


Insular or influential? The social structure of the Brazilian psychoanalytic field at the intersection of academia, media and clinical practice

Insular ou influente? A estrutura social do campo psicanalítico brasileiro entre academia, mídia e a clínica

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Abstract

This article analyses the structure of the contemporary Brazilian psychoanalytic field using Multiple Correspondence Analysis, covering the period from 2013 to 2023. The results identify two main dimensions: the first distinguishes individuals by their possession of academic and media resources; the second, by psychoanalytic trajectories and affiliations, separating orthodox from heterodox institutions. Four profiles of psychoanalysts were identified: orthodox, established heterodox, non-established heterodox and established heterodox with intermediate academic and media resources. These oppositions are discussed considering the history and disputes over the legitimate practice of psychoanalysis, exemplified by recent conflicts in Brazil.

Keywords: psychoanalysis; field; multiple correspondence analysis; Brazil.

Resumo

Este artigo analisa a estrutura do campo psicanalítico brasileiro contemporâneo com base na Análise de Correspondências Múltiplas, abrangendo o período de 2013 a 2023. Os resultados identificam duas dimensões principais: a primeira distingue indivíduos pela posse de recursos acadêmicos e midiáticos; a segunda, pelas trajetórias e filiações psicanalíticas, separando instituições ortodoxas de heterodoxas. Quatro perfis de psicanalistas foram identificados: ortodoxos, heterodoxos estabelecidos, heterodoxos não estabelecidos e heterodoxos estabelecidos com recursos acadêmicos e midiáticos intermediários. Essas oposições são discutidas à luz da história e das disputas pela prática legítima da psicanálise, exemplificadas por conflitos recentes no Brasil.

Palavras-chave: psicanálise; campo; análise de correspondências múltiplas; Brasil.

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Introduction³

Psychoanalytic knowledge is increasingly recognised as an important perspective from which to explore issues relating to culture, politics, health and society more generally in Brazil. As well as occupying positions in more traditional media outlets, such as high-circulation newspapers in the country, psychoanalysts have also established prominent profiles and their own channels on major digital platforms. Drawing on the knowledge and experience acquired within the psychoanalytic field, these actors are thus well placed to analyse and comment on matters of public concern. Topics such as mental health, elections, anti-racism, transphobia, sexuality and power are addressed, for example, by the psychoanalyst Vera Iaconelli [n. d] in her weekly column in the newspaper *Folha de S. Paulo*. Another example is the psychoanalyst Christian Dunker, who, in addition to being invited to comment in a range of newspaper features, also runs a YouTube channel where he addresses a wide variety of themes, ranging from more conceptual issues in psychoanalysis to political analyses and discussions of popular culture, such as television series and films (Dunker, n.d.).

Despite this public presence and social relevance, psychoanalysis in Brazil has received scant attention from sociology. The vast majority of existing studies originate in other fields – especially psychology, medicine and history – and focus primarily on the past and the historical trajectory of psychoanalysis in the country (Alarcão and Mota, 2019; Castro, 2017; Figueira, 1991). In the area of sociology, the article by Lima and Andrade (2019) illustrates attempts to bring sociology and psychoanalysis into closer dialogue by discussing psychoanalytic theory in the light of Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*. Such conceptual articulations, or forms of critical application, are perhaps the most common way through which the social sciences have engaged with psychoanalysis. The work of renowned sociologist Norbert Elias is an important example of the attempt to articulate sociology with Freudian theory, as set out in one of his major works, *The Civilizing Process* (Elias, 1994). More recently, Peters (2022), for example, drawing on Michel Foucault, has critiqued the ways in which psychoanalysis has historically approached and interpreted madness. Despite these endeavours to understand the history of psychoanalysis and dialogue with its theories, its social structures – particularly in the Brazilian context – have yet to be adequately examined.

In Brazil, psychoanalysis, as a professional and an intellectual activity, is not regulated – at least not as a recognised profession – by the Ministry of Labour and Employment. In the Brazilian Classification of Occupations (CBO), it is classified as a *free occupation* under code 2515-50 (Brazil, 2002). Psychoanalysis

³ This article presents part of a research project developed in the dissertation *The Contemporary Brazilian Psychoanalytic Field: A Sociological Study*, defended on the Postgraduate Programme in Sociology at the Federal University of Pelotas (UFPEL). While absolving them of any remaining errors in this work, the authors would like to thank the members of the dissertation defence committee, Simone Gomes and Gabriel Peters, as well as the two anonymous reviewers of the journal *Mediações*, for their comments and suggestions.

may therefore be practised freely, with no requirement for specific qualification or legal recognition determining who may or may not use the title of psychoanalyst. Consequently, the range of practices operating under the label of psychoanalysis is extremely broad – spanning, for example, from classical Freudian psychoanalysis to more recent forms such as Christian psychoanalysis. The absence of a state-sanctioned definition capable of imposing penalties on anyone who violates established norms renders psychoanalysis an activity whose boundaries are shaped by a form of symbolic and institutional ‘free competition’ among the individuals and groups claiming to practice the profession.

From a sociological viewpoint, this condition allows a form of inquiry that focuses precisely on the social bases to the convergences and divergences in the definitions of psychoanalysis in Brazil. By avoiding alignment with any of the specific conceptions advanced by actors and groups who consider themselves part of the psychoanalytic field, this article does not intend to reject the pertinence or relevance of psychoanalytic theories and practices. Rather, it seeks to examine what kinds of trajectories and resources differentiate members of the psychoanalytic community, and how this differentiation gives rise to divides and disputes over its definition and boundaries.

Considering that this ‘free competition’ over the definition of psychoanalysis, as in any existing market, takes place among agents endowed with highly unequal resources, Bourdieu’s concept of *field* appears to be one of the most appropriate tools for framing this reality (Bourdieu, 1971, 1989, 1992, 2013; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, pp. 94-115; Lemieux, 2011, pp. 80-83). As the remainder of this article seeks to demonstrate, this is a reality that corresponds, approximately, to many of the defining characteristics of a field: a relatively autonomous social sphere; endowed with a specific symbolic stake (the practice of legitimate psychoanalysis); a diversity traversed by an agonistic logic that organises a division between dominant and dominated agents, as well as struggles among dominant fractions; and a *doxa* which, despite the divergences, unites most of the psychoanalytic community in its intellectual and professional investments.

This article therefore seeks to examine the structure of the contemporary Brazilian psychoanalytic field. Investigating this structure requires analytically reconstructing a social space configured by the positions of agents and institutions, defined relationally in terms of the unequal distribution of resources. In other words, the aim is to identify distinct profiles of psychoanalysts that oppose one another in accordance with their differing social properties. By reconstructing the structure of this field, the article seeks to assess how the oppositions identified help explain the tensions internal to the psychoanalytic milieu and the disputes over the definition of legitimate psychoanalysis.

