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***Rassegna  
di  
Psicologia***

Looking at the History of Social Psychology  
and Social Representations: Snapshot Views  
from Two Sides of the Atlantic

edited by Annamaria Silvana de Rosa

*A cura dei Dipartimenti di Psicologia, di Psicologia dei  
Processi di Sviluppo e Socializzazione e di Psicologia Dinamica e Clinica  
della Sapienza - Università di Roma*

*diretto da C. Pontecorvo Piperno, P. Bonaiuto, N. Dazzi*

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# A Few Reflections on History

by *Serge Moscovici*\*

## I

### The Second Revolution

I thank you for your invitation to participate in this joint effort. It seems to me that what most profoundly marked my relationship with history is that I began my studies with the history of the scientific revolution in the Galilean School. Thanks to my professor Alexandre Koyré, I learned that, despite its great importance, the history of the human and social sciences has neither achieved the heights nor the precision equivalent to that of the history of knowledge in general. In terms of authors and works, exploring the possibility of arriving at "truth" has received far more attention than "discovery". In fact, I have never delved into this question. I suppose it would be a life's work. However, I remain convinced that the birth of the human sciences at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century represented an exceptional event, comparable to the birth of the natural sciences in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. I regret that it has never been recognized in such a way. What exactly am I doing? With the help of a few impressions, I will try to explore some aspects of social psychology with which I am familiar.

If you consider that social psychologies are man-made, conceived by practitioners in various fields of knowledge who fix their criteria of choice, their language and methods, their disciplinary matrix, and their conceptual history, what you call the content of this science is obviously dependent on what we can call its institutional history. Lewin recognised the distinctive character of what I call institutional history, the fact that the history of one science is not exclusively that of today's scientific concepts. To me it seems to be significant that a witness as lucid as Lewin recognized the influence of institutional history. We can understand this as Lewin lived in a time when the classification and delimitation of the field of psychology was so decisive. He dedicated some fascinating texts to his *Wissenschaftslehre*, the purpose of which was to answer

\* EHESS, Paris.



the question: "Why are there different sciences?". He started from the observation that the birth of a science never depends on contingencies, nor as he says, "the mere accumulation of things to be learned", or, so to speak, "images" of the world.

When I was younger, I explained why most of the important sciences tend to become "sun sciences" around which all others rotate like planets. That was true in the case of, for example, Wundt's psychology, and, Durkheim and Weber's sociology. If we take a closer look, all sciences of that era followed the Newtonian science model, the archetypical "sun science". In addition, two models were developed for all of social psychology, Volker Psychologie in Germany and collective psychology in France. Why then two psychologies? Simmel implicitly answered to this question. What is interesting in his proposition is that, the main sciences expressed in this way the conflict between the science of the individual and the science of society. To achieve the status of a "sun" science in the human sciences, these two psychologies either reduced the social to the individual or the individual to the social. In the name of a neuronal or network principle, the very wide-spread denunciations of the individual and, today even of the social, do not take into enough consideration reference to an epistemological principle as well as the profound separation between the two social psychologies; one oriented towards psychology and the other towards sociology. However, we can better understand their point of contact if we look at social psychology such as: an effort to bridge the social and the individual. This once was almost forbidden but later was legitimized by the status of the nascent social sciences, which exemplified a revolution in knowledge in general. But if one takes a closer look, what we see gravitating around these two social psychologies is a "no man's land" of analogous disciplines and that aspires to highlight political causes and practical actions in life-world. In other words, these psycho-sociologies or socio-psychologies never cease oscillating between overestimating and underestimating the individual or the social. And their methods look sometimes as a challenge to science, and sometimes as statements of preferences that are political, religious etc. The most widely known illustration of this is, of course, mass psychology.

After reading some of the articles in this issue of the "Rassegna", I asked myself if it would not be required to seek greater semantic or historic clarity. I think of, for example, the word «*völkisch*», which played such a decisive role in German culture, and the term «psychology of races» and its role in the psychology of peoples and even in certain aspects of mass psychology; terms which allow to account for the role and the real content of the "no man's land" of social psychology. I am obliged to mention this because at the beginning of my studies, social psychology and mass psychology were discriminated. Only the field of group psychology was, as it were, "authorized". Introducing this

"no man's land" into our history is only a suggestion, as effectively is doing, this would involve an extraordinarily difficult historical work. But, to the extent that this history is embodied in history in general, it relates to our discipline like a space of secret complicity between science and society. And since many sciences, such as cybernetics, saw the light in a "no man's land", this odd multiplicity and diversity is itself remarkable to the extent that it can bring the genesis of social psychology to light. There, perhaps, the key lies: the dual genesis of social psychology; on the one hand, close to a social science and, on the other hand, in a "no man's land".

## 2

### Logical and Naturalist Psychology

There is certainly no doubt that psychological science must take Kant's philosophy into consideration. According to the great philosopher, «true science» is rational. And once the rational concepts have been established, the three characteristics of a true science must be the following:

- a) Objects under observation must be situated in space;
- b) Variations in phenomena can be verified;
- c) Their normal relations can be studied using mathematical formulas.

However, it must be acknowledged that psychology followed a different path. We should recall that much of the new science was based on the logic of the reduction from the complex to the simple through the choice of a basic element or unit. In addition, there was a strong emphasis on experimental and psychological methods. As Hilgard observed

Advances in science and technology are important in understanding scientific psychology as it developed, for its models were largely physics and physiology, with their success through analysis of phenomena into elementary parts, their uses of measurement and mathematics and gradual supplementation of purely reductive or atomistic approaches by more holistic and field approaches<sup>1</sup>.

We must agree that most of the history of social psychology has followed the same path, hence the care in the choice of rigid objects, strictly logical interpretations, and reference to all that which can be considered conformable to an objective expression. For example, Asch's experiments counted the number of answers without taking into consideration that these answers were momentary and that the subjects had not made a judgement on the line length. As Aronson observed,

Asch realized that most of the effects produced in the procedure were the result of temporary conformity rather than an actual change of belief. That is, the typical yielding subject did not become convinced that the majority was right, rather he went along with the majority in order to avoid unpleasantness<sup>2</sup>.

Of course, it was Kurt Lewin who realised the limits of these empirical/logical concepts. Without a doubt, he wanted to expand the field of observation and make their theoretical meaning more flexible and social psychology easier to understand. From the outset, his concepts of climate and level of aspiration were taken into consideration with a great deal of reluctance. As he remarked about the concepts of frustration and aggression, «up to 1920 academic psychology, breathing the pure scientific air “of sensory perception” and memory, did not deem it appropriate for a scientist to consider these darker and mystical aspects of life»<sup>3</sup>. What exactly did he mean by this? Very simply, that the concepts of common sense and everyday knowledge can become or play the role of scientific concepts. This image is a little bit misleading. It is, I would say, prisoner of an idea linked to fanciful theories that popped up during the Renaissance. In concrete terms, what is in question is the watertight barrier erected between psychoanalysis and psychology. In-depth studies of Freud's thought, allow us to recognize that

[he had] arrived at a new conception of the mind, but he did so by taking over more or less intact the ordinary, the common sense conception of the mind and then adding to it. It was because he preserved the core of traditional conceptions that he preserved the traditional vocabulary in its traditional meaning. In so far as he added to the common sense conception, this was to accommodate new mental phenomena that he discovered [...] the reason that [these additions] attracted so much attention is that the newly discovered phenomena turn out to play such a large role in what we do, as well as what happens to us. They are crucial to our lives<sup>4</sup>.

Kurt Lewin follows Freud's model, for example, concerning the phenomenon of regression, and he accommodates new group phenomena in their traditional vocabulary and common sense notions. However, he does not dare add on to the traditional conception to show how these phenomena deepened our view of reality. In this context, how can we not recognize that Lewin's talent does not reside in the elaboration of a social theory, but rather in understanding the problems and paradoxes that he hopes to be able to resolve through an empirical discovery or a physical-mathematical concept. And yet, he is aware that only the presence of concepts pertinent to phenomena we know well and have in common, can establish a profound link between us and social psychology. In brief, he can allow us to overcome a misunderstanding and a weakening of our curiosity about psychosocial phenomena. This is the same

obstacle that Lewin is aiming at, the same quest for understanding in which he believes it is necessary to engage. And it is this effort, as well as its incompleteness, that seems to me to represent an important event in the history of our science. We demonstrate logical or empirical performances, but tend to forget these kinds of concepts. This is, in my understanding, the reason why social psychology is isolated from the other social and psychological sciences and even from culture in its wider meaning. In my mind, there lies a dream which attempts to come true, leading to the achievement of the history of a shared science. Because it is sometimes easier to quote a well-respected author than to repeat oneself, I will conclude these reflections with a profound thought:

One of the fundamental difficulties is related to the distinction between “observation” and “interpretation”. In all the sciences, it is important to keep under observation as free as possible from theories and subjective interpretation. In psychology too, the observer has to learn using his eyes and ears to report what really happened rather than what he thinks should have happened according to his preconceived ideas. This is not an easy task. Can it be accomplished at all in social psychology? Can a friendly or an aggressive act be observed without interpretation in the same sense as the movement of arms can be observed?<sup>5</sup>.

Science is the ability to say yes or no, but it is subject to the obligation of amazing us each time, whether it is a yes or a no. The history of social psychology came about within a movement of civilization that had begun in Europe. This was already evident from the first international conferences that proclaimed both a German Pope, Wundt, and an American one, James, when I was awarded the Wundt-James Prize, which I do not believe it was confirmed. This is due to the fact that the attitudes of the United States fluctuate between two projects concerning our science. Either give to tradition an important place and becoming, just as there was a Magna Grecia, a Great Europe by developing the European history of art, philosophy, and science in a greater, more different and more rational way. Or becoming a country, a completely distinct and even opposed continent, another nation dominating the European continent. This American nationalism exists, indeed, and it is more a mark of social psychology than of sociology, history, philosophy, and so forth.

One will note that this nationalism raises the question posed by Festinger: «What is international social psychology?»<sup>6</sup>. If we want to change the position of our science among other human sciences, and make it more distinct, it would be useful to engage in a discussion of Festinger's question. Anyway, what we call alter-mondialism will resolve this matter in its own way.

These fragments of a historical narrative lead, at the same time, to combine with a common memory and to offend someone's conscience in order to arouse it. Everything that we feel or write about the past is nothing but the symptom of a desire to renew the present. I must agree that there is a worrisome curiosity or even cruelty in returning to this past which somewhat puts me off. However, for young people who are beginning their professional life, a reflection on history, in which they are participating, is much more essential than it was in the era when I became involved with an obscure and misunderstood scientific field.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> E. R. Hilgard, *Psychology in America. A historical survey*, H. B. J., New York 1987, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> E. Aronson, Persuasion via self-justification. In L. Festinger (ed.), *Retrospections on social psychology*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1980, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> K. Lewin, *Field theory in social science*, Harper and Row, New York 1951, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> R. Wollheim, *The mind and its depths*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (MA) 1993, p. 92.

<sup>5</sup> K. Lewin, *Field theory in social science*, Harper and Row, New York 1951, p. 156.

<sup>6</sup> S. Moscovici, I. Markova, *The making of modern social psychology*, Polity Press, Cambridge 2006.

This special issue entitled *Looking at the history of social psychology and social representations: snapshot views from two sides of the Atlantic* is based on the revised texts of original papers presented at the *Grand Atelier*, a special workshop held during the 8<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Social Representations ICSR - Rome, 2006)<sup>1</sup> and during the 10<sup>th</sup> edition of the International Lab Meetings of the European Ph.D. on Social Representations and Communication<sup>2</sup>.

It would be useful to add a few words that put these contributions into the contexts in which they were presented.

Following the pattern established by the previous International Conferences on Social Representations, held on a biannual basis in either Europe, Latin America or North America<sup>3</sup>, in Rome in 2006 we were pleased to welcome several hundred active contributors engaged in *symposia*, *round tables*, thematic sessions, and *interactive poster sessions*. We also held a *Grand Atelier* (workshop) and *magisterial conferences* by keynote speakers from among the leading scientists in the field. When the proceedings were published in advance of the conference, 409 participants had registered to attend. These participants came from 39 countries on all five continents including: 287 participants from 24 European countries, 96 from 7 Latin American countries, 2 from North America (US and Canada), 7 from Oceania (Australia and New Zealand), 7 from Asia (India, Indonesia and Israel), and 1 from Africa. Thanks to late on-site registrations, the actual number of participants rose to more than 450.

It is well-known that these biannual International Conferences not only attract speakers and participants from social psychology, but also from the various disciplines in which the Social Representations Theory has progressively become a unifying meta-theory of social sciences, including in *sister* disciplines such as social psychology, sociology, anthropology, communication studies etc. Together with these disciplines, the theoretical and empirical research on so-

\* Sapienza - University of Rome.

cial representations has developed a strong interest for topical and crucial issues that are highly relevant from the societal point of view.

The 8<sup>th</sup> ICSR itself represented a key scientific event of the So.Re.Com. THEMATIC NETWORK, a network approved by the EC – Education and Culture<sup>4</sup>. It was not only an occasion for the various project partners to meet, but also an opportunity to present and disseminate the multimedia scientific outputs developed in the first year and a half of the programme to the wider scientific community. One of these was the transformation of the European Ph.D. web site into a Portal for the entire scientific field. This included the installation of the virtual campus SR & C. on-line data base and a comprehensive bibliographical inventory of the literature on SR & C. The database boasts more than 5.000 specialised references and a bibliographic inventory linked to a meta-theoretical analysis of almost 2.500 articles and book chapters. Both inventories are hyper-linked with a dynamic advanced search engine. The Intelligent Virtual Library allows downloading referred text-files in PDF-format, and in addition to the comprehensive bibliographical inventory and meta-analyzed *corpus*, is linked to a series of multimedia training tools. These include streaming videos of magisterial lectures and video lessons produced either in real time or in play-back sessions based on interactive video-conferences via European Ph.D. web-auditorium. Created as complementary to and in synergy with the established didactic activities of the European Ph.D. on Social Representations and Communication, the So.Re.Com. THEMATIC NETWORK represented the logical next step in the programme's development. In fact, the European Ph.D. on SR & C.'s institutional network<sup>5</sup> is closely integrated with the larger scientific community in a logic of "network of networks". This outreach to the wider scientific community came as a result of numerous requests from universities outside the network to participate in the activities of the European Ph.D. on SR & C. In addition to development policy planning and international scientific co-operation for the European doctorate, network universities dedicated themselves to reaching out to the wider scientific community and actively participated in founding the So.Re.Com. THEMATIC NETWORK. In the last decade, the European Ph.D. has been the main arena for acquiring expertise not only in European doctoral curricula, but also for the development and dissemination of a deeper understanding of the discipline. It has demonstrated the need for a European field of study that crosses Social Psychology and Communication Studies.

The 8<sup>th</sup> International Conference improved the long term commitment to the fruitful interplay between research and research training in an international environment, and the positive cross-fertilization achieved by this multi-generational community to promote future development of the scientific field became an integral part of the 12<sup>th</sup> International Summer School on Social Representations and Communication (28<sup>th</sup> August-6<sup>th</sup> September) that followed<sup>6</sup>.

Invitations to European and non-European Ph.D. holders to participate in the THEMATIC NETWORK for the *Grand Atelier* was aimed at promoting reflection on Social Psychology and its developments from an historical point of view and on the cross-disciplinary Social Representations Theory from different socio-cultural and geographical perspectives.

This special issue, which includes all the revised texts presented during the *Grand Atelier*, combines papers from distinguished senior scholars and young promising researchers, from different continents and geo-political contexts, and from the two sides of the Atlantic and from Western and Eastern Countries of Europe. The goal was to examine the discipline by reflecting on its anchorage to different cultures and latitudes, and to understand to what extent this has contributed to orient its development within different research traditions.

- Albert Pepitone (USA) introduces his reflections on *Social Psychology and Real Life Social Behavior*;
- Celso Pereira de Sá (Brazil) shifts the focus on *Social Psychology in Brazil*;
- Jorge Correia Jesuino (Portugal) presented a theoretical paper entitled *Contextualizing Social Psychology in Portugal*;
- Gilda Sensales (Italy) provided a paper aimed at reconstructing *(The) Social Psychology in Italian Scientific Journals (1875-1954). Reconstruction of a Representational Pathway*;
- Nikos Kalampalikis, Sylvain Delouvée and Jean-Pierre Pétard (France) presented a joint paper entitled *Historical Spaces of Social Psychology* based on an extensive analysis of all social psychology textbooks published in French between 1947 and 2001;
- Adrian Neculau (Romania) drew attention to *The Evolution of Social Psychology in a Society which has Undergone Many Political Regimes. The Case of Romania*.

The final two papers approached the Social Representations Theory from a meta-theoretical perspective:

- Michel-Louis Rouquette (France) presented *Some Elements for a Conceptual History of Social Psychology*;
- Annamaria Silvana de Rosa and Marialibera d'Ambrosio (Italy) offered an empirical paper dedicated to *International Conferences as Interactive Scientific Media Channels: The History of the Social Representations Theory through the Eight Editions of the ICSR from Ravello (1992) to Rome (2006)*.

In addition to the revised texts of the contributors to the *Grand Atelier* held during the 8<sup>th</sup> ICSR, this special issue also includes:

- a foreword by Serge Moscovici, who inspired the organization of the *Grand Atelier* that was also conceived as an arena to present and discuss *The*

From the other side of the Atlantic, Michel-Louis Rouquette (France) provides *Some Elements for a Conceptual History of Social Psychology*, particularly focusing his reflections on the basic principles of research in the Social Representation Theory which depart from more general questions related to «the history of how knowledge is organised: how we learn to know, how a point of view acquires or loses its legitimacy, how the boundaries of relevance are shifted, and how the object of knowledge begin to relate each other». The main point here is not to decide that other topics, other populations or other methods must be included in the agenda of research programs to develop the field, but is, with all its consequences, to understand the definition that «any social representation is a representation of an object O for a population P and demonstrating this representation then entails the application of a methodology M.» and to critically discuss the congruency between the Object and the Population, between the Population and the Method and between the Object and the Method.

The other papers are mainly based on empirical research dealing with documents of various natures, such as textbooks, journals and scientific communications in institutionalized contexts, like international conferences, and which all deal with different historical periods, geographical documentary sources and theoretical fields (Gilda Sensales; Nikos Kalampalikis, Jean-Pierre Pétard, Sylvain Delouvé; Annamaria de Rosa, Marialibera d'Ambrosio). If on one hand, this approach, based on analysis of written documents, tries to reduce viewing history through personal accounts to a minimum, on the other hand, it seems to lay itself open to the criticism of dealing with an “objectified” *corpus* rather than with the processes and the dynamic of exchanges within the scientific community. In her transversal reading of the different contributions in this special issue, Denise Jodelet observes that «the objectifications of the discipline's diffusion and development in texts or conferences do not allow us to understand the dynamic aspects of these processes, nor the creativity of these scientific exchanges». I believe, however, that we need to distinguish the “static nature” of the study from the “stability” of sources and data analysis strategies, which can be meticulously kept and verified in order to limit reconstruction. We know that even in physics we can speak about “dynamic stability”. Indeed, in all of the three above mentioned papers, “stability” anchored to the empirical analysis of reliable sources does not exclude, and on the contrary is aimed at, mapping out the “dynamic” development of the history of Social Psychology or the Social Representation Theory<sup>9</sup>. This is accomplished through the presence or lack of cross-references for authors, geographical places and institutional contexts, through the contextualisation of their contributions to dedicated international conferences as fundamental institutionalised spaces for members of a scientific community to meet, present, discuss

their research and develop potential interpersonal, international and intercontinental cooperation. This has been demonstrated by the analysis of scientific production over the years and across continents.

In any case, whatever limitations a single study or a single contribution in this special issue may have from either of the poles of personal memories<sup>10</sup> and reified documents, taken together these different papers provide *snapshots* of the history of the discipline, not simply conceived as a linear chronology. All the authors seem to agree with Nikos Kalampalikis, Jean-Pierre Pétard and Sylvain Delouvé that «a chronology does not make history».

This was never meant to be an exhaustive and systematic view of the history of the social psychology. We did not impose any temporal frame and the only request to the contributors was that they look at the history of social psychology and the Social Representations Theory «from the two sides of the Atlantic». We do hope that the *snapshots* offered by each author in this special issues at least will provide a *mosaic of perspectives* from different geo-graphical latitudes and various experiential, cultural, linguistic and geo-political contexts as well as fertile ground for debating critical issues related to the history of the discipline. These can be of general interest, like the controversy about relations between theory, methods and techniques, the relevance and the degree of integration among different paradigms, the interdependence between the genesis and development of the discipline and the historical-political situation in a specific institution, country, continent and even in the interdependent global scenario, the role of language and culture as factor explaining a variety of traditions and hegemonic dominance in social psychology paradigms, and finally, the degree of resistance to innovative paradigms compared the dominance of the *mainstream*.

The reader might reorganise these *snapshots* into a more organic view, especially after reading the illuminating and fascinating «hidden story of how an International Social Science was created», written by Moscovici and Markova (quoted above). This book offers a dynamic view and intercontinental contextual scenario for reorganizing some pieces of the fragmented mosaic presented in this special issue, a journey through the past and to the future of this discipline as seen from the two sides of the Atlantic, in different countries and across continents. This journey was accomplished in the excellent company of these two authors who have contributed not only to re-thinking the history of modern social psychology, but also to creating a constructive dialogue with the many colleagues around the world that see the same or different directions for the discipline in the future.

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- Nikos Kalampalikis, Sylvain Delouvée and Jean-Pierre Pétard (France) presented a joint paper entitled *Historical Spaces of Social Psychology* based on an extensive analysis of all social psychology textbooks published in French between 1947 and 2001;
- Adrian Neculau (Romania) drew attention to *The Evolution of Social Psychology in a Society which has Undergone Many Political Regimes. The Case of Romania*.

The final two papers approached the Social Representations Theory from a meta-theoretical perspective:

- Michel-Louis Rouquette (France) presented *Some Elements for a Conceptual History of Social Psychology*;
- Annamaria Silvana de Rosa and Marialibera d'Ambrosio (Italy) offered an empirical paper dedicated to *International Conferences as Interactive Scientific Media Channels: The History of the Social Representations Theory through the Eight Editions of the ICSR from Ravello (1992) to Rome (2006)*.

In addition to the revised texts of the contributors to the *Grand Atelier* held during the 8<sup>th</sup> ICSR, this special issue also includes:

- a foreword by Serge Moscovici, who inspired the organization of the *Grand Atelier* that was also conceived as an arena to present and discuss *The*

*Making of Modern Social Psychology*, a book by Moscovici and Markova<sup>7</sup> that had been published a few weeks before the 8<sup>th</sup> ICSR;

– a lecture by Augusto Palmonari entitled *The Importance of the Social Representation Theory for Social Psychology* that had been delivered during the 10<sup>th</sup> edition of the European Ph.D. on SR & C. International Lab Meeting. This lecture provides a kind of *coupling ring* that links papers focussed more on Social Psychology with those specifically concerned with the development of the Social Representations discipline;

– concluding remarks by Denise Jodelet, who was invited to present a transversal reading of all the texts, an opportunity for discussion *On Some Representations of the History of a Discipline*.

In introducing his autobiography *Interesting Times. A Twentieth-Century Life* (2003)<sup>8</sup>, Eric Hobsbawm illustrates what it means for an historian to write personal memories of events, where

there is a more profound way in which the interweaving of one person's life and times, and the observation of both, helped to shape a historical analysis which, I hope, makes itself independent of both. [...] not world history illustrated by the experiences of an individual, but world history shaping that experience, or rather offering a shifting but always limited set of choices [...]. History, as my colleague the philosopher Agnes Heller put it "is about what happens seen from outside, memoirs about what happens seen from within".

Although in contemporary epistemology of both lay and scientific knowledge the distinction between the role of the *subject* versus the *object* of knowledge is strongly questioned, as is the distinction between the *inside* and *outside* perspectives, it is clear that we cannot disregard both the interest and the limitations created by interweaving personal memories and historical accounts.

In a certain sense, the choice of the subtitle *Snapshot views from two sides of the Atlantic* expresses the awareness that the title *Looking at the history of social psychology and social representations* should be understood within the limits of the living context in which this special issue has been generated. The scope of the issue was much less ambitious than a systematic and long-term concerted scientific effort by the different contributors.

In addition, the invitations addressed to distinguished senior scholars and young promising researches from different continents and geo-political contexts made this special issue a multi-generational intellectual enterprise which in itself provided an explanation of the different ways approach and examine the history of the discipline and its development. In fact it is not by chance that those who have contributed to the birth or growth of social psychology in their

own countries and/or are protagonists in the history of the development of the discipline, like Celso Pereira de Sá from Brazil, Jorge Jesuino from Portugal, Adrian Neculau from Romania, and Augusto Palmonari from Italy, draw an historical picture from both «accounts of historical memory and narratives of personal memory» (Celso Pereira de Sá).

These authors, who confront their own history while drawing the history of the discipline, opted for a narrative style that is somewhere between personal memory (like encounters with authors who became very significant for their intellectual and professional development, situational accounts of specific contexts and places, their Ph.D. experiences etc.) and the historical memory documented by the development of the discipline and its institutionalization. These included the introduction of university courses, the creation of institutes and associations, publication or translation of handbooks and influential texts, the dominance of paradigms and the prominence of eminent scholars etc. as well as historical temporal and geo-political contexts. Examples of these include the importance of social problems world-wide after World War II, the end of dictatorship in Brazil, the introduction of political democracy and the accession to the European Union in Portugal, and the transition from a communist to a post-communist regime in Romania.

Albert Pepitone, another eminent author from the United States who, significantly, also belongs to the history of the discipline, prefers to develop more general and meta-theoretical reflections on the *individuocentric* destiny of social psychology. Social psychology has been defined as a sub-discipline of psychology and has neglected theory and research in the area of culture and its major content, such as values and beliefs, in favour of an obsession for "lab" experiments that in controlling variables and confirming hypotheses that may have «absolutely zero relevance in the real world». This can be due to the selectivity of the subject matter investigated, the lack of ecological validity, and the diffuse habit of employing selective samples of undergraduate university students. This critical analysis is aimed not at denying the value of experimental social psychology, especially in the early years of the discipline's history, but at enlarging social psychology's vision and mission to map the real world, extend its thematic research agendas and for «adding to the research program additional appropriate methods including opinion surveys, demographic, ethnographic studies, intimate observational methods of the sort employed by Goffman (e.g., 1963) and of course, includes field experiments and other approaches (cf. Moscovici, Buschini, 2003)». Thus Pepitone argues for a theory open to a multi-methodological approach, where «in all cases, the nature of the problem should determine the methods that are necessary; subdivisions in social psychology should not be based on the one research method exclusively employed».



From the other side of the Atlantic, Michel-Louis Rouquette (France) provides *Some Elements for a Conceptual History of Social Psychology*, particularly focusing his reflections on the basic principles of research in the Social Representation Theory which depart from more general questions related to «the history of how knowledge is organised: how we learn to know, how a point of view acquires or loses its legitimacy, how the boundaries of relevance are shifted, and how the object of knowledge begin to relate each other». The main point here is not to decide that other topics, other populations or other methods must be included in the agenda of research programs to develop the field, but is, with all its consequences, to understand the definition that «any social representation is a representation of an object O for a population P and demonstrating this representation then entails the application of a methodology M.» and to critically discuss the congruency between the Object and the Population, between the Population and the Method and between the Object and the Method.

The other papers are mainly based on empirical research dealing with documents of various natures, such as textbooks, journals and scientific communications in institutionalized contexts, like international conferences, and which all deal with different historical periods, geographical documentary sources and theoretical fields (Gilda Sensales; Nikos Kalampalikis, Jean-Pierre Pétard, Sylvain Delouvé; Annamaria de Rosa, Marialibera d'Ambrosio). If on one hand, this approach, based on analysis of written documents, tries to reduce viewing history through personal accounts to a minimum, on the other hand, it seems to lay itself open to the criticism of dealing with an “objectified” *corpus* rather than with the processes and the dynamic of exchanges within the scientific community. In her transversal reading of the different contributions in this special issue, Denise Jodelet observes that «the objectifications of the discipline’s diffusion and development in texts or conferences do not allow us to understand the dynamic aspects of these processes, nor the creativity of these scientific exchanges». I believe, however, that we need to distinguish the “static nature” of the study from the “stability” of sources and data analysis strategies, which can be meticulously kept and verified in order to limit reconstruction. We know that even in physics we can speak about “dynamic stability”. Indeed, in all of the three above mentioned papers, “stability” anchored to the empirical analysis of reliable sources does not exclude, and on the contrary is aimed at, mapping out the “dynamic” development of the history of Social Psychology or the Social Representation Theory<sup>9</sup>. This is accomplished through the presence or lack of cross-references for authors, geographical places and institutional contexts, through the contextualisation of their contributions to dedicated international conferences as fundamental institutionalised spaces for members of a scientific community to meet, present, discuss

their research and develop potential interpersonal, international and intercontinental cooperation. This has been demonstrated by the analysis of scientific production over the years and across continents.

In any case, whatever limitations a single study or a single contribution in this special issue may have from either of the poles of personal memories<sup>10</sup> and reified documents, taken together these different papers provide *snapshots* of the history of the discipline, not simply conceived as a linear chronology. All the authors seem to agree with Nikos Kalampalikis, Jean-Pierre Pétard and Sylvain Delouvé that «a chronology does not make history».

This was never meant to be an exhaustive and systematic view of the history of the social psychology. We did not impose any temporal frame and the only request to the contributors was that they look at the history of social psychology and the Social Representations Theory «from the two sides of the Atlantic». We do hope that the *snapshots* offered by each author in this special issues at least will provide a *mosaic of perspectives* from different geo-graphical latitudes and various experiential, cultural, linguistic and geo-political contexts as well as fertile ground for debating critical issues related to the history of the discipline. These can be of general interest, like the controversy about relations between theory, methods and techniques, the relevance and the degree of integration among different paradigms, the interdependence between the genesis and development of the discipline and the historical-political situation in a specific institution, country, continent and even in the interdependent global scenario, the role of language and culture as factor explaining a variety of traditions and hegemonic dominance in social psychology paradigms, and finally, the degree of resistance to innovative paradigms compared the dominance of the *mainstream*.

The reader might reorganise these *snapshots* into a more organic view, especially after reading the illuminating and fascinating «hidden story of how an International Social Science was created», written by Moscovici and Markova (quoted above). This book offers a dynamic view and intercontinental contextual scenario for reorganizing some pieces of the fragmented mosaic presented in this special issue, a journey through the past and to the future of this discipline as seen from the two sides of the Atlantic, in different countries and across continents. This journey was accomplished in the excellent company of these two authors who have contributed not only to re-thinking the history of modern social psychology, but also to creating a constructive dialogue with the many colleagues around the world that see the same or different directions for the discipline in the future.



## Notes

<sup>1</sup> See: 8<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Social Representations: Media and Society (Rome, 28<sup>th</sup> August-1<sup>st</sup> September) [*Proceedings*, pp. 191-8]: <http://www.europhd.eu/8thICSR>

<sup>2</sup> The 2008 Winter Session 10<sup>th</sup> edition of the European Ph.D. on SR & C. International Lab Meetings was entitled: *Developing meta-theoretical approach to social representations literature: the contribution of italian scholars belonging to the So.Re.Com. THEMATIC NETWORK* held in Rome at the European Ph.D. on Social Representations and Communication Research Centre and Multimedia LAB, 26<sup>th</sup> January-3<sup>rd</sup> February, 2008. See: <http://www.europhd.eu/IntLabMeetings>

<sup>3</sup> 1992: Ravello, Italy; 1994: Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; 1996: Aix-en-Provence, France; 1998: Mexico City, Mexico; 2000: Montreal, Canada; 2002: Stirling, UK; 2004: Guadalajara, Mexico.

<sup>4</sup> For a glimpse on the network, its goals and outputs see: <http://www.europhd.eu/SoRe-ComTHEMATICNETWORK>

<sup>5</sup> See: <http://www.europhd.eu>

<sup>6</sup> In the multi-year series of scientific events approved by the EC-DG Research under Marie Curie Actions for 2005-2008, it corresponds to the VI European Ph.D. on Social Representations and Communication International Lab Meetings, reserved to selected doctoral trainees and a few experienced researchers, who received full financial support for participating in both the events (consult the web site: <http://www.europhd.eu/IntLabMeetings>, also including the calendar, scientific programs and didactic materials of the 2007 and 2008 winter, spring and summer sessions of following events). By further expanding the role of the European Doctorate on Social Representations and Communication for the internationalization of research training in and out of Europe, a remarkable number of young research trainees from all continents have been admitted free of charge to this scientific event thanks to approval of the program *Actions for the sustainability of the European Ph.D. on social representations and communication: support to the structured and integrated international mobility (physical and virtual)* by the Italian Ministry for Higher Education and Scientific Research (MIUR) under the *Internationalization of the University system* programme which is co-funded by Sapienza - University of Rome.

<sup>7</sup> S. Moscovici, I. Markova, *The making of modern social psychology. The hidden story of How an international social science was created*, Polity Press, Cambridge 2006.

<sup>8</sup> E. Hobsbawm, *Interesting times. A Twentieth-century Life*, Abacus, London 2003, pp. XI-II-XIV.

<sup>9</sup> According to Moscovici, «Social psychology is more than ever the science of social representations and can find in them a unifying theme» [S. Moscovici, *The history and actuality of social representations*, in U. Flick (ed.), *The psychology of the social*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 209-47: 237].

<sup>10</sup> The weight of intellectual autobiography is so strong in some contributions, that it finally provided me with an explanation of premises I have always found inexplicable: for example, Pereira de Sá's integration of the Social Representations Theory and his past background in Behaviorism. Although he defined this as «mediational kind of behaviorism, not by radical behaviorism», it is clearly identifiable in his statement: «I was not exactly an experimental behavior analyst, because I had never experimented with rats or pigeons in a "Skinner box". Later, I discovered social representations and began to explore them, because I believed this was a socio-cognitive approach very close to Skinner's explanation for the social formation of thinking, and that is a conviction I continue to hold, although Moscovici has already disagreed with it publicly at a symposium in Brazil in 1998». As discussed elsewhere, although the Social Representations Theory does not impose closed views and theoretical and methodological orthodoxies, I have always considered this kind of "impossible integration" epistemologically incompatible. I firmly believe

in the difference between a closed ideology, based on orthodoxy, and a distinct theory, based on precise epistemological principles and options. The inadequate definition of the Social Representations Theory as a "soft" theory, rather than as a "unifying" meta-theory, cannot justify making compatible what is incompatible. For further clarifications see: A. S. de Rosa, *Considérations pour une comparaison critique entre les R.S. et la Social Cognition. Sur la signification d'une approche psychogénétique à l'étude des représentations sociales*, in "Cahiers Internationaux de Psychologie Sociale", 5, 1990, pp. 79-173; Ead., *Thematic perspectives and epistemic principles in developmental social cognition and social representation. The meaning of a developmental approach to the investigation of social representations*, in M. von Cranach, W. Doise, G. Mugny (eds.), *Social representations and the social bases of knowledge*, Hogrefe & Huber Publishers, Lewiston (NY) 1992, pp. 120-43; Ead., *Social representations and attitudes: problems of coherence between the theoretical definition and procedure of research*, in "Papers on Social Representations", 2, 3, 1993, pp. 178-92; Ead., *From theory to meta-theory in social representations: the lines of argument of a theoretical-methodological debate*, in "Social Science Information", 33, 2, 1994, pp. 273-304; Ead., *The boomerang effect of radicalism in discursive psychology: a critical overview of the controversy with the social representations theory*, in "Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour", 36, 2, 2006, pp. 161-201.

# Social Psychology and Real Life Social Behavior

by *Albert Pepitone\**

If the objective of social psychology is to construct general knowledge about human social behavior, the experimental method is certainly a necessary research instrument. When designed properly, and when sampling and procedures are carried out according to established rules, controlled experiments can provide the valid findings that constitute scientific generalizations. However, there are limitations to "lab" research that experimenters should be aware of and strategically minimize by employing complementary and supplementary methods including most importantly field observations. We discuss limitations associated with achieving control of confounding variables, the confirmation of hypotheses by statistical tests, and the basis of the claim of universality. Finally, because not all phenomena of interest to social psychology can be investigated by lab experiments, and because such research aims to build general and therefore abstract theory, some phenomena of everyday life are underinvestigated or ignored altogether: public social behavior and nonmaterial belief systems which control consciousness and behavior in many horrific group conflicts around the world.

Key words: *scientific knowledge, real world observations, experimental paradigm.*

## I

### Social Psychology – A History of Growth

Whether measured in terms of the number of refereed articles published, the number of journals and books in the field, the number of social psychologists in university departments and nonacademic research positions – by any or all such measures, social psychology has been, and is, one of the most successful areas of psychology. From the end of World War II through at least four decades, social psychology, and especially experimental social psychology, has flourished in the United States, Western Europe and other parts of the world. This "golden age" could not have happened without the generous support of universities, governments, and private foundations. Those of us in the field should feel honored by the esteem that society has for it, and proud of the productivity that has made us deserving of that esteem. However, success provides

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us with an opportunity to take a critical stance and examine the field with the aim of improving its production of basic knowledge of social behavior in the real world, which after all, is the fundamental objective. Adopting this stance, I will focus on two major issues that limit advances in research and theory: 1. Some deficiencies of laboratory experiments, and due to a traditionally narrow definition of the proper domain of psychology, 2. the systematic neglect of theory and research in the area of culture and its major contents – values and beliefs.

## 2

### Deficiencies of Experiments

On the first issue my arguments are not intended to be a general critique of the experimental method. Indeed, when designed and executed in the right way, the experiment is uniquely capable of creating unequivocally valid theoretical generalizations under specified conditions. But while necessary for the advancement of basic knowledge, the method needs to be complemented and supplemented by other research methods and methodological perspectives with respect to the phenomena selected for investigation, the theoretical formulations, and the procedures for assessing the validity of research findings. I include here field observations and experiments, and other methods employed by organizational psychology, human ethology, and those sections of sociology and cultural anthropology that bear on social behavior and its sources. Employing the data-gathering procedures and analyses of these related disciplines and sub areas of social psychology is necessary to compensate for the limitations of laboratory experiments. The latter have a number of problems that can slow or prevent development of knowledge in social psychology. Some may be obvious, but sometimes the obvious is often an illusion that hides problems.

## 3

### The Paradox of Experimental Control

An essential feature of the “lab” experiment is the control over human subjects it employs and over the variables to be experienced by those subjects. In the latter case, the experimenter seeks to eliminate or hold constant all known or suspected influences on the social behavior being investigated – the dependent variable – except the variable whose influence the experiment was designed to test – the independent variable. Only when these unwanted or alien influences are controlled is the experimenter in a position to conclude that the independent variable produced the predicted result. To the extent possible, of

course, this logically sound procedure should guide the design of lab experiments. A problem is faced, however, when it comes to assessing the effects obtained in the lab in the real world where it is often the case that the variables operating there could make it impossible to detect the effect of the lab variable or wipe out any that was found. Clearly, the confirmation of a hypothesis in the lab may have absolutely zero relevance in the real world. What is important in building knowledge is that the investigator becomes intimate with the phenomenon as it occurs in its natural environment using a variety of field methods including observation, interviews, the use of panels etc. The aim is to acquire sufficient information about the subject of interest in order to define and measure laboratory variables more validly and reliably.

## 4

### The Quest for Universality

From the scientific point of view, the hypotheses tested by experiments should not only be valid but most generally valid. Indeed, the ideal aim is to establish theories that are *universal*. But no experiment involves samples that represent entire human populations. Moreover, a large number of experiments in the literature have employed frankly selective samples such as undergraduate university students. In any case, whatever the sample, the population to which the confirmed hypotheses may be generalized is rarely specified. What, then, can be concluded about the generality of most experimental findings and the theoretical hypotheses they support in social psychology? The answer is little. Universality of the theories we construct of social behavior observed in real life is a more distant ideal given the likelihood that some of this behavior may in fact be unique to ecological, economic and culturally normative forces (Pepitone, 1976). It may be noted that the objective of universal generalization may be one reason why cross-cultural research is relatively infrequent in social psychology. Differences in results that cannot be attributed to sampling or measurement threaten the assumption that (*orribile dictu*) our laws about social behavior are not going to be Newtonian!

## 5

### The Gap between Theory and Phenomenal Reality

In the early seasons of our history experimental social psychology investigated issues about observable phenomena that were readily understood by ordinary people who were non psychologists. For example, Triplett (1898), a pioneer experimentalist, investigated the speed with which children performed a simple motor task when alone compared with when another child in the same

room simultaneously performed the same task. The experiment was based on real world observations of the effect of "pacers" (a non racer who rides ahead) on the speed of bicycle racers. Beginning in 1916, Floyd Allport (1920), followed up the pioneering experiment of Mayer (1903), another pioneer, with a series of experiments on mental performance – e.g. memory, reasoning, arithmetic. In one condition, the graduate students worked on the mental tasks simultaneously face to face around a table. In the alternating other condition the subjects worked alone at the same time in separate rooms. In these early experiments the issue being tested was a simple practical one: did the presence of others working on the same task affect – help or hinder – the performance of the individuals involved? The theory behind the "help" prediction described the results more generally – in terms of "social facilitation", but still easily recognizable as referring to behavior that takes place in the everyday world. As theory and methodology grew in sophistication, however, the results of experiments became imbedded in theoretical frameworks and formulated as hypotheses. Research programs began to employ "operational measures" to represent empirically the conceptual class of phenomena being investigated and the theoretical concepts that make up the hypothesis about that class. Typically, such operations were neither exact replicas of the real world social behavior of interest nor isomorphic with the theoretical concepts involved. As ingenious as some measures were their validity in representing concepts and social behavior in the real world were often less than convincing. Thus, only with rare creative imagination can operational measures of aggression such as pressing a button that delivers a shock to a stranger in the next room be accepted as representative of the interpersonal aggressions observed in everyday life. The risk of designing experiments that do not map onto the real world can be minimized by adding to the research program additional appropriate methods including opinion surveys, demographic, ethnographic studies, intimate observational methods of the sort employed by Goffman (e.g., 1963), and of course, field experiments and other approaches (cf. Moscovici, Buschini, 2003). In all cases, the nature of the problem should determine the methods that are necessary; subdivisions in social psychology should not be based on the one research method exclusively employed.

## 6

### Individuocentrism

There are other limitations of experimental research that have to do with the selectivity of the subject matter investigated, and perhaps more significantly, that have to do with the subject matter *excluded*. Obviously, a major reason for exclusion is that it is difficult or impossible to establish adequate experimen-

tal controls or obtain reliable measurements. But there are also phenomena that are not on the research agendas of social psychology because they are outside the preordained boundaries of the discipline and or seen as falling only within the purview of a different social science discipline. Thus, a widely accepted tradition prescribes that the subject of culture is the "property" of Anthropology, and that the study of society including social structure, crime rates and other indices of urban culture belongs to Sociology. And from its baptism in the last quarter of the nineteenth century Psychology has defined its domain as the study of the *individual*.

With the major exception of Group Dynamics introduced by Kurt Lewin in 1945, the description of social psychology from before World War II to the present matches that given by Floyd Allport in his 1924 text: «Social psychology is the study of the social behavior and the social consciousness of the individual» (p. 12). Depending on the interpretation of "consciousness" Allport's definition would include social cognition, today's dominant area of research and theory. But whether the meta theoretical model is behavioristic à la Allport or cognitivist, the center of interest, the unit of analysis is the individual.

It is not surprising, indeed, it is by definition that the exclusive focus on the social behavior of the individual and its intra individual determinants have stymied theory and research that deal with relationships within the universe of macro group structures and social categories. Any complete literature review would detect few papers on social movements, residential communities, crowds, socioeconomic classes, religious cults, political parties, corporate organizations, to list a few of the social aggregates in the real world. It is not only that the dynamics of such structures in the human environment have been ignored but the creations of these groups – what generically we call "culture" – has been given relatively minor attention. It is a paradox that despite their profound effects on social behavior around the world – witness the killing fields of conflict among groups, changes in «life styles, language, and child-rearing – cultural values and beliefs have not become distinct programs of research and theory in social psychology».

We are not arguing that no work in social psychology has been done in these areas. In the American literature for example there are notable books on values: Scheibe (1970), Rokeach (1973); questionnaire studies of values across nations, and on the basic structure of such values, Schwartz, Bilsky (1990). In personality psychology, there are the value scales of G. Allport and Vernon that measure a person's profile across six values: Economic, Esthetic, Political, Theoretical, Religious, Social (cf. revised edition Allport, Vernon, Lindzey, 1951). A chapter in the *Handbook of social psychology* deals explicitly with culture, Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, Nisbett (1998). There is also the "Journal of

Cross-Cultural Psychology”, and the quarterly “Social Psychology of Culture”. But neither the work in these sources nor the news headlines about political and religious movements have created a noticeable number of researchers and theorists in the “extended frontier” of social psychology. Of course, there are problems that impede such a migration of workers and the creation of research programs. In addition to the fact that the area has been “off limits” the standard research methods, particularly lab experiments, are often not useable in studies involving social entities larger and more complex than the small group. Another problem is the absence of clear empirical and conceptual definitions of variables and issues. Values, for example, do not have a standard definition; classifications differ in the number and kind of value included. However, we all should keep in mind that constructive research that builds a foundation does not require that final and precise definitions be available at the initial stage of research nor that the early crops of results can be generalized across diverse samples, methods, and go beyond local conditions. Moreover, focusing on cultural values, one need not think of a theory that represents the universe of all values. Progress can be made by investigating even one value. Indeed, as an example, there is one value around which a variety of existing research findings can be organized.

