl wishes to destroy the illusory baby which ushers in the phallic

phase. The girl in this phase transforms into a goal-directed, outward oriented, assertive achiever, who competes especially with male figures such as the fathers and boy siblings. In the next, positive oedipal phase when she becomes admiring and passionate. This phase is characterised by denial of inner-genital tensions, repression of the aggression towards the mother and of the wishes to be penetrated by the father. These three developmental phases prepare the girl for three faces of femininity according to Kestenberg which manifest in the caring mother, the career-oriented achiever, and the sensual wife (Kestenberg, 1980b).

Kestenberg (Kestenberg & Marcus, 1979; Kestenberg 1980a, 1980b) argued for the biological and cultural basis of bisexuality that is a continuum of masculinity-femininity/activity-passivity of both sexes which potentiate the development of distinct maternal and paternal behaviours. She stated however that this view of parental gender roles did not only imply categorical qualities of being assertive or stagnant, rather encompassed modes of functioning and interaction in relational personal goals and objectives (Kestenberg, Marcus, Sossin & Stevenson, 1994). She asserted that 'pure maleness and femaleness' are unsuitable for appropriate parenting and that a healthy parental attitude of both sexes borrows characteristics of the other, which is the essence of bisexuality. Kestenberg (1980a) took Bonaparte and Deutsch's use of maternal instinct literal and argued that there is a biological basis of the reproductive drive in both sexes which she understood as inborn parenting behaviours which may become inhibited through the inferences of culture and learnt behaviours (op.cit. p. 63). She followed Benedek's postulation that parenting attitudes are constituted by the force of the reproductive drive and identification with the parental ego-ideal.

Kestenberg believed that sex-specific parental behaviours are rooted in the biological differences of reproductive organs of males and females (op.cit.). This reproductive drive is linked to a universal quest for continuity, creation and self-renewal embedded in human existence (op.cit. p. 65). It is considered a component drive which becomes predominant in the inner-genital phase of development preceding the phallic stage. Maternal identification and nurturing behaviours are characteristic for both sexes in this phase. In the phallic phase an identification with the father comes to the fore in boys and girls which is expressed by dominance of penetrative, intrusive, ballistic behaviours such as jumping, spurting, and ramming. The boy child, through the previous strong identification with the mother, defends against his fears of becoming a woman by externalising his inner-genital urges onto his penis which leads to his over-evaluation of the male sex. The girl, defending against her disappointment to bear a child in the inner-genital phase, renounces her inner-genital sensations and transfers her libido onto her clitoris. She becomes competitive, goal-oriented and identifies

with her father. Her disappointment in the mother is two-fold, she blames her for not letting her have babies and for not giving her a penis. In the positive oedipal phase both sexes renounce their wishes to mate with the same-sex parents and take the opposite sex parent as their love object. A gradually emerging deeper recognition of the differentiation of sexes stimulated by an influx of identifications, they repress their negative oedipal wishes and take the same-sex parent as ego-ideal (op.cit. p. 73). Kestenberg (1980a) argued that Unresolved issues of these developmental processes resurface in adult parental attitudes. The fact that both sexes went through pre-genital maternal and paternal identifications, enables them to identify with their spouse and their children of the opposite sex.

Kestenberg and her collaborators in the Sands Point Movement Study Group (Kestenberg, et. al. 1994) contributed an article to an edited volume on the relationship between father and child from a developmental and clinical perspective. They stated that: *“Distinguishing essential and distinct paternal attitudes and behaviors from those that are maternal or nonparental, we have traced the developmental line of a boy's evolving paternal attitudes through psychosexual phases”* (Kestenberg, et al., 1982, p. 217). Kestenberg (1965b, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1981; Kestenberg et al., 1971) understood the roots of parental behaviour to be anchored in physiological and somatic experiences arising from the pre-genital maturation of reproductive organs in early childhood. Inner-genital sensations prompted by hormonal changes and structural changes of the inner-genital organs provide foundations for sex-specific parental attitudes. Disparate developmental processes that boys and girls go through in relation to reproductive development determine their later parental behaviours according to Kestenberg (1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1981). She stated that the boy child experiences his parents differently from the very start based on somatic interactions of holding and nurturing. Paternal father in Kestenberg's observations was more active and aggressive in his somatic interactive qualities to aid individuation as opposed to the soft and containing mother fostering psychic and somatic merger. She further proposed that even in intimate moments fathers stay more distant to the infant than the mother, substantiated by the way they hold the infant during bottle feeding or sleeping.

The precursors of paternal attitudes are the infant's inborn capacities for movement and activity in both sexes, consequently the forerunner of maternal behaviours is the passive desire to be held and contained by other. Pregonital development generates the foundations for parental attitudes in both sexes, which are determined by the successful integration inner-genital feminine and outer-genital masculine phase and the identification with the parental imago (Kestenberg, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1981). As it was discussed before in Kestenberg's

early formulations about the inner-genital phase, it is a psychosexual stage engendered by inner-genital sensations in both sexes which give rise to nurturing behaviours and a wish to reproduce in both boys and girls. Kestenberg believed that paternal nurturing attitudes are anchored in the successful integration of these sensations and the childhood experience of boys to identify with the nurturing role of the mother. They first establish an identification with the mother and later with the father. This reproductive urge, in the outer-genital masculine stage turns into phallic-narcissistic aggrandisement through the identification with the self-sufficient father. The oedipal phase of the boy brings on the rivalry for the mother's affection. The wish for a baby from the mother is another pre-parental attitude that develops in this phase. The negative oedipal attitude is manifest in the wish of the boy for a baby from the father. The boy in the latency period idealises his relationship with his father and adolescence engenders a regression to pregenital baby representations. Prepubertal conflicts arise due to the tensions between the wish to remain a child and become an independent adult which initiate the phase of puberty. In early adolescence a new father imago emerges for boys and revives the oedipus complex which resolves as young men enter into adult relationships and choose new love objects. The negative oedipal feelings allow a father to identify with his wife and female children and his phallic-narcissistic desires enable him to take pride in the achievements of his children especially his son. Kestenberg et al. argued (1982) that based on their observations when inner-genital needs are heightened, there is a tendency to externalise these impulses through affection and caring behaviours in men, and when the phallic drives dominate the "pure male" identification comes to the fore where affection is demonstrated in competitive pride over the achievements of their child. Kestenberg (op.cit.) stated that sublimatory outlet of sexual urges like masturbatory behaviours and phantasies became almost unnecessary with the cultural shift that young people more frequently engage in sexual intimacy which increased passive dependence in males and delayed the needs for fatherhood.

Kestenberg et al. (1994) understood paternal attitude as a culturally and biologically determined process which rests upon a successful integration of polarities and dual identifications with the mother and father. Therefore, the components of paternal attitude for her were an integration of nurturing attitudes through identification with the pre-oedipal mother, which to some extents are defended against determined by cultural conventions, provider-protector attitudes through the identification with the oedipal father which are often exaggerated. Kestenberg and her collaborators further argued that despite the overlap there are visible transcultural disparities between parental roles of the two sexes.

3.3.3.3. Foetal Movements⁴⁹

Kestenberg presented two papers at the International Congress of Pre and Perinatal Psychology and Medicine in Jerusalem in 1989 in which she expanded her developmental studies onto intrauterine life and pregnancy as a developmental phase (1989, 1990). In her presentation (Kestenberg, 1989) she outlined her formulations about prenatal bonding between mother and foetus. Based on observational studies and child guidance work at the prenatal project associated with the Centre for Parents and Children, she argued the principal ingredients of a healthy emotional relationship between mother and infant were “*empathy, trust, mutual holding and mutual support*” (Kestenberg, 1987, 1990, p. 119).

Development of empathy in Kestenberg’s embodied approach previously focused on infant care, meant kinaesthetic attunement in Tension-Flow; support is expressed through adjustment of Shape-Flow patterns. Transposing these to intrauterine development, attunement in Tension-Flow between mother and foetus was achieved through foetal movement notation. Expectant families, mostly mothers were asked to keep a journal of dreams⁵⁰, bodily sensations and movements of the foetus. They were taught Kestenberg’s Tension-Flow notation through which they could record the Tension-Flow patterns of the foetus. Kestenberg and her collaborators believed that the visualisation of foetal movements, the enactment and attunement to these Tension-Flow patterns enabled the mother to develop a more individualised emotional connection to their unborn baby. They also argued that the nascent aspects of the baby’s temperament might be reflected in their earliest Tension-Flow patterns; these explorations may promote the development of tolerance and acceptance in the prospective parents for the personality of their future child (Kestenberg, 1990a, p. 120-121).

The concept of trust on a somatic level involves mutual adjustment in Shape-Flow, which can be expressed during pregnancy through reacting to activity (especially punches and kicks) of the foetus by trying to create more space for them. Mothers were encouraged to make room for the growing baby through somatic exercises such as breathing into the affected area

⁴⁹ See Appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Publications & Presentations/Document 6. https://drive.google.com/file/d/1hobXxpBQFNdykrGLbFbvLLel4iuq0gts/view?usp=drive_link

See Appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Child Development Research/Centre for Parents and Children/Document 4.

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Rudj0Ue2zETdRqLpwb7ojnl903bpP1tF/view?usp=drive_link

⁵⁰ They did not psychoanalytically interpret the mothers’ dreams but rather extrapolated basic fears of the mother from them and gave support in precipitation these fears.

aimed at releasing muscle tension to enable the stretching of tissues. The concept of mutual holding could be expressed by the dynamic but firm muscular support the mother can provide for the growing baby. Kestenberg suggested that through symmetric lengthening (Bipolar Shape-Flow pattern) and horizontal Widening she can create a bodily sensation of spaciousness and containment for herself and the baby. She argued that the expectant mother's ability to master gravity during pregnancy, to find her vertical alignment by which she can dynamically use and not just bear the weight of the baby. Her ability to physically hold herself up promotes the sense for the baby of being actively held and embraced (op.cit. p. 123). Kestenberg asserted the importance of singing or humming during birth due to its muscle tension releasing effects. She believed that the opening of the larynx gives a signal to all bodily orifices to open.

Through foetal movement notation, Kestenberg (1990) came to be interested in the development of narcissism and masochism. She (op.cit.) presumed that the beginnings of pain and pleasure are experienced in utero albeit to a different extent from extrauterine life; as the motor basis of pleasure and pain, comfort and discomfort which are to be understood as the motor precursors of psychic functioning are expressed in Free and bound Tension-Flow and Shrinking and Growing Shape-Flow movements of the foetus. She concluded that the forerunners of narcissistic and masochistic drives are present in intrauterine life.

Freud (1920) assigned narcissism to id and ego structures and other times confusingly argued that the ego is the root of narcissistic libido, which Kestenberg intended to resolve by asserting that narcissism is necessary for all maturational processes. She proposed that the libidinal Tension- and Shape-Flow patterns underline narcissistic investment in the body and sadistic/aggressive drives expressed in Tension- and Shape-Flow patterns denote masochistic tendencies (Kestenberg, 1990). The latter becomes manifest in narrowing, shrinking of body-shape in response to noxious stimulus such as in elimination, the former is displayed in growing towards and filling oneself up with nourishment, incorporating the environment to become bigger. Kestenberg used Freud's metaphor of the amoeba reaching out with its pseudopodia to incorporate pleasurable external stimuli. During development the relationship between narcissistic and masochistic investment necessitates a predominance of narcissism aiding the spurt towards growth and pride in accomplishments which Kestenberg applied to intrauterine growth as well (op.cit.). This is made possible through the narcissistic investment in the growth of body parts and turning aggressive, masochistic drives outwards. According to Kestenberg aggressive, masochistic drives are just as lifesaving as narcissistic investment in growth as they signal danger and generate expulsion of noxious stimuli and withdrawal. Kestenberg views the birth process as a prototype of developmental transitions when aggression and self-

destructiveness is directed outwards which in turn brings pleasure. Through this externalisation of aggression, narcissistic investment in their body and growth new-borns fill themselves with air, milk, react to specific stimuli and take pleasure in the development of extrauterine skills.

Kestenberg concluded that the classical psychoanalytic view of foetal life as pleasurable blissful elation, state of zero tension and primary narcissism of the neonate could no longer be maintained considering contemporaneous research by Comparetti (1981), Verny (1981) and Laibow (1989), Birnholz et al. (1978) on foetal movements, intrauterine development, and pre-birth memories. Using ultrasound spontaneous foetal movements have been discovered at 7-10 weeks of gestation jerky movements which developed into independent limb movements by 10-12 weeks and from 24 weeks onwards self-soothing behaviours such as sucking and breathing movements were also noted. In relation to primary foetal motor patterns Kestenberg drew upon Comparetti's categorisation of Primary Motor Pattern and Primary Motor Actions. The former referred to movements that aided brain development before brain structures were developed, the latter referred to acquired motor automatisms which allow the foetus to move around in the womb at will, for example in search of comfort. Another one of these automatisms classified by Comparetti was the foetal propulsion pattern activated during labour. Kestenberg classified these primary foetal motor patterns into the categories of Tension and Shape-Flow. Based on these formulations, Kestenberg (1990) further argued that:

existence of primary motor patterns before they become integrated into the primary motor automatisms suggests that there is a sequence of structures foreshadowing id development which are followed by those foreshadowing ego development (p. 25).

3.4. Kinaesthetic Imprints of Personality

In the following section I introduce Kestenberg's method of developmental assessment, the Kestenberg Movement Profile. I examine its structure with particular focus on the similarity of interpretative domains between Kestenberg and Anna Freud's developmental assessments. However, at first, I present Warren Lamb's Action Profile which is incorporated in Kestenberg's Movement Profile. Then I introduce Kestenberg's technique to document qualitative tension changes in movement, the Tension-Flow writing. In the second part of the

chapter, applications of the Kestenbergs Movement Profile in child guidance and family support will be discussed.

Kestenbergs found, while working at the Bellevue Hospital's Child Psychiatry Department, the predominantly verbal psychiatric assessments methods, very limited (Kestenbergs, 1975a). She became interested in devising a movement-based developmental assessment which became the Kestenbergs Movement Profile (KMP). Kestenbergs argued that:

[...] the lack of classification of infantile and adult qualities of movement made it difficult to compare early and later forms of motor behaviour. Motor development has been primarily appraised by tests of specific achievements such as grasping or sitting, rather than of qualities or sequences of movement (Kestenbergs, 1975a, p. 4).

In 1947, Kestenbergs reviewed Anna Freud's book entitled '*The Psychoanalytic Treatment of Children*' (Freud, A. 1946) in the *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*. Anna Freud's lengthy discussion of the differences between the English and Viennese school of child analysis may have initiated Kestenbergs's clear choice for choosing a side as she later decidedly endorsed the Viennese school and Anna Freud's approach and based her developmental theory largely on A. Freud's work. Kestenbergs expressed that the greatest contribution of the volume was clarifying the necessary differences in analytic work with children compared to adults which inspired the reader to adapt their orientation of child analysis. Kestenbergs reading this volume may have paved the way for her to do just that, devising a psychodynamic theory and developmental assessment technique for children based on non-verbal behaviour.

Kestenbergs et al., (1965a) proposed the relevance infant movement observation studies on larger number of subjects to build evidence on rhythmic preference in infancy, the impact of external factors on congenital preferences, early indicators of pathology due to clashes of congenital preferences between the child and caregiver, predictive capacity of movement on later behaviour, identification of specific modes of discharge and on the passage between id and ego development. Kestenbergs alluded to the method of a movement profile for the first time in her paper published 1967. She argued that movement patterns observed in an individual's movement repertoire can be represented in profiles through which the ratios of qualitative motion factors become conspicuous. In 1971, at the meeting of the American Psychoanalytic Association, and in 1974 at the International Symposium of Non-verbal Aspects and Techniques of Psychotherapy Kestenbergs presented her method of movement

notation and developmental assessment technique, the Kestenberg Movement Profile. An extended version of these was published in an essay entitled ‘*The Role of Movement Patterns in Diagnosis and Prevention*’ in 1985 included in an anthology for the legacy of Paul Schilder. Most of the developmental categories had been introduced in her earlier papers, but some were further developed.

3.4.1. Notation of Tension & Diagrams of Individuality

Kestenberg developed her own method to record changes in muscle Tension-Flow during her direct observation studies which she called Tension-Flow writing, or the Tension-Flow curve (Kestenberg, 1985). It meant the free-hand tracing of the qualitative changes in the flow of muscle tension during a movement sequence. She represented the changes in muscle tension with shapes of a line drawn on paper. She divided the paper into two halves with a midline, the area below represented Bound flow and above belonged to Free Flow. Intensity was represented on the vertical axis, such as High Intensity was vertically far away from the midline and Low Intensity was portrayed as close to it. The factor of time depicted horizontally (Kestenberg, 1985). Graduality was symbolised by a long line that changes over a longer duration, flow or abruptness were shown as interruptions in the line or small repeating curves⁵¹. An example of the flow writing of Kestenberg can be seen on Figure 1.

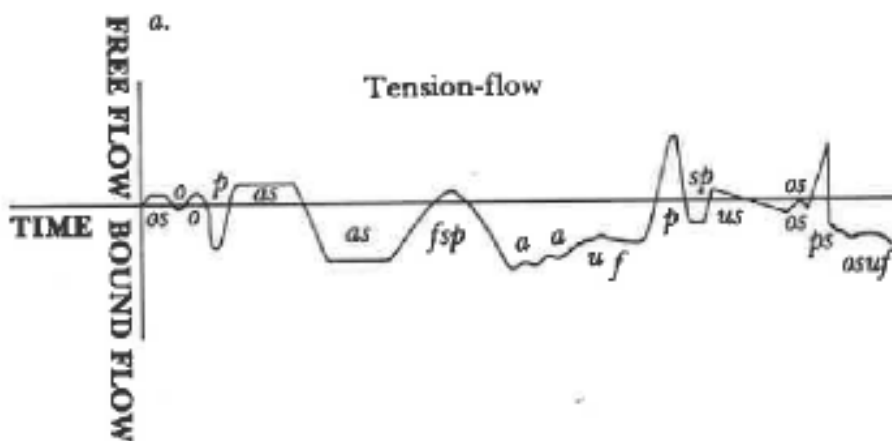


Figure 1. Tension-Flow curve (Kestenberg, 1985, p. 108)

⁵¹See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Kestenberg Movement Profile/Document 1-3. https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1ccshvbTT2MMEQ_FvftyAQDDW_EzhudMM?usp=drive_link

Recording patterns of other categories, Kestenberg applied the symbols of Labanotation. Laban created symbols for each dynamic or structural movement quality in each category like letters in written language (op.cit.). Laban's symbols for the individual patterns could be combined into complex symbols to denote if certain patterns co-occurred. Kestenberg only noted variations and changes of movement quality, not repetitions. Therefore, the final frequency counts indicated the variety of elements used by the individual in each movement category (Kestenberg, 1985).

Load factors were counted for each category indicating the complexity of movement relative to the given category. To reflect the complexity and magnitude of each pattern "plot-points" are derived which are obtained from the load-factor. The load factor represents the ratio of the number of elements to the number of actions within the given movement category. It falls between 33.3% (indicating one element per action) and 100% (indicating three elements per action). The load factor is then multiplied by 0.67 and divided by 5 to obtain a range (Sossin, 1987). Next, a median is calculated by dividing the total number of elements in a category by 3. By dividing the range by the median, a constant is attained which is then multiplied by the frequency of occurrence for each element in each category. These products yield plot-point values for each specific movement pattern. Since in every bodily movement, typically more than one movement quality is involved, the load factor provides insight into the relative complexity of actions by indicating the typical number of elements involved in each movement action (Sossin, 1987). A high load factor of Tension-Flow Attributes for example meant a high variety of Tension-Flow Attributes used in complex combinations by the individual which in turn denoted a variety of affective states. The plot-points were transferred onto graphs for each of the KMP categories. These graphs represented the frequency of occurrence for all patterns per category in one diagram to aid comparison between their ratios⁵².

Kestenberg asserted that lacking kinaesthetic memories for certain movement patterns is demonstrated by the infrequent occurrence of these patterns in one's movement repertoire. The qualities of movement patterns that are less frequently used may problematise the expression of affects related to them or attunement to others through these patterns when initiated by the other. Therefore, Kestenberg viewed a wide variety of movement patterns in

⁵² See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Kestenberg Movement Profile/Document 4-6. The whole Profile

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1L9DVDBJMa-eoXwUZ8NjqsHZ-N2JddXUk/view?usp=drive_link

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1zhabkKRSTGwYy1In1hQJdwY28zf-bxfy/view?usp=drive_link

each category desirable as these represented a wide repertoire of socio-affective states and expressions, defences, coping mechanisms, and object-relationships. A narrow repertoire meant that the individual used a few habitual ways of expression and dealing with the environment which was considered less optimal or adaptable than having a large repertoire of mechanisms for emotional regulation, ideation and relating. In the case of interpersonal comparisons for mother and child, the graphs also showed with precision the potential clashes between their movement qualities. Infant-caregiver interactions that rely heavily on the flexibility of the infant to adapt to the caregiver's preferences in rhythm and shape, that is in the somatic regulation of socio-affective states, was viewed as a risk factor of developmental trauma (Kestenberg, 1975b, 985).

3.4.1.1. The Kestenberg Movement Profile

The Kestenberg Movement Profile (KMP) is a developmental assessment that allows the documentation of basic structural and dynamic elements of bodily movement, their combinations, sequences, their frequency of occurrence and ratios. Kestenberg proposed that data collected through direct movement observation could be visually represented as graphs and compared to outcomes of the Rorschach or other methods of clinical assessment. Kestenberg viewed these graphs as the visualised kinaesthetic imprint of personality which allowed for the intra- and interpersonal comparison of id-, ego- and superego-derivative intrapersonal processes (op.cit.). The KMP classifies observed movement qualities into eight different categories according to their role and significance in psychic development. The Movement Profile consists of two subsystems. The first subsystem includes categories related to drive-derivative processes of need satisfaction (Tension-Flow Rhythms), to temperament and basic affective responses (Tension-Flow Attributes), others related to defences, coping mechanisms, and learning (Effort and Effort Precursors). The second subsystem focuses on the expressive shaping aspects of bodily movement; these relate to global self-feelings and object-relational schemas (Bipolar Shape-Flow), environmental reactive movements (Unipolar Shape-Flow) and to complex relational patterns of self-and-other (directional shaping and dimensional shaping) (Kestenberg Amighi et al., 2018a, p. 7).

Figure 2. below⁵³ provides an overview of the Kestenberg Movement Profile as a whole. The column on the left of the table shows Kestenberg's stage theory based on Freudian psychosexual development theory. A horizontal reading of the table shows how the different movement categories build on each other. Vertically, we can see how the different elements within each category develop from one another. The colour coding of the categories attempts to capture the syntax and organisation of movement behaviour proposed by Kestenberg's principle of affinity.

Information compiled based on: Kestenberg, Loman, Lewis, Sossin (1999): *The Meaning of Movement, Developmental and Clinical Perspectives of the Kestenberg Movement Profile*. Gordon Breach, Netherlands/Routledge.

				Tension Flow Rhythms	Tension Flow Attributes	Pre-efforts	Efforts		Bipolar Shape Flow	Unipolar Shape Flow	Directional Shaping	Shaping in Planes
				Needs, drives	Safety, Danger Temperament	Defenses	Learning Coping		Global self-feelings	Relating to specific stimuli	Localizing Relating	Complex modes of relating
Freudian Theory	KMP Developmental Theory	System I: Tension Flow - Effort System						System II: Shape Flow - Shaping System				
		Id-derivative			Ego-derivative			Early Object Relations			Ego-controlled object relations	
0-0,6	Oral	Oral	Libidinal Indulging	Sucking	Flow Adjustment	Flexibility	Indirect	← Horizontal	Widening	Widening	Sideways	Spreading
0,6-1			Sadistic Fighting	Snapping & Biting	Even flow	Channeling	Direct	Space →	Narrowing	Narrowing	Across	Enclosing
1-1,5	Anal	Anal	Lib. /Ind.	Twisting	Low intensity	Gentleness	Lightness	← Vertical	Lengthening	Lengthen/ Shorten Up	Up	Ascending
1,5-2			Sad /Fight.	Straining & Release	High intensity	Vehemence Straining	Strength	Gravity/ Weight →	Shortening	Lengthen/ shorent Down	Down	Descending
2-2,5		Urethral	Lib. /Ind.	Running & Drifting	Graduality	Hesitation	Deceleration	← Sagittal	Bulging	Bulge/ hollow Anterior	Forward	Advancing
2,5-3			Sad. /Fight.	Starting & Stopping	Abruptness	Suddenness	Acceleration	Time →	Hollowing	Bulge/ Hollow Posterior	Back	Retreating
3-3,5	Phallic	Inner genital	Lib. /Ind.	Swaying	Free Flow	Free Flow	Free Flow		Growing	Growing	Growing	Growing
3,5-4			Sad. /Fight.	Surgin & Birthing	Bound Flow	Bound Flow	Bound Flow		Shrinking	Shrinking	Shrinking	Shrinking
4-4,5		Outer genital	Lib. /Ind.	Jumping	Neutral Flow							
4,5-5			Sad. /Fight.	Spurting & Raming								

Figure 2. Kestenberg Movement Profile Overview Table

⁵³ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Kestenberg Movement Profile, Document 5 - KMP Overview Table
https://drive.google.com/drive/u/0/folders/1ccshvbTT2MMEQ_FvftyAQDDW_EzhudMM

Kestenberg (1965a) divided Tension-Flow into two subcategories, Attributes of Tension-Flow and the Rhythms of Tension-Flow. Attributes are related to temperamental aspects and basic affective responses to pleasure and displeasure (Kestenberg, 1985). Kestenberg also understood the properties of Tension-Flow as the somatic basis of emotional regulation (Kestenberg, 1985). Attributes of the Tension-Flow do not denote categorical emotions, but subtle physiological changes, affects that underscore emotions. These attributes are Low or High intensity (degree of intensity) or abruptness and graduality (rate of change) and adjusting or evenly held (degree of change) Tension-Flow (Kestenberg, 1985). Kestenberg distinguished ten Tension-Flow Rhythms, which she observed to be dominant and recurring in children movement repertoire in certain developmental phases. As previously explained, she observed rhythmic movements were conflated with the Freudian psychosexual development theory thus to need satisfaction and drive discharge.

Regarding ego-controlled patterns Kestenberg added a new category called precursor of Effort additional to the previously discussed Effort category. Precursors of Effort were understood to reflect development of ego-functions. The regulation of internal impulses and the defence against them is done through the Tension-Flow Attributes, but when the given internal state has to be adapted to an external situation or task, the use of Effort Precursors comes to the fore. These patterns are mostly used in unfamiliar situations when one still needs to learn to master the given task. The performance of a new task requires both an internal focus of attention and a concentration on an external goal. This could be throwing at a target, walking in chicken steps, or even solving a Stroop test that involves cognitive processes. Precursors of Effort are characterised by this use of simultaneous, external, and internal attention. When the task is no longer unfamiliar, we have an automatic, bodily, and mental mechanism for solving it, then the use of Effort movements comes to dominate. Mastery is achieved and patterns of coping with reality are established, for example patterns of learning, thinking, coping. Those who are already familiar with the task of throwing a ball at the target start the task without hesitation, by automatically innervating the necessary muscle groups with the right amount of tension according to the distance of their target and the weight of the ball. Likewise, those who are used to tasks that require certain thought processes, such as reading or comprehension, will immediately adopt the motor and mental strategies needed to exclude external stimuli and create focus. This could be, for example, directing the gaze to the text being read, or perhaps leaning the head to the side to form a barricade against external distracting stimuli.

In the Shape-Flow-Shaping system, Kestenberg differentiated between Bipolar and Unipolar Shape-Flow patterns. Qualities of Bipolar Shape-Flow refer to the symmetric growing

or shrinking shapes of the torso; these are associated with expressions of comfort and discomfort and global feelings of self-and-other. Based on the amoeba type oscillation between rise and fall of the chest during breathing, widening the arms to access the breast and allows the embrace of the mother, shrinking away from noxious stimuli, building the belly forward with fullness and satiation or hollowing the torso due to hunger or depletion of energy are the kinaesthetic memories of early self-and-other experiences that come to be building blocks of the body image and self-and other representations (Kestenberg, 1985). Unipolar Shape-Flow refers to asymmetric shape of the body established by only one side reacting to a specific stimulus. This is already a more differentiated pattern of Shape-Flow from the Bipolar where there is a generalised response with whole body involvement. Unipolar Shape-Flow is visible in the early grasp or reaching of the arms to the breast or a particular object.

The categories of directional and dimensional shaping patterns take dominance over Shape-Flow with maturation. These allow for the establishment of differentiated and relations with objects and the environment through the extension of body boundaries and creation of bridges between self and other in the larger, general space. Dimensional shaping patterns are like directional movements, but they are more complex due to the combined use of two or three dimensions through the movement. Kestenberg conflated these ego-controlled shaping patterns to schemas of complex relationships.