The temporal scope of the research covers the period from 2013 to 2023. In recent years, psychoanalysis in Brazil has experienced significant transformations in parallel with broader political and public health developments. The country went through a political, social and economic crisis that culminated in a renewed conservative wave and the election of Jair Bolsonaro in the 2018 elections. The

period delineated here encompasses the crisis process, the Bolsonaro administration, and the 2022 elections, thereby allowing for an examination of psychoanalysts' positioning in relation to political issues. This period also includes the COVID-19 pandemic and the ensuing social isolation, which had a significant impact on how psychoanalysis had previously been practised, given restrictions on mobility and face-to-face contact. Thus, although discussions concerning modalities of care and treatment were already present within the field, the pandemic demanded rapid new responses and adaptations from psychoanalysts, such as an increased use of social media and the expansion of remote consultation (Fontoura *et al.*, 2022).

In order to empirically examine the structure of the field, a dataset with 110 individuals was compiled, selected to represent distinct modes of practising psychoanalysis. A concern with discretion and privacy is a marked characteristic of the psychoanalytic milieu. Given these particularities of the research object, multiple sources were used to build the dataset, including academic publications, participation in lectures, courses and psychoanalytic events, as well as social media and other resources. In this sense, since the structure of a field is shaped by its trajectory, it was necessary to reconstruct the history of psychoanalysis in Brazil using the available bibliography. The assembled material allowed us to outline some historical characteristics of the field and to identify agents relevant to the research. Direct participation in activities within the psychoanalytic field was another important source. Once a list containing a sufficient number of individuals with a variety of profiles had been compiled, prosopographical data was collected for each person. The data was analysed using Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA), a method that facilitates the exploration of relationships between variables and allows for the spatial representation of associations between their categories.

In addition to the introduction and the concluding remarks, the article is divided into four sections. The first presents an overview of the trajectory of psychoanalysis in Brazil. The second details the methodological path followed, including the construction of the sample, the data and the analytical method used. The third presents the results and reconstructs the contemporary Brazilian psychoanalytic field. Finally, the fourth offers a discussion based on the data from the preceding section and examines two episodes that took place within the field so as to demonstrate the explanatory potential of the model developed.

The formation of the Brazilian psychoanalytic field

The institutionalisation of psychoanalysis in Brazil and its relative autonomisation took place only a few decades after the arrival of psychoanalytic ideas in the country, introduced by pioneers of psychiatry.⁴ Initially, there emerged what Russo (1998) terms a kind of 'prehistory' of psychoanalysis. During this period, the author observes, some psychiatrists sympathetic to Freudian ideas produced a curious combination of Freudian theory with

⁴ The principal figures in psychiatry associated with the dissemination of psychoanalysis were Juliano Moreira and Franco da Rocha (Russo, 1998).

hygienist and eugenic precepts. Psychoanalysis did not arrive in Brazil as a therapeutic practice or as a distinct field of study, but rather became linked to an educational and civilising project aimed at the development of the Brazilian nation (Russo, 1998). In the early decades of the twentieth century, medicine had consolidated its authority in debates concerning the modernisation and 'civilisation' of the nation. Psychiatrists thus mobilised psychoanalytic ideas as a form of civic and moral education, precisely in order to discipline a population perceived as uncultivated and undisciplined (Torquato, 2015).

At the same time, psychoanalysis began to spread more widely in Brazil, circulating in a different intellectual context, namely the arts and literature. Facchinetti (2003) argues that this process evolved into a clash between two antagonistic and irreconcilable readings of psychoanalysis: on one hand, the psychiatric-hygienist discourse; on the other, the discourse of the modernist avant-garde. According to Facchinetti, modernist intellectuals positioned themselves against an uncritical model of modernisation imported from Europe, aligning their critiques and aspirations with certain Freudian ideas, such as the critique of reason and the civilising demands of the West. Although antagonistic, these two channels through which psychoanalysis entered Brazil developed into distinct ways of shaping the modern Brazilian subject.

At the crossroads of social and cultural debate, the domestic reception of psychoanalysis was immersed in clashes over its meaning and implications. This appears to have left an indelible mark on its subsequent trajectory and development, in which both clinical and therapeutic dimensions, as well as social and political ones, can be identified within contemporary psychoanalytic institutions and practices. These oppositions, however, were markedly heteronomous in character: in the absence of a body of specialists specific to psychoanalysis, the field took shape as a loose constellation of ideas claimed within disputes between intellectuals from medicine and the arts.

The institutionalisation of psychoanalysis in Brazil advanced decisively in the mid-twentieth century, following the model of the International Psychoanalytical Association (IPA, 2025),⁵ at the time regarded as the official association (Oliveira, 2002). It was in this context that certain perspectives and practices became consolidated as part of the psychoanalytic *doxa*, endorsed by positions and schools that were otherwise in marked disagreement: the study of theory (rooted in the premise of the existence of the unconscious), the requirement for the psychoanalyst to undergo training analysis,⁶ and supervision, involving the discussion of clinical cases with a more experienced

⁵ Under this model, only physicians were eligible to undertake psychoanalytic training; personal analysis was required at a minimum frequency of four sessions per week with a training analyst, alongside clinical supervision and participation in theoretical and clinical seminars. This model became known within the International Psychoanalytical Association as the Eitingon model (International Psychoanalytical Association, 2025).

⁶ A training analyst (*analista didata*) is a psychoanalyst with more experience and recognised standing within a psychoanalytic institution. These analysts are authorised to perform teaching, supervisory and analytic functions related to the training of new psychoanalysts.

analyst. Societies and training groups affiliated with the IPA were created and training analysts travelled from Europe to assist in the formation of Brazilian analysts. At this moment, the centres of psychoanalytic training and practice were primarily located in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre. In addition to these training institutions, spheres of debate and legitimation were also created within the psychoanalytic milieu. Accordingly, awards, journals, congresses and events associated with the IPA were established, including the founding of the *Revista Brasileira de Psicanálise*. The journal published its first issue in 1967, the same year in which the First Brazilian Psychoanalysis Conference (*I Jornada Brasileira de Psicanálise*) was held (Galvão, 2016).

During this period of institutionalisation, societies and groups affiliated with the International Psychoanalytical Association predominated. Although other psychoanalytic organisations did exist, they were regarded as unofficial and illegitimate by IPA societies. As a result, IPA-affiliated psychoanalysts acquired strong legitimacy and built lucrative clinical practices oriented towards clients with high purchasing power (Oliveira, 2017).

The backdrop to this clinical entrenchment of psychoanalysis can be found in the transformations that unfolded during Brazil's civil-military dictatorship (1964-1985). Although responsible for phases of substantial economic growth, the dictatorship also exacerbated inequalities through its pursuit of an exclusionary political and economic model. But while the changes of this period consolidated an economic and social structure marked by deepening exclusion, they also produced a Brazil with a more diversified and urbanised social structure, in which elites and urban middle strata flourished as some of the authoritarian regime's principal beneficiaries. It was these same urban, elite and intellectualised social strata that became the clientele of clinical psychoanalysts (Oliveira, 2017). During the phase of institutionalisation of psychoanalysis along IPA lines, the country's structural transformations fomented the growth of a consumer public for psychoanalytic symbolic productions and, in so doing, a shift in its public and social vocation towards an elitised practice situated in the private sphere. Another salient feature of this period is the hegemony of an 'apolitical' psychoanalysis. On this point, Oliveira (2017) advances the argument that, during the civil-military dictatorship, psychoanalysts emphasised the neutrality of psychoanalysis and the primacy of the psychic over external reality.

