

DISCUSSIONS

Hungarian Psychology in Mid 20th Century



CSABA PLÉH
*Collegium de Lyon, Université de Lyon and
Central European University, Budapest*

INTRODUCTION

The history of Hungarian psychology for international readers concerns mostly the history of Hungarian psychoanalysis, the role of Ferenczi and others, the exodus of the movement, and so on. This is certainly the most important and interesting part of this history. The short presentations here make a small step to show the picture in a wider perspective.

Zsuzsana Vajda discusses the introduction and educational fate of the early testing movement. Anna Borgos presents the role of women in the Hungarian psychoanalytic movement. These papers concentrate on the first half of 20th century. The other three papers outline the fate of psychology under and around the communist dictatorship in mid 20th century. Csaba Pléh presents the general educational and research frames during the ‘softening’ of the dictatorship. Ferenc Erős describes the special situation of social psychology in Hungary from communist times to the new liberal political status. These two papers are written as historical reflections of one time participants, committed to the case of Westernization. Melinda Kovai from another generation takes a more critical stance, she presents the same years as a peculiar ‘self-colonialization’, in the sense that East Europeans started to treat themselves as colonies of Western psychology.

The authors hope to provide an interesting look into the history of the discipline and the profession in Hungary. We are very grateful to the Yearbook, and especially to Mauro Antonelli for the possibility and the encouragement to do so.

CSABA PLÉH

*Collegium de Lyon, Université de Lyon and
Central European University, Budapest*

FORMATION OF HUNGARIAN PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN MID 20TH CENTURY: INSTITUTIONAL FRAMES 1960–2010

Abstract

During the period 1960–2010 Hungary went through important social and political changes. Initially these changes had meant for psychology that via the softening of the dictatorship social and human sciences and supportive professions were allowed to (re)appear in the system, and later on psychology and its applications could be diversified. Since the dramatic political changes in 1990, psychology has become a central player. This paper concentrates on institutional developments, using mainly public data.

The training of psychologists restarted in 1963 with an integration of applied fields into a 5-year program. This was soon followed by a more theory based reorganization in the 1970s with the formation of a postgraduate system of applied training. Between 1960 and 2010 the single Budapest Eötvös Loránd University with a dozen students was replaced by 7 training universities with a Bologna 3+2-year system, with 800 new undergraduates and 300 MA students each year. This was accompanied by the formation of a PhD system.

Regarding research, the most important change in the 1960s was the formation of the Research Institute for Psychology at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, with a strong psychophysiology and social psychology profile. From the 1970s on, research has become more and more important at the universities. A notable general change was the appearance of project based financing.

In publication practices Westernization appeared first in citations, and from the 1980s it appeared also in publications.



Keywords

History of Hungarian Psychology, Training of Psychologists
in Hungary, Professional Psychology, Psychological Research,
Publication Statistics in Psychology

Author Information

CSABA PLÉH is a Hungarian cognitive psychologist. He has been teaching and working at Eötvös U and CEU, Budapest, U of Szeged and Eger, and in IU Bloomington, Stanford, Rutgers U. His major topics are sentence understanding, and the history of cognitive psychology, and the history of Hungarian psychology.

Address for Correspondence

Csaba Pléh, Central European University,
Department of Cognitive Science, Budapest,
Nádor u. 9 1051, Hungary.
Email: vispleh@ceu.edu

Introduction

Hungary has certainly undergone several drastic social and political changes during the last half century. The dictatorial style of government following the crackdown of the 1956 revolution was gradually ‘softened’, followed in 1990 by radical changes and a move towards a democratic capitalist society far from the single party system based on the dominance of state ownership (Romsics, 1999). These changes have been accompanied by changes first for the overall possibility of social and human sciences, including psychology, and a movement towards a more varied psychology including its applications. Later, with the advent of capitalist democracy, psychology has become a central player both in the public mind and even in political practice – e.g., a psychiatrist has become a foreign minister, and three psychologists were state secretaries –, and eventually in higher education publications and research domains as well. Since the works of Kovai (2016), Laine-Frigren (2015) and Pléh (1999) have reviewed the relations between large scale social factors and the proliferation of psychology in Hungary, and Szokolszky (2016), as well as Borgos, Kovai, and Erős characterize some of the research from this period in this given thematic block, the present paper will concentrate on some structural changes in institutions, especially in training and in some aspects of research. Most of the data used are from statistics gathered and computed from general public sources, such as university entrance enrolments, publications, and a general survey of the last half century of psychology as reported in a session of the Hungarian Psychological Association congress in 2016.