When Kestenberg started her infant observation studies in the early 1950s, case studies from the Hempstead Clinic were followed with great interest in the New York psychoanalytic community (Kestenberg, 1975; Sossin, 2007, p. 103). A draft of Anna Freud's Diagnostic Profile was published when Kestenberg and her Movement Study Group began to develop a movement -based developmental assessment framework (A. Freud, 1962). "*At that time there was much discussion in Hampstead about developmental profiles, so I compared my Movement Profile with her developmental profile*" (Stanton, 1991, p. 166). Anna Freud stressed the importance of dynamic and structural assessment of intrapsychic conflicts. Kestenberg also incorporated this approach into her Movement Profile. In the KMP, the dynamic relationship between object relations, affective tone, affective states, and drives is assessed. A structural view of the organisation of the personality comes to the fore when Kestenberg linked different categories of movement to id and ego processes, paying particular attention to how ego-controlled motility evolves out of drive-derivative movement patterns indicating harmonious structural development or structural conflict. Another key correspondence between Anna Freud and Kestenberg's theories is that in both cases there is a striking allegiance to Freudian instinct theory, but both authors include an emphasis on object relations. Kestenberg also pointed out

that instinctual drives related to phase-specific needs optimally find a path of discharge towards a phase-specific object (Kestenberg, 1967).

Kestenberg (1985) stressed that professionals using the Movement Profile should be familiar with consonance Anna Freud's Developmental Profile. The consonance between these frameworks is best demonstrated by their similar interpretative domains. Section V of Anna Freud's Diagnostic Profile are the following:

(1) Instinctual development

- Self- and object-obsessions/libidinal processes
- Phase-specific development
- Aggression

(2) Development of the self and the ego

- Self-functions
- Defence mechanisms
- Elementary reactions to danger

(3) Personality development

- Developmental trajectories and mastery of tasks

(4) Dynamic and structural evaluation of conflicts (A. Freud, 1962, pp. 151-153).

These categories are comparable to Kestenberg's Tension-Flow Rhythms (phase-specific development and instinct discharge), Tension-Flow Attributes (elementary reactions to danger), Effort Precursors (defence mechanisms), Effort (ego functions and coping mechanisms).

Anna Freud, in her seminal work entitled '*Normality and Pathology in Childhood*' published in 1965, attempting a great reconceptualization of the developmental process, conceived of the notion of developmental lines (Midgley, 2013). These could be understood as markers of progression within a variety of domains across the developmental spectrum (op.cit.). The progression along these lines were viewed as the interaction between id, ego, and environment. The underestimation of external reality in classical psychoanalytic theory has attracted large amounts of criticism within and without the psychoanalytic circles. A. Freud gave equal importance to environmental factors as to internal reality. She defined the developmental lines as "*historical realities which, when assembled, convey a convincing picture of an individual child's personal achievements or, on the other hand, of his failures in personality development*" (1965a: 64).

Examples of these were the progression from ‘egocentricity to companionship’, ‘from body to toy to work’, ‘from physical to mental pathways of discharge’, ‘from irresponsibility to guilt’ (Midgley, 2013; A. Freud, 1974[1973]). She further emphasised the development is not a linear process and fixations and regressions are to be expected even within ‘normal’ development. Her complex understanding of development is also demonstrated in that she stressed the relevance of the interaction between the developmental lines. She designated certain lines of progression to be more essential than others, such as secondary-process thinking, the development of the sense of reality were considered more important than social relationships or impulse control. She explained that a number of people achieve only partial integration of these areas which does not seem to affect their overall developmental progress (Midgley, 2013). Kestenberg, adopted Anna Freud's notion of developmental lines (A. Freud, 1962). Like A. Freud, Kestenberg stressed that development is a complex interaction of biological and psychological processes, which she saw less as hierarchical than as a continuous flow of progressions and regressions along different developmental lines.

The early anal phase is best described as a stage of polymorphic development, culminating in a developmental crisis. The subsequent increase in aggression introduces the dominance of anal sadism. A similar crisis occurs later, when oral and anal urges, not yet fully tamed, are mixed with increasing urethral urges in the third year of life (Kestenberg, 1966, p. 156).

The concept of developmental lines is embedded in the framework of the KMP which becomes conspicuous when reading the chart horizontally. The developmental evolution of function is depicted in the succession from Tension-Flow categories of the first subsystem related to instinctual processes and affective states towards the self-directed categories of defence mechanisms and coping strategies that evolve from their consolidation (Effort Precursors and Effort). Likewise, in the second subsystem, a developmental line can be drawn between immediate, early responses to environmental stimuli (asymmetric Shape-Flow), movements expressing general patterns of object relations (symmetric Shape-Flow) and movements applying differentiated and dimensional spatial structures based on these, associated with complex relations (Directional and Dimensional Shaping). This was summarised by Kestenberg as follows:

In successive developmental phases, the regulation of (muscle) tension flow and (body) shape flow are under the control of the ego. The regulation of (muscle) tension flow helps drive differentiation; the regulation of shape-flow contributes to the differentiation of self and objects. Later in development the ego attitude towards physical aspects of reality such as space, weight and time is expressed through effort movements which take control of tension-flow patterns (Kestenberg, 1967a, p. 357).

The KMP, in its orientation to include early infancy, displays significant correspondence with Ernst Freud's Baby Profile which was an adaptation of the Developmental Profile. The KMP was developed in the mid 1960s and reached its final form in the early 1970s. The Baby Profile was published in 1967 and 1971. It would be reasonable to think that there has been a cross-fertilisation between these systems of assessment, but direct correspondence has not been found between Ernst Freud and Kestenberg. However, Kestenberg visited the Hempstead Clinic in the 1960s on several occasions substantiated by the letter correspondence between her and Anna Freud⁵⁴ (Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Anna Freud Papers, 1895-1982, Correspondence with Kestenberg, Judith 1955-1969, Box 54).

3.4.2. Child Development Research

Kestenberg established an educational organisation for the dissemination and further advancement of her developmental movement studies under the name, Child Development Research (CDR). It was a non-sectarian educational organisation provisionally chartered in 1970 and officially incorporated in 1974 by the University of the State of New York⁵⁵. On its board of directors were the members of the Sands Point Movement Study Group, Judith S. Kestenberg, M.D., Jay Berlowe, M.D., Hershey Marcus, M. D., Arnhilt Buelte, Esther Robbins, M. D., Marta K. Soodak, M.S. Its professional advisory board consisted of 14 professionals from the field of medicine or movement studies such as Albert Solnit, M.D., and Irmgard Bartenieff. Kestenberg asked Margaret Mahler to serve on the board as well, but this did not

⁵⁴ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research//Correspondences/Anna Freud Correspondence https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1zB7Wmeu61RNtG1iF_32y_n3Fp71KQE8J?usp=drive_link

⁵⁵ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Child Development Research Folder/Document 1 - CDR Incorporation https://drive.google.com/file/d/1JfyIT-917-E2h0pcDdo3L9mRzyf9HJNO/view?usp=drive_link

come to fruition as Mahler was not listed as a board member on any CDR documents⁵⁶. The CDR sponsored the International Study of Organised Persecution of Children, the Sydney L. Green Prenatal Project, the Centre for Parents and Children. Esther Robbins, child psychiatrist and Martha Soodak, dance/movement therapist directed the Sydney L. Green Prenatal Project, Kestenberg and Anrhilt Buelte headed the Centre for Parents and Children⁵⁷.

Around the mid 1970s, the Centre staff was joined by two central figures to the later development and dissemination of Kestenberg's concepts, Susan Loman, dance/movement therapists and K. Mark Sossin, clinical psychologist, psychoanalyst. Sossin⁵⁸ became a student of Kestenberg in the 1976 and Loman in 1977 (Sossin, personal communication, 12 April 2024). Sossin's doctoral dissertation in clinical psychology focused on the ontogeny of aggression based on infant observation data collected through his work with Kestenberg. Loman⁵⁹ came to be instrumental in the dissemination of her work and its application to dance/movement therapy practice worldwide. She was taught the Kestenberg Movement Profile method during her graduate training in dance/movement therapy through her teacher Penny Lewis⁶⁰. Loman met Kestenberg while she worked at the Trenton Psychiatric Hospital as a dance/movement therapist (Loman, interview, 2022). Both Sossin and Loman worked at the Centre for Parents and Children, established by Kestenberg in 1972 (Loman, interview, 2022; Sossin, interview, 2022).

Kestenberg's training course in her Movement Profiling method entailed a weekly three hourly class for 30 weeks which covered the KMP developmental theory and movement notation. She was a vigorous teacher who expected her students to read literature from contemporaneous movement behaviour researchers extensively, such as Albert Scheflen and Ray Birdwhistell on kinesics and context analysis, Rudolf von Laban and Lamb's work. (Sossin, personal communication, 12 April 2024). Kestenberg's teaching methods strongly incorporated embodied experiential aspects as Sossin recollected in the following quote:

⁵⁶ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Correspondences/ Margaret Mahler Correspondence/Document 2.

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1yornAY9NrOQ6D5rH-lUjYvRBIFwjZ_cm/view?usp=drive_link

⁵⁷ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Child Development Research/Centre for Parents and Children/Document 1-9.

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1ExeLtfb3aox3NhJvHceHsBjZ5KkHa8xB?usp=drive_link

⁵⁸ Clinical psychologist, psychoanalyst, and psychotherapist for children, adolescents, adults, couples, and families, and conducts parent-infant psychotherapy, parent guidance, and psychodiagnostic evaluation and consultation, as well as professional supervision.

⁵⁹ Dance/movement therapist, professor emeritus and former head of the graduate course in Dance/Movement Therapy at Antioch University New England.

⁶⁰ Pioneer of American dance/movement therapy.

Early on in the first class, participants (including those with backgrounds ranging across creative art therapies, psychiatry, psychology, social work, psychoanalysis, and child-developmental specialization) were told to get on the floor and lie on their belly, and to then roll over, attending to what part of their bodies initiated the rotation (e.g. shoulder, pelvis, leg), and what parts followed. This was informing about early developmental processes, but further established the point that learning how to discern and notate the body movements of another required knowing those and related experiences in one's own body. Hence, the grounding principle of 'kinaesthetic identification' was in the very first lesson (Sossin, personal communication, 12 April 2024).

Kestenberg's emphasis on embodied experience informing theorising was unique and atypical in psychiatric circles according to recollection of Sossin (interview, 2022) as well as Hershey Marcus (in Loman & Kestenberg Amighi, 1990, p. 16). From 1978, Sossin started co-teaching the course with Kestenberg and collaborated on publications (Kestenberg & Sossin, 1979) while also taking on the role of supervising psychologist at the Centre.

The Centre for Parents and children opened in 1972, set out to be a social centre for a stable number of participants from the local area on Long Island, New York from mostly middle-class backgrounds. Families were encouraged to join based on their interest and stability of commitment; they were often engaged with Centre staff already during pregnancy. There was a young group ranging from birth to two years which met twice a week, the two-four years olds met three times a week along with their parents and older siblings. The Centre was funded by private contributions and research grants. It was co-directed by Kestenberg and Arnhilt Buelte. Susan Loman and Carol Fishman dance/movement therapist at the Centre. Sossin and Marcus lead the father project which was joined by Richard Stevenson for some years (Sossin, personal communication, 12 April 2024). This was a primary prevention project to foster optimal father-child relationships and secondarily served as a research project. They surveyed the development of paternal attitudes in boys from the early years and five Sundays a year they held father and child days⁶¹ (Kestenberg, 1980c; Bell, 1984; Sossin, interview, 2022).

⁶¹ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Child Development Research/Centre for Parents and Children/Document 6 & 8.
https://drive.google.com/file/d/1osvNvdQzONqhwkeyUVxH3xSo9G2SOi60/view?usp=drive_link

The Centre's inaugural documentation stated that the focus of parenting support was to aid harmonious interactions between children and parents so the development of personality disorders and developmental disturbance could be prevented before they are established. It provided psychoeducation to expectant mothers and parents about child development with an embodied focus. Parents of the Centre were a motivated group which included several mental health professionals interested in embodied, somatic aspects of development and child-guidance. Parents consented to be observed and filmed together with their children by research staff⁶². They were asked to closely observe the behaviour of their children and keep a journal of their activities which they showed to the staff at the Centre who added interpretations about the child's behaviour as well as suggested child-focused interventions. Normative crisis such as difficulties of nursing, eating, sleeping, sibling rivalry, death or illness in the family and developmental perturbations were met with Center-inspired methods of facilitating coping and reassurance for the child (Sossin, personal communication, 12 April 2024).

Kestenberg and her collaborators observed and profiled somatic interactions between parents and children and proposed movement-based interventions which they often referred to as movement-retraining⁶³. These interventions were aimed at harmonising the parent and the child's movement repertoire, improving kinaesthetic attunement between them, or supporting them in creating resilient sequences of attunement, misattunement and repair (Loman, 2016). Movement retraining also pertained to the encouragement of the safe expression of aggressive drives in movement or developing ego functions through suggestive sequences from affective to ego-controlled, mastery related movement patterns that is from Tension-Flow to Pre-Effort and Effort. Their interventions, based on Kestenberg's developmental framework, were planned, and delivered by the mental health professionals of the Centre. The work at the Centre involved the use of various arts-based approaches, especially dance/movement therapy. Sossin recalled that:

There was a whole referral network through Hershey Marcus, Jay Berlowe and the people who were part of the original Sands Point Movement Study Group [...].

⁶² See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Child Development Research/Centre for Parents and Children/Document 3-5.

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1ExeLtfb3aox3NhJvHceHsBjZ5KkHa8xB?usp=drive_link

⁶³ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Child Development Research/Centre for Parents and Children/Document 7.

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1mEoxmMJ3neEKUwnRWD0fGq6U1ok1ecyK/view?usp=drive_link

Kestenberg herself would sometimes do these interventions and some parents were encouraged to go into analysis or analytic therapy (Sossin, interview, 2022).

A typical day at the Centre was organised around recurring scheduled activities such as creative art, movement stimulation through moving toys and climbing structures, story time, listening to music, playing the piano with assistance and dancing (Bell, 1984; Sossin, interview, 2022).⁶⁴ The Centre provided training for child-care workers and functioned as a placement institution for dance-therapists in training under the supervision of Susan Loman.

The Centre's objective was to combat alienation between children and parents, raise the status of parenting and provide its scientific foundation to parents to raise their confidence, prevent of childhood trauma and developmental disorders through early detection, study child development with involvement of parents and a multidisciplinary team through applied non-verbal observation, assessment techniques and correctional interventions of movement retraining and lastly to design curriculum for child care. The Centre's ethos was based in community development through education of parents and research to further understand crucial aspects of child development of the early years. Children and parents who became participants in the Centre's activities were expected to take active part in the everyday of the Centre to ensure the creation of a social community within the centre. The Centre was designed as a demonstration/pilot project for other communities for parenting support service, training, and research⁶⁵. According to the Centre's leaflet it differed from day-care centres as children attended together with their parents to whom training was provided to parents through which they could become skilled in child-care and developmental observation. Active involvement that was also expected of parents which fostered strong community engagement. The parents were for example asked to act as surrogate parents for each other's children as well as take turns in contributing to smaller tasks at the Centre such as cleaning up. Centre. The development of community spirit in early years was another focal point of the child development ethos of the project⁶⁶.

⁶⁴ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Child Development Research/Centre for Parents and Children/Document 6.

https://drive.google.com/file/d/14K7WhmIkP677ZTYRIYB0Y0MC5eOm2O0L/view?usp=drive_link

⁶⁵ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Child Development Research/Centre for Parents and Children/Document 9.

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1AgtJBB11kZZA317MkuLCnEP-zg8H6GwE/view?usp=drive_link

⁶⁶ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Child Development Research/Document 2 & 5.

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1W00k2hHT5dnNb5NRB-sIOhXxMfeWDY06/view?usp=drive_link
https://drive.google.com/file/d/1n91YoXMztMtNn-u_gvzWEkwFa95rcum1/view?usp=drive_link

The CDR also sponsored the Sidney L. Green prenatal program which provided family support to expectant parents including films, lectures about childbirth and development in the early years. Kestenberg lead the prenatal project along with Loman and Buelte, Sossin filmed a number of births for movement study (Sossin, 12 April 2024). Mothers were suggested somatic exercises to attune to their unborn child through foetal-movement notation. They set up a well-baby clinic at the Long Island Jewish Hospital under the leadership of paediatrician, Philip Lanzkowsky (2012). Lanzkowsky had a special ambition to increase research activity at the Paediatrics Department. Kestenberg and her colleagues had 20 babies and their parents in their care who they observed for research and provided child guidance with a somatic focus on development (Kestenberg, 1992, p. 150). CDR staff liaised between parents and medical professionals involved in the pregnancy and birth, they also attended deliveries. The Prenatal Project took place at the Long Island Jewish Medical Centre.

According to Sossin's recollections (Sossin, interview, 2022), he and Kestenberg consulted occasional cases at Weill-Cornell Hospital's infant physiotherapy rehabilitation centre. Interventions proposed by Kestenberg were unusual and often had immediate visible effects as described in the following memory from Sossin when Kestenberg encouraged Shape-Flow fluctuation in an infant who appeared tense in his musculature.

I remember one child was very fixed. They said [...] she's impeded in her development. So Kestenberg asked to talk to her mother, who was a musician [...] So she asked the mother to sing to her child in front of us and carry along and then transition it with a rhythm. And it was very dramatic because the baby softened, relaxed, had a rhythm, and showed pelvic rotation, which they were not able to get with all the vestibular and proprioceptive kind of input that they were doing (Sossin, interview, 2022).

3.5. Holocaust Studies

The following section takes an outlook onto the last major project of Kestenberg, her studies on the transgenerational trauma of the Holocaust. This last epoch of Kestenberg's work has been well-received within and without psychoanalysis therefore instead of providing a lengthy introduction to these studies I limit my analysis to the study of the relationship between her earlier developmental movement studies and the later trauma studies. Looking at Kestenberg's

life work and its selective reception a marked shift of interest becomes visible between her two projects. In her recollections (Kestenberg, 1992) she also described it as a sudden awakening to the 'calling' of Holocaust studies in reciprocity with the necessity to process her own affectedness and trauma of the loss of her parents. The seemingly dissimilar topics of interest could signify a complete dislocation in Kestenberg's oeuvre however on closer look a somatic thread becomes conspicuous. However, while tapping this somatic thread within the fabric of Kestenberg's legacy, I intend honour the dislocation of focus reflecting the complexity of interests and implications she had throughout her lifetime.

Kestenberg chose a new analytic research direction in 1974 and together with her husband, Milton Kestenberg, embarked on one of the largest international Holocaust studies under the title 'Jerome Riker International Study of Organised Persecution of Children' and founded the research group 'Psychoanalytic Study of the effects of the Holocaust of Second Generation'. The psychoanalytic study of the transgenerational effects of the Holocaust trauma was at the heart of the last epoch of Kestenberg's career. It was well received within psychoanalysis and Kestenberg's name became known. Traumatic experiences of child survivors of the Holocaust were not represented in the growing Holocaust awareness in the USA in the 1970s. The prevailing view amongst genocide researchers and even in the Jewish community was that prosecuted children were too young or resilient enough to be significantly harmed by the trauma of the Holocaust.

Later, Holocaust researchers pointed out that child survivors formed a specific group amongst Holocaust survivors who did not speak about their experiences openly in the post-war period. They often did not fully remember and thus did not view themselves as survivors of the Holocaust. This trend started to gradually shift when child and adolescent survivors grew older and started to visit mental health professionals with emotional problems (Jucovy, 1985). At the time there was no unified, specific approach within mental health in the US to understand and address effects of transgenerational trauma (op.cit.). Few decades after the war, with the general development of the historiography of the Holocaust, researchers began to look specifically at the experiences of child survivors. The first focused study was Yaffa Eliach's oral history project of child survivor testimonies at Brooklyn College in 1979 (Cohen, Fogelman & Ofer, 2017; Fogelman, 2017).

In 1970, Kestenberg devised a questionnaire which was sent to 320 psychoanalysts internationally to inquire about their analytic work with children of Holocaust survivors (Jucovy, 1985, Fogelman, 2017). Her interest in the topic was sparked by her work with an adult child of survivors, who appeared and seemed to have lived his life as if he was being

persecuted. Kestenberg (1992) wrote: *“In 1968 I woke up from my latency period. I had a patient in analysis who was a child of a survivor. The child looked like a concentration camp prisoner. This aroused my interest in the transmission of trauma to the second generation”* (p. 188, author’s trans.). A few responses were received on the matter which Kestenberg viewed as a general indifference and underrepresentation of the experience of second-generation Holocaust survivors in analytic therapy (Jucovy, 1985). As a result, with the sponsorship of the American Psychoanalytic Association, Kestenberg established the Group for the Psychoanalytic Exploration of the Effect of the Holocaust on the Second Generation in 1974. Their first meeting was held in 1975. The study group met 8-10 times a year to discuss cases of children of survivors they had been treating (Fogelman, 2017).

The scope of the study expanded onto a general study of the victimisation of children during the Holocaust and its effects on the second generation (Jucovy, 1985). They defined child survivor of the Holocaust as any Jewish child who was thirteen years old or younger at the onset of persecution in their country and managed to survive in German-occupied Europe through various means, including hiding, joining partisan groups, residing in ghettos, evading capture, or enduring internment in concentration camps. The definition of war child referred to non-Jewish children who lived in Germany in any other country occupied by the Third Reich (Cohen, Fogelman & Ofer, 2017). The study group discussed 34 cases in total, out of which 21 were cases of children of survivors and the rest was a mixed group of child survivors, those displaced in childhood and children of Nazi persecutors. Their inquiry focused on the effects of ambivalent, untold family trauma, how complex trauma of the parents affect the personality development of their children and on the mechanisms through which trauma transmission happens. With their inclusion of children of persecutors, the group members saw an opportunity to explore the relationships between trauma and the mechanisms of remembrance, narrative, and identity from a wider perspective (Jucovy, 1985). The group’s members were mental health professionals, some with their own Holocaust history, and others with little knowledge about the therapeutic implications of Holocaust trauma. Among many others, the group was joined by Milton Kestenberg⁶⁷ (1913-1991), Milton E. Jucovy⁶⁸, and Martin S. Bergman⁶⁹ (1913-

⁶⁷ Judith Kestenberg’s husband, attorney at law, who came to be a key figure in child restitution cases in the USA.

⁶⁸ Jucovy was a training analyst of the New York Psychoanalytic Institute and supervising psychiatrist at the Long Island Jewish-Hillside Medical Centre, New York

⁶⁹ Bergman was a professor of psychology at the New York University postdoctoral program. He taught courses on the history of psychoanalysis. He was a central voice of Freudian analysis. He was a member of the International Psychoanalytic Association and honorary member of the American Psychoanalytic Association

2014) and Eva Fogelman⁷⁰. Jucovy & Bergman (1982) published the results of these studies in 1982 in the edited volume under the title '*Generations of the Holocaust*'. Fogelman became a key figure in generating Holocaust awareness and second-generation identity in the US through organising meetings and associations for survivors as well as through her film documentary on the subject '*Breaking the Silence: The Generation After the Holocaust*' that came out in 1984 (Jucovy, 1985, Fogelman, 2017).

3.5.1. The Body on Trial

Judith Kestenberg's husband, Milton Kestenberg was an attorney at law who specialised in reparations claims of child survivors of the Holocaust. Under German indemnification laws a survivor whose earnings were decreased by 25% due to their prosecution could apply for compensation from Germany. Milton Kestenberg explained that there were several mechanisms employed by the German government and psychiatrists to disadvantage the claimants. Often, they recognised a disability due to prosecution 24% or less so the claims would get rejected or expected detailed evidence that the claimants would find difficult to provide to discourage applications (Kestenberg, M. 1982).

Reparation claims involved rigorous questioning of the claimant, several detailed statements were needed, and an examination of a German appointed physician needed to support the claim. Milton Kestenberg (Kestenberg & Kestenberg, 1985; Kestenberg & Khan, 1998) argued that providing convincing evidence was a difficult and potentially re-traumatising process for survivors which called for a special interviewing technique, empathetic attitude, and strong assistance from legal professionals. He fought for cases of many disadvantaged groups of survivors who fell into loopholes of indemnification laws. His work was exceptionally significant in the case of child survivors of the Holocaust (Kestenberg, & Kestenberg, 1985). He pointed out child survivors were particularly disadvantaged in the restitution process as they often could not remember facts and provide a detailed enough narrative for their claims. German psychiatrists strongly held the opinion that children prosecuted in the Holocaust could not have been significantly damaged if they could hardly remember. Milton Kestenberg (1982) was determined to louden the voices of these marginalised groups and developed an interview technique with Judith Kestenberg aiding the recovery of memories of child survivors so they could claim reparations. Through the

⁷⁰ Clinical psychologist and film filmmaker.

collaboration with her psychoanalyst wife, Milton Kestenberg fought for the recognition of psychological damage and psychiatric disability in the restitution process. They also believed that recovering these memories were also curative (op.cit.). Judith Kestenberg's interviewing technique had a significant somatic focus and applied her knowledge of the relationship between psychic and movement development. She argued that the impediment to motor development potentially caused adversities to psychic and personality development overall. They brought childhood bodily experiences to trial in a figurative and literal sense. The following quote illustrates Kestenberg's interviewing approach:

In my effort to help those who want to remember, I concentrate on means to communicate very early memories that differ from those of adults. They come in flashes and in isolated recollections and are often devoid of meaning that the older child or adult may assign to them. [...] I ask interviewees to imagine certain crucial events from their infancy" (1988, p. 562).

Kestenberg published a case study of a Hungarian woman survivor to demonstrate her interviewing technique in 1988. Kestenberg (op.cit) drew the attention of the survivor onto noises, smells, and movement memories to determine her age and the details of her deportation. They managed to recover the memory of the train ride to the deportation camp based on auditory memories and determine her age based on memories of being carried around and having a cradle to sleep in (op.cit.). Kestenberg, based on her extensive knowledge of the relationship between movement and psychic development, emphasised (1992) that due to the overcrowding at concentration camps the restrictions affecting the movement development of young children directly affected their psychic development. She further argued that:

Inasmuch as there is communication between the body and the id and the ego, there is a mutual influence and cooperation between them all through life. The body ego develops when the child can feel his boundaries within the space around him. As he incorporates outer space as his own kinesphere (Kestenberg, 1992, p. 378).

3.5.2. The Organised Persecution of Children

As a result, in 1981, the Kestenbergs launched the Jerome Riker International Study of Organised Persecution of Children (ISOPC) under the umbrella organisation of the previously mentioned Child Development Research. They conducted the largest international oral history project on the effects of the Holocaust, comprising a collection of more than 1500 testimonies. In 1999 For the mission statement of the Child Development Research (CDR) was supplemented to reflect the ISOPC project⁷¹ and stated that it was an

[...] organisation dedicated to the restoring and preserving the mental health of children especially those who suffered under the extreme trauma of organised persecution. This includes documenting patterns of normal child development and disruptions, distortions and adaptations which occur in the aftermath of trauma. The organisation is dedicated to discovering and promulgating approaches which can ameliorate the long-term effects on victims of past, present, and future mass dehumanisation. One of our points of focus will be the nonverbal expressions of normal and disrupted child development”⁷² (Mission Statement, CDR, unpublished).

The goals of the organisations were to develop and support approaches aimed at the prevention of childhood disorders especially those linked to extreme trauma, validate non-verbal personality assessment and treatment techniques, to collect interviews with child survivors of the Holocaust world-wide, analyse systematically the effects of organised persecution and assess mechanisms of adaptation and modes of recovery in the aftermath of trauma, train mental health professionals to treat child survivors with special remit to creative arts-based approaches. The CDR had a 4 R policy⁷³ which encompassed their impact areas of remember, record, reflect, recover. The interviews were audiotaped and anonymised. Family members were not shown the footage so the survivors could speak more freely about their experiences (Folgelman, 2017).

⁷¹ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Child Development Research/Document 2 & 5. https://drive.google.com/file/d/1W00k2hHT5dnNb5NRB-sIOhXxMfeWDY06/view?usp=drive_link
https://drive.google.com/file/d/1n9IYoXMztMtNn-u_gvzWEkwFa95rcum1/view?usp=drive_link

⁷² See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Child Development Research/Holocaust Studies/Document 1-3.

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1zUIIFYk6kR10- uUHUwTX-zXfnQQ58sh?usp=drive_link

⁷³ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Child Development Research/Document 2. https://drive.google.com/file/d/1W00k2hHT5dnNb5NRB-sIOhXxMfeWDY06/view?usp=drive_link

The results of this international study were published in the volume edited by Judith Kestenberg & Charlotte Khan (1989) entitled '*Children Surviving Persecution: An International Study of Trauma and Healing*' and in another collection of papers edited by Judith Kestenberg & Ira Brenner (1996) with the title '*The Last Witness: The Child Survivor of the Holocaust*'. Judith Kestenberg became obsessed with the Holocaust and wanted to uncover every little detail about the deportations and the concentration camps from their layout to the placing of the bunk beds and the everyday experiences and interactions people had. This was substantiated during my archival research at Kestenberg's daughter, Janet Kestenberg Amighi's house, where I was lucky enough to look through documents of her mother. I found numerous maps of concentration camps and photos of Jewish ghettos.

The uniqueness of the ISOPC study project was that as Milton and Judith Kestenberg realised based on their previous work with the study group, that child survivors were a neglected group not only in the indemnification process but also by Holocaust researchers and in the growing Holocaust awareness as a whole. Many of the child survivors did not consider themselves 'real' survivors of the Holocaust, did not talk about their experiences and did not join survivor groups. When interviewed in the ISOPC project, most of them spoke of their experiences for the first time. They reported the transformative experience of their interviews and encouraged other child survivors to take part. Through the ISOPC project as well as through direct community development work, the Kestenbergs and their collaborators at the Child Development Research aided the establishment of numerous survivors' associations internationally (Kestenberg & Khan, 1989).