## 7 The Group Identity Value

Although not explicitly listed in the classification of values such as that of Allport and Vernon referred to above, the value that is held by some or most members of every kind of social aggregate and collectivity to which they voluntarily belong and do not hate – social classes, families, professional associations, social class, and so on. Of course, we know that membership in groups is often an automatic application of traditions that have long since lost their compelling significance and may not involve an identity much less a positive one, but for most groups to exist some portion of the membership must value their group identity. As group dynamics research has shown “attraction to the group” – when enduring and based on the group per se may be assumed to represent identity value – is a critical determinant of the level of cohesion of a group, the degree of uniformity on issues relevant. More obviously, ethnocentrism, nationalism, and religious fanaticism are directly linked to the group identity value. Finally, this basic concept is a central dynamic in the large program of research coded as Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1981). Thus, empirical analysis of this one value in a variety of groups, under conditions relevant to the life of the group promises a large theoretical integration.

## 8 Beliefs

Obviously, beliefs are related to values. What we believe in we value. But many values are idealized states, e.g. love they neighbor, democracy, altruism etc., and not necessarily believed to exist at the ideal level. In general, beliefs are part of the cognitive structure that informs us about the reality and truth of things, forces, events, their interrelationships, and all that we imagine to be in our existence. One can believe without any doubt, believe that something is true but not be certain, and wholly disbelieve. For cultural social psychology to make progress in theory and research the vast world of beliefs requires some organization and classification. Some examples of the latter are prominent in everyday sociopolitical discussions and debates, e.g. the belief in “Free Market economy” vs. a “Socialist economy”, the belief in Darwin’s theory of evolution vs. the belief in “Intelligent Design”, and the ever present belief in God vs. Agnosticism or Atheism. Taking a clue from the ontological meaning of beliefs, seminar discussions and projects led me to divide – arbitrarily and roughly – the belief world into those that refer to an objective field where indices or measures of reality are thought be available. “I believe that the treaty will be signed on Monday”, “I don’t believe that it will rain tomorrow”, “I believe that there will be a guilty verdict”. Such beliefs are expressions of what we know, what we think we know, or what is knowable. The other part of the belief field is the “nonmaterial” where there are no objective indicators of existence but the believer is nonetheless more or less certain. For many millennia human beings have shown evidence of creating in their clans, tribes, and successive civilizations belief systems consisting of gods, magical powers, places where souls are moved after death, reincarnation, mysterious forces in the sky that control human destiny, magic, astrology, mental telepathy, the evil eye etc. It is fair to say that relatively little work in social psychology has been done on such nonmaterial beliefs. Presumably, one reason for the paucity is an implicit rule or doctrine that social science discourse and research should be separated from religion and related belief systems.

In addition to the large body of spiritual beliefs that define religions, human beings believe in a variety of nonmaterial beliefs about life and its tribulations including death. One widespread belief is that a secular transcendental force is a major determinant of the major events in life. The belief that one’s fate is predestined applies to major events such as illnesses, accidents, death, and other vicissitudes. Such beliefs in a “force of destiny” tell people via astrological readings and consultations not only when they will marry, when they will die and from what illness, but help them interpret events *ex post facto*. As a fictional example of this nonmaterial belief, an elderly retiree believes that

fate was responsible for meeting his high school sweetheart in a department store elevator in Singapore where his cruise ship made an unscheduled stop for repairs. The rarity of such an event rules out chance, and there is no conceivable reason for God to make the meeting possible.

More common than the influence of a force of destiny is a belief in "luck", "fortuna", "hasard", "suerte", "gluck". It is a very versatile belief. In everyday usage, it is often conflated with chance. Belief in luck is prominent in gambling activities. A player of cards (e.g. Poker) who draws a card that gives him a "Full House" can be heard: "I had the luck of the draw". Superstitions are filled with admonitions about acts that lead to bad luck such as breaking a mirror, opening an umbrella inside the house, walking under a ladder, and actions that bring good luck like knocking on wood, keeping fingers crossed, and so on. Luck is also seen as a property of persons. "He is born with good luck".

Beliefs in various forms of witchcraft and the evil eye are still found in the Near and Far East. The former we might call "quasi" nonmaterial in that there are witches "covens", groups of people who believe they have the power of witches. Belief in, and thus fear of, the evil eye leads believers to strange and costly measures to defend against the horrors the eye can inflict. Frequent donations to beggars on the street may be acts that protect against the "eye".

The foregoing is a tiny sample of nonmaterial beliefs; one could add beliefs in the devil, telepathy, animal magnetism, reincarnation, magic etc. that have been part of the culture of human groups since the beginning. An imposing question for an "extended" social psychology is what functions do nonmaterial beliefs perform?

A program of exploratory experiments on the issue was begun with the dissertation of Saffiotti (1990). Young adult subjects were presented with brief descriptions of life events, and then asked to interpret each case. The subjects' interpretations were reliably coded. They showed that nonmaterial beliefs were frequently used to describe what was behind the event, why it happened. A more precise coding showed that there was a significantly selective relationship between the life event cases and the nonmaterial beliefs used to explain them. What emerged from these experiments was evidence for the hypothesis that nonmaterial beliefs function to provide the believer with explanations, understanding, causes etc., of life events about which such information the believer is uncertain or ignorant, and that they function selectively, that is, certain nonmaterial beliefs are more useful than others in interpreting certain kinds of life events. A complete analysis and added interpretation occurred over the next few years (Pepitone, Saffiotti, 1997), as well as tests of the hypothesis on different national samples (DeRidder *et al.*, 1999).

## 9 Conclusion

In conclusion, since it has been defined as a sub-discipline of psychology, social psychology has been restricted in the subject matter it investigates. The restriction may be broadly characterized as individuocentrism. We do not argue that theory and research on the social behavior and cognition of the individual should be less generously funded or less appreciated but rather that social psychology should be free to extend its boundaries and mission to include macro social structures and their cultures including especially their values and beliefs. Given the deep and widespread influence of these variables on social behavior in the real world, and the absence of any compelling rationale as to why social psychology should not become engaged in theory and research in this extended territory, an opportunity for deep and last contributions is presented.

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## Social Psychology in Brazil: Some Recollections

by Celso Pereira de Sá\*

This paper resulted from my participation in the round table on *Social psychology from the two sides of the Atlantic* at the 8<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Social Representations, in Rome in 2006. When I was invited to speak at the round table, I first thought of talking about social psychology in Latin America, but in the end preferred to concentrate just on Brazil. Then, when I came to prepare what I was going to say, rather than presenting an objective history of social psychology in Brazil and properly an evaluation of its present state, I opted to situate it somewhere between accounts of historical memory and narratives of personal memory. In believing that a sample of a social psychologist's personal experiences – and the information garnered thereby at different occasions in his life in a southerly portion of this side of the Atlantic, more specifically in Rio de Janeiro – might be of any interest, I was availing myself of a freedom, granted in the academic world to elderly professors nearing compulsory retirement age, to be less impersonal and objective and more personally present and given to reminiscence in their contributions to these gatherings. What follows here then is such an exercise in retrieving historical and personal memories – as those terms are defined in a more theoretical and conceptual text (Sá, 2005) – about social psychology in Brazil. Key words: *social psychology, Brazil, memory*.

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The historical memory of social psychology in Brazil was refreshed – or updated – among Brazilian social psychologists in 2003 when the book *Introdução à Psicologia Social*, by Arthur Ramos, was republished to mark the centenary of his birth. While that initiative may not have been enough – as its publishers perhaps hoped – to raise the book to what P. Nora (1997) terms a *lieu de mémoire* (site of memory), it did at least remind us that one of the early landmarks in the Brazilian history of our discipline dates back to 1935 – when a formal course was instituted at the then *Universidade do Distrito Federal*, under the responsibility of the physician and anthropologist, Arthur Ramos – and to 1936, when that same professor published a book with the title *Social psychology*. It also brought us to recall that, at that early stage, social psychology formed part of the study of law, economics, education and medicine and benefited from contributions from biology, psychoanalysis, behavioral sciences, sociology and anthropology.

The book by Arthur Ramos makes profuse allusion to the work of authors who early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century – three decades before the Brazilian book appeared – had begun to write of what they explicitly designated “Social psychology”, such as William McDougall and Edward Ross, or labeled *Völkerpsychologie*, such as Wilhelm Wundt, but also those who only a decade earlier were pursuing the discussion of what social psychology might be or should be, such as Floyd Allport, Emery Bogardus and Charles Ellwood and, finally, those who in the 1930s – some in the same years 1935 and 1936 when the book was being written – were fashioning their own understanding of social psychology, such as Kimball Young, Charles Blondel, Kurt Lewin and Carl Murchison. Considering the distance between Brazil and the places where this knowledge was being produced, as well as the scanty means of communication available, this Brazilian academic endeavor is, to say the least, impressive.

Of *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Murchison’s first book, published in 1935, he says – in striking agreement with the appraisal that would be made sixty years later by Robert Farr (1996): «it is a magnificent repository of studies embracing all the fields of inquiry of social psychology, from the biology of gregarious animals to ethnic psychology and social anthropology» (Ramos, 2003, p. 34). Considering that the Arthur Ramos book is a major milestone of this early phase of social psychology in Brazil and also that it is quite similar in

make-up to Murchison’s Handbook, I think it fair to say that, at the time, Brazil was equally receptive to psychosocial thinking that was emerging, regardless of which side of the Atlantic it came from.

If I engage in the exercise of fitting together the historical memory of social psychology with the memory of my own personal history of active academic involvement with this discipline, I think I can add that a second phase was ushered in by the founding of the first regular university courses in psychology in the late 1950s and early 60s. I started studying social psychology in the latter half of the 60s, that is, at a time when Arthur Ramos’s book no longer reached us students and when no boom had yet been sparked in the translation of social psychology studies – Klineberg (1959) being one of the rare exceptions. I am unable to reconstruct exactly what was happening at the time, but I do remember that, as a result of that course, I read Freud’s *Totem and Taboo*, the work of Mead, Benedict and Kardiner on “culture and personality”, contributions from both sides of the “nature vs. nurture” divide, incursions into the domain of “collective psychology” by Blondel (1966) and the essays on “Brazilian national character” confronted by Moreira Leite (1969). It was readings like these, which prized the contributions of the human and social sciences, that my social psychology professor, Eliezer Schneider – who would later supervise my masters and doctoral theses – used to bring to class, along with a healthy respect for the study of basic psychological processes that he had familiarized himself with extensively in the United States during his postgraduate studies.

In that connection, drawing out these personal recollections, I remember – in writing about my supervisor (Sá, 2001) – having mentioned hearing him remark that his own supervisor in the United States told him that at one time Clark Hull, the leading behaviorist of the time, used to give classes with the works of Freud on his desk and encouraged his disciples to put the hypotheses of psychoanalysis to experimental test. That exhortation, he claimed, led to classics of social psychology, such as *Frustration and aggression*, by Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Sears (1939) and *Social learning and imitation*, by Miller and Dollard (1941). That manner of conceiving social psychology as something situated – and producing new knowledge – between psychology and other theoretical views of the human person and the conditions in which they engage in social aggregation and exchange – drawn from psychoanalysis, sociology, anthropology or history – made such an impression on me that my masters thesis, written in the late 70s (Sá, 1979), was devoted to interrelating a behaviorist approach, the radical behaviorism of B. F. Skinner and its notion of behavior control, with the sociological notions of social control developed by authors such as Mannheim (1962) and by others connected with symbolic



interactionism, such as Goffman (1974), Berger and Luckmann (1974) and Becker (1977).

When I became a professor in the early 1970s, in response to the demand generated by the new psychology courses emerging in Rio de Janeiro, the North American “psychological social psychology” approach had become hegemonic – displacing the previous plural orientation – thus marking a third phase in the development of social psychology in Brazil. The book by Aroldo Rodrigues, the main Brazilian author of this school, went through eighteen editions between 1972 and 2000, the last of them (Rodrigues, Assmar, Jablonski, 2000) with the collaboration of two colleagues from my generation. Meanwhile, we witnessed a slew of translations of North American manuals, like Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey (1969), but also of more original work, such as Solomon Asch (1971) and Fritz Heider (1970), together with methodological studies, such as Leon Festinger and Daniel Katz (1974), and other more monographic books, such as Daryl Bem (1973), to cite just a few representatives of this editorial *boom*. Not that this left production from the other side of the Atlantic completely in the shade: bookstores also offered Portuguese translations of authors such as Jean Stoetzel (1976), Jean Maisonneuve (1977) and Serge Moscovici (1975; 1978).

As I see it, this upsurge in publishing in Brazil was responsible for building competence in social psychology among our professors – although, of the two “colonizing” intellectual sources in this domain, that movement favored influences coming from the northern portion of this side of the Atlantic. This North American predominance did not mean, however, that it shaped social psychology in Brazil entirely, because intellectuals in the “Third World” do not automatically follow in the wake of whichever colonizer arrived first or made itself most intensely present or claimed to offer “liberation” from previous influences – at least I like to think so. At the same time as we “natives” benefit from the academic input of all concerned, we also mistrust it – by virtue of the symbolic memory we retain of the original colonization – and are only persuaded by what we ourselves can testify to. In that regard, the 1970s “crisis in social psychology” in the United States also had its transformative repercussions here in Brazil, with local social psychologists themselves already recognizing some of the symptoms of the crisis: certain approaches, such as Leon Festinger’s theory of cognitive dissonance, were losing the prestige that had come to a dizzying head at the end of the previous decade. Even before that, however, professors like Eliezer Schneider, in Rio de Janeiro, sensitive to the cultural and historical determinants of human conduct, and Silvia Lane, in São Paulo, who appreciated the importance of political and ideological conditions in social interaction, were already questioning the experimental, individualist North American paradigm.

As reminiscences come and go, let me return to the lecture hall benches to recall memories that warrant seeing the period when my colleagues and I started studying psychology as perhaps having favored our initiation by renewing social psychology at the very time were still learning it. Indeed, the intellectual concerns we experienced at the time – although rather unaware of the fact and more by virtue of the attitude Schneider imparted to his lectures – were the very same as felt and elaborated by the people who were then renewing social psychology – both those who were bringing on the “crisis”, such as Gergen, in the United States, or those producing alternatives, such as Moscovici, in France – whose voices were still making themselves heard in Brazil.

Maurice Halbwachs (1950-2004) – the French sociologist who, although “socialized” among us by way of J. Stoetzel’s 1976 manual, seems to have gone unnoticed during the phase of North American hegemony in social psychology – taught that the interaction between a country’s historical memory and the personal memories of its citizens is of the utmost complexity. In that regard, it seems important to recall the social, political and cultural climate that professors and students lived in at the time I have been describing. At the same time as slogans like “it is forbidden to forbid” were reaching us from “May 68” on the far side of the Atlantic, in Brazil everything was being forbidden, even the full exercise of citizenship. Periods of political exception and repression are known to tend to produce reactions in academic circles, with scientific production taking new directions and resistance being expressed – for lack of any other power – in ideas alone.

In that connection, it seems to me that our “years of lead” – however much their sponsors may have wished for exactly the opposite – led in the end to an effervescence of ideas and new concerns in the domain of the human and social sciences. While this was not so conspicuously apparent in the domain of social psychology proper, my personal memories of my student days show that at least some of the seeds of the major issue currently facing the discipline began to germinate at that time. That is the testimony that I intend to give now by transcribing a passage of earlier recollections (Sá, 2001, pp. 41-2):

Indeed, in the microcosm of Rio de Janeiro, Schneider simply brought together in his classes anything and everything that might be important to helping very young, inexperienced students grasp the complexity of relations between psychological phenomena, on the one hand, and social historical and cultural phenomena, on the other. That is exactly what most exercises a good part of social psychology today, thirty years later, in order for it to define itself as a discipline that effectively participates and is influential in the larger domain of the human and social sciences.

Let me take advantage of that last transcription to introduce – and to pursue for the rest of this paper – the current discussion of what destinies social psy-

chologists aspire to for their discipline. Although different overall perspectives do exist – «social psychology as a branch of psychology», «social psychology as an interdisciplinary domain», «social psychology as an autonomous discipline in the concert of the human and social sciences» –, here once again I shall refer to my own background in social psychology, as an illustration of the extent to which the choices one makes may not fit neatly into the categories that some insist on in mapping academic activities and production. Although a great deal of what I studied and taught was hegemonic North American social psychology, my masters and doctoral studies lay outside that tradition, because although such social psychology is commonly said to be, or to have been, behaviorist this is only half the truth. Strictly speaking, it was always framed, like nearly all cognitivism, by a methodological, mediational kind of behaviorism, not by radical behaviorism. On the other hand, I was not exactly an experimental behavior analyst, because I had never experimented with rats or pigeons in a “Skinner box”. Later, I discovered social representations and began to explore them, because I believed this was a socio-cognitive approach very close to Skinner’s explanation for the social formation of thinking, and that is a conviction I continue to hold, although Moscovici has already disagreed with it publicly at a symposium in Brazil in 1998.

In more specific terms, as regards the interrelation between behaviorism and the theory of social representations, I had invested heavily in the explanatory possibilities of “verbal behavior”, to the point not just of applying myself extensively to refuting Chomsky’s criticisms (Sá, 1982), but also giving prominence in my doctoral dissertation to its role in the production of social counter-control. However, although persuaded that basically Skinner’s propositions are appropriate for explanatory purposes, I felt they failed to take account of the subtleties of social communication across the whole variety of everyday settings. If there then had to be some potential compatibility with the approach that would prove as much, I deemed to have found it in the proposition about the social genesis of cognitive processes, which radical behaviorism sustained in common with the theory of social representations. Another feature that seemed common to me was what Brazilian philosopher, Bento Prado Júnior (1981), identified as a “symptom of modernity” in Skinner: his lack of rigor in establishing prior causes and his contenting himself with ascertaining regularities inductively. As there was just as little rigor about the way Moscovici inaugurated the field of social representations, to my mind the two systems were both “soft” by nature, which seemed, and seems, to me very appropriate to the study of phenomena where spontaneity and chance are such important presences.

In the realm of social memory, practically all contemporary authors, in the wake of the pioneering propositions of Halbwachs (2004) and Bartlett (1995),

hold that the present needs and interests of persons and groups play an important role in reconstruction of the past through memory. In that connection, I acknowledge that my excursion into the past has been governed by present concerns surrounding not only relations among psychology, social psychology and the human and social sciences, but also the status of social psychology in Brazil in contrast with what I have called colonizing influences. In order to reintroduce that second concern, here I transcribe a passage from a reminiscence of six years ago, when I said – as I would say now – that:

True, there is no Brazilian psychology as such, in the strict sense of Brazil’s having generated theoretical approaches or methodological strategies constituting a substantial body of academic knowledge. Nonetheless, there are – and long have been – Brazilian psychologists who have managed to give a specific, distinctive cast to their appropriation and application of theories and methods originating in other countries (Sá in Jacó-Vilela, 2001, flap).

In this connection, for purposes of illustration and specifically in the domain of social psychology, let me offer what seems a timely reminder that the contributions from the theory of social representations reached Brazil in the late 1970s – with the translation of the first part of Serge Moscovici’s book *La psychanalyse, son image et son public* – and in the early 80s – with Denise Jodelet’s first visits to Latin America. The account of the two decades when this latter author promoted and accompanied the development of the social representations field in Brazil have now been published (Jodelet, 2005). Among my most cherished memories of this period is the generous preface Jodelet wrote to a book of mine (Sá, 1998) – which included a presentation of Brazilian colleagues’ contributions to social representations research –, in which she expressed «the sensation of witnessing the formation of a veritable Brazilian school [in this] domain» (p. 10).

Indeed – not only in this specific field, but in other domains of social psychology too – Brazilian scientific research has characteristically made use of theories, methods and techniques developed in other countries, on the far side of the Atlantic and to the north of this side, often adapting them very freely, in order to investigate a wide variety of problems to which such theories, methods and techniques were not originally directed. These appropriations, but also expansions and developments, mean that we have a characteristically Brazilian social psychology that is plural, critical and averse to rigid boundaries between disciplines. To my way of thinking, that is no minor academic achievement.

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# Contextualizing Social Psychology in Portugal

by Jorge Correia Jesuino\*

Social Psychology in Portugal, like other social sciences has a brief past, starting to develop and acquire salience only after the change of regime and with the introduction of a political democracy. Joining the European Union in 1986 also greatly contributed to overcome the traditional isolation of the country and to multiply the links with the international scientific communities. Following a long tradition and being a Latin country, the influence of cultural French trends with social sciences is still salient in Portugal but namely in sociology, it tends, to be replaced by the Indigenous-American models centered either on experimentalism or functionalism. The relatively new qualitative field of social representations, in part due to the "habits of the heart" and to its extraordinary expansion in Brazil and other Latin-American countries, has contributed to the development of a consistent sub-community to which many Portuguese researchers are attached. International contacts, in spite of the distances, became now easier through the means of Internet, and also through the access to practically every scientific articles, something unimaginable 20 years ago. To marginal communities such as the Portuguese social scientists, these developments opened up new possibilities for the new generations of researchers who, let us hope, will be rapidly able to overcome their former predecessors.

Key words: *social psychology, Portugal, social representations.*

As argued above, Social Psychology in Portugal has a brief past. This is partly due to the political context that prevented the development of social sciences such as psychology and sociology.

It was only after the Revolution of 1974, which put an end to the authoritarian regime that ruled in Portugal since 1926, that institutions were deeply transformed and modernized. Social sciences, among them psychology, were introduced into public Portuguese universities only in 1976. But, to invoke the famous statement of Ebbinghaus, we can trace a longer past of the teaching of psychology in Portugal, namely as part of the higher course of Philosophy at the University, or at the level of the final years at high school. Moreover, since 1965, a private high Institute of Applied Psychology (ISPA) has been operating

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in Lisbon, and even at present it continues to be one of the most productive centers in terms of teaching as well as in terms of research.

#### Excursus

The "Estado Novo" (New State) that ruled in Portugal under the dictatorship of Salazar (1933-68) and Caetano (1968-74) actively promoted the ideal of "national regeneration" which attempted to restore a sense of national pride, mostly grounded on the remains of the Portuguese empire. A famous triptych pervading the nationalistic propaganda at the time was: "God, Fatherland and Family". It is far from sure that the Portuguese societal culture succeeded in internalizing this ideology, which was in many ways similar to European fascist countries like Italy and Germany. But it certainly succeeded in isolating and alienating the Portuguese from the rest of the world, hence preventing them from developing close links of collective association. In 1974, the revolution led by military put an end to a regime dictatorship lasting 48 years and paved the way for Portugal integration in the democratic world.

The Revolution of Carnations launched another famous triptych: "Decolonization, Democratization and Development". Essentially this program has now been accomplished, although the enormous handicap at the outset still places Portugal at the tail of the most developed world. Leaders and leadership, both on the political scene and in the multiple organisms of civil society, are central to this process of change and development. Their role and their salience depend on the specific features of the situations they face, and their style is to a great extent shaped by the societal and organizational context within which they operate.

Psychology at the university level before 1976 was also part of the curriculum of Philosophy, although limited to two disciplines, mostly focused on psychometrics of intelligence and personality, applied to education. Medical doctors and especially psychiatrists also had some training in psychological evaluation. This shows that the French tradition of the medical-philosopher still had a deep influence on Portuguese scholars.

ISPA, the private higher school of psychology, initiated its activity with the aim of professional training, required not only by educational institutions but also by the world of work and the practice of selection procedures. The organization of the courses followed the traditional format of 3 years of a common ground followed by two years of specialization in education, clinical and social and organizational psychology.

Since 1976 onwards the same structure came to be adopted by the public Universities of Lisboa, Coimbra and Oporto. But as a discipline, either gener-

al or social/organizational psychology, were incorporated in a number of higher courses, such as in health, work, organizational and social studies. This led many academics to pursue their training abroad in other European Universities, where they got their Ph.D. The progress within the field since then is remarkable.

Starting initially with four private courses (one private and three public), we now have in Portugal 39 higher courses. The number of psychologists, according to recent estimates, amounts to circa 15.000. The majority of students that select psychology are females (a trend also observed everywhere) who, usually, prefer the branch of clinical psychology notwithstanding the problematic perspectives of future employment. Social psychology, in its applied development of work and organizational psychology, also attracts many students, offering more opportunities of employment, such as consultants or human resources managers. However, as the profession is not yet duly regulated in Portugal, work and organizational psychologists complain about the "unfair" competition with other social scientists, such as sociologists, anthropologists or even lawyers.

#### I Social Psychology

Work and organizational psychology, due to its applied character, has become much better developed in Portugal than its discipline of origin, social psychology, which could also be considered as a branch or application of general psychology. This raises interesting epistemological questions that will not be addressed here, yet which give the opportunity to refer to the recent book by Serge Moscovici and Ivana Markova *The making of modern social psychology* (2006), which analyzes this complex episodes related to the construction of an "International Social Science". According to the authors there are two main traditions in modern social psychology. On the one hand the discipline that came to develop after the second world war – the Indigenous-American tradition – and on the other hand the Euro-American tradition. This new view contributes to spanning the boundaries across the Atlantic instead of two separate and mutually exclusive orientations.

The role of the American social psychologists, especially those that followed the teaching of Kurt Lewin, was actually decisive for the creation of a social identity of European social psychologists, most of them dispersed in their own contexts. Kurt Lewin was a German Jewish scholar who, like many others, emigrated to the United States of America during the Nazi regime. In the United States he exerted an enormous influence in the development of the discipline of social psychology but also initiated a new paradigm not in line

with the indigenous tradition that embedded the social within the general psychology. After his premature death in 1947 – two years after the end of the war – his work continued with prominent figures such as Festinger, Schachter, Deutsch and Kelley.

But the enthusiasm with the Lewinian group dynamics in the United States, apart from those loyal disciples, declined, and was replaced by a renewal of the study of attitudes which, since Allport, was considered as the theme of excellence within social psychology. In the malevolent words of McGuire

as the group-dynamics interest waned in the United States during the 1950s, its Lewinian promoters were seized by a missionary fervor to find European markets to which to export their insights [...]. Thus, the declining Lewinian movement gained uncontested control of funding sources for foreign proselytizing, mainly channeled through US private-sector agencies such as the Ford Foundation and the Social Research Council (the latter was particularly prone to domination by narrow factions) and through the US Office of Naval Research (McGuire, 1986, pp. 96-7).

According to McGuire still in the late 1960, many European Social psychologists became «disenchanted with the obsolescent models that had been foisted upon them» while a number of others «endeavored in the 1965 to 1985 period to promote a more distinctively European Social psychology, forged out of everything from a Marxist-Leninist historical materialism to a Durkheimian collective representational idealism» (Israel, Tajfel, 1972).

Although somewhat reductive, this view helps to understand the split amongst European social psychologists, a majority of them coming to be more attracted by the international hegemony exerted by the Indigenous-American paradigm based on the positivist philosophy and on the experimentalist methodology. This trend can be clearly observed in the evolution of “The European Journal of Social Psychology” which seems to have adopted the Journal of Social and Personality Psychology as its benchmark.

Within the short story of academic social psychology in Portugal such trends and watersheds can also be observed. Some of our senior academics such as Pina Prata, Jorge Vala; Maria Benedita Monteiro, obtained their Ph.D. in the Catholic University of Louvain while Gouveia Pereira, a psychiatrist, was awarded his Ph.D. in the United States at the Brandeis University.

Language and culture are important factors to understand the variety of traditions in social psychology.

French culture always had an enormous influence on Portuguese educational institutions, French, for the former generations, was the main foreign language to be learned, a tradition which rapidly declined after 1980. At present most of the young students are familiar with English, rejecting, as a rule,

French. This can, in part, explain the greater popularity if not legitimacy acquired by the (Euro)-American paradigm that meanwhile tends to become the mainstream in western Anglo-Saxon and Nordic European cultures. And prestigious scholars, such as Serge Moscovici, although widely recognized by his seminal contributions to experimental social psychology, had not met the same enthusiasm with his theory of social representations.

Also in Portugal, cultural and linguistic traditions identical to those in other European countries, can be observed. Academics tend to pursue the main trends acquired first in international centers, and only more recently also in the Portuguese Universities, which meanwhile succeeded in developing their own competences. ISCTE (Higher Institute of Work and Entrepreneurial Sciences) was created in 1972, a few years before the Revolution. It was integrated in a major reform of Higher Studies in Portugal, leading to the creation of new universities in order to train students for new emergent professions, in particular management.

In 1972, the Institute was running courses in management, sociology and economy, which included disciplines in the field of social and organizational psychology. The professors recruited at that time came mainly from the University in Louvain-la-Neuve. This was the first nucleus to foster the academic social psychology in Portugal both in terms of teaching and research.

In 1980 these professors organized a meeting in Lisbon with well-known figures including social psychologists Henri Tajfel, Wilhem Doise, Jacques-Philippe Leyens and the sociologist Michel Crozier. The meeting, which was a real breakthrough as such, contributed for furthering new contacts and research programs in the context of the European Association of Experimental Social Psychology (EAESP). The regular presence of Portuguese Social psychologists on the General Meetings as well as on the East-West Meetings of the Association greatly contributed to expand the network of the emergent community of social psychologists.

Meanwhile, the ISCTE also started to create new courses and curricula, to acquire the capacity to run doctoral programs from 1990 onwards. One of the new courses to be implemented was the degree in Social and Organizational Psychology, which was somewhat unique within the European context. The underlying epistemology was linked to the claim of the autonomy of the discipline, instead of the usual model that considered the social psychology as a division or specialization of the general psychology. With the recent Bologna agreements, this original policy had to be altered, adapting to the current pattern of the first three years of general psychology and reserving the second cycle for the specialization in social and organizational psychology. Nevertheless, some of the distinctiveness of the degree was preserved.

In other Portuguese higher institutions, Social Psychology did not acquire the same prominence, which however did not prevent younger second gener-

ation talents from other Universities to become internationally recognized. This is the case with José Marques, from the University of Oporto or Leonel Garcia Marques, from the University of Lisbon. The training of the Portuguese social psychologists benefited to great extent from the initiative developed by the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) – (see the detailed description in the book of Serge Moscovici and Ivana Markova), in organizing summer schools and a number of dedicated meetings around thematic topics: One of those meetings, in 1986 took place in Evora, Portugal, and was attended by Portuguese as well as other foreign students. Beyond the learning of methods and theories, those meetings also contributed to reinforce the network links and to create an international scientific community.

The development of social psychology in Portugal also led to further differentiation within the field. Arguably the most evident, is the differentiation between social and organizational psychology, the latter being much more oriented to the American paradigm of Organizational Behavior (OB). Academic social psychologists tend to look at rganizational psychology as the field of practitioners, limited as they are to the correlational instead the more dignified correlational paradigm. However, it is worth mentioning that it was in this organizational context that the Lewinian tradition of group dynamics was pursued giving rise to important theoretical and practical outcomes.

Another field of research that acquired some kind of an autonomy is environmental psychology, the origin of which can also be traced to the seminal work of Kurt Lewin. In 1986 was a meeting organized in Lisbon with the ambitious aim of proposing a new interdisciplinary field – Environmental Social Psychology (Canter, Jesuino, Soczka, Stephenson, 1986) however, apparently, with no significant consequences. This could partly be due to the fact that environmental psychology, at least for some of his scholars, renegade its affiliation with the former matrix of social psychology.

Beyond these more specialized fields, much of the research in social psychology in Portugal, with the few exceptions of colleagues especially focused on hard cognition, is triggered by social issues such as immigration, health and education.

## 2

### Social Representations

The social representations movement initiated in France with the influential work of Serge Moscovici *Psychoanalysis, its image and its public*, and it is still in France that the further developments and refinements have taken place. The theory has met substantial resistance, giving rise to well known debates that also contributed to conceptual clarifications. Since the beginning, the the-

ory of social representations has been a grand theory as a meta-theory or a research program. This means that it does not consist in a specific set of concepts from which precise consequences could be predicted and validated. Rather it is a broad conceptual framework aimed at explaining the processes of making sense that take place in social and societal contexts. As such it is not always easy and maybe not even desirable to establish frontiers delimiting what could be legitimately claimed as pertaining to the SRT.

During 40 years and notwithstanding the handicap of the decline of Freud Language, the SRT became well known, accepted and practiced not only in the Francophone cultural space but also in the Anglo-Saxon world that meanwhile became the lingua franca of the international community of social psychology. The *corpus* of scholarship productions in the field of SRT has now more significant titles in English than in French or in other languages.

The SRT has also attracted a considerable audience and acceptance in Latin countries, both in Europe and South America.

Considering the work of Moscovici and Markova (2006), it is evident that the Transnational Committee also established contacts with Latin American scholars such as Garcia-Bouza (Argentina) and Aroldo Rodrigues (Brazil). More consequent were the direct links with Paris and Aix, either attending post-graduate programs or developing joint research programs made TRS well known. It was Denise Jodelet, not the Portuguese that (re)discovered Brazil. Although sharing the same language, there were no regular contacts between Brazilian and Portuguese social or even general psychologists. Cooperation was restricted to other branches such as history, sociology and humanities. Thanks to the mediation of the SRT French scholars, the Portuguese social psychologists established contacts with their Brazilian colleagues, such as Celso de Sá, from the University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ), who organized the second international conference on social representations in Rio de Janeiro in 1994.

Since then regular international conferences took place every two years, alternating between a European and an American location. Stimulated by those meetings and encounters, the Portuguese speaking production on SRT has grown exponentially, and some of that research has been jointly conducted by colleagues from both sides of the Atlantic. The interchange between Brazilian and Portuguese colleagues became a routine, contributing to the visibility of our scientific community.

One of the most interesting programs, conducted under the funding of the respective national governmental agencies, was focused on the social memory of the discovery of Brazil in 1500, five centuries later, in 2000. The idea was proposed by Celso de Sá, following a line of research initially launched by Denise Jodelet, that has given rise to a growing interest of scholars about topics related with salient political events.



Simultaneously, but also converging with this movement across the Atlantic, a special mention must be addressed to Annamaria de Rosa, who succeeded in launching an European Ph.D. on Social Representations and Communication (<http://www.europhd.eu>), recognized at the level of European institutions, which has certainly contributed to attract new members to this community, mostly from Mediterranean and Eastern European countries but also from Northern Europe.

Within this program, Annual International Summer Schools have been systematically organized, first on various locations, one of them in Lisbon, but since 1999 in Rome, where all the facilities, documents, and archives are concentrated at the European Ph.D. on Social Representations and Communication Research Centre and Multimedia Lab. Those summer schools, which are regularly attended by foreign students including Portuguese, have become meeting points contributing to the expansion of the SRT network across the five continents.

Closely linked with the European Ph.D., a THEMATIC NETWORK of research sponsored and supported by European Commission was also developed by Annamaria de Rosa, permitting to enlarge the international contacts and launch new joint research programs (<http://www.europhd.eu/So.Re.Com.THEMATICNETWORK>).

The links between European centers and Latin American students and scholars have given rise to a kind of institutionalization of SRT, which became an example of a collective theoretical construction, with a growing *corpus* of contributions. Social issues such as economic systems, work, new technologies, unemployment issues, market, consumptions habits, money, entrepreneurship can be viewed as powerful attractors for SRT studies. Crucial are also the topics of social conflicts and social power involving inter-group relations, e.g. gender and social minority groups, leading to discrimination, exclusion and racism, as well as issues related to professional identities. E.g. to that of teachers, psychologists, nurses and managers. All these topics, and the list is far from being exhaustive, are common in the agenda of Portuguese young researchers however, in most cases, it is difficult to identify specific national preferences, considering that researchers are often organized in tightly connected networks of "invisible colleges".

Central to the SRT are moreover the scientific and technical theories that constituted the inaugural paradigm introduced by Moscovici, which, is still one of the most promising area for both consolidating and enlarging the SRT. In this field, too, there has been a close cooperation between Brazilian and Portuguese colleagues.

Social studies of science, sociology of the scientific knowledge as well as public understanding of science are now overlapping subjects alongside with

issues related to environmental and public health, and are becoming complex arenas of confrontation. At the same time, the distinction between the fixed traditional roles of scientists, politicians and lay people, is becoming blurrier. Such international research networks are also contributing to the development of cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary studies, considering not only the various researchers involved, many of them familiar with the SRT, but also the diversity of their theoretical backgrounds – spanning from the "hard science" biotechnology to the "soft science" discourse analysis. The meaning of "common sense" has been altered. The world has become rather complex, more global, more intertwined, the traditional boundaries protecting clear-cut domains of competence are challenged and the actors are raising their voices. This also means that new representations are emerging and are mediating the multiple societal exchanges. It could be argued that we are entering a new era of social representations.

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# Social Psychology in Italian Scientific Journals (1875-1954). Reconstruction of a Representational Pathway

by *Gilda Sensales\**

The present article can be set in the constantly growing interest of the Italian social psychologists for the historical reconstructions of their discipline. It is part of a wider project dealing with the birth of Italian and international social psychology. The theoretical frame is related both with the tradition of "New History" and with that of the social representations, in this case with particular reference to those representational processes operating in the scientific-institutional field such as the one referable to the specialized journals. The historical analysis deals with the early representations of the Italian Social Psychology (SP) elaborated and put forward by the main Italian scientific journals, with a particular attention to the ones dealing with social sciences. We have examined five journals published between 1875 and 1954, a year that represents, for various reasons, a watershed in the history of SP (suffice it to mention the First Italian Congress of SP). We have examined 1.375 texts dealing with the various forms of social and collective history. We have applied on them a grid of content analysis whose data have been transcribed on a numerical file. At the same time, we have set up a textual file containing the title of the contribution, together with the names of the reviewed authors and scholars. The two files have been then put through a correspondence analysis of with the use of the SPAD-T. The lexical data have been considered active variables, while category variables have been considered illustrative variables. The statistic elaboration has dealt with 6.552 words, 2.519 of which are distinct. Through the scree-test, 2 factors that explain the 3.96% of the variance have been singled out. Their combination has produced a factorial plan able to highlight three distinct areas. The first, dealing with the early period (1875-1895), is focused upon pathology area; the second, dealing with the period that goes from 1896 to 1923, shows the variety and diversification of psychology, with a centrality of collective, folk and social psychology; the third, dealing with the period that goes from 1924 to 1954, hints at a falling back on psychiatry. The outcomes are also discussed with regard to those of a previous inquiry centered on "Rivista di Psicologia" ("Psychological Journal"). *Sub-theme*: Social Representation and the History of the discipline: the roots of Social Psychology with respect to other social sciences.

*Key words*: history of Italian social psychology, lexical analysis, content analysis.

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## I Introduction

The present study can be set in the increasingly growing attention of the Italian social psychologists for the historical reconstructions of their discipline (cf., in Italy, Mucchi Faina, 1998; 2000; 2002; Sensales, 1999; 2002; 2004; 2007a; 2007b; 2008; Sensales, Pisilli, 2005; Volpato, 2000a; 2000b; 2001).

It represents a proposal of history "from the inside" that pays attention to the context, which is the real antidote to any "presentist" representations of the past (cf. Danziger, 1994; 1997; Apfelbaum, 1992), being aware that the history of a discipline is also a contribution for the definition of its identity (cf. Graumann, 1988; 1995; Farr, 1996).

The theoretical frame is twofold: on the one hand, it makes reference to the perspective of "New History" (cf. Furumoto, 1989; Harris, 1997; Samelson, 1999), that was ushered in social psychology as from the second half of the 70s through the evocation, ascribable to the definition of "New History" itself, of the approach developed by Marc Bloch, the founder of the current of the "Annales". This approach had a revolutionary impact on the traditional, linear and continuist history and became a fundamental point of reference of the different historiographical fields (for the most recent contributions of this "new history" in social psychology cf. the special issues of "Canadian Psychology", published in 1992, and of the "Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences", published in 2000 and the more recent books of Moscovici and Markova, 2006 and of Jahoda, 2007; for a first reconstruction of the concept cf. Sensales, 2007b). The other theoretical reference deals with the tradition of the social representations, with a specific attention to those representational processes operating in the institutional field, as for example that referable to the scientific journals. It is a somehow heterodox reference since it assumes that those processes can become active not only in the common sense, but also in the scientific discourse, above all in those situations where the referring scientific community, as for example social psychology in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, lacks a definite institutional order. In fact, in such situations, it is possible to assume that the emerging new perspective has led to some simplifying reactions of acceptance/refusal and of identity negotiation. In both cases, to reactions that can be traced to some real representational processes that are apt at intervening in the disciplinary foundation and at conditioning it.

So, the historical analysis will deal with the early representations of the Italian social psychology that have been elaborated and put forward on the main Italian journals dedicated to social sciences.

In this first section, the definitions of social psychology and some of its articulations contained in the *Dictionary of philosophy and psychology* edited by

Baldwin (1901-05), will be illustrated. Successively, some outcomes of a previous investigation focused on "Rivista di Psicologia" ("Journal of Psychology") (cf. Sensales, Pisilli, 2005; Sensales, 2008) from 1905, the year of its foundation, to 1952, will be illustrated. They will represent a possible comparative frame with respect to what has been achieved in the analysis illustrated in the section dealing with the results and will be taken into consideration again in the sections dealing with the discussion and the conclusions.

The inquiry here presented, as the one previously mentioned, is exploratory and it is part of a wider projects aimed at delineating some of the most important phases of the formation pathway of social psychology, both at national and international levels (Sensales, 2002; 2004; 2007a; 2008; Sensales, Pisilli, 2005).

Within this project, some preliminary studies have been carried out. They have dealt both with the Italian forerunners of the discipline, through the individuation of the four authors who, in a more or less explicit way, first devoted some texts to social psychology, and with the role played by social psychology in the early international congresses (from I to VI) and in the first two Italian congresses (cf. Sensales, 2002); on the contrary, the investigation concerning the other Italian and international congresses, up to 1954, is still under way.

1954 has been chosen as a watershed year since it corresponds to four important events: at international level it was the year of the publication of the second great "handbook" of social psychology that, to the mind of its editor, Lindzey, and of the author of the first chapter dedicated to history, Gordon Allport, should move away from the previous handbook, published in 1935 and edited by Murchison, sanctioning in this way the establishment of a new paradigm (in this perspective, cf. Kuhn, 1962, for the role played by the handbooks) for social psychology, in its passage from a pre-scientific to a scientific phase.

Moreover, 1954 is also the year when the discipline acquired a sudden visibility in Italy thanks to:

1. The foundation of a journal dedicated to social psychology with an insertion in the previously existing "Archivio Italiano di Psicologia Generale e del Lavoro" ("Italian Archive of General and Occupational Psychology"). The "Rivista di Psicologia Sociale e Archivio Italiano di Psicologia Generale e del Lavoro" was published with this title until 1975 and then became "Psicologia e Società" ("Psychology and Society");
2. The first Italian Congress of Social Psychology (SP), held in Turin on 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> June and representing the real institutional debut of the discipline;
3. The X Congress of Italian Psychologists held in Chianciano (Siena), on 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> October, with the first section entirely dealing with social psychology.

The three events were all characterized by the presence of Angiola Masuc-

cio Costa who actively tried to promote the discipline; in one case she contributed to the birth of the new journal, in another she edited the proceedings of the first Congress, in another more she presided over the section of social psychology. The important role played by this scholar, who was also committed with the cultural policies of the Italian Communist Party and who introduced Soviet psychology in Italy, has been probably one of the main causes of the marginality of the Italian contribution to the foundation of the "European Association of Experimental Social Psychology" that, set up under the patronage of the American government, saw the only participation of the Neapolitan psychologist Gustavo Iacono (cf. Graumann, 1999) as the result of a possible censorship, more or less explicit, towards a social psychology that appeared to be too "aligned" with a Marxist culture and with those countries of the so-called "State Socialism" that represented the new enemy to fight against and to censure (cf. Sensales, 2007a).

However, in returning to the founders of the discipline, our reconstruction (Sensales, 2002) has given prominence to the works of: Carlo Cattaneo (1801-1869), with his lessons on the *Psychology of the associated minds* (Cattaneo, 1859-63; cf. Doise, 1983); Paolo Orano (1875-1945), the author of the first Italian book dedicated to social psychology (Orano, 1902; cf. Pepitone, 1981), that was actually a collection of previously published articles; Andrea Cappellazzi (1854-1932), the author of a small book that was published anonymously and that was attributed to him thanks to the cross control of the works mentioned in it and published by its author (Cappellazzi, 1907; cf. Sensales, 2002); finally, Gualtiero Sarfatti (1878-1953), who also published a small tome dedicated to *Social psychology* (Sarfatti, 1911). This latter can be somehow considered the real starting point of the Italian tradition of social psychology (cf. Sensales, 2002).

Without lingering in a long description of the different social psychologies proposed by the previously mentioned authors, it's nevertheless important to stress that each of them went back to a specific tradition that was able to highlight the problematic boundaries of the discipline and its contradictory epistemological statute as well.

