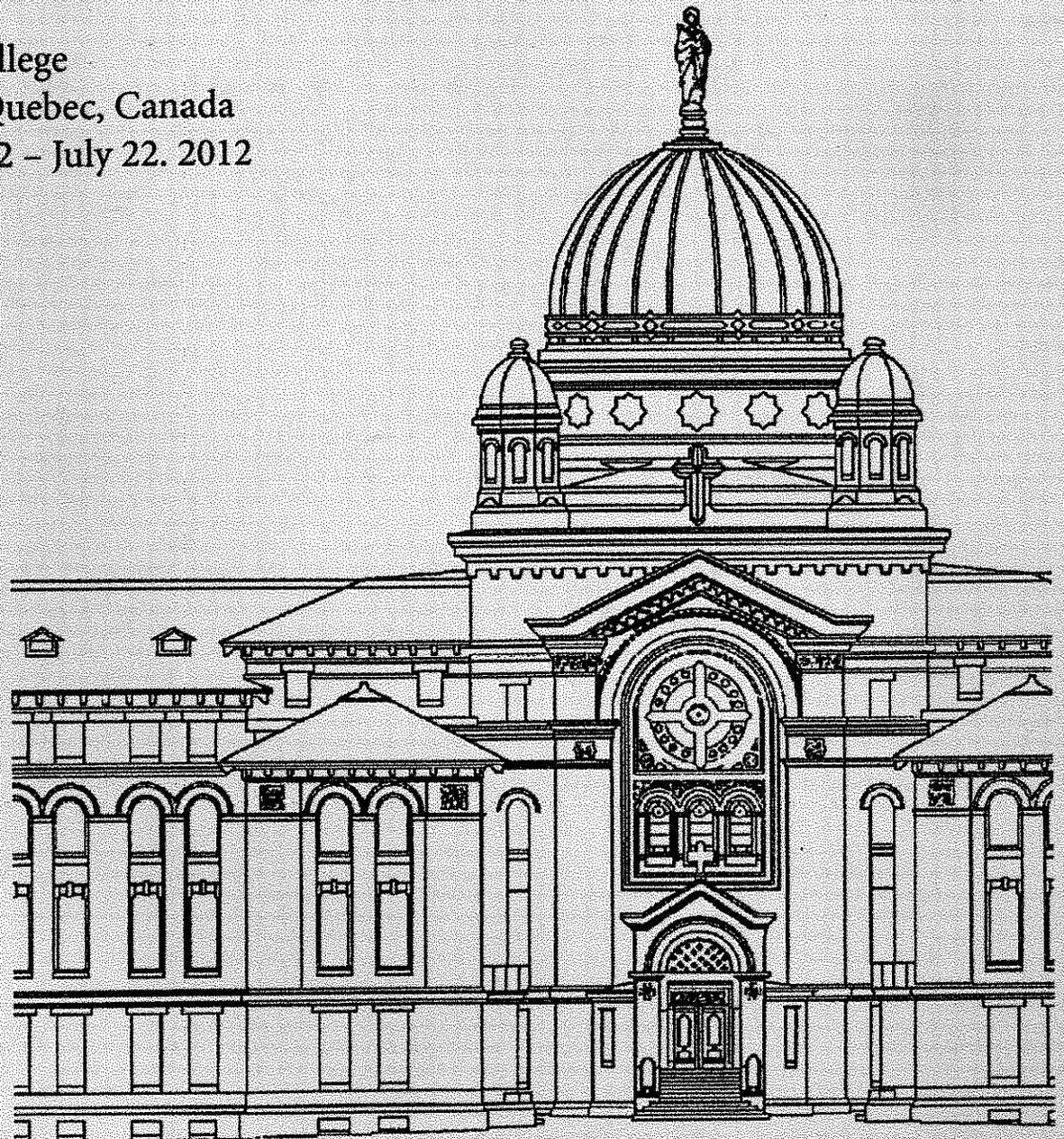


Second Joint Meeting of Cheiron and the European Society for the History of the Human Sciences

Dawson College
Montreal, Quebec, Canada
July 18, 2012 – July 22, 2012



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Cheiron: Kathy Milar, Executive Officer; David Devonis, Treasurer; Cathy Faye, E-Communications Editor

European Society for the History of the Human Sciences: Ruud Abma, President; Jannes Eshuis, Treasurer; Uljana Feest, Secretary

Program Committee: Barbara Lusk, Mike Pettit (co-chair), Larry Stern, and Fred Weizmann for Cheiron; Dennis Bryson, Uljana Feest (co-chair), and Sharman Levinson for the European Society for the History of the Human Sciences

Local Host: Sam Parkovnick

Appreciation

As the local host, I'd like to thank my dean, Diane Gauvin, without whose help the meeting would not have been possible and our senior administration for their commitment to research and support for this meeting. I would also like to thank the Dawson staff and faculty without whose help this conference could not have taken place. Finally, I would like to thank Peter McCauslin for donating the beer for the Reception.

Program

Wednesday, July 18, 2012

Sessions 3:00-5:00 Psychiatry and Social Order (5B.16)
Chair: Jennifer Bazar

Cristina Lhullier (University of Caxias do Sul), "Concepts of Mental Health in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, between 1910 and 1930"

Thomas Foth (University of Ottawa), "Shock Therapies and the War against Madness: Psychiatric Practice in Hamburg, Germany, 1920-1945"

Daniel Burston (Duquesne University), "Alienation and Mental Health"

David Israelachvili (Cornell University), "Yet Another Liberation of the Mad? Franco Basaglia between Deinstitutionalization and Antipsychiatry"

Measurement (4C.1)
Chair: Kathy Milar (Earlham College)

Kevin Donnelly (Alvernia University), "The Savoyard and the Able General: The Scientific Styles of Alexis Bouvard and François Arago"

James T. Lamiell (Georgetown University), "How an Ill-conceived Probabilism Co-opted William Stern's Differential Psychology and Continues to Dominate Contemporary Thinking"

Marilyn Brookwood (Harvard University), "For Better, for Worse: Early 20th Century Studies Hypothesize about the Effects of Stimulation on Young Children's Intelligence"

Joel Michell (University of Sydney), "'The Fashionable Scientific Fraud': Revisiting Collingwood's Critique of Psychometrics"

5:30 Poster Session and Reception (2F.4)

3C1

David Devonis (Graceland University), "Karl Duncker's American Optimism"

Noriko Odagiri (Tokyo International University), "Gender Stratification and the Family System in Japan"

Miki Takasuna (Tokyo International University), "First doctorates for Japanese Women: Psychology and other Specialties"

Chin-hei Wong (University of Hong Kong), "Chen Daqi's other Pragmatic Projects and their Legacies"

Thursday, July 19, 2012

Sessions 9:00-10:30

Biography in the History of the Psychological
Disciplines Part 1 (5B.16)
Chair: Sonu Shamdasani (University College London)

Chantal Marazia (Europa-Universität Viadrina/UCL), Ludwig Binswanger's "Biographical Life"

Sonu Shamdasani (UCL), "From Biography to Psychology: C. G. Jung and Self-Exemplification"

Fuhito Endo (Seikei University/UCL), "Psychoanalysis as 'Psychography' of the Melancholiac: the Case of Alix Strachey's Attachment to Melanie Klein."

Historicizing Health and Happiness (4C.1)
Chair: Michael Pettit (York University)

William Salmon, Ian Lubek, Asma Hanif, Naomi Ennis, Elizabeth Sulima, Monica Ghabrial & Michelle Green (University of Guelph), "The Flight from Social Psychology: How Health Psychology found its Wings while Public Health Carries on "Delicately""

Tom McCarthy (U.S. Naval Academy), "The Origins of the Postwar College Counselling Center"

Teri Chettiar (Northwestern University), "Post-WWII Social Reconstruction and the Birth of Marriage Therapy in Britain: Forging Democratic Community through Citizens' Emotional Fulfillment"

Coffee Break 10:30-10:45

Sessions 10:45-12:15

Biography in the History of the Psychological
Disciplines Part 2 (5B.16)
Chair: Sonu Shamdasani

Matei Iagher (UCL), "Normative Biographies: Between the Normal and the Pathological in the French Psychology of Religion"

Sarah Marks (UCL), "Patient Biography and Theories of Disorder in Cognitive Behavioural Therapies"

Corina-Maria Dobos (UCL), "Criminal Lifestyles. Bio-typological Biographies of Delinquents in Europe, 1920-1950"

Historiography (4C.1)
Chair: Michael Sokal (Worster Polytechnic Institute)

James H. Capshew (Indiana University), "History of Psychology since 1945: Survey, History, and Critique"

Christopher D. Green, Abid Azam, Darya Serykh, & Michael Pettit (York University), "Mental Hygiene's Vocabulary and Rockefeller's Sex Research: Explorations in the Digital History of Psychology"

Maarten Derksen & Tjardie Wierenga (University of Groningen), "The History of Social Technology"

Lunch 12:15-2:00

Sessions 2:00-3:30

Media and Messages (5B.16)
Chair: Elizabeth Valentine

Matthew J. Sigal (York University), "From Instructions to Standards: The Maturation of Publication Policies for American Psychology"

Arlie R. Belliveau (York University), "Lost in Replication? Cutting Content from Early Educational Psychology Films"

Ruud Abma (Utrecht University), "Changes in Publication Culture and the Stapel Fraud Case"
Consoling & Classifying from the Moral Treatment to Neurosurgery (4C.1)
Chair: Andrew Winston (University of Guelph)

Jennifer L. Bazar (York University), "More than Moral Treatment: Revisiting Daily Life in the Asylum"

Kira Lussier (University of Toronto), "Ordering Insanity in Progressive-Era America"

Brianne Collins & Henderikus Stam (University of Calgary), "Patients Left Behind: Deferred and Rejected Leucotomy Candidates from Hamilton Psychiatric Hospital, 1952-1961"

Coffee Break 3:30-3:45

Sessions 3:45-5:45
Critical Perspectives on Obedience to Authority (5B.16)
Chair: Ian Nicholson

Ian Nicholson (St. Thomas University), "'Oh God Let's Stop it': Rethinking Milgram in an Age of Interrogations"

Gina Perry, "Deception and Illusion in Milgram's Accounts of the Obedience to Authority Experiments"

Stephen Gibson (York St. John University), "'The Last Possible Resort': Rhetoric and Standardization in Stanley Milgram's 'Obedience' Experiments"

Holocaust Linkage: A Dialectical Excursion into the 'Banality of Evil'

Ben Harris (University of New Hampshire), Discussant

Community, Collaboration, and the Construction of Psychology (4C.1)
Chair: Nathalie Chernoff

Alice White (University of Kent), "The Construction of Wartime Communities at the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations"

Jeremy Burman (York University), "Beyond the Great Man: Psychological Factories as a Method of Inquiry"

Nathalie Chernoff (Lancaster University) "Competition and Collaboration: The Evolution of the British Child-Study Societies 1889 to 1927"

8:00

Film Night with the Archives for the History of American
Psychology and Book Auction (5B.16)

Cathy Faye and Lizette Royer (Center for the History of Psychology) Studying
Feeble-mindedness: Film Footage from the Vineland Laboratory

Friday, July 20, 2012

Sessions 9:00-10:30

Gender and Feminism in Psychology and Social Life, 1890s-1970s –
Part 1(5B.16)
Chair: Alexandra Rutherford (York University)

Elissa Rodkey (York University), ““The evidence of flowers”: The Use of Nature in Millicent Shinn’s Baby Biography”

Emma J. Luton & Betty Bayer, (Hobart and William Smith Colleges), “Something for the Girls: Girl Scouts’ Subversive Role in Female-centered Activist Communities”

Kristian Weihs (York University), “The Problem of the Working Woman: An Interwar Portrait of Charlotte Bühler”

Histories of Scientific Objects (4C.1)
Chair: Jill Morawski (Wesleyan University)

Peter J. Behrens (Penn State Leigh Valley), “Repackaging or Reprocessing: The EMDR Phenomenon in Psychotherapy”

Laura Edwards (East Carolina University, “Alfred North Whitehead, Henri Bergson, and Organicism”

Coffee Break 10:30-10:45

Sessions 10:45-12:15

Gender and Feminism in Psychology and Social Life,
1890s-1970s – Part 2 (5B.16)
Chair: Alexandra Rutherford (York University)

Alexandra Rutherford (York University), “Gender, Feminism, and Objectivity in mid-20th Century American Psychology: The “Woman Problem” Revisited”

Eleanor Eckerson & Betty Bayer (Hobart and William Smith Colleges), “Feminism at the Founding: Re-examining Feminist Histories and the Emergence of Women’s Shelters in 1970s America”

Elizabeth Scarborough (Indiana University South Bend), Discussant

Psychology in/as Culture (4C.1)
Chair: Vincent Hevern (LeMoyne College)

Benjamin Harris (University of New Hampshire), “E. G. Boring’s Psychology for the Common Man”

Alexandra Hui (University of Mississippi), “Muzak-While-You-Work’: Industrial Psychology and New Cultures of Listening in the First Half of the Twentieth Century”

Sharman Levinson (American University of Paris), “French Physiology’s Past and Future Represented in Scientific Journalism during the Second Empire”

Lunch 12:15-2:00

2:00-2:45

Cheiron Book Prize (5B.16)
Chair: Kenneth Feigenbaum
Recipient: Richard Noll (DeSales University)

2:45-3:45

Elizabeth Scarborough Lecture (5B.16)
Andrea Tone (McGill University)

Coffee Break 3:45-4:00

Sessions 4:00-6:00

Therapeutic Cultures (5B.16)
Chair: Nathalie Chernoff

Scott Phelps (Harvard University), "Photographs of Agnosia: Neuropsychiatry and the 'Pötzl Phenomenon,' 1917-1924"

Zsuzsanna Vajda (University of Miskolc), "'The Child is Our Most Precious Treasure': Child Rearing in Popular Journals of the Fifties in Hungary"

Annette Mülberger (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona), "Does war Affect Children? Psychological Testings in the First Half of the 20th Century"

Claire Clark (Emory University), "Synanon, Sensationalism, and Social Science, 1958-1965"

Philosophy and Psychology in Germany ca. 1870 (4C.1)
Chair: David Robinson (Truman State University)

William R. Woodward (University of New Hampshire), "From Lotze's Aesthetics of Everyday Life to Dilthey's 'Lived Experience'"

David K. Robinson (Truman State University), "Fechner, Psychophysics, and Psychology without Metaphysics?"

Saulo de Freitas Araujo (Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora), "Kant's Influence on Wundt's Rejection of the Unconscious"

Uljana Feest (Technische Universität Berlin), Discussant

Saturday, July, 21, 2012

Sessions 9:00-10:30

Biology and Psychology: Darwin, Freud, Lorenz (5B.16)
Chair: Geoff Blowers (University of Hong Kong)

Francis Neary (Cambridge University), "Glorious Additions to the Menagerie': The Sources of Charles Darwin's Work on Animal Reasoning"

Martin Wieser (University of Vienna), "From the Eel to the Ego: Psychoanalysis and the Remnants of Freud's Early Scientific Practice"

Jannes Eshuis (Open Universiteit Netherlands), "Konrad Lorenz and Sigmund Freud: The Historical Backdrop to a Conceptual Relation"

The Psychological and the Anthropological (4C.1)
Chair: Fred Weizman (York University)

Arthur Arruda Leal Ferreira (Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro – Brazil), "Anthropophagy: A Singular Concept to understand Brazilian Culture and Psychology as Specific Knowledge"

Gerald Sullivan (Collin County Community College), "Of Second Degree Learning and Life Space, or On Gregory Bateson Reading Kurt Lewin and I. P. Pavlov in 1940"

Kenneth D. Feigenbaum and Rene Anne Smith (University of Maryland University College), "Maslow's Betrayal of Ruth Benedict?"

Break 10:30-10:45

Sessions 10:45-12:15

The Human Sciences as Postcolonial Projects (5B.16)
Chair: Alexandra Rutherford (York)

Tal Arbel (Harvard University), "Scaling Attitudes in the Postcolony: Louis Guttman and the Global History of Social Measurement"

José María Gondra (University of the Basque Country), "A Psychology of Liberation for Central America: The Unfinished Work of Ignacio Martín-Baró (1942-1989)"

Shivrang Setlur (York University), "Making India Smart: Regimes of Testing and Technical Education in India's Planned Modernization"

Science & Belief (4C.1)
Chair: Betty Bayer

Jesper Vaczy Kragh (Medical Museion), "An Elusive Science: Psychological Research in Denmark, 1905-1950"

Robert Kugelman (University of Dallas), "Willpower as a Human Kind"

David Schmit (Saint Catherine University), "Mesmerism and the Making of the Nineteenth Century "Modern" Self"

Lunch 12:15-2:00

Sessions 2:00-3:30

History and Memory in the History of the Human and Social Sciences: Commemorations and the Reinvention of the Past – Part 1 (5B.16)

Chair: Régine Plas and Nathalie Richard

Nathalie Richard (LUNAM Université, Université du Maine), Archaeology and Local Pride: the 50th Anniversary of the Société Polymathique du Morbihan.

Vincent Guillin (Université du Québec à Montréal), “The Proper Mise en Scène”: A Sociological Analysis of the 1937 Descartes Congress in Paris”

Jacqueline Carroy (EHESS), Annick Ohayon (Université de Paris VIII), Régine Plas (Université Paris Descartes), “An Anniversary on a Volcano: Celebrating the Silver Jubilee of French Scientific Psychology in 1939”

Forming Psychological Communities (4C.1)

Chair: Katalin Dzinás

David Seim (University of Wisconsin - Stout), “British Disapproval of Fechner’s Psychophysics as a Sudden Rejection of Mechanistic Human Nature”

Ana María Talak (Universidad de Buenos Aires/ Universidad Nacional de La Plata), “Psychological Experiments in the Origins of Psychology in Argentina, 1890-1920: Practices, Discourses and Historiographies”

Petteri Pietikainen (University of Oulu), “Psychology as a Progressive Science: The Finnish Psychological Society in the Context of Professionalization and Politicization of Psychology, 1966-1980”

Break 3:30-3:45

Sessions 3:45-5:45

History and Memory in the History of the Human and Social Sciences: Commemorations and the Reinvention of the Past – Part 2 (5B.16)

Chair: Régine Plas and Nathalie Richard

Wolf Feuerhahn (CNRS), “Leading Astray a Commemoration 1903: Max Weber and the Centenary of the Heidelberg University”

Jean-Christophe Coffin (Université Paris Descartes), “How to Remember a Psychiatrist when he is not a Psychoanalyst? The Case of Henri Ey”

James Good (Durham University), “Remembering and Misremembering in the Human Sciences: The Vicissitudes of William Stephenson’s Science of Subjectivity”

Pascale Rabault-Feuerhahn (CNRS /Ecole Normale Supérieure), “Commemoration and the Creation of Identities: Intellectual, Academic and National. The Case of the Humboldt Brothers in Germany (19th-20th Century)”

Knowing the Social (4C.1)
Chair: Fran Cherry (Carleton University)

Belén Jiménez-Alonso (Université Paris Descartes), Jorge Castro (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia), Enrique Lafunte (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia), "Psychological Roots of Liberal Citizenship in Spain: Social Political Essayism in the Aftermath of the '98 Crisis"

Lawrence T. Nichols (West Virginia University), "Harvard Functionalism before Parsons: The Development of a Paradigm, 1927-1951"

Dennis Bryson (Bilkent University), "Mark A. May: The Science of Behavior and Human Relations and Social Engineering"

Donald Routh (Florida Gulf Coast University), "There's a New Sheriff in Town: Changing Gender Dynamics in Academe and Carolyn Wood Sherif's Rise to Prominence as a Social Psychologist"

5:45-6:45 Business Meetings (Cheiron in 5B.16 and ESHHS in 5B.13)

7:00 Banquet at Le Nouvel Hotel

Sunday, July 22, 2012

Sessions 9:00-10:30

The Past and Present of Theoretical Psychology (5B.16)
Chair: David Schmit (Saint Catherine University)

Zhipeng Gao (York University), "The "Reflexivity Family" as Critical Systematic Thinking in Behavioral and Social Sciences"

Craig Ireland (Bilkent University), "The Temporality of Reflexivity: Towards a Socio-Historical Diagnosis"

Philip Bell (University of Technology, Sydney), "Experience Becomes Objective Reality in Brown's and Stenner's Psychology Without Foundations"

Behaviorisms: Philosophical and Applied (4C.1)
Chair: Eric P. Charles (Penn State Altoona)

David O. Clark, "Psychology Influences on the Philosophy of Mind: an Overlooked Critic of Behaviorism"

Sam Parkovnick (Dawson College), "The Behaviorism of George Herbert Mead"

Edward K. Morris (University of Kansas), Nathaniel G. Smith (University of Kansas), Deborah E. Altus (Washburn University), and Todd L. McKerchar (Jacksonville State University), "The Founding of Applied Behavior Analysis: The Early Applied Research Literature"

Sessions 10:30-12:00

The Human Sciences and Liberalism (5B.16)
Chair: Shivrang Setlur (York University)

Belén Jiménez-Alonso (Université Paris Descartes), "Cultural transfers and "Legal Pragmatism": Law, State and Citizenship in the European Space at the Beginning of the 20th Century"

José Carlos Loredó & Noemí Pizarroso (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia), "Genetic Psychology and Citizenship. On J.M. Baldwin's Progressivism and his Relations with French 'Reformism'"

Leila Zenderland (California State Fullerton), "Was 1930s America "Europeanizing" or Europe "Americanizing"? The Comparative Sociologies of Leo Ferrero and Robert Marjolin at Yale"

Training Historians, Teaching History: International Developments and Innovations(4C.1)

Chairs: Alexandra Rutherford & Saulo Araujo

Participants:

Saulo Araujo (Federal University of Juiz de Fora)

Maarten Derksen (University of Groningen)

Christopher Green (York University)

Alexandra Rutherford & Michael Pettit (York University)

Psychiatry and Social Order

Concepts of mental health in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, between 1910 and 1930

Cristina Lhullier (University of Caxias do Sul, Brazil)

Medical schools were some of the first higher education institutions established in Brazil during the XIXth century. In the state of Rio Grande do Sul, the medical school was created in 1898, in the city of Porto Alegre, with the intention of fulfilling the demand for medical graduation to citizens of the southern part of the country. Soon, it became a center for production and dissemination of knowledge. With the intent of getting a degree in medical sciences, students had to present a thesis. Those, also known as inaugural theses, can be taken as documents representing that period's way of thinking, being and living. The present paper had the objective of identifying the concepts of mental health present in the Porto Alegre medical school thesis presented between 1910 and 1930, the period in which they were a pre-requisite for obtaining a degree. It also tried to relate said concepts with Rio Grande do Sul's social and historical contexts during that period. To gain access to the inaugural thesis, the research took place at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul medical school's library, current holder of that material. Thesis were selected for analysis if their title was related to the researched themes and if they were published in the time period specified above. Concepts present in the selected documents were analyzed based on the principles of History of Psychological Ideas and History of Sciences. Results point to the idea that mental health was discussed on the individual and social levels and also in their interface with each other. On the individual level, there was worrying with marking the boundaries between sanity and mental disease, as well as the description of new psychopathologies and/or a better definition of those known as psychoneurosis. There was also a physicalist understanding on mental disease etiology, associating them with central nervous system functioning. On the social level, there was an interest in the development of methods to identify individuals believed to be dangerous and that could "contaminate" the social environment with their character deficiencies. Those methods included anthropometry, fingerprints and booking photographs ("mugshots"). On the individual-social interface level, there was an attempt to identify individual diseases whose causes were influenced by social environment variables, like alcoholism, syphilis and tuberculosis. Moreover, there were suggestions for early intervention with individuals whose behaviors could lead to mental disease so they would be capable of fulfilling their social expectations. There were also suggestions for therapies based on moral education devoted to enhancing one's character. The concepts of mental health that arose from analyzing the thesis indicate those were important point in medical knowledge, which had an emphasis on mental disease. To understand those concepts, both neurophysiological and psychological ideas were used. Individual disease would have a reflection on the social environment, and that should be prevented. Promoting a mentally healthy society by means of its member's health is related to the progressive ideals of Brazil during its First Republic period (1889-1930), which had the objectives of making the country closer to European nations and building a national identity.

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"SHOCK THERAPIES AND THE WAR AGAINST MADNESS: PSYCHIATRIC PRACTICE IN HAMBURG, GERMANY 1920-1945"

Thomas Foth (University of Ottawa)

This paper evolved from a research project that analyzed the killings of psychiatric patients before, during, and after the Nazi regime in Hamburg's Langenhorn asylum. The focus of this research project was the role played by nurses' and psychiatrists' notes in the medical records and their significant influence in deciding who should be killed. A qualitative analysis of records obtained from this psychiatric asylum in Hamburg illustrated that both the records and psychiatric practice itself produced subjects considered "empty shells," excluded patients forced to live in "zones of exceptions" within the asylum where they were reduced to their "bare life."

Against this backdrop the interplay of different technologies was of decisive significance for psychiatric practice. So-called shock therapies were just one facet of this interplay, a fact that was thoroughly acknowledged by contemporary psychiatrists like Bleuler. Not only were different shock therapies randomly combined independently of individual diagnoses but they were also applied in an unsystematic manner. Shock therapies were apparently used for their "side effects" (especially the panicky fear in patients that they induced). The nurses' notes, which were often excessively detailed, and the psychiatrists' notes demonstrate clearly that the success of the "therapies" was based on "positive" changes in patients' behaviour, "positive" meaning that the shocks helped patients better integrate into the asylum's system of regulation, an aspect that was emphasized in the scientific literature as well. As a result of these treatments, patients were often described in the records as completely helpless and disoriented and from a certain point on nurses no longer recorded their observations in the medical file; it was clear that they expected these patients to eventually die. Psychiatric practice was based on a power structure that hierarchically placed the psychiatrist at the top. The nurses, as the delegated representatives of the psychiatrist's power, were strategically positioned "beneath" the patient, because only from this position they were able to reach out and influence the patients' innermost thoughts and behaviours. Therapy always aimed to influence patients' behaviour and the means employed to treat them were always the same. Irrespective of any psychiatric theory (if such a theory existed), the practice of psychiatry continued to construct a strategic power field within the asylum. This paper will analyze the important strategic function of nurses in the administration of shock therapies within the dispotive of psychiatry at this time.

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“Alienation and Mental Health”

Daniel Burston (Duquesne University)

Given how central it once was to critical reflection in the field, the paucity of new work on alienation today is simply breathtaking. The concept of alienation became widespread in the mid-1950's. Some authors talked of alienation in purely conventional terms, i.e. as a symptom of developmental arrest, or maladjustment to a benign or even admirably “rational” social order. But those who embraced the idea in a critical fashion stressed the fundamental *irrationality* of the prevailing social order, and saw the adjusted state of the average individual in late-capitalist society as one of profound self-estrangement. Erich Fromm, for example, drew from Karl Marx, who said that alienation is not inherent in the human condition, but an artifact of a class-divided society. When work ceases to be a creative, and becomes mere drudgery performed in the service of survival, or a process which pits us in adversarial struggle against other workers, we become progressively estranged from ourselves, from others and from nature.

Similarly, in the 1960's, R.D. Laing spoke about our societal “alienation from experience” evidenced in our bizarre attitudes toward the nuclear arms race, galloping environmental degradation, and last but not least, in our tendency to de-humanize outsiders and the mad. But Laing borrowed from Sartre and Heidegger, who approached alienation differently than Marx had. In *Being and Time* (1927), Heidegger said that self-estrangement is not something that can be transcended through social *praxis*, but an integral feature of the whole human condition. In *Being and Nothingness* (1941), Sartre articulated an ontology of social relations in which individuals are locked into stark and tragic alternatives – to objectify others, or to be objectified by them.

While Marxism and existentialism fueled this burgeoning literature, another school of thought influenced by the structural anthropology of Claude Levi-Strauss, the post-war musings of Martin Heidegger, and the linguistic theory of Ferdinand de Saussure was emerging. Borrowing from them, Jacques Lacan argued that after the “mirror phase,” a pre-linguistic interlude of profound self-estrangement, it is our relationship with language, not labor, that is the primary source of human self-estrangement, and the primary factor in the constitution of human “subjects.” Like Sartre and Heidegger, Lacan said that alienation is so deeply inscribed in the human condition that no amount of social transformation or “revolutionary praxis” can transcend it.

To summarize, for the last four decades and more, one school of thought stressed the formative role of labor in the ontology of social relations, while the other stressed the primacy of language. One stressed macro-social forces, while the other centered on micro-social processes that occur in infancy and early childhood, and may be culture-constitutive, not subject to change. One said that alienation can be transcended through radical social transformation, the other denied that possibility altogether. As a result, Marxist leaning theorists wonder aloud what implications of the structural-linguistic and postmodern theories of alienation have for the pragmatics of social change – if any. And many French theorists (and their followers) view the Marxist conception of history as laughable. According to them, it is not even a useful heuristic, but another “grand narrative” that is ripe for deconstruction.

One way we might overcome the current conceptual stalemate is to stipulate that *neither* labor nor language acquisition are paramount in the constitution of human subjects. This is a neat diplomatic solution, but does not clarify their respective roles, or address the hope of transcending alienation through effective social change. And if there is some grand synthesis now emerging which reconciles these disparate perspectives, it hasn't appeared on the horizon yet.

