

Travel impressions from

PSYCHOLOGY IN A SHOPPING MALL

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The City under Glass – Step inside the Shops at Prudential Center and you've entered a dazzling city under glass. Above you, the vast expanse of sky gleams through our glass-enclosed arcades, both day and night. And before you, an amazing array of shops, restaurants, and services awaits your discovery. Whether you've come from around the corner or around the world, you'll find just about anything you could possibly want, from apparel to sporting goods, souvenirs to sweets, books to banking. (From a prospect for the shopping center site of the American Psychological Association Convention 1999).

This summer I participated in three social science conferences - the 18th International Human Science Research Conference (IHSRC) in Sheffield; the 107th Annual Convention of American Psychological Association (APA) in Boston; and the 8th European Conference for Research on Learning and Instruction (EARLI) in Gothenburg. The following impressions from these conferences are decidedly perspectival as my research interests determined which of the many sessions to attend and which to review, and again what to present from the sessions selected. What particularly caught my interest was the marginalisation of qualitative research within scientific psychology. Among the important areas, unfortunately not selected this year, were the many presentations of empirical qualitative research at the IHSRC, the sessions of the large testing business and the therapeutical efficiency studies, the growing biomedical approach in psychology at the APA, and the many technological efficiency studies of learning at the EARLI.

In my approach to psychology as a cultural activity some themes emerged from the journey through the kaleidoscopic field of the three conferences, and these will be presented as CONCLUDING REMARKS: A POSTMODERN PSYCHOLOGY BETWEEN THE CATHEDRAL AND THE MARKET PLACE. The main themes are: *The cross-disciplinary and crosscultural variable status of qualitative research; The stability of a profession and the marginalisation of dissidents - qualitative research in psychology; The Janushead of psychology; Psychology between language and neurology; From the individual to the environment; Diversity - divide and conquer; Legitimation through performativity; and A psychology of the church, of the factory and of the market.*

18TH INTERNATIONAL HUMAN SCIENCE RESEARCH CONFERENCE, Sheffield, July 26-29 (IHSRC)

The 18th International Human Science Research Conference gathered about 200 participants from a broad variety of disciplines within the human, social and health sciences. It had originated as an alternative conference drawing in implications of the philosophy of this century for

the social sciences - such as phenomenological, existential, hermeneutical, dialectical and post-modern lines of thought. The human science conferences have offered a free space for these approaches, which - at least some decades ago - were deemed outside the realm of legitimate scientific pursuits in some disciplines and in some countries. Originally alternating between Canada and the United States, the first conference in Europe took place at Aarhus University in 1989; since then the conference has altered between North America and Europe, also with one conference in South Africa and in year 2001 in Tokyo. (The IHSRC 2000 will be in New York, for information: shalling@seattleu.edu – see the announcement in this newsletter).

This year the main topic was "*Qualitative Research: Unity and Diversity*". The conference was organised by Peter Ashworth and took place at the Sheffield Hallam University. Sheffield is a city of strong craft traditions and an industrial history, and proud of this heritage as well, in particular its cutlery and the inventions of different kinds of steam engines. Appropriately the welcome reception of the Human Science conference was held in an old factory building turned into a museum, with displays of craft production and demonstrations of some of the steam engines. The final dinner was held in a large Victorian Cutlers hall.

In a keynote speech "*Exploring the Outer Reaches of the Conversational Model*" in psychology Rom Harré (Georgetown University, Washington D.C.) questioned the common dichotomy of quantitative and qualitative methods. He rather preferred to talk about causal and normative accounts in psychology and he saw a close relation of qualitative and normative knowledge. He argued for approaching psychology from the viewpoint of language, referring to Wittgenstein's dictum: Define the boundaries of language from within, and also: What you cannot speak of you have to remain silent about. To Harré human life becomes the realisation of the grammars given us. He followed the "psycho-logics" of the Norwegian psychologist Jan Smedslund - when explicating the conceptual knowledge already contained in everyday language, there remained very little new knowledge resulting from the empirical psychological research. A question from the audience about the stability of the grammar of life led to a series of distinctions - linguistic grammar being stable, though somewhat destabilised by feminist grammars, emotional grammars being quite changeable, as also new grammars of sexuality following the Freudian influence.

In another keynote speech "*Questions in Conversation - Contemplative Inquiry in Psychological Practice*", Miller Mair (Kinharvie House, Scotland), discussed therapy from the perspective of language. In contrast to the American Psychological Association's official policy of scientific evidence-based psychotherapy, he depicted therapeutic practice as an endeavour undisturbed by scientific research. Psychological inquiry is broader than today's language of science with its pressure of cutting up, categorising and objectifying; Mair wanted to emphasise searching rather than re-searching. He went on to play the meaning of words - "queri" from Latin to ask, with "inquiry" as asking someone of, and "quest" as meaning more than mere questioning, to include a journey undertaken with your whole being, a spiritual and personal quest. In contrast to attempts of a scientific psychology to stay outside of our everyday language Mair described how we are immersed in a culture with our words living in conversations. One consequence of Mair's language approach is a change in the subject matter of psychology from an individual psyche to human beings as users of a common language.

The nestor of the conference, Wolfe Mays (Manchester Metropolitan University) had been a student of Wittgenstein and had worked with Jean Piaget. May's keynote speech addressed a topic discussed in France several decades ago, but since then it has been given little attention in

the human sciences - *"Marxism and Phenomenology"*. He examined critically Sartre's existentialist extension of the dialectic beyond the narrow bounds of dialectical materialism, Merleau Ponty's approach to a philosophy of history, and the attempts by Tran-Duc-Thao to relate marxism and phenomenology through Husserl's concept of *Lebenswelt*. He was cautious regarding a rapprochement; this would entail a loss of phenomenology's embeddedness in lived experience, and a softening of the Marxist conception of human action as a product of laws of economic history.

A symposium of *"Discourses of 'Delusion': Rationality, Reality and Power"* by Ian Parker (University of Bolton Institute, Bolton UK) and co-workers took issue with the DSM (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders) depiction of delusions as "false beliefs based on incorrect inference about external reality". The presenters rejected the positivist assumptions of pathology and external reality underpinning this definition and attempted to develop a post-positivist account of delusions in which interactional or discursive issues displace the concern with external reality. In a discourse analysis following Parker's critical psychology a key topic became how the power difference between people with delusions and mental health professionals have an impact on local discursive practice.

