

Chapter Eight

The Psychology of Consciousness

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Section Summary

- The German University and German Values
- Wilhelm Wundt
- Wundt at Work
- After Leipzig: E.B. Titchener and Phenomenological Alternatives
- Systematic Introspection and the Wurzburg School
- Gestalt Psychology

Germany in the 1800s

- Germany was not a unified country until 1871
 - Rather, there were several states inhabited by German-speaking people. Among the most prominent of these was Prussia (pictured in blue).
 - Main takeaway from this slide: There were many different German states prior to the unification of Germany in 1871.
 - Most important for us: Friederick William III, the Kaiser of Prussia



The German University

- Following defeat by Napoleon in 1806, Frederick William III decided to bolster the state with intellectual strength, rather than military might
- This led to the building of the University of Berlin between 1807 and 1810
- The building of this new University was done with the consultation of scholars, to create a new model of a University
- In Germany, a division between church and education had already begun in the University of Gottingen in the eighteenth century

William von Humboldt (1767-1835)

- Was tasked with drawing up the plan for the new model University
- Identified two primary aims
 1. *Wissenschaft*: Refers to any body of knowledge based on definite principles, such as history, philology, or physics. Often translated crudely to "science" (not strictly true).
 2. *Bildung*: Refers to the "building" up of a person's character through broad, multi-disciplinary education. Humboldt referred to this as "spiritual and moral training" which was intended to make a person whole in their pursuit of virtue, beauty, truth, etc.
- A (maybe) helpful comparison: Harry Potter is a *bildungsroman*--a novel about the coming-of-age "building up" of a young man through his life. This idea of "building up" someone's character to an ideal of virtue is key to *bildung*.



The Bildungsbürger

- The Mandarins who ruled Confucian China
 - Intellectual elite with very high education and focus on poetry
 - Young men entered Mandarin class by passing examination on Chinese language and culture
 - Focused on scholarship for its own sake, and worked only on their own minds
 - Disdained working with their hands
 - Focus on pure scholarship inhibited the development of natural science and technology in China
- Bildungsbürgers saw themselves as similar to the Mandarins
 - They also believed themselves to be an educational elite, educated in German culture
 - Like the Mandarins, they believed they were the privileged elite capable of high scholarship, and the cultivation of spiritual, philosophical, and cultural study
 - Their studies should enable them to gain understanding of ideas such as Truth, Beauty, the Good, etc.
 - *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*: Bildungsbürgers admired values espoused by *Gemeinschaft*
 - *Gemeinschaft*: Community, culture, a connection to the living world
 - *Gesellschaft*: Society, civilization, the mechanical, industrialized, and urban world

Bildung and Wissenschaft

- *Wissenschaft*
 - Scientific, Empirist, rational
- *Bildung*
 - Dualist, spiritual, nationalistic
- Humboldt devised three goals for the University to unite these two concepts
 1. "Deriving everything from an original principle" -- the goal of *Weissenschaft*. Harkens back to reduction and Newtonian laws. Think of Descartes wanting to explain human biology in terms of mechanical structures.
 2. "Relating everything to an ideal" -- the goal of philosophy.
 3. "Unifying this ideal and principle in a single Idea." -- this single "Idea" was meant to serve justice in the state and society. Here we begin to see similarities to Plato's "Forms" of ideas--justice, truth, the Idea united by *Weissenschaft* and *Bildung*, etc.
 - Main point: Trying to merge scientific aims (*Weissenschaft*) and spiritual, moral aims (*Bildung*). Remember Descartes' difficulty in uniting Christian spirituality and a mechanistic model of the world.

The Bildungsburgers continued

- *Gemeinschaft* and the Greek polis
- The Bildungsburgers, influenced by Kant's Idealism and Herder's Counter-Enlightenment, rejected what they saw as the 'mechanization of the world'
 - Newtonian science -- reduced the world to a machine, made it unrefined and un-spiritual
 - Industrial revolution -- severed the human connection to the soil and the rural world
 - Calculating reason
 - Firmly opposed to *Gesellschaft*
- Instead, the Bildungsburgers espoused *Gemeinschaft*
 - Bildungsburgers were meant to be refined, cultural elite devoted to the ideas of the Beautiful, the Good, the True
 - Service to the community
 - Community based in *Volk*, or race/ethnic group -- remember the recent unification of the German state of German-speaking peoples
 - Very similar to Plato's Guardians, but they did not rule