Hungarian psychology went through several stages in the period surveyed.

1. The re-emergence of psychology 1960–70
2. Spread and differentiation in training and research, 1970–80
3. Social acceptance of psychology, weakening ideological controls 1980–90, increasing professional practice.
4. Differentiation, training, research and practice proliferation at the time of political democratization 1990–2010.

The starting point of all these changes is that psychology both as a social practice and as a university training was more or less banned in the 1950s, due to the interesting alliance of an overtly optimistic ‘nation education’ attitude of the communists, and their distaste for all individual based professions (Pléh, 1997, 2008; Pléh, Bodor & Lányi, 2008; Laine-Frigren, 2015; Kovai, 2016; Szokolszky, 2016). By the mid 1960s a slow rehabilitation of ‘human factors’ was taking place in party ideology with gradual rehabilitation of empirical social sciences and professions, among them psychology. I cannot avoid characterizing the following half century as ‘progress’ and Westernization, though several critical voices in the Hungarian context question this as being over-optimistic (Kovai, 2016; Máriási, 2016). I accept their critical perspective: i.e., their point that there was no ‘return to the good times of the past’ in these developments. However, those idealized ancestral conditions never existed. As a one time student, observer and participant in these processes I cannot avoid treating individualization and Westernization as being ‘good’ in a culture with an otherwise rather monocentric and authoritarian political tradition, that seems to re-emerge even today.

1. *Training of Psychologists*

Regarding the *training of psychologists* the organized, independent training providing a psychology degree started in 1963 at a single university, Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest, with small classes of a dozen or a few dozen students.

Although we tend to present this as a ‘restart’, in fact, degree training in psychology did not exist as such, like in many other European countries, and the discipline was treated as a specialization in philosophy, as, for example, in Germany until the 1940s.

The introduction of degree programs and the number of students in communist times was centralized. It was dependent on ministerial decisions, contingent on central party approval. However, the actual programs proposed were created by the representatives of the professions. In this regard, it is very telling and interesting that the first degree program introduced

in 1963 combined theoretical approaches with a practical preparation for the profession. The early 5 year undivided program lasted up to 10 years, with students choosing a specialty (clinical, industrial, or educational) from the 3rd grade on.

The first decade of this training was followed by a more theoretically oriented restructuring, with no professional training during the first 5 years, and the formation of applied postgraduate training from 1973 on. Training has gradually become more widespread, both with regard to the number of schools and in the number of students. Between 1960 and 1990 three schools emerged, in Budapest, Debrecen, and Pécs, with about a 100 graduates every year. Since 1990, the expansion has continued. Today seven schools admit about 700 undergraduate and 300 graduate students every year in a Bologna structured 3+2 year system. This expansion was accompanied in the mid 1990s by a PhD system replacing the Soviet style centralization of science candidate degrees. Centralized ministerial organization, together with sometimes real, sometimes nominal control, was replaced by a more autonomous self organizing quality-assurance system.

Let us now summarize the overall changes in training:

- 1958: Psychology training merged with the educational professions at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest (Eötvös U)
- 1963: 5-year program with applied specialties at Eötvös U.
- 1972: Ministerial revision led by a reliable psychiatrist, Miklós Kun. A 5-year comprehensive program is initiated. Applied specialist postgraduate training during work.
- 1974: Unified psychology major. Two universities: Eötvös U, Budapest, Kossuth University, Debrecen (now U Debrecen). Postgraduate applied training at three sites from 1975, and University of Pécs (U Pécs) joined in the 1990s.
- 1976: Psychology training government decree. Valid until 1988, regulated employment conditions for psychologists.
- 1980s: University psychology institutes with several departments, following a party/ministry initiative. Leadership changes.



