CHAPTER 11 THEORIES OF PERSONALITY AND PSYCHOPATHOLOGY: SCHOOLS DERIVED FROM PSYCHOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY

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INTRODUCTION

Although they are a highly diversified group of theorists, Erich Fromm, Gordon W. Allport, Henry A. Murray, Kurt Goldstein, Abraham Maslow, Gardner Murphy, Kurt Lewin, Frederick Perls, and Ken Wilber have certain broad areas of general concurrences. Most significantly, their orientations are essentially consistent with the humanistic point of view. Three of these theorists—Goldstein, Maslow, and Murray—together with Carl Rogers and other prominent figures, were founding sponsors of the Association for Humanistic Psychology. The aim of the humanistic movement in psychology is to extend psychological theory and practice into numerous areas beyond the boundaries of behaviorism and traditional psychoanalytic theory. This objective has led to the movement being referred to as the third force in psychology, a term that was instituted by Maslow.

The first leading advocate and perhaps the most consistent supporter of the organismic approach was Goldstein. This approach is an extension of Gestalt psychology that the humanistic orientation favors because it emphasizes the individual person as an integrated, holistic unit. Lewin is perhaps a technical exception to that generalization. He stresses the psychological or phenomenological field, but is not concerned with the biological aspects of the organism. The importance of developmental history is emphasized by some of the theorists, especially by Murray, Murphy, and Wilber; but others focus on contemporary experience and conscious awareness in the present. In some ways, the group resembles the ego psychologists in emphasizing the more conscious areas of personality structure and function.

Another fundamental humanistic concept is shared by these theorists: they hold a basically optimistic view of human potentialities, maintaining that the limited and fragmented view of human beings that characterizes traditional scientific approaches obscures the actual range of human capabilities. Many theorists agree that human beings are largely excluded from areas of awareness that are vital aspects of humanness and that they are living constricted, unsatisfying, and unfulfilled lives. In attempting to reach a more inclusive view of the potential ranges of human experience, some group members are interested in Eastern philosophy and in higher states of consciousness, as reflected in the thought of both East and West, past and present. For those members, such areas as self-actualization, love, joy, creativity, and levels of transpersonal experience become justifiable areas of psychological investigation, as well as major goals of psychotherapy, education, and day-to-day living.

In addition to these humanistic and transpersonally oriented thinkers, three other theorists are presented because of their contributions in other areas. The first of these is Jacques Lacan, who has exerted a significant impact on psychoanalysis, especially in Europe. Raymond Cattell has been one of the pioneers of the mathematical approach to personality theory, and B. F. Skinner's name is synonymous with the rise of behaviorism.

ERICH FROMM

Erich Fromm (1900–1980) was born in Germany and studied sociology, psychology, and philosophy at the University of Heidelberg, where he earned his Ph.D. degree at the age of 22. After completing his training at the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute, he and Frieda Fromm-Reichmann helped to found the Frankfurt Psychoanalytic Institute. In 1933, Fromm came to the United States; later, he became one of the founders and trustees of the William Alanson White Institute in New York City. For many years, Fromm was in private practice in New York and served on the faculty of a number of colleges and universities. In 1949, he became a professor at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, where he instituted the department of psychoanalysis. He was also founder and director of the Mexican Psychoanalytic Institute. In 1974, Fromm moved to Switzerland, where he died in 1980.

Erich Fromm—social philosopher, psychoanalyst, and personality theorist—has been labeled neo-Freudian and a humanistic psychoanalyst. He regarded himself as a dialectical humanist. He retained a strong interest in the role of social factors in determining personality development, and his early writings in particular show a definite Marxist influence. His later publications place increasing emphasis on Eastern and Western philosophy and religion.

BEGINNINGS OF INDIVIDUATION According to Fromm, human beings have been confronted with one basic problem throughout all ages and in all cultures: eliminating separateness, achieving union, and transcending one's individual life.

The overwhelming sense of isolation that emerges as one begins to experience oneself as a separate being gives rise to intense anxiety and a deep need to reunite with self, fellow humans, and the world. The whole process of development depends on how one reacts to this fundamental problem.

Fromm finds a parallel between the developmental progress of the individual and of humankind. Both are seen as beginning in a state of deep peace and belongingness that comes from feeling completely at one with the surrounding environment. That primitive experience of unity is possible only within the shelter of what Fromm calls "primary ties," the protective bonds in which life begins. For each person, such ties lie in the close initial bond to the mother, on whom one

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is completely dependent and who gives care without any demand for reciprocity. The child does not doubt this safety and experiences no anxiety.

The race, suggested Fromm, felt similar peace and protection as long as it regarded itself as part of nature and of all that nature comprises. As the child is initially dependent and sheltered, so Western people during the medieval period remained under the wing of the Church, accepting unquestioningly its answers to questions about themselves and their universe. The primary ties were not yet seriously disrupted. Fromm sees further parallels. As the individual person cannot remain a child forever, so Western people at the time of the Reformation began the painful and frightening process of separating from their primitive unity and moving toward independence. Once the process of individuation has begun, there is no hope of returning to the primary peace for either the individual or the race. The primary ties are permanently shattered. At best, humans can only follow, however grimly, the way to true selfhood. They have become those most uncomfortable of beings: reasoning persons. They must, therefore, accept the fact of their separation, refuse to let anxiety force them to turn back, and continue on to full independence. The proper goal of therapy, as of life, is to help them to meet this objective.

THE HUMAN SITUATION A person is in the unique situation of being partly animal and partly human, aspects that Fromm maintains must be recognized and unified. As a separate person, the human being must accept many bitter facts of which animals are not aware. If one looks honestly at self and the world, one is confronted with two major areas of challenge. The first area Fromm calls historical dichotomies—the many social and cultural tragedies that, being made by humans, can at least theoretically be overcome by them. Existential dichotomies, however, are immutable. Humans are subject to disease, loss, and death. The span of life is too short to allow them to reach their full potential stature, and, however far persons may advance, they know that they will inevitably be defeated by death.

Although humans cannot change these essential paradoxes, they can respond in many different ways. One may, for example, choose to halt the process of individuation, attempting to regress to an illusion of safety in a parody of the primary ties by throwing away the frightening freedom and putting oneself into a new kind of bondage. One will, however, only defeat oneself. The primary ties are no longer available, and escape will merely destroy the realistic hope of true maturation and of using freedom for one's own well-being and for that of society.

The only constructive synthesis is to emerge willingly from one's prehuman existence, regaining the sense of unity on a new and higher level. This emergence can be accomplished, said Fromm, only by accepting separateness, going through the attendant anxiety, and becoming "fully born" as a productive being, finding a fair share of happiness and contributing to society.

A person may, however, be too terrified to accept the pain in which true individuation is born, adopting various regressive strategies in desperate attempts to escape from freedom. In so doing, one may find an illusion of safety, but at the cost of frustrating genuine potentialities, creativity, and, in fact, one's real self. A pseudoself, with pseudothoughts and pseudointerests, will seem to be reality. Genuine human needs will remain unfulfilled, for they can be met only in the freedom that has been discarded.

BASIC HUMAN NEEDS Fromm identified essential human needs that must be met if a person is to continue to grow. These needs include (1) relatedness, a deep feeling of unity with self and others; (2) transcendence, a sense of rising above the animal in oneself and becoming genuinely creative; (3) rootedness and identity, through which one feels one belongs and can accept one's personal uniqueness accordingly; and (4) a frame of orientation, a reference point for establishing and maintaining a meaningful and stable perception of self and the world.

Those needs, to Fromm, are inherent, and no one can continue along the difficult path toward individuation unless such needs are fulfilled. A person must have a kind early environment, however, and a beneficient society in which to continue this progress. As society treats individuals, so will they come to treat themselves and society, for the health or illness of both are inextricably interwoven. Children need external guidance based on what Fromm called "rational authority," which is democratic, modifiable, and willingly withdrawn when the need for it ceases. Such guidance prepares growing children to accept independence, fostering a rational conscience that will direct them to what is human and good, as well as toward the path of individuation.

All human beings are religious in one way or another, as Fromm used the term. He defined a person's religion as

> any system of thought and action which . . . gives the individual the frame of orientation and object of devotion which he needs.

Religion, like conscience, can be either repressive or constructive. In its more authoritarian and immature forms, religion is nothing more than an attempt to regress to prehuman, preconscious existence.

The more productive forms of religion, however, help people to develop their specifically human capacity to reason, to love, and to work productively, reaching a new level of harmony with themselves and others. Fromm sees the ultimate validation of people's religion in the extent to which it helps them achieve a truly productive orientation. Fromm himself does not advocate any particular form of religion, nor does he insist that the term necessarily have theistic connotations. In fact, his studies of the world's great religions have been sufficiently open minded to lead to his belief that the human experience potentially includes what has been called "salvation" by the Christian, "liberation" and "enlightenment" by the Buddhist, and love and union by the nontheistic humanists.

Although Fromm's later writings show increasing interest in transcendence and mystical experience, he offers no specific guideposts. All persons must find their own religion. To Fromm, each person's religion is the particular answer that person gives to the basic question of the meaning of existence.

UNPRODUCTIVE ORIENTATIONS Unless individuals are willing and able to win through to freedom, their fear of separation and aloneness may be so intense that they resort to what Fromm called "mechanisms of escape." Fromm conceives of many such escapes, including withdrawal from the world and engaging in grandiose fantasies at the expense of reality. Although such mechanisms may be of great importance in understanding a particular person, they are not of major significance from the social point of view. Fromm, therefore, lays greater emphasis on three major escape routes that he sees as prominent factors in the context of society: (1) Persons may seek an authoritarian solution, in which they hope to live through someone or something external to themselves. The most obvious form of such a symbiotic life-style is the sadomasochistic relationship, in which persons depend on someone else for their sense of personal adequacy and do not

conceive of themselves as individuals in their own right. (2) Destructiveness, as a generalized attitude toward life, is an attempt to eliminate the source of perceived stress. In this potentially dangerous orientation, persons strive indiscriminately to remove all standards against which they may be unfavorably compared. (3) In automation conformity, persons try to escape from being themselves by becoming as like those around them as possible. Laying aside their own abilities to think, act, and feel, they become painfully eager to live up to the expectations and wishes of others. That escape route Fromm regards as perhaps the least likely to be recognized and also as the most common in modern society.

Once individuals have turned away from freedom, they are headed toward an unproductive adjustment to life, the nature of which depends on the dominant mechanism of escape they have chosen. Fromm identifies four unproductive orientations on this basis: (1) The receptive characters are the passive receivers who seek a magic helper to solve their problems for them. They may seem to be friendly, optimistic, and even helpful, but their prime concern is actually to win favor and approval. (2) The exploitative characters are also concerned with getting things from outside, but they try to take them away from others. They are more aggressive, demanding, and envious and use guile, cunning, and sometimes outright theft to get what they want. (3) The hoarding characters save and store. They are distant and even remote toward others, value thrift, and may regard miserliness as a virtue. (4) The marketing characters are the conformers who, feeling empty and anxious, try to compensate for uncertainty by gaining material success. Their personalities, being regarded as commodities to be bought or sold, change as the situation demands. Fromm regarded all such unproductive adjustments as evil, because in each case they lead to the loss of the person's good and ultimately to a corrupt and vicious society.

PRODUCTIVE ORIENTATION As Fromm believed there is only one basic human problem—namely, the overcoming of separateness and the transcendence of one's individual life—so he saw only one constructive resolution to that problem—namely, the productive orientation. Although he found the potentialities for that resolution inherent in humanness itself, it is achieved only by the productive character. Fromm regarded reaching this orientation as a truly gigantic achievement, and he saw many temptations to regress. Nevertheless, those persons who do not yield to them have the hope of arriving at a true sense of belongingness and of developing the peculiarly human genius for productive living, working, and loving. Productive love is the higher synthesis—the level at which persons rise above the narrow prison of their egos, their separation from their fellow humans, and their basic loneliness.

At this level one becomes mature, courageous, and fulfilled. Fromm believed that productive love, being an art in itself, requires considerable practice. Once this level is achieved, however, it becomes the actual expression of being alive. By this achievement, the intellect and affect of the productive characters are unified, helping them to work for their own further growth and for that of society. Fromm saw a fairly consistent pattern in the development of the ability to love as persons proceed from the narcissism of infants to a sense of unity that is universal in its potential application. He also spoke of different kinds or levels of love that are possible in human relationships.

Brotherly love is perhaps the most fundamental form, inasmuch as it entails a deep sense of caring, respect, responsibility, and knowledge of someone else, and is at least potentially reciprocal. Motherly love, however, is necessarily unequal; yet, it is not entirely exclusive, because it can be made available to more than one child. Fromm regarded erotic love as perhaps the most deceptive form, being based by definition on exclusion, rather than on universality. It is the attempt of two people to fuse into each other and reach an illusory sense of uniting. Self-love can be either destructive or constructive, depending on whether it is false or genuine. If it is selfish, Fromm sees it as actually self-hatred, for it is merely uncaring and self-centered vanity. In the truer sense, self-love and love of others become one, because each is really impossible without the other.

The love of God is the highest form that Fromm recognized. This love need not be theistic, because the term is used in the context of each person's particular religion. This love, therefore, is an individual matter and is as diversified as is the love of humans. At the highest level, love of God and love of humans become unified, just as love for others and love for the self become indistinguishable.

The attainment of that all-inclusive love is seen as the final answer to the human dilemma, giving a new dimension to the human situation and raising humans to their full creative height. Fromm saw cause for profound pessimism in what humans have become, without losing faith in what they may yet be. In a final interview given shortly before his death, he sadly concluded that humankind was, for the most part, choosing wrongly and that

> if we continue on this road, if we go on consuming everything that comes our way, if we destroy nature, leaving our heirs nothing but a destroyed and impoverished and poisoned world, if people continue to be attached to profit, rather than life, and if they continue seeking power, a nuclear disaster must come of necessity.... Almost everything indicates that we will continue on our course and slither into disaster. But I'd also like to say that as long as there is a slight chance in matters of life ... we must not give up ... we must try anything to avert disaster.

Fromm still believed that humans are capable of transcending their destructiveness and becoming genuinely peaceful. He clearly felt that, although difficult, this goal is possible through an evolutionary synthesis of rationality and spirit. Fromm concluded that a new synthesis is the only alternative to chaos: a synthesis between the spiritual core of the late Medieval world and the development of rational thought and science since the Renaissance.

GORDON W. ALLPORT

Gordon W. Allport (1897–1967) was born in Indiana, completed his undergraduate and graduate work at Harvard University, was awarded a 2-year fellowship for foreign study, and attended the universities of Berlin, Hamburg, and Cambridge. Returning to Harvard, Allport taught the first course in the psychology of personality to be offered in an American college and became a major figure in founding the department of social relations, which he chaired for 18 years. He served as president of the American Psychological Association in 1939, and he received the Gold Medal Award of the American Psychological Foundation in 1963 and the Distinguished Scientific Award of the American Psychological Association in 1964. During the last year of his life, he was appointed the first Richard Clarke Cabot Professor of Social Ethics at Harvard. In an evaluation survey of clinical psychologists conducted some years before his death, Allport's impact on psychological practice was rated second only to that of Freud.

Allport was essentially an academician; his theories were based primarily on academic psychology, rather than on clinical experience. Some of his concepts opposed the prevailing scientific and academic thinking of his time, although many of them received increasing endorsement from his former critics. He was always willing to revise his theories whenever he thought it appropriate to do so, was precise and scholarly in formulating his concepts, and displayed an unusual degree of open-mindedness and breadth of interests.

