Chapter 10

An Existential-Humanistic and Transpersonally Oriented Depth Psychology

All of us are called to make something of life that respects yet reaches beyond our mere materiality and vitality

Adrian van Kaam

Beyond a mere ego-centered concept, dynamic theories of personality merged between the 1940s and the 1960s to produce existential-humanistic and transpersonal psychology. The creative and diamonic forces at work that allowed this to come about were many. First, was the Americanization of European forms of existentialism and phenomenology and their absorption into the new movement called humanistic psychology. This led to the valorization of the psychotherapeutic hour over artificial modeling in the laboratory, as well as a major epistemological critique of positivistic reductionism in experimental science. Second, was the radicalization of psychoanalysis, leading to forms of depth psychology that mixed the iconography of the transcendent and new experiential forms of learning with radical forms of social activism directed against traditional psychology and psychiatry. Third, was the psychedelic revolution, which displaced psychoanalysis as the primary vehicle for inner exploration in modern popular culture and at the same time led to experiences both wider and deeper than traditional forms of Western psychology and psychiatry could fathom and to concepts of personality and methods of transforming consciousness from such sources as classical Asian psychology, which could speak more directly to the breadth and depth of people's internal phenomenological experiences. This, in turn, led to major developments in the counterculture incorporating meditation and psychotherapy, psychotherapy and shamanic states of consciousness, and now alternative and complementary therapies into Western concepts of psychology. Depth psychology and existential phenomenology, within an existential-humanistic and transpersonal context, remain major portals into this contemporary frame of reference, having a major impact at the interface between the delivery of clinical services and consumer demand that continues unabated to this day.

Meanwhile, the new rubric in cognitive psychology for spirituality became resilience, directly traceable to the incursion of the psychotherapeutic counterculture into mainstream psychology.² There is also Seligman's cognitive rendition, which he calls positive psychology, both of which have unexamined implications

for an altogether new definition of personality. But the cognitivists themselves are not allowed to broach them. Their epistemology forbids self-reflection and considers it unscientific. So they steal the limelight from the counterculture theorists while remaining in the reductionists' fold. This means that traditional histories of mainstream academic psychology can conveniently ignore developments in the psychotherapeutic counterculture and act as if they either never happened or they are acknowledged at all, they are not considered worthy of being called psychology.³ In this way, academic psychology has remained safe within the confines of its outmoded 19th-century definition of itself as aligned with the physical sciences but is considered in American culture at large, beyond the walls of the academy and the publicly regulated clinics, as largely irrelevant to post-modern experience.

The reason for this is that humanistic psychology was willing to embrace a wider view of personality than mainstream trait theorists because it acknowledged a growth-oriented dimension to personality. The humanistic movement also fused constructs of personality with an expanded theory of consciousness before the neurosciences even broached the subject. This new outlook, in turn, had implications for the way then present day science was being conducted and so raised epistemological questions about fundamentalist influences keeping science in a state of preadolescence while the most important problems of personality and consciousness went unaddressed. Such questions were then taken up at the perimeter of science, which, within the academy, were those points where psychology touched biology, anthropology, sociology, and the arts and humanities, as well as religious studies. A major incursion was human science and the development of qualitative methods.⁴

A case in point is the evolution of dynamic theories of personality after the passing of the macropersonality theorists, such as Murray, Allport, and the Murphys, whose era was the 1930s and 1940s, and who began to pass from the scene in the early 1960s. Almost all their students eventually became assimilated into variations of in reductionistic academic science or psychoanalysis, although many tried valiantly to maintain their identity. Sylvan Tomkins, Salvatore Maddi, Brewster Smith, and now Dan McAdams would be distinguished examples. William McKinley Runyan and James William Anderson would be others. Meanwhile, their teachers went in another direction completely and became the grandfathers and grandmothers at the birth of the existential-humanistic movement, which originated out of the older lineage of personality, abnormal, social, and clinical psychology, and has since flourished in the psychotherapeutic counterculture, where it has helped to spawn a cultural revolution from the bottom up.⁵

This is to say that humanistic psychology is generally remembered along with encounter groups, sex therapy workshops, psychedelic drugs, and the American counterculture movement because it was believed by its proponents to promote a new experiential psychology based on the development of intuitions and the free expression of emotions, rather than relying primarily on reason or science. It has also been variously associated with the larger Western philosophical tradition of humanism, as in the type of discourse that focuses on the person, explicated from the time of the Greeks to the Renaissance. But humanism and humanistic psychology are not identical. Humanistic psychology has more recently become associated

with the term transpersonal, referring to higher states of consciousness accessible through deliberate forms of spiritual practice; and it is sometimes used interchangeably with the term human science, a more recent quasi-intellectual movement of social criticism, mostly European in origin, that had its roots in the ideas of Wilhelm Dilthey and arose from continental interpretations of Husserlian and Heideggerian phenomenology contrasting the natural from the human sciences. More recently human science, in the form of a branch but not the trunk, derives its inspiration from the Marxism of the Frankfurt School as well as teachings attributed to writers such as Derrida, Lacan, Habermas, and Foucault.

A more focused historical analysis, however, suggests that humanistic psychology flourished as a viable form of discourse in academic psychology, roughly from about the early 1940s to the early 1970s. During this period, humanistic psychologists introduced a number of lucid ideas that not only suggested integrating psychology around a common theme of the person but also held the promise of initiating a new and unprecedented dialogue between the science and the humanities within the structure of the Western university system. In 1941, Carl Rogers, self-described as an educational psychologist with religious leanings, introduced the technique of client-centered or non-directive therapy, the first successful and uniquely American challenge to Viennese psychoanalysis, which had dominated clinical psychology and psychiatry up to that time. In 1954, Abraham Maslow, by then a repentant comparative animal psychologist who had become interested in human motivation, introduced the idea of the self-actualizing personality—that our definition of normality should be based on the best examples of humanity, not on a comparison with psychopathology or as defined by a statistical average.

As a herald of what was to come in the interdisciplinary understanding of personality, consciousness, and psychotherapy, in 1956, Clark Moustakas, existential psychologist at the Merrill Palmer School in Detroit who specialized in play therapy with children, published a remarkable collection of papers under the title of *The Self* (1956). Frances Wilson, professor of child development at Cornell contributed on esthetic growth through art; psychoanalyst Karen Horney posited a growth-oriented dimension to personality despite the vicissitudes of a neurotic culture; anthropologist Dorothy Lee wrote on being and values in primitive cultures; and Marie Ramsey, professor of education, wrote on self-actualization in exceptional children. There were also papers on personality derived from the indigenous psychologies of India; but most importantly, the majority of essays were a Who's Who of the emerging humanistic movement in psychology. These included Abraham Maslow, Carl Rogers, Kurt Goldstein, Andras Angyal, Carl Jung, Erich Fromm, Jean Paul Sartre, and others. The focus on the self was not its measurement but its direct experience, on the actualization of its potential, on a striving toward health as intrinsic to human motivation, on the existential difficulties inherent in interior exploration, but on a vision of personality that went far beyond the mere measurement of outward behavior.

Carrying the existential impulse forward, in 1958, Rollo May, along with Henri Ellenberger and others, became a central figure uniting the separate European traditions of existentialism and phenomenology under the umbrella of humanistic

psychology in the form of existential-phenomenological psychotherapy. Thereafter, others such as Charlotte Bühler, James Bugental, Adrian van Kaam, and Sydney Jourard wrote tirelessly on humanistic themes in existential psychology. It was Rogers, Maslow, and May, however, who, in the face of formidable opposition from behaviorists and psychoanalysts alike, collectively established a new norm for psychology as a whole, declaring that humanistic psychology, at the center of their vision of a transformed discipline, was person-centered, growth oriented, and existential in orientation, and that its agenda was to put reductionistic experimentalism on notice that the era of its almost complete hegemony had come to an end.

Against this backdrop, figures out in the wider culture, such as Alan Watts, a student of Zen teachings and Episcopal minister by training; his teacher the aging D. T. Suzuki; the former theosophist, Jiddhu Krishnamurti; Indian yogis such as Swami Rama; psychophysiologists such as Elmer and Alyce Green; indologists and religious philosophers like Frederick Spiegelberg and Huston Smith; and Vedantic practitioners such as Aldous Huxley and Gerald Heard, were increasingly able to inoculate Westerners with concepts of consciousness and techniques of meditation drawn from classical Asian psychology and other world religions. This was also the era when psychedelic drugs were first introduced into the general population by the Central Intelligence Agency and began to have an increasingly widespread social effect on the resurgence of a popular spiritual psychology.⁷

Humanistic psychology, then, which began originally as a legitimate form of academic discourse, did not appear on the scene de novo. One major line of influence had grown out of the older personality and social psychologies developed by previous figures such as Gordon Allport, Henry A. Murray, and Gardner and Lois Murphy during the 1930s and 1940s. These older psychologists had been the first generation after William James to successfully resist the takeover of academic psychology by reductionistic empiricism, which in James's time meant the structuralism of Titchener and Münsterberg and the atomism of Cattell and Witmer. After James, the opposition became the conditioning theories of Pavlov and Watson and the tyranny of testing. After 1930, control over the definition of scientific psychology meant the laboratory experimentalism of Boring, Stevens, Lashley, Hull, and Spence. After the era of the personality-social psychologists, humanistic psychologists continued to carry on this debate and to field an alternative psychology, which raged at the national level in the academy into the early 1960s.

The most notable of these exchanges was carried on in public between Carl Rogers and B. F. Skinner on at least four separate occasions between 1956 and 1964. While the experimentalists continued to believe that their man Skinner was repeatedly able to keep the world safe for reductionism, a far more ominous sign signaling the decline of their epistemology was massing with publication during the same period of Sigmund Koch's monumental six volume work *Psychology:* A *Study of a Science* (1958–1963), a reassessment of experimental psychology at mid-century commissioned by the American Psychological Association. In it, 87 of the world's premier scientific psychologists assessed the rules linking quantification to theory construction against what they had actually accomplished over a lifetime of their own individual work. The result was a correlation so low that it

became a massive indictment of psychologists' agenda to establish psychology as a reductionistic and positivist enterprise. The work also became a landmark symbolizing the era of de-regulation in academic psychology that followed, thus opening the door to the further development of humanistic psychology as a potential new leading movement that would reshape the discipline.

One of the more important comprehensive summaries solicited by Sigmund Koch for his massive re-evaluation of the presuppositions of scientific psychology at midcentury was that presented by Carl Rogers. Rogers's piece was entitled, "A Theory of Therapy, Personality, and Interpersonal Relationships, as Developed in the Client-centered Framework." Rogers found the original assignment quite forced, as he had never expressed his project in terms of dependent, independent, and intervening variables, so he presented instead the organic evolution of his work. He did, however, have a healthy respect for quantifiable studies, but the difference was that these were not primary; they were secondary to understanding the mystery of the person. They were ways to check one's self, to corroborate, to confirm or deny certain hypotheses, but these were not the purpose of the work. The purpose of the work was the person. It was the person who was at the center of his scientific theory, not justification for psychology as a science.

First of all, he considered the development of client-centered therapy to be a group effort, not his singly and alone, and he went to great lengths to identify who his colleagues were at different stages of the theory. He began with a little autobiography. 10 He had come from a Midwestern Christian conservative background and was raised on a farm, where he became deeply involved in the statistics of large-scale agricultural production and husbandry. He went through the physical and biological sciences in college but also studied history for a time. He questioned the fundamentalist religion of his upbringing, especially after a year in China, and on his return and graduation entered Union Theological Seminary. From there he moved across the street to Teachers College Columbia, where he encountered the ideas of E. L. Thorndike and John Dewey and was introduced to clinical psychology by Leta Hollingworth. He did a year of internship at a newly founded Institute of Child Guidance where he was introduced to the ideas of Freud by David Levy and Lawson Lawry. Here, he first began to do therapy. He spent the next 12 years at a community child guidance clinic in Rochester, New York, completely divorced from the psychology going on at the University of Rochester nearby. The faculty in psychology rejected his work as real psychology, although he did some teaching in the other departments. Instead of the laboratory, he focused on his patients. The result of both the therapy and his research was The Clinical Treatment of the Problem Child (1939a). 11 During the second half of this period, he was influenced by the works of Otto Rank, and his students, including Jessie Taft and Frederick Allen. From these encounters he reoriented his research toward the actual experience of the client, not with the testing of some intellectual theory in a laboratory.

Rogers then took a full-time faculty position at the University of Ohio, where more rigorous standards of research met his clinical formulations. He rose to the occasion with a program of rigorous testing and the result was *Counseling and Psychotherapy: Newer Concepts in Practice* (1942a).¹² He then moved to the

University of Chicago and encountered there a broad and deep interdisciplinary eclecticism more than anything he had encountered before. By the time he wrote for Koch's project, he was at the University of Wisconsin. What he presented, therefore, represented 30 years of work with patients, whose experience had become the sole focus of his research. Out of this population he generated a theory of therapy, personality, and interpersonal relationships.

His primary distinction was to show that the basic data of a scientific psychology could be generated out of the psychotherapeutic hour, not the laboratory. Its focus was the inward ordering of experience, not the measurement of behavior; his approach was scientific even if the first steps were crude and only suggestive. His science was dynamic and not static. Establishing the methods of the laboratory as the only legitimate standard for psychology produced a sterile pseudoscience "of no particular importance." Nor was advanced theoretical physics a correct model for psychology. He was certain psychology was nowhere near this same status. Every theory contains error and mistaken inference. The book is never finished and therefore never closed. Too many small caliber minds in psychology jump to accept a theory as the dogma of truth. While he was thinking of the behaviorists in this regard, he was also referring to the Freudians. Freud may have had some good ideas from an intuitive level, but they kept changing. His disciples, meanwhile, had already cast his theory in stone.

Only a complete theory will show us what God and man are, Rogers said, but this is probably unattainable, even if a lofty goal to strive for. At the same time, every theory cannot cover everything. More realistically, "every theory deserves the greatest respect in the area from which it was drawn from the facts and a decreasing degree of respect as it makes its predictions in areas more and more remote from its origins." Finally, he believed that subjective experience was primary in every endeavor, including that of objective science. Operational definitions, experimental method, and mathematical proof are the best way of avoiding self-deception, but they are not the purpose of the research. They do not provide us with the final truth, only the individual perceptions of what appears to each person to be such knowledge.

He then presented his theoretical model. In the center, beginning with the experience of the person, was his theory of therapy. Branching off from it in all four directions were its important developments. The first was a theory of personality. The second was a theory of interpersonal relationships. The third was a theory of the fully functioning person, while the fourth involved the theoretical implications for various human activities, including family life, education and learning, group leadership, and the resolution of group conflict.

With regard to the theory of therapy and personality change, the basic conditions for therapy to take place are several. Two people first must be in contact. The client will normally be in a state of incongruence, feeling vulnerable and anxious. The therapist should feel congruent in the relationship and also feel unconditional positive regard toward the client; the therapist should feel an empathetic understanding of the client's internal frame of reference, and finally, that the client should perceive this regard and this empathy from the therapist (Fig. 10.1).