There was an abundance of presentations of qualitative research at the conference. While some came close to an empiristic rendering of endless interview quotes, other showed interesting uses of narrative and discursive analyses of texts. There were several attempts at critical discussions of the methodological issues involved in qualitative research. Adri Smalling (University of Utrecht) analysed *"Inductive, analogical and communicative generalisation"* and depicted in detail how these forms of generalisation pertain to qualitative studies. Karen Henwood (University of East Anglia) discussed *"Reinventing validity from beyond the quality-quantity divide"*. She depicted the tight reign of validity in conventional research and discussed forms of validation in a qualitative realm form with no objective standards of truth, with a contextually related content and a multi-voiced subjectivity. Valid inquiry is likely to be inquiry that turns reflexively in on itself and outwards to its position in society, so that it can interrogate and not just sustain its own values, purposes and goals.

I participated in a symposium on *"The Precarious Position of Qualitative Research in Psychology"* with Chris Anstoos (University of West Georgia at Carrollton) and Amedeo Giorgi (Graduate School and Research Center, San Francisco). Giorgi has since the early 1970s at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh pioneered the development of empirical qualitative research methodology for psychology inspired by the philosophical phenomenology of Husserl and Merleau Ponty. He addressed difficulties of implementing qualitative research in psychology in the United States and criticised prevailing lack of theory in qualitative research. In my own presentation I discussed the neglect within current research of the psychoanalytical interview as a key production site of significant psychological knowledge, major parts of psychological textbooks today stem from insights first developed in psychoanalytical interviews. For a psychologist working in Denmark it was astonishing to hear of the lack of interest in, and downright rejection of qualitative research in United States' psychology; Anstoos provided several examples of difficulties with obtaining the American Psychological Association's acceptance of qualitative conference symposia, and problems of funding of qualitative research projects, as well as publication of qualitative research in the many APA journals.

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While the human science conference showed an openness to implications of key philosophies of this century for the social sciences, their development in relation to social production and consumption received little attention. Except for the sites of the conference reception and the final dinner in a factory and a guild hall from Sheffield's proud history of crafts and industry, the economical-material context of knowledge production in the social sciences was absent. This concerns not only the older experimental knowledge factories of a positivist behaviourist psychology, which at the conference was criticised on idealistic grounds. What seems more remarkable is that human science researchers of today neglect the impact of qualitative research in the consumer sphere. Probably the largest, and economically most important, field of qualitative research is now in advertising with its "depth interviews" and "focus groups", emphatically probing the consumers' experiences and desires in order to more efficiently predict and control their consumer behaviour.

107TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION (APA), Boston, August 20-24, 1999

The APA convention took place in Boston, at the Prudential Center - "The City under Glass", a huge shopping centre connecting the main convention hotels, described in a centre prospect quoted above. For five days more than 7000 convention psychologist were hurrying back and forth along the arcades of fancy shops and restaurants. They also passed by a chapel with glass doors towards the arcade, providing a quiet respite, and a confessional chair dedicated to Saint Francis, the patron of the poor and the birds! The external glass walls protected the shopping haven from city noise and industrial pollution.

In the large convention programme the topics and presenters of many scientific and professional sessions covered 450 pages. They were framed at the beginning by a list of commercial convention exhibitors, and at the end, as well as interspersed among the sessions, more than 100 pages of advertisements for psychological books, tests and technology. (The next APA conference takes place in Washington, DC, August, 4-8, 2000; information: APA, 750 First Street NE, Washington, DC)

Many voices into one

The President of the APA this year was Richard Suinn (University of Colorado), an Asian American from Hawaii. The opening session with several thousand participants included representatives from the American Indians, the African Americans, the Hispanics and the Asians. Each group conducted ceremonial performances and prayers in the four corners of the large auditorium. In his opening speech - "*Many Voices into One*", the President emphasised respect for uniqueness, the strength of the units and the need to increase variety. Earlier affirmative action was to alleviate past wrongs, today it is benefiting everyone by diversity. The different races have much to learn from each other, and it is necessary to fight the mono-cultural impact of psychological practice. He pointed to the significance of the two sub-themes of this year's conference: "Cancer" and "Ethnic Minorities", the latter includes symposia as "Building a Multicultural and Multiethnic Society" and "The Gifts That Minorities Bring".

At the ceremony it remained long uncertain whether the guest speaker would arrive - Reverend Jesse Jackson, founder and leader of the Rainbow Coalition. On the very same morning he attended the burial of his brother who had died of cancer. He did arrive, late, and gave a passionate address on the convention themes. He declared that in the United States of today race is

not the key issue, it is social class. As key moments in the history of the United States he pointed to the end of slavery, and a century later equal legal rights to vote and to education. What is still lacking is equal access to resources, rather than equal legal rights; access to resources such as knowledge, information, the new media, and capital. Persons suffering from cancer should not be put to decide between securing their family's income or taking an expensive cancer treatment. His brother had a medical insurance where he had to wait a long time, too long a time, for getting a treatment at all.

Jesse Jackson repeatedly returned to the individualising trends in American culture - it is not the mother and the father of the juvenile offender who should be blamed, but the social system. He lashed out at the media's focus on the individual candidates rather than on political and social issues of the coming presidential election. The major headlines on one of the candidates - George Bush - were on his alleged use/or not use of cocaine some decades ago. No attention was given in the press to themes such as that the state of Texas, where Bush was Governor, had the longest prison terms for minor drug offences, it was the state with most guns, the most executions, the most executions of mentally deficient persons, and it was the ideal state for the growing prison building industry.

There was an abundant flowering of multicultural sessions at this year's conference, whereas the issue of social class hardly surfaced in the program. I was regrettably not able to attend one marked exception - the symposium "*Social Class, Subjectivity, and Activism - Challenges to Psychological Practice*". Charles Collin (United for a Fair Economy, Boston) here spoke on "Changing the U.S. Class Structure: Growing Wage and Wealth Inequality" and Valerie Walkerdine (University of Western Australia, Nepern) on "Class Matters: Towards a Psychology of Survival".

In a session on "*Who wants psychology?*" Harold Takooshian (Fordham University, NY) discussed the present status of psychology, which now is the subject most frequently chosen by students at American universities. Psychology is today rated as one of the ten fastest growing career tracks in the United States, the consumer interest in psychological books and popular journals is strongly expanding. The field of psychology is broadening, recent textbooks including chapters on religion, law and marketing. In particular psychology and religion, which have been rivals throughout the history of scientific psychology, are now nearing an rapprochement.