This commitment to political 'neutrality' and to a mode of practice confined to the private sphere was one of the factors that would destabilise the configuration of the field in subsequent decades.

Additionally, Santos (2019) highlights the high cost of training through IPA-affiliated societies and the consequent elitisation, which led to the emergence of alternative pathways for training. In this scenario, other actors began to grow in strength during the 1970s, a period during which psychoanalysis experienced both regional and institutional expansion. In short, from the 1970s onwards, with a body of specialists already formed and with institutions specific to the psychoanalytic field in place, there was a

strengthening of groups associated with other, non-IPA psychoanalytic orientations, as well as the emergence of other psychotherapies linked to psychology (Oliveira, 2002). Added to this was the arrival of Argentine psychoanalysts – fleeing the authoritarian governments in the neighbouring South American country – many of them Lacanian, who came to share space with Brazilian Lacanians.

For Santos (2019), the arrival and strengthening of Lacanian theory in Brazil were responsible for the demedicalisation of psychoanalysis, enabling the emergence of new ways of understanding the practice. This led to a visible opening of the field to a larger number of people, both through greater economic accessibility and through an increased dialogue of psychoanalysts with the media and universities, developments that had previously been atypical (Santos, 2019). Moreover, the shock experienced by the IPA societies and the strengthening of non-IPA groups forced transformations within the IPA societies themselves. Once hegemonic, they were now required to open up access, which resulted in the acceptance of psychologists (not just physicians) and in a greater dialogue with other fields.

The 1970s marked an intensification of internal struggles within the field and an important transformation in the logic and structure that had dominated previously. We can identify a shift from a conservative psychoanalysis organised along IPA lines towards a more diverse and progressive psychoanalysis more open to dialogue with other fields of knowledge. According to Vale (2003), from the 2000s onwards a variety of institutional tendencies came to coexist within the psychoanalytic field: the longstanding IPA societies, Lacanian groups, independent institutes focused on psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapies and even independent training, pursued individually without affiliation to any institution. Each of these options is characterised by distinct proposals, costs and organisational forms.

More than two decades on from the early 2000s, we can attest to both the existence and the survival of the options identified by Vale (2003) and also add several others. At this point, we move closer to the central objective of this article and clear the way for the depiction and analysis of the contemporary psychoanalytic field. Along these lines, building on the pluralisation of the field since the 1970s and on political and public health transformations beyond it, we introduce a number of additional possibilities.

First, outside the hegemonic groups, there has been a notable growth of religious institutions that articulate ‘spiritualised’ versions of psychoanalysis. Since the 1990s, these institutions have offered psychoanalytic training programmes and, in 2000, submitted a bill to the Brazilian Congress aimed at regulating psychoanalysis in the country (Lopes, 2019). The bill was unsuccessful, and psychoanalysis remains unregulated. Nevertheless, we emphasise the presence of these religious groups within the field and the disputes they engage in over power and legitimacy. For Binkowski (2019), this rapprochement between religious groups and psychoanalysis unfolds

within the framework preached by neo-Pentecostalism. Neo-Pentecostalism is premised on the disciplining of society through evangelical precepts and an active engagement with the political and moral issues of the world, leading psychoanalysis to be perceived as an important theological, moral and spiritual instrument (Binkowski, 2019).

Second, we can cite the experiences of psychoanalysis practised in the street or in other public spaces, an interventionist and political movement that emerged in 2016, in which psychoanalysts from different orientations seek to provide free psychoanalytic care in public localities with the aim of democratising access to psychoanalysis. In 2016, the first initiative of this kind was created, the Clínica Pública de Psicanálise de São Paulo, from which the project's founders, responding to the country's political context, sought to explore the role of psychoanalysis both as an instrument of emancipation and as a means of occupying public space, offering free care in settings other than those originally conceived for psychoanalytic treatment and listening (Queiroz, 2020). Over the years since, this movement has gained adherents and different groups have emerged across Brazil, for example in Brasília and Porto Alegre. Despite the diversity of organisational models – some operating from their own premises, others using public spaces such as squares – a shared objective remains: to make psychoanalysis more interventionist and more accessible.

In briefly tracing the trajectory of Brazilian psychoanalysis to the present, what stands out are the disputes waged among its actors over issues such as the training of psychoanalysts and the most legitimate form of psychoanalysis, as well as over the place that psychoanalysis should occupy within the social and political space: open or closed, prioritising the psychic or external reality, interventionist or neutral, political or apolitical. The Brazilian psychoanalytic field is thus constituted as a space marked by constant struggles over the delimitation of the field itself.

Methodology

To empirically examine the structure of the contemporary Brazilian psychoanalytic field, we compiled as our units of analysis a dataset of individuals claiming the identity of psychoanalyst. Based on the psychoanalytic literature, participation in psychoanalytic events, social media and publicly available information on psychoanalysis and Brazilian psychoanalysts, a sample of 110 individuals was assembled, for whom prosopographical data were collected.

The intentional, or non-probabilistic, nature of the sample is grounded in the wider research objective, which is to explore different profiles of actors and the characteristics that relationally define their oppositions, rather than to provide a demographic portrait of psychoanalysts. These selection criteria explain our decision to include individuals who self-identify as Christian or integrative psychoanalysts – actors vehemently criticised and rejected by

dominant groups within psychoanalysis, yet who nonetheless claim a place within the Brazilian psychoanalytic field and compete for its resources. In order to explore the factors structuring divisions within the field, we selected: individuals affiliated with associations and schools identified in the literature review on the history of psychoanalysis in Brazil; individuals who stood out in the mapping undertaken of contemporary debates within psychoanalysis; and individuals from different regions of the country. Finally, we sought to achieve a balanced composition between well-known and relatively unknown psychoanalysts.

Far from advocating for Christian or integrative psychoanalysis or for their recognition within the field, we adhere to the fundamental characteristics of a Bourdieusian field, constituted through disputes over positions, resources and prestige. Accordingly, we cannot ignore the existence of actors who contest the very delimitation of the field and its forms of capital. We contend that identifying and elaborating the structure of the Brazilian psychoanalytic field in its heterogeneity necessarily proceeds along this path.

Based on the selected sample and the temporal scope from 2013 to 2023, we constructed a database comprising 35 variables, populated from a range of public sources – such as online articles, institutional profiles, social media, academic curricula and LinkedIn profiles – in which we compiled prosopographical information on the individuals. These variables were grouped into five categories, as shown in Table 1.

The variables grouped under *Psychoanalytic training and affiliation* – which indicate the types of societies to which individuals are affiliated and where they undertook their training – were constructed in order to test the hypothesis that the opposition between IPA-affiliated societies and other organisations is central to the structuring of the field. To examine the possible relationship between this opposition and involvement in academic institutions, a series of variables concerning *Academic trajectory and qualifications* was developed. The *Position-takings* variables serve as indicators for analysing the conjectured relationship between IPA-affiliated societies and political discretion, whereas other societies and associations would be more permeable to politicisation. The question of recognition and notoriety is addressed through a specific group of variables, considering indicators related to publications, awards and social media visibility. Finally, a further set of variables was compiled under the heading *Social properties*, comprising morphological characteristics of individuals, such as sex, colour/race,⁷ generation and place of residence. The generational variable serves as a means of evaluating whether younger psychoanalysts are more present in non-IPA societies. To create this variable, we used year of university graduation as a proxy, given the impossibility of accessing individuals' year of birth. In addition, generational categories were constructed after data collection and

⁷ The variable was coded on the basis of racial hetero-identification by the researcher responsible for data collection.

descriptive analysis. The remaining variables under this rubric function as 'control variables,' insofar as factors such as the psychoanalyst's sex and place of residence may also be relevant for defining oppositions, even if they are not central to debates concerning the history of psychoanalysis in Brazil.