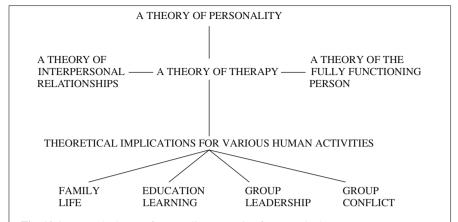


Fig. 10.1 Rogers's theory of personality emanating from psychotherapy Rogers, C. R. (1959). A theory of therapy, personality, and interpersonal relationships, as developed in the client centered framework. In S. Koch (Ed.), *Psychology: A study of a science* (Vol. 3, pp. 184-257). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Concerning the theory of personality, Rogers assembled from the therapeutic hour experiences that led to a model of personality development and dynamics of behavior. He first articulated the attributes of the human infant, who perceives his experience as reality, that is, his own internal frame of reference, as more central than any other experience. His tendency is to actualize himself as an organism and he interacts with reality according to this tendency. In this behavior, he acts as an organized whole, as a total gestalt. He is attracted to positive experiences and repelled by negative ones. This motivational system is inherent.

He then turned to the development of the self. Since self-experience is primary, development proceeds in the direction of self-awareness and the development of the infant's concept of the self. In this, positive regard develops as a permanent need. It soon becomes directed toward others and supercedes the previous organismic valuing process. Self-regard emerges because not all experiences are unconditionally positive, in which case the organism's own self-perceptions carry him or her through.

Incongruence develops when expectations regarding positive regard are not forthcoming. The results tend to be distorted and perceived selectively, in some cases being denied to awareness, but nevertheless preserved as past experiences. An incongruence develops between self and experience, which can lead to discrepancies in behavior.

The expectation of threats and the development of defenses then occur, influencing perceptions of self-worth. Here, Rogers, without attribution, acknowledges Freud's conceptualization of the defense mechanisms—rationalization, compensation, fantasy, projection, compulsions, phobias, etc. Neurotic and psychotic diagnoses are avoided in favor of a greater or lesser degree of congruence experienced by the person. Subception is a term Rogers frequently used. Non-specific anxiety,

for instance, is experienced as incongruence, the degree to which it is dependent on the extent of the self-structure which is threatened. Anxiety is subceived. When anxiety breaks through into awareness, the gestalt of the self-structure is broken and an open state of disorganization results. Conversely, the process of reintegration occurs when the threatening experience must be accurately symbolized in awareness and assimilated into the self-structure.

Rogers then engaged in an extensive list of operational definitions that could be used empirically to test these hypotheses regarding the development of different types of personalities and their reintegration as fully functioning persons. He enumerated the characteristics of the fully functioning person, and from this vantage point fielded a theory of interpersonal relationships. The final section was on the application of the theory to family life, education, group leadership, and the resolution of group conflict. All these areas Rogers eventually went on to develop. Indeed, his work on the resolution of international conflict led to his nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize before he died.

Another landmark event in the early history of humanistic psychology was the appearance of *Existence: A New Dimension in Psychology and Psychiatry* in 1958, edited by Rollo May, Ernest Angell, and Henri Ellenberger. ¹⁴ May began the volume with an essay on the origins and significance of the existential movement in psychology. ¹⁵ The goal was to know the patient as he or she really is. We must ask, "Are we seeing him or her in their real world?"

Ludwig Binswanger and Martin Heidegger were the early voices of the modern period who developed *daseinsanalysis*—the existential-analytic movement in psychology and psychiatry. It was the study of not just an ill man, but the total person in his life context. Eugene Minkowski, Erwin Straus, and V. E. von Gebsattel represented the first, phenomenological stage of this movement. Binswanger, along with A. Storch, Medard Boss, G. Bally, Roland Kuhn, J. H. van den Berg, and F. J. Buytendijk represented the second, more existential stage. Gebsattel, Medard Boss, and G. Bally were Freudian analysts, along with Binswanger himself, who was also significantly influenced by Jung. ¹⁶

As Straus maintained, the unconscious ideas of the patient were more often than not the conscious theories of the therapist. Existential analysis, on the other hand, was focused on the patient's existence, not the therapist's theory. In this way, according to Binswanger, existential analysis was able to widen and deepen psychoanalysis. The person was not studied according to some external standard, but according to the interior disruption of the person's own *condition humaine*. Life histories, narratives, and the single case study were the bulwark of the existentialist's research methods. Such qualitative methods lent themselves naturally to the psychotherapeutic hour and into the depths of the therapist–patient relationship. Binswanger's presentation of the case of Ellen West in the latter half of the book was a case in point.

The gist of the humanistic movement, however, was not therapy, but the place of the individual embedded in the whole of the human condition, and the eventual achievement of a union between science and humanism. The part about humanism was obvious, but the founders also had about them the air of pure science as well, in that they searched, not for techniques for their own sake, but for the foundation

upon which all techniques rest. Existentialism was "an expression of the profound dimensions of the modern emotional and spiritual temper and is shown in almost all aspects of our culture." ¹⁷

Meanwhile, the cleavage between the subject and the object Binswanger had called the cancer of all psychology up to now.

The existential lineage comes through Socrates, Augustine, to Pascal, Kierkegaard, Schelling, then Nietzsche, Dilthey, and even James, Whitehead, Bergson, and Sartre, Berdyaev, Jaspers, Gabriel Marcel, Ortega y Gassett, Unamno, and Tillich in our own time. It is everywhere throughout culture, in the writings of Camus and Kafka, and in the art of van Gogh, Cezanne, and Picasso. It is primarily ontological, in that its focus is on our current state of being. The great edifice of science has very little to do with our current state of being. Quoting Tillich, May says: "Reality or Being is not the object of cognitive experience, but is rather existence, . . . reality as immediately experienced, with the accent on the inner, personal, character of man's immediate experience." The focus of existential psychology is not on objective man, but on the living man and living woman who are doing the experiencing. It is psychology as ontology.

Existentialists themselves begin with Martin Heidegger and his Being and Time (1962/1927), because he reflected the scientific temper, at least in the European sense. 19 But May chose to embark on an earlier historical comparison of Kierkegaard and Nietzsche and the relation of their ideas to psychoanalysis. ²⁰ First, May maintained that existentialism and psychoanalysis arose out of the same cultural situation. Both were a reaction to industrialism and its impact on the psyche, where anxiety, despair, and alienation from oneself and society were mutual themes. Freud wrote about fragmentation of the person and repression of instinctual drives, while Kierkegaard wrote about anxiety, self-estrangement, depression, and despair. Nietzsche wrote about "the bad smell of a soul gone stale" and its effect on resentment, hostility, and aggression. Victorian man saw himself divided by science into reason, the will, and the emotions and trusted that this was the way to examine oneself—piecemeal. What followed, however, was a compartmentalization of culture along the same lines as the radical fragmentation and repression within the personality. Most importantly, what Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, and Freud also had in common was that they theorized upon themselves as a single case study.

Kierkegaard had asked "What does it mean to be an authentic person?" He found truth as defined in relationship, which set him to the question of whether or not man can be divorced from nature, subject from object. His answer, contradicting the entire Copernican revolution upon which then modern science was based, was that the separation of subject and object was entirely false, and in this he predates the quantum physicists who later launched the same answer. Truth is not defined solely in terms of external objects. There is also an internal phenomenological truth based on what an idea means to a person, whether or not it is true or false according to external circumstances. In this, he also predates Rank and Sullivan. We react to what we are committed to. The antidote we seek is recovery of self-consciousness—the will to power. By this Nietzsche meant the ability to overcome disease and suffering, and the potential to actualize one's destiny—that is, May says, self-realization of the individual in the fullest sense.

May compared Nietzsche to Freud on concepts such as repression, reaction formation, and the relation between artistic energy and one's sexuality. They also shared a common understanding about ecstatic reason, that is, reason that spills over into intuition as well as wonder. But Freud lost this sense when he later developed his arguments too rigidly for psychoanalysis as a rigorous science. Reason then became logical and static in his epistemology—a mere method. May finally concluded that "almost all the specific ideas which later appeared in psychoanalysis could be found in Nietzsche in greater breadth and in Kierkegaard in greater depth."²¹ The three of them, at least, directed our attention back to the person having the experience as central to our understanding of man.

Papers then followed by May and Ellenberger on the clinical aspects of psychiatric phenomenology and existential analysis. A section followed of essays by Eugene Minkowski, Erwin Straus, and V. E. von Gebsattel representing phenomenology. A final section on existential analysis presented three papers by Ludwig Binswanger, one of which was the case of Ellen West, concluding with an additional case by Roland Kuhn.

Binswanger presents "The Case of Ellen West" as an example of an attempt to understand schizophrenia from an existential, an anthropological, and a psychotherapeutic orientation. The time period for the case is the end of the World War I, when Ellen voluntarily sought treatment and entered the Bellevue psychiatric facility at Kreuzlingen, where Binswanger was in charge. The anamnesis revealed that Ellen arrived at Binswanger's facility after attempts at treatment with two other un-named psychiatrists (Eugen Bleuler, who gave a psychoanalytic interpretation, and Emil Kraepelin, who gave a more biological one). With respect to their understanding of the case, Bleuler's psychoanalytic interpretation pointed to the unconscious repression of vital drives and instincts, whereas Kraepelin described her condition as the development and gradual manifestation of a pathological personality. Binswanger and Bleuler were in agreement that Ellen's difficulties were an expression of her schizophrenia, but also acknowledged the relevant psychodynamic, developmental considerations, and morbid propensities in her character. After 4 months of treatment and observation, Binswanger revealed that they could no longer keep her at Bellevue and this meant that she would probably take her own life. Binswanger released her and, in effect, acceded with her wish to do so.

The death of Ellen West occurred in early April of 1918, after a 4-month stay at Kreuzlingen, despite Binswanger's best efforts at convincing her to embrace life. Existential analysis exposes the failure of psychiatric theories and psychoanalytic determinations to understand her illness and predicament, without a supporting anthropologically oriented clinical orientation. The existential analytic understanding of the life and death of Ellen West reveals the pathological manifestation of several dominating ideas (related to her weight, in her words, "either thin, or dead," or "nothing") and a subsequent self-imposed "imprisonment in a world design ... restricted ... [and] ruled by very few themes." We apprehend this imprisonment in the rejection of her body, of life, and the world, and understand it as part of the gradual disappearing of vital aspects of her existence. The existential anthropological contribution to the analysis rests in its illumination of this restriction

and imprisonment, as a disappearing of existence not simply biologically apprehended through drive theories or as disease, but also as an expression of transcendence. This insight can be expressed by the fact that, "the human being is in the world, has a world, and at the same time *longs to get beyond it.*" Hence, the desire for transcendence by first disappearing through anorexia and then in the incessant desire for death appears in the final analysis as a tragic and truncated expression of "an ambivalent and ultimately negative obsession" with "being beyond the world." ²³

Existence was the first popular work to expose the general reader to existential psychology. It was followed a year later, in 1959, by a landmark conference at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association in Cincinnati. Abraham Maslow, Rollo May, and Herman Feifel were presenters at this symposium, and Carl Rogers and Gordon Allport were discussants. The symposium at the APA Convention represented the first meeting of American psychologists in a public forum to discuss this topic. Two years after the symposium Rollo May (1961) edited Existential Psychology, a compendium of the talks given at that meeting. 24

The symposium began with a discussion of the emergence on the American scene of existential psychology by Rollo May, a paper by Abraham H. Maslow on the value of existential psychology to American psychotherapists, a discussion on the relevance of death in psychology by Herman Feifel, a chapter on the existential bases of psychotherapy by Rollo May, a delineation of the objective versus the existential view of psychology by Carl R. Rogers, and a commentary on the above papers by Carl Rogers and Gordon W. Allport.

Carl Rogers (1959), the first discussant (APA Editor, 1959), had recognized the phenomenological and existential influences in his own thinking when he published *Client-centered Therapy* in 1951.²⁵ He had also been deeply influenced by Paul Tillich. Even so, he never completely identified himself with these philosophies, a fact which was probably due to his sincere and continued concern with the objective verification of his subjective findings. According to Spiegelberg, Rogers's objective leaning was at least as strong as the subjective influence in his work.²⁶ This predisposition led him to focus his presentation on two divergent trends in therapy: the "objective" trend, which he identified with learning theory and operant conditioning, described as reductionistic, operational, and experimental; and the "existential" trend, which he described as being concerned with the whole spectrum of human behavior, a behavior which is more complex than that of laboratory animals in many significant ways.

Rogers elaborated by describing the objective trend as one which moved away from the philosophical and vague, toward the concrete, the operationally defined, and the specific. In this view, the road to progress in therapy was to reinforce the behaviors in clients that exemplified the direction for improvement that the therapist conceived of as appropriate. He pointed out that this trend had behind it the weight of then current mainstream attitudes in American psychology.

Rogers identified the existential trend in psychology with the psychotherapists, and with Abraham Maslow, Rollo May, Gordon Allport, himself, and others. This trend, he emphasized, recognized the need for the therapist to be real, empathic,

accepting, and openly and freely him or herself. In Rogers's own experience, such a therapeutic relationship allowed the client to be open to many possibilities including considering what in him or herself was real; becoming confirmed in both what he or she was, and in his or her own potentialities; becoming affirmed, although fearfully, in a separate and unique identity; becoming the architect of the future while perceiving future possibilities; and facing what it would mean to be or not to be.

Rogers suggested that these two trends, the objective and the existential, which seemed to represent two divergent and disparate modes of science, might find rapprochement in empiricism itself. According to Rogers, what a positivistic scientist might view as Rollo May's vague philosophical principles, could easily be deduced as testable hypothesis. In the balance of his presentation he offered examples of this possibility. For example, if one looks at May's first principle that neurosis was a method that a person used to preserve his or her own center or existence, a testable hypothesis might be: "The more the self of the person is threatened, the more he will exhibit defensive neurotic behavior." Rogers elucidated several other plausible and convincing examples in his talk.

Notwithstanding Rogers's insistence on the need for objective proofs, in his final argument he confirmed that, in his own experience "the warm, subjective, human encounter of two persons is more effective in facilitating change than is the most precise set of techniques growing out of learning theory or operant conditioning" 28

The second discussant, Gordon Allport (1959), commented on what he called four crucial issues from the presented papers. These four issues included Maslow's question concerning what European existentialism had to offer American psychologists. Allport began his discussion on this question by suggesting that all rational attendees at the symposium had to admit to being repelled by the European style of philosophizing and writing. He declared that American psychology had recast, "imported ideas bringing order, clarity, and empirical testing to bear on them." With these qualifications in mind, he admitted that "existentialism deepens the concepts that define the human condition ... [and] prepares the way (for the first time) for a psychology of mankind" [his italics].

Death was the second crucial topic which Allport reviewed. He supported Feifel's assertion that death is a large part of a person's philosophy of life and lamented the lack of death's inclusion in psychology's study of personality, and in the practice of psychotherapy. He also suggested that persons whose religious values were more comprehensive and integrated into their lives would have less fear of death, while those who had defensive, escapist, and ethnocentric religious values would be more fearful of death.

Allport's third crucial issue was the European preoccupation with dread, anguish, and despair. He suggested that trends in American existentialism were more optimistic in their orientation. These trends included client-centered therapies, growth and self-actualization-oriented therapies, and ego therapies.

Finally, Allport took issue with a point made by Rollo May in his talk on the existential bases of psychotherapy. He understood May as presenting phenomenology—or the client's own view of himself as a unique being-in-the-world—as the first stage

of therapy, and possibly, the only stage needed. Allport recognized May's description of the true existential-phenomenologist as one who would realize the "full reality and richness," and ultimately the why of a situation. Even so, Allport argued that the unconscious of Mrs. Hutchens, a case presented by May in support of his six ontological characteristics, was "filled with Freudian, not existential, furniture." Allport also argued that May relied heavily on psychoanalytic techniques in his existential analysis of this case.