Another novelty in ISOPC study was Kestenberg's interview technique which she further developed. The semi-structured interviews aimed at collecting personal experiences, narratives of the Holocaust for historiography as well as to aid trauma recovery (Kestenberg & Khan, 1989). Her technique was a psychoanalytically oriented, narrative interview method that utilised a kinaesthetic approach to aid the recovery of forgotten, denied, and split off traumatic experiences. Kestenberg attributed a significant role to somatic and motility-based experiences in relation to the development of body image, ego, thinking, language, and self-and other representations. She also had extensive experience through her previous movement studies and their application in analytic therapy that guiding the attention onto bodily experiences may make certain otherwise inaccessible experiences come forth (Folgelman, 2017).⁷⁴ It meant that

⁷⁴ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Child Development Research/Holocaust Studies/Document 4.
https://drive.google.com/file/d/154_ogAxEYIhTuw7W47PQSApji8PZxdPH/view?usp=drive_link

the interviewers would ask about somatic experiences of being carried, or crawling, walking in the early years of development, sleeping patterns, caring interactions between the parents and the children in the camps, feelings of anxiety, safety, hunger or they would ask about whether the child was able to explore his/her physical environment safely or felt confined and restrained. Several early oral history projects focused on collecting survivors' experiences of the war in the 1980s shifted towards a life history approach in oral history as a whole (Folgelman, 2017). Questionnaires were developed by psychologists. Many of the subjects were interviewed twice. The focus of Kestenberg's project followed this trend. The interviewee was viewed not only as a survivor but a whole person whose Holocaust experience was to be understood within their life history. Kestenbergs' ambition was not only to uncover these life narratives and insert them into the flow of collective memory about the Holocaust but also to inform mental health professionals about the differential characteristics of the struggle of child survivors. The ultimate goal of the interviews was to help the speaker to integrate the traumatic experiences (Folgelman, 2017).

Kestenberg argued:

The effect of persecution on the ego is manifold. The restriction of space with the ensuing inability to move freely, the breaking down of the children's sense of gravity with the ensuing inability to stand up or stretch, the loss of the sense of time, all represented an infringement on basic ego functions, acquired during early development (Kestenberg, 1992, p. 374).

She further explained that as reality testing develops from the physical experiences acquired by the ego through its adaptation to space, weight, and time when free exploration of the physical world is restrained, basic functions of understanding reality are infringed upon (Kestenberg, 1992, p. 379). The interviewers were mental health professionals living across the US, Western and Eastern Europe, Australia, and South Africa who Kestenberg's team trained in their specific technique (Jucovy, 1985). Among the Hungarian interviewers was the well-known social psychologist, Ferenc Erős⁷⁵. Many of the interviewers were themselves child survivors, and the protocol for this case was that they had to be interviewed before they could conduct interviews with others. Kestenberg's project was unique in that they also

⁷⁵ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Child Development Research/Holocaust Studies/Document 1
https://drive.google.com/file/d/1r8jq9UnualTXRll-54DrAs3JsQqCD1n/view?usp=drive_link

collected oral histories of children of the war, primarily non-Jewish Polish children who the Nazis considered racially inferior, or children whose parents were Nazi prosecutors. These stories were to shed light on the tragic losses and restrictions suffered by many different groups as a result of the war (Folgelman, 2017). Kestenberg not only devoted her later life to recovering memories and giving voice to Holocaust survivors and studying the transgenerational effects of Holocaust trauma in the second generation but supported numerous international associations of Holocaust survivors, disseminated information about their meetings and events in the Newsletter of the Child Development Research. She was particularly interested in how artistic expression influences trauma recovery and collected a large amount of art works of survivors. This has been substantiated during my archival research through her daughter 's collection.

3.6. Conclusion

The theoretical analysis of the evolution of Kestenberg's concepts revealed that her main conceptual influences were Paul Schilder's work on body image formation, Mahler's and Erikson's developmental ego-psychology, Hartmann, Loewenstein and Kris' ego-psychology, Anna Freud's diagnostic profile and Winnicott's object relations perspective. Her work echoed the mid-century drive towards gathering empirical evidence to underscore psychoanalytic development concepts through direct infant observation. Inherent key concepts of Kestenberg's developmental framework were the epigenetic view of development and the presumed continuity between id and ego. The epigenetic perspective is reflected in her proposed cumulative sequence of movement patterns within distinct categories. Developmental process from id to ego imply that a child, through somatic interactions with their environment, acquires the ability to delay instinctual urges, manage disturbances, and adapt the environment to their needs thus delineating progression from affective sensorimotor patterns and early defensive patterns and executive functions.

Key notions of her psychodynamic theory of movement were Tension-Flow attunement, Shape-Flow adjustment, and the principle of affinity indicating intra- or interpersonal harmony or conflict. This principle implied a grammatical organisation to movement behaviour proposing that clashes between affective Tension-Flow patterns and object-related Shape-Flow patterns signify intrapersonal conflicts. Similarly, interpersonal clashes between mother and infant, indicated by Tension-Flow or Shape-Flow patterns, were

viewed as critical in preventing developmental trauma. Kestenberg contended that congenital preferences for drive discharge and organisation, ego attitudes and functions, self and other schemas, intra- and interpersonal conflicts could be assessed and represented in Movement Profiles. Resolution of these conflicts may occur through movement retraining and creative-arts based interventions applied to in parent-infant psychotherapy, family support and child guidance (Kestenberg, 1965a, 1965b, 1967; Kestenberg et al. 1971).

Kestenberg's body of work encompasses various internal tensions due to her oscillation between progressive and more conservative stances. Placing bodily movement into the centre of psychoanalytic metapsychology in the 1950s was a pioneering effort. Kestenberg initiated the exploration of the intrinsic unity between soma and psyche and explored correlations between anatomic, hormonal and psychic organisations thus proposing a non-Cartesian approach to the mind in psychoanalysis (Kestenberg, 1975, p. xxi). Her focus on internal bodily sensations through which she reconsidered notions of activity and passivity expanded libidinal theory onto internal organs. Her contention to hold drive and ego psychology to equal significance in analysis thus contributing to a more holistic view, demonstrated a reformist attitude. She attended to lesser discussed topics such as foetal movement development and proposed to view parenthood as a developmental stage. She demonstrated willingness to transcend disciplinary boundaries by integrating psychoanalytic developmental theory with dance studies, drawing inspiration from Eastern medicine's meridian systems, and advocating for the incorporation of creative arts in therapy and child guidance. Her Holocaust studies were unique for their original scope and methodology; her somatically focused narrative interviewing technique and for extending to marginalised survivor groups such as the second-generation, child survivors and war children (Kestenberg & Khan, 1989).

Her traditionalist tendency is represented in her adherence to Freudian drive theory. Even though Kestenberg attempted to reconcile with emerging object-relations theory through her concept of '*transsensus outgoingness*' (Kestenberg, 1978), this remained an underdeveloped aspect of her work. While Kestenberg introduced the notion of the inner-genital developmental phase, her perspectives on the formation of sex-specific identities, particularly femininity, remained entrenched in classical Freudian phallo-centrism. She endorsed traditional, gender stereotypical parental roles. She developed typologies of women based on their motherly attitudes, viewed career-focused women as masculine, raised concerns about social trends delaying parenthood and viewed the nuclear family as a normative social unit (Kestenberg, 1980a, 1980b, 1989, 1990; Kestenberg & Marcus, 1979). Kestenberg applied the positivist orientation of American ego-psychology in her approach to bodily movement.

She anatomised movement behaviour into well-defined categories and elements, proposed a syntactic structure to movement comparable to symbolic language. A Cartesian dualistic approach to the mind links thinking to language and its assertion is that there is no thinking outside of language (Sheets-Johnstone, 2011). Even though Kestenberg was interested in the thinking body the way she conceptualised this thinking was in terms of language which essentially undermined the notion of a non-dualist, dynamic body-mind simultaneously inherent in her theory.

4. Reception

In this chapter, I demonstrate the difference in reception of Kestenberg's developmental movement studies within psychoanalysis and dance/movement therapy in comparison to her Holocaust studies. In the next chapter, I survey theoretical issues, disciplinary boundaries, and historical context of the American psy-sciences to illuminate the possible reasons for the selective reception.

Sources of this chapter are contemporaneous discussions of Kestenberg's work in psychoanalytic meetings and publications on her work by dance-movement therapists. To trace Kestenberg's relation to dancers, dance/movement therapists and movement researchers, collections of Martha Davis and Irmgard Bartenieff were consulted at the Clarice Smith Library for Performing Arts at the University of Maryland.

4.1. Movement Studies

“I think she always felt that she didn't get recognition for the movement work in her own field. It was the dance movement therapists who welcomed her, not the psychoanalysts”

(Kestenberg Amighi, interview, 2021).

4. 1.1. In Psychoanalytic Circles

Kestenberg's work was discussed twice at plenary meetings of the New York Psychoanalytic Society, once on 13th March 1956 and on 23rd February in 1971 (New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections, meeting

proceedings 13 March 1956, 565th meeting proceedings, 1971). The first discussion concerned her paper, '*On the Development of Maternal Feelings in Early Childhood*' that was published in the same year in the *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*. As discussed in the chapter on her developmental studies, Kestenberg designated pre-phallic vaginal tensions in girls as the origins of maternity and argued that the externalisation of these diffuse, unlocalizable tensions produce doll play, maternal behaviour and essentially the wish for a child. The girl child's inability to directly access, visualise the location or explore these tensions necessitates to create an external object as the outlet for these tensions that she can gain gratification through and control which is embodied by the baby and her nurturing behaviour towards the baby doll.

Four discussants attended to Kestenberg's paper with predominantly concurring opinions (op.cit). Dr. Abbott (1956, pp. 2-5), brought up a case example of an eight-year-old girl patient of hers with precocious sexual development, lack of interest in doll play, marked vaginal masturbation and menstruation at a very early age. During working through the tensions in analysis and by the changing attitude of the mother to the girl, she abandoned masturbatory activity, developed doll play and showed maternal behaviour. Dr. Abbott's argument was to contrast the case of this child with obvious vaginal tensions with Kestenberg's tension externalisation hypothesis and state that the changed relationship with the mother allowed for an identification with her which in turn brought on maternal behaviour through imitation (op.cit.). Kestenberg however conferred that Dr. Abbott's example was rather in agreement with her ideas on when doll-play and maternal behaviour occurs; it is ushered in or linked to the suppression of vaginal excitations.

Rudolf Lowenstein, the next commentator, critiqued Kestenberg's overemphasis on instinctual drives and argued that circumstances inhibit or reinforce instinctual development. He clarified that all the different aspects of the complex maturational process may play a part in the development of maternity not only the biologically determined vaginal tensions asserted by Kestenberg. He further elaborated, based on his work with Hartman & Kris, that ego aspects such as congenital preferences for certain types of mechanisms may inhibit or reinforce drive development and therefore ego development may play a crucial role in the development of maternal attitudes (New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections, meeting proceedings 13 March 1956, pp. 6-11). In relation to this, Lowenstein emphasised identification with the mother as an ego-ideal may be essentially decisive factor. Kestenberg also conflated these inner genital tensions of little girls with women's proclivity for intuitive knowledge. Lowenstein pointed to a seemingly problematic association between the girl's lack of pronounced genital tensions in comparison

to boys but still the projection of such fleetingly existent tension is what their maternal behaviour originates in. Kestenberg clarified that she did not mean these tensions don't exist but that they have a diffuse, undefined quality which makes them difficult to localise or their existence confirmed through visual or tactile means as opposed to boys' genital sensations. Kestenberg argued that the girl's indirect relationship to the knowledge of their genitals organised their relationship to knowledge overall which predisposes them for a proclivity for more indirectly, intuitively constructed ideas as opposed to deductive, scientific methods preferred by boys. Kestenberg's position was affirmed by Jacobson on this matter who was the next commentator on the paper (New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections, meeting proceedings 13 March 1956, pp. 11-16). Jacobson who dealt with the topic of female psychology and superego development in the 1930s also affirmed Kestenberg's material. Jacobson also acknowledged early vaginal tensions in these earlier essays of hers but did not notice the externalisation of these tensions as Kestenberg presented. Jacobson stated that she could relate Kestenberg's material to her old cases and looked through her lens she would probably find confirmation for the projective mechanisms of these tensions like Kestenberg's findings (New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections, meeting proceedings 13 March 1956).

Kestenberg's concepts on pre-phallic vaginal tensions, their role in the development of femininity, her inner-genital developmental phase was reflected in a textbook surveying the psychoanalytic canon on female development edited by Birksted-Breen in 1993 entitled '*The Gender Conundrum: Contemporary Psychoanalytic Perspective on Femininity and Masculinity*'. Kestenberg's 1968 article entitled '*Outside and Inside, Male and Female*' was included in the *Essential Papers on the Psychology of Women* (Zanardi, 1990).

Kestenberg's expansion of her anatomically determined concepts on the development of materiality onto the development of parental attitudes was also echoed in Henri Parents' presentation entitled '*Parenthood as a Developmental Phase*' at the annual meeting of the American Psychoanalytic Association in 1974. As these examples demonstrate, Kestenberg's developmental considerations were incorporated into the psychoanalytic recollection about female sexuality and received some reflection from professional circles at the time and later.

This wasn't the case for her psychodynamic theory of movement development which remained largely unreflected by analysts. However, one focused discussion of Kestenberg's developmental movement theory did take place at the plenary meeting of the New York Psychoanalytic Society in 1971. Discussants commented on Kestenberg's presentation of the

paper entitled '*Development of the Young Child Expressed through Bodily Movement*' (Kestenberg et al., 1971). The commentators were Margaret Mahler, Albert Solnit, and Eleanor Galenson.

As mentioned earlier in chapter two, Mahler and Kestenberg knew each other from Vienna where they collaborated on a research project at the Nervenlinik in the 1930s. In this discussion, Mahler stressed the importance of observational data that can provide evidence for psychoanalytic metapsychology. Mahler considered her and Kestenberg's research objectives identical in their attempt to analyse preverbal phenomena within a metapsychological framework (Mahler, 1971, p. 2). She called Kestenberg's movement categorisation framework an "ingenious method, a kind of alphabet" that allowed the interpretation of movement behaviour in relation to id and ego development and body-image formation (op.cit.). Mahler stated that her observational approach was more focused on the behaviours of mother-infant dyad whereas Kestenberg extrapolated metapsychological interpretations onto the infant's behaviour such as that Kestenberg's growing and shrinking patterns rooted in inhaling and exhaling would be viewed as patterns of approaching and distancing within the dyadic unit.

Mahler particularly praised the epigenetic sequence of zonal development and corresponding changes in body-image/body-ego organisation in Kestenberg's developmental movement theory. She confirmed by her observations the aptness of Kestenberg's interpretation about correlation between the onset of teething, oral sadistic (Snapping-Biting) Rhythms and the distancing tendencies of the infant exemplified by pulling away or practising to stand up in the mother's lap. She further concurred with Kestenberg's observation about the frequent 'clowning' of anal toddlers which is enabled by their ability to control and synchronise anal Tension and Shape-Flow patterns to use complex facial expressions and displaying emotions like actors. Mahler pointed to the precision of Kestenberg's formulation regarding the attainment of vertical bodily alignment that co-occurs with the origins of representational intelligence (Mahler, 1971, p. 7). Mahler also praised Kestenberg for her designation of a separate urethral phase which she believed to be easily verifiable from the libidinal investment in various kinds of waterplay of three-year-olds.

The next discussant, Albert Solnit, was familiar with Kestenberg's work. He was an advisory board⁷⁶ member of Kestenberg's organisation, the Child Development Research. Solnit praised Kestenberg et al. (1971) for their detailed and precise method of developmental

⁷⁶ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Child Development Research/Document 3. https://drive.google.com/file/d/1O4i38LFc8bTNdF0bV14wZmJ0z_s8X8Rm/view?usp=drive_link

assessment and found the categorisation of Tension-Flow Rhythms according to erogenous zones and their links to phase specific needs especially useful. He found the differentiation between aggressive and libidinal drive tendencies in movement behaviour a potentially fruitful contribution to psychoanalytic assessment. Furthermore, the emphasis placed on manifestation of pre-ego processes and the lines of id-ego development in Kestenbergs' developmental approach had the much-needed potential to fill a gap in psychoanalytic theory.

Kestenberg associating Bound flow with its inhibiting effects of delaying discharge as a pre-ego function corresponded well with Hartmann's description of the ego and its pre-adaptive mechanisms (New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections, meeting proceedings 565th meeting proceedings, 1971). Solnit however, critiqued Kestenberg et al. for their use of "*psychosomorphic*" language especially in relation to their concepts of Shape-Flow which he found ambiguous. Solnit wondered whether the terms widening and Narrowing Shape-Flow patterns between mother and infant serve psychoanalytic understanding about the nature of their relationship and its developmental implications more than the existing language of speaking about discharge and inhibitory processes (New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections, meeting proceedings 565th meeting proceedings, 1971, p. 4.). According to Solnit, some of Kestenberg's terms due to their metaphoric character did not hold up against more prudent conceptual formulations in advancing psychoanalytic theory.

Eleanor Galenson, the last commentator on the paper, provided a more mixed opinion than the speakers prior. Galenson critiqued Kestenberg et al., (1971) for their systematic sequentialization of phase specific drive development with corresponding ego organisation inclusive of resultant patterns of object-relations, affective and cognitive processes. She argued that their heightened focus on maturational processes that determined phase development disregarded the impacts of external objects and inner bodily changes on development. Galenson further elaborated that a great many events occur in one phase of development and to aptly appreciate their complex interplay, psychodynamic assessment must refrain from the pull of an overly clear-cut systematisation. Galenson's example was regarding Kestenberg's urethral phase development as she contended that it is not only the dominance of urethral drives that reorganise the child's body-ego into something fluid, mobile, and overflowing but also the development of independent walking, running and the subsequent increase of distance between the mother and child. Galenson further elaborated that Kestenberg et al. aptly demonstrated how certain modes of patterning originating in given erogenous zones rippled through to other body parts and dominate the given phase's mode of functioning, however for instance in the

oral phase not only libidinal oral Sucking patterns are frequent but also scanning and visual fixation with the eyes. Here Galenson's intended to point out the variety of behaviours that characterise a developmental phase and that it is not only the motor apparatus, but the visual perceptual apparatus is also employed in drive expression and nascent object-relatedness. Overall, Galenson challenged the cause-effect relationship that Kestenberget al. (1971) drew between co-occurring motor behaviour and psychic development.

Phyllis Greenacre (1975), in her foreword to the edited volume of Kestenberget's papers contended that "*in regard to the field of psychoanalytic research, they (Kestenberget's papers) represent a stage of development in the very vision of psychoanalysis. They emphasise the usefulness of a wider understanding of the total individual, an understanding which adds but does not disavow the important and necessary restrictions of the psychoanalytic technical method itself*" (xiv).

As I mentioned in the introduction, Mahler (New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections, meeting proceedings 565th meeting proceedings, 1971) stated that Kestenberget's study "[...] *placed psychoanalytic infant observation in a truly new key*" (p. 1) and further predicted that despite the time and rigour necessary to learn Kestenberget's movement vocabulary of psychic development, it will be adopted and utilised in psychoanalytic theory and practice. A general interest in Kestenberget's developmental movement theory didn't arise in the psychoanalytic circles at the time nor later. There hasn't been a psychoanalytic study that would have reflected or reconsidered any of Kestenberget's developmental movement concepts or the Kestenberget Movement Profile. According to Sossin and Birklein (Sossin, interview, 2022, Birklein, interview, 2023), practising psychoanalysts, Kestenberget's oeuvre is fragmented along the lines of her two main projects as her Holocaust studies are well known within the analytic community as opposed to her movement-focused work which remained unknown.

4.1.2. In Affiliated Fields⁷⁷

The Kestenbergs Movement Profile had been applied and further developed in the fields of creative arts- and dance/movement-therapy. In this chapter I explore the history and possible reasons for this alliance.

As it was discussed earlier, creative arts-based interventions especially dance/movement-therapy were integral to the work at the Centre for Parents and Children from the start. Kestenbergs movement-based developmental framework and her background as a psychiatrist made her work especially attractive for the emergent field of action-focused therapies, particularly dance/movement therapy. To illuminate this relevance, I'm going to provide a short history of dance/movement therapy in the USA. Several first-generation American dance/movement therapists took to the study of the KMP in the 1960s (Loman & Merman, 1996). One of them was Penny Lewis who wrote several works about its relevance to dance/movement therapy in the early 1970s (Lewis, 1972). Susan Loman, a student of Penny Lewis who became acquainted with Kestenbergs around the same time, came to be a key figure in the further development of Kestenbergs work and its application to American dance/movement therapy.

Loman taught the Kestenbergs Movement Profile at the Laban Institute for Movement studies in New York to a diverse group of mental health professionals, dancers and movement researchers as well as at the master's program in Dance/Movement Therapy at the Antioch University New England where she became director in 1987.⁷⁸ She established a practicum program similar to the Centre for Parents and Children at Antioch University (Loman, interview, 2022). Loman made it the focus of her work to try to translate Kestenbergs ideas to a wider audience. She often assisted Kestenbergs with English editing of her presentation texts (Loman, interview, 2022). Kestenbergs writing style in English borrowed long and complex sentence structure from her first languages, German and Polish (Kestenbergs, 1992). As a mentee of Loman accompanied her to various psychoanalytic conferences where she noticed a disconnect between Kestenbergs and the psychoanalytic audience when she used terms based on Labans movement theory (Loman, interview, 2022). *"She stood up there with her Profile*

⁷⁷ Parts of this chapter have been published by the author in: Kormos, J. (2023). Dance becomes therapeutic in the mid to late 20th century. *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 59(3), 268-282.

⁷⁸ <https://monadnockartsalive.org/artblog/2019/9/30/arts-spotlight-antiochs-dance-movement-therapy-program#:~:text=Founded%20in%201976%2C%20Antioch%20University's,medical%2C%20rehabilitation%2C%20pediatric%20hospitals%3B>
<https://www.pace.edu/dyson/departments/psychology-new-york-city/psychology-research-groups/mind-movement-interaction-0>

explaining it and people did not seem to understand it. [...] It was a real disconnect. It made me sad because it was an opportunity (Loman, interview, 2022). Through Loman and Lewis's efforts, Kestenberg's work diverged from the psychoanalytic circles and found its new audience of emerging creative therapies, particularly dance/movement therapists (Loman & Merman, 1996).

Kestenberg, Loman & Fishman (1979)⁷⁹ presented at the conference of the New England Council of Creative Therapies and in 1983 at the Pratt Institute's Creative Arts Therapy Department their formulations about the relevance of arts-based methods in psychotherapy based on their experience of applying the Kestenberg Movement Profile to child guidance, infant-parent psychotherapy and dance-movement therapy at the Centre for Parents and Children. They argued that infants localise and identify objects based on their physical parameters, motion factors, shape, and location. The human object, following Winnicott's ideas on transitional phenomena, is the first creation of the infant through which the self is simultaneously co-created (Kestenberg, Loman & Fishman, 1979, unpublished). They disputed the classical psychoanalytic idea that the pleasurable aspect of play is derived from its relation to discharge of excess energy and contended that it is in fact related to the pleasure derived from the recognition of the motor ability to impact and change the external environment.

Kinaesthetic attunement through Tension- and Shape-Flow patterns in dyadic interactions between mother and infant aid the development of body-image of the infant and the bodily representation of the mother, which are at the core of self-and-other schemas. They argued that the prototype of art is this very process of image-formation based on early kinaesthetic experiences between bodies. They considered the space and time in art as virtual, internal and from a psychoanalytic perspective related to the transitional realm (Kestenberg, Loman & Fishman, 1979, unpublished). Gesture in this sense, drawing on Laban's symbolic view of the gestures of dance, is a creative transitional phenomenon that appears on the frontiers of internal and external, merger and separation of self and other. They clarify that "*through the union of tension, feelings and object, there evolves the self- and object-representations*" (Kestenberg, Loman & Fishman, 1979, unpublished, p. 9). They put forth that in every medium of art, rhythms of Tension-Flow and Shape-Flow, the basic form of vitality, can be detected thus be subjected to developmental assessment by Kestenberg's movement analysis framework which can allude to diagnostic aspects, developmental risks and point towards preventative

⁷⁹ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Publications & Presentations/ Document 7. https://drive.google.com/file/d/1ypo31is0-XQF1L9VGF9elq6RIImaiYOr/view?usp=drive_link

interventions. The key proposal in this essay is the relevance of arts-based methods in child guidance and parent-child therapy to support the child's creative impulse, establishment of illusory objects and sublimatory processes which are viewed to drive development (Kestenberg, Loman & Fishman, 1979, unpublished).

Loman worked as a dance/movement therapist at the Centre for Parents and Children, supervised dance/movement therapy interns and led the prenatal project. As mentioned earlier the prenatal project aimed to familiarise prospective parents and obstetric nurses with the somatically focused developmental theory and practice of Kestenberg (Loman, 2016). They provided movement-based developmental education about childbirth, holding and handling of infants from an embodied perspective. They held psychoeducational sessions on kinaesthetic attunement in Tension-Flow and Shape-Flow, developmental aspects of Tension-Flow Rhythms. Expectant mothers were taught Kestenberg's method of Tension-Flow notation so they could journal and document the movement of the foetus (Loman, 2016). It was understood that becoming familiar with the movement profile of the foetus, especially the Tension-Flow patterns that reflect his or her temperament, aided the development of maternal empathy. At the prenatal project, Loman gave psychoeducational sessions to expectant families about kinaesthetic attunement to Tension-Flow and Shape-Flow, somatic aspects of holding and caring for an infant. The prenatal project mostly engaged high-functioning families, however Loman argued for the relevance of parental support with an embodied perspective for inexperienced young mothers, adoptive parents, or parents with substance misuse issues (Loman, 2016).

Loman (Loman & Merman, 1996; Loman, 1998) argued that Kestenberg's psychodynamic theory of movement development not only provided a clear theoretical anchorage for dance/movement therapy but also aided the development of movement observation and therapeutic skills. Applying Kestenberg's concepts of attunement, and the principle of affinity between dynamic and structural aspects of movement, therapists in training learnt the use of movement-based interventions to support the development of therapeutic rapport and containment. Familiarisation of professionals with their own preferences in movement that reflect their unique personality also improves therapeutic competence. Loman further argued (Loman & Merman, 1996; Loman, 1998) that as the KMP documents maturation through changes in movement behaviour, it provides dance/movement therapy with a movement-based assessment framework that can be applied to test therapeutic efficacy. She proposed to draw up a Movement Profile for patients at the start and at the end of the therapeutic process. Loman (op.cit.) highlighted the need within dance/movement therapy for a clear,

structured theoretical framework that can synthesise developmental and movement theory; allows for qualitative and quantitative data collection to inform treatment planning and sharing clinical information within a multidisciplinary team. Loman further elaborated that the interpersonal comparison of Movement Profiles showed its relevance for family therapy. In the 1990s, twelve dance/movement therapists in training dedicated their master's theses to the application of the KMP to various populations (Atley, 1991; Berger, 1994; Binette, 1993; Bridges, 1989; Daigle, 1993; Korn, 1990; Lemon, 1990; Merman, 1990; Ojala, 1995; Stupka-Malloy, 1992; Watkins, 1995; Williams, 1994).

Lewis (1999), based on experience from clinical practice as a dance/movement therapist, argued that the Shape-Flow category of the KMP was particularly sensitive to post-traumatic disturbance. She identified distinctive response patterns in Shape-Flow after trauma as the following: emphasis on Unipolar Shrinking or Bipolar Narrowing, indicating anticipation of attack or a sense of helplessness; use of defensive Shaping in Directions without the presence of imminent threat; predominance of a single directional element (e.g., flight backwards, flight upwards, or counter-phobic flight forwards); increased use of Bound or Free Neutral flow either to facilitate protective dissociation or due to learnt powerlessness; mismatching of Growing or Shrinking Shape-Flow with the environmental context, suggesting the avoidance of disappointment or the expectation of the recurrence of the traumatic experience.

The first conference on the Kestenberg Movement Profile took place in 1989 at the Antioch University New England with the organisation from the Dance/Movement Therapy graduate program (Lewis & Loman, 1990). Presenters reported on the application of the KMP in dance/movement therapy practice overall (Merman, 1990), with specific client groups such as borderline patients (Lewis, 1990) and in cross-cultural research (Kestenberg-Amighi, 1990). A panel discussion addressed the future applications of the KMP with Francis La Barre, psychoanalyst, Penny Lewis and Hillary Merman dance/movement therapists and Ellen Goldman, Laban Movement Analyst as speakers. Reporting on the conference proceedings.