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Yet Another Liberation of the Mad? Franco Basaglia between Deinstitutionalization and Antipsychiatry
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The history of the antipsychiatry movements of the 1960s and 1970s has enjoyed renewed attention in recent times. Scholars such as Gerald Grob and Michael Staub have recently published important analyses of antipsychiatry in the American context, analyses which aim to situate the antipsychiatry movements within their social, historical, and institutional contexts. The history of antipsychiatry in the post-World-War-II period, however, is best understood from an international, comparative perspective. Indeed, antipsychiatry is usually associated with three key figures, all of different nationalities and extractions: R.D. Laing, Michel Foucault, and Thomas Szasz. In my paper, I argue that a fourth figure, the Italian psychiatrist Franco Basaglia, played a crucial role in the antipsychiatry movement, one which has not been sufficiently studied and appreciated in English-speaking scholarship. I expound, analyze, and criticize Basaglia's thought, as well as his institutional practice (which, importantly, led to legislation mandating the closure of mental asylums in Italy), starting with his organicist education and training and exploring the influence of phenomenology and existential philosophy on his development. I argue that, although he considered his own critique of psychiatry to be motivated by a class-oriented analysis of Italian society, and of capitalist societies more broadly, his institutional practice and theory of antipsychiatry can also be seen in a much more ambiguous and ambivalent political light. I further show that Thomas Szasz' recent appraisal of Basaglia and his work is largely misguided and could benefit from considerable empirical rectification; indeed, that Basaglia and Szasz have more in common in regard to their opposition to conventional psychiatry than either one would have cared to admit. I also show that Foucault's own antipsychiatric project, if such it was, can only be understood with reference to Basaglia's work, with which Foucault was familiar and which he followed attentively. My analysis of Basaglia's project in wanting to go "beyond" the asylum agrees with the evaluations of antipsychiatry put forward by, for instance, Michael Staub, who argues that antipsychiatry represented the dialectical evolution and outgrowth of tendencies to be found *within* modern psychiatry itself. Revisiting Basaglia's theoretical and political writings, together with his actual "on-the-ground" achievements, therefore, presents us with an opportunity to draw from the already important Italian experience broader and more widely applicable lessons about the core and legacy of antipsychiatry in the second half of the twentieth century.

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The Savoyard and the Able General: The Scientific Styles of Alexis Bouvard and François Arago Kevin Donnelly (Alvernia University)

In 1823, the 26-year-old Adolphe Quetelet climbed the stairs of the Paris Observatory to meet with two of the leading figures of French astronomy: Alexis Bouvard and François Arago. He had been dispatched to France for an apprenticeship in preparation for the construction of an observatory in Brussels, and as he approached the doors to the astronomers' offices, he was faced with a difficult question: on whose door should he knock? All other plans had been made for arrival, and the letters of introduction had been written, but he did not know whether to report first to the nominal director of the observatory or to the young superstar of Parisian astronomy. Bouvard or Arago?

Quetelet's indecisiveness at the offices of the observatory was resolved when Bouvard opened his door to see the hesitant young Belgian standing rather foolishly in the hallway, but the question - Bouvard or Arago? - remained. The two men in Quetelet's eyes were as different in temperament, methodology, and research interests as could be imagined. Bouvard, the economical and precise "*Savoyard*," had dedicated his life to the time-consuming and practical task of making correct observations and calculations in the Paris Observatory. Arago, on the other hand, had left behind a picaresque youth and developed a series of popular lectures in astronomy, while at the same time becoming an "able general" in the campaign to acquire more precise observations. Both men appealed to the young Quetelet, who had an earlier career as both a poet and a mathematician, yet the two had such contrasting personalities that it seemed impossible to reconcile their scientific styles. It did not help that Bouvard and Arago hardly spoke.

By drawing on Quetelet's *éloge* to each man, the extended correspondence between the three men, as well as their respective methodological writings, it is possible to trace both the contrast and the resolution of two very different styles of nineteenth-century European science. While this era is often seen as a time when barriers were built between various disciplines, and methodologies were being ossified, Quetelet's reflections on the styles of his two Parisian mentors offers a more fluid possibility for nineteenth-century institutional research.

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“Anatomy of An Historical Watershed: How An Ill-Conceived Probabilism Co-opted William Stern’s Differential Psychology and Continues to Dominate Contemporary Thinking”

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In his 1989 book, *Statistics in Psychology: An Historical Perspective*, Michael Cowles wrote:

“[T]he fact that probability has to do both with frequencies and with degrees of belief is the . . . epistemological duality that . . . we [psychologists] blur as we compute our statistics and speak of the confidence we have in our results. The fact that the answer to the question, ‘Who, in practice, cares?’ is, ‘Probably very few,’ is based on an admittedly informal frequency analysis but it is one in which we can believe!” (Cowles, 1989, p. 59)

This presentation will explore the thinking entailed by the historic conflation identified by Cowles (1989), and will consider its profound consequences both early in the 20th century for differential psychology as the sub-discipline was originally conceived by William Stern (1871-1938), and, around the middle of the century, for the thinking of Lee J. Cronbach (1916-2001) in his historic call for a merger of scientific psychology’s two disciplines.

In his 1911 book, *Methodological Foundations of Differential Psychology*, Stern argued for a differential psychology constituted of four research schemes: (1) variation research, entailing the study of a single attribute variable in terms of measures of its levels or amounts across many individuals within a population, (2) correlation research, investigating co-variations among two or more such attribute measures within a population, (3) psychography (*die Psychographie*), entailing the study of one individual in terms of measures of multiple attributes, and (4) comparison research, studying pairs of individuals in terms of the similarities and differences in their respective attribute profiles. Stern noted that the first two schemes yield knowledge about attribute variables, while the latter two yield knowledge about individuals.

What Stern fully appreciated in making this distinction is that knowledge of the statistical properties of variables with respect to which individuals have been differentiated is knowledge about populations (the ‘frequency’ interpretation of probabilistic knowledge), and entitles no claims to knowledge about any individual within the examined population(s). This is true even though population-level knowledge might inform one’s subjective beliefs about the likelihood of individual level occurrences (the ‘degrees of belief’ interpretation of probabilistic evidence, also known ‘subjectivism’; cf. Porter, 1986).

As the blurred distinction between the frequentist and subjectivist understandings of probabilistic knowledge gained currency, Stern’s distinction between knowledge of attribute variables and knowledge of individuals was likewise obfuscated: the view ascended that knowledge about attribute variables in terms of which individuals have been differentiated just *is*, perforce, knowledge about the individuals who have been so differentiated. Guided by this understanding, Stern’s ‘variation’ and ‘correlation’ research schemes came to be regarded as fundamental in differential psychology, while the ‘psychographic’ and ‘comparison’ schemes studies became superfluous – do-able, but necessarily based on the knowledge generated within the former two research schemes and hence of no truly *fundamental* significance for the discipline’s theoretical or practical knowledge objectives.

The ‘hybrid’ understanding of probabilistic knowledge would in turn be essential to the conceptual integrity of Cronbach’s (1957) highly influential call for a merger of experimental and correlational methods as a research paradigm for a unified scientific psychology intent on ‘predicting the response of the [individual] organism’ (see esp. Fig 11 in Cronbach, 1957, p. 683).

Despite its long-standing prevalence within psychology, a strong case can be made that the still dominant ‘hybrid’ conception of probabilistic knowledge is fundamentally misguided (Lamiell, in press). This suggests, in turn, that the time has come for contemporary psychologists to care about this conflation more than has historically been the case.

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“For Better, for Worse: Early 20th Century Studies Hypothesize about the Effects of Stimulation on Young Children’s Intelligence”

Marilyn Brookwood (Harvard University)

Today’s neuroscience confirms that young children’s intelligence is unstable and changes bi-directionally as an effect of stimulation and experience. Neuroscience evidence suggests that a thousand or more genes influence intelligence, with each gene’s expression having multiple possible outcomes reflecting environmental factors. A staggering complexity plays with our fate. As early as 1922, and in the following ten years, close to one hundred studies about young children’s intelligence suggested that experience influenced intellectual outcomes. Also probed was the developmental effect on young children’s intelligence of persistent stimulation, as well as the effect of lack of stimulation; even at that time, some wondered whether the gradient of intelligence may be increased by stimulation and decreased when stimulation is withdrawn, or absent.

While many studies investigated this area and together might have had additive impact, the findings failed to receive serious consideration from mainstream psychologists; nor did they affect decisions about education or public policy. Establishment psychology’s adherence to the orthodoxy of “fixed intelligence,” along with eugenically driven practices of forced sterilization and institutionalization, promoted a culturally endorsed resistance to ideas positing early flexibility in the development of young children’s abilities. In addition, psychology’s promotion of a new instrument in its armamentarium, the IQ test, and claims for the test’s promise of precise IQ value, was too strong a current to cross.

This paper will review some of the prescient work of the first third of the twentieth century, work that went against the grain of prevailing professional doctrine: W. Root (1922), The intelligence from two viewpoints; Helen Woolley (1925), The validity of standards of mental measurement in young childhood; Frank Freeman, Karl Holzinger, Blythe Mitchell, (1928), The influence of environment on intelligence, school achievement, and conduct of foster children; Helen Barrett and Helen Koch (1929), The effect of nursery school training on the mental test performance of a group of orphanage children; Beth Wellman, (1932), The effect of pre-school attendance on the intelligence of young children; Mandel Sherman and Cora Key (1932), The intelligence of isolated mountain children.

"THE FASHIONABLE SCIENTIFIC FRAUD"¹: REVISITING COLLINGWOOD'S CRITIQUE OF PSYCHOMETRICS.

Joel Michell (University of Sydney)

"If a man while pursuing or expounding a science makes a mistake as to its nature or the nature of its subject-matter, it is quite possible that this mistake will infect all his work with a certain amount of error. But there is no reason why the infection should go so deep as to deprive his work of all scientific value" (Collingwood, 1940, p. 17).

It has recently been argued that the writings of the philosopher, R. G. Collingwood (1889 – 1943) may be relevant to psychology (e.g., Connelly & Costall, 2000). During the interwar period, Collingwood was a trenchant critic of what he saw as psychology's pretensions as the science of mind and, it is said, was partly responsible for slowing its integration into British universities (Leudar, 2009). In particular, he was critical of Spearman's (1923) work on intelligence. Interestingly, however, those currently promoting Collingwood's relevance to psychology downplay his critique of psychometrics (Collingwood, 1923 & 1940), possibly because it seemed shallow and easily dismissed (Hearnshaw, 1942) and it is adjudged to be, even by his admirers, "intemperate and overstated" (Connelly, 1994, pp. 186).

This critique sprang from Collingwood's conviction that psychologists had breached the boundary between their discipline ("the science of feeling" as he saw it) and metaphysics (which he thought of as the legitimate "science of mind"). In adopting this provocative stance, Collingwood deliberately redefined metaphysics *psycho-historically* (as the study of the "absolute presuppositions" upon which specific conceptual frameworks have been based throughout history and across cultures), rather than, as was traditional, *ontologically* (as investigation of the most general features of existence). Thus, it was really Collingwood, not psychologists, who had invaded the other's subject area. Once his audacity is grasped, it is clear that at least some of Collingwood's corpus is actually psychology masquerading as philosophy. In this paper, I indicate that, properly reinterpreted, portions of Collingwood's work are of fundamental importance to current psychometric research.

One such portion is in his *Essay on Philosophical Method* (1933), in the theory behind the technical concept he labelled "a scale of forms." Because "Collingwood saw no need to worry his readers with the detail of his influences" (Connelly, 2009, p. 2), he presented this theory as if entirely constructed by his own efforts. In fact, its origins lay in ancient Greek philosophy; it drew upon controversies that flourished in the later Middle Ages in writings on "latitudes of forms" (a label that Collingwood's own seems to echo); and it was influenced by discussions about psychophysical measurement. Collingwood's scale-of-forms-concept is consonant with the idea of intrinsically non-quantitative, qualitative, ordered attributes as promoted by Jules Tannery (1875) and Johannes von Kries (1887) in their "quantity objection" to Fechner's law (Titchener, 1905). While quietly disappearing from mainstream psychological discussion because of specious logical manoeuvres (e.g., see Michell, 2009), this idea maintained a fleeting presence in adjacent disciplines, like philosophy (e.g., Keynes, 1921; & Collingwood, 1933), although not without attracting ill-considered criticism there, as well (Ducasse, 1941).

In this instance at least, Collingwood's incursion into psychology identified an important and valuable concept: important, because it undermines the "absolute presupposition" upon which psychometrics is based by identifying the kind of structure characterising the attributes assessed in psychometric tests (Michell, In Press a & b); and valuable, because it provides the strongest reason yet for relocating qualitative methods to centre stage within psychology.

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Biography in the History of Psychological Disciplines

This session presents work in progress by PhD students at the newly formed UCL Centre for the History of Psychological Disciplines, developing new approaches to the topic of biography in the history of the psychological disciplines.

The Centre for the History of Psychological Disciplines provides a forum for research and post-graduate training. Its aim is to provide a UCL based focus for research into the history of the psychological disciplines, through organising on-going post-graduate seminars, public lectures and conferences, providing facilities for doctoral and post-doctoral research, and facilitating an international network for collaborative research. The Centre aims to foster a historical approach to the psychological disciplines, as well as providing opportunities for dialogue between historians and psychologists.

The session will be split into two parts. The first part explores new approaches to the lives of psychologists, eschewing the norms of intellectual biography. This session will include research on Carl du Prel, whose work is viewed as a nodal point within a series of stratified and conflicting networks; and on C. G. Jung, and how through his self-experimentation, he took his own biography as exemplary, and formed an interdisciplinary psychological system to provide universal, biographical templates. The second part analyses the mode in which -- despite often not overtly being thematised as such -- the approach of psychological disciplines towards subjects implicitly foregrounded the biographical narratives of the subjects, and how these then become reformulated in theoretical narratives. This part looks at patient narratives in 19th C psychiatry, biographical approaches within psychology of religion to historical subjects whose lives have been granted a canonical status, the reformulation of patients' pasts within the rubric of cognitive and behavioural dysfunction, and biographical

Ludwig Binswanger's "biographical life"

Chantal Marazia (Europa-Universität Viadrina/UCL)

In 1954, commenting Ludwig Binswanger's essay *Dream and existence* (1931) Michel Foucault argued that "the original forms of thought introduce themselves: their history is the only exegesis they tolerate, their destiny their only form of criticism". Foucault's aphorism proved to be prophetic, as almost any critical approach to Binswanger's "existential analysis" (Daseinsanalyse) has been so far biased by its history (its philosophical roots) and its destiny (its later interpretation and implementation by social psychiatrists and anti-psychiatrists). Up to present times, the myth of Binswanger as a follower of Husserl and Heidegger and as a forerunner of anti-psychiatry constituted a formidable obstacle to a scrutiny of his actual activity as psychiatrist, granting him a sort of immunity to closer historical and biographical inquiry.

If we want to take the Foucauldian maxim seriously, as I think the historian (of psychological disciplines) should, a biographical approach to the figure of Ludwig Binswanger must start from his biographical life, i.e., from the blend of biographical fragments and myths that incarnate the destiny of his thinking, from the ambiguity between the fictional and the real.

In this case (as with so many other seminal psychologist and psychiatrists), there is no question of "setting the facts straight", and no room for a modern, linear *Lebenslauf* of a single, unified subject. As this paper wants to show, a proper biographical approach, paying attention to the happenings and their values, to the multiple and bivocal relations between past and present, has to extend beyond the life of the subject itself, to his later exegetes and critics and, ultimately, to the shady zone between the *historia rerum gestarum* and the founding myths.

From Biography to Psychology: C. G. Jung and Self-Exemplification”

Sonu Shamdasani

C. G. Jung termed the period between 1912 and 1918 his ‘confrontation with the unconscious.’ It was through this that he developed his principle psychological theories of the archetypes, the collective unconscious and the process of individuation, and transformed psychotherapy from a practice predominately concerned with the treatment of the sick into a means for the higher development of the personality. This led to the development of analytical psychology as a theoretical discipline and as a form of psychotherapy.

In the winter of 1913, Jung commenced his self-experimentation by deliberately gave free rein to his fantasy thinking and carefully noted what ensued. He later called this process active imagination. He wrote down these fantasies in the *Black Books*. These are not personal diaries, but rather the records of a self-experimentation. The dialogues which form these active imaginations can be regarded as a form of thinking in a dramatic form.

When the First World War broke out, Jung considered that a number of his fantasies were precognitions of this event. This led him to compose the first draft manuscript of *Liber Novus*, which consisted in a transcription of the main fantasies from the *Black Books*, together with a layer of interpretive commentaries and lyrical elaboration, which he subsequently transcribed into an illuminated manuscript. Here, Jung attempted to derive general psychological principles from his fantasies, cast in a literary, philosophical and theological form. After composing this work, he attempted recast his conceptions into a conceptual psychological language directed towards a medical and scientific public, through establishing what was generic and individual in the process which he underwent. This took the form of his development of the notion of the individuation process, which he presented as the universal model of personality development. This manuscript corpus provides a unique window into the genesis of a psychological theory, enabling one to trace the steps between Jung’s reading’s, how they informed his fantasies, his reflections upon them, and how through assuming an auto-exemplary status, he attempted to generate a universal template for the biography of an individual.

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"Normative Biographies: Between the Normal and the Pathological in the French Psychology of Religion"

Matei Iagher

Given the paucity of historical interpretations of the early French psychology of religion (Wulff, 1991) this paper will seek to redress this lacuna by reconstructing the debates surrounding the question of the pathology of religious and mystical experience in the French psychology of religion in the first decades of the twentieth century. Drawing their polemical strength from several psychologists writing in the later part of the 19th century (e.g. Theodule Ribot, Ernest Murisier), these debates revolved around the issue of the limits of 'normality' with respect to mystical and religious experience. Though fought in the traditional clerical/anti-clerical context of French intellectual life that pitted secular psychologists (e.g. Pierre Janet) against representatives of the Catholic establishment (e.g. Joseph Maréchal, Michel de Montmarand), these debates drew together a number of theologians and psychologists who strove to show that psychology constituted a consummate tool for the evaluation of mystical and religious material. As I will argue, the main issue in these debates was not whether psychology was an adequate tool with which to probe mystical and religious experiences. Rather, the issue was which of the various competing psychological interpretations best fitted the 'facts' that religious or mystical experience put forth. A closely connected question had to do with the nature of the 'facts' themselves. In particular, this question devolved upon those psychologists (e.g. Henri Delacroix, H. Joly) that culled the biographies of great mystics for insight about psychological development or the presence of pathology. As I will show, the turn towards the biographical in these debates effectively sealed the fate for the partisans of the religious establishment to the extent that it managed to naturalize psychological categories and re-conceptualize hagiography as just one species of psychological biography.

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Patient Biography and Theories of Disorder in Cognitive Behavioural Therapies

Sarah Marks

Cognitive-behavioural therapy, one of the most popular and institutionalised forms of psychotherapy in the contemporary world, is often promoted as an approach which eschews discussion of the individual's past. By focussing on present thought processes and behaviours, clients can successfully work through their problems without delving into difficult memories or excessively focussing on how their childhood relationships configure their adult lives. The client is, in this view, ahistorical. But this image of CBT ignores the importance accorded to primary socialisation experiences in early childhood by two of the main founders of CBT, Albert Ellis and Aaron Beck, in their approaches to depression. This prompts questions with regard to the role played by the individual's history, or biography, in psychotherapeutic treatments, and CBT in particular.

Beginning with the early behaviour therapies developed at the Maudsley Hospital in the 1950s, this paper will examine the underlying motivations behind the exclusion of patient biography from therapeutic methods. I will then trace the rehabilitation of the patient's history with the cognitive revolution, drawing on notions of maladaptation and 'predisposing factors' found in Beck and Ellis's work, which foreground the psychopathological influence of childhood relationships. I will then discuss the biographical aspects of some of the 'third wave' cognitive-behavioural approaches developed since the 1990s, with a particular focus on rational-emotive, mindfulness, and acceptance and commitment therapies. At the heart of this analysis is a recognition of a theoretical tensions within CBT: as an eclectic approach, it has adopted often contradictory frameworks as broad as behaviourism, cognitive psychology, humanistic-existentialism and, more recently, Zen Buddhism. By examining the use – or absence - of the patient's historical biography in different forms of CBT, it is possible to trace the underlying theories of disorder embedded within these therapeutic interventions. Finally, this raises the question of what remains to unify the increasingly theoretically diverse cognitive-behavioural approaches to psychotherapy.

Oral history interviews conducted by the author with Windy Dryden, Isaac Marks and Meir Stolear.

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"Criminal Lifestyles. Bio-typological Biographies of Delinquents in Europe, 1920-1950"

Corina-Maria Dobos

My research proposes a genealogical re-construction of the 'discursive universe' of the criminal lifestyle in European criminology between 1920 and 1950, by looking into representative medico-juridical studies on delinquency from this period. The discourse analysis my research undertakes has as focal point the manner in which the biographical elements are interpreted and reinterpreted in the light of some of the dynamic accounts of human constitution.

Late nineteenth century epistemological developments in criminology (the Italian and French School of criminal anthropology) and medicine (the Italian and German medicine) indicate a vivid preoccupation across Europe with finding scientific explanations for delinquency and criminal behaviour. Criminologists proposed several conceptualisations and interpretations of the causes of criminal behaviour. These observations were developed in close relationship with specific epistemological developments in medicine and psychiatry: the fashion of the homicidal mania was soon followed by clarifications offered by the degeneration theory, and supported by anthropological, sociological and psychological explanations.

In search for different explanations of criminal behaviour, the 'biographies of the criminals', narratives of their life stories that could explain the advent of the criminal offence, started to be constructed and offered as conclusive pieces of evidence for the development of a specific criminal behaviour. At the turn of the 20th century, medical sciences seemed to fail in finding ultimate, organic causes for criminal behaviour, and narratives that could at least confirm 'clinical findings' (be they anthropological, sociological, psychiatric or psychological) were ever more needed. In broader terms, the practice of biography was ever more appealing at the end of a century in which history was the 'queen of all sciences'.

The advent of a constitutional drive in interwar Western thought and medical practice gave criminologists new tools for finding, gathering, systemizing and interpreting data regarding delinquent behaviour. Moreover, the dynamic account of constitution defined as a 'three dimensional' unity (morphological, physiological, and mental) became ever more influential. This account tended to replace the outdated morphological account of human constitution. The dynamic version of a human constitution in general, and of a criminal's constitution in particular, gave the possibility to integrate both the biological and social explanations of criminal behaviour, offering thus a solution to the decades-long dilemma that was dividing the criminological field.

The dynamic constitutionalist framework represented the background on which data as varied as values of the endocrine glands' activity, anthropometrical results and psychiatric observations, standardized measurements of the IQ level or the evaluation of the emotional and affective anomalies were assembled in order to provide a 'realistic' estimation of someone's criminal potential. The German psychiatrist Ernst Kretschmer established correlations between physical appearance and mental disturbances, and the Italian endocrinologists Giacinto Viola and Nicola Pende found similarities between bodily appearance and physiological values. These bio-typological observations were used as starting points for further investigations carried out in psychiatric wards and penitentiaries in order to determine someone's propensity for different types of felony.

My presentation focuses on the semantic operations through which the criminal 'lifestyle' emerged as an overarching picture that gave coherence to the constitutionalist plot of criminal behaviour. As Viola noted, this specific lifestyle "'imprints' its character on all the structural units (cell, organ or morphological habitus) and over all the functional (physiological and psychological) manifestations and determines the biological

and biosocial value of each individual." (Viola, 1937). Thus, at the end of the 1940s, the unifying explanation of a person's 'lifestyle' emerged as ultimate elucidation for the delinquent behaviour. The criminal 'lifestyle' became the cognitive matrix in which data defining the biotype (bodily measurements, physiological values, psychological findings) were 'amalgamated' with biographical elements of the delinquent.

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Historicizing Health and Happiness

"The Flight from Social Psychology: How Health Psychology Found its Wings while Public Health Carries on "Delicately""

William Salmon, Ian Lubek, Asma Hanif, Naomi Ennis, Elizabeth Sulima, Monica Ghabrial & Michelle Green
(University of Guelph)

In a series of recent papers (e.g., Lubek et al, 2011), we have been tracing the disciplinary history of health psychology, with particular attention to its roots in social psychology. Earlier, a lively debate had occurred about social psychology's own disciplinary history and whether it had been Psychology's wayward sub-discipline, or Sociology's, or both, and if so, either independently co-existing, or a hybridization of the two (Lubek, 2000). Initially looking at Lewin's World War II studies of group processes to change eating habits as one easily-identified "starting point", we examined the health-related topics researched by social psychologists during the 1950s. By the 1960s, funding opportunities for health research opened up to psychologists – as distinct from mental health research-- and in particular, social psychologists received funding. Simultaneously, as reflected in the textbook chapters and journal articles, many were seeking new "relevant" or "applied" research questions, following the methodological, epistemological and moral sub-disciplinary "crisis" of the 1960-70s. The debate between cognitive and behaviourist paradigms provided additional conceptual foundations for both social and health psychology research (Matarazzo, 1982). We use indicators of journal publications, textbook contents, and funding source to trace, from the 1950s onwards, how health psychologists first made increasing use of the social psychology "home" base, before "breaking away" institutionally and creating their own intellectual space, with interdisciplinary "add-ons". We end with some comparisons of this pattern of "specialization" and "breakaway" sub-disciplinary development for Health Psychology to the parallel development of the field of "Public Health", which originally tried to follow more a "hybridization" model. There, researcher/practitioners from medical and health science schools found areas of overlapping interest with social scientists and created research and teaching alliances, albeit sometimes involving fragile confederations and paradigmatic and disciplinary "turf wars". A brief discussion of how Health Psychology and Public Health each dealt with the HIV/AIDS epidemic from the 1980s onward completes this presentation, along with the rise of a "critical health psychology" in the 1990s.

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Health psych. in NTOP

part of the well known trend.

HP = the new fad

Rogers as believer in individuality
vs posset to testing & statistics.

"The Origins of the Postwar College Counseling Center"

Tom McCarthy (U.S. Naval Academy)

Rogers vs. State Testing vs. self (McCarthy)

In the decade after 1945 the U.S. college/university counseling center became a place where important currents in counseling psychology, American higher education, and efforts by the Federal government to help launch Americans on new trajectories in life converged. One current was the work of Donald G. Paterson, Edmund G. Williamson, and John G. Darley at the University of Minnesota in the 1920s and 1930s to develop a counseling program to help students make curricular and vocational choices that was based in part on testing. The development of a counseling center and other student support services there under Williamson launched the "student personnel movement" that profoundly changed on the structure of American colleges and universities after WWII. The second strand came from Carl Rogers and Rogerian counseling. In 1945 Rogers established the counseling center at the University of Chicago as a laboratory to explore "client-centered" methods of counseling that he hoped could be shown to be more effective than the Minnesota approach. The last influence was the program created by Ira D. Scott of the Veterans Administration (VA) to provide the vocational guidance benefit promised to returning WWII servicemen under the 1944 GI Bill. The VA contracted with nearly four hundred colleges and universities (usually through their psychology departments) to provide this service on campus, following a federally-mandated approach devised by Scott that blended the Minnesota and Rogerian approaches. Many colleges and universities subsequently established their own permanent counseling centers along lines strongly influenced by the VA model.

The clash between the "Minnesota Point of View" and Rogerian counseling is a well-known part of the history of counseling psychology. This paper examines it instead from an institutional perspective—from the vantage point of the counseling center, particularly as it developed in the wake of the powerful impetus provided by the VA and the GI Bill. One aim is to take a closer, evidence-based look at these three influences to identify new facts and to tease out some of the nuances in their interactions with one another. The interactions were considerable, although subtle. Williamson, Rogers, and Scott paid close attention to one another but were careful to preserve their professional independence. To this end, the researcher has in the past year conducted research at the University of Minnesota Archives (particularly with the Williamson Papers), the National Archives (reviewing VA records that cover the GI Bill vocational advisement and guidance benefit), and the Carl Rogers Papers at the Library of Congress (especially those concerning his founding and association with the counseling center at Chicago).

A second major aim of this paper is to place this story in a broader cultural and historical context. Two connections intrigue me. First, the Minnesota and VA approaches seem to be clear manifestations of the broader Progressive Movement of the early twentieth century. Progressives sought to mobilize experts and expertise acting through government to address the problematic side-effects of liberal individualism. Also important to the larger progressive agenda was the idea of efficiency. Progressives saw a significant potential benefit to individuals and to society in offering expert vocational counseling to college students and later to returning WWII veterans in order to reduce wasted human potential and occupational dissatisfaction.