So, Carlo Cattaneo's proto-social psychology, which even Giovanni Gentile dedicated some pages to in his text on the Italian positivists, showed a positivist vocation of intent but seemed also to anticipate Wundtian *Völkerpsychologie*. It was, with Vico's studies, an important point of reference for the Italian scholars of social psychology up to the first twenty years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Paolo Orano – a scholar and a journalist whose early Socialist faith were successively replaced by his militancy in the Fascist Party (cf. Doise, 1986) and who also took on relevant assignments, in fact he was professor of history of journalism and Rector of the University of Perugia (in fact the university of fas-

cist elites) – carried on the positivist tradition but embraced an approach that was so clearly tied to collective psychology as to getting to the point of supporting the primacy of sociology. His interest for social psychology was anyway largely limited to the 1902 text.

Andrea Cappellazzi, a Lombard and Thomist priest, clearly detached himself from the two interpretations of social psychology that have been illustrated so far. He promoted a point of view that was clearly favorable to metaphysics and, broadly speaking, to philosophy.

Finally, Gualtiero Sarfatti proposed a social psychology that confronted positively the *Völkerpsychologie* deriving from Wundt (cf. Sarfatti, 1911, p. 29), but that in his case was also clearly associated to individual psychology (cf. Sarfatti, 1912). In fact, he showed a clear vocation for some scientific and experimental methods, as well as for the applicative aspects (in particular in the military field, since he had served as a regular in the army), that led him, at the end of the II World War, to deal systematically with group psychology (cf. Marzi, 1954), to teach social psychology at the University Study Center of Florence and to edit, in 1951, the Italian edition of Otto Friedman's *Introduction to social psychology*. In introducing the text, Sarfatti, going on with what he had said in occasion of the distant II Congress of the Italian psychologists (Sarfatti, 1915), lamented «the shortage of scholars of social psychology», affirming that it was caused mainly by «the fact that this field of psychology was born badly» since «it was born without a regular civil state, being the son of both psychology and sociology». The «scholars of these two disciplines have contended with each other with social psychology but they have successively neglected or even deserted it in order not to annoy one another and also because of mistrust» (Sarfatti, 1951, p. 5).

His arguments went on by saying that «the numerous volumes of social psychology published in the United States can be divided into two categories: those with a psychological or psychoanalytical base and those with a sociological base», in order to specify how Friedman's text tries to explain both traditions.

This pathway of social psychology, characterized by a constant research of the disciplinary boundaries, is nevertheless common to the beginnings of other psychological sciences that, unlike social psychology, but with the same determination, tried to free themselves from some awkward twinning such as that with philosophy, on the one hand, and those with medicine and psychiatry on the other; social psychology had to confront sociology as well. So, for example, the "Rivista Italiana di Sociologia" ("Italian Journal of Sociology") was the only European journal with a section dealing with social psychology that was entirely devoted to collective psychology and crowd psychology.

It is just this predominant reference to collective psychology and crowd

psychology that allows us to highlight one of the first characterizations of social psychology, the Italian one as well as the European one.

Moreover, this double bond with psychology on the one hand, and sociology on the other hand, had been clearly made internationally visible in 1908 with the publication of two texts: William McDougall's *Introduction to social psychology* and Edwards Ross' *Social psychology* that were announced or reviewed on "Rivista di Sociologia", while "Rivista di Psicologia" presented McDougall's text only in 1909. This text, grounded on the theory of the instincts, was the leading text of the individual-centric or psychological tradition, while Ross' text, which was presented as a summary of the European crowd psychology, was the leading text of the socio-centric and the sociological ones. There is, on the contrary, no mention in them of the Wundtian *Völkerpsychologie* that was destined to play a secondary role in the international panorama of social psychology (cf. Danzinger, 1979; 1983; 2001; Farr, 1983; 1996; Greenwood, 2004). Nevertheless, some Italian scholars devoted themselves to it and, in 1929, published a translation from the German, edited by Ettore Anchieri, of the summary, written by Wundt himself in 1912, of his impressive work, whose publication was completed with the 10<sup>th</sup> volume in 1920.

However, if we go back to the division between collective psychology and social psychology, it is worth mentioning the completely original role played by the Italian collective psychology that descended directly from the internationally renown Italian school of criminology. Suffice to mention the pioneer works of Sighele, which were unfortunately neglected for a relatively long time in the historiographical field too, or the fame acquired by Le Bon, who got to the point of publishing his text of crowd psychology just after the first text published by Sighele himself.

As elsewhere pointed out (Sensales, 2005; 2007a), this kind of psychology, in spite of the Socialist inspiration of some of its initiators, is one of the early forms of political psychology; this was established to meet the demands, emerged in the ruling elites of the mid-nineteenth century, of normalization and control of a worrying social reality in which a growing multitude of people asked for the right to citizenship. Collective psychology fulfilled these requirements even though there were two coexisting souls within it: an ideologically conservative one and a socialist one. The latter, through the work of Pasquale Rossi, aimed at contrasting the so-called "prejudice against the crowds" and to oppose the crimination of the crowds with the Enlightenment project of their possible "educability" intended as a political strategy of social change.

As shown below, these themes are shortly treated on "Rivista di Psicologia" that, it's necessary to underline it, was first published in the same year of Pasquale Rossi's death. In fact, he was able to take part, in 1905, to the v Inter-

national Congress of Psychology with six memoirs (cf. De Sanctis, 1905; Cornacchioli, Spadafora, 2000; Sensales, 2002), the first of which dealing with a new "socio-psychic" discipline defined "demopedia", precisely devoted to the education of the crowd (Rossi, 1905; cf. Sensales, 2002). In September, Rossi's death closed the door on this kind of interpretations, even though a posthumous re-edition, in 1909, of the work *L'animo della folla* (*The soul of the crowd*) had again put him at the center of the debate of the social sciences of the time.

However, if we return to the discourse concerning the identity of social psychology, we can remind the reader how the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were characterized by some processes we can define of "negotiation" of its disciplinary boundaries. There's a clear mention of this in the extraordinary, and still unequalled, *Dictionary of philosophy and psychology*, edited by Baldwin (1901-05), in collaboration with some scholars coming from different European countries (Italy was represented by Morselli, Tosti and Villa).

If we look at the way in which the entries "Social Psychology", "Collective Psychology", "Folk Psychology", "Race Psychology", "Crowd Psychology" and "Mob Psychology", are illustrated we can realize the extreme indefiniteness of their identity. Moreover, since the definitions they outline can illustrate the different groundings of the early representational processes, we think it's proper to quote them here in succession in their entirety. So, as for social psychology, we can find the following definition:

Social Psychology: Ger. soziale psychologie; Fr. psychologie sociale; Ital. psicologia sociale. That department of psychology which treats of the individual mind with reference to the implication of other minds in its functions and development.

Social psychology is, on this definition, a more or less arbitrary division of general psychology; its material being taken from the larger body of data, and its problem being to find what is capable, on adequate analysis, of being so treated. This is, however, only one of the current definitions; the scope of social psychology is much discussed in relation to SOCIOLOGY (q. v.) and ETHICS (q. v.).

Literature: works on SOCIOLOGY (q. v.); G. Tosti, Social Psychol. and Sociol., in Psychol. Rev., v. (1898) 347 ff.; Worms, Psychologie individuelle et collective, Rev. Int. de Sociol. (Jan., 1899); Baldwin, Social and Eth. Interpret. (III ed., 1902); Tarde, Études de Psychol. sociale; L'Opinion et la Foule (1901); and La Psychol. économique (1901); Sighele, La Foule criminelle (Fr. trans., II ed., 1900); P. Rossi, Psicol. collettiva (1901) (J.M.B., G.F.S.).

In the dictionary, the entry "collective psychology" refers the reader directly to "social psychology", while the entry "folk psychology" is illustrated as follows:

Folk Psychology: Ger. völkerpsychologie; Fr. psychologie des peuples; Ital. demopsicologia, psicologia etnica (E.M.: Professor E. Morselli. Genoa University). The psychology of races, nations, or analogous social groups.

Folk psychology is specifically the study of the mental products in primitive peoples, and is thus closely related to anthropology and to folklore. The chapters of general anthropology which deal mainly with intellectual organizations, such as myth, legend, animism, religion, the beginnings of art and science, furnish much of the material. The effect of climate on mental endowments, the evolution of national characteristics, the analysis of mental processes in undeveloped peoples, and many other topics of similar import belong as definitely in this field as in any other. It is not possible to differentiate sharply the content of folk psychology from other parts of anthropology, and yet the term suggests a point of view and an interest which is important and readily intelligible.

Folk psychology is to be distinguished from SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY (q. v.), which is concerned generally with the part played by the social factor in determining mental development. The term folk psychology is traceable to Steinthal and Lazarus, who planned and edited the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* (1860). They did not, however, distinguish clearly between folk psychology and social psychology (G.F.S.: Dr. G. F. Stout, University Reader, Oxford, J.M.B.).

It is desirable that the term folk psychology should be retained in this sense in preference to RACE PSYCHOLOGY (q. v.), since the latter has been given the different meaning – designating the science of the evolution of mind in the animals and man – by Spencer (Princ. of Psychol.), and since no other suitable term with this meaning has been suggested (J.M.B., G.F.S.).

Literature: Waitz, *Völkerpsychol.*; Steinthal and Lazarus in *Zeitsch. f. Völkerpsychol.*; Le Bon, *Psychol. of Peoples* (Eng. trans.); Tosti, *Psychol. Rev.*, v. 347; Wundt, *Völkerpsychol.*, I, I, II (1900); Schultze, *Psychol. d. Naturvölker* (1900). Much psychological material of this character is to be found in the general works cited under ANTHROPOLOGY; see particularly Steinthal, *Grammatik, Logik, u. Psychol.* (1855); Lazarus, *Das Leben d. Seele* (III ed., 1883); Bastian, *Der Mensch in d. Gesch.* (3 vols., 1860), *Beitr. z. Ethnol.* (1871), *Geographische u. ethnol. Bilder* (1873), *Der Völkergedanke* (1881), *Wie das Volk denkt* (1892), *Ethnol. Bilderbuch* (1887), and *Allerlei aus Volks- u. Menschenkunde* (1888) (J.J.: Professor J. Jastrow, Wisconsin University, J.M.B.).

The entry “race psychology” is illustrated as follows:

Race Psychology: Ger. rassenpsychologie; Fr. psychologie des races; Ital. psicologia delle razze, etnopsicologia. Suggested – That branch of PSYCHOLOGY (q. v.) which uses as data the manifestations of mind in the various species and races of animals and man. It is broader than FOLK PSYCHOLOGY (q. v.), which treats of the psychology of human groups only. Race psychology considers the problems of the evolution of mind from its simplest forms – of mental descent analogous to biological DESCENT (q. v.). This usage follows the connotation of “race experience” used by Spencer for the accumulated experience of successive generations, and has been explicitly adopted by one of the present writers. Cf. EVOLUTION (mental), and COMPARATIVE PSYCHOLOGY.

Literature: Spencer, *Princ. of Psychol.*; Baldwin, *Ment. Devel. in the Child and the Race*; also citations under EVOLUTION (mental) (G.F.S.-J.M.B.).

Finally, the entries “crowd” e “mob” are so illustrated:

Crowd [AS. *croda*]: Ger. *menge*, *haufe*; Fr. *foule*; Ital. *folla*. (1) In sociology; an incidental aggregation, held together by a relatively extrinsic and temporary bond. (2) In psychology: a group whose co-operation is relatively occasional and temporary, as opposed to that which is either instinctively or reflectively determined.

A crowd whose performances are particularly capricious and violent is called a mob. Literature: Sighele, *La Folla delinquente* (1891; Fr. trans., *La Foule criminelle*); G. Le Bon, *Psychol. des Foules* (1895) (Eng. trans., *The Crowd*); Tarde, *Études de Psychol. Sociale* (1898); P. Rossi, *L'Animo della Folla* (1898), and *Psicologia collettiva* (1900); Baldwin, *Social and Eth. Interpret.* (1897), § 151 ff. See also under SOCIOLOGY, SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, and IMITATION (J.M.B.- G.F.S.).

Mob [abb. of Lat. *mobilis*, *mobile*]: Ger. *pöbel*; Fr. *populace*, *foule*; Ital. *plebaglia*. See CROWD. A “rabble”, the most disreputable sort of mob, is designated in Ger. by *Gesinde*, in Fr. by *canaille*, and in Ital. by *marmaglia* (J.M.B., E.M.).

If we return to “collective psychology”, it's important to point out that the term was first used by the criminal lawyer Enrico Ferri who, in 1881, indicated with it the «link» between psychology, «that studies the individual», and sociology, «that deals with the entire society». «So, the field of observation of collective psychology concerns all the meetings, more or less casual, of individuals; public streets, markets, stock markets, theatres, mass meetings, assemblies, colleges, schools, barracks, prisons etc.» (Mucchi Faina, 2002, p. 25).

The distinction between collective psychology and social psychology, the former seen as a universalist science of human aggregations, the latter as “Völkerpsychologie” (for someone in its Wundtian meaning connected with cultural artifacts, for someone else in its Non Wundtian interpretation connected with national and ethnic-racial identities), was successively proposed both by Alessandro Gropali and, some years later, by Pasquale Rossi. The former, who is considered the founder of Italian Sociology (cf. Rinzivillo, 2000), took part in the IV International Congress of Psychology held in Paris in August 1900, presenting a paper at the VI workshop, which was chaired by Tarde and Külpe and dealt with “Psychologie sociale et criminelle”. His paper, “Psicologia Sociale e Psicologia Collettiva” (“Social Psychology and Collective Psychology”), aimed at separating the two psychological fields and at marking out a demarcation line between them and sociology, ascribing a predominant role to the latter.

Three years later, Pasquale Rossi, in supporting the primacy of sociology, said:

In our opinion, the differential character of the two sciences has to be looked for in the intrinsic nature of the subject of study. In fact, the subject of collective psychology is the crowd as holder of irreducible human characters, underlying the ethnic distinction common to all men whatever the overlapping racial characters. The subject of social psychology is instead an aggregate in which the hyper-organic and human character and the ethnic or racial one overlap.

A noi pare che il carattere differenziale delle due scienze si debba ricercare nell'intrinseca natura del soggetto di studio. Infatti soggetto della psicologia collettiva è la folla in quanto ha caratteri umani irriducibili, sottostanti alle distinzioni etniche comuni a tutti gli uomini, qualunque siano i caratteri sovrapposti di razza. Soggetto, invece, della psicologia sociale è un aggregato, in cui al carattere iperorganico e umano si sia sovrapposto l'altro etnico o di razza (Rossi, 1904, p. 101).

After illustrating the different declinations and articulations of social psychology at the beginning of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century as examples of representational processes operating in the scientific community of the time, we can now deal with another institutional place that has diffused several representations of social psychology and has, in this way, contributed to the construction of its identity. In particular, we'll offer a brief account of the main results emerged in our inquiry and concerning the presence of social psychology in "Rivista di Psicologia" founded by Giulio Cesare Ferrari.

"Rivista di Psicologia", which was for at least thirty years the most important Italian periodical of psychological studies (cf. Cimino, 1998, p. 24; Ceccarelli, 2005), was started in February 1905 in Bologna with the name "Rivista di Psicologia Applicata alla Pedagogia e alla Psicopatologia" ("Journal of Psychology Applied to Pedagogy and Psychopathology") (from now on we'll quote it in brief with the name "Rivista di Psicologia", without following all the changes its heading underwent), by Giulio Cesare Ferrari who directed it consecutively for about thirty years.

In our investigation, we have examined all the sections of the journal from 1905, the year of its first issue, to 1952, when its last issue was edited previous to the I National Congress of Social Psychology, which was held, as mentioned before, in 1954 (between 1952-54, "Rivista di Psicologia" wasn't issued due to financial problems; it was published again and regularly from 1955 on).

In collecting the material we have adopted a widely inclusive criterion. It has proposed the selection of all the publications 1) that had in their title a clear and explicit reference to the specific psychological-social fields, with reference both the different fields, partly mentioned before, illustrated in Baldwin's

"Dictionary", and the "classic" texts of the discipline (for example Ross, 1908; McDougall, 1908; Murchison, 1935; Lindzey, 1954); 2) of those authors who later took part in the I National Congress of Social Psychology, either as both active and passive participants or as authors quoted by the speakers of the Congress; 3) of those scholars Italian historiography consider as fundamental authors for the development of the discipline (cf. Sensales, 2002; Marcellini, 1976). We have in this way surveyed 560 documents including original articles, abstracts, reviews, papers and bibliographies.

In order to analyze the collected literature we have adopted different strategies of analysis, all associable to models of triangulation of data and methods. In particular we will make use of a lexicographical analysis that provides a manipulation of the text with the use of only a part of the analyzed texts. It will be applied to the titles only, to the names as of the Italian/foreign authors and of the quoted and reviewed scholars, reproduced in lexical data successively collected into a specific file. The textual file has been coupled by an extra-textual file, made up of the data collected from a content analysis grid. This grid has allowed to get to: the different authors' nationality, their possible active/passive participation in the I Italian Congress of Social Psychology, the expositive typology of the document (essay, review, research etc.). Finally, the grid has allowed us to classify the collected data in eighteen main thematic categories – Social Psychology, Applied Social Psychology, Collective Psychology, Wundtian Völkerpsychologie, Non Wundtian Völkerpsychologie, Crowd Psychology, Criminal Psychology, Military Psychology, Group Psychology, Demographic Psychology, Political Psychology, Legal Psychology, Race Psychology, General Psychology, Applied Psychology, Psychopathology, Pedagogy, Experimental Psychology – with, in addition, a residual category defined "other" and including all those works whose content we haven't been able to indicate clearly.

We have also noticed the presence of the authors who wrote the first three Italian texts of the 20<sup>th</sup> century dedicated to SP, the already mentioned Paolo Orano (1902), Andrea Cappellazzi (1907) and Gualtiero Sarfatti (1911).

Orano is reviewed by Vidoni, in 1942, on the occasion of the second edition of his 1902 volume; Cappellazzi isn't present; finally, Sarfatti offers 29 contributions, including essays and reviews, and is reviewed twice, in the space of time from 1909 to 1952.

Moreover, in the essays' and reviews' titles collected there are just 19 references to the terms "social psychology", "psychological-social" and "psycho-social".

With respect to the articulation of the psychological fields, the highest number of references deals with Experimental Psychology (11.1%), followed by Applied Psychology (8.6%), Social Psychology (6.1%) in the strict sense of

the term, Psychopathology (4.3%) and, almost on the same level, Applied Social Psychology (4.1%) and Pedagogy (4.1%). But if unite the 13 articulations of Social Psychology and then compare the resultant frequency with the one of the other psychologies, we get to the 25.5% of the collected documents, a percentage that is clearly superior to the one of the other psychologies.

As for the temporal scansion, in classifying the material taken from "Rivista di Psicologia", we have decided, for a first analysis of the frequencies, to subdivide it into two main periods: the first going from 1905 to 1934 and the second going from 1935 to 1952.

This subdivision has been adopted in the light of the publication, in 1935, of the first *Handbook of social psychology*, edited by Murchison and reviewed, moreover by the same journal, in 1937.

Actually, in the historiographical field, the mid-Thirties represented a real watershed, since they marked the passage from proto-social psychologies to a disciplinary configuration more clearly delineated. So, for example, a social psychologist as Cartwright (1979) observed retrospectively that, just as from the mid-Thirties, it was possible to witness a flourishing of fundamental researches for the discipline that led to the definitive establishment of the early disciplinary forms. Nevertheless, these were in some cases, in their order, still far from the contents we are used to. In fact, if we scroll the Handbook index we can find some themes that, as Farr mentions (1996), are certainly alien to the tradition of the modern social psychology, such as the chapters on *Population behavior of bacteria*, or on *Social origins and processes among plants*, or also on *Insect societies* (cf. also Sensales, 2002). At the same time they attest the importance of the evolutionist perspective (cf. Pepitone, 1976), and of the model of the natural sciences for the birth of social psychology as well.

Going back to the distribution of the frequencies concerning this first periodization, as far as the 13 articulations of SP are concerned, the verifiable differences between the two periods show how Social Psychology and Applied Social Psychology present an ascending peak in the second period, moving, in the first period, from 1.96% to 4.10% and, in the second case, even from 0.71% to 3.39%. On the contrary, the frequencies concerning Collective Psychology and Wundtian Völkerpsychologie present a diminution and even a halving of their already scarce presence.

Non Wundtian Völkerpsychologie, Criminal Psychology and Race Psychology are stable. In the second period, Military Psychology, Political Psychology, Legal Psychology and Demographic Psychology disappear completely. Finally, Group Psychology and Crowd Psychology present a clear ascending peak in the second period.

This final data, with particular reference to "crowd psychology", appears particularly interesting because it confirms a trend that has already been ob-

served in another study of mine, concerning the "Psychological Abstracts" (Sensales, 2004), so on a completely different material even though dealing with social psychology. In it, I pointed out how in the *Psychological abstracts*, published between 1946 and 1954, there was a revival of interest in the crowds and in the concept of "suggestion". So, from the different sources we can observe, just a short time before the birth of what Gordon Allport (1954) defined «modern social psychology», a confluence of attention for those aspects that had marked the early period of the discipline. Moreover, we can corroborate this point by mentioning that at the 1 National Congress of Social Psychology as much as two papers were dedicated to "suggestion" while one to crowd's behavior. The first paper, by Cesare Musatti, gave an entirely individual-centric interpretation to suggestion, through a psychoanalytic reading also applied to persuasive processes. The second one, by Nicola Perrotti, was entitled *La suggestione nei rapporti sociali* (*Suggestion in social relationships*) and continuously recalled crowd psychology and, above all, collective psychology and ended inviting social psychology to turn into «Social Psychotherapy» (Perrotti, 1954, p. 30). The third one, dealing with *Collective paroxysms*, by Antonio Miotto (1954), was the only paper that offered an exclusively psychological-social perspective, with elaboration of international specialized literature (so, for example, he mentioned and discussed Haldey, Cantril and Berta Herzog's 1940 research on the so-called "Martian invasion").

If we return now to the illustration of the most interesting results of our investigation on "Rivista di Psicologia", it's important to underline the fact that for the successive analysis of the latent dimensions of the lexicon, that is present in the titles of the different contributions, we have operated a different partition in seven periods here listed (TABLE 1), with the distribution of the frequencies and of their corresponding average (in brackets):

TABLE 1

Period	No. of contributions
1905-1913	108 (M = 13.5)
1914-1918	39 (M = 9.8)
1919-1923	26 (M = 6.5)
1924-1934	120 (M = 12)
1935-1939	42 (M = 10.5)
1940-1945	59 (M = 11.8)
1946-1952	145 (M = 24.2)



The highest average of reviewed documents in each period is the one of the last period, followed, with a neat gap, by the first one; it's on the contrary between 1919 and 1923 that the lowest average occurs, maybe as a sign of the difficulties psychology was in. This difficulty reached its peak just in 1923 with the censorious intervention of Giovanni Gentile who, as a Secretary of Education, eliminated psychology from high schools syllabus.

Finally, in passing to correspondence analysis, it's important to point out that it has been initially conducted on 2.353 words, 1.256 of which – the 53.8% – are distinct. After the "equivalence" step, and after having chosen 3 as threshold value of frequency, the analysis has been carried out on 916 words, 96 of which – the 10.96% – distinct. The scree-test has showed two factorial axes that are able to explain the 3.89% of the total variance. The intersection of the two axes has allowed us to form a factorial plan on which three clearly distinct areas have been identified.

The first can be defined the «debut area», characterized by a marked attention both to the atypical, anomalous, pathological psychological aspects, which are also connected with the therapeutic treatment, and for psychology and pedagogy. This area, which is in the bottom left-hand corner of the factorial plan, sees the presence of the lemmas (moving from the right-hand bottom right towards the left-hand and upwards) <psychopathology>, <psychoanalysis>, <psychology>, <pedagogy>, of the names <Colucci> and <De Sanctis> as author of the examined texts, and of <Freud>, as reviewed scholar. The illustrative variables are related to the first four examined periods – from 1905 to 1934 – and to some <bibliographical contributions and reviews>.

The second area, with no temporal marker, is centered on «places, themes, methods concerning psychology and its Italian "fathers"». This area, which is in the two upper boards, shows the highest density of lemmas and of scholars' names. Moving from the bottom upwards and from right to left, we meet the references to the lemmas: <researches>, <Congress>, <experimental>, <time>, <horizon>, <personality>, <sensations>, <illusions>, <figures>, <conscience>, <objects>, <attitudes>, <inquiries>, <perception>, <thought>, <psychic>, <life>, <psychological>, <psychotechnique>, <school>, <social>; and to the names: <Ponzo>, <Gemelli>, <Musatti>, <Kiesow>, <Bonaventura>, <Marzi>, <Falorni> and <Niceforo> as authors of the censused contributions.

The occurring illustrative variables are related to some typologies of works referable to <contributions>, <scientific chronicles>, <studies>, <original memoirs> and to other thematic areas related to <general psychology> and to <experimental psychology>, while the area is not marked by a particular historical period.

The third area, marked by the last wartime (1940-45) and the early post-wartime (1946-52) phases, is that of «social psychology as such and of some of

its articulations, with a centrality of both the socio-centric and the individual-centric declinations». This area, which is in the fourth board at the bottom of the plane, highlights the following lemmas (moving from the bottom upwards): <social life>, <social psychology>, <method>, <problem>, <work>, <man> and the names of some scholars, as authors of the contributions, such as <Costa> and <Miotto>, or as reviewed authors, such as <Baudouin>.

The present illustrative variables refer, as already said, to the last two periods <1940-1945> and <1946-1952>, to some typologies of the censused works that are related to <bibliographies> and <reviews>, to some thematic areas related to <group psychology>, to <sociology>, to <criminal psychology>, to <social psychology> and to <applied social psychology>.

In this section, we're going to refrain to passing comment concerning these results, referring to the conclusive section for some discussions also with respect to what achieved in the work we're going to illustrate below.

## 2

### Objectives

In passing to the investigation, which is the object of the present study, we remind the reader that I have analyzed five journals, which have been chosen as representative of different socio-cultural and scientific perspectives, in a span of time that goes from 1875 to 1954.

The objective, which is similar to the one of the previously illustrated study, has an explorative nature aiming at individuation of: (1a) the presence of precursors of SP (Orano, Cappellazzi, Sarfatti), (1b) the most relevant issues and (1c) the most quoted Italian and foreign authors, (1d) the peculiarity of the scientific communication relative to (1dx) the different sources under observation and (1dxx) their evolution in the surveyed period of time, (2) the structural organization of the textual and categorical material I have gathered on the basis of the pattern described below, in the methodological section. All results will be compared to ones related to "Rivista di Psicologia".

## 3

### Methodology Population of the Research

The population of our research consists of 1.375 texts that have been collected from five journals.

The analyzed journals are "Rivista Sperimentale di Freniatria e Medicina Legale delle Alienazioni Mentali" ("Experimental Journal of Phrenasteny and Legal Medicine of Mental Alienations") (1875-1954); "Cuore e Critica" ("Hearth and Criticism") (1887-1890) and "Critica Sociale" ("Social Criti-



cism") (1891-1954); "Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali e Discipline Ausiliarie" ("International Journal of Social Sciences and Auxiliary Disciplines") (1893-1944); "Rivista Italiana di Sociologia" ("Italian Journal of Sociology") (1897-1921); the main journals of philosophy, from 1890 to 1954: "Rivista di Filosofia Scientifica" ("Journal of Scientific Philosophy") (1890-1891); "Rivista di Filosofia, Pedagogia e Scienze affini" ("Journal of Philosophy, Pedagogy and Cognate Sciences") (1899-1901); "Rivista di Filosofia e Scienze affini" ("Journal of Philosophy and Cognate Sciences") (1902-1908); "Rivista di Filosofia" ("Journal of Philosophy") (1909-1954).

Their scientific-cultural profile is summarized as follows.

"Rivista Sperimentale di Freniatria e Medicina Legale delle Alienazioni Mentali" (1875-1954) was founded in 1875 by C. Livi and A. Tamburini, who operated in the Mental Hospital of San Lazzaro in Reggio Emilia. It is the earliest Italian periodical of psychiatry and all the most important Italian psychiatrists, neurologists and anthropologists – among which Morselli, Tanzi, Golgi and Lombroso – collaborated to it. The journal constantly aimed at overcoming the paucities of a strictly disciplinary logic and at privileging the dialogue between those adjacent scholarships that shared an interest for the people in their irreducible singularity and for society. From now on the periodical will be mentioned more concisely with "Rivista Sperimentale di Freniatria".

"Cuore e Critica" (1887-1890), founded by the Socialist leader Filippo Turati, changed its name in "Critica Sociale" in 1891. The earliest name of the periodical derives from the purpose of integrating the terms "Hearts", intended as the affective faculties as a whole, and "Criticism", that relates to rationality and science, so supporting the absence of antithesis between these two aspects. This journal deals with different topics, from philosophy to law, from sociology to economics, leaving aside any comment on publications and news.

"Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali e Discipline Ausiliarie" (1893-1954) was edited by the Catholic Union for the social studies in Italy and was chaired by the President of the Catholic Union itself, Professor Tonolo. This journal, directed by Talamo, included a section dealing with different articles and essays on social sciences and their subsidiary disciplines. We mean by the former all those sciences concerning the study of the various and multiple forms and manifestations of human social life, while the latter include History, Ethnography, Philology, Archeology and Statistics. Another characteristic of this journal was the regularity of its publication that wasn't affected much by the historical, economical and political vicissitudes connected, for example, with the two world wars. This long title too, will be replaced, from now on, with the shorter one "Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali".

"Rivista Italiana di Sociologia" (1897-1921) was the first scientific journal to introduce in Italy and Europe an entire section dedicated to social psychol-

gy. It was founded in Rome in 1897 with the purpose of «coordinating the results achieved by sociological investigation in order to get to a scientific synthesis explaining the laws of social evolution». In order to carry out this plan the journal made room for memoirs and discussions concerning not only Sociology but also other subjects, such as Ethnography, Philology, History, Völkerpsychologie, Economics, Demography, Social Ethics, able to illustrate specific races' and peoples' customs and habits.

Finally, "Rivista di Filosofia" (1890-1954), with its different denominations (we'll mention this periodical too with its more concise title), was characterized by a pluralist vocation since it dealt with a multiplicity of scientific topics that philosophy was concerned with in those years. At first, the absence of a specific journal of psychology made sure that the biggest names related to the early experiences of psychological experimentation – such as Lombroso, Morselli (who, on the other hand, was also the founder and the main moving force of "Rivista di Filosofia Scientifica", that is here taken into consideration only from 1890 to 1891, when its publication came to an end) and Groppali – were involved in it.

As already said, among the different analyzed journals, the only one to present a section specifically dedicated to social psychology was "Rivista Italiana di Sociologia" (in the USA, it was the "Psychological Review", directed by Baldwin, that had, since its foundation in 1894, a section of "Social Psychology" that included the reviews of some works that, as Apfelbaum (1981) mentions, were often written in French), while all the other ones offered occasional contributions dealing with this subject.

The five journals have been examined, in all their sections, from the first issue (of "Rivista Sperimentale di Freniatria") dating July 1875 to the last 1954 one. We have collected all the material complying with the three criteria we have described in regard to the selection operated on "Rivista di Psicologia", with a sum of, as already said, 1375 records, including reviews, essays, abstracts.

The span of time taken into account has been subdivided at first into three periods: from 1875 to 1904, from 1905 to 1934 and from 1935 to 1954. We have calculated on them the distribution of the frequencies, almost entirely comparable, for the second and the third span of time, to those of the "Rivista di Psicologia".

On the contrary, the following subdivision in ten periods – 1875-95, 1896-1900, 1901-04, 1905-13, 1914-18, 1919-23, 1924-34, 1935-39, 1940-45 and 1946-54 – has been used for correspondence analysis.

In this case too, as for the survey concerning "Rivista di Psicologia", we have tried to reconcile the statistical criteria, which prevented an excessive imbalance of the frequencies, with the endogenous or exogenous historically relevant temporal divisions.

So, for example, 1905 is considered the year of the emergence of Psychology in Italy, the year that historiography indicates as the height of the process of maturation of Psychology in Italy and that is illustrated well by the confluence of three important events: the V International Congress of Psychology was held in Rome; the first three professorships in Psychology were established; finally, in this year Ferrari founded the "Rivista di Psicologia". The years from 1914 to 1918 are related to the First World War; 1923 is important because it was the year of the implementation of Gentile's reform, which, as already said, decreed the elimination of psychology from high school syllabus; 1935 is an important year for social psychology because it saw the publication of the first *Handbook of social psychology*, edited by Murchison. The years from 1939 to 1945 are related to the Second World War; finally, in this case too, our survey ends with 1954, a crucial year, as we have seen, for our discipline.

### 3.1. Operational Path

We have applied a content analysis grid on the 1,375 singled out texts that is similar to the previously illustrated one. It has allowed us to single out some characteristics such as the typology of the censused contribution (essay, review etc.), the year of publication, the title of the journal, the mentioned scholars and their nationality, the name of the author of the contribution and the 18 thematic categories. A part of the so collected data has been registered in a numerical file, while another part has been included in a lexical way in a text file containing the title of the contribution too. In order to distinguish lexical elements each others, the operative procedures provide the use of the block letter for the titles, of the letter "A" preceding the name, in small letter, of the author, of the letter "C" before the name of the quoted scholars, the letter "R" before the names of the reviewed scholars.

### 3.2. Statistical Analysis

The categorical data, which we have singled out through the content analysis grid, have been processed with the SPSS statistical package for the analysis of the frequencies, percentages etc. and, where necessary, for the relative unifications (cf. point 1 of objectives).

We have carried out a correspondence analysis of the whole *corpus* of the data (categorical and lexical) by means of the SPAD-T statistical package (Lébart, Morineau, Bécue, 1989) in order to single out the latent dimensions (cf. point 2 of objectives).

It has considered the lexical data active variables, contributing to the formation of the factorial axes, while category variables have been considered il-

lustrative variables, that have been successively projected on the axes in order to favour their interpretation.

## 4 Results

Presence of precursors of SP and of terms explicitly related to it.

In this case too, we have pointed out the presence of the authors of the first three 20<sup>th</sup> century Italian texts dedicated to SP.

So, we have found 7 references to Orano, two of which are reviews of his text on SP, while the remaining are 5 essays of his. In five cases, the references have been published on "Rivista di Filosofia", while a review has been published on "Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali" and an essay on "Rivista di Sociologia". Anyway, they are all contributions published between 1901 and 1903.

Cappellazzi appears 6 times, with three essays of his and three reviews published altogether, between 1901 and 1928, on "Rivista di Filosofia" and "Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali".

The presence of Sarfatti is more evident with 19 contributions, only one of which is a review, while the remaining are 18 essays of his, 9 of which published on "Rivista di Filosofia" and 9 on "Rivista di Sociologia". As a whole they cover a span of time that goes from 1909 to 1914.

In the titles of the essays, reviews etc., we have collected, there are only 22 references to the terms "social psychology", "psychological-social", "psycho-social". One of them appears on the journal "Cuore e Critica", 1 on "Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali", 8 on "Rivista di Filosofia", 12 on "Rivista di Sociologia"; while we can't find any reference on "Rivista Sperimentale di Freniatria e Medicina Legale delle Alienazioni Mentali".

The distributions of the frequencies with respect to the five journals, the topics and the temporal divisions.

"Rivista Sperimentale di Freniatria e Medicina Legale delle Alienazioni Mentali" (1875-1954) offers 561 contributions (with an annual average of 7.10 presences); "Cuore e Critica" (1887-1890) and "Critica Sociale" (1891-1954) show 111 contributions (with an annual average of 1.66 presences); "Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali e Discipline Ausiliarie" (1893-1954) offers 124 contributions (with an annual average of 2.43 presences); "Rivista Italiana di Sociologia" (1897-1921) shows 231 contributions (with an annual average of 9.62 presences); the main journals of Philosophy, from 1890 to 1954, offer 288 contributions (with an annual average of 6.13 presences).

So, "Rivista Italiana di Sociologia", shows the highest average followed by "Rivista Sperimentale di Freniatria" and by "Rivista di Filosofia". The lowest averages are ascribable to "Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali" and to

"Cuore e Critica" and "Critica Sociale". We can observe, from this point of view, how the journals with a neighboring disciplinary inspiration seem to give social psychology a considerable visibility, while those journals that suffer from a cultural inspiration, which is also politically oriented, seem to be penalized and indicate, in this way, a noticeable distrust, by both the catholic and the socialist culture, of some themes, areas and scholars associated, in different ways, to social psychology.

As for the thematic-disciplinary articulation, without mentioning the result of the term "other", the highest number of references goes to Psychiatry (15.6%), followed by Medicine (11.86%), General Psychology (9.43%), Criminal Psychology (9.35%), Social Psychology (7.68%), Sociology (6.24%), Non Wundtian Völkerpsychologie (5.02%), Political Psychology (4.41%), Applied Social Psychology (4.33%); while Group Psychology (0.15%), Race Psychology (0.91%), Philosophy (0.99%), Wundtian Völkerpsychologie (1.44%), Demographic Psychology (1.82%), Crowd Psychology (1.90%) and Collective Psychology (2.05%) rank low in the list. But if we unite the 12 articulations of Social Psychology (they are 12 and not 13 because, in this case, there are no references to "Military Psychology", which are on the contrary present on "Rivista di Psicologia") and compare the obtained frequency to the frequency of the other thematic areas, we can ascribe the 41.67% of the collected contributions to SP.

As for the differences we can single out in the three temporal divisions with regard to the 12 articulations of SP, they show in general some higher frequencies in the first period (1875-1904). We can mention, in particular, the first place of "Criminal Psychology" (7.8%), followed by "Social Psychology" in the strict sense of the term (4.9%) and by "Political Psychology" (3.5%). With respect to this tendency there are two exceptions that show some higher frequencies during the second period (1905-1934); they are "Non Wundtian Völkerpsychologie" (2.8%) that moves from 28 to 37 contributions, "Applied Social Psychology", from 18 to 28 contributions and "Wundtian Völkerpsychologie" (1.3%), which offers the most evident difference moving from 1 to 17 contributions. The last period shows the lowest frequencies and even empty cells. Finally, "Group Psychology" shows by far the lowest values with a frequency of 1 both in the first and in the second period and of 0 in the last one.

In passing to the articulation in ten periods, that is used as well in the successive correspondence analysis, here below is the recapitulatory table (TABLE 2) of the distribution of the frequencies with the relative average of articles for each period.

The average of censused contributions in each period shows its highest value during 1901-1904, followed by 1896-1900 and, with a rather evident gap, by 1905-1913. The lowest average, with a really small value, occurs during the last period.

Finally, here below is the analytical table (TABLE 3) concerning the frequencies of the different theme-disciplinary articulations related to the ten periods.

It discloses not only the differentiated courses but also the common tendencies of topics. So, we can observe a growth, from 1875 to 1913, of "Non Wundtian Völkerpsychologie" and "Applied Social Psychology". While, if we refer to the topics "Criminal Psychology" and "Medicine", we can observe the highest values during the first twenty years, and a successive drop, which is more evident in "Criminal Psychology" and lighter in "Medicine", during the successive three periods, that then lead, from 1914 on, to very low frequencies.

TABLE 2

Period	No. of contributions
1875-1895	214 (M = 10.7)
1896-1900	291 (M = 72.75)
1901-1904	273 (M = 91)
1905-1913	282 (M = 35.25)
1914-1918	60 (M = 15)
1919-1923	40 (M = 10)
1924-1934	89 (M = 8.9)
1935-1939	17 (M = 4.25)
1940-1945	27 (M = 5.4)
1946-1954	22 (M = 2.75)

As from "Psychiatry", "Social Psychology" and "Political Psychology", the courses of the frequencies show a tendency to growth during the first three periods and a drop, which is lighter in "Social Psychology" and heavier in the other topics, in the successive one. From 1914 on, in these topics too we can observe some very low frequencies, with the exception of the period that goes from 1924 to 1934 when "Psychiatry" shows clearly high values. Finally, the remaining topics show generally some very low frequencies, which become even lower from 1914 on, with the exception of "Wundtian Völkerpsychologie" that shows a light increase just in the four years from 1914 to 1918.

We're going to comment in the conclusions on the meaning of all the trends we have illustrated so far, with respect too, where possible, to the often different courses of "Rivista di Psicologia".

## 5 Correspondence Analysis

The statistical elaboration has been related to 6.552 terms, 2.519 out of which distinct. Through the scree-test we have abstracted two factors explaining the

TABLE 3

Topics	Years											Tot.
	1875-1895	1896-1900	1901-1904	1905-1913	1914-1918	1919-1923	1924-1934	1935-1939	1940-1945	1946-1954		
Social Psych.	7	27	31	31	1	2	0	0	1	1	101	
Applied Social Psych.	2	6	10	16	6	5	1	1	7	3	57	
Collective Psych.	0	8	9	5	3	1	1	0	0	0	27	
Wundtian Völkerpsych.	0	0	1	6	7	3	1	0	0	1	19	
Non Wundtian Völkerpsych.	4	12	12	23	13	1	0	0	1	0	66	
Crowd Psych.	5	5	6	7	0	0	2	0	0	0	25	
Criminal Psych.	76	16	10	10	1	2	4	1	1	2	123	
Groups Psych.	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	
Demographic Psych.	1	6	5	5	6	0	1	0	0	0	24	
Political Psych.	4	15	27	7	1	0	2	0	2	0	58	
Legal Psych.	4	2	12	9	2	0	3	0	2	0	34	
Race Psych.	3	5	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	12	
General Psych.	10	27	24	40	1	11	9	0	0	2	124	
Sociology	2	35	26	10	5	2	2	0	0	0	82	
Economics	0	9	21	8	2	3	5	3	2	2	55	
Philosophy	0	3	7	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	13	
Psychiatry	16	39	39	34	5	3	39	7	8	8	198	
Medicine	57	39	5	38	2	0	8	3	2	2	156	
Other	23	37	28	29	3	6	10	1	1	1	139	
Tot.	214	291	273	282	60	40	89	17	27	22	1315	

3.96% of the variance. The intersection between the first and the second axis has produced the factorial plan presented here below in figure 1.

We can observe in it three distinct areas, in which the lexical elements, related to title or the name of scholars, are underlined.

The first area, in the top left-hand corner of the figure, is related to the period of the first steps (1875-95), centered on «the pathological area, mostly within the medical-clinical area – which is institutionalized in the mental hospital area – but also partly in the criminological one». The area is marked by the presence of <Rivista Sperimentale di Freniatria>, while the only Italian scholars that appears as author of the censused contributions is <Ferrari>.

The second area, in moving right (top and bottom boards) is related to the period, from 1896 to 1923, we can define of «variety and diversification of psychology» and, in particular, of <Collective Psychology>, <Völkerpsychologie> and <Social Psychology>, with the presence of <Sighele> and <Groppali> as authors of the collected contributions (Groppali is also present, in this same area, as a reviewed author). In this area, the other four journals are represented too.

The area in the bottom right-hand corner of the figure is related to the period that goes from 1924 to 1954 and hints at «a movement of the discipline within Psychiatry» with the presence of four scholars – <Morselli>, <De Sanctis>, <Medea>, <Levica> – one of which, Medea, was president of the Italian League of Hygienics and Prophylaxis that was part of the Honor Committee of the First Congress of sp.

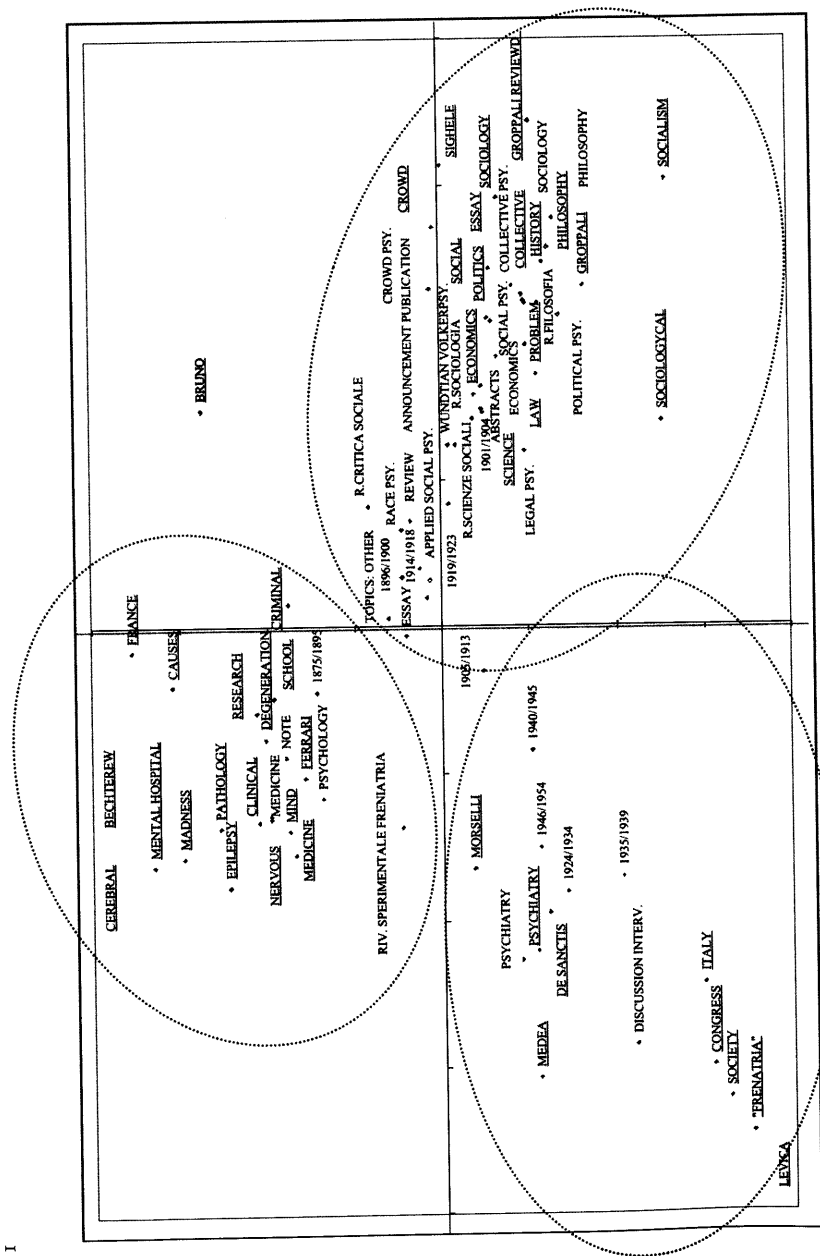
The meaning of these results is expanded here below, together with a comparison of what we have obtained with an analysis of the journal «Rivista di Psicologia».