Martha Davis (1992) clinical psychologist and central figure in movement behaviour research, while acknowledging the conceptual rigour and complexity of the Movement Profile, she pointed to the lack of publications that translated the KMP into understandable terms for those less acquainted with the embodied terminology, hindering its widespread use. She (1992) proposed the use of demonstration tapes with graphics and voice-over to aid understanding among non-experts in movement research. Davis' (op.cit.) suggestions were responded by Loman, Sossin and Kestenberg-Amighi's popularisation efforts that culminated in the

publication of the KMP textbook entitled '*Meaning of Movement: Developmental and clinical Perspectives of the Kestenberg Movement Profile*' in 1999. It aimed at the translation of Kestenberg's terminology and concepts to more inclusive language mostly for a wider audience of creative arts therapists, professionals in the field of child development interested in somatically focused perspectives as well as laymen⁸⁰.

4.2. Holocaust Studies

Kestenberg's Holocaust studies encountered a quite dissimilar reception to her movement focused work within psychoanalysis. Her concepts on transgenerational trauma transmission embedded themselves into the canon of psychoanalytic approach to trauma; the unique scope of her Holocaust studies is remembered by trauma researchers (Naszkowska, 2023; Fonagy, 1999; Eickhoff, 2006; Eisold, 2012; Cohen, Fogelman, Ofer, 2017; Bakó & Zana, 2021; Békés & Starrs, 2021).

Fonagy (1999) commended Kestenberg for the emphasis she placed on the bodily aspect of trauma transmission as well as for differentiating transposition from the process of identification. Kestenberg, working with a child of Holocaust survivors in her clinical practice, noted that the patient seemed to have lost susceptibility to affective and bodily signals and retreated to narcissistic grandiosity which could help in surviving persecution. Kestenberg argued that the patient was in some way using her own body to depict the horrors that have been suffered by her family members during the Holocaust. She further argued that the mechanism at work in such cases was an unconscious process of transposition of massive trauma, which the parent was unable to integrate or feel anything about; it intrudes into the present psychological reality of the child. It can also be understood as a creative attempt of the child to rescue those who perished by living out their lives or to compensate those who suffered and survived. In this process the child of survivors submerges to a reality other than their own and re-enacts lost objects of the survivors which could not be mourned. Re-creation of these

⁸⁰ To advance operationalisation and coding criteria in the KMP as well as to popularise its use in fields not necessarily closely related to movement research or dance, the KMP video project⁸⁰ was conducted in 2015 by Loman, Johnson-French and Serasis at Antioch University New England. They collected video material for all movement patterns listed in the KMP and provided a voice over explaining the qualities exhibited, their terminology and interpretation. Please find instructive videos for all KMP movement categories: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yi7U_pe8hII&t=218s&ab_channel=KMPVideoProject

lost objects comes at the cost of extinguishing the psychic centre of the individual (Fonagy, 1999, 93).

Fonagy explained further that:

The dissociated core of the self is an absence, rather than genuine psychic content. It reflects a breach in the boundaries of the self, creating an openness in the self to colonisation by the mental states of the attachment figure. As Kestenberg (1982) demonstrated, this is not a process of identification as it is not a modification of the self-representation to match the established representation of the other. The dissociative core permits the direct transmission of unconscious traumatic fantasy from mother or father to child (1999, p. 105).

Friedrich-Wilhelm Eickhoff (2006) cited Kestenberg's formulations on the unconscious, embodied aspect of trauma transmission in his article on the concept of *Nachtraglichkeit* in the *Scandinavian Psychoanalytic Review*. Barbara Eisold (2012) in her study in *Contemporary Psychoanalysis on historical trauma and prejudice in psychoanalytic therapy with naturalised and first-generation Chinese Americans* also draw upon Kestenberg's Holocaust studies and her concept of transmission. The testimonies collected during the ISOPC project were later digitised and placed at the Kestenberg Holocaust Child Survivor Archive at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem with support for digitization of the material by the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany and the Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah and the Child Development Research.

Further studies were conducted on the material of the Archive by trauma and genocide scholars based which were published with the support of the Dushkin Fund of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry in the volume edited by Cohen, Fogelman & Ofer entitled '*Children in the Holocaust and Its Aftermath*' in 2017. The aim of these studies was to uncover transnational histories of the Holocaust through narratives of Jewish child survivors and war children. Judith and Milton Kestenberg became known for their Holocaust studies within the international psychoanalytic as well as in the American Jewish community. Three days after Kestenberg's death in 1999, the New York Times published her obituary with the title: *Dr. Judith Kestenberg, 88; Studied Survivors of the Holocaust* (Saxon, 1999). Even though the article

mentions her developmental movement studies, her Holocaust work is more pronounced⁸¹. Kestenberg received three awards for her studies on the effects of the Holocaust. The ‘*Holocaust Memorial Award*’ from the New York Society of Clinical Psychologists on May 14, 1987; the *Elise M. Hayman Award for Holocaust Research* from the International Psychoanalytical Association Congress on July 28, 1993, and the *Eleanor Roosevelt Award* from the American Jewish Congress Commission for Women's Equality, June 14, 1996 (Sossin, 1999, Sossin, 12.04.2024, personal communication). Janet Kestenberg Amighi (interview, 2021) recalled, that a year before the death of her mother, she accompanied her to a conference of the New York Psychoanalytic Society where Kestenberg was wheeled in in her wheelchair by her nurse and as she entered the room the audience stood up and clapped for her in appreciation. Janet remembered being surprised as she believed that her mother did not feel appreciated by the New York psychoanalytic community for the most of her life.

5. Issues of Belonging⁸²

This chapter is concerned with the contextualisation of Kestenberg’s developmental movement studies within the mid to late 20th century trends in American psy-sciences and in movement behaviour research. To understand the relevance and reception of Kestenberg’s work an examination of its alliances and inconsistencies with the contemporaneous trends in psy-sciences is essential. Through this historical analysis, I’m looking for the factors that contributed to the neglect of her movement-focused work in psychoanalysis contrasting the appreciation it received within affiliated fields, particularly in dance/movement-therapy.

In doing so, I’m going to review the emergence of child guidance and developmental studies in the USA and in Britain from the turn of the century. I’m going to present a concise and focused history of psychoanalysis and psychoanalytic psychiatry in the United States with specific attention on the changing trends in theorising and methodology in psychoanalysis in the 1950s and the 1970s. Then I discuss the changing trends within American psychiatry of the mid 1960s, such as the disintegration of statutory mental health and the evolution of community-based psychiatry, the subsequent emergence of child guidance clinics, family

⁸¹ See appendix: Folder Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research/Publications & Presentations/Document 8. https://drive.google.com/file/d/11x8VQZDZHIIJ01EMFKFbrB_11iDOHEmG/view?usp=drive_link

⁸² Content of this chapter has been accepted for publishing and is forthcoming in a publication entitled Judith S Kestenberg: Somatic Perspective on Development and Trauma Recovery, Psychoanalysis and History 2024, Edinburgh University Press.

therapy and action-focused psychotherapies. The selective and fragmented reception of her legacy exposes the ambiguous position of the human body and its expressions within psychoanalytic theory and reveals the views on disciplinary boundaries in late 20th century discourse of American psy-sciences. The internal and extrinsic tensions of Kestenberg's oeuvre will also be discussed. In the later part of the chapter the scope of analysis is expanded onto the kinetic project of modernity highlighting the intimate relationship between the study of movement behaviour and socio-cultural processes of 20th century modernity in the West.

The chapter is primarily based on the analysis of secondary sources from the history of American psy-sciences from the mid to late 20th century however it expands onto using primary sources from the history of movement behaviour research found at the Martha Davis and Irmgard Bartenieff Collection of the Clarice Smith Library for Performing Arts of University of Maryland.

5.1. 20th Century Trends in Psy-sciences in the United States

Mental health policy at the turn of the century in the USA rested upon the pillars that were laid down in the early 19th century. It consisted of a large structure of state mental hospitals which provided in-patient care and treatment for the mentally ill. Substantial amounts of statutory budgets were allocated for mental health. Psychiatry was a predominantly institutionalised profession with most clinicians working in state hospitals (Grob, 1991). The traditional approach in psychiatry was an assumed sharp distinction between illness and health expressed in drastic somatic and behavioural symptoms. However, this paradigm started to gradually shift at the turn of the century through the works of Sigmund Freud, Adolf Meyer, William Alanson White's theories who blurred the boundaries between mental health and disease and argued the significance of life history in the aetiology of mental disorders (Grob, 1991, 6.).

In 1909 the National Committee of Mental Hygiene was established in New York City with the objective to prevent mental illness through the promotion of emotional well-being within the general population. In the early 20th century, a growing number of psychologists applied a variety of mental tests which first focused on intelligence or disposition soon expanded to include emotional, volitional aspects and individual differences (Polat, 273). This trend engendered the separate line of inquiry within psychology, namely personality study around the 1920s. In this period, with the aim of preventing juvenile delinquency and the promotion of mental hygiene, child guidance clinics were set up in Britain and in the United

States. The first epoch of child guidance was dominated using psychiatric and psychoanalytic investigation, such as the life-history approach and personality assessment. Adolf Meyer's (1866-1950) functional psychiatry, which viewed mental health as adaptation of the organism to its environment had a significant influence on the practices in the child guidance clinics. Meyer standardised the life-history method through which a wide range of information was collected about the patients, such as family dynamics, as well as physical conditions. Clinical data was often extracted from clinical case notes and life-histories of the children retrospectively (Polat, 2021, p. 277). In the 1930s the focus shifted towards mixed methods of direct observation and psychometric assessments. In the 1940s studies about the aetiology of mental illness, normal and abnormal development grew in American psychiatry.

Through pressures from funding agencies and motivations to keep up with the prevailing methods of building evidence psychoanalytic psychiatrists moved away from the case study format towards empirical, experimental research on larger groups. These studies were modelled after Arnold Gesell's influential longitudinal research on infant development at the Yale Psycho-Clinic in the 1910s. During the first decades of the 20th century American psychology and psychiatry struggled for their separation from medicine and for the establishment of their disciplines and professional identity (Polat, 2021, 276). Through the reframing of psychiatry as a discipline that can cure social ills through identifying pathogenic factors through its methods of mental testing, direct observation, and psychoanalytic investigation it could leave the walls of the asylum and offer itself as a psycho-social technology with a wider scope.

This search for a scientific understanding of personality and its pathologies along with a pressing need to establish professional identity and social prestige made psychologists and the new psychiatrists key allies in child guidance practice [...] Child guidance research thus emerged from the productive tensions between these distinct disciplinary orientations, allowing for the cross-fertilization of techniques and concepts from preventive psychiatry, psychoanalytic practice, and personality psychology (Polat, 2021, p. 276).

In the period between 1890-1940s, the number of long-term mental health patients in state hospitals increased dramatically in the United States (Grob, 1991, p. 6.). The Great Depression in the 1930s hit most public institutions heavily, this was no different for psychiatry. Staff ratios had to be curtailed and developments halted. During the war years overcrowding of the

hospitals with declining environmental conditions posed further problems. “By 1940 the resident population of state mental hospitals had reached 410,000; an additional 59,000 patients were in veterans’, county, and city institutions” (Grob, 1991, p. 3.). In the 20th century, state mental hospitals came to be institutions providing long-term care for an increasingly chronic patient population with behavioural and underlying somatic pathologies. The Second World War marked a turning point in American psychiatry as the conditions of in-patient care worsened. It created a challenging atmosphere for the current psychiatric framework and new ideas about non-institutional care started to emerge. Accelerating the shift were the war-time experiences of many clinicians who made some novel conclusions about treatment and the causative factors of mental disturbance such as the significance of combat and environmental factors on mental health. These experiences brought a clinician population to the forefront of American psychiatry who favoured psychodynamic approaches and non-institutional care (Grob, 1991, p. 8).

The post-war years saw a rapid growth in the number of psychiatrists and the expanding domain of psychological thinking became a pronounced aspect of the post-war years which was demonstrated by the extension of psychiatry outside of the asylum into the communities and family homes. According to Grob, the main factors that ushered in the development of community psychiatry were derived from the wartime experiences regarding the effectivity of out-patient care, gravitation towards psychodynamic approaches that emphasised life experiences and social environmental factors, the growing belief in prophylactic psychiatry and the interest in research that could identify the socio-environmental factors leading to mental disorders. In 1963 the Community Mental Health Centre Act was brought into effect (Grob, 1991, p. 4.). Post-war period was heralded by significant changes in mental health policy. Therapeutic practices were significantly transformed with the advent of psychotropic drugs which showed the potential of the integration of in-patient and community-based approaches (Grob, 1991, p. 124).

5.1.1. Psychoanalysis in the United States

The European emigre analysts, arriving to the US during the years of World War II., had a profound influence on American psychoanalysis in the post-war years and especially the developments of the New York Society. They were well trained, many of them trained with Freud himself, had ample clinical and training experience (Hale, 1995, p. 124). The years after

the war were heralded by the development of American ego psychology. It was an attempt to make psychoanalysis more scientific which aligned well with the first and second generation American medical analysts as well as with the more medically and scientifically aligned European emigres. It was led by analysts who were trained psychologists or had closer ties to universities. Ego psychology had its antecedents in Freud's and Ferenczi's writings, but it was further developed into a strong current of psychoanalytic thought by Heinz Hartmann, Rudolph Loewenstein, Marianne & Ernst Kris, David Rapaport, Phyllis Greenacre, Edit Jacobson, Margaret Mahler, and Anna Freud (who was in England but had a wide influence on American ego psychology) amongst many others. Hartman, trained in Viennese logical positivism, argued against the phenomenological leaning of European analysts, and wanted to posit psychoanalysis as a science of the laws of mental activity based on causality. Hartmann and Rapaport saw the opportunity to ground psychoanalysis in science through further developing rigorous systemic theory (Hale, 1995, p. 232). They aimed to fulfil one of Freud's original objectives, which is to make psychoanalysis a general psychology pertaining to pathological as well as normal functioning. They chartered territories traditionally linked to academic psychology such as perception, intelligence, and learning. They had an additional interest to systematically embed the role of the environment in psychoanalytic theory in response to criticisms of dissident analysts like Horney, Sullivan, and Erikson (Hale, 1995, p. 233).

Ego psychologists, such as Anna Freud, often had a preventative incentive that is to prevent neurosis in children for which the more in-depth study of normal development was essential (op.cit). They re-evaluated mechanisms of aggressive drives, focused on the functions of the ego, its control over instinctual drives and its autonomous functions in particular. They argued that the ego did not develop from the id but rather emerged from an undifferentiated phase of innate givens. Hartmann's key contributions were to posit a conflict-free sphere of the ego and mechanism of drive naturalisation in service of adaptation. He theorised that aggressive drives could also be decoupled from their instinctual aims just as the libido can be through sublimation, this was the process of neutralisation for Hartmann. The ability for neutralisation had a significance for the development of object-relationships, that is one had to be able to sublimate aggressive instincts to form enduring relationships. This neutralised energy was also thought to contribute significantly to reality testing and mastery as it supplies the ego and superego with power for action (Hale, 1995, p. 236). The maturational processes that could develop outside of conflict were for instance motor development, thinking, perception, intention, and language. He argued that many defences served adaptive ends such as denial and avoidance which could help getting away from danger. Both concepts became increasingly

influential in orienting analysts' attention onto the study of the total personality. Under the aegis of ego psychology, the treatment objective came to be productivity, better functioning, and adjustment to the environment (Hale, 1995, pp. 233-235). Hartmann saw promise in the psychoanalytically informed infant observation that would support filling in the gaps of developmental theory based on reconstruction of histories of adult patients. Hartmann stated that psychoanalytic theory should order observation and develop hypotheses to be tested through observation. He was closely acquainted with Arnold Gesell, a central figure in American developmental psychology (Hale, 1995, p. 236). Their efforts engendered a large expansion of psychoanalysis and reached the highest point in prestige in the history of American psychoanalysis up until the late 1960s (Hale, 1995, p. 232). According to Nathan Hale (1995) “*the strength of ego psychology lay in its attempts at orderly propositions, more comprehensive systemic theory and the reappraisal of drives*” (Hale, 1995, p. 244.).

5.1.1.1. Psychoanalysis within psy-sciences

The years after World War II American psychiatry went through a rapid growth as a younger generation of psychiatrists entered the field, who worked with war neuroses during the war and were significantly influenced by psychoanalysis (Hale, 1995, p. 245). They favoured psychotherapy as a treatment choice as they believed that the cause of mental illness were interpersonal and psychological factors. The popularity of psychoanalysis was influenced by the lack of developed alternative psychological treatment methods before the war and the inadequacy of existing psychiatric approaches. It seemed to have provided this generation with new insights and framework to understand the underlying aspects of psychoses, psychosomatic diseases, personality disorders and neurosis. In 1946, Sandor Rado, a central figure in the New York and the Columbia psychoanalytic circles stated that: “*Neurophysiology cannot explain human behaviour. Psychoanalysis can*” (cited in Hale, 1995, p. 250).

Main trends within psychoanalysis in the post-war years gravitated towards a rapprochement between psychoanalysis and science. Questions arose about the contributions that with appropriate measures psychoanalysis could offer significant contributions to the understanding of mind and human behaviour as a general psychology, and at the same time there was growing interest and necessity to substantiate psychoanalytic knowledge with empirical evidence. Some psychologists, like Robert Sears (1943) designed experiments to prove central psychoanalytic notions such as the Oedipus complex or mechanism of defences.

Psychoanalysts in the tradition of ego-psychology, such as Hartmann, Kris and Loewenstein (1949) attempted to reframe psychoanalysis as academic psychology (Midgley, 2013).

In 1950, at the meeting of the American Psychoanalytic Association in Detroit, Rene Spitz presented his paper on the relevance of direct observation of infants. His lecture clearly demonstrated the focus of psychoanalytic psychiatry at the time. He argued for observational studies of development to identify developmental norms and deviations in service of a preventative approach in psychiatry, as well as stresses the need for experimental studies, and scientific measures integrated with psychoanalytic theory. Spitz reported having drawn upon Arnold Gesell's and Charlotte Buhler's developmental observational studies and applied the Hetzer-Wolf Baby (Spitz, 1950) tests however critiqued that neither of these studies accounted sufficiently for the understanding of the personality of the child. Spitz called for the method of evaluating the relationships between different sectors of the personality, which he considered to be a new approach in infant psychiatry. He further contended that to understand infant development psychoanalytic theory by itself wasn't enough, psychological, and experiential methods of observation, as well as testing and statistics was necessary. He stressed the integrative aspects as he also criticised the discriminate use of observation and testing only (Spitz, 1950, p. 72). Spitz talked about delineation of direct and indirect developmental criteria. Direct criteria were age-adequate responses, and indirect criteria could be identified in the relationships between responses and proportions. Spitz (1950) pointed out that this approach of developmental study allowed the appreciation of environmental factors for normal development thus to make propositions for preventive psychiatry.

In summing up we would say that in the case of the early stages of life, where the usual psychoanalytic methods of free association and verbal communication are not applicable, the experimental-psychological approach used within the framework of the psychoanalytic investigation can offer valuable contributions to the psychoanalytic theory (Spitz, 1950, p. 73).

The application of direct observational methods to psychoanalytic developmental inquiry within child guidance was the focal point of the work at the Hempstead War Nurseries, established by Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham for orphaned children in 1941 in Britain (Polat, 284). The nursery allowed for longitudinal observations of child development within the context of displacement and separation from parents. Anna Freud developed her technique of child therapy and devised a developmental profile; these were the cross-fertilization of

psychoanalytic principles and direct observational data. The studies at the Hempstead responded to topical questions of the time in relation the effectivity of psychoanalysis in prophylactic psychiatry.

Could psychoanalytic practice provide the means for the early prediction and effective control of psychopathological conduct? Given the focus on the individual patient, the absence of interest in diagnostic differentiation, and the slow pace of treatment, how could psychoanalysis generate verifiable knowledge claims on predictable patterns of abnormal development? (Polat, 2021, p. 286).

Mahler's study on the separation-individuation process was also significant as one of the first attempts within psychoanalysis at a systemic integration of clinically derived analytic concepts of early development with empirical evidence from infant observation (Gergely, 2000). Mahler's work became central to the trend of developmental ego-psychology led by many analysts in the New York Psychoanalytic Society in the 1950s.

The influence of psychoanalysis in American psychiatry was on a steady growth until the late 1960s. Psychoanalytic psychiatrists also initiated the reform of American psychiatry by providing psychotherapeutic treatment. These efforts were embedded in the larger movement towards community psychiatry which led a drive away from state institutions towards private practice of psychiatrists. In 1947 half of American psychiatrists worked in private practice, by 1958 only 16% of psychiatrists held positions in public institutions (Hale, 1995, p. 246). This younger cohort of psychiatrists who came to dominate their field from about 1959 until 1965 were well-trained, psychoanalytically oriented, their methods were non-directive, they were suspicious about organic treatment methods and considered psychiatry a vocation (Hale, 1995, 247). In 1946 the landmark Mental Health Act was passed which inaugurated the National Institute for Mental Health, which was established in 1949, headed by Robert Felix (Hale, 1995, p. 252).

Felix was a major proponent of community psychiatry, and the NIMH supported a large array of biological, psychodynamic, and social science projects (op.cit.). Between 1948-1965 a modest amount of funding was allocated from NIMH to psychoanalytically oriented, however not directly psychoanalytic research. These were projects working within affiliated fields of social sciences, social work, family support and mental health with a psychoanalytic focus. Between 1947-1973 the funding for psychoanalytic psychotherapy allocated by NIMH was 7% whereas it was 50% for behavioural therapies in the same period (Hale, 1995, p. 252). A

wealthy patient of Lawrence Kubie, set up private funds for psychoanalytic research in psychiatry, the Foundations' Funds for Research in Psychiatry in 1953 with the hope of building a more scientific basis for psychoanalysis in psychiatry. The modest state funds and the more generous private grants of the Foundation generate a hopeful atmosphere in the furthering of American psychoanalysis. John Bowlby, Erik Erikson, Marianne Kris, and Franz Alexander were amongst those who received grants from the Foundation (Hale, 1995, pp. 252-253). Between 1947-1965 psychoanalysis had a significant presence in American medical school education. Psychoanalytic training schools were established for example at Columbia University, at the Downstate Medical Centre in Brooklyn and at the New York University (Hale, 1995, p. 253). The main psychiatry textbooks came to represent a strong Freudian trend with emphasis on psychosexual and early childhood development.

The 1960s discourse formulated a general critique of the medical model of psychiatry and sprouted large-scale national reform of American psychiatry towards community-based services (Hale, 1995, p. 302). These critiques aligned with the socio-cultural agendas of the period such as democratisation, human rights movement and feminist discourses, largely targeted psychoanalysis as patriarchal, medicalizing psychosocial technology. Between 1965-1985 all the favourable aspects that contributed to the rise of psychoanalysis in American psychiatry before were on the decline. Doubts about the validity and effectiveness of psychoanalysis spread widely as alternative psychotherapy approaches such as Humanistic Psychology and action-focused therapies stepped on the scene and psychoanalysis detached from psychiatric reform.

State and private funding also depleted for psychoanalytic research. In psychiatry occurred a renewed momentum for somatic treatments with focus on genetic causes, the use of psychotropic drugs, newly developed data processing methods and an opposition to the traditional case history method in favour of experiments, quantification, and repeatability (Hale, 1995, p. 301). Psychotherapeutic effectiveness was presumed to be studied through standardised outcomes assessments. It proved to be difficult to operationalize aspects of psychoanalytic therapy to test their effectiveness. Questions arose of what to consider successful treatment, and how to measure it? In comparative studies the testability of behavioural approaches and short-term therapies shifted public opinion largely to their favour (Hale, 1995, p. 312). Psychoanalytic case study tradition came to be dismissed as anecdotal stories rather than scientific proof informing practice. Eventually psychoanalysis became the focal point of attacks within the psy-sciences lead by behaviourists and somatic psychiatrists. New psychotherapeutic modalities were pioneered, especially within the realms of behavioural

therapy; social environmental factors, group dynamics and in particular, the family unit came to be viewed as potentially pathogenic (Hale, 1995, p. 301, Grob, 1991).

As it was mentioned above, the 1960s marked the development of various new psychotherapeutic modalities and the shift towards community-based services, child guidance and family therapy (Levy, 1988; Grob, 1991; Weinstein, 2013). These processes ushered in the first period of professionalisation of dance/movement therapy in the USA. Even though modern dancers, joining the social rehabilitation efforts during World War II., began to volunteer with veterans and treatment resistant psychiatric populations already in the 1940s, it was not until 1966 that the American Association for Dance Therapy was established. In the 1970s, the first training programmes for dance/movement therapy were set up across the country (Levy, 1988; Kormos, 2022). Pioneers of American dance/movement therapy were all female modern dancers who at first applied their autodidactically gathered knowledge of psychoanalysis, psychology, and anthropology to theorise the healing aspects of dance.

The volunteer efforts of the emerging dance/movement therapists were met with interest by some of the leading psychiatrists such as Frieda Fromm-Reichmann at the Chestnut Lodge, Paul Schilder at the Bellevue Hospital, or Israel Zwerling at Albert Einstein College of Medicine at Yeshiva University. Israel Zwerling (1917-1993), a pioneer of community and social psychiatry in the U.S. was a major proponent of creative arts as therapies. Zwerling joined the psychiatry department of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine at Yeshiva University in 1955. In the 1960s, he headed the social and community psychiatry division at Albert Einstein College as well as the Bronx State Psychiatric Hospital. Zwerling was instrumental in the movement of deinstitutionalization in psychiatry. He was also the first psychiatrist to employ art, music, and dance therapists at a public hospital (Beels, 1989, pp. 3-8). He invited the German emigree dancer, Irmgard Bartenieff (Kestenberg's collaborator) and supported her ambition to develop a movement-based psychiatric assessment (Levy, 1988; Davis, 2001). In the first epoch of American dance/movement therapy there was an apparent gravitation towards psychodynamic approaches but mainly towards Freud heretic disciples such as Adler and Jung, Humanistic Psychology, and transpersonal/transcendental frameworks (Bernstein, 1979; Kormos, 2022).

Even though Kestenberg embraced the attention of dance/movement therapists and became a vocal propagator for creative-arts therapies, however the relationship between psychiatry, psychoanalysis and new psychotherapies was not without conflicts. Kestenberg (1973) commented on one of the first papers published in a psychoanalytic journal about dance

as a therapeutic tool warning the author, Elaine V. Siegel⁸³ (1973) against offering psychoanalytic interpretations without sufficient analytic training. Kestenberg praised Siegel for her efforts of synthesising analytic theory with her self-developed dance and movement methodology but also cautioned her against a naive and somewhat unsystematic integration. Kestenberg argued that Siegel potentially misunderstood her child patient's symptoms as phobia when they may have related to a typical pattern of disharmony and dysrhythmia between Tension- and Shape-Flow specific to learning disability.

Furthermore, she emphasised the importance to analyse transference that has a special characteristic in the manner it develops in motor therapy as the libidinisation of the body that occurs through heightened focus on tactile, somatic experiences and somatic relational matrix the patient and therapist enter, enforces specific regressions to preverbal years and the kinaesthetic experiences of the first two years of life. Kestenberg argued that an in-depth psychoanalytic, developmental understanding of these phases is necessary to systematically interpret the patient's motor and verbal expressions. She concluded that robust analytic training should be a prerequisite for psychoanalytic motor psychotherapy.

Albert Solnit⁸⁴ (1919-2002) also commented on the paper in a similar vein. Solnit concurred with Siegel's proposition that movement behaviour, bodily expressions and postures could have differential diagnostic relevance however he warned against the dangers of drawing conclusions from the therapist's intuitive speculations before corroborative evidence from observation and analysis had been gathered. He further argued that the use of observational and analytic data was to apply it to psychoanalytic technique not to change that. He stressed that collaboration between dance specialists, educators and psychoanalysts would inevitably contribute to knowledge in the field of child psychiatry however one needed to be cautious of the competence areas in relation to the roles of an educator and an analyst.

In an educational context, much like what was established at Anna Freud's Hempstead Clinic in the field of child guidance and analysis, the common principles of therapeutic neutrality and distance are adapted to the sensitivities of working with disturbed or deprived children. Therefore, practice child analysis encompassing an educational component often allowed for more explicit affection and touch between the child and the psychoanalytic

⁸³ Siegel was a German-Jewish emigre dancer who became a first-generation Dance/Movement Therapist in the USA. She was amongst the founding members of the American Dance-Therapy Association that was established in 1966. She trained at the New York School for Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy and later developed Psychoanalytic Dance-Therapy.

⁸⁴ American psychoanalyst, Sterling Professor of Psychiatry at Yale University, director of the Yale Child Study Centre between 1966-1983.

educator/analyst. In keeping with that Solnit does not critique Siegel's movement and dance therapy approach with children for her use of touch when Siegel reports her patient running her fingers up her arms but points out that there is a "distinction between seduction and education" (Solnit, 1973, p. 345). It seems as though his main critique, like Kestenberg, stems from his perception of Siegel's lack of analytic training. Perhaps due to these critiques as well, American dance/movement therapy somewhat distanced itself from psychoanalysis.

5.2. Insides & Outsides

What were the processes that shaped the selective reception of Kestenberg's movement focused work within the mid to late century discourse in American psy-sciences? In the following part I'm going to delineate the most possible contributing factors.

Kestenberg's developmental movement studies based on direct, systematic observation of infants was congruent with the mid-century ambitions of American psychoanalysis to codify psychoanalytic developmental concepts and offer these as legitimation for the use of psychoanalytic metapsychology within psychiatry, developmental psychology, and psychotherapy. Kestenberg's efforts to devise a systematic developmental framework based on direct observation of infants which can be applied to child guidance, infant-parent psychotherapy and prophylactic psychiatry also strongly followed the emergence of community psychiatry in the USA and child guidance clinics internationally.