- 1990: Autonomous university initiated changes in training. On the initiative of György Hunyady, dean at Eötvös U, as part of a revision of training at humanity faculties, a credit based flexible system with theoretical and applied specialization from grade 3 was introduced, with a *de facto* two level system, starting at Eötvös.
- 1990s: The national program accreditation system took shape in psychology, and university PhD programs were formed.
- 1995: Eötvös U, U Debrecen, U Pécs became training universities. Intake doubled.
- 2000: As a result of many local efforts and accreditation decisions, psychology training was established at six universities, Eötvös U, U Debrecen, U Pécs, University of Szeged, and two denominational, Pázmány (Catholic) and Károli (Calvinist) Universities in Budapest. Post-graduate training courses became more numerous and more diversified, with important portions under health education control.
- 2005: BA-, MA- PhD-level ‘Bologna’ type training, with 7 MA and 3 PhD training places, and reformulated training requirements. Central student quotas were abolished, which led again to a twofold increase of students.

Figure 1 shows the number of advertised student (later undergraduate) places, on the basis of the official entrance system booklets of Hungarian universities. The changes are remarkable. In 1970 the chart starts with 10 people, to what became 800 for 2010. Until the mid-1990s these are numbers under general ministerial control, from then on they are based on decisions by autonomous universities.

The 50 times increase in 35 years is remarkable. The average yearly increase was 12%.¹ After the 1990s change in the political system, there was an enthusiastic increase in higher education numbers for two decades. According to the data of Verde (2013) between 1990 and 2005 the entire Hungarian higher education influx showed a 3.5 increase. However, during the same time psychology entrance numbers showed a 7.5 increase. Thus, the

¹ Thanks for Bálint Forgács for doing the reconstruction.

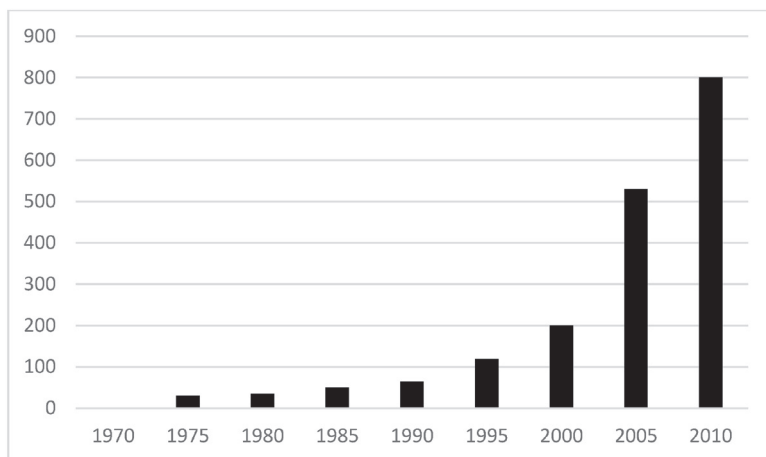


Fig. 1.
Changes in psychology entrance numbers in four decades
(Data from official national entrance call booklets).

increase in psychology is about twice that of the general increase in the demand for higher education. Psychology, according to the number of applications, continues to be among the most popular fields, competing with law, business, computer science, and communication.

During this increase of students, the teacher/students ratios decreased drastically. The roughly 8 students to a teacher in 1990 became about 16 by 2005. We do not know the numbers in detail for psychology, but there were and certainly are quality issues. It is hard to imagine how was it possible to establish four full faculties for the new psychology graduate programs over a 10 year period between 1995 and 2005. Let me illustrate this with some of my own data (Pléh, 2011).

Figure 2 shows the publication activity of active full time university professors 5 years before and after their nomination, in 2010, in a breakdown to experimental and other faculties. Figure 3 show the same distribution on the basis of references from Publish or Perish (Harzig, 2001).

The fact of nomination did not have a strong effect. What we did see in both indicators, however, is that the faculty has an internationally visible output especially in the experimental domains. The rest is of questionable quality.

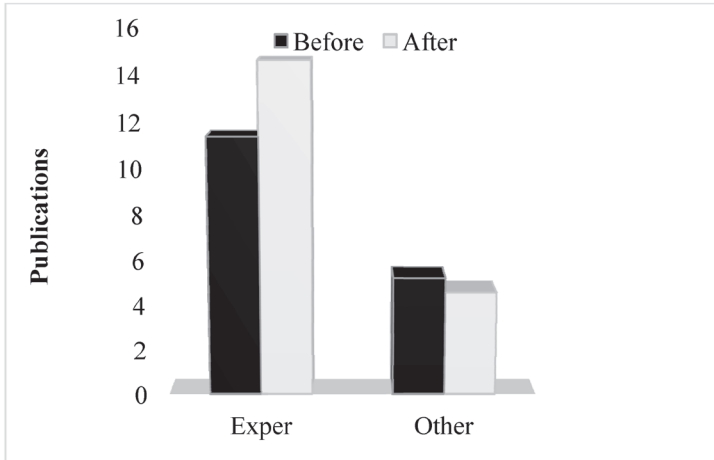


Fig. 2.
Publications from the 5 year period before (black) and after (grey)
full professorship nominations according to Publish or Perish data.