Bildungsburgers and Plato

- Believed in universal truths like Kant and Plato
- Believed in service to the state--individuals were not important, but training "Guardians" or "Bildungsburgers" to serve the state was
- Feared citizens in the cities becoming bourgeois and selfish, obsessed with possessions and their own self-interest (*Gemeinschaft vs Gessellschaft*).
- Consumers were like Plato's productive class
- Initially supported the war as an opportunity to unify German people (think unsuccessful coup by philosophers), but were horrified as WWI led to chaos and defeat for the German state

The Study of Psychology

- Focus on *Bildung* and *Weissenschaft* encouraged both study of philosophy and natural sciences.
- Psychology was initially considered a part of philosophy, however....
- As the nineteenth century wore on, the idea of *Bildung* became less of an actual practice and more of a general philosophy
- Studies became more focus on specialized technical and scientific studies, leading to some researchers attempting to classify psychology as a natural science
- The philosophers rejected this, however, and began to reject psychology because it did not contribute to the development of the *Bildungsbürger*
- Psychology found itself between two disciplines, not yet fully accepted by the natural sciences and rejected by the philosophers

Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920)

- The founder of psychology as an institution
- Created the first academically recognized laboratory in psychology – focusing on methodological rather than theoretical innovations
- He also founded the first journal in experimental psychology
- Overall, he remade psychology from a divided field of independent scholars into a genuine scientific community



Wundt cont.

- Wundt started his academic career with an assistantship under Hermann von Helmholtz
 - His first fundamental work, *Principles of Physiological Psychology* was published in 1873
- In 1875 Wundt received a chair in philosophy at Leipzig
 - Here he won a degree of independence for psychology by founding his Psychological Institute
 - In 1885, it was officially recognized by the university
- In 1900 Wundt began his major work, *Volkerpsychologie*
 - Focused on the “other half” of psychology
 - The study of the individual in society as opposed to the individual in the laboratory

Wundt's Psychology

- **Principles of Physiological Psychology (1873)**
 - “An alliance between two sciences”
 - Physiology – “phenomena perceived by external senses”
 - Psychology – “the person looks upon himself from within”
- Physiology + Psychology = Physiological Psychology
(also called Experimental Psychology)
- Rested on introspective observation of the world of ideas and then linking these ideas to their physiological substrates
- Wundt's alliance served several important functions in psychology's struggle for existence

Functions of Physiological Psychology

- **Methodology**
 - In the 19th century, physiology meant taking an experimental approach to a subject
 - Apparatus and techniques were introduced into the psychological laboratory
- **Psychology as a science**
 - Traditionally, psychology meant “*psyche-logos*” – the study of the soul. But the supernatural soul has no place in science
 - Wundt argued that psychology is really the investigation of the physiological conditions of conscious events – thus, a science.
- **Reduction**
 - Not simply borrowing physiological concepts but explaining mental and behavioural events in terms of physiological causes

Wundt's Two Systems of Psychology

1. Heidelberg program

- Conceived psychology as a **natural science**
 - Wundt claimed the mind can be brought within the realm of natural science only by experimental method
- At this time Wundt did not identify the mind with consciousness, instead focused on unconscious processes
- Wundt later refuted his Heidelberg program
 - “A sin of my youthful days”
 - Students worldwide still embraced his definition of psychology as an autonomous natural science

Wundt's Two Systems of Psychology

1. Leipzig Program

- Wundt was called to Leipzig as a **philosopher**
 - This program aimed to conduct psychology as a philosophical science; rejected the existence of the unconscious
- *Naturwissenschaft* – natural science.
 - The study of the physical world and the laws that govern it
- *Geisteswissenschaft* – spiritual science.
 - The study of the human world created by history. Laws that govern human life and development
- **Psychology** – “forms the transition from the Natur- to the Geisteswissenschaft”

Wundts Research Methods

- Wundt carefully defined his psychological methods
- **Experimentally controlled introspection**
 - Physiological (experimental) techniques
 - Replicable results based on standardized conditions
- Wundt distinguished between two types of physiological observation
 - *Innere Wahrnehmung* – “internal perception”. Traditional armchair method; non-scientific
 - *Experimentelle Selbstbeobachtung* – experimental self observation. Scientifically valid form of introspection.

Wundts Research Methods cont.