Migdley (2013) stated that through the concept of developmental lines Anna Freud intended to give a practical framework to be applied in various areas of child guidance and care and thus opened-up the dialogue for those outside of psychoanalysis (Migdley, 2013). Kestenberg's Movement Profile and the inherent developmental framework accomplished a similar expansion when it was applied to child guidance at the Centre for Parents and Children under her umbrella organisation Child Development Research (CDR). Kestenberg argued that the knowledge gathered and portrayed in Movement Profiles could inform intervention and treatment planning with the involvement of a multidisciplinary team of psychologists, psychiatrists, and movement specialists (Kestenberg, 1985).

5.2.1. Changing Theories

At a time when American psychoanalysis came to be engrossed in the study of ego-processes as opposed to drives, Kestenberg stressed the equal importance of instinctual and ego processes in the study of psychic development. She asserted that instincts and ego do not form a dichotomy but in fact a drive-defence continuum (Kestenberg, 1975a). According to Kestenberg, at all stages of development, “[. . .] the confluence of drives and ego-attitudes related to external reality and objects constitute the dominant organisation of the psyche” (Kestenberg, 1985, p. 116). She seemed to have an ardent loyalty to Freud’s legacy as her daughter, Kestenberg-Amighi recalled (interview, 2021). This is also illustrated by the following quote from Kestenberg’s autobiographical paper published in 1992 in German.

It is always claimed that psychoanalysts responded to Freud as to a god, and Freud's works are sometimes referred to as the Bible, especially by Freud's many opponents. But for me, for my childish mind, Freud has God's features. He knows so many things that no one else knows. [...] (Kestenberg, 1992, p. 163. authors translation).

The alliance with Freudian drive theory and structural model of the personality remained strong aspects of Kestenberg’s work which proved to be a risk in anchoring her theory in growing trends of ego-psychology and object-relations theory in the contemporaneous psychoanalytic discourse. Kestenberg opposing Hartman’s autonomous sphere of the ego further complicated her position in the psychoanalytic trends of the time. La Barre (1990), psychoanalyst and a long-time collaborator of Kestenberg, also noted that the KMP hadn’t been as widely adopted as its deserving recognition suggested which she largely attributed to a significant shift in focus towards relational concepts within psychoanalysis which led to the dismissal of ideas associated with drive theory. She (1990) argued that the KMP essentially reframed drive theory within the context of relationships, rejecting the notion of drive singularity as the sole motivational system. Instead, it integrates drive theory with theories of motivation and regulation, affect, object seeking, and mastery. According to La Barre (1990) despite its potential for revolutionising psychoanalytic theory and practice, the full implications of Kestenberg's reworking of drive theory were yet to be fully elucidated. She (op.cit.) further asserted that the KMP provided new avenues for exploring longstanding questions in psychoanalysis, offering fresh insights into the complexities of human experience.

5.2.1.1. Rejection of Mahler's Symbiotic Phase

Another crucial factor which played a significant part in the apprehension of psychoanalysts towards Kestenberg's developmental framework was her strong alliance with Mahler's separation-individuation process, particularly with her normal autistic and symbiotic phases. Mahler based her concept of symbiosis on Freud's (1911) view of the new-born who, like a chick in an unhatched egg, is closed off from the external environment (op.cit.). Kestenberg employed Mahler's inborn "quasi solid stimulus barrier", the concept of 'hatching' and her symbiotic phase in her developmental theory.

In the early 1960s (Wolff, 1959; Fantz, 1963) and even more so in the 1970s (Meltzoff & Moore 1977; Watson 1972), some of Mahler's concepts received considerable criticism⁸⁵. The rejection of her normal autistic and symbiotic phases were based on empirical data from contemporary infant observation research which corroborated the existence of sophisticated innate abilities to process aspects of the external environment from birth (Gergely, 2000). These newly found early perceptual mechanisms of self-and-other differentiation were incompatible with Mahler's concept of an inborn "quasi solid stimulus barrier" and the initial state of undifferentiated "delusional somato-psychic fusion" with the caregiver (Gergely, 2000; Mahler, Pine, and Bergman 1975, pp. 41-44). Fantz's (1963) demonstrated an innate sensitivity to the contours and shape of the human face; Meltzoff & Moore's (1977, 1989) studies showed the inborn capacity to imitate facial expressions such as tongue protrusion, Stern (1998/1985) and Bower (1982; Kaye & Bower, 1994) exposed innate abilities for cross-modal information transfer. Beebe (2014) remembered that the decade of the 1960s generated a shift in developmental research towards interactive systems approach, bidirectional model and the view of the competent infant which prepared the stage for the microanalytic studies of infant-mother interactions which emerged in the early 1970s (Stern, 1971; Trevarthen, 1979; Tronick, 1989). For the next two decades vehement arguments rippled across the field of infant research about whether a bidirectional or mutual directional method was correct, but it was Tronick's

⁸⁵ However, Gergely and Watson's (1999) later study softened these critiques. They found a change in contingency preference of infants at three-month. At three months of age, babies preferred perfect contingency to high but imperfect contingency, whereas after this age the situation is reversed. The perfect contingency corresponds to the own body, while the high but imperfect contingency corresponds to a reflective social world attuned to the child. This phenomenon can be paralleled with the Mahlerian normal autistic phase (Kulcsár, 1996, Szili, 2009, pp.37-38.).

landmark research with time-series analysis published in 1988 which shifted the disciplinary discourse onto early mother-infant interactions being viewed as bidirectional (Beebe, 2014).⁸⁶

5.2.1.2. The Body in Psychoanalysis⁸⁷

Kestenberg, with her metapsychological and developmental approach to movement behaviour, proposed a unified view of the body and mind within psychoanalytic thought (Kestenberg, 1975). She considered gestural movement as part of the ideational process and equated the complexity of somatic processes with the complexity of the symbolic, such as language. Furthermore, she viewed the body and the mind as a single dynamic unit where the somatic has the mind within and vice versa. These considerations were at least unusual and at most potentially problematic within psychoanalytic thought at the time where somatic experiencing and bodily expression was often viewed as regressed functioning or at most appreciated for its effect on the mind. According to Merenyi Marta, Incze Adrienne and Simon Judit⁸⁸ (Interview, 2024), the body and embodied experiencing still seems to hold a problematic position in current psychoanalytic theory and practice.

Not only Kestenberg's psychodynamic theory and studies on movement received a faint response from psychoanalysts but Mittemlan's (1953, 1957, 1960) work on couple's therapy and psychosomatic aspects of therapy seemed to be much preferred to his studies on the psychodynamic of motility (which have been previously discussed). Mittelmann came to be known as a pioneer of psychosomatic therapy and for his versatile interest connecting psychoanalysis with other fields⁸⁹, but his movement studies seem to have been cited by only two contemporary authors based on a search of the Psychoanalytic Electronic Publishing Archive (Lewis, 1965; Needles, 1959).

⁸⁶ In more recent infant research this emphasis on primary intersubjectivity, the capable infant and the bidirectional model have been called into question for their strong innatist assumptions about the initial availability of differentiated mental states and inferential mechanisms in the young infant by Csibra & Gergely, 2006; Fonagy, Gergely, et al., 2002; Gergely, 2002, 2004. These researchers postulate a contingency-based social biofeedback model of affect-mirroring. For more see: Gergely, 2007.

⁸⁷ An expert interview pertaining to the topic of this chapter have been published in: Kormos, J. (2023). A mozgás helye az analitikus térben [The place of movement in the analytic space]. *Lélekelemzés*, 18(2), 43-51. Interview by Sylvia Birklein.

⁸⁸ Practising Hungarian psychoanalysts and psychodynamic movement and dance therapists with whom the author conducted a group expert interview on 31.01.2024.

⁸⁹ The Psychoanalytic Review announced an essay prize that illustrates the relationship between psychoanalysis, philosophy, art and religion in the honour of Bela Mittelmann in 1960.

La Barre⁹⁰ (in Kestenberg, 1990) contended that the complications in adoption of the KMP related to the questions of technical neutrality applied by orthodox Freudians from which the KMP diverged from by acknowledging the influence of the analyst's body alongside verbal communication. Neglect of the body as a dynamic participant in psychic processes in classical psychoanalytic thought has been challenged but ambiguously addressed. From Ferenczi's attempts of positing the analyst as an active part of the analytic process, to the headway of object-relations theory and relational psychoanalysis, the notion of countertransference, the analyst's affective, psychic responses and later somatic responses in the analytic process came to the fore (Mitchell & Black, 1995; Szekacs-Weisz & Keve, 2012). However, in Szili's⁹¹ opinion (personal communication, 06.03.2024) most analysts do not consider movement-focused interventions as viable tools of analytic therapy and the conceptualisation of the analyst's bodily processes often pose apprehension in analytic circles. A similar view is expressed by an international expert, practising psychoanalyst, Knoblauch's (2017) in the following statement:

Currently our analytic culture still over-privileges cognitive imagining as the ideal for emotional-self-control. This kind of privileging too often makes the body either invisible or potentially "primitive," needing to be contained rather than received as a source of credible and useful meanings (*p.* 287).

The Freudian concept of the unconscious, even though incorporates the bodily, but essentially remains a detached container of abstractions divorced from the body and the social environment (Fonagy, 2007, p. 40). Kestenberg posited the mind within bodily movement and the mental in the somatic thus challenging the dualist contention about the mind that thinks and the body that acts (Sheets-Johnstone, 2011). Kestenberg considered movement experience as an inherent part of symbolic processes thus initiating an exploration of a unified body-mind concept in psychoanalysis.

⁹⁰ Kestenberg, J. S. (1990). Future directions of the KMP: Panel discussion: Goldman, E., LaBarre, F., Lewis, P., Merman, H., & Sossin, K. M. In S. Loman & P. Lewis (Eds.), *The Kestenberg Movement Profile: Its past, present applications, and future directions*. Retrieved from <https://aura.antioch.edu/facbooks/25>

⁹¹ Hungarian psychodynamic movement and dance therapist, psychoanalyst, clinical psychologist

5.2.2. Changing Methodologies

From the mid 1960s, with growing doubts about the validity and effectiveness of psychoanalytic concepts, the traditional psychoanalytic case study came to be dismissed as anecdotal rather than scientific proof informing practice. Kestenberg derived her theories from clinical practice and longitudinal infant observation studies on small subject sizes and presented her findings in the classical psychoanalytic case study format. An example that supports this reasoning is the change in reception of Daniel Stern's concepts derived from his infant observation studies. Stern (1982, 1998/1985) stated that:

Affect attunement [...] is an impression of an imitation but it is rather a form of matching in quality. It appears that what is being matched is not exactly the behaviour itself but the qualitative aspects of that behaviour, the underlying feeling state. The match does not happen through the contours of the behaviour but through the realm of shared internal state (Stern, 1998/1985, pp. 141–142.).

These underlying aspects of behaviour through which affect attunement occurs according to Stern are absolute intensity, intensity contour, temporal beat, rhythm, duration, and shape (Stern, 1998/1985) Stern called these “*vitality affects*” that represent the affective qualities inherent in the behaviour (Stern, 1998/1985). He argued that vitality affects arise from internal biological rhythms within the body (cited in Kestenberg et al., 2018, p. 75.). He stressed (2009, 312.) that the first explorations of these modalities of motion-force-time-space-intention are acquired during early infancy and then become part of a “*sensorimotor gestalt*” of a pre-reflexive experience base, from which the infant's understanding of the inanimate world evolves. Stern's (1998/1985) concept of affect attunement corresponds to Kestenberg's notion of kinaesthetic attunement.

Stern's vitality affects are comparable to Kestenberg's Tension-Flow and Shape-Flow categories (Kestenberg, 1967). His absolute intensity equates to Kestenberg's degree of intensity conceptualised in Low or High Intensity Tension-Flow Attribute, his intensity contour corresponds to Kestenberg's rate of increase such as Gradual or Abrupt Tension-Flow, his rhythm concept is reflected in Kestenberg's Tension-Flow Rhythms and the notion of shape corresponds to Kestenberg's Shape-Flow qualities (Kestenberg, 1965a, 1965b, 1967; Stern, 1985). Kestenberg presented her formulations about the various modes of kinaesthetic

attunement in 1967, somewhat earlier than Stern detailing his concept of affect attunement in 1985 in his book entitled '*The Interpersonal World of the Infant*' (1998/1985). Despite Stern and Kestenberg being contemporaries and the consonance between their concepts, Stern only cited Kestenberg & Sossin's (1979) work as a footnote (Stern, 1998/1985) in which the complexity of their observational categories was not appropriately presented. He stated that artistic expression is the field of vitality affects which pioneers from the field of dance and movement analysis, Kestenberg & Sossin (1979) had been applying to studies on mother-infant interaction. It is curious that even to Stern who seemingly saw the fertile land between psychological study of self-development, intersubjective processes, and artistic expression, cited Kestenberg as a figure related to dance and movement analysis rather than to infant development research.

Stern (1982) also used cursive, line drawing in his observational study on mother-infant rhythmicity very similar to Kestenberg's Tension-Flow notation however connections between these two representational techniques were not made⁹². Furthermore, it is surprising that in his much later work, Stern (2010) dedicates a chapter to reviewing the works of Laban and even Warren Lamb (Kestenberg's teacher and collaborator albeit not a psychologist or psychoanalyst) on movement analysis in relation to his concepts on forms of vitality and omits any mention of Kestenberg who precisely adopted Laban's and Lamb's concepts and integrated those with psychoanalytic developmental concepts of intra- and interpersonal processes. La Barre⁹³ (in Kestenberg, 1990) also noted that even though Kestenberg was a pioneer in the field of infant research, surprisingly her early papers, such as '*Attunement and Clashing in Mother-Child Interaction*' (Kestenberg, 1975), were not cited by the forthcoming infant researchers.

There is an apparent difference in the reception of the work of Stern and Kestenberg in the psychoanalytic community at the time as well as in psy-sciences since then. Stern's concept of vitality affects and affect attunement have become part of the discourse of psychoanalytic infant research. This could be attributed to several factors. Firstly, Stern (1982, 1998/1985) primarily constructed his theories based on observing vocal intonations and dynamic movement patterns. He described simple actions which the readers could easily imagine (Davis, 1992). Secondly, Stern (1982) presented the outcomes of his infant observations more

⁹² Stern, D. N. (1982). Some Interactive Function of Rhythmic Changes between Mother and Infant. pp.101-118. In Davis, M. (eds.) *Interaction Rhythms*. Human Sciences Press.

Please see Appendix: Reception folder/Stern

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1EZUSr0rm3D4z8V7DnAm7vEZxYq1vw72l?usp=drive_link

⁹³ Kestenberg, J. S. (1990). Future directions of the KMP: Panel discussion: Goldman, E., LaBarre, F., Lewis, P., Merman, H., & Sossin, K. M. In S. Loman & P. Lewis (Eds.), *The Kestenberg Movement Profile: Its past, present applications, and future directions*. Retrieved from <https://aura.antioch.edu/facbooks/25>

in line with the traditions of empirical research; he described the research setting, observational categories and statistical results (Stern, 1971). His empirical approach to developmental observation aligned with the experimental drive of psychoanalysis at the time. Within the growing trend of scientification in psychoanalysis in the 1970s (Hale, 1995), disciplinary preference for larger experimental studies and the use of statistical methods problematised the relevance of Kestenbergs developmental movement studies.

5.2.2.1. Art & Science

Another aspect of disconnection between contemporaneous analysts and Kestenbergs may have been rooted in her use of language and proximity to the world of dance. According to Loman (interview, 2022) and Sossin (interview, 2022), Kestenbergs Labanian language was foreign and complex to analysts at the time (this is perhaps still true today). Even though Kestenberg published a glossary of terms with her first publication of her movement theory in 1965. La Barre⁹⁴ (in Kestenberg, 1990) also noted the reluctance among practitioners to engage with the technical aspects of learning the KMP language, compounded by a lack of familiarity with kinaesthetic experience.

The conflictual nature of the Labanian language applied by Kestenberg for psychoanalysts is exemplified in the two critiques expressed at the New York Psychoanalytic Society in 1971 by Solnit and Galenson (New York Psychoanalytic Association and Society A. A. Brill Library, Archives and Special Collections, 565th meeting notes 1971). Galenson opposing the primacy of motor development in Kestenbergs approach and arguing that a wide variety of functions mature throughout development such as visual perception (scanning and visual fixation) misunderstood that Kestenberg categorised patterns of motility according to their underlying qualities and not as categorical units of behaviour thus visual scanning and fixation are also accounted for in Widening and Narrowing Shape-Flow patterns and Bound and Even Tension-Flow patterns of the first year. Solnits critique addressed the aspect of Kestenbergs terminology for the way it described psychic and symbolic processes from a somatic perspective. However, it must be added that Kestenberg (1965b) and Kestenberg & Sossin (1979) published a glossary of terms to support the understanding of the Labanian terms.

⁹⁴ Kestenberg, J. S. (1990). Future directions of the KMP: Panel discussion: Goldman, E., LaBarre, F., Lewis, P., Merman, H., & Sossin, K. M. In S. Loman & P. Lewis (Eds.), *The Kestenberg Movement Profile: Its past, present applications, and future directions*. Retrieved from <https://aura.antioch.edu/facbooks/25>

Kestenberg's eclectic use of language perfused with embodied, phenomenological concepts of movement studies and her general transdisciplinary approach was not sufficiently harmonised with disciplinary aspirations of American psychoanalysis to build its empirical grounding which led to her work remaining on the periphery of professional discourse. From the mid-1980s onwards, psychoanalytic infant observation came to the fore through the works of Stern (1998/1985), Wilma Bucci and Norbert Freedman (Bucci & Freedman, 1981) and others (Gilani, Bucci & Freedman, 1985), but continuities between their work and Kestenbergs earlier developmental movement studies were not created. By that time, Kestenberg was immersed in research on the transgenerational trauma of the Holocaust and her psychodynamic theory of movement development, and the Kestenberg Movement Profile was adapted to the disciplinary ambitions of dance/movement therapy.

The emergent field of American dance/movement therapy, however, was in need of a theoretical framework to legitimise its practices within the discourse of psy-sciences. Significant interest sprouted for Kestenberg's embodied developmental framework. As the KMP translated movement-based, qualitative aspects of behaviour into psychoanalytic developmental concepts as well as visualised the data on graphs, it provided a unique framework and language to talk about the therapeutic process in dance/movement therapy. Through Susan Loman's efforts, Kestenberg's work diverged from the psychoanalytic circles and found its new audience of emerging creative therapies, particularly dance/movement therapists (Loman & Merman, 1996). Loman, in her adaptation of Kestenberg's developmental framework to American dance/movement therapy, initiated a conscious shift from Freudian drive theory embedded within it. The emergent fields of creative arts-therapies and action-focused therapies were theoretically aligned with Humanistic Psychology, Jungian Analytic Psychology and Transpersonal approaches. Loman changed various classical psychoanalytic terms embedded in the KMP to make it more palpable for American dance/movement therapists. The term libidinal and sadistic for drive-derivative movement patterns were changed to indulging and fighting, the phallic phase came to be called outer-genital. Loman reasoned the change in terminology as the following: "*Because the term phallic-sadistic is a complete turn off. Nobody wants to say that. [...] It didn't work, especially with dance therapists at that time*" (Loman, interview, 2022). This resulted in the distillation of Kestenberg's theory from analytic terminology. Statements of Bartenieff and Lamb further underscore the apprehension against Freudian psychoanalysis in dance/movement therapy and movement research. Bartenieff wrote to Lamb:

Now Dr. K. has a tendency to go overboard with Freudian interpretations (maybe I do too little in that direction) but what worries me is that she has full approval from you particularly her classifications of oral, anal. [...] The very latest she got so depressed by the refusal of her colleagues to acknowledge any value of the notation that she is liable now to condemn the whole system as unscientific and unreliable. [...] I think she is an exception among her colleagues in the way she has penetrated into the matter. [...] I wish very much you would answer her last letter about the constancy of the load factor and maybe tactfully set her straight on the interpretations if you can (Bartenieff letter to Lamb, January 16, 1963, Clarice Smith Library for Performing Arts, University of Maryland).

Lamb replied to Bartenieff:

I can certainly confirm what you say about Dr. Kestenberg. She is a problem. My own opinion, from the work she has done for me, is that she is an exceptionally good observer. The root of the problem, I suspect, is Freud (Letter, April 6, 1965, Clarice Smith Library for Performing Arts, University of Maryland). [...] Dr. Kestenberg plans to come to London this summer. I doubt that she will completely abandon Freud in favour of Laban (Warren Lamb letter to Irmgard Bartenieff, January 18, 1965, Clarice Smith Library for Performing Arts, University of Maryland).

Davis (1992) also suggested modifying the psychoanalytic terminology of the KMP to broaden its applicability. Davis (1992) contended that movement analysis methods such as Kestenberg's were often overlooked or dismissed by researchers in psychology, psychiatry, and anthropology as too complex and unreliable. In her 30 years of experience in movement behaviour research, she noted that pioneers had frequently been ignored or even erased in the literature. Davis (op.cit.) pointed to the lack of publications that translated the Kestenberg Movement Profile (KMP) into understandable terms for those less acquainted with the embodied terminology, hindering its widespread use. She (Davis, 1992) highlighted the challenge of verbally describing and visualising the nuanced details of bodily movement catalogued by the KMP, suggesting that accurate observation may be limited to highly trained professionals under optimal conditions. Davis proposed the use of demonstration tapes with graphics and voice-over to aid understanding among non-experts. She acknowledged the

conceptual elegance and internal coherence of the KMP but challenged whether the drive towards systematisation did justice to the messy, open-endedness of human behaviour.

5.3. Movement & Modernity⁹⁵

[...] In modernity, the idea of the self without its movement is impossible [...].

Sloterdijk & Ziegler, 2006, p. 39

In this chapter, I expand my analysis onto the kinetic project of modernity by examining the history of movement behaviour research in the humanities throughout the 20th century. This provides a backdrop to ascertain the wider socio-cultural context of Kestenberg's movement focused interests. Namely, her movement studies can be considered an integral part of the transdisciplinary surge of interest in the study movement behaviour and echo several main tenets of the Cold War discourse on bodily movement in psy-sciences in the USA. In the final part of this chapter, I attempt to embed Kestenberg's Holocaust studies in the trends of growing Holocaust awareness and construction of second-generation identities through the mediation of therapeutic culture in the 1980s in the USA.

The main sources for this chapter are early published works by the most prominent movement behaviour researchers, conference proceedings on the development of the discipline, historical studies, publications of the Institute for Nonverbal Communication Research, and personal conversations between the author and Martha Davis. These materials were accessed through archival research at the Marta Davis and Irmgard Bartenieff papers at the Clarice Smith Library of Performing Arts Collections of the University of Maryland, where I had the opportunity to spend 2 months in 2022 with the support of the Hungarian Fulbright Foundation.

The 'Movement Movement' emerged around the mid to late 20th century in the United States. It was characterised by a confluence of the aesthetic and the scientific interests and

⁹⁵ Content of this chapter have been published by the author in a shortened format:

Kormos, J. (2023). A modernitás kinetikus projektje a humántudományok területén: Tánc- és tudománytörténet találkozása a mozgáskutatás területén [The kinetic project of modernity in the field of humanities: The encounter of dance and science history in the field of movement research]. In L. Fuchs, J. Fügedi (Fügedi János Néptánc kutatás), & P. Péter (Eds.), *Tánc tudományi Tanulmányok 2022–2023* (pp. Paper 21). Budapest: Magyar Táncművészeti Egyetem, Magyar Tánc tudományi Társaság.

Presented by author on 06/07/2023 at the conference of the European Society for the History of Human Sciences entitled *Dances of Human Interaction: History of the Movement Movement in the Humanities*.

methodologies. Researchers began to view non-verbal behaviours as complex choreographic structures with specific rhythmic compositions, at times drawing upon movement theories developed by dancers. They seemed to have a specific interest in the scientific conceptualisation of the dancers' movement literacy. Kestenberg had peripheral connections to this eclectic group of movement behaviour researchers as direct correspondence between them was not found during my archival research, however various lines of correspondence can be drawn between them such as their tendency to apply concepts of dance studies in their scientific theories and methodologies on movement behaviour. The somewhat isolated, interdisciplinary group of researchers developed various comprehensive methods of movement analysis, many of which focused on psychological aspects of movement behaviour. I examine the socio-cultural context from which these unusual conceptual dialogues spawned and introduce their methodologies. In the later part of the chapter, I discuss how bodily movement became associated with the pursuit of the democratic project such as notions of mental health, prevention of trauma and social governance in the Cold War era in the United States.

In several of his works, Sloterdijk (Sloterdijk & Ziegler 2006; Sloterdijk, 2020) also analysed the intimate relationship between movement and modernity. He stated that kinetics should be seen as an ethics of modernity. "*Movement, whose study had hitherto been left to physicists and sports science, is penetrating the human sciences and becoming a cardinal category of the moral and social sphere*" (Sloterdijk & Ziegler 2006, p. 36). Ruprecht also argued that the study of gesture took a central role in the 20th century in the arts, social theory and even in science (Ruprecht, 2019). "*Modernity's tendency towards movement*" (Sloterdijk & Ziegler, 2006) is demonstrated in the fin-de-siecle gestural theories and physical culture movements such as Delsarte's applied aesthetics⁹⁶, Dalcroze's eurhythmics⁹⁷, Valeria Dienes'

⁹⁶ Delsartism, a kind of applied aesthetics committed to the culture of the body (Schwartz, 1992), was the French singer Francois Delsarte (1811-1871) who theorised about expressive movement and its relationship to unconscious processes (Levy, 1988; Ruyter, 1996; Schwartz, 1992). Delsarte began to lecture in Paris in 1840, teaching the order and laws of movement and the law of correspondences (Schwartz, 72). His theories were imbued with the religious idea of the Trinity, Romanticism and Enlightenment rationality (op. cit.). Delsarte believed that every bodily movement and function corresponds to a spiritual function and action (op. cit.).

⁹⁷ Dalcroze was a music teacher who developed rhythmic movement exercises for his students to embody the rhythms of musical pieces. His method made rhythmic movement part of music education

Orkeletics⁹⁸, Olga Szentpál's gymnastic system⁹⁹, Alice Madzsar's¹⁰⁰ approach combining Mensendieck's and Delsarte's systems based on psychophysical concepts and last but not least Rudolf von Laban's Kinetography, Choreutics and Eukinetics (Péter, 2012, p. 7-12); as well as in the surge of scientific interest in movement behaviour and psychotherapeutic applications of dance/movement in the middle of the century in the USA.

The turn of the century social changes that hallmarked Viennese modernism and characterised the crisis of individuality brought in new epistemological and aesthetic perspectives. The weakening power of the aristocracy and the dissolution of known social structures meant the deconstruction of numerous formerly stable social categories (Csabai & Eros, 2000, 45). Hugo Hofmannsthal also refers to the cultural crisis of the turn of the century, which he sees as manifested in the wearing down of distinct cultural conventions and class-bound gestures (Ruprecht, 2019, p. 106). Agamben asserted that the early 20th century gestural obsession was a reaction to the erosion of fixed social and cultural meaning of gesture at the end of the nineteenth century (cited in Ruprecht, 2019, pp. 42-45). Gestures at the turn of the century were no longer understood as cultural signifiers and social codes, rather came to be viewed as expressions of personality, the human psyche, or collective supra-personal contents. In the first wave of the 'Movement Movement' in the humanities, researchers examined the expressive aspects of movement behaviour in relation to personality, in the context of physiological and psychological processes and understood gesture in a broader sense, focusing on the expressive capacity of the whole body.

The gestural turn in the early 20th century introduced a new conception of the subject, the modern, hand-controlling subject (Ruprecht, 2019, p. 58). The centrality of this hand-manipulating subject of modernity is demonstrated in the growth of non-verbal behaviour research in the first wave of the 'Movement Movement' in the USA. The socio-cultural changes of late modernity - ensuing Cold War, increased globalisation, crisis of welfare states, global environmental and health challenges - lead once again to the dissolution of grand narratives of

⁹⁸ Hungarian movement culture or movement art began around the first decade of the 20th century. Valeria Dienes (1879-1978) began to develop her system of movement theory, Orkestika (Fuchs, 82). Embedded in her system of Orkestika are anatomical, physiological and geometric concepts (Peter, 16). Dienes' approach organised the study of movement into four areas: rhythemics, dynamics, kinetics and semiotics. The system of Orkeletics is a comprehensive theory & science of motion from a philosophical perspective similar to Laban's complex framework.

⁹⁹ Olga Szentpál, originally a pianist (1895-1968), developed her movement theory and gymnastics based on Dalcroze's eurhythmic (Peter, 16).

¹⁰⁰ Alice Madzsar (1880-1935) became a central figure in the women's body culture movement and developed her own method based on Bess Mensendieck's anatomical approach to Delsarte's system. Madzsar based her movement theory and method on psychophysical concepts (Peter, 16).

ideological systems and brought questions of identity into the centre (Csabai & Eros, 2000). A heightened focus on the nonverbal and somatic imprints that exert influence on personality formation were central aspects of the second wave of the 'Movement Movement'.