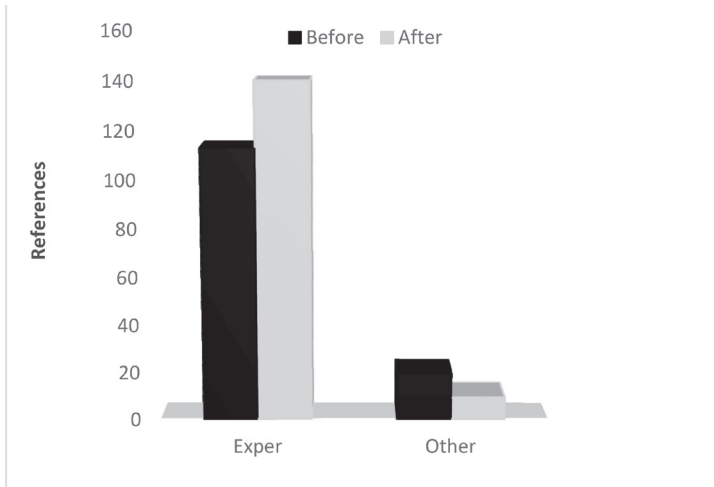


Fig. 3.
References over 5 years before and after nomination of experimental
and other psychologists.

Luckily – and this relates to the superiority of the experimental faculty – several universities have obtained an adjunct teaching faculty from the Research Institute of Psychology of

the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The relations between the then only psychology teaching at Eötvös U and the full-time research institute, were characterized by tensions in the 1960s–1970s. The University faculty was jealous of the good working conditions of those in the Institute, while the staff of the Institute were jealous of the good students of their university colleagues. From the mid-1970s however, mainly due to the efforts of Ilona Barkóczi, chair of the Eötvös U general psychology department at the time, leading researchers of the Institute showed up among the teaching faculty of general psychology. Even the curriculum was written with their participation. The researchers from the academy institute have played a key role at several universities from then on. This can be seen in the founding of general and social psychology training at U Debrecen, of social psychology and theoretical psychoanalysis at U Pécs, and also in the leadership of the Institute. At the Pázmány Catholic U for a while, all general psychology training was in the hands of the staff from the Research Institute.

2. Research Profile Changes and Westernization

In the early 1960s there was a renewal and restructuring of the profile of psychology in Hungary, which was characterized by two basic patterns. This is of course a rather subjective characterization, mainly based on personal recollections of the author – a student and later a junior assistant at the time. The *conservatives* were relying on Soviet-Russian, and classical German and French sources. They tried to represent a sometimes naive but certainly party inspired Marxist image of man, its representatives being mostly communist party members themselves. The unconditional malleability of humans was a key element, inherited from Stalinist times (Bauer, 1952). This attitude concentrated on issues of indoctrination, with ‘interiorization’ being a key word for making social regulations internal. Its preferred domain was institutional education. Its professional partner was education, but unlike the 1950s, where the small byte left for psychology was dominated by education, this time it was more of a flirtation. Typical leaders of this trend were

leading educational and developmental psychologists, colleagues with a Soviet education or Soviet higher degrees such as Lajos Bartha, director of the academy research institute of psychology, or Jenő Salamon, leader of the Department of Developmental Psychology of the initially unique psychology training university, Eotvos. One decade has brought drastic changes here. As Darvai (2016) showed, in 1962 two thirds of the psychologists with an academic qualification had been trained in the field of education, but by 1970 this had dropped to about one fifth.