## 6

### Discussion and Conclusions

The whole results we've been illustrating so far allow us to delineate some of the representational pathways that have contributed to the identity construction of social psychology. As said before, it was a fragmented and uneven pathway that was also biased by outside the discipline historical events. Its construction saw the participation of several scholars expressing different points of view; these points of view were either valorized or belittled by the five analyzed journals according to their cultural and scientific approach. So, for example, the few things written by Orano, who had been educated in the philosophical field and supported the primacy of Sociology, or Cappellazzi, a catholic prelate, who affirmed the primacy of metaphysics, were published respectively on «Rivista di Filosofia» and «Rivista di Sociologia», on the one

FIGURE 1



hand, and on "Rivista di Filosofia" and "Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali", this last edited by the Catholic Union for the social studies, on the other.

Besides, if we take account not only of these results but also of what we have obtained through the analysis of "Rivista di Psicologia", we can try to depict an overall picture that is able to provide us with several points of reflections.

We are going to start just by comparing the results, related to "Rivista di Psicologia", we've illustrated in the introduction with those obtained in the successive study. The latter will also become the object of further considerations, with particular reference to some non comparable data since they are related to a period that is not covered by the first survey, which covers a period that starts thirty years later and ends two years before of the one concerning the survey on the five journals.

As for the role played by the early authors of the texts dedicated to Social Psychology, the results prove the function performed by Gualtiero Sarfatti as leading figure for the promotion of a social-psychological perspective. He was the only scholar – not only with respect to Orano and Cappellazzi, but also to other scholars who nevertheless developed a considerable attention for the discipline and, successively, took part to the 1 National Congress of Social Psychology – to make, with a considerable continuity, psycho-social issues visible. So, he contributed to "Rivista di Sociologia" and "Rivista di Filosofia" from 1909 to 1914, when, presumably, on the one hand the outbreak of the First World War distracted his attention from his scientific activity and recalled him to his military duties and, on the other, the appearance of "Rivista di Psicologia" induced him to prefer it for the publication of his works until 1952.

From a historiographical point of view, it's still necessary to determine why Sarfatti's function of promotion and diffusion of a psychological-social perspective, which he also held on the occasion of the first national Congress, wasn't associated to a suitable academic position. One possible explanation can be found, on the one hand, in his Jewish origin that penalized him until the end of the Second World War. On the other end, his death, occurred in 1953, didn't allow him to participate in 1954 to the early acts of institutional foundation of Social Psychology [moreover, it is necessary to remind how just in Angiola Massucco Costa's introductory report at the 1 Congress of Social Psychology (1954, p. 12) he was ungenerously mentioned only briefly, with Niceforo, for his studies that, according to the speaker, yet lacked "experimental rigor"].

In passing now to an analysis of the visibility of the discipline, singled out at the beginning through the presence of the key-terms "social psychology", "psychological-social", "psycho-social", the emerging picture is rather discouraging. Their marginality within the *corpus* of the data of the two studies has in fact been highlighted by the 3.39% of presences in "Rivista di

Psicologia" and by even a measly 1.6% in the five journals of the successive study.

Luckily, the datum changes if we consider the references to all the themes concerning social psychology and all its possible articulations. So, in the theme list, social psychology ranks third (out of 13 categories) in "Rivista di Psicologia", and fifth (out of 12 categories) in the five journals. In this case too, a major centrality in "Rivista di Psicologia" seems to emerge. Anyway, if we unite the different articulations of social psychology, the datum changes and splits into two directions. On the one hand, in line with the criteria that have originated the *corpus* of articles, in both investigations the contributions referable to social psychology outnumber the remaining topics. However, the percentage frequency of such topics comes out to be almost twice as much in the second survey, as to indicate a wider pluralism and polysemy of references to social psychology that is also able to give account of the different cultural and disciplinary inspirations of the collected journals.

In continuing with a comparative analysis, which is in this case focused on the temporal divisions relative to 1905-34/1935-52, for "Rivista di Psicologia", and to 1905-34/1935-54 for the other five journals, a crucial difference relative to the ascending peak of social psychology, applied social psychology, group psychology and crowd psychology, in the period 1935-52, for the "Rivista di Psicologia", emerges.

This course is not corroborate by the data of the second survey where, on the contrary, the last period shows lower, or even of no value, frequencies relating to all thematic articulations. A possible explanation for such difference can be found in the overall stronger identification of social psychology with the psychological disciplines, which may have directed the publication of the works concerning its different fields towards the by that time popular "Rivista di Psicologia" rather than towards less specialized or oriented to other disciplinary fields periodicals. On the other hand, this hypothesis seems to be proved by the high frequencies that characterize the beginnings of social psychology and its articulations on the five journals, that is from 1875 to 1905. In fact, in this case, in the absence of a directly concurrent journal, the frequencies of the five journals are much higher than those of the successive periods.

In arriving then to the comparative recognition of the averages of the censused contributions belonging to the seven common periods of the two surveys, we can find, on the one hand, a greater articulation of the trends illustrated above. So, the difference of the two studies' averages confirm opposite tendencies, with an almost continuous increase for "Rivista di Psicologia" (with the exception of the period that goes from 1919 to 1923, the years in which Gentile's elimination of psychology from high schools syllabus occurred) and, on the contrary, with a more constant and evident decrease for the other five

journals. Another interesting datum concerns the averages relating to the first common period, the span of time that goes from 1905 to 1913, that shows the second highest value, after the one of the last period, for "Rivista di Psicologia" and the highest value in all the seven singled out periods for the other five journals. So, for social psychology too, the span of time that goes from 1905 to 1913 represents a period marked by a strong growth and development that confirms a more general trend Italian historiography has pointed out (cf. Cimino, 1998). The growth of the presence of the discipline on "Rivista di Psicologia", relating to the last period, can be instead interpreted as the groundwork for the institutional success of social psychology that was epitomized by the events occurred in 1954 and mentioned in the introduction.

As for the five journals here analyzed, it must be observed how the highest averages occur in the two periods before 1905-13, showing in this way how they actually played a fundamental role for the visibility of the early forms of social psychology that were connected in particular to "criminal psychology" and to "medicine".

Among the various journals, "Rivista di Sociologia" stands out in the first place, followed by "Rivista Sperimentale di Freniatria" and then by "Rivista di Filosofia". Our results indicate, from this point of view, the peculiarity of the path followed by social psychology, whose emergence was marked by a privileged relationship with sociology. How its successive path was then characterized by the attempt to get rid of this troublesome relationship is a known question. On the contrary, we have seen as the relations with the fields of deviancy, pathology and medicine remained a privileged choice for its successive developments, at least until the 1950s. The relations with the catholic culture, which we have so far illustrated from the point of view of a quantitative analysis, remained instead problematic. They will have instead positive outcomes on other psychological articulations and fields, in the first place thanks to the figure of father Agostino Gemelli (cf. Venini, 1998; Lombardo, Foschi, 1997). The relations with the left-wing culture, that was in part the driving force behind collective psychology, were, as said in the introduction, widely reinforced in the first place by the role played by Angiola Massucco Costa but they aren't confirmed in the analysis of the journal we have carried out. So, it has to be still understood to what extent the individual scholars' contribution was associated to that cultural field, so to redeem those disciplinary beginnings that were determined by demands of social control.

Finally, we'd like to end our comparison of the results of the two surveys with a discussion dealing with what has emerged from the analysis of the latent dimensions, with particular reference to the different representational areas. In both surveys, three areas have come to the fore. However, their contents and articulations differ considerably, with the partial exception of the

first area. Both in the first and in the second survey, it revolves around the beginnings of social psychology, which are obviously temporally placed in a different way. So, they are characterized, in both cases by a marked attention to pathology. This result confirms what other researchers have already said about the negative imprimatur ascribed to social issues that marked the emergence of social psychology. As we have pointed out elsewhere (Sensales, 2002), it was in particular Moscovici (1998, p. 212) who first mentioned the example of the first American journal dedicated to social psychology, which was inserted in 1921 into the already existing "Journal of Abnormal Psychology" with the consequent addition of "and Social Psychology" to the former title maybe to underline a background implied psychopathology in social origin. Our results show how that tradition had "ancient" and diffuse origins that also marked the first steps of Italian Social Psychology. This was considered a direct filiation of Criminology (cf., for example, Orano, 1902) and our results actually confirm this origin that is, as already seen, always flanked by the different aspects connected to pathology. These roots affected so much the further developments of the discipline as to mark the span of time that goes from 1924 to 1954. So, in the second survey, after a period of variety and diversification, from 1896 to 1923, we have pointed out, from 1924 to 1954, a falling back on psychiatry. On the other hand, the tie with medical sciences marked explicitly the first institutional steps of social psychology, whose first Italian Congress took place "on the occasion of the international medical-surgical meetings", as it is indicated on the title page of the Congress proceedings.

"Rivista di Psicologia" itself, that was on the contrary clearly oriented towards psychological sciences, show a clear sign of this rootedness of social psychology in the world of deviancy and pathology through that reference to "criminal psychology" that appears just in the third area. This is the area of the last developments, from 1940 to 1952, that are also articulated along such themes as for example "group psychology", "social life", "man", that foreshadowed the successive evolution of the discipline. It is just this area that calls attention to applied social psychology, as we have emphasized in another work of research (Sensales, 2004; 2007b) that is concerned with the "Psychological Abstracts" and has been already mentioned in the introduction. In both cases, this result disproves the commonplace according to which social psychology has always had a far from the applicative aspects vocation.

We end here our recognition and reflections on the data of the two surveys and we refer the readers to some successive works for a discussion of the differential aspects connected both with the different journals and with the different periods here considered. This widening, which is the object of further statistical elaborations, will allow us to underline better the diachronic and

synchronic aspects of those too often disregarded representational processes that contributed to delineate an identity of our discipline.

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# Historical Spaces of Social Psychology\*

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An extensive analysis of all social psychology textbooks published, in French, between 1947 and 2001, including a history chapter, provides a rich *corpus* for the study of the history of social psychology. In this article we choose to study the historical spaces of social psychology, in order to show how the discipline was located in geographical, urban, institutional and collective spaces. We argue that, into this specific *corpus*, spaces are essentially related to some solitary and consensual scholars names without any informative reference to their institutions, nor to any trace of collective work. Moreover, we try to highlight several styles, ways and norms of collective writing the history of this discipline.

Key words: *history, social psychology, textbooks, scholars, institutions.*

## I Introduction

Our memories of scientific discoveries are often accompanied by the date and the name of the scientist, sometimes by an image or a formula, and sometimes by an evocation of the setting of the discovery. For example, when we think of the discovery of the DNA code by British scientists James Watson, Francis Crick, Rosalind Franklin and Maurice Wilkins, which marked the beginning of modern genetics 50 years ago, we think of the harmony and complexity of the double helix but we also recall the British ambiance of King's College in Cambridge where the team worked. There are more examples. Marie Curie discovered radium in the Parisian décor of her laboratory, Albert Einstein and his famous formula for the theory of relativity bring forth images in black and

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white of Berlin and Princeton, and even when we think of Sigmund Freud, we recall the ambiance of Vienna and psychoanalysis<sup>1</sup>.

We have to make more effort, however, when we think of the birth or other notable events in scientific disciplines like sociology, anthropology, history or psychology. Names and dates are easily recalled and quickly evoke their origins, but rarely there is a place attached to them. Names and contributions, yes, but not so much where the work was done. On the other hand, names of various schools of thought mark not only a line of ideas but also a place where the scholars associated with them met, worked, thought and published. Think of the Frankfurt School, the Vienna Circle, the Prague School, the Macy Conferences, or even the famous Chicago School. Cities, countries or continents are strong enough first images of place for schools of thought. Obviously, this is not an accident. When a discipline is in search of its precursors (cf. «the virus of the precursor»: Koyré, 1961) and of its theories, some of which have influenced the lives of its students, it must, by definition, have its loci related to its dissemination (or disintegration), i.e., a university locus, and therefore a geographic one.

In our case, we are interested in a particular discipline in human and social sciences, one that for all practical purposes we know well: social psychology. In a former phase of this research, we sketched out the place of social psychology's history in French language textbooks, published post-war to the present, by showing the periodicity of references to its history, the chronology and the names of scholars mentioned, as well as the transmission from textbook to textbook of certain rhetorical figures and certain recurring «significant dates» (Pétard, Kalampalikis, Delouvée, 2001).

In this research, the same material was used in order to examine the historical spaces of social psychology<sup>2</sup>. We hereunder mapped them through its own historical references, i.e., its teaching textbooks. Obviously, such mapping cannot be done by itself, neither be limited locating this or that geographic epicenter on this or that continent. It entails the topography of the convergence of institutions, charismatic personalities, research networks and groups, that is, an institutional and human framework, but also a notional one, since not all social psychologies have the same epistemological foundations nor the same practical aims, and, therefore, not the same history in terms of loci of emergence. This study, as the previous, only discusses the ways of writing the history of the discipline in the textbooks published in the French language since the year when a specific teaching of social psychology was integrated into a newly instituted complete syllabus of psychology.

Here are some of our core questions: Are there specific spaces related to the history of the discipline? The main purpose of this research was precisely to look at how the history of a discipline is written, recounted and disseminated. What rhetorical forms are employed? Which scholars, schools of thought

and works are mentioned? Are works on the history of the sciences presented from an epistemological and historical perspective? These, among others, are the questions addressed by this research.

## 2

### The Sample: Construction and Description

The material was collected by querying the main data banks and catalogues of libraries, especially academic, with three key words in French: “social psychology”, “psychosociology” and “sociopsychology”<sup>3</sup>. It is again worth pointing out the elementary nature of these works: their title (Basics, Initiation, Introduction...), purpose (university teaching), and size (one volume, sometimes two) were used as filtering criteria. The period during which these works were published starts with the immediate post-war, which in France was also the time when a specific University degree in psychology was created (1947).

Fifty-three works were selected published between 1946<sup>4</sup> and 2001. Each of them aims to make the field of social psychology and its principal orientations familiar to the reader. However, diversity in the conceptions of the discipline itself as well as in didactic approaches could not be ignored. Respecting the latter, some textbooks offer a collection of excerpts from recent works, while others, more and more rare, have one author presenting the diversity of the most significant works, past and present. This variety in itself constitutes a wealth that students and teachers can discover and make use of.

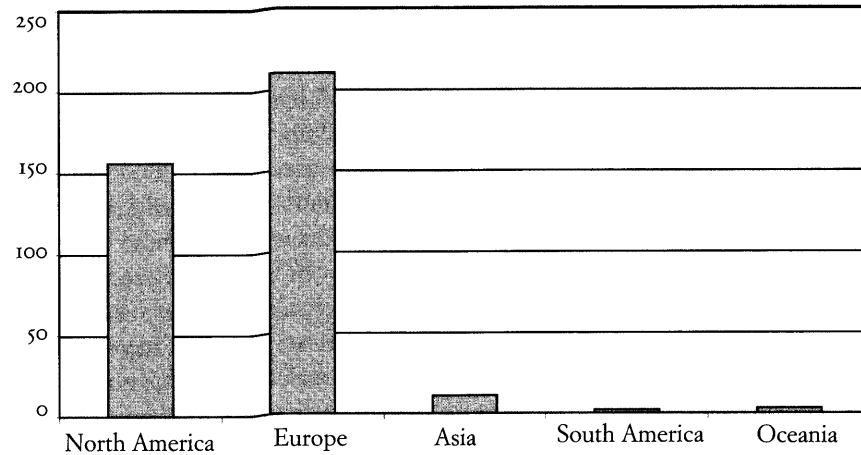
The provisional choice was made, then, to take into account only the chapters, always at the beginning of the works, that introduce the discipline in the main by references to its history. That they do so is manifest by the title of the chapter itself or quickly comes to light in the text itself. Of the fifty-three works listed, twenty-six present social psychology by way of a history of the discipline (see *Appendix*). At first glance, this practice, or this rhetoric, is relatively stable over the period. Qualitative analysis of the history chapters was done by content analysis while quantitative analysis, given the length of the texts, was done with the aid of a software named “Prospero”<sup>5</sup>.

We will further discuss three key-types of historical spaces of social psychology, i.e., three progressive “strata” which anchor the references that were analyzed. First of all, we analyze the references to geographic continents, the role and meanings that accompany them, including those to one particular entity, as predominant holistic as it is ambiguous, namely “America”. Secondly, we look at the place of cities and institutions and at how they are used in historical presentations of social psychology. Finally, we examined the question of spaces – countries, cities, institutions – related to the personalities mentioned in the history chapters as references.

## 2.1. "America, America..."

Let's first take a look at the distribution of references to continents in our sample from a quantitative point of view. The following graph leaves no doubt that the vast majority of references to the history of social psychology concerns two continents, Europe and North America:

FIGURE 1  
Distribution of references to continents in the sample



Although it is obvious that references to Europe are more numerous than those to America<sup>6</sup>, it would be hasty to infer that the history of social psychology is fundamentally European. Careful examination of the content of references reveals complications as well as contrasts. Before going into detail, we can see that, in whatever lexical form<sup>7</sup>, "America" appears as a constant and inevitable point of reference (80.7%) in the history chapters of our sample.

This reference appears essentially in the context of five major themes: the organisation of the discipline and that of the related research and universities ("institutionalization"), promotion of research (thanks to public aid and by the intermediary of large studies), specifically American social and community problems, industrial development of this country, and, last but not least, the influx of European social psychologists following the Second World War.

Let's now look at the content of the history chapters. The following quotations shows the main style of references made to the United States (US) in the context of the birth and emergence of social psychology:

[1954]<sup>8</sup> It is in the US that social psychology found the opportunity to become an autonomous science, with powerful means for research, the faith of the public, the teaching faculties and governmental authorities.

[1977] The US is still the country of choice for social psychology. [...] This is how social psychology responded to real needs of different areas of the American society, and as it seemed to be a new science arising in a specifically American context, its prestige was all the more consolidated.

[1997] The development of Social psychology basically took place in the US. [...] It's in the US, between the 20s and the 40s, that social psychology was established as an autonomous discipline, using the experimental method in its growth.

The whole references in our sample form 3 important themes which characterize "America" as it is evoked:

- first, it is presented as a *land of sanctuary* for European social psychologists trying to escape from the mounting extremism of the thirties in Europe;
- next, it is presented as a *land of sanctuary* for an entire discipline, i.e., the place where it ultimately established itself, where its first publications and conferences took place, where the first university departments were created, but also the site of innovation for various schools of research (such as behaviourism, the theory of instincts, research on racial prejudice, group dynamics, the new look etc.);
- finally, its specific social and economic conditions (i.e., social and community problems, industrial development etc.) make it appear as a *land of predilection* for the object of the young discipline.

In light of these quotes, social psychology appears as having a distinctly American physiognomy as far as its social, political and epistemological contexts of birth and emergence are concerned. Nevertheless, our sample highlights that this physiognomy is also quite ambivalent when it comes to its role in the history of social psychology. What underlies this ambivalence is a form of comparison (whether it is explicit or not) between America and Europe and *a fortiori* between two different histories and two different social psychologies. This comparison sometimes looks as a criticism<sup>9</sup>.

As far as this comparison is concerned, we have singled out two key issues:

- first of all, *the birth of the discipline* – whether in terms of archaeology, etymology or instrumentation of ideas – is, mainly situated in Europe, particularly in France and Germany, rather than America. The following few extracts give a glimpse of this underlying antagonism:

[1963] Whether they want it or not, whether they are aware of it or not, American "social scientists" picked up the main themes of a human science that had developed in Europe and more particularly in France since the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

[1968] If, in its origins and fundamental developments, social psychology is above all an American discipline, the term itself was used for the first time, almost simultaneously, in Germany and France, as Stoetzel has shown.

[1993] Of Gabriel Tarde, another pioneer, it should first be recalled that he is the creator of the very term social psychology in 1898, ten years before McDougall in the US.

– secondly, in terms of *theoretical presuppositions* (loss of interest in theory, ignorance of European scholars, over-generalization of results) and *methodologies* (experimental vs. descriptive approach) of the American social psychology, something of a gap has been created between the *present*, and in some way, the *future* of this discipline (although, for our authors, the notion of “present” depends on the chronology of the publication of textbooks). However, it is at this level that the premises of a form of underlying diachronic critique concerning the American social psychology lie, as it is suggested by the following extracts:

[1986] However, given the concrete conditions of the development of this tendency in the US, such an infatuation easily lead to the unilateral development of social psychology; not only did one lose interest in theory, but the very idea of a social psychological theory was to be very much compromised.

[1999] The fact that social psychology is above all American imposes other limitations on the interpretation of results. Subjects from the American population, who participate in experiments, are, quite obviously, not representative of the world population. And yet we know that people of different cultures will not necessarily give the same meaning to identical experimental situations.

We remind the reader that the most frequently mentioned scholars and the most consensual ones have already been discussed elsewhere (cf. Pétard, Kalampalikis, Delouvée, 2001). Yet, it is quite interesting to consider these results as relevant for our current issue. Among the ten *most representative* scholars<sup>10</sup> (mentioned in at least one quarter of the sample that contained a total of approx. 700 names of authors), 6 are Europeans, while among the ten *most frequently mentioned* scholars<sup>11</sup>, 7 are European. The quantitative perspective on the references to scholars whose works have more or less fundamentally influenced the discipline shows similar results: the majority of references point toward Europe. There is indeed no need to mention the suggestive power of these names, especially when they arise as they do from the history of a discipline, and within a specific literary and academic genre, the textbook, whose target readers are the student population.

Rather than highlighting the signs of an anti-American or, conversely, pro-European sentiment here, we are much more concerned with showing that the history of social psychology, or indeed the history of any discipline, is not im-

mune from the epistemological differences of the present nor the socio-economic variables that have influenced its development in the geographical contexts of its birth and emergence. The “America-Europe” pairing illustrates this idea of a history and a discipline that is eventually pained by trying to plant both feet firmly on the ground. In light of these results, we get the feeling that eventually each of the two continents will look to become the main owner of the “borrowing” and make the other the debtor. This tension comes as an echo of recent discussions in the history of social sciences, and notably in social psychology, about the heritage and influence of Gordon Allport’s chapter (1954) and the attribution of American origins to social psychology (cf. Apfelbaum, 1993; Farr, 1996; Good, 2000; Lubek, Apfelbaum, 2000; Lubek, 2000). This question, already explored (cf. Cartwright, 1979; Collier, Minton, Reynolds, 1991), is re-exposed here in order to be applied to our body of work.

We return now to the guideline questions of this research. We have so far traced a large geographical and historical map of the discipline on two continents, both of them relevant for its past, its present and its future. But what evidence do we have of its urban and institutional record? In which towns and in which institutions of these continents were the developments of social psychology presented and staged?

### 3

#### Cities and Institutions: Chicago or MIT?

A number of cities will be recognizable along the way. What role (or roles) do they play in our sample? Are they characterized by a national reference? Are they named in a historical or social context? Are they simply convenient labels? Some seem to be effaced by the prominence of the institutions they accommodate. Others seem to merge with the schools of thought that have come through them.

##### 3.1. Chicago: One and Many

The “Cities” collection, first of all, is made up of a list of cities from all over the world. Ten chapters of the 26 making up our sample do not mention any city. A little less than half, then, chose to write a history of social psychology without any specific setting<sup>12</sup>. It is a matter of history of ideas after all. Science, by definition, knows no frontiers; there is no Tuscan or English law of gravity – although there are different representations of this law. Social psychology seems to be seen here through the lens of “hard” science, in its search for universal laws independent of any locus of discovery.

Are cities mentioned as reflections of discoveries, inventions and cre-

ations? As such, the most frequently mentioned cities are Paris, Chicago, Princeton, Dartmouth and Berlin. A great majority of the other cities mentioned are European but appear only once in a chapter: they are mentioned anecdotally and with little connection to the history of social psychology.

Chicago is the only typical<sup>13</sup> city in our sample: it is mentioned 9 times in 7 texts. Instead, Paris, though mentioned 23 times, is actually mentioned 20 times by [1999c] in reference to works mentioned in the text rather than grouped at the end of the book or the chapter<sup>14</sup>. Chicago is referred to in 3 distinct ways. Firstly, the name of the city is used as a convenient label for works or for researchers in reference to a school of thought called the “Chicago School”. Secondly, it is related to the famous research at the Western Electric Company factories (which were actually located in Hawthorne, near Chicago; cf. Pétard, Kalampalikis, Delouée, 2001). Finally, it refers to a (more or less remarkable in the history of social psychology) place or event:

[1980] Mayo’s first works at Western Electric were barely published when a significant book for Social Psychology came out of Chicago, *Mind, self and society*, by George Herbert Mead.

[1997] And so in 1932 Thurstone came out with the first attitude scales used to measure the opinions of 266 Chicago students on the gravity of several crimes.

Except for Chicago, the chapters in our sample makes little reference to cities. It appears that the history of social psychology is not rooted in any cities in particular. If this is the case, shall we think that institutions, loci of production and dissemination of knowledge, play a more important a role than a mere geographic place? It is noticed that for some authors the location of prestigious institutions is of secondary importance. Readers are supposed to know or to guess that the New School for Social Research, among other examples, is located in New York City. As previously mentioned, a total or partial homonymy between city and institution appears in these introductory chapters of textbooks. If social psychology and its history are not rooted in any particular cities, will institutions play this role?

### 3.2. Phantom Institutions

Whereas the “Cities” collection is made up of a long list of cities related to the “Institutions” collection, the “Institutions” collection itself was constructed directly from the sample. It is made up of expert societies, teaching establishments (universities and schools), research centers and international organisations. The collection was created by searching the sample directly using various key-words (such as “university of” or “institute of”) and integrating the re-

sults into the already existing list of institutions. Similarly to the “Cities” collection, which only consists of very few representatives, the “Institutions” collection shows that 9 chapters of the 26 used include no reference to any institution. Among these 9 chapters, 4 do not contain any representative from the “Cities” collection either (cf. *supra*). It indeed seems to be a matter of the manner in which history is written here. Authors choose to appeal to cities and institutions for support when writing about the history of social psychology – or they don’t. Let’s note that the 9 chapters which made no appeal to institutions in their description of the history of social psychology were published between 1954 and 1999. Thus, it seems that this trend is constant over time: in this respect no evolution is noted in the way of writing the history of the discipline. Thus, referring to institutions depends entirely on the authors.

As opposed to these 9 chapters, the other 17 do refer to institutions. The institutions mentioned may be divided into two subsets, of almost equivalent size, according to the continent where they belong: North American ( $n = 37$ ) and European institutions ( $n = 36$ ). More than three quarters (78.38%) of North American institutions are university centers as opposed to about 60% of the European ones. The remaining institutions are expert societies or international organisations<sup>15</sup>. When it comes to the distribution of the “Institutions” collection, two elements are salient: on one hand, several institutions ( $\leq 6$ ) are mentioned in almost all the chapters and, on the other, 2 of the chapters refer, respectively, to 35 and 36 references (significantly more than the others).

When the chapters mention only one institution, one could suppose that this unique reference carries a particular importance which the author wishes to stress. Instead, one reads in [1963a]: «It is difficult to judge the state of social psychology in such and such a country, at such and such a time, without establishing a comparison with other disciplines referred to as “social sciences”». Let’s take a look at the recent history of the science of economics. In 1945-1947 the decisive work of von Neumann and Morgenstern was published in Princeton: *Theory of games and economic behaviour* [1963a]. Even if the theory of games played an important role in social psychology and allowed much research, the mention of Princeton seems to act as a scientific caution for this book. Moreover, we don’t know if this author was not simply referring to the city of Princeton<sup>16</sup>.

By contrast, two scholars make extensive references to institutions ( $\geq 35$ ). Do they write history in a different way? The first of them [1996] mentions 35 institutions. This chapter is presented in a quite different manner: it uses markers. The targeted readers are students: the markers provide them with synthetic information on major facts, dates and scholars. This scholastic view of history is far from the historical approach and very pragmatic in terms of teach-

ing dates, places, and names of scholars and theories before the exams. For example, in [1996]: «Jerome Bruner. Professor at Oxford University in Great Britain, then at Harvard, then professor of psychology at the New School for Social Research – his work in the area of social perception and cognition (1991) profoundly influenced the development of the cognitive sciences».

The informative content regarding institutions is slight, if there at all. There is only a list of universities and research centers and institutions seem to be considered as a mere crossing point: “institution X welcomes researcher Y”. It’s more like a list of train stations, one after another. In the end, one is left with more questions than answers.

The references made in [1996] may be grouped into three categories: national references, references to institutional affiliations, and, references to Kurt Lewin.

The most numerous references in this chapter, which is part of a Canadian textbook, are made to Canadian universities. This may be explained by the organisation of research and of universities of social psychology in Canada through the creation of professorships. Example: «Canadian social psychology seems to have taken root mainly in three Anglophone departments, those of McGill University, the University of Toronto and the University of Alberta». «The first course in social psychology in French was given in 1942 at the Institut de psychologie (now the psychology department of the Université de Montreal)». Secondly, this chapter refers to the scholars’ positions within institutions, without further justification or explanation, such as, “the prestigious Harvard University”, for example, now chaired by X or we are told that Y has moved to “Smith College, in Massachusetts” or that “Stanford University” now welcomes Z. Lastly, this chapter mentions 5 institutions related to Kurt Lewin (he is the only researcher with such a number of institutions related to his name): Institute of Psychology at Berlin University (1), University of Iowa (2), Research Center for Group Dynamics (3), Massachusetts Institute of Technology/MIT (4), University of Michigan (5). It is also interesting to note that the highest number of occurrences for one institution in our sample (more precisely in the 17 chapters that mentioned an institution) is 8: the “Massachusetts Institute of Technology” is mentioned 8 times in 5 chapters.

More precisely, the reference to the MIT is related to Kurt Lewin and the Research Center for Group Dynamics, which he founded:

[1979] At the same time, a Research Center for Group Dynamics, at MIT, was established under the direction of Kurt Lewin.

[1984] Several psychologists see Lewin as the founder of modern social psychology. After fleeing the Nazis in Germany, he founded, in 1945, the Research Center for Group Dynamics, at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

[1996a] Kurt Lewin, professor at the Institute of Psychology of Berlin (1924), at the University of Iowa (1935), then founder of the Research Center for Group Dynamics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) (1944).

Finding the date of the creation or founding of a laboratory is always a delicate matter. The act of birth itself is not usually accompanied by a birth certificate and when the laboratory has to move, records always suffer. Science historian must then be careful (cf. Delouvée, 2000) and can only suggest hypotheses supported by existing evidence. Lewin (1945) in an article describing the activities of the center and justifying its affiliation with the MIT, did not give a precise date for its creation. According to Cartwright «the founding of the Center may be dated as during the academic year 1944-1945, when Kurt Lewin went to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology» even though «the origination of the idea of such a Center [...] occurred some time before that» (1958, p. 3). These examples show, then, that it is more a question of inaccuracies than of totally erroneous information.

The numerous references to the Canadian universities of Toronto and McGill are not representative of the whole sample since they all come from the same Canadian textbook [1994]. In turn, the example of Lewin shows us a close association between an institution and a researcher. Yet, from the other examples, it seems that cities and institutions act only as labels. Can it be said, then, that it is only scholars who are of interest?

Let’s now look at the relationship between the scholars and the spaces mentioned in our sample – countries, cities, institutions – to which they were related, from which they fled or where they worked.

#### 4

### Major Scholars and Their Solitude

How are scholars – those mentioned in the sample and, therefore, those who have left their mark on the history of social psychology – presented? Are their names related to those of a city, a country or an institution? The textbook reader may hope to discover both the scholars and how their work takes form as a result of their affiliation to such and such institution or expert society, or as a result of where they go and who they encounter. One would also expect to gain a familiarity with events, if not some understanding of them – or at least some clues – surrounding how a school of thought comes about, gains ground, and develops. The above mentioned institutions must have had a life, a mind, adjustments, whether necessary or inspired, involving the same people who have recognisably influenced the development of social psychology. How are these connec-



tions, between scholars and institutions, between scholars and cities or countries, shown in the sample? Are their activities described? If so, which ones?

#### 4.1. Those Ethereal Creatures

This brings our attention to the typical scholars<sup>17</sup>. For the sake of precision in comparisons, we exclude those who lived in antiquity, up to 1850 (9 in total, including Plato and Aristotle), because when their names are mentioned in relationship with geographic locations, this cannot, of course, be compared with the case of the ones who lived after 1850, when the organisation of research and of universities was beginning to develop as we still know it today.

Of the 37 most significant of these scholars, only 16<sup>18</sup> are accompanied by details of a relationship with an organisation, a city or a country. On the other hand, no indication of affiliation with any university, research center, other institution, or a geographic location, is given for the 21 others<sup>19</sup>. When mentioned, the names of these scholars is thus typically only related to the title of a work, to the name of a method or to a theory. This could lead one to believe that these people are pure minds, or perhaps the readers may situate them geographically thanks to their own cultural background.

References which do situate scholars typically focus on their functions and titles in the universities where they work(ed), their moves from one university to another, or from one country to another, as we have indicated already, but rarely emphasize their innovative contributions in relation to place.

[1994] Fritz Heider (1896-1991), for one, left Hamburg, in Germany, and went to Smith College, in Massachusetts, until 1947, then to the University of Kansas until the end of his career.

Sometimes, information is given in order to understand the reason behind a move: [1994] «Feeling the threat of the looming Second World War, Lewin, who was Jewish, left Germany to join the University of Iowa in 1935». The large migration from Europe to the US at the time of mounting Nazism is generally very visible in the history of the sciences. In the chapters of our sample, however, it is very rarely expressed.

#### 4.2. Professor at the University of...

If we enlarge our collection of scholars by taking into account not only typical scholars but all those whose name is associated with a geographic location, the same narrative choice is confirmed. The first and largest group shows a simple connection between a scholar and an organisation, that is, his affiliation and, usually, his title (X, professor at a).

[1954a] Max Adler, professor at the University of Vienna and Marxist theorist, followed the psychological study of this doctrine.

[1996a] Jean-Paul Codol, professor at the University of Aix-en-Provence, achieved great notoriety, in France as well as abroad, with his work on the PIP effect 1973, 1975.

Throughout these examples, it is quite clear that the organisation, to which a scholar is affiliated, performs the function of a label only, something like the publisher in a bibliographic reference. The university and the laboratory are presented as places where one teaches or studies. But these are also where innovative research is conceived and notable papers are presented.

[1999c] It is prudent, however, to point out that in some work, like that of Muzaffer Sherif, in 1935, at the University of [sic]<sup>20</sup> Columbia, on the creation of standards and attitudes leading to the implementation of systematic and repetitive observation mechanisms, coherent with the plan of a social psychology.

References frequently underline creation or foundation. Whether our scholars are associated with a university or move from one to another, their actions are somewhat standard; they teach, supervise a laboratory and theses, conduct surveys, publish, initiate studies. In general, a scholar is mentioned for a founding act or, more precisely, a place is indicated because it corresponds to a founding event. It can be a matter of a university: [1954a] «He [Ross] was the first to hold a chair in social psychology, in 1899, at Stanford University, and to publish in 1908 a work entitled Social Psychology»; a research center: [1996a] «Kurt Lewin, professor at the Institute of Psychology of Berlin 1924, at the University of Iowa 1935, then founder of the Research Center for Group Dynamics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) 1944»; sometimes, again, a country, without a more specific location: [1996a] «He [Stoetzel] launched the first opinion poll in France (1938) before founding the Institut français d'opinion publique».

It is interesting that the emphasis is generally placed on the act of the scholar. The research center or university only appears as the passive locus of reception.

#### 4.3. The University, the Laboratory, the Country: Site of Reception or Just a Label?

In the history of social psychology, people move from one country to another, from one university to another. With the exception of Lewin fleeing the Nazism [1994], no reason is given in an effort to understand why a scholar leaves a country or university or that he finds, apparently without difficulty, a university position. They simply move. There is almost no mention of proac-

tive local or national policies regarding the development of research, of politics of welcoming immigrants fleeing war or conflict, or of any socio-economic or political factors outside the discipline of "social psychology". On the other hand, the mention of "originally from" such a city or country can incite the reader to connect the person's movements with historical events, without always being provided with an explanation.

[1996a] Serge Moscovici, French psychosociologist, originally from Romania, taught at several universities (Geneva, Louvain, New York City) and was a member of the Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton) and the Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences (Stanford).

This single example demonstrate a characteristic pattern of exposition (X, originally from country/city/institution). It is consistent with examples from other textbooks mentioned earlier, though in a simplified form. The names of countries, cities and institutions constitute markers, easy to memorize perhaps, but quite useless for questions like "how?" or "why?".

#### 4.4. Signs of Collective Work and the Functioning of Institutions

A richer aspect is related to the collective activities associated with an institution, a city or a country. However, most of the references (see below) to particular methods of professional practice are unique. Nevertheless, it seems useful to emphasize them, by way of contrast, with what does *not* appear in the associations made by the authors of our sample between the personalities of the history of social psychology and their spaces.

One finds, for example, biographical elements related to the training of a scholar [(1986) «Kurt Lewin was trained in psychology at the Institute of Psychology at the University of Berlin»], information about the functioning of institutions, such as elections [(2000) «Halbwachs was elected to the Collège de France in 1941, to a new chair called "Collective Psychology"»], or affiliations [(1999c) «William Isaac Thomas (1863-1947), known as Albion Small, joined the department of sociology created at the university in this city»], which anticipate their collective and organized work.

People seem to gather in the same place for a founding act [(1996b) «In the first two decades of the century, Max Wertheimer 1880-1943, Kurt Koffka 1886-1941, and Wolfgang Köhler 1887-1967, founded the School of Gestalt Psychology in Berlin, whose name came from the word "gestalt", meaning "the shape" in German»], or to expose their innovative ideas at seminars or conferences organized by expert societies. These references to a larger context enrich the information and contrast with the image of the solitary scholar, inventor or proponent.

Lastly, the gathering of scholars from different countries, or research covering more than one country, or more than one period of time, show the internationality of scientific research, but are surprisingly rare: [1974] «A collection of research which, next to previous work, is devoted to the differential study of racial or national groups: one may mention the research of Otto Klineberg on the differences between racial groups, social classes, national groups, which begun in the US and continues today, in France, in seminars of the École Pratique des Hautes Études».

In the same sense, references to debate, controversy or polemic, such as advocated in the ideals of research, appear only once when it comes to associations of scholars and spaces: [1979] «In America, the death blow to this way of explaining social behaviour was delivered by members of the behaviourist school of Chicago such as Watson, Kue, Dunlop and Holt. McDougall (1908) saw instincts as broad tendencies and oriented toward individual satisfaction, emerging from the evolutionary process».

To summarize, when the names of scholars, whether typical or not, who marked the history of social psychology, are associated with spaces (countries, cities or institutions), the latter are considered as mere labels. Rare examples help us to understand (or at least to imagine) that major scholars did not work by themselves, but within structures that were created and brought to life by specific people, that those organisations had their own rules and habits of practice, and that active communities did exist as well (and had the power to accept, appoint, refuse...). The spaces that witnessed these events are mostly universities or research centers, which are only sometimes placed in a city or a country. Other than these rare examples, the norm of writing the history of social psychology seems to be the following: in this place, someone did something for the first time, which is quite the same model that is used on commemorative plaques. The vast majority of scholars, then, are not deprived of organisational affiliations, but the latter simply cannot be discerned by the readers.

This "way of writing" history suggests that scholars are free from professional and social constraints in the assertive acts of creation and foundation. Personal and collective acts, in contexts that are more or less favourable to them and that condition their outcome, are blurred, if not left out altogether, perhaps ignored or forgotten. Finally, it appears that our founding fathers worked outside of any conflict or controversy, despite the fact that controversy is the engine behind the development of knowledge activities. If all such indications are absent – the functioning of organisations in their cultural, geographical and historical contexts – how is the novice reader to set the scene of scientific activity?

If the ideas themselves are indeed immaterial, their translation in a coherent and relatively autonomous sample, from the epistemological point of view, that is to say a disciplinary field, is much less so. Otherwise, it is necessary to find the geographic and institutional spaces that become the carriers and transmitters of a scientific school, that affirm this or that scholar, this or that theory, but also groups of research, laboratories, support publication, in other words, provide the conditions and the spaces for scientific production and dissemination. These true spaces of the history of a discipline are effaced as the discipline develops and become vague in the light of the present day.

We are interested in a genre of history (that is, a genre particular to scientific discourse) which is found in chapters explicitly devoted to it, in textbooks of the discipline. We have tried to be exhaustive in our study of all social psychology textbooks published in French, post-war to the present. The interest in this type of publication lies in its generally very broad dissemination and in its main target audience, that of students learning the basics of the discipline, and of their teachers. It is also certain that these textbooks are written in a specific style and that they «serve a professional group as a legitimating compendium or reference or mentoring tool and are therefore inevitably presentist and often celebratory» (Lubek, 2000, p. 321).

The choice of texts for the constitution of our sample is not, of course, exempt from criticism. How are histories of theories, concepts or scholars presented in other chapters of these textbooks where various aspects, fields and themes in the discipline are treated? How do scientific presentations other than those in textbooks, such as review articles or monographs, treat history? Our choice thus has limits and our conclusions bring them along. Nevertheless, our main objective has been to define a *collective writing practice* of the history of a discipline, inevitably a «mutualist» practice (Good, 2000, p. 383), that is to say constituted by the academic trajectories of the authors of the different chapters, their sources, the presentation support (textbook), in addition to the tensions linked internally to the object itself (social psychology). This same *practice* is analyzed as such, variations around a theme (the history of social psychology), without any implicit comparison with another, “superior” or “better”, and without proposing a “counter-model”. But when the goal is to find the general shape of a “model” of writing this history, i.e., the norms of presenting it, a reliable sample had to gather a diversity of works made on this matter (more than 20 different authors). And norms were found.

A quick look at the collection of textbooks is enough to see the place given to, or occupied by, the history of social psychology. About one textbook of

every two contains a chapter devoted to the history of the discipline, which is always presented in a chronological manner which witnesses a stable, though half-hearted historical interest. By choosing to study historical traces of the discipline in urban, institutional or collective spaces, we discover some “usual way” of writing it.

First, in regard to continents, we have seen a general trend to relate the history of social psychology to an East-West axis (Europe-America), which appears as a geographic and epistemological axis of tensions and to look to define those responsible (and those culpable) for the history and for the present of this discipline. This dichotomy has produced at least two faces of the discipline and still does.

Next, we must say that major cities and institutions which have contributed to the birth and development of social psychology are almost absent of the sample. Cities are mentioned in as much as they are seats of establishments – university, laboratory, research center, conference location – or of publishers – or a place of where a work was published, whereas institutions appear as the places of reception (of the great men). One presentation of history argued for a conception of scientific work and of science as independent of any geographic, historical, economic etc. context. Another is constrained by the context of “the history of social psychology” that implies that there is an object (social psychology), wrongly conceived as a subject of science, independent of any social or historical contingency. The authors of our textbooks may give some thought to Canguilhem (1968): «The history of science is the history of a subject that is a history, that has a history, whereas science is the science of a subject that is not history, that has no history». A chronology does not make history.

In the eyes of the authors of our chapters, the highest priority appears to be the names of scholars. Considering their abundance, more than 700 in total, and above all the way in which they are used, the history of social psychology is in its essence a history of scholars, who are very often disconnected from their work places, from their colleagues, from the socio-political conditions in which they worked, published and theorized the psychological and the social. Therefore, the language used to present, imagine, recount, teach and learn the history of social psychology appears to have a distinct style: it is a nominative language. The past of the discipline is called up as an apologetic chronology, a list of names and dates. These two elements together form a very specific genre of writing designed for a particular and limited didactic purpose that may be commonly called a marker. These reading markers correspond to a mnemonic, thus ephemeral, learning system, characterized by a flagrant, yet natural, absence of references to works on the epistemology or history of the sciences. In brief, nominative language prevails over informative language. The historical spaces of social psychology are its own names.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> One can add here the filmography devoted to documenting scientific discoveries, which often feeds our memories.