- Experimental introspection changed as Wundt's systematic definition of psychology changed
- At **Heidelberg**, Wundt believed in unconscious processes, therefore he rejected traditional methods of introspection
 - Careful experimentation may reveal works of unconscious
 - Wider scope of application
- Later, at **Leipzig**, Wundt rejected the existence of the unconscious
 - Emphasis on exact duplication of experiences
 - Limited the realm of experimental introspection to the simplest of mental processes

Wundts Research Methods cont.

- Methods of psychological investigation other than introspection
- *Vergleichendpsychologische* – Comparative psychological methods
 - Involved the study of consciousness in animals, children and the “disturbed”
- *Historisch-psychologische* – Historical psychological methods
 - Involved the study of the historical development of the human race; “mental differences as determined by race and nationality”
 - In his later years Wundt placed more emphasis on this method

Wundt at Work

Two Branches of Wundt's Psychology:

(1) Experimental method of Physiological Psychology

- How many ideas can consciousness contain at a given moment?

(2) Völkerpsychologie Method

- How do human beings create and understand sentences?

Physiological Psychology

How many ideas can consciousness contain at a given moment?

- Wundt believed that this question could not be answered by traditional introspection
 - The content of the mind varies at any given time
 - we cannot rely on fallible memories to give us facts
- Answering this question requires experimental control

Physiological Psychology

- Wundt believed that we must focus on *immediate experience* the content of psychological experience in its immediate nature, unmodified by abstraction and reflection
- **Introspection:** *description*, not interpretation, of experience.
 - Raw, uninterrupted data, prior to analysis
 - Sensations(data collection) before interpreted as perception (data analysis)
 - **Stimulus error:** when perceptions are reported from introspection rather than from sensations
 - Skipping to the chase
- Anti-metaphysics
 - Only looked at 'parts'

Physiological Psychology

- **Mental chronometry:** mental acts, like physical acts, take time; complex reaction times are the sum of the times of the individual acts
 - Based on work of Dutch physiologist Donders (1818-1889)
 - Zeitgeist: mechanical, dissection, pieces and parts, anti-metaphysical, concrete
 - what's in front of us is important

Physiological Psychology

Mental chronometry:

Apprehension/Assimilation: passive apperception process involving the entry of sensations into consciousness

E.g., recognition

Apperception: focused attention on sensations, focusing effort

“paying attention”

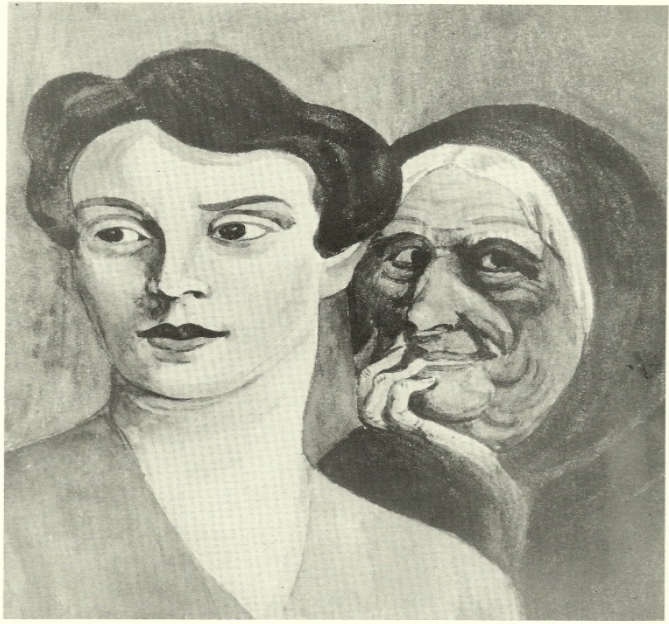
What is attended to is *apperceived*

synthesis of elements into wholes

basis of higher forms of thought

Aside: TAT

Voluntarism: power to organize contents of mind into higher order functions
interpretations, conclusions, meaning



Wundt's Experiment

How many ideas can consciousness contain at a given moment?

Image (4x4- row array of randomly chosen letters) flashed for 0.09 seconds—must recall as many letters as possible

How many simple ideas you can grasp in an *instant*?

Wundt found:

(1) Recall of ~4 letters (inexperienced) - 6 letters (experienced)

capacity of working memory, iconic memory

(2) Random strings of letters vs. words

- Isolated letters quickly fill up consciousness
- More can be grasped if elements are organized
- Letter elements synthesised by apperception into greater whole (single complex idea)

(3) Named letters perceived more clearly than unnamed (dimly and hazily)

Wundt's Experiment

A	F	G	I
K	N	C	E
L	J	R	O
D	Z	P	Q



A "fall" tachistoscope

Why this random string/word difference?