The other group I prefer to call the *progressives*. These people were Anglo maniacs in the logos of the times: They were characterized by a deideologizing effort. They tried to move psychology away from philosophy, emphasizing the natural science aspect of most of the discipline. Psychology in its natural science aspect, in the Marxist jargon of the times, does not belong to the so-called superstructure, does not have class determination. Thus – and that was a crucial conclusion in this syllogism, rarely spelled out openly – it shall not belong under direct party supervision. This group of progressives was in fact fighting for the freedom of science, in many regards packaged in the rhetoric of the times; it is characterized, even within dry experimental psychology, by topics of an ‘open image of man’, like curiosity, creativity, exploration, play (Pléh, 1999); and they were looking for contacts with neurophysiology and ethology.

2.1. Westernization in Language

One interesting piece of data showing the relative strength of these forces is the language of reference. Figure 4 shows the language statistics of the references in the major Hungarian language publications. The *Hungarian Review of Psychology* and the *Studies in Psychology* which were restarted between 1958 and 1965, in line with the political orientation of the country, showed a Russian reference dominance, with German being a strong second. Already by 1966, however, English language sources had leveled up with Russian, and by the 1970s English references were double of the Russian ones.

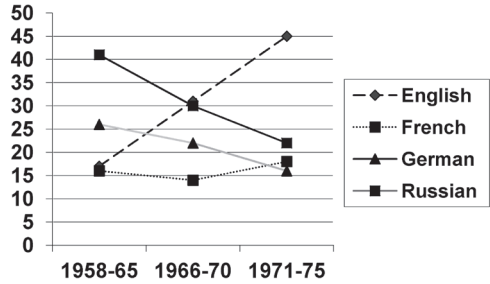


Fig. 4.
International works cited with the language of publication
in the two major Hungarian language psychology sources.

Figure 5 shows a similar trend regarding the language of books reviewed in the *Hungarian Review of Psychology*, the major Hungarian language psychology journal. In the mid-sixties, the two languages leveled off, and from the 1970s on, English is clearly in the lead. Thus, Westernization, and even Americanization of the profession went on, as seen in the practice of researchers, writers, and editorial offices. In this regard, the winners between the two groups were evidently the progressives.

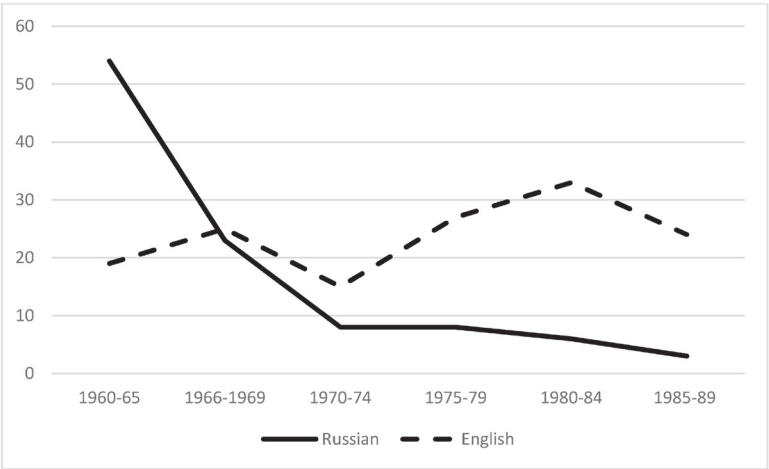


Fig. 5.
The Russian-English shift in books reviewed
in the Hungarian Review of Psychology.

This language shift shows interestingly the relative autonomy of science. It is a remarkable fact that at the same time as this Westernization took place, many institutional leaders came from a Soviet or postgraduate training. The directors of the Psychology Research Institute for over three decades, from the early 1960s until the mid 1990s had been Soviet trained. Lajos Bartha, Gyorgy Ádám, Imre Tomka, and the most strategic director Ferenc Pataki had all been reliable from a strictly party line point of view. Westernization was a stronger reality, however, than a reliable Soviet educational background suggested. Language orientation followed the factual realities of science, and preceded by decades the changes of political orientation. The book series that presented Hungarian psychological research was also written in English (Kardos, Pléh & Marton, 1978; Kardos, Pléh & Hunyady, 1980; Kardos, Pléh & Barkóczi, 1987; Kardos, Pléh & Popper, 1987). This shift was happening at a time when the centralized science degree system still required an obligatory Russian language examination.