The second connection involves the "politics" of Carl Rogers and Rogerian counseling. An unapologetic individualist who believed that people had the capacity to solve their own problems, Rogers was occasionally explicit about the political philosophy behind his counseling interests. He worried that the Minnesota student personnel movement had strong statist, anti-individual overtones. How then should we understand Rogers in relation to his culture? As harking back to traditional American liberal-individualist values, pre-figuring 1960s radical humanistic individualism, or both? How should we view Williamson and Rogers today in light of the work of Daniel Kahneman and others who have shown the difficulty in understanding ourselves and making choices free from a host of biases that we might judge unhelpful if we knew about them and their impact on us? Or in light of evolutionary biologists who insist that modern humans evolved in a deeply social context? The time thus seems ripe to revisit Williamson, Rogers, Scott and the place where they met, the post-WWII college counseling center.

Although the son of a counseling psychologist and former college counseling center director, the researcher is not a psychologist. He is a twentieth-century U.S. historian interested in cultural and social

handing over responsibility to dean, boss, psych, or state

history. This research is part of a larger project that focuses on the postwar impact of the student personnel movement and college counseling.

psychoanalysis as marriage counseling →

moving from family as procreative unit.

towards family as a "reat & care" unit

would you say this was a result of change in family life-counseling?

or it came with a change from sex counseling to relationship counseling.

anti-psychoanalysis

Do you mean to say that this revolution in understanding of married life was a result of a change in the therapeutic paradigm?

Or would you say that it was the other way around?

“Post-WWII Social Reconstruction and the Birth of Marriage Therapy in Britain: Forging Democratic Community through Citizens’ Emotional Fulfillment”

Teri Chettiar

By the end of the first decade following WWII, the rapid rise in the divorce rate had become gruelingly familiar. The numbers had been publicized with a sense of great alarm on many occasions—notably compiled and made public in the Denning Report on Matrimonial Procedures in 1947² and the Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce in 1956. In 1956, it was reported that 28,347 matrimonial petitions had been filed in England and Wales in sharp contrast to the more reasonable total of 755 in 1910.³ Tavistock marital therapy pioneer Dr. Henry Dicks raised the frightening possibility that marriage breakdown might in fact itself be “a kind of substitute psychiatric illness, or at least a symptom of disordered bio-social adaptation following the War.”⁴ The postwar divorce crisis was frequently linked to the rising incidence of neurotic illness and stunted childhood emotional development, and proposed solutions relied very heavily on principles and techniques of psychiatric therapy. Discussions of divorce—whether involving physicians, social workers, psychologists, child guidance workers, magistrates, probation officers or government MPs—centrally involved a focus on unconscious mental and emotional factors. The growing number of postwar providers of marital therapy services—including the Marital Clinic at the Cassel Psychiatric Hospital, the Probation Service, the National Marriage Guidance Council, and the Family Discussion Bureau at the Tavistock Clinic—targeted unconscious factors within the marital dynamic in their approaches to marital and sexual therapy.

This paper examines how the emergence and development of postwar marital therapy was centrally predicated upon a new family-oriented preoccupation with citizens’ emotional lives. The postwar emergence and rapid growth of government-sponsored British marital therapy services was integral to a commitment to the preservation of the nuclear family as the means for preventing a host of social ills: neurotic illness, juvenile delinquency, sexual deviancy, as well as a wide range of “antisocial” behaviors. However, postwar marital therapists not only sought to keep men and women married, they were also concerned with producing new possibilities for individual emotional satisfaction. By the end of the 1950s they had become increasingly focused on helping partners to cultivate profound emotional intimacy in order that the marriage promote greater emotional and psychological development in spouses as well as in their children. While these services were reportedly very successful in providing a “cure” for marital breakdown—and thus satisfied what the Home Office required of them—they also contributed to important changes in public expectations and attitudes surrounding marriage. Far from simply keeping couples out of the divorce court, these therapies helped to alter perceptions of what marriage meant and what it should ideally involve: much more than a biological and social unit for procreation, marriage became a profoundly important psychological experience in creating emotionally rich and fulfilled selves (most often translated in practice as a deep and demonstrated realization of idealized masculine and feminine marital roles). Coinciding with a widespread push for the relaxation of divorce laws, marriage therapists in the 1950s and 1960s treated marriage as a relationship through which adult men and women completed their emotional development and became fully realized complete selves. This paper demonstrates how postwar marital therapists’ newly emerging psychological and emotional standards for marriage helped to support a postwar British revolution in understandings and expectations of married life.

2 The Denning Committee on Matrimonial Procedures inquired into the growing problem of matrimonial breakdown. Its first two recommendations were as follows: “1) There should be a Marriage Welfare Service to afford help and guidance both in preparation for marriage and also in difficulties after marriage. It should be sponsored by the State but should not be a State institution. It should evolve gradually from the existing services and societies. 2) It should be regarded as a function of the State to give encouragement and, where appropriate, financial assistance to marriage guidance as a form of social service, particularly by grants in aid of the voluntary societies working in this field.”

3 Henry V. Dicks, *Marital Tensions: Clinical Studies towards a Psychological Theory of Interaction* (New York: Basic Books, 1967), 4. “Had this fabulous increase of 3,350 per cent have been recorded for tuberculosis or dysentery—what a panic would have been caused, and what an outcry for most drastic measures of research and prevention... If fifty years of clinical and research work in psychological medicine has discovered anything, it is that of the close correlation of much mental illness, psychopathy and criminality with a background history of deprivation of healthy and security-giving parental home conditions.” (4)

4 Dicks, *Marital Tensions: Clinical Studies towards a Psychological Theory of Interaction*, 4.

Historiography

"History of Psychology since 1945: Survey, History, and Critique"

James H. Capshew (Indiana University)

In 1945, the world war was finally over and American psychologists were poised on the edge of tremendous growth in numbers and unprecedented expansion of their professional domains. Since then, over the past two-thirds of a century, psychologists served Western publics a rich diet of concepts, applications, and interventions under their scientific imprimatur. Widely varied forms of psychotherapy based on equally diverse views of human nature have arisen and flourished, at least for a time, only to be supplanted by other forms. Psychology has provided a flexible discourse to understand the modern self and explain relationships with others.

Understanding the roots and branches of the history of this protean field has been the preoccupation of a small group of scholars of disparate backgrounds and agendas from 1945 to the present. Historical investigations have been pursued for a host of reasons, among them scholarship, criticism and legitimation, antiquarianism, pedagogy and acculturation, and identity formation and revision.

This study takes a bio-bibliographical approach of some key texts, analyzing their construction by unique individuals in conversation with disciplinary peers, students, and publics. By investigating both the content and the context of selected texts, patterns and interconnections will be revealed that shed light on the stories that psychologists, historians, and other scholars tell about psychology's past, and why such stories matter.

The important role of collectivities – groups such as APA Division 26/Society for the History of Psychology, the Cheiron Society, and the Forum for History of Human Sciences – will be examined for demographic data on discipline and specialty affiliation, education, and institutional location. Content analysis of relevant periodicals (e.g., *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences; History of Psychology*) will yield empirical trends of subject matter, approaches, period and location, etc.

Finally, the broad question of why each social science seems to have quite different traditions and practices in writing disciplinary histories will be addressed, and the prospects of useful dialogues between the fields assessed.

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"Mental Hygiene's Vocabulary and Rockefeller's Sex Research: Explorations in the Digital History of Psychology"

Christopher D. Green, Abid Azam, Darya Serykh, & Michael Pettit (York University)

"Digital humanities" is a phrase that captures a wide variety of efforts to describe and analyze electronic databases of documents by means of computer-based statistical techniques, both numerical and graphical. Typically, it attacks very large databases that would normally exceed the ability of the individual researcher to absorb and analyze without computational assistance.

Often these kinds of analyses, rather than producing new conclusions, reveal hitherto unrecognized phenomena (e.g., there is a periodic alternation in the predominance of male and female novelists between 1750 and 1900), which can then be subjected to more conventional forms of humanistic consideration and interpretation. This presentation describes two studies that applied digital humanities techniques to significant topics in the history of psychology.

The first study analyzed the influence of the mental hygiene movement on the vocabulary of the literature on mental illness around the turn of the twentieth century. The movement began formally with the founding of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene in 1909 by Christopher Beers, who gained clinical, academic, and wider popular support following the publication of *A Mind That Found Itself* the year before. The present study began by producing a large set of "tag clouds" based on relevant works that were published both before and after the launch of the movement. By examining the tag clouds in sequence, we were able to observe changes (and stabilities) in the language employed by the various constituencies involved in discussions of psychopathology in that era. For instance, we examined the degree of agreement between scientists and policy makers in defining and applying the concept of "mental hygiene." The literature was also surveyed from clinical, academic, and broader socio-cultural perspectives to gain a more nuanced understanding of how language was employed in and around the movement. An example of this would be the preference for the adjectival "mental" over the nominal "mind" in much of the academic mental hygiene literature.

The second study consisted of a network analysis of sex research published by the Committee for Research in Problems of Sex (CRPS) between 1922 and 1952. Sponsored by the Rockefellers, this collection of almost 2000 studies was promoted as the beginning of a systematically organized body of knowledge on both biological and psychological aspects of sex. They were criticized, however, for sponsoring psychological studies that were very limited in scope, irrelevant to social application, and avoidant of controversy when it came to human studies. The present study examined the scope and focus of CRPS research using social networks. By plotting interactions between different aspects of sex research (e.g., laboratory directors, researchers, animals, institutions), we learned, for example, that high prestige universities such as Harvard and Stanford used species that were more common for research (rats, rhesus monkeys, guinea pigs, etc.), but that the American Museum of Natural History and the State University of Iowa set themselves apart by studying reproduction and behavior of less commonly used species (e.g., fish, frogs, snails, ants, and lizards). A separate examination of psychological sex research reveals that psychological human research was almost exclusively the domain of the high prestige universities and psychiatric hospitals whereas biological human sex research was more widespread. Most of these human studies focused on either deviance or personality, on relations within marital union, and were conducted in the form of questionnaires. The critique of the limitations of sex research as sponsored by the CRPS thereby seems to apply more to the narrow scope of research conducted by the high prestige universities while ignoring unique contributions made by other kinds of institutions, such as the American Museum of Natural History.

use of "tag clouds" as historical tool

chir. az/projects/tagline

ahirax

social engineering / social policy
technical engineering / next policy

The History of 'Social Technology'

Maarten Derksen & Tjardie Wierenga (University of Groningen)

The idea that the knowledge produced by the social sciences can be applied through 'social technology' has a long, but checkered history. It appears at first sight a self-evident idea: if there is science and technology, and there is social science, then surely there should also be social technology. However, although it has had a number of prominent proponents such as Albion Small and Karl Popper, 'social technology' has never caught on in the same way that for example 'management' has. As a failed keyword, recurrently failing in fact, it offers a look at some of the dreams that inspire social scientists, and the trouble they have realizing them. We will present a synopsis of the history of this term, starting with the late 19th century Chicago sociologist Charles Henderson, and show that its history is a reflection of several key issues plaguing the project of the social sciences: their status as sciences, their role in society, the resistance and reflexivity of their subject. At the same time, the history of 'social technology' must be understood in relation to the history of 'technology'. As shown by historian of technology Ruth Oldenziel, it is only since the 1930's that the term technology has come to be associated almost exclusively with the masculine domain of machines and engineers. Even in recent Science and Technology Studies, despite their ambition to renew the perspective on science and technology and their role in society, the device remains the centrepiece of technology. In our talk, we will argue that the failure of the concept of 'social technology' and the rise of the men-and-machines meaning of 'technology' are part of one and the same process. The success of 'technology' and the repeated failure of 'social technology' underscore several key dichotomies in Western culture (feminine – masculine, human – non-human).

20/30 machine age

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"social goals that are reasonable to strive for"

"keyword"

as being used while referring to writers who used it as well.

Albion Small

ethical/objective

“From Instructions to Standards: The Maturation of Publication Policies for American Psychology”

Matthew J. Sigal (York University)

The publication of *Instructions in Regard to the Preparation of Manuscript* (Bentley et al., 1929) was a major turning point for authorship in American psychology. This brief article, consisting of only seven pages, is the precursor to one of social science's most authoritative artefacts, the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*, and was an overt attempt to regulate the language of a burgeoning discipline. At Cheiron 2010, I discussed the events leading up to this first set of guidelines for authors, and how individuals such as Knight Dunlap, Madison Bentley, James McKeen Cattell, and Margaret Washburn proved instrumental in its development.

However, what was not discussed then was how the narrative changed once the *Instructions* were made available to the authors. Were they well received? What would be altered between 1929 and subsequent revisions? Who were responsible for these changes? It is fairly apparent that changes in publication standards can reflect both disciplinary tensions, as well as personal and political aspirations. The archival material surrounding these documents provides an engaging entry point into that story.

Accordingly, this paper covers events within the discipline through the early 1950s, with a general theme of revising the guidelines within the context of World War II era psychology. An emphasis is placed upon the increasing demands for standardization in light of an increasing and diversifying APA membership, as well as the APA's corporate response in terms of increasing bureaucratization. Editors found themselves placed squarely between two masters, each with dissimilar desires and intentions, and struggling under the responsibilities placed upon them.

During this period, two sets of revisions to the 1929 *Instructions* were published: Willard Valentine and John Anderson's *Preparation of Articles for Publication in the Journals of the American Psychological Association* (1944), and the substantially more institutionalized Council of Editors' *Publication Manual* (1952). The APA took on a remarkably different character during this timeframe, as it purchased a foothold in the publications business and gained enough momentum and influence to police its own interests.

The strength of this project relies upon the availability of pertinent primary source material. In regard to the first set of revisions, details from the archives and proceedings of the APA were found to be particularly revealing, especially the boxes that pertained to the Board of Editors, the Publications Board, and Willard Valentine. Archival materials pertaining to the years between that revision and the 1952 publication were primarily found at Yale University, within the Chauncey Louttit collection, as well as at the Archives of the History of Psychology in the Laurance Shaffer collection. Louttit helmed the initial attempt to revise the 1944 standards, however, it would ultimately end in failure. It would be Laurance Shaffer, a clinical psychologist, who would recover the project and bring it to fruition.

Overall, the goal of this project is not to judge the strengths or weaknesses of the *Publication Manual*, but to examine it as a historical object. The men and women who worked to bring about this publication have typically been veiled in the telling of its origin story, and its development has often been regarded as irrelevant. Through the uncovering of archival materials and the presentation of a narrative based around the growth of the APA and the many trials it faced, it is hoped that a better understanding about the human details that accompanied the production and evolution of such a regulatory document might be illuminated.

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The primary sources for this paper will include materials found in the American Psychological Association Archives, specifically folders pertaining to the Board of Editors, the Publications Board, the Committee on Scientific and Professional Ethics and Conduct, and the Committee on Public Relations. Materials from the Chauncey Louttit collection at Yale University will also be used extensively.

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“Lost in Replication? Cutting Content from Early Educational Psychology Films”

Archie R. Belliveau (York University)

The trend of PowerPoint and other media-enhanced lectures may seem new, but it stems from a much older history. Smith (2011) discussed how psychology professors like Hugo Münsterberg used magic lanterns and slide projectors at the turn of the 20th century to lure a broader audience of students to the discipline. Educational motion picture films further facilitated the move toward an audiovisual classroom, and psychologists began actively using the medium in the 1930s both in the classroom and in their research (Beck, 1938; Stone, Valentine, & Miles, 1940).

The increased adoption of moving images as part of the lecture provided filmmakers with an opportunity to join the psychological discussion. Competing publication companies funded replication films that recreated influential experimental results in collaboration with a variety of respected and interested psychologists (e.g., Boring, Langfeld, & Weld, 1940s; Ford, & Liddell, 1931). Consequently, the problematic personal biases of this group were authoritatively transmitted to a new generation of psychologists. Notably, unification messages that sought to present a simplified and cohesive (rather than fractured) version of the discipline, infiltrated these films. In light of this intersection of cutting edge technology, research, and psychology training, I ask what this move meant for psychological education and the content of psychology courses.

The purpose of this paper is to complicate the role early educational motion pictures took in the psychology classroom. I position the original *Micromotion Study* (1912-1924) films produced by husband and wife team Frank and Lillian Gilbreth in relation to two replication films: *Time and Motion Study* (c.1940s), produced by psychologists Edwin Boring, Herbert Langfeld, and Harry Weld as part of their ‘Foundations of Psychology’ film series; and, *Industrial Motion Analysis* (1932), produced by industrial psychologist Adelbert Ford as part of the ‘Demonstrations in Experimental Psychology’ film series. I discuss discrepancies and oversimplifications appearing throughout the films, with a focus on how and why those differences may have skewed audience perception of the issues at hand. Through these widespread replication films, the Gilbreth project was essentially remolded to fit then contemporary narratives for industrial psychology. This transition ‘lost’ critical aspects of their worker-centered brand of industrial management and contributed to misrepresentations of their project to psychology students.

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"Changes in Publication Culture and the Stapel Fraud Case"

Ruud Abma (Utrecht University)

In the fall of 2011, the Dutch social psychologist Diederik A. Stapel, who worked at the universities of Amsterdam, Groningen and Tilburg, was found to have fabricated data on a massive scale for at least eight years. Although some of his colleagues and PhD students sometimes considered his results 'too good to be true', it took the courage and persistence of three young researchers in his department, to bring his forgery out in the open.

In itself, fraud is not a new thing, neither is it limited to the human sciences. More often than not, it is seen as an isolated case, an individual scientist gone wrong, which nevertheless provokes a call for stricter rules and regulations concerning scientific work, data archiving, etc. But the Stapel fraud case can be also be seen as symptomatic for changes in the research and publication culture in the human sciences during the last decades: the trend towards specialization, the focus on the manipulation of empirical data and the concomitant negligence of theory, the emphasis on maximizing publication numbers and impact factors, and finally the temptation to choose research topics that do well in the mass media.

To illustrate this, the exact nature of Stapel's fraudulent actions will be reconstructed, including his ways to hide his forgery. Second, his practices will be considered from the broader view of the research and publication culture in his specific field: experimental social psychology. Evidence will be presented that Stapel, who was considered a bright young researcher and had made a rapid career, while seemingly committed to the scientific norms of his field, at the same time had grown cynical of the dominant research and publication practices in social psychology. Finally, remedies will be discussed, including the possible role of historians of the human sciences.

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"More than Moral Treatment: Revisiting Daily Life in the Asylum"

Jennifer L. Bazar (York University)

Annual reports are arguably the most common traces of nineteenth century asylums found today in archives, special collections, and museums. As their title makes clear, these documents were produced annually; moreover, every institution – no matter their prevalence within a given region – was required to provide their own report. The reports were generally submitted to some level of government, typically a governor or legislature. Additional copies were also shared among fellow asylums or state hospitals, physicians, and other institutions. A part of their pervasive preservation is thus explained by their original numbers. But while the annual report is a rich document summarizing the patient demographics, staff changes, construction projects, special events, and general practices of an institution for a given year, it bounds our interpretation of daily life under the umbrella of *moral treatment*. Moral treatment, the dominant treatment philosophy in North America throughout the nineteenth century, was defined generally such that everything about the institution was interpreted as a central component of treatment. Emphasis was laid in particular on patient labour – a practice termed *employment* under this model – as well as the amusements provided, and the physical environment provided by the institution. While this perspective exposes the way in which life at an institution for the insane was viewed by alienist medicine, it obscures the broader influences contributing to the components that made up daily life. I argue that by expanding the sources we draw on beyond the boundaries of the written record to include material and visual traces of asylums and state hospitals that we gain new access to elements of daily life previously obscured. In this paper, I present two co-existing views of daily life for the patients who lived within the walls of an asylum or state hospital: one stemming from the model of moral treatment, as is presented in the annual report; and the second from the community outside the walls of the institution, as is found in material and visual records. I will highlight several examples from the main sections highlighted in the typical annual report: employment, amusements, and hygiene. My discussion is general in scope, drawing on the nineteenth century textual, material, and visual records of nearly two dozen asylums and state hospitals from across Canada and the United States. This paper is based on work completed for my doctoral dissertation in the History & Theory of Psychology program at York University (Toronto, ON).

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"Ordering Insanity In Progressive-Era America"

Kira Lussier (University of Toronto)

Moments in the history of science and medicine where taxonomies emerge provide particularly fruitful entry points into understanding currents at work both within the history of the particular discipline and how the discipline is shaped by existing cultural and political categories. Histories of psychiatric classification often begin with the first incarnation of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual, which was published by the American Psychiatric Association in 1952. The roots of American psychiatric nosology lie several decades earlier, however, in a 1917 report produced in a joint collaboration of the APA's precursors, the American Medico-Psychological Association, and the newly formed National Committee for Mental Hygiene. *The Statistical Manual for the Use of Institutions for the Insane*, as its name implies, was created with the explicit aim of collecting statistical data on the admittances, discharges and deaths within insane asylums across the United States. The report called for the creation of standardized data cards that would collect uniform data, using standardized nomenclature, about each person admitted to the psychiatric institution in categories beyond a diagnosis of a particular mental illness.

I examine the Statistical Manual as a nexus for many discourses in early twentieth-century America, both within the nascent discipline of psychiatry and the wider context. I argue that the impulse to create such a document sprang out of a desire for psychiatry to position itself as a scientific and medical discipline and reflected certain existing sociopolitical ideas about racial categories. Through statistics, one could find patterns in random data and make correlations between categories, which would then allow one to create general laws about mental illness. In this respect, can be seen as part of a European and American shift to the application of scientific methodology to the study and classification of human beings. The inclusion of other, politically charged data, means that the statistics could also be used for ideological purposes in debates over immigration.

The manual devoted one-fourth of its forty pages to an explanation of other demographic categories that into which individuals admitted to institutions were to be categorized, including citizenship, race, economic status and educational level. The manual provided guidelines for how to place individuals in the various categories, and such recommendations provide a fascinating window into cultural assumptions and social realities about race and citizenship in America at a time of rising urbanization, industrialization and immigration and the spectre of the Great War. Questions of nationality were more than abstract categories on a data card: they were categories that had serious implications for how an individual was treated. The report recommended that people from Russia, Poland, Czech Republic, and various other Eastern European nationalities were to be grouped as one Slavonic race; this heading is emphasized as particularly important considering the increasing numbers of Eastern European immigrants in America. Also lumped together under one collective group was the African race, no matter which continent the individual was from, or whether or not the individual was 'pure' or 'mixed' blood (even though there was a separate category for 'mixed-race'). While Spanish-Americans get a separate category from Spanish people, African-Americans do not. It is certainly no coincidence that two groups that were 'othered' in dominant American discourse were categorized in a similar fashion.

In this early diagnostic and statistical manual, the history of early twentieth-century psychiatry intersects with social and political concerns over immigration and citizenship to produce a revealing source for the historian of the human sciences.

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"Patients Left Behind: Deferred and Rejected Leucotomy Candidates from Hamilton Psychiatric Hospital, 1952-1961"

Brianne M. Collins & Henderikus J. Stam (University of Calgary)

The first leucotomy operation in the Province of Ontario was conducted by K.G. McKenzie on July 23, 1941. The first recipient was a 58 year old female diagnosed with involuntional psychosis. Between 1941 and 1945, only 20 additional patients were operated on in the Research Unit of the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital (TPH). After nearly two years where no surgeries were conducted, the operations commenced again on March 30, 1948 at the TPH. This time, however, there would not be another substantial hiatus on surgeries; rather, the procedure would be in use in Ontario well into the 1960s. The Toronto Psychiatric Hospital was not the only venue where the surgeries were performed. The procedure was carried out at a number of general hospitals and provincial psychiatric hospitals including Hamilton, Kingston, and London. Of particular interest are the more than 350 leucotomies performed at the Hamilton Psychiatric Hospital between 1952 and 1960. In addition to these surgeries, many likely conducted by K.G. McKenzie, there were a number of surgeries that were either deferred or rejected when physicians submitted those particular cases for review. Case summaries were presented at 'leucotomy conferences' attended by a number of physicians where family, disorder, and medical history was briefly reviewed. Occasionally a change in diagnosis would occur, as well as recommendation for further treatment prior to opting for a leucotomy. As a result of this process, at least 20 patients were rejected altogether as appropriate candidates for leucotomy, while 11 patients' surgeries were deferred and never completed. The surgeries that were conducted, as well as those that were not, provide valuable insight into the process of 'prescribing' and performing these surgeries. Using leucotomy conference case files, we describe the leucotomy conference process to understand what patient attributes and physician concerns distinguished those who would not receive surgery from those who would.

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Critical Perspectives on Obedience to Authority

Stanley Milgram's 'Obedience to Authority' is the most famous experiment in the history of American psychology and among the best known works in all of social science. Since Milgram's first substantial published account of the experiment in 1963, a voluminous secondary literature has grown up around the study examining its methodology, generalizability and ethics. Although much early commentary on the Obedience was quite critical, Milgram scholarship in recent years has been generally praiseworthy, often taking the study at face value while largely accepting Milgram's claims concerning the study's ethical integrity and generalizability for understanding 'real world' instances of 'destructive obedience.'

“Oh God Let’s Stop it’: Rethinking Milgram in an Age of Interrogations”

Ian Nicholson (St. Thomas University)

Stanley Milgram’s Obedience to Authority experiment is the most famous study in American psychology and perhaps in all of social science (Blass, 2004; Miller, 1984). Time has done little to diminish the study’s extraordinary celebrity and indeed since 9/11 and the subsequent launching of the ‘War on Terror’ its fame and apparent relevance has increased. The subject of innumerable media references and popular recreations, the study has been repeatedly mobilized by well known psychologists such as Philip Zimbardo who discussed Milgram’s work at length in an attempt to explain how “ordinary people sometimes turn evil” (2007a). Not content with merely drawing on the alleged insights from the original Milgram experiments, other scholars have discussed with a discernable enthusiasm their efforts at reviving Milgram in the laboratory, creating a “virtual Milgram” (Cheatham, Pedroni, Antley, Slater & Jancke, 2009, p.1) and “reopening the [experimental] study of extreme social behaviors” (Dambrun & Vatine, 2009, p.760; see also Burger, 2009; Navarick, 2009). Torture, it would appear, is very much in vogue and for many psychologists there is no better way to approach the subject than Milgram.

Although there is no question that the obedience experiment provides a readily digestible and highly visual ‘explanation’ that plays well in a rapid fire media environment, it is important to be suspicious of anything around which so much ‘certainty’ and ‘received wisdom’ coalesce. The need for caution before such a revered monument to psychology’s revelatory power is all the more pressing given the discipline’s recent history in ‘enhanced’ interrogations. As a number of scholars have noted, psychology has been heavily involved in interrogations at Guantanamo Bay and other CIA “black sites” around the world (Soldz, 2008; Summers, 2007). While this involvement has been subject to a vigorous critique and protest by a number of groups and individuals within the discipline, the intellectual, ethical and historical distinction between Milgram and Milgram-style psychologists doing experiments *on* torture from ‘black-site’ based practitioners *of* torture has gone largely unexamined, a rather curious omission given that it was not so very long ago that Milgram’s own research was itself being denounced as abuse and effectively banned in American psychology (Baumrind, 1964; Blass, 2000). Most commentators simply assume that there is an obvious divide between the two groups and that historical and current simulations of ‘torture’ in the psychology laboratory are benign and provide an ethically robust and intellectually transparent window into ‘real’ torture in the field – psychological and otherwise.

One notable exception to this careful compartmentalization of ‘torture’ psychologists is Jan De Vos (2011) who draws an intellectual and ethical parallel between Milgram and US military and CIA psychologists involved in interrogations. De Vos poses the provocative argument that “Milgram’s experiment seems to be the prelude to the alliance of psychology and torture; he prepared the setting for Guantanamo” (p.293). On the face it, this appears to be a questionable and ahistorical claim. As Blass (2007) has noted, there is no evidence to support the allegation that Milgram’s work was funded by the CIA. However, at issue for De Vos is not the matter of a financial or personal connection between Milgram and a specific intelligence or military organization. For De Vos, what is of interest is the canonical role that Milgram has come to play in academic and popular discussions of interrogations, torture and abuse. He argues that the extraordinary celebrity of the Obedience study has, perhaps inadvertently, contributed to the establishment of an intellectual and moral context in psychology that legitimizes a kind of controlled, ‘ethical’ dehumanization while sanctioning the idea that transgressive psychological methods are sometimes necessary to “extract the truth from subjects” (p.293).

Given the magnitude of the controversy over psychology’s involvement in interrogations and the ‘gravity’ of the alleged abuses at Guantanamo, De Vos’ position constitutes an extraordinarily serious charge, but in light of recent archival work on Milgram and in the face of ongoing efforts to reintroduce “extreme social behaviors” back into the psychological laboratory it is an argument worth considering. The purpose of this paper is to re-examine the ethical status and validity of Milgram’s ‘experiment’ in light of recent of archival investigations. Was Milgram’s work as ethically benign and intellectually insightful as it is typically claimed to be? Is there an intellectually warranted connection to be made between psychology’s lionization of the Obedience research and the leading role the field has come to play in interrogations? Finally, do psychological

'reenactments' of torture help to validate and 'normalize' the very thing that they purport to denounce (see Zizek, 2008).

