

NOTES

Introduction. A City of Listeners

1. Martin Heidegger (1962) would call this “being-in-the-world,” grounded in a body in a world ready to occupy it in different ways.
2. A rich scholarship has focused, at least since the 1960s, on listening as a site of inquiry to understand social relationships. This interest began with artists/musicians such as Pierre Schaeffer and John Cage experimenting with the phenomenology of listening. Some recent representatives of this tradition are Becker 2004; Bull 2015; Horowitz 2012; Ihde 2007; Lacey 2013; Mikutta et al. 2014.
3. Another example of listening as an embodied practice can be found in Patrick Eisenlohr’s *Sounding Islam* (2018). Through his analysis of “sounding atmosphere,” Eisenlohr focuses on the phenomenological experience of “energetic flows and movement in sonic events” during the appreciation of mediated Islamic sermons (4).
4. Original: “A vos te faltó afecto. Bueno, eso es lo que *a mí me sonó* lo que dijiste. Te faltó el abrazo, y yo me siento identificada con eso también.”
5. Julia Kristeva (1984) refers to these two realms—what I call denotation and resonance—as the level of the geno-text or the semiotic, and the pheno-text or the symbolic. The latter refers to the language as syntax, while the semiotic refers to the bodily and affective realm of prelinguistic and drive-based primary processes. Thus, for Kristeva, Lacan’s resonance belongs to the geno-text, as did my friend’s embodied experience of how my words sounded.
6. Linguistic anthropologists and pragmatians have discussed in detail the problems with the unmediated nature of language; most famously, Mikhail Bakhtin’s (1981) conceptualizations of dialogism and heteroglossia point to the polyphony of voices and plurality of consciousness that each individual brings to every interaction. From a different epistemological perspective, Martin Heidegger (1962, 165–67) explains “they-qualities” where “everyone is the other, and no one is himself. The ‘they,’ which supplies the answer to the question of the ‘who’ of everyday Dasein, is the ‘nobody’ to whom every Dasein has already surrendered itself in Being.”

7. An exploratory study in 2008 by Candelaria Escalante, then a student of psychology, and medical psychiatrist Eduardo Leiderman interviewed 1,510 people randomly on the streets of Buenos Aires's twenty-two neighborhoods and found that 15.6 percent were attending psychotherapy at the time of the interview, while 21 percent of the interviewees had attended psychotherapy in the previous year and 41.6 percent had attended psychotherapy in the previous two years (Escalante and Leiderman 2008).

8. Original: "Cuando te encontrás con un paciente que camina como araña, que gime en vez de hablar, y que tiene una enfermedad en la piel, lo primero que hay que hacer es medicar. Una vez que el paciente está estabilizado, ahí hablar empieza a ser importante. Y ahí es cuando volvés a conceptos como desplazamiento, infancia, trauma, etc. Yo creo que como médico tenés que trabajar con la historia del paciente. Nosotros también curamos con la palabra."

9. In their book *The Transnational Unconscious: Essays in the History of Psychoanalysis and Transnationalism* (2009), Joy Damousi and Mariano Plotkin explain in detail how Buenos Aires became the epicenter of the diffusion of Lacanian psychoanalysis and how representatives of European institutions journeyed to Buenos Aires to be trained by Argentine analysts.

Chapter 1. For a Theory of Genres of Listening

1. Previous to Akhtar's work, Richard D. Chessick (1982) describes the importance of listening within the clinical setting.

2. Phenomenological approaches to listening do not consider a separation between listening and hearing. Listening is considered part of the intersubjective experience (see Duranti 2015) and thus is already mediated by the intentionality of the listener.

3. According to Chion (2012), this mode of listening has been the object of linguistic research. One crucial finding is that it is purely differential. A phoneme is listened to not strictly for its acoustical properties but as a part of an entire system of oppositions and differences.

4. For a comprehensive, historical, and critical analysis of the stethoscope, see Foucault 1977, 1986; Sterne 2001. For sounds inside hospitals and clinics, see Rice 2013. In the specific case of the medical realm, auscultation situates the body as "eloquent irrespective of its owner's capacity to speak" (Rice 2013, 64). The subjective experience of the patient is relegated second to the language of the body itself. Sounds are isolated and then treated as objective diagnostic signs. Consequently, when Foucault ([1973] 2008) discusses the emergence of the "medical gaze," he recognizes the importance of listening and touching as particular technologies of power that create subjugation, hierarchies, and social identities. There is a performative transformation inside the clinic through auscultation, which is multimodal in nature, involving language, touching, listening, and external signs that range from patients' robes to machinery.