<sup>2</sup> In our work the term "space" is both used in a geographical sense (continents, countries, cities), but also symbolically (network of researchers, institutions, intellectual figures) in reference, in particular, to the works on collective memory by the historian Pierre Nora (1998).

<sup>3</sup> This subtle difference in names for the discipline sometimes hides various schools of thought, notably within the history of European social psychology.

<sup>4</sup> This choice (1946 rather than 1945 or 1947) is strictly metrical. It allows periods to be divided by equal duration.

<sup>5</sup> Prospero is a discourse analysis software which allowed us to create collections of "Authors", "Cities", and even "Institutions" which gather, in the taxonomic way of the natural sciences, all the scholars, cities, and institutions cited in our corpus (cf. Chateauraynaud, 2003; Kalampalikis, Buschini, 2002).

<sup>6</sup> In our sample, scholars do not often use the names "America" (n = 24) and "Europe" (n = 44). For America, they mainly use "United States" (n = 111), while for Europe, references are shared among France (n = 70), Germany (n = 32) and England (n = 17). We should also remember that the majority of our authors are of European origin.

<sup>7</sup> That is, "America" (n = 24), or again "United States" (n = 111), "North America" (n = 9), "USA" (n = 1) and "Canada" (n = 10).

<sup>8</sup> Dates in brackets refer to the publication dates of the social psychology textbooks analysed and presented in *Appendix*.

<sup>9</sup> Good's historical analysis (2000) moderates this opposition by exposing many elements that show the existence, as early as the nineteen twenties, of the two trends in social psychology in the United States, and of the discussions and exchanges between them.

<sup>10</sup> Names from the list in decreasing order: G. Tarde, W. McDougall, K. Lewin, E. Durkheim, G. Le Bon, G. H. Mead, F. H. Allport, Plato, E. Ross, S. Moscovici.

<sup>11</sup> In decreasing order: G. Tarde, K. Lewin, E. Durkheim, W. McDougall, G. Le Bon, A. Comte, S. Moscovici, F. H. Allport, S. Freud, L. Festinger.

<sup>12</sup> One of the chapters [1957] in the sample did not mention any country either.

<sup>13</sup> Typicality means that a city is mentioned in more than 25% of the sample.

<sup>14</sup> We have not integrated bibliographical references into our analysis, which are presented in a separate manner at the end of chapters.

<sup>15</sup> For example: the European Association of Social Psychology, the Fondation française pour l'étude des problèmes humains, the Société française de psychologie or even UNESCO.

<sup>16</sup> What's more, the expression «in 1945-1947» seems strange. The first edition date is actually 1944 and 1947 corresponds to the date of the second edition.

<sup>17</sup> Remember that these authors, to be considered as "typical", had to be mentioned in at least one quarter of the 26 textbooks with a number of occurrences equal to or greater than 7. Forty-six names were found "typical" according to this criteria.

<sup>18</sup> These are, for the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Wundt, G. H. Mead, then, from 1900 to 1950, Adorno, Moreno, Thurstone, Mayo, Heider, Sherif, Freud, Ross, F. H. Allport, Lewin, McDougall and, lastly, from 1950 to 2000, Stoetzel, Moscovici, Bruner.

<sup>19</sup> For the first period, Tarde, Durkheim, Le Bon, Baldwin, Triplett; for the second, Asch, M. Mead, G. W. Allport, Benedict, Cooley, Kardiner, Lévy-Bruhl, Znaniecki, Linton, Newcomb, Murphy, Thorndike, for the third, and last, Gergen, Festinger, Doise and Milgram.

<sup>20</sup> Sometimes one sees "University of Columbia", "University of Stanford" instead of Columbia University, Stanford University... approximations translating the confusion between the (supposed) name of the place and the university establishment.

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## Appendix

List of 26 social psychology textbooks used (by year of publication):

- [1954a] Heuse G., *Éléments de psychologie sociale générale*. Vrin, Paris.
- [1954b] Sprott W. J. H., *Psychologie sociale*. Payot, Paris.
- [1957] Klineberg O., *Psychologie sociale*, tome 1. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.
- [1963a] Daval R., Bourricaud F., Delamotte Y., Doron R. (1963) *Traité de psychologie sociale*, tome 1. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.
- [1963b] Stoetzel J., *La psychologie sociale*. Flammarion, Paris.
- [1967] Zajonc R. B., *Psychologie sociale expérimentale*. Dunod, Paris.
- [1968] Prévost C., Rocheblave-Spenlé A.-M., *Leçons de psychologie générale et sociale*. Baillière et Fils, Paris.
- [1973] Maisonneuve J., *Introduction à la psychosociologie*. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.
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## The Evolution of Social Psychology in a Society which has Undergone Many Political Regimes. The Case of Romania\*

by Adrian Neculau\*\*

The paper aims at presenting the birth and development of the psychosociological research in Romania, from the first reflections up to its institutionalization of today, as it went through various political contexts. Thus, we will discuss its first manifestations and will identify the criteria and the stages of its institutionalization. For the «communist interlude», three stages have been selected: the denial stage from the Stalinist period, the rediscovery of identity stage corresponding to the period of brief democratization of 1964 and after, followed by a return to dictatorship in the aftermath of «transcendental meditation affair». After the political changes of 1989, it followed a period of quick reconstruction. They are exactly these reconstruction strategies of the research field and formation channels that will be brought into discussion here, together with the experiences brought about by the synchronization to the European flux and the different «institutional constructions» such as doctoral schools, social psychology laboratories and publications.

Key words: *social psychology, Romania, identity*.

The rise and development of certain reflections which were then followed by a rigorous research in social sciences have been influenced in Romania by the country's contacts with the great European cultures: French, German, Italian etc. Pompiliu Eliade (1898), one of the first Romanian comparatists, in his research, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, regarding the way in which the French culture has influenced the ideas and the public spirit of the Romanian society contributing decisively to the modernization of the latter, has shown that they included the adoption of a series of exterior forms, of behaviours and patterns, of a way of life and of the language itself which becomes the language spoken in the saloons of the Romanian principalities. After having established itself through «models, new ways of life and exquisite manners», through «forms without content» (an expression which was to become famous in Romania), the

\* This paper represents a revised version of the study: *La Roumanie: de l'incertitude communiste aux constructions institutionnelles*, in "Les cahiers internationaux de psychologie sociale", 62, 2004, pp. 55-76.

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French culture has succeeded in affecting the Romanian public spirit even at an ideological level, the new stage being characterized by an active, conscientious attitude, which determined the cultural rebirth of the country.

Depending on where they began and/or finished their education, the first Romanian psychologists, sociologists or psychosociologists have brought in and adapted to the social and cultural reality of Romania a number of theories, ideas and research practices acquired in their professional formative years. Educated in the spirit of the schools, groups or laboratories which they frequented, sometimes they have surpassed their condition of mere consumers of those accomplishments witnessed in these research centres, becoming themselves bearers of ideas and diligent partners widely recognized and appreciated. Not many years later, in the establishment of Wundt's first laboratory of experimental psychology in Leipzig, Edward Gruber, a his former student, would have done the same thing at the University of Iasi, in 1893, successfully carrying out similar research on the local population. Wundt himself highlighted the research made by his former doctoral candidate in the field of a colourful audition. A few years later, C. Rădulescu Motru, who had also begun his apprenticeship in the Leipzig laboratory, founded a similar laboratory in Bucharest. In 1895, Alfred Binet held ten conferences regarding then new developments in the experimental psychology in Bucharest. One member of the audience, Nicolae Vaschide, was invited to Paris, only to become one of Binet's collaborators; Vaschide would have worked the rest of his short life in Binet's and Ed. Toulouse's laboratories publishing many papers together with them and others such as H. Pieron, Cl. Vurpas and R. Meunier. His monographs on «the psychology of the hand» or on sleep and dreams represent true landmarks in the development of these research fields. In a study entitled *Psihologia sociala. Legile psihologice ale imitației* (*The social psychology: the psychological laws of imitation*) (1900), to which we will return, Vaschide expressed a viewpoint, very original for his time, placing himself in opposition with G. Tarde's thinking, and considering imitation a psycho-social process, an authentic interhuman relationship.

The sociologist D. Gusti, after a doctorate in Leipzig, under Wundt's supervision, established, upon his return, the well-known Bucharest School of Sociology, using the monographic method in a research strategy which goes back to P. Barth's conception and Le Plaz's model of the family monographs (Herseni, 1971). The method of sociological monographs, as it was thought by Gusti and put into practice together with his collaborators, intended to study the rural places and regions. Taking into consideration four reference points – the historical, the biological, the psychological and the cosmic – the psycho-social ones were considered particularly significant among the manifestations studied. The theory and the practice of Gusti's research method enjoyed an

important recognition during the inter-war period, since Gusti had numerous American, French, German, Polish, Hungarian and Slovene students. Armand Cuvillier in his *Manuel de Sociologie* spoke highly of this «science du présent» which supported itself on the direct observation of social reality and the birth of a new militant science «orienté vers l'action pratique».

In Cluj, Florian Ștefănescu-Goangă, he too a former student of Wundt, founded a School of Applied Psychology – research laboratory, Institute and publishing house – based on his own idea, one of the main research paths being the Social-psychology. Mihai Ralea, from Iasi, one of the founders of social psychology in Romania, was influenced by Durkheim's «objectivism», by the theory of collective representations and by the idea that only by having access to a set of ideas, feelings and collective beliefs, a moral «homogeneity» is formed and social solidarity is built. His doctoral thesis, *L'idée de révolution dans les doctrines socialistes* (Paris, 1923), dealt with the building of a society in which individualism, invention, originality, commitment and responsibility become the engine of social life.

## I In Search of an Identity

Born by resorting to borrowings, transfers, import of ideas and themes, at first, the Romanian social psychology asserted its originality by researching the psycho-sociological characteristics of the Romanian people. It was felt a need for the buoying of a self-conception, of an evaluation of those specific features (by making a comparison with other peoples') of a cognitive and effective valorisation of the nation's own qualities in order to be able to identify an ideological and psychological profile of the ways of life, patterns of thought, of how values are understood and referred to, in order to establish the most needed reference framework.

The one who became the main pathfinder in this field of research was D. Drăghicescu, who had taken his doctoral thesis in sociology with Durkheim, *Du rôle de l'individu dans le déterminisme social* (Felix Alcan, 1904), a work which was reviewed in France, Italy, Belgium and the US but never translated and hence unknown in Romania. Because of his socialist affinities, Drăghicescu could not pursue a university career in Romania during his time (Constantinescu, 1985) but his works influenced decisively the field of academic research. Most of his books were published in French and were well-known and extensively commented upon during his life, Drăghicescu being considered an innovator of the theory of social determinism (he refuted the antinomic views individual-society, crowds-personality, promoting instead an inclusive perspective in what these terms are concerned). Later on, his contributions were



highlighted in the works of G. Sorokin, E. de Roberty, P. Bouthoul and A. Cu villier. His work *Din psihologia poporului roman* (1907) marked the beginning of some extremely fruitful researches regarding the identity of the Romanian people. The psychology of peoples', Drăghicescu believed, has to take into account the general conditions in which they developed (race, climate, geographical configuration, social and historical factors) and which are responsible for the psycho-social and ethnic profile. Discussing the role of these factors, Drăghicescu underlined the importance of social conditions: «the content of the conscience is extracted from the life of society in which it has formed itself and it will develop. All the human conscience and thought is, from necessity, determined by the life and the atmosphere of the social environment». The human intelligence and «spirit» are shaped by «the kind of social activity we take part in» and are the result «of how we work and think». By the language of present social-psychology, Drăghicescu refers to the role of some particular context in the cognitive development of the individual and in the shaping of his/her social representations. By applying this model to the evolution of the Romanian people, he noticed that the Dacian society («the first fundamental ethnic element», a people of shepherds and agriculturists but also of fierce warriors) knew a remarkable social organization supplying the common foundation with energy and tenacity, with impulsiveness alternating with cautiousness, with extreme intelligence and rich imagination, with duplicitous character and cunningness and also with self-containment. After the Roman conquest, on this fundamentals there have been engrafted a spirit of discipline and a typical Roman capacity for organization, an intellect dominated by the aptitude for generalization and abstraction specific of the Latin world and of a sense of language rendered by the development of eloquence and a preference for satire. These fundamental features were then altered by Slavic, Turkish and Greek influences, each corresponding to the time of their domination. The result was the establishment of a set of characteristics among which, according to Drăghicescu, were to be found: passivity, a defensive resigned resistance, a lack of offensive energy and courage, timid modesty and prudent calculations, even fear. All these features sprung from the fear of change which was usually accompanied by a decline in the living conditions. All these features lead to a dilution of tenacity and bravery, once induced by the Roman character. The effect of a social life so concerned was an intensification of evasion, an attitude of distrust in innovation and reforms, a lack of interest for organization coming from any official administration. Converted into conducts of evasion or splitting the self into two, these self protection reflexes have triggered a social philosophy, which the philosopher Lucian Blaga later called *non-co-operation with history*. Drăghicescu's system of thinking was, in time, successively amended and improved but what is important for

our purpose here is the fact that he established himself as an original social psychologist by approaching the problem of the Romanian ethnicity.

Constantin Rădulescu-Motru, preoccupied in his turn with «the soul» of the Romanian people (1910a), was trying to identify qualities and shortcomings which he wanted to organize in a profile («unity» as he called it) validated by the collective behaviours observed in the contemporaries. The dominant feature would be «the spirit of the group» expressed by the courage given by a common sense of belonging and especially evident in attitude, civic discourse and less by individual actions or deeds. The Romanian average is sensitive to the group's norms, to the ideal of solidarity which manifests itself by a sham behaviour, by merely an imitative gregariousness and is not due to an actual realization of the need for solidarity and construction. In *Psihologia ciocoismului* (the *ciocoi* is the upstart who is devoid of scruples and any preoccupations for moral values), Rădulescu-Motru attempts to create a psycho-sociologic profile of the *nouveau riche* by classifying all the strategies adopted by the representatives of this social category in order to attain power. The upstart is animated by «the frenzy of power, lack of an ideal and disdain for crowds». By comparison, the industrialist represents the constructive type, being always open to what is new and willing to accept changes. He is characterized by his availability to consume energy and creativity in order to attain his objectives. These early drafts would be later on developed in several papers in the psychologist's intention to work out a synthesis regarding the characteristics of the Romanian people. In *Personalismul energetic* (1926), Rădulescu-Motru insisted on the need to raise the «individual's consciousness», especially of those living in a rural environment; in a basically rural country such as the inter-war Romania was, the peasant would need such an education as to make him capable of asserting his creative personality, of unleashing the emotional energies to form a spirit of solidarity and also of building abilities for hard work and order. In *Psihologia poporului roman* (1937), he identified the relationship between the qualities of the Romanian people and the institutions of the time, which he considered to be insufficiently structured and mostly incoherent. Toward the end of his life, he synthesized everything in a global conception on the Romanian ethnicity, an attempt to establish a profile of the Romanian people, insisting that the study of the ethnicity follows the identification of the historical conditions of development which affects the birth of a community awareness, and even that of unity and continuity, not to mention the fact that they also represent a kind of *sine qua non* condition for social reform, modernization and adherence to the European spirit.

A preoccupation for the study of the psychology of the Romanian people, as a way of establishing an ethnic profile, of building up of a national identity and of placing Romania among the civilized countries, was not only the strict

domain of the psychologists' community. In these debates, a lot of sociologists, historians, men of letters and others, have taken part, the topic being periodically rekindled, prompted by a series of critical historical events. Sometimes, there was a tendency to divert these preoccupations toward an exclusivist and aggressively fought nationalism. Unfortunately, the present purpose of this topic does not permit us to go deeper into the subject matter.

## 2

### The Establishment of the Romanian Social Psychology. Stages and Institutionalization

When we deal with the problem of institutionalization of the Romanian social psychology, we refer to the moment when this type of research acquired enough authority and consistency to penetrate the academic field as a coherent *corpus* of acquisitions and systematizations capable of determining recognition from those who work in social sciences and also from those who are influential in the formation of the curricular policies. What follows, refers to the strategies employed by our subject matter to assert itself, as it came from sociology and psychology, to the first empirical research of this kind, and especially to the institutionalized development, when the first university courses were introduced and the first manuals published.

#### 2.1. The Stages in the Development of the Romanian Social Psychology

A first attempt to identify and describe the development of social psychology in Romania was done by a group of professors from Bucharest and Iasi in 1984. It was a difficult moment for the social sciences in Romania, due to the ubiquitous presence of the totalitarian regime. In spite of the fact that there was a fierce censorship which drastically supervised everything was published in the field, in the book we are going to mention, there are no serious concessions made to the standards of scientific objectivity. The coordinator of this collective volume, Ana Tucicov-Bogdan, attempted a first chronological classification of the Romanian social psychology. After a phase prior to the scientific reflection – one of intuitive realization and description of some features and conducts of life present in the writings of some historians and analysts of the social life – Ana Tucicov-Bogdan took into account five stages in the development of our field: *a*) the stage of the first theoretical fundamentals of the Romanian social psychology which began at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and ended in the first years of the Great War. This was the period when the Romanian experimental psychology started too, and some of these experiments were relevant for observing the impact of social life on the psychic processes and on

the individual conscience; *b*) the second stage belongs to the systematic observations and generalization of the accumulating data in the field of social facts. This was a period in which the object of this subject matter became clearer, in which some methods specific for the social psychology were used (the tests of social attitudes, the questionnaires for the measurement of the individuals' social behaviours, tests of character, the first field experiments in the psychology of advertisement of honesty, of testimony) also including here some techniques of processing and statistical interpretation of the obtained data. This stage comprises the period from the Great War, up to the end of the War World II, together with the beginning of the Soviet domination and of the regime installed by the URSS. This is the stage in which the first systematic research in social psychology is organized in which we witness the affirmation of autochthonous psycho-social thinking, in which all sorts of theories and approach models are elaborated; *c*) after the instalment of the new regime, we have a stage of «decline and crisis of the Romanian social psychology», the ideological pressure and the dogmatic thinking being the cause for the withdrawal of the status of science bestowed on social-psychology, and even of its legitimization among the other psychological subject matters; *d*) in 1965, after the 9<sup>th</sup> congress of the Romanian Communist Party, we witnessed a period of relative normality (these were the first years of Nicolae Ceausescu, when he managed to «conquer», through his so-called independence toward the Soviet Union, many Western governments) the research in social sciences undergoing then years of revival: the rediscovery of once top domains, the surveys and research in some others, which were favoured by the regime, the publication of monographs and studies, the translation of significant works. This was a time which created the illusion that things would get better and the Romanian psycho-sociology would become synchronous with the development registered in the western world; *e*) the stage after 1975 is characterized by a period of consolidation and expansion when our subject matter accedes to the status of applied social science. In the book, the diagnosis for this period is a vaguely positive one, with a dose of cautiousness, because we have to remember it was published in a time of intense megalomania on the part of the regime. In reality, a period of constraints and control of the research topics had begun, including here the publications and the fact that Tucicov-Bogdan's book did appear, can be considered an achievement in itself.

A recent attempt to identify the evolutionary stages of the Romanian social psychology belongs to Professor S. Chelcea, from the University of Bucharest (2002). After having examined a number of manuals and encyclopedias each coming from its own classification on the evolution of social psychology, and after having cautiously evoked the artificial character of any such enterprise, he goes on to distinguish the following five stages which the Ro-

manian social psychology traversed. A mention should be made, about the classical period has been comprised «due to the fact that the communist regime forbade both the psycho-sociological research and the teaching of social psychology in universities, during 1950-65». This situation which was more or less familiar to other East European countries, was responsible for an anachronism from the modern period, determining a lack of synchronicity and a delay in the development of our subject matter. The lack of synchronicity, Chelcea mentions, concerns both the selection of research topics (often imposed by the ideological actors) and the methodology used in the research. Even when the academic legitimacy of the social-psychology was recognized, after the hiatus registered between 1950-65, «the research directions, the study problems, and even the investigation methods, for ideological reasons, have been desynchronized and consequently, have triggered the lag of social psychology in Romania».

## 2.2. The Institutionalization of the Romanian Social Psychology

The psycho-sociological ideas have entered Academia, at first by means of those historians, sociologists, psychologists or publicists who were in favour of socialist ideas. One reputed historian, a professor at the University of Iasi, considered to be one of the founders of modern history in Romania, was A. D. Xenopol, who described the general psychic characteristics of the Romanians, anticipating in this way, Wundt's ideas regarding the psychology of peoples (Ana Tucicov-Bogdan). In a series of conferences held in 1908 in front of the students at the Collège de France, he presented his theory about the unity and continuity of the Romanian people by appealing to psycho-social arguments: the cultural and spiritual community, the awareness of fraternization given by a common language and a collective power, the will for independence.

Another academician, the sociologist C. Dimitrescu-Iasi, also a favourer of socialist ideas and whose contributions have been posthumously collected under the title of *Studii de psihologie sociala* (1927), militated for the need of an ideal and the right to happiness by analyzing the social realities and the collective motivations.

N. Vaschide's study on the psychosociological laws of imitation and which we mentioned before, published in French and immediately translated into Romanian, was born out of a critical analysis of G. Tarde's theory and expressed an original position which had a deep impact on the debut of social psychology in Romania. Vaschide thought that in Tarde's famous study about the imitation laws, one could notice «a fall into multiple extremes», among which he mentioned: the genesis of social life seen as being determined by an unconscious imitation, the reduction of the causes of imitation to pleasure, or

the explanation of innovation as the product of randomness. Imitation is a phenomenon of a psychosocial nature, Vaschide thought, it is dependent on the environment but also related to the tendency of human nature to change, to modify and thus of bringing into play the Self; what is important, Vaschide thought, was the scientists' realization that the variation in imitation was due to the interaction between individual and society.

The recognition of social-psychology as an autonomous science has led it to be accepted as an academic subject matter. At the three main Romanian universities of Bucharest, Cluj and Iasi (each of these cities represents the former capital of the three main Romanian provinces out of which the Romanian state was born) the social psychology was granted a status of independent subject matter and was treated not as a prolongation of general psychology but as an autonomous science emancipated from the tutelage of its neighbours. After having published several papers in our field, D. Drăghicescu, who, at that point, held the title of *maître des conférences*, was also the first to have a permanent course on social psychology at the University of Bucharest. Even today, the outline of the course and the Opening Lesson dated 12<sup>th</sup> November 1904, is carefully preserved. The dominant topic of this first conference was the role of social relationships in the edification of human conscience and of the "spirit" of each individual: psychology cannot remain a science concerned with the biological individual, it has to depart from the narrow mechanistic perspective, it must prove the social and historical determination of the members of society, to emphasize «the social form and the modality of social groups» to which the individual belongs. The individual cannot evolve but through interaction as «the human brain atrophies when deprived by any social interaction». Drăghicescu's lecture contained data and materials gathered from the fields of anthropology, sociology, history, biology and ethnic psychology and was determined to give shape to «a scientific way of thinking for the young people as concerns the facts and psychosocial processes found in the life of the community». This first academic lecture on social psychology is impressed today by the consistency of information it displays, by the construction and the force of the demonstrations contained, by the erudition and modernity of the argumentation (Tucicov-Bogdan *et al.*, 1984).

After Drăghicescu left the department, the course was taken by C. Rădulescu-Motru who renounced its autonomy by integrating it to his course on general psychology. Educated in Wundt's laboratory and in the spirit of his theories (but also influenced by the works of Ribot, Titchener, Meumann, James and Janet), Rădulescu-Motru thought that, next to the individual psychology, stood the collective psychology. The latter, in turn, would comprise, according to Rădulescu-Motru, the social psychology («the social productions of the soul» – language, customs, religion and art) the ethnic psychology and

the psychology of social class. The social psychology topics approached in the lecture are: the genesis of conscience, the interdependence of individual consciences, the social life, the evolution of human culture from a psychosocial perspective, the creation of symbols and language. But the psychosocial lode is to be also found inside the chapters of general psychology: motivation is seen as emanating from those values having a psychosocial nature, conscience is «a manifestation of the interconnected lives of the individuals». The impact of social life upon individuals is seen as having a major importance according to the following principles: *a)* the social life penetrates the individual psychic life and transforms it thoroughly, among the outcomes being an elaboration of social symbols; *b)* taking part in social life contributes to the elaboration of some systems of interhuman communication; *c)* the social experience favours the discovery of social causalities and the relationship among external stimuli; *d)* the social individual discovers, by means of interacting with the others, the effects of common activities; *e)* the social life determines the transformation of individual activities in cultural and institutional activities. Moreover, the social practice affords the individual the opportunity to compare him/herself with the others, the chance to analyse their manifestations and to elaborate some methods of interaction. Ana Tucicov-Bogdan believes she has discovered in Motru's theory, a mixture of «excessive pessimism» (the outcome of his belief that the social life repeats itself inside an eternal individual) and «an exaggerated optimism» in what concerns the individual's development under the beneficial influence of social life.

In Iasi, the city in which the first Romanian university was founded (in 1860), the one who best represented our field was the sociologist Mihai Ralea. Influenced by Durkheim's theory but also by Pierre Janet, Mihai Ralea held the first lecture of social psychology at the University of Iasi during the academic year of 1930-31. Even before this feat, in his work, *Formarea ideii de personalitate* (1924), Ralea advanced the idea according to which conscience and eventually the whole human personality formed itself by incorporating all the information coming from «the exterior social reality» or out of the «opinion of the environment we belong to» and which provide us with «social scheme of class, of profession or of club». In other words, «society produces individuals by differentiation» while the collectivity represents «the framework and reality out of which the notion of individual detaches itself from the historical evolution». In his study, *Psihologie și Vieată* (1926) he once more maintains that personality is nothing but the product of a long socio-historical evolution which changes depending on the influences of social life. I will highlight only two of his ideas: in the contemporary world, Ralea thinks, conflicts do not appear as brutal, physical entities but are carried out as «psychological fights», a situation in which «the exact knowledge of the emotional reality of

the enemy cannot be neglected any longer»; «to gather together partisans, to make propaganda, to oppose the adversary by exploiting his gaps and mistakes means to make psychology that is to enter social relations other than by resorting to violence». His course on Social Psychology was published in 1931, as a university manual, printed by one of his assistants. The eighteen lectures (190 pp.) comprising the course, deal with the influence of society upon the human psyche, with language as a means of social interaction, with what he called «the crowd condition», with social deviancy, social groups, social interaction, philanthropist feelings, with the intellectual fundamentals of inter-individual relationships, with the influence exerted by eminent individuals (heroes, geniuses, chiefs, commanders), the non-integrated individuals (the social nomadism, bohemian, paranoia) and with the different categories of «deviants» (the anarchist, the murderer, the revolutionary). Two main ideas seem to dominate this course: the first one is that within the process of socializing, the human individual is shaped by his social environment, she/he transforms continuously under the influence of those particular life and environmental conditions affirming him/herself by engaging in specific interpersonal relationships (imitation, suggestion, solidarity, prestige, cooperation) and by collective psychosocial productions – language, art, religion, ethics. Although clearly influenced by Durkheim's theory, Ralea does not reduce social influence only to constraint but amplifies it by the development of the idea of a bonus sanction: society encourages social creation and innovation by promoting social success as a privileged psychosocial relationship, by recognizing the successful actions and promoting those which brought about important contributions. The second main idea is that the crowd condition leads to a dilution of personality, to an impoverishment of individual psychic life and the expansion of collective emotions (feelings) developed by imitation, cognitive contagiousness and psychical pressure. The later version of his course held at the University of Bucharest after War World II, during the university year of 1945-46, announces Ralea's orientation toward political engagement on the side of the new regime. The authentic human individual, he maintains right from the introduction is determined by material conditions existing in his life and the relationships existent in society. Of major interest for the social psychology, Ralea believes, is the study of three types of connections: the relationship between individuals and society seen as a whole, the inter-individual relationships with those by which the individual influences society. The social environment amplifies the ideas and the feelings of the person, making her communicate and express herself and engage herself in different social roles and also participate in collective psychosocial processes. Thus individual conscience is formed and public opinion crystallized, the latter created by the at-

titudinal unity of the individuals. In this way, one can sustain a value programme promoted by a certain social class by a state of «social revolution».

At the University of Cluj, Florian Ștefănescu-Goangă, held a course on social psychology during the academic year of 1939-40. This course, identified and analyzed by Ana Tucicov-Bogdan, and the only testimony we have on the status of social psychology at the Transylvanian University, distinguishes itself by the following features: a modern academic structure, the inclusion of then recent theories in it, «the personal effort of synthesis as well as the original interpretation of the studied phenomena». Among the things discussed, one could remark: the mass vs. public opinion, primary-secondary groups, the motivation of action and social conduct, the growing-up process and the process of learning, social interaction, its forms (competition, conflict) and its mechanisms (imitation, suggestion, sympathy) the process of socializing and its cognitive side and the social adaptation of the individual. The problem of social interaction occupies more than half of the page 242 of the text as the social behaviour of the individuals is analyzed as a social and humanization mechanism, as a way for interpersonal influence by its forms and effects as a way of social becoming of personality. Ana Tucicov-Bogdan considered this course to be the most elaborated manual of its time but not the most «applicative» and modern. As social psychology was being taught in Cluj not only to the students of Philosophy but also to those studying at the faculties of Arts, Law and Medicine, Ștefănescu-Goangă's course enjoyed an ample scope, and a surprising modernity. The individual was treated as a dynamic whole, as a beneficiary of the social heritage, but actively oriented toward the present social environment, actively interacting with it, by imitation, competition, cooperation, cognitive socialization and social accommodation. What is worth mentioning is the fact that in analyzing human interaction, Ștefănescu-Goangă did not resort to concepts taken from general psychology or from sociology, but made use of a conceptual system specific to the field of social psychology in perfect harmony with the phenomena and the facts invoked. For example, the phenomenon of social accommodation manifested itself by constraints, compromises, arbitrariness, social integration, acclimatization, naturalization and adjustment whereas assimilation is a social and psychic process, specific not only to modern societies, but also to the traditional ones, as the Romanian one was, especially in those areas in which there was a close interaction with social groups belonging to other types of culture (as was the case of multicultural Transylvania in which Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, Jews and Serbians were living together). The evolution of this process, Ștefănescu-Goangă thought, could be accomplished depending on many specific conditions: the power of assimilation of the welcoming group, the plasticity of the person or of the group welcomed, the attitude of the assimilating group toward the assimilated one. By

utilizing the present terminology, Goangă was asking the majority group not to hurt the dignity of the minority one or to impose its cultural values with brutality. The public opinion, a specific psycho-social phenomenon, forms itself because of the pressure of some events, because of a very powerful social pressure connected with a significant social change. Powerful emotions are transmitted through language, gestures, attitudes and communicate significations; they cannot be reduced to contamination or to crowd effects. Writing this course on the eve of War World II, in that atmosphere of immense pressure on Romania, Goangă courageously comes with the idea that human forces from all over the world should unite by «communication» and oppose this terrible provocation. Finally, his theory about the social environment can be analyzed by comparison to what we understand today by context. The social environment can be subjective, influencing the individual by its dominant values, by its scientific and philosophical conceptions (today, we would call them ideological values) while «the spiritual atmosphere» acts by transmitting the common experience, the traditions of the particular group, the interactions of the individuals (here are the social practices). The social environment can be studied in relation to the structure and the size of social groups with the institutionalized social forms and with the socio-cultural content internalized by the individuals.

The Institute of Psychology in Cluj founded and managed by Ștefănescu-Goangă, played a significant role in the establishment of the experimental method in Romanian psychology, including here the psychosociological research. In his *Adptarea socială* (1938), Goangă and two of his collaborators resorted to social surveys and statistics and carried out their own research on the Romanian reality. They analyzed the main forms of unsuitableness (the crimes, the suicides, and the mental disturbances), trying to prove that the phenomenon of unsuitableness did not depend only on the biopsychic constitution, age and sex, but also on the environment (cosmic and social) in which his subjects were placed.

In *Psihologia atitudinilor sociale, cu privire specială la români* (1941), A. Chircev, another member of the Cluj group, developed a strategy of research of attitudes: the determination of social attitudes, their formation, development and changes and the critical analysis of the methods used to measure them. Chircev used «an opinion test» to measure the attitudes toward tradition-progress (by adapting Thurstone's technique) and elaborated a tool for the differentiated study of the attitudes toward the church, nationalism-internationalism and tradition-progress. He identified a common factor for measured attitudes (tradition-progress), a factor which determined global behaviours, integrated within the social values. The homogeneity and consistency of this general factor made Chircev conclude that the dominant attitudes of the

Romanian are religiosity and nationalism, manifested by social and cultural conformism, at the group level as well as at the institutional level.

3

### The Communist Interlude: Negation, Rediscovery, Stagnation

After the occupation of Romania by the Soviet Army, a new political regime was installed in 6<sup>th</sup> March, 1945, a regime which, while totally controlled by the great eastern power, subordinated, in its turn, the whole state institutions, including here the educational system. The imitation of the Soviet model of staff formation became a priority and thus the cultural, social, economical and political changes modified the entire cultural and social context, affecting the life of society as a whole. Among the measures taken, one should identify: the nationalization of the main means of production, the instauration of a single party, the destruction of the old intellectual *élite*, the installation of the new ideology which proclaimed the superiority of the Soviet science, art and culture, the transformation of the educational institutions in propaganda centres with the only purpose of building a new society and a «new type of man», loyal to the new power and willing to fight the previous ideological model and its representatives. In March 1945, in *Monitorul Oficial* the first list with the forbidden publications was issued. Three years later, the list had 522 pages and included over 2.000 titles. By this time, cleansings were in full swing. Among the institutions targeted were also the universities where many professors were taken away from and arrested. The educational reform of 1948 had as its official purpose the democratization of schools but in actual facts, instead of a modern school with recognized merits and achievements, another type of school was devised, a vast laboratory where there had to be moulded this «new type of man». The so-called «democratization» started with the elimination from the system of those teachers and students whose political convictions were different from those ones in power. The selection of a new stuff to teach in universities and high schools had a whole new set of criteria in mind: the candidate was required to have a «good social origin» (meaning to have parents and possibly even grandparents people who didn't hold power in the former regime, preferably poor, uneducated and from the lower stratum of society) as to ensure the «purity» of the newly formed *élite*. All this happens while, from the high school and academic curricula, subject matters such as Latin, the Theory of Literature, Sociology, Psychology, Logics and Genetics were completely abandoned and the perfectiveness of the teaching stuff meant actually their political and ideological indoctrination.

### 3.1. The Period of the Romanian Stalinism: the Expulsion of the Social Sciences from the University

The first years of the new regime were the most difficult for the intellectual *élite* of Romania because this is when the toughest measures were taken to ensure a total ideological and institutional control. These are also the years of academic political cleansings. In Iasi, several professors were demoted, fired and some were even imprisoned. In a recent study, this period marked by intense tensions and conflicts («excesses, abusing, illegalities») is characterized as a «pathological reality» (Momanu, 2003). The author of this study, by analyzing archive documents (official reports, proceedings, accounts etc.), comes to the conclusion that all these texts betray a «reality marked by incoherence, aberrations and contradictions». An atmosphere of sheer terror reigned supreme. The weeded out professors tried to defend themselves, some were even backed up by their colleagues but to no avail. A number of twenty-nine professors were fired. Thus, important thinkers, heads of departments and schools, were removed and replaced with poor qualified individuals but who were faithful to the new regime. Later, some of the prestigious names were re-hired but others were never taken back. As we said before, not only they were sacked but some of them were sent to work in quarries, some were deported or imprisoned for life.

The ones who managed to avoid this fate and were still teaching, were closely surveyed, watched, monitored, as not to deviate from the Marxist path. They were more closely surveyed the teachers who were teaching subject matters considered to be more susceptible to be contaminated by the «bourgeois ideology»: Law, History, Economics, Sociology, Philosophy, Pedagogy, even Biology (Cosmovici, 2000). After the promulgation of the new law in 1948, the reform meant writing new courses in the light of the Communist ideology, the professional criterion in evaluation the teaching stuff being of course subordinated to the ideological one. Control was now being exercised by the newly installed teachers of «scientific socialism», or «dialectical materialism» who oftentimes asked to see lesson plans well in advance in order to authorize or reject them. The principle of academic autonomy was gradually abandoned, the politicizing of academic education becoming thus complete. In universities, people lived in a climate of unbearable terror as fear was paralyzing any simple gesture and there were constant rumours about colleagues being framed, taken away and sent to prisons (*ibid.*). The cult of Stalin was established by now, and in some departments and faculties teachers were forced to constantly highlight the important role of Stalin in the fields of history, philology, philosophy and so on, as a political figure, a defender of peace and a liberator of the Romanian people. The authorities periodically asked the deans to write



lists of «trustworthy» teachers and of those who «cannot be trusted». Meetings of «public exposures» were frequently held, then came new waves of ideological cleansing. During 1951-52, tens of teachers were once more removed from departments, among whom, some were now working in the Psychology and Pedagogy faculties. The new personnel in the social sciences departments was asked to «re-educate» both the teachers and the students in the spirit of the new ideology by «adopting a party-minded attitude in what science is concerned» and by «securing a new direction in teaching specialized sciences».

The philosophy and social sciences departments were cancelled and the formation of new specialists in various fields of sociology and psychology was dropped. The ideologist professor was invested with full powers, being able to determine the scientific value of a course by applying the evaluation rating. The courses taught were now being divided into “right” courses which are in line with the new ideology and reactionary, bourgeois courses. «The world of scientific value, the whole axiological universe was now taken apart [...] science was now subordinated to ideology and was tolerated in as much as it became an ideological tool» (Momanu, 2003). The ones considered to be «enemies» were isolated, impeded to express themselves, interned or imprisoned.

Many important Romanian psychologists and socio-psychologists from all the major universities and who were formed at prestigious research centres or laboratories in Europe were convicted and hence served many years in communist prisons. Only some of them were later on reintegrated. A dramatic case is Professor Ștefănescu-Goangă, member of the Romanian Academy and founder of the Institute of Psychology in Cluj who was persecuted for his democratic views during the extreme right government and then imprisoned for five years by the communist regime in an extermination prison called Sighet, without ever being officially trialled or convicted (Radu, 2001). The Institute was cancelled, then the Laboratory of Experimental Psychology was destroyed and in 1949 “Revista de psihologie” (“The Psychology Review”) was banned. Another unnerving case was that of Professor Nicolae Margineanu, specialized in Wundt’s laboratory, with F. Krueger and O. Külpe, then with Stern, Rupp and Moede and with Allport, Cantril, Murray, Hartshorne, Thurstone, Terman, McDougall, and Bogardus in the United States. At the left wing, founder of the professional orientation and selection in Romania, he refused to cooperate with the new regime and was therefore arrested. He spent sixteen years in prison. After his liberation, he could not teach at the university, although he did write several important books. His memoirs, posthumously published, revealed those violent methods of physical and psychical terror used for the «re-education» of those recalcitrant intellectuals who had to be subdued (Neculau, 2003a).

In the global ideological context described above, which in time had man-

aged to change also the situational context, the professional and daily life of all the social actors, the Romanian society had divided itself into good (us) and evil (the others), and the conditions had been created for the formation of an average obedient individual, respectful of the dominant social thinking, implemented and created by the new power. The Romanian university as a whole, was more and more looking like what later on Irving Goffman described as total institution, as an ideological institution which made it its responsibility to impose its interests and projects on every individual. Such a social context characterized by constraints and total control of both the individuals and their institutions, could not but trigger serious deformations on the academic environment and on the formative system of specialists in social sciences.

### 3.2. The Second Search for Identity: the Psychosociology of Groups and Communities

After the new regime had consolidated itself and had attained public recognition, there came a period when Romania became rather estranged from the USSR and began to focus on its own national communism strategies. Together with this, we witness a diminishing of the pressures on social sciences and after the 9<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Romanian Communist Party (1965), Ceausescu authorized and even encouraged the re-launching of research in social sciences.

The path for this re-launching was paved with a number of significant, yet singular initiatives. First and foremost, the results of different researches held in the West, began to be made available in Romania. The strategy was the following one: you had to criticise the «bourgeois» psycho-sociology, but in the process, you were given access and freedom to study the new directions of research, the methods used and the results obtained. T. Herseni, a close collaborator of sociologist D. Gusti, who had been reinstalled as researcher at the Institute of Psychology of the Academy, after spending four or five years in prison, became actively engaged in the new ideological “front” according to the new expectations. How did he do it? After he had classified the French contemporary psycho-sociology as being idealistic, reactionary, speculative and apologetic, the author began to present ideas, currents, authors, in a very systematic way, and thus making available to the readers valuable information that otherwise could not have been accessed (Herseni, 1960). This was the standard way of doing things, not only in Romania, but also in the Soviet Union and East Germany. The same strategy was used in a large work written by the former Professor of social psychology in Iasi, M. Ralea, now director of the Institute of Psychology, a book that he co-wrote with T. Herseni, but who was not allowed to sign with his name (Ralea, Hariton, 1962). A book about the psychosociology of success could not be published in Romania unless you started



to criticise the bourgeois theories (a general term by which one could label the scientific productions by ignoring the dialectic-materialist theory which provided credibility and value) about success. However, in the almost 600 pages, they analysed the social mechanisms of success, its functions, talked about different typologies presented those characteristics of the particular public who validate success, and came even up with an original theory about bonus sanctions, seen as depending on the social value and the public recognition. For this time, it was enough.

Yet, at the same time, a different work which did not make any concessions from an ideological or methodological point of view, was possible to appear. Tatiana Slama Cazacu (1959), published a book on the psychosociology of language, a very sober and technical book which did not provide any quotations from the classic authors recommended by the ideologists of the time and which developed a personal theory about context which could be used even today. Context does not mean ideal form, category, situation, subjective pattern, but a significant assembly, «an organization intentionally created» with the purpose of communicating significance, a sense, a specific framework, the customs of a society, a complex unity with social function. Cazacu differentiated between the discursive, explicit context delivered in verbal patterns and frequently used and the implicit context, gestural, situational, while she also distinguished between the total context and the restrained contexts using almost the same conceptual apparatus as that of today.

In 1966, the first manual of social psychology (Ralea, Herseni, 1966) appeared after two decades during which this subject matter had not enjoyed any institutional recognition. If we are to evaluate it by today's standards, this manual has no professional merit, being completely subdued to the dogmatism of the era. Although both its authors were important names in the field, having published significant books before the war, and were thus the most qualified to reopen this path, both of them also had to prove their loyalty and trust. M. Ralea, had had leftist sympathies, had written several works which could not be said to offend the ideology of the newly installed power, but had been a member of a party which had been made illegal (the National Taranesc Party) and whose leaders had been imprisoned or marginalized. T. Herseni had led a militant right wing political life, had been imprisoned for that and was newly reintegrated. Out of over 400 pages of this manual, more than a half, dealt with the Marxist-Leninist fundamentals of the sociopsychology and condemned the «idealistic positions» of the representatives of this particular subject matter. In order to criticize the «bourgeois» theories in social psychology, at first they had to be presented and thus, a reading public which did not have access to such information could discover, once the ballast was removed, what was going on in the Western world. Even the least experienced readers knew how to put this

into practice. The important thing was that a breach had been created and a field which could not manifest itself before was once more institutionalized. Specialists could now begin researching and publishing books. And indeed they did.

Researchers began to exploit the Romanian tradition in sociology and social psychology and formerly banned intellectuals were given permission to publish again. Together with this, some types of social surveys were authorized and in Cluj and Iasi the faculties of Sociology and Psychology were reopened. The period of relaxation was short, a decade by and large, approximately between 1965 and 1976 but it managed to rekindle the interest for knowledge and research. In 1984, Anna Tucicov-Bogdan and N. Radu were using such terms as «revival» and «flourishing» to characterize this stage. At a first Symposium of Sociology (1969), out of the seventy papers selected, twenty-three of them were dealing with topics concerning social psychology (the analysis of concepts such as: status and role, that of the profile of the factory manager, research methods regarding different schools). Between 1966 and 1971, three National Conferences of Psychology were held and the social psychology was given now a distinct place among the other branches. The papers presented were dealing with: the connection between structure and position in a given enterprise, the changes in the behavioural ceremonial of workers, the functions of free time in young workers, the public opinion in the factory, the style of management in the plant, the connection between opinion-behaviour in a particular work situation, the professional integration of the workers coming from the country side, the fluctuation of employees in a chemical plant, the working behaviour of the foreman etc. It is not hard to notice that encouraged were those particular studies on the working environment as workers represented the emblematic value of the socialist society.

By now, a lot of experience had been gained which enabled the specialists to make assessments and project new strategies of evolution. A survey on the status of social psychology made in 1973, presented itself as total novelty, almost inconceivable several years before. The participants in this public debate, who were mostly the professors holding the courses of social psychology at the three main Romanian universities plus the researches who had published papers in the field, were speaking to such an effect, that the distance taken from the dominant ideology became clear, and together with it, their wish to adhere to those specific approaches used in the free world. Scientists debated over the two types of social psychology cultivated by sociologists and psychologists and of the need to abolish the frontiers between them (Herseni *et al.*, 1973), allusions were made to the «drama» of this science, participants uninhibitedly demanded that research projects be constructed «for the transformation and modification of the studied reality» (Mamali) and also that there should be a

new orientation toward «intervention». Having in mind the need for “change”, people advanced organizational strategies, «the creation of an official framework to work for the institutionalization of social psychology and the title of psychosociologist» (Neculau). All the participants at the debate insisted on the need for a deeper involvement of social psychology toward the improvement of human relationships in organizations, a pleading not by far innocent as the competence of the sociopsychologist was meant to replace the ideological instruction and the political decision.