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"Deception and Illusion in Milgram's Accounts of the Obedience to Authority Experiments"

Gina Perry

One peculiar aspect of the accomplishment of scientific discourse is that it appears to hide itself ...to write science is commonly thought not to write at all, just simply to record the natural facts. (Bazerman, 1988, p 14)

Historians of psychology have long recognised that textbook accounts of iconic experiments are often sanitised, partial, selective, and presented as if such research occurs in a vacuum, untainted by values, culture, or politics. Harris argued that reports on famous experiments evolve, and are edited and shaped, to portray the discipline in a favourable light. His comparison of original and subsequent reports found that John B. Watson and Rosalie Rayner's famous 'Little Albert' study, evolved over time into a story of success, not failure. Frances Cherry noticed that Muzafer Sherif's Robbers Cave study made only passing reference to an earlier elaborate version of the experiment, which was abandoned because it failed to produce the required results.

Stanley Milgram's obedience experiments, dubbed the most famous psychological research of the twentieth century, are no exception. Textbook accounts while acknowledging the ethical controversy that dogged the research, tell a story of startling and profound results, with Milgram portrayed as an objective scientist, conducting research untainted by values, culture, or politics. Milgram's own accounts of his research reinforce this portrait of himself and the work.

This paper will argue that a critical examination of Milgram's published and unpublished accounts reveals that Milgram's use of deception extended beyond the experimental set up to include his written accounts of the experiment and the presentation of his findings.

Through a close reading of papers in Milgram's archive, and an analysis of his print and filmed accounts of his research I will argue that Milgram shaped, edited, created and fine tuned accounts of his most famous research - obscuring, highlighting and in some instances, misrepresenting aspects of his study to make for what was a more engaging, powerful and dramatic narrative.

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“The Last Possible Resort’: Rhetoric and Standardization in Stanley Milgram’s ‘Obedience’ Experiments”

Stephen Gibson (York St. John University)

The present paper uses previously unpublished data from Stanley Milgram’s (1963, 1965, 1974) obedience experiments in order to draw attention to a hitherto neglected procedural innovation of the ‘voice-feedback’ condition. Although it has been noted before that transcribed excerpts from the studies presented in Milgram’s (1974) book, *Obedience to Authority*, complicate the notion of the experiments as employing a heavily standardized procedure (e.g. Darley, 1995; Russell, 2009), this observation has yet to be followed up by detailed empirical analysis. However, recent work using data from the Stanley Milgram Papers archive at Yale University (e.g. Gibson, 2011; Millard, 2011; Nicholson, 2011; Perry, in press; Russell, 2009, 2011) has highlighted the wealth of material from the studies yet to be published – let alone subjected to a full analysis. The present paper uses transcripts and audio recordings of experimental sessions to show that, in three sessions in the ‘voice-feedback’ condition, the experimenter responded to a participant’s attempted defiance by leaving the room, apparently to speak to the learner, before returning to assure the participant that the learner was willing and/or able to continue. This paper documents the usage of this tactic, and highlights the negotiation surrounding the use of the tactic between Milgram and his confederate, John Williams, who played the role of the experimenter. It is shown that the subsequent use of this tactic did not conform to the conditions for its use agreed by Milgram and Williams. Moreover, the tactic seems to have been dropped both from subsequent experimental conditions and Milgram’s published accounts of his work. These observations are discussed in relation to research on standardization in the sociology of scientific knowledge, and in terms of their implications for theory and research on dis/obedience. Specifically, it is suggested that they highlight the centrality of rhetoric in the obedience experiments (see also Gibson, 2011), and should serve as an injunction to pay closer attention to the role of language and interaction in the studies than has hitherto been the case.

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“The Milgram-Holocaust Linkage: A Dialectical Excursion into the ‘Banality of Evil’”

Nestar Russell (Nipissing University)

A contested issue in academia is social psychologist Stanley Milgram’s assertion that his Obedience to Authority experiments (1963; 1974) captured, in the controlled laboratory setting, quintessential features of perpetrator behaviour during the Holocaust (see, for example, Blass, 2004, p. 100). Miller has termed the purported connection between Milgram’s findings and the Holocaust the “M-H linkage” (2004, p. 194). Throughout the 1970s and 1980s more scholars than not could be found making statements in support of the M-H linkage (see Askenasy, 1978, pp. 131-132; Charny, 1982, pp. 13-16; Dicks, 1972, p. 269; Elms, 1972, p. 156 cited in Miller, 1986, p. 132; Miller, 1986, pp. 257-258; Rosenbaum, 1983, p. 36; Sabini & Silver, 1982, pp. 55-87; Steiner, 1980, p. 431). Others, however, disagreed that there was any connection with the Holocaust (see Baumrind, 1964, p. 423; Fromm, 1973, p. 51; Patten, 1977, p. 438).

From the 1990s, and probably initiated by Blass (1993), it would appear that the latter view started to gain momentum to the point that the more contemporary scholarship has started to question the role of obligatory obedience during the Holocaust. More specifically, it has been argued that the obedience experiments failed to capture other far more important factors like ideology, bureaucracy and technology (see Berkowitz, 1999; Fenigstein, 1998a, 1998b; Gonen, 2000, p. 192; Mandel, 1998; Mastroianni, 2002). As Lutsky (1995, p. 63) has rightly argued, the lens of obedience when applied to the Holocaust is severely limited: “What an emphasis on obedience slights, however, are voluntary individual and group contributions to Nazi ideology, policy, bureaucracy, technology, and ultimately, inhumanity”.

This paper, which is based on original archival documents obtained from Milgram’s personal archive held at Yale University, argues that when the entire obedience research programme is viewed from a different angle—that of being an emerging and harmful bureaucratic process in pursuit of ‘scientific’ goals with an impersonal means of inflicting harm—the interplay of factors like volunteerism, ideology, bureaucracy, technology and inhumanity may have played a central role in generating the high completion rates. If valid, this paper, which extends on previous contributions (see Russell, 2009; Russell, 2011; Russell & Gregory, 2005; Russell & Gregory, 2011), may provide a new avenue to reinvigorating the M-H linkage.

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Community, Collaboration and the Construction of Psychology

In this symposium we propose four papers which address the little researched role of institutional collaborations and communities within the history of psychology. The historiography of psychology is dominated by work which focuses on the influence of particular individuals and the related task of tracing the provenance of their ideas and approaches. However, this ignores the crucial role that organizational and practical social frameworks such as private scientific societies and laboratories played in shaping the practices and popularisation of the discipline. These institutions facilitated both scientific and social activities and engendered collaborations and communities which interacted with different interests in the wider society.

To explore these communities we propose four papers in which we will use meeting minutes, membership lists, internal publications and correspondence to highlight the important place of formalised social networks within the historiography of psychology. A. White will examine the relationship formed between the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations and the Trade Union Congress between 1945 and 1957. J. Burman provides a different perspective with his analysis of the collaborative structure which operated at the laboratory of well known "Great Man" Jean Piaget to facilitate a prodigious rate of research and publications. N. Chernoff will examine a series of interrelated child study societies which were active in London around the turn of the twentieth century and highlight the way that these societies brought together individuals from many different professional backgrounds and the ways that society activities shaped research on children and childhood and impacted Psychology's status as an independent discipline. Together, these papers demonstrate a new approach which uncovers the role of collaborative activities within Psychology and highlights the wider social environments in which psychologists functioned.

"The Construction of Wartime Communities at the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations"

Alice White (University of Kent)

The Tavistock Institute of Human Relations is described as 'the leading post-war social-science institution' in Britain. It was created in 1946 with a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to contribute research and consulting services dealing with 'the family, the factory and the rural community.' My research focuses upon the factory element of their work during the period 1945-1960, and the construction of the management science of "Human Relations" which encompassed industrial psychology, psychiatry and sociology. The aim of Human Relations was to utilise the practices of these social sciences to eliminate conflict in the workplace in order to increase satisfaction and production. Whilst historians of business have studied Human Relations as a form of management, this paper instead examines the construction of the networks which produced it.

There are many instances of collaboration in the production of Human Relations at the Tavistock Institute, but this paper will focus upon its interaction with the Trades Union Congress (TUC). I will address why the influence of the TUC was particularly significant at this crucial period of the Institute's history. It is widely stated by historians that an alternative model of management, "Scientific Management", failed to gain widespread acceptance in Britain because its ideology was unacceptable to the workers and the Unions. It was considered to make machines of men, whereas Human Relations was perceived as having a more humanistic approach, fitting better with the traditional paternalistic attitudes of British management particularly common in Quaker-led companies such as Cadbury.

However, correspondence located in the Modern Records Centre archives shows that it was not simply because of a more acceptable paradigm that Human Relations found more success in Britain than Taylorism (another term for scientific management), but also because of the interaction between members of the Tavistock Institute and the TUC. Prominent Tavistock Institute members Elliott Jaques and A.T.M. Wilson corresponded with Edgar Phillips Harries (TUC Organisation Department), Herbert Tracey (TUC Publicity Officer) and E. Fletcher (TUC Research and Economic Department), to discuss matters such as the exchange of journals, discussions of upcoming publications, and the selection of new recruits to be trained in the Institute's human relations techniques. The influence of the TUC on the Tavistock Institute's form of Human Relations in regards to its inspiration, the TUC's role in the construction of Human Relations in literature, and the selection and training of the individuals who would carry the discipline forwards are a remarkable example of the importance of collaboration between two distinct communities.

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“Beyond the Great Man: Psychological Factories as a Method of Inquiry”

Jeremy Burman (York University)

In this talk, the author will introduce and review the notion of a “psychological factory.” This method takes advantage of the abundance of hagiographic labels and—instead of banishing them—uses them as signposts to indicate unexamined areas of enquiry. In this case, the labeling of Jean Piaget as a “great man” and a “genius” affords questions regarding how it became possible to apply those labels (Ball, in press). We then see that Piaget’s name can be thought of as akin to a corporate brand.

In adopting such a stance, even if only tentatively, we discover that the Piaget Factory was supported by several very large grants from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Swiss National Fund for Scientific Research (Inhelder, 1989, p. 223). And this in turn suggests a reason for its productivity: it was institutional support, in vast sums, which made his hundreds of collaborations possible. (Indeed, as Piaget noted in an interview with Thérèse Gouin-Décarie [1969], he did not have any collaborators when he joined the Rousseau Institute in 1921.) But if we are to understand fully how such a perspective helps us to understand, then we must define “factory” in the sense that I mean to use it.

The idea comes originally from Daniel Todes’ (1997, 2002a) studies of the system built by Ivan Pavlov, in the period spanning 1891-1904, to turn his medical students’ two-year internship into output he could use for his own scientific ends. His approach ultimately led to a Nobel Prize in 1904, but that Great Achievement is in itself not why the story is worthy of attention. As Todes (2003) explained in a subsequent study of Pavlov’s notebooks, the opportunity to head a factory enabled this “lone investigator” to *become* a “laboratory chief” (p. 203). He says, in short, that it was *the factory* which made Pavlov great.

We can use this approach in order to serve the interests of contemporary psychologists while at the same serving those of historians. Instead of celebrating Great Men, Great Ideas, Great Achievements, or even Great Mistakes, the factories method shows where contemporary ideas came from (or rather *from whom* it came and then demands *how*). It thereby provides direction for those who might be inspired anew by the underlying logic of its justification. It also makes new projects thinkable.

Taking this approach led Todes (2002b) to indicate that he intended to “rescue [the unknown women] and other equally interesting co-workers of the later period [of Pavlov’s turn from physiology to psychology] from obscurity” (p. 262). We might then follow his example and highlight the fact that Piaget worked with many more women than just Inhelder and his wife. For instance: it was Edith Meyer (1935) who initiated the mental rotations research—made famous by the Three Mountains Task—before fleeing the Nazi encroachment on Switzerland and emigrating in 1938 to work for Arnold Gesell in the United States (Ratcliff, 2010, p. 123). Similarly, Alina Szeminska was behind the work that led to *The Child’s Conception of Number* (Piaget, 1941/1952), but only received credit as co-author on the French edition of the book (Bideaud, 1991/1992, p. 14). And although she is rarely mentioned in the standard histories, Piaget’s favorite translator—Eleanor Duckworth—is credited with having made his American rediscovery in the 1960s possible (Herman & Ripple, 2002, p. 6; Rockcastle, 1964, p. 171; see also Hsueh, 2005).

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“Competition and Collaboration: The Evolution of the British Child-Study Societies 1889 to 1927”
Nathalie Chernoff (Lancaster University)

Between 1889 and 1946 a series of eight interlinking societies were founded in Britain to study children and “childhood”. This series of societies began in 1889 when a “Committee on the Mental and Physical Condition of Children” was initiated by the membership of the British Medical Association to “further investigate the state of development and the brain power of school children”. By 1895, the Committee had completed a survey of over 50,000 children in England and disseminated their research to both specialist and public audiences across the country and at international meetings such as the Seventh Congress of Hygiene and Demography.

Over the next fifty years this initial Committee would undergo an evolution which encompassed seven subsequent society structures (and their corresponding titles) before it was finally permanently dissolved in 1946 with its remaining membership absorbed into the highly successful and inclusive British Psychology Society.

In this paper I trace the progression of these societies as they were variously founded, amalgamated and dissolved into one another and examine the ways that these changing structures were a consequence of both the internal political concerns of the membership, the changing institutional locus of child research, and the rising status of psychology as an independent discipline. The societies’ evolution can be traced through the demographic changes in their membership which included a range of figures from the most eminent medics in Britain, classical ‘men of science’, and a variety of ‘educationalists’ and psychologists.

The extended process of negotiation which took place between representatives of different occupational groups as well as the unique provision for and encouragement of women members into society leadership roles shed new light on the role of the institutional framework in the shaping of a discipline and subject area. This work views the societies dynamic social environments which facilitated interactions between different sections of society and were equally shaped by practical, societal and political concerns as by the research that they produced.

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“Repackaging or Reprocessing? The EMDR Phenomenon in Psychotherapy”

Peter J. Behrens (Penn State Lehigh Valley)

This paper examines Eye Movement Desensitization and Reprocessing (EMDR) as a relatively recent therapeutic intervention in American counseling and clinical psychology (Shapiro 1995). Special attention is given to the history of the development of the techniques, clinical protocol, and professional legitimization of EMDR from its inception in the writings of its founder, Francis Shapiro, in the late 1980's, and the factors which contributed to its rapid development and acceptance over the more traditional psychotherapies, such as those associated with Freud, Adler, Sullivan, and Horney, in the psychodynamic school, and the methods of other traditions, such as derived from Gestalt therapy, social-learning traditions, and humanistic-existential psychology.

EMDR was first applied to cases of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (Shapiro 1989), but is currently used to treat a wide variety of psychological disorders as an alternative to cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT), psychotropic medication therapy, and traditional psychodynamic therapies (Rothbaum 1997; Silver, Brooks, & Obenchain 1995; Sprang 2001). The reasons for the rapid assimilation of EMDR into mainstream clinical practice are unclear, but several factors appear to have made contributions, some from within the American clinical psychology community and others from the larger medical and socio-political context. Among the factors that have led to the rise of the EMDR phenomenon is the dramatic increase since the 1970's in the incidence of PTSD diagnosis, largely, but not exclusively, as a consequence of American military incursions in the Middle East; the dissatisfaction with some traditional therapeutic interventions for PTSD; the ability for the practitioners, including Francis Shapiro, to quickly validate EMDR efficacy through modern clinical research protocols (Lundervold & Belwood 2000); and the mechanisms now available to disseminate results of EMDR studies by means of professional media, including nontraditional and electronic journals and other types of publications.

While these factors taken as a whole may have fostered EMDR theoretically and practically, there are several bases for a more skeptical position, rather than to regard EMDR as a distinct efficacious therapeutic intervention. Among these are concerns that the empirical evidence for its effectiveness is not unequivocal; that the underlying physiological and psychological processes for PTSD and other disorders treated by EMDR are not well understood in relation to the EMDR protocol and procedures; and issues with the pseudo-credentialing of EMDR practitioners, which has grown steadily since its introduction by Shapiro (Luber 2009). The argument can be proposed that the trajectory of EMDR in fact is similar in principle to the institutionalization process and stages recognized in other, longer established psychotherapies: an occasion of insight and anomaly (a “Eureka” moment); a period of hypothesis-testing and validation; building a community of like-minded practitioners in meeting challenging clinical practice; and a defensive codifying process (institutionalization) to insure the insulation of the practice from those who would discredit it. The advantages that late 20th and early 21st century science and technology provided EMDR in terms of means by which it could be established among recognized interventions may have been the most significant of the factors for its rapid incorporation into mainstream psychotherapy.

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“Alfred North Whitehead, Henri Bergson, and Organicism”

Laura Hyatt Edwards (East Carolina University)

Both Whitehead and Bergson are credited with producing philosophical frameworks that Pepper (1942) classified in *World Hypotheses* as ‘organicism.’ Neither philosopher is said to have had a great deal of obvious impact on theories in psychology, although both still generate some interest among different disciplines. The purpose of this essay is to describe a few factors common to the period that contributed to the relatively minor impact these men had on psychological theories in their time and to examine some of the modern context that may be contributing to the recent renewed interest in their work.

Philosophers, historians, and scientists have frequently compared the philosophies of these men (e.g., Harrah, 1959; Griffin, 1993; Lowe, 1949; Papanicolaou, 1987; Prigogine, 1991/2000). Whitehead himself compared his thoughts to Bergson’s, stating in the preface to *Process and Reality* that he wanted to rescue the thought of Bergson, James and Dewey from the charge of anti-intellectualism. Both men espoused ideas that ran counter to materialist/mechanist views prominent in scientific psychology, especially those in the U.S. in the first half of the twentieth century. Nonetheless, psychologists known for their strong anti-materialist/mechanist stances, such as ecological psychologists James Gibson, Eleanor Gibson, Edward Reed and Michael Turvey, have not referred to either Whitehead or Bergson. Turvey (2008) asserted Kant as the philosophical backdrop to ecological and self-organizing systems explanatory frameworks.

Recently authors, apparently somewhat independently, have exhibited renewed interest in these philosophers (e.g., Barnard, 2011; Bianco, 2011; Epperson, 2004, 2009; Guerlac, 2006; Gunter, 2005; Petkov, 2010; Weber, 2006; 2009). Several interested in Whitehead focus on his ontology and some focusing on Bergson emphasize his views of time. It is possible that as academicians have become more familiar with the originally suspect ideas of quantum theory, these philosophies that emerged in tandem with quantum discoveries begin to appear more interesting.

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From daffodils to domestic violence, the arc of papers in this symposium traces the complex trajectory of gender and feminism in psychology and social life from the 1890s through the women's liberation movement. Navigating between disciplinary and social history, the arc begins with an examination of psychologist Milicent Shinn's use of floral references in her "Biography of a Baby," arguing that while the femininity of flowers *might* have endangered Shinn's scientific credibility in this precarious period for female scientists, her frequent references are perhaps more understandable – and less risky – when placed within their specific scientific and educational contexts. The second paper re-examines the founding and early history of the Girl Scouts of the United States of America during the run-up to the passage of the 19th amendment. It explores the positioning of the organization vis à vis the suffrage movement and other girls' and women's clubs in the 1910s, providing a window on the relationship between a younger generation of women and political feminism at this time. The third paper moves to Europe in the interwar period, where Charlotte Bühler was gaining a level of professional and public recognition that was unusual for a woman, even in the relatively egalitarian ethos of Red Vienna. Using an intriguing primary document, this paper reconstructs the image of the professional woman that Bühler exemplified in her time and place, and contrasts this with other images of the working woman – including the spinster, Rosie the Riveter, and "superwoman" – that have appeared in the 20th century. Prestige and the professional woman are topics that run into the fourth paper, which revisits the "woman problem" in mid-20th-century American psychology for clues as to how gender, feminism, and objectivity were negotiated in this period of rapidly shifting gender ideals. Finally, the fifth paper extends our analysis into the years of the women's liberation movement in the United States, examining a curious absence in the narratives that feminist historians have constructed to portray this history. Although frequently mentioned as integral to the movement, women's shelters almost never receive extended treatment in these broader histories. By comparing founding documents of women's shelters with histories of the movement, this paper questions how histories of feminism operate to reinforce certain 'truths' about the present.

"The Evidence of Flowers: The Use of Nature in Milicent Shinn's Baby Biography" Elissa Rodkey (York University)

Milicent Shinn's lasting contribution to psychology was the result of her observations of her infant niece, published as her dissertation, *Notes on the Development of a Child* (Shinn, 1893-1899) and in popular form as *Biography of a Baby* (Shinn, 1900). Baby biography had been an accepted source of scientific data about development since Darwin published his brief "Biographical Sketch of an Infant" in 1877. Although Shinn's observations were far more extensive than Darwin's she had a credibility problem that Darwin did not. As a woman using the biographical method, Shinn's works were in danger of being dismissed as biased, sentimental, and emotional. Although it probably helped that Shinn was the baby's aunt rather than its mother, her advisor still had to write *Notes* a glowing preface affirming that Shinn was a scrupulously careful observer, to allay such fears. For example Dr. Joseph Le Conte wrote "What is wanted most of all in this [child study], as in every science, is *a body of carefully observed facts*" (Shinn, 1893-1899, p. iii, emphasis in the original) before extolling Shinn's objectivity and dispassionate judgment.

For the most part *Notes* is a matter-of-fact record, containing Shinn's detailed observations of her niece, Ruth, with minimal commentary or interpretation. Each reported observation is linked to the age of the child, usually in days-old, and any relevant circumstances are reported. Shinn's observations focus on the development of the infant's senses (sight, hearing, dermal senses, taste, smell) and movements (differentiating between spontaneous, reflex, and instinctive).

Incongruent in this otherwise conventional record is the frequent mention of flowers. These floral references appear primarily in the context of the record of Ruth's color perception and preferences, and are followed by a report on Ruth's performance naming colors using the more conventional stimulus of educational colored tablets. Interest in child color perception and preference was not unusual for the time; Preyer (1882),

Alfred Binet (1890), and John Mark Baldwin (1895) all recorded color preferences in their baby biographies. Indeed, Shinn's color tests are clearly modeled on Preyer's influential baby biography, in which, based on tests with colored tablets, he concluded that his son Axel had a consistent preference for yellow, perhaps indicating that he could perceive it better.

But Preyer hardly reports this color preference in *daffodils*, as Shinn does. According to Shinn, Ruth "stopped crying to look at a jar of them and from that time I note her invariable interest in them; when she came to seize, her arms were always stretched out for them, and the first time she cried with the least persistence at denial was for them; a jar of them in the sun called out excited movements" (Shinn, 1893-1899, p. 27). But this not an isolated case; Shinn reports on Ruth's interest in a variety of flowers; there are nearly 200 floral references in *Notes*, which reference more than 40 separate species. There is no comparable mention of flowers in the Darwin, Preyer, Binet, or Baldwin biographies.

Given Shinn's social context the repeated floral references are particularly curious. Why would Shinn risk her hard-won status as an objective observer by introducing flowers, an object with obvious feminine and domestic associations? I will argue that there were three contributing factors which in combination can account for the presence of the floral evidence: 1) the Shinn family ranch and love of nature, 2) the prominence of the nature study movement and 3) the rise of color education. While all three factors might help explain why the inclusion of flowers came naturally to Shinn, the latter two may also account for why including floral evidence would not necessarily have compromised her scientific credibility in the eyes of her peers.

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“Something for the Girls’: Girl Scouts’ Subversive Role in Female-Centered Activist Communities”
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On March 12 of this year, the Girl Scouts of the United States of America will be celebrating its 100th anniversary. In the last century, over 50 million American women became, when young girls, Girl Scouts. The organization’s longevity and its formalization just years prior to the 19th amendment in 1920, granting women the right to vote, make this organization ripe for feminist historical inquiry. Yet, much of the scholarly attention devoted to the Girl Scouts comes from scholars in literature. In contrast, this paper turns to the history of the Girls Scouts in its formative moments, looking into this organization’s role in the wider struggle for American women’s enfranchisement. Using evidence from two archives, the Girl Scout National Historic Preservation Center and the Georgia Historical Society, and the 1913 and 1920 Girl Scout handbooks, this paper examines the dynamic interplay between the development of this organization for girls and a broader history of women’s clubs to think anew how girls’ clubs and women’s clubs in general and the Girl Scouts in particular navigated the sometimes choppy waters of movements for women’s rights and enfranchisement.

Archival research uncovered associations between the Girl Scouts and other women’s and girls’ clubs ranging from the YWCA’s organization for girls, the General Federation of Women, and the League of Women Voters of Chatham County. Their associations with one another are not always straightforward. Some of the ways to rethink their associations is found by examining the often seemingly conflicting instruction provided by the two Girl Scouts handbooks bookending the introduction of the scouting movement to the United States and the passing of the 19th amendment. Both the 1913 and 1920 handbooks encourage girls to partake in decidedly masculine-related activities all the while upholding the “natural” role of women as one associated with becoming wives, mothers, and/or caretakers. Through the lenses of six themes, sport, college, war work, women’s communities, militarization, and suffrage, the paper examines these contradictions and ambiguities to uncover the strategies the Girl Scouts employed in recruiting and educating girls during the politically-charged atmosphere of the 1910s. It is argued these strategies allowed the organization to reach out to wider circles of girl members, regardless of political affiliations, and to draw upon the strength of existing women’s club networks, all the while deftly maneuvering around association with the suffrage cause. Examining these strategies opens the way to rethinking how these self-same strategies impacted the psychological and material lives of girls facing the challenge of becoming women at a time of heightened debate on womanhood itself.

Re-examining the Girls Scouts’ strategies during this historical moment serves to re-conceptualize familiar notions of it as an activity club for young girls and to think of it instead as an organization championing the self-sufficiency and physical strength of girls and young women. It also advances the Girl Scouts as an organization well aware of the feminist upsets of the era and as consciously responding to them in shaping their program. Equally important was how the Girl Scouts, as other girls’ and women’s clubs, brought young girls into the fold of the movement for change, suggesting that histories of women’s and feminist activism for rights, equality and justice, must necessarily attend to how younger generations of girls were brought into the movement, sometimes more passively and other times more actively. This history of the Girl Scouts thus advances a new view of the organization and uses this history to inquire more generally into generation gaps in histories of the women’s movement.

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“The Problem of the Working Woman: An Interwar Portrait of Charlotte Bühler”

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Charlotte Bühler was, arguably, the most famous university-based female psychologist in Europe, and perhaps in the world, in the interwar period. The years immediately preceding WWII, however, would be the apex of her career. After her forced immigration to America, Bühler’s once prodigious scholarly output suffered a marked decline. Notwithstanding a career re-kindling with the emergence of humanistic psychology, she would never again experience the acclaim her status as a Viennese professor and public intellectual afforded her.

The tragic events of WWII appear to have taken a toll not only on Bühler’s career trajectory but her enduring legacy as well. At present, she remains yet another historically neglected woman within the disciplinary annals. Although the last few decades have witnessed a growth in scholarship on her work and career (Gavin, 1990; Derobertis, 2006; Bühling, 2007; Baumgartner, 2010), the scope of her influence as well as the status she enjoyed in those interwar years have yet to be told. As an outgrowth of a larger project reconstructing Bühler’s life and work, this presentation reviews the process of discovery that ran parallel to the translation of a 1933 Dutch-language portrait of Bühler at the height of her career and argues that, as an artifact, the portrait speaks not only to her life and career but also to the changing image of the professional woman in the 20th century.

As the only female professor among those profiled, Charlotte Bühler has a special place in Jo van Ammers-Küller’s 1933 Dutch-language book, *Twaalf interessante vrouwen* [Twelve interesting women] (republished, 1935, in a revised German volume). Based on a visit to Bühler’s research facilities at the Vienna *Kinderfürsorgestelle* and a subsequent sit-down interview with Bühler in her comfortable Viennese home, Ammers-Küller’s chapter is the only first-hand published account of Bühler’s life from this time. Part narrative account of her journey, part interview, and part intuitive character assessment, the quaint journalistic piece is an enjoyable although somewhat superficial read - at first glance.

After translating this piece, a number of questions emerged. What is the value of this document? Is it merely an ephemeron or can be it seen as an important historical document? As I embarked on my exploration of the matter, and became familiar with the oeuvre of Jo van Ammers-Küller and the image of the modern professional woman it constructs, I became increasingly convinced that this portrait was more than a mere curiosity. I began to see its significance along three dimensions: historical contribution, localized situatedness, and continued relevance.

First, I show that despite its superficial journalistic visage, this primary source material is indeed valuable. The value lies in its ability to provide a unique, contemporaneous, primary source perspective on Charlotte Bühler’s life at the height of her career. Second, I locate Ammers-Küller’s portrait as an artifact of a stream within the Dutch literary tradition and culture of its time. I then position the work relative to the contemporary discourse on the role and identity of the modern woman. The feminist critique of the image of womanhood and the good life proffered by novelists such as Ammers-Küller and Boudier-Bakker (Naber, 1926; Romein-Verschoor, 1936; Grever, 1993) is highlighted. In the third, I analyze Ammers-Küller’s “great problem of the working woman” (1933, p. 248) with the ideal image she proffers as remedy before considering other 20th century archetypal themes and images of modern working women. The image painted of Charlotte Bühler as wife, mother, socialite, professor, and scientist is compared and contrasted with archetypal images of the working woman including “the spinster”, the WWII icon “Rosie the Riveter,” and the “superwoman” of the 1980s as exemplified in the 1980 American American Enjoli™ TV commercial to elucidate a distinctly European portrait of twentieth-century professional female identity.