Allport, himself, suggested that the phenomenological view may be the preliminary as well as the ultimate stage of therapy. Having reflected this understanding, Allport still concluded his presentation by suggesting that psychology needed to distinguish between client presentations in which the existential layer was the whole of the personality, and presentations in which the existential layer was a mask for deeper rumblings of the unconscious.

Even though it had been a prominent influence in European psychology for 2 decades, existential psychology was practically unknown in America until 2 years prior to this symposium (May, 1969). In the preface to the second edition of *Existential Psychology*, ³³ May stated that a nearly exhaustive listing of psychologically oriented, existential writings in English included only 185 citations in 1961, while 8 years later there were close to 1000. During those 8 years, the vocabulary of existentialism had become an integral part of the language in American psychology. It was no longer a foreign school of thought, but had become an attitude that permeated many types of therapy and had also exercised an influence on the therapies that acted as correctives to orthodox psychoanalysis. Without being a separate school in its own right, it had become allied with the third force in psychology and the term existential-humanistic psychology had become commonplace.

Rollo May lent the final thought. His fervent wish was that existential-phenomenological philosophy might become a base for a science of individuals that would not fragmentize and destroy our humanity as it went about studying who we are as persons.³⁴

Meanwhile, humanistic psychology was also flourishing abroad. Within a few years of its founding as The American Association for Humanistic Psychology, there were so many international organizations sprouting that they dropped the "American" part of the title. The history of the movement in England has been sketched by John Rowan. Rowan, originally an English socialist radical, turned to psychotherapy and took his PhD from Middlesex University. He became extremely well connected in the various psychological and psychotherapeutic organizations in professional psychology representing the humanistic point of view, while keeping a private practice going in London. He has had a number of popular books published, among them *Ordinary Ecstasy* (1976). More recently he has become associated with transpersonal psychology (Fig. 10.2).

Rowan has developed a theory of the normal personality by relying on the research of others and drawing on his own intuitive norms as a longtime psychotherapist in private practice. His theory focuses on the normal development of subpersonalities.³⁷ Rowan proposes that the infant's initial state of a "primordial paradise" is shattered through the experience of trauma and abuse. Faced with what

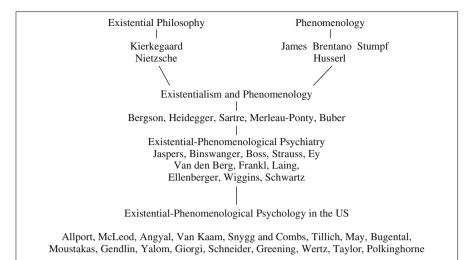


Fig. 10.2 The evolution of the continental philosophies of existentialism and phenomenology into existential-phenomenology psychotherapy operating under the umbrella of humanistic psychology in the United States.

Existentialism begins with Kierkegaard and Nietzsche. The Husserlians presume they own the term phenomenology but they were preceded by Hegel. James, Brentano, and Stumpf. Existentialism and phenomenology became associated with each other through the writings of Bergson, Sartre, Heidegger, and Merleau-Ponty. Buber and Tillich, both theologians, stand out as independent interpreters. Existential-Phenomenological psychiatry is associated with Jaspers, Binswanger, Boss, Straus, Ey, Van den berg, Frankl, Laing, and Ellenberger. Existential-Phenomenological Psychology we associate with figures such as Allport, McLeod, Angyal, van Kaam, Snygg and Combs, Tillich, May, Bugental, Moustakas, Jourard, Gendlin, Yalom, Giorgi, Schneider, Greening, Wertz, and to a certain extent, Polkinghorne. The list is not exhaustive.

feels like a very real threat of extinction, Rowan argues that the young infant defends itself by splitting—turning away its original paradisiacal self and putting in its place a "not-OK-me"—a tactic which it then adopts again and again as a means of surviving potentially annihilating experiences. These produce various subpersonalities which the growing person uses for adaptation throughout life.

One of humanistic psychology's most well-known British proponents was Ronald Laing, who expressed his views on existentialism, psychotherapy, psychoanalysis, and personality in, among other works, *The Divided Self* (1960).³⁸ Liang claimed there to have bounced his ideas off the works of Kierkegaard, Jaspers, Heidegger, Sartre, Binswanger, and Tillich, and he honored Minkowski, but assured the reader that what was presented were chiefly his own thoughts on existential psychology and psychiatry, based on clinical work at the Tavistock Clinic that he had completed by 1956.

He opened with a statement on the existential-phenomenological foundations for a science of persons. The divided self of the schizophrenic refers to the connection with the world that had been rent asunder, and also the rift with the self. The schizoid experiences this as two selves, or a mind split from the body, or an alienation from others. Laing's purpose was to describe the existential and phenomenological context of the schizophrenic's words and deeds—a picture of his or her whole being-in-the-world. His text was directed at psychiatrists who had many cases, but never experienced one as a person, or two people with some familiarity with this type of madness, but not from a clinical standpoint.

At the outset, he rejected classification. Words normally do what the schizophrenic breakdown does; they divide the person into mind and body, psyche and soma, psychological and physical personality, the self, and the organism. One must rather start from an organic unity. The term he used to refer to that is *existence*, one's being-in-the-world. Only existential and phenomenological psychology looks to the whole, where other nomenclatures fail in psychology and psychiatry. A person's being, which is the totality of who they are, is the beginning, just seen from different points of view. Each of us sees people from our own point of view, which may lead to entirely different kinds of action directed toward the same object. He referred to these as different experimental gestalts, since there is only one person actually there.

The individual looks at another individual the same way, either as a person or as an organism, depending on whether he experiences the other person subjectively or objectively. Laing was quite clear that a science of persons begins and ends with one's relationship to the other as a person. One maintains this point of view through intention. In this way, "the other" remains a self-acting agent. Yet such a science eludes psychology and psychiatry, because "an authentic science of persons has hardly got started by reason of the inveterate tendency to depersonalize or reify persons." Schizophrenics do this and we call them crazy, yet it seems perfectly plausible for scientists to do it trying to understand persons. Odd, no?

The experience of one's self and others as persons is understanding generally—how to understand the divided self of the schizophrenic as an authentic person. This is the dilemma of all psychology and psychiatry, except they begin with a dualism to start with and pretend that the unification of personality they speak of is actually true. For how can one remain scientific and objective without depersonalizing the schizophrenic as a means to model his ailment? A science of persons is primary and self validating.⁴⁰

But, while no science yet exists to understand how this is so. Laing saw his task as a difficult one in the absence of such attempts to avoid this, but unfortunately is labeled subjective, unscientific, and mystical for doing so. He cited the efforts of Freud as an example, a great hero to him, who had descended into the underworld and encountered stark terrors, but lived to tell about it as a sane man.

Meanwhile, in Italy, Assagioli had launched psychosynthesis. Psychosynthesis was one of the more important examples of a dynamic theory of personality to appear on the American scene in the early 1960s. It was a theory of personality which, in its most mature form, was developed by the same Roberto Assagioli, whom we originally associated with the late 19th-century French-Swiss-English-and-American psychotherapeutic axis as a young medical student in Italy in 1911.

Assagioli spent his entire professional career in Florence, founding there the Institute for Psychosynthesis. Because of the nature of his system which paralleled Jung's to a remarkable degree and his ready access to Eranos, the retreat and

conference center on Lake Maggiore on the Swiss-Italian border, where Jung delivered some of his most important papers, Assagioli himself was a frequent guest and presenter. By the 1960s, when Assagioli was in his late seventies, psychosynthesis emerged as a significant counterculture psychotherapy in the Western hemisphere, because of interest in Assagioli's work by Michael Murphy, co-founder of Esalen Institute in Big Sur, California. Murphy, himself, was versed in the models of personality and consciousness of the 19th century, being one of the few authors who had thoroughly read and absorbed the subliminal psychology of F. W. H. Myers and brought those historical insights forward under the framework of humanistic and transpersonal psychology. Assagioli published a number of books on his system, but the one to highlight here is *Psychosynthesis: A Manual of Principles and Techniques* (1964), second in the Esalen series brought out by Viking Press.

Assagioli opened his text by noting the similarities and dissimilarities between psychosynthesis and existential psychotherapy, referencing Adrian van Kaam and echoing Maslow's 1959 paper on "Remarks on existentialism and psychology." The method of starting from within, with the self and its presence, is the same. We find the same emphasis in Allport, Goldstein, Fromm, Moustakas, and Erikson and in such personalists as Tournier and Baudoin, Assagioli maintained. This self is in a constant state of becoming, where meaning is central to life. Ethical, noetic, and religious values are central, as in the work of Frankl. Choice and responsibility follow. Anxiety and suffering are taken fully into account. The role of the future in creating a dynamic present makes them similar, as does the centrality of the person, which he compared to Allport's theory of the idiographic personality. Each one requiring a new method.

They are different in many ways, however. Psychosynthesis emphasizes the will much more than most existential therapies. Psychosynthesis also emphasizes more the experience of the pure self in the immediate moment independent of the content of consciousness. Psychosynthesis emphasizes the positive joyous and peak experiences, some of which Maslow had written about. As such, self-realization is actively induced in psychosynthesis. Loneliness is neither ultimate nor essential. It is a temporary condition. The goal is the harmony of the sexes and one's connection to humanity. Following Sorokin and Fromm and others, Assagioli said, its emphasis is ultimately on love and its many forms. Psychosynthesis uses active techniques to direct psychological energies to actualize one's potential and to achieve higher states of consciousness. He believed the personality could be recreated along entirely new lines. The necessary techniques are defined by the uniqueness of each person. At the same time, however, psychosynthesis is neither a religion nor a philosophical system. It is a psychological framework for the actualization of the person, which may incorporate religious and philosophical concerns, but is not meant as a replacement for them. Rather, it is a "scientific psychodynamic." 43 It is appropriate in the treatment of the neurosis, but its real purpose is the spiritual transformation of the person into their highest and best form. It does this by reclaiming the will for the ego in a way that no other psychology has yet proposed.

He then rehearsed the history of dynamic psychology, from Janet and Breuer and Freud, to the Neo-Freudians and to Jung, and beyond his theories to that of the existentialists such as Binswanger and Frankl. He linked psychosynthesis to developments in psychosomatic medicine, the psychology of religion, investigation of mystical states, the work of the parapsychologists, non-Western epistemologies, especially Hindu psychology. He reviewed the links to Allport, Angyal, Goldstein, Maslow, Murphy, Perls, Progoff, and Stern. Social psychology and anthropology were noted, citing Sullivan, Lewin, Murray, Allport, and Sorokin at Harvard, and the work of Margaret Mead. He also included the techniques of the waking dream of Robert Desoille and Jacob Moreno's psychodrama, as well as the work of Ruth Munroe and Gardner Murphy.

Assagioli then made the attempt to depict his model of consciousness. He acknowledged the spectrum from the lower order domain of psychopathology and the primitive and instinctual; the centrality of the waking consciousness the domain in which the ego functions, but then posited a superconscious state in the individual, all of which was surrounded by the collective unconscious of humanity. The superconscious condition, like the lowest domain, remains unconscious but is nevertheless the source of artistic, scientific, and esthetic creativity and the spring of heroic, humanitarian, and altruistic action.

The ego, in contrast, exists in a state of conditioning, being attached to external objects through the senses and beset by habits, attitudes, and compulsions from within. It remains at the mercy of circumstances as long as the individual does not recognize that there is an internal life beyond external control, that there is a higher as well as the lower domain within, and that the higher domain is actualized by training of the will. This, however, takes knowledge of one's own personality, control of its various elements, discovery of one's true self as a unifying center, and a means to accomplish that goal, which is psychosynthesis.

While the majority of psychologists who refer to the term self-actualization usually have only had exposure to the writings of Abraham Maslow on the subject, Assagioli, relying partly on Maslow, developed it in more elaborate and refined detail, including its vicissitudes. Writing on the relationship of self-actualization to psychopathology, he presented the idea that much of what we consider psychopathic may be the result of thwarted spiritual growth. He enumerated four critical stages: crises preceding spiritual awakening, crises caused by spiritual awakening, reactions to spiritual awakening, and phases in the process of transmutation. 44

Finally, Assagioli suggested that the therapist who has all the credentials is not always the most qualified to treat the patient, if the therapist himself has not engaged in this process of deep, inward reflection. He recommended a two-fold competence for practitioners, one that they be trained professionals, but also two, that they be experienced travelers along the path of self-realization. Though rarely found in formal programs leading to clinical licensure, the need for such types may be even greater than before.

Meanwhile, since 1949, Abraham Maslow had been in constant contact with the California psychotherapist, Anthony Sutich, and the two had combined mailing lists of professionals across several disciplines who were interested in seeing the evolution of a new kind of psychology. Such interest reached a critical mass in 1961 when the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* was officially launched, with Sutich

as editor and Maslow as contributor, after Allport, behind the scenes, had arranged an anonymous grant for \$1,000 from the Psychological Foundation. The informal mailing list of Maslow and Sutich, once merged, became the first official list of subscribers, a group who formally banded together to found the American Association for Humanistic Psychology (AAHP) in order to financially support the journal.

Over the next 2 years, Esalen Institute, in Big Sur, California, was officially founded by Michael Murphy and Richard Price and launched its first programs in human potential with workshops by Willis Harman, Alan Watts, and others, spawning a national but disconnected network of similar growth centers fostering the new psychology. ⁴⁵ Meanwhile, the first official meeting of AAHP convened in Philadelphia in 1963, attended by 75 people. At that meeting James F. T. Bugental, an existential psychotherapist, author of a then recently published and widely read article, "Humanistic Psychology: A New Breakthrough" in the *American Psychologist*, was elected president. ⁴⁶ Also at that same meeting, a committee on theory for humanistic psychology was founded, chaired by Robert Knapp of Wesleyan University.

The following year, in November, 1964, Knapp was able to convene the first Old Saybrook Conference in Saybrook, Connecticut, supported by \$5,000 from the Hazen Foundation, in order to bring scholars together to examine humanistic theory. Formal invitations were extended by Victor Butterfield, then president of Wesleyan, and the meeting was held in the Wesleyan campus and nearby, in Old Saybrook, Connecticut, at the Old Saybrook Inn. At that conference, Allport, Murray, the Murphys, and others of the older generation of established personality theorists, such as George Kelley and Robert White, met together with Maslow, Rogers, May, Bugental, Moustakas, Bühler, and others such as Floyd Matson and Anthony Sutich to discuss where they had come from and where they were going and to pass the torch from the older to the new generation of theorists. Most, but not all, of the papers were published the following year in the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*.

Henry A. Murray gave the opening keynote address.⁴⁸ He divided himself up into three alters so he could conveniently express the multiple points of view that constituted the new movement. The three parts of him all stood upon Mt. Pisgah, surveying the wasteland that psychology had become in one direction with regard to personality and consciousness, while they could also look toward the Promised Land that psychology was about to evolve into by turning toward the other direction. Between the three of them, they described the dehumanizing effect that experimental psychology in general and particularly at Harvard had wrought on the rest of psychology, and the scientific ideology of precision and irrelevance that had descended on both psychology and culture as a result. Alternately, one of them gave a glimpse of what a humanistically infused psychology of the future might also look like.