American Psychologists: association

Gestalt Psychology: *word* as meaningful whole itself

Wundt: middle view

Kantian Idealism- *word* as meaningful whole, imposed on elements (letters) by organizing powers of the mind

Perception of letters not named by observer

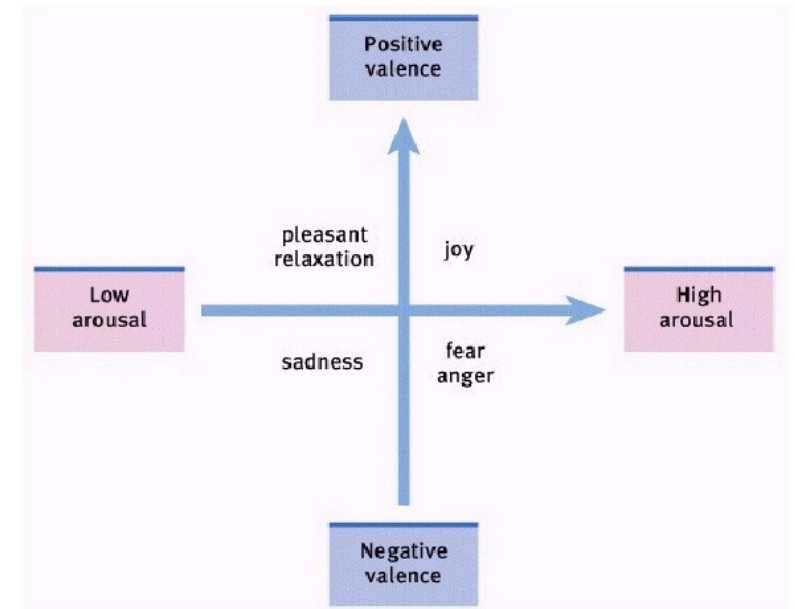
Focus of consciousness: Consciousness as field broken down into attention where ideas were clearly perceived. Objects outside of focus are faintly felt and cannot be identified.

Inside Apperception: where ideas were clearly perceived

Outside apperception: apprehended only, not seen clearly

Feelings and Emotions

- Wundt also studied feelings and emotions—as they are a part of our conscious experience
- Saw introspectively reported emotions as clues to minds processes
Example: apperception- feeling of mental effort
- 3 dimensions of emotion:
 - (1) Pleasant vs. unpleasant
 - (2) High vs. low arousal
 - (3) Concentrated vs. relaxed attention



Abnormal States of Consciousness

- Hallucinations, depression, hypnosis, and dreams
- Emil Kraepelin studied with Wundt in an effort to revolutionize psychiatry with scientifically based diagnoses

Dementia praecox (premature dementia) later called schizophrenia

- Breakdown in attentional processes—loss of apperceptive control of thoughts
- Passive associative processes—simple train of associations rather than coordinated processes

Völkerpsychologie

- Experimental methods penetrate only outwards

Völkerpsychologie: study of products of collective life (language, myth and custom) that provides clues to higher operations of mind

- deeper Transcendental Ego
- The comparative historical method would expand the range of individual consciousness

Völkerpsychologie

- Studying existing cultures revealed evolution of the human mind
- To study development of mind we must recourse history
- Great diversity of civilization
 - Geographical travel ~ time travel (past phases of civilization)

Study of Language

- Wundt made his most substantial contribution to the study of language
 - Theory of psycholinguistics
- Language as part of Völkerpsychologie (product of collective life)
 - From the study of language the history of the human mind can be learned
- Distinction between outer and inner phenomena made clear by language

Study of Language

Divided language into two aspects (Kantian Division):

(1) *Outer phenomena* – produced and perceived utterances

Surface expression

(2) *Inner phenomena*- cognitive processes that underline the outer string of words

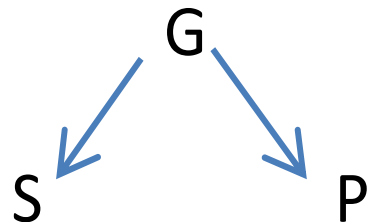
- Underlying representation
- Enabling extraction of meaning

Study of Language

Gesamtvorstellung: whole mental configuration

- Analytical function of apperception prepares the unified idea of speech
- Sentence production begins with a unified idea that one wishes to express, the *Gesamtvorstellung* (G), which is broken down into parts of speech (i.e., subject, predicate)
- Sentence comprehension= reverse