Behaviorism

In the decades after the cognitive rebellion of the 70s, and the advent of computer psychology, the once dominant behaviourism has remained rather outside the psychological scene. This year there were two historical symposia on behaviourism. One was "*John B. Watson's Contributions Revisited*" chaired by Lewis Lippsitt (Brown University). The other was a "*Mock Trial of B.F. Skinner*", chaired by Matthew Andrzejewski (Temple University). He also participated as the prosecuting attorney, the presenters played the roles of some of Skinner's well known critics, such as Chomsky, and of his supporters, such as Catania. The session proceeded as a court trial with a judge and questioning of witnesses, leaving it open to the audience to be the jury. The court session was an entertaining renewal of the conventional conference session format; neither of the symposia, however, provided any new analyses of the contributions of Watson and Skinner.

The strong surge of neopragmatic philosophy today has still not led to a reappraisal of classical and radical behaviourism with their affinities to the pragmatism of Dewey, James and Mead.

The book "The case for pragmatic psychology" by Daniel Fishman (1999) may though be mentioned here. Although not reanalysing behaviourism, he draws on the works of Richard Rorty, Richard Bernstein and Stephen Toulmin to outline a frame for understanding psychology, focusing in particular on the case study and on psychotherapeutic research (the book is reviewed in this newsletter).

Qualitative research

Methodology remains an area where the scope of psychology has not broadened. Fred Wertz (Fordham University, NY), who is editor of *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, gave a Presidential address of the APA "Division of Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology" on "*Multiple Methods: Epistemological Grounding and the Possibility of Unity*". He asked how long can psychology base its methods on the relics of an old physics, and how long can psychological textbooks on methodology ignore what has been going on in philosophy and in the natural sciences this century. Rejecting the experiment as the gold standard of psychological research he advocated a multi-perspectival approach to psychological methods, and in addition to qualitative research pointed to a starting interest in quasi-judicial methods.

Elliot Eisner (Stanford University), an educational researcher and earlier President of The American Educational Association, gave an invited address in the "Division of Psychology and the Arts" on "*Artistry in the Social Sciences and Visual Arts*". He reported from interviews with thirty social scientists at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. Pervasive themes emerging from the interviews about research he found imagination, somatic knowledge, emphatic knowledge, nest building and socio-cultural influence on motivation, themes also characteristic of artistic modes of thought. He went on to ask about the educational implications of the findings, mentioning teachers encouraging multiple ways of knowledge and the creation of physical and cognitive environments which fosters the nest-building or sense of place which the social scientists spoke.

The session was attended by only a few psychologists. A few years ago I had heard Eisner talk on art and qualitative research at the meeting of the American Educational Association for over a thousand listeners. Art as a venue of providing sensitive and penetrating insights into the human condition did not generally concern the psychological scientists; the main presence of art at the APA convention was on the covers of new psychology textbooks, which were frequently decorated with an impressionist or expressionist painting.

While there is some interest in qualitative methods among professional psychologists, qualitative research remains, in contrast to other social sciences such as anthropology, sociology and education, at the margins of a scientific psychology. At the large exhibition of books from the APA publishing house, none of the many books on psychological methods treated qualitative research. When I asked a clerk for books on qualitative methods, she did at first not understand my question, then led me to the section of clinical assessment and pointed out the book by Kazdin "Methodology for Clinicians". Its index was devoid of references to qualitative investigations or qualitative interviews. In contrast to the official APA publications, major scientific publishers at the convention, in particular Sage, displayed a multitude of textbooks on the varieties of qualitative research. There is also a new book series "Qualitative Studies in Psychology" at New York University Press.

Religion and psychology

The Presidential address for the division of "Psychology and Religion" by Siang-Yang Tan (Fuller Theological Seminary), focused on "Religion in Psychological Therapy". Tan described the traditional anti-religious attitude of psychology as waning, in particular the last five years, with the APA publishing books on religion and psychology. Addressing therapy he pointed to the necessity of including the patients' religious history in an anamnesis, and to draw in spiritual resources in a therapy. Therapists may also refer patients to religious community groups and lay counsellors - their help is free. Lay counsellors, whose efficiency according to empirical studies compare favourably to that of professional therapists, may be drawn in as supportive; in particular by prevention of mental illness the lay groups may be helpful.

Tan further pointed to a need of knowing history and not think everything we do in our profession is new; thus many of the therapeutic techniques employed today have been in use in the churches, several originating in the patriarchal period from year 80 to 580 after Christ. Tan mentioned the closeness of recent mental imagery therapy to the inner healing prayer and the contemplative prayer of the Catholics as a mode of "evenhovering attention", being open to whatever appears.

I may hereto add that the relation between the confessor and medical practitioners were explicitly recognised in earlier centuries. In the year of 1215, the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council, which required for all Christians to confess their sins annually, compared their responsibilities: "The confessor should be direct and careful in the manner of experienced physicians...diligently inquiring about the circumstances of the sin and the sinner, whereby he can learn what sort of advice to offer and what remedies to employ, making diverse attempts to heal the ailing person" (quoted from "The Abuse of Casuistry" by A.R. Jonsen and S. Toulmin, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1988, p. 46).

The therapeutic market

In a symposium on "*Psychoanalytical Ways of Knowing*" Paul Richer (Duquesne University, Pittsburgh) presented "Poststructural Critiques of Psychoanalysis". He described psychoanalysis as a quasi-religious and quasi-political ideology. Following Guitterez and Foucault he depicted psychoanalysis as a personalised religion, with self-examinations as confessions producing guilt and destroying dangerous desires, defusing political action. Psychoanalytical language is a political language, with a throughgoing dichotomy of the normal/abnormal. (Richer's critique of therapeutic and humanistic psychology was presented in an earlier form in "An Introduction to Deconstructionist Psychology" in "Psychology and Postmodernism", edited by S. Kvale, Sage Publications, London, 1992).

Lewis Kirshner (Harvard Medical School) advocated "Toward a Postmodern Realism for Psychoanalysis". He had a more positive view of psychoanalysis than Richer, the psychoanalytical talking cure may be the only psychological inquiry which takes the subject seriously. Following Lyotard he depicted psychoanalysis as a grand modern narrative, which universal theory of man is now dismissed from anthropology; today it may even be difficult to get a paper on psychoanalysis accepted in an anthropological conference program. Also in the same session Bruce Fink (Duquesne University, Pittsburgh) pictured American psychoanalysis as much more social conformist, rationalised and medicalised than the original European psychoanalysed. He discussed one case on a psychoanalytical treatment which did not lead to a depolitisation. In Marie Cardinals autobiography he recounts how her seven year analysis had matured her, making her able to become an important political actor on the French left scene; in the American translation

of the autobiography the political and philosophical aspects of her development were diminished.