5. Pragmatics is the branch of linguistics dealing with language in use and the contexts in which it is used, including such matters as deixis, the taking of turns in conversation, text organization, presupposition, and implicature.
6. I am referring to intentionality as proposed by Edmund Husserl (1982), who emphasizes the role of the agent in giving meaning to objects, people, events, etc., through what he calls “intentional acts,” which in turn modify the agent’s perception of the world (i.e., seeing, hearing, smelling, etc.). See Sokolowski 1964, 57.
7. Consciousness is not the defining element of psychoanalytic listening; on the contrary, listening through a psychoanalytic framework entails a sort of suspension of a conscious response. The consciousness of deciphering a sound through its semiotic imprint comes from the fact that sounds will always be attached to a referent when first heard.
8. An example of the contextual nature of listening can be seen when conscious judgment stops being involved in the act of listening and hallucinatory voices or sounds have the potential to emerge. If these are codified as pathological, this situation might be described as a schizophrenic auditory delusion. But if the sounds that surpass the conscious realm are heard in the context of a religious ceremony—where listening to the voice of God is the ultimate goal—far from being pathological, these sounds are regarded as a successful fulfillment of the ceremony (Schmidt 2000; see also Jaynes 1982; Freud [1923] 1995).
9. The idea that listening is able to produce a transformative force inside the social world has been explored by various scholars who began to inquire into other sensorial forms as a way of approaching culture, intending to limit the famous “textual paradigm” posed by James Clifford and George Marcus (1986) in the book *Writing Culture*. In *Hearing Cultures*—a play on the title of Clifford and Marcus’s text—Veit Erlmann (2004) and other scholars call for the cultural and historical contextualization of auditory perception, paying attention to interaction through the sense of hearing in all its different capacities (see Bull and Back 2003; Feld 1982, 2017; Rice 2013).
10. Listening to sermons has yet another capacity, the gift of relaxation, peacefulness, and the enhancing of the listener’s competence for discernment in the face of moral danger (Hirschkind 2006, 73). This particularity of listening relates to studies about how music is capable of transporting listeners into a different emotional estate (Juslin and Sloboda 2010; D. Schwarz 1997). Listening thus poses the capacity to constitute social roles, to direct action, and to transform the senses in ways that no other phenomena could perform.
11. I understand that “setting boundaries” to listening practices might be conceived of as naive, since many scholars have explained in detail why extracting and objectivizing a portion of ongoing social action and turning it into “blocks or atoms of shared culture” (Silverstein and Urban 1996, 1), and thus creating shareable and transmittable culture, decontextualize meaning, inserting it in a new context carrying meaning that is independent of the previous situation (see Silverstein and Urban 1996). All the studies in intertextual-

ity also point to the impossibility of isolating a particular text from other discursive/textual formations (Barthes 1975; Bauman and Briggs 1990; Kristeva, Rey-Debove, and Umike-Sebeok 1971). I am aware that setting a boundary to listening practices is an artificial and problematic conceptualization. Yet, in order to begin to explore how listening transforms and creates social situations, I find it important to analyze listening practices as genres, and differentiate among them, as a useful tool to begin to understand how listening is a dynamic and transformative activity providing directionality.

12. For poetic structure, see Banti and Giannattasio 2004; Bauman 1986; Bauman and Briggs 1990; Bauman and Sherzer 1975; Briggs 1993; Jakobson 1960. For literary theory, see Bakhtin 1981, 1986; Barthes 1975; Jauss 1974, 1982; Todorov 1980. For music genres, see Kivy 2001; Rentfrow and McDonald 2010. For practice theory, see Hanks 1987.

13. According to Susan Ervin-Tripp (1972, 233), there are two dimensions of language structural co-occurrence: the horizontal and the vertical. Horizontal co-occurrence rules specify “relations between items sequentially in the discourse.” This refers to the same level of language structure and follows a diachronic course. Vertical co-occurrence refers to predictability across the structural levels of language (selection of syntax, phonemic rules). The idea is that when the vertical axis is combined with the horizontal rules, the selection of the vertical (lexical terms, phonetics) would also affect future (horizontal) choices. Co-occurrence pertains to grammatical rules, but for it to “work,” it has to be inserted into the social world.

14. An example is the emergence of the “fantastic genre” presented by Tzvetan Todorov (1980). In this form, the reader must be suspended between a “naturalistic and a supernatural” explanation in order for the genre to become visible. This idea is interesting because it hinges on a moment of hesitancy where the reader is confronted with not knowing what to make of a particular reading: “The fantastic occupies the duration of this uncertainty. . . . The fantastic is *that hesitation* experienced by a person who knows only the laws of nature, confronting an apparently supernatural event” (25; emphasis added). To exist within the text, then, the fantastic requires the fulfillment of three conditions in which the reader takes an active role.

15. Co-occurrence creates what Asif Agha and Frog (2015, 35) call “cultural models of ‘kinds of persons’ that shape the speech varieties felt to be appropriate in interacting with them.” Listeners have definite expectations of just which forms of utterances may follow and which may not; they are capable of recognizing a style (or code) shift through recognizing language forms as patterns and through associating those patterns with social contexts of speaking.

16. For example, for Hans Jauss (1982, 94), genres are to be understood not as genera (classes) but rather as groups of historical families: “If one follows the fundamental rule of the historicization of the concept of form, and sees the history of literary genres as a temporal process of the continual founding and altering of horizons, then the metaphors of the courses of development function, and decay can be replaced by the nonteleological concept of the playing out of a limited number of possibilities.” Through his conceptualization of what he described as a “pre-constituted horizon of

expectations” available to a person experiencing a work of art (rezeptionsästhetik) (Jauss 1974, 285), a basic situation model emerges, helping to delineate the process of reception.

17. See Marsilli-Vargas 2014.

18. The process of inference is coconstituted between the analyst and the analysand. The analysand brings to the encounter a particular frame, the product of individual experience, and the analyst makes sense of it through a dialectic process between what it says and what is inferred.

19. *Cathetic energy* is a phrase generally used to describe various psychic impulses in terms of energy.

20. Isakower was a famous Viennese psychoanalyst (and later nationalized American) who is mostly famous for his contribution to the hypnagogic states while falling asleep, which later became known as the “Isakower phenomena” (see Townsend 1992).

21. Receptors for two sensory modalities (hearing and equilibrium) are housed in the ear. The external ear, the middle ear, and the cochlea of the inner ear are involved with hearing. The semicircular canals, the utricle, and the saccule of the inner ear are involved with equilibrium. Both hearing and equilibrium rely on a very specialized type of receptor called a hair cell (Barrett et al. 2015, chap. 10).