First, the coming psychology would focus on human beings rather than animals as objects of devoted study. Second, it would study the whole person, by which Murray meant all the salient and essential parts, properties, or aspects of a personality, as well as personality as an organ or a system in the sense that the whole is always greater than the sum of the parts. Third, it would study the historic personality—the whole person from birth to death, or from birth till the present

moment of its existence, or from one to another point in the life span. Fourth, it would investigate the much neglected interior, experiential, phenomenological, or existential aspect of personality, which Murray took to be a basic and essential component to the external, behavioral component. Fifth, is the on-going study of personality in nature, society, and culture, rather than the study of thoughts, feelings, and acts in an artificial laboratory situation. Sixth, a humanistically oriented psychology of the future would encompass the largely neglected positive, joyful, and fruitful experiences of a person's life, as well as its most admirable dispositions and endeavors. Seventh, it would pay attention to a miscellary of concepts, such as that of choice or decision, and that of voluntary action or will, which were eliminated by both behaviorism and Freudianism, but are indispensable, as Rank insisted and May pointed out, to an adequate humanistic psychology. Finally, the eighth element is what Murray referred to as a philosophy of life or a system of desirable values to be experienced in conduct as time goes on. It is at this point that the humanistic psychologist steps out of his or her traditional scientific role, that of describing and conceptualizing the values entertained by others, and becomes a selector or creator of values in his own right.

The three alters then began all talking at once about Freud, Jung, Adler, McClelland, Goldstein, Maslow, Rogers, and Allport, as well as Robert White and Erik Erikson, so Murray decided that right there was a good place to end the keynote talk.

The problem was, however, that the new lights emerging on the scene had their own agenda, so that there was not exactly continuity of content between the old and the new theories. At the same time, researchers such as Maslow, Rogers, and May were in the process of leaving their positions as psychotherapists and professors within the mainstream culture of the East Coast establishment for more innovative opportunities in California. As well, most of the humanistic psychologists were only a few years younger than their counterparts in the older personality theory, and within a few years after that would themselves be either dead or have retired from the scene.

Also in 1964, the *Transparent Self* appeared, by Sidney Jourard, a statement about the process of self-actualization, in which the projected self and the real self within are in congruence. Self-disclosure, its central theme, was defined by Jourard as the accurate portrayal of the self to others. Jourard (1926–1974) was an important figure in the development of humanistic psychology as a legitimate academic field of inquiry that pioneered in self-disclosure and body awareness. Born a Canadian, he took an MA at the University of Toronto in 1948 and the PhD in clinical psychology from the University of Buffalo in 1953. His dissertation was on the ego strength as measured by the Rorschach. He then produced a series of papers on body-cathexis and the self, focusing on the ideal self versus the real person. He also developed an instrument to assess the extent of the discrepancy, the Jourard Self-Disclosure Questionnaire.

During this time jourard taught at Emory University and the University of Alabama Medial College. He joined the faculty at University of Florida in 1958. That year he also published papers on self-disclosure, and his first book, *Personal*

Adjustment (1958).⁵¹ His emphasis then turned to the dynamics of psychotherapy, particularly the I–Thou relationship that developed between patient and therapist instead of an attitude of manipulation.⁵² These insights came from his private practice which he pursued for 20 years.

When the *Transparent Self* came out in 1964, it created a sensation. Later he would be elected president of the newly formed American Association for Humanistic Psychology. After *The Transparent Self*, Jourard's writing took a distinctly existentialist turn. He began publishing in the existentialist journals, dialoging in public with known figures of the movement, meanwhile criticizing experimental reductionism in psychological science and writing on intersubjectivity and the experimenter bias effect. He followed with three more books, *Disclosing Man to Himself* (1968), *Self-disclosure* (1971), and *The Healthy Personality: An Approach from the Viewpoint of Humanistic Psychology* (1974). This last work went through four editions by 1980.

The last 10 years of his life he gave up private practice and did workshops and seminars on encounter at Esalen and elsewhere. He died unexpectedly at the age of 48 when an old antique sports car he was working under suddenly collapsed, and humanistic psychology lost one of its leading lights.

Also in 1964, Adrian van Kaam's *Religion and Personality* appeared.⁵⁵ The paperback edition followed in 1968. The work was significant for several reasons. It advocated for a growth-oriented dimension to personality. It acknowledged an individualized psychology of self-realization, but at the same time, it equated spirituality with the organized religious teachings of Catholicism, which empowered others in the pastoral counseling movement and the field of the psychology of religion who were ordained in specific denominations to speak to the process of spiritual self-realization through their respective denominational teachings. It also brought pastoral counselors more deeply into the humanistic movement in psychology and allied humanistic psychology with the psychology of religion.

Author of at least 30 books and hundreds of articles, van Kaam was a Dutch phenomenologist and an ordained Spiritan Catholic priest who earned his doctorate in psychology at Case Western Reserve, but whose major ideas, which he variously referred to as Formative Spirituality or Formation Anthropology, originated from his earlier work in Holland in the 1940s.⁵⁶ Van Kaam entered a Catholic community, the Spiritans, when he was 12. He had received a classical humanistic education from the gymnasium as a young man and continued to study philosophy and theology in seminary when the Germans invaded Holland. Due to logistical problems he was kept out of the seminary during the infamous Hunger Winter of 1944–1945, being forced to alternately hide and live on forged papers in the south, and working with the Dutch resistance to gather food for the starving populace. His ordination to the priesthood had to be delayed until after the war, in July of 1946 to be exact.

During his training, he had befriended another seminarian, Marinus Scholtes, whose life was profoundly mystical, but who died at age 21. Years later, van Kaam and a group of spiritual travelers he had gathered around him, including his colleague, Doctor Susan Muto, edited and published the young man's manuscript,

Become Jesus: The Diary of a Soul Touched by God.⁵⁷ The project brought laity together with clergy and strengthened the already established (in 1979) Epiphany Association. "Epiphany" means appearance or manifestation of the mystery to human beings in their distinctive humanness, which became van Kaam's guiding theme. The pioneering group in the Netherlands prior to and during the war was led by a former Benedictine who was the head of the choir in van Kaam's parish. Anton Toneman used the music of the church to spread the humanistic spirit of the Benedictines. Through others in the group, van Kaam was touched by a distinctively Dutch spirituality with its own ecclesial-experiential expression that had developed in Holland over the centuries.

In this line of thought, discursive meditation was not the same as contemplation. Contemplation transcends the discursive analytical mind. It grants one the grace of quiet presence. So an understanding of the approach to the unfolding of the spiritual life for each person was necessary before the experience of the actual revelations of the spirit could take place. These early pioneers wished to renew, to some degree, the classic experiential humanistic spirituality of their faith groupings.

The focus of attention was on the disclosure of one's own unique-communal life call:

Was I being faithful to Christ, the Church, the Gospel, or not? The masters have much to say on this point, both humanistically and spiritually. What we were doing then, I am still doing now. It is the work I call formation theology to distinguish it from the first and most necessary study of informational theology. It is the art and discipline of giving form to one's faith experience as served by an ecclesial humane formation tradition. It is an approach to theological reflection that develops in respectful dialogue with our personal and shared humanity and its treasures of true humanism.⁵⁸

After the war was over and van Kaam was reunited with his other seminarians, he completed his studies, graduated first in his class, and was inducted into the priesthood in 1946. Thereafter, he was assigned to teach courses in both philosophical anthropology and the philosophy of science at the Seminary.

When the then Vatican Secretary of State, Giovanni Baptista Montini, later Pope Paul VI, learned of his project he arranged through the proper channels of authority for van Kaam to be freed to pursue this unique way of thinking about the person as distinctively human under the then Dutch Life Schools of Formation for Young Adults. Then, in the early 1950s the then president of Duquesne University in Pittsburgh came to van Kaam's Seminary, spoke with him at length, and invited him to come to teach at Duquesne, where he wanted van Kaam to establish in the Psychology Department a new track called "psychology as a human science." Van Kaam had no degree in psychology, but the President foresaw no problem, provided the young priest was willing to get a PhD in psychology while pioneering this new approach. Receiving permission to do so and following his arrival in the United States in 1954, van Kaam taught his first courses in the department. Then he was set free to study at three universities. At Case Western University in Cleveland he worked with Calvin Hall, a historian of personality theory. At the end of his work there, he went on to study at the University of Chicago under Carl Rogers. He also went to the Alfred Adler Institute where he met, among others, Professor Heinz Ansbacher. After that he studied under Abraham Maslow of Brandeis University. His doctoral dissertation for Case Western was on the "Experience of Really Feeling Understood by a Person." At Duquesne, van Kaam continued to develop psychology as a human science and presented his version to other faculty, such as Amedeo Giorgi.

To build psychology as a distinctively human science, he turned to all the previous writing and research he had done in formation anthropology, which he had already developed in Holland. He translated this work into psychological language. In due course he published seven volumes about the field called *formative spirituality*, volumes in which he laid out the basics of formation science and anthropology. As it was, in the years between 1954 and 1963, he translated this work into humanistic psychological terminology with some implicit references to formation theology.

In those early years, he was also a new voice in the field of existential psychology, which he based uniquely on the Thomistic structure of "essence-existence." The same year he published *Religion and Personality*, he published a breakthrough book titled, *Existential Foundations of Psychology*, ⁵⁹ his statement on a humanistic anthropological psychology. It contains certain insights pertaining to an anthropological phenomenology, is still considered a basic text in this field, and once issued it was reprinted many times over.

To van Kaam's surprise, the book evoked tremendous interest. He was invited to speak in many places. Maslow invited him to teach his courses at Brandeis University for a whole year when he went on sabbatical. He was invited to Harvard to speak to the faculty and students of psychiatry. Soon, he would become internationally known, as he became even further immersed in humanistic psychology and its adherents. These included theorists like Andras Angyal, under whom he studied at Brandeis, Roberto Assagioli, Charlotte Bühler, who came to Duquesne and who published an article in his journal, and of course, there was Viktor Frankl. Frankl visited Duquesne on several occasions, and van Kaam stayed at his home in Austria. He remembered Kurt Goldstein, whom he had met at Brandeis as well and later visited with him at his home in New York. There was also Sidney Jourard who came several times to van Kaam's sessions at Duquesne, as did Gordon Allport.

The positive response was gratifying. Van Kaam said he simply presented the main lines of the humanistic formation anthropology he had developed in Holland, but he put it into a kind of psychological terminology enabling him to stress the humanness of this psychology. These travels kept him in contact with all kinds of people. He attracted a following and got a certain name among colleagues in the field of existential psychology like Rollo May and Henry Elkin and the man who had trained him in client-centered therapy, Carl Rogers.

At Duquesne, van Kaam formed a group of people who would try to integrate into psychology, humanistic, phenomenological, existential, and anthropological thinking. Duquesne was a unique school in the 1960s and 1970s, its so-called creative golden age. Van Kaam himself edited *Review of Existential Psychology and Psychiatry* and published three classics together with numerous articles.⁶⁰

Meanwhile, new developments in humanistic psychology were accelerating within both mainstream psychology and the burgeoning psychotherapeutic coun-

terculture. In 1965, Fritz Perls, Charlotte Selver, and Will Schutz established themselves at Esalen. Thereafter, gestalt therapy, experiential encounter, and sensitivity training groups experienced phenomenal growth after 1969. In 1966, an innovative program in humanistic psychology at Sonoma State College was launched as part of the school's extension program, and within this context, Eleanor Criswell, a professor of psychology there, first proposed the formation of a Humanistic Psychology Institute, envisioned as the PhD granting wing of the new movement. In 1971, along with co-sponsorship with AAHP, this program was officially launched, and, in 1981 became fully accredited as an MA and PhD program in psychology, organizational systems, and human science under the present name of the Saybrook Graduate School and Research Center.

Also, by the late 1960s, the new humanistic orientation was reaching into sociology, anthropology, nursing, dentistry, and elsewhere. In 1968, Harvard Business School Professor Anthony Athos published *Behavior in Organizations*, ⁶¹ a text, inspired by the theories of Maslow and Rogers, which helped to launch the new field of organizational behavior in business schools throughout the United States. In 1969, West Georgia College in Carrolton, Georgia, founded an official graduate program in humanistic psychology, now in its 38th year. These events heralded the establishment of other academic programs elsewhere, such as PhD program in the history of consciousness at the University of California at Santa Cruz, as well as undergraduate programs at Johnson College at the University of the Redlands, Antioch College in Ohio, and Goddard in Vermont. Humanistic psychology also found one of its largest venues within the field of pastoral counseling, especially with the development of the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley.

Humanistic psychology, meanwhile, was also drawing the occult and the theosophical into its circle, movements previously associated historically with spiritualism, which now were seen as more properly psychological. A case in point was the Doubleday edition of Dane Rudhyar's, The Astrology of Personality, which appeared in 1970.⁶² The work was first published by an occult press in 1936 and reprinted in the Netherlands in 1963. By 1970, it had become a different text altogether, now drawing on the work of Jung and Maslow for an understanding of the process of self-realization and the use of astrology to achieve it. Mainstream psychologists cringed at the very sound of the title, as any association of personality with parapsychology, the occult, or anything having to do with astrology was considered the height of charlatanry and unworthy of a scientist to take seriously. Meanwhile, millions of people were using the various astrological systems as a language of inner experience with which to pursue the expansion of consciousness. The major transformation in public attitude was that traditionally astrology had been associated with magic, or, as applied to personality, it was thought to be in the esoteric schools something to be transcended. The rise of humanistic psychology focused it as an interior language related to personal growth.

Also, in 1971, against the better judgment of the officers of AAHP, which saw itself as a countercultural organization, and as a measure of how widespread the humanistic impulse had become even in American academic and clinical psychology, a group of influential psychologists within the American Psychologists

cal Association gathered enough signatures to found Division 32, the Division of Humanistic Psychology. The division is now in its 34th year of existence, and it maintains both a newsletter and an APA approved journal, *The Humanistic Psychologist*.⁶³

At the same time Division 32 was being launched, similar developments were occurring out in the American psychotherapeutic counterculture at large. Chief among these was a major statement on life span development from a humanistic perspective by Charlotte Bühler and Fred Massarik. Massarik was on the faculty at UCLA and played a major role in launching organizational systems theory within business management. Bühler was another case altogether.

If Maslow was considered the Father of humanistic psychology, then Charlotte Malachowski Bühler might be considered its Mother.⁶⁴ Charlotte Bühler, German émigré psychologist who specialized in life span development and humanistic psychology, also made significant contributions in education, family studies, child psychology, psychological testing, clinical psychology, projective tests, and psychotherapy. 65 The existential humanistic psychologist, James Bugental, a colleague and close friend, characterized her as a formidable person who knew her own mind and set about doing things the way she believed they should be done. She could be imperious, humble, tough, gentle, petty, generous, formal, companionable, creative, and curiously blind. Before she immigrated to the United States, one writer characterized her as a cross between a typical Viennese social butterfly and an intellectual Prussian barracuda. 66 Tom Greening remembered that she and her husband Karl never achieved the recognition in the United States that they had in Europe, probably because of her attitude, but also because the Bühlers were neither psychoanalysts nor members of the Jewish refugee community (Charlotte herself was half Jewish, reared as a Protestant).

She was born in 1893 in Berlin, the eldest of two children. Her father was an architect and her mother an accomplished musician. She developed an interest in psychology and cognition at a young age, but wanted an answer to the big questions, such as "what is the essence of human nature?" When she read Ebbinghaus, she found him too atomistic. The penchant for the larger, more all-encompassing view never left her. She went on to study psychology at universities in Freiburg and Kiel, came briefly under the influence of Karl Stumpf in Berlin and was influenced by the early gestaltists. There she became interested in the "Aha! Experience," the experience of sudden insight. Stumpf sent her to Munich to study with Karl Bühler, who had named the phenomenon. At Munich she came under the influence of Oswald Külpe, whose student, Karl Bühler, became her advisor, upon Külpe's death.