Table 1 - Active variables: categories, coordinates and contributions*

Active Variables					Axis 1		Axis 2	
Group	Variable	Modality	Frequency	%	Coordinate	Contribution	Coordinate	Contribution
Social properties	Sex	Male	36	32.7	-0.58	1.73	0.18	0.23
		Female	74	67	0.28	0.84	-0.09	0.11
	Generation	>1980	24	21.82	-0.2	0.14	-0.52	1.27
		1980	22	20	-0.06	0.01	-0.28	0.34
		1990	15	13.64	-0.03	0	-0.6	1.04
		2000	26	23.64	0.01	0	0.08	0.03
		<2010	15	13.64	0.08	0.02	0.55	0.89
	City/Region	Capital, SP (Cap, SP)	24	21.82	-0.89	2.71	0.45	0.94
		Interior, SP (Int, SP)	14	12.73	0.69	0.93	0.33	0.29
		Capital, RJ (Cap, RJ)	10	9.09	-0.6	0.51	-0.52	0.53
		Rest, Southeast (Rest, Sud)	11	10	0.28	0.13	0.76	1.24
		Capital, RS (Cap, RS)	8	7.27	0.13	0.02	-0.38	0.22
		Rest, South (Rest, Sul)	15	13.64	0.24	0.12	-0.19	0.1
		North (Nort)	5	4.55	-0.07	0	0.77	0.58
		Northeast (Nordest)	13	11.82	0.43	0.35	-0.68	1.18
		Centre-West (Cen-Oes)	10	9.09	0.48	0.33	-0.77	1.15
	Race/Colour	White (Bran_)	94	85.45	-0.04	0.03	-0.1	0.19
		Non-White (N_Bran)	10	9.09	0.34	0.16	1.34	3.52
Academic trajectory and qualifications	Graduation Course	Psychology (Psico)	61	55.45	-0.04	0.02	-0.41	1.97
		Medicine (Med)	13	11.82	-0.36	0.24	-0.24	0.14
		Human Sciences (C_H)	6	5.45	0.03	0	0.7	0.58
		Applied Human Sciences and Others (S_Apli_out)	25	22.73	0.17	0.1	0.43	0.91

	Graduation Institution	USP	9	8.18	-1	1.29	0.52	0.47
		Public Federal and Foreign Universities (Uni_F_P_estrn)	29	26.36	-0.04	0.01	-0.48	1.32
		Public State University (Uni_E_P)	11	10	0.21	0.07	-0.12	0.03
		PUC	20	18.18	-0.1	0.03	-0.71	1.96
		Private (Parti_)	30	27.27	0.07	0.02	0.45	1.19
	Academic	Yes	41	37.27	-0.81	3.83	-0.23	0.43
		No	69	62.73	0.48	2.27	0.14	0.25
	Level	Technical (Tec_)	1	0.91	0.75	0.08	1.75	0.6
		Graduate (Grad_)	20	18.18	0.97	2.65	0.12	0.06
		Specialisation (Esp_)	23	20.91	0.38	0.48	0.27	0.33
		Master (Mestr_)	28	25.45	0.29	0.33	-0.54	1.62
		Doctorate (Doc_)	22	20	-1.18	4.37	-0.07	0.02
		Post-doctorate (Pos_doc)	9	8.18	-0.71	0.65	-0.51	0.46
		Livre-docência (Liv_docen_)	3	2.73	-2.21	2.07	-0.07	0
		None	4	3.64	0.51	0.15	2.78	6.03
	Lattes CV	Up-to-date	57	51.82	-0.47	1.8	-0.06	0.04
		Out-of-date (Des_atual)	28	25.45	0.31	0.39	-0.51	1.44
		No Lattes (S_Lattes)	25	22.73	0.73	1.87	0.71	2.43
Psychoanalytic trajectory and training	IPA Training	Yes	34	30.91	0.84	3.37	-0.89	5.28
		No	76	69.09	-0.37	1.51	0.4	2.36
	Lacanian Training	Yes	27	24.5	-0.77	2.27	-0.18	0.17
		No	83	75.5	0.25	0.74	0.06	0.06
	Christian/Integrative Training	Yes	5	4.5	0.83	0.48	2.46	5.89
		No	105	95.5	-0.04	0.02	-0.12	0.28
	University Training	Yes	29	26.4	-0.42	0.73	-0.1	0.06
		No	80	72.7	0.16	0.29	0.03	0.02
	International Training	Yes	16	14.5	-0.92	1.94	-0.18	0.1
		No	94	85.5	0.16	0.33	0.03	0.02
	Other Training	Yes	28	25.5	-8.43	0	0.29	0.46
		No	82	74.5	2.88	0	-0.1	0.16
	IPA Association	Yes	34	30.9	0.92	4.06	-0.84	4.73
		No	76	69.1	-0.41	1.82	0.38	2.11
		Yes	24	21.8	-0.78	2.06	-0.18	0.16