Example: “The chair(S) is blue(P)”



After Leipzig

- While Wundt was instrumental in establishing psychology as a discipline, many of his ideas failed to catch on
- Wundt's students quickly diverged from his beliefs, which were closely associated with *Bildung* and philosophy
- Psychology began to become more of a true natural science, focused less on Wundt's scholarly approach and more on practical success
- Students rejected the division of psychology Wundt had proposed (Into natural science, experimental science, physiological psychology, and Volkerpsychologie)
- Systematic introspection and nonintrospective research would follow

E.B. Titchener

(1867-1927)

- An important figure to American introspective psychology (Mainstream American psychologists rejected Titchener's introspective psychology)
- An Englishman interested in classics, philosophy, and physiology.
- First trained at Oxford, but studied under Wundt in psychology
- His psychological ideology was informed by British psychology; but his tutelage under Wundt also affected his theories
- Tended to work apart from the mainstream of psychology in America



Titchener continued

- After learning in Germany, Titchener travelled to America to teach at Cornell
- He focused on mentalist, introspective psychology, in opposition to American functionalist--and later behaviourist (1913)--psychology
- Titchener experienced ideas in terms of sensations:
 - "I see meaning as the blue-grey tip of a kind of scoop, which has a bit of yellow above it ... and which is just digging into a dank mass of plastic material." -- E.B. Titchener, quoted from Leahey, p. 247
- His theories sprang from his own atypical mind--he was aware not everyone experienced ideas the way he did, but assumed ideas are all constructed from sensation and images
- Adopted the Humean model of the mind as a collection of sensations (rather than the Kantian view of the mind as separate from experience and sensation)

Titchener's psychology

- Leahey describes three experimental tasks for Titchener's psychology
 1. The discovery of all the basic components of sensation which combined to form complex mental processes. This was done through (very) systematic introspection: the complex retroactive examination of an experience. Titchener would examine a thought and attempt to divide it into simpler components; when a simpler component could not be found, he concluded he had arrived at an elemental sensation.
 2. Discovering how these simpler sensations are combined into more complex perceptions, ideas, and images. Titchener did not believe these were associations, since he believed an association was a connection of elemental sensations which persisted even after the conditions for the original connection did not remain. Further, Titchener was not interested in relationships between complex or meaningful ideas, but only relationships between simple, elemental sensations
 3. Explanation. Titchener felt that introspection could only describe the mind, and description was not enough. Very highly positivist: wanted to explain the mind only in terms of observable nerve psychology rather than through psychological methods such as Wundt's ideas of apperception. Titchener reduced all psychological mechanisms (such as perception) to pure sensation.
- While Titchener had a close group of followers, his ideas did not survive him.

Phenomenology

- Most psychology in the late 1800s-early 1900s was following the Cartesian Way of Ideas: that the mind can be broken down into components and analyzed, as Descartes wanted to break down and analyze the physical world
- Some psychologists believed in a Kantian conception of the mind as an organizer of experience into the objects of consciousness; others, like Titchener, adopted a Humean model of the mind as being composed of associations
- However, there was a non-Cartesian model of the mind, found in phenomenology, which was rooted in perceptual realism.
- Phenomenology: Studying the mind by only describing experience as it appears, without bringing any assumptions about the mind to that description.

Franz Brentano (1838-1917)

- Early in his career, he was a Catholic theologian. Argued extensively over the doctrine of papal infallibility, and eventually left the church to become a philosopher instead.
- Supported the establishment of scientific psychology
- His concept of mind was rooted in Aristotelian realism as it had been adapted by medieval philosophers.
- Strongly disliked the Way of Ideas as an imposition of a metaphysical theory on experience
- Viewed the mind as composed of acts towards real, stable objects. Descartes believed the mind observed and made sense of sensory information: Brentano believed the mind was like a hand grasping what is real. For every mental action, there must be a real object (e.g. hate requires an object to hate)
- Neither Humean or Kantian. The mind is ordered because the world is ordered, not because of associations (Hume) or the imposition of order by the mind (Kant).
- Very influential. Brentano's ideas of describing consciousness rather than analyzing it eventually became phenomenology, and was adapted into Gestalt psychology by Carl Stumpf (1848-1946).
- He also taught Freud