In the session "*What Might Be the Next Big Revolution in Psychotherapy*" Larry Beutler (University of California, Santa Barbara) treated a "Next Revolution: A Dream and a Nightmare". He discussed the options of therapists in the market place as experts in behaviour change and in the managed health care of the mental health insurance system. By being included in the mental health system, with the goal of obtaining the rights to prescribe medicine, therapy becomes technique driven, leaving behind an artistic approach of being open a natural change process, with an openness to new knowledge and issues, and facing problems of the real world. The endorsement of the medical model implied the therapists "identification with the aggressor". The next speaker - John Norcrass (University of Scranton) - spoke of the "Here Comes the Self-Help Revolution in Mental Health" - of changing your behaviour by yourself. He pointed to the 2000 self help books on the market, the many 12 step programs, and the new video-therapies. As reasons for the "Self-help revolution" he mentioned the diminution of traditional sources of solace and guidance, the economy of self-help as compared to psychotherapy, and its efficiency, such as in videotherapy for depressions. Norcrass encouraged psychologists to stop devaluing self-help and to encourage more sophisticated use of self-help techniques, integrating self-help and psychotherapy. He also advocated a critical attitude to the many uses of self-help, such as the programmes for "Past life regressions" and anagrams, now being among the most frequently sought on the Psychological Therapy scene on the Internet.

Jeffry Zeig (Milton Erickson Foundation, Phoenix) spoke of "I Have a Dream..." . He addressed the session theme by referring to Bruno Bettelheim's remark that of the many ways to make a fool out yourself the most certain is to predict the future. Having practised psychotherapy for 30 years his dream was now to get rid of psychotherapy and rather become a faith healer. This would imply faith in the person's own resources from their history, faith in myself, that I may overcome my own problems, faith in my ability to utilise what the patient brings, faith in the therapeutic relationship to evoke a change which will be salvation for the patient. At the APA sessions he had become lost in a sea of words, and had heard nothing to help him doing therapy. In order to develop himself as a therapist he had recently taken intensive courses in acting, and there learned exercising and experiencing, which he found much more helpful in his work than the verbalisations and discourses of the psychotherapy courses he had attended.

In a session "*Are We Being Trained Today for the Jobs of Tomorrow?*" James Meredith (Kelly Air Force Base, Texas) discussed two challenges to the psychotherapeutic tradition: the managed healthcare where the cheaper, less trained, therapists with a master degree were replacing the more expensive therapists with a ph.d., and biological psychiatry with psychopharmacology and pills taking over. Meredith envisaged the psychologists becoming medical providers obtaining prescription privileges for drugs, which again necessitated an additional 50 hour program in psychopharmacological prescriptions to be included in the psychological curricula. In the same session Ax (Federal Corrections Institution, Petersburg, VA) discussed consumer attitudes to psychological services. A significant dimension hereof was the price for a therapeutic hour, which had been reduced with the medical care system. The psychiatric's hour was still the most expensive with \$ 90 an hour, the psychologists \$ 75 and the social worker \$ 65. The trend was an increasing amount of therapy being done by social workers. Ax also pointed to the impact of the biomedical approach to therapy and to the new telehealth services of the Internet and videos.

Social constructionist and postmodern psychology

In the symposium "*Perspectives on a Psychology Without Foundations*" one speaker criticised the naive realism and ethnocentric foundationalism of mainstream psychological thought. The many US self-efficiency study should thus be seen in a US context of a cult of the self and of efficiency. He further pointed to the apparently objective DSM (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders) categorisations on mental illness as being malleable to the influence of social pressure groups on whether a specific behaviour should be included as pathological or not in the scientific DSM classifications. Ken Gergen (Swarthmore College) discussed "Social Constructionism and Psychology in Postmodern Context". He asked why do we need foundations? Many of our ongoing activities, be it loving or writing, are without foundations. He pictured the perennial foundational efforts of a psychological science as the endeavours of Baron Munchausen of drawing himself up by pulling his own pants. Setting the foundations is a hegemonic pursuit, ruling out other presuppositions, Western psychology eradicating the voices of other cultures. What we do as psychologists is ideological and cultural practices of our culture, and not a neutral outside scientific stance as the APA would maintain. Gergen presented himself as not speaking here as an originator of ideas, but as a body which is speaking out of a history of dialogues. He advocated an open and radical pluralistic approach, endorsing transformative dialogues, which bring forth new perspectives and new actions. He welcomed the multiple therapies and the flowering of qualitative methods, the narrative and linguistic therapies, as well as the pursuits of discursive, cultural, and critical psychologies. He regretted that those working with social constructionism, relational theory and postmodernism in psychology were confined to small communities, enclaves, not entering psychology and culture at large.

Brent Slife (Brigham Young University) pointed out how the quest for truth in science and religion ran into similar issues and dilemmas. He argued for taking the historical situation and origins of ideas, such as postmodernism, in account; this should not lead to an infinite regress to the Greeks, Christianity, etc, but serve as illuminated histories of current positions. He took issue with Gergen's relationism and pluralism, the latter being an unacknowledged fundamental morality of openness.

The critiques of postmodernism did not venture into the political and economical realm, such as Jameson's analysis of postmodernism as the ideology of capitalist consumer society. Nor did the analyses by Philip Cushman (California School of Professional Psychology, Alameda, CA,) in "*Constructing the Self, Constructing America*" (Addison Wesley, Reading, MA, 1995; reviewed in *Nyhedsbrev* nr. 25, januar 1999) enter the scene. Cushman traces the cultural history of psychotherapy in the context a consumer society; therapy and consumer products both fill the "empty self" with promises of individual salvation by purchasing and consuming the proper therapy or product.