Before long, the group was enjoying a central position in different research plans, synthesis works were published about the group (Mihu, 1970), and even more books about schools (Zlate, 1972; Radu, 1974; Nicola, 1974) and factories (Dan-Spanoiu, 1971; Herseni, 1973) were published. Schools were viewed as small communities capable to provide social integration (the favourite topic at the time) for the youth, and therefore highlighted were the positive qualities which brought the group of pupils together. Moreover, projects of «awareness rising» regarding the role of interpersonal relationships were made and the orientation toward collective values (cooperation and social recognition) was particularly encouraged. The papers published in the decade 1972-1982 came up with the following research topics in what schools were concerned: the structure, functions and group processes; the group seen as an environment encouraging cooperation and the formation of a beneficial personality; methods of researching such types of groups; the organizations by which one provided for the education of children in the spirit of collective values (Radu, Neculau, 1984). After a period of accumulation, a model for approaching the school as an organization was elaborated and of the school unit as a normative system which was responsible for distributing roles, differentiating actors and training them for adult statuses (Neculau, 1983; Neculau, Zlate, 1983). Also now, a theoretical model of interknowledge was elaborated (Mamali, 1974) and also a model for «approaching the leader» in a social context, depending on the characteristics of the organization, the nature of the group and the particular situation (Neculau, 1977). Working groups held a privileged place in the researchers' preoccupations: they were studying the social life of the factory, the interpersonal relationships in the working group and the collective morale (Dan-Spanoiu) or the working collectivity as a factor of efficiency, a generator of attitudes and a provider of prestige. T. Herseni, the inspirational force and the organizer of these types of research, had a modern conception about the factory which he saw as an organization which could experiment with different models of organization and leadership. He encouraged research on the «psychosociology of making someone interested» (psihosociologiei cointeresării), the bonus sanctions and the formation of leaders for «working with people» and advanced a behavioural code inside factories depending on «the dominant

values» (activism, optimism, egalitarianism, pragmatism). He was also responsible for organizing the first laboratory of psychosociology in a plant at the Fagarasi Chemical Plant Complex. It functioned as a centre of «social engineering», as a tool for diagnosing people's problems, for investigating the attitudes and opinions in the plant, the psychosocial role of the foreman and directing the selection and the formation of the personnel.

In parallel with such types of research and in synch with what was happening in the West (though by a short lag) specialists were also working on research inspired by the specificity of the social context which was having a pronounced political and ideological content. Researchers were studying the psychosocial level of social conscience, the public opinion in socialism, the psychosociology of propaganda and that of the language of «persuasion action» and «mass mobilization» (Mureşean, 1984). One of the most encouraged topics was that of social and professional «integration» of the youth, propelled by Miron Constantinescu, a former sociologist who had become a party ideologist and activist. A brief survey done in 1984 registered a whole lot of variation regarding this obsessive topic of alignment: the adaptation of pupils to the socialist values, the integration of workers and students, the formation of positive attitudes regarding the socialist reality. In this sense, a Centre of Research for Youth Problems was created in the attempt to find efficient ways of integration. The researchers employed here surpassed their condition and some of them developed independent strategies, thus becoming prominent voices.

At the same time, the methodological reflection was also developing and we have now an ample research done on various industrial zones (Herseni, 1970) or on the factory seen as a model of human development (Zamfir, 1980). In the Boldeşti research (Herseni, 1969a), a changing community was seen as a whole entity in crisis with the research taking part in the community life, trying to take notice of everything that was happening and using as methods, the observation, the dialogue, “the participation method”, the genealogical method, the mapping of the place, everything orchestrated in the spirit of the Gusti school of the inter-war period. Some researchers were also preoccupied with the elaboration and the correct utilization of the research tools and now the first works on the questionnaire and the psychosociological experiment are written (Chelcea, 1982). Evaluating the progress made in the development of methodological models, S. Chelcea (1984) insisted on the adoption of certain alternatives and «new directions» in the methodology of the Romanian psychosociological research as for example the secondary analysis of investigations and surveys and the social biography.

Simultaneous with this effervescence of the discovery of the new Romanian society, one cannot ignore a way of eluding the immediate reality, manifested at the beginning as a new attempt of finding and asserting the identity

of an autochthonous psychosociology. We are referring to those endeavours to look for a psychosociological reflection in the folkloric productions or in the writings of those authors who, though writing in a time previous to the affirmation of social psychology, still cared to analyse the social life and the traditional institutions in the Romanian society. This «escapism» had its significance: what was really intended was on the one hand to refuse an artificial, imported reality, installed by coercive methods and thus inadequate to the local spirituality and on the other hand to rediscover those authentic values and traditions of organizing the social life. These contributions are usually readings in a psychosociological key of the living and organizing traditions, of social institutions and of the rural culture. T. Herseni, for instance, published a monograph (1977) of an initiation club called *ceata feciorilor* (the band of lads), a traditional organization for the preparation of young men for adult life by insufflating them a number of values such as mutual help, solidarity and trust. The analysis of such cooperation institutes which consensually regulate the relationships inside a community (groups, associations, clubs) give us the opportunity to notice the existence of a superior normative culture which managed to elude the official control (Neculau, 1989). An evaluation of such research directions (Radu, Neculau, 1984) registers the following «profiles» for the Romanian psychosociology: *a*) it proves the fact that such observations and reflections, both products of an autochthonous social thought, born out of a very specific context, illustrate a rich spirituality having deep roots way beyond the recently created institutions; *b*) this attempt of recovery would delimit specific psychosociological characteristics within a psychological profile of the Romanian people.

### 3.3. A Dangerous Subject Matter: the "Transcendental Meditation" Affair

Several years after the authorization for the formation of specialists in psychology and sociology was given, students and also some of their teachers began to manifest an independence of thought, which led to the organization of critical debates in which there was a lot of diversion from the official course. The researchers did the same thing, too.

The social investigations, even though rigorously controlled, soon became politically undesirable rather upsetting for the party and the subject matters they sprang from. Therefore, these irritating "critics" had to go.

The first measure adopted was to deny the faculties the right to receive first-year students, while the older ones were forced to migrate to the strongly politicized Philosophy and History departments, even if they had prepared to become psychologists and sociologists. This would become a permanent practice until 1990. Then, in the spring of 1982, the bomb of "transcendental

meditation" exploded, sufficient reason for the Institute of Psychological and Pedagogical Research to be dissolved. It was a typical "affair" for the dictatorial regimes, much commented upon in the Romanian intellectual circles and in the Western media. A manipulated repression, similar to the Stalinist frame-up against pedagogy which was «revealed» to be just a "pseudoscience" back in 1936, began. In Romania, the secrets behind the «MT affair» would be revealed, though not entirely, immediately after 1989 (Neculau, 1989).

Two separate institutions were dealing with the study and formation of the individual: The Institute of Psychology, under the supervision of the Romanian Academy and The Institute of Pedagogical Sciences, run by the Ministry of Education. At first, several researchers from both institutes were made redundant, financial difficulties being invoked. Then, the two institutes were united into one, under one single management, the personnel being once more drastically reduced. Then, in 1979, the Institute was assigned to include in its research plan a relaxation technique called "transcendental meditation" (MT) – a novelty for the Romanian researchers – proposed to the National Council of Science and Technology (run by Elena Ceausescu) by N. Stoian, a Romanian born Swiss and the representative of the University of Meru in Switzerland. Studying the reports and information about the results obtained by this technique, two specialists in relaxation therapy, suggestology and psychophysiology from the Institute, Vl. Gheorghiu and I. Ciofu wrote a report for NCST, in which they clearly separated the content of the technique from the form it used (a mystical religious language, very transparent in the concepts utilized and the terms it used) recommending circumspection, practical verification on a small number of researchers, in order to select the rational aspects of it, which could be useful. In the aftermath of this report, the project seemed already abandoned.

In 1981 though, the Ministry of Education ordered the Institute to organize an expertise on the MT technique. As they were quite experienced, the people from the Institute intuited the danger and headed a negative report to the Ministry's management, asking for the cancelling of the experiment. However, an order to come from the top, required the commencement of the experiment, with several people from the Institute and with some intellectuals from the outside as subjects. The lecture given by N. Stoian (lean in the researchers' opinion) and the experiment itself lasted only five days. Then, a preliminary report was drafted, in which its authors were expressing their hesitation regarding the ritual used by the instructor whom they proposed to be replaced. The experiment was cancelled.

Several months later, in "Pentru Patrie" ("For the Country"), a magazine published by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, a series of articles appeared, in which it was revealed that the Institute of Psychology, under the cover of a sci-

entific project, was running a subversive propaganda for a «world government of peace and universal agreement» (a capital sin for a nationalistic state) with the participants being forced to take an oath for the safekeeping of the secret (in actual fact, the oath being an ordinary anamnestic file by which the researchers-participants swore not to reveal the results before the end of the experiment). The public opinion was ready to find out about a conspiracy, about researchers belonging to an occult, anti-state power. Ceausescu himself decided that all who came in contact with MT would be reprimanded. In the party meeting in which those sanctions should have been administered, the researchers united against the dogmatism, intolerance and the whole attack against the science of Psychology which they compared to that against Cybernetics in the 1950's. Hearing about the researchers' position, the Ceausescu's decided to take drastic measures. First, a rumour was launched (rumours were often used as weapons in communist countries), according to which the «transcendentals» were dangerous «sectarians» who were wearing white shrouds and lit candles not only in the Institute but also in the streets at night. During this time, each researcher was intimidated as not to behave as they did in the previous party meeting. As it should have been expected, the Institute was dissolved; the researchers were stripped of their titles, and directed toward unqualified jobs. What is interesting is that the report the Institute drew, by which the MT technique was critically analysed, disappeared from the NCST and the Ministry of Education's archives. It was published in just 22 copies (29, 1992) whose a copy owned by one of the two authors. The implications on those ones involved were immensely tragic: the Ministry's officials who coordinated the beginning of the experiment had a heart attack and so had the deputy manager of the institute. Several researchers, with doctorates and specializations in the Soviet Union and the United States, authors of monographs and other important works, were sent to work as unskilled workers in factories, as punishment. All them, lost the right of signature. After a while, some were given better jobs, as librarians or secretaries, clerks and even sociologists in factories. «Being young», a female researcher said, «I only lost ten years of my life». Most of them remained outside their profession until 1989.

In 1992, a piece of the news appeared in the media, according to which, N. Stoian, the same person who had orchestrated the «MT affair», was found to be a Romanian spy infiltrated in the BBC.

According to the Dr. I. Ciofu, one of the two authors of the famous report, the «MT affair» was an able manoeuvre to destroy the reputation of an institution which had become troublesome for the Communist regime. In the aftermath of the affair, psychology as a science in Romania was also destroyed to such an effect that you were not even allowed to pronounce the word «psychology», not to mention the fact that no book having this word in its title

would ever be published before 1989 (in the same year, but before the regime fell, the author of the present paper published a book of studies on social psychology camouflaged, with the consent of the publishing house, under the harmless title of *Living among people*. The studies approached problems such as personality – a social construct; the style of the person; intervention, change, formation; the group –, environment and means of personality formation; the dynamics of the group; the role-status; the personality of the leader). Psychosociology had become dangerous and had to be put between parentheses.

#### 4

### The Reconstruction of Psychology after 1989

#### 4.1. A Strategy for Change

The fall of the Ceausescu regime, in December 1989, rekindled the hope for the social psychology. An evaluation of the prejudice brought to the whole Romanian psychology, revealed a rather depressing *status quo*. In a leading article published by the editorial board of «Revista de psihologie» (1990), the reader was informed of all the «casualties». They were the following ones: the elimination of psychology from the list of professions in Romania, the suppressing of psychology as an academic subject matter, the interdiction to use the word «psychology» in any official documents, the destruction of the Institute of research, the suspension of any international cooperation relationships with the Association of Psychologists. The psychological research as a whole had been replaced with an ideological control, the formation of the human personality had been deviated toward a type of individual inherently submissive, duplicitous, intolerant, devoid of any spiritual aspirations, and totally alienated (Golu, 1990).

At first, the strategy for change had a minimal agenda. There were no models, resources, contacts and recovery programmes. There was only a diffused aspiration toward rebuilding. Therefore, the reconstruction process proved to be a very difficult tone. The ones who took upon themselves this immense responsibility, the few psychologists who had survived, each in his/her own academic centre, as well as those researchers who could still be recovered, started with a reorganization of the previous structures. First of all they reclaimed the title of their profession and re-established the Institute of Psychology (now having a department of social psychology, too). Then they reintroduced psychology as a subject matter in the universities and the Association of psychologists and its review were relaunched. The most difficult part was the recruitment of qualified staff as there had not been any new specialists in over a decade and the old ones were deprofessionalized. The first reorganized units

confronted themselves with enormous difficulties: lack of minimal working conditions, lack of valid tools and literature. The atmosphere of the first months can be defined as ambiguous: enthusiasm and demoralization, the desire to escape isolation and the nervousness when creating uncomfortable contacts. Then, in the three universities, it began a desperate race for the elaboration of manuals and/or their translation, the adaptation of some research tools and the establishment of good relationships with laboratories and colleagues from the Western Europe and the USA. Tacitly, there was an agreement regarding the development of research fields in the three main academic centres. In Iasi, researchers opted for the development of social psychology. The first post-1989 generation of students in Psychology graduated in 1995.

In 1990, the first public manifestations of the new department of Social Psychology within the Institute of Psychology are organized, namely the seminar on aptitudinal change (April, 5<sup>th</sup>) and the colloquium having an extremely modern topic, social influence and behavioural manipulation (November, 29<sup>th</sup>). Papers debating concepts and presenting research results on topics, not long before to be forbidden, are delivered: manipulation, influence, change, persuasion, social control, violence. Some of these papers would be published in a thematic issue of "Revista de Psihologie" (1, 1992).

The first social psychology manual is published in Cluj under the supervision of Dr. I. Radu (1994), the one who could provide the link between the old centre of research and the new requirements. Themes never before present in other Romanian manuals would appear here: self image and the social perception, the phenomenon of attribution, the relationships of affiliation, the pro-social and anti-social behaviour. The second manual was published in Iasi and was the result of a first cooperation between colleagues from many European countries. The project was suggested by S. Moscovici, and elaborated together with W. Doise and P. de Visscher, benefiting from the collaboration of the ones mentioned above plus the following: A. Clemance, J. C. Deschamps, J. Dubost, V. Guienne, F. Lorenzi-Cioldi, J. Masonneuve, G. Mugny, A. Palmonari, J. A. Perez, together with Romanian psycho/sociologists from Iasi and Bucharest. *Psihologie Sociala. Aspecte contemporane* (1996), a book of almost 500 pages, became a way of familiarizing the Romanian students with the main topics found on any western manual, most of them being presented for the first time in a Romanian manual (social representations, social memory, social-cognitive development, social influence and psychosocial intervention) and was soon used in any Romanian universities, the book selling in 25.000 copies in 8 years. In 2003 it is published a new manual for beginners, an exclusively Romanian output, but respecting the western standards.

Being aware of an acute lack of books in Romanian libraries, an intense translation programme is initiated in order to make available to the students

a whole range of volumes and manuals of recent date to use in class. Polirom publishing house engaged itself in the publication of two collections of psychology (courses and applied psychology – coordinator A. Neculau), the majority of the titles being allotted to social psychology (so far there have appeared more than 70 titles). The well-known experimental social psychology manual, written by W. Doise, J. C. Deschamps, G. Mugny, is translated and then intensely used together with *Psychologie sociale expérimentale* (Ewa Drozda-Senkowska) and the manual of the psychology of communication by B. Zani and A. Palmonari and also synthesis works which cover important themes in the social psychology curriculum: *Psychologie sociale des relations à autrui* (dir. par S. Moscovici), *Stéréotypes, discrimination et relations inter-groupes* (R. Y. Bourhis, J.-Ph. Leyens), *Psychologie sociale et développement cognitif* (Doise, Mugny), *L'âge des foules* (S. Moscovici), *Sur la connaissance des masses* (M.-L. Rouquette), *Crises. Approche psychosociale clinique* (J. Barus-Michel, F. Giust-Desprairies, L. Ridel), *Connaître et juger autrui: une introduction à la cognition sociale* (V. Yzerbyt, G. Schadrone), *Conduites perverses en groupe* (A. Sirota), *Le groupe, espace analytique* (J. C. Rouchy), *Meaningful relationship. Talking, sense, and relating* (S. Duck), *Dialogicality and social representations* (I. Markova), *Les méthodes des sciences humaines* (S. Moscovici, F. Buschini). Another strategy is that of putting together volumes of selected texts, in order to offer fundamental information regarding some neglected fields. *Reprezentările sociale* (A. Neculau), *Dinamica grupului* (P. De Visscher, A. Neculau), *Analiză și intervenție în grupuri și organizații* (A. Neculau), *Psihosociologia rezolvării conflictului* (A. Stoica-Constantin, A. Neculau). Some of these volumes collected the papers presented at international conferences which took place in Iasi: *Minoritari, marginali, excluși* (A. Neculau, G. Ferreol), *Câmpul universitar și actorii săi* (A. Neculau), *Psihosociologia schimbării* (A. Neculau, G. Ferreol), *Aspecte sociale ale sărăciei* (A. Neculau, G. Ferreol), *Noi și Europa* (A. Neculau), *Violența. Aspecte psihosociale* (G. Ferreol, A. Neculau).

At the same time, there are published synthesis works, belonging to Romanian psycho-sociologists, with the aim of giving general outlooks on less popular topics, but also with the aim of analyzing the new Romanian society, the changes and the specific hesitations of the period. S. Chelcea (1994), wrote about personality and communities in a transition society, A. Mungiu (1995), analysed the techniques of post-totalitarian propaganda, A. Neculau (1999), proposed a reading model for the social conditioning mechanisms, L. Chelcea and P. Latea (2000), examined without any inhibitions the profound Romania during communism and the effects of some social practices, L. M. Iacob (2003) researched the Romanian stereotypes and their identity strategies.

#### 4.2. European Programmes

The solution to the relaunching meant being granted access to the European Union programmes. They facilitated interacademic exchanges, the acquisition of books and equipment and the possibility to access different funds. Each of the three universities which form psychologists, benefited from and took advantage of these opportunities. According to the initial agreement, at the University of Iasi, a TEMPUS project was launched, with the aim of developing social psychology. It was called, *Ouverture de la formation en psychologie vers le champ social* (1995-98). At the completion of this project, the University of Iasi collaborated with the universities of Paris X - Nanterre, Paris VI, Liège, Valencia, Versailles and others. Professors and researchers from these universities held courses, gave lectures, participated in conferences and round tables; elaborated research projects and common lectures, all on social psychology. This renovation meant the establishment and maintenance of constant interaction between the Romanian teachers and students and their European colleagues. Thus, a first DEA module, called the Psychology of Social Field. A second project aimed at the formation of specialists for the analysis of and intervention in disadvantaged social groups (1999-2000) brought together specialists from the universities mentioned above joined by other colleagues from Napoli, Perpignan and Chambéry. Thus, over fifty Romanian young specialists were trained by completing courses both practical and theoretical to get involved and intervene in those particularly sensitive areas from the social field (abandoned children, old people in difficulty, unemployed people, and drug addicts).

Meanwhile, a capable team was organized to engage in international project competitions, and organizational competences were thus formed. Collaborations also enlarged and diversified. From among many Socrates and Leonardo projects, we will just talk about the one which aroused a particular interest in the Romanian psychosociologists. Completed in cooperation with the universities of Perpignan, Valencia and Crete, *Insertion des tsiganes par la formation et le travail* meant two psychosocial investigations in four countries regarding the identity of the population of Rome and the social representation of work within this ethnicity.

The members of the laboratory of social psychology in Iasi were asked to take part in the research projects of LEPS within Maison des sciences de l'homme. The group, by studying the social representation of pauperism together with the colleagues from the Universities of Napoli, Versailles and Mexico identified different significant in the building of social representatives in Romania, a country marred by the diminished welfare during the post totalitarian period: for example, those belonging to disadvantaged categories were

making only external attributions, considering the state and the transition economy to be the «guilty» ones for their present welfare (Neculau, Curelaru, 2003). The participation in a current project, *Reprezentarea sociala a puterii* (The Social Representation of Power), coordinated by Ida Galli, highlighted the fact that in a poor country, between the dictionary of power and its use, there were important differences; power meant especially money and almost no values and symbols (Iacob, Neculau, 2002).

From among those projects financed by the World Bank, we are going to present only two of them which have a particular relevance for this paper: *Dezvoltarea psihologiei sociale la Universitatea din Iasi* (The Development of Social Psychology at the University of Iasi) and *Noi si Europa* (Europe and us). The first project, elaborated and developed together with EHESS in Paris, New School for Social Research (New York) and the University of Paris X, aimed to transform the laboratory of social psychology in a research centre, the formation of specialists in social psychology and the consolidation of the nucleus of researchers as to be able to approach major themes of social interest at international standards but inspired from Romanian realities. Studies, collective volumes and manuals were published with the aim of integrating this institution in a European network, people participated in round tables and colloquiums having an international coverage. The second project was meant to be an analysis of those psychosocial transformations which occur during a transition period and their impact on the social acceptance of the idea of Romania's integration in the European Union. The researchers attempted to identify those ideas and mentalities which become obstacles in the process of Europeanization and the way in which those identity images impeding the process were built (the socio-cognitive dynamics which favour the resistance to change). During the 3<sup>rd</sup> Congrès International de Psychologie Sociale de Langue Française (Valencia, 2000), the members of the Iasi laboratory organized the symposium called, *Integration et Identité dans la Roumanie post-communiste*. From among the many projects run on funds given by the Romanian government we mention just one, *Latenta in gandire si practica sociala – factori explicativi si principii de interventie* (Latency in the Social Practice and Thought – Explicative Factors and Intervention Principles) coordinated by A. Neculau, M. Curelaru, D. Nastas and C. Ticu. This particular research was inspired by the Romanian social and political scene, characterized by a general apathy, a slow adaptation to new situations, a tendency to remain stuck in social schemes of action learnt in another, defunct now, socio-political context. There have been identified three social themes which block the cognitive, attitudinal and behavioural reactions of the social actors present in changing social fields: the privatization, the pluripartitism and the corruption.



#### 4.3. Institutional Constructions: MA Programmes, Doctoral Schools, Laboratories, Publications

We have already mentioned the organization, for the first time in Romania, of a DEA in social psychology. The curriculum brought together frontier subject matters as an answer to the need of schooling specialists to analyse the social field in a transitional society as the Romanian one. We are talking about the analysis of the social field and of the organizations, social representations, group dynamics, communication in social fields, context and cultural identity, interface individual-social field. Since 2002, the post-graduate formation in Romania has been changed into a three-semester MA programme. In Iasi, there are two such MA programmes: *Human relations and communication* and the *Analysis and intervention in groups and organizations*.

In what the doctoral school in social psychology is concerned, the Ph.D. supervisors agree sometimes to theses having social psychology as their topic, but only at the University of Iasi is there an exclusive orientation to it and that is why a lot of doctoral students from all over Romania come, here to obtain a doctorate in social psychology. In what follows, I will mention only several titles of such papers, which were successfully defended. *The social representation of the Romanian psychologist; The multiple classification of social targets; Social representations, practices and context; The dynamic of social identity Within the relationships among groups; Aspects of the relations between autobiographical memory and self perception; The totalitarian personality – A psycho sociological profile; Social representations of emigrants; The study of organizational changes and their social perception; The influence of psycho-social factors on the behaviours determined by Learnt Helplessness*.

An important achievement is our laboratory's affiliation to the European Ph.D. on Social Representations and Communication and So.Re.Com. THE-matic NETWORK, Sapienza, University of Rome.

### 5 Instead of Conclusions

Lacking space and equipment, marginalized, isolated and demoralized, the groups of Romanian psychologists have started, immediately after the fall of the communist regime in 1989, a number of programmes for acquiring a new identity. Thus, a lot of research laboratories, similar to the Western ones, have been established. The organization of the *Psychology of the social field laboratory* has marked the orientation toward the development of social psychology in Iasi. The laboratory is not only a space furnished and equipped as to provide for all the necessary conditions a researcher would need for his work, but

it is also a state of mind, an *ethos* of participation, an ideology. Tastily furnished, «humanized», the laboratory attracts, provokes and creates a stimulative atmosphere. At the same time, the scientific life and the spiritual one of the psychosociologists who form the group, have coagulated and gradually consolidated by initiating activities, by the elaboration of common projects, by the participation in debates, conferences, scientific manifestations and away days. Step by step, a team spirit was born, a feeling of belonging, a need to contribute to the common welfare of each member. Thus, there have been established new quality standards, common values, and moral norms. This code of conduct has been accepted by everybody and manifests itself by the respect for the opinions and the contributions of each member to the common heritage. All these norms and standards which we gradually discovered and applied by interaction and the contribution of all, have created a referential model, an ideology.

In order to express itself, a laboratory or research group needs a publication of its own. The first issue of "Social Psychology. The Bulletin of The Psychology of Social Field Laboratory" was published in 1998, having an international board and the Professor Serge Moscovici as an honorary director. Published biannually, 20 issues have come out so far, with over 100 studies in Romanian, French and English, coming from Romania but also from France, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Belgium, England, Canada, and Greece. When the first issue was launched, the programme proposed:

our purpose is to make Romanian researches in the field of social psychology known, to stimulate the analysis of the Romanian society from the perspective of our discipline of study, to make use of the researches of the members of our laboratory of socio psychology as well as to present valuable approaches, personalities, books, well-known or recently discovered directions of study from similar laboratories and research centres.

Evoking the evolution of the European laboratory of social psychology, affiliated to Maison des sciences de l'homme, Serge Moscovici maintained the launching and popularization of our science in Europe after World War II was due to the initial impetus given by the American colleagues. They were the ones who organized two conferences at Sorrente and Frascati between 1963-65, followed by another one, run by Europeans this time, in Royaumont, when the European association of social psychology was created. The European association took it upon itself to encourage the interdisciplinary studies and the exchanges with other fields, the dissemination of research both in Europe abroad, the participation of everybody interested to the creation of an European model of building specialists in social psychology. It followed the evolution we all know today but, at the beginning, it was needed this friendly stimulus.

By analogy, if we analyze the beginning and the development of social psy-



chology in Romania, we can identify the interaction between the external impetus and the internal disponibilities. The first manifestations were due to some young people who obtained Ph.Ds. from universities in France and Germany or took specializations in the laboratories of the same countries. When they came back, they started to apply the knowledge they acquired to analyse the Romanian society. Then, there followed then a period of decline and stagnation, under the pressure of a forbidding ideology and a controlled social context. After 1989, it begun a new period of regaining identity and institutional consolidation.

Today, we are dealing with two tendencies: *a*) the will to rebuild the trajectory followed by the European sociopsychology, repeating its experience and ignoring the new context, with its unmistakable specificity; *b*) incorporating the paradigms and methodologies already validated, but applying them an innovative manner, to a context which has no terms of comparison with what happened in the post-war Europe. We should not miss the chance to live out these fascinating changes!

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# The Importance of the Social Representation Theory for Social Psychology\*

by Augusto Palmonari\*\*

This paper will try to give a contribution on the importance that the Social Representation (SR) theory can have for the development of Social Psychology. According to Moscovici the study of SR should provide an overall organization of domains investigated in Social Psychology, not aiming at adding a new topic to those already investigated by it, but rather at finding common aspects among different domains apparently separated. Nevertheless, even nowadays the handbooks recognizing the scientific status and the importance of the SR theory, still present it as a new domain of study to be added to the more traditional domains. All the social psychology suffers due to a fragmentation which characterizes the investigated topics. The era of representations which has started will try to overcome this situation, mainly for what concerns the evolution of SR theory. The SR theory is nowadays a very complex construction, a sort of crossroad: several currents of ideas converge here but, until now, no a map indicating common coordinates exists. And this is not only an issue of ideas and models proposed by non-psychological disciplines (i.e., history, anthropology, sociology, semiotics etc.), but even a problem concerning the products of different groups of social psychologists who, however, share the same theoretical orientation.

Key words: *social psychology, social representations theory, currents of ideas.*

This paper will try to give a contribution on the importance that the Social Representation (SR) theory can have for the development of Social Psychology.

I will start with a few words concerning my first contacts with SR theory. During all my academic experience I have tried to conduct researches founded upon the key concepts of Social Psychology and, at the same time, to teach how important our discipline is for the understanding of the dynamics operating in the social world.

In 1978, out of an unexpected chance, I was invited, together with Serge Moscovici, by the Van Leer Foundation to spend four months for studying and

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researching in its Jerusalem Office. At that time, my conception of our discipline strongly changed.

During the long discussions I had with Serge, I learnt about SR, the relations that the notion has with the sociology of Durkheim, and, in the meantime, the importance of distinguishing between Social and Collective Representations.

I remember that Serge spoke very convincingly about the necessity – for Social Psychology – to focus its interests on SR as long as it wants to be a science of interactions, as it claims to be.

Serge emphasized that social representations are the most important object (and maybe the only one) of Social Psychology, really peculiar object not imported from other sciences, able to constitute a solid ground on which social psychology may completely develop itself. “Hypothetic” constructs such as attitudes, attributions, prejudices, seem too weak and fragmented to become a complete and valid topic of a scientific discipline, as in contrast to SR which exists “in reality” exactly as language, psychological states of well-being and suffering, or money. Their consistency is as strong as that of human action and communication.

When I came back to Italy, the conversations in Jerusalem had stimulated me to carefully read the book on psychoanalysis (the edition of 1976) and I discovered that it presented an already well organized theory, founded upon this “object” of social psychology. I also tried, at that time, to persuade an Italian publisher to translate this book, but without success: clearly it was not yet the right moment for introducing a new scientific domain, such as that of SR is, in Italy.

Moscovici himself concluded, in a chapter in which he presented his theory to readers of English language (1981), that the study of SR is not aimed at adding a new topic to those already investigated by social psychologists, but rather at finding common aspects among different domains apparently separated.

The study of SR should provide an overall organization of domains investigated by social psychologists, a theory which plays the role that the concepts of genesis and development play in child psychology.

In practice, the SR theory is aimed to provide a new organization of the chapters of current social psychology handbooks.

This affirmation, very innovative for our discipline, has been repeated several times. Nevertheless, even nowadays the handbooks recognizing the scientific status and the importance of the social representation theory, still present it as a new domain of study to be added to the more traditional domains. Moscovici, however, often stated that several social psychology chapters should be radically changed (for instance, in the book edited in 1984 in collab-

oration with Robert Farr he focussed his interest on the attribution processes), and that, in social psychology, besides classical quantitative methods, qualitative methods and techniques should be used more frequently.

Also other domains should be carefully considered: that of communication is probably the most important, but also the relationship between attitudes and prejudices, the importance of common sense for the understanding of social behaviours etc., have their relevance.

Before focusing the attention on these topics, Moscovici's consideration about the different types of social psychology should be taken into account. In a chapter of *Social psychology in the context* (Israel, Tajfel, 1972), he proposed a critical excursus on the history of social psychology and considered theories and ideologies that transformed it from a social science (devoted to the study of the basic conditions on which society can function and culture is built), into a behavioural science (not focused on society but on individual and inter-individual phenomena).

In this way social psychology has become a branch of general psychology: the consequence of this situation is that now two or three types of social psychology exist.

The first type corresponds to a sort of *taxonomy*: studies are aimed at discovering how social stimuli influence judgment processes, attitude perception or formation. The work of Hovland *et al.* who tried to explain the persuasive communication on the basis of the source characteristics (its prestige, its credibility etc.) constitute an exemplar case of this type of social psychology, that is taxonomic since it is limited to studying the psychological influence of different stimuli and at classifying these different conditions.

The second type of social psychology is *differential*: it is aimed at finding the origin of observed behaviours inside the different characteristics of the individuals. The nature of the stimuli has a very little importance, since the main purpose is to classify individuals on the basis of some differentiation criteria. Thus, individuals may be categorized in classes on the basis of their cognitive style (abstract vs. concrete; field dependent vs. field independent etc.), their affective characteristics (anxious vs. non anxious; introvert vs. extrovert etc.), their motivation towards action (high vs. low need for closure etc.). It is not important which typology is chosen, the purpose remains the same: to demonstrate how different categories of people behave when they are in relation with another person or a scientific problem. This perspective does not take into account the fact that individual traits can be in relation with social and cultural phenomena. Let me quote here a short passage of the paper of Moscovici (1972, p. 52):

it is evident that achievement motivation (McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, Lovell, 1953) is related to the imperatives of Protestantism and of economic rationalism, as was shown by Max Weber. But to transform this ideal Weberian type into an individual characteristics is to transplant it as a criterion for the differentiation of a particular psychological structure which is then immediately assumed, without any justification, to have some kind of universality.

Finally, Moscovici labels the third type of social psychology «systematic». This type focuses its interest on the interdependence among more subjects in relation with a shared physical and social environment. According to such a perspective, another subject mediates the relation between the Ego and the Object: the Alter. Therefore, the relation becomes triangular (Subject-Alter-Object) and each element is completely determined by the other two. The traditional dichotomy "Subject-Object" is overcome and substituted by a series of mediations realized by means of the fundamental relation with the Other. And the triangle Subject-Alter-Object is the only schema able to provide a concrete meaning to the explanation of interaction processes.

This change of perspective offers to social psychology a specificity that, from an epistemological point of view, makes it different from general psychology.

Thus, even though several social psychologists currently work within taxonomic (for instance, the studies on persuasion) and mainly differential frameworks (for instance, the researches about the relationship between locomotion and assessment, as regulatory factors of behaviour), solely within a systematic perspective it is possible to conceptualize a social psychology inspired by the SR theory.

Nowadays the notion of systematic social psychology might be criticized since it uses this adjective without referring to theory of systems. However, this matter cannot be discussed here.

In a paper published in 2000, Ivana Markova states that the SR theory belongs to a group of theoretical approaches grounded on a *dialogical epistemology*. Such epistemology is different from those traditionally employed in psychological experimental researches, which are rather static and individualist. This epistemology implies a co-constructivist methodology that, in social psychology, makes possible to substitute the dyad "Subject-Object" with the triad "Subject-Alter-Object".

Thus, the relation between the application of a dialogic epistemology to social psychology and what Moscovici envisaged, in his chapter of 1972, as necessary for a reconstitution of social psychology is evident. Solely within this perspective, social psychology can be truly considered a social science and the conflict with sociology will be overcome (this conflict refers to the fact that for

the common sense psychology deals with individuals whereas sociology deals with society), because it becomes evident that each individual has in himself the society (through his representations) and the society functions by means of individual actions.

At this point, however, a basic question arises: for which social phenomena is it possible to think that social representations are produced?

Firstly, it is necessary to emphasize that SR do not have to be confused with notions that are specific of social cognition: SR are not cognitive schemata, neither scripts, nor attitudes, nor social beliefs, since they do not pre-exist social and symbolic relations which constitute the background of daily life. SR, as we have already said, consist of an interactive (dialogic) process of re-construction and creation of meaning for those phenomena to which a group or a community has to pay attention. In this perspective, social representation scholars know that in everyday life people have to deal with a large quantity of information, often contradictory, about some phenomena that are perceived as important by a part of them for affective reasons concerning the history of their groups. Furthermore, the groups themselves recognize that they have to take a clear position with respect to such phenomena. Concerning this aspect, we could recall the objects studied by the first researches on SR: the object of psychoanalysis, the symbolic meaning of health, of body etc. and also the mental weakness and the madness, which are investigated in the fundamental work of Denise Jodelet (1989).

During the meeting of Ravello in 1992, Moscovici stated that social phenomena which can be treated as SR are *themata*, following the meaning that Holton (1978) gave to this term. Holton, in fact, defined the *themata* as an ensemble of general conceptions, powerful ideas rooted in the collective memory of a social group; they normally imply an opposition among two or three notions, which promote the activation of a conflict of ideas which can generate a SR.

So far we have tried to highlight the existing relation between the type of social psychology that Moscovici labels as systematic and the dialogic epistemology about which Markova has written. The theory of SR is the keystone to renovate social psychology within a dialogic perspective where the Alter always mediates the relation between the Subject and the Object.

Now a question arises: is it possible to renew social psychology through the SR theory? We recognize that in our discipline there are still some domains that are strongly rooted in a behaviouristic perspective with, since about twenty years, some nuances of social cognition. I refer to topics like interpersonal attraction, aggression and helping behaviours which, as far as I know, cannot be treated within the SR perspective yet, whereas there are other topics that have already been renewed on the basis of the SR theory.

In his chapter of 1972, Moscovici wrote that

the central and exclusive object of social psychology should be the study of all that pertains to ideology and to communication from the point of view of their structure, their genesis and their function. The proper domain of our discipline is the study of cultural processes which are responsible for the organization of knowledge in a society, for the establishment of inter-individual relationships in the context of social and physical environments, for the formation of social movements (groups, parties, institutions) through which men act and interact, for the codification of interpersonal and inter-groups conduct that creates a common social reality with its norms and its values (p. 55).

We should recognize that up to now social psychology has not dedicated enough efforts to study the communication. Maybe this is because for social cognition communication is not a main subject of social knowledge, or because of the confusion between communication and information processing. The dialogic perspective, on the contrary, considers communication as a central phenomenon for our discipline: the human communication is rooted in the cultural context within which it is activated, in such a way that the elements that constitute it derive their meaning from the membership culture.

It is well known that, in his book about psychoanalysis, Moscovici highlighted three systems of communication (i.e., diffusion, propagation, and propaganda) that are in relation with the source, the aim and the logic of messages. These systems of communication have their definite rules that structure SR according to their specific modalities, coherently with the context, the aim pursued, the orientation to action, the links between source and recipient. In this way, the three systems of communication maintain their large individuality which «authorize to relate terms to terms diffusion, propagation and propaganda to opinion, attitude, and stereotype» (*ibid.*, p. 497).

During the conversation with Ivana Markova, published in *Culture and psychology* in 1998, Moscovici stated that the notions he had once called «communication systems» should be labelled, after reading Bakhtin's works, «communicative genres».

The discussion on this issue is still open, all the more because Moscovici himself stated that conversation is an additional «communicative genre»: can we contend that in relation to the message structure, the elaboration of social models, the links between source and recipient, conversation may produce opinions, attitudes, or stereotypes? Does this imply that, in some circumstances, conversation may express itself as diffusion and, in other situations, as propagation or propaganda? According to common sense, this hypothesis is well founded, but there is not a final answer to this question yet.

Nevertheless, the notions of opinion, attitudes and stereotypes, treated in

all social psychology handbooks, may be considered within a dialogic perspective, taking into account their relationships with the SR theory.

Let's focus our attention on the notion of attitude that, according to W. McGuire (1986), constitutes the key notion of social psychology. We know that, after Allport's definition (1935), attitudes are conceived in strictly individualistic terms. There is a new conceptualization proposed by R. Fazio (1986), who tries to clarify the dynamics at the basis of the formation and functioning of attitudes. Nevertheless, this author treats them as intra-psychic dynamics. Usually attitudes are studied by using scales consisting of 15-20 items. Sophisticated techniques to analyze data obtained by means of these scales are available, however, the question what holds a scale together always remains. Moscovici concludes: «an attitude is an aspect of the representation and the representation is the force that holds together the scale items» (1998, pp. 380-1).

Following the same reasoning, we could also consider the meaning of the notion of stereotype and the function attributed to it in social psychology handbooks. Stereotypes are defined as ideas without history, which have the function of simplifying and organizing the large quantity of information that each individual receive in order to be able to adapt himself to new cognitive and behavioural aspects. Since such simplification is rigid, stereotype activation has usually negative consequences. For this reason, social cognition authors frequently do not differentiate stereotypes from prejudices.

Closing one chapter about inter-group conflicts, Henri Tajfel (1981) proposed a distinction between cognitive and social stereotypes. According to him, cognitive stereotypes are the result of categorization processes, and they do not necessarily entail negative consequences. Concern social stereotypes, his position is more clear and structured: considering the evidence provided by data collected by social psychology, as well as by social history and by social anthropology, Tajfel states that social stereotypes of out-groups are created and largely accepted within conditions that require:

- an effort to understand complex, frightening, and highly relevant issues;
- a justification of actions already realized or planned against one or more out-groups;
- a risk for a group, having had a privileged position, to lose its privileges.

And in the last chapter of the book published in 1984 after his death, Tajfel (1984) asserted that social stereotypes are comparable to social myths and social representations.

Considering what Moscovici said about attitudes, it could be rather stated that social stereotypes constitute an aspect of a social representation.

When discussing the «true» meaning of words, one should be careful not to fall into nominalistic disputes. However, it should be appropriate to remark that our colleagues of social cognition (who so frequently deal with stereotypes) do

not differentiate between cognitive and social stereotypes but, in practice, the meaning they attribute to this notion corresponds to that of social stereotypes.

If the confusion between stereotypes and prejudices is so frequent, why should we continue employing both concepts? In a well-known handbook, prejudice is defined in this way: «a prejudice expresses a negative attitude towards an ethnic group, other groups or relevant social objects. These attitudes exist *a priori* and they are maintained also when the empiric experience demonstrates they are not correct» (Brown, 1995). Furthermore, this definition attributes to prejudices the same dimensional characteristics of the attitudes: the cognitive dimension, the valuational one and the orientation to action. One could, on the basis of this, assert that prejudices, rather than stereotypes, are a particular category of attitudes, rooted in a specific system of values. In this perspective, therefore, prejudices can be interpreted within the SR theory.

It would be worthwhile to discuss, within the perspective of the SR theory, the relation between the dynamics of social groups and the culture to which they belong: what happens when other groups, with a different culture, come in contact with the autochthonous group? This is the multifaceted topic of migration.

Also the issue of socialization can be taken into account, a concept taken from behaviourism, but very important for understanding the construction process of the Self and of the personal and social identity. A lot of work needs to be done on these topics.

According to me, the most important contribution the SR theory has given to the renewal of social psychology consists in having recognized the relevance of the folk psychology, expressed by the common sense. Behaviourism and, for a period, most orthodox tendencies of social cognition have had the illusion that it was possible to overcome common sense knowledge and to substitute it with the scientific thought formed exclusively by means of the rational elaboration of reality. This is a true cultural bias that neither Liberalism nor Marxism have avoided. I would add, with respect to this, that Antonio Gramsci during his captivity has written a very deep text on the importance of the common sense against the dogmatism of a specific type of Marxism.

It becomes more evident that the scientific thought may influence the daily life only if it is re-constructed by social groups and, in this way, it becomes one component of the common sense. From this point of view Moscovici's study on psychoanalysis was a true paradigm shift, in Kuhn's terms. The common sense is a type of social knowledge *sui generis*, different but complementary to scientific knowledge. If social psychology undervalues the importance of daily exchanges and conversations, which give a structure to folk psychology, it is forced to see only stereotypes and heuristics, treating common people

exclusively as constant producers of cognitive mistakes. On the other hand, common sense is a very complex reality: it does not consist only of SR.

I have spoken about the way SR theory may promote a renewal of social psychology. My point of view is not sufficiently elaborated yet. It explicitly considers the basic ideas formulated by Moscovici together with the works on the dialogic model proposed by Ivana Markova. Furthermore, this is evident that other ideas, proposed through to the scientific work of other colleagues and friends who have devoted their intelligence and creativity to the study of SR, are implicitly taken into account.

The SR theory is nowadays a very complex construction, a sort of crossroad: several currents of ideas converge here but, until now, no a map indicating common coordinates exists. And this is not only an issue of ideas and models proposed by non-psychological disciplines (i.e., history, anthropology, sociology, semiotics etc.), but even a problem concerning the products of different groups of social psychologists who, however, share the same theoretical orientation. One of the most appreciated paradigm, among those which represent a theoretical elaboration of the SR is certainly that of the «three phases» that Doise and his collaborators proposed in 1992 and that has stimulated a large series of studies, not only in Switzerland but also in many other countries.

This model criticizes the approaches which focus mainly on a consensual conception of SR Doise, focusing on the theses of Moscovici's basic book and emphasizing, in particular, the second part of his book (in which the author demonstrates that SR are created within communication dynamics), claims about the urgency of a «more complete» conception of SR. This conception requires finding a common symbolic field, shared by a large amount of people. In relation to this field, individuals, or their groups, take different positions. This perspective can explain the inter-individual variations of points of view due to specific social insertions of individuals of groups inside a constellation of symbolic relations at a given point.

Thus, in order to study SR according to this model, it is necessary to analyse materials corresponding to the three phases. The first consists in the study of the shared knowledge; the second concerns the organizing principles of individual *prises de position*; the third regards the links between such *prises de position* and the specific insertions within different systems of symbolic relationships.

Often researches are focused only on one of these three phases. Nevertheless, it is very important to place these investigations within an overall system: it should be clear, that in case of researches by questionnaires, the individuation of two or three factors by means of factor analysis do not allow to conclude that a SR has been highlighted.