Both began with a mutual interest in cognitive thought processes, but soon embarked on a whirlwind relationship. They were married in 1916. She was 23, he was 37. A year later she had her first child, received her PhD in 1918, and a year after that gave birth to their second child. Her dissertation, *Das Märchen und die Phantasie des Kindes*, was on children's fairy tales. In 1920, she took a job working for the school board as an employee of the Prussian government at the *Techniche Hochschule* in Dresden. There she began to collect diaries as

a way to study the interior experiences of adolescent girls. Eventually she collected some 130 case studies from seven different countries, including the United States, and used them to write her book on the psychology of adolescence, *Das Seelenleben des Jugundlichen* (1922),⁶⁷ a work widely read in Germany and Austria.

In 1923, she and her family moved to Vienna, where Karl Bühler became a professor at the University and began to conduct research at the Vienna Psychological Institute, which he founded.⁶⁸ Charlotte began as an unpaid *privatdozent* and rose up in the ranks and became an associate professor (also unpaid). She was characterized as exploitative, dictatorial, and heavy handed as a teacher, meanwhile running the Vienna Institute with her husband as a major center of mainstream scientific research into the 1930s.

Psychoanalysis, for instance, was not permitted to be discussed. Yet her efforts led to major advances in child development and a cohesive group of free-thinking scientists. She also studied and traveled widely during this period. She went to Teachers College, Columbia University to study child and adolescent psychology with Edward Thorndike from 1924 to 1925, deciding the behaviorists were too molecular and too narrow in their thinking. Later in her experimental career, she would try to blend methods of describing behavior with phenomenological accounts presented by parents, teachers, and the children themselves. Her emphasis was, rather, more toward gestalt psychology, and the experimental science that characterized the reputation of the Institute Clinic. She became a visiting professor at Barnard College as a Rockefeller Fellow in 1929 and developed consultation work at child guidance centers in England, Holland, and Norway. When she returned from Columbia in 1925, she received a 10-year grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to fund her on-going work at the Vienna Institute's Child Guidance Center. Her research was also supported by the Ministry of Vienna in service of a school reform movement occurring at the time. However, her research was supposed to be confined to the goals of the school board, from which she often strayed. After one episode of criticism, she was remembered as writing:

It is becoming clearer that we in youth psychology, as in psychology in general, cannot proceed from single investigations, but must ask ourselves: how does the growing person gradually gain his relationships to the world, its laws, tasks and possibilities? ... One sphere after the other opens itself to them, some of them through the school; that is its psychological significance. ⁶⁹

During the years that Karl Bühler headed the Institute and Charlotte served as chief administrator, there were many important students. There was Paul Lazarsfield, an educational statistician, who later became a famous sociologist in the United States. He was the son of Sophie Munk Lazarsfield, a well-known radical Adlerian analyst who practiced in both Vienna and New York. Marie Jahoda had been his first wife. She did research in the causes of anti-Semitism, became famous for her work on the F-scale in Adorno et al.'s study *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950) and later wrote a scientific critique of psychoanalysis, *Freud and the Dilemmas of Psychology* (1977). ⁷⁰ Egon and Else Frenkel-Brunswick were two others

under the Bühlers who immigrated to the United States. The list is long and distinguished, including Rowena Ansbacher, Lotte Danziger, Rudolf Ekstein, Fritz Redl, Rene Spitz, Edith Weisskopf, and others.⁷¹

After the Fascists took control of Vienna in 1933 and the Rockefeller grant dried up, the Bühlers got up their own private subscription fund to keep the Vienna Institute going. But when Karl was arrested by the Nazis in 1938, they made plans to immigrate to the United States. The Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Psychologists of the APA found a position for Karl in Minnesota and Charlotte followed in 1940.

She held a faculty position at the College of Saint Catherine in St. Paul, Minnesota. Later in 1941, she established a child guidance center in Worcester, Massachusetts, after which, back to the Midwest, she worked as a clinical psychologist at the Minneapolis General Hospital. Overall, Samantha Ragsdale notes that the Bühlers did not immediately adjust to American culture and were not well received by academic departments. The situation was so difficult that she did no writing between 1940 and 1950.⁷²

The Bühlers moved to California in 1945, where Charlotte worked as a clinical psychologist at the Los Angeles County Hospital from 1945 to 1953. There, according to one source, she became a premier diagnostician and, despite her earlier opposition, a practicing psychoanalyst. She also served as assistant clinical professor of psychiatry at the University of Southern California Medical School for a portion of those years. Around this time, she also obtained US citizenship. In 1953, she began a private practice in Los Angeles, in Beverly Hills, identifying strongly with the new movement soon to be called humanistic psychology. She knew Carl Rogers, Gordon Allport, and Abraham Maslow, whose humanistic psychology was very much in accordance with her own, but her closest colleagues were Fred Massarik, at UCLA, and James Bugental, a theorist and psychotherapist in the tradition of existentialhumanistic psychology. She became actively involved in the founding of the *Journal* of Humanistic Psychology, serving on its editorial board, and a founding member of the American Association for Humanistic Psychology. She later became a president of the Association. At the same time, she began to publish on humanistic psychology and its meaning, blending the ideals of the movement with her own theories.⁷³ However, she never produced a definitive work on her theories of personality and development across the life span.

We get a glimpse of this fusion in an introductory chapter on "The General Structure of the Human Life-cycle," which she published in *The Course of Human Life:* A Study of Goals in the Humanistic Perspective, co-edited with Fred Massarik. There, she maintained that the life cycle has ten basic properties:

1) Each life cycle belongs to one individual. There is a maturational order, a sequence whose speed and quality can be influenced by learning and the impact of emotional experiences, as well as the intentional exploitations of one's gifts and opportunities. The life history contains the whole of the individual as he or she emerges in a given time and place. In the end the life terminates and what remains are evidences of the life in the stream of history.

- 2) The life cycle is of limited duration. We may live on in the memory of others, or in monuments we have created, there may even be an afterlife, but the physical life ends upon death.
- 3) Individual development proceeds according to a predictable ground plan. Periods of rapid growth are followed by plateaus of slower development and proliferation at that level, called stationary growth. These are followed by other distinct periods leading to the peak in midlife. Decline to varying degrees follows. Sexual activity, for instance, starts at the end of the first major growth period and stops before or during the final period of decline.
- 4) The phasic character of the ground plan constitutes the fourth element.
- 5) The succession of normally irreversible phases with definite direction is called development and represents the fifth property of the life cycle. In one's creative mentality, however, we find the exception to this rule, as either regression or self-actualization can occur at any time throughout the life cycle.
- 6) The individual remains continually active throughout the various phases. Circumstances change and the person continually attempts to adapt and consciously change conditions. Motives and goals play a major role.
- 7) Needs, which never let up, determine direction, except to the extent that goals of lifetime fulfillment and personal self-realization override them. Conscience rooted in the self instead of social rules can predominate. Thus, Bühler rejects Freud's assessment of thwarted life expectations as brilliant but normative and not in any way providing for the creative impulses of the self. Transcendence and the subconscious can be entirely new factors. Horney's conception of the whole person is inborn, while for Jung it is achieved. These are at least expressive of the true possibilities for the actualization of personal potential. She then discussed Gardner Murphy's conception of the self, as a reflection of three separate aspects of human nature. One is satisfaction of the biological organism; the other is maintained of the tastes and preference we have developed over a lifetime; and the third is our insatiable quest to understand our basic nature and to make this quest available to everyone.
- 8) The activities of the person are always goal directed. In this, she relied heavily on the studies of David McClelland on need for achievement. At the same time, however, Bühler believed that inwardly directed goals reach toward existential authenticity (Bugental), while outwardly directed goals reach toward conformity with social norms. Authenticity comes from the core of the organism's basic system (she cites Horney's "real self"). This process goes beyond ego boundaries, which lack self-direction if they become too externally oriented. Beyond the ego, the inwardly directed self then becomes, as Allport calls it, "this awesome enigma," at the core of our being. It appears there to be all encompassing in one moment, then appears to be a chimera, completely gone in the next. She cited Tillich's writing on ultimate concern that in which we are prepared to place our highest belief, the most far-reaching goal.
- 9) The dualism of human purpose—to seek to achieve self-realization, yet to remain petty and ego centered, the conflict between our needs and our goals, the general struggle with the opposites in our psychic life.

10) The fact that we live in the present but also have a spontaneous orientation to the past and the future. This is one source for the conflict between the opposites.

Inwardly determined fulfillment she decided was at the core of a meaningful life. In this she described the theories of Victor Frankl and Rollo May, reminding readers of the profound implication of Tillich's position reflected in *The Courage to Be* (1952)⁷⁶—that we must have the courage to be oneself despite the doubts one may suffer about the meaning of existence. She noted the correspondence of these ideas with those of her husband, citing Karl Bühler in 1929, when he characterized "anything as meaningful that functions as a contributory constituent to a teleological whole..." ⁷⁷

In 1969, Carl Rogers founded his own independent facility, The Center for the Study of the Person, in La Jolla, while Sutich and Maslow bolted from the AAHP and its journal that same year to found the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* and, soon, its supporting organization. Their primary intent was to shift their attention from the study of human emotional development to the development of a psychology of spirituality. Meanwhile, in 1968 the AAHP had held its annual conference at the Fairmount Hotel in San Francisco, and, rather than the usual staid presentation of intellectual papers, was criticized by the management for staging a snake dance through the lobby. That year, the AAHP newsletter also began listing growth centers around the United States for the first time, all of which were unrelated to university-based psychology programs. These events were strong indications that humanistic psychology had effectively been taken over by the human potential movement by that time.

At the meeting of AAHP in Silver Springs, Maryland, in 1969, the "A" in the organization's title, referring to "American," was officially dropped because it had become such an international movement. By 1972, conferences were being held in London, Stockholm, Moscow, Hong Kong, Canton, Peking, Tokyo, and Hawaii. The most distinguishing memory of the 1969 conference in Maryland, however, was the group of nude sun bathers in the hotel fountain. That year the new AHP also co-sponsored, with the Menninger Foundation, the first of several conferences on the Voluntary Control of Internal States, held at Council Grove, Kansas. These proved to be the important transitional meetings leading up to the formation of the Association for Transpersonal Psychology in 1973 and established technologies such as biofeedback and meditation as important methods in the new psychology. To cap these events, also in 1969, Charles Tart, psychologist at the University of California at Davis, released his pioneering text, *Altered States of Consciousness*, ⁷⁸ which quickly became the bible of the new psychological movement.

Maslow was elected president of the American Psychological Association for the academic year 1968 and 1969, but suffered a heart attack and continued only in a diminished capacity. He died in 1970. Afterward, humanistic psychology as an academic discourse arising out of personality theory and motivational psychology became almost completely absorbed by the American psychotherapeutic counterculture. There, it is generally thought to have remained largely to this day, having fragmented into three general streams: (1) transpersonal interest in meditation and altered states of consciousness; (2) experiential encounter groups and somatic body work therapy; and (3) radical political psychology. Human science now meant deconstructionism, constructivism, radical feminism, peace psychology, and critical thinking, particularly in the liberal enclaves of intellectual learning in California. This line was dominated by what we might loosely call the University of California at Berkeley interpretation of the Frankfurt School.

Despite valiant efforts to stem the rising tide of cognitive behaviorism, such as Amedeo Giorgi's trenchant phenomenological critique Psychology as a Human Science (1970), and publication of Irvin Child's Humanistic Psychology and the Research Tradition: Their Several Virtues (1973),⁷⁹ humanistic psychology as a force for shaping academic psychology has remained in eclipse. Currently, AHP has become more and more marginalized from mainstream academic psychology, both intellectually and financially. It still reflects a significant portion of the counterculture psychotherapic movement, however, which probably accounts for a majority of the psychotherapeutic practice now going on in the United States. The JHP and Saybrook have spun off from AHP as independent organizations with a life and structure of their own. Division 32 has remained a small division within the APA, alternately having harbored and jockeyed for position with the now disbanded Transpersonal Psychology Interest Group, which has never been able to achieve an independent status of its own from its humanistic parent. Human science scholars at one point found a venue at Saybrook and to a limited extent in Division 32 and in other of the innovative independent programs in psychology, such as the Institute for Transpersonal Psychology and the California Institute for Integral Studies, In these groups the split between the political radicals and the mystics of the 1960s continues unabated. Qualitative methods reign, but the even newer trend to emerge is the ideal of race, class, and gender, compled with a turn back toward reductionistic main stream psychology.

Laura Perls and Natalie Rogers

Behind the first-generation founders of existential-humanistic and transpersonal psychology stand many interpretations of just what constitutes personality, its transformation, and how to achieve it. One of these is the experiential psychodynamics of Laura Posner Perls, wife of Fritz Perls, co-founder of gestalt therapy. Perls's writings made gestalt therapy a primary mainstay of the psychotherapeutic counterculture in the 1960s, influencing movements such as est (Erhard Seminar Training, always represented in lower case) and neurolinguistic programming, particularly during the 7 years Perls took over Esalen Institute for his own purposes between 1964 and 1971. By then, he had separated from his wife and was espousing his mature (or immature) system focused on an experiential psychology of self-realization, an awakening of the senses, and consciousness in the here and now.

Gestalt therapy was the title Fritz coined to describe what was an amalgamation of psychoanalysis, existentialism, and holism, as described by Jan Smuts, whose work Perls had known from his years in South Africa, where Smuts had been the Prime Minister. Laura Perls had never liked the choice, but Fritz Perls had worked briefly with Kurt Goldstein for a few months at Frankfurt and also dedicated one of his books to Max Wertheimer. So the name stuck. But the historians of experimental laboratory-oriented gestalt psychology, such as Mary Henle, later vehemently protested any association between Fritz Perls's gestalt therapy and gestalt psychology, defined as the tradition of Wertheimer, Koffka, and Köhler. Each

However, Paul Shane, an existential-humanistic and transpersonal scholar and gestalt therapist, discovered a copy of Laura Perls's dissertation in the early 1980s in a shoe box, which he had found in a closet in Chicago. In German, the dissertation was an experimental laboratory study on the gestalt theory of color contrasts, which, under her maiden name of Laura Posner, Laura Perls had submitted successfully for the PhD under Adamar Gelb, at Frankfurt in 1933. ⁸³ The smoking gun, in other words, was held by Laura Perls, not Fritz. He turned out to be the brilliant intuitive clinician, while she was the great intellect with the scientific background in their relationship. By the time he arrived at Esalen, however, all that was behind Fritz, who had freely appropriated from his ex-wife, his colleagues, and his friends, largely without attribution, which he had rolled over into his experience as a skilled clinician to construct his own system. Laura is only sometimes acknowledged as a co-founder of gestalt therapy, when, in fact, she was a prime mover in its development. ⁸⁴

The two of them shared, however, the vision of personality as a total psychophysical system, and they employed techniques designed to develop the intuitive, sensory, and emotional dimensions of the person. The intellectual, they left to the academy and to science, which in the history of Western thought had always treated everything as an appendage of the head. Their therapeutic regime they took as a necessary corrective. Laura, in particular, began to develop a dimension of experiential bodywork based on movement therapy.⁸⁵

The essential but unanswered question for historians of psychology is how Laura Perls transmuted an experimental laboratory oriented but holistic psychology of perception into an experiential psychology of self-realization. It was a particularly feminine thing to do, as it was the direction her own personality took in its development, but it was based on her conception of science, first in terms of how we perceive the world in terms of wholes and then by considering personality as a total gestalt and defining the methods by which one transmutes those things from a psychology of the person in the mind of the teacher to the experiential life of the student or patient without losing sight of the whole human being. The calumny of the situation was that she was not acknowledged for her scientific background, probably because it was too great a leap to explain at the time within the intensity of the experiential milieu, except with reference to depth psychology, while at the same time her contribution was appropriated without proper attribution by Fritz, in all likelihood because she was a woman. The process by which she herself negotiated this transition has yet to be investigated, however.⁸⁶

A second example of a wholistic psychology of personality anchored in a dynamic psychology of the unconscious is the program of Creative Connections developed by Natalie Rogers. Her father, Carl Rogers, had gone through several major phases of his therapeutic system, from empirical measurement of client-centered therapy to a science of the whole person, to a person-centered science, ending up in the more experiential domain of self-actualization in the context of group work, especially on an international level. Natalie Rogers worked intensively with her father during this last phase of his career, at the same time endeavoring to establish her autonomy from him through her association with radical feminism. ⁸⁷ While her approach to a psychology of the whole person is intuitive, experiential, and somatic, its main focus building on art and movement therapy, it is a psychology of personality change nonetheless in the genre of an existential-humanistic and transpersonally oriented depth psychology. ⁸⁸ The question for a post-modern psychology is what form the study of personality will take if the epistemology underlying how personality shall be studied scientifically is transformed to accommodate the experiential and the intuitive, in order that dynamic psychology shall still constitute a science of the whole person?