	Lacanian Association	No	86	78.2	0.22	0.57	0.05	0.04
	Christian/Integrative Association	Yes	4	3.6	0.51	0.15	2.36	4.34
		No	106	96.4	-0.02	0.01	-0.09	0.16
	University Association	Yes	6	5.5	-0.76	0.49	-0.29	0.1
		No	104	94.5	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.01
	International Association	Yes	43	39.1	0.49	1.47	-0.74	4.56
		No	67	60.9	-0.32	0.94	0.47	2.92
	Other Association	Yes	22	20	-0.22	0.15	0.86	3.14
		No	88	80	0.05	0.04	-0.21	0.79
	Collective Association	Yes	6	5.5	-0.51	0.22	-0.07	0.01
		No	104	94.5	0.03	0.01	0	0
Political position-taking	Progressive Agendas	Yes	46	41.8	-0.51	1.66	-0.36	1.15
		No	64	58.2	0.36	1.2	0.26	0.83
	Conservative Agendas	Yes	9	8.2	0.74	0.7	0.41	0.3
		No	101	91.8	-0.07	0.06	-0.04	0.03
	Favourable to Lula	Yes	22	20	-1.15	4.1	-0.3	0.38
		No	88	80	0.29	1.03	0.07	0.1
	Favourable to Bolsonaro	Yes	7	6.4	0.91	0.83	1.97	5.28
		No	103	93.6	-0.06	0.06	-0.13	0.36
	Against Lula	Yes	4	3.6	0.63	0.23	1.16	1.05
		No	106	96.4	-0.02	0.01	-0.04	0.04
Social recognition or notoriety**	Books Published	Yes	21	19.1	-0.75	1.69	-0.26	0.28
		No	89	80.9	0.18	0.4	0.06	0.07
	Political Positioning	Yes	72	65.5	-0.23	0.52	0.02	0.01
		No	38	34.5	0.43	0.98	-0.05	0.02
	Awards	1 to 6	31	28.2	-0.13	0.07	-0.05	0.01
		7 to 11	7	6.4	-1.22	1.47	0.34	0.16
		12 to 23	4	3.6	-1	0.57	-0.72	0.4
		24 to 53	8	7.3	-1.87	3.95	-0.23	0.08
		None (Nenh_)	60	54.5	0.52	2.33	0.06	0.05
	Instagram Followers	1 to 3	19	17.3	-0.95	2.43	-0.3	0.33
		4 to 5	8	7.3	-1.07	1.3	0.15	0.04
		None	83	75.5	0.32	1.21	0.05	0.05
		Low	50	45.5	0.32	0.73	0.24	0.54
		Medium	7	6.4	-0.37	0.14	0.75	0.76
	Facebook Followers	High	9	8.2	-1.3	2.16	0.47	0.39
		V_High	7	6.4	-1.75	3.04	-0.13	0.02
		Private	17	15.5	0.36	0.31	-0.35	0.4
		No_account	20	18.2	0.22	0.14	-0.72	2.02
		Low	37	33.6	0.25	0.34	-0.13	0.13
	YouTube Followers	Medium	7	6.4	-0.97	0.92	1.19	1.93
		High	7	6.4	-0.89	0.79	-0.36	0.18
		Private account	18	16.4	0.61	0.95	0.43	0.65
		No_account	41	37.3	-0.18	0.19	-0.21	0.36
		Low	10	9.1	0.24	0.08	1.5	4.41
	YouTube Followers	Medium	6	5.5	-1.47	1.85	0.52	0.31
		High	3	2.7	-2.33	2.31	-0.3	0.05
		No_account	91	82.7	0.15	0.28	-0.19	0.64

	Twitter Followers	Low	8	7.3	-0.59	0.39	0.55	0.47
		Medium	8	7.3	-0.18	0.04	0.94	1.39
		High	6	5.5	-2.06	3.59	-0.07	0.01
		No_account	88	80	0.21	0.55	-0.13	0.29

Source: Authors (2024).

* In bold: 15% of the categories that most contributed to the formation of the axes.

** The social media modalities were coded on the basis of the range of follower counts across the different platforms for individuals in the sample, as well as the relative frequency of each modality, in order to avoid categories with very low frequencies.

Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) was used to examine the dataset as it allows for the graphical exploration of relationships among a large number of variables (Bertoncello, 2022; Hjellbrekke, 2018; Le Roux, Rouanet & Ackerman, 2010). This quantitative approach aims to identify axes along which the units of analysis differentiate from and resemble one another relationally, providing us with an image of the structure of a field. Possessing a privileged connection with Bourdieu's notion of field and social space (Rouanet *et al.*, 2005), MCA situates actors "within an objectively and relationally structured space, in which the distance between them derives from differences in their social properties, including unequal endowments of capital" (Klüger, 2018, p. 69). Differently to the regression-based methods dominant in the Anglo-Saxon social sciences from the 1960s onwards, MCA does not seek to estimate the net effects of independent variables on dependent variables, but focuses on the structural effects generated by all variables – that is, the global effects of a complex structure of interrelations (Belem, 2022). MCA thus seeks to render complex multidimensional realities into more accessible representations in which individuals and categories are positioned along axes that maximise data variance (Pedroso Neto, 2015). Interpreting MCA results requires an analysis of the contributions of categories to the formation of the axes, achieved through observation and examination of the oppositions identified within the resulting social space and, where relevant, through analysis of the positions of supplementary variables and categories (Klüger, 2018).

The contemporary Brazilian psychoanalytic field

In this section, we discuss the results of the MCA based on data on psychoanalysts, with the aim of examining the research hypotheses. The MCA was conducted using the GDAtools package in the R software environment. The analysis concentrates on the first two axes generated by the MCA, which together account for 60.99% of the variance in the data (modified rate), with 41.85% corresponding to the first axis and 19.14% to the second. As well as this selection, we also applied a cut-off of the 15% of variables that

made the highest contributions to the construction of the axes, resulting in 32 categories. Tables 2 and 3 present the categories with the highest contributions and the positions of their coordinates (positive or negative) on axes 1 and 2, respectively:

Table 2 — Categories with the highest contributions to Axis 1

Positive side		Negative side	
Variable and modality	Contribution	Variable and modality	Contribution
IPA-affiliated: Yes	4.06	Qualification: Doctorate	4.36
IPA Training: Yes	3.36	Favourable to Lula: Yes	4.1
Qualification: Graduation	2.65	Book: 24-53	3.95
Book: None	2.32	Academic: Yes	3.82
Academic: No	2.27	Twitter: High	3.59
-	-	Instagram: Very High	3.03
-	-	Locality/Region: Capital, SP	2.71
-	-	Award: 1-3	2.43
-	-	YouTube: High	2.3
-	-	Lacanian Training: Yes	2.27
-	-	Instagram: High	2.16

Source: Authors (2024).

Based on the data presented in Table 2, we can ascertain that the categories most relevant to the construction of the first axis are predominantly related to academic and media prestige. On the positive side of the axis, three of the five variables are associated with academic and media properties (Qualifications, Books published and Teaching position), while the remaining two variables relate to the individual's psychoanalytic trajectory. On the negative side of the axis, seven of the eleven variables are associated with academic and media prestige (Qualifications, Books published, Teaching position, Twitter, Instagram [twice] and YouTube). The opposition encountered on this first axis, together with the analysis of the variables and their modalities, reinforces the interpretation that most adequately describes this axis as a dimension opposing higher and lower levels of academic and media capital. In other words, individuals with higher academic qualifications and university teaching positions tend to enjoy greater media recognition compared to those with lower qualifications, no teaching activity and more limited media visibility.

In analysing the results for axis 2 (Table 3), the most congruent interpretation appears to be one that describes this dimension as structured by the opposition between the more orthodox pole of psychoanalysis and the more heterodox one.⁸ That is, on the positive side of the axis, six of the eleven variables are related to heterodox forms of psychoanalytic training and trajectory, whereas

⁸ As is common in the work of Pierre Bourdieu and in studies that follow his tradition, we use the term 'orthodox' to designate those who seek to preserve established structures and consecrated rules and 'heterodox' for those who contest existing structures and rules and attempt to redefine them.

on the negative side three of the five variables are linked to orthodox training and trajectories. Put otherwise, in this dimension, Christian and integrative institutions are opposed to the other associations, with particular emphasis on their opposition to the established actors within institutions affiliated with the IPA.⁹

Table 3 — Categories with highest contributions to Axis 2

Positive side		Negative side	
Variable and modality	Contribution	Variable and modality	Contribution
Qualification: None	6.03	IPA Training: Yes	5.27
Christ./Integ. Training: Yes	5.89	IPA-affiliated: Yes	4.72
Favourable to Bolsonaro: Yes	5.28	International Association: Yes	4.55
YouTube: Low	4.41	Instagram: No account	2.02
Christian Association: Yes	4.34	Graduation: Psychology	1.97
Race: Not White	3.52	-	-
Other Associations: Yes	3.14	-	-
International Association: No	2.92	-	-
Lattes: No Lattes	2.42	-	-
IPA Training: No	2.36	-	-
IPA-affiliated: No	2.11	-	-