The three-phase model, in brief, attempts to translate into an articulated



idea which Moscovici wrote in the second part of his book: to catch a SR, it is necessary to integrate the studies on relation and communication dynamics with the studies on the psychological processes going together with these dynamics. In order to capture the specific social aspects of representations, it is indispensable to examine their functions within the dynamics of communication and social relationships.

On the basis which supports an integration between representative and relational dynamics, Doise proposed a well-known definition of SR: «Les représentations sociales sont des principes générateurs de prises de position liées à des insertions spécifiques dans un ensemble de rapports sociaux et organisant les processus symboliques intervenant dans ces rapports».

Doise and his collaborators have conducted, according to their theoretical and methodological elaboration, a program of very sophisticated research about human rights, the apparent unanimity of people who agree with them, but also the limits to their application required by some social groups in situations of conflicts and social tensions. This is, in practice, a significant contribution for increasing the theoretical and societal relevance of social psychology.

However, the contribution proposed by Doise in favour of the development of the SR theory is not the only one which deserves to be quoted. With respect to this, I do not claim to be exhaustive: I know in a very general way the contributions advanced by colleagues from other European countries.

Even though a systematic work on this topic has not been done yet, my opinion is that the dialogic perspective, which has introduced the notion of *themata* in the SR theory, is compatible with the theoretical and methodological elaboration of the theory proposed by Doise and his collaborators. I am aware that so far the studies of these two orientations have been conducted separately. This does not entail that a point of convergence might not be found. Maybe some epistemological obstacles can make it difficult to find a conjunction, however an effort in the direction of a theoretical agreement should be done.

All the social psychology suffers due to a fragmentation which characterizes the investigated topics: Moscovici already denounced this situation. The era of representations which has started will try to overcome this situation, mainly for what concerns the evolution of SR theory.

A similar reflection will have to be made regarding the very articulated and deep theoretical and methodological contribution proposed by the school of Aix-en-Provence. A very interesting and ironical paper by Claude Flament, published in the *Festschrift* in honor of Willem Doise ("Nouvelle revue de psychologie sociale", 3, 12, 2004) discusses the strengths and weaknesses of the two approaches which «have contributed to the theoretical and methodological

development of the SR analyses». The reader's impression is that, according to Flament, there is no reason to push the researchers of these two approaches to lock themselves into their narrow circles «those who have a theory they consider good should yield it more than possible... but it is also very positive that their colleagues develop their good theory: in this way they do not risk to sleep too much». Flament foresees that the conflict (a socio-cognitive one, of course) between the two schools will continue, even though this conflict is mainly a dialogue. He recognizes, at the same time, that the work made so far has not integrated the two approaches yet.

We can say, however, that examples of collaboration between these two schools have already produced interesting results. I limit myself to report one study made by Tafani and Deschamps published in the same *Festschrift*. The researchers have manipulated the perception of gender domination relationships to test its effects on relevant aspects of the social representations of high schools (participants were high school students of the lycées). Main findings indicate that the introduction of a condition of submission increases the inter-group differentiation and entails a valorization of the school pragmatic finalities, whereas the introduction of a domination position increases intra-group differentiation and stimulates a valorization of the intellectual finality of school and of the involvement it requires.

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## Some Elements for a Conceptual History of Social Psychology

by Michel-Louis Rouquette\*

In the perspective of a conceptual (and not only factual) history of social psychology, we examine the making of the congruency relationships between the Object, the Population and the Methods. We identify and discuss three types of hierarchical relationships between Object and Population: definition, incidence, and contingency relationships. We suggest to understand the congruency between Methods and Populations, through the concept of reciprocity of constraints: the "best" method for a given population must be applied to the "best" possible population for this method. Finally, concerning the congruency between Object and Method, we consider that the Method determines our representation of the representation of the Object.

Key words: *object, populations, methods, social representations, conceptual history*.

There is the history of places, institutions, events, publications, and people. More abstractly, there is also the history of how knowledge is organised: how we learn to know, how a point of view acquires or loses its legitimacy, how the boundaries of relevance are shifted, and how the objects of knowledge begin to relate to each other. As far as I know, nobody has yet attempted this history for social psychology. Of course, there is no question of claiming to do so here. We would merely like to clarify a few principles of investigation based on the theory of social representations.

Any social representation is a representation of an object O for a population P. And demonstrating this representation then entails the application of a methodology M. One could thus list a huge number of empirical works (i.e., more or less all of them) in a simple table with three columns (O, P, M). The variation in column O would of course be greater than that of column P, which would in turn be greater than the variation of column M: there are more different objects than populations and more populations to study than methods.

This distributional property is nevertheless not sufficient to characterise such a table. Let us suppose that we mixed up the lines at random, in at least one of the three columns. We would more than likely end up with cases where

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we would study no matter which object, in no matter which population, and we would do so no matter how. Despite the fact that such a configuration could indeed occur, and that we occasionally find it in the literature, we have to admit that this is not the most frequent situation. One must therefore ask oneself: when it exists – where does the congruency between O, P and M come from? That is the question.

This can very naturally be broken into three parts:

- the source of the congruency between the Object and the Population, which is certainly the easiest and least polemic aspect;
- secondly, the congruency between the Population and the Method, which comes back to tactical discussion;
- and lastly, the congruency between the Object and the Method. This last part of the question is by far the most thought provoking.

## I

### The Unity of the Object-Population Couple

Firstly, we need to remind ourselves of one fact: we must not confuse the object of the representation with the representation of the object.

The famous «social construction of reality» does not go far enough. An object of representation exists independently of the populations that make its representations, in a way that cannot be scientifically contested. On the other hand, a particular representation of this object exists (and can only do so) within a certain population at a given time. The devastating and dramatic contemporary example of AIDS enables us to grasp all of this in an instant: this isn't primarily a matter of representations, but of a virus and practices.

The fact that the representation can have a series of effects over the control – the existence even – of the object itself, alters nothing regarding this fundamental distinction between the object of representation and the representation of the object. The representation of the witch succeeded in conjuring up a few witches, just as the representation of the perfect witness in a criminal case has brought about the existence of such a witness<sup>1</sup>. But we shall see that in these cases, as well as in many others that can be quoted, this is a matter of existence *by proxy*.

So, quite unequivocally, it is the object of representation that is being considered here. We can now define three types of hierarchical relationships between Object and Population.

a) By virtue of its independent reality, the Object is always something that is more or less essentially a determining factor. When it asserts itself completely, to the point of entering the *definition* itself of the population under consideration, the congruency relationship can be termed "maximum". For example,

AIDS (Object) and a population of HIVAIDS sufferers (or their relatives); the tree (as Object) and a population of forestry developers; a business and a population of executives etc. There are many illustrations of this maximum congruency to be found in the literature on SRS.

b) But it can also be a question of an *incidence* relationship, where the Object is a consequence of, or, to varying degrees, a prominent correlate, of the definition of the population. For example, the tree for a population of people out for a Sunday stroll, who are in contact with nature and are interested in plant species; the work of the nurse for a population of hospital patients etc. A good many themes for papers or articles could be cited as illustrations of this incidence relationship.

c) Between Object and Population, it can also boil down to a question of a *contingency* relationship. One could substitute one object for another (one population, respectively, for another) without any specific defining impact. For example, the tree for a population of "all-comers" or for a population of odontology students; the nurse (Object) for business executives or rice producers etc. Contingency can obviously be taken to the point of absurdity. We will not look for examples.

Briefly, this assortment of congruency takes it from a tight unity (defining relationship of Population by Object) to a loose unity (simple contingency relationship between Population and Object). This point is not hard to assess, whether in a meta-analysis of published works, or in the critical evaluation of the draft of an article, or a research project.

## 2

### The Congruency between Methods and Populations

Let us begin by restricting the meaning of the term «methods» to «techniques for producing controlled data». We therefore envisage that the discussion will cover neither the techniques for *dealing with* data (statistical analyses, discourse analyses etc.), nor, prior to that, anything that is based entirely on occasional or regular observations.

It is remarkable that this question of congruency between methods and populations is generally only examined from the perspective of measurement bias, mismatch, difficulty, or even impossibility: in other words, more precisely in terms of *incongruency*. Now, the absence of incongruency alone is not sufficient ground for a definition of congruency (just as a required condition is not necessarily sufficient). Removing incongruency in no way leads to anything more than a sort of congruency "by default". So, what needs to be added to the simple correction of reduction of technical inadequacies regarding methods, in order to really achieve congruency?

The solution comes via the concept of reciprocity of constraints: the “best” method for a given population must be applied to the “best” possible population for this method. Indeed, only a sort of naturalistic *a priori* would permit the view that populations are always right over the methods, and that the authenticity of appearances should always prevail over the search for a truth that is, by definition, hidden. If we reflect on this a little, it is fairly obvious that this is rather an old-fashioned, epistemological stance, inscribed in the romantic tradition: sentiment prevails over reason, and glorification of the individual over historical fact. In social psychology, this tradition still has its supporters: this is the case, for example, with Smith, Harré and Van Langenhove when they define what they call the new paradigm in psychology:

1. Research conducted in “the real world”.
2. A recognition of the central role of language and discourse.
3. Life and research perceived as processual or as a set of dynamic interactions.
4. A concern with persons and individuals rather than actuarial statistics and variables”<sup>2</sup>.

Such a stance could possibly be sustained, on a point-by-point basis, for natural populations – small groups of humans of the type studied by anthropologists – where the size of the group allows them to be completely – and precisely – classified. But this does not hold true for most populations that are used in social psychology effectively for the purposes of generating data. These populations are almost always the object of an artificial construction based on a theory (typically, a sociological theory) and a selection of individuals (for instance, by sampling, or appealing for volunteers). These populations then more or less fit the investigation methods that are going to be engaged, and they are certainly not likely to disqualify these methods; one would sooner change the rules for constructing the samples. A “good” population, in this context, is the one that enables the methods used to produce their best yield.

To sum up the discussion so far: either all the methods are of equal worth, and therefore all the populations as well, or else some methods are “better” than others at producing controlled data, and, consequently, their populations as well. There could be no question of optimising the methods alone by population constraints, one must also use method constraints to optimise the populations questioned. This is clearly opting for an artificial approach (cf. below) by virtue of its advantages regarding conceptual clarity and power to control. This manner of producing and arrangement of knowledge is clearly the one that has been adopted by the mainstream of social psychology.

It remains for us to consider this third aspect, which is the most difficult. We can in fact perfectly well conceive of the case where the Object and Population are highly congruent, with a Method whose constraints are well matched to the Population, yet where Object and Method are not suited.

To illustrate this point, and in order not to embarrass anyone, I’ll take a personal example. Right at the beginning of the 90s, Christian Guimelli and I decided to work on a population of “healers” and quacks’ clients in the south of France. Our aim was to bring together corresponding representations with specific modes of sociability. For example, the same village can boast two or three quacks (especially those who treat burns of any sort), but they don’t share the same “clients”. Again, in families that pass on «a secret cure», usually from grandparents to grandchildren, the implementation of this secret does not survive for more than one generation when the family moves from a rural to an urban setting. In contrast, imported magic (usually of African origin) flourishes in the large towns, whereas they enjoy practically no success in the country or smaller towns. So, it appears to be clear that these curative practices mobilise representations linked to the lifestyle and socialisation of populations.

For over a year, we completed the groundwork, collecting in-depth interviews and direct observations. We also carried out bibliographical research and even a few exploratory similitude analyses based on the opposition between “gift” (revealed to oneself) vs. “secret” (received from someone else). Then, after lengthy discussion, we closed the dossier again. It had become blatantly clear to us that we had been unable to find the necessary match between the Object and the Method. No problem with congruency between Object and Population, nor between Population and Method. The Object, on the other hand, always seemed to escape us, receding or hiding, or else, when it did appear, the technical rigour would vanish. Let us try to look at this more generally.

The Object does not remain inert in response to the initiation of the method. For instance, if the method consists of getting people to talk (interviews, open questions, or group discussions), we will hardly be able to learn more from the Object than what can actually be put into words (and perhaps even this will be a little forced, making it likely to compromise the congruency between Method and Population).

Now, it would be just as easy to focus solely on real-life conducts, behaviours, displacements, travels, or gestures, and come to the conclusion – with good reason – that, to a greater or lesser degree, these too reflect representa-

tion. One might possibly even consider material things, images, photographs, artistic works, and interior decoration. And why not telephone or bank statements, bills, club membership cards etc. Let us not forget the very materiality of those «realms of memory» that Pierre Nora talked about<sup>3</sup>. We can see that it is not a question of saying that the Method *determines* the Object, but that «the Method determines our representation of the representation of the Object». All we have to do to convince ourselves of this is to note the extent of the similarities between all the works that are commonly called qualitative – in that they define a certain «style» of representation and how the representation is studied, which comes closer to ethnography than to crystallography<sup>4</sup>. Moreover, when they use discourse analysis, most of these works appear to directly assimilate «forms of talk» and «forms of thought» (a naive and alarming equivalence that is both positivist and post-modern, but which we have no occasion to discuss here). The organic link between Method and Object is clearly demonstrated in that qualitatively inspired works and experimental works only very rarely examine the same objects of representation.

The congruency with which we are dealing therefore lies firmly between the Method and the representation of the representation of the Object. Following from this, there are only two possible paths: to consent to relativism or to become ever better at elucidating the theory. Indeed, as Popper writes, «a little critical reflection convinces us that all our knowledge is theory impregnated, and (almost) all also conjectural in character. Since all knowledge is theory-impregnated, it is all built on sand; but its foundations can be improved by critically digging deeper»<sup>5</sup>.

If we concede, as does relativism, that several representations of the representation can exist and be valid, the general properties become lost in the relative choices, and we become satisfied with vague concepts and methods that end up being undecidable. If, instead, one considers that it is in the nature of knowledge to organise a trap for itself in order to become falsifiable<sup>6</sup>, then one should tend towards elaborating a unitary *model* of the representation, calling for the use of decidable methods. The congruency that we seek would then be that between the Method and the model.

There is nothing outrageous about such a conclusion. On the contrary, it is highly classical – if that term can be used in the context of our epistemological modernity. This point was stressed by Lévi-Strauss:

in a manner that I feel is decisive, Marx showed us that social science is no more built on the level of events than physics is based on facts about sensitivity: the goal is to construct a model, to study its properties and its various reactions in the laboratory, in order to then apply these observations to the interpretation of what happens empirically<sup>7</sup>.

After Bohr and Heisenberg had radically developed and illustrated this point of view for the natural sciences, Herbert Simon did the same for the sciences of the artificial<sup>8</sup>. Even if we don't know exactly where to slot social psychology, between the study of ultimately natural phenomena and the dismantling or putting back together of systems of knowledge that are artificial by definition (since they result from history and human activity), it can be said that, either way, the intellectual company isn't so bad.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M.-L. Rouquette, *La rumeur et le meurtre*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1992.

<sup>2</sup> In J. A. Smith, R. Harré, L. Van Langenhove (eds.), *Rethinking methods in psychology*, Sage, London 1995, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. recently C. P. Sá (ed.), *Imaginário e Representações Sociais*, Museu da República, Rio de Janeiro 2005; R. J. Juarez, *Les lieux de mémoire de l'identité nationale à Mexico*, in M.-L. Rouquette (éd.), *Ordres et désordres urbains*, Presses Universitaires de Perpignan, Perpignan 2006, pp. 61-78. Sur les relations entre *landscapes* et *mindscapes*, cf. M.-L. Rouquette, *Territoires physiques, territoires sociaux et territoires mentaux*, *ibid.*, pp. 7-32.

<sup>4</sup> I'm thinking here of that famous passage in *Tristes tropiques* (chap. vi) where Lévi-Strauss explains what, for him, are the similarities between ethnology and geology.

<sup>5</sup> K. R. Popper, *Objective knowledge*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1972, p. 104.

<sup>6</sup> Let us not forget that in the tradition of Popper, falsifiability is an essential – but not sufficient – condition of scientificity. Naturally, if one isn't worried about practising science, this condition is of no interest. But then, neither is this discussion.

<sup>7</sup> *Tristes tropiques*, chap. vi.

<sup>8</sup> H. A. Simon, *Models of man, social and rational*, Wiley, New York 1957; *Models of discovery*, Reidel, Dordrecht, 1977; *Models of thought*, Yale University Press, New Haven 1979; *Models of bounded rationality*, vols. 1 and 2, MIT Press, Cambridge (MA) 1982.

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International Conferences  
as Interactive Scientific Media Channels:  
The History of the Social Representations Theory  
through the Eight Editions of the ICSR  
from Ravello (1992) to Rome (2006)

by Annamaria Silvana de Rosa\*, Marialibera d'Ambrosio\*

The bi-annual International Conferences on Social Representations represent an interesting phenomenon in terms of «epidemiology of knowledge diffusion». This article was inspired by the general scope of the meta-theoretical analysis of the complete *corpus* of Social Representations (ICSR) literature launched by Annamaria de Rosa in 1994. The analysis has as its goal to provide an organic, comprehensive understanding of the direction that research in Social Representations is taking and of the overall development of the theory over time and across continents. It is based on the methodology and previous results of research conducted in the framework of a meta-theoretical analysis (cf. de Rosa, 1994a; 2001a; 2001b; 2002a) and its aim was to update the contribution presented at the 6<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Social Representations in Stirling (cf. de Rosa, 2002b; de Rosa, d'Ambrosio, 2002; 2003). The analysis units used were the abstracts of all conference literature currently available in both electronic and traditional printed format. Content analysis was carried out on these materials using a reduced version of the "Grid for Meta-Analysis of SR literature" (de Rosa, 1994a). This is a powerful heuristic tool for assessing the development of the theory, the related research field and the core of the large on-line specialised inventory on Social Representations installed on the web site of the European Ph.D. on Social Representations and Communication website, currently in the copyright process. After classification, the data were analysed using tools provided by HUDAP, SPAD-N, and SPSS statistical packages to develop a "facet analysis" and Analyse des Correspondences Multiples.

Key words: *meta-theoretical analysis, social representation conferences, knowledge diffusion.*

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## I Introduction

This article focuses on literature presented during the 8<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Social Representations (ICSR), the primary institutional context in which members of the scientific community inspired by the Social Representation Theory (SRT) interact with each other and disseminate research in the field and which are considered a kind of scientific media channel. They are a mirror of the scientific community's dynamics and have chronologically accompanied the SRT's institutionalisation process.

Almost five decades after Serge Moscovici (1961) introduced into the discipline both a new construct, the Social Representation (SR), and a new perspective for observing and understanding social reality, the Social Representations Theory is today a conceptual tool with a pre-eminent role in the theoretical framework of social psychology.

The liveliness of the debate outside the SRT is in symmetry with the richness of the dialogue between the different schools of thought that over the years have emerged within it<sup>1</sup>. In addition to the conferences some of the channels for this internal dialogue include the specialised professional journals, "Papers on SR" (<http://www.psr.jku.at/>) and "Pensée et société", which respectively published their 16<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> issues respectively in 2007 and in 2006.

## 2 Research Issues

This study is a part of a wider research conducted in the framework of a meta-theoretical analysis of the complete body of SR literature launched by Annamaria de Rosa in 1994. It is inspired by the goal to provide an organic, comprehensive understanding of the overall development of this theory over time and across continents (cf. de Rosa, 1994a; 1994b; 2001a; 2001b; 2002a).

Some of the main objectives of this project are to:

- map the theory and its application over time and around the world;
- bring some clarity to the SR galaxy, by analytically reconstructing the complexity of its various theoretical and methodological approaches.

In reviewing the complete body of literature on SR and Communication, the *Open Distant Learning network programme for co-operative international research*, coordinated by de Rosa (2001a; 2001b), features an online database of the literature. Input is done by young researchers and undergraduate students, who insert the data via the website, which is periodically updated after a double quality control filter.

One of the main outputs of the So.Re.Com. THEMATIC NETWORK of excel-

lence approved by the European Commission DG Education and Culture (<http://www.europhd.eu/SoReComTHEMATICNETWORK>) is a comprehensive bibliographical inventory of the literature (journal and conference papers, books, special issues, doctoral and masters theses, unpublished reports) on SR and C. and its related paradigms that will be completed in the near future. It makes possible to conduct searches for all traditional bibliographic information. Designed by the coordinator of the So.Re.Com. THEMATIC NETWORK, this full bibliographic inventory in the multidisciplinary field of Social Representations and Communication aims to acquire the complete database of literature on Social Representations and Communication. Via the So.Re.Com. THEMATIC NETWORK, this co-operative scientific enterprise will contribute to continuously enriching the on-line database, receiving input not only from young research trainees enrolled in the programme, but the entire scientific community, who will contribute new articles that will disseminate knowledge as well as acquiring visibility. It is updated periodically after a double quality control filter and validated by an authoritative source under the supervision of the designer and producer of the inventory. According to E. C. contractual policy, once the comprehensive bibliographical inventory is protected by a copyright and the intellectual property of its creator, designer and developer recognised, the modalities on how professors, researchers, or students working on Social Representations and Communication can consult it will be examined and implemented. Users will gain access by a password after registering and payment of a registration fee. Using a standard Web browser, researchers and interested parties will, with a simple search, be able to access systematically organized multidisciplinary research in the social sciences inspired by the Social Representations Theory.

The databases consist of two different inventories:

- a) The *first database* contains a *complete bibliographical inventory of the literature* on SR and C. and its related paradigm, including *classic bibliographic information*.
- b) The *second database* contains a *meta-analysed inventory* of the literature on SR, analysed according to the grid developed by A. S. de Rosa (1994a). Its main goal is to develop the *meta-theoretical* analysis of the whole body of the theoretical and empirical literature of this specialised field. The grid is organised in 5 main areas:
  - *theoretical reference to SR constructs* monitors whether a publication refers to SRT in a very generic way or addresses specific paradigmatic elements of the theory (i.e., the genesis, processes, functions, structure, transmission, and transformation of SR) or whether the contribution refers to the theory itself as an object of critical analysis (meta-theory);



- *theoretical reference to other constructs and theories* identifies whether the publication refers to other constructs, concepts and theories in relation to SR as well as the aim of the reference: integration, differentiation, comparison, replacement;
- *thematic analysis* categorises the contents of empirical contributions by identifying the general *thematic areas* (i.e. health) and the *specific object* of each study (i.e. AIDS), as well the specific typology (closed, open, polemic) of the SR;
- the last area identifies the *methodological profile* of each study and the *characteristics of the selected population*.

In accordance with output six of the So.Re.Com THEMATIC NETWORK project, the next steps in this international research program are:

- the further expansion of the co-operative network to the entire scientific community both as *users* and *co-developers* of the database (<http://www.europhd.net/cgi-bin/WebObjects/europhd.woa/wa/biblio>);
- the major upgrading of the *Intelligent Virtual Library on Social Representation and Communication* which will be integrated with the physical Social Representations library at the European Ph.D. on Social Representations and Communication Research Centre and Multimedia Lab. It will also be linked to the complete bibliographic inventory and meta-analysed *corpus*. It will also be enriched with an advanced search engine in the database, using the criteria designed for the meta-analysis grid ([http://www.europhd.net/html/\\_onda02/o6/oo.oo.oo.oo.shtml](http://www.europhd.net/html/_onda02/o6/oo.oo.oo.oo.shtml)). Users will be allowed to download text files in PDF format and to print out scientific materials, with authors' and publishers' permission when applicable. Otherwise, they can read material on the screen.

### 3

#### Definition and Area of Field of Inquiry: Why the 8<sup>th</sup> International Conference on SR?

It is an empirical fact that during the last five decades the SRT has become a multicultural, multi-lingual, and multi-generational enterprise that has spread across all the continents. The vitality of the SRT is demonstrated by its internal debate and the growing number of meetings, workshops and other gatherings. In the time line found below, we have listed only a few of the opportunities for meeting and discussion that occurred before and between the Biannual International Conferences that were selected as the scope of the present study.

#### Timeline of scientific events dedicated to Social Representations

- 1982 International Round Table on Social Representations, Lyon, France – Symposium dedicated to SR.
- 1983 International Symposium on SR: "Le SR: campi di indagine teorica ed empirica", Bologna, Italy.
- 1985 International Colloquium on Social Representations, Paris, France.
- 1985 Methodological Workshop: "Implications méthodologiques des études sur les SR", Naples, Italy.
- 1986 8<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Cross-cultural Psychology, Istanbul, Turkey. Symposium: "The SR of mental illness: theoretical, methodological and empirical contributions in a cross-cultural perspective".
- 1986 International Colloquium: "La Représentation Sociale de la Maladie Mentale", Naples, Italy.
- 1987 Methodological Workshop: "Empirical Approach to Social Representations", University of Surrey, UK.
- 1987 International Colloquium: "Représentations Sociales et Idéologies", Paris, France.
- 1988 International Symposium: "Questions d'épistémologie autour des Représentations Sociales", Natal, Brazil.
- 1991 Annual Conference of the of BPS – Developmental Psychology Section, Cambridge, UK – Symposium dedicated to SR.
- 1992 XXV International Congress of Psychology, Brussels, Belgium – Symposium: "Theoretical aspects of SR".
- 1992 *First International Conference on SR, Ravello, Italy.*
- 1992 V European Conference of Developmental Psychology, Seville, Spain – Symposium: "Cognitive and SR in childhood acquisition and development".
- 1993 EAESP General Meeting, Lisbon, Portugal – Symposium dedicated to SR.
- 1994 2<sup>nd</sup> International Conference on SR: "Advances in theory and research", Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
- 1994 Annual Conference of the of BPS – Social Psychology Section, Cambridge, UK – Workshop dedicated to SR.
- 1994 5<sup>th</sup> Congress ARIC Sarrebrücken, Germany – Key lecture dedicated to SR.
- 1995 International Symposium: "Social Representations in the Northern Context", Mustio, Finland.
- 1995 International Methodological Workshop: "Théories et méthodes des Représentations Sociales", Daifalos – Göteborg-Sweden.
- 1995 Workshop on SR, Naples, Italy.
- 1995 Colloquium: "L'application des études des SR aux problèmes sociaux", Athens, Greece.
- 1996 3<sup>rd</sup> International Conference on SR, Aix-en-Provence, France.
- 1996 Nags Head Conference on Social Representations, Socially Shared Cognitions, and Public Opinion, Highland Beach, Florida, USA.
- 1996 Special Day on: "Exclusion et Insertion. Approches Socio-cognitives", Aix-en-Provence, France.
- 1996 11<sup>th</sup> General Meeting of the EAESP, Gmunden, Austria – Symposium: "Controversial SR of and around advertising: how to sell pullovers by provoking discussion on social issues".

- 1997 VI National Congress of Social Psychology, João Pessoa, Brazil: Workshop Dedicated to SR.
- 1997 2<sup>nd</sup> Conference in the Northern Context: "SR and Communicative Processes", Jonkoping, Sweden.
- 1998 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference on SR: "La Era de la Psicología Social", Mexico City, Mexico.
- 1998 1<sup>st</sup> International Conference on SR in USA: "SR: Introductions and Explorations", New York, USA.
- 1998 I Jornada Internacional sobre Representações Sociais (JIRS): "Teoria e Campos de Aplicação", Natal, Brazil.
- 1998 Workshop: "Comunicación, Opinion y Representación Social Teoría y Método", H. Puebla de Z., México.
- 1998 Workshop: "Exclusão social e saúde: estudos de representasão social", São Paulo e Ribeirão Preto, Brazil.
- 1999 ADRIPS Congress, Aix-en-Provence, France – Symposium and papers dedicated to SR.
- 1999 International Colloquium: "La pensée sociale: questions vives", Montreal, Canada.
- 1999 5<sup>th</sup> Alps-Adria Psychology Conference, Pecs, Hungary – Symposium dedicated to SR.
- 2000 5<sup>th</sup> International Conference on SR "Représentations sociales: constructions nouvelles", Montreal, Canada.
- 2001 II Jornada Internacional sobre Representações Sociais (JIRS), Florianapolis, Brazil.
- 2001 International Meeting on Focus Group and SR, Maison Suger, Paris, France.
- 2001 Symposium on SR and Media studies, Maison Suger, Paris, France.
- 2002 6<sup>th</sup> International Conference on SR "Thinking Societies: Common Sense and Communication", Stirling, UK.
- 2002 6<sup>th</sup> Alpe-Adria Congress of Psychology, Pecs, Hungary – Symposium dedicated to SR.
- 2002 4<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Social Psychology in french language – ADRIPS – Athens, Greece – Symposium dedicated to SR.
- 2002 13<sup>th</sup> General Meeting of the EAESP, San Sebastian, Spain – Symposium: "Social Memory and emotional impact towards traumatic collective events: the 11<sup>th</sup> September".
- 2003 3<sup>rd</sup> Jornada Internacional sobre Representações Sociais (JIRS) and First Brazilian Conference on Social Representations, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
- 2003 1<sup>st</sup> Day on Social Representations, Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- 2003 I International Congress on Studies of the Imaginary and Social Representations, Cuernavaca, Mexico.
- 2003 V International Graduated Conference on Social Psychology, Cambridge, UK – Symposium dedicated to SR.
- 2004 7<sup>th</sup> International Conference on SR "Social Representations and Interaction Forms: groups, community, social movements", Guadalajara, Mexico.
- 2004 International Meeting on Collective Memory and Shared Representations in France, Aix-en-Provence, France.
- 2005 XXX InterAmerican Congress, Buenos Aires, Argentina – Symposium: "Social Representations, Construction and Social Practices".
- 2005 IV Jornada Internacional sobre Representações Sociais (JIRS), João Pessoa, Brazil.

- 2006 8<sup>th</sup> International Conference on SR "Media and Society", Rome, Italy.
- 2007 V Jornada Internacional sobre Representações Sociais (JIRS) e III Conferencia Brasileira sobre Representações Sociais, Brasília, Brazil.
- 2007 II National Day on Social Representations: "Representaciones Sociales, minorias activas y memoria social", Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- 2007 VIII National AIP Congress – Social Psychology Section – Symposium: "Le Rappresentazioni del Sociale", Cesena, Italy.

In examining this time line, some initial reflections emerge:

- specialised meetings dedicated to SR began in 1982, more than 20 years after the introduction of the SR construct in 1961;
- the organisation of the 1<sup>st</sup> International Conference on SR (Ravello, 1992) marked the passage towards the institutionalisation of contacts within the scientific community inspired by the SRT;
- the progressive enlargement to non-European cultural contexts is indicated by the organisation of conferences on other continents: i.e. the Americas, where conferences were held in Latin America, Canada and the US and the recent decision taken during the 8<sup>th</sup> ICSR in Rome to hold the 9<sup>th</sup> ICSR in Indonesia. This is the first bi-annual conference to be held in Asia;
- 1992 has particular significance in the institutional history of this theory. In the same year, the European Ph.D. on Social Representations and Communication was launched as a new curriculum within the Erasmus programme coordinated by the Sapienza - University of Rome<sup>2</sup>.

The enormous quantity of literature produced during the various kinds of meetings (small workshops, symposia, conferences etc.) makes it impossible to do a comprehensive treatment of the subject in this article.

For the purpose of this study, it was necessary to circumscribe the field of inquiry to focus attention only on the 6<sup>th</sup> International Biannual Conferences on SR.

In fact, as one of this scientific community's fundamental institutional contexts for the dissemination and development of related research areas, we believe that the Biannual International Conferences on SR are significant places for «the contagion of ideas from neighbour to neighbour», according to Dan Sperber's *epidemiology of ideas* (Sperber, 1990).

Graumann's important work (1998) in reconstructing the process of defining the scientific identity of EAESP via the contacts, dedication and passion of a series of protagonists in the history of social psychology comes to mind, as well as what Tapia says in his *Colloques et sociétés* (1980) on the theme of the difference between meetings and congresses. In terms of characteristics and procedures, these emerge as two extremes along the institutional/informal continuum and have a cascade of consequences in the area of content and function.

In line with Sperber's *epidemiology of ideas*, the intent is not so much

geared towards the construction of an "all-inclusive" theory on the transmission, combination and "becoming" of ideas, but rather towards providing more questions. In the case in point, the questions, among others, include:

- does the kind of scientific production elaborated in the SRT field, along with the variable *Type of Communication* (with theoretical/empirical modalities) as well as the variable *Type of Reference* to SRT, change in relation to the geographic dimension (variable Author's institution Country)?
- is it possible to produce a *chart of thematic interests* in relation to the *geographic/cultural dimension*?
- in the process of charting these interests, is it possible to point out the eventual effects of an additional variable, the *temporal dimension*?

#### 4

### Research Sources: Abstracts from the Biannual International Conferences on SR

The sources of our study are the papers presented during the 8<sup>th</sup> International Conference on SR. More precisely, as the units of analysis we have only used the abstracts of papers presented in the languages formally accepted for the conferences (English, French, Spanish). Specifically, the following abstracts were retrieved and analysed:

TABLE I

Sources for the meta-theoretical analysis – Paper abstracts presented to the Biannual International Conferences on SR

Variables	Year	Conferences Location and Country	N. of papers presented	N. of abstracts analysed	% of abstracts analysed
Conferences	1992	I <sup>st</sup> ICSR – Ravello, Italy	63 participants	30* retrievable to date	1.8
	1994	II <sup>nd</sup> ICSR – Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	114	114	7
	1996	III <sup>rd</sup> ICSR – Aix-en-Provence, France	200	163	10
	1998	IV <sup>th</sup> ICSR – Mexico City, Mexico	233	231	14.2
	2000	V <sup>th</sup> ICSR – Montreal, Canada	256	249	15.3
	2002	VI <sup>th</sup> ICSR – Stirling, UK	271	269	16.5
	2004	VII <sup>th</sup> ICSR – Guadalajara, Mexico	266	266	16.3
	2006	VIII <sup>th</sup> ICSR – Rome, Italy	328	307	18.8
Total			1.731	1.629	100
Years	1992-1997		377	307	18.8
	1998-2002		760	749	46
	2004-2006		594	573	35.2
Total			1.731	1.629	100

\* From the Ravello Conference program we know that there were 63 participants. However, we do not know how many papers were presented by each. Therefore, we cannot quantify the total contributions presented nor the proportion that we cover with the abstracts that are available.

No sampling was done on this *corpus* of texts. Instead, we analysed the total number of abstracts in the language requested by the conference's organizers and retrievable to date. Abstracts in Portuguese or in Italian were not included in our *corpus*. Therefore 1.629 abstracts were meta-analysed out of the 1.731 abstracts submitted.

The international recognition gained by meta-theoretical analysis project was the basis for obtaining the crucial co-operation of the organisers of the conferences under study, to whom we are very grateful<sup>3</sup>.

#### 5

### Presentation of Data Collection and Analysis Techniques

Data analysis was carried out on various levels and with different goals:

1. first, a rather general descriptive review based on the exploratory analysis of frequencies and cross-frequencies;
2. then, a much deeper descriptive analysis on the statistical/conceptual structure of the reality of our study's object, conducted thanks to the HUDAP software package (version 1995-98) and an Analysis of Multiple Correspondences (ACM) performed with SPAD-N (version 4.3).

The logic of analysis of the structure from several perspectives has multiple purposes:

- the possibility of integrating, strengthening, clarifying or reorganising what emerges concerning the object of our study from analyses in various perspectives;
- and, last, but not least, identifying the points of continuity or divergence of the two different qualitative *data analysis approaches*;
- exploring the potential of the HUDAP software package for meta-theoretical analysis of SR literature;
- bringing acquisitions obtained thanks to this program's procedures to the ACM, even if only as a comparison.

#### 6

### The HUDAP Statistical Software Package

HUDAP (Hebrew University Data Analysis Package) is a multi-purpose software package that contains programmes that carry out descriptive statistical studies and contain methods developed by Guttman, that are, even if often unsystematically, widely used in the social sciences such as monotonicity coefficient or facet analysis (Amar, Toledano, 1994). The HUDAP methods we used were:

- FREQ., MULTABS, CRST sections in the preliminary phase. Because of this we calculated percentage, crossing frequencies and the Chi2 tests for the intersections of some interesting variables.

- MONCO section, to obtain the matrices of Guttman's monotonicity coefficients, to be analysed and utilised as input for successive analyses.
- WSSAI (Weighted Smallest Space Analysis). This is the procedure we used the most. It provides a graphic representation of the relationships between variables in a set of "n" objects. In fact, given a matrix {Rij} that contains coefficients of similarity between pairs within a given set of variables, the WSSAI section enables us to study the matrix via its principal output, namely the Space Diagram. It represents each Vi as a point inside the dimension chosen by the researcher as the smallest possible distance from another Vj. Thus, the points are located in the space in a way that best satisfies the condition of monotonicity<sup>4</sup> and it is possible to show which kinds of variables result closer each other, and therefore more closely correlated.

The accuracy of such a representation is valuable thanks to other outputs of the same section: the *Alienation Coefficient* and the *Shepard Diagram*.

THE FACET ANALYSIS is based on the Facet Theory (Canter, 1985). Starting from the Space Diagram, it is possible to obtain a Facet Diagram. This allows the graphic visualisation of the correspondence in specific regions of the space between the empirical distribution of data relative to the variables and the definition of their *facets*. Each facet expresses its own domain, an area of the universe of content. Its definition will be provided by the set of variables and their modalities (concept subsets), which in the researchers' hypotheses are tied to that domain and therefore *go together*.

The spatial arrangement of those regional correspondences implies an interpretation as much in respect to the verification of the expected co-occurrences as to the relationships between the various facets.

## 7

### Principal Results by Frequencies Distribution Analysis

First of all, according to the table 1, during the time span from the 1<sup>st</sup> Conference (Ravello, 1992) to the latest International Conference (Rome, 2006), one notes a numerical growth in participation that we do not hesitate to define as exponential. As the data clearly demonstrates, this growth included diversification not only in the content, but also in the range of geographic/cultural origins and theoretical and methodological interests.

The pace of this impressive growth does not slow down until 2006.

What emerges in relation to the variable *Years* is the result of this situation. It shows frequencies of 18.61% for the period 1992-97, 45.39% for the period 1998-2002 and 36% for the period 2003-06. The decreasing percentage for the third period 2003-06 is simply due to the categorisation effect related to the

lower number of ICSR included in this period (only the VII and VIII ICSR, compared to the previous periods including three conferences each).

TABLE 2

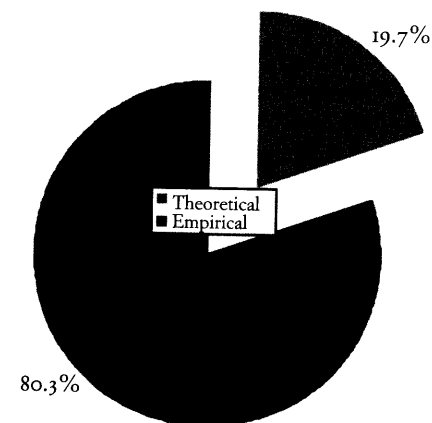
Language distribution in the 8<sup>th</sup> International Biannual Conferences on SR

Language	I ICSR Italy	II ICSR Brazil	III ICSR France	IV ICSR Mexico	V ICSR Canada	VI ICSR UK	VII ICSR Mexico	VIII ICSR Italy
English	(26)	(114)	64	68	58	(128)	42	(171)
French	4	0	(99)	65	(145)	94	60	91
Spanish	0	0	0	(97)	46	47	(172)	45

We would also like to highlight the increase registered in the number of abstracts presented in the three languages (English, French and Spanish) beginning with the Mexico City conference (1998), and the relations between the choice of the language for the abstract and the ICSR country's location, with dominance of French for the conferences organised in Aix-en-Provence, France (III ICSR) and in Montreal, Canada (V ICSR), and of Spanish for the two conferences held in Mexico (IV and VII ICSR), while the choice of English for the abstracts submission has been dominant in the ICSR.s organised in Italy (I and VIII ICSR) and UK (VI ICSR).

FIGURE 1

Distribution of frequencies the variable "Type of Communication"

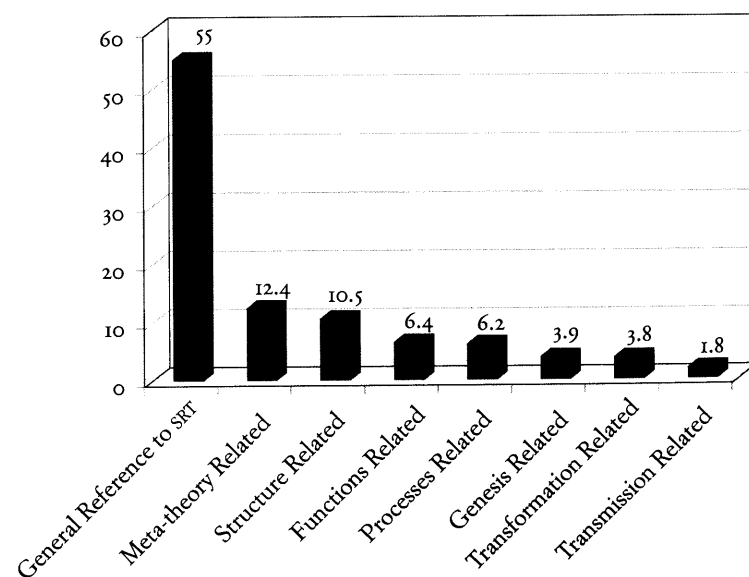


The variable *Type of Communication* specifies the nature of the papers whose abstracts were analysed. As seen in figure 1, the two modalities appear rather weighted towards the empirical rather than the theoretical. In the *corpus* of research composed of 1.629 abstracts, only 19.7% of papers result theoretical, against 80.3% empirical.

Given that conferences are opportunities for presentation and exchange of experiences concerning interests and research pursued contingently, and the limits laid down by the conference environment (i.e. theoretical papers are mainly by invitation, as well as key lectures and symposia introductions), we do not interpret this data as evidence of a lack of theoretical interest, but rather as an indicator of a prevalent practice in conference organisation for many social science fields and in most areas of social psychology. It will be more interesting to compare this data with the results that emerge from the meta-theoretical analysis of the complete body of SR literature concerning the same variable. This will help us understand if the approach to SRT is used as a general framework of reference for empirical investigation or as both theory driven and a tool for research programs.

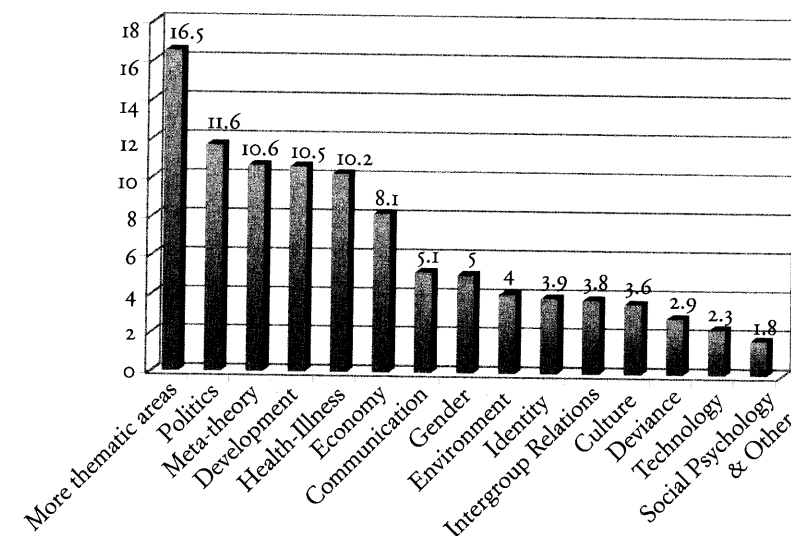
As the various types of reference to the SRT are not mutually exclusive, we had to treat them as a body of dichotomic variables with present/absent modalities. In figure 2 we provide a comparison between percentages for the "present" modality of these 8 variables.

FIGURE 2  
Distribution of frequencies for the variable "Type of Reference to SRT" (in percentage)



What emerges from the percentages is a disproportional weight for *General references to the SRT* (55%). Among the more frequent specific references, the highest values are for both *Meta-theory Related* (12.4%) and *Structure Related* (10.5%). This is not surprising if we look at it in the context of the phase of meta-theoretical reflection that has begun in recent years (de Rosa, 1994a) and the widespread diffusion of the Central Nucleus Theory (Abric, 1976).

FIGURE 3  
Distribution of frequencies for the variable "Thematic Areas" (in percentage)



The *Thematic Areas* (FIG. 3) are distributed in two large, relatively homogenous groups across our *corpus*.

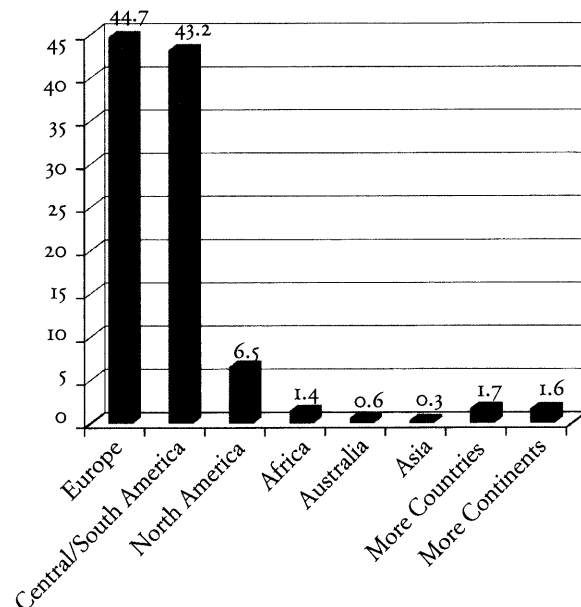
The first group, with more elevated frequencies, contains: *Politics and Ideology* (11.6%), *Theory, Meta-theory and Methodological Issues* (10.6%), *Development and Education* (10.5%), *Health/Illness* (10.2%), *Economics-Work-Organization* (8.1%).