The Human Sciences

- William Dilthey (1833-1911)
 - Linked intentionality to the Naturwissenschaften vs Geisteswissenschaften divide
 - Said we must understand the motives and reasons for human action: We must understand why someone kills someone else (To stop a burglary, or to collect life insurance?)
 - However, studying intentionality and reason goes beyond the boundaries of natural science-- how can we study that which we cannot observe?
 - A very relevant debate: neuroscientists want to reduce the mind to physiological processes, cognitive psychologists propose that the human mind follows certain pre-existing patterns, rather than reason/motivation
 - Do we have reason and motivation, or are they just ideas we have created? Can psychology be a human science if it ignores reason and motivation? This debate is still ongoing

Systematic Introspection: The Würzburg School (1901-1909)

- **Oswald Külpe (1862 – 1915)**
 - Introspective study of thinking
 - Some contents of consciousness cannot be traced to sensations or feelings
 - Thoughts are acts, not representations
- *Ausfragen* method – the method of questions
 - A question was asked, either simple or complex
 - The observer was asked to attend to his mental processes that were set in motion by the question
- Results: Thoughts can be imageless



The Würzburg School cont.

- **A.M. Mayer and J. Orth**
 - Published the first Würzburg paper in 1901
 - In their experiment they replicated Külpe's findings
 - Observers were instructed to respond with the first word that came to mind after hearing a stimulus word, then describe the thinking processes
- Found that certain conscious processes cannot be described as definite images or acts of will
 - Imageless thoughts – vague “conscious states”
 - Later proposed instead that thought is an unconscious process

Opposition to the Würzburg School

- **William Wundt**

- Rejected the Würzburg method
- “Sham experiments” lacking experimental control
- Imageless thought results invalid

- **Edward Titchner**

- His students performed thought experiments and reported that they found no evidence of imageless thought
- Instead traced all conscious content to sensations or feelings

- **R.M. Ogden**

- American psychologist
- Imageless thought controversy revealed difficulties in the introspective method
- “May we not carry the point a step further and deny the value of introspection?”

The Würzburg School cont.

- **Rejection of associationism**

- Henry J. Watt's experiment of constrained association
- "Subordinate" vs. "Superordinate" categories
- Argued that the force of association alone cannot explain the nature of rational thought

- **Mental Set**

- Determining tendency in the mind that directs the observers' use of his associative network
 - Suggested unconscious thinking
 - Thoughts are mental acts directed at other aspects of the mind or at the world
- "The fundamental characteristic of thinking is referring, meaning aiming at something" - Külpe

The Würzburg School Conclusions

- Although Würzburg-inspired work continued after 1909, the school essentially ended when Külpe left
- No theory based on Würzburg studies was ever published and the systematic introspection proved a dead end
- However, it's methods were innovative and in the concept of mental set it foreshadowed the functional psychology of the future

Studying Memory

- The study of memory (or learning) was more open to scientific investigation because it could be studied quantitatively and without introspection
- **Hermann Ebbinghaus (1850 – 1909)**
 - Resolved to tackle higher mental processes
 - Memorized nonsense syllables, using himself as his only subject
 - Published *Memory* in 1885
 - Isolated and studied memory as a pure **function** of learning



Studying Memory cont.

- **Georg Elias Müller (1880 – 1943)**
 - He created the **memory drum**, a machine for presenting Ebbinghaus's nonsense syllables at an objectively measurable pace
 - Insisted on objectivity. Emphasized that association is the only mental force



Scientific Phenomenology: Gestalt psychology

Gestalt: (form or whole)

Christian von Ehrenfels (1859-1932)

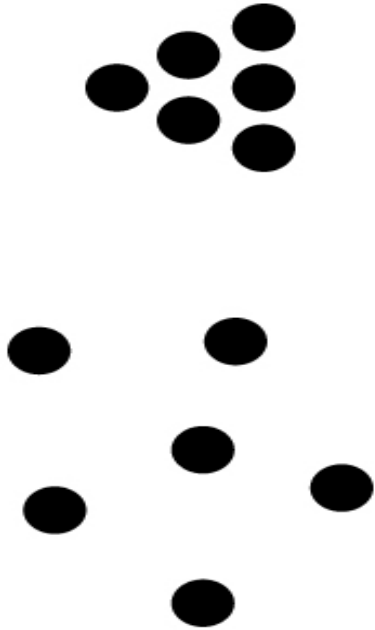
Gestaltqualität: in addition to sensory elements, there are form elements which compose the objects of consciousness