Allport's views have been described as humanistic and

personalistic, and he partly agreed with these descriptions. He preferred, however, to consider his personality theory as an eclecticism that conceives of personality as "a unique and open system." An *open system* was defined by Allport as one in which constant intake and output of energy occur, a system that is characterized by progressive internal organization over time and creative transaction with the environment.

NECESSITY FOR ECLECTICISM Allport held that, above all, psychology should study real people. No area of possible contribution to understanding human behavior should be discouraged or neglected. His own broad interests included work in such diverse areas as values, motivation, morale, prejudice, communication, expressive movement, handwriting, and practical questions in guidance, teaching, and mental health.

From Allport's wide horizon and inclusive emphasis, a psychology that would exclude religion hardly deserves to be called a psychology at all. Although he believed that formalized or extrinsic religion was often merely symptomatic of fear and frustration, a mature religious sentiment he regarded as a cardinal feature of many healthy personalities. Allport called such beliefs "intrinsic," a term he applied to those persons who serve their religion, rather than demanding that their religion serve them. Nor was Allport's interest in religious experience restricted to Western forms. He deplored the narrow perspective that fails to consider the many highly evolved thought forms of the East.

Uniqueness is the essence of Allport's theoretical approach to personality, but he recognized the anomalous position of science in relation to the individual person. Science as presently constituted is able to investigate primarily groups, common areas, broad generalizations, and common laws. Such methodological weakness restricts scientific study largely to nomothetic procedures that, at best, can construct an artificial person and must, therefore, violate personality as it really is. Allport did not deny the importance of nomothetic investigations, and he acknowledged that his own research was largely of that nature, despite his conceptual emphasis on individuality. Allport's plea, therefore, was for the development of more suitable methods for studying the individual person by morphogenic or idiographic techniques, which would be capable of approaching the uniqueness that was the core of personality.

PERSONALITY AND MOTIVATION All human beings have their own unique growth potential, which will never be understood by merely adding up the various ways in which they differ from a purely hypothetical average. Instead, Allport saw personality as what persons really are, the special way in which they work out their own patterns of dynamic organization. The personal formula is never static or complete; it remains a becoming throughout one's entire life.

Allport regarded the self as a central point of focus in the psychology of personality, for sense of self is a person's only real guarantee of personal existence. Selfhood, in Allport's view, develops in a series of stages. The process begins with the early self of the infant, which proceeds through the awareness of a body to self-identity and then to ego enhancement. A sense of self-extension and a self-image are reached in early childhood, followed by a feeling of the self as a rational, coping being. From adolescence into adulthood, the person becomes capable of persistent striving toward long-range goals. Allport regarded those stages of becoming as constituting the "me" that persons recognize and accept as themselves. For that self-as-known, Allport used the term "proprium," a major concept in his theory. Propriate strivings are thought to unify personality and enable persons to maintain integrity of functioning.

Traits, in Allport's system, are not only the chief unit of personality structure but also the major dynamic source of human motivation. He made several assumptions regarding traits and ascribed certain specific characteristics to them as follows. A *trait* has actual existence. It is more generalized than a habit and is dynamic or, at least, determinative in behavior. It is neither independent of other traits nor synonymous with moral or social judgments. It can be seen within a person or distributed in a population. Finally, it cannot be disproved by acts or habits that are inconsistent with it.

Allport drew up this list early in his career and did not substantially change it. As his theories developed, however, the term "traits" was reserved for what he later called "common traits," those that characterize people in the same culture, while "personal dispositions" came to be the term used for individual characteristics. Allport distinguished three major levels of such dispositions. In descending order of potency, these levels are cardinal, central, and secondary. According to Allport, such personal dispositions are the essence of personality, because they represent "unique patterned individuality."

Functional autonomy, through which dispositions are maintained, is probably Allport's most original, best-known, and most controversial theoretical construct. For Allport, whatever makes a person act must be operating now; therefore, adults cannot be said to act as they did when children. Functional autonomy includes all present motives that seek new goals—continuous, perhaps, with the past, but not dependent on it or explained by it. Contemporary motivation looks ahead, rather than back, and it represents the essential core of purposive behavior. The concept of functional autonomy allows for the concrete uniqueness of personal motives on which Allport insisted. At the same time, it also permits the emergence of the varied and self-sustaining motivational systems that characterize adult behavior. The concept first met with considerable adverse criticism, because its emphasis on contemporary motivation was antithetical to orthodox psychoanalysis. The same concept, however, foreshadowed certain theories of psychoanalytic ego psychologists.

Allport also recognized, in addition to traits, a wide range of motives, including interests, abilities, intentions, plans, habits, and attitudes. He further accepted certain lower order self-sustaining systems, such as addictions, routines, and various other types of essentially repetitive behavior patterns. Although these kinds of behavior may be necessary for efficient living, Allport hardly regarded them as sufficient to account for the actual nature of humans. For that purpose he emphasized, especially in mature, healthy adults, the role of propriate functional autonomy, the higher order motives that contribute to the organization of a person's total posture.

Allport did not, however, regard the mentally ill as necessarily without functional autonomy. In an interesting distinction, he maintained that maladaptation may sometimes become so tightly structured and firmly entrenched that it actually represents the person's style of life. In that event, Allport regarded the illness as an acquired and functionally autonomous motivational system with contemporary meaning to the person in its own right. Such a system, in Allport's view, is probably not amenable to so-called depth analysis. He also believed, however, that in cases where the person's maladaptive life-style had not achieved functional autonomy, then the illness may yield to conventional therapeutic procedures.

MATURE PERSONALITY Allport recognized the difficulties of defining a mature or healthy or even normal personality.

He did, however, identify several specific criteria that he felt—in American culture, at least—can be said to characterize maturity. For example, the mature person in Allport's view has a greatly extended sense of self and can relate warmly to others in both intimate and casual relationships. Such persons are emotionally secure, accepting of others, and aware of outer reality in their thinking, perceiving, and acting. They have zest, enthusiasm, insight, and humor and have achieved a sufficiently unified philosophy of life to use it in directing their living harmoniously. Allport stressed the vital importance of directing human development along those lines from infancy through old age, and also in psychotherapy, for the uniqueness of each person remains throughout life.

Allport saw no inherent reason in basic behavior patterns for the loss of the mutuality and cooperativeness that he regarded as the natural human state. In fact, Allport regarded the positive aspects of human behavior as so dominant that one would have to grossly distort the data in order to give alleged aggressive instincts equal footing. It is, therefore, the proper function of psychology, psychotherapy, and education to work toward their common goal of fostering the kind of human progress that enables people to work cooperatively, rather than competitively, with each other.

HENRY A. MURRAY

Henry A. Murray was born in New York in 1893 and received an M.D. degree from the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University. After 2 years of research in embryology at the Rockefeller Institute, he went to England and was awarded a Ph.D. in biochemistry from Cambridge University. Becoming increasingly convinced of the importance of psychology, he returned to the United States as an instructor at the newly founded Harvard Psychological Clinic and later became its director. Murray practiced psychoanalysis and became one of the founders of the Boston Psychoanalytic Society. He joined the Army Medical Corps in World War II, instituting a comprehensive assessment program for the Office of Strategic Services, for which he was awarded the Legion of Merit. After the war, he joined the department of social relations at Harvard, where he set up the psychological clinic annex for personality study. He received the Distinguished Scientific Award and the Gold Medal Award of the American Psychological Foundation and retired as professor emeritus in 1962.

Murray proposed the term "personology" for the study of personality. He used this term to describe the branch of psychology that is primarily concerned with the study of human lives and the factors that influence their course. Inasmuch as personology is the science of humans, Murray considered it the most inclusive area of psychology, other branches being essentially special areas within it. The ultimate aim of the personologist is regarded as 3-fold: to construct a theory of personality, to devise suitable techniques for studying its more important attributes, and to discover its basic facts through careful and extensive investigations of actual human lives.

SCOPE OF PERSONOLOGY Murray always advocated interdisciplinary personality studies and accepted a wide range of approaches. He preferred to emphasize new areas because he saw no need to concentrate on those areas already crowded with competent investigators. He was quite willing, however, to use existing constructs in his theoretical formulations, although typically he added some ideas of his own. Murray was among the first personality theorists to bring psychoanalytic concepts into academic psychology. Although it was the impact of Jung that first turned Murray's interest to psychology, Freud's influence on his thinking is more apparent. Murray included several classical Freudian concepts in his own developmental theory, along with some additional categories. A strong Freudian emphasis can also be seen in his stress on the importance of the past in understanding the present, although he did not neglect the present or fail to consider the role of future-oriented processes. Intention was, in fact, of increasing importance in his thinking, and he emphasized that no term or concept that exists in psychology is more powerful than the concept of intention.

Murray stressed the physiological substrate of personality in his own thinking, but never approached psychological phenomena through reduction. Interpersonal, intrapersonal, and impersonal forces were all of concern to him. He recognized the value of the case history approach and wrote his own autobiographical statement as a case study of himself. He developed a number of special evaluation techniques designed to study both unconscious and conscious psychological processes. Without forgetting the importance of the individual person, he recognized the need for investigating the common areas of human behavior. He was interested in health, as well as sickness, and one of his stated aims was to furnish a health-oriented continuation or extension of Freud's illness-oriented system. Organismic, Gestalt, and field theories were given full recognition. Among his better-known contributions are his careful lists of the more important determinants of personality functioning as he saw it.

Over-all, Murray's work is a combination of the boldly adventurous and the extremely cautious and precise. He objected to what he regarded as premature scientific rigor and did not hesitate to enter into fresh territory and to break new ground. His interests included such diverse areas as dyadic interaction, creativity, imagination, the abolition of warfare, and the possibility of a world state. He edited a book on mythology and undertook an extensive study of Melville's *Moby Dick*. Along with other eminent scientists, Murray became a founder of the Institute of Religion in an Age of Science, and he envisioned a religion that would be compatible with science.

DEFINITION OF PERSONALITY Murray viewed *personality* as a hypothetical structure of the mind, including those consistent internal and external proceedings that constitute a person's life. Personality is hypothetical because it can perhaps be inferred from the facts of a person's life, but still transcends them all. It is manifested repeatedly because, although it is constantly changing, it also has recognizable features that persist over time. The term "proceedings" refers to units of time during which persons attend to either the internal or the external circumstances of their lives. When they engage in internal proceedings, they are focusing on inner-oriented mental processes, such as feelings, fantasies, judgments, anticipations, and intentions. When their attention turns to external proceedings, they are occupied in coping with the environment. *Serials* are series of proceedings, related to each other but separate in time, that permit the pursuit of long-range goals. Murray saw each person as continually planning and arranging schedules for achieving those goals and setting up serial programs, sequences of subgoals, which serve as steps along the way.

Murray also saw persons as constantly pressured by conflicting internal and external demands, so that throughout their lives they must give up, as well as take for themselves. Murray, therefore, regarded personality as a compromise formation resulting from the inevitable conflict between a person's own desires and impulses and the feelings of others. Personality is made up of integrated and interdependent processes, functionally inseparable and always operating as a whole. That unity, Murray maintained, is possible only because the processes of personality refer to organizations in the brain, without which personality could not exist. In Murray's terms, the

brain is regnant, and regnant processes, whether conscious or unconscious, underlie all psychological functions.

DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY Murray held an essentially Freudian picture of personality development, conceiving of certain specific mental structures thought to arise sequentially. The three childhood stages that he identified are Freudian in both name and general conception, although with several notable alterations. The *id* remains the source of energy and the reservoir of unacceptable impulses. In Murray's view, however, the id also contains some acceptable and constructive impulses. Not only is the *ego* a repressor and an inhibitor, but it also has energy of its own and helps some of the id drives find suitable expression. The *superego,* although still the internal regulator of behavior derived from early experiences, can be significantly changed later by peer group and other influences, including those associated with literary, historical, and mythological characters with whom the person identifies. Murray's ego ideal, which is associated with the superego, consists of all the various self-images that represent persons at their very best. In healthy development, Murray sees those three structures changing in relative dominance as the personality unfolds, the id losing its original preeminence, first to the superego and later to the ego.

Murray also identified certain relatively specific temporal sequences in childhood that, in many ways, resemble the Freudian view of psychosexual development. Oral, anal, and phallic states closely resemble their Freudian counterparts, although Murray's stages are somewhat more broadly interpreted. He also introduced two further stages, the claustral and the urethral. The *claustral stage* is the tranquil state of prenatal existence, and the *urethral stage,* which falls between the oral and the anal stages developmentally, involves the pleasurable sensations associated with urethral eroticism. If children are too deprived at any particular stage or lack sufficient impetus to go ahead, Murray saw the possibility of a fixation in much the Freudian sense. Although some amount of fixation is considered normal and even inevitable, overly strong fixations may lead to complexes, later inducing adults to strive for enjoyments more suited to earlier periods of their lives.

Murray evolved a character typology based on the predominant developmental influence in the person's life, again following Freud. He did, however, include two further character types associated with the additional stages that he introduced. The *claustral complex* tends to produce a passive, dependent personality development, with prominent withdrawal tendencies. The *urethral complex,* however, results in an overly ambitious, strongly narcissistic adult, with a prominent concern for achieving immortality. The urethral complex is also called the Icarus complex because the legend of Icarus symbolizes many of the hypothesized urethral characteristics.

THEORY OF MOTIVATION A primary concept in Murray's theory of motivation is the need. The *need* represents a force in the brain that can be aroused by either internal or external stimulation. Once aroused, it produces continued activity until it is reduced or satisfied. Murray did not, however, believe that need-tension reduction is the chief purpose of living except, perhaps, in the case of the excessively conflict-ridden or overly anxious person. Rather, he felt that, under normal circumstances, it is the process of tension reduction that is the most satisfying condition. A major goal of personality functioning is, therefore, to reach states in which reducing tension is possible, and the person may actually seek out arousal in order to experience this tension reduction.

Murray experimented with various lists of needs in his continuing efforts at greater precision. In one such system, he distinguished between activity and effect needs; activity needs are directed toward activity for its own sake and effect needs are directed toward the goal to be achieved. He also worked out a classification involving mental, viscerogenic, and sociorelational needs, the mental arising from the character of the human mind, the viscerogenic from properties of physiological tissues, and the sociorelational from the human being's inherent social nature. Murray also added creative needs, which promote novel and productive activities, as opposed to negative needs, which induce avoidance of the unpleasant or undesirable. A further distinction was made between proactive needs, those arising within the person, and reactive needs, those induced by environmental factors. The emphasis on humans as proactive beings removes them from being merely acted on and gives them a substantial role in their own destiny.

Murray never abandoned his stress on the importance of needs but, dissatisfied with his early efforts in this respect, later attempted to retain the essentials of his need concept through the use of a value-vector schema. The purpose of that approach was to portray simultaneously what persons see as important in a situation, together with what they do to achieve it. The vectors are used to show the direction of each person's behavior, and the values represent what the person holds in esteem.

Needs must be triggered, and Murray found the source of need arousal in his concept of press. A *press* is seen as a force in the environment that, whether real or perceived, has the capacity to arouse need tension in the person. Murray drew up lists of press intended for use in specific contexts. Perhaps his most important distinction, however, was between α-press, those aspects of an object or situation that reflect what it really is, and β-press, which is the force of the object or situation as the person interprets it. The need-press combination becomes a thema, simple themas combining into serial themas and more deeply entrenched themas becoming need integrates. Of particular importance in Murray's view of personality is the unity thema, in which dominant needs and press are linked in early childhood through repeated associations that may be either satisfying or traumatic. Murray believes that much of the adult's behavior can be traced to such unity themas, which, in his opinion tend to retain considerable motivational power.