22. Moreover, a purely optical sense impression would not be able to account for the formation of logical or ethical judgment, as the auditory sphere does. According to Anne Karpf in her book *The Human Voice* (2006), the audio responsiveness of unborn infants to some sounds can be detected as early as fourteen weeks, at which point they can distinguish between male and female voices and, from within a group of people, can recognize their mother speaking and so be soothed or excited by her voice. Karpf explains that until the child is four years old, listening/hearing is the most important sense until another—vision—takes its place.

23. One of the techniques that Freud postulated as key for the recollection of relevant information is to develop a particular kind of attention: *gleichschwebend*, or mobile attention (commonly translated as “free-floating attention”). The idea is to avoid the dangers of focusing the attention toward one particular point because doing so (Freud warns us) would provide a mirror of the analyst’s own expectations or inclinations. Instead, the analyst should pay attention to every detail equally.

24. This idea is closer to Steven Feld’s (2017) concept of acoustemology, where being and sounding are one and the same.

25. Pierre Schaeffer (1952), the famous French composer, musicologist, and acoustician, also dissected the processes of listening and hearing to understand when exactly attention emerges. The dichotomy of listening versus hearing entails different levels of engagement that he divided into four categories: (1) *Ouïr*, which refers to the pure physiological process of apprehending sound. This is a category of pure hearing, as vibrations enter the receiver’s ear canal without being selected for interpretation. (2)

Écouter, which focuses on the objective qualities of sound and is therefore intentional: “Je écoute ce qui m’intéresse” (I listen to that which interests me) (13). This category places attention at the center of the listening activity. (3) *Entendre* describes the process of attending to particular aspects of sound: “J’entends, comme une fonction de ce qui m’intéresse, de ce que je sais déjà et que je cherche à comprendre” (I hear, as a function of what interests me, from what I already know and what I seek to understand) (13). It entails identifying the different characteristics and specific properties of a particular sound. (4) *Comprendre*, which constitutes an engagement with sound and its external references: interpretation. *Comprendre* is the equivalent of reasoning, which Plato envisioned as one of the main characteristics of listening (Demers 2010; Schaeffer 1952).

26. Feld’s (2017) work among the Kaluli of Papua New Guinea exemplifies the interdependence of being and sounding, “a knowing-with and knowing-through the audible” (84), where there is an inseparable relationship between the sounding of songs and the environmental consciousness they produce. Acoustemology helps us understand that listening is not a passive enterprise but rather a complex web of interrelated fields of perception in which there is no separation between listening, creating sounds, and nature itself.

Chapter 2. The Music in the Words

1. Original: “Esas voces que escucho señalan cada problema o mala decisión que he tomado, son ensordecedoras.”
2. Original: “Creo Hugo, que estas voces que ahora empiezas a oír estuvieron ahí todo el tiempo. No estabas escuchando, pero condicionaron tu vida. Ahora que estás solo, te ves obligado a escuchar y a enfrentarte a ti mismo. Pero no te sientas mal, se te está dando la oportunidad de escuchar e intentar hacer las paces contigo mismo. Escucharte me hace darme cuenta de la importancia de prestar atención, de detenerme y escuchar. Si agudizamos nuestros oídos, seremos capaces de escucharnos a nosotros mismos y, con un poco de suerte, cambiar.”
3. Original: “No sé, que no hago las cosas bien, que no logré muchos objetivos que me propuse . . . pero a veces es más un sentimiento que una voz. . . .”
4. Original: “Esto es lo que llamo memoria experiencial, sonidos violentos sin representación o palabras.”
5. For many years the MFSPT sessions were held at APA and Centro DITEM. In 2016 they moved permanently to Centro DITEM. I attended sessions at both locations.
6. The concept of *doppelgänger* here is informed by its literary conceptualization, which poses the paradox of encountering oneself as another. Hence, it is a metaphor that symbolizes the repressed material that the analysand brings to the analytic session.
7. For a medical perspective on different debates about the efficacy of psychoanalysis, see Launer 2005.

8. Transference does have strong affects of love and hate, which operate on the imaginary, but Lacan stresses the structural or intersubjective relation that transference consists of. This is the level of the subject, the symbolic; and though the affects are strong, the transference does not consist of emotions. Later Lacan stresses transference love. This operates as resistance to the analytic work and is usually a love for knowledge. The analyst is taken as the subject of the signifier or the subject who is supposed to know. This too is transference that opposes the work, and that is why the analyst has to vacate such a position in the countertransference relation. See Lacan 2015.

9. Original: “Basta por favor. Siento como que me estás acuchillando en el estómago. No puedo tolerar más tu maltrato” (Mitre 2016, 43).

10. Original: “De alguna manera, yo había logrado decirle a Andrés desde mi *verdadero self*, ya desidentificada de las presencias que me habían tenido atrapada a lo largo de muchos años, lo que no había podido decirle a mis padres. También tuve la oportunidad de descubrir que, de niña en mi casa, nunca supe defenderme ante situaciones de maltrato. Creo que esa escena vivencial, de la que los dos fuimos protagonistas, produjo un cambio psíquico en ambos” (Mitre 2016, 43).

11. Original: “Tenemos que escuchar desde lo vivencial. Si no uno solo llega a la realización intelectual del síntoma. Pero eso no te va a ayudar con el sufrimiento. Uno tiene que escuchar desde adentro, desde la experiencia vivida. Y eso es lo que experimentamos Andrés y yo. Andrés y yo escuchamos más allá de las palabras, aunque las palabras importan.”