The orientation of the profession is also seen in the *required readings for the university entrance exams*. Before the Bologna system was introduced, applicants to psychology – as in any other domain of study – had to participate in a rather competitive written and oral entrance exam based on required readings. The competition was really harsh. To get accepted in psychology a high school graduate had a 1:5 to 1:9 chance. Regarding the required readings, a book by Leontief translated from Russian was assigned for 5 years, but in the 70s–80s the most popular book was the American style textbook by the Canadian Donald Hebb, and in the 1990s the American Hilgard-Atkinson textbook. Thus Westernization has also developed into an expectation among those youngsters oriented towards psychology (Pléh, 2016).

Westernization appeared in the preferred publication sources as well. First, as has been shown above, a more Westernized virtual and real reference group can be seen from the mid-1960s onwards in local Hungarian publications. In the 1970s some local English sources were given a try, and national English publications appeared. From the 1980s on a move towards international publications was the defining characteristic. As shown in Figure 6, from the mid 1980s on, more than half of all publications from Hungary were and are in English.

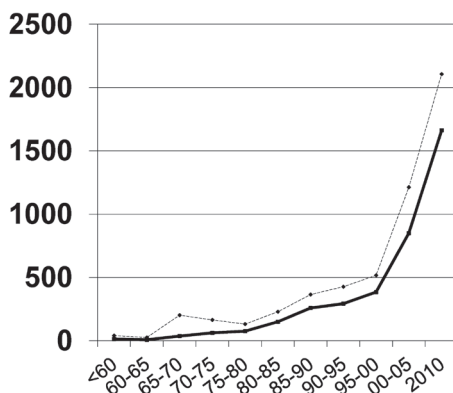


Fig. 6.

All publications from Hungary (broken lines), and English language only (solid line) in the Psych Info database.

The internationally visible Hungarian presence in psychology shows a 14-fold increase over 50 years. It is still small, of course, as Hungarian research output in psychology represents 0.02% of the international output. The increase in English language publications shows that ambitions and science policy, including PhD requirements, all strive towards international evaluation.

In the present day scientometric world the question of quality naturally arises. How are these publications doing as regards their quality? A few features we know about their statistics.

- a. Local publication styles follow international practices. In Hungarian professional journals, papers are peer reviewed, and as Soós, Schubert and Pléh (2009) have shown references are recent. As in all international literature, the number of multi-authored papers has increased, and the Lotka (1926) effect can be observed: a few authors have many papers. According to the huge data base of Schubert, Glänzel and Braun (1989) these features are characteristic of several thousand journals in many fields, not only in psychology. What is interesting is that this pattern occurs in a small national language as well.
- b. Citation of some Hungarian psychologists, whose work appears in international publications, i.e., a few dozen authors, is relatively high (Kampis, Soós & Gulyás, 2011).

Over half a century there have been many substantial changes in the research environment. Many of them, of course, are related to the general political and dramatic social changes. Some of them are consequences and components of general changes. One has to imagine a rapid change from limited international contacts towards an open system, increased freedom of research after 1990, a gradual increase of the importance of independent research output in human resources policy, increased autonomy of universities, and the appearance of scientific civil societies in social sciences. The few special features in the transformation of psychology should be evaluated in this context.

2.2. Hungarian Psychological Association

Like many other civil societies in the social sciences, the Hungarian Psychological Association, together with the psychoanalytic and other similar associations, was banned under the explicitly Stalinist period. It was an important moment of relative professional and scientific restitution that on the repeated initiatives of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences the publication of the *Hungarian Review of Psychology* was restarted in 1960, and in 1962 the Hungarian Psychological (Scientific) Association was re-established. Beware of the 'relative restitution'. The Psychoanalytic Association was re-established only in 1989! And the Psychological Association was under close political control until the 1980s.

The Psychological Association, re-established on October 30, 1962 with 61 invited members (it has over 2000 members today) was under rather close state and ideological control for a while. It has gradually established over 20 sections, and obtained legal autonomy in 1990 (Oláh, 2016).