Consumer psychology

The Presidential Address of the former President of the APA division for "Society for Consumer Psychology" David Shumann (University of Tennessee, Knoxville) was titled "*Reinforcement of Societal Prejudices Through Advertising and Promotion*". He pointed to how the media culture today provides the materials out of which we form our identities and our relations of power. Advertising is a major cultural industry - costing over \$ 100 billion a year in the United States, more than spent on education. Advertisements are today more efficient than the church and the school in promoting the images they advocate of human beings and their society. The marketers know exactly who we are, how we live and they can predict us with uncanny precision. Shumann discussed how racial stereotypes and prejudices are still frequent in advertising, and

after a review of recent research concluded that advertising today reinforces racial stereotyping and prejudice. He went on to address the current replacement of mass marketing by market segmentation, which involves targeting specific consumer groups. Drawing on Turow's "Breaking Up America: Advertisers and the New Media World" marketers look for splits in the social fabric and then reinforce and extend the splits for their ends. Beyond the media entering individuals' private spaces with lifestyle-specific news, this also involves tailoring public spaces - concerts, races, and other open-to-the-public events - so that they attract customers who fit narrow profiles demanded by particular sponsors. Market segmentation leads to reduced costs, but also differentiating groups and reducing exposure to other groups with other cultural images and values. Shuman here asked whether market segmentation also leads to market segregation. The more we segment, and localise TV, the less diversity we encounter. Less than 20 psychologists listened to his presentation.

In another session "*Good and Bad Sides of Consumer Behaviour*" Meryl Gardner (University of Delaware) reviewed research on "Managing Our Feeling States Through Consumption", discussing how marketing research seeks to understand consumption experiences. Cathy Goodwin (Nova South Eastern University) focused more specifically on "Store Formats as Environmental Influences on Compulsive Spending". With an emptying of the self the consumers seek to fill the void in the self by attaching to objects. In particular persons with low self-esteem and prone to addictive behaviours are easily attuned to consumption, and to the consumer psychologist it is important to investigate how people become aroused to by things they cannot afford. Goodwin described the "Consumptive Spending Scale", according to which 6% of the US population are Compulsive Spenders. Whereas low CS behave instrumentally in a store, just wanting to buy what they came for and get out, the high CS are more attuned to emotions and the environment, going for the kick of "the buy-buy-buy experience". Prone to self-destructive forces, their purchases trigger regrets when they come home after shopping; not only do they feel guilty at home, they also feel guilty in a shop if they are not buying anything. Corresponding to the bulemics' existential dimension of to eat or not to eat, the compulsive spenders' lives centre around whether to buy or not to buy.

Goodwin further pointed to the need of going beyond the individual consumer and focus on the environmental structures of consumption. She described vividly the de-individuation of the huge mass warehouses, where the consumers feel lost, overwhelmed and small with the big signs and the large wheel carts, fostering a wanting to belong, which the consumers seek to fulfil through purchases. In contrast hereto, the upscale department stores foster a relaxed feeling, and provide an extended individual service. The latter atmosphere was readily available in the many fancy shops for leather goods, jewellery, watches, perfume, we 7000 convention participants rushed by during five days in search of our psychology sessions in the convention hotels of the City of Glass.

8TH EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH ON LEARNING AND INSTRUCTION (EARLI)
Gothenburg, August 24-28, 1999

The European Association of Research on Learning and Instruction serves as a European counterpart to the American Educational Research Association. There were about 800 participants from a broad specter of European countries. The conference was organised by Biörn Hasselgren at the University of Gothenburg and it took place at a large commercial congress centre in Gothenburg. The overall theme of this years conference was "Learning Environments for the

New Millennium" (EARLI 2001 takes place in Freiburg, Switzerland – see announcement in this newsletter).

Ference Marton (University of Gothenburg) gave the opening speech on "*Vario est mater studiorum*". He was introduced as the most cited educational psychologist outside the US, and as the founder of phenomenography, of which there has appeared more than 100 dissertations. Phenomenography investigates the qualitatively different ways in which people experience, understand and conceptualise various kinds of phenomena in the world around them. (The term was coined after a visit to Aarhus, where Ference Marton met Amedeo Giorgi, found his own experiential method similar to phenomenology and coined "phenomenography"; the relation between the two terms, and traditions, has since been a contested area).

Marton depicted variations as necessary for learning, with a dialectical relation of repetitions and variations. He pointed to the efficiency of informal learning, also drawing in Jean Lave's studies of Liberian tailor apprentices, emphasising learning as identity formation. The school setting provided his fundamental standpoint for asking how to draw the aspects of informal learning outside educational institutions into the formal educational institutions. He did not ask whether such a formalising of the unformalised learning could be squaring the circle.

In a session on "*The Multivoiced University Classroom*" Olga Dysthe (University of Bergen) emphasised multivoicedness as creating the variations necessary for learning. With Bakhtin's writings on dialogue as point of departure she focused on how the interactions between students create possibilities for learning. In a session on "Alternative Evaluation Method for the New Millennium" Dominique Sluijsmans (Open University of the Netherlands) discussed alternative forms of assessment, such as portfolios, self-assessment and peer-assessment. They are more realistic, authentic and work-intensive forms of assessment than the common performance assessment of multiple choice tests. Students found that the alternative tests fostered critical thinking, responsibility, involvement and insight into their own learning, while they felt uncomfortable about giving their peers negative evaluations. She attributed the strong interest in alternative forms of assessment in the last decade as following from current innovations in higher education with the emphasis on competence-based learning and lifelong learning. She regarded the assessment forms from a strict learning perspective, the selective function of evaluation for educational and occupational privileges was not in focus. Neither was evaluation regarded as an instrument of power, with the trend towards self-evaluation well in line with Foucault's depictions of the modern form of the state's exercise power through fostering a self-governmentability of its subjects.

I participated in an invited keynote-symposium on "*Apprenticeship - an advanced learning environment without instruction?*" Victoria Akre and Sten Ludvigsen from Oslo served as chair and discussant. Addressing the conference theme of designing learning environments for the next Millennium, we went back one Millennium to regard the learning environments designed by medieval craftsmen. Carsten Østerlund (MIT, Cambridge, MA) discussed "Apprenticeship at work: Learning trajectories, communities of practice, and context of action". In contrast to the common studies learning within one setting his studies of sales people in a high tech firm and hospital staff in an emergency room suggested that apprentices learn by integrating specific trajectories stretching across multiple communities of practice. Klaus Nielsen (Aalborg University) treated "Learning the art of music and the craft of baking bread in communities of practice" from the view of shifting attention from the learners' individual cognitive structures to the organisation of the social relations among the participants in the learning contexts. With examples

from learning in music academy and in a bakery he showed how transparency, access and learning trajectories become important concepts of a socially situated learning. I discussed "Research apprenticeship: A landscape of learning" postulating that a rich description of the situational learning resources may reduce an appeal to postulated inner cognitive mechanisms of learning. Referring to biographical studies I outlined how apprenticeship today provides a key learning situation for Nobel laureates in the natural sciences, and questioned whether instruction is a necessary prerequisite for learning. Also the theme of the next EARLI conference in Switzerland may indicate a missing or problematic link between two key concepts of the European Association of Research and Learning: "Bridging Learning to Instruction". (Two years ago I had submitted a presentation on apprenticeship for the EARLI conference in Athens, and was there placed in a poster session. Situated next to a popular poster on technologically assisted education, only two participants stopped by, one an art historian interested in the paintings of Michelangelo and Rembrandt I had used to illustrate apprenticeship).