Transpersonal Psychology

A relatively new branch of American psychology that developed after 1969 out of humanistic psychology that focuses on meditation and altered states of consciousness became known as transpersonal psychology. While attempts have been made to suggest that transpersonal psychology is really very old, reaching back even to the spiritual concerns of the classical civilizations from antiquity, historically, it is an American phenomenon of the mid-20th century. One could stretch the point and say that it had an early era of godfathers in figures such as William James, Carl Jung, and Paul Tillich. William James's *Varieties of Religious Experience*⁸⁹ established the primacy of mystical experience for a cross-cultural comparative psychology of the subconscious. Then in 1905, James used the term transpersonal in a course prospectus at Harvard to describe the concept of "outside of" or "beyond" in relation to how humans experience the world. In 1914, C. G. Jung described *ueberpersonlich*, translated as "superpersonal" at the time, which, in 1942, he retranslated as "transpersonal." Also, in 1954 Paul Tillich employed the term in *Love, Power, and Justice*⁹¹ to refer to the ground and abyss within us.

Transpersonal themes certainly appeared between the 1940s and the 1960s in the works of such seminal writers as Aldous Huxley, who wrote *The Perennial Philosophy* (1945), having studied a variety of the world's religious systems, and *The Doors of Perception* (1954), after his own psychedelic experiences; Alan Watts followed with such early works as *The Way of Zen* (1957), *Psychotherapy East and West* (1961), and *The Joyous Cosmology* (1962).⁹²

Insofar as transpersonal psychology was an outgrowth of humanistic psychology, it had a distinctly humanistic phase throughout the 1960s when humanistic psychologists were still a viable part of academic discourse in psychology. During this time, Maslow's self-actualizing personality and his hierarchy of needs continued to be discussed. Rogers's client-centered therapy emphasized empathy and unconditional positive regard for the client who was a growing, evolving organism, not

merely a statistical average or a damaged individual. And Rollo May continued to write on the existential nature of the psychotherapeutic hour into the 1960s.

As we have indicated previously, the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* was founded in 1961, while the American Association for Humanistic Psychology was launched in 1962. The main purpose of the Association was to support the journal. The First Old Saybrook Conference was held in Connecticut, co-sponsored by AAHP and Wesleyan University in November of 1964, which attempted to legitimize humanistic psychology within the academy. It was destined to be a failed agenda, however, as humanistic psychology was about to become fractionated and then almost completely absorbed into the psychotherapeutic counterculture, where it began to look more transpersonal, experiential, and radically political than humanistic.

The Old Saybrook Conference was followed in 1966 by such benchmark events as the Humanistic Theology Conference at Esalen. 93 This was a seminal event for many reasons. Maslow and Sutich were attending a conference at Esalen on the dialogue between humanistic psychologists and organized religion. They were sitting in an open seminar room with easy chairs exchanging ideas, when suddenly Fritz Perls and his entourage burst into the room. Fritz listened for a few moments and quickly determined in his own mind that nothing was really happening, so he dropped down on his stomach and slithered across the seminar room, finally attaching himself to the speaker's leg. Chaos ensued as some like Maslow and Sutich objected to the interruption, while Fritz's entourage were advocating the radical overthrow of speeches of any kind in favor of direct experience.

Both Maslow and Sutich left the conference immediately and therefore prematurely, convinced that humanistic psychology had become captivated by experiential extremists. They had already believed that what the new psychology needed was more of a focus on spirituality and higher states of consciousness. Events culminated in their overnight departure from humanistic psychology in 1969, when they turned over the reins of both the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* and their involvement in the AHP to others and founded instead the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology*, and its subsequent Association. They poured all their attention into this newest movement, which came to emphasize meditation and altered states of consciousness. As a result, many of the major popular voices in humanistic psychology–Elana Rubenfeld, George Leonard, Karl Pribram, Stanley Krippner, and others, followed them and suddenly became the keynote speakers at the new transpersonal conferences.

Maslow on Transcendence

Actually, Maslow was something of a paradox. He never sought out the counterculture psychotherapeutic movement. It found him. One day in the early 1960s he and his wife Bertha were driving down Highway 1 in Big Sur, California and were a little uncertain where they were. They pulled into a driveway to ask for directions and, by accident, it turned out to be Esalen Institute. He quickly discovered that everyone

was sitting around reading and talking about his books, so he stayed. Thereafter, he became somewhat of a reluctant prophet. He wanted mainstream psychology to hear his ideas about the growth-oriented dimension to personality and about his theory of motivation, but the group that warmed most to him was the irregulars who were taking drugs and who were dropping out of academia in ever increasing numbers. He was embraced as a guru of the counterculture movement, yet he was for the Vietnam War and had proclaimed himself an avowed atheist. He was also a member of the American Humanist Association, which had been founded by Madeline Murray O'Hare. B. F. Skinner was also a member. Maslow also swore like a trooper. When his heirs decided, to publish his journals, they contemplated eliminating all the four letter words, but then the entire thing no longer was coherent, so they left them. Popular guru he may have been, but he never put himself forward as a holy man.

If psychologists remember him, it is usually for his conception of the self-actualizing personality and for his hierarchy of needs. This was the product of his early work up to the 1950s, however. Twenty years later, he had looked into Chinese Taoism, written about peak and plateau experiences, and generally had different thoughts about the spiritual life. He never directly professed a belief in God, but it was enough that he understood that each person had deep spiritual instincts, regardless of the way they expressed them.

In this regard, a year before he died, within his characterization of the self-actualizing dimension of human personality, Maslow posited the recurring experience of transcendence. This concept is crucial to understanding the nature of personality posed by the new psychology, its radically different model of consciousness, as well as the critique of reductionistic science that accompanied its formulations. In general, transcendence means the ability to go beyond the mere rational ordering of sense data alone and to admit the emotional and intuitive parts of the human equation into the mix. This favors some combination of qualitative and quantitative methods in psychology as a science, in some way more than just the sum of the parts. Psychologically, it means going from a restricted state of waking consciousness, in which all is concrete and firmly attached to external waking material reality, with the attendant belief that that is the only reality possible, to a wider, higher, and deeper state of awareness, which is accessed not through logic but through insight.

Transcendence, for Maslow, referred to the very highest and most inclusive or holistic levels of human consciousness, behaving, and relating, as ends rather than means, to oneself, to significant others, to human beings in general, to other species, to nature, and to the cosmos. Here, holism should be taken in the sense of hierarchical integration, which also includes cognitive and value isomorphism. ⁹⁵ He gave 35 operational definitions of the term.

It meant loss of ego-centered awareness; it mean identifying with being motivation rather than deficiency-oriented motivation; it meant passing from a state of boredom into one in which we see each moment under the eye of eternity; it meant resign above culture to the universal sense of our humanity; it meant rising above one's past; it means rising above the lower needs of the self; it means to experi-

ence the mystical; it means to struggle and overcome death, sickness, and pain, and to lay aside bitterness and anger; sometimes it means just letting things be; it means going beyond the we-they polarity; it implies becoming metamotivated in the sense of identifying with a higher purpose; it means to go beyond one's conditioning, such as ignoring advertising, or as Frankl maintained, even rising about the conditions of the concentration camps; it means to value and honor one's own opinions, even when unpopular; it means to go beyond the introjected values of the Freudian superego and rely on the depth of one's own insights for which path to follow; it means relating to the possible as well as the actual; it means to rise above dichotomies to superordinate wholes; it means to go beyond the dictates even of one's own will; it means to surpass one's own performance; it means actualizing potential divinity within ourselves; it means to rise above ethnocentrism and mere patriotic fervor; but without relinquishing being anchored in one's indigenous roots; it means to live casually in heaven; it means to speak and witness with equanimity and calm abiding; it means that facts and values become one; it means relinquishing attachment always to the negative; it means non-attachment to space, which then allows miracles to happen anywhere; it means to be able to enjoy fulfillment; it means the transformation of fear into courage; it means the forgiveness of human imperfections; it means to be more inclusive with regard to differences in beliefs. So one can see that these definitions go much beyond the conceptions of personality posed by the trait theorists. The important difference is the epistemological frame of reference between the two models, where one posits a growth-oriented dimension to personality and the other does not.

The late 1960s ushered in an era marked by the first generation of people who actually started to call themselves transpersonal psychologists. The seminal event of 1969 was publication of Charles Tart's Altered States of Consciousness, a pioneering text in transpersonal psychology that covered everything from meditation and dream psychology to paranormal events and the transcendent experience. 96 At the same time, the Voluntary Controls Project at the Menninger Foundation under Elmer and Alyce Green, in cooperation with the Association for Humanistic Psychology convened the First Council Grove Conference on the Voluntary Control of Internal States, 97 held in the outback of the Kansas prairie. Psychedelic drugs, North American Indian Shamanism, meditation, Asian psychologies, and mystical states of consciousness were all discussed openly. Eventually, there would be four such conferences at Council Grove between 1969 and 1972, their significance being that they were the transition conferences between what was officially called the humanistic and transpersonal movements in American psychology. Afterward, the Council Grove conferences continued on, but in a more diffuse form, in different places and under different venues, having served their primary function, namely, helping the major players transition to the first conference of the American Association for Transpersonal Psychology, which was held at Vallombrosa Conference Center, in Palo Alto, California in 1973.⁹⁸

In the interim, much had happened. In 1970, Montague Ullman and Stanley Krippner, co-researchers at the Maimonides Dream Laboratory in Brooklyn, published *Dream Studies and Telepathy*, a pioneering work describing 10 years of

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research in parapsychology from the standpoint of experimental laboratory science. The work first appeared as a monograph of the Parapsychology Foundation, a non-profit organization originally founded by the British psychic, Eileen Garrett. This was followed by *Dream Telepathy*, which appeared through Macmillan in 1973, with an introduction by Gardner Murphy. Here again, psychical research was a taboo subject in academic laboratory studies of personality. Ullman and Krippner, however, endeavored to show that in a cohort of 100 subjects, it was possible to demonstrate empirically that telepathic communication between a dreaming subject while asleep and a waking percipient was possible. Papers were also included by Louisa Rhine on the commonality of such phenomena, and Charles Honorton, suggesting that dreams could foretell the future.

Ullman was a physician and psychiatrist with psychoanalytic training, while Krippner was a PhD psychologist who had previously been director of the Kent State University Child Study Center in Ohio. Krippner went on to publish extensively on dreams, parapsychology, hypnosis, dissociated personality, creativity, psychedelics, and psychic healing, among other subjects. In 1978 he drew important parallels between parapsychology and humanistic psychology and was also known for his investigation of parapsychology going on in the Soviet Union. ⁹⁹

Also during that same period, Maslow had died in June, 1970 and Sutich geared up to carry on by himself. The next year the Association for Transpersonal Psychology was officially formed in Palo Alto. John Cunningham Lilly also published his *Center of the Cyclone* (1972), a book that linked positive healthy states of meditation, psychedelic drug use among professionals, and communication with dolphins. ¹⁰⁰

Then in 1972, Charles Tart published his pioneering statement on state-specific sciences in *Science*, main organ of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. ¹⁰¹ His opening argument made the case that young people who have had experiences deeper and wider and more profound than those typically accepted in normative science usually do not go into science as a vocation, largely because the way science is currently constituted; extreme prejudices often surround established scientists with regard to novelty, or ideas that do not fit their accepted paradigm. Such prejudices are actually not very scientific, because they represent belief statements of the scientist about the nature of ultimate reality, not established facts about it.

Altered States of Consciousness Tart presented as a case in point. Scientists who live only in the normal everyday waking state tend not to acknowledge altered states of consciousness, except perhaps sleep, coma, and death. Any reports of those experiences are going to be labeled dysfunctional or psychotic. Having experienced such states, however, puts the scientist in a position to be a more objective observer and to draw more valid conclusions. The problem is that we have well-developed norms for the everyday waking state, but none for altered states of consciousness. Tart's suggestion was the establishment of the validity of state-specific sciences, where particular states are understood to have their own separate reality, their own presuppositions, their own laws of operation, and their own special content. He used the example of psychedelic intoxication with marijuana as an example, where phe-

nomenological investigation of the state is quite possible, but not acknowledged by externalists who simply dismiss any value to it out of hand. What is at stake, however, is that only certain types of personalities therefore enter science, further skewing our perception of what is real to that which is defined by only those who are attached by way of the senses to objects in the external material world alone. Recognizing alternate realities would also show how varied different states of waking consciousness are as well. For example, some people think in images, others in words. Some can voluntarily anesthetize parts of their body, most cannot. Some recall past events by imaging the scene and looking at the relevant details; others use complex verbal processes with no images. All of the different modes of being when attached to objects in the external material world through the senses constitute the different types of personalities. Psychological science, however, should be more than merely the elaboration of just the one possible state of consciousness.

Echoing these same sentiments, in 1973, Jay Haley published *Uncommon Therapy*, which for the first time brought Milton Erickson and his approach to the attention of a wide reading audience. Erickson (1901–1980) was probably the most influential hypnotherapist in the United States in the second half of the 20th century, particularly in the psychotherapeutic counterculture. He was born Aurum, Nevada, in 1901 and raised on a farm in Wisconsin. He was known to be dyslexic and learned things very slowly. From an early age, he was also guided by blinding visions, which always had a profound influence on shaping his sense of normal consciousness by always suggesting there was something more beyond. At age 17, he contracted polio, and nearly died. Determined to survive, he developed innovative techniques of physiological self-control. At the same time, he became a keen observer of people and their motives. He attended the University of Wisconsin and earned both the PhD and the MD.

His professor for the course in Medical Psychology was the youthful Clark Hull, who had been assigned the course which had been previously taught by Joseph Jastrow, despite the fact that he knew nothing about the subject. When Erickson heard him speak on the first day, he knew right away that he knew more than the professor about the subject. From then on, Erickson, himself a first year medical student, was merciless in his questions, challenging Hull at every turn and exposing his ignorance on topics such as hypnosis and the voluntary control of internal states, about which Erickson knew a great deal. Hull took up the challenge and embarked on an extensive experimental research program testing various aspects of hypnosis and its effects.