The thema, to Murray, is the proper molar unit for psychological study. A method he developed for uncovering dominant themas is the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), a projective technique widely used in clinical practice. The data can be analyzed to permit inferences about the dominant needs and press affecting the person's thought and behavior. Such analysis is made through the intermediary device of heroes or central figures in the TAT pictures, about which the person is asked to make up stories. It is assumed that responses indicate the subjects' own mental processes and problem areas, unconscious and conscious. The ways in which they handle the issues they project into the pictures are thought to indicate their characteristic problem-solving approaches, and the endings they give to their stories are assumed to reflect the outcomes they envision for their own conflicts. Repeated or prevalent themas are considered of special importance. Formal study of the test data is designed to provide clues to a person's temperament, intellectual abilities, imagination, reality awareness, emotional states, perceptual and cognitive styles, and many other personality characteristics. Murray emphasized that the data cannot yield more than hypotheses, conjectures, and indications of areas for further study; and

that, indeed was. Murray's over-all evaluation of his whole extensive and varied contribution to the field of personality study. Although he insisted that he never made more than a beginning, his work has been described in a book of essays published in his honor as "a unique and inexhaustible house of treasures."

KURT GOLDSTEIN

Kurt Goldstein (1878-1965) was born in Germany and received his M.D. degree from the University of Breslau. He became director of the Neurological Institute and professor of neurology at the University of Frankfurt. There during World War I, he conducted a number of the intensive long-term studies of brain-injured soldiers on which many of his theoretical personality concepts are based. Goldstein also spent 3 years as director of the Neurological Hospital and professor of neurology at the University of Berlin. He came to New York City in 1935 as clinical professor of neurology at Tufts Medical School, where he remained until he retired in 1945. Goldstein then continued his private practice and teaching in New York City. In his late seventies he began a new teaching career, commuting weekly to Brandeis University.

His many honors extended over a long and productive life. He delivered the William James lectures at Harvard University in 1939, which were published the next year as *Human Nature in the Light of Psychopathology*. On the occasion of his eightieth birthday in 1958, he was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Frankfurt. Along with other distinguished figures, he was one of the founding sponsors of the Association for Humanistic Psychology.

Goldstein's early involvement with Gestalt psychology, phenomenology, and existentialism reflected a lifelong interest in philosophical issues. On the basis of extensive studies with thousands of patients, he concluded that the philosophical point of view is necessary for understanding what the organism actually is and how it really functions. Goldstein was a leader of the holistic or organismic theorists, and two of his major constructs were the organismic viewpoint and self-actualization, around which his personality theory is built. Self-actualization became an integral part of the conceptual framework of many later personality theorists.

ORGANISMIC APPROACH Largely on the basis of his extensive work with brain-injured patients and on patients with language disorders in particular, Goldstein became increasingly certain that an atomistic approach is fundamentally inadequate to any real understanding of the organism. He therefore came to believe that all aspects of living—be they symptoms, disease states, or any of the various forms of behavior a person may manifest—can be appreciated only in terms of the total organism. To him, the organism is always a unit, and anything occurring on either the physiological or the psychological level gains in meaning from the context of this totality. The organism comprises differentiated but interrelated parts that, under normal conditions, are never isolated. What happens in one part must affect every other part as well, a phenomenon now known as *holocoenosis*.

In Goldstein's organismic framework, persons' interrelations with their society, the similarities and differences that exist between them and other members of that society, and even their broader relationships to their culture and to other cultures must all be taken into consideration. The organism, in sickness and in health, was brought by Goldstein into this comprehensive holistic framework. Symptoms become meaningful only in terms of their functional significance for the whole organism. They do not merely affect a damaged part, but involve attempts of the total organism to handle environmental demands, for which the person's former problem-solving techniques are now inadequate or inapplicable. Because of the vast amount of information that Goldstein considered necessary to understand the person from a truly organismic point of view, he strongly favored intensive, long-term studies of single persons.

SELF-ACTUALIZATION Goldstein did not hesitate to assume that a living organism has genuinely creative power. This power is inherent in his concept of self-actualization, the single need that he believed to underlie all human behavior. What may appear to be many different needs are merely different expressions of this one imperative source of motivation.

Although he regarded the need to actualize the self as universal, its outlets and expressions vary from one person to another and from society to society. The specific potentialities of a person, Goldstein maintained, can be inferred from two factors: what the person prefers to do and what the person does best. Persons' likes and skills, therefore, point to their actual possibilities. Goldstein's view of the organism as a totality did not waiver, but he did identify certain fundamental behaviors, attitudes, and performances that tend to facilitate self-actualization in health and to hinder it in pathology. The major concepts are coming to terms, figure and ground, and abstract and concrete behavior.

To function reasonably well, the organism must somehow manage to come to terms with the environment in fairly comfortable interaction, because the environment encroaches on the organism, disturbing its equilibrium but also acting as its source of supply. Coming to terms with the environment is, therefore, a double problem that demands resolution. As individuals' coping methods become more effective, their chances of self-actualization increase.

In Goldstein's view of the person's organismic strivings toward self-actualization, there are constant shifts between a central figure and the background from which it emerges. The ability to keep this process smooth and plastic is seen as essential for adequate coping with the environment, because it facilitates appropriate problem solving. Perception, Goldstein maintained, is organized around that process, as is living itself. He also distinguished between the conscious and the unconscious in much the same way. The unconscious becomes the background reservoir for previously conscious aids to self-actualization that can become central again, should they be required. Impairments in the ability to shift figure and ground rapidly and appropriately represent a serious handicap to functioning efficiently at virtually all levels and represent a major difficulty for brain-injured organisms.

Goldstein regarded the ability to react abstractly or concretely as the situation demands as another cardinal requirement for self-actualization. Action was thought of as in the realm of the concrete. The abstract attitude may lead to action but does not in itself include it. In the concrete situation, the response aroused is triggered directly by the actual stimulus. In the abstract attitude, persons prepare themselves to act by such processes as considering, evaluating, and deciding. Goldstein regarded the abstract attitude as the human organism's highest and essential ability, but smooth functioning demands skill in shifting appropriately from concrete to abstract responses as the situation requires. Disturbances in that ability represent a serious problem area for the brain-injured organism.

ORGANISMIC GOALS IN SICKNESS AND HEALTH Goldstein saw self-actualization as involving somewhat different goals in sickness and in health. The organism in a pathological state may, for example, be forced to limit expressions of self-actualization to maintenance of the status quo, discharging tension as much as possible and perhaps concentrating merely on survival.

Goldstein regarded pathology as always associated with

isolation to some degree, so that the organism's whole integrity is threatened. Faced with that threat, sick persons may respond rigidly and compulsively, fall back to more primitive levels of behavior, constrict interests and activity, or withdraw into routines. They may become perseverative, manifest fatigue and retreat from challenge, or merely refuse to undertake any task in which they envision the possibility of failure. Goldstein regarded all such behaviors as "catastrophic reactions," responses of the damaged persons to what they interpret as devastating conditions with which they are unable to cope. Even those responses were thought of as attempts at self-actualization, within the limited response repertoire remaining.

Self-actualization also molded Goldstein's interpretation of psychotherapy. He believed that patient and therapist enter into a relationship of "communion," a union that enhances the self-realization of both patient and therapist. Because the patient's problems arise from the disruption of mutual relationships between self and others, Goldstein regarded this communion as a prerequisite for successful treatment.

In contrast to the impaired organism, Goldstein saw the healthy person's self-actualization drive as inducing spontaneity, creativeness, genuine self-expression, and willingness to accept some amount of risk with a spirit of adventure and confidence. The healthy person is, therefore, able to reach what Goldstein called the "sphere of immediacy," where the human becomes truly dynamic and finds the source of genuine wholeness and creativity. For Goldstein, the sphere of immediacy and its dynamic character are the vital aspects of human living.

ABRAHAM MASLOW

Abraham Maslow (1908–1970) was born in Brooklyn, New York, and completed both his undergraduate and graduate work at the University of Wisconsin. His predoctoral studies placed heavy emphasis on Watsonian behaviorism, and his early postdoctoral research was in the area of animal behavior. As the range of his own interests broadened, however, he came to recognize that many of the more orthodox concepts of scientific psychology were insufficient for a meaningful approach to human behavior and experience. He was a Carnegie fellow at Columbia University in 1935, after which he joined the faculty of Brooklyn College, where he remained until 1951. At Brandeis University, where he served as professor and chairman of the department of psychology until 1969, he wrote voluminously, lectured extensively, and received many honors. He was president of the division of personality and social psychology and also the division of esthetics, serving as president of the American Psychological Association in 1967. As a leading spokesman for the third-force movement in psychology, Maslow spent the last year of his life as resident fellow at the W. P. Laughlin Foundation in Menlo Park, California.

Maslow felt strongly that the rigid application of the scientific model of the physical sciences to psychology allowed merely a partial picture of the human being, rather than a holistic one. Kurt Goldstein's self-actualization theory influenced him strongly. Believing in the need to understand the totality in order to understand at all, Maslow appealed for considerable broadening of psychology both in content and in method. Such a psychology should be firmly based on the humanistic approach and should be willing to accept and understand human beings as they are. Maslow did not attempt to overthrow more conventional methods, for he saw his version of humanistic psychology as complementary, rather than as an alternative to them. The additions he proposed would, he believed, restore to scientific study the many important aspects of human functioning and levels of awareness that are customarily omitted in traditional investigation. Those omissions, Maslow suggested, have cut the person down to a size manageable by available instruments but have done so at the cost of losing sight of the reality of the human being. Oversimplification has obscured the very realities that science seeks. Scientific study must, therefore, be expanded sufficiently to restore its own legitimate goals. That shift Maslow described as the transition from a means-oriented to a problem-oriented science.

Maslow invested with scientific respectability such vital human areas as individuality, consciousness, purpose, ethics, morality, goodness, beauty, authenticity, identity, and the whole range of potentialities that he saw as inherent in humanness. These potentialities included the person-transcending values and realities of a higher level of humanness and self-actualization.

Maslow was well aware that initial studies in new areas are apt to be imprecise and poorly conceived. They are, nevertheless, important beginnings, and without such first times, science cannot progress beyond its present constricted boundaries. He devoted much of his professional life to such initial studies, opening up a number of areas of psychological experience hitherto considered as scientifically out-of-bounds.

Maslow regarded the overconcern of many personality theorists with psychopathology as a further limit on understanding human behavior. That emphasis, said Maslow, has fostered a one-sided picture of the human being and an unnecessarily pessimistic view of human potentialities. Some of Maslow's major contributions result from his emphasis on healthy people.

Maslow maintained that essentially different psychologies arise from studying the sick and the healthy, and he insisted that both are part of a more complete picture of humanness. Maslow looked to the healthy because they can teach people about the higher levels of human awareness and how to approach them. He emphasized the value of such features as spontaneity, self-acceptance, impulsive-awareness, naturalness, and release as important counteracting agents, acting against the destructive tendencies that come from thwarting a person's higher nature. The sick indicate what happens if human needs, values, and wants are not fulfilled, but the healthy show what is needed for self-fulfillment.

HIERARCHY OF NEEDS One of Maslow's major contributions was his recognition of the hierarchical organization of needs according to their potency and primacy. He identified a broad range of needs that he regarded as intrinsic and present in everyone and thus labeled them as basic or instinctual. The most powerful and prepotent are fundamental survival-oriented needs with a clear physiological basis aimed at removing a deficit, such as hunger or thirst. As those needs are fulfilled, other less powerful needs—such as the needs for shelter, affection, and self-esteem—can become effective motivators in their turn. Only after those prepotent deficiency, or D-needs, are filled can more subtle growth-oriented being, B-needs or metaneeds, play a primary motivational role. To this second group Maslow assigned such uniquely human desires as impulses to freedom, beauty, goodness, unity, and justice.

Initially, Maslow saw self-actualization as the highest need. In his later years, however, he considered the desire for self-transcendence to be higher still. Those higher needs are initially weak, subtle, and easily disturbed by adverse environments, attitudes, and habits. For most people, they require considerable nurturing if they are to flourish, but flourish they must if persons are to find full expression for their basic humanity and avoid what Maslow termed the "metapathologies," such as boredom, cynicism, and lack of inspiration. The rank ordering of the hierarchy may actually reverse once the person discovers the existence and attraction of the metaneeds. For example, the person committed to self-actuali-

zation or transcendence may willingly undergo almost all other forms of deprivation to obtain the desired goal.

To date, research support for Maslow's hierarchy is equivocal, although the concept has become widely accepted and has had considerable heuristic value.

CONFLICT OF NEEDS Maslow saw D-needs and B-needs as generating a fundamental and inherent conflict. *D-needs* induce behavior aimed at supplying deficiencies, and the person must depend on other people and external things. The resulting dependency tends to make the person fearful, because the source of supply may fail. The pressure of D-needs is, therefore, apt to induce regressive behavior and lead to defensiveness, clinging to the past, and fear of growth and independence. *B-needs*, however, are essentially growth-oriented. They minimize the sense of threat, reduce hostility, and allow the person to become more self-directed, self-sufficient, and self-contained. D-needs and B-needs, then, pressure the person in opposite directions, and the whole process of developing becomes an endless series of free choice situations. Everyone must choose between safety and growth, dependence and independence, regression and progression, immaturity and maturity.

Conflict is therefore regarded as more or less inevitable, although its intensity varies considerably, and genuine growth can do much to minimize it. The thwarting of basic needs leads to the development of neurotic needs that, being actually impossible to satisfy, result in wasted energy and human potentiality. Maslow saw that as the fundamental tragedy of mental illness. Basic needs, however, can at least be gratified to a reasonable extent, because they entail comparatively free choices and foster a healthy growth process.

From Maslow's theoretical framework, all forms of human behavior can be thought of in terms of the joint operation of D-needs and B-needs. The particular form of the behavior depends on the ratio of regressive to progressive motivation involved. Maslow used the need to know as an example of how the same need can operate under different conditions and with different outcomes. On the one hand, the need to know can serve primarily as a stimulus to lessen the anxiety of the unknown. In that case, the resulting behavior aims at threat reduction, detoxification of the frightening object. On the other hand, the same need to know can also lead beyond the limited goal of reducing anxiety and offer the person higher satisfaction as well. Shifting the balance from D-needs to B-needs becomes the real purpose of education, therapy, and life itself. Whole cultures and thought systems can be studied in those terms, for their essential character depends on which set of needs predominates within them.

SELF-ACTUALIZATION AND PEAK EXPERIENCES Maslow's chief way of approaching health was through studies of those persons who he believed were its best examples—those persons characterized by "self-actualizing creativeness," which he considered a generalized orientation that leads toward health and growth. Special talents may or may not be involved, inasmuch as the truly creative actualize themselves in everything they do. Self-actualization, a central concept in his thinking, was defined by Maslow in *Farther Reaches of Human Nature* as

> experiencing fully, vividly, selflessly, with full concentration and total absorption ... the person is wholly and fully human.

Human nature contains all the potentialities for such experiencing, but it is the process of self-actualization that leads to its accomplishment. Maslow felt self-actualizers displayed shared characteristics and tended, for example, to be realistically oriented, problem centered, and generally accepting of themselves and others. They were also spontaneous, independent, and creative, and they identified with humankind. Their values were democratic, their sense of humor genuine, and most of them reported having had mystical or ego-transcending experiences at some level. Maslow's increasing interest in ego-transcending experiences led him to specific studies of what he referred to as "peak experiences."