12. Henri Ey (1900–77) was an important French psychiatrist, psychoanalyst, and philosopher. In 1934 he developed the theory of “organo-dynamism,” a materialistic approach to the psyche that combines organic elements with psychic energy. French psychiatrist Paul Guiraud (1882–1974) worked closely with Ey. His writings on delirium and his handbooks of general psychiatry were some of the most influential books of the time. See, among many, Guiraud 1922, 1925; Guiraud and Ey 1926.

13. My own research experience working with other psychoanalysts who participate in the MSPT also attests to the absolute faith that these therapists have in the groups. According to some, their belief in its therapeutic value is backed up by numbers. I could not find specific figures on how many schizophrenic cases have ameliorated through MFSPPT therapy sessions. Most of the analysts who attend the APA sessions work at hospitals, clinics, and their own practice. It is mostly through the recounting of success stories that one can speculate that the treatment is, in fact, effective.

14. There are approximately thirty-two registered psychoanalytic associations throughout Argentina.

15. Ángel Garma Institute is the APA’s main training organism, where aspiring analysts receive their education through a tripartite model: analysis, supervision, and seminars. The institute is named for Ángel Garma Zubizarreta (1904–93), a Spanish psychiatrist and psychoanalyst, and later a nationalized Argentine, who founded the Psychoanalytic

Institute of Buenos Aires in 1945 and created the psychology BA at the National University in 1957.

16. The sessions are always recorded through the microphone into a stereo, but I used my own digital recorder.

17. Rigid designators (in particular proper names) play a crucial role inside these encounters by establishing a relationship between the speakers and the listeners.

18. Jorge García Badaracco died September 11, 2010. In part because his death was so recent, and in part because he attended every MFSPT session until his health no longer allowed him to continue, those attending the meetings spoke of him often.

19. This idea is very similar to Lacan's chain of signifiers, in which one signifier will lead to another and so on. García Badaracco studied with Lacan, and thus there are many references to him in his work.

20. The names of the participants have been changed to protect their identities.

21. Original: "Mi nombre es Juan y he estado viniendo a las reuniones hace un año más o menos, y nunca he hablado antes. Es muy triste escuchar la historia de la señora. Evidentemente ella quiere decirnos algo, *si tan solo pudiéramos escuchar lo que quiere decir, lo que significa*. Pero la señora repite la misma historia sin producir ningún efecto."

22. Original: "Juan, lo primero es que estoy sorprendido por el 'Adela siempre repite la misma cosa, y no produce ningún efecto.' ¡Hoy te hizo hablar [risas] por primera vez! ¡Genial! Algo pasó en el que su insistente discurso finalmente encontró una respuesta. Porque vos pensaste 'tengo que decir algo.' Así que ella no está tan *equivocada al insistir en ser escuchada, porque al final, alguien la va a escuchar*.)"

23. Original: "*Hubo un momento en el que pude escuchar, y pude ver que estaba equivocado, y que he estado equivocado por mucho tiempo. Estaba equivocado porque la verdad es que no podía escuchar. Y aquí [en la MFSPT], me enseñaron cómo [escuchar]. Porque cuando uno se deja llevar por un sentimiento, uno no puede pensar bien o escuchar. Y esa es la frase que uno debe llevarse a casa.*"

24. But the situated aspect that Lave and Wenger (1991) suggest carries some confusion. As they write, "On some occasions 'situated' means merely that some of people's thoughts and actions were located in space and time. On other occasions, it means that thought and action were social only in the narrow sense that they involve other people, or that they were immediately dependent for meaning on the social setting that occasioned them" (32).

25. Original: "La verdad es que ya no sé qué decir. Cada vez que voy a la casa de mi madre, lo único que oigo son quejas. No le gusta mi ropa, se molesta porque no la llamé a cierta hora. . . . El otro día incluso me dijo que estoy engordando. En fin, en sus ojos ¡yo no hago nada bien! Pero yo lo único que hago es laburar y laburar, me mantengo, pago mis cuentas con mi propia guita. Pero no sé, a veces pienso que no hago nada bien. El otro día en el laburo—como no puedo dejar de pensar en mis problemas—entregué

el presupuesto de la remodelación de un hotel en el Microcentro con un montón de errores. ¡No se pueden imaginar la vergüenza! ¿Qué va a pensar el cliente? ¡Que si no sé contar, no hay manera de que pueda participar en el proyecto remodelando! No he oído nada. ¡Obvio! Lo más seguro es que no quieren saber nada de mí, nunca jamás.”

26. Original: “Lucía . . . yo, yo siento la necesidad de interrumpirte porque, porque . . . necesito que regresés. *La persona que está hablando no sos vos; es tu madre hablando, y necesito escucharte a vos, no a ella.* Te das cuenta ¿no? Vos desaparecés de la historia y solo escuchamos a tu madre hablando.”

27. Original: “¿Sabés Lucía? Yo creo que la doctora está percibiendo algo correcto. Yo tampoco puedo reconocerte en lo que estás diciendo. Y ojo que esto no siempre es así, muchas veces cuando participás, está clarísimo que sos vos la que hablás. Pero hoy, no sé, *no me parece que la persona que estoy escuchando seas vos.*”

28. Original: “Sí, sí, a todos nos gusta echarle la culpa a cualquier otra cosa por nuestras desgracias en vez de verse a uno mismo. Eso es lo que tratamos de hacer aquí, mirar hacia dentro y parar el equipo de música.”

29. Original: “Cuando hablamos con nuestros pacientes lo que es más importante para nosotros no es lo que dicen, sino cómo lo dicen. Nos enfocamos en la música en las palabras.”