This culminated in the first major work of Hull's career, *Hypnosis and Suggestibility: An Experimental Approach* (1933).¹⁰³ When he later got to Yale, where he spent the rest of his career, his colleagues told him that studying such a topic for an experimentalist was unseemly, so Hull immediately embarked on a completely different course of investigation, using the basics of animal rat learning to launch his massive project to reform scientific psychology around the hypotheticodeductive method.

The other key event of 1973, beyond the first ATP conference at the Vallombrosa Conference Center, ¹⁰⁴ was that Stanislav Grof launched the International

Transpersonal Association, which held its first conference in Iceland. Grof's view of the transpersonal was quite different from that of others, principally because he was an MD psychiatrist, not a psychologist. He therefore put himself forward as embracing a much wider notion of spirituality, consciousness, and healing than the merely psychological. This means that the transpersonal movement continued to expand, but now along the lines of the respectively different visions of Sutich and Grof.

Meanwhile, in yet another series of milestones, in 1975 Robert Frager launched the California Institute of Transpersonal Psychology, the PhD granting wing of the formal California Transpersonal movement; Robert Ornstein published *The Nature of Human Consciousness* (1973); and Stan Grof published his now pioneering work, *Realms of the Human Unconscious* (1975). ¹⁰⁵

Physician, psychiatrist, founder of the International Transpersonal Association in 1977, the man who coined the term transpersonal for the movement in the first place, and formulator of the technique of Holotropic Breathwork, Grof was born in 1931 in Prague, Czechoslovakia. He received his MD from Charles University in Prague in 1957, and the PhD in Medicine at the Czechoslovakian Academy of Sciences in 1965. He was then trained as a Freudian psychoanalyst. Grof immigrated to the United States in 1967. He was invited as an assistant professor of psychiatry at Johns Hopkins and went on to become chief of psychiatric research at the Maryland Psychiatric Research Center where he worked with extensively with alcoholics using LSD therapy when it was still legal in 1973. He moved to California in 1967 and lived at Esalen in Big Sur as a scholar in residence for 12 years, developing his method of Holotropic Breathwork, a technique he found could produce the same alterations in consciousness formally associated with LSD therapy. He now teaches at the California Institute of Integral Studies.

Realms of the Human Unconscious: Observations from LSD Research (1975) was Grof's first book. It was a report of nearly two decades of research with LSD in a psychotherapeutic milieu, in which a cartography of internal states of consciousness was presented representing people who had gone into deep states of spiritual experience. Grof based his observations on thousands of LSD sessions he had conducted as an aid to psychoanalysis in Prague. LSD, he believed was a powerful adjunct in therapy when used under properly controlled conditions. After these encounters, even skeptics, scientists, and radical Marxists were suddenly interested in states of consciousness that transcended their normal everyday waking condition. His major contribution was an exposition of the mythic and religious dimensions of personality that were revealed and the fact that LSD, like sensory deprivation, meditation, the final hours of life, heightens one's own naturally occurring psychological experiences rather than creating something artificial based on the pharmacology of the inducing stimulus.

He identified four levels of consciousness. The first level is sensory distortion, which gives way to the second level, that of the psychodynamic—repressed memories and the symbolic expression of conflicts, which tend to appear sequentially in LSD therapy until the original precipitating cause is revealed, in which case its hidden symptomatology ceases and does not appear again. There is then

the level of perinatal experiences, states which invoke images of one's own birth and death, as well as rebirth while still in the body. There is then the transpersonal level, a breakthrough into the highest kinds of mystical and ecstatic experiences. What the person then chooses to become after such experiences lies at the root of the transformed personality, for which we as yet have no adequate psychology.

Also in 1975, Ken Wilber, age 26, a student in psychology at the Bachelor's level who had taken a few graduate courses in chemistry, published his first article in the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology*, "Psychologia Perennis: The spectrum of consciousness." In it, Wilber tried to link the then current transpersonal movement with a larger monistic and esoteric movement that periodically made itself known in the history of Western thought. Most notable, the Theosophical Society fielded such a monistic interpretation in the late 19th century, while the Vedantic Swamis revivified it again in the mid-1940s in the United States. The success of the piece was largely due to the extensive rewriting and editing done on the manuscript by Sutich's assistant, Miles Vich. 107 The effect that it had was to inculcate the monistic ideology into the interpretation of transpersonal experiences and to launch an interpretive frame of reference that precluded pluralistic ways of knowing the ultimate. Since then, Wilber has consolidated his thinking under the rubric of non-dualism, essentially the position of Sri Auribindo and Haridas Chaudhuri before him.

A year later, in 1976, events continued to heat up that would soon usher in a second, younger generation of transpersonal psychologists. For some years, Anthony Sutich had been collecting his memoirs while he also helped to launch these new movements, among them, the Humanistic Psychology Institute, which became the original PhD granting wing of the American Association of Humanistic Psychology. He had even received funding from Werner Erhard, founder of est, to bring the appropriate archival material together in book form. Sutich, although totally paralyzed from the neck down since 1921, had no formal degrees of any kind, but was a published author, founding editor of two journals and two associations, had been grandfathered into the American Psychological Association, and was a fully licensed psychotherapist in the state of California. By 1976, he was in his seventies and had begun to have increasing health problems. He died that year, but not before formally finishing his manuscript on the founding of humanistic and transpersonal psychology. For this accomplishment, through the Humanistic Psychology Institute's doctoral program which he helped to found, he was awarded his Doctorate of Philosophy in psychology on his death bed by Eleanor Criswell, James Fadiman, and Stanley Krippner. He passed away the next morning.

The editorship of the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* passed immediately to Sutich's assistant, Miles Vich. Meanwhile, James Fadiman and Robert Frager published their pioneering textbook in personality theory that same year, *Personality and Personal Growth*, which has since gone into five editions. ¹⁰⁸ It was the first English language textbook in psychology and in personality theory to incorporate chapters on non-Western psychology. These and similar events marked the beginning of a new phase of the transpersonal movement, when a younger generation

of transpersonalists who have associated their careers with the term took over the helm and retrenched in the spirit of Maslow and Sutich, but according to their own respective agendas. These included, among others, Miles Vich, Francis Vaughan, Roger Walsh, and John Welwood, most of whom were enamored with the writings of Ken Wilber, and soon became his chief spokespersons.

The following year, Wilber published *The Spectrum of Consciousness* (1977) through the Kern Foundation, which was taken up by the younger transpersonalists who had been around Sutich and who now elevated Wilber to the status of both a Freud and a Darwin of the consciousness movement. Because of their support and due to the positive popular reception of his ideas, Wilber emerged as the spokesperson for the "consciousness paradigm" around the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology*. Other competing views were subtly excluded.

Aside from individual events, such as publication of a long awaited first book, *Beyond Biofeedback* (1977), ¹⁰⁹ by Elmer and Alyce Green, the end of the 1970s posed a major challenge to the younger transpersonalists, as the key founding pioneers had passed from the scene and the legacy was passed on to a new generation of voices. Quite by accidental fiat, Stan Grof and his circle, including his wife Christina and devoted students such as Terrence McKenna, emerged as voices for the international transpersonal movement. Grof founded the International Transpersonal Association in 1976. Ken Wilber's writings continued to proliferate in the trade press, making it appear that at least in reputation, the names of Grof and Wilber became the more visible, and were associated with transpersonal psychology.

Throughout the decade other figures continued to emerge in the public eye as well, some of whom already had a long history of involvement with the movement. Only a few can be mentioned, including Willis Harman, president of the Institute of Noetic Sciences, Stanford professor and university trustee who had helped launch the programs at Esalen the early 1960s; Beverly Rubik, former director of the Center for Frontier Sciences at Temple University, a biophysicist interested in healing and consciousness; Ralph Metzner, another humanistic and transpersonal pioneer from the early days of the movement who wrote about entheogens and consciousness, Theodore Roszak, trenchant social critic and co-founder of eco psychology; Robert McDermott, Goethe scholar and exponent of Rudolf Steiner; the parapsychologist and social anthropologist Marilyn Schlitz; and the continued writings of Saybrook faculty, such as Ruth-Inge Heinze, David Lukoff, Stanley Krippner, Donald Rothberg, and Jeanne Achterberg.

Highlighting the difference between the fledgling institutionalized structures of transpersonal psychology and transpersonal psychology as a general force within the psychotherapeutic counterculture, the Dalai Lama received the Nobel Peace prize in 1989, which elevated his status among psychotherapeutically oriented practitioners of meditation and other forms of Asian disciplines and reaffirmed the merger between psychotherapy and spirituality. This is particularly important because psychotherapists who were adherents of Asian forms of spiritual practice soon became the new generation of younger voices calling for the introduction of Asian ideas into Western psychology. The problem was they were mostly adherents of the new religions, which did not appear to have anything to do with the way scientific psy-

chology was defined in the West. Their zeal hurt their reception, largely because they were Bhaktins, followers of the path of *bhakti*, or devotion to the guru, which was anathema to behavioral scientists who largely identify themselves as atheists and now Christians. Eventually, these Occidental devotees began to master scientific methods and the mechanics of blind peer review. Meditation as a therapeutic regime, for instance, soon won grudging acceptance because there was now a body of empirical data substantiating the devotee's former passionate claims regarding the effects of meditation on stress reduction and various psychosomatic illnesses. ¹¹⁰

Meanwhile, abroad, in 1990 the European Transpersonal Association was formed, which currently consists of 15 member countries, operating independently of the International Transpersonal Association. Recently, many of these different streams met in cyberspace for the first international transpersonal psychology conference on the Internet, an event that lasted 3 weeks.

The present status of transpersonal psychology remains a shifting congeries. On the one hand, as it was recently characterized by one Hari Krishna devotee, it still looks like the Northern California cult of consciousness that claims to have a monopoly on ultimate truth—a mere offshoot of an outdated humanistic psychology, which, as a parent movement, has already faded from the scene. On the other hand, there is a psychospiritual revolution now going on out in modern culture that is thoroughly transpersonal in direction and outlook, making it appear that modern transpersonalists are at the cutting edge of one of the newest and most influential social movements of the 21st century. While the movement has flagged in the United States, it is continuing to experience a meteoric expansion in central European countries.

Defining the parameters of the transpersonal movement remains an educated guess. A series of oral history interviews with both humanistic psychologists and major transpersonal figures suggests that throughout the 1980s and 1990s three distinct wings of the transpersonal movement emerged:

(1) Those transpersonalists exemplified by Grof, who believe that transpersonal experiences only occur in an altered state of consciousness, and Charles Tart, who has argued for state-specific sciences. This group also includes those who are engaged in generating maps of consciousness, generating scientific studies for the effectiveness of mind/body medicine and alternative therapies, and theorists correlating brain states with states of mind; (2) those transpersonalists exemplified by Wilber, who are popular writers generating books in the trade press outside academia, some of whom see themselves as enlightened beings who derive their source of knowledge from loving devotion to the gurus who have advanced them in meditation. These figures tend to consider all the different paths as leading to the same highest state of non-dual consciousness; and (3) probably the largest group, with no identifiable spokesperson, no guru, no school, no sacred text, and no special method, made up of those who feel that the transpersonal is a dimension of their own personality that is revealed in ordinary experiences, which they take 1 day at a time.

Another approach to estimating the size of the population involved in transpersonal ideas is to look at the characteristics of a subset of that population and then

look for estimates of those subpopulations for which there is data in the population at large. Thus, factoring in such statistics as those gleaned from the health food movement, the alternative medicine and holistic health movement, the approximate number of meditators in the United States, the number of unlicensed psychotherapists, and approximations on the size of the women's spirituality movement, and the total number of people born between 1946 and 1956—the so-called Baby Boom generation, the total number of people interested in personal growth and planetary transformation has been estimated at about 40,000,000.¹¹¹

Their Methods of Research

If we consider psychological science to proceed from the more reductionistic and empirical forms of measurement, and the psychoanalytic to emphasize the clinical method, defined as a dyadic or group dynamic, we may say generally that the existential-humanistic and transpersonal traditions rely more on phenomenology and direct experience. Experimental designs, paper-and-pencil tests, and psychophysiological measures characterize scientific empiricism. Free association, dream analysis, and the method of symbolism characterize the psychodynamic approach. Within the spectrum of quantitative and qualitative methods, the existential-humanistic and transpersonal point of view employs, for instance, Giorgi's phenomenological psychological method, the more heuristic approaches of Bugental and Kvale, the in-depth interview and the case study method, the non-directive methods of Rogers, historical and archival methods borrowed from the arts and humanities, the techniques of textual scholarship from the field of religious studies, and also practices from specific spiritual traditions (see Fig. 10.3).

Note that the list constitutes a spectrum from quantitative to qualitative within the discussion of methodology in the natural, social, and human sciences, to clinical methods commensurate with using the psychotherapeutic hour as the living laboratory of personal growth and transformation. Beyond these are the more experiential approaches to self-knowledge, which constitute their own special form of research, leading off into the methods of philosophy, religion, the arts, and the humanities.

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	Experimental	Psychodynamic	Existential-Humanistic
	The laboratory	The clinic	The life world
	Objective	Subjective	Phenomenological
	Experimental variables	The unconscious	Transcendence
	Quantification	Interpretation	Direct experience
	Statistics	Case studies	Personality as a Gestalt
	Nomothetic	Ideographic	Interpersonal
	Traits	Defense mechanisms	Altered States of Consciousness

Fig. 10.3 Three ways of knowing in psychology Adapted from Rogers, C. R. (1964). Toward a science of the person. In T. W. Wann (Ed.), *Behaviorism and phenomenology: Contrasting bases for modern psychology* (pp. 109–140). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

At the quantitative end of the spectrum, the subject is an object in nature to be studied by the experimenter. Here, manipulation, prediction, and control rest solely with the experimenter, whether the object studied is the group or the individual. The degree of control depends on whether the method is more quantitative or more qualitative. In general, the more precise the measurement, the more focused the results. This is extremely important, because the more you focus, the less you can say about the big picture.

Within the existential-humanistic tradition, on the other hand, following the orientation of Wertheimer, Koffka, Köhler, and Lewin, personality is approached as a total gestalt. With an emphasis on qualitative methods, the experimenter's presence in the outcome of the research is taken more self-consciously into account. Quantitative researchers say this is bad science because it is so imprecise. From the point of view of human science, however, qualitative measures more closely approximate the vagaries of the real human condition. Precision is necessary to build a science. Relevance gets at the meaning of the situation for the person with regard to the process of self-realization. Between exact scientific measurement and personal meaning there is almost always an inverse relationship. When one goes up, the other usually goes down, until a science reaches a more advanced state of maturity, which psychology has yet to do.

Note also that the clinical method still encompasses the dyadic relationship, except now, instead of the experimenter—subject bond; it is the therapist—client relationship. Traditionally, most clinical methods, except for the introduction of the Rogerian, non-directive approach, retain the authoritative position of the therapist. In either case, the psychotherapeutic hour becomes a living laboratory for research. This violates the quantitative scientist's sensibilities, however, which accounts for the extreme differences between the clinical and the experimental methods. The experimental method presumes that only exact science can inform what goes on in the clinic. The clinical method presumes that the experimentalists are dealing with abstract theories, while the clinical situation generates its own kind of science. Or at least this was Freud's contention when he declared psychoanalysis a science that was independent of psychology, psychiatry, and neurology.