E.g., a melody is more than a sequence of notes

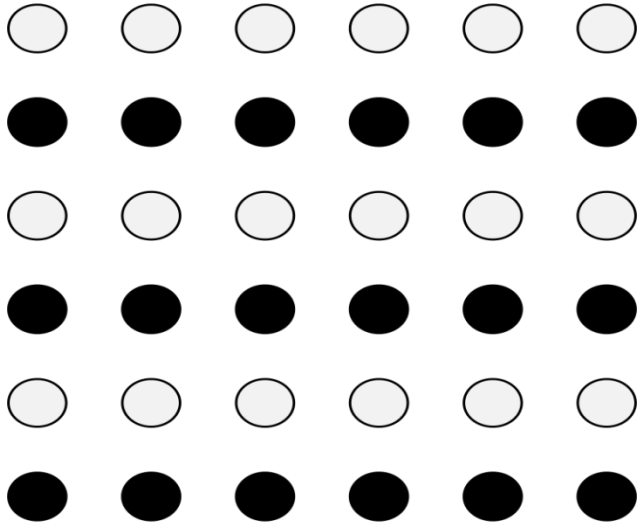
Gestalt Movement in Psychology

- Began in 1910 in the meeting of 3 psychologists who became the prime movers
- philosophically inclined psychologists were dissatisfied with the neglect of elements of human mental life which they regarded as important
- Part of the reaction against the dominant Wundtian paradigm
 - Wundt had excluded “higher order” mental functions from scientific psychology
 - Seen as barren and confining

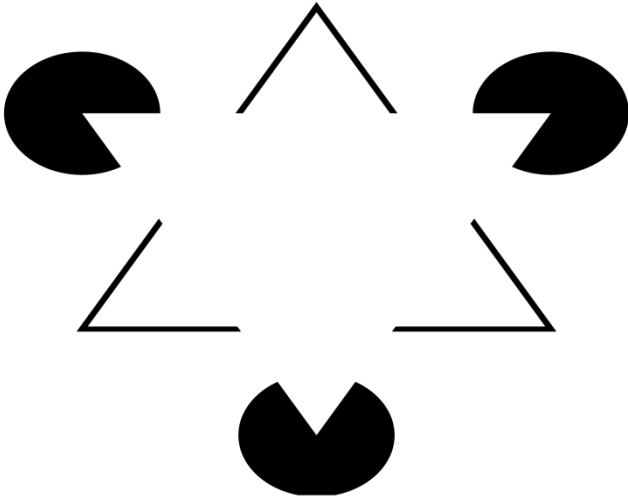
The Gestalt Laws of Perceptual Organization



Proximity



Similarity



Closure



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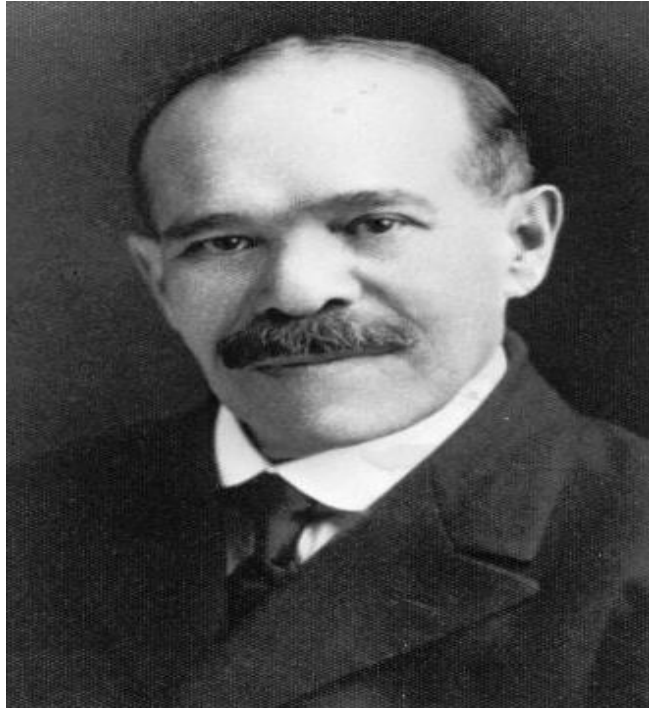
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The formation of 'The Trio'



Max Wertheimer
(1880-1943)



Wolfgang Köhler
(1887-1967)



Kurt Koffka
(1887-1941)

Gestalt Psychologists' Rejection of Cartesian Framework

Horrified by atomist theories

Two flawed assumptions of the 'Way of Ideas'