In another keynote symposium, regrettably at the same time as our apprenticeship symposium, Robert Glaser (University of Pittsburgh) spoke on "*Improving Environments for Learning*". Glaser had given a related presentation at this year's APA conference, which I had been able to attend - "Adventures in Learning, Expertise, and Assessment". There he described the main transition in his professional development as "From aptitudes and knowledge-lean processes to knowledge structure and expertise". Discussing the design of learning environments he emphasized self-designed learning, with self-regulation and self-agency, and as a key criterion "the friendliness of the environment for learning". He also stressed the need to train skills in multiple environments - "we do too little of that" - which he believed is how general skills may be developed. He emphasized social interaction, such as discussions among scientists, as essential for creativity and new knowledge, which is lost if we build expertise into machines. Glaser's presentation of his professional development from laboratory studies of formal learning skills to learning knowledge and expertise in social interactions in multiple environments strikes as parallel to the development of another prominent learning psychologist - Bandura - who moved from the simple learning processes of experimental laboratories to a social behaviour therapy and a social learning theory. Both psychologists have arrived at a social and situational understanding of learning which current anthropologists take as their starting point.

In a keynote presentation "*Creating a Handbook of Research on Teaching - An International Conversation*" Virginia Richardson (University of Michigan) spoke about her experiences with editing the 4th edition of the "Handbook of Educational Research", to be published by the American Educational Research Association. She mentioned to teacher cognition as a main new theme implying a major move from the behaviourist tradition. She further pointed to the knowledge of practitioners as fundamentally different from the formal knowledge of scholars, and to practitioners' research, teachers studying their own practice, as one promising development. The previous handbook editions had leaned heavily on psychology as a foundational frame, the 4th edition was more inclusive of other disciplines such as anthropology, sociology and philosophy. There was further a push for teaching subject matter rather than teaching methods. The handbook chapters were moving beyond the common quantitative-qualitative dichotomy of methods to ask about the nature of knowledge, how is it used, and who owns it. She mentioned that an important issue, which was too little addressed in the coming handbook was how to construct learning environments that enhances learning. As future concerns she pointed to virtues and moral education and the issue of diversity.

In another keynote lecture Patti Lather (University of Ohio, Columbus) addressed "Gendering Issues of Narrative and Voice in Qualitative Research in Education". With examples of the book she co-authored with Smithies - "Troubling the Angels: Women Living with HIV/AIDS" (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997) - as well as the controversies around the "real voice" of the Nobel Prize winning author Rigoberto Menchu, she discussed the loss of innocence of feminist ethnography, and of qualitative research in general.

Lather depicted current attempts to learn from the complexity of the actual situations of research and addressed dilemmas of ethnographic representations. She sought to get beyond the subject-object dimension of research by asking to the practice of research and the power relations it was a part of, asking how the research is used, what is its effects. Her own deconstructive position involved a questioning of narratives with a twisting, "queering", subversive repetition of the usual concepts and methods. In their book they had tried to break up the style of an objective almighty author to include multiple narratives of the research. This entailed the narrative of the research subjects, the narrative of the research process, and the narrative of the researcher's own change during the research.

Lather questioned the ethics of reducing the subjects' experiences to the researcher's categories. Following Foucault she also took issue with the current trend of empathy with the research subjects, of giving voice and authenticity to the subjects, thereby allowing the readers to emphasise with the researched subjects. A full textual treatment of their voices invites the readers to romantically identify with and consume the subjects. In her and Smithies book on HIV/AIDS she had attempted a counter-discourse of to defamiliarize the common sentiments of empathy, voice and authenticity. A splitting and breaking up, dislocating the narratives, makes a consummatory empathy more difficult.

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The European Association of Research on Learning and Instruction attempts to provide an alternative to the United States hegemony in educational research, as manifested in a limitation of number of presenters from the United States. The overall picture was, however, a reproduction of American educational research of a quarter of a century ago, with a dominance of experimental-statistical designs for educational research, and a technological efficiency-oriented approach to educational practice. Exceptions hereto were the contributions of the Gothenburg phenomenographic school and the sessions on educational implications of the Soviet activity theory and its cultural historical school. While technological trends are also persuasive in American educational research, the current meetings of the American Educational Research Association involve a much broader approach to education. There is a strong position of qualitative forms of research, of anthropology rather than psychology as a supporting educational science, and an openness to the philosophical, social and political contexts of learning (confer also "Travel Impressions from Scholastic Education" in Nyhedsbrev 25, januar 1999; also in Nordisk Pedagogikk, nr 3, 1998)). As may have gone forth from the above selection of themes from the EARLI meeting, I generally found the few presentations from the United States more interesting than the many European ones. In the field of learning and instruction American educational researchers today appear as the innovators, and a large part of their European colleagues as colonised imitators lagging some years behind.

CONCLUDING REMARKS:

A POSTMODERN PSYCHOLOGY BETWEEN THE CATHEDRAL AND THE MARKET PLACE

The impressions from some high lights of the conferences on human science research, on psychology, and on learning and instruction, are acknowledged as perspectival. The selections made stem from my perspective on social science as cultural activity and from my judgement of what sessions may be at the cutting edge of the field. Some themes which emerged during the long march through the sessions of the three conferences, in particular from the psychological meetings in the shopping mall, shall now be ventured as a conclusion.

The variable cross-disciplinary and cross-cultural status of qualitative research

No general picture of qualitative research in current social sciences emerges, the status of qualitative methods appears highly dependent on discipline and nation. Qualitative research dominated at the small IHSRC meeting, which participants were "self selected" by their very interest in human science and qualitative research. At the APA sessions qualitative research had a marginal position and was non-existent in the APA publications. A direct resistance in the APA against qualitative research was described in one of the IHSRC sessions. Qualitative research also had a minor position at the EARLI conference, the marked exceptions provided by Ference Marton's opening speech and two American keynote lecturers. In contrast to both the EARLI and APA, the American Educational Research Associations meetings contain multiple lectures and symposia on qualitative research.