Historical methods, which purport to be the method of the human sciences, constitute a discipline that comes out of the humanities. This is what gives it a somewhat questionable status in the history of medicine, the history of science, and the history of psychology. Historians are not scientists, except where they qualified in the sciences and slipped into the field of history as converts. But there should be no mistake. People of the number are not the same as people of the book. An excellent experimentalist is not *ipso facto* and excellent scholar. This misunderstanding goes to the core of the existential-humanistic position, namely, that psychology is both an art and a science, while it continues to be taught as if it were purely a science. The humanistic rationale is that history as a discipline in the humanities is ideally suited to critique a pathological focus on scientism in psychology as well as creating a bridge between the sciences and the humanities.

Experiential methods include transformational forms of individualized research directly experienced by the individual, methods of group experience, or also the

methods in the humanities and in religious studies, since, while these can be more purely scholarly kinds of pursuits, they elucidate a personal, more humanistic, and spiritual component of personality. At the same time, the experiential also encompasses the performing and the fine arts, since these more directly reveal meaning and experience.

As for their relevance to methods in mainstream psychology, the primary question raised by the existential-humanistic psychologists concerns the phenomenology of the science-making process itself. In all objectivist science, with the exception of a few theorists in physics such as Niels Bohr, John Wheeler, and in psychologists such as William James, Amedeo Giorgi, Max Velmans, or Francisco Varela, there is no recognition of the subjective presence of the experimenter and his motives on the design, construction, execution, outcome, and interpretation of research. The existential-humanistic tradition re-injects this important element back into the discussion of methodology, particularly with regard to the new emphasis on the philosophical implications of the problem of consciousness in the neurosciences.

Their Model of Consciousness

The conception of consciousness fielded by the existential-humanistic and transpersonal tradition can be understood as a radicalization of depth psychology. Freud conceptualized psychoanalysis as a science, but hypostatized the unconscious, confusing his own for a more general dynamic psychology of the unconscious common to all human beings. The existential-humanistic psychologists, led by Rollo May, took up Victor Frankl, Ludwig Binswanger, Medard Boss, Karl Jaspers, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Martin Heidegger, and pioneered in the radicalization of depth psychology by stretching its boundaries to include phenomenological psychology, existential psychoanalysis, Reichean sexual therapy, and the archetypal psychology of Jung, among others, which eventually led some of them to the various Eastern meditative traditions.

Reductionistic empiricists in psychological science will acknowledge only the logical ordering of sense data. There is a positivistic consciousness, linking behavior and cognitive thought to brain neurophysiology. Consciousness, at best, ranges from coma to hyper-excitability. Psychoanalysts, at least, acknowledge the reality of the unconscious. The unconscious is that vast domain of submerged and more primitive possibilities, stretching back to previous levels of psychic and physical evolution, within us. It stands in relation to waking rational consciousness as unavailable, except through memories, dreams, fantasies, and all sorts of buried mental imagery. It is the more underdeveloped aspect of personality, while waking rational consciousness is the newer of the stages in the evolutionary scale, but more fragile and under assault in its constant battle to gain control over the environment.

Existential-humanistic and transpersonal psychology, on the other hand, acknowledges the importance of the waking state for the biological preservation of the physical body and cognizes the disintegration of personality in states of acute psychopathology. But its most important contribution is the assumption of a

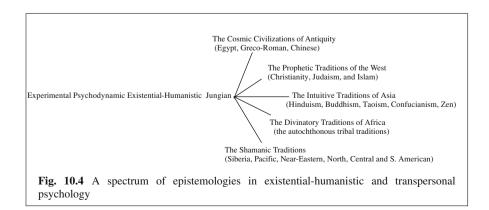
growth-oriented dimension to personality; a spectrum of human functioning in which we are called upon to actualize our highest potential and our best qualities as human beings. It posits a spectrum of higher states of consciousness—waking, dreaming, deep sleep, and the hypometabolic state of meditation, as well as visionary and mythic states that reflect self-realization, self-actualization, or individuation, as expressed in different cultures.

Their Approach to Indigenous Psychologies

Existential-humanistic and transpersonal perspectives also open us to considering the value of non-Western epistemologies, or what might also be called psychological anthropologies of world cultures. In order to get to these alternative ways of viewing personality and consciousness, one might usefully employ the analytic psychology of Carl Jung, for the reason that Jung's approach incorporates all that we know of the rational and analytic, while embracing not only the reality of the unconscious but also more radical expressions of depth psychology that include iconography of the transcendent.

Such epistemologies borrow heavily from the scholarly literature of religion and the humanities rather than confine themselves solely to the assumptions of the natural sciences. These may include literature from the prophetic traditions of the West, the cosmic civilizations of antiquity, the intuitive systems of Asia, the divinatory systems of Africa, and the shamanic cultures of Siberia, the Pacific, and the Americas (see Fig. 10.4).

The important difference is that the experimental and psychodynamic traditions superimpose their epistemology onto other cultures, whereas the existential-humanistic asks those other cultures to speak for themselves. The implications of this distinction are potentially far-reaching because the experimentalists' model judges non-Western systems to be insufficient a priori, without allowing them to speak for their own inner iconography because it is presumed that they do not measure up to the Western model in the first place. The existential-humanistic and transpersonal approach goes right to the heart of the discussion on such issues as



multiculturalism by recognizing the Western standard, but also by asking about alternate epistemologies upon which quite different approaches might be based.

The Western scientific approach investigates acupuncture and takes only that for which empirical evidence can be generated. The existential-humanistic approach reads *The Five Confucian Classics*¹¹² when it tries to understand acupuncture, because it knows that the treatment is bound up in a philosophy of self-realization, which requires the cultivation of character, along with the mere acquisition of technical, objective knowledge. This philosophy applies not only to the patient but also to the healer as well.

Thus, an existential-humanistic and transpersonally oriented depth psychology presents the larger discipline of psychology with an expanded definition of personality, a wider definition of consciousness, a more complete spectrum of methods for scientific inquiry, and an epistemology allowing psychology to dialogue with non-Western models of personality and consciousness.

A case in point is the Vedantic conception of personality in Hindu psychology. Reminding the reader of the religious, philosophical, and psychological roots commonly shared in these traditions, the person is expressed in terms of the individual human being, or *jiva* and its relation to *Atman*, the Supreme Self. The consciousness of the individual is identical to the ultimate spiritual consciousness of Brahma. "That art thou, O Svetaketu," it is declared in the *Upanishads*. But the normal individual does not realize this because of the veil of illusion, or *maya*, which keeps them in a state of *avidya*, or ignorance, Meditation (*dhyana*) causes one to break through this veil of illusion by detachment of the senses to their objects in the external material world and a turning within for purposes of self-realization. Achievement of this realization through intuitive insight produces the *jivanmukti*, one who is liberated while still in the body. Personality is transformed through the experience of transcendence. The one who acts and the one who watches from within are then recognized as the same.

In Yoga psychology, transcendence is achieved by practice of *sadhana*, spiritual discipline, the purpose of which is to generate heat (*tapas*), equated with the fire of transformation. Under the instruction of a spiritual teacher, one follows the blueprint laid down in the *ashtanga-marga*, or eight limbs. These involve (1) *yama* and (2) *niyama*, bodily and mental cleansing as preparation for entering the higher states; (3) *asana*, the practice of physical postures; (4) *pranayama*, the science of breath control; (5) *pratyahara*, withdrawal of the senses from attachment through the senses in either a pleasurable or a painful way to objects in the external material world; and then the three-fold tool of *samyama*; (6) *dharana*, attention; (7) *dhyana*, meditation; and (8) *samadhi*, absorption. Successful application of the eight limbs causes a quieting of consciousness (*cittavrittnirodha*) and an elimination of states of mind that are scattered and unfocused, (*kspita*), torpid (*mudha*), or obsessively attached to fixed ideas (*viksipta*). Application of the three-fold tool of *samyama* leads to insight into whatever the particular object of meditation may be (Figs. 10.5 and 10.6).

A series of more refined states of consciousness then follow focusing on absorption at the level of sense impressions, the ego, and the intellect, and the internal

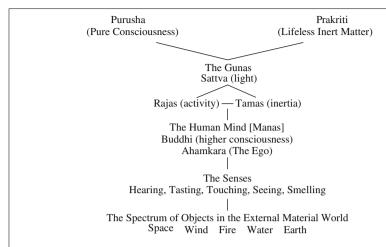


Fig. 10.5 The Tattvas of the Samkhya-yoga school enumerating the categories of existence Adapted from Larson, G. J., & Bhattacharya, R. S. (1987). *Samkhya: A Dualist tradition in Indian philosophy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 53.

The Normal States of Consciousness

Ksipta, the restless state Mudha, the torpid state Viksipta, the distracted state

Yogic States of Consciousness [Samyama]

Ekagra, the focused state
Niruddha, a complete cessation of
all mental activity on the surface
of consciousness

Samyama Consists of:

Dharana -concentration on the object

Dhyana -meditation [sustained concentration] on the object

Samadhi –absorption into the object
Samprajnata Samadhi –a continuously flowing stream of insights into the world of objects

Savitarka Samadhi - gross objects as meditation

Nirvitarka Samadhi –objectless concentration beyond gross objects

Savichara Samadhi -subtle objects as meditation

Nirvichara Samadhi -objectless concentration beyond subtle objects

Sananda –Bliss as an object of meditation

Nirananda –objectless concentration beyond bliss consciousness

Asmita -the ego as an object of meditation

Nirasmita -objectless concentration beyond the ego

Asamprajnata Samadhi –isolation of pure consciousness from the objects of the continuously flowing stream of insights.

Fig. 10.6 Stages of consciousness leading to Samadhi in Samkhya-Yoga Adapted from Mishra, R. S., Patanjali, B. S. M., & Patanjali, B. K. S. I. (1971). The text-book of Yoga psychology, a new translation and interpretation of Patanjali's yoga sutras for meaningful application in all modern psychologic disciplines. New York: Julian Press.

spiritual sense, until the person is experiencing a continuously flowing stream of insights into the world of all objects (*samprajnatasamadhi*). This occurs at each level through generating more and more of the light of pure consciousness (*purusha*) through insight (*sattva*). The principles of energy (*rajas*), inertia (*tamas*), and light (sattva) go into equilibrium as one shifts one's attention from the objects of insight themselves to their illumined quality. By so doing, pure consciousness (*purusha*) is separated from lifeless inert matter (*prakriti*), and the person goes into a state of complete isolation, immersed in pure consciousness. This is the highest state, or *asamprajnatasamadhi*. As a result of attaining such a state, the adept is called a *kaivalyn*, one who is now liberated while still in the body, similar to the idea of the *jivanmukta* in Vedanta psychology. 113

While the methods of yoga are generally appropriated by all schools of thought in Hindu psychology (*darshana*), they have also been absorbed into Buddhist psychology, which aims to achieve release from suffering (*dukkha*). Buddhist psychology is based on the idea that all things are impermanent (*anicca*), have no underlying substantial self to support them (*anatta*), and that clinging to the notion of substantiality is the cause of suffering (*dukkha*).

Within Buddhist psychology, normal personality is considered illusory, since there is no underlying permanent self to define it. 114 The normal identity is constructed out of a mere heap or conglomeration of conditions (*skandha*). They are *nama-rupa*, name and form; *vedana*, feelings; *samjna*, perception; *samskaras*, the unconscious seeds of waking conscious impression; and *vijnana*, personal consciousness. The first is the physical body, while the last four, the aggregates, are considered the ego or personality—that which detaches itself from the body at death and transmigrates to another body in the process of rebirth according to ones' *karma* (meaning thoughts, words, and deeds), until the final state of liberation (*moksha*) is achieved through good deeds, when rebirth ends.

The ideal of the liberated personality differs from school to school in Buddhist psychology. In Hinayana Buddhism, it is the *arahat*, one who has "reached the farther shore," by having achieved *nibanna* (Skt.: *nirvana*), "a burning out of the flame of desire." In the Mahayana philosophy, the ideal is to achieve *sunyata*, the state of complete emptiness. The ideal personality is the *bodhisattva*, one who is liberated while still in the body, who can step over into enlightenment at any time, but who has vowed to return to the world of suffering and assist all sentient beings down to the last blade of grass to pass over first.

Particularly relevant to the Tibetan Vajrayana Buddhist schools is the Tantric concept of the 84 *mahasiddhas* (Tib.: *Grub thob chen*), shared also with the Shaivite tradition of Hinduism. These are a collection of profiles of enlightened beings with exceptional powers representing no particular tradition but who are skilled adepts and complete Masters of the technologies of enlightenment. They are also called *hamsa*, or wild geese, suggesting that what we are actually dealing with is the generic experience of spirituality within each person regardless of lineage, independent of association with any one particular spiritual tradition.

Other Asian traditions also have conceptions of the liberated personality. In Chinese Confucianism, we might point to the ideal of the *chuntze*, "gentlemanliness

based on strength of character rather than on hereditary feudal acquisition," or the Master of *wu-wei*, (non-doing) in popular Taoism. The point is that each culture has its conception of the ideal and expresses personality according to its own definition of human nature. As we have said, the existential-humanistic and transpersonal traditions at least listen to these other cultures, instead of superimposing a preconceived set of categories or measurable traits of Western origin onto them and then claiming that we somehow understand the people of that culture. ¹¹⁵

This is but a limited attempt to summarize the definition of personality within the humanistic tradition in terms of what I would call an existential-humanistic and transpersonally oriented depth psychology.

Notes

- Diamonic—that force which seeks to overcome the obstacles to development, whatever the cost, both guide and guardian.
- Ellen Langer's mindfulness would be an example. See Alexander, C. N., & Langer, E. J. (Eds.). (1990). Higher stages of human development: Perspectives on adult growth. New York: Oxford University Press.
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- 13. Rogers, 1959, p. 191.
- 14. May, Angel, & Ellenberger (1958).
- 15. Henri Ellenberger, Leslie Farber, Carl Rogers, Erwin Straus, and Paul Tillich, among others, had helped him develop the final draft.
- For details on these figures, see Spiegelberg, H. (1972). Phenomenology in psychology and psychiatry: A historical introduction. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- 17. May, Angel, & Ellenberger, 1958, p. 11.

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- 18. May, Angel, & Ellenberger, 1958, p. 14.
- See Heidegger, M. (1962). Being and time (J. Macquarrie, Trans.). London: S. C. M. Press.
- He also directs the reader to Kaufmann, W. (1956). Existentialism from Dostoevsky to Sartre. New York: World Publishing Co., especially Karl Jaspers's essay "Kierkegaard and Nietzsche," pp. 131–157.
- 21. May, Angel, & Ellenberger, 1958, p. 33.
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- 29. Spiegelberg, 1972, p. 94.
- 30. May, 1961, p. 94.
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- the work of Gordon Allport, Robert Woodworth, and others. Also, Swami Akhilananda's *Hindu psychology*. (1946). New York: Harper & Brothers, with an introduction by Gordon Allport and a preface by Martin Luther King, Jr.'s teacher, Edgar Sheffield Brightman. Allport, along with George Hunston Williams, Peter Bertocci, and others at Harvard and Boston University were close friends with Akhilananda during the 1940s when he was head of the Vedanta Center in Boston at that time. Allport also served on the editorial board of *Psychologia*, the international journal of psychology the Orient. Watts, Huxley, Suzuki, and others were introducing Asian psychologies into the West during this same period.
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