30. Original: “Ya estoy harto de los gobiernos que no hacen nada por nosotros. Uno que labura todo el día y que intenta como puede darle lo mejor a la familia. Los precios cambian todos los días, y yo ya no sé cómo voy a hacer para sostener el negocio, mi familia, el tratamiento de Carlos. En la noche no duermo pensando en todas las responsabilidades que tengo y que no sé si voy a poder seguir sosteniendo. Todas las noches pensando en todo lo que se viene y yo haciéndome viejo.”

31. Original: “Gonzalo, Gonzalo, esa música ya la escuchamos muchas veces. ¿Porque no nos decís cómo te sentís realmente? Dejé esa melodía que no te permite decir lo que realmente te pasa.”

32. Original: “Y la verdad es que tengo mucho miedo. Yo no sé hacer otra cosa que no sea laburar. Me angustia pensar qué va a ser de mí cuando me jubile. No sé si me voy a poder reconocer en ese nuevo personaje. Me veo como un desvalido.”

33. Original: “Escuchar a Gonzalo me recuerda de la necesidad de aprender a escuchar, de aprender a parar la música. La melodía de la que Diana hablaba estaba ocultando el verdadero miedo que está sintiendo. No es sobre el dinero; es sobre tener una nueva identidad y yo me identifico con ese sentimiento muy bien. Me retiré hace siete años y sigo la misma rutina de cuando trabajaba. Es difícil convertirse en alguien nuevo.”

34. Lacan draws upon Freud’s ([1900] 1953, 604) famous statement in *The Interpretation of Dreams*: “Dreams are the royal road to the unconscious.” Lacan (1977, 45) substitutes *language* for *dreams*.

35. “¿Otra vez con esa canción, Marina?” “Rocío, ese discurso ya lo conocemos todos. ¿Podés hablar de lo que realmente te pasa?” “A mí me parece Rubén, que el ruido

que genera esa historia que te contás todos los días, no deja que el verdadero Rubén aflore.” “Rosa, animáte a contarnos cómo te sentís. Queremos escuchar a la verdadera Rosa.”

36. Lacan’s theory of the Real, the Symbolic, and the Imaginary is too vast and has too many different interpretations to discuss in this section. The important thing to note is that for Lacan, the Real is impossible because it is impossible to imagine, to integrate into the symbolic order. This character of impossibility and resistance to symbolization lends the Real its traumatic quality.

Chapter 3. “What You Really Mean Is . . . ”

1. Original: “No crean que buscan encarcelar a dirigentes políticos o dirigentes sindicales o sociales, como al compañero Juan Grabois hace poco. No buscan encarcelar dirigentes, ese será quizás un objeto de deseo lacaniano, como decimos nosotros acá. En realidad, lo que buscan es encarcelar las políticas de inclusión de participación y de inclusión que han desarrollado los gobiernos populares.”

2. Original: “¿Quién otro, sino él, puede indagar qué es lo que implica que un dirigente gremial, concretamente Sergio Palazzo, bancario, haya citado, como citó, tan luego a Jacques Lacan, en pleno acto en Plaza de Mayo? Citó a Lacan, en efecto. Invocó su concepción del objeto de deseo, la planteó a la masa obrera que lo escuchaba al pie del palco.”

3. The University of Buenos Aires is the oldest and most prestigious public institution in Argentina, providing free education to more than three hundred thousand students. Most of its budget comes from the federal government.

4. Original: “Un gesto claro dirigido desde el ámbito de los trabajadores hacia el ámbito del saber, para que, en el ámbito del saber, se reconozcan a su vez como trabajadores.”

5. Original: “Quizás (y esto va en serio y con todo respeto) él percibió, o intuyó, que frente a la certeza delirante (otra expresión lacaniana con la que el narcisismo mauritocrático nos quiere marcar), frente a la negación de la realidad consuetudinaria con la que afirman que la inflación baja cada vez que los precios suben, o que es bueno perder el trabajo . . . el psicoanálisis sea, por qué no, una herramienta de resistencia, uno más de los caminos que nos permitan salir de esta extraña tormenta sedicente neoliberal.”

Mauritocrático: an ironic play of words, combining the “meritocracy” praised by Macri and his first name, “Mauricio,” when in fact he is the scion of one of the wealthiest families in Argentina.

6. I did not record this exchange, but I transcribed it right after it occurred to the best of my memory.

7. An important exception is Antoine Hennion (2001, 2010), whose analysis shows that amateurs’ attachments and ways of apprehending music can both engage and form sub-

jectivities, rather than merely record social labels, and that their history is irreducible to the taste for works.

8. From a different epistemological perspective, philosopher Enrique Dussel (1973, 53) states, “To hear the voice of the Other, as another, provides an ethical openness.” He continues, “In this manner the ethical conscience or metaphysical” is the “heart that knows to listen to the voice of the Other” (54). Dussel’s ethical listening is neither an imposition nor an epistemic injustice; rather, it reflects an act of openness, something that Derrida (2005)—when analyzing the concept of *touching* in the work of philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy—conceptualized as an “ontological generosity.” Listening to the voice of the Other implies advocating for the Other. Listening thus implies a form of care.

9. There are different epistemologies that may seem to frontally dismantle this idea. For example, Bakhtin’s concept of “voice” and Goffman’s “Face-Work” argue that there is no unified self. In the case of Goffman, rather than having a “unique” self, social actors perform rituals that help maintain our “interactional face” and thus perform many different social roles in every interaction. In Bakhtin’s case, we as speakers are spoken through different social voices that inform our ideologies and worldviews. But psychoanalysis is not arguing against the idea that we are spoken through or that we perform many social roles unconsciously. The main proposition is that the experience of each individual is unique and helps to create an individual self.