I find it rather striking that the application and the scientific legitimacy of specific well described, much used and conceptually reflected qualitative research methods, such as phenomenological descriptions, interviewing, field observations, and case research, shall be so variable across different social science disciplines within a country and across countries within the same scientific discipline. The marked cross-contextual variability in legitimacy of qualitative research raise questions about the extent to which research methods in the social sciences are a consequence of inherent characteristics of the disciplines and their subject matter, or are mainly at the mercy of conventions, fashions and power structures.

The stability of a profession and the marginalisation of dissidents - qualitative research in psychology

American psychology is today prospering with an unprecedented professional extension and an strong growth. The hegemony of the profession is though somewhat insecure - on the one hand threatened by deprofessionalisation with alternative and lay therapies as well as self-help invading the therapeutic market. On the other hand psychologists are attempting to expand their territory by moving into the prospering psycho-pharmaceutical market and the rising field of biomedicine. In order to maintain the stability of a large and strongly diversified psychological empire, and expand its hegemony, it may be necessary to silence dissidents, keep them away from the centres, and preferably expel them from the territory. Multiple races and cultures are no longer deemed threatening to the hegemony of psychology, nor a budding openness of psychology to religion. Qualitative research remains, however, today outside of the scientific mainstream of psychology. This omission is the more striking as a major area of the psychological profession - psychotherapy - rests upon qualitative interviews, as well as a major economical application of psychology - consumer research with its depth interviews and focus groups.

The many alternative therapies, cheaper than professional psychotherapy, are today serious challengers to the psychologists' rule of the prospering therapeutic market. Somewhat less seriously the spiritual new age "psychics" and astrologers are providing guidance and predictions for the future. The superiority of psychological therapy over competitors has for a century been legitimated by its alleged natural scientific basis. Threats to a natural scientific image of psychology, such as from the social constructionist and postmodern approaches are today confined to innocuous enclaves. Qualitative research, thriving in neighbouring social sciences such as anthropology, sociology and education, and a key approach of the consumer psychology in a multi-billion dollar marketing market, is tacitly left out of a scientific psychology.

The "messy" interpretative findings of qualitative investigations may foul the image of an exactly quantified natural science, and prove detrimental to current efforts of obtaining to prescriptive privileges for the pharmaceutical market. In contrast to many competitors on the vast psychotherapy market, the professional services of psychologists with a rigorously scientific ph.d. can be promoted as strictly scientifically based, in allegiance with the natural sciences, with physics and biomedicine. For a psychological science where method precedes content, where its method is its very essence, a tolerant liberalism in content may not be as threatening as wandering off from the straight road of the scientific method. For a science which basic foundation was to be an exactly quantified natural science method, distinguishing it from its predecessor theology, the intrusion of messy interpretative "exegetic" methods may plunge psychology into a discipline without foundations, as depicted and advocated by Gergen. Scientific freedom of thought and an unlimited scientific curiosity, including new forms of research inquiries, may be deemed counterproductive and have to be sacrificed in the sake of stability and unity of the psychological profession the science legitimates. In contrast to psychology, anthropology does not have a large profession to legitimate and to support, and it can afford a scientific thirst for new knowledge with a creative application of research methods adequate to its subject matter.

The psychological Janushead

In psychology we today find two heads speaking to the public, with different tongues. The one head presents therapeutic narratives in a natural language, providing illuminative insights into the relation of human beings to their world, legitimating a psychology of human concerns. The therapeutic literature appeals with the penetrating cases of Freud and the mythological ventures of Jung in the high cultural part of the market, and the many current therapeutic paperbacks, often mixed with new age spirituality, to the larger popular market. The other head presents the experimental statistical research of psychology in a quantitative language, legitimating psychology as a natural science. Internally psychologists may themselves have difficulties in communicating across the two languages of their discipline and deplore a lack of unity in psychology. Therapists lament the lack of relevance of the scientific studies for their practice and the scientists lament the lack of scientific evidence for the therapists' practice. Externally, however, the two languages of psychology work together in providing a public image of a scientific discipline of human concern.

The therapeutic practitioner and the laboratory scientist speak different languages, they may have problems communicating with each other, and they shun may at times detest each other. The practitioner and the scientist are, however, bound together by a marriage of convenience, the one securing the psychological discipline a public image of human concern, the other providing the psychological profession a scientific status.

Psychology between language and neurology

In year 1900 Freud's "Interpretation of Dreams" introduced a century where psychology became the hegemonic mode of understanding the relation of humans being to their world. If psychological literature at the end of the century is taken notice of in the other social sciences and the humanities, it is more often than not, Freud's writings from the start of the century. At the turn of this century the science of psychology has emptied of radical new insights about the human situation. The secularised soul of psychology, a "psyche" abstracted from its content and context, has provided an empty self devoid of ties to a historical and social human world. Neighbouring sciences such as neuroscience and linguistics are taking over the scene. Neuroscience and biomedicine more generally, are today radically developing fields, providing new knowledge of the conditions for human consciousness and behaviour, of temperament and pathology.

Philosophers of this century have given language a key position - human interaction is seen as language games, language as the house of being, even postulating that there is nothing outside of language. Within the humanities there is a focus on dialogue, on discourse analysis, on narratives, grammar, etc. Perhaps linguistics and neuroscience will take over the field of psychology, eventually dropping the hyphens of current psychological lifelines to its stronger neighbours, such as psycho-linguistics and psycho-neurology.

From outside these three conferences we may add a beginning interest in biology and neuroscience for pursuing qualitative research even returning to Husserlian phenomenology. Francisco Varela (Hospital Salpetriere, Paris), a biologist who together with Humberto Maturana coined the term "autopoiesis" in "The Tree of Knowledge", is today investigating the relation of cognition and neurology. For this project, which he calls "Neuro-phenomenology" he seeks to develop a methodology as rigorous as physiology for investigating consciousness, and postulates that a fully developed Husserlian phenomenology of human subjectivity may come to provide the necessary structural conditions for a neurological theory of consciousness. Also the neurologist Antonio Damasio (University of Iowa College of Medicine) is inspired by Husserlian phenomenology in his depictions of the workings of the remembering brain.

Decentering from the individual to the environment

A slight trend may be found in a move from the individual to the environment as the point of departure for understanding and changing human behaviour. This was most conspicuous at the EARLI meeting - in the conference theme of promoting advanced learning environments for the next millenium, and in many presentations on how to construct environments that enhance learning. The emphasis on environmental design was less pronounced at the APA conference, Glasser's focus on designing learning environments as one exception. Another was the trend of consumer psychology to go beyond targeting individual consumers to focus a psychological designing and segmentation of buying environments to promote consumer purchases, optionally fostering a compulsive spending.