5.3.1. The Field of Movement Behaviour Research

The kinetic organisation, cultural, psychological, and communicative function of gestural behaviour preoccupied various groups of scientists which engendered the so-called 'Movement Movement' in the USA, with its first wave forming around the 1930s and the second gaining momentum in the 1960s. Some researchers examined gesture and nonverbal communication from the perspective of structural linguistics (Birdwhistell, 1952, pp. 10-18; Kendon 1981, pp. 1-56), social scientists (cultural and visual anthropologists, ethnologists) have looked at the sociocultural processes and structures that influence movement expression and cultural meaning associated with certain forms of movement (Kendon 1981, pp. 1-56). In the field of psy-sciences, they investigated the relationship between movement and affective states, cognitive and mental processes. Psychiatrists worked on diagnostic methods to observe idiosyncratic movement behaviours in altered states of mind and in correlation with particular mental health disorders. Psychotherapists have explored the concepts of therapeutic alliance, containment, and therapeutic change through notions of synchronicity, mirroring and echoing expressed in the bodily movements of client and therapist (Scheflen, 1970, pp. 457-472; Davis, 2001, p. 8; Kestenberg, 1971, pp. 157-170).

Martha Davis (1942-), a key figure in the emerging discipline of movement behaviour research, committed to the scientific recognition of the new transdisciplinary field, founded the *Institute for Nonverbal Communication Research*. It was a scientific organisation that sponsored the publication of the Kinesis Report and several scientific conferences, bringing together a group of researchers working on some aspect of movement behaviour (Davis, 1982a, p. 23). The Kinesis Report was published quarterly from 1972-1982, with Davis as editor-in-chief. The journal's editorial board was made up of pioneering movement researchers and practitioners, anthropologists, psychiatrists, psychologists, and linguists - Irmgard Bartenieff, Paul Byers, Norbert Freedman, Adam Kendon, Judith S. Kestenberg, and Israel Zwerling. In addition, journals such as *Semiotica*, *Journal of Nonverbal Behaviour*, *American Journal for Dance Therapy* have provided a venue for the publication of work in the field of movement

behaviour research¹⁰¹. Even though Kestenberg was on the advisory board of the main journal of the field, the *Kinesis Report*, she did not publish nor presented at their conferences. According to Martha Davis (interview, 2023) Kestenberg attended conferences but did not present her own developmental movement studies. Mark Sossin (interview, 2022) remembered that Kestenberg required her students and collaborators in the Sands Point Movement Study Group to read Albert Schefflen's work.

This transdisciplinary field held numerous tensions from its inception which also problematised its demarcation as a distinct discipline, namely the methodological and theoretical disparity between the developed systems of movement analysis. During the first inter-group project in 1959 several of the research groups worked together to analyse footage of a recorded family therapy session but significant disputes occurred between them about how to conceptualise, record and analyse movement¹⁰².

The first official congress, sponsored by the Institute for Nonverbal Communication Research, was held at Teachers College, Columbia University on 21-22 March 1979 with the title "*Interaction Rhythms*". The conference proceedings were published in 1982 edited by Martha Davis. The presenters examined the rhythms of movement behaviour, the structure of rhythms between interaction partners, from a variety of perspectives. Alan Lomax (1982) discussed rhythmic variations between cultures. William S. Condon (1982) dealt with cultural micro rhythms and interpersonal and intrapersonal asynchronicity in certain psychiatric pathologies. Daniel Stern (1982) examined the rhythmic structure of somatic interactions between mother-infant pairs (dyads), Marianne LaFrance (1982) studied the rapport between therapist and client by observing the mirroring of their body positions. Beatrice Beebe et al. (1982) presented their study on rhythmic communication between mother and infant. They outlined their frame-by-frame analysis of dyadic interactions, kinetic analysis was conducted on interactive games, transitions and hand pauses pertaining to the mother's behaviour and on the infant's gaze, orientation, and facial expressions.

These movement behaviour researchers in part, developed their own methodologies, and in part, applied the movement theories developed by dancers. This was demonstrated in the Laban-based movement analysis systems. They often applied aesthetic and choreographic

¹⁰¹ See appendix: Folder Movement & Modernity/Institute for Non-verbal Behaviour Research/Document 1 & 2.

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1aMTZYETo-x26-LRwgkKgPtbDQ3-M7UoV?usp=drive_link

¹⁰² See appendix for tables illustrating the differences between these methods of movement analysis: Movement & Modernity Chapter/Tables of Comparison

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1vdLl5WGgWyVIYFuz3iT-EqHoYmsN1yyo/view?usp=drive_link

notions to describe non-verbal interactional sequences and seemed to have a specific interest in the scientific conceptualization of the type of movement literacy that the dancer possesses (Davis, 1982a, p. 24). This aspect is exemplified in the following quotes: Birdwhistell at the 1959 conference wrote of the interaction of two people at a coffee table in this way:

A dance is no more special than how and when she adjusted her shoes - the interaction is similarly multidimensional in time and structure (927) [...] Even based on our limited experience with sound films, we found that interactive movement sequences are strikingly like dance because of their strictly defined choreographic forms (933).

Schefflen began his presentation at the 1979 conference reviewing the history of research into movement behaviour:

First, the discovery of interaction rhythms has implications for our personal views of human experience and our own participation in human relationships. We can begin to discuss this by looking at the history of Western thought. It is surprising how late we have discovered the obvious. Any dancer or musician would have told us that we needed a common rhythm to sing, play and dance together. Why didn't we realise earlier that interaction rhythms are essential to all human interaction? Are scientists always the last to know what artists and others have known for a long time? (Schefflen, 1982, p. 14).

5.3.1.1. The First Wave of the 'Movement Movement'

The first focused studies of nonverbal behaviour in the United States emerged in the 1930s with the work of the expressive movement studies of psychologist Gordon Allport and the anthropologists David Efron and Elliott D. Chapple (Davis, 2001, p. 3).

Gordon Allport (1897-1967), attempted to capture the psychological concept of personality through studying individual differences in expressive movement and writing style. His book published in 1933 has been almost completely forgotten in the history of psychology. Allport asserted that "*the direct study of expression is the most natural approach to the study of personality*" (1933, p. v). He believed that individual modes of action were based on enduring qualities of the personality rather than on particular external environmental conditions (Allport, 1933, p. 23). His experimental classification of expressive movement applied descriptive concepts constructed by the observer on the basis of the impression created by a

given movement. Examples include *skilful/skilful-inept*, *formal-informal*, *conspicuous-blind/uncolourful*, *graceful-unskilful*, *consistent-inconsistent*, *suspicious-flattering*, *eager/enthusiastic-intimate*, *centrifugal-centripetal* (Allport, 1933, p. 24). Allport (1933) established a separate category for the quality of *muscle tone*, classifying tone as *constant* or *irregular*, *tense* or *relaxed*, *animate*, or *inanimate*. The observers also referred to the qualities of postural changes that characterised a person, whether or not they changed position *suddenly* or *gradually*, and whether or not they changed posture frequently. Allport recorded the movements of different body parts separately. He also categorised associative movements and substitute actions (Allport, 1933, p. 27).

David Efron (1904-1981) was interested in the cultural embeddedness of non-verbal behaviour and paid particular attention to understanding the function of gestures not directly related to speech. This approach also reflects an interest in supra-personal, collective, cultural processes and the structural elements of abstract expression. Efron, in his studies of cultural interactional behaviour, classified and interpreted gestures as abstract structures of expression. He examined the kinaesthetic structure of gestures, their change during cultural assimilation processes, and thus their relation to a person's cultural identity. He published his influential and methodologically innovative work on non-verbal communication, *Gesture and Environment*, in 1941. Efron's data collection methodology involved direct observations in natural settings and moving image recordings studied by naive observers. He visualised the data through drawings by a professional painter and graphs depicting the observed non-verbal phenomena (Ruby, 1980, p. 10).

Efron focused mainly on hand gestures and to a lesser extent on head gestures, creating a classification system for these (op.cit, p. 10). Efron's motivation was to document that bodily expression is culturally and socially determined to disrupt the spread of eugenics in science and arguments that linked race and behaviour. He distinguished three types of gesture. These were the spatio-temporal, interlocutional and *linguistic* gesture categories. He stressed the importance of distinguishing between gestures that are *simultaneous with speech*, embedded in speech, and those that appear *without speech and have an independent meaning*. Efron classified the following as speech-related types of *linguistic* category: *ideographic* gestures, which outline the logical structure of the thought expressed, emphasising aspects of the thought process, and *batonic* gestures, which are gestures that consistently follow the rhythm of speech. The types of *linguistic* categories that have meaning independent of the content of speech include *indexical* gestures, which are gestures used to point to something concrete; *figurative* gestures, which outline a thought image or action through movement patterns; and *symbolic* or

token gestures, which are culture-specific constructions of meaning (Efron, 1972 [1941], pp. 10-11). Efron analysed the *spatio-temporal* structure of gestures by focusing on *the radius, spatial plane, form* created by the gesture, *tempo, rhythm*, and active *body parts* (ibid. 10).

Eliot D. Chapple (1909 - 2000), another anthropologist in the field of nonverbal communication, focused on common cultural motifs that transcended linguistic differences. His studies of interactional chronography examined patterns of movement flow between participants in various interactional situations. He related the associative patterns of gestures and bodily movement to the relationships between participants, i.e., to associative-affective and psychological processes. Chapple was interested in the direct observation of interactional situations. Conversational situations provided the data for his study of rhythmic interaction patterns. Chapple's work foreshadowed the studies of interactional rhythms of later decades (Davis, 2001, pp. 4-5). He created an event recorder in the 1940s to empirically document interactional patterns. He called his method "*interaction chronography*" (Davis, 2001, p. 4). In chronography, the *absolute time* spent actively in an interaction, the *pace of activity of the participants*, i.e., how many times they become active during an interaction and how long their active actions last. The chronograph was also able to record participants' responses to each other's activity and passivity i.e., interruptions or interferences between the interlocutors or inactivity, silence, or unresponsiveness. The chronograph captured personal activity profiles and interpersonal *synchronisation-asynchronisation* patterns (Saslow et al., 1955, p. 418). Chapple found that interactive partners prefer rhythmic synchronisation, that is the interlocking of the rhythms of participants in the conversation. Chapple's activity rhythms revealed the rules of social interactional norms and the subtle boundary between cultural convention and individual temperamental pattern (Davis, 2001, pp. 4-5).

5.3.1.2. Cold War Anxieties in the Study of Movement Behaviour

In the 1960s emerged the second wave of the 'Movement Movement' influenced by structural linguistics and systems theory; permeated by Cold War anxieties (Schefflen, 1982; Weinstein, 2013). The shift to community psychiatry, the professionalisation of dance/movement therapy, family therapy and the development of movement behaviour research were intertwined in the post-war socio-cultural context of the 1960s. Laemmli (2016) stated "*the history of dance and movement therapy thus demonstrates how the post-war encouragement of tolerance and creativity was integrated into therapeutic practice*" (p. 146). As the gaze of psychiatry moved towards prevention and new psychotherapeutic approaches within community settings, the

potential site of pathology came to be the intersubjective family unit. This interactional, interpersonal approach marked the relevance of the study of movement behaviour. Dancers and movement researchers worked at a variety of the new social psychiatry settings and developed methods to analyse movement behaviour and non-verbal communication (Davis, 2001; Weinstein, 2013, Levy, 1988).

Studies on bodily movement and nonverbal communication became central to the post-war understanding about the association of upbringing, mental health, national security, and the democratic project during the Cold War in the USA (Weinstein, 2013). Linking psychological health with productive citizenry and democratic society was characteristic of various social movements during the century from mind-cure and child-guidance movements, wartime orphanages to mid-century heightened attention on mother-child relationship and to the later development of family therapy and dance-movement therapy in the USA. In the socio-political milieu saturated with Cold War anxieties about the stability of democracy in the face of totalitarian regimes, democracy and mental health became increasingly linked (Weinstein, 2013). Experimental studies in social psychology about prejudice and on personality diagnostics as popularised by the Authoritarian Personality Study published in the 1950s which proposed a fascistic personality type, captured widespread scientific and cultural attention about the potential social threat of individual views and beliefs. Within this discourse the body becomes a repository of trauma, repressed aggression, social prejudice, adverse childhood experiences that exert influence on personality formation and social views thus on democratic citizenship (Weinstein, 2013). It was a symptomatic tendency during the post-war period to psychologize and individualise social issues. In psychology and psychiatry, a significant theoretical and methodological shift occurred, from the focus on pathogenic agent or disease to pathological (personality and group) dynamics, from what happens within an individual psyche to what happens in between people.

Prevention of delinquency, social discrimination and prejudice became a psychological enterprise with particular focus on adverse childhood experiences and pathological family dynamics. This new orientation towards dynamics and interactive processes brought action and behaviour into the centre replacing previous attention on verbal language as in client's self-reports and therapeutic interpretations. Movement researchers' approach was descriptive rather than diagnostic. An optic orientation, naturalistic observation methods prevailed with the frequent use of video recording and one-way mirrors (Weinstein, 2013). In this period systems approach exerted a widespread influence on a variety of fields from urban planning to neuroscience to sociology. There was a general interest in complex, self-regulating entities;

social behaviour, psychological development and even psychopathology came to be viewed through this lens. Psychopathology was no longer linked to pathogenic agents rather understood because of traumatic, compromised relationship between the self-and-other, maladjustment of the individual to environmental factors (Weinstein, 2013). In the post-war intellectual arena, bodily movement came to be viewed as an indicator of disturbed personal and group dynamics; its observation, assessment and interpretation promised potential psycho-technological control of social issues. The family unit came to be a site of social governance and an object of scientific observation during the post-war years was viewed as a self-regulating, potentially pathology-maintaining system that the therapist aimed to disrupt. Within this conception bodily movement was viewed as the vehicle of maintaining this homeostasis. The observation, assessment and reorganisation of movement behaviour became central psycho-social technologies which was exemplified in the various microanalytic methods of movement analysis developed in the second wave of the 'Movement Movement'.

Ray Birdwhistell (1918-1994), the key figure who introduced movement behaviour research as a scientific field, which he called kinesics. "*We chose the term kinesics because we wanted to emphasise in our approach the complex fusion of physiological, physical, psychological, and cultural levels of movement*" (Birdwhistell, 1952, p. 3). Birdwhistell established a nonverbal communication laboratory at the Eastern Pennsylvania Psychiatric Institute where he worked together with another key movement behaviour researcher, Albert E. Scheflen (1920-1980) (Davis, 2001, p. 2). Scheflen and Birdwhistell pioneered the naturalistic approach to movement behaviour research. They worked with uncut video footage of the whole body to preserve the complexity of the movement stream. They (Scheflen, 1970; Birdwhistell, 1970) argued for the observation of movement flow in its entirety and in its natural context. Scheflen, psychiatrist and psychoanalyst, worked on movement behaviour analysis predominantly in psychotherapy settings. Scheflen pioneered the method of contact analysis which was in 1965 in his book entitled "*Stream and Structure of Communicational Behavior. Context Analysis of a Psychotherapy Session*". Scheflen's systems-theory approach emphasised the notion of '*communication programs*', which he understood to *stabilise* and *regulate* the relationship between partners through specific culturally predetermined sequences of movements. According to him, each culture, subculture, institution, social and situational context maintains its own communication programs. Scheflen established a communication laboratory in the Bronx, New York where they studied the psychotherapeutic process with a focus on nonverbal behaviour (Davis, 2001, p. 8). Gregory Bateson (1904-1980), anthropologist developed a cybernetic approach to communication and studied meta-messages,

signifiers of meaning in predominantly non-verbal behaviours of schizophrenia patients in the mid 1950s. He set up an interdisciplinary research group with psychoanalysts, psychiatrists and family therapists in Palo Alto, CA, USA. They filmed family therapy sessions of schizophrenics. Their approach was antithetical to experimental or clinical methods; they adapted Birdwhistell's natural history approach. The Palo Alto group's work became formative in the development of American family therapy.

Irmgard Bartenieff (1900-1981), mentioned earlier as Laban's student and Kestenberg early collaborator, was invited to carry out movement observation and notation on a family conference at the Jacobi Psychiatric Hospital in the early 1960s (Letter, May 21, 1962).

[...] It has developed that I should put immediate use to my ability to observe and write down movements of psychiatric patients (Bartenieff letter, June 14 196). [...] The psychiatrists in the Clinic are interested in two aspects of notations, 1) making a full assessment of the patient under varying observation situations and at different times of their stay; 2) conducting family assessments of the patient's family together (Bartenieff letter, January 16, 1963). [...] The material that I gathered up until this spring aroused so much interest just as a description of movement dynamics that my dept. of Social Psychiatry at Yeshiva University wants to start training. I have one psychology major who minored in dance [...] she has now [...] been assigned full time assistant for special movement research (Bartenieff letter, June 15, 1964).

This full-time assistant of Bartenieff was Martha Davis (1942-), a clinical psychologist, who worked for 3 years with psychiatric patients at Albert Einstein University Hospital (Davis, 2018, p. 4). She developed a psychodiagnostic assessment based on movement, the Movement Psychodiagnostic Inventory (MPI). Davis hypothesised that bodily movement was a sensitive indicator of changes in mental and psychological states, and that movement observation could have differential diagnostic relevance (Lausberg, 2014, p. 26).

Davis observed motor behaviour of psychiatric patients and systematised her findings in terms of the *Effort-Shape* categories of Laban's movement theory (Davis, 2018, p. 4). The MPI listed sixty movement patterns divided into eleven categories of movement restriction or disorder. The focus of the MPI is on the *patterns, qualities* and *sequentiality of bodily* movement (Davis, 2018, pp. 7-10). Movement characteristics indicative of potential psychiatric pathology are *low levels of Effort* variation and *intensity* in movement, i.e., the absence of vital qualitative changes in movement, low levels, or absence of spatial complexity

in movement, and excessive, unvaried displays of *sustained* and *Free-Flow Effort* elements (Davis, MPI, pp. 8-12). The first version of the MPI was developed in 1968. It was primarily used as an assessment tool in psychiatric first interview situations. Its subsequent developments included adaptations to application in dance/movement therapy (Davis, 2018, p. 4).

Norbert Freedman (1922-2011), a training analyst and former president of the International Psychoanalytic Training and Research Institute (IPTAR), conducted various experimental and observational studies between 1970-1980, focusing on bodily movement during speech activity. Freedman and colleagues investigated the relationship between gesture types, cognitive style, and psychiatric conditions. Freedman pointed to the importance of the anatomical systems involved in the generation of a particular movement in determining the communicative functions of nonverbal behaviour (Kendon, 1981, p. 15). He found that movements that rely on particular muscle groups are associated with their discrete psychological functions. Thus, he interpreted facial expressions as displays of affective arousal, related posture to the structure of defences, associated gaze orientation with social and emotional bonding with others, and linked hand, foot, and head movements to information processing (Kendon, 1981, p. 15; Freedman & Bucci, 1981, p. 237). He further explained that an important factor in determining the meaning and function of bodily movement is its relation to speech; whether or not, the gesture is embedded in the structure of speech flow (Kendon, 1981, p. 15). Freedman et al. established a distinction between *object-oriented* and *self-oriented* movements along the lines of movement orientation in the codification of movement behaviour. *Object-oriented* movements are movements directed towards the external environment, mostly involving the touching or manipulation of some object. Within this category, a distinction was made between *speech-related* and *non-speech-related object-oriented* movements. These gestures were mostly associated with cognitive functions. According to Freedman & Hoffman (1967), *self-focused* movements

[...] body-centred, non-speech-related movements, according to our definition, are obviously a response to some internal process that we can only speculate about at the moment. The nature of these movements - their internal orientation and the fact that they involve the stimulation of sensory nerve endings - suggests that they serve to modify sensory experience.

Freedman & Bucci (1981) further examined motor activity embedded in associative monologue, thinking, and speaking activities. They were interested in movement associated

with cognitive processes during speech, particularly with the significance of bodily movement for the cognitive process. According to them, movement behaviour is linked with the speaker's sense of autonomy, and characteristic attitudes. The results of the study were published under the title "*On Kinetic Filtering in Associative Monologue*", in which they identified the kinetic components of information-filtering during an associative monologue. *Referential* and *filtering* activities were identified as two basic psychological elements of the associative processes. *Referential activity* involves the association of thought with word which forms the basis of communication. Through *filtering* the speaker eliminates peripheral thoughts, selects relevant thoughts, and organises the structure of their narrative. Freedman & Bucci (1981, pp. 246-247) presented *kinetic filtering* as an integral element of the associative process. They identified two strategies of *kinetic filtering*, the *shadowing*, and the *contrastive* strategies. *Shadowing* behaviour is a continuous movement activity that aims to isolate the speaker from external or internal events thus serving concentration. *Contrastive* strategy is expressed in pauses in speech relating to changes in the speaker's internal state and has a generative function. *Contrastive kinaesthetic filtering* is often associated with high motor activity during pauses in speech (op.cit., p. 246).

In the inherently ambivalent discourse of late modernity questions about the stability of identity came to fore. The body no longer appears the antithetical, dangerous counterpart to the mind but an integral part of self-identity (Csabai & Erős, 2000, p. 33). Following Giddens, the body and self-identity form a reflexively organised system and the body takes central position in self-narratives of the individual (Giddens cited in Csabai & Erős, 2000, p. 33). This increased attention on the body produced new kinds of social and individual anxieties about the nature, functioning, organisation, and actions of the human body. The desire to control and regulate bodies and bodily processes come to the fore in various social, scientific, and individual projects. A heightened focus on the nonverbal and somatic imprints that exert influence on personality formation were central aspects of this era.

5.3.2. Therapeutic Culture and Second-generation Identity

In the late 1970s 250 000 children of Holocaust survivors reached young adulthood in the USA (Stein, 2009, p. 27). A special confluence of therapeutic culture, feminism and ethnic politics engendered the social movements that were conducive to the development of 'second generation identities in the USA in the late 1970s. The preoccupation with roots and heritage

created a resurgence of interest in ethnicity, cultural diversity, and migrant experience. Holocaust awareness began to rise in the 1960s. Survivors formed informal groups even before, but these were often kept in secret. In the '70s the relative silence and isolation of these groups started to break, courses on the Holocaust influenced by ethnic studies and emphasis on oppression appeared on college campuses. In the 1980s survivor syndrome under the diagnosis of PTSD was added to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (Stein, 2009, p. 35).

Second-wave feminism and therapeutic culture which emphasised self-reflection as a political action and encouraged turning victimhood into resilience and finding meaningful group identities thus contributed to the construction of Holocaust memorial culture in the USA. *“In the post-war era, therapeutic discourse became a dominant cultural form, shaping and organizing experience.”* (Stein, 2009, p. 29). The discourse of therapeutic culture permeated feminism which came to be occupied by psychological concepts like trauma and recovery. The expanding definition of trauma turned to be a central cultural resource to narrate the self and ethnicity and family genealogy came to be an important part of the quest for identity. Selfhood, in the therapeutic discourse that operates on the borderlands of private and public, becomes a narrative that is to be shared in public and storytelling turns into a tool for personal and political transformation.

Within this social movement imbued by the therapeutic the path to authenticity is through acknowledging and revealing past injuries; for oppressed groups this becomes the politics of identity, claiming space for their stories in the public narrative. It was not only Holocaust survivors but children of survivors who began to examine the effects of their parents' wartime experiences on their own life and share about how these are present in their everyday experiences. Children of survivors engaged in this emergent movement of therapeutic identity politics and became central to the rise of Holocaust consciousness. *“Many children of survivors saw the act of speaking openly about their experiences as self-help that was simultaneously political”* (Stein, 2009, p. 36). Children of survivors were a precarious group because their parents often did not talk to them about their Holocaust experiences openly, but the effects of these atrocities were palpable in the family dynamics and often directly affected the aspiration of the children. Children of survivors spoke about having to make up for their parents' losses or live out the lives of lost siblings (op.cit. p. 32). Children of survivors were also often misunderstood by their non-Jewish peers as they weren't viewed as first generation survivors. According to Arlene Stein's research data *“those who became organizationally involved in second-generation therapeutic politics were disproportionately female, highly educated, of*

East European parentage, had more secular but not wholly assimilated Jewish identities” (Stein, 2009, p. 38). Psychotherapists, who themselves were children of survivors - Eva Fogelman, Bella Savran and Judith S. Kestenberg - believed it was necessary to address the psychological health of the second generation. They were active organisers of survivor groups, consciousness-raising groups, and collected personal testimonies. This fusion of psychotherapeutic and political objective, using storytelling and community development as transformative tools, made the personal political (Stein, 2009).

The concepts of body and identity are central to Kestenberg’s oeuvre as the first focus of her work was to develop a psychoanalytic personality assessment based on bodily movement. Kestenberg turned to the investigation of movement behaviour while working at the Bellevue Hospital’s Child Psychiatry Department where she found the predominantly language-based psychiatric assessments limited. She began to view the body as a messenger and movement as a language that speaks about the interiors of the individual psyche. Kestenberg believed that the body is a repository for earlier experiences and the organisation and qualities found in bodily movement speak of developmental, psychological, and experiential aspects of an individual’s life thus movement behaviour could be used as a basis for personality assessment. In her approach one’s movement repertoire corresponds with a constellation of their congenital traits, acquired experience, and learned behaviours. Kestenberg emphasised the significance of the somatic aspects of early infant-caregiver interactions and their potential traumatic effect. Kestenberg was devoted to prevention of childhood trauma and established a community centre where they provided movement retraining for children and psychosomatic education of parents about the links between movement and personality development. In her later work, Kestenberg argued that Holocaust trauma could be identified transgenerationally in the bodily movements of the individual. She asserted that repressed aggression and hatred that lead to racial prejudice are also stored in the body and indicated in movement behaviour. For Kestenberg societal and personal well-being were dependent on methods of movement observation, controlled expression of aggression through somatic awareness and therapeutic movement.

5.4. Conclusion

Kestenberg attempted to operationalise the developmental study and analysis of movement within psychoanalysis. The historical analysis of American psychoanalysis revealed that

Kestenberg's ambition to create a systemic framework for developmental assessment connected her work to the main trends of psychoanalytic psychiatry in the 1950s when direct infant observation and the collection of normative developmental data was viewed as the fertile new ground of psychoanalysis. This new orientation held the promise of building empirical evidence for psychoanalytic developmental concepts thus supporting the relevance of psychoanalysis amongst proliferating psy-sciences in the mid-century in the USA. Despite following the main ambitions of the discipline, Kestenberg also opposed central tenets of American ego-psychology, neglected changing tides between drive theory and object-relations perspectives and readily transgressed disciplinary boundaries between (dance) art and science.

When other theorists were increasingly rejecting Freudian drive theory, Kestenberg was developing and deepening them (Sossin, interview, 2022). She consciously positioned her approach on the border between instinct theory and ego psychology (Kestenberg, 1975a). Her concept of transsensus outgoingness held the promise of connecting her work to popular trends of the emerging self and modern object-relations theory in psychoanalytic thought in the 1970s however this aspect of her work remained under-developed compared to her emphasis on drive theory. Kestenberg conceived of the psychodynamic grammar of movement behaviour. In her view, psychic materia behind the symptom is revealed by the patient's movement narrative, the specific constellation of kinetic features within one's individual movement repertoire. The focus and the depth of Kestenberg's study on movement behaviour was unusual and its vocabulary mostly unknown to psychoanalysts and psychiatrists. As Kestenberg's collaborator Bartenieff expressed:

The two papers that Dr. K has so far met with some resistance amongst her colleagues, part of the trouble being that there are very few psychiatrists who are aware of movement - in the best case they are aware of postures that signify attitudes to them. [...] part of the problem was that the papers were not very well organised for such a complex new subject (Bartenieff letter to Lamb, January 16, 1963).

Kestenberg, influenced by dance studies, shifted psychoanalytic attention onto kinaesthetic sensing and attunement through which one embodies the movement patterns of the patient thus constructing understanding of their self-experience. Generative collaborations between artistic and scientific approaches were a gradually growing tendency in psy-sciences in the USA from the early 1980s onwards (Levy, 1988; Karkou & Sanderson, 2006, pp. 13-21) demonstrated by

the fields of creative-arts therapies and arts-based research¹⁰³; but the reciprocity between art and science was viewed as potentially detrimental to the stability of scientific knowledge in American psychoanalysis and psychiatry in the 1950s. In consonance, Sossin stated:

Mahler stayed within the psychoanalytic world. [...] Kestenberg was a bit different. She branched out and learnt from Glaser about meridians [...] she knew Western neurology, but she didn't think it gave all the answers. She was fascinated with Meridians. She studied shiatsu. So, she was always willing to dance with therapists, art-therapists, music-therapists. She felt not only warmly received by them, but she felt they had something that needed to come back into psychiatry, psychology, and developmental studies. And very few analysts stepped out. [...] There was a defensive posture on many analysts. Why do we need to know about anything in another field? (Interview, 2022).

It also becomes clear that hesitation of psychoanalysts regarding Kestenberg's work cannot only be attributed to the somewhat uneasy integration of psychoanalytic metapsychology with the phenomenological language or to the primacy of somatic experience in her approach. There seems to be a confusion of tongues palpable in her work which created a distinct tension between her diagrammatic orientation, systematising drive and the exploratory, embodied language borrowed from dance studies. A dynamic integration of the language and epistemic orientations of dance and psychoanalysis wasn't successfully made and divided Kestenberg's audience into two groups; psychoanalysts who took some interest in her developmental assessment but were also kept at a distance by the language, and dance-movement therapists who understood the Labanian terminology but rejected the strong Freudian foundation of her theory.