10. Scholars interested in media studies have grappled with questions that connect the emergence of new technologies with particular epistemes. For example, in *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*, Friedrich Kittler (1999) connects each media technology with Lacan’s Real, Imaginary, and Symbolic. His main idea is that technologies are ontological and thus inseparable from being human. Walter Benjamin’s famous “Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction” ([1935] 1969) and Harold Innis’s *Empire and Communications* ([1950] 2007) are other examples of scholars connecting modern subjectivities and new technologies.

11. Voloshinov (1973) showed how attitudes and social values shape the ways in which speakers report on someone else’s speech. His classification system included direct (*oratio recta*), which evokes the original speech situation and conveys, or claims to convey, the exact words of the original speaker; indirect (*oratio obliqua*), which adapts the reported utterance to the speech situation of the report in indirect discourse (in this form, reporters relate the event from their point of view); and quasi-direct. The last one is difficult to define, and there have been different attempts to create terminology for it (see Coulmas 2011). Quasi-direct speech is phrased from the point of view of the narrator, but in terms of content, it belongs to the character’s speech, thought, or perception.

Chapter 4. The Psychoanalytic Field in Buenos Aires

1. Original: “El psicoanálisis por lo tanto, no sería susceptible de ser analizado con las metodologías y herramientas analíticas propias de las ciencias sociales. Esta mirada ubica al psicoanálisis casi en lugar de un *a priori*, ya que se trataría de un objeto único y predeterminado, que solo admitiría distintas ‘situaciones’ en los distintos espacios culturales donde logró algún tipo de implantación.”
2. It has been reported that after a strong immigration of Argentines to Spain during Argentina’s military dictatorship, Lacanian psychoanalysis started to become prominent in Barcelona and Madrid (see G. García 2005; Izaguirre 2009).
3. A few years before the World Health Organization study, the American Psychological Association estimated an even smaller number for the United States: 27 per 100,000 inhabitants (Romero 2012).
4. Original: “Cada vez que hablo con gente de Francia, Italia, o España, me canso de explicarles que no hay tantos psicoanalistas en la Argentina. Es el único país en donde un psicólogo es llamado psicoanalista. En España, por ejemplo, hay sesenta mil, u ochenta mil psicólogos, ¿quién sabe? Pero ellos se llaman así mismo psicólogos, dicen ‘soy un psicólogo clínico,’ ‘soy un psicologo conductista.’”
5. I am not trying to imply that people do not know the difference between these three fields, nor I am suggesting that there are no institutional differences. I am pointing to a linguistically interesting phenomenon where people use the same words to refer to dissimilar therapeutic situations. For a detailed analysis of the overlap of psychiatric, psychoanalytic, and psychology practices in public hospitals, see Vezzetti 1996; Visacovsky 2008.
6. For example, when the 2001 economic crisis erupted, psychoanalysts were asked to comment on possible reasons for the downturn. Their analyses used such terms as *narcissism* and *obsessive compulsive* to describe the causes of the economic collapse (see Bleichmar 2002; Plotkin and Visacovsky 2007). Diego Sehinkman (2014, 78), a psychologist, journalist, and the host of *Terapia de Noticias*, a program on the online channel of *La Nación* newspaper, likens Argentina to a patient with “borderline personality disorder. That is, someone who is emotionally unstable and, in this case, often seduced by strong but also abusive partners, or leaders.” Izaguirre (2009) points to other examples when psychoanalysis intervened in politics, including a case in Brazil where a psychoanalyst was a torturer during the dictatorship and the role of psychoanalysis during Nazi Germany.
7. This term does not refer only to psychoanalysis. Many historians have used it to talk about aspects of Argentina that are considered different from other parts of Latin America.
8. From 1950 to 1960, Argentina ranked third in the world in the number of university students per one hundred thousand inhabitants (Germani and Sautu 1965).
9. The IPA is the world’s primary accrediting and regulatory body for psychoanalysis. Its mission is to assure the continued vigor and development of psychoanalysis for the

benefit of patients. It was founded in 1910 by Sigmund Freud. Its first president was Carl Jung, and its first secretary was Otto Rank.

10. Women are still the dominant force behind psychology. An estimated 87 percent of registered psychology students are women (Alonso 2010). But institutional positions and successful private practices are equally distributed between men and women.

11. The idea of an inner self has been depicted by many scholars as the quintessential index of the modern subject (see Chakrabarty 2000; Deleuze and Guattari 1988; Gupta 2005; Inoue 2006).

12. See, for example, “Saber y autoridad: Intervenciones de psicoanalistas en torno a la crisis en la Argentina” (Plotkin and Visacovsky 2007), an examination of how psychoanalysis was used as a theoretical frame to explain the devastating economic crisis in Argentina in 2001.

13. For example, the late Silvia Bleichmar, famous psychoanalyst and author of the best-selling book *Dolor país* (which roughly translates as “country pain,” in reference to the financial indicator “country risk,” which was looming over Argentina in the economic crash of 2001), describes different economic crises in Argentina through a psychological lens.

14. *Revista de Filosofía* was a journal edited from 1915 to 1929 by José Ingenieros and his disciple Aníbal Ponce. It was a late product of biological positivism in Argentina that identified with the new climate of positivistic ideas that emerged in the early 1880s.

15. It should be noted that the IPA is considered by many historians and psychoanalysts to be a conservative institution.