The many mental health sessions at the APA convention addressed individual pathology and its family relations. With a few exceptions, such as the opening speech by Jesse Jackson, little attention was given to the social environments where pathology is produced, nor to the possibility of designing social environments conducive to mental health. In contrast to an educational interest in designing environments for learning, there is in psychology - understood

as the science of the individual psyche - no pronounced drive for creating mentally healthy social environments.

Today we see anthropology taking the lead in socially significant studies of learning and cognition, the earlier laboratory-protected strongholds of psychology. In contrast to a psychology bound to the individual and its internal psyche as the basic unit, anthropology moves at large in the current culture, addressing learning and cognition as cultural activities of human beings intrinsically related to their world.

Diversity - divide and conquer

Diversity, variation and multivoicedness were themes going through many presentations at the conferences mentioned above - from the unity and diversity of qualitative research at the IHSRC meeting, over many voices into one as the APA opening session to variations and multivoicedness as bases of learning at the EARLI meeting. The move from an earlier homogenous, unified and monological conception of knowledge and research to a heterogeneous field was generally presented as progressive intrascientific move.

Corresponding trends in the general culture were hardly drawn in, most notably the heterogeneity and diversification of a postmodern age at large. Nor were the current trends in the economical sphere addressed, with the move from mass standardised production and mass marketing in the first half of the century to a psychologically designed segmental marketing of the consumer population, with an efficiently targeted manipulation of consumer behaviour through the principle of "Divide et Impera".

In contrast to the insight of Karl Marx and others of treating intellectual production and economical-material production as taking place in the same culture and interacting with each other, psychologists today wear blind-folders protecting them from the historical material culture they live in to avoid any contamination with their scientific pursuits.

Legitimation through performativity

A discourse of technological efficiency was prevalent in the sessions of the APA and the EARLI conferences. The basic approach of the many studies of evidence based psychotherapy and of instructional processes was on measurable outcomes, with sophisticated statistical analyses. The earlier positivist crusades against psychotherapy for not documenting quantifiable effects have today been taken over by the cost benefit analyses of the actuarians from the health insurance business.

A technological and economical discourse of efficiency is today becoming the ruling scientific discourse of therapy and education. Lyotard postulated in "The Postmodern Condition" (1979) that the modern meta-narratives legitimating science, such as the dialectic of the spirit, the hermeneutics of meaning, and the emancipation of the subject, are no longer operative. This loss of the modern meta-narratives has often been quoted in the social sciences. Less attention has been given to Lyotard's documentation of how legitimation through performativity dominates in the postmodern condition. It is no longer truth, but performativity - that is the best possible input/output equation - which today rules scientific research. It follows the principle of optimal performance, maximising output - in the form of information or modifications obtained, and minimising input - the energy expended in the process. In this context therapy and education

become technologies, not pertaining to the true, the just, or the beautiful, but to efficiency, that is, an intervention is "good" when it does better and/or expends less energy than another. The current cognitive behavioural short term therapies are thus "better" than longer and more penetrating psychotherapies such as psychoanalysis.

As an alternative to the performative commodification of knowledge Lyotard points to Wittgenstein's language games where language stems from linguistic practice and communal interaction. Treating psychotherapy and education as cultural and moral enterprises falls outside the reign of performativity. Cultural and ethical discourses of therapy and teaching, such as regarding the latter as cultural formation ("dannelse"/ "Bildung"), do not belong to the hegemonic scientific discourse - in Lyotard's words: be commensurable or disappear.

A psychology of the church, the factory, and the market

The profession and science of psychology today appears in a somewhat precarious position. Psychology turns the century as a profession of remarkable strength and expansion, particularly in the United States, though with its market threatened by the alternative and the biomedical therapies. The science of psychology at the turn of the century appears to be leaving the intellectual scene, it comes forth fragmented with its subject matter dissolving. In a postmodern culture where everything solid melts in the air, where the individual disappears in an ensemble of relations, the individual base of modern psychology no longer appears axiomatic for understanding the complex networks of human interrelations.

Within psychology there is today an interest in the psychology of culture. Less attention is given to the culture of psychology and its cultural practices. Three metaphors for clarifying the current position of psychology may be suggested here - *the church, the factory and the market*. Drawing in these metaphors external to science does not imply reducing psychology to "merely" a religious, an industrial, or a marketing discipline. An awareness of the metaphors psychologists live by may rather foster a selfreflective consideration of cultural and economical influences upon psychological research and practice in a hyperreflexive postmodern age.

The historical relations of religion and psychology deserve attention. This concerns their affinities in providing a view of the nature of man and the world, of religious healing techniques and the many forms of psychotherapy. The salvation of the religious soul was replaced by the realisation of the secular self, the priest as confessor by the therapist as a paid companion. There are today indices of psychology overcoming a century-long repression of the religious past of the psychological profession and science.

The psychological vision still remain wide shut to the economical frames of psychology, leaving an impression of psychologists paid and funded to explain human behaviour and experience in a capitalist society without mentioning money. In society there has since mid-century been a move of emphasis in the economical sphere from production to consumption, a move reflected some decades later in psychology. At the beginning of the century the mass industrial production at the assembly lines with the human engineering of the time and motion studies was reflected in the behaviourist laboratory experiments attempting to quantitatively predict and control behaviour. The manipulation of consumer behaviour towards the end of the century takes place through emphatic understanding the consumers' experiences and lifestyles by means of qualitative research with individualised and segmented approaches to the consumers. The dominance of the consumer market has also become reflected in psychology, this time in the

humanistic attempts to emphatically understand human experiences and meanings and their individually lived worlds, following the principle that the client/consumer is always right.

A move from an intrinsic understanding of the development of psychology to relating it to other cultural practices - such as religion, industry and marketing - may perhaps shed some light on the current position of the science and the profession of psychology. The modernist replacement of religion with science is today crumbling, and the older religious heritage of psychology may today provide one metaphor illuminative of psychology as a cultural practice. In the economical sphere the workers' adaptation to industrial discipline and the exploitation of wage labour is well secured, it is the stimulation and exploitation of consumer desires which today provide the crux of economical growth. The older positivist knowledge factories gradually fade out as a ruling metaphor of psychology, and eventually also their cognitive revival in the computer models for human existence. The prime metaphor for understanding the cultural forms and practices of psychology in a postmodern society at the turn of the century becomes the consumer manipulation of the market place, as visualised in this travelogue by the shopping mall.