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**“Gender, Feminism, and Objectivity in mid-20th Century American Psychology:
The “Woman Problem” Revisited”**

Alexandra Rutherford (York University)

Between 1944 and 1947, three rather curious articles appeared in the *Psychological Bulletin* and the *American Psychologist*. Co-authored by Columbia University psychologist Alice Bryan (1902-1992) and Harvard psychologist Edwin Boring (1886-1968), all three addressed the “woman problem,” namely, the tendency for women to be accorded less recognition than men in the professions and in public life (Bryan & Boring, 1944, 1946, 1947). The articles are curious because although they report findings that clearly document the existence of the woman problem within psychology, they are pointedly silent as to the reasons *why* women might be underrepresented, offering little by way of interpretation or recommendations.

As has already been well-documented by both the participants in this collaboration and historians, this silence had much to do with the conflicting standpoints of the reports’ co-authors (see Boring, 1961; Bryan, 1983; Capshew, 1999). For Bryan, gender-based discrimination and the cultural restrictions placed on the most career-minded of women clearly contributed to the problem. Although Boring also acknowledged the cultural restrictions placed on women, he felt it was simply a matter of the facts that prestige required the kind of job-concentration that women were highly unlikely to achieve. Their silence, they later acknowledged, was a polite way of agreeing to disagree on the matter.

In 1951, after yet another provocation on the issue (Mitchell, 1951), Boring wrote his own sole-authored disquisition on the woman problem (Boring, 1951) and another round of responses ensued. Jane Loevinger wrote with a number of concerns, noting that job concentration for women was not only a matter of pulling the same number of hours as men, but that even with 168 hours at their disposal women might still be plagued with less institutional research support and lower salaries than their male colleagues. In response, Boring wrote, “If this woman-topic has impo[r]tance enough to justify letters and publication, it has importance enough to merit clear and un-muddled thinking.” He ended with “I think you are unable to consider this problem dispassionately and objectively” (Boring to Loevinger, August 13, 1951).

In this paper, I revisit the Bryan-Boring collaboration and its aftermath to unpack the uneasy relationships among gender, feminism, and objectivity in psychology at mid-century. The period between the first and second waves of the women’s movement has typically been characterized as a nadir of feminist activism. But more recently, feminist historians have rejected the wave periodization as more obfuscatory than helpful (Laughlin et al, 2010). Johnson and Johnston (2010) have begun to reveal the “unfamiliar feminisms” of this period. They have also noted that “The dynamics shaping the reactions of second-generation women psychologists to gender-based obstacles and discrimination are complex and deserve further analysis” (Johnson & Johnston, 2008, p. 54).

It is to these dynamics that I turn in revisiting the woman problem. In doing so I hope to move beyond an account of the sexism faced by women psychologists and its impact on their careers. Instead, I aim to illuminate the gendering of objectivity by both male and female psychologists, and the effects of this gendering on the progress of feminist critique, a critique that would not come to full fruition in psychology until the 1970s (Herman, 1995; Marecek et al, 2003). I use this analysis to reveal some of the specific rhetorical strategies that positioned objectivity in certain gendered ways, and that served to adjudicate both *what* and *whose* knowledge claims were legitimate.

Although the idea of objectivity and rationality as masculine virtues has a long history in psychology, as in other sciences (Code, 1991; Morawski, 1994), and there are numerous examples of “cultures of masculinity” in early American psychology (e.g., E. B. Titchener’s all-male *Society of Experimental Psychologists*), I suggest that the shifting gender norms of the immediate post-WWII period provoked particularly interesting and complex reactions from both male and female psychologists, not about objectivity as an epistemic virtue in psychology, but about the very kind of thing that objectivity was.

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"Feminism at the Founding: Re-examining Feminist Histories and the Emergence of Women's Shelters in 1970s America"

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The women's liberation movement of the 1970s in the United States revolutionized both the social and the academic world. Histories narrating this moment are today themselves being re-examined for how they recount the story of activism, social change and transformation. This paper adds to these newer critical histories by revisiting "second wave" histories of the women's movement and feminist activism in light of the curious observation of the absence of attention to the place of women's shelters for women experiencing domestic violence. That is, while histories may nod to women's shelters as one marker of the success of the women's movement, often in the context of feminists naming the problem of "domestic violence," little historical attention is given to the founding of the shelters themselves. Some texts made not a mention of women's shelters; others highlighted women's shelters (or at least the founding of what was declared a first shelter) as one of many measures of feminism's intervention into women's lives. This presented a paradox: If the women's movement claims domestic violence shelters for women are one sign of second wave feminism's activist achievements, then why do histories of the U.S. women's movements grant women's shelters so little attention?

By juxtaposing histories of women's shelters as provided by standard feminist movement histories to founding documents of seven 1970s shelters, this paper offers a critical history of the emergence of women's shelters and the place of their history in standard feminist history works. Drawing on theories of feminism, histories of feminism and feminist practices to examine the relationship amongst feminism, the women's movement and women's domestic shelters, this paper asks: How do founding moments of women's shelters provide a challenge to the way feminist historians present 1970s feminist activism? Do these histories imply that domestic violence has been eradicated? What 'truths' about the present are critically engaged by analyzing the history of women's shelters as rendered by histories of feminism and the women's movement? And what 'truths' are critically engaged in by juxtaposing the history of women's shelters as presented in narrative histories of feminism and the women's movement to those told in documents of seven women's shelters founded in the 1970s?

This project proposes that the practice of feminism today, and the practice of writing women's history each need to be questioned, challenged, and revamped. After delving into the founding moments of women's shelters in the 1970s, it is clear women's shelters have been influenced by feminism and, one could argue, that women's shelters were equally influential to shaping the feminist movement. An analysis of their histories, practices, goals, and shifting discourses affords a reexamination of not only a slice of women's history, but also the larger picture of women's present history and the way feminist historians tell the history of the women's movement.

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Psychology in/as Culture

"E. G. Boring's Psychology for the Common Man"

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In 1945, Harvard psychologist E. G. Boring wrote a presidential address to the Eastern Psychological Association [EPA], "Psychology for the Common Man." In it he called for psychologists to speak directly to the public, and to address topics of practical importance. "Psychology is... diffusing into the culture of America more rapidly than ever before," he noted. "Should this process of diffusion be left to chance or should ... psychologists attempt to control it and perhaps accelerate it? What is the responsibility in this matter of those of us here in this room? Or have we none?" he asked. His answer was that responsible scientists must change their attitude toward popularization and public science.

Today such a call would be unsurprising, but Boring had spent decades addressing colleagues and graduate students more than the public. And to his colleagues he promoted basic science and drew a boundary that put educational and clinical psychology beyond the pale. Now he would promote the opposite point of view and become an internationally prominent popularizer of psychology.

This paper summarizes Boring's essay and explores the reasons for the shift in his thinking and public persona in the 1940s. Of primary importance was Boring's experience as Chairman of the Subcommittee on a Textbook of Military Psychology. In that role he edited *Psychology for the Fighting Man* and *Psychology for the Returning Serviceman*. The first of these taught the basics of psychology to both soldiers and civilians. Selling more than 400,000 copies, this brought introductory psychology to more people than any previous text.

As Capshew (1999) has noted, the book project reflected Boring's new faith that popular psychology would make the post-war world a better place. As Ellen Herman has noted, Boring predicted that popular, applied psychology "would increase personal maturity [and] social tolerance" and make the country more democratic (Herman, 1996, p. 100).

Although Capshew and Herman use *Psychology for the Fighting Man* as an example of psychology becoming more significant and socially useful, there is more to tell about that book's creation. No one, for example, has asked exactly why and how it was published. Herman and Capshew note that it was the product of a subcommittee of the National Research Council's Emergency Committee in Psychology. They also recognize that a journalist working for Science Service, Marjorie Van de Water, helped transform the prose of Boring and his chapter authors into text that was readable and compelling.

Missing from these accounts, however, are the reasons for Boring's initial disregard of the Emergency Committee's charge that he produce a college-level textbook for officers, rather than one written at a high school level (or lower), aimed at the average GI. Also, no one has asked why a publisher would be motivated to invest in this book and its successor.

This paper will show the importance of two publishers in shaping *Psychology for the Fighting Man* and delivering it to the public. Penguin Books and *The Infantry Journal* were both money-making enterprises that collaborated on a series of books aimed at soldiers, serialized as stand-alone articles. The book portion of this collaboration followed a model developed by Penguin Books in Britain, which bypassed war-time paper shortages and made profits writing for a captive audience.

The larger context for Boring's turning toward the public is the increased popularity of psychology in the 1930s and early 1940s. This could be seen in the sales of books, specialty magazines, and in the popularity of psychology on the radio. It also seems to have been reflected in the surging popularity of psychology courses on college campuses, including the one where Boring taught.

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“Muzak-While-You-Work’: Industrial Psychology and New Cultures of Listening in the First Half of the Twentieth Century”

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This paper is part of a larger research project on the cultural and intellectual history of background music in the twentieth century. Most generally, it will be an examination of how background music – also known as muzak or elevator music or furniture music – became increasingly prevalent while simultaneously increasingly synonymous for artlessness and even subtle torture or mind control. For the purposes of this paper I will develop the psychological underpinnings of environmental music, towards an understanding of how the goals of cognitive and behavioral psychologists contributed to a new kind of listening. I begin with an examination of nineteenth-century concerns about both the nervous effects of music – the psychological and even physical harm caused by the wrong type or amount of music – and fraught debate among experimental psychologists of the role of musical expertise in the laboratory. These concerns were, I argue, rooted in the assumption of a direct, corporeal connection between the generation and reception of music, usually bound within a single, individual body.

In the twentieth century, as new technology liberated the listener from a temporally- and geographically-bound experience of music, psychologists mobilized this direct, corporeal connection to generate specific musical experiences in individuals. The demonstration recitals and mood change “parties” of Thomas Edison and the psychologist W. V. Bingham provided data correlating a relationship between heard music changed emotional states. In turn, the workplace efficiency studies of the audio engineer Harold Burriss-Meyers – the focus of my talk – revealed a correlation between heard music and changed physical behavior. Burriss-Meyers synthesized European studies of acoustics and sound sensation with his American colleagues’ efficiency studies to generate his own experimental research on the relationship between performance in the workplace and background music. His findings were then promoted as a new source of efficiency in industry. Background music was supposed to make its listener *do* something.

I argue that efforts to implement background music in the work place can be understood as a part of a larger redefinition of shared sonic space in the twentieth century. Attitudes about the use of environmental music from industrial spaces to the classroom to the shopping mall to the limbo existence of “being on hold,” were manifestations of tension between utopian goals and dystopian concerns as well as anxiety about the rights of individuals to aural independence in public spaces. Rather paradoxically, since it also made music more accessible to the individual listener, recorded music, mobilized by industrial psychologists and record companies alike, created a new sound experience actively designed for the lowest common denominator of mass listening. Though initially developed to distract from the (at times legitimate) fears of physical harm of industrial machinery (elevators, the roar of the factory floor, etc.), background music eventually sought to access a very narrow realm of the sensory perception of sound: where music is perceived enough to be consumed and/or acted upon (to reduce anxiety, increase efficiency, encourage consumption, for example) but not enough to be “noticed.”

It therefore also contributed to the cultivation of a new practice of listening I would like to term “threshold listening,” in which music is ignored and yet still elicits an emotional or physical response from the listener. This new threshold listening practice presents broader questions about the definition of music and its functional role – If the function of music was to be ignored, was it still music?

“French physiology’s past and future represented in scientific journalism during the Second Empire”
Sharman Levinson (The American University of Paris)

French Scientific journalism during the Second Empire provides a valuable source for understanding popular interest in political aspects of scientific controversy, especially that involving the Academy of Science. Beginning in 1852, under Napoleon III’s authoritarian regime, the press was heavily censored but critical coverage of science and scientific careers remained possible and became an objet of interest to an ever-growing readership. Through criticism of scientific institutions, writers such as Louis Figuier, Victor Meunier and Louis Fleury were able to broach political and philosophical issues involved in some of the major intellectual debates of the era. Two major scientific controversies during the Second Empire and well known to historians of science are the Pasteur-Pouchet debate on spontaneous generation and the debate on the reception of Darwin in France.

In this paper, I will discuss journalists’ coverage of slightly earlier and less known debates in the 1850’s. In spite of their apparently technical and less obvious philosophical implications, these smaller debates or conflicts are nonetheless significant as their journalistic portrayal reveals latent political stakes. In particular, I will examine journalistic representations of conflict between a “progressive and meritorious” outsider (the physiologist, Charles Edouard Brown-Séquard), and a powerful insider, the Perpetual Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, physiologist and historian of science, Pierre Flourens.

In a prior presentation, I discussed a debate between Pierre Flourens’ research assistant, *aide naturaliste*, Jean-Marie Philipeaux and Brown-Séquard on the function of the adrenal glands at the Academy of Science (1856-1858). I suggested that the outcome of the debate reflected the Academy Commissioners (particularly Claude Bernard and Pierre Flourens’) positions towards physiology as an independent science, rather than their disregard for the importance of adrenal function. The present paper will expand upon the portrayal of this debate in the scientific press. (The press tended to attribute Philipeaux’s work, conducted in Flourens’ laboratory, to Flourens himself).

Brown-Séquard “lost” this debate in the Academy; he was however “avenged” in the press. Journalists gave significant attention to Brown-Séquard’s subsequent victory over Flourens, underlining the absurdity and necessary decline of an authoritarian scientific system in which Flourens held a multitude of prominent positions. In a series of exchanges shortly after the adrenal glands debate, Brown-Séquard’s excision of what Flourens called the “vital knot” (*noeud vital*) was portrayed by journalists as a scientific death sentence towards Flourens. Flourens’ continued work on history of medicine and physiology, his attempt to discredit Darwin, and his re-edition of his earlier work *De la Raison, du Génie et de la Folie* under the new title *Psychologie Comparée* show further signs of his “use” of the role of historian and his institutional power in the last decade of his life and career. All of this is emphasized in press coverage of his career during this last period.

In conclusion, I will underline ways in which concern, both popular and academic, for the future of scientific inquiry was an integral part of the practice of science and would come to play a role in the “selection” of some of the bases of physiological psychology (both the selection from within French physiology and by looking elsewhere towards German and British physiologies). Concern for the future (and its relationship to the past) was especially important in 19th century emergent disciplines in France, where “progress” was judged not only within the Academy and official institutions but also from a growing public of readers of the scientific press.

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"Photographs of Agnosia: Neuropsychiatry and the 'Pötzl Phenomenon,' 1917-1924"

Scott Phelps (Harvard University)

My paper examines a series of experiments conducted by the Austrian neuropsychiatrist Otto Pötzl (1877-1962) on soldiers who suffered brain injuries during World War I. With the use of photography and an instrument called the tachistoscope, Pötzl attempted to simulate the experience of a neurological condition called "mind-blindness" (*Seelenblindheit*), now known as visual agnosia, whereby the patient is unable to recognize objects in his visual field despite the fact that he can still see. By performing such experiments on agnosic soldiers and then normal subjects, Pötzl wanted nothing less than to produce a "neurophenomenology" of vision, that is, to know *what it was like* to experience agnosia from *inside* the patient's mind.

Neither the historical setting nor the philosophical ramifications of the "Pötzl Phenomenon" have ever been addressed. Pötzl, as it happened, collaborated with the leading Gestalt psychologist Max Wertheimer (1880-1943) around the same time as his experiments on agnosia, and, in fact, he may have influenced some of the earliest Gestalt ideas about perception, which at that time were closely affiliated with Husserl's "ego-phenomenology." That it was possible for Pötzl, a psychiatrist-cum-neuroanatomist, to perform psychological experiments on the basis of psychoanalytic theory and a phenomenological project provides a new glimpse at the intertwining threads of medicine, philosophy, and psychology in Central Europe at the turn of the century.

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“The Child is Our Most Precious Treasure’: Child Rearing in Popular Journals of the Fifties in Hungary”

Zsuzsanna Vajda (University of Miskolc)

Attention for women and children of communist regime of the fifties was not empty rhetoric. The emancipation of women was one of the most important aspects of left ideologies which could not be ignored even by totalitarian regimes. In addition women were increasingly needed in the economy. The male work force could not meet the needs of the forced industrialisation. Moreover mother and child have been popular political symbols. They looked wonderful on the cover page of the newspapers, and the image of women with children could be used to humanize the face of a harsh, repressing system.

Dissemination of the principles of modern child-rearing became also a central issue. It was promoted by the fact that in the interwar period there was a vibrant scientific life in Hungary. Among others psychoanalysis and educational sciences had significant representatives in this country. In spite of the well-known historical circumstances there were some of them who came back to Hungary and took an active part in shaping the child-rearing culture.

In this paper I am going to show some important topic of child-rearing as they were presented for the public by really good experts – before they were unveiled because of their liberal views. One of the most popular journals was the *Journal of Women*, which was set up in 1949. The journal – it still exists - became extremely popular very quickly. While there were plenty of articles about the misery of children, living in imperialistic countries we also find advises about child rearing. The latter topic was dealt with in a column called „The School for Parents”, in which experts answered the questions of readers related to child rearing. Respondents attempted to convey to parents modern principles of education: they disapproved of corporal punishment (which had been prohibited at schools from 1949), and authoritarianism. They encouraged parents to talk with their children and to respect children’s personality.

The issue of child-rearing in Hungary in the fifties shows that totalitarian systems are not entirely homogenous despite the intentions of their political leaders. In fact party leaders were not aware of the danger caused by modernization processes that had taken place in the subsystems of the society.

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"Does war Affect Children? Psychological Testings in the First Half of the 20th Century"

Annette Mülberger (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

Once Galton, Cattell, and Binet had made their contributions, the first decades of the twentieth century saw an increase in creations and uses of mental tests. Although there were also critical voices, for many psychologists, physicians, and pedagogues they were seen as excellent means for studying the child. "Test" generally stood for a kind of exam which was supposed to offer an exact and objective value about the performance of a person. In the 1920s and 1930s psychological tests were also designed and used to get an insight into children's capacities and inner life. In the 1940s, however, they started to get used also to evaluate the extent to which the war was affecting psychologically the younger population.

In the present paper I will present an interesting but totally unknown research made towards the end of the 1940s by a Spanish exiled physician Antonio Piñar. In this study he looked for the "psychological scars" the experience of the Spanish Civil War, the exile, and the Second World War had left on a group of Spanish children who were now teenagers living in France.

First, I will compare Piñar's research with other psychological studies done during and after the Second World War in Europe and United States using infantile population. Second, I will contextualize his research by taking into account the situation of the Spanish exiled population of that time in France. Finally, I will argue that the main objective of this scientific publication was to draw attention to the problem of Spanish emigrants and the psychological evaluation of this social group.

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Historia.

"Synanon, Sensationalism, and Social Science, 1958-1965"

Claire Clark (Emory University)

In 1958, Synanon was founded by Charles Dederich, Sr. near Santa Monica, California. Originally an Alcoholics Anonymous spin-off named TLC (Tender Loving Care Club), the group was later renamed Synanon. Synanon's peer-led detoxification therapy attracted wealthy drug and alcohol abusers, and the organization eventually became a \$30 million nonprofit organization with chapters across the United States. Synanon's signature method of confrontational group therapy was briefly endorsed by Abraham Maslow and adopted by the U.S. Public Health Service. In the late 1960s, Synanon shifted its focus from rehabilitating addicts to transforming society; this utopian shift led to its eventual decline. In the 1970s, Dederich declared Synanon a religion and was forced to give up control of the organization after pleading no contest to conspiracy to commit murder; Synanon quickly lost its popularity thereafter. Despite this controversy, Synanon is still credited with originating the American model of addiction treatment known as the "therapeutic community" at a time when most drug addicts were sent to hospitals or prisons. This credit is due, in no small part, to the organization's media savvy. During the years in which Synanon focused solely on the treatment of addicts, the organization attracted attention from notable media outlets such as *Time*, *Life*, and Walter Cronkite's *Twentieth Century*; Columbia Pictures even produced a feature film about the organization. Although Synanon has been the subject of study—and controversy—the visual culture generated by and about the organization has never been systematically analyzed. This paper examines how Synanon's use of news and entertainment media enabled the organization to successfully dramatize nascent concepts in humanistic psychology in order to promote the organization's novel method of addiction recovery. Drawing extensively on fresh archival resources (including film, television, and publicity material), this paper also presents Synanon as a case study that illustrates the dynamic interplay between the behavioral sciences and popular media in the late 20th century.

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Philosophy and Psychology in Germany ca. 1870

The 1860s and early 1870s defined a seminal phase for German philosophy, a transition into the contemporary era. The dominance of Hegel had subsided; natural sciences were making rapid progress, including studies of sensory perception (Helmholtz, Wundt, Hering); the materialist writers were undergoing a neo-Kantian critique led by Ludwig Lange, and laboratory psychology was about to emerge into the intellectual limelight.

In this symposium, three historians of psychology concentrate on three key figures of this time whose work was very influential in the establishment of psychology as a thriving enterprise. Instead of looking at their fairly well-known work on psychological problems and methods, the papers consider their broader interests and influences as philosophers. Professional psychology, particularly in Germany, emerged within faculties of philosophy, and certain features, interests, and problems received attention from German philosophers in such a way that set the tone for, and generated increased interest in, psychological research.

By focusing on particular philosophical issues, these presentations hope to give a broader understanding of the philosophical concerns and directions of German thought during the years around 1870. The first paper looks at one of the most influential philosophers teaching in Germany during this period, Hermann Lotze, in particular his investigations of aesthetics. The second paper considers the philosophical context for empirical work in Gustav Fechner's important treatise on psychophysics. The third paper examines the role that Kantian philosophy played in Wilhelm Wundt's transformation into the institutional father of experimental psychology.

"From Lotze's Aesthetics of Everyday Life to Dilthey's "Lived Experience""

William R. Woodward (University of New Hampshire)

Hermann Lotze (1817-1881) lectured on aesthetics regularly for two decades from 1845 to 1865, with classes of four to sixteen students. Fortunately, a transcription of student notes from his lectures in 1856 enables us to glimpse his psychological understanding of art (Lotze, 1884 [1856]): "the first beginnings of art belong to daily life... Every drive for cleanliness, decoration, order, and livability of the environs rests on the same pleasure in the richness of the harmonious manifold that ventures to tackle higher tasks in the usually so-called 'art.'" He was challenging the canon of classical art with contingency, suggesting that art occurs in many aspects of everyday life and not just in Greek architecture and the epic and drama. In this respect, Lotze offered a view that was later used by feminist aesthetics, in which art and literature begin to focus on social themes of everyday life instead of grand classical themes (Klinger, 1998). I will document here some prominent early steps in Lotze's reception in hermeneutics, cultural history, and phenomenology (Sullivan, 2010; Feest, 2010).

Lotze's *Geschichte der Aesthetik* in 1868 was not an experimental aesthetics, yet it discussed experimental data and offered specific theoretical suggestions. His book treated theories of art, the history of aesthetic concepts, and finally the history of art theories. His actual theory combined (1) sense perceptions and feelings of pleasure that he actually called *Gestalt* (Woodward, 2010), (2) judgments such as "This rose is red" based on his key concept of "state of affairs" or "atomic facts" (*Sachverhalt*, Milkov, 2002), and (3) culturally-conditioned appreciation of beauty expressed as values. Fechner defended his own eudamonism and associationism, arguing that Lotze "makes the beautiful depend on the morally good instead of regarding both as depending in common upon concepts of pleasure as we have done" (1876, p. 33; Allesch, 2010).

Lotze also developed the concept of *Erlebnis* or lived experience in his discussion of Goethe in his book on the history of aesthetics in 1868. Dilthey (1833-1911), then a young man of 35, took over Lotze's distinction between certain traumatic experienced feelings of the poet Goethe's heroes and their later memory of this crucial emotional event in their lives. He coined the term "lived experience" (*Erlebnis*) for such unique personal memories. Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911) became Lotze's successor at Berlin and made this concept of "lived experience" into the foundation of hermeneutics and of the human sciences. William James understood Lotze's approach to everyday aesthetics, notably citing Lotze for the philosophy of dress in his chapter on the consciousness of self (Watson, 2004).

According to Hans-Georg Gadamer (1999), the philosopher who best represents the hermeneutic tradition in mid-twentieth century, the poet and dramatist Schiller represents a turning point between Kant's critique of taste and the present day in that he summoned us to "behave aesthetically." Lotze directed this turning point in two important ways, urging us to behave aesthetically through "empathy" and to specify the content of the aesthetic object. Wilhelm Dilthey's concept of lived experience merged these concepts again. But Dilthey also contributed to a separation of cultural history from experimental psychology. Lotze's positioning of aesthetics between psychology and philosophy held together a tension that has come asunder.

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"Fechner, Psychophysics, and Psychology without Metaphysics?"

David K. Robinson (Truman State University)

Three decades ago, taking stock of Fechner's publications in physics and then his ground-breaking *Elements of Psychophysics*, Marilyn Marshall (1982) challenged the usual view that "after his major illness, Fechner the physicist changed into Fechner the *Naturphilosoph*. ... The *Elemente* was not written by a man who had abandoned physics for speculation but by a physicist who imposed the integrative vision of *Naturphilosophie* as well as the quantitative experimental rigor of physics on the most disparate of processes [sensation]." Michael Heidelberger (2004), an avowed admirer of Marshall's writings, argues that Fechner's efforts to create psychophysics (indeed a general principle of measurement) without metaphysics rendered a viewpoint of "nonreductive materialism" that was inspirational to empirical philosophy, through the radical empiricism of Mach and Avenarius to the logical positivism of Schlick and Carnap.

Aware of the cautions of Burt (1967), that a certain type of metaphysics often guides even those who claim to reject it, this paper will examine Fechner's efforts to avoid metaphysical preconceptions in Part II of *Elements of Psychophysics*, which builds upon measurement techniques established in Part I to delve into "inner psychophysics" and other clearly psychological issues. As Fechner put in chapter 36 of *Elements*, "[W]hat is the nature of psychophysical processes, and on what relations of these processes do the various relations of mental activity depend? The first question is left undecided here, though a general view about it is given in one of the final chapters. ... it can be considered as one of our first formal principles, that what remains valid for all hypotheses can be put forward, while that which remains undecided can be left undecided, so long as doubts about the decisions remain. In physics things have stood long enough in this way with regard to the theory of light and they still stand in this way with regard to the theory of electricity. For what is electricity? Do we simply say we do not know? And yet how well developed the science of electricity already is!" This presentation attempts to flesh out, and perhaps nuance, the early part of Heidelberger's broad narrative of the development of German philosophy of science in the late nineteenth century.

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"Kant's Influence on Wundt's Rejection of the Unconscious"

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In the preface to the first edition of the *Grundzüge physiologischen der Psychologie* [Fundamentals of Physiological Psychology], Wundt mentioned Kant as the philosopher who most influenced his intellectual development. However, in spite of Wundt's statement, we still do not have an adequate understanding of its exact meaning. In fact, at a first glance it sounds even strange, considering Wundt's constant criticism of Kant's ideas. But if we pay attention to the specific context of that statement, it is possible to better understand its meaning and scope. The main goal of this paper is to explain the above-mentioned passage from 1874, placing it in the context immediately preceding the publication of the *Grundzüge*. According to my interpretation, based on primary sources usually neglected in the literature, the intense philosophical studies of Wundt between 1863 and 1874 led him to call into question the theoretical basis of his first psychological project, based on a logical conception of mind, which included the hypothesis of the unconscious inferences. And of the many philosophers studied in this period by Wundt, the figure of Kant stands out. According to Wundt himself, the origin of the whole problem was a transposition of our ways of thinking to real objects – that is to say, some confusion between logic and ontology. Once he understood that, Wundt began to weaken his initial psychological theory until he finally abandoned it, as he prepared the *Grundzüge* for publication.

The paper will be divided into three parts. First, I show how Wundt was deeply involved during the period 1863-74 with questions related to the theory of knowledge and philosophy of science. Then I briefly examine his main publication of this period, *Die physikalischen Axiome und ihre Beziehung zum Causalprincip* [The Axioms of Physics and their Relationship with the Principle of Causality], which has been neglected in the secondary literature on Wundt. This is where Kant's influence can be immediately perceived, since the way Wundt builds and presents his argument is very close to Kant's transcendental dialectic. Finally, I show how the application of this argument to Wundt's own psychological theory will lead him to abandon his first psychological project and embrace the view in *Grundzüge*. Kant was then the main one responsible for the rupture that Wundt introduced in his psychological project, perhaps the most significant change in his thought, as well as his career. It is, therefore, this philosophical transformation that the above-mentioned passage in *Grundzüge* refers to. But this, far from exhausting the question of the influence of Kant on Wundt, is only a first step, which opens many other questions to future investigation.

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Biology and Psychology: Darwin, Freud, Lorenz

“Glorious additions to the menagerie’: the sources of Charles Darwin’s work on animal reasoning”
Francis Neary (Cambridge University)

In the early 1870s Charles Darwin (1809—82) considered cases of animal reasoning in his major works on human evolution: *The descent of man* (1871) and *The expression of the emotions in man and animals* (1872). Much has been written on the role of these cases in the arguments for continuity between the mental and moral faculties of animals and humans and their common ancestry. Many commentators have also drawn attention to the anecdotal and anthropocentric nature of the evidence for the cases, although Peter Bowler has argued that this type of evidence was widely accepted as scientifically credible in the 1870s and 1880s, especially in the emerging fields of psychology and anthropology.