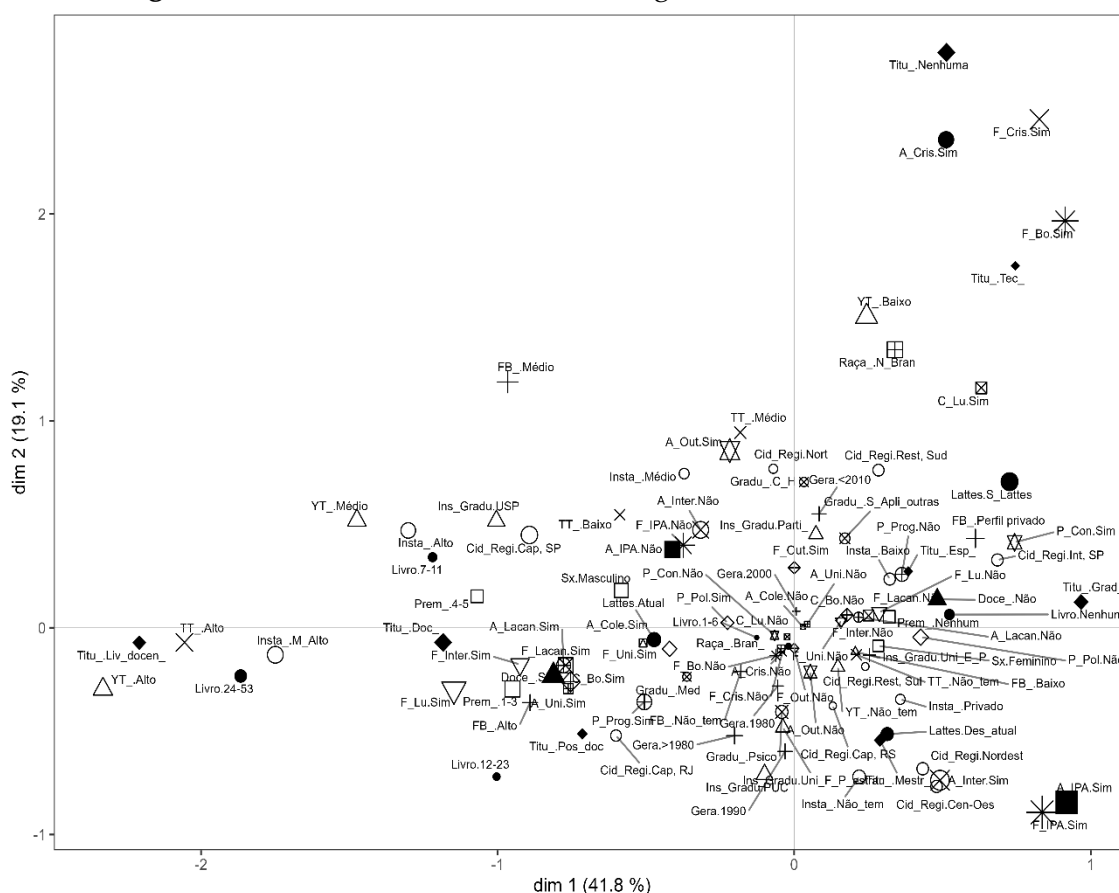
Source: Authors (2024).

In Figure 1, we can visualise the distribution of categories on the plane defined by axes 1 and 2. This representation allows for an examination of oppositions through the graphical depiction of relationships between the categories. In line with the tables presented above, axis 1 shows an opposition between academic and media-related properties. Thus, we can identify two groups in this first dimension: on the left, those endowed with high media visibility and strong academic trajectories and affiliations, such as university academics; on the right, those associated with lower media visibility and more limited academic capital. This configuration consolidates an interpretation of the axis as a dimension that differentiates distinct ways of practising psychoanalysis: from those more deeply engaged with academia and social media to more discreet forms, whether insulated (IPA-affiliated) or even marginalised (Christian and integrative). This axis also suggests the importance of resources external to the field (academic and media capital) as a factor of differentiation, expressing a division between a more autonomous pole and a more heteronomous one within this social space.

⁹ We opted to use the terms ‘established’ and ‘non-established’ to capture internal differences within the field, particularly those distinguishing heterodox actors. In this sense, ‘established’ refers to psychoanalysts who occupy consolidated positions within the field and are regarded as legitimate, whereas ‘non-established’ designates those who lack access to formal instances of consecration and possess little or no power to define the rules of the game.

Along axis 2, we observe the opposition between the orthodox and heterodox poles of psychoanalysis. In this dimension, unlike the first, we can detect a tripartite division. In the lower part of the graph are the oldest and most traditional psychoanalytic institutions, affiliated with the IPA; in the intermediate zone are Lacanian institutions and those linked to the university; and in the upper part of the graph, as the opposing pole, are Christian/spiritual and integrative training institutions.

Figure 1 – Results from the MCA – Categories in Axes 1 and 2



Source: Author (2024).

The positions of the remaining categories across the first two axes also warrant further comment. Along axis 1, higher levels of academic and media capital are associated with Lacanian, non-IPA and university-linked psychoanalytic institutions and trajectories, occupying an intermediate position between the more orthodox and the more heterodox institutions. By contrast, lower levels of academic and media capital are associated both with IPA-affiliated and orthodox institutions and with Christian and integrative institutions – that is, with more heterodox ones. In sum, despite the opposition between IPA-affiliated institutions and Christian/integrative ones, a proximity exists between them in terms of the limited academic and media resources held by individuals affiliated with these schools.

Along axis 2, the category 'non-white' stands out in the upper portion of the axis, characterised by affiliation with Christian/integrative institutions, in opposition to individuals affiliated with associations linked to more established currents, located in the lower portion. Only 10% of the individuals for whom information on colour/race could be obtained are non-white, which suggests the relatively exclusionary nature of this professional milieu. The fact that the non-white category is associated precisely with psychoanalytic currents that are less legitimate within the field allows us to conjecture that its structure reflects, in certain respects, the broader social structure of the country in which actors possessing fewer economic and cultural resources – alongside a phenotypical positioning less valued within the 'market of racialisation' – are relegated to the dominated pole of the exercise of psychoanalysis.

Moving beyond the main polarities structuring axes 1 and 2, we can also reach some conclusions concerning the political positioning of psychoanalysts, extrapolated from Figure 1. Support for progressive agendas, favourable attitudes towards Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and opposition to Jair Bolsonaro are associated with higher levels of academic and media capital, meaning that individuals located in this region of the graph tend to hold doctoral degrees, occupy university teaching positions, have graduated from the University of São Paulo (USP), live in the city of São Paulo, and have Lacanian training or training in other institutions not affiliated with the IPA, have published many books, received awards (between one and three) and have large numbers of followers on social media. Support for Bolsonaro and opposition to progressive agendas, by contrast, are associated with lower levels of academic and media capital, as well as with the more heterodox institutions within the field. Individuals located in this region of the social space frequently lack academic qualifications and have limited visibility on social media. Finally, the most orthodox region of the field is associated not just with IPA-affiliated training and trajectories, but also with the absence of social media presence, the absence of explicit political positioning, the absence of published books and the absence of university-level teaching activity – that is, with less academic and media capital.