Regarding the uneven reception of her Holocaust work and developmental movement studies within psychoanalysis, it must be added that Kestenberg herself might have also contributed to it. Kestenberg (1992) expressed that after learning about the death of her parents after the war she was so devastated by the news that she threw herself into her work and did not talk or think about the Holocaust until she had a patient in analysis who was a child of survivors. When referring to origins of her interest in the Holocaust, Kestenberg stated (1992, p. 188) that "*in 1968 I woke up from my latency period*". Latency in psychoanalysis refers to

¹⁰³ A current list of academic publications on creative arts therapies by Routledge <https://www.routledge.com/behavioral-sciences/mental-health/creative-arts-expressive-therapies>

the period that concludes early childhood and precedes puberty. In this period, the ego, separated from sexual urges and instinctual forces, grows in strength. This undisturbed time in ego development enables further adaptation to reality and society (Deutsch, 1944, p. 5, Naszkowska, 2023). The concept of latency can be understood here referring to her submerged state in response to the trauma of the loss of her parents, however by the same gesture she also designated her work before the Holocaust work, the years of her developmental movement studies, a reduction, a libidinally de-cathected project or simply secondary to the Holocaust studies.

Expanding the frame of analysis onto the history of American psy-sciences and modernity, the first epoch of Kestenberg's work demonstrated the centrality of infant observation and developmental assessment to the pursuit of legitimisation of psychoanalytic developmental concepts in the changing landscape of American psy-sciences in the middle of the century. Her oeuvre markedly incorporates the shift towards community-based settings and prophylactic approaches of the 1960s in American psychiatry. Kestenberg's interest in the study of movement behaviour situates her work as part of the 'Movement Movement' in the humanities. Her concepts on the meaning of bodily movement and its significance for individual and societal development are intimately tied to the pursuit of the democratic project in the Cold War period in the United States. Her psychoanalytic studies on the effects of the Holocaust, her efforts to carve out space for narratives of the second-generation and attempts to build communities for Holocaust survivors echoed to the growing Holocaust awareness in the 1980s and largely contributed to the construction of second-generation identities in the United States.

6. Weaving Threads Together

This chapter attempts the integration of Kestenberg's legacy as a whole highlighting the continuities and dislocation across her oeuvre, identifying inner threads of interest throughout the course of her life. Kestenberg's personal circumstances and life experiences, being a Jewish, female, Eastern-European emigree psychiatrist who arrived in the US at the outbreak of the Second World War, significantly influenced her professional pursuits. I take an outlook onto presenting the contemporary reach of the Kestenberg Movement Profile into clinical practice and research in psy-sciences. I suggest tentative echoes between Kestenbergian

notions and current embodied concepts in psy-sciences as an outlook onto a future integrated view of the history of movement behaviour research in psy-sciences.

6.1. Continuities in Life

“I think she was what we call in movement studies a spreader. She did so many different things, but she would go down deep into them. So, I guess I find that very interesting because when you spread like that, you find integration. So, the study of trauma in childhood is related to the story of child development and problems in child development”.

(Kestenberg Amighi, interview, 2021)

6.1.1. Bodies: Individual & Group

Looking at Kestenberg’s legacy, themes of embodiment, prevention, integration, and community come to the fore. In her developmental movement studies, she expanded the conceptual space of somatic experience in psychoanalytic discourse and attempted to demonstrate how bodily movements can become symbolic tools in personality development. Through the unusual integration of psychodynamic theory and dance studies she was able to discuss child development in unique detail. Sossin, (psychoanalyst, professor of psychology at Pace University, New York) a long-term collaborator of Kestenberg stated that her primary objective was prevention, whether it being the developmental trauma or trauma caused by social atrocities (Sossin, interview, 2022). She was vocal about infant mental health and the potential traumatising effects of authoritarian parenting from a psychological as well as a social standpoint. She was devoted to echoing the voices of an overlooked group of Holocaust victims, child survivors and children of survivors. She approached the topic of traumatisation and narrative construction from an embodied perspective. By including narratives of children of Nazi persecutors she intended to show how the individual experience of trauma and abuse become potential threats to society.

A strong devotion to community building is a continuous line across Kestenberg’s life and work. In the first epoch of her professional career, engrossed in the study of movement development, she established a community centre for children and parents. In the period dedicated to the psychoanalytic study of the Holocaust, she founded the Child Survivors

Association and was committed to connect survivors, share news of survivors' organisations worldwide. With her therapeutically oriented interviewing technique and commitment to community development, she contributed to the social movement Holocaust awareness and the construction of the second-generation identity in the United States. Kestenberg stated (Bell, 1984) that her Centre for Parents and Children bore out of concerns over the detrimental social effects on family fabric, family relationships that hinder child development, potentially lead to maladjustment, psychological and developmental disorders. Participation in the Centre's activities was advertised in their newsletters as an investment in the children, in the future generations thus society as a whole.

6.1.2. Identities: Personal & Professional

Looking across Kestenberg's oeuvre, her personal life, professional identity, her interests in psychiatry, psychoanalysis, infant development, and trauma, seemed to have been mutually co-constructed. She attributed her analytic interests and skills to both her mother's sensitivity, curiosity, and psychological giftedness and to her father's innovative thinking and propensity to indulge (Kestenberg, 1992, p. 156). Both her parents seemed to be role models for Kestenberg. She spoke with admiration about her mother's intellect and drive and her father's social morality and community spirit (Kestenberg, 1992). Her father's democratic socialist views influenced her political views for the rest of her life (Kestenberg, 1975). As her daughter, Janet Kestenberg Amighi recalled:

She raised me to believe in socialist principles, and she was supportive of civil rights, and she did it in her personal life. She encouraged our housekeep and nanny to go into further education and she offered to pay for it as well (interview, 2021).

After the murder of her father in the Holocaust, Kestenberg stated to have found a new father figure in her husband, Milton Kestenberg (Kestenberg, 1992). It seems that father figures were important for her which may be related to her father's sporadic absences during her childhood. Kestenberg received orthodox Jewish education at home and reportedly had a close relationship to God throughout her life (Kestenberg, 1992). She (Kestenberg, 1992) spoke of a condensed representation of her own father, Freud and God into a father-imago which might clarify her unwavering loyalty to Freudian concepts. This is illustrated in her following statement:

But for me, for my childish mind, Freud has God's features. He knows so many things that no one else knows. [...] But since I learned a lot from the patriarchs, I can criticise Freud or develop new ideas that would interest him (Kestenberg, 1992, p. 163).

In her biographical paper, Kestenberg (1992) mentioned that the intention to heal her family members influenced her choice of neurology and psychiatry. She believed that the most significant aspect of her life was that she was a child of the First World War (Kestenberg, 1992). Visiting the small war orphanage as a child established by her father was a formative experience for her (op.cit.). Learning about the death of her parents during the Holocaust she attempted to cope with the loss by fully immersing herself in her work. The choice to study child development may have been influenced by her childhood memory of visiting the orphanage which was perhaps a way for her to reconnect to the legacy of her parents and bridge over their inexplicable loss.

A formative early childhood experience of Kestenberg was laying down half an hour daily wearing a scoliosis corset. This experience may have engendered an embryonic interest in nascent somatic sensations. Kestenberg seemed to have a certain proximity to the world of dance from an early age. She recalled that she often daydreamed about dance choreographies (Kestenberg, 1992). As a child she attended gymnastics classes and enjoyed the physical freedom of climbing, jumping, and flying in the air. Her fondness for gymnastics and dance never ceased. She kept doing gymnastics even in her adolescent years. Kestenberg posited the existence of inner-genital developmental phase, where inner-genital sensations organise psychic development. Her emphasis on internal bodily sensations may have been inspired by the awareness one acquires of internal organs during jumping and flying in the air. These daydreams may have lent the foundation for her later interest in movement behaviour. Kestenberg was forced to settle in New York at the outbreak of World War II. where she did not speak the language well enough at first. Her struggles expressing herself in English in a new professional environment may have necessitated or further generated her interest in studying movement behaviour.

6.2. Continuities in Concepts

6.2.1. Clinical Applications ¹⁰⁴

Kestenberg's work has most widely been applied in clinical practice of dance/movement-therapy and creative arts-therapy (Loman, 1998, Loman et al., 2021; 2016; Johnson, 2018; Hastie, 2018; Gass et al. 2013, Eberhard-Kaechele, 2007; Gonzales-Dolginko, 2021), more seldomly in psychoanalytic and parent-child psychotherapy (La Barre, 2001, 2018; Birklein, 2018; Sossin & Birklein, 2006).

Gass et al. (2013) conducted a quasi-experimental pilot study aimed at facilitating the comprehensive development of nonverbal social skills in children diagnosed with Down syndrome (DS). Employing an embedded-multiple case design, the study focused on a 6-year-old girl with DS, examining her social intelligence, relational shaping, developmental movement, and nonverbal communication through the lens of the Kestenberg Movement Profile (KMP). To gain a nuanced understanding of the child's strengths and challenges, a triangulation approach was adopted involving quantitative assessment with the Vineland Adaptive Behavior Scales-II, qualitative assessment with the KMP, and naturalistic observation in the home environment, comparing her skills with those of her typically developing twin sister. Given its emphasis on developmental movement, the KMP was deemed suitable for enhancing both movement quality and social-emotional intelligence. The authors proposed that working with children with DS with an embodied focus takes advantage of the child's strengths in visual memory and imitation, receptive language, and non-verbal communication skills. Moreover, the application of the KMP was considered beneficial in preventing or mitigating disruptions in the caregiver-child holding environment, potentially averting further developmental delays associated with DS stemming from misattunement in the dyad.

Sossin established the Mind, Movement, Development, and Interaction Laboratory¹⁰⁵, a research nursery at Pace University's Clinical Psychology Department which still operates. Amongst its external associates are Frances La Barre (psychoanalyst, professor of psychology)

¹⁰⁴ Author organised and chaired the most recent European Kestenberg Movement Profile Conference on 20/03/2020 online See appendix: Supplemental material - Author academic activities/Document 1 & Document 2. https://drive.google.com/drive/u/0/folders/1Eq6-cbEr0TT_KSs2tPKYv3jtUv84UJ

¹⁰⁵<https://www.pace.edu/dyson/departments/psychology-new-york-city/psychology-research-groups/mind-movement-interaction-and>

and Beatrice Beebe (psychoanalyst, professor of medical psychology). Sossin (2015) proposed the integration of the KMP with mentalization-based therapy for patients with high functioning Autistic Spectrum Disorder (ASD). He argued that the KMP can inform the therapist about the patients intra- and intersubjective regulation patterns, sense of self and self-and-other representations. Sossin found that Kestenberg's concepts of Shape-Flow adjustment and tension-attunement applied in mentalisation-based therapy could aid the development of shared-affect states and amplify the patient's sense of being knowable and seen. Therapeutic work with people with ASD through a KMP lens would also pertain to examining self-regulation patterns expressed by the harmony or clashing between Tension-Flow and Shape-Flow, Efforts and Shaping in the movement repertoire of the individual. Sossin & Loman's (2009) studies on neurotypical populations and on people with ASD at the Mind, Movement, Interaction and Development Lab, observed "*excessive neutrality of both tension-flow and shape-flow in the individual with autism, a lack of elasticity and plasticity*", coupled with High Intensity Bound flow of muscle tension and Shrinking Shape-Flow patterns in response to environmental stimuli. (Sossin, 2015, p. 305).

As practising psychoanalysts, Sossin (2007, 2018), Frances La Barre (2001, 2018) and Silvia Birklein emphasised the applicability of Kestenberg's embodiment approach to interpreting nonverbal phenomena in the analytic space. Sossin & Birklein (2006), investigating the stress-transference processes between parent and infant, identified certain (muscle) Tension-Flow and (body) Shape-Flow patterns along the KMP category. La Barre (2018, pp. 243-247) provides a detailed account of how the Kestenberg Movement Profile assists the analyst in his work. "*The study of KMP provides enhanced perception, conceptualization, and access to what is happening in the flow of movement in kinetic text*" (La Barre, 2018, p. 245). La Barre also emphasises how attunement, movement, and alignment of body form can facilitate the phenomenon of therapeutic alliance and containment. La Barre formulated: "*My own speech rhythm, like my usual body movements, varied gradually in intensity, while my patient's was extremely abrupt and nervous[...] I could attune myself kinetically to him by gesticulating and moving in my chair to his rhythm*" (La Barre, 2018, p. 245). According to her, the therapist and client create psychoanalytic dialogue not only verbally but also through non-verbal behaviour, kinaesthetic text, and bodily attention. Through the attunement of patterns of tension and form-flow, for example through intonation of voice or subtle changes in gesture and posture, the feeling state created through the medium of early experiences can be evoked in the therapeutic space. Silvia Birklein (2018, pp. 247-251) has published a case study of how she used the KMP in analytic therapy with a client who had

experienced childhood trauma and sexual abuse. Through the client's movement, the disappearance of the plasticity of the Tension-Flow and the lack of temporality, Birklein was able to somatically understand the client's traumatised state. By adopting a Neutral Flow, Low-Intensity, constricting and homoerotic posture, the therapist experienced the client's psychic withdrawal. "[...] *an intrapsychic state that keeps the person frozen, immobile and empty, where all psychic time and space seem to collapse*" (Birklein, 2018, p. 250). The therapist chose to initiate movement patterns that could regulate the client's flow of tension. By incorporating expanding and bulging patterns in her own movements, she created an atmosphere of safety and inclusion. The client slowly followed her and began to use new patterns of tension and Shape-Flow by taking deeper breaths, lifting her head, and making eye contact (Birklein, 2018, p. 250). The theory and practice of the Kestenberg Movement Profile has the potential to add an embodied depth to the therapeutic process in the fields of mental health, parent and child psychotherapy, and adult and child psychoanalysis.

The study conducted by Dvir & Lotan et al. (2020) aimed to explore the potential of movement synchrony to improve social skills in children with ASD during music therapy sessions. A computerised tool, based on the KMP, was developed to assess body synchrony characteristics. Over a period of 20 weeks, data was collected from nineteen 4- to 6-year-old children diagnosed with ASD who were participating in a large international controlled trial study involving improvisational music therapy. The methods employed in the study involved microanalysis of video footage captured during the therapy sessions. Results indicated higher levels of synchrony between the music therapists and children when the latter engaged in repetitive rhythmic movements. However, despite the therapists demonstrating increased synchrony with the children by the end of the treatment, there were no significant changes observed in the children's autistic symptoms or their ability to synchronise with the therapists. Although the enhanced synchrony demonstrated by the therapists may have compensated for the children's difficulties in synchronisation. The study highlighted the role of music therapists in facilitating experiences for children with ASD using specific rhythmic movement patterns. It also emphasised the potential of utilising the KMP theory and computerised analysis to quantify body attunement in therapy sessions for children with ASD. Dvir & Lotan et al. (2020) suggested that these findings could encourage dance-movement therapists and other professionals to explore the concept of body attunement within various therapeutic contexts and dyadic interactions.

Gonzales-Dolginko (2021) developed the Kestenberg Art Profile which is a developmental assessment technique applicable to art therapy practices. Gonzales-Dolginko

retained the developmental and psychodynamic roots of the KMP and expanded on the object-relations perspective. The author's recent book (op.cit.) presents examples of the use of the Kestenberg Art Profile with cases of severe trauma, substance abuse and chronic illness.

6.2.1.1. Discussions with Graduate Students of Dance/Movement Therapy

Training in the KMP is included in most accredited university programs of dance-movement therapy under the quality assurance of American Dance Therapy Association (ADTA) and the European Association Dance Movement Therapy (EADMT) with training hours ranging from 22 - 90. The standards for mandatory hours in movement observation (inclusive of Laban/Bartenieff Movement Analysis and optionally the Kestenberg Movement Profile and other methods) is around 90-120 hours for both ADTA and EADMT accredited programs¹⁰⁶. It seemed methodologically appropriate to inquire about the relevance and utilisation of the KMP through surveying the opinions of graduate students of dance/movement therapy internationally. I set out to conduct focus group interviews but due a few data collection difficulties¹⁰⁷ resulting in the low number of participants these do not qualify as a focus group according to standards of qualitative research (Kovács, 2023, p. 83). Without the intention to draw any sort of generalisable outcome from the student opinions about the current applicability and relevance of the KMP, I thematically analysed the data of the discussion as illustrative to the topic of the dissertation.

Two focus group interviews were conducted with a total of 8 graduate students between 2022-2023 at two locations, one at the SRH Hochschule Heidelberg (3 participants), Germany and the other at the Antioch University New England (5 participants). Selection criteria was set to include all graduate students willing to participate who have completed the mandatory modules in their training pertaining to the KMP. Participants were recruited through video

¹⁰⁶ American Dance therapy Association Standards for Education and Clinical Training, 2023; Education and Training Standards of EADMT for the profession of Dance Movement Therapy, 2017
European Association of Dance Movement Therapy Training Standards and Criteria, 2017.

<https://eadmt.com/education/training-standards-criteria>

Training in the Kestenberg Movement Profile is optional for accredited courses under the EADMT. However, it is a stable part of the curriculum of dance-movement therapy courses in Germany, United Kingdom and Switzerland. The author is involved teaching the Kestenberg Movement Profile currently at the SRH Hochschule Heidelberg, Germany and at the Zoe School for Dance-Movement Therapy in Switzerland.

¹⁰⁷ For the American cohort of graduate students, due to relocation issues graduate students had to unexpectedly switch to distance learning which caused disruption to their schedules and the planned times of the focus group interview. The researcher attempted to provide multiple dates and time for the interview and intended to adapt to the students schedule by seeking out their availability prior to proposing dates. Similar, for the German cohort occurred an ad hoc scheduling difficulty which affected half of the graduate students who were willing to participate.

invitation and digital flyers that were shared across the dance/movement therapy graduate program. They were invited to take part in a focus group interview for the duration of an hour. The participation was voluntary and divorced from any aspects of student progression in the graduate program. Participants were informed about the topic, questions, and use of their opinions as qualitative data in my doctoral research¹⁰⁸. The interviews were conducted via zoom and recorded through the platform as well. They are stored in password protected files on my private computer.

Common themes of the discussions centred around challenges regarding documentation of movement and sharing clinical observations of movement behaviour within multidisciplinary teams of mental health professionals and a desire for standardised language and assessment framework in dance-movement therapy. Both focus groups highlighted difficulties in effectively documenting their work. They reported to struggle with using language that captures the nuances of dance-movement therapy while being accessible to professionals outside of the field. Both groups express challenges in integrating dance-movement therapy with other therapeutic modalities and a shared desire for clearer and more common language within the field to facilitate communication across disciplines. Both groups acknowledged the relevance of the KMP in relation to offering a language across dance-movement therapy professionals and the possibility to translate movement experience into developmental concepts to share with professionals outside of the field. However, many students voiced the need for further validation studies and synthesis in teaching of the KMP with contemporary developmental studies and concepts in embodied psychology. Students argued for the necessity of specialist and more focused training in systems like the KMP during their training to provide them with more of a toolset upon graduation. Students expressed hesitation about the scientific grounding of the KMP and wondered about the ways it could be further developed to fit the standards of current psychological assessments however opinions on the contrary, challenging whether dance-movement therapy should move closer to assessment tradition in clinical psychology or remain closer to the embodied and creative process with techniques applied in artistic research, were also expressed. Both groups expressed challenges related to language use, documentation, and communication within and outside the field of dance-movement therapy; acknowledged the historical and contemporary relevance of the Kestenbergs Movement Profile in relation to these challenges mixed with

¹⁰⁸ Please see Appendix/ Folder Focus Group Interviews
https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1PT5GZBFY0oUPqscGQb9guB--17U2P-sp?usp=drive_link

assertions about a needed rapprochement between the KMP and standard psychological assessment techniques thus furthering the academic standing of dance-movement therapy.

6.2.2. Research Applications¹⁰⁹

Sossin (1987)¹¹⁰ published a paper on the inter-reliability of the KMP in *Movement Studies*, the journal of the Laban/Bartenieff Institute of Movement Studies. The study pertained to observing infant-mother pairs in naturalistic settings, either at the Centre for Parents and Children where they were regular members or at their family home. Observations captured full-body movements on video. Inter-rater reliability was evaluated by correlating the plot-point values assigned by two different coders for each of the 8 categories of the KMP. The study found that intraclass reliability correlations, after minimal corrective procedures, met the overall criterion, indicating a modest level of reliability for the KMP. Overall, the study provided support for the reliability of the KMP but highlighted the need for further research to address sources of disagreement and ensure consistent coding practices, especially in challenging filming conditions.

A later study by Koch¹¹¹ (2001) similarly targeted the question of inter-rater reliability of the KMP in novice raters. The KMP had been part of dance/movement therapy training in the USA however with a limited number of hours. Koch (2001)¹¹² argued that despite the importance of reliability in clinical and research applications, there was limited research on the rater reliability and the psychometric properties of the KMP. Five graduate students in dance-movement therapy completed a 45-hour training in the KMP and rated four participants from

¹⁰⁹ For a list of most recent conference presentations on the KMP please see Appendix/Folder Contemporary Applications

https://docs.google.com/document/d/1EZvveYYFRr2V82yHJjQ7ZI7zKxFzDT5w/edit?usp=drive_link&oid=103572963465420908506&rtpof=true&sd=true

¹¹⁰ Observations were administered at 6 months and 12 months of age. If reliability coefficients fell below the desired threshold of 0.70, a corrective procedure was implemented. This procedure involved the two coders independently re-scoring the categories after discussing potential sources of disagreement and reviewing coding criteria. Video footage was allowed to be slowed down to facilitate the re-coding of Shape-Flow movements. 57 out of the 208 specific movement patterns observed across 26 profiles, did not meet the reliability criterion, and underwent the corrective procedure. Following the corrective procedure, stricter correlation coefficients were computed to assess inter-rater reliability. There was still some discordance among raters, particularly in cases where films were unclear, subjects were filmed at a distance, or episodes were brief.

¹¹¹ German dance-movement therapist, trained in the USA.

¹¹² The study inquired whether the Kestenbergs Movement Profile could be reliably applied to research by novice raters such as graduate students of dance/movement therapy. Using generalizability theory, the study examined the impact of training on reliability of newly trained raters. Results highlighted that novice raters experienced rating problems with the three KMP categories diagrams investigated, with rater variability accounting for a significant portion of the total variance.

a non-clinical adult population on three KMP dimensions: Tension-Flow Rhythms, Bipolar, and Unipolar Shape-Flow. The results indicated rather inconsistent reliability among novice raters, with particular difficulty observed in Unipolar Shape-Flow. Despite the training provided, raters showed low sensitivity to certain movement features, indicating that mastering the use of the KMP requires more experience than what the training course provided. The inconsistencies in average ratings between items may have been due to problems in the operational definitions of the Kestenberg Movement Profile. The study suggested that the issue of reliability should receive focused attention during KMP training, with trainees being evaluated in terms of reliability and provided techniques of self-correction to enhance accuracy in using the KMP (Koch, 2001).

Regarding the applicability of the KMP in psychology research, an observational study conducted also by Koch (2007)¹¹³ explored defences and conflict patterns in group communication expressed in bodily movement. The study assessed gaze behaviour and talking times to delineate the communicative context for claims about defences. Additionally, categories such as talking times, feedback behaviour, evaluative affect display, and movement qualities were considered. Defensive behaviour was primarily assessed using stress-related movement qualities identified in the Pre-Effort and Effort categories of the KMP. The research compared the use of defensive movement in conflict versus non-conflict situations within a public administration team consisting of four female members. Findings revealed a notable increase in Pre-Effort during conflict situations compared to non-conflict situations, suggesting a potential link between Pre-Effort and defence mechanisms. Overall, the study demonstrated the utility of the Pre-Effort category of the KMP as potential cues for identifying conflicts and guiding interventions. Koch (op.cit.) argued that utilising KMP theory facilitates the categorization, quantification of observations in group communication contexts, enhancing our understanding of interpersonal dynamics and aiding interdisciplinary dialogue amongst healthcare professionals.

A study of Shaw et al. (2010)¹¹⁴ entitled '*KMP Patterns Indexing Markedness: from intersubjectivity to mentalization*' was presented at the 4th World Association for Infant Mental Health Congress in Edinburgh, Scotland. They examined 30 mother-child dyads focusing on

¹¹³ However, caution was advised in interpreting the data due to the absence of statistical significance testing. The study also highlighted patterns in communicative behaviours, such as defences evoking defences, Effort being followed by pre-Effort, and the impact of positive feedback on changing pre-Effort to Effort.

¹¹⁴ They examined 30 mother-child dyads from the New York area. The children were on average 11 months old. Data collection involved a 2-hour session, including a 20-minute free play segment video-recorded in either the home or nursery setting. Six domains of movement patterns were assessed for both mother and child.

the influence of maternal and child characteristics of observed movement patterns and emotional availability within the dyad. During the free play session, movements of both the mother and child were notated using KMP methods. Additionally, emotional availability was coded for both the mother and child, encompassing dimensions such as sensitivity, structuring, and non-hostility. Child temperament was measured using the Infant Behavior Questionnaire-Revised¹¹⁵, capturing dimensions like positive affectivity and regulatory capacity. The study found significant correlations between observed movement patterns and maternal personality traits, including neuroticism, extraversion, and conscientiousness. Child temperament, as measured by the Infant Behavior Questionnaire-Revised, also corresponded to observed movement patterns. These findings suggest that movement behaviours are potential conduits of transmission between parental personality traits and child temperament. Sossin & Shaw (2011) in a different study, identified certain movement patterns of heightened emotion which could be likened to markedness during sequences of mind-to-minded and joint-attention. They (op.cit.) observed Widening and Lengthening in Bipolar Shape-Flow, and Unipolar Lengthening Up occurred most frequently during intensified emotional experiences. Their study provides a foundation for further exploration into the Tension-Flow and Shape-Flow patterns associated with pre-mentalizing events, wherein the communication conveys empathy and understanding without the sameness of feeling (Sossin, 2018, p. 300).

Another experimental study in the field of applied psychology conducted by Koch, Fuchs & Summa (2014)¹¹⁶ aimed to investigate the impact of Light versus Strong movement qualities on affect cognition. The study involved 91 participants. It employed a one-factorial between-subject design, with movement quality (either strong or light) as the independent variable and affect and valence of evoked memories (rated on a scale from 1 = very unpleasant to 4 = very pleasant) as the dependent variables. Mood was utilised as a control variable in the analysis. Participants were instructed to move with either strong or light intensity for a duration of 3 minutes. In the control group participants only imagined performing the movements after hearing the same instructions. This was done to ascertain whether any observed effects were attributable solely to the instructions or if they were indeed a result of the physical movement

¹¹⁵ Enlow, B.M., White, M. T., Hails, K., Cabrera, I., Wright, J. R. (2016). The Infant Behavior Questionnaire-Revised: Factor structure in a culturally and sociodemographically diverse sample in the United States, *Infant Behav. Dev.* 43, pp. 24-35. doi: [10.1016/j.infbeh.2016.04.001](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.infbeh.2016.04.001)
<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4909571/>

¹¹⁶ Participants were organised into small groups of 2 to 4 individuals, engaged in 30 trials of movement exercises. The instructions given did not explicitly use the terms 'strong' or 'light' but instead described actions such as 'moving heavy objects, pulling them or pushing them' for one condition and 'floating or drifting' for the other, ensuring a balanced mix of positively and negatively connoted descriptions between conditions.

itself, constituting a genuine body feedback effect. Mood and affect were measured before and after the movement, using the Multidimensional Mood Questionnaire (MDBF)¹¹⁷ and the Movement-Based Affect Scale (MBAS)¹¹⁸ based on the KMP, respectively. Recollections were assessed by asking participants to generate memories during and after the movement and rate their valence. Results indicated that movements of different qualities elicited differential affect and memories, with light movement leading to more indulgent affect and positive memories compared to strong movement. The control group showed no differences between imagined movements, suggesting the importance of bodily engagement in memory formation. The study highlighted the significance of dynamic body feedback in cognitive and affective processes, emphasising the role of movement quality in shaping body feedback and memory.

Bromberg's study (2015)¹¹⁹ delved into the intricate dynamics of mother-infant interactions, particularly focusing on the facial movements of 12-month-old infants and their correlation with maternal depressive vulnerabilities, namely dependency and self-criticism. Maternal depressive vulnerabilities were assessed using the Depressive Experiences Questionnaire¹²⁰. The findings revealed compelling associations between infant self-contingency and maternal Depressive Experiences Questionnaire scores. Infants of dependent mothers exhibited lower self-contingencies, indicative of withdrawal behaviors, while infants of self-critical mothers displayed higher self-contingencies, suggesting a propensity for engagement. Sequence analysis of facial movements uncovered nuanced patterns. For instance, sequences like Bipolar Lengthening followed by itself and Unipolar Lengthening Up followed by Bipolar Widening were negatively correlated with maternal dependency, indicating less frequent positive expressions and engagement among infants of dependent mothers. Conversely, sequences like Bipolar Widening followed by Bipolar Lengthening were negatively correlated with maternal self-criticism, implying challenges in maintaining positive affective states in these infants. Moreover, sequences such as Unipolar Shortening Down followed by Bipolar Widening and Unipolar Shortening Down followed by Unipolar

¹¹⁷ For more information see: Klonsky, D. E., Victor, S. E., Hibbert, A. S., Hajcak, G. (2019). The Multidimensional Emotion Questionnaire (MEQ): Rationale and Initial Psychometric Properties, *Journal of Psychopathology and Behavioral Assessment*, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10862-019-09741-2>

¹¹⁸ Movement-Based Affect Scale was developed by Koch based on KMP principles. See: Koch S. C. (2014). Rhythm is it: effects of dynamic body feedback on affect and attitudes. *Front. Psychol.* 10(5). doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2014.00537

¹¹⁹ The study involved 71 mothers and their 12-month-old infants from Children's Hospital, Columbia University Medical Center.