The *peak experience* was described as an episodic, brief occurrence in which the person suddenly experiences a powerful transcendental state of consciousness. In this state the person experiences a sense of heightened noematic clarity and understanding; intense euphoria; appreciation of the holistic, unitive, and integrated nature of the universe and one's unity with it; an altered perception of space and time; and ineffability, in that the experience is so powerful and different from ordinary experience as to give the sense of defying description. Such experiences have been recognized in different cultures and periods and have been called by many names, including mystical, transcendental, cosmic consciousness, and satori. They tend to occur most often in the psychologically healthy and, because of their profundity, may produce long-lasting beneficial effects.

Paradoxically, although those exalted states can arouse fear, they also offer freedom from fear, for in those states, persons manage to turn away from aggression and self-destructiveness and come close to their Self, their Being, and even their God, however they may elect to define the term. Maslow had good reason for capitalizing such terms as "Being" and "Self" as he used them, for in the highest levels of peak experiences, persons become truly god-like, recognizing and identifying with a wholly unified world. Initially, Maslow believed that such high reaches were available only to the chosen few, but he later felt that they are available to most, if not all—nonpeakers being merely those persons who are too fearful to accept and acknowledge them.

Maslow maintained that studies of peak experiences should include investigations of mysticism, religious phenomena of all sorts, and all the ways in which human limitations have been reportedly transcended. He believed that all such approaches may be only different avenues to the great transpersonal values that are part of the universal human heritage. It was his hope that such studies would ultimately help to bridge the gap between the relative and the absolute and establish a truly scientific basis for experiences of unity and eternity, which, from Maslow's point of view, are legitimate aspects of the realm of B-values. As such, they are a natural part of being human, and he believed that it is possible for the human being to live fairly consistently at this higher level of awareness and experience. In the creative, positive, and healthy characteristics of self-actualizing people, Maslow found justification for the positive view of inherent human nature, which is a prominent emphasis in the whole third-force movement in psychology.

GARDNER MURPHY

Gardner Murphy (1895–1979) was born in Ohio and received his Ph.D. at Columbia. After postdoctoral study at Harvard, he joined the psychology department of the City College of New York. At the invitation of the Indian government, he served briefly as a consultant to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization in New Delhi. In 1952 he became director of research at the Menninger Foundation. He remained there for 15 years, after which he took a position as professor of psychology at George Washington University. Murphy received many honors, including the Butler Medal of Columbia University in 1932, the Gold Medal Award of the American Psychological Foundation in 1972, and two honorary doctorates. He served as president of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues in 1938, and of the American Psychological

Association in 1944. He has also been president of both the American Society for Psychical Research and the Society for Psychical Research in London. The wide range of his honors and professional affiliations reflects the breadth of his interests and the wide horizons of his perspective on human potentialities. Personally he was known for his intellectual courage in breaking new ground and for his generosity to persons in need.

All the theorists discussed here are eclectic to some extent, but Murphy is perhaps the most thoroughgoing in this respect. He consistently argued for the inclusion of as many vantage points as possible from which to study humankind. The range of his own investigations extended well beyond the conventional academic and clinical bounds into the areas of parapsychology and the largely unexplored limits of human potentialities. The psychologies of East and West, old and new, were all of concern to him.

ECLECTICISM WITH A DIFFERENCE Murphy aimed to be comprehensive, and he selected ideas from virtually all the major concepts, principles, and methods of the various branches of psychology. He was among the first to publish a comprehensive history of psychology, which remains a classic in its field. He made major contributions to social, general, and educational psychology. His firm belief in the lifelong capacity of personality to change and grow led him to envision almost unlimited human potentialities. Nor did he remain comfortably within the scientifically safe areas of investigation in considering what those potentialities might be.

Murphy was long interested in psychic or paranormal phenomena, considering them part of the total reality of human beings. Although he approached those areas with caution and considerable rigor, he accepted telepathic and clairvoyant data as part of real human experience, noting that, throughout his pursuit of the more usual approaches to psychology, he was actually leading a double life. He speculated that the scattered and unsystematized parapsychological fragments thus far identified may actually be clues to a still larger universe of which people know virtually nothing as yet. Unusual or altered states of consciousness, such as those accompanying experiences of ecstasy, revelation, and expanded awareness, may have important implications for understanding the potentialities of the human being. In *A History of Psychology in Autobiography*, Murphy warned that it is perilous to take "a cavalier attitude toward anything in heaven or earth."

BIOSOCIAL THEORY OF PERSONALITY Murphy accepted no real distinction between the biological and the social aspects of personality. Biological being was seen as the bedrock of personality, but personality was by no means regarded as limited to what is inside the skin.

A separate person, to Murphy, was largely a fiction, for personality was seen as a structured organism-environment field that is part of a still larger field, the two aspects being engaged in constant reciprocal interaction. Murphy considered many definitions of personality, recognizing that all investigators see in it what they are trained to see. Nevertheless, Murphy advocated not fewer lines of study but more. He believed that personality is as complex as human beings and as little understood, and anything that can contribute to the present meager knowledge was made welcome within the broad framework of Murphy's biosocial theory.

PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT AND STRUCTURE Three essential stages in personality development were described by Murphy. The person begins in the stage of undifferentiated wholeness, progresses to differentiation of function, and then continues on to the stage of integration. Regression, as well as progression, is possible along the way, and the process is frequently quite uneven. Each developmental stage is thought to involve functions peculiar to itself, so that adult personality is by no means merely an extension of earlier characteristics. Increasing complexity introduces real changes into the developmental process, and the range of individual differences broadens steadily as development continues.

The most basic structural units in Murphy's schema are psychological dispositions or organic traits. Those tissue tensions are gradually reconstituted into symbolic traits in the course of development. Personality characteristics derive from organic traits that have been either channeled into specific forms of behavior or redirected by conditioning as the person develops. Learning thus plays a major role in the process, but characteristically, Murphy saw learning itself as a series of organism-environment interactions in which the biological given is guided and modified by external factors, a process that has recently been more widely recognized by biologists and named "probabilistic epigenesis." Murphy identified four broad categories of inborn human needs: visceral, motor, sensory, and emergency related. Those needs are thought to become increasingly specific in time as they are molded by the person's experiences in various social and environmental contexts. A major factor in bringing those changes about is *canalization*, the process by which a connection is established between a need and a specific way of satisfying it.

Early canalizations are particularly important, for they are the bases for later canalizations, and they also retain the power to induce regressive behavior under stress in the adult. Early body-oriented canalizations represent the origin of the self, which, after going through a series of developmental phases, emerges as the dominant organization of the whole personality. The self is regarded as the unifying aspect that integrates the many disunities and discontinuities with which the person must cope. Murphy also gives conditioning a heavy responsibility in the process of acquired change. Unlike canalizations, which produce actual changes in tension levels, conditioning is seen as a preparatory process that readies the organism for tension reduction, but does not affect the tension changes themselves. Also unlike canalization, conditioned responses can be readily generalized and easily shifted, extinguished, and replaced.

In Murphy's schema, canalization and conditioning together account for perceptual learning, as well as behavioral learning. Perception follows much the same progression as personality development. Beginning with the global blur of the infant, perception proceeds through the stage of differentiation and finally reaches integration. The process is greatly influenced by each person's internal needs, for to a large extent, persons see what they want to see, and Murphy refers to such internally directed perception as autistic. Because of the importance ascribed to autistic percepts, needs become major determiners of individual differences in perception, as well as in behavior and in cognitive styles.

Murphy incorporated many concepts from general psychology into his personality framework. In fact, he maintained that only three major aspects of personality study really exceed the sphere of general psychology: the problem of self, the problem of uniqueness of the stimulating situation, and the problem of the uniqueness of the integrated response.

Murphy contributed substantially to the theoretical understanding of those salient issues, but his own interests included other areas that are not usually considered in general psychology. Those areas, which are discussed below, represent the other side of Murphy's double life.

PARAPSYCHOLOGY Murphy's contributions to parapsychology are both theoretical and experimental. He suggests

that, inasmuch as parapsychological or paranormal experiences may reflect essential aspects of personality, to disregard them may, indeed, be to impose arbitrary restrictions on actual human potentialities. Murphy urged applying a genuinely experimental method to the area in order to arouse serious interest and to encourage scientific investigation of previously taboo experiences.

His approach to parapsychology was scientific in method and cautious in interpretation, and he advocated austere ground rules. He hypothesized that certain phenomena, such as clairvoyance and mental telepathy, may be more normal than paranormal, being found comparatively rarely because most people prefer to uphold their psychological insulation from each other. Murphy noted that some states—such as sleep, drowsiness, certain drug and toxic conditions, hypnosis, and delirium—are apt to be favorable to paranormal experiences. Relaxation, the will to believe, and the ability to escape temporarily from the usual sensory dominance are also regarded as favorable circumstances. Impediments to paranormal awareness, however, include various intrapsychic barriers, conditions in the general social environment, and a heavy investment in the ordinary types of sensory experience. Murphy subsequently developed a schema relating the occurrence of specific types of paranormal phenomena to the presence of those facilitating and inhibitory factors and to autonomic nervous system function. Murphy and his students conducted several careful studies that tend to support the possibility that paranormal processes are within the range of ordinary human capabilities.

Murphy envisioned a truly scientific discipline within parapsychology, one that will build on and extend the pioneering insights of William James. Among his own efforts in that direction was an extensive survey of documented examples of parapsychological experiences, in which he discussed telepathic dreams, experimental clairvoyance, precognition, and other events apparently beyond ordinary sensory awareness. He was well aware of the lack of precision often found in areas of that kind, but insisted that this unfortunate fact should not be taken as scientific grounds for discontinuing investigations or disregarding legitimate findings. Prejudices associated with parapsychology can become barriers to knowledge, rather than honest scientific caution.

Murphy was willing to go still further beyond ordinary sensory experience in his search for the true range of human potentialities. His deep interest in transpersonal and unitive phenomena led him to serious speculations regarding the higher states of consciousness, which he believed to be a legitimate part of the whole human experience.

REMOTE ENVIRONMENT Murphy found as much place in his thinking for the immediate and remote environments as he did for the inner and outer realities, and here again he recognized no clear-cut dichotomy. The self remains the core of personality in his theoretical framework, but he did not accept a narrow view of selfhood. Rather, he believed that the expanded potential of human experience may well be in opening up the usual constricted borders of the self, thus enabling the person to enter into states of higher awareness. Alterations in levels of awareness, including so-called mystical experiences, have been reported in all cultures and throughout all times. Despite differences associated with time and place, Murphy found areas of commonality that, he believed, should not be ignored; he argued that such experiences are not as different as may be thought. A person can, for example, be lost in an intense aesthetic reaction, in a sudden transporting fantasy, or in a strong sense of religious union with God and the universe. In the more extreme forms, such experiences may be felt as loss of self or as self-expansion, as merging with the outer world or entering more fully into inner awareness. Either way, the experience itself is real to the person.

Throughout Murphy's life, the full range of human potentialities remained as a challenge to him, and his own scientific imperative was to investigate all kinds of people, methods, and ideas, rejecting none arbitrarily.

KURT LEWIN

Kurt Lewin (1890–1947) was born in Prussia and received his Ph.D. degree in 1914 at the University of Berlin, where he subsequently rose to professorial rank. There he was closely associated with the founders of Gestalt psychology, and his fame became international. When Hitler came to power, Lewin moved permanently to the United States, where he was a professor, initially at Cornell University and then at the University of Iowa. He spent the last 2 years of his life at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology as professor and director of the Research Center for Group Dynamics.

Lewin is credited with the well-known remark, "There is nothing so practical as a good theory," and the major biographical account of his life and work by A. J. Marrow is appropriately called *The Practical Theorist*. Lewin shifted his major areas of focus several times during his career, but he never abandoned his emphasis on sound theory. His professional career began with studies of learning and perception, from which he turned his attention to the dynamics of conflict, frustration, and the problems of individual motivation, becoming increasingly concerned in his later years with social issues and group processes. Unfortunately, Lewin did not live to draw up an organized overview of his personality theories.

Two of his chief theoretical contributions are the field approach and group dynamics. He borrowed the field approach from physics and adapted it to psychology. That methodological and conceptual framework has stimulated considerable research. Although his particular diagrammatic symbol system is no longer widely used, there is little doubt that field theory remains a strong influence on current personality theory. Group dynamics has also had an impact on later developments in psychology. In this connection, Lewin's influence is highly contemporary.

FIELD THEORY Lewin regarded the person and the environment as parts or regions of the same psychological field. In *Field Theory in Social Sciences*, Lewin defined a field as

> the totality of coexisting facts which are conceived of as mutually interdependent.

Behavior thus becomes a function of the person and the environment or, in Lewin's well-known formula, $B = F(P, E)$. Beginning with this first single division of the field into the two regions of person and environment, Lewin attempted to work out a framework suitable for the scientific study of human behavior in general and the prediction of its specific expressions. He preferred to use mathematics, the traditional language of science, rather than verbal descriptions, in representing the person-environment field and the influences acting on it. He considered two general influences, which he called topological, or structural, and dynamic.

Topological concepts Lewin used topology, a nonmetric branch of mathematics, both to present his structural field concepts in mathematical terms and to depict them in diagrammatic form. He attempted through that approach to clarify the interconnections of the different regions of the field at a particular moment and to show the nature of the boundaries separating them from each other. Person and environ-

ment together make up what Lewin called the "life space." Within that space, which represents a field in constant flux, Lewin placed everything that influences behavior at a given time. In his topological diagrams, person and environment are depicted as two separated areas that together constitute the life space and that are enclosed within it. The whole area is bounded off from the nonpsychological environment or foreign hull, much as the person and the environment are separated from each other by a boundary within it. The environment, as Lewin regarded it, does not necessarily correspond to external reality. Rather, the term refers to the psychological environment, the environment as persons interpret it. People and their environment are the basic structural elements in Lewin's concept of topological space. Group and individual behavior are thought of in terms of the interactions of regions within the life space, along with those interactions between the life space and adjacent areas of the nonpsychological environment that lie outside. Within the life space, both the person and the environment are regarded as further subdivided into areas or cells by additional boundaries, the subdivisions being represented by increasingly complex topological diagrams.

To predict behavior, one must identify all the environmental regions influencing the field, as well as all those regions operating at the time within the person and in impinging segments of the foreign hull, and one must recognize and understand the quality of their interactions.

Dynamic concepts Lewin used the term "dynamic" to refer to conditions of change, especially to forces. A primary dynamic concept in the person system is the *need*, which was Lewin's chief motivational construct. A need arouses tension, which is then reduced or equalized as the need is met through either action or ideation. Regardless of the method used to restore the person's equilibrium, Lewin identified three stages through which needs typically proceed: hunger, satiation, and oversatiation. Those states are associated with another dynamic concept, that of valency. A *valence* was defined as the value with which a person invests a particular environmental region in terms of its potential for need satisfaction. A positive valence is associated with the hunger stage of need arousal, a neutral valence with satiation, and a negative valence with oversatiation. For example, hungry persons are likely to be strongly attracted to a restaurant, the investment lessening as their hunger is satisfied. Should they eat too much, they are apt to react to the restaurant with actual aversion.

In Lewinian terms, then, an unsatisfied need arouses tension, tension induces disequilibrium, and persons react to restore their equilibrium through either realistic or unrealistic means. The actual motive power for making the restoration is reserved in Lewin's system for the concept of force, a dynamic construct diagrammatically represented by a vector. The need arises in the person, but the force exists in the environment. A force of sufficient strength pressures persons toward tension reduction, and they select a path into the environment by which to accomplish the reduction. They may also respond by restructuring the environment or simply by changing their perception of the situation, so that it no longer arouses tension in them. Their reactions are largely influenced by what Lewin called his level of aspiration, the degree of difficulty presented by the goal toward which they are striving. Their levels of aspiration establish the goals they invest with the highest positive valence or perceived reward, and those goals, in turn, are influenced by a number of subjectively determined factors, as well as by social pressures and group evaluations.