2.3. Scientific Degrees

The so called Soviet system that characterized all Hungarian higher education and research removed the PhD system from the universities, and established a centralized degree system under the nominal supervision of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

(HAS). Two levels were on offer, the candidate and the doctor of sciences from 1950 onwards. However, psychology being a questionable field, did not have its own degree until 1958, and its applicants had to run under education. This system was valid for 35 years. According to the data collected by Zsolt Demetrovics (2016), during these 35 years 117 candidate degrees were awarded in the entire country. In the 1990s universities regained their PhD rights. From 1993, 406 PhD degrees were awarded over a 22-year period. Thus, on average, three candidates, but eventually 18 PhDs were defended yearly within psychology. Gender bias decreased. In the old system, 59% of the degree holders were male, while in PhDs – in line with the preponderance of female psychologists – this was 29%. Four universities give PhDs: U Eötvös has awarded 165, U Debrecen 117, U Pécs 95, Budapest University of Technology and Economics (BME) 19 degrees so far (2016).

The higher degree is the doctor of academy (roughly equivalent to the former French *doctorat d'état*). This has remained in force even after the depoliticization of the system, as a kind of quality assurance. In early 2016, there were 25 psychologists on record with such a degree in the files of the HAS. Gender bias is still strongly present here. Of the 25 holders only 6 are women (24%).

2.4. Institutional and Financing Changes

The general outlook of research has been shaped by a few basic changes of fundamental importance over half a century.

1. *The Psychology Institute under the management of the HAS in the 1960–70s* has become a general profile research institute of psychology. The Institute, which existed from the early twentieth century onwards, after a politically charged disagreement with the Ministry of Education in 1955, was moved under the supervision of the HAS. Its traditional profile was child psychology and guidance. This was changed strictly to research from the mid 1960s. Mostly under the directorship of Ferenc Pataki (1976–92) the Institute has become not only a flagship of Hungarian psychological research, but also internationally recognized in two domains.

One was psychophysiology, especially the electrophysiology of cognitive processes under the leadership of György Karmos and Magda Marton L. The other flagship was social psychology demonstrated in the works of Ferenc Erős. Later these profiles were supplemented with a refreshed developmental profile.

2. *The reinforcement of university research.* On a theoretical level, socialist times explicitly spelled out that research belongs to a university vocation. However, research was still concentrated preferably in the institutes of HAS, and only individual efforts were visible at the universities in the 1960s–70s. This was the case for psychology as well. Changes began to appear here as a result of the ambitions of university faculties, and the newly established research support branch of the ministry of education from 1974 onwards, run by György Páris (1974–80) and later by István Bakos (1980–90). They provided new technologies and critically, in the closely-knit system, researcher and research assistant jobs.
3. *Formation of a national competitive grant system.* Hungary as all Eastern European countries was characterized by a centralized planning system of research funds that supported institutions rather than individuals or projects. Moves towards a merit based grant system have taken place as part of the general Westernization of the country. This move first showed in specific programs, like those for education and for social anomias in the 1970s 1980s, which were a peculiar combination of planned economy and science financing complete with applications for thematic grants. Psychology had sometimes a tolerated, sometimes a favoured place in these programs. It was tolerated in the large education grant program, and had a central role in the social anomaly program which was administered by a psychologist, Ferenc Pataki, and it supported many research groups in mental health and preventive psychology. This was followed in 1988 by the establishment of the National Research Foundation (OTKA). Psychology had a professionally successful, but organizationally shaky position in this latter system, sometimes being allied with education, sometimes with the

neurosciences. The fate and independence of this program has recently been challenged, since it has become part of the new science finance reshuffling of the last 5 years.

4. *Special support for university reorganization.* During the final decade of the one-party system university based psychology obtained special financial support as part of the financial backing for a reorganization of psychology in the universities. This was administered by the communist party Committee of Scientific Policy (Tudománypolitikai Bizottság, TPB) and one of its sub-units, the Social Science Coordination Committee (Társadalomtudományi Koordinációs Bizottság, TKB). The financing, which was considered huge at the time, went together with many faculty and leadership changes, especially at Eötvös U, Budapest, and at the U Debrecen. This substantial yet occasional funding was one of the last remarkable efforts of a party based modernization oriented towards cultural politics, initiated and managed by György Aczél, a cultural leader of the party for 30 years. This peculiar funding scheme also required substantial background work on the part of the profession. There is a lot to be learned here from archival work, especially regarding the interaction of top down initiatives and bottom up information flow. The different ministries, especially education, health, and work ministries, all involved in this process, organized special professional committees under a higher command. Their organization was coordinated in the 1980s by the Psychology Committee of the HAS, especially by György Hunyady as their coordination secretary. In the professional power relations, and even in the modernization of psychology during the 1960–90 period the communist party played a central role. This special financing program was one of its last efforts. The role of György Aczél in these power games within psychology has gotten an interesting account by Laine-Frigren (2015), based on archives and organized interviews with participants, and by Máriási (2016), the latter based mainly on anecdotic remarks by György Hunyady a chief player social psychologist.