Figure 2 presents the individuals plotted on the plane of axes 1 and 2. A cloud of points can be identified with an approximate triangular shape. Considering this three-vertex configuration and recognising the existence of a central region of the triangle that also defines a specific set of properties, we can delineate four groups of psychoanalysts within the field:

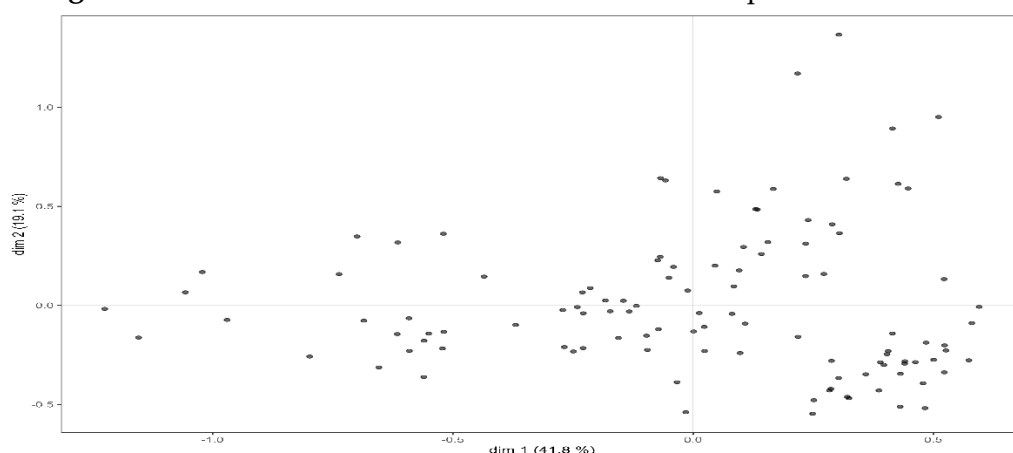
1) In the lower right quadrant, we encounter the orthodox psychoanalysts. Trained and affiliated with IPA-type associations, their practice is marked by distance from academia and by media discretion.

2) In the upper right quadrant, we encounter the non-established heterodox group. Like the orthodox group, this cluster possesses fewer academic and media resources, as well as less traditional and less prestigious training instances and associations.

3) In the left-hand vertex of the point cloud, we find the established heterodox group. Despite their distance from the IPA, this group is closer to the IPA-affiliated psychoanalysts along axis 2 than to those occupying the most heterodox extreme and is distinguished by a higher volume of academic and media capital.

4) At the centre of the configuration, we encounter established heterodox psychoanalysts with intermediate academic resources and limited media capital.

Figure 2 – Results from the MCA – Individuals on the plane of axes 1 and 2

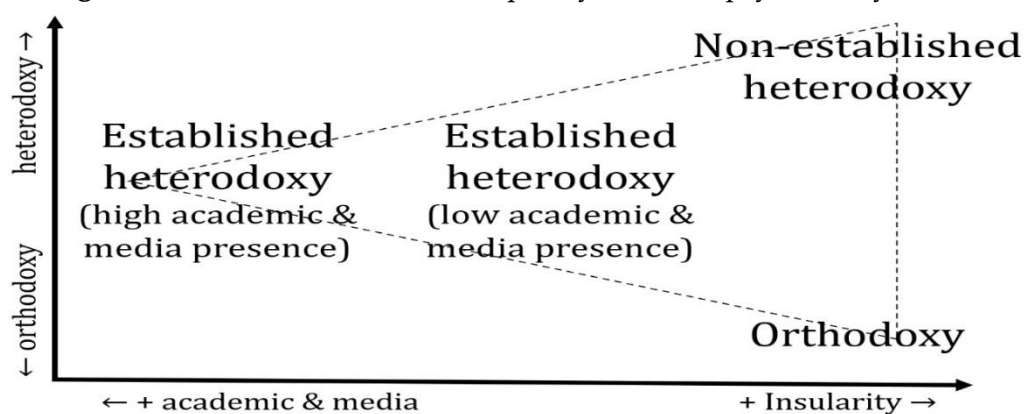


Source: Authors (2024).

The structure of the field and the dynamic of the disputes

The results obtained through the MCA enable us to reach a number of conclusions and explanations regarding the oppositions and disputes identified in the field, as well as to formulate some conjectures concerning the dispositions of psychoanalysts. In this sense, the four groups represent distinct and significant positions within the field and reflect the historical development of this social space. Figure 3 seeks to schematically present the structure of the field revealed by the MCA. In this section, we examine a number of episodes of conflict and division that are explained by this structure.

Figure 3 – Structure of the contemporary Brazilian psychoanalytic field



Source: Authors (2024).

The first of these episodes concerns the Movimento Articulação das Entidades Psicanalíticas Brasileiras (MAEP) and the alliance between established heterodoxy and orthodoxy. MAEP emerged in 2000 from the articulation of different psychoanalytic institutions – Lacanian, non-Lacanian and IPA-affiliated – with the objective of countering evangelical attempts to regulate psychoanalysis and to impose a singular and permanent model of psychoanalytic training (Amendoeira, 2018). The movement emerged as an alliance between the groups here identified as orthodox and established heterodox, in opposition to the non-established heterodox pole of the field, where institutions linked to Christianity and integrative practices are located. Throughout MAEP's existence, a range of actions were undertaken in defence of the form of psychoanalysis advocated by the group: active participation in public hearings in the Chamber of Deputies to oppose bills seeking to regulate psychoanalysis; the release of manifestos against regulation; and the publication, in 2009, of the book *Ofício do psicanalista: formação vs. regulamentação*, which offered a comprehensive account of the MAEP's activities, as well as debates surrounding psychoanalytic training and regulation (Amendoeira, 2018). Finally, one of the most recent interventions by the alliance occurred following the creation, in 2021, of an undergraduate degree in Psychoanalysis by the Centro Universitário Internacional Uninter. In response, MAEP issued a manifesto opposing the degree programme, on the grounds that it diverged from what the group understands to be the fundamental principles governing the training of psychoanalysts (Manifesto [...], 2021).

The articulation among established institutions was revealing of both the *doxa* that unites them and the divergences that separate them. On one hand, the movement's initial convergence reflected an acknowledgement that there were differences in conceptions regarding the requirements for psychoanalytic training (Amendoeira, 2018). On the other hand, in an explanatory note concerning MAEP, the Associação Psicanalítica de Porto Alegre (APPOA), a member of the movement, emphasises that although differences exist among the institutions, certain consensuses bind them together: the impossibility of regulating psychoanalytic ethics, an artisanal mode of training grounded in the psychoanalytic triad, and the lay and secular character of psychoanalysis (APPOA, 2024).