The concept of level of aspiration has probably promoted more research than any other single Lewinian construct, and its implications are of continuing importance. Much of the current work in achievement motivation, for example, is based on Lewin's finding that difficult goals carry greater positive valence than do easier ones. In addition, the current emphasis on cognitive theories of personality derives from Lewin's view of goal-striving in terms of the relation between cognitive structure and the direction and strength of the psychological forces.

Lewin maintained that his topological and dynamic theories have much in common with psychoanalysis. He noted, for example, that (1) both are concerned with emotional problems and the development of personality; (2) both place major emphasis on the psychological meaning that people, situations, and things have for the person; (3) both are involved with such concepts as need, will, and personality; and (4) both are unwilling to remain at the superficial level of description; they attempt to discover deeper meanings by uncovering causal interrelationships.

GROUP DYNAMICS Lewin's emphasis on psychological facts as major influences on behavior led naturally to his insistence that the social scientist deals with problems that share an equal reality with physical facts and that merit equally objective study. Lewin also consistently maintained that field theory is as applicable to groups as it is to individuals, although with some structural differences. Seen as a dynamic whole, the group must be studied through the interrelationships of its parts. The individual person cannot be neglected as a part of the larger field, but social scientists must also take into consideration the structure of the group as a whole—its cultural values, its ideologies, and the economic factors operating within it. To Lewin, group life was a functioning unit, to be studied through careful searching out of all the interrelationships involved and all the relevant aspects of the larger field of which the group is a part.

The now popular term "group dynamics" was introduced by Lewin, and it is probably in this area that his influence is still most strongly felt. Many contemporary techniques originated here, including action-research programs for altering undesirable social conditions and T-groups for facilitating insight into group processes.

Lewin's social studies involved such diversified areas as leadership, child rearing, prejudice, civic planning, city housing, and education. Toward the end of his career, he became increasingly involved with social issues. Theory remained of primary interest to him in that connection, mainly because he was convinced that a sound theoretical framework provides the only dependable basis for a feasible program of social improvements. Changing group standards were of major concern to Lewin, largely because he believed that persons resist change unless or until group values change. He established the Research Center for Group Dynamics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and helped found the Commission on Community Interrelations in New York City at the request of the American Jewish Congress.

The essence of a group, for Lewin, was the interdependence of its parts, and much of the research at the Center was directed toward identifying some of the special qualities of interaction that groups achieve. Lewin's students contributed their own research interests to the program, notably in the areas of group cohesiveness and communciation.

Lewin believed that a factory can serve as a laboratory in its own right, as can any other situation in which a total group culture can be studied. These studies included group productivity, group roles, intergroup conflict, group communications, individual and group adjustment, and the identification

of methods for improving group functioning. After Lewin's death, the program was moved to the University of Michigan, where it continues to function under the powerful impetus he provided.

SENSITIVITY TRAINING AND T-GROUPS One of Lewin's major contributions resulted from a request by the Connecticut State Inter-Racial Commission for help in leadership training and in improving racial and religious tensions. The initial change experiment was conducted at a workshop in 1946, with the aim of training the participants to handle people more effectively and to gather data on the changes that took place in the process. That training group, the first of the now famous T-groups, consisted of more than 40 trainees, about half of them blacks or Jews and most of them educators or social workers. The group participated in an intensive 2-week training course that focused on attitudinal and behavioral change during the group interaction. Lewin himself broke the process of group change down into three phases, which he called unfreezing, restructuring, and refreezing. Rigid attitudes and beliefs must first be unfrozen, raised to critical consideration and evaluation. A restructuring of perspective, a change in viewpoint, then becomes possible. Thereafter, shifts in attitude and behavior can occur, to be refrozen at more constructive levels.

The success of Lewin's initial training workshop and the later evaluation of its long-range effects introduced a novel approach to reeducation. This new approach led to the establishment of the National Training Laboratory for Group Development, which has grown into a major center for the application of behavioral science to social practice, particularly through the use of T-group techniques. Lewin, in fact, provided the theoretical and experimental basis for many later extensions in sensitivity training and encounter groups. The procedures he initiated have been adapted to a widening range of problems in interpersonal relationships and have gained international recognition. Sensitivity training stemming from Lewin's original work has been described as the most significant social invention of this century. The approach has shown increasing implications for education and industry and has exerted a profound impact on a variety of related theoretical concepts and psychotherapeutic activities.

GESTALT THERAPY

The influence of Einstein's field theory on psychological thought led to the development of Gestalt psychology in Germany in the early part of the century. Frederick S. Perls (1893–1970) extended some of the principles of Gestalt psychology into the special form of psychotherapy that bears its name.

Perls was born in Berlin and received his M.D. degree from the University of Berlin. After serving in the German army, he spent a year at the Frankfurt Neurological Institute, assisting Kurt Goldstein. He attended the Vienna and Berlin institutes of psychoanalysis, left Germany for South Africa in the early 1940s with the help of Ernest Jones, and founded the South African Institute for Psychoanalysis in Johannesburg. During that period he wrote his first book, in which he outlined some of the procedures later incorporated into Gestalt therapy. Perls came to the United States in 1946. He engaged in private practice in New York City and later established the New York Institute for Gestalt Therapy. In 1966 he accepted an appointment as associate psychiatrist at the Esalen Institute in California, where he remained for several years. Shortly before his death, he moved to Vancouver, British Columbia, and founded the Institute for Gestalt Therapy there.

GESTALT PSYCHOLOGY AND GESTALT THERAPY Although Gestalt psychology provides the underlying themes, it is by no means the only contributor to Gestalt therapy, which is heavily indebted to Freudian theory, to the concepts of Wilhelm Reich and Otto Rank, and also to existential thought. Gestalt therapy leans strongly toward the third force in psychology, accepting its humanistic, holistic, and essentially positive view of human beings and their potentialities. It is concerned with such areas of experience as self-enhancement, creativity, and transcendence. It regards the mere absence of misery and pain as an insufficient goal for living, looking at the person as at least potentially capable of achieving real joy.

A *gestalt*, or a whole, both includes and transcends the sum of its parts. It cannot be understood simply as a sum of smaller, independent events. It is chiefly that distinctive emphasis on looking to the whole for the meaning of the parts that unites a group of theorists into what is called the Gestalt school of psychology. According to the Gestalt point of view, any atomistic approach omits essential characteristics of actual experience, such as value, meaning, and form. A number of additional Gestalt principles elaborate that concept further. Gestalts are thought of as unified wholes that reflect a balanced distribution of the forces underlying their organization. When that balance is disturbed, the organism exerts efforts to restore it. The field in which the organism does so involves an internal unity between the organism and its environment. A gestalt may be considered a unit segregated from its surroundings, but the whole relevant field is included in the gestalt itself. It is emphasized that gestalten need not correspond to external properties, because the persons putting the gestalt together select the perception out of a larger field and thus put something of themselves into it. It is also held that the strength of a particular gestalt depends on the degree of interdependence of the parts. Much of the early Gestalt experimental work focused on perception, particularly visual and auditory; however, Gestalt concepts have been applied to a wider range of areas, including memory, learning, cognition, activity, and emotional responsiveness. Gestalt principles thus constitute a basic approach potentially applicable to virtually all areas of human behavior, and in many ways, they overlap with recent developments in general systems theory.

Gestalt therapists, in general, consider those principles as similarly basic. Beginning with Perls, the attempt has been to bring the whole area of motivation into line with Gestalt concepts, thus providing a holistic approach to human experience. The phenomenal world is seen as organized around needs, and those needs both integrate and energize behavior. Needs are hierarchical and shifting, the central figure in the field being the most dominant or pressing need of the moment. As that need is met, it recedes into the background, making room for the next most pressing need to assume the dominant position. That process allows need gratification to proceed in appropriate and orderly sequences, the most relevant need organizing the whole person-environment field at any particular time. The environment is an essential part of the field because the person must look to it for need satisfaction.

The Gestalt therapist also accepts other concepts from Gestalt psychology. The marked emphasis on the here and now, perhaps the most outstanding characteristic of Gestalt therapy, is in accord with the importance that Gestalt psychology places on data from immediate experience. Adjustment, like perception, is thought of as an organismic process that requires the continual destruction of obsolete gestalten and the organization of new ones. That destruction and reorganization process is considered essential to all phases of living, even to the most basic requirements of simple survival.

For the process of shifting to function smoothly and efficiently, persons must be able to make sharp differentiations between figure and ground. In terms of motivation, they must recognize what they need most at a given time, see it clearly

as the central figure in the field, and thus put themselves in a position in which need satisfaction is possible. Well-organized motor responsiveness and goal-directed behavior result. As one need is met, the next must arise with equal clarity, to be met with similar effectiveness. In healthy persons, that shifting is a smooth, continuous process. In neurotic persons, the process suffers from considerable impairment. Lacking the ability to make sharp distinctions between figure and ground, neurotics have cluttered fields, and their differentiations are uncertain. They become confused and do not know what they really want. They cannot distinguish between the important and the unimportant, between the relevant and the irrelevant. Being without consistent motivation, they tend to be disinterested in what they are doing and to find even simple activities hard to pursue. Their reactions become stereotypical and repetitive, rather than spontaneous and problem-centered. Unable to actualize themselves, they attempt to actualize a self-image. Unaware of their real needs, they direct their efforts toward manipulating themselves, controlling their environment, and maintaining the status quo.

AIMS OF GESTALT THERAPY Perls saw persons as engaged in a constant struggle for balance, because their equilibrium is continually being disturbed by the pressures of internal needs or by environmental demands. The result is increased tension, which is reduced as balance is restored. That process, which is called organismic self-regulaton, is considered basic to all motivation. In the neurotic person, the fundamental problem is that there is a severe disruption between the self and its environmental organismic relationship. To the extent to which pathology disturbs the person's equilibrium, the therapeutic objective is to facilitate organismic balance.

Disturbances in organismic balance are thought to engender fear and avoidance of actual awareness, so that the genuine reactivity and excitement that characterize healthy experience are not available. The crucial factor in restoring balance is thought to be awareness, which in itself can be curative. As Perls put it in *Gestalt Therapy Verbatim*, when awareness has returned

> the organism can work on the healthy Gestalt principle that the most important unfinished situation will always emerge and can be dealt with.

Unfinished situations kept out of awareness remain unsettled and highly unsettling, making balance impossible. As a result spontaneity, freedom, competence, creativity, emotional feelings and expressions all become impoverished. This inability to form clear and complete gestalten fosters lack of energy, dullness, and confusion. People in whom these things occur avoid their essential organismic needs and look for environmental support, rather than for internal strengths, in their attempts to resolve their conflicts.

In the Gestalt view, the neurotic person and, still more, the psychotic person cannot deal constructively with the many polarizations or splits that characterize living in general. The polarizations include the dichotomies of body and mind, self and nonself, biological and cultural, unconscious and conscious, and love and aggression. Language, thinking, perceptions, and all phases of living are generally dealt with through opposites and contrasts. Such dichotomies pose threats to integration that everyone must meet and overcome. In neurotic splitting, however, the attempted resolutions are faulty and damaging to the wholeness of the personality. One part of the split may be held out of awareness, separated from overt concern, or isolated from the other part. Unity is lost, and organismic functioning becomes impossible. Therapy must attempt to restore the personality to wholeness, to its true gestalt.

This restoration process must occur here and now, as avoidances and distortions are encountered in the actual therapeutic situation. The therapist works with such patients to help them make genuinely creative adjustments to a present situation, completing gestalten that would otherwise remain unfinished and would, therefore, become disruptive. Integration is facilitated by the strengthening and supporting of each patient's real needs, interests, and wishes. This integration requires the fusion of splits that, if left as dichotomies, produce conflict and, in the extreme, incapacitation.

The integration of conflicting tendencies, however, leads to the development of constructive traits. For example, a fusing of impulses toward love and aggression may result in healthy self-assertion and genuinely reciprocal relationships. Such integrations enable persons to give up outworn response patterns, unrealistic aspirations, and attempts at over-control. Figure and ground can then be more sharply differentiated, and appropriate and real need satisfaction becomes possible. Being aware of what is really happening to them, patients recognize that they are in charge of themselves. They relinquish reliance on the therapist and begin to take responsibility for their own treatment, just as they give up their overdependence on environmental support and start to take charge of their own lives.

The immediate goal of Gestalt therapy, then, is restoration of full awareness to patients. From a long-range point of view, the purpose is to restore to them all their previously crippled personality functions so that they can release their inherent potentialities. Healthy contact with themselves and with the environment must be established, replacing the unhealthy processes that substitute for growth and impede integration. Neurotic patients are unable to be themselves, cannot interact comfortably with the environment, and are reduced to manipulation through playing roles. A crucial aspect of Gestalt therapy is, therefore, opening up the field to all that the unhealthy mechanisms have excluded. Other aspects of personality development that may have been crippled along the way must also be restored. For example, frustration tolerance must be increased, for frustration fosters growth, rather than impedes it. To a large extent, the various subgoals to be met during treatment can be subsumed under the concept of achieving total awareness. In a sense, that total awareness is regarded as both a means and an end. Truly aware persons have no need for neurotic mechanisms because they are free to actualize themselves as they really are. The full awareness at which Gestalt therapy finally aims is thought to lead to a state of completeness and joy in which, as Naranjo expresses it in *The Techniques of Gestalt Therapy*, persons open themselves

> to the bliss of the eternal Here and Now . . . being one with life, surrendering to the push of it and being "it" at the same time, relinquishing any individual will other than the will of life through us, our true self.

TECHNIQUES OF GESTALT THERAPY Because the basic purpose of Gestalt therapy is to restore patients to full awareness, the techniques used are largely directed toward opening up direct, immediate experience; that is, what they are feeling, doing, and thinking right now. That immediate experience is the only reality in the therapeutic situation. In that experience, patients can recognize just how they operate, how they defeat and deceive themselves, and how they frustrate their own best interests. They see a sample of their life-style right in front of them. They are trained to observe themselves by bringing ongoing experience into awareness and keeping it there. In-

terpretation, intellectual activity in general, and all forms of merely "thinking about" are discouraged. Efforts are directed toward finding out what they experience, not why they experience what they do. The therapist is alert to signs of feelings that are being denied awareness, whether in facial expression, vocal tone, posture, or body movements. The therapist's chief function is to bring each patient's attention back to immediate experience whenever it wanders.

In Gestalt therapy, patients encounter themselves. Perls extended the term "encounter," which is becoming increasingly popular in other therapeutic contexts, to include both intrapersonal and interpersonal communication. Conflicts of either kind must entail at least two sides, and patients must experience and accept both sides if the conflict is to be resolved. They must take back into awareness everything that was excluded, and they cannot let anxiety hold them back. The process is often unpleasant and sometimes quite upsetting. The patients' retroflections, projections, and introjections must be brought into awareness as they actually watch themselves using them. Only as patients recognize them can they begin to take responsibility for such distortions. Only as they take responsibility for these distortions can they decide to let them go. As they attempt to use various defensive maneuvers to avoid looking at unacceptable feelings, the therapist consistently redirects their attention to them. However painful it may be, the patients must look at what they have tried to avoid and must accept responsibility for their feelings.