16. Many psychoanalysts of the time participated in the Argentine Federation of Psychiatrists and in the groups Plataforma and Documento. These two groups resigned from the APA at the end of 1971, producing the first ideological rupture with the international psychoanalytic community, because they considered it to be at the service of the ruling classes. Plataforma led the separation and issued a statement addressing “mental health workers” and claiming resignation as the culmination of their line of work. Their intent was to organize a movement that included teaching, research, and assistance within the broad field of mental health from a perspective that analyzed unconscious determinants and the economic-political, and they urged psychoanalysts to take another place within the social, economic, and political process (Vainer 2014).

17. For an extensive analysis of Pavlovism, the Communist Party, and Argentina, see L. García 2016.

18. Marie Langer (1910–87) was an Austria-born Latin American psychoanalyst and human rights activist. She was a cofounder of the Argentine Psychoanalytic Association and one of the most important players in the dissemination of psychoanalysis in Argentina. José Itzigsohn was a psychiatrist and reflexologist who would later succeed José Bleger (one of the few psychoanalysts of the Communist Party) in teaching introduction to psychology at UBA (see Dagfal 2000).

19. Original: “Las clases de Bleger cautivaron desde el comienzo a un estudiantado tan ávido de una nueva psicología como de un compromiso social y político significativo. De este modo, los primeros psicólogos egresados de la UBA tuvieron una formación singular, que, entre otros autores, incluía a Freud y Marx, Adler y Jung, Klein y Lewin, Politzer y Lagache.”

20. In “Psychoanalytic Technique,” Freud ([1918] 2008) introduced the necessity of payment as a precondition to analysis. According to Freud, the absence of payment as a corrective force has serious consequences, since it would imply that analysis is beyond the real world.

21. Many psychoanalysts do not agree with the idea of using psychoanalysis outside of the clinical setting. In *The Four Fundamental Concepts*, Jacques Lacan (1998, 77) explicitly states, “Psychoanalysis is neither a Weltanschauung, nor a philosophy that claims to provide the key to the universe. It is governed by a particular aim, which is historically defined by the elaboration of the notion of the subject. It poses this notion in a new way, by leading the subject back to his signifying dependence.” In Argentina, in spite of the opposition of many analysts, this definition does not apply.

22. Many students and professors explained that the master’s degree is still in the process of getting the academic certification that other humanities degrees have.

23. The standardized test was implemented in 1988.

24. For Lacan, radical alterity, an otherness, transcends the illusion of otherness for the imaginary because it cannot be assimilated through identification. Lacan ([1966] 2006) equates this radical alterity with language and the law, and thus the big Other is inscribed in the order of the symbolic.

25. The expression *ad honorem* is actually used when talking about *concurrencias* at public hospitals and has a strong ideological semiotic value. It implies that the *concurrente* is invested in an honorific structure where material capital is relegated and where learning and care are prioritized.

26. It is important to note that I did not use the expression *ad honorem*. I specifically asked how he feels about working for five years at a hospital without a salary.

27. Both institutions have clinical sessions, but since they are closed to everyone except students and instructors, I did not have access to them.

28. Original: “[Los lacanianos] están inmersos dentro de una estructura jerárquica, y siempre lo van a estar, porque nadie sabe lo que dijo Lacan, ¡ni siquiera Lacan! Por lo tanto, el interlocutor, el traductor o la persona que ‘cree saber’ siempre estará en una posición de poder.”

29. For examples of the many symbols and complexities of Lacan’s mathematical semiology, see Florence 2011.

30. This anecdote is also found in Sinatra’s book *Las entrevistas preliminares y la entrada en análisis* (2004).

31. To this day, the APA continues to provide strong clinical training, especially to women, who make up 85 percent of its students.

Chapter 5. The Mass Mediation of Psychoanalytic Listening

1. This is what Gabriel Rolón told Alejandro Fantino on the show *Animales sueltos*, aired on September 6, 2018.

2. Most recently, with the proliferation of new media technologies, analysts are using platforms such as Skype and WhatsApp to have analytic sessions with patients outside of their country of residence, thereby redefining what copresence means in the analytic encounter.

3. This is an important point, since the theories of Freud, Lacan, Klein, Miller, Jean Laplanche, and others vary greatly among them (see Frosh 1999; Gay 1988; Stolorow 2006).

4. The consumption of psychoanalysis in its clinical setting and its commoditized form (through mediatization) are bound up together in a dialectical relationship. They feed on each other, creating what Asif Agha (2011) calls “semiotic particles,” the trail that forms a semiotic chain where one can trace how discourses are recycled and that travels through distinct mediums and different participation frameworks and cultural practices.

5. Arnaldo Rascovsky and Ángel Garma organized the Congress on Psychosomatic Medicine, and in 1960 Rascovsky was a founding member of the Latin American Psychoanalytic Federation (FEPAL).

6. “Una verdad que se esconde tras la barrera de la represión.” Rolón, a self-proclaimed Lacanian analyst, uses the word *barrier* as a metaphor of Lacan’s famous *barred subject*, the internal conflict that emerges in infants when the process of individuation begins.

7. In the book *Mafalda: Historia social y política*, historian Isabella Cosse (2015, 17) puts Mafalda in the same category as Ernesto “Che” Guevara (revolutionary icon), Carlos Gardel (the biggest tango star in Argentina), and Evita Péron (political and pop icon), saying that “without a doubt Mafalda is an Argentine icon. It is a figure and a strip with social, political and subjective meaning that cannot be ignored when it comes to understanding Argentines.”