The second illustrative episode that can be more fully understood through the model constructed here concerns the Israel-Palestine question and the differences between orthodoxy and established heterodoxy within the psychoanalytic field. After the attacks carried out by Hamas against Israel on 7 October 2023, in which numerous Israelis were killed and others taken hostage, an Israeli military campaign was launched against Palestinian territories (Acompanhe [...], 2024). The positions adopted by certain psychoanalysts can be better understood when considered in light of the field structure proposed in this article.

It is worth recalling that the established heterodox region of the social space is associated with variables of political positioning linked to progressive agendas. Accordingly, we find psychoanalysts aligned with left-wing, anti-racist,

anti-colonial, feminist and related causes, while in the orthodox region – despite the absence of explicit support for conservative agendas – we can note a general absence of political positioning. This appears to be related to other properties of this region, in which media capital is scarce, meaning that the positions adopted by psychoanalysts do not readily become public knowledge. Even so, the episodes involving Israel and Palestine seem to have been sufficiently salient to elicit positioning from the actors, perhaps due to the presence of Jewish members within the ranks of psychoanalytic societies. Below, we analyse one example of each of these positions.

Beginning with the orthodox pole, we find the statement of repudiation issued by the Sociedade Psicanalítica do Rio de Janeiro, one of the oldest psychoanalytic societies in Brazil and recognised by the IPA. In the statement, published on the Society's Instagram profile on 9 October 2023 and entitled *Statement of repudiation of terrorism and in defence of peace* (Sociedade Psicanalítica do Rio de Janeiro, 2023a), the psychoanalysts expressed solidarity with the people of Israel and described the attacks carried out by Hamas as barbaric and terrorist. In the text, they interpret these acts as the result of the 'death drive' and position themselves against 'any acts that seek to distance human beings from the noble civilisational values of peace, solidarity and compassion.' They advocate the resolution of conflicts through dialogue and also emphasise the defence of human rights and democracy. Subsequently, on 18 October of the same year, the Society also shared on Instagram a statement of support for the Israeli Psychoanalytical Society (Sociedade Psicanalítica do Rio de Janeiro, 2023b). In this statement, they back remarks made by the Israeli Society concerning the "sadistic cruelty of Hamas criminals," characterised as "a crime against Humanity." The psychoanalysts express unconditional support for Israeli psychoanalysts and solidarity with Israelis affected by the attacks. Finally, they stress that such cruel and monstrous acts reveal "the sadistic cultivation of hatred in its pure state, whose objective is the destruction of bonds of love, through a perverse idealisation of the torture of innocents and of Death," calling on other governmental and non-governmental bodies to take a stand and condemn Hamas's actions.

In relation to established heterodoxy, meanwhile, two positions appear representative: 1) the stance adopted by the group Travessias – Percursos em Psicanálise, formed by psychoanalysts from Belo Horizonte with backgrounds at the Federal University of Minas Gerais. On 25 October 2023, the group published on its Instagram profile (*Uma carta [...]*, 2023) a 1930 letter from Sigmund Freud to Chaim Koffler, in which Freud declines to offer public support for the Zionist cause. Alongside the publication of the letter, the group emphasised that "the risks involved in the creation of a religious national state with territorial claims, as Israel would later become, are already signalled there [in the letter]." And 2) the position of Vladimir Safatle, a heterodox actor within the field with significant academic and media capital. Safatle has written about Palestine in the national media for over two decades and, in 2023, compiled a document bringing together

his main writings on the subject (Safatle, 2023). In one of his texts, he also criticises Hamas, while pointing to the colonial policies of the Israel as a central problem faced by Palestinians (Safatle, 2023). In addition, Safatle was a signatory to a manifesto opposing the genocide in Gaza, in which he and other intellectuals call for a series of actions in defence of Palestinians. The manifesto demands an end to the massacre perpetrated by Israel, an end to the military occupation of Palestinian territories, to the ethnic cleansing of East Jerusalem and to the illegal annexation of Palestinian land, and the dismantling of the apartheid system imposed on Palestinians, as well as repudiating the transformation of the Gaza Strip into an open-air prison (Mendes, 2023).

Based on the above, what we seek to demonstrate is that stances concerning the Israel-Palestine conflict assume different perspectives and mobilise different arguments depending on the region of the field in which psychoanalysts are located. While the established heterodox pole emphasised historical dimensions of the conflict and adopted a critical stance towards Israel, denouncing the genocide of the Palestinian population and Israel's colonialism, psychoanalytic orthodoxy condemned the actions of Hamas and did not situate the events of October 2023 within the longer historical trajectory constitutive of the Israel-Palestine conflict, treating them instead as acts of barbarism and violence from a psychic and individualising perspective, adopting a conservative and hegemonic position in relation to the conflict and advancing an abstract defence of peace, democracy and human rights.¹⁰

Considering the structure of the field, the heterodox region is associated with academic and media-related properties, non-IPA affiliations and variables of progressive political positioning. This combination of factors appears to suggest that psychoanalysts located in this region are more likely – as in the empirical example discussed above – to adopt politically articulated positions grounded in social and historical analysis and progressively oriented. By contrast, the orthodox region is linked to forms of training and affiliation internal to the field, lower levels of academic and media capital, and the absence of variables indicating political positioning. This configuration appears to suggest that psychoanalysts located in this region of the social space are more closely associated with an absence of explicit political positioning. However, when they do take a stance deemed relevant, they are more likely to adopt positions that emphasise the psychic and moral dimensions of the episodes.

¹⁰ A more detailed examination of positions on the conflict in question would undoubtedly reveal complexities not captured here, especially within the established heterodox pole, given its greater visibility and the more overt nature of its position-taking. Despite their importance, we do not pursue the details of these positions, since our aim is merely to illustrate how the field's divisional structure, as elaborated in this article, can account for some general differences in the positions adopted.

Final remarks

This article sought to identify the structure of the contemporary Brazilian psychoanalytic field through the analytical framework developed by Pierre Bourdieu. To this end, we employed a quantitative methodological approach based on Multiple Correspondence Analysis. The results point to a division structured in two main dimensions: in the first dimension, the principal oppositions emerge in relation to academic and media-related properties; in the second dimension, oppositions are expressed in terms of psychoanalytic trajectories and affiliations, distinguishing more orthodox from more heterodox institutions.

These oppositions made it possible to identify different profiles of psychoanalysts: the orthodox profile with limited resources; the established heterodox profile with extensive academic and media resources; the established heterodox profile with intermediate academic resources and limited media resources; and the extreme, non-established heterodox profile, which shares limited academic and media characteristics similarly to the orthodox group. The oppositions and profiles identified thus appear to represent meaningful divisions within the social space, reflecting both the historical evolution of the field and the disputes surrounding the different forms of capital involved.

Moreover, in relation to the political positioning of psychoanalysts, the MCA reveals a relationship between established heterodox actors and progressive positions, between non-established heterodox actors and conservative positions, and between orthodox actors and the absence of explicit political positioning.

Finally, in this concluding section, we emphasise salient features of the psychoanalytic field, such as the influence of forms of capital external to the field and the substantial differences among the heterodox positions encountered. In this regard, we examined a number of conflicts and the positions adopted by psychoanalysts and institutions across different regions of the field in order to render the results of the MCA more tangible and, in so doing, use the resulting model to assist in understanding concrete events that have unfolded within the field.

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