This paper concentrates on the sources of Darwin’s work on animal reasoning to reveal insights into his working practices and his networks of correspondence. When Darwin was working on both *Descent* and *Expression*, he asked questions of animal breeders, farmers, menagerie owners, friends, family members, zoologists, physicians, writers and clergymen. He received replies, detailing examples of animal intelligence in dogs, cats, horses, parrots and starlings. Many of these found their way into the first editions and, after these were published, he received a plethora of new examples from correspondents both known and unknown to him, responding on spec to what they had read. Darwin proceeded to use some of these in the subsequent new printings and editions to reinforce his arguments. Through looking at the letters, Darwin’s annotations and his manuscript notes, and comparing the published editions, the paper will investigate the decision-making process of which examples were used and why. Research into the correspondents will also help to reconstruct which examples were seen by Darwin as credible and what his criteria were for making his selections.

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“From the Eel to the Ego: Psychoanalysis and the remnants of Freud’s early scientific practice”

Martin Wieser (University of Vienna)

While numerous historiographical works have been written to shed light on Freud’s early *theoretical* education in biology, physiology, and medicine and on the influence of that education on psychoanalysis, this paper approaches Freud’s basic comprehension of science and methodology by focusing on his early *research practice* in physiology and neuranatomy. This practice in zoology, physiology, and brain anatomy which Freud became acquainted with at the laboratory of Ernst Brücke from 1876 to 1882 was deeply concerned with problems of *visuality* and the revelation of hidden organic structures by use of proper preparation techniques and optical instruments. The paper explores the connection between such visualizing practices, shaped by a physiological context as they were, and Freud’s later convictions of the scientific status of psychoanalysis and the function of its method as means to unveil the concealed structure of the ‘psychical apparatus’.

“Konrad Lorenz and Sigmund Freud: the historical backdrop to a conceptual relation”

Jannes Eshuis (Open Universiteit Nederland)

Both ethology and psychoanalysis are often cited as important inspirators for evolutionary approaches to psychology (Barrett, Dunbar, & Lycett, 2002; Buss, 1999; Workman & Reader, 2008), because both are important in the history of theorizing about instinct. Obviously there are great differences between the two. While Freud was grubbing up our unconscious roots through subjective analysis, ethology was, in its final form, on the brink of being a behaviourist paradigm (Eshuis, 2010). Ethology, dealt, some exceptions aside, primarily with animal behaviour, while Freud was searching for the character of man. On the other hand both have roots in evolutionary thinking, both deal with instinct and most importantly both have very similar ideas about psycho-mechanical models of human motivation, especially when comparing the work of Lorenz with that of Freud (Freud, 1923; Lorenz, 1937a, 1937b).

Interestingly, also in time and place they are not separated that far. Freud (1856-1939) was intellectually active until his death, Lorenz (1903-1989) from 1930 onwards. This means there is an overlap of 10 years during which both were part of the intellectual milieu that existed in Vienna, Austria, right before the Second World War. It is not unlikely that two have ever met there, especially since both were partially working on the same topic and within a similar framework. Could it be that there has been a direct influence between the two? Or is the similarity between the drive models of Lorenz and Freud just a coincidence of the general ‘Zeitgeist’ in which mechanical drive models were the way of thinking about causation of behaviour?

Strangely enough the primary historiographer of ethology, Richard W. Burkhardt, says little if anything on this topic (Burkhardt, 2005), nor does Celli’s biography of Lorenz (Celli, 1999). Some authors hint at the resemblance and Verplanck has once explicitly made the comparison by calling Lorenz ‘a sort of Freud for animals’ (Dewsbury, 1995; Schubert, 1990). This paper will explore the relation between Lorenz and Freud in two ways. On the one hand it will explore the theoretical relation between them by comparing their psycho-mechanical models, and show how this relation has shaped ethology in its formative years. On the other hand the possibility of a historical relation will be explored as well. The work of both Freud and Lorenz will be analysed for signs of mutual influence, and an attempt will be made to find out if and when the two might have met. In doing so we will try to decide if the initial similarity between both is a matter of direct mutual influence or just a coincidence because both drew from common sources.

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The Psychological and the Anthropological

“Anthropophagy: A Singular Concept to understand Brazilian Culture and Psychology as Specific Knowledge”

Arthur Arruda Leal Ferreira (Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro – Brazil)

At the beginning of Twenty Century, Medicine and the emerging Social Sciences tried to define Brazilian Culture by its racial composition. An example of these efforts is the works of Oliveira Vianna (for instance, Vianna, 1923), representing an eugenistic point of view. This eugenistic and racial point of view was surpassed by the sociological works of Gylberto Freire in the 1930s (for instance, Freyre, 1933). He defended the point of view that the Brazilian identity arose due to the cultural meeting between the Portuguese farmers and the African slaves in the colonial sugar cane farms (engenhos). Nevertheless, outside the area of academics one can also find interesting points of view on Brazilian identity. Varied perspectives are found in the debate between groups of Brazilian *Modernist Movement* in the 1920's. The question of national identity was present in this *Movement*, especially in its most acute moment of politicization, in the radical debate between the *Anta group*, more to the right and the phalanx *Anthropophagy*, more to the left. The core of the discussion referred to the Indians, as the nodal point of this supposed identity. For *Anta group*, the Brazilian culture was defined by the biological, psychological and spiritual mixture between Indian and white. In contrast with this idea one can find a very original point of view on Brazilian identity in the Anthopophagical Manifest defended by Oswald de Andrade (1928). According to this view, our cultural identify cannot be found in any synthesis or messianic mixture, but in the very mixing, shuffling of figures, in the endless loss of any defining identity. “I only care about what is not mine” (Andrade, 1928: 47). So, the Brazilian man is defined “not by a specifically national logo, even if a multiple one, but, on the contrary, by its “phagia”; a principle that makes us never to be the same, but rather an endless succession of finite singularities, always contemporary” (Rolnik, 1989: 257). The aim of this work is to present the singularity of this concept of anthropophagy, and the effects of it: a) in the production of some vanguard movements; b) in the surpass of racial and conceptions, opening space to think about Brazilian Culture in no identitarian terms. Concluding, we propose also to use this concept in a more broad sense, searching to understand psychology as a kind of anthropophagical knowledge. The greatest difficulty a psychologist can encounter is in the attempt to define his own discipline (as Brazilian Culture). His problems would not be limited simply to identifying the objective of psychology, but also to its methodology, its problems, and its theoretical and practical goals. How to define this immense plurality? To define psychology, either we assume a certain point of view and forget others, or we wait for a future solution, certain that we will be unified by that increase of knowledge. Here the modernist concept of anthropophagy could help us by offering an alternative to define psychology not by an identity (either fruit of a today chosen or due a future hope) but by the historical tendency of Psychology to devour concepts (sensation, energy, balance, adaptation, information and so on), methods (statistical, experimental, clinical and so on) questions (how to adapt?, how to explain our sensorial mistakes?; How we know the reality? and so on) and practices (to learn, to train, to manage, to exam and so on) of other areas. In few words the target of this work is to the present historically the concept of anthropophagy and the use of it in some present questions, as the definition of Brazilian Culture and the plurality of Psychology.

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"Of Second Degree Learning and Life Space, or On Gregory Bateson Reading Kurt Lewin and I. P. Pavlov in 1940"

Gerald Sullivan (Collin County Community College)

In 1940, Gregory Bateson began writing a never published book the first chapter of which was tentatively entitled "The Dimensions of Stimulus and Response." He had returned to New York City with his wife, Margaret Mead, from a long fieldtrip to Bali, The Netherlands East Indies, and the Iatmul people of New Guinea in 1939 along with two very dense collections of ethnographic materials (photographs, films, notes-cum-texts in English, Balinese and Iatmul, works of art etc.) almost all of which were sufficiently interconnected that long sequences of activity could be reconstructed. Bateson and Mead's work with these materials would lead to the publication of *Balinese Character* in 1942.

Bateson was something of a polymath (see Houseman and Severi 1998:5 for a brief appraisal). He set himself a series interrelated problems in this chapter and various other associated and also generally unpublished materials.

First, in what sense were the social sciences sciences? Certain of the key concepts in the social sciences were not yet precisely enough defined to be interrelated in profitable ways. Nor was it clear whether these concepts were of sufficiently similar order that the relations between them would prove useful.

Second, what could the psychologists teach the anthropologists about learning that would be ethnographically useful. Learning, like science, was a cultural activity and therefore involved temporal processes which did not end with a single response to a given stimulus. Further, language influenced what could be learned in such a way that an Iatmul savage ("savage" being Bateson's term) could not so clarify the relations between the concepts of distance and time into a single relation, velocity.

Third, different groups of people learned in different ways, that is in accordance with differing patterns of social and bodily relations. This was not primarily a matter of what people learned (though that would differ to) so much as how they learned, hence how they learned to learn. This later, second order relation Bateson would come to call "duetero-learning."

For Bateson, there were perhaps two areas of the social sciences which were sufficiently well developed to be of assistance: the stimulus-response work traceable variably back to I. F. Pavlov and Kurt Lewin's topology. This paper will explore Bateson's thinking, especially his use of Lewin's concept of "life world" as a way to refine notions of stimulus and response. It will do so against the background of Bateson's express debts to Samuel Butler, his skepticism about functionalism and the ongoing discussions in the human sciences about mind, evolution and materialism.

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"Maslow's Betrayal of Ruth Benedict?"

Kenneth D. Feigenbaum and Rene Anne Smith (University of Maryland University College)

During the summer of 1938 year Abe Maslow was engaged in a field study of the Northern Blackfeet. He received a grant-in aid from the Social Science Research Council under the sponsorship of Ruth Benedict to study the "security needs" of the tribe. This project reflected Benedict's long term interest in her concept of synergic and non synergic societies which culminated with her publication of *Patterns of Culture* (Benedict, 1934). It was Benedict's thesis that synergic societies such as Zuni had most of their psychological security needs met, whereas low synergic societies such as the Dobu did not.

Initially, Maslow's as a neophyte anthropologist employed a questionnaire to members of the Northern Blackfoot tribe to measure psychological security needs. However, he soon realized that the questionnaire was inappropriate and began to utilize ethnographic interviews. Scholars have already postulated that this experience had lasting effects upon the Maslow's later development of such concepts as "self-actualization and "peak experience". (Maslow, 1964, 1971; Heavy Head, 2006). However valid this is, the thesis of this paper is that Maslow's anthropological turn disappeared over time and his later work indicated that he did not understand the synergic collective anthropological approach of Benedict but rather misused the concept of synergy to promote a person centered psychological reductionist position mostly devoid of its cultural context.

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“Scaling Attitudes in the Postcolony: Louis Guttman and the Global History of Social Measurement”

Tal Arbel (Harvard University)

The paper concerns the postwar migration of quantitative research methodologies, techniques and tools from the academic social and psychological sciences to state modernization schemes in the postcolonial periphery. More concretely, it consists of a micro-historical study of one such case of migration: the successful domestication of opinion and attitude scaling—a theory of measurement which offered a way to apply rigorous quantification to subjective meaning and mental life, and an associated set of techniques for statistical analysis of empirical observations collected through questionnaires—first developed by American psychometricians Emory S. Bogardus, Floyd Allport, and L. L. Thurstone in the 1930s—in Israel of the 1950s and early 1960s. The paper asks what happened to these experimental techniques and instruments when they first traveled outside of the controlled university setting and were applied to the study of large heterogeneous populations in the “real world”; and what were the implications of metrological knowledge migration for both social scientific practice and political decision-making in so-called developing nations.

The most consequential scaling methodology to come out of the wartime interdisciplinary collaborations among social scientists and survey research experts was the scalogram analysis, better known today as the Guttman scaling method. Developed by Jewish-American sociologist and statistician Louis Guttman to aid in the study of American troops’ morale, the Guttman scale came to be closely associated with the influential ‘American Soldier’ studies, which marked a new era in quantitative sociological research.

After the war, as Guttman immigrated to Mandatory Palestine and became involved in the Israeli State’s nation-building project, his scaling technique, which was confined until then to academic research, gradually evolved into a powerful and ubiquitous administrative tool that enabled the mass production of highly reliable information that was used in guiding policy decisions. Since it required neither mathematical knowledge nor statistical skills, it could be carried out by a clerk and completed in half the time in comparison to other available procedures.

Without getting into much detail about the technical why and how, I hope to show that moving into this new context—which presented great demand for useful social knowledge but proved difficult for psychosocial probing (large heterogenic populations, pressure on speedy delivery of results, improper conditions for research, culturally “inappropriate” research subjects, etc.)—served to push Guttman in a direction of a more standardized, formalized, and context-independent measurement so as to overcome these limitations without compromising validity, quality, and precision. Furthermore, the unusual “social laboratory” situation in Israel also allowed Guttman to experiment with mental calibration and scientific inscription of empirical social observations. These innovations would later travel to other places, adopted both as textbook research methods and practical tools for forecasting and manipulation.

In the decades since its independence, India's system of technical education has become an increasingly integral part of its national identity, both domestically and around the world. Crystallized in the figure of the Indian IT worker, always available to do an "outsourced" job, India's science and engineering universities have figured largely in contemporary visions of development. Lauded in Thomas Friedman's *The World is Flat*, they were commonly deified in India during the massive celebrations surrounding the Pokhran-II nuclear weapons test. Schools of science and technology were declared "institutions of national importance" by the country's parliament, and were given privileged access to both resources and rights.⁵ India's centralized technical education system has proved fruitful terrain for articulating national political projects, whether neoliberal models of how to integrate into the "global economy" or proto-fascist notions of a modernized, "muscular Hinduism." Indeed, the system itself was originally conceived and built as part of a very different kind of political project than those to which it has recently become harnessed. This education network was built over the 1950s and 1960s according to a model proposed by India's Soviet-inspired Five-Year Plans, which sought to direct the country's development toward the twin goals of social justice and socialism. Education was an important area of concern for India's planned economy, since it was seen to be doubly productive of modernity. Education could produce modern subjects, free from the communal, caste and gender prejudices that permeated "traditional" India. It would also provide the skilled workers that an expanding, interventionist state would need to complete its various projects of socialist modernization. During that period of time, technical education moved from being a subset of larger social reform efforts to being uniquely prioritized as a state project.

To effect this rapid, massive reformation of the education system, a number of new tools were developed or imported. New sites of training were established to provide the infrastructure, both human and material, required for technical education. Technical education was granted its own committee within the planning commission, separate from the wider education programme. Most importantly, new methods were devised to both select and produce the "smart" bodies on which the state was increasingly reliant. In 1960, the Indian Institutes of Technology offered the first "Joint Entrance Exam" (JEE) across the entire country. This examination, separate from the standardized tests increasingly prevalent at the local and state levels, was and remains the only criteria used in assessing admission to the Indian Institutes of Technology. Its success provided a model for assessing the merit of prospective students, resulting in an explosion of standardized tests, specific to India, that regulate admission to a wide variety of the nation's institutes of higher education. The prestige of the IITs, and widespread notions about how significantly admission to their programs can alter a person's life course, has inspired a large industry of private education directed towards achieving high scores on the JEE. Many of these courses last three or more years, from grades seven through twelve. Most importantly, the ways in which the JEE sought to square the two aims of India's education programme, technological development and social uplift, has made it, and the multitude of standardized tests that were institutionalized in its wake, a site of extremely charged political contestation. Prospective students from high caste families often go on hunger strikes to protest the relaxed admission criteria the tests maintain for oppressed castes. The Mandal Commission, established in 1979 to both identify castes and assess the progress the state had made in eliminating social stratification, devoted considerable attention to the appropriate balance between "merit" and social reform within standardized entrance examinations.

Thus, my paper will focus on the regimes of testing used to assess admittance to the Indian Institutes of Technology. From where did they import their models, and why? When the tests were revised, why was this done? How did those who devised the tests attend to (or not attend to) the explicit project of social uplift (for girls, for oppressed castes, for the disabled, for the poor) with which they were tasked, however rhetorically? What kinds of personal qualities did the tests enshrine as "meritorious"?

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“A Psychology of Liberation for Central America: The Unfinished Work of Ignacio Martín-Baró (1942-1989)”

José María Gondra (University of the Basque Country)

On the 16th of November 1989 the world was shocked by the news of the assassination of six Jesuits at the campus of the *Universidad Centro Americana José Simeón Cañas* (UCA) in San Salvador, El Salvador. Among those murdered by government soldiers was Ignacio Martín-Baró S.J., a PhD in social psychology from the University of Chicago who at that time was the Vice-Rector for Academic Affairs and chair of the department of psychology at UCA.

Drawing on Martín-Baró's academic papers and private correspondence held in the UCA University libraries, this paper will trace the evolution of his work, from its beginnings, influenced by existential analysis, to his ultimate commitment to the psychology of liberation.

Ignacio Martín-Baró was born in Valladolid, Spain, on November 7, 1942. After attending the Jesuit High School in his hometown, he joined the Society of Jesus on September 28, 1959. One year later he was sent to El Salvador to complete his second year in the novitiate of Santa Tecla, a small town near San Salvador. In the fall of 1961, he began his studies in Classical Humanities at the Catholic University of Quito, Ecuador; in the following years he studied philosophy at the Universidad Javeriana of Bogota, Colombia, and in 1965 received his licentiate degree in Philosophy.

For the next two years, as part of his Jesuitical training, he taught at the *Externado San José* in San Salvador as well as at the UCA. In 1967, he returned to Europe to study theology in Louvain, Belgium, and in Frankfurt, Germany, and, in 1970, was ordained as a Roman Catholic priest in his hometown of Valladolid, Spain. In the following years he combined pastoral work with lecturing and studying at the UCA. After completing his licentiate in psychology, in 1976 he travelled to the University of Chicago seeking greater specialization in the related fields of psychology and sociology.

Upon his return to San Salvador in 1979, the continuing clashes between popular movements and military or paramilitary forces had generated thousands of political assassinations (Whitfield, 1994). In March 1980 the killing of Monsignor Romero and the consolidation of the guerrilla organizations into the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) precipitated the outbreak of the civil war in January 1981. From this moment on, Martín-Baró continued his work in conditions where he was constantly at risk.

Martín-Baró's interest in psychology dates from when he studied philosophy at the Javeriana University of Bogotá. In 1964 he wrote an academic paper on “to suffer and to be” for the purpose of integrating psychoanalysis and existential philosophy in a new “humanistic anthropology.” Drawing on Viktor Frankl's logotherapy (Frankl, 1955, 1957), the essay ended as follows: “Man is a continuous becoming, existential philosophy said to us. But when fate closes us the doors to creation, when life deprives us from the power of fulfilling life values, we still have... the realization of the most authentic values: the values of attitude” (Martín-Baró, 1964, p. 62). Human beings could make sense of suffering by transcending it.

Martín-Baró planned a doctoral thesis on Frankl's writings, but his project did not materialize because of “uncontrollable circumstances at Javeriana University” (Martín-Baró, 1964, March 22). However, the influence of psychoanalysis is clear in his writings of the time (Martín-Baró, 1975), and in his first major book (Martín-Baró, 1972), which has many references to the works of Fromm (1968, 1969), Marcuse (1968) and other psychoanalysts.

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"A Psychology of Liberation for Central America: The Unfinished Work of Ignacio Martín-Baró (1942-1989)"

José María Gondra (University of the Basque Country)

On the 16th of November 1989 the world was shocked by the news of the assassination of six Jesuits at the campus of the *Universidad Centro Americana José Simeón Cañas* (UCA) in San Salvador, El Salvador. Among those murdered by government soldiers was Ignacio Martín-Baró S.J., a PhD in social psychology from the University of Chicago who at that time was the Vice-Rector for Academic Affairs and chair of the department of psychology at UCA.

Drawing on Martín-Baró's academic papers and private correspondence held in the UCA University libraries, this paper will trace the evolution of his work, from its beginnings, influenced by existential analysis, to his ultimate commitment to the psychology of liberation.

Ignacio Martín-Baró was born in Valladolid, Spain, on November 7, 1942. After attending the Jesuit High School in his hometown, he joined the Society of Jesus on September 28, 1959. One year later he was sent to El Salvador to complete his second year in the novitiate of Santa Tecla, a small town near San Salvador. In the fall of 1961, he began his studies in Classical Humanities at the Catholic University of Quito, Ecuador; in the following years he studied philosophy at the Universidad Javeriana of Bogota, Colombia, and in 1965 received his licentiate degree in Philosophy.

For the next two years, as part of his Jesuitical training, he taught at the *Externado San José* in San Salvador as well as at the UCA. In 1967, he returned to Europe to study theology in Louvain, Belgium, and in Frankfurt, Germany, and, in 1970, was ordained as a Roman Catholic priest in his hometown of Valladolid, Spain. In the following years he combined pastoral work with lecturing and studying at the UCA. After completing his licentiate in psychology, in 1976 he travelled to the University of Chicago seeking greater specialization in the related fields of psychology and sociology.

Upon his return to San Salvador in 1979, the continuing clashes between popular movements and military or paramilitary forces had generated thousands of political assassinations (Whitfield, 1994). In March 1980 the killing of Monsignor Romero and the consolidation of the guerrilla organizations into the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) precipitated the outbreak of the civil war in January 1981. From this moment on, Martín-Baró continued his work in conditions where he was constantly at risk.

Martín-Baró's interest in psychology dates from when he studied philosophy at the Javeriana University of Bogotá. In 1964 he wrote an academic paper on "to suffer and to be" for the purpose of integrating psychoanalysis and existential philosophy in a new "humanistic anthropology." Drawing on Viktor Frankl's logotherapy (Frankl, 1955, 1957), the essay ended as follows: "Man is a continuous becoming, existential philosophy said to us. But when fate closes us the doors to creation, when life deprives us from the power of fulfilling life values, we still have... the realization of the most authentic values: the values of attitude" (Martín-Baró, 1964, p. 62). Human beings could make sense of suffering by transcending it.

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metropolitan San Salvador (Martín-Baró, 1979).

During the Salvadoran civil war, Martí-Baró was deeply immersed in the theory and practice of liberation psychology. As a committed scientist, he wrote profusely, founded the University Institute of Public Opinion in 1986, traveled widely, and lectured in most countries of the Americas and Europe (Marin, 1991). In addition, he found time to write the two volumes of his social psychology textbook (Martín-Baró, 1983, 1989), a provocative work aimed at ascertaining the ideology of groups and individuals by unraveling the social interest lurking behind their actions. By promoting a critical consciousness of the objective and subjective roots of social alienation, social psychology could contribute to change the conditions that dehumanized the life of the majority of the population in Latin American.

Unfortunately, Martín-Baró's work remained unfinished just when it began to give its first fruits. But at least his untimely death served to accelerate the process of peace that would put an end to a cruel and uncivilized civil war (De la Corte, 2001).

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“An Elusive Science: Psychical Research in Denmark, 1905-1950”

Jesper Vaczy Kragh (Medical Museion)

In the early twentieth century a small group of scholars and authors founded the Danish Society for Psychical Research (DSPR). Inspired by the first society for psychical research in London, established in 1882, the Danes set out to conduct critical, but impartial, studies of spiritualist phenomena. After the foundation in 1905, DSPR received wide public attention and several scientists and scholars became engaged in psychical research. The most extensive work on the subject was done by the first Danish professor of psychology, Alfred Lehmann (1858-1921).⁶ Even though Lehmann did not support spiritualist claims about communication with the dead, his aim was not to dismiss spiritualism in advance, but to carefully replace what he saw as erroneous interpretations with scientific explanations. He also stressed that the study of spiritualist phenomena such as automatic writing could give valuable insights into psychological matters and shed light on the subject of the unconscious mind. Lehmann's work was not only embraced by Danish scientists, but also by academics in other countries and his four-volume book *Superstition and Witchcraft* (Overtro og Trolddom) was translated into German, Russian, Hungarian, and other languages. DSPR was deeply influenced by Lehmann's sceptical standpoint and only few researchers defended spiritualist views. Psychical research had its heyday in the early 1920s, when DSPR arranged the first international conference on psychical research in Copenhagen. But disclosures of spiritualist mediums, conflicts between DSPR members, and changes in scientific practices contributed to the waning of psychical research in the 1940s and 1950s. Drawing on the archives of Alfred Lehmann, DSPR, and other sources, this paper examines the rise and decline of psychical research and the factors that led to this end.

“Willpower as a Human Kind”

Robert Kugelman (University of Dallas)

During the heyday of existential psychology, Rollo May (1953) had some derogatory things to say about willpower, despite the fact that he championed the importance of the human will. For May, the cultural emphasis on willpower sprang in an overly rationalistic approach to individual action: “reason was supposed to give the answer to any problem, will power was supposed to put it into effect” (p. 50). May's was a criticism of a purely instrumental reason applied to difficulties in living, a reason that compartmentalized life and sequestered higher values from economic and political goals, resulting in a pervasive sense of self-alienation and emptiness. Van Kaam (1966) made a similar indictment.

In recent decades, after the decline of early psychologies of the will (see Bent, 1922), there has been a renewed emphasis on conscious control of action, and so willpower has returned to academic psychology. It has returned in two ways. One group of studies seeks to specify willpower as a psychological category, in relation to motivation and action (e.g., Baumeister, Gailliot, and Tice, 2009). In the second group, lay conceptions of willpower are studied, typically in relation to health, cravings, and addictions (e.g., Stainton Rogers, 1991). Both groups of studies acknowledge the prior existence of the term in the vernacular, in folk psychology. The prior existence of this “human kind” (Danziger, 1997; Hacking, 1999) is the topic of this presentation.

In the mid-nineteenth century, “will power” entered English vocabulary to indicate a character trait much valued and cultivated. To determine what willpower has meant and continues to mean both in everyday and learned discourses, I examined uses of the phrase in the *New York Times* database from the 1850s to 1970, categorizing instances in terms of their uses and rhetorical force. Supplemental instances came from other newspaper databases and related sources. Before the term became commonplace, the poet Tennyson asserted the importance of an ability to will (Tennyson, 1916), and Walter Bagehot its dangers (Hutton, 1877). In

6 Jørgen L. Pind, A tale of two psychologies: The Høffding-Lehmann controversy and the establishment of experimental psychology at the University of Copenhagen, *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, Vol. 45(1), 34–55, 2009.

phrenology, “firmness” (Spurzheim, 1833) appeared as a synonym, as shown by an ad for hair cream: “The brain is the machine where will-power—as the phrenologists call it—or firmness, together with a large amount of brain, are both largely developed, this character does not let the world move him: he moves the world” (“Lotio,” 1868).

The earliest record of “willpower” I have found, predating what is in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, was in the *New York Daily Tribune*, in an article on spiritualism. Dr. W. F. Reh (1852) attended a séance and reported: “at the moment the door opened a singular influence stole over me, such as if cold air were diffused all through my body; my arms and limbs commenced moving about, and this increased, although I exerted all my will-power to resist it” (p. 7). Willpower here meant a limited ability to resist doing something in the face of some obstacle. Willpower also has something to do with “influence,” here from the spirit world.

Willpower could be strong or weak. It was character trait, and often used in contexts in which a person was being praised or blamed. When it was strong, it was “great,” “immense,” or “extraordinary.” Common usages were in descriptions of important public figures in the throes of serious illness, and in remembrances after the death of such a personage, including President James A. Garfield and General Ulysses S. Grant. In the twentieth century, Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin were all characterized in terms of their strong will-power, and so were opponents of totalitarianism. Willpower showed itself in other situations demanding vitality, determination, self-control, and endurance. It contributed to success in the business world and made an individual a leader. Someone with strong willpower could govern themselves and others; they could influence others, bending those of weaker will to their purposes. Both men and women were celebrated for their indomitable will-power. Its contexts included medicine, law, hypnotism, and politics. It was used frequently in eulogies. When isolated from other character traits, it could be a menace, as Thomas Mann (“Mann opens war,” 1937) indicated.

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“Mesmerism and the Making of the Nineteenth Century “Modern” Self”

David Schmit (Saint Catherine University)

In the last two decades, studies of the history of the self have drawn increasing interest from scholars. Although historical studies place the emergence of a prototype of the “modern” self in the Renaissance (Porter, 1997), it wasn’t until the eighteenth century Enlightenment that key contours of the modern self were delineated. Martin and Barresi (2000) document how eighteenth-century British Empiricist philosophers – with their interest in perception, sensation and consciousness – in debate with select Anglican theologians – who were embracing the new principles of natural theology – explored the issues involved in anchoring the self on philosophical and psychological foundations rather than the older, stolid, metaphysical soul. Martin and Barresi call this historic process the “naturalization of the soul.”

There were many problems involved in locating the self on philosophical positions and attendant psychological experience. If there were no underlying metaphysical foundations to the self, how to explain the continuities of memory, identity, and consciousness which must prevail for the self to be projected across life’s situations and across time? In France, a similar debate was underway amongst philosophers and early psychiatrists. Goldstein (2005) explores how the fractious manias of the mentally ill proved problematic for French thinkers struggling to establish the unity of the self, because it indicated that identity and consciousness could split apart and then unify again after the mania subsided.