The process is facilitated by certain techniques, referred to as rules and games. The purpose of the rules is to establish a therapeutic situation in which the patients' attention is kept in the context of their present experience. For example, it may be suggested that they use the present tense in verbalizing, that they use "I" instead of "it" in referring to the body and what it does, or that they address other people directly, rather than talking about them. The games are more explicit techniques for bringing patients into increasing contact with themselves.

In the game of taking sides, patients are encouraged to bring both sides of a particular conflict into conscious experience. It is often done through dialogue, a kind of encounter technique in which patients carry on an overt discussion between both parts of the split in their personality. Probably the primary encounter in Gestalt therapy is that between top dog and underdog, the passive-aggressive split in the personality. Top dog is the bullying, demanding, authoritarian, and self-righteous side of the split. Underdog is dependent and overtly compliant, but is passively manipulative. The dialogue aims at bringing both sides together, enabling them to declare a truce long enough to listen to each other and become reconciled. Other conflicts can be resolved in the same way. The patients may also be urged to take responsibility. That represents an attempt to impress on them that they must not avoid accepting feelings as their own. They are, therefore, asked to express what they feel openly and without reserve, concluding their statements by adding, "and I take responsibility for it."

The therapist, as well as the patients, plays an extremely active role in the therapeutic process. The patients attempt to avoid problems and to defend against pain. The therapist serves to counteract such attempts and draws each patient's attention to avoidance mechanisms, to signs of phobic behavior, and to other defensive and unproductive attitudes and feelings. The Gestalt viewpoint emphasizes the value of frustration in fostering growth. The therapist may, therefore, deliberately frustrate patients to help increase frustration tolerance and break through an impasse. Above all, patients must come to place confidence in themselves and to do so must recognize the fantasy nature of the impasse they experience. They must come to grips with all that they are resisting in themselves. Although they approach that task with great anxiety, it nevertheless represents the one way out.

Dreams are considered particularly important in the process. They are approached, not through interpretation, but by reliving them. Patients act them out like a drama, playing the roles of the people and even the objects that the dream contains. A game that may be used for that purpose is the empty chair, a technique in which patients are instructed to change seats as they take the role of different figures in the dream. In recent years, various Gestalt techniques have been broadly incorporated into other therapies, and other therapies—such as dance, body work, and Reichian techniques—have, in turn, been combined with Gestalt techniques.

The handling of the dreamwork in Gestalt therapy may be considered a miniature form of the whole therapeutic process. The dream is a story woven around different parts of the self in its various conflicting aspects. If the different levels of the dream can be brought into full awareness and accepted, then integration can replace conflict. That restoration of wholeness is the goal of all the techniques of Gestalt therapy because it is regarded as the goal of life. Gestalt therapy implies a prescription for the good life that is quite similar to its therapeutic procedures. The elements of the prescription, as suggested by Naranjo in his various writings, include the following: Live now. Live here. Stop imagining and needless thinking. Express, rather than manipulate, justify, and judge. Do not restrict awareness. Accept only your own "shoulds." Take responsibility for your own feelings, thoughts, and actions and, finally, surrender to being what you are.

JACQUES LACAN

Jacques Lacan was born in Paris in 1901 and studied medicine and psychiatry. While undertaking psychoanalytic training, he also studied philosophy and structuralism. It was Levi-Strauss' application of linguistics to anthropology that inspired Lacan to attempt its application to psychoanalysis.

He was a member of the Psychoanalytic Society of Paris until the 1950s, when he led a group demanding more flexible training methods. He and several others resigned from the society and were then excluded from the International Psychoanalytic Association. Subsequently, he founded his own institute, the Freudian School of Paris, which has become the major French training facility. His influence on the continent has continued to grow, and he is becoming increasingly well known in the United States.

On the European continent today, Jacques Lacan's name is synonymous with psychoanalysis. So, at least, think a significant number of people of the man whom *Psychology Today* called "the most controversial Freudian since Freud," and whom the journal *Magazine Litteraire* declared had generated more ideological upheavals than any philosopher or politician.

Controversies around Lacan encompass his theories, practices, and writings. His theories have attempted an unconventional marriage between linguistics/structuralism and psychoanalysis, while his practices include an arbitrary shortening of the formerly sacrosanct 50-minute therapeutic hour. His writings, which display a genius for obscurity, exude a hermetic impenetrability. It is sometimes thought that Lacan is brilliant, but no one can be quite sure, because as the *New York Times Book Review* stated, "If understanding Lacan is not exactly guesswork, it is nonetheless, a highly precarious business."

The easiest way to summarize Lacan's work is to say that he has attempted something of a synthesis between the structuralism of Levi-Strauss, Roman Jakobson, and de Saussure

and Freud's psychoanalysis. The French school of structuralism draws heavily on the study of linguistics and the central notions of (1) the distinction between signifier and signified; (2) the distinction between metaphor (relations of similarity and substitution) and metonym (relations of contiguity and connection); and (3) the concept of language as a system of signs (or symbols), each of which gains its meaning only by virtue of its relationship to all other signs, and whose operation or use follows a particular structure or syntax. Syntax is the relation of sign to sign; semantics is the relation of sign to thing. For example, the semantic meaning of the word "tree" is a real tree; the syntactical meaning of the word "tree" is determined by how it relates to other words and signs in the language. Semantics is a matter of convention; syntax is held to be a deeply-embedded or native structure, independent of conventions.

For Lacan, "the world of words creates the world of things." and the unconscious is not so much a seething cauldron of energies, but rather is structured like a language. Freud's condensation becomes metaphor, and his displacement becomes metonym—not a matter of instinctual energies, but of linguistic signs. The primary process, which Freud defined as the free flow of energy, becomes the free flow of meaning, and the secondary process is the linguistic appropriation of free-flowing meaning into more structured and intentional meanings. A symptom, likewise, becomes a sign or symbol, and the task of the therapist is to interpret the symbolic text.

As infants develop, they go through an important phase called the "mirror stage," where they first learn to recognize themselves, but only by taking the role of the "other." This recognition leads, simultaneously, to the possibility of self-alienation. In fact, the ego for Lacan is essentially an alienated structure: it is the self objectified. The real subject is a set of relationships—especially through language and information exchange—but the ego is a defensive, self-alienated, false self. It is the self identified, in the imaginary realm, with the other, and the unconscious is largely "the discourse of the other." In other words, the ego is a false self because it is an objectified and alienated entity or thing, not a relationship, that results when the self identifies with the other in discourse. It is built on a "splitting," which is ultimately traceable to the mirror-stage. In therapy, the imaginary identification of self with other gives way to the symbolic differentiation of self and other, and the "empty words" of imaginary discourse with the other are replaced with the "full words" of symbolic discourse between two fully differentiated individuals. The ego, in short, is a narcissistic identification with the other and is governed by the desires and demands of the other, not of the self or true subject. In therapy, or in development itself, the child or client has to learn to transcend imaginary identifications with parents and others and thus drop its false and self-alienated mode of relationship.

In therapy, the shortening of the traditional 50-minute hour has aroused intense reactions of all kinds, including the suggestion that it is done for financial reasons. Lacan himself says he used it as a means for cutting short long-winded resistances and for intensifying the therapeutic relationship and process. As with most of Lacan's innovations, the true value of this change is uncertain, but hopefully, it will be decided through careful investigation, rather than by polemical debates.

RAYMOND CATTELL

Raymond Cattell was born in England in 1905 and obtained his Ph.D. and Doctor of Science degrees from the University of London before moving to the United States.

He held various academic positions before accepting an appointment at the University of Illinois in 1944, where he remained until his retirement in 1973. Subsequently, he has been a visiting professor at the University of Hawaii. He was a founder and first president of the Society for Multivariate Experimental Psychology and in 1953 was awarded the Wenner-Gran Prize of the New York Academy of Science.

His work has been marked throughout by a staggering combination of breadth and productivity. In 1964, students and associates counted his collective works to be at least 22 books and monographs, 12 intelligence and personality tests with associated handbooks, and well over 250 articles and chapters.

Cattell more than anyone else has introduced to personality assessment and theory the use of multivariate analyses: statistical procedures that simultaneously examine the relationship among multiple variables. With their use, Cattell and other multivariate analysts have been able to open a new era in personality research, marked by greater objectivity, quantification, identification of underlying source traits, testing of reliability and validity, construction of increasingly sophisticasted test measures, and precise mathematical formulation between variables.

CATTELL'S VIEW OF PERSONALITY RESEARCH Cattell emphasizes the importance of objective systematic investigation and the application of sophisticated multivariate analyses. He distinguishes among three methods in personality research: bivariate, multivariate, and clinical. He is quite critical of the bivariate approach, which studies only two variables at a time, manipulating one and measuring the other. His complaint is that such approaches are piecemeal and that, because many important variables cannot be experimentally manipulated, bivariate researchers frequently examine trivia.

He sees the clinical method as having the virtue of studying important behaviors in a relatively naturalistic way but as lacking rigor and objectivity. The multivariate approach, however, he believes combines the clinical approach's holism and relevance with objectivity and the ability to uncover complex causal relationships without experimental manipulation of people and circumstances.

DIMENSIONS OF PERSONALITY THEORY A comprehensive personality theory should address four major dimensions: (1) structures of personality, (2) dynamics, (3) development, and (4) pathology. It is to Cattell's credit that he addresses all four of these dimensions.

Structures SOURCE TRAITS Cattell makes an important distinction between surface traits and source traits. *Surface traits* are simple sets of behavior that tend to appear and disappear together and that represent simple correlation clusters. A syndrome is one such example. In contrast, *source traits* are defined as "simple structure factors" and represent the underlying source that constitutes a unitary independent dimension and building block of personality. The discovery of these source traits requires the statistical procedures of multivariate factor analysis.

Cattell has derived data from three distinct areas: life record data, questionnaires, and objective tests. From his life record data, Cattell identified 15 major factors or source traits that appeared to account for most behaviors and, on the basis of these findings, devised questionnaires. From these questionnaires came the 16 Personality Factor (16 PF) Inventory, a questionnaire that, as the name suggests, taps 16 source traits (Table 11-1). Of these 16 traits, the first 12 appear in both life record and questionnaire data, while the last 4 (Q-1,2,3,4) show up only on the questionnaires.

It is reassuring for clinicians to find that several of these factors can be clearly related to well-known clinical dimensions. For example, the first dimension, which Cattell with

TABLE 11-1
Brief Descriptions of Some Primary Source Traits Found by Factor Analysis*†

Low-Score Description	*Technical Labels*		*Standard Symbol*	*High-Score Description*
	Low Pole	*High Pole*		
Reserved, detached, critical, cool	Schizothymia	Affectothymia	A	Outgoing, warmhearted, easy-going, participating
Less intelligent, concrete thinking	Low general mental capacity	Intelligence	B	More intelligent, abstract thinking, bright
Affected by feelings, emotionally less stable, easily upset	Lower ego strength	Higher ego strength	C	Emotionally stable, faces reality, calm
Phlegmatic, relaxed	Low excitability	High excitability	D	Excitable, strident, attention-seeking
Humble, mild, obedient, conforming	Submissiveness	Dominance	E	Assertive, independent, aggressive, stubborn
Sober, prudent, serious, taciturn	Desurgency	Surgency	F	Happy-go-lucky, heedless, gay, enthusiastic
Expedient, a law to oneself, bypasses obligations	Low superego strength	Superego strength	G	Conscientious, persevering, staid, rule-bound
Shy, restrained, diffident, timid	Threctia	Parmia	H	Venturesome, socially bold, uninhibited, spontaneous
Tough-minded, self-reliant, realistic, no-nonsense	Harria	Premsia	I	Tender-minded, dependent, overprotected, sensitive
Trusting, adaptable, free of jealousy, easy to get on with	Alaxia	Protension	L	Suspicious, self-opinionated, hard to fool
Practical, careful, conventional, regulated by external realities, proper	Praxernia	Autia	M	Imaginative, preoccupied with inner urgencies, careless of practical matters, Bohemian
Forthright, natural, artless, sentimental	Artlessness	Shrewdness	N	Shrewd, calculating, worldly, penetrating
Placid, self-assured, confident, serene	Untroubled adequacy	Guilt proneness	O	Apprehensive, worried, depressive, troubled
Conservative, respecting established ideas, tolerant of traditional difficulties	Conservatism	Radicalism	Q–1	Experimental, critical, liberal, analytical, free thinking
Group dependent, a joiner and sound follower	Group adherence	Self-sufficiency	Q – 2	Self-sufficient, prefers to make decisions, resourceful
Casual, careless of protocol, untidy, follows own urges	Weak self-sentiment	Strong self-sentiment	Q – 3	Controlled, socially precise, self-disciplined, compulsive
Relaxed, tranquil, torpid, unfrustrated	Low ergic tension	High ergic tension	Q – 4	Tense, driven, overwrought, fretful

* In ratings and questionnaires and now embodied in the 16 Personality Factor Test
† From Cattell R B: Personality theory derived from quantitative experiment. In *Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry*, H I Kaplan, A M Freedman, B J Sadock, editors, ed 3, vol 1, p 852. Williams & Wilkins, Baltimore, 1980.

typically neologistic enthusiasm calls Schizothymia-Affectothymia, corresponds to what Kraepelin called the cyclothyme versus schizothyme dimension. As Table 11-1 shows, in the first source trait (A), the Schizothyme pole is characterized by a reserved, detached, critical, and cool personality, whereas the Affectothyme pole displays outgoing, warm, easy-going, participating behavior. It should be noted that these factors are obtained from normal populations and hence, although extreme scores may be associated with pathology in some people, this is not necessarily the case.

The second source trait (B) represents intelligence, whereas the third trait (C) represents ego strength and has most of the properties assigned to it by psychoanalysts. Source trait D seems to represent a dimension of general excitability, while trait E is clearly recognizable as the dimension of dominance-submissiveness.

Trait F seems to be associated with a happy-go-lucky enthusiasm and creativity, with minimal inhibition at one pole as against a more sober, serious, and even depressive tendency at the other. Trait G is clearly recognizable as the familiar dimension of superego strength and, as Freudians have for so long pointed out, has a special relationship to anxiety. Also of particular psychodynamic interest is the Q-4 trait called ergic tension. This trait seems to portray the level of general drive frustration, not merely undischarged libido in the Freudian sense, but other frustrated drives as well.

With these 16 traits derived from normal populations, Cattell has included an additional 12 dimensions derived from studies of clinical psychopathology groups to create the Clinical Analysis Questionnaire. This effectively discriminates among the main clinical syndromes.

Building on these data acquired from life and questionnaire studies, Cattell next devised an extensive battery of objective performance tests. According to Cattell, the Objective Test Battery, particularly in conjunction with the 16 PF, provides a diagnostic instrument of significantly greater sophistication and sensitivity than either subjective clinical judgment or commonly used tests—either projective, such as the Rorschach, or questionnaire, such as the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory Test (MMPI). Cattell therefore laments that his tests are not more widely used.

THE SPECIFICATION EQUATION Given that personality may be analyzed into identifiable source traits common to all people, the question then arises of how to use this information in a particular individual for maximum predictive power. Cattell suggests that this end can be accomplished by means of what he calls the "specification equation," in which a person's scores on particular dimensions are appropriately weighted and added. Thus, for example, it has been found that the probability of recovery from delinquency in adolescents is predicted by the formula:

$$\text{Response to treatment} = 0.1B - 0.5C + 0.3D - 0.1F + 0.6G - 0.2H + 0.2I + 0.2J + 0.2Q\text{-}1 - 0.3Q\text{-}2 + 0.2Q\text{-}4$$

Here, the letters refer to the specific source traits as shown in Table 11-1.