8. *Cortá por Lozano* is broadcast on Telefé, one of the main TV channels in Argentina. Covering a variety of subjects, the show is in the “magazine genre” and includes news, interviews, and humor. It premiered on January 23, 2017, and airs at five o’clock every afternoon. It is hosted by Verónica Lozano, a trained psychologist, who invites celebrities to be “analyzed” on air by sitting on a couch while she asks them questions. The show’s title is a play on words, referring not only to the name of the host but to the phrase *cortar por lo sano*, which means to radically end a bothersome situation.

9. Here, Rolón diverges from the analysis proposed by literary critic Steve Connor (2009) (see chapter 1). In Connor’s analysis, the *mondegreen*—the mishearing or misinterpretation of a nearly homophonic phrase—is the opposite of the Freudian slip because it serves to transform sound into meaning, while the Freudian slip does the opposite: transform meaning into nonsense. By contrast, Rolón is concerned not with sense but with the secret meaning that mishearings hide. Connor does not conceive of *mondegreens* as necessarily revealing a concealed meaning; rather, he is interested in how subjects always assign meaning to sound, whether or not they understand it. Rolón is interested in the possible “double” meaning of the *mondegreen*.

10. Freud developed psychoanalysis between 1895 and 1900 on the basis of his clinical experience with hysterical patients, most of them women. Hysteria as a female problem was a prominent subject of discourse during Freud’s time. And, as the Fernet ad shows, the extension of these semiotic connections is still relevant today. For a feminist interpretation of hysteria in Freud, see Pierce 1989.

11. The positive Oedipus complex refers to a child’s unconscious sexual desire for the opposite-sex parent and hatred for the same-sex parent. The negative Oedipus complex refers to a child’s unconscious sexual desire for the same-sex parent and hatred for the opposite-sex parent. Freud considered that the child’s identification with the same-sex parent is the successful outcome of the complex and that an unsuccessful outcome might lead to neurosis, pedophilia, and homosexuality.

12. Original: “¿Hace falta que te diga que me muero por tener algo contigo? ¿Es que no te has dado cuenta de lo mucho que me cuesta ser tu amigo? Ya no puedo acercarme a tu boca, sin deseártela de una manera loca. Necesito controlar tu vida, ver quién te besa y quién te abriga.”

13. Original: “Complejo de Edipo XD,” “Incesto Emocional,” “Ayy el edipo,” “¿El complejo de Edipo en un comercial con connotación sexual? ¿O yo ya estoy muy pervertido? :S.”

Conclusion. Final Resonances

1. Unfortunately, after a few months of lockdown, the terrible economic legacy of former president Macri’s government—combined with pressure from the opposition to the brand-new government of Alberto Fernández and irresponsible media coverage that misinformed the public and played down health policies—led Argentina to loosen lockdown enforcement, and by early 2021 the country had a very high infection rate.

2. In a highly publicized example of “bad behavior” during the pandemic, the TV channel *Crónica*—known for its sensationalist reporting—used the phrase “*habló el boludo*” (the asshole spoke) in covering the story of a “surfer” who broke quarantine rules (AN-Digital 2020).

3. Psychoanalysts have been debating for many years the use of media platforms to conduct remote psychoanalytic sessions. The younger generations of analysts tend to favor

these technologies, which allow them to reach people that do not have the means to travel or have obstacles that prevent them from going to a physical space for analysis. More conservative analysts argue that physical copresence is required for the *vínculo* (bond) to emerge between analyst and analysand and that these new technologies do not allow it to emerge.

4. Rafael is referring to news articles claiming that psychological services in Spain have grown 200 percent because of the pandemic (see Europa Press 2020).

5. Original: “La asistencia promedio a nuestros grupos virtuales es de 65 personas por día. Este número es superior a los que concurrían en modo presencial. La explicación de esto es sencilla: se produjo un incremento notable de familiares que participan en nuestros encuentros. Lo mismo pasa con las clases que semanalmente se dictan para los profesionales que están realizando pasantías de especialización en nuestro Centro.”

6. In an interview with the newspaper *Página 12*, Rolón alludes to the therapeutic character of *Entrevista abierta* (Ranzani 2020).

7. Original: “¡Acá está la data de la señora Paola, incluso sus sueños eróticos Mark! Toda la madre. ¡Muy buena maniobra distractoria de Guasap! ¡Nadie sospecha de donde recibis la info!”

8. The article refers to Sorokowska et al. 2017.

9. To understand the detrimental effects of the liberal ideology of positive psychology, see Cabanas and Illouz 2019.

10. Original: “Porque la Argentina es uno de los países más atrasados en el campo de la psicología positiva y el más ‘casado’ con el psicoanálisis, mientras que prácticamente todos los demás países importantes han abandonado el psicoanálisis. Sería bueno saber por qué la Argentina es tan psicoanalítica. De alguna manera, el pensamiento psicoanalítico se centra en sí mismo, paralizando a los individuos, mientras que la psicología cognitivo-conductual moderna trata sobre habilidades que ayudan a superar problemas en el mundo externo. Acaso sea que la mirada psicoanalítica apunta al cambio profundo, y hay algo en el alma argentina que apela a una visión profundamente subyacente y auto-paralizante . . . Me he preguntado eso sobre la Argentina desde hace casi 30 años.”

11. The dramatic inquiry into the very nature of Argentina and its people structured intellectual and political debates through interpretive texts, from *Civilización y Barbarie: Vida de Juan Facundo Quiroga* by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento ([1845] 2005) to *Radiografía de la Pampa* by Ezequiel Martínez Estrada ([1933] 2007), among others.