With the nineteenth-century Romantic’s fascination for natural growth and transformation fueling the change, a wealth of ideas and cultural products were spawned to service the hunger for self-exploration. The public’s embrace of self-reflexive literary works recounting Romantic author’s “journeys of becoming” was one expression of these tastes (Cardinal, 1997). Such a sensibility assumes continuities in the self’s memory, identity and consciousness.

Into this germinal period in the matriculation of the western self, strode mesmerism. It was uniquely positioned to be a player in discourse surrounding these matters. With its empirical investigations establishing the experiential dimensions of the trance, its affinity for naturalistic explanations and aspirations to be scientific, mesmerism demanded respect from many elites and the public (Schmit, 2005). Particularly engrossing were the classic pre-post-mesmeric trance investigations wherein disruptions in memory, identity and consciousness could be experimentally induced. In this regard, Gauld (1992) declares that by this time, mesmerists had already discovered features of the trance which will later be formally demarcated in hypnosis, e.g., alterations in memory (“hypnotic amnesia”), apparent shifts in identity when seemingly other “selves” emerge only to disappear post-trance, and the strange divisions in consciousness, which period investigators called “divided consciousness” (and later termed, dissociation).

Historians have documented mesmerism’s absorption into period medicine, psychiatry, politics, theories of mind, new religions and the occult (Crabtree, 1993; Darnton, 1970; Gauld, 1992; Ellenberger, 1970 Jackson, 1999; Reed, 1999; Taves, 1999). Winter (1998) and Schmit (2005) have written about mesmerism’s ubiquity in Victorian Britain and the U.S. culture, respectively. So popular was mesmerism that it engendered an explosion of literature, packed lecture-expositions, and even instigated new religious sects, all the while raising contentious debates. How the properties of the enigmatic trance challenged the philosophical foundations of the “modern” self has not been adequately explored.

Using period literature and reactions from nineteenth century experts and the public (e.g., as in Elliotson’s *Zoist* 1844-56, and Sunderland’s *Magnet* 1842-44), I will advance the idea that the discourse surrounding the mesmeric trance, and the tangle of questions which ensued reveals a deeper debate about the nature of the “modern” nineteenth century self. Much was at stake, for if these disruptions of consciousness, memory, and identity induced in the mesmeric trance were true, then the foundations upon which the 19th century self was established were far less stable than supporters would like to believe.

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Forming Psychological Communities

"British Disapproval of Fechner's Psychophysics as a Sudden Rejection of Mechanistic Human Nature"

David Seim (University of Wisconsin - Stout)

I explore the period between the 1830s and 1870s in order to reassess certain facets of the place of Fechner's publication, in *Elemente der Psychophysik* (1860), of his idea of psychic scales of just noticeable differences. I offer some reassessment involving three scientific fields, which are astronomy, economics, and psychology. Especially I focus on vision (in astronomy) and taste (in economics) as I look to establish: (1) greater understanding of perception scales (i.e., scales of decreasing psychic impact of increased increments of sensory input) than we have yet recognized among scientists prior to 1860; and, (2) greater awareness than has yet been recognized of Fechner's work around Europe between 1860 and 1872. Collections of scientists who I briefly consider will include: political economists in Britain during the 1830s; stellar astronomers across Europe during the 1840s; and, political economists both in Britain and on the Continent during the 1850s. In addition I am especially interested in exploring a number of quite subtle displays of awareness of German psychophysics among British moral and mental philosophers between 1860 and 1872, with this last year being when James Sully became the first identified British psychologist to explicitly introduce German psychophysics to an English-reading community. I introduce some reasons why British published word about accomplishments in German psychology was at least a small bit cryptic, at least for the dozen years prior to 1872. Economists who I include are: Mountifort Longfield, T.R. Malthus, William Forster Lloyd, William Nassau Senior, Richard Jennings, H.H. Gossen, and Henry Dunning Macleod. Astronomers who I include are: J.F.W. Herschel, Karl August von Steinheil, Friedrich Wilhelm von Struve, William Dawes, and Norman Pogson. British psychologists who I include are: William Carpenter, W.K. Clifford, Henry Maudsley, and James Sully.

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"Psychological Experiments in the Origins of Psychology in Argentina, 1890-1920: Practices, Discourses and Historiographies"

Ana María Talak (Universidad de Buenos Aires/ Universidad Nacional de La Plata)

The early developments of psychology in Argentina were closely related to the opening of courses of psychology, together with the creation of laboratories of experimental psychology, at the Universidad de Buenos Aires (University of Buenos Aires) in 1898 and at the Universidad Nacional de La Plata (National University of La Plata) in 1906. The aims of this paper are: 1) to examine the relevance of the laboratories of experimental psychology to the development of psychology in those years, and the importance the laboratories had in the discourses and projects of the time; and 2) to analyse the place that the different kinds of psychological experiment had in the historiographies of psychology constructed during and after this period, until this day. Methodology: for the first objective, the approaches of history of science and cultural history; for the second objective, qualitative analysis of historiography of psychology. Results: At the end of the 19th century, the different developments of psychology in Europe and in America, assumed the orientation of the "new psychology", as a positivistic science based on experience. The expression *experimental psychology* was often identified as *scientific psychology*. In Argentina, the experimental practices in psychology were very early in relation with those in Europe and the United States, and the subsequent ones in Latin America. In Argentina, at the beginning of the 20th century, the will to develop the new orientation was clear. Therefore the institutional foundation of the laboratories close to the courses at the universities was very important and allowed the institutional continuity and consolidation of the practices of research and teaching in the academic world. However, there was no relevant new psychological knowledge produced in those laboratories. The psychology of this period included many different branches, such as educational psychology and social psychology, whose approaches were not experimental in a strict sense. On the other hand, the first historiographies of psychology in those years emphasized the empirical studies of psychological *phenomena*, involving the experiment between them, or using a broader sense of psychological experiment. The work of José Ingenieros was central in both levels of analyses, although other authors, as Horacio G. Piñero, Víctor Mercante and Rodolfo Senet, were also important in the institutionalization of research practices and in the legitimization of scientific psychological discourses. Later historiographies of psychology constructed a mythical origin around the experimental practices of this period. Recent historical studies in Argentina starting around 1990, have shown more qualified and accurate approaches of the role of experiment in those origins.

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“Psychology as a Progressive Science: The Finnish Psychological Society in the Context of Professionalization and Politicization of Psychology, 1966-1980”

Petteri Pietikainen (University of Oulu)

This paper presents an historical analysis of the journal of the Finnish Psychological Society (FPS), *Psykiologia*, beginning in 1966 and ending in the late 1970s. During this 15-year period Finnish society went through significant changes. The purpose of this paper is to give an historical account of the ways in which those political, social and cultural changes in Finland shaped the FPS and its journal. Professional, scientific and political aspirations of the FPS were difficult to harmonize during this period.

Psykiologia was launched in 1966. The first editorial stated that one of the goals of the editorial board is to encourage psychologists to participate more actively in public discussions in society. This mission statement remained the guiding principle of *Psykiologia* throughout this period. In regard to the attitude of the psychologists towards social and political activism, I identify and comment upon three distinct goals related to such activism that the members of the FPS had.

First, professionalism: the FPS wanted to differentiate “true” psychology from the market-oriented popular psychology, and they wanted to distance their approach from “biologism” and other forms of radical “reductionism”. The goal was to elevate the scientific and social status of psychology. Second, the FPS desired for psychology to contribute to the building of the welfare state and to help educate and support the people with their needs, for example through clinical psychology and research on demanding social questions (the rights of minorities, inequality, the changing role of the family, etc.). Their larger ambition was an overall education of the collective consciousness of citizens. At the same time, the up and coming generation of “psychology-activists” became more critical towards the US-inspired academic psychology, and they began to seek cooperation with Russian and East-German psychologists, whom they regarded as democratic and progressive.

A conflict within the FPS began to emerge by the end of the 1960s: On the one side there was the older generation of psychologists who had attained academic positions after the Second World War. In general, they were the conservatives in the emerging conflict within the discipline. They were oriented towards positivism and the value-neutrality ideal of science, and they had a biological-genetical perspective on human behavior. They considered themselves apolitical researchers fulfilling a strictly academic role. On the other side there was the younger, increasingly left-leaning generation of psychologists. They looked for inspiration in Marxist psychology, rejected “biologism” and saw social activism as a fundamental part of the academic role. This radical faction took over the FPS and, in 1970, the subtitle of *Psykiologia* was changed to “science political journal”. This indicated that the era of “societal consciousness raising” had dawned. For the radical faction, science needed to serve political struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

The third goal of the FPS was more in line with the ambitions of the “conservative” wing. All members of the FPS appeared to agree that psychology was in need of expansion and specialization. As the President of the FPS stated in 1974, “psychological research is needed more urgently in different sections of society in order to solve concrete problems.” In my presentation I will focus on the contexts of these sometimes conflicting goals of Finnish psychologists.

History and Memory in the History of the Human and Social Sciences: Commemorations and the Reinvention of the Past.

Fierce debates about the relationship between history and memory have recently arisen in France. This question which had united French historians around Pierre Nora and his *Lieux de mémoire* (7 volumes, 1984-1992, partial English translation *Rethinking France*, Chicago University Press, 2001-2009), has re-emerged about the history of the French Empire and of slavery. In the last months, it has re-surfaced with the law against the negation of genocides passed by the French deputies.

2011 also saw many commemorations in the human and social sciences, such as the very political 50th anniversary of the Martinique native psychiatrist Franz Fanon's death which attracted a lot of media coverage; and such as the centenary of the psychologist Alfred Binet's death, with heavy agendas in the field of French psychology.

This symposium aims at highlighting the role of commemorations in legitimating disciplines or sub-disciplines in the field of human and social sciences, and in shaping memories. This symposium will follow the hypothesis that, while seemingly speaking of the past, commemorations actually often reflect present conflicts and uncertainties, and therefore say a lot about the state of a scientific field at a given time.

“Archaeology and Local Pride: the 50th Anniversary of the *Société polymathique du Morbihan*”

Nathalie Richard (LUNAM Université, Université du Maine)

The *Société polymathique du Morbihan* was founded in Vannes (Morbihan, Brittany, France) in 1826. At first, it was dedicated mainly to botany and archaeology. However, as the century went on, its interest in botany died away, while research on archaeological and historical subjects became almost monopolistic. Megaliths became the main focus of attention, as shown in the *Bulletin*, published since 1857. At that time, the national and international reputation of this learned society was closely linked to the excavation of the many rich megalithic sites in the Morbihan department.

The *Société polymathique* organized a celebration for its 50th anniversary in 1876. The analysis of this commemoration will enable us to study the link between archaeology and the rise of local patriotism in France, at a time when the Third Republic was becoming more firmly consolidated, and beginning to promote the theme of “little homelands”, which were to constitute a diverse, though unified, and “indivisible” nation (Chanet, 1996).

This paper will follow up classical considerations about archaeology and nationalism (for example Diaz-Andreu & Champion, 1996; Murray & Evans, 2008). Yet I intend to take my analysis beyond state level, in order to study the involvement of archaeology in the rise of shared local pride, which played a crucial part in shaping 19th century French political culture (Gerson, 2003). This paper will also analyse the effect produced by the promotion of the local scale on archaeological practices and the interpretation of remains.

In this respect, the jubilee of a learned society can be interpreted as instituting or legitimating, not a sub-field or a trend, but a local or “localized” version of a scientific discipline.

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“The Proper *Mise en Scène*”: A Sociological Analysis of the 1937 Descartes Congress in Paris”
Vincent Guillin (Université du Québec à Montréal)

Although it is still sometimes disputed that there exists no society without religion, the claim according to which the cult of the dead is a necessary ingredient of the social and symbolical organisation of any genuine human community has become quite uncontroversial. The philosophical community is no exception to that anthropological rule, as is exemplified by the canonical practice of the history of philosophy, which is a manner of cheating bodily death by granting an eternal life of the mind to the key-figures of the tradition by way of the ritual invocation and discussion of their speculative achievements. This kind of celebration, far from being restricted to the epistemological function of providing some sort of doctrinal common ground to the various metaphysical persuasions constitutive of the philosophical commonwealth, also serves as a way of extolling the specific virtues associated with the philosophical life as illustrated by the deeds and commitments of its most representative characters. Synthesizing these various roles, Auguste Comte's *Religion of Humanity*, with its Positive Calendar and its system of intellectual commemoration, testifies to the theoretical, social and ethical dimensions of the act of honouring the memory of the departed who once were worthy contributors to the advancement of knowledge.

With the advent of the professionalization and internationalization of the discipline at the turn of the nineteenth-century, this philosophical “*culte des grands hommes*” turned into a more mundane endeavour with the organization of international gatherings which often used the pretext of paying tribute to a great philosopher to shelter the proceedings of the conference under a lofty tutelage. As has been emphasized by the sociology of knowledge, these meetings were both means of unifying the philosophical community as a distinctive academic body, with its themes, methods, traditions, values and mores, so as to enable it to resist the various threats emanating from the ever-growing imperialistic appetites of the human sciences, of rehearsing time and again the immemorial plea in favour of the necessity of a lively philosophical contribution to a genuine humanistic culture adopted to the needs and demands of the industrial civilization, of taking stock of the prevailing orientations in the field and of providing them with a stage on which to demonstrate their symbolic and institutional dominance, and, sometimes, of giving new avenues of research or to heterodox approaches the opportunity of advocating their relevance, their originality or their usefulness in the context of an ever-changing world.

The 1937 international Congress of Philosophy which was held in Paris and celebrated the three-hundredth anniversary of Descartes' *Discours de la méthode* undoubtedly illustrates perfectly the various sociological functions this kind of event may serve, as has been demonstrated by François Azouvi with respect to the status of Descartes as a national icon, or by George Reisch and others with respect to the constitution of the Vienna Circle as an original and distinct movement of ideas. In my paper, I would like to take advantage of the extensive coverage given to this particular event by the specialized press (accounts of the Congress appeared in many philosophical journals, including the *Revue de métaphysique et de morale*, the *Revue philosophique*, and *The Journal of Philosophy*) to assess the various meanings ascribed to the conference by those who reported on it and to assess the extent to which the various philosophical affiliations and national traditions shaped their judgement. In this last respect, I'll pay special attention to a very intriguing piece by George Boas that appeared in the *Journal of Philosophy*, for it perfectly exemplifies how a certain *ethos* of the philosophical profession might lead to the denunciation of the counterproductive effects of the kind of professional meetings to which the 1937 Descartes Congress belonged.

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“An Anniversary on a Volcano: Celebrating the Silver Jubilee of French Scientific Psychology in 1939”

Jacqueline Carroy (EHESS), Annick Ohayon (Université de Paris VIII), Régine Plas (Université Paris Descartes)

In June 1939, the Silver Jubilee of French scientific psychology (1889-1939) was held in Paris. This international commemoration was organized to celebrate the centenary of Théodule Ribot's birth, Ribot being considered as the founder of the new discipline. Yet above all, it put the spotlight on the year 1889, which marked the centenary of the French Revolution and the inauguration of the Eiffel Tower. For psychologists, 1939 was also the fiftieth anniversary of the Sorbonne's physiological psychology laboratory, directed by Alfred Binet until his death; of Pierre Janet's thesis *L'Automatisme psychologique*; of the first International Psychology Congress which took place in Paris; and supposedly, of the first experimental psychology chair at the Collège de France, which in reality had been granted to Ribot in 1888. The commemoration was organised by Henri Piéron, who had undertaken to direct a historical account of French psychology, of which he was the undisputed master at the time. On this occasion, he meant to celebrate “both scientific disciplines born out of Ribot's efforts: experimental psychology closely linked to physiology, and pathological psychology.” The Jubilee ceremonies programme had been designed to put forward psychological research and its applications, through visits to a number of laboratories. In 1889, Paris had seemed to be the capital of the world, yet in 1939 the event was not the sensation hoped for by its organisers, for owing to international tensions, many of the international personalities invited were unable to attend.

On the one hand, we intend to place this symposium in the national and international context of a troubled era, just before the beginning of the Second World War. On the other hand, we will try to bring out the remembrance, scientific and institutional issues of this commemoration for French psychology, including in its relationships with other fields such as physiology, sociology and psychiatry, and with the international development of psychology.

For although neither organisers nor participants were aware of it at the time, there is little doubt that this commemoration marked the end of an era for French psychology.

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“Leading Astray a Commemoration 1903: Max Weber and the Centenary of the Heidelberg University”
Wolf Feuerhahn (CNRS)

1903 : The Heidelberg University wished to celebrate with great pomp and ceremony the centenary of its reform. Max Weber, who had tenure of the chair of political economy and financial sciences, was invited to commemorate this event. But he made of his text a charge against his predecessor: Karl Knies. He gave up to publish his article (“Roscher and Knies: the logical problems of historical economics”) in the volume, but despite everything, his criticism belonged to a strong trend defending the peculiarity of the universities of the region of Bade (including Heidelberg). This case raises again the question of the territorial specificity of sciences and of the possibility to avoid commemoration.

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“How to Remember a Psychiatrist when he is not a Psychoanalyst? The Case of Henri Ey”
Jean-Christophe Coffin (Université Paris Descartes)

My paper will focus on the French psychiatrist Henri Ey (1900-1977). Between the 1950s and the 1970s, Ey was a leading figure of the French psychiatrist profession. He spent his professional life in the same mental hospital but he gained a large audience among his colleagues. His task was the renovation of French psychiatry and he became the intellectual and moral reference for his profession. His audience was due mainly to his *Manual of psychiatry* published in 1960 and was re-edited regularly and translated in different languages. Many generations of medical students remember even today this book. As a regular member of the organizing committee of the World Psychiatric Association (Paris, 1950, Montreal, 1961) his international audience was larger than many other French psychiatrists. In France he was close to many politicians and he often played the role of an intermediary between the government and his profession. He was also capable to maintain links between psychiatry and psychoanalysis. Ey was never trained as an analyst but he well knew Freud and was close to the leading French psychoanalyst of that time, i.e. Jacques Lacan. Besides he wrote on schizophrenia, consciousness and other important issues and discussed the works of philosophers and epistemologists such as Georges Canguilhem or Michel Foucault.

After his death, it was difficult to hear about Henri Ey. He was dead and not remembered. During the 1990s, some of his works was reprinted and a real posthumous life started for Ey. A “humanitarian psychiatrist”, a “psychiatrist and a philosopher”, “too French to be understood by English speaking psychiatrists” are some of the labelling easy to read about him since that decade.

In my paper I would explore two main points: how to explain his disappearance and the failed transmission of his works. My second point will be on the new visibility of Ey since the beginning of our century? Some of Henri Ey's followers are inclined to explain his disappearance by the concurrence of J. Lacan's death (1981) and by the higher prestige of psychoanalysis compared to psychiatry. Could we also argue that the reappraisal of Ey's works are related to the decline of psychoanalysis? These interpretations will be discussed and criticized.

Most of my comments will be based on the publications from the current *Association Henri Ey* and from the interviews made with some former pupils and colleagues of Henri Ey.

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"Remembering and Misremembering in the Human Sciences: The Vicissitudes of William Stephenson's Science of Subjectivity"

James Good (Durham University)

My contribution to this symposium focuses on the changing fortunes of the work of the British psychologist William Stephenson (1902-1989). With doctorates in both physics and psychology, in 1936 Stephenson took up the post of Assistant Director of the newly established Institute of Experimental Psychology at the University of Oxford and he might reasonably have assumed that a secure future in the discipline of psychology lay ahead of him. And so it proved – at least until just after the end of the Second World War. Stephenson was promoted to Reader in Psychology in 1942 and became Director of the Institute in 1945 playing a prominent part in the setting up of the Oxford undergraduate honours combined degree. He had also served with distinction both as a civilian and military consultant to the British Armed Forces. Yet, following his move to the United States in 1948 he virtually disappeared from the world of UK psychology, publishing only one further paper in a British psychological journal. His important contribution to the development of the Oxford Institute of Experimental Psychology was also not properly recognised. Although his seven years in University of Chicago Psychology Department proved to be extremely productive – he completed three book manuscripts and numerous articles as well as holding visiting Professorships at University of California, Berkeley and University of Washington, Seattle – he was unable to secure a permanent post in Psychology. In 1958 he eventually was offered and accepted a tenured appointment as Distinguished Professor of Advertising Research at the University of Missouri-Columbia where he remained until his death in 1989. Although he never lost sight of his quest to develop a science of subjectivity, this had to take second place to work more appropriate to a school of journalism and he devoted his energies to developing not just a subjective approach to advertising but also a theory of communication and consciousness. After his retirement in 1972 he was able to return to this quest in a final attempt to reconnect with his roots in both physics and psychology.

My aim in this paper is to explore some of the factors that led to the disappearance and eventual recovery of Stephenson's work. These factors derive from a variety of geographical and disciplinary displacements which were a consequence of his move to the United States, especially his failure to secure tenure in the Chicago Psychology Department and his subsequent move from the discipline of psychology with his acceptance of a Research Chair in the prestigious University of Missouri School of Journalism. Since his death in 1989, there has been a growing recognition of the significance of his work world-wide. This increased visibility reflects a variety of disciplinary, intellectual and methodological considerations. His work has been appropriated and celebrated

by diverse groups seeking to differentiate themselves from a variety of orthodoxies: thus feminist, discursive, qualitative and mixed-method researchers have been keen to espouse the merits of Stephenson's Q methodology. As yet, however, there has been little sign of any significant breakthrough in American psychology. Indeed in January 1989 (the year in which he died) he noted that he had just received the first letter of appreciation about his work from a fully-fledged American professor of psychology. By contrast, Q methodology is widely used and celebrated by a diverse group of researchers drawn from the fields of political science, education, geography, economics, ecological conservation, social work, health research, among many others. In the United Kingdom there is growing awareness, especially among more applied researchers in psychology, of the potential of the Stephenson's work. But some of those most fervent in their support are wary of Stephenson's emphasis on the notion of 'subjectivity', suggesting, at least for strategic reasons, that this term should be replaced with the notion of a 'first-person perspective'. My presentation will draw upon unpublished materials from the William Stephenson Archive and from his extensive private correspondence.

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“Commemoration and the Creation of Identities: Intellectual, Academic and National. The Case of the Humboldt Brothers in Germany (19th-20th Century)”

Pascale Rabault-Feuerhahn (CNRS /Ecole Normale Supérieure)

With the creation of the « Humboldt forum » as the most prominent cultural center in Berlin, and the world-wide fame of the Humboldt-University of Berlin whose 200th year of foundation was celebrated in 2010, the Humboldt brothers are more than ever the symbols of Berlin's, and more generally Germany's scientific prestige. This contribution wants to analyze the reasons of this identification of two scholars (and statesmen), with an academic institution (the university), a city (Berlin), a region (Prussia), and even a State (Germany). With this end in view, I will go back over the different periods of the reception of the Humboldt brothers in Germany, taking into account the socio-political changes as well as the changes in the politics of science during the period. Certainly this reception varied a lot. Moreover, it is necessary to differentiate between the two brothers, whose work and significance were not interpreted exactly the same way, within Germany, but also in Germany and abroad.

In doing so, I will discuss such issues as: the choice of tutelary figures, the notion of intellectual legacy, processes of consecration, their function in the creation and affirmation of academic and national identities.

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Knowing the Social

“Psychological Roots of Liberal Citizenship in Spain: Social Political Essayism in the Aftermath of the '98 Crisis”

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This paper is part of a wider work in progress aiming at analyzing the relationship between psychology, citizenship, and liberalism, in the making of the Spanish nation-state. As was argued in previous works, psychology went hand in hand with liberal thought, and was used in Western countries as a tool in the process of overcoming the old, *ancien-régime* totalitarian framework, thereby helping the subject/vassal to achieve the condition of a citizen endowed with a national identity (Rose, 1999; Sluga, 2006). With its own peculiarities, the case of Spain at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries provides an excellent example of this process of citizenship construction (Pérez Ledesma, 2007). Throughout the “restored” regime of the Bourbon parliamentary monarchy (1874-1931), the traditionalist and Catholic socio-cultural logic, which had prevailed during the previous three centuries, underwent a deep transformation (Álvarez Junco, 2001). Now, psychological discourse succeeded in colonizing both public and private practices, and became essential for justifying social reform (Lafunte, Castro & Jiménez, 2008).

In a previous study we went into the citizen program put forward by Spanish liberal intellectuals in the textbooks of social and individual Ethics they authored (Jiménez, Castro & Lafunte, 2011). In the present paper we aim at analyzing another no less crucial literary genre for understanding of the making of the new citizen: that of social political essayism. This particular genre experienced a very fast development in the years previous to the so called “crisis” or “disaster of '98”, meaning the year when Spain lost its last remaining colonies and therefore ceased to be an empire (Suárez, 2000). At the time, many intellectuals concerned themselves with the decay of Spanish culture and society, and resorted to psychological discourse as a clue to understand –and find solutions to– the backward state of their country. From 1900 on, psychological theories and technologies became an inescapable reference to all liberal political essays reflecting on Spanish citizenship.

Although there were very many liberal politicians and intellectuals who wrote on the psychology of the Spanish people in this period, our focus will be on the work of three authors whose approach was particularly psycho-sociological: 1) the anthropologist and sociologist Manuel Sales y Ferré (1843-1910), mainly known for his works on general sociology and his founding of the *Institute of Sociology* in Madrid (Sales, 1902); 2) the philosopher and psychologist Eloy Luis-André (1876-1935), relevant for his scientific psychological studies and his concern for the “social question” (Luis, 1906); and 3) the criminologist and jurist Quintiliano Saldaña (1878-1938), one of the Spanish scholars most deeply involved in the modernization of Spanish legal thought and practice (Saldaña, 1916). The works of these authors will be discussed as exemplars or “ideal types”, in a Weberian sense. Our aim is to show the way psychology contributed to articulating the liberal discourse with the notion of citizenship. Specifically, attention will be paid to argumentations related to 1) government, social

coexistence and citizen responsibility; and 2) normality and abnormality in the spheres of productivity, safety and social cohesion. We will also attempt at identifying those major international authorities who, like John Dewey (1916), gave support and legitimacy to the project of citizen subjectivity promoted by Spanish liberal authors.

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“Harvard Functionalism before Parsons: The Development of a Paradigm, 1927-1951”

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The functionalist (or structural-functional) paradigm, as developed by social scientists at Harvard University, has been most closely associated with the writings of Talcott Parsons, especially his major work, *The Social System* (1951), and *Toward A General Theory of Action* (1951), a volume that he edited with Edward Shils. Edward Tiryakian, for instance, has articulated this view in his writings on “the importance of theory schools in sociology.” In Tiryakian’s view, Parsons was the “founder-leader” of the functional theory school, whose vision was spread, and sometimes modified, by prominent scholars of a younger generation, especially Robert K. Merton, Bernard Barber, Marion J. Levy, Robin Williams and Neil Smelser, all of whom had been Parsons’s graduate students at Harvard.

Unpublished documents and other archival records at Harvard, as well as sociological publications in the 1930s and 1940s, however, reveal a very different story—one that has remained largely unknown to contemporary social scientists. While Parsons focused on his “voluntaristic theory of action,” presented in his early major work, *The Structure of Social Action* (1937), others were already developing functionalist ideas and doing functional analyses. Indeed, a strong case can be made that, far from serving as founder-leader of this intellectual movement, Parsons was a relative latecomer who synthesized ideas from many sources and combined them with his own, especially the concept of “the pattern variables.”

Interestingly, the functionalist approach came into sociology at Harvard partly via anthropology, in the form of a junior instructor, W. Lloyd Warner, who had a joint appointment in the Department of Sociology in Harvard College, and in the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. In the Business School, Warner was associated with physiologist Lawrence J. Henderson, best remembered in sociology for his famous “Pareto Seminar,” who was developing his own concept of “the social system” at the level of small groups. Meanwhile, Warner became the mentor of sociology graduate student Kingsley Davis, whose 1936 dissertation on kinship and 1937 article on “the sociology of prostitution” are both clearcut examples of functional analyses. A year later, Robert K. Merton, then a young instructor, introduced the concepts of “manifest and latent functions”—usually associated with his later writings at Columbia—in his undergraduate courses.

In the mid-1940s, Davis teamed up with Wilbert E. Moore, another sociology graduate student at Harvard, to publish an explicitly functionalist theory of social stratification that became the object of decades of debate. At about the same time, sociology graduate student Marion J. Levy wrote a substantial functionalist analysis of Japanese society, but this document would not be published for another fifty years.

Thus, although Parsons became the most famous proponent of functional analysis, for which he was first celebrate and later denounced, the conventional wisdom about his role in creating structural-functionalism is incomplete and misleading. In a sense, the situation illustrates Robert Merton’s idea of “The Matthew Effect,” according to which already prominent scientists receive greater and greater recognition, while the comparable contributions of others are largely overlooked. In short, there is an interesting tale here that awaits the telling, for which this paper may serve as a prologue.