The specification equation incorporates both a multidimensional representation of the person, given by their trait scores, and the psychological situation, whose impact is described by the situational indices given by the weightings accorded to the traits. Cattell points out that this specification equation can be regarded as a multidimensional elaboration of Kurt Lewin's famous formulation that behavior is a function of both the person and the environment: $B = F(P,E)$. Cattell has broken both personality and environment down into discrete factors.

DYNAMICS Whereas the traits previously discussed were largely ability and temperament traits, Cattell has also paid attention to motivational factors or dynamics. His analyses have revealed both biologically based drives, which he calls ergs, and environmentally determined or learned traits, which he calls sentiments. Cattell considers that 10 ergs have been reasonably established by his factor analyses: hunger; sex; gregariousness; parental protectiveness; curiosity; escape (fear); pugnacity; acquisitiveness; self-assertion; and narcissistic sex, a general indulgence factor that takes its title from a psychoanalytic idea.

Sentiments, however, tend to be organized around important cultural ideas and include drives aimed at—in males, at least—career, sports, religion, parents, romantic partner, and self.

DEVELOPMENT Cattell has attempted to trace the development of traits across the life-span and also to determine their genetic and environmental sources. Although there are problems in being certain that apparently similar traits are referring to the same dimensions at different ages, there also appear to be recognizable patterns. The anxiety factor tends to be high in adolescents, to drop steadily until persons are about 35 years old, and to rise again in old age. Likewise, the ego strength factor vacillates during adolescence, but thereafter rises steadily.

Just as individual traits display different development patterns, so too they display differing contributions from genetic and environmental sources. For example, it has been estimated that heredity accounts for perhaps 80 percent of intelligence trait variability and for about half that amount for neuroticism.

One important finding has been the so-called law of coercion to the biosocial mean. This law is a tendency for environmental influences to systematically oppose the expression of genetic variability. This opposition suggests that society typically exerts pressures on genetically different individuals to conform to social norms. Thus, for example, a person with a strong genetic tendency toward dominance is likely to receive social encouragement for restraint, whereas the naturally submissive person will be encouraged toward self-assertion.

PSYCHOPATHOLOGY Cattell's major contributions in the area of psychopathology have related to conflict and the development of what he likes to call a quantitative psychoanalysis. Whereas psychodynamic clinicians would be content to describe a conflict by identifying opposing drives, Cattell attempts to extend this description to quantitative measurement of the strength of the relevant drives and their appropriate weightings so that they can be combined into a *dynamic specification equation.* The degree of conflict can therefore be quantified by the ratio of the sums of the conflicting drives. The degree of over-all conflict inherent in the whole personality would be represented by the sum of all such ratios.

Several general theoretical insights have also emerged. For example, it has been found that several aggressive attitudes are found to be more loaded by fear than by the pugnacity drive.

Cattell has also been able to derive a more sophisticated analysis of the factors that distinguish neurotics from normals. Thus, whereas Freud believed that anxiety is the central problem in the neuroses, and many psychoanalysts continue to believe that the main treatment goal for any neurosis is reducing anxiety, the factor analytic approach has identified at least seven primary factors involved in neuroses. These factors include ego weakness (C), submissiveness (E), desurgency (F), threctia (H), premsia (I), guilt-proneness (O), inadequate self-sentiment development (Q-3), and ergic tension (Q-4). By comparison, psychoanalysis has recognized ego weakness, guilt-proneness, and ergic tension as contributing to neurotic breakdown, but has said almost nothing about the other factors.

Also important is that similar surface traits or syndromes may appear among persons who differ significantly on various source traits. This variance suggests that optimal treatment may be quite different for individuals with apparently similar neuroses.

ASSESSMENT OF CATTELL'S THEORY There can be no question that Cattell's contributions are extraordinary in their breadth, scope, richness, novelty, and experimental underpinnings; however, they are not unassailable (What psychological theory is?). Indeed, several types of reservations have been expressed, and, as might be expected, most of them relate to the mechanism of factor analysis on which so much of Cattell's work rests.

Factor analysis is a highly sophisticated mathematical technique, and, like any sophisticated technique, it can create abstract products that seem far removed from the raw material provided by the basic data. This difficulty has led to the concern as to just how relevant the traits derived by factor analysis are to any particular individual. It is suggested that they might represent relatively meaningless abstractions, and not necessarily basic ones at that. Moreover, factor analysis can deal only with limited types of data that are readily susceptible to quantification.

Although one of the strongest claims made by factor analysts is for objectivity, it is apparent that a number of subjective choices are made at several stages in the process. There is also a question as to whether the same factors have, in fact, been identified in different studies, and several experimenters report difficulty in reproducing Cattell's traits.

In addition, some researchers have expressed concern with Cattell's theorizing. The major complaints have been that he sometimes makes far-reaching theoretical speculations inadequately grounded in empirical data and has been unduly disparaging of other approaches.

No research or researcher is without faults, and although Cattell may have his, he has also a remarkable range of strengths. It is therefore surprising that Cattell's theories have not received more attention and that his tests are not more widely used. In part, this inattention is probably due to the complexity of his techniques and ideas and to the time and learning demands necessary for applying his tests. These excuses are really inadequate, and it is greatly hoped that

clinicians and researchers will give Cattell's ideas and instruments a more central place in their work.

B. F. SKINNER

B. (Burrhus) F. (Frederic) Skinner was born in Pennsylvania in 1904 and received his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1931 where he is currently professor emeritus. As today's foremost behavioral psychologist, he has received numerous honors, including the Distinguished Scientific Award of the American Psychological Association and the President's Science Award. He continues to be active in applying his concepts of learning to the problems of human aging.

Skinner places great emphasis on the measurement of observable variables only and the establishment of precise relationships between them through the study of individual subjects under carefully controlled laboratory conditions. From extensive studies, he concluded that learning is based primarily on operant conditioning. Most simply, operant conditioning is a technique for reinforcing a subject's spontaneous activities. The experimenter waits for the subject to perform an action, and when the action occurs, the subject is rewarded.

Skinner's work has been widely applied in clinical settings, as well as in industry and education. He believes that undesirable behavior exists to a large extent because it is reinforced, and that it can be changed by removing the reinforcement and substituting a preferred response. Drug abuse clinics and weight control centers are among those clinical settings that utilize operant conditioning.

Skinner's early work in programed instruction has made a significant contribution to educational computer technology, demonstrating how the principles of learning derived from laboratory experimentation can be applied to education. Skinner's work, however, has been criticized on the grounds that, because it is largely based on simple controlled laboratory studies of animals, it is reductionistic and of limited generalizability to the complex behavior of humans. Social and philosophical extrapolations of Skinner's theories can be found in his utopian novel, *Walden Two*, and in *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*.

KEN WILBER

Ken Wilber was born in Oklahoma in 1949. After beginning premedical studies, he switched to science and completed both his undergraduate and graduate work in biochemistry at the University of Nebraska. In 1977 he helped to found and now edits the interdisciplinary journal *Revision*, and he is also an editor for Shambhala publishers. He lives in the San Francisco Bay area.

In addition to his formal education in science, Wilber is self-taught in an exceptionally broad range of disciplines. Since 1975 he has poured forth a wealth of books and articles, which are extraordinary in their number, profundity, scope, and interdisciplinary integration. Such has been the quality and quantity of his writings that within a single decade he has come to be regarded as one of today's foremost theoretical psychologists. The extent of his interdisciplinary scope can be gathered both from his psychological contributions and from the seminal works that he has written in sociology, anthropology, philosophy, and religion.

Drawing on a broad range of psychological systems, both Eastern and Western, Wilber has proposed an over-all model of psychological functioning that is developmental, structural, hierarchical, and systems-related. He has demonstrated the model's interdisciplinary usefulness by applying it to religion, anthropology, sociology, and philosophy. Primarily, however, it is a decidedly psychological system.

Wilber begins his model by analyzing, clarifying, and synthesizing some of the basic approaches of modern Western psychology. He particularly draws on psychoanalytic ego psychology and object-relations theory, developmental-structuralism, self-psychology, existentialism, and behaviorism (of a Hull-Tolman variety). From this analysis, Wilber identifies four general domains that psychology attempts to elucidate: the structures of the psyche and their development, dynamics, and pathology.

STRUCTURES Under structures of the psyche, Wilber includes three broad subsets: the basic structures, the transition structures, and the self-structure or, as he usually terms it, the "self-system." The basic structures of the psyche are those which, once they emerge, tend to remain in existence, either in their original form or in a slightly modified one. Wilber has attempted to isolate and define more than 24 such basic structures. These structures include, in hierarchical order: sensation, perception, emotional-sexual impulse, image, symbol, concept, rule, meta-rule, and vision. His analysis of these basic structures is explicitly tied to the findings of modern researchers, e.g. his "rule" is Piaget's concrete operational thinking, his meta-rule, Piaget's formal operational thinking, his vision, Arieti's synthetic thinking. Wilber's point is that once a basic structure emerges, such as the capacity to form symbols, that structure is not ordinarily lost in subsequent development, although it can be subsumed under subsequent development. In Wilber's analogy, basic structures form the more-or-less enduring rungs in the ladder of ongoing development; they are the "levels of consciousness" developmentally available to a person.

The transition structures, however, are those structures that are stage-specific (or phase-temporary) and that, barring fixation, consequently tend to drop out or at least wane in subsequent development. In this general category Wilber includes such items as Kohlberg's moral stages, Maslow's needs hierarchy, and Loevinger's ego states, each of which he systematically attempts to correlate with the others. Further, each transition stage—for example, Kohlberg's postconventional moral stage—is correlated with a particular basic structure that acts as its supporting foundation (in this example, Piaget's formal operational thinking). Unlike basic structures, however, which tend to subsume or incorporate previous basic structures, transition structures tend to negate or replace previous transition structures, as is explained below. Thus, for example, once Kohlberg's stage 5 moral development emerges, the stage 4 responses tend to wane or disappear entirely, whereas in empirical fact, the basic structures underlying both structures tend to remain in existence.

In Wilber's view, the self-system is a structural-functional invariant. It consists of a number of characteristics that define the self throughout most of its development. These characteristics include *identification*, the self as the locus of identification; *will*, the self as the locus of free choice, but free only within the limits set by the deep structures or basic limiting principles of its present stage of developmental adaptation; *organization*, the self is the principle that gives, or attempts to give, unity to the mind; and *navigation*.

Under navigation, Wilber sees the self having two sets of dialectical choices at each level of development. These choices are (1a) to preserve or (1b) to negate elements of the given level and (2a) to descend or (2b) to ascend to a different level altogether; 1a is Eros; 1b, Phobos; 2a, Thanatos; 2b, Agape. (Wilber, incidentally, is one of the few modern theoreticians to take Freud's concept of Thanatos seriously.)

It is in connection with these major characteristics that Wilber develops his theory of pathology as developmental miscarriages at particular stages of identification and organization.

The self-system, according to Wilber, serves one other major function: It is the central developmental link between the basic structures and the transition structures. It is in this context that Wilber discusses the second general domain, that

of development. Once a given basic structure emerges in development, the self-system tends eventually to identify with that basic structure; the self is the locus of identification. As this process occurs, however, the self must break its exclusive proximate identity with the lower basic structure in order to extend its identity to include the higher structure. It is exactly this break, according to Wilber, that negates or displaces the correlative transition structure (moral, egoic, and so on). Thus, during development, basic structures are preserved and transition structures are negated (and here Wilber quotes Hegel: "To supersede is at once to negate and to preserve.").

For example, once Piaget's basic structure of concrete operational thinking emerges, the self-system can eventually identify with it and can operate on the world from it. This level of cognitive development generates the conventional stage of moral development as described by Kohlberg. When the formal-operational basic structure emerges, however, the self can break its exclusive proximate identity with concrete operational thinking and can identify itself with formal operational thought. When this transition occurs, the conventional moral stage can give way to, or can be replaced by, the postconventional stage. Wilber's point, in this example, is that the basic structure of concrete operational capacity remains in existence, but is subsumed or incorporated by that of formal operational functioning (as maintained by Piaget). The conventional-moral transition stage is replaced by the postconventional stage (as maintained by Kohlberg), due, Wilber suggests, to the break in exclusive identification.

Thus, development in this model involves an interplay between the emerging basic structures, the coordinating self-system, and the phase-temporary transition structures. Once a basic structure emerges, the self-system can identify with it; the exclusiveness of this proximate identification generates the correlative transition structure. When a higher basic structure emerges, the self eventually disidentifies from, but does not destroy, the lower basic structure in order to identify with the higher structure, a process that keeps the lower basic structure in existence but breaks the monopoly or exclusiveness of its proximate identity, and thus dissolves its correlative transition structure.

DYNAMICS As for psychological dynamics, Wilber sees each structure or level of consciousness as possessing its own needs or drives. The concept of need-drive he associates with the postulate that *every structure is actually a structure of relational exchange, or a structure of object relations.* That is, each structure exists in a world of similar structures, and it can exist only by virtue of interacting with these structures (the physical body depends for its existence on food exchange with its physical environment; the emotional-sexual body reproduces itself through biological relationship with similar bodies; the mental realm is constituted by symbolic-communicative exchange with other minds, and so on). Any time the object relations of any level are disturbed or broken, a need-drive swings into play with the sole aim of reestablishing the relational exchange on which the life of that level depends. It is at this point that Wilber brings some of the general principles of behaviorism into his synthesis: Reinforcement is defined as that which reestablishes relational exchange; that is, satisfies need-drive at whatever level. There are thus levels of reinforcement corresponding with levels of need-drive.

PATHOLOGY Pathology, in this model, is directly related to development and to the concept of need-drive. Aside from structural pathology, such as organic brain damage, most pathology, according to Wilber, is self-pathology; that is, *related to the developmental stages of the self's journey* through successive basic structures with their correlative need-drives and transitional structures. Wilber believes self-development is a process of phase-specific identification and subsequent phase-specific disidentification. The self identifies with an emerging basic structure and appropriates, organizes, and integrates that structure in its own being. When that task is completed and the next higher basic structure emerges, the self breaks its exclusive proximate identity with that lower structure. It disidentifies with that structure, or transcends it, and switches its central and operative identity to the higher structure, from which the self then ideally integrates the lower structure with the higher one. Pathology, for Wilber, is essentially a disturbance in this identification/disidentification process. Fixation is out-of-phase (prolonged) identification; repression or dissociation is out-of-phase (premature) disidentification.

Wilber sees development as proceeding through a half-dozen or so major points of integration-identification, followed by differentiation-disidentification and subsequent integration-identification on the new level, and so on. Developmental miscarriages at any of these points generate specific pathologies requiring specific treatment modalities. To summarize: During the first 6 months or so of life, the self is identified with its physical environment and, especially, the mothering one (Mahler's "symbiotic phase"); it cannot clearly differentiate subject and object. By the end of the second year (especially during Mahler's "rapproachment subphase"), the self, basically as a sensorimotor and emotional-sexual body, has differentiated itself from the environment/mother. Failure to engage this differentiation-disidentification generally results in psychoses and primary narcissistic disorders; that is, consciousness fails to seat in (identify with) the body, or else it views everything as a mere extension or appendage of itself. Attempting to engage this switchpoint but failing its completion generally results in borderline disorders. In this regard, Wilber explicitly follows psychoanalytic ego psychology: the fusion of self and object representations, splitting of good and bad object images, and so on.