- (1) The Bundle Hypothesis** (associative atomism: held that like chemical compounds, objects of consciousness were made up of fixed and unchanging atomic elements
- (2) The Constancy Hypothesis:** Every sensory element in consciousness corresponded to a specific physical stimulus registered by a sense organ

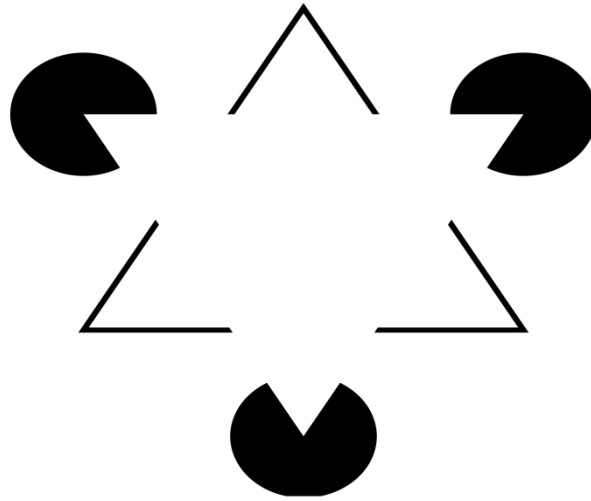
The Gestalt Research Program

- Began with investigations into apparent motion (Wertheimer)
- Called *phi phenomenon*
 - to minimize associations with illusions, i.e., 'apparent' motion

Using a stroboscope

- Two vertical black bars in two different, fixed locations
- Presented two stimulus at varying intervals
 - At 30 ms intervals:* saw two bars appearing simultaneously
 - At 60 ms intervals:* saw single bar moving from point to point
- ***Bundle hypothesis:*** phenomenon as a cognitive error , or illusion
- ***Wertheimer's/ Gestalt idea:*** experience of motion was *real* even though it did not correspond to any physical stimulus

Perception of Illusory Contours



- we perceive a form—a gestalt—to which no corresponding physical stimulus corresponds
- we perceive meaningful wholes not collections of atomic sensations
 - we do not perceive a *number* of individual things
 - Rather larger wholes

The Gestalt Research Program

- Gestalts are not imposed on experience by the mind, but rather discovered in experience
 - Objective not subjective
 - Gestalts as physically real, natural self-organizations in nature
 - Isomorphic to one another
- Application of field physics to psychology and brain physiology
 - Köhler: The brain as a dynamic field of self-organizing force fields reflecting gestalts and giving rise to the gestalts of experienced objects (similar to connectionist model)

The Gestalt Research Program

- Gestalts arise spontaneously in consciousness
- Animals behaviour is not reduced to stimulus response behaviours, rather, animals are capable of problem solving (higher order) if given the chance
 - Phenomenology of behaviour *and* phenomenology of consciousness - Köhler
- Gestalt psychologists wanted psychology to be a complete natural science however they did not want psychology to have the same goal as natural science

Reception of Gestalt Psychology

- “No Gestalts without a Gestalter”
 - Gestalts are imposed by mind rather than discovered
- Fleix Krueger, School of Ganzheit Psychology: physically objective gestalts as insufficiently psychological
- In America gestalt theory was culturally irrelevant
 - Strange and bewildering
 - Emphasis on wholeness and synthesis too mandarin for export

The Fate of the Psychology of Consciousness

- **Slow Growth in Germany**
 - The growth of psychology was greatly inhibited by the Mandarin culture of philosophical Bildung
 - It seemed to philosophers to be a rude intrusion
- **The rise to power of the Nazis in 1933**
 - Further complicated matters
 - Many important psychological researchers fled Germany and moved to other countries
 - Psychologists who remained moved in the Nazi direction
- **Psychology did win its autonomy in Germany**
 - Recognition as an independent field of study because it was required to “assist in the selection of officers” during the war



The Fate of the Psychology of Consciousness

- **Transplantation to America**

- Growth of psychology in America quickly outpaced growth in Germany or any other country
- American Psychological Association founded a full decade before the German Society for Experimental Psychology

- **The future of psychology lay largely in America**

- A psychology much changed from its German roots



Psychology of Consciousness Conclusions

- Psychology is no longer defined as the psychology of consciousness, but as the science of behaviour
- However the psychology of consciousness did not die sometime during the twentieth century
- Today, the psychology of consciousness is a field of study within psychology – **the psychology of sensation and perception**
- Numerous books on this topic have been published in the past 25 years; the psychology of consciousness still forms an important part of modern psychology