¹²⁰ For more see: Blatt, S. J., D'Afflitti, J. P., & Quinlan, D. M. (1976). *Depressive Experiences Questionnaire (DEQ)* [Database record]. APA PsycTests. <https://doi.org/10.1037/t02165-000>

Lengthening Up were positively correlated with maternal self-criticism, reflecting frequent self-regulation through gaze aversion and moments of disengagement followed by re-engagement, respectively. The study underscored the significance of sequence over frequency in understanding nonverbal behavior, emphasizing the sensitivity and versatility of the KMP as a tool for such analysis. The research shed light on the enduring impact of maternal depressive tendencies on mother-infant interactions, highlighting the need for continued exploration of these dynamics to support healthy infant development within the context of maternal mental health.

Doctoral study of Araki (2017)¹²¹ entitled ‘*Maternal Movement Patterns in Relation to Personality Features and Emotional Availability*’ conducted at the Mind, Movement, Interaction and Development Research Group at Pace University, investigated the relationships among nonverbal behavioural indices, maternal personality features, and emotional availability in mother-infant dyads. The KMP was used to code the mothers' movements, while the Emotional Availability Scales (EAS)¹²² assessed the quality of mother-infant interactions. The mothers also completed a personality inventory. Correlation between Direct followed by Strong effort movements suggested that these movements are associated with a structured and supportive interaction style. Acceleration Effort movement followed by Direct Effort movements indicated that extraverted mothers are more likely to exhibit these movement patterns. Direct followed by Light movements implied that this sequence may reflect increased abrasiveness and aggression. Singular movement frequencies revealed that extraversion was negatively correlated with Strong movements, neuroticism was positively correlated with Gentle movements, and agreeableness was positively correlated with Light movements. These findings align with the KMP framework, where lightness is associated with a buoyant attitude, and gentleness is linked to apprehensive learning or caution. Gentle and Sudden had fair to excellent reliability, with gentleness showing a significant positive relationship with neuroticism. This finding is counterintuitive, as neurotic individuals are typically seen as anxious and hostile, yet Gentle movement quality was more frequent among them. This suggests that gentleness might serve as a defence against aggression and hostility. The study underscored the importance of sequential movement processes rather than just singular patterns

¹²¹ The sample included 10 mothers interacting with their 8–14-month-old infants. The study found that the reliability between co-raters for several variables was challenging, limiting the interpretation of some results. However, certain correlations were significant.

¹²² For more see: Biringen, Z., Derscheid, D., Vliegen, N., Closson, M. L., Easterbrooks, A. (2014) Emotional availability (EA): Theoretical background, empirical research using the EA Scales, and clinical applications, *Developmental Review*, 34(2). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dr.2014.01.002>

in understanding maternal behavior and personality traits. However, due to reliability issues, further research with improved coding methods and training is needed. The findings provide a basis for future investigations into the role of nonverbal behavior in parent-child interactions and emotional development, suggesting that movement patterns can offer insights into personality characteristics and relational qualities.

Feniger-Schaala & Lotan (2017) examined the association between movement patterns and attachment styles in adults. 48 participants engaged in the mirror game, a nonverbal interaction where two players mirror each other's movements. Their movements were analysed using Shaping in Directions and Shaping in Planes categories defined in the KMP. Additionally, participants completed the Experiences in Close Relationships (ECR)¹²³ attachment questionnaire. The study revealed significant associations between specific movement patterns and attachment orientations. Participants with higher avoidance scores tended to utilise more Vertical and Sagittal Directional movements, while those with higher anxiety scores used fewer Directional movements and less combinations in three planes. Factor analysis revealed subgroups of movement variables that tended to vary together, with the vertical-sagittal shaping factor negatively correlated with avoidance scores. This suggests that participants who used more Vertical and Sagittal shaping movements had lower scores on the avoidance continuum. Conversely, the directional factor was positively correlated with avoidance scores but negatively correlated with anxiety scores, indicating that individuals with higher avoidance scores tended to use more Directional movements. Additionally, participants with higher anxiety scores tended to use more Horizontal Shaping movements, allowing for closeness, but less directional movements. The relationship between movement parameters and attachment orientation can be elucidated through Kestenberg's developmental movement theory. Movement patterns in infancy progress in a specific sequence. Initially, movements in the horizontal plane, typically learned while in the lap, precede movements in the vertical plane, which emerge as the infant learns to stand. Subsequently, movements in the sagittal plane, associated with walking, mature later in development. As individuals progress through stages of development, they begin to exhibit more complex movements that involve dimensional shaping. Importantly, the movement patterns acquired during early developmental stages

¹²³ For more see: Wei, M., Russell, D. W., Mallinckrodt, B., & Vogel, D. L. (2007). The experiences in Close Relationship Scale (ECR)-Short Form: Reliability, validity, and factor structure. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 88, 187-204. <https://novopsych.com.au/assessments/formulation/experience-in-close-relationship-scale-short-form-ecr-/#:~:text=The%20Experience%20in%20Close%20Relationship,are%20in%20a%20romantic%20relationship>

persist into adulthood. Therefore, it is reasonable to infer that the intricate utilisation of movement planes corresponds to the evolving complexity of attachment orientations throughout development. These findings suggested that analysing movement interactions can provide valuable insights into attachment orientation in adults.

Sossin (2018), highlighted the potential of the KMP for research on movement behaviour. He (op.cit) argued that the level of complexity of movement behaviour that KMP covers, quantifies, and represents far exceeds current research methods in this field. Current studies generally focus on the analysis of facial movements along neo-Darwinian lines such as the Facial Action Coding System (FACS) developed by Ekman or the Maximally Discriminative Facial Coding System (MAX) developed by Izard, Dougherty and Hembree (Sossin, 2018, p. 288). Sossin argued that KMP should be considered conceptually distinct from FACS and therefore complementary to it as a research method. Sossin currently directs the Mind, Movement, Development research laboratory at the Pace University clinical psychology doctoral program in New York City, where the KMP is used in infant observational studies (Kestenberg Amighi et al., 2018a, p. 7).

Johnson (2018) conducted a study to explore the theoretical validity of one aspect of the KMP, the Tension-Flow Rhythms (TFR). The study aimed to investigate whether different affective states are elicited by each TFR and whether there is a difference between responses to indulging and fighting TFRs. Employing a mixed methods design, the study involved quantitative survey questions and qualitative post-task interviews. Participants, recruited from a college campus viewed video examples of specific TFRs and then reproduced the movement. They were asked to identify words associated with the movement experience and complete affect surveys. The study focused on the first four developmental TFRs: Sucking, Snapping-Biting, Twisting, and Strain-Release. Results indicated that smooth-quality TFRs elicited more indulgent feelings, while sharp-quality TFRs evoked assertive or aggressive-type feelings. Interestingly, differences in affective responses were observed even within the same category of movement. Interview data revealed that the specific rhythmic movements elicited memories and varied intensities of affective response, in particular the Sucking rhythm. Overall, the study provided preliminary evidence supporting the theoretical framework of the KMP, suggesting that rhythmic body movements can influence affect-state, and that rhythmic patterns within the same quality category differ in their affective responses (Johnson, 2018).

6.2.3. Contemporary Echoes

There are various palpable echoes between contemporary infant-mental health research and Kestenberg's developmental movement theory and ideas on intersubjectivity. Her notion of kinaesthetic attunement through tension and Shape-Flow and their significance in the development of self-and-other schemas seem to be consonant with concepts of marked affect mirroring (Fonagy et al. 2002, 2012; Gergely, 2004, 2007; Gergely & Unoka, 2008; Gergely & Watson, 1996), synrhythmicity (Trevarthen & Malloch, 2009), vitality affects and interaffectivity (Stern, 1971, 1998/1985). Application of the Kestenberg Movement Profile to child guidance and parent-infant psychotherapy at the Centre of Parents and Children with its emphasis on embodied interventions correspond to contemporary approaches in mentalisation-based treatments and embodied considerations in analytic therapy and parent-infant psychotherapy (Knoblauch, 1997, 2005, 2017; Bucci, 1997). In this chapter I review these echoes and consonances to suggest the continuity as well as the growth of embodied focus from the middle of the century to today in the psy-sciences.

The backbone of Kestenberg's developmental movement studies was the concept that somatic and movement experiences of the early years are forerunners of psychic development (Kormos, 2021). In consonance, Luyten & Fonagy et al. (2012) stated that "[...] *there can be little doubt that the first experiences of reflective thinking are somatic in nature*" (p. 404). Delafield-Butt & Trevarthen (2015) Posited that the primary conscious perceptions of the self, emerge along the lines of experiences of muscle action as the body stretches during contact or shrinks during loss of contact or detachment. Kestenberg sought to capture this phenomenon in the Shape-Flow category of her Movement Profile (Kestenberg-Amighi et al., 2018). Delafield-Butt & Trevarthen (2015) pinpointed the origins of narrative within the innate sensorimotor intelligence of a highly mobile human body and traced the ontogenesis of narrative form from its initial manifestation in movement. They (op.cit.) contended that aspects of intelligent planning, coupled with self-awareness, are observable in the gestures and movement expressions of the mid-gestation foetus. After birth, these individual intentions are sequentially structured into projects with increasingly ambitious objectives and social significance (op.cit.). Delafield-Butt & Trevarthen (2015) further asserted that cultural rituals and shared practices stem from foundational psycho-motor structures which are fundamental impulses for action and generative processes of thought-in-action. These structures reflect an imaginative, and sociable self which is observable both before birth and consistently

throughout life. These non-verbal actions are organised into sequences of complex expressive and explorative projects of sense-making and lead to the establishment of conventional meanings with narrative power. Similarly to Kestenberg, Delafield-Butt & Trevarthen (2015) also recognised the significance of the embodied experiences as well as the organisation and function of motor action to symbolic meaning-making processes thus hold relevance for a variety of fields from education, child guidance, developmental research, philosophy and neuroscience.

The basic tenet of Kestenberg's work was the view that the systematic analysis of movement behaviour allows for a deeper understanding of intra- and intersubjective processes; cataloguing of movement patterns furthers scientific knowledge about the nature, function and organisation of bodily movement which enables clinicians to develop sophisticated interventions targeting body-mind processes. In consonance, Knoblauch (1997, 2005, 2007, 2017, 2018) emphasised, in several works, the need to expand the understanding of embodied experience in analytic therapy into considering the body's ability in expressing emotional states and the role it plays in guiding the analyst's attention. Stern's (1971, 2010) vitality affects, Bucci's (1997) subsymbolic layers of experience, Fonagy et al. (2002) fluid emotional activity.

Knoblauch's embodied registrations of rhythmic patterning all denote somatically based processes which due to their affective density and transmodally fluid organisational structures cannot be symbolically represented and yet play vital role in the recognition of self-and-other states and self-state shifts (Knoblauch, 2017). Gallagher (2004, p. 205) also asserted that our understanding of the intention of others is essentially perception-based because intentions are embedded within and directly expressed by embodied actions. Kiersky & Beebe (1994) defined interaction structures as shaped by the dimensions of affective stimulation, temporal patterns, spatial relationships, and related proprioceptive arousal (p. 390). Volume, tone, rhythm, tempo, and visual cues, in other words process contours, contribute to structuring these patterns into a recognizable shape. Knoblauch (1997) added changes in facial expressions and posture, rhythm, vocal tone and turn taking behaviour. Schore (2003) asserted that the therapist's access and understanding to the changes in their own embodied states could be crucial to evaluate the differences between constructive and potentially destructive countertransferential influences to the therapeutic process. Bucci (1997) in distinguishing between symbolic and subsymbolic processes explained that "*The categorical function, by which the continuous gradients of perceptual experience are chunked into discrete prototypical images, is the core of the symbolising process*" (p. 142), whereas on subsymbolic levels, the varieties of information

processing include elements that are not discrete, nor categorical and processing can occur simultaneously on various pathways. She further clarified:

Subsymbolic processing accommodates infinitely fine variation; this processing is not represented by standard metric systems or computational rules. We recognize changes in the emotional states of others based on perception of subtle shifts in their facial expression or posture and recognize changes in our own states based on somatic or kinaesthetic experience (Bucci, 1997, p. 194).

Knoblauch argued (2005, p. 824) that the attention on subsymbolic embodied registrations could allow the therapist to engage with different self-states during the analytic process. A moving back and forth between symbolic and subsymbolic levels of experience could enable meaning construction for subjective affective states of the analyst and patient, that initially emerged within their intersubjectively created affective flow.

The developmental and clinical concept of mentalisation, pioneered by Fonagy, Watson, Gergely & Target (Fonagy et al., 2012; Mayes et al., 2007) has sprouted considerable interest in various fields spanning from psychoanalysis, neuroscience, child development, genetic to existential philosophy and phenomenology. Mentalisation-based treatment model emphasises vulnerability to psychopathology in those who experienced stressful psychosocial situations within an early attachment context due to inadequate affect mirroring (Fonagy & Bateman 2012; Gergely & Watson, 1996). Shai and Belsky (2011) describe parental embodied mentalizing as the process through which the parent implicitly infers and anticipates the infant's mental state based on the infant's kinaesthetic expression and synchronises her own somatic patterns accordingly. For the normal development of sense of self, it is necessary that the infant's emotional cues are contingently mirrored to by a caregiver (Gergely & Watson, 1996).

Contingent mirroring goes beyond mere timing, spatial alignment, and emotional resonance. It also requires markedness, that is the exaggeration or slight distortion of the infant's emotional signals by the caregiver. Apparent cues that accompany the caregiver's affect response signal a sort of pedagogical situation prompting the infant to search for the intended referent. Due to the 'markedness' of this mirroring, where subtle biological cues indicate that the displayed affect is not the caregiver's own, the infant understands that the expressed emotion is not reflective of the caregiver's emotional state (op.cit.). Instead, the infant must discern what the marked emotion display refers to, relying on external cues such as the

caregiver's eye-gaze direction. As the caregiver produces these marked affect mirroring displays while looking at and orienting toward the infant, the infant's attention is drawn to their own face and body, serving as the referent for the caregiver's cues and anchoring the decoupled affect display.

This contingent feedback forms the basis for the infant's development of an understanding of both others' emotions and intentions, as well as their own emotions (Fonagy & Bateman, 2012, p. 24). Marked mirroring allows the infant to attribute displayed emotional experience as their own rather than an expression of the caregiver's emotions (Fonagy et al., 2002a; Gergely, 2004). Through this process, infants internalise representations of their experiences, thus developing a representational system for understanding internal states, akin to a social biofeedback mechanism (Gergely & Watson, 1996). Trevarthen & Aitken (2001) argued that primary intersubjectivity may be an early innate capacity of the human infant which is expressed on a perceptual level by the recognition of movements, prosodic features, gestures, and rhythmic qualities of the other. Beebe & Lachmann (1988) that structures of interaction are created through the patterns of mutual influence between the infant and caregivers which the infant comes to expect. These patterns can be cognitively recalled even though they lack semantic meaning. They are encoded on a nonverbal level and can be felt but cannot be symbolically elaborated. Stern (1971, 1998/1985, 2010) examined the process of attunement between infant and caregiver which he defined as a continuous process of interactive patterning of matching and mismatching across various perceptual and motion-based modalities. Tronick and Cohn (1989) emphasised the importance of matching and mismatching in the somatic interactions of infant and caregivers for secure attachment, in fact they argued that mismatching is especially necessary for the growth of the relationship when it is accompanied by responsive attempts of repair in the attunement.

Mentalisation-based treatment aims to reconfigure body image distortions resulting in hyper-embodied states, when the individual experiences their somatic and internal states as immediate and 'too-real'; or in disembodied disconnection from somatic states and affects (Skarderud & Fonagy, 2012, p. 362). Mechanisms to enable the patient to mind his own body are at the centre of this treatment approach. To effectively utilise this focus on mental states, the therapist, similarly to the securely attached mother, needs to engage in "marked" mirroring demonstrating attunement and compassion while communicating differentiation between self and other. This can involve indicating coping strategies in their affect displays, such as employing exaggerated, slowed-down, schematic movements that are distinct from their usual movement repertoire (Fonagy et al. 2002, 2012; Gergely, 2004, 2007; Gergely & Unoka, 2008;

Gergely & Watson, 1996). Trevarthen & Malloch (2000) coined the term ‘synrhythmicity’ to denote the subtle processes of rhythmic and movement-based harmonisation between infant and caregiver which provide the basis for intersubjectivity and play a significant role in mentalisation.

Mechanisms of offering coping strategies through the use of various kinaesthetic modes of affect display described above correspond greatly with Kestenberg’s concept of partial or selective Tension-Flow attunement (Kestenberg, 1965a, 1965b, 1967, 1985). “*Complete attunement [in tension flow rhythms] is based on . . . a sameness of needs and responses, but also a synchronization in rhythms*” (Kestenberg, 1975, p. 161). Similarly, to the Fonagy et al. (2012), Kestenberg (1965) also emphasised the significance of the sophisticated mechanisms of partial and complete affect attunement with distinct implications for the development of self-and-other experiences and representations. Kestenberg argued that complete attunement in high frequency between mother and child, denoting the process of engaging in the same Tension-Flow patterns induces fears of engulfment. She stated that: “*the road to normality is difficult to assess because it consists of both clashes and attunements in a complicated qualitative, quantitative and sequential relationship*” (Kestenberg, 1975, p. 160). Kestenberg’s catalogue of movement patterns could aid the therapist’s skills in producing marked mirroring just as she believed that educating parents about the benefits of complete and partial kinaesthetic attunement and teaching them the patterns listed in the KMP could prevent attachment issues, childhood trauma and the later development of psychopathology. It was the members of the Sands Point Movement Study Group who attended to fine-tuning Kestenberg’s concept of attunement. They defined Tension-Flow attunement as the use of dissimilar but harmonious Tension-Flow Attributes in order to express empathy as well as self and other differentiation kinaesthetically (Kestenberg Amighi et al., 2018, p. .85).

Jonathan Delafield-Butt¹²⁴, praised the Kestenberg Movement Profile as a highly detailed and sensitive methodology that provides a structure for approaching the affective and embodied mind. Beatrice Beebe¹²⁵ stated that, the Kestenberg Movement Profile offers an

¹²⁴ Lecturer in Developmental Psychology, Developmental Psychology and Director of the Autism Innovation Laboratory at the University of Strathclyde
Read the critics reviews: <https://www.routledge.com/The-Meaning-of-Movement-Embodied-Developmental-Clinical-and-Cultural-Perspectives-of-the-Kestenberg-Movement-Profile/KestenbergAmighi-Loman-Sossin/p/book/9781138484634>

¹²⁵ Clinical Professor of Medical Psychology, Columbia University Medical Center
Read the critics reviews: <https://www.routledge.com/The-Meaning-of-Movement-Embodied-Developmental-Clinical-and-Cultural-Perspectives-of-the-Kestenberg-Movement-Profile/KestenbergAmighi-Loman-Sossin/p/book/9781138484634>

invaluable approach to understanding nonverbal communication. Unlike the face-to-face communication studies often used in infant research, the KMP covers all aspects of nonverbal behaviour, including gestures, postures, full-body movements, levels of muscle tension, the shapes of each person's body, and how each partner behaves in personal and shared dyadic space (Kestenberg Amighi et al., 2018).

Kestenberg's emphasis on kinaesthetic attunement, particularly through tension and Shape-Flow dynamics, resonates with concepts such as affect mirroring, vitality affects, and interaffectivity found in current literature within psy-sciences. Researchers like Fonagy et al. (2002, 2012), Gergely (2004, 2007), Gergely & Unoka (2008), and Gergely & Watson (1996) have extensively explored affect mirroring as a crucial component in early socio-emotional development. Similarly, the notion of synrhythmicity, as discussed by Trevarthen & Malloch (2000), aligns with Kestenberg's emphasis on the rhythmic coordination between infant and caregiver during interaction. Kestenberg's concepts of vitality affects and interaffectivity find resonance in the work of Stern (1971, 1998/1985), who has examined the intricate interplay of affective states and their impact on early relational experiences. These connections suggest that Kestenberg's work on somatic mechanisms underlying early developmental processes could be considered a historical background to contemporary concepts of infant-mental health and mentalization studies.

6.3. Conclusion

Kestenberg's oeuvre bore various internal and external tensions. Amongst the 'New Women' of the early 20th century Kestenberg life story could be considered, in some respects, atypical (Freidenreich, 2002; Naszkowska, 2023). Unlike many of her contemporaries, her mother actively encouraged her daughters' pursuit of higher education (Freidenreich, 2002; Naszkowska, 2023). Financial struggles in Kestenberg's family during the 1920s influenced her career choice, as she sought a profession that would offer financial stability and enable her to support her family (Kestenberg, 1992). Despite fulfilling her mother's aspiration for academic achievement, Kestenberg diverged from parental expectations by opting for a career in medicine (Naszkowska, 2023). Kestenberg seemed to belong to the group of early educated women whose main category of identification was through their profession rather than their gender identity (Naszkowska, 2022; Borgos, 2018, 2019). Kestenberg's her daughter stated

that her mother did not consider herself a feminist but “*acted like a feminist in her life. She did what she wanted to do*” (Kestenberg Amighi, interview, 2021).

Kestenberg developed her professional identity after her emigration to the United States at the outbreak of the Second World War. As an alien in a new environment where her identity, personal and professional connections were fragmented by cultural differences, she searched for a medium that transfers meaning across these divisions; this was bodily movement. The first epoch of her work absorbed in developmental movement studies could be viewed as an attempt to integrate herself in her new professional context in American psychoanalysis and psychiatry with invoking important aspects of her personal history, the love for dance and children. This era in her career was marked by the tension of losing her parents that initiated a period of latency denoting the presence of integrative processes on an unconscious level. The next epoch of her career centred around the study of the transgenerational effects of the Holocaust. These studies which could be understood as further attempts to integrate various losses she suffered; loss of her parents, loss of her home in Vienna and Poland and the concomitant aspects of her Polish-Jewish identity.

Internal ambivalences in Kestenberg’s oeuvre are demonstrated by her, at times, reformist and other times, conservative position. Kestenberg presenting the uncharted territory of bodily movement as a focus of psychoanalytic metapsychology in the 1950s could be considered a pioneering effort. Expanding drive theory onto internal bodily organs and investigating how movement experience become symbolic tools was a unique approach in psychoanalysis at the time. Her conviction to hold drive and ego psychology to equal significance in analysis thus contributing to a more holistic view demonstrated a progressive attitude. Kestenberg consciously transgressed disciplinary boundaries and made serious efforts create a dialogue between theories and methodologies of art and science. The unusual integration of psychoanalytic developmental theory with dance theory, her inspiration by meridian systems of Eastern medicine and her advocacy for the use of creative arts in therapy and child guidance underscore this statement. The scope and methodology of her Holocaust studies were unique. She developed an innovative technique of narrative interviewing and expanded the scope of their study onto marginalised groups of survivors such as child survivors, non-Jewish survivors, and war children.

Her unwavering loyalty to classical drive and structural theory and Mahler’s symbiotic phase mark the more conservative veins of her work. She attempted a rapprochement towards modern object-relations theories with her notion of ‘*transsensus outgoingness*’ (Kestenberg, 1978) but this concept remained underdeveloped. Even though she posited the inner-genital

developmental phase, her views on the development of sex-specific identity and femininity, in particular, remained notably phallo-centric. As late as the 1980s, Kestenberg argued for anatomical determinism in relation to the development of sex-specific identity and viewed parental roles according to traditional gender stereotypes. She categorised overly career-focused women as masculine which implicates her as a rather industrious woman professional (Kestenberg, 1980a, 1980b). Furthermore, she problematised cultural changes leading to the postponement of childbearing; posited the assumption of parenthood in a nuclear family structure as an indicator of well-being. Last, but not least there is a distinct internal tension between her explicit non-dualist approach to the body-mind demonstrated by her efforts of proposing a unified view of psyche and soma and her devising of a structuralist, grammatically oriented language of bodily movement akin to symbolic language. Kestenberg anchoring somatic experience in categorical signifiers, dissecting it into separate elements and syntactic structures counteracts the non-dualist view of the material (the bodily) always being more than what can be grasped from it by the process of signification (Kiss, 2021). In her Profile, movement behaviour is inserted into classifications which is beholden to a mechanistic rather than a dynamic view of the phenomena. However, alongside this critique, we must consider that Kestenberg already took serious risks by proposing a unified view of the body-mind in psychoanalysis and borrowing methods from dance studies thus to take further leap towards a more dynamic methodology instead of the systematisation of movement qualities she accomplished in her Movement Profile could have further problematise the reception of her work. The framework through which Kestenberg chose to study bodily movement was aligned with the methodological trends and disciplinary ambitions of American ego-psychology at the time which could have served as a legitimization for her work.

In terms of external influences, Kestenberg's work modelled various typical trends in psy-sciences at the time, and distinctly contradict others. Kestenberg's legacy demonstrates the centrality of infant observation and developmental assessment to the pursuit of legitimisation of psychoanalytic developmental concepts in the changing landscape of American psy-sciences in the middle of the 20th century. Her oeuvre markedly incorporated the shift towards community-based settings and prophylactic approaches of the 1960s in American psychiatry. Kestenberg's interest in the study of movement behaviour situates her work as part of the 'Movement Movement' in the humanities. Her concepts on the significance of bodily movement for individual and societal development are intimately tied to the discourse of psy-sciences in pursuit of the democratic project during the Cold War period in the United States. Her psychoanalytic studies on the effects of the Holocaust, her efforts to carve out space for

narratives of the second-generation and her attempts to build communities for Holocaust survivors echoed to the growing Holocaust awareness in the 1980s thus contributing to the construction of second-generation identities in the United States.

Disciplinary tensions ensued from the contrast between Kestenberg's systematic focus in devising the Movement Profile and the phenomenological, at times metaphoric terminology of dance studies which resulted in the apprehension of both psychoanalysts and dance/movement-therapists with certain aspects of her work. Her transdisciplinary approach was viewed unconventional and created external tensions about the scientific validity of her developmental movement studies within psychoanalysis and psychiatry.

If we consider that Freud's work changed the paradigm of medical investigation from looking and imaging to listening (Csabai & Eros, 2000, pp. 80-82), then Kestenberg further shifted it towards kinaesthetic attunement through which one embodies the movement patterns of the patient thus constructing understanding of their self-experience. Freud developed the anatomy of narrative in his psychoanalytic technique; Kestenberg conceived of the psychodynamic grammar of movement behaviour. In the Freudian view the psychic materia behind the symptom is revealed by the patient's narrative (Csabai & Eros, 2000); for Kestenberg it is revealed by the movement narrative, the specific constellation of kinetic features within one's individual movement repertoire. Kestenberg's inside/outsider position enabled her to explore neglected notions within psychoanalytic theory; advocate for those, peripheral to dominant cultural discourse, such as Holocaust survivors and developing children. She attempted an unusual integration of artistic and scientific methodologies through a transfusion of her own aesthetic and scholarly interests.

This dissertation, by looking at Kestenberg's work from a historical perspective, contributed to our understanding about the history of psy-sciences from the mid to late 20th century and clarified the links between studies on movement behaviour and the pursuit of the democratic project in the Cold War period in the USA. With the growing professionalisation and global dissemination of creative therapies, coupled with the advancement of the embodiment paradigm, there has been a notable surge in scientific interest in movement processes within the psychological sciences. This presents an auspicious opportunity to incorporate an integrated perspective of Judith S. Kestenberg's work into the historical narrative of American psy-sciences, particularly into the history of American psychoanalysis. It has been the ambition of this research to augment this process through establishing a stand-alone archival collection of Kestenberg at the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress where her voluminous lifework is now accessible to the public.

Appendix

Kormos Janka Dissertation Appendix:

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1ppOVpSZYma02VZOcWGDIq8HaqCXSNAVH?usp=drive_link

Judith S. Kestenberg Archival Research:

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1iE84-QLlmvycJqOOmN2nkQCnYXWAYq_9?usp=drive_link

Movement & Modernity: https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1hFQjiEIt-lph3XQRKro1XB_UcBPzv8E?usp=drive_link

Contemporary Applications:

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1KQ9oAOKOzlEgoszZzJr3ouhQe0RnbKDT?usp=drive_link

Focus Group Interviews:

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1PT5GZBFY0oUPqscGQb9guB--17U2P-sp?usp=drive_link

Expert Interviews:

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1s8AptYI7AdRcNPI6WUW8zTrtDanT3Ewe?usp=drive_link

Supplemental material author academic activities:

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1Eq6-cbEr0TT_KSss2tPKYv3jtUv84UJL?usp=drive_link

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