References

- Bauer, R. A. (1952). *The new man in Soviet psychology*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Darvai, T. (2016). *Educational psychology in Hungary in the sixties*. Pécs. MS, in Hungarian
- Demetrovics, Z. (2016). *From PhD to doctor of HAS. Scientific degrees in psychology*. Talk at the congress of the Hungarian Psychological Society, July 3, 2016
- Harzing, A. W. (2011). *Publish or Perish*. <<http://www.harzing.com/pop.htm>>
- Kampis, G., Soós, S., & Gulyás L. (2011). Institutional organization and competencies of Hungarian science 2001–2010 on the basis of Reuters-Thomson – ISI Web of Science databases. *Magyar Tudomány*, 172, 955–62. In Hungarian
- Kardos, L., Pléh, C., & Barkóczi, I. (Eds). (1987). *Studies on creativity*. Budapest: Akadémiai
- Kardos, L., Pléh, C., & Hunyady, G. (Eds). (1980). *Attitudes, interaction, and personality*. Budapest: Akadémiai
- Kardos, L., Pléh, C., & Marton, L. M. (1978). (Eds). *Problems of information processing and perceptual organization*. Budapest: Akadémiai
- Kardos, L., Pléh, C., & P. Popper (Eds). (1987). *Studies on clinical psychodiagnostics and psychotherapy*. Budapest: Akadémiai
- Kovai, M. (2016). *Lélektan politika. Pszicho-tudományok a magyarországi államszocializmusban 1945–1970*. [Psychology and Public Policy. Psych Sciences in Hungarian State Socialism 1945–1970]. Budapest: L'Harmattan
- Laine-Frigren, T. (2015). *Searching for the human factor. Psychology, power and ideology in Hungary after 1956*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Jyväskylä
- Lotka, A. J. (1926). The frequency distribution of scientific productivity. *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, 16, 317–24
- Máriási, D. (2016). When psychology joined ‘the fascinating program of the general building of communism’. Re-institutionalization in a critical perspective. *Alkalmazott Pszichológia*, 16, 63–79
- Oláh, A. (2016). *Transformations of a resilient society (MPT)*. Talk at the Congress of the Hungarian Psychological Society, July 3, 2016

- Pléh, C. (1997). Hungarian contributions to Modern psychology. *Hungarian Studies*, 12, 47–71
- (1999). The symbolics of psychology under a totalitarian system: The case of Hungary in the 1960s. Reprinted in Pléh, 2008, pp. 183–94
- (2008). *History and theories of the mind*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó
- (2011). The development of Hungarian Experimental Psychology between 1950–2010. *Magyar Pszichológiai Szemle*, 66, 669–93. In Hungarian
- (2016). Institutions, ideas and life stories in half century of Hungarian psychology. *Magyar Pszichológiai Szemle*, 71, 691–723. In Hungarian
- Pléh, C., Bodor, P., & Lányi, G. (2008). The decline and rebirth of a social science: Psychology in Hungary 1945–1970. In Pléh, 2008, pp. 177–82
- Romsics, I. (1999). *Hungary in Twentieth Century*. Budapest: Corvina
- Soós, S., Schubert, A., & Pléh, C. (2009). *Magyar Pszichológiai Szemle: Tendencies in the core journal of Hungarian psychology (An Exploratory Study)*. Talk at 6th ESHHS Congress, Budapest, July 23, 2009
- Schubert, A., Glänzel, W., & Braun, T. (1989). Scientometric data-files – a comprehensive set of indicators on 2649 journals and 96 countries in all major fields and subfields 1981–1985. *Scientometrics*, 16, 3–478
- Szokolszky, Á. (2016). Hungarian psychology in context. Reclaiming the past. *Hungarian Studies*, 30, 17–56
- Verde, E. (2013). A felsőoktatás lehetséges létszámpályái Magyarországon. [Possible Enrolment Paths in Higher Education in Hungary]. *Statistikai Szemle*, 91, 56–76