If consciousness negotiates this pivot point, it winds up identified with the sensoriperceptual and emotional-sexual body, which sets up the next major switchpoint, that of the oedipal phase. Wilber sees this phase as essentially relating to the differentiation and subsequent integration of the mind and body, with a switch in proximate identity from body-bound modes to mental modes. Failure to engage this differentiation-disidentification leads to borderline disorders and borderline neurotic disorders. (Wilber follows Blanck and Blanck in defining the borderline patient as one who lives too much in the immediacy of bodybound experience and not enough in mental structure.) Engagement with differentiation but failed integration leads to classical neuroses; that is, the mental self either represses emotional-sexual impulses or remains unconsciously fixated to them. Similarly, the next major switchpoint involves identity neuroses, and the next, existential neuroses, each of which is similarly related to the phase-specific cycle of differentiation/integration.

Wilber ties pathological miscarriages at any switchpoint to a disturbance of the correlative need-drives emerging during that phase. For Wilber, the two are essentially synonymous. To give only one example, the failure to differentiate and then integrate the emotional-sexual body is simply another way to describe the distortion of emotional-sexual object relations or need-drives. At the same time, Wilber's equation of reinforcement with need-drive satisfaction allows him to discuss pathology in terms of past conditioning and reinforcement.

The existential dimensions of Wilber's system become ob-

vious when he describes the dynamics of each switchpoint in terms of a life or death, Eros or Phobos, or being or nonbeing tension—a tension the self must negotiate adequately in order to avoid fixation, on the one hand, or dissociation, on the other hand. These tensions or anxieties propel the various defense mechanisms, whose actual form is determined by the basic structure(s) then predominant. Because there is a hierarchy of basic structures, there is a corresponding hierarchy of defense mechanisms, a hierarchy that in essence matches that of psychoanalytic theory.

Wilber correlates optimum therapy to the particular level of developmental miscarriage evidenced in symptomatology, although this correlation is not a cut-and-dried affair. For recalcitrant psychoses, physiological interventions are recommended; for borderline disorders, the structure-building techniques; for classical neuroses, the uncovering techniques; for identity neuroses, communicative or role-perspective techniques; for existential neuroses, which Wilber carefully distinguishes from borderline malaise, the newly-developing existential therapies. In addition to past developmental conditioning, an examination of present life orientation and future life goals is emphasized.

SYNTHESIS OF EASTERN AND WESTERN PSYCHOLOGIES Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of Wilber's model is that he has been able to use it to effect a plausible synthesis of Eastern and Western approaches to psychology and consciousness. Wilber suggests that the same basic principles, such as structuralism, developmentalism, and hierarchization, naturally extend themselves into higher transpersonal, transcendental, or mystical states, identities, drives, and cognitive modes. He argues that the higher transpersonal states and modes described in Eastern traditions represent development beyond the stages traditionally recognized in Western psychology, but that the same basic principles of analysis that proved useful at preegoic and egoic levels can be extended to the transegoic levels.

At this point, Wilber's model explicitly joins up with the "perennial philosophy." According to the *philosophia perennis* that lies at the heart of, and is common to, the world's great mystical traditions, there are levels or structures of consciousness lying beyond those of the formal operational or rational egoic mind. By performing a structural analysis of these levels as outlined in the mystical traditions, such as Zen, Vedanta, Kabalah, neo-Platonism, and Buddhism, Wilber has identified and described a half-dozen or more higher or transrational structures of consciousness that show cross-cultural similarities. These structures, Wilber suggests, are natural extensions of those already studied by orthodox psychology; that is, there is an unbroken developmental logic that runs from prerational to rational to transrational structures, from prepersonal to personal to transpersonal states, from preegoic to egoic to transegoic identities, or from subconscious to selfconscious to superconscious modes.

According to Wilber, the major mistake of Western psychologists studying mystical states has been to confuse prerational modes with transrational modes simply because both appear nonrational. This confusion, which Wilber terms the "pre-trans fallacy," occurs in two opposite directions: Transrational states are reduced to prerational infantilisms, e.g. as by Freud, or prerational magic and myth are elevated to transrational glory, e.g. as by Jung. This mistake has frequently led to superficial analyses and invalidations of Eastern thinking.

Uniting these higher or transrational structures with the prerational and rational structures studied by Western psychology and showing their logical as well as theoretical continuity results in the over-all model that Wilber calls the "spectrum of consciousness." Because of this developmental continuity, Wilber maintains that orthodox psychologists will eventually be moved, by their own data and logic, into a recognition and investigation of the higher stages. The beginnings of this process may be apparent in Kohlberg's recent addition of a universal-spiritual moral stage beyond the postconventional, which was formerly the highest level recognized in his system of moral development.

For each of the higher stages, as with the lower, Wilber outlines the basic structures involved, the self-sense, the dynamic, the development, the process of differentiation/integration, the possible pathologies, and the types of meditative or contemplative techniques involved in reaching these higher levels. Wilber's model is primarily theoretical. Nonetheless, he has recently devoted much attention to the methodology and epistemology of confirming (or rejecting) his hypotheses. It is this over-all model, with its attempt at general comprehensiveness and epistemological grounding, that seems to have generated so much interest.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN PERSONALITY THEORY

A number of the personality theorists considered in this chapter have emphasized approaches to an expanded view of human potentialities. Throughout history and in all cultures, there have been numerous reports of alterations in awareness, which may be experienced as an expanded sense of self or even as a transcendence of individual selfhood. Any overview of human potentialities must, then, include a broad spectrum of phenomena that seemingly transcend the customary definitions of the limits of reality.

Abraham Maslow, Gardner Murphy, Gordon Allport, and Ken Wilber have been among the most influential theorists in stressing the importance of exploring the extremes of human potential and psychological well-being. Unable to find more than passing reference to those areas in Western literature, they turned toward Eastern psychologies, which have long focused on such questions. Careful examination led them to believe that these psychologies had been significantly underestimated and that they pointed toward a radically different picture of human psychology. Their inquiries led them to investigate such subjects as altered states of consciousness, self-transcendence, meditation, yoga, and a range of related experiences and phenomena that had not previously been subject to Western psychological examination. At the same time, a consistent body of empirical and theoretical data was emerging from studies of such phenomena as biofeedback, meditation, peak experiences, and the personal experiences of related practices reported by initially skeptical Western behavioral scientists.

That growing body of information proved significant enough for Maslow to conclude in *Toward a Psychology of Being:*

> I consider Humanistic, Third Force Psychology to be transitional, a preparation for a still "higher" Fourth Psychology, transpersonal, transhuman, centered in the cosmos rather than in human needs and interest, going beyond humanness, identity, self-actualization, and the like.

Maslow therefore joined several eminent pioneers of humanistic psychology in founding the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* and the Association for Transpersonal Psychology. Thus, the field of transpersonal psychology, the so-called fourth force of Western psychology, emerged, drawing on the contributions of both Eastern wisdom and Western science.

The term "transpersonal" was selected after considerable

deliberation in an effort to reflect the extension of psychological inquiry into areas going beyond, *trans*, the individual and his or her *persona* or personality, because in many of the experiences under investigation, the subjects experienced an extension of identity beyond both individuality and personality. One of the primary concerns of transpersonal psychology is the study of optimum psychological health and well-being, and growth beyond traditionally recognized levels of health.

TRANSPERSONAL MODELS The transpersonal model of the human being differs in several aspects from traditional models. A simplified account can be given under four dimensions: consciousness, conditioning, personality, and identification.

Consciousness The transpersonal model holds consciousness to be a central dimension that constitutes the essence, context, or matrix of the human experience. Traditional Western psychologies have held differing positions with regard to consciousness, ranging from behaviorism, which ignores it, to psychodynamic and humanistic approaches, which acknowledge it but, in general, pay more attention to its contents than to consciousness itself. The transpersonal perspective holds that a spectrum of states of consciousness exists, that some of those states are potentially useful, and that some of them represent true higher states. Literature from a variety of cultures and ages, as well as from more recent empirical studies of such areas as meditation and state-dependent learning, attest to the reality and attainability of those states.

The traditional view, however, holds that only a limited range of states exist, e.g. waking, dreaming, intoxication, and psychosis. The usual waking state is considered optimal, and nearly all other states are seen as secondary, unimportant, or detrimental.

By contrast, the transpersonal model views the usual state of consciousness as less than optimal. Meticulous and prolonged self-observation, such as in meditation, reveals that the usual state is filled to a remarkable and unrecognized extent with a continuous and largely uncontrollable flow of thoughts, emotions, and fantasies. They are continuously, automatically, and unconsciously blended with sensory inputs, according to the person's needs and defenses, to exert an extraordinarily powerful but usually unrecognized distorting influence on perception, cognition, and behavior. That part of the model is in agreement with the claims of a variety of Eastern psychologies and consciousness disciplines, which state that, whether they know it or not, untrained persons are prisoners of their own minds. As such, they are totally and unwittingly trapped in a continuous perception-distorting fantasy that creates an encompassing illusion called "maya" or "samsara."

Full awareness, in place of that conditioned distortion of the mind, is one of the aims of transpersonal therapy. Various approaches may be used, including traditional psychotherapeutic techniques, but, to date, advanced work on that problem has necessitated the use of techniques that are at least partially derived from non-Western psychologies, such as meditation and yoga. All the approaches involve training in controlling one or more aspects of perceptual sensitivity, concentration, affect, and cognition. The intensity and the duration of the training usually needed to attain mastery are quite extraordinary by traditional Western standards. Ultimately, such approaches point the way to the possibility of an enduring state of consciousness—known by a variety of names, such as enlightenment, samadhi, moksha, or Nirvana—that is free of usual limitations and distortions.

Conditioning The transpersonal perspective emphasizes two phenomena related to conditioning that go beyond traditional psychological approaches. The first involves the possibility of freedom from conditioning, at least phenomenologically. Such a possibility is hard to conceive from the perspective of the traditional models, but it follows logically from the process of the disidentification of awareness from mental content, which is discussed below.

The second phenomenon is a form of conditioning that Eastern psychologies have examined in detail; namely, the specific consequences of attachment. Attachment is closely related to the concept of addiction, but whereas Western psychology tends to think of addiction only in relation to such things as drugs and food, Eastern psychologies emphasize that attachment can occur to any desired object, person, condition, or goal. Attachment is closely associated with desire and signifies that the nonfulfillment of the desire will result in psychological pain. Therefore, attachment is held to play a central role in the causation of suffering, and letting go of attachment is held to be central to the cessation of suffering. Those principles were perhaps most clearly enunciated in the Buddha's four noble truths, but have also been described by some Western practitioners, such as Jung, who stated in his *Letters*:

> Whenever we are still attached, we are still possessed; and when one is possessed it means the existence of something stronger than oneself.

Personality In earlier Western psychologies, personality has been accorded a central place, and, indeed, most theories hold that people *are* their personalities. Transpersonal theory, however, places less emphasis on personality, which is seen as only one aspect of being, an aspect with which the person may identify, but does not have to. Psychotherapists have usually viewed the attainment of health as involving some modification of personality. From the transpersonal perspective, however, health is seen as also involving a shift from an exclusive identification with personality to a broader identity and sense of being, extending beyond traditional egoic limits. Such a shift is accompanied by a sense of relative freedom from the habitual dictates of personality, even in those cases in which the personality itself remains relatively unmodified.

Identification Identification is seen as a crucial concept and is conceptually extended beyond customary Western limits. Traditional psychologies have recognized identification with external phenomena and have defined the process as an unconscious one in which the person becomes like or feels the same as an external object or person.

Transpersonal psychology, however, recognizes external identification but states that identification with intrapsychic phenomena is of even greater significance. Thoughts and feelings may be observed with detachment and may exert little or no influence on the person. If, however, the person identifies with them, they come to determine the sense of identity and reality. For example, if the thought "I'm scared" arises and is seen to be what it is—that is, just another thought—it exerts little influence; however, if the thought is identified with, then the person's experiential reality at that moment is that he or she is frightened. Through identification, a self-fulfilling prophetic process ensues in which one believes onself to be what one thinks. "We are what we think," said the Buddha. "With our thoughts we make the world."

Beyond the ego This process extends into the most fundamental aspects of identity. Even the sense that a relatively stable and permanent self exists within one may be illusory.

Identification of awareness with the thoughts and feelings that continuously flow through the mind in rapid succession results in the illusion that a continuous observer exists, just as a rapid succession of still pictures results in the illusion of continuous motion. Yet, awareness of sufficient sensitivity and precision, such as occurs in advanced meditation, may cut through those perceptual distortions and result in the recognition that no separate ego, self, or I is buried deep within the psyche but only a ceaseless, impersonal flux of thoughts and emotions and the awareness that observes them. That recognition is said to be an extremely salutary one, freeing the person from significant amounts of egocentric concern. Nevertheless, a full understanding and appreciation of the phenomena and their implications are held to be best obtained by direct experiences of them, rather than by intellectual discussion alone.

From that model follow possibilities for psychological growth and well-being that extend beyond those of traditional Western psychology and psychotherapy. Western psychotherapy usually has as its final goal a strong ego capable of living with and adapting to the existentially inevitable realities, such as continuous ego-superego conflict. For transpersonal theorists, however, more is possible. They agree with the premise that a strong ego is better than a weak, ineffective one, but they suggest that the relinquishing of exclusive identification with ego may be essential to higher development. As Needleman states in *A Sense of the Cosmos*:

> The self that psychology talks about is too small, too egotistical and too introverted.

The conflicts and suffering associated with ego and the existential givens of life may, indeed, be unresolvable; however, from the transpersonal perspective, they are transcendable through the expansion of awareness and identity beyond the exclusive identification with ego and personality.

Sustained states of this expanded awareness and identity are the goal of many Eastern psychologies; however, similar, although transient, states have long been recognized in the West as, for example, Buck's cosmic consciousness, Maslow's peak experience, and Jung's numinous experience. A considerable body of psychological and sociological evidence suggests that those who have such experiences tend to be more psychologically healthy than those who do not.

Such a recognition is of both theoretical and practical importance, because there has been a tendency for some psychiatrists to make a priori assumptions that such transcendental experiences must represent pathological ego regressions akin to schizophrenic processes. Such an interpretation is understandable from the traditional perspective, but it is at variance with recent theoretical and empirical findings and represents an example of Wilber's "pre-trans fallacy." These findings suggest that Eastern claims concerning the importance of transcendent states for the realization of the full human potential, claims that have been echoed by many of the theorists in this section, warrant serious consideration and research.

CONCEPTUAL CONVERGENCE Those studies and the transpersonal multistate model also hold significant implications for a new understanding of religion and religious experience. They point to the recognition that certain aspects of the great religions can be considered as state-specific technologies whose practices are designed to alter the practitioner's state of consciousness and induce a transcendental state. Thus, the potential for achieving deeply significant and noematic states, which may be interpreted either theistically or nontheistically, may be inherent in everyone.

Transpersonal psychology provides a framework for intensive investigation of the range of human potential. The need for more refined instruments to measure nonordinary states of consciousness is apparent, as well as the need for greater clarity and precision in delineating the parameters of such phenomena.

SUGGESTED CROSS REFERENCES

Other theories bear on this section, including the theories of Freud (Chapter 8), Berne (Section 10.2), Jung (Section 9.3), Rank (Section 10.2), Reich (Section 10.2), and learning theory (Section 4.3). General living systems theory is discussed in Section 1.2. Perception and cognition are discussed in Section 4.1. Psychoanalysis and psychoanalytic psychotherapy are discussed in Section 29.1, behavior therapy in Section 29.2, group psychotherapy and psychodrama in Section 29.5, and recent methods of psychotherapy in Section 29.10. Biofeedback is discussed in Section 29.12. Hypnosis is discussed in Section 29.4.

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