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"Mark A. May: The Science of Behavior and Human Relations and Social Engineering"

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Although neglected by historians of the social sciences, educational psychologist Mark A. May (1891-1977) played an important role as a participant and promoter of collaborative and interdisciplinary endeavors in the social sciences in the United States during the 1920s and 1930s. An insider within the social science networks and initiatives fostered by the Rockefeller philanthropic organizations and the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), May participated in numerous conferences, seminars, committees, and projects sponsored by these organizations. Of special significance was the role that May played in fostering interdisciplinary social science as the director of the Yale Institute of Human Relations (IHR) from 1935 on. Along such lines, May was involved in important ways in promoting and crafting new perspectives in social science, including the study of human relations, of personality and culture, and a science of behavior oriented toward its prediction and control. He consistently linked such new perspectives to human engineering, to be carried out by such means as education and the promotion of teamwork within groups, throughout his career.

In an important 1929 article "The Adult in the Community," May focused on the integration of the individual into the life and culture of the group. Viewing the individual's personality as profoundly immersed in the social, May embraced the "social stimulus value" hypothesis of the personality. (He drew much criticism for this theory from psychologist Gordon Allport.) May also elaborated the organic analogy vis-à-vis human society in his 1929 article. Arguing that society could usefully be seen as an organism, he stressed the importance of its integration. Thus, alluding to the field of "integral social psychology," May observed, "Its major problem is to explain the phenomena of social integration, that is, how it happens that individuals work together as a whole in teams, communities, societies, states, and nations." Fearful of conflict and social disintegration, May seemed at times to stress the homogeneity of the fully integrated group. Thus, he emphasized that shared culture and conceptions would be necessary for effective teamwork within groups.

May was not a conservative in the traditional sense. He was critical of "rugged individualism" and class and other iniquities within the American educational system. He also claimed to support women's rights and lauded the accomplishments of feminism. (Such beliefs did not seem to get put into practice in the IHR—but they perhaps did, to a greater extent at least, within an important SSRC committee chaired by May. Thus,

within the Subcommittee on Competitive-Cooperative Habits [1934-1940], women such as Margaret Mead and Barbara Burks played important roles.) Most importantly, May criticized the cultural practices associated with competitive capitalism during the depression years. He wanted to see a new cooperative culture replace outmoded competitive practices.

In retrospect, it is difficult to label May's agenda for social science and human engineering as being either progressive or a conservative in an unambiguous fashion. From our perspective, May's concern with integration and homogeneity within group life seems indicative of a fundamentally conservative outlook on his part. Nevertheless, his critique of competitive individualism may still seem to speak to us, especially in light of the prevalence of neoliberal policies in the U. S. and other nations in recent decades. In an era such as ours, characterized by the "fracturing" of notions of collective life, it may be useful to recall—and to assess critically— notions of the social and human engineering advanced by such figures as May. Moreover, if the terrain of the social and the associated techniques of social intervention investigated and championed by May now seem somewhat diminished and faded, it is worth remembering that they are still with us—and that their origins and elaboration are still worth exploring.

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"There's a New Sheriff in Town: Changing Gender Dynamics in Academe and Carolyn Wood Sherif's Rise to Prominence as a Social Psychologist"

Donald Routh (Florida Gulf Coast University)

Carolyn Wood Sherif (1922-1982) was a prominent American social psychologist and expert on the psychology of women. Carolyn Wood Sherif's biography is important in part as a study of how second-wave feminism altered the professional lives of female academics during the 1960s and 1970s. The history of women psychologists in America casts some light on the phenomenon of overshadowing. The first two female psychologists who attained scientific fame were Mary Whiton Calkins and Margaret Floy Washburn, who were the first two women to be elected president of the American Psychological Association, Calkins in 1905 and Washburn in 1921 (no others were elected to that office until after World War II, in 1972, after second-wave feminism had begun). Both Calkins and Washburn were unmarried, and both taught only undergraduates in colleges for women. In the subsequent era of the history of American psychology, it gradually became more possible for women to combine marriage with a career in the field, but this change came about only slowly. A well-known instance of how slowly the change came about is that of Lucy Day, who received her Ph.D. degree from Cornell University in 1912. After her marriage to her classmate E. G. Boring, thereafter devoting herself to the life of a wife and mother. E. G. Boring noted that Harvard professors like himself tended to work 80-hour weeks, and he could not see how a married woman faculty member would be able to manage such a feat. A career pattern with maximum contrast to that of Lucy Boring would be that of psychologist Eleanor Gibson, whose Ph.D. came from Yale University in 1938. Both she and her psychologist husband, James J. Gibson, held endowed chairs at Cornell University, were invited to membership in the National Academy of Sciences, and each received many other honors including honorary doctoral degrees for their independent work on the experimental psychology of visual perception. Carolyn Wood Sherif was less overshadowed by her psychologist husband than Eleanor Gibson. Her situation was intermediate between that of Lucy Boring and Eleanor Gibson. After years of invisibility, despite her co-authorship of the classic Robbers Cave experiment, it was only in the 1960s that she began to receive recognition as a psychologist in her own right, independent of her husband and collaborator, Muzafer Sherif. Her own writings, some published after Muzafer Sherif's health problems forced his retirement, continued their joint endeavors in the social psychology of attitudes and elucidated fundamental aspects of gender, viewed as a sociological category. The rise of Carolyn Wood Sherif's career, like that of many other academic women throughout history, was initially thwarted by a problem of overshadowing. This paper explores the reasons for the emergence of such a woman from her husband's professional shadow.

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Past and Present of Theoretical Psychology

“The “Reflexivity Family” as Critical Systematic Thinking in Behavioral and Social Sciences”

Zhipeng Gao (York University)

In recent decades, the concept of reflexivity has received much attention within many behavioral and social sciences (Finlay & Gough, 2003; May & Perry, 2011), with a number of prominent promoters such like Bourdieu (1990, 2004), Giddens (1984, 1991) and Garfinkel (1967). One significant problem with reflexivity is that it subsumes dozens of categories (Holland, 1999). Are various categories of reflexivity isolated from each other and only sharing a same terminology, or do they have deeper connections with each other? This is the central question my paper explores.

My argument is that most categories of reflexivity are related to each other in the sense they all embody critical systematic thinking. I call them the “reflexivity family”. There are a number of separatism ideologies circulating within mainstream behavioral and social sciences, such like the separation between fact and value, subjectivity and objectivity, theory and methodology, and science and politics. I argue that the reflexivity family challenges these ideologies by revealing the factual connections between the separated elements and by facilitating critical reflection on these connections. I argue the reflexivity family members can be divided into two groups: substantial reflexivities and epistemological reflexivities. Substantial reflexivities characterize the interaction between subjectivity and research, between researcher and scientific institutions, and between science and society. Epistemological reflexivities refer to critical reflection on the substantial interactions.

I will analyse one hypothetical example to illustrate my argument. Teo (2010) develops a hypothetical example that shows how a society can be mistakenly organized on the basis of the earedness of individual, with the earedness implying gender, race and other controversial categories. While empirical study is unable to reveal the mistakes of the earedness society, I will show that the reflexivity family effectively challenges the legitimacy of earedness as the foundation of social order. I argue that the reflexivity family explains how ideologically laden concepts, topics, hypotheses, methods, and interpretations bias scientific research, how they make way through the academic institutions such like university, journal and funding, and how they finally become reified and reproduced in society, creating socially constructed yet empirically supported hyperreality. This analysis demonstrates that the reflexivity family has a greater explanatory power than individual reflexivity.

In summary, I argue that rather than simply sharing a same terminology, most categories of reflexivity are related to each other in the sense they all embody critical systematic thinking. They can be better understood as members belonging to one family rather than being isolated from each other. In this family, substantial reflexivities characterize factual interactions between the ideologically separated elements of science, while epistemological reflexivities engage in critical reflection on these interactions. I argue that the reflexivity family is a useful conceptual tool for exposing and challenging the separatism ideologies circulating within behavioral and social sciences.

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“The Temporality of Reflexivity: Towards a Socio-Historical Diagnosis”

Craig Ireland (Bilkent University)

Reflexivity— particularly when addressed less as a methodological issue than as a dynamic specific to modernity— has persistently spawned debates over the last few decades, as can be seen not only in the work of Luhmann, Beck, Giddens and others, or in special journal issues devoted to this matter (such as those of *Time & Society*, *History of the Human Sciences* and *Theory, Culture & Society*), but also in recent attempts to refine the notion of reflexivity by, say, tempering Giddens’s version of the modern reflexive self with a judicious dose of Bourdieusian *habitus*, (Bottero, 2010) or by critiquing reflexivity’s structural homology with neo-liberal economic policy (Threadgold et al., 2009).

What is intriguing in most of these debates, however, is that unlike many other modern phenomena, such as modern temporality as historicized by Koselleck (1985), or the modern notion of the self as a dynamic of self- realization as addressed by Honneth (2004), reflexivity has not itself been seen as possibly undergoing a fundamental change in the face of various socio-economic and temporal changes of the last few decades. Some tell us that reflexivity merely needs re-invigoration by hybridizing it with Bourdieu’s notion of *habitus*, others tell us it has become exacerbated in late-Modernity, others still suggest it might be paradoxical if not pathological (Fuchs, 2010), and most would agree that reflexivity is a historical issue as opposed to a timeless epistemological conundrum; it nevertheless remains that reflexivity is not seen as itself possibly undergoing a fundamental change.

This paper argues that such a blind spot stems from a failure to consider the link between, on the one hand, the historical emergence of reflexivity, as an organizing principle of the modern self, if not of modernity itself, and, on the other hand, the advent of a temporality specific to modernity (as historicized by Koselleck) characterized by the late-eighteenth-century increased divergence between a revisable past, a provisional present, and an indeterminately open future. Unlike the mere “turning back on itself” or recursive dynamic of reflexivity usually traced to Descartes which—ensconced as it is in a spatial metaphor of mirrors and reflected images— merely perpetuates the non-temporal episteme best described by Foucault as a timeless taxonomic *tableau*, a specifically modern reflexivity in contrast involves not only a recursive dynamic, but also *the changed orientations, dispositions or premisses that follow from such recursive maneuvering*, as can be seen in the reflexivity at work in historiography (where, by the early nineteenth century, as Koselleck puts it, “it became regarded as self-evident that history as world history had to be continually rewritten” [1985: 250]), in post-Schleiermacherian hermeneutics, if not in the very chronotopal structure the *Bildungsroman* — to say nothing of the very notion of future-oriented *Bildung* (self-cultivation). Reflexivity by the late-eighteenth century (and to this day) is in other words steeped in temporality, yet this initial historical link between modern reflexivity and

modern temporality has yet to be adequately addressed or assessed.

To address such a historical correlation, as this paper proposes to do, then, is to set the stage for a more informed consideration of the current prospects – or lack thereof – of reflexivity as an organizing principle of the modern self, if not of modernity itself. After all, if modern temporality, in spite of varying prognoses, has been increasingly seen as problematic—whether this is to be ascribed to temporalized complexity (Luhmann 1998) or to social acceleration (Rosa 2003)—then likewise should reflexivity be subjected to similar lines of inquiry.

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“Experience Becomes Objective Reality in Brown’s and Stenner’s *Psychology Without Foundations*”
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Inspired by recent French philosophers (Serres, Deleuze, and hence by Bergson and Spinoza), Brown and Stenner (2009) propose a ‘Psychology without foundations’. Despite this title, the authors only claim to recommend continuously re-examining ‘how foundations are constructed and reconstructed as a live feature of the phenomena (psychologists) study’. (p.4). So they introduce their own analyses via Whitehead’s ‘process ontology’, because it emphasised ‘activity’ and ‘process’ as ‘fundamental concepts’ rather than ‘enduring bits of matter with simple (spatio-temporal) location’. Demonstrating how this refutes ‘commonsense foundationalism’, and showing how this could have direct implications for psychology, are the goals of their book.

In this, the second of two commentaries on their work, I discuss Brown and Stenner’s invocation of Bergson to avoid the pitfalls of dualism. I argue that they fail to show how their approach is anti- or non-‘foundational’ (in the epistemological sense) because they fail to understand that realism need not entail ontological equivocation of the kind they find in conventional contemporary psychology’s theorising – of memory, for example.

Behaviorisms: Philosophical and Applied

“Psychology Influences on the Philosophy of Mind: an Overlooked Critic of Behaviorism”
David O. Clark

This is a continuation of previous research presented before the society regarding the rise and fall of Behaviorism: why did it fail as a unifying explanation of human nature? This is important because psychological theories lend scientific authority to claims about human nature that then enter into public policy. I assume that Behaviorism was not disproved by crucial experiment because its foundation rested upon widely received assumptions, such as Darwin’s theory of adaptation. Acknowledging the principle of overdetermination, there were undoubtedly several reasons for the fall of Behaviorism. Previously, I have discussed economic history and social trends, and I described the various populations with regard to who benefited from Behaviorism as an explanation of human nature and who was likely to reject it. In this presentation, I present the criticism of Behaviorism expressed during the 1950s by Anglo-American Linguistic Philosophy addressing the philosophy of mind. The focus of this presentation is the British linguistic philosopher R. S. Peters’s criticism of Clark Hull’s theory of learning.

To begin, this presentation briefly revisits historical conditions for Psychology selecting learning as the object of a behavioral science. I will explain why the concepts of purpose and motivation were important for early Behaviorism. Peters based his analysis on the concept of motivation. Peters criticisms that seem new in the 1950s were foreseen and addressed by the psychologist Guthrie decades earlier. Peters’s challenges to a behavioral science, foreshadowed by the psychologist Edwin Guthrie, regarding the usefulness and acceptance of Behaviorism by the American public. However, in Peters’s analysis, the issues were more fully developed. And I will argue that Peters made an overlooked contribution to understanding why Behaviorism failed to satisfy as an explanation of human nature. Although this is a case study of a specific theory, by analogy this research raises questions relevant to the success of psychological theories in general.

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“The Behaviorism of George Herbert Mead”

Sam Parknovnik (Dawson College)

This paper will address the behaviorism of George Herbert Mead on the basis of Gary A. Cook’s take on Mead’s behaviorism in his 1993 book, *George Herbert Mead: The Making of a Social Pragmatist*. In that book, Cook makes three noteworthy points regarding Mead’s behaviorism: (1) it is a continuation of a functionalist position only in another name (p. 68, p. 71, p. 77), (2) Mead came to adopt a behaviorist position in 1922 (p. 72, p. 74), and (3) Mead should have but did not criticize Watson’s behaviorism for adopting an S-R model of behavior in *Mind, Self and Society* which was published posthumously in 1934 (p. 75).

Cook’s first point is correct in the sense that Mead adopted a form of behaviorism consistent with his earlier functionalism, agreeing with some aspects of Watsonian behaviorism while disagreeing with others. It is incorrect in the sense that Mead’s later behaviorism cannot simply be reduced to his earlier functionalism; it came about only by addressing Watsonian behaviorism which postdates Mead’s earlier functionalism and would have been unimaginable without Watsonian behaviorism which forced functionalists to confront methodological questions in a way and to an extent they had not done before (Heidbreder, 1969).

Cook’s second point is correct given what we know now. Mead came out as a behaviorist in two publications in the 1920s, “A Behavioristic Account of the Significant Symbol” in 1922 and “The Genesis of the Self and Social Control” in 1925, working out his behaviorism more thoroughly and more systematically in lectures on social psychology in 1927 (Mead, 1982) and 1930 (Mead, 1934) and “Mind Approached Through Behavior” (Mead, 1936). Together, they constitute Mead’s response to and an alternative form of behaviorism to that of John Watson.

Cook’s final point is incorrect. The rejection of an S-R psychology was inherent in Chicago functionalism and was held all along by Mead, as Cook acknowledges (1933, p. 75); *Mind, Self and Society* (1934) was no exception.

Mead agreed with Watson that behavior, rather than consciousness, should be the subject matter of psychology (Mead, 1925, p. 251, p. 252, p. 254; Mead, 1934, p. 2, pp. 7-8, p. 24, p. 35, pp. 40-41; Mead, 1936, p. 387; Mead, 1982, p. 106). Mead also agreed with Watson that the method of psychology should be observation, not introspection (Mead, 1934, p. 105; Mead, 1936, p. 399, p. 400; Mead, 1982, p. 106, p. 130).

Regardless, in “Mind Approached Through Behavior” (1936) Mead tells us that there are two forms of behaviorism. The behaviorism of John Watson excludes consciousness while that of John Dewey includes consciousness. Mead, in agreement with Dewey, held that we cannot reduce consciousness to behavior, but can explain it behaviorally (Mead, 1925, pp. 256-257, p. 268; Mead, 1934, pp 10-11).

Mead disagreed with Watson’s S-R model of behavior. In *Mind, Self and Society* (1934), for example, Mead held that, though he was onside with giving a behavioral account of consciousness, we cannot do so through conditioned reflexes (Mead, 1934, p. 109). Mead also disagreed with Watson’s conceptualization of thinking. For Watson, thinking is nothing more than vocalization (Mead, 1934, p. 69). Mead held that Watson, in reducing thought to vocalization, was identifying thought with vocalization (Mead, 1934, pp. 100-101), replacing and confusing thought with how we think. Mead had two different metaphors for thought, thought as an inner conversation (Mead, 1925, p. 272; Mead, 1934, p. 47; Mead, 1982, p. 154, p. 155, p. 161)

and thought as internal trial and error (Mead, 1934, 98, 99; Mead, 1982, p. 155).

The final section of this paper will take up Cook's comments regarding John Dewey and James Rowland Angell. Cook tells us that Dewey's influence on Mead was earlier (1993, p. 37, p. 43, p. 193) more so than later (1993, p. 57), presumably on Mead's functionalism but not or not so much on his later behaviorism, and that a critical comment of Mead regarding other functionalists in "What Social Objects Must Social Psychology Presuppose?" (1910b) may have been about Angell (1993, p. 71). Cook's take on Dewey's influence is in need of correction; more probably, Dewey's influence was on both Mead's functionalism and his later behaviorism. Regarding Angell, Cook is correct, but what he tells us is in need of elaboration.

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“The Founding of Applied Behavior Analysis: The Early Applied Research Literature”

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As part of psychology, the discipline of behavior analysis comprises a system and two sciences -- basic and applied. Its basic science is the *experimental analysis of behavior*, founded in the 1930s by B. F. Skinner (1938). Its system is *radical behaviorism*, founded in the 1940s also by Skinner (1945). Its applied science is *applied behavior analysis* (cf. behavior modification), founded in the 1950s and 1960s, but not by any definitive founder or founding publication. We offer the first systematic account of its founding, based on the discovery and analysis of its founding publications. The account comprises four studies whose methods are mainly quantitative.

In the first study, we searched the early applied research literature for the founding publications using the following terms (and definitions): *early* (i.e., prior to 1968), *applied* (i.e., intervention research), *research* (e.g., quantitative), and *literature* (i.e., original publications in peer-refereed journals). The result was a group of 18 articles published between 1959 and 1967, 12 of them in four programs of research conducted by Ayllon, Staats, and Wolf (see Table 1). For comparative purposes, we also searched the articles published in the first volume of the *Journal of Applied Behavior Analysis (JABA; est. 1968)*. In discussing these findings, we address the face validity of our search terms, the content validity of our search criteria, and the external validity of the 18 articles and four programs of research. Their external validity is based on appraisals of the articles and programs in early popular and professional reviews of the literature (e.g., histories) and in later sources (e.g., histories,

retrospective reviews, textbooks, obituaries).

In the second study, we analyzed the publications cited in the 18 articles and four programs of research to discern which among them were founding for them, as well as to discover other founding publications. This backward citation analysis yielded no new articles that met our search criteria. The three most cited were among our 18; the next two reported basic research with humans. The most cited book -- Ferster and Skinner (1957) -- did not portend applied behavior analysis. In the third study, we conducted citation analyses of the 18 articles and four programs of research based on the Web of Science and Publish or Perish search engines. These identified the articles and programs that had the most citations and the highest impact factors, but differences in the citations and impact and in the patterns across them did not unequivocally distinguish any one article or program as founding (e.g., the earliest articles are not among the most cited). For the fourth study, we constructed a Likert-like scale for rating and ranking the quality of the 18 articles and four research programs on the seven defining dimensions of applied behavior analysis (see Baer, Wolf, & Risley, 1968). Although some articles and programs were rated and ranked higher than others, the results were confounded, in part, by history (e.g., precedence in the published and unpublished literature). However, regression analyses of the articles' ratings between 1959 and 1967 showed systematic increases to the point that the ratings were equivalent to those of the articles published in the first volume of *JABA*.

In discussing our four studies, we describe the founding of applied behavior analysis as a process, not the result of any one article or program, although some stand out (e.g., articles by Ayllon and by Wolf). We address the limitations of our methods (e.g., quantitative historiography, citation analyses). And, we close by relating our research and results to the literature on the new history of psychology (e.g., great person vs. Zeitgeist history) and firsts and founders in the history of science.

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The Human Sciences and Liberalism

“Cultural transfers and “Legal Pragmatism”: Law, State and Citizenship in the European Space at the Beginning of the 20th Century”

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This paper has been prepared as a part of a broader research project on the analysis of, on one side, the circulation, production and appropriation of knowledge and on the other, the way in which intellectual transfers between different national contexts are able to be transformed into practical outcomes, such as in forms of international policies. Specifically, this paper proposes to discuss some of the multidirectional cultural transfers between France and Spain with respect to the notion of “Legal Pragmatism”.

The interest in this topic originates from my research on different concepts of wrongdoing –specifically, those present in the scientific discussions about “criminality” studied in my doctoral thesis– that were being held in Spanish legal circles at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century (see Jiménez, 2010). Nevertheless, analysis shows the necessity of contemplating a theoretical and practical framework that goes beyond the limits of the Spanish context (Gilbert, 2008).

The work of Spanish jurists, criminologists and sociologists such as Quintiliano Saldaña (1923) or Adolfo Posada (1926) show that discussions about laws and penal policies of the era were framed by international interest. Several French –for example, Léon Duguit (1924) and André Lalande (1929)– authors participated in these discussions. They were worried about the domination of concepts from “Natural Law”.

This interest would bring about the circulation, production and appropriation of possible alternative ways to deal with the formalism based on “*a priori* notions” which belonged to Natural Law (for example, “intention”, “will”, etc.; metaphysical categories that the modern sciences had begun to seriously question). In some way, the origin of the diffusion of “Legal Pragmatism” –pragmatism applied to the legal domain– should be seen. This pragmatism would attempt to find a possible solution to the problem of “*a priori* notions” through an emphasis on practical consequences, that is, in as much as ideas can modify reality. Obviously, Spanish and French authors were inspired by the ideas of William James (1911), John Dewey (1903) or Oliver W. Holmes (1881) (see Jiménez, 2011).

This Legal Pragmatism not only offers alternatives to deal with the problems of (penal) Law but also creates the possibility of a shared framework to discuss other social and political problems common to different

national contexts: if the existence of “natural laws” inherent in all of humanity and all nations is questioned, where do we find the limits to the actions of other individuals and collectives? How do we decide the most appropriate practical consequences? For who? For what purpose? In the end, all penal discussion implies the question of what is, or should be, the role of the State and the citizen in these matters.

Answering these questions should be, in fact, a fundamental task for the establishment of an International Penal Code, at least in Europe (as we know, we must talk about “Common Law” in the United States). Specifically, the Spanish author Quintiliano Saldaña, in collaboration with other European intellectuals, would participate in the creation of the *Association Internationale de Droit Pénal* in Paris in 1924 (an association that would continue the project of the *International Union of Penal Law, Internationale Kriminalistische Vereinigung*, interrupted by the First World War).

Given this, this paper proposes to study how cultural transfers between the countries cited make a common framework for cultural and political discussion about the practical criteria necessary to reach a consensus on what is just-unjust, correct-incorrect, licit-illicit, good-bad, etc. possible (or not). In ultimate terms, to configure a notion of State and citizenship that allows policy makers to overcome regionalism and the demands of special circumstances and individual interests when thinking about an international penal code. Obviously, my main goal is not go thorough the analysis of international criminal law and the legal arguments used at the time. For this conference, I am interested in highlighting the role played by the Spanish authors in the European society of the early twentieth century and to show how their thought entered into dialogue with other authors –many of them French– about the notion of law, state and citizenship in the European context. I am also interested in stressing the influence of American pragmatist notions on the intellectual exchanges between Spain and France regarding this subject.

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“Genetic Psychology and Citizenship. On J.M. Baldwin’s Progressivism and his Relations with French ‘Reformism’”

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The work of functionalist psychologist J. M. Baldwin (1861-1934) is considerable regarding both the diversity of topics he deals with, and his theoretical ambition. As a whole, his work can be seen as an attempt to develop a systematic genetic perspective. It articulates the different components necessary to elaborate a non-reductionist theory on organic activity. Those components include: a conception of biological evolution based on “Baldwin’s effect”, a conception of ontogenesis which is in many aspects precursor of Vygotskian and Piagetian approaches, a social psychology that highlights the active character of imitative processes, and a genetic epistemology of naturalist character, linked to a kind of panestheticist ontology.

Baldwin developed an intense academic career in the USA until 1909, when he got involved in some adverse professional circumstances. He ended up getting settled in Paris from 1912 to his death. Not only did he enter the intellectual French circles but also, during the First World War, he was actively engaged in supporting the Allies. As a part of this engagement, he published several writings (Baldwin, 1916a, 1916b, 1916c, 1919) where he claimed the participation of the USA in the war and criticized German expansionism as well as its political and philosophical basis.

Baldwin’s political writings have not received much attention from historians of psychology. They are however, despite their “minor” character from an academic point of view, representative of a political sensibility that can be related to his more academic writings as well as to the social and intellectual atmosphere where Baldwin develops his career. Regarding the first link, the internal connections with his academic work, it can be somewhat stated a relation between his notion of psychological subject –whose social and moral dimensions are essential- and the structure of the political ideas Baldwin shows in his political positioning around war events. It will be however the second point, the external links with the social and intellectual environment where Baldwin got trained, where we will focus our attention.

We will highlight Baldwin’s links with the so called Progressive movement in North America at the beginning of the 20th century (Holmes, 1942; noble, 1958; Wilson, 1968) before exploring how this political profile comes into contact with the social, intellectual and political context of France during the First World War. Progressive Era, whose one of the main representatives is John Dewey, was an heterogeneous movement of social reformism nurtured by socialist, pragmatist, nationalist ideas, and so on (Eisenach, 2006; Ekirch, 1973). Progressive’s proposals meant to stop the abuses of political and economical power and aimed to guarantee citizenship’s rights to broader layers of the population. Among his promoters there were sociologists and social psychologists such as Lester Frank Ward or Charles H. Cooley. Although the label of “Progressive Era” has usually been restricted to American culture, some authors are already talking about a “European Progressive Era” too (Rodgers, 1998; Topalov, 1999; Payre, 2002). In this paper, we would like to explore the relation between Baldwin’s American background and his subsequent French “reformist” context, that of the Third Republic.

Be that as it may, Baldwin’s political writings express the result of the encounter of a Progressive intellectual with a reality, that of the so-called “Big War” by that time, which implied the end of the political cycle that began at the end of the 19th century. Through his activism, Baldwin was performing what the Progressives expected from any member of society: the exercise of citizenship through the participation in public and collective affairs.

Finally, we will see how this political dimension of Baldwin’s work may show the relation between

modern psychology and the government policies of the so-called liberal democracies. These forms of government have tried to justify most of their measures through certain conceptions about what a human subject is, at the same time that they have contributed to promote certain ways of subjectivity.

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This paper explores the work of two European thinkers of the 1930s who used “culture and personality” theories to compare Italian and French culture with American culture. Both participated in the international “Seminar on the Impact of Culture on Personality” of 1932-33, a Rockefeller-funded project that allowed 13 European and Asian social scientists to spend a year studying together at Yale. This paper compares the work produced for this Seminar by Leo Ferrero, chosen to represent Italian culture, and by Robert Marjolin, who represented French culture, for while Ferrero argued that American culture was gradually undergoing a process of “Europeanization,” Marjolin came to believe that European sociologists and economists ought to look to America for models.

Leo Ferrero came from a distinguished family of Italian social scientists, for he was the grandson of Cesare Lombroso, the psychiatrist whose theories of criminal anthropology had become world famous. Although Ferrero was largely known as a poet and playwright, he had also published several works comparing the social roles accorded to artists and social elites in different national cultures. While in the U.S. to participate in the Yale Seminar, Ferrero not only read *Middletown* but also visited Muncie, Indiana, the city where this study was conducted. During this year, he became an increasingly sharp critic of the effects of industrialization and standardization on American cultural life. Tragically, Ferrero was killed in a car accident while in the U.S.; even so, many of his writings (including his letters from America) were published posthumously in Italy. By contrast, his seminar companion, Robert Marjolin, a student of sociology who had studied with Celestin Bouglé at the Sorbonne, became increasingly impressed by what he was learning and observing in the U.S. Returning to France in 1933, he switched his studies from sociology to economics and produced several French accounts of American labor policies. In the years that followed, Marjolin maintained close ties to the United States; he also became one of the most important social scientists involved with the creation of the European Union.

This paper will examine the interactions of both of these Europeans with American social scientists they met at Yale, among them linguistic anthropologist Edward Sapir, social psychologist John Dollard, sociologist W.I. Thomas, and political scientist Harold Lasswell. More broadly, it will reconsider these 1930s efforts to understand the contrasting the ways that Europeans and Americans explained culture, personality, industrialization, social class, and the role of the state, and thus to produce comparative transnational sociologies.

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