The second group, with lower frequencies, consists of: *Communication and multimedia* (5.1%), *Gender* (5%), *Environment* (4%), *Identity* (3.9%), *Interpersonal and Inter-group Relationships* (3.8%), *Culture* (3.6%), *Deviance* (2.9%), *Technology* (2.3%), and *Social psychology and other* (1.8%).

The modality *More than one thematic area* represents, in any case, 16.5% of the entire *corpus* under analysis, showing the highest tendency of research programmes focused on an interrelated approach to more than one thematic area (for example health and environment or development and gender).

Some interesting results also emerged concerning the distribution of the variable “nationality”.

FIGURE 4  
Distribution of frequencies for the variable “Continent of Authors’ Institution”\* (in percentage)



\* We decided to differentiate the Continent America into two cultural areas related to North (US and Canada) and Central/South America (all the Latin American Countries) due to the different epistemological traditions in Social Psychology (cf. Moscovici, Markova, 2006).

Following the European contribution (44.7%) the strong Latin American participation in the International Conferences immediately stands out with its frequency of 43.2% of the total of papers presented in the entire series of the ICSR. Three of them were held in Latin American countries, i.e. Brazil and Mexico. In addition to the North American contributors (6.5%), also appears the participation of authors coming from other continents, like Africa, Australia and Asia, where there has as yet not held an ICSR.

Looking more in detail at individual country participation, we note that France is the most active with 17.3%.

Besides these two exceptional cases, we can identify three fundamentally homogenous groups.

The first group is composed of the United Kingdom, Canada and Italy, with 6.8%, 6.8% and 5.3% respectively. Portugal, with 2.9%, and Eastern Eu-

rope, with 2.7%, represent an intermediate level between the first and the second group, which is composed of Switzerland (1.5%), Northern European Countries (1.4%), Belgium (1.1%), the United States (1.2%), Greece (0.8%), Spain (1.9%) and the Middle East (1.3%). The third group, whose frequency threshold is (1%), includes Germany (0.6%), Austria (0.7%), Australia (0.6%), India (0.2%) and Africa and Japan (0.1%). Finally, the frequencies of international and intercontinental collaborations are respectively 1.7% and 1.6%, showing collaborative research programmes and co-authorships at the cross-country and cross-continental level.

## 8

### Comparison between Profiles Presented by European, Latin American and North American Papers for Chosen Indicators

Given a hypothesis of differentiation on the basis of geographic/cultural origin (relative to, at least, three areas: Europe, Latin America and North America) and according to the previous literature on the subject (i.e. de Rosa, 2002a; de Rosa, d'Ambrosio, 2003), we think it is consistent to perform a very close examination (“zoom”) of the data related to each of these three areas and then compare them. For reasons of space, we decided to present only the figures related to the main indicators of the literature’s general profile.

The first indicator under consideration was participation in the conferences.

We are not surprised by what figures 5, 6 and 7 highlight in terms of the number of papers presented at each conference. In the framework of a continuous general growth in participation, each of the three areas have particularly significant peaks corresponding to the conferences held in places more easily accessible in terms of distance. These are, for Europe, the 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> and especially the 8<sup>th</sup> conferences held respectively in Ravello, Aix-en-Provence, Stirling and Rome. For Latin America, these are the 2<sup>nd</sup>, the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup>, held respectively in Rio de Janeiro, Mexico City and Guadalajara. For North America it is the 5<sup>th</sup>, held in Montreal. Despite the presence of some researchers from Latin America and North America, the 1<sup>st</sup> International Conference on SR in Ravello saw significant participation only by Europeans. We think this is not because of the geographical distance, but mainly because contacts started to be established later on, thanks in part to the “snow ball” effect of the international conferences in promoting scientific relations among the SRT inspired community on both sides of the Atlantic.

FIGURE 5  
Distribution of frequencies for the variable "Participation to Conferences" in the European Literature

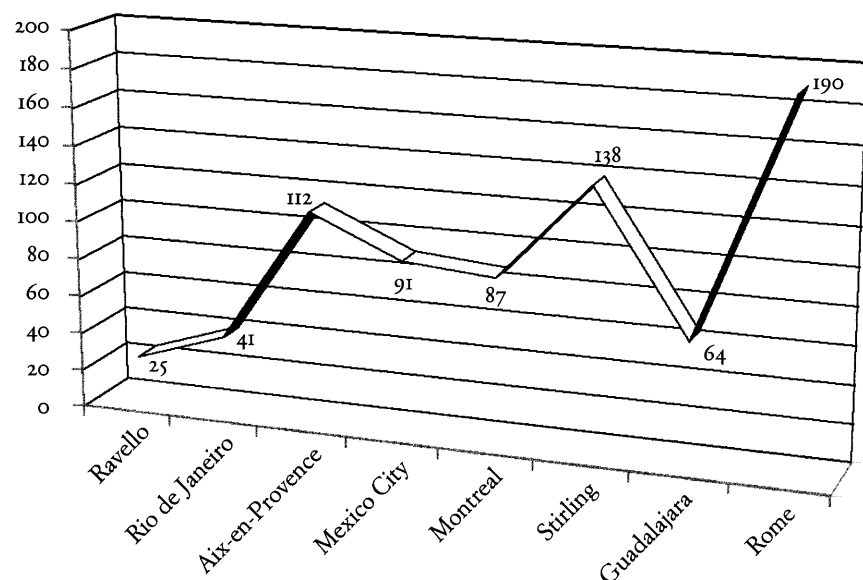


FIGURE 6  
Distribution of frequencies for the variable "Participation to Conferences" in the Latin American Literature

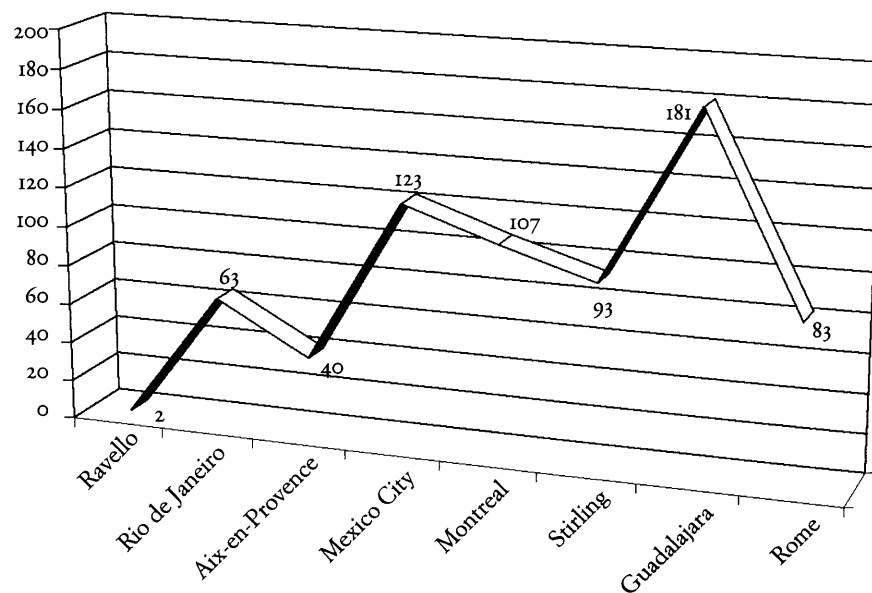
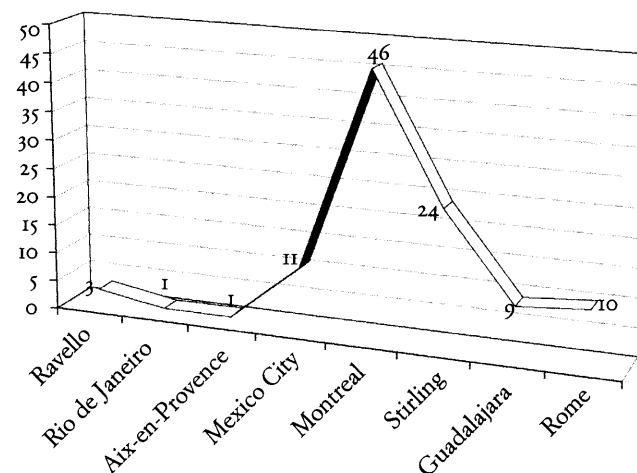


FIGURE 7  
Distribution of frequencies for the variable "Participation to Conferences" in the North American Literature



In the "macro areas" groupings, we also found it interesting to try and understand what were the effective contributions of the individual countries that make up the groups. For example, in Europe, the prominent role played by France (38.8%) is clear, as its production represents a third of European papers under consideration. In decreasing order, the other significant contributions were those of the United Kingdom (15.3%), Italy (15.2%), Portugal (6.5%) and Eastern European Countries (6.1%).

FIGURE 8  
Distribution of frequencies for the variable "Participation to Conferences by Country" in the European Literature (in percentage)

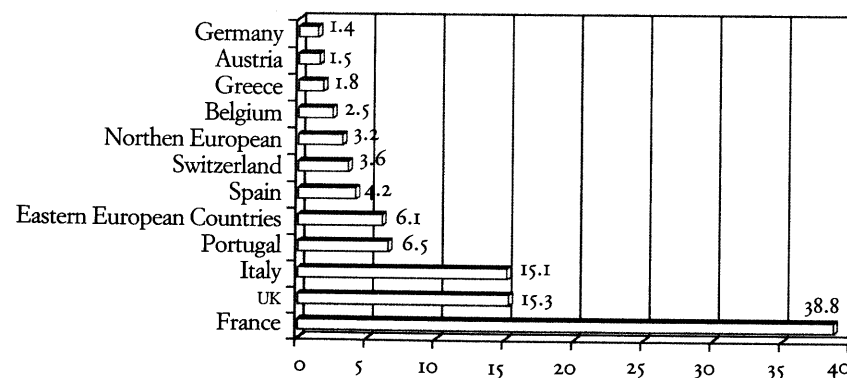
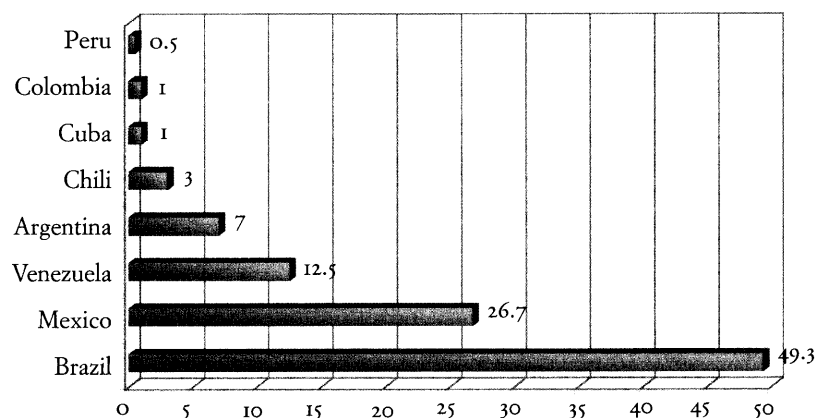


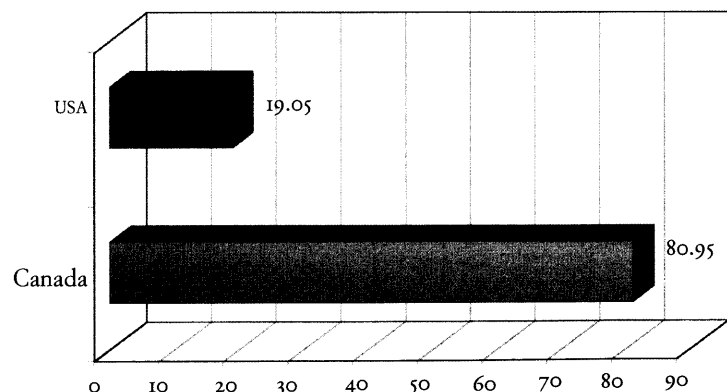


FIGURE 9  
Distribution of cross frequencies for the variable "Participation to Conferences by Country" in the Latin American Literature (in percentage)



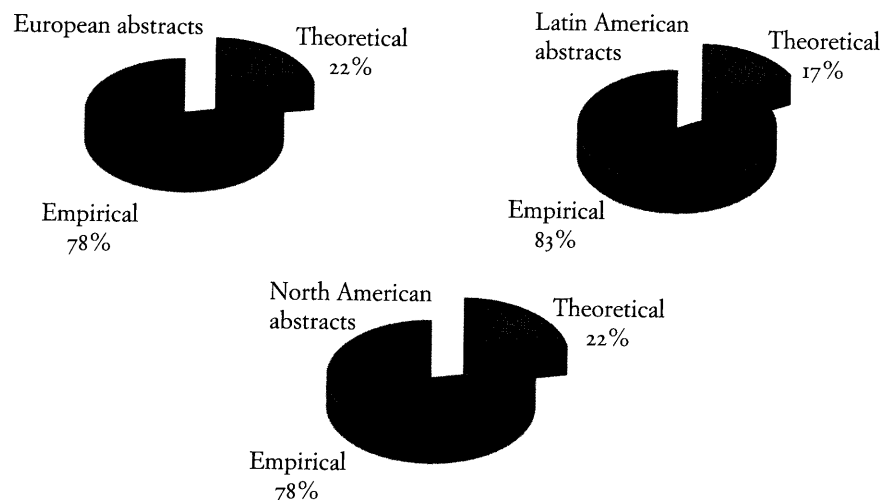
Concerning Latin America, it is interesting to note the role of Brazilian researchers (49.3%). In the North American context, the predominance of Canadian papers is even more overwhelming: 80.95% compared to the United States' production of 19.5%.

FIGURE 10  
Distribution of frequencies for the variable "Participation to Conferences by Country" in the North American Literature (in percentage)



To deepen our cross-cultural comparison, as far as the variable *Type of Paper* is concerned, we find a certain distance between Europe and North America on one hand, which, although not even reaching 25% of the *theoretical* papers produced, still shows a certain interest for this type of approach. On the other hand, Latin America definitely seems more oriented towards a more *empirical* production.

FIGURE 11  
Distribution of frequencies for the variable "Type of Papers" in the European, in the North American, in the Latin American Literature



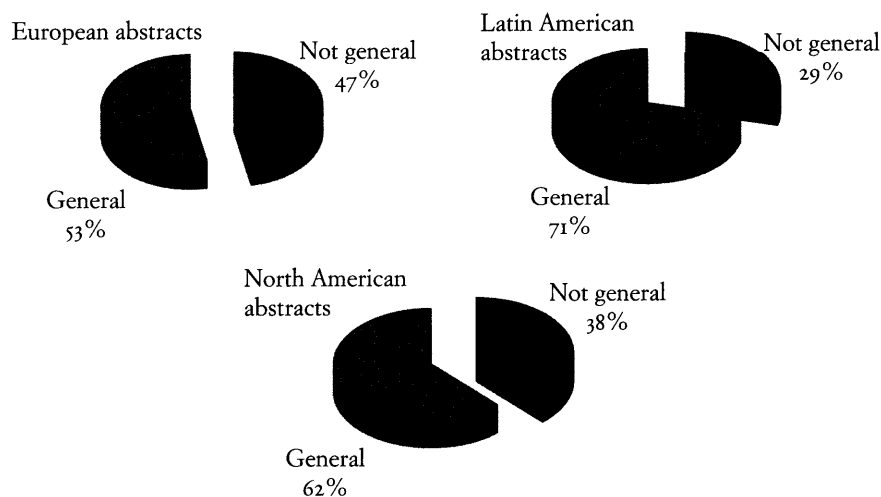
The same kind of dynamic seems to surface again concerning the variable *General Reference to the SRT* (present/absent), even if, in this case, some differences arise between the European and North American literature. In fact, in this case the reference to the SRT is specifically linked to *paradigmatic* aspects with more frequency in the European case (47% in European literature vs. 38% in North American literature).

Therefore, it is clear from the above that a pattern is developing.

Compared with European literature production (more *theoretical* in style and oriented towards the development of the SRT via studies exploring certain paradigmatic aspects), we find that Latin American literature, being prevalently *empirical* and referring in a *general* way to the SRT, seems more interested in the applications of the theory as a tool to interpret social phenomena. Therefore, there is a two-sided debate between two different ways to do research in Social Psychology.

FIGURE 12

Distribution of frequencies for the variable "Type of Reference to SRT" in European, North American, and Latin American Literature



But how does North America fit into this line of reasoning?

North America presents the highest value of *theoretical communications* among the three areas. Concerning the second variable *General Reference to SRT*, with 55% of papers referring to the SRT in a rather *general* way, North America is placed in an intermediate position in relation to the other two areas.

The first explanation that comes to mind is that the North American literature pays more attention to real or potential relationships with other theories and constructs than to paradigmatic references to SRT. Unfortunately, the peculiar limits of our unit of analysis (the conferences' abstracts) do not allow us to explore this path. For the moment, we raise this question in the hope that we will later be able to find a proper response, comparing these results with those emerging from the meta-theoretical analysis of all the papers.

Let us turn now to the *Thematic Areas*. This is, perhaps, the aspect in which the geographic/cultural context has the most influence. Let us not forget that Social Representations are defined as a "product-process" which is elaborated in respect to socially significant objects. It would make no sense to study the SR of an object that is not salient for the community of reference.

FIGURE 13

Distribution of frequencies for the variable "Distribution of Thematic Areas" in European Literature (in percentage)

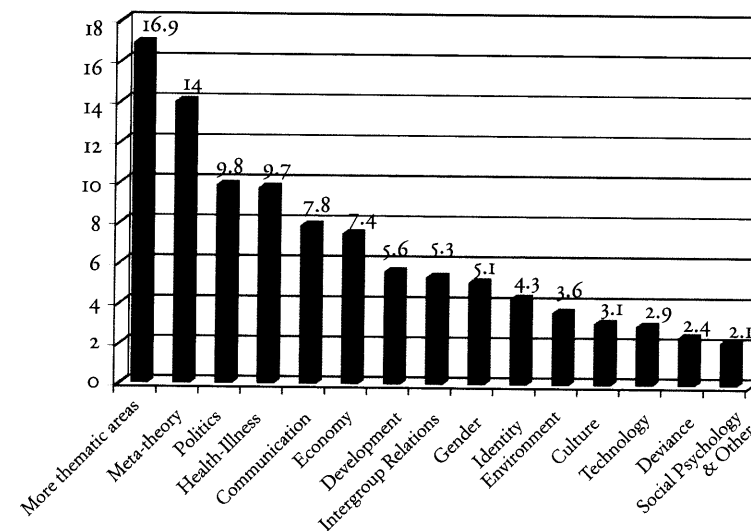


FIGURE 14

Distribution of frequencies for the variable "Distribution of Thematic Areas" in Latin American Literature (in percentage)

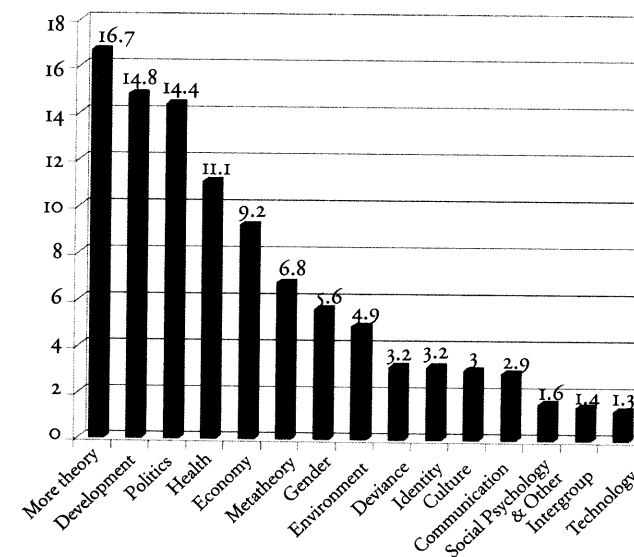
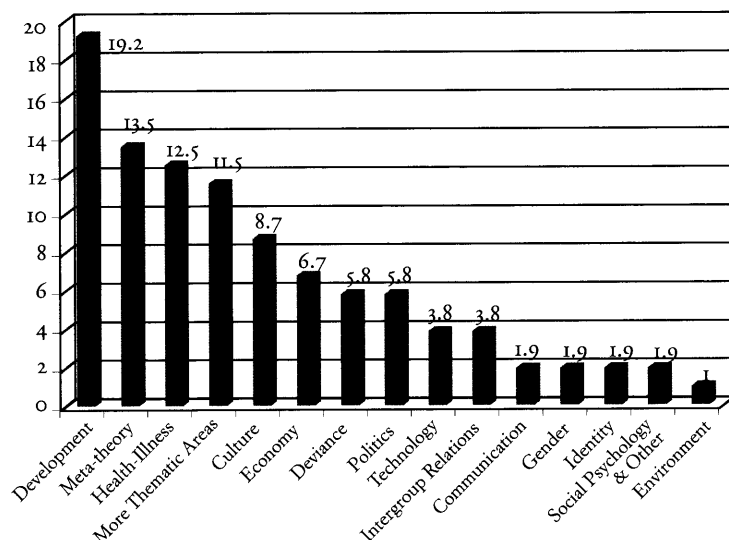


FIGURE 15

Distribution of frequencies for the variable "Distribution of Thematic Areas" in North American Literature (in percentage)



The strength of the link between the actual social/cultural/economic context and the choice of subject of inquiry clearly emerges from a simple observation. The thematic areas most covered in Latin America are *Development and education* (14.8%), together with *Politics and ideology* (14.4%). In Europe it is *Meta-theory* (14%) and in North America, *Development and education* (19.2%). *Health/illness* as a thematic area is relatively equally distributed, with high percentages in all the conferences.

This result is also visible in relation to the different significance of the various thematic areas of the papers for each conference (TABLE 3). It is true that in certain countries, certain themes are more salient in SR research than in others. Therefore, where those countries are more present, we find that in the debate, these thematic areas are more central than others. This is again the case of issues such as *Politics and ideology*, that are very important for the countries of Latin America and take on a certain amount of importance in the second and fourth conferences. *Development and education*, in the forefront of Canadian interests, is very important in the fifth Conference.

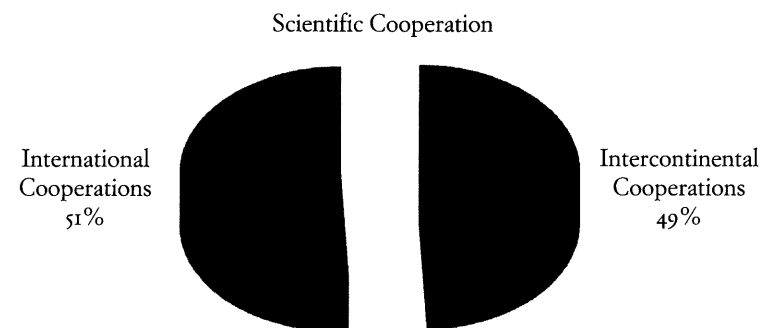
Concerning the methodological aspect, we note the prevalence of *descriptive designs* in all contexts. Despite this, however, some differences exist. Probably thanks to the papers from the Aix-en-Provence School and more in gen-

eral to the influence of the EAESP, in European there is a presence of *experimental* and *quasi-experimental designs*. In Latin American and, surprisingly, also in North American (mainly Canadian) contributions we notice a strong prevalence of descriptive designs. However, a presence for quasi-experimental and experimental research designs in all three categories is maintained, even if only minimally.

Before moving on to other analyses, a final result that we would like to highlight is the distribution of studies conducted with the collaboration of more than one nation. While not having particularly high frequencies and only 19 in number, they assume a particular significance in the framework of this analysis.

FIGURE 16

Distribution of frequencies for the variable "International and Intercontinental co-operations"



In contrast with previous results based on the analysis of the Biannual International Conferences from Ravello (1992) to Stirling (2002) (cf. de Rosa, d'Ambrosio, 2003), here international cooperation (50.9%) is slightly increased, as compared to intercontinental collaboration efforts (49.1%).

Looking more closely, we note how more than half of intercontinental collaborative research programs are between France and Brazil. Less than a quarter involves other nations, specifically in two cases: the first case is the United Kingdom, Austria and India and the second, Switzerland, Mexico and Canada (Quebec). We wish to further specify that of the seven France/Brazil collaborative trans-cultural research projects, three were led by Paris academic circles and four by Aix-en-Provence. At this point, an observation emerges: when a reference to the *structure* of Social Representations appears – most often cited in Latin American paper abstracts – it is actually related to the Aix-en-Provence

structuralist approach. As Aix has participated in many collaborative research programs with Brazil, we interpret these results both as a sign of that famous "neighbour to neighbour contagion effect" that Sperber speaks about and as a consequence of the multiplying role played by the increasing mobility between France and Brazil of professors, researchers and even doctoral research trainees.

## 9 Cross Frequencies and Chiz Test Results Analysis

From the cross frequencies tables, it is clear how thematic areas are treated in different ways in relation to the external variables *Type of Communication* and *Conference*.

Furthermore, these differences in the distribution of the cross frequencies have undergone the Chiz test in order to verify their non-randomness.

Table 3 shows that the most frequent thematic area for papers from the 1<sup>st</sup> International Conference on SR (Ravello, 1992) was *Theory, Meta-theory and methodological Issues*. It was the subject of 11 out of 30 papers.

The other thematic area central to this Conference was *Health/Illness* (6 papers out of 30). On the other hand, *Health/Illness* shows relevant frequencies in every international conference, especially the ones held in *Rio de Janeiro* (1994) and *Aix-en-Provence* (1996), where it represented the most important thematic area with, respectively, percentages of 16.66% and 14.72%.

Also taking into account that its frequencies are still high in the more recent conferences, we can consider *Health/Illness* as a topical category for research in SR. In the Mexico City corpus it actually represented 9.87%, in Montreal 12.9%, in Stirling 14.87%, in Guadalajara 4.9% and in Rome 4.22%.

The 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Conferences show instead the highest frequencies for *Politics and ideology* (Mexico City, 15.45%, Stirling 15.24% and Guadalajara 10.41%) and *Development and education* (Montreal, 14.16% and Guadalajara 10.78%).

Finally, the last conference, held in Rome, shows the highest frequencies for *Communication and Multimedia* (10.6%), consistent with the title chosen for the conference. As de Rosa (2006b) pointed out, in the organisation of a conference there are, in fact,

at least two decisions [...] particularly interesting to take: the choice of the main theme (and therefore of the title) and the place, for the event venue, respectively corresponding to the conceptual and the physical *topos*, both related to the conference symbolic space to convene the participants. The choice of the main theme of the 2006 conference, Social Representations Media and Society, was guided by the desire to stress the importance of developing the research area in the field of Social Representation with a strong connection with the Communication studies.

TABLE 3  
Distribution of cross-frequencies for the variables "Thematic Areas" by "Conference"

	Ravello	Rio	Aix	Mexico City	Montreal	Stirling	Guadalajara	Rome
Communication	3.6%	3.6%	4.3%	3.6%	3.3%	6.4%	4.9%	18.3%
Culture	0.0%	1.8%	1.9%	2.7%	5.0%	6.4%	3.1%	8.3%
Deviance	0.0%	1.8%	1.9%	3.1%	5.4%	3.4%	5.6%	2.4%
Development	3.6%	6.3%	11.2%	9.8%	15.3%	12.4%	17.9%	14.8%
Gender	3.6%	6.3%	8.7%	7.6%	6.6%	6.0%	4.9%	1.8%
Economy	3.6%	15.3%	11.2%	12.9%	8.7%	6.8%	8.6%	8.9%
Environment	0.0%	12.6%	5.0%	4.0%	2.1%	3.0%	6.2%	7.1%
Health/Illness	21.4%	17.1%	14.9%	10.2%	12.4%	15.0%	6.8%	7.7%
Identity	10.7%	2.7%	1.2%	4.0%	3.7%	5.6%	8.0%	5.3%
Technology	0.0%	4.5%	5.0%	2.7%	4.1%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%
Intergroup Relations	3.6%	2.7%	6.8%	5.3%	4.1%	4.1%	6.2%	2.4%
Politic	7.1%	14.4%	13.0%	16.0%	13.6%	15.4%	17.3%	7.7%
Social Psychology & Other Disciplines	3.6%	0.9%	3.1%	2.7%	2.9%	0.4%	1.9%	3.0%
Meta-theory	39.3%	9.9%	11.8%	15.6%	12.8%	11.7%	8.6%	12.4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

It articulated a variety of societal issues, which were mediated and constructed via interactions in a multi-media communication system.

Examining the eight scientific events, *Politics and ideology* appears as a sensitive thematic area in all conferences except the 1<sup>st</sup> (Ravello, 1992) and the 8<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Rome, 2006). It is the second most relevant thematic area at the 3<sup>rd</sup>, the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> ICSR and the third at the 2<sup>nd</sup> ICSR (after *Economy-work-organization*).

In addition, we would like to note two relatively «new increasing» thematic areas, namely *Culture* and *Deviance*, beginning with the 5<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Montreal, 2000).

As far as our data shows, both of these did not exist at the Ravello Conference, but they show a significant growth in later conferences.

We note an inversion of their positions during the last two conferences, where *Deviance* decreases to 3.35% in the 7<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Guadalajara, 2004) and to just 1.30% in the 8<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Rome, 2006) and *Culture*, that represented just 1.86% in the Guadalajara corpus, reaches 4.55% in Rome.

Another area that has not been dealt with since the Rio conference is *Technology*. It seems that it represented an interesting research topic in the second half of 90's, but it is completely absent in the Guadalajara and Rome corpus, where the topic of *Technology* – when present – was also treated as an element of the more complex *Communication and Multi-media system*.

Another thematic area *Environment*, which was mostly dealt with in Rio, also shows a negative trend.

One important thing to note is the role of the 2<sup>nd</sup> ICSR (Rio de Janeiro, 1994) as the most productive scientific focal point for the development of new *thematic areas*. Also, for the 3<sup>rd</sup> ICSR (Aix-en-Provence, 1996), it is possible to see a quantitative jump in many thematic areas that were beginning to show uniform or growing frequencies. This is true for thematic areas such as: *Development and education* which, showing a growth trend, went from 6.14% of papers at Rio to 9% at Aix; *Gender*, from 6.14% to 8%; and *Inter-personal and inter-group relationships* from 2.63% to 6.50%. Both showed proportionally stable trends in subsequent conferences. The same is true for *Social Psychology and other disciplines*.

Cross frequencies and Chi2 appear to highlight the association between *Thematic areas* and *Conferences* (Communication and Multimedia by Conferences Chi2 = 22.994; d.f. = 7; p = 0.002; Culture by Conferences Chi2 = 14.16; d.f. = 7; p = 0.048).

In the following sections, we are going to deal with some of the most interesting correlations between external variables (type of paper) and a few internal ones, namely, *References to the SRT*.

As far as the section *References to the SRT* is concerned, the results show the

importance of the relations between the *General Reference SRT* and the *Type of Paper: Empirical*. 87% of the communications showing a general reference to SRT are *empirical*, and 30% of the communications with a specific paradigmatic reference to SR are *theoretical*. Such a strong association is also confirmed by the Chi2 results (Chi2 = 67.3; d.f. = 1; p = 0.01).

In addition, if we look at the percentages of both these variables in our population (cf. FIG. 1), we realize how important this relationship is. If we consider the dimension *Type of paper*, the modality *Empirical* scores reach 80.3% of the entire sample and the variable *General Reference to SRT* is present in 61.7% of the cases.

From a closer analysis of the cross frequencies of the variables *Type of Paper* with the specific references to SRT we notice first a general figure of particularly low frequencies (except in the case of *Meta-theory* and *Structure related*) and a lesser importance for empirical papers focusing on main aspects of SRT. This is particularly true in the case of *Genesis related*, *Transmission*, *Functions related* and *Meta-theory related*.

The cross frequencies between *Type of Communications* and *Meta-theory related* show, for the very first time, a major proportion of theoretical communications. This is not surprising. On the contrary, we intuitively would have expected an even larger theoretical dimension for this variable. We explain this result as due to the prospective and retrospective reconsideration of interest for theoretical issues in relation to the critical debate that has emerged in certain areas of research, as well as to the methodological inquiry that is encompassed in our definition of meta-theoretical reference *vis-à-vis* the theory in the last decades (for example, the radical discourse analysis position: cf. de Rosa, 2006a).

Furthermore, the high percentage (12.4%) that this variable has in the population partially reassesses the reported figure for the variable *Type of Paper*, although most of the communication is empirical, it seems that this does not entail a lack of interest for theoretical and meta-theoretical issues.

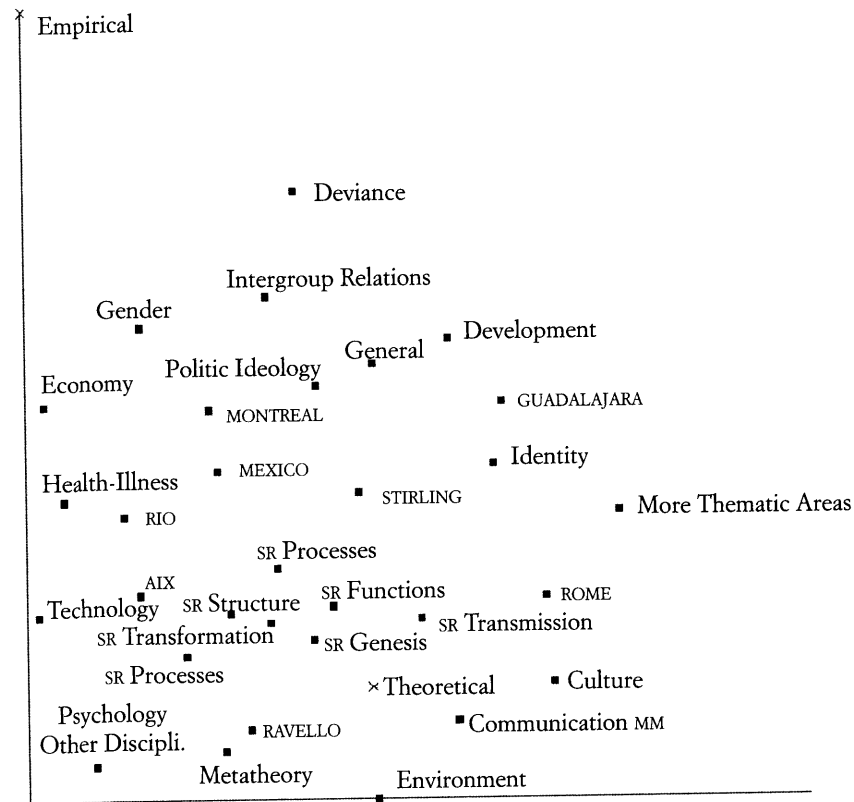
## 10

### Structural Analysis Based on the Results of the Weighted Smallest Space Analysis and Facet Analysis

The results deriving from the statistical analysis based on the Facet Theory are even more interesting, given the structural view of the data. Figure 17 is a Space Diagram, the output of the Weighted Smallest Space Analysis (WSSA)<sup>5</sup>. In this figure, the product of all the correlations between all the internal variables, taken with their sign and intensity, is expressed in spatial terms. The underlying assumption is that each variable in the conceptual space “object of study”

Given that each internal variable interacts not only with one other, but with all others, the relationships verified via "bivariate" analyses will not necessarily be maintained in their entirety. In the comprehensive group dynamic they can be reinforced, weakened or modified by the influence of other variables.

FIGURE 17  
WSSAI Related to Internal variables: Thematic Areas Session and Reference to SRT Session  
and to External variables: Empirical and Theoretical



In Space Diagram 17, the internal variables are organised in a *modular circular structure* where a central nucleus represents the point of intersection of all the correlations taking place and clarifies the more general and shared characteristics of our “concept-space”. All the other variables are arranged around the

These have less shared characters but, in a way, define the meaning of the central variables.

Not surprisingly, in our figure the central variables are all the conferences except the first. Ravello is off-centre because of the distinctly theoretical and meta-theoretical character of the papers presented there, little correlated with other aspects specified by the external sector in its zone of influence (the thematic areas *Meta-theory* and *Social Psychology and Other Disciplines*).

In the external sector next to the 2<sup>nd</sup> ICSR (Rio de Janeiro, 1994), the 3<sup>rd</sup> ICSR (Aix-en-Provence, 1996) and the 4<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Mexico City, 1998) as well as Montreal, the thematic area *Heath/illness* is found in an intermediate position between these four conferences, since it played an important role in all of them. Meanwhile, it sits on the opposite side of the 8<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Rome, 2006) and the 7<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Guadalajara, 2004), consistent with the decrease in interest registered during these last two conferences.

Near the 7<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Guadalajara, 2004), the 5<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Montreal, 2000), the 4<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Mexico City, 1998) and the 6<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Stirling, 2002), we have *General Reference to SRT*, from which all the other *thematic areas* radiate out to a more external sector. These are close to the conferences in which they found the most space: *Development* between the 5<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Montreal, 2000) and the 7<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Guadalajara, 2004), *Politics and Ideology* between the 4<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Mexico City, 1998) and the 7<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Guadalajara, 2004), *Economy* between the 2<sup>nd</sup> ICSR (Rio de Janeiro, 1994) and the 4<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Mexico City, 1998), *Identity* between the 6<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Stirling, 2002) and the 7<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Guadalajara, 2004), and *Technology* near the 3<sup>rd</sup> ICSR (Aix-en-Provence, 1996).

The central position of the variable *General Reference to SRT* in reference to most of the thematic areas and three of the four conferences held in the Americas (Guadalajara, Mexico City, Montreal) highlights the contrast between this side of the data structure and the region embedded between the four conferences held in Europe (Ravello, Aix-en-Provence, Rome and Stirling). Here we find all specific *References to the Paradigmatic Aspects of SR: SR Structure and Transformation* closer to the 3<sup>rd</sup> ICSR (Aix-en-Provence, 1996), *SR Processes* closer to the 6<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Stirling, 2002), *SR Transmission* closer to the 8<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Rome, 2006), and *Meta-theory related* closer to the 1<sup>st</sup> ICSR (Ravello, 1992). *SR Functions* and *Genesis* are located at the very centre of this region.

Further out, in a more external layer, we find the thematic areas *Social Psychology and Other Disciplines* and *Meta-theory* close to the 1<sup>st</sup> ICSR (Ravello, 1992) and *Communications and Multimedia*, as well as *Culture*, close to the 8<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Rome, 2006). This is consistent with the cross frequencies showing high

values of these thematic areas during the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> international conferences (respectively Ravello and Rome, both in Italy).

This structure leads us to expect some sort of differentiation between the conferences held in the Americas (Rio de Janeiro, 1994; Mexico City, 1998; Montreal, 2000 and Guadalajara, 2004) which can be characterised as having more “applied” interests, and those held in Europe (Ravello, 1992; Aix-en-Provence, 1996; Stirling, 2002 and Rome, 2008) that seem more tied to interest in the theory’s paradigmatic aspects. The conference held in Stirling plays an intermediate role, located between the two regions.

Examining the positions of the external variables *Theoretical papers* and *Empirical papers* that projected onto this structure can provide a new perspective that corroborates the interpretation we have given so far.

In fact, the external variables are distributed in a clearly antithetic and bipolar way. Namely, the variable *Empirical paper* (*Empirical*), is outside the cloud of variables, while *Theoretical paper* (*Theoretical*) is inside, even if not in a central position. At first glance, this position is surprising, if we take into account the high frequency reported for empirical papers within the study population as well as the fact that most conferences confirmed the prevalence of empirical papers.

On closer examination, however, we notice that the variable *Theoretical papers* assumes a special position. It is projected exactly in the centre of the region for *Meta-theoretical* and *Specific References to Paradigmatic Aspects of SRT* delimited by the four conferences held in Europe (Ravello, Aix-en-Provence, Stirling and Rome) and by the thematic areas associated to these conferences (respectively *Meta-theory* and *Social Psychology and Other Disciplines*, for Ravello and *Culture* and *Communication and Multi-Media*, for Rome).

We can find an explanation for this result by looking at the cross frequencies distributions for the variables *Type of Paper* and *Type of Reference to SRT*. Here we notice that the most *Theoretical Papers* (total 18.70%) are also papers presenting a *Not General Reference to SRT* (11.50%). Therefore, these are papers dealing with specific Paradigmatic Aspects of SRT.

Meanwhile, the total number of papers with Not General References to SRT is much lower than the sum of papers dealing with all Paradigmatic Aspects of SRT, since the latter are not mutually exclusive variables. On the contrary, a lot of papers discussing a given paradigmatic aspect also take into account the others.

This is why the structure of our data is organised around a very cohesive “theoretical” region that avoids a division into theoretical and empirical sides.

Therefore, the variables Thematic areas and the variable *General Reference to SRT* are distributed in the most external layer of the cloud, in the sector con-

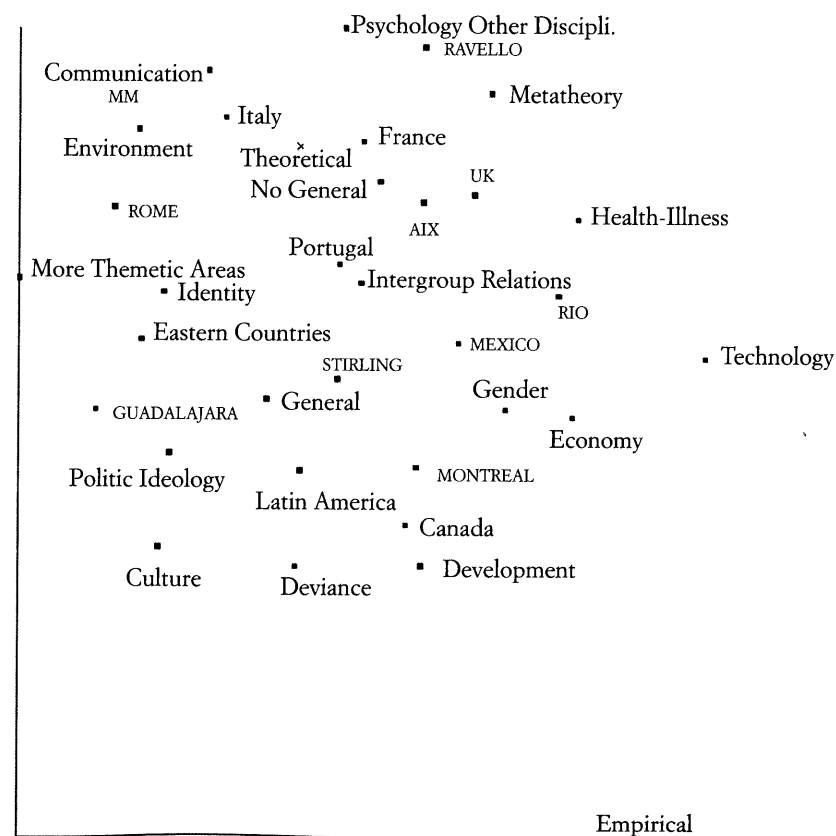
cerning the four conferences held in the Americas that even while maintaining a central position in the cloud, are distributed in the form of a semicircle in the opposite half of the cloud.

The accuracy of this graphic data representation is confirmed by the Shepard curve.

Given that figure 17 demonstrates our concept’s structure (*corpus* of papers presented at the biannual international conferences) and considers as internal only the variables related to the *Thematic Areas* and *Specific References to SRT* section, we can ask: how does this structure change if we substitute the variables related to Specific References to SRT section with the Countries of Authors’ Institution? The answer is given in Space Diagram 18.

FIGURE 18

WSSA1 Related to External variables: Empirical vs. Theoretical Papers and to Internal variables Thematic Areas and Country of Authors’ Institution





Even if the position of the external variables is the same (i.e. polarised with *Theoretical* inside the cloud and *Empirical* outside), the distribution of the different thematic areas results rather differently. We notice how strong the links are between different countries and thematic areas.

It would seem that the structure of our conceptual universe doesn't change so greatly. Again we find a modular sequential structure, where we can point out a theoretical region embedded between the four conferences held in Europe and the four conferences held in the Americas, together with the thematic areas with higher frequencies for each one of them radiating all around this first region.

The first region surrounds the variable *No General Reference to SRT* (an area where abstracts taking into account the paradigmatic aspects of SRT are found). Here we find thematic areas like *Meta-theory, Social psychology and Other disciplines, Communication, Inter-Personal and Inter-Group Relationships, Identity and Environment* as well as countries like *France, Italy, UK, Portugal and Eastern European Countries*.

The variable *General Reference to SRT* is located in an intermediate area between the first region and the more external sector.

In this latter sector are located thematic areas like *Health/Illness, Technology, Economy, Gender, Development, Deviance, Culture, Politics-Ideology*, as well as countries like *Latin America and Canada*.

France, the UK, Canada and also Latin America are in the centre of the cloud. As they are the countries that present the highest frequencies, they probably were active in a larger number of thematic areas and participated in all the conferences.

The alienation coefficient, assumed as an indicator of the fitness of the model, for this graph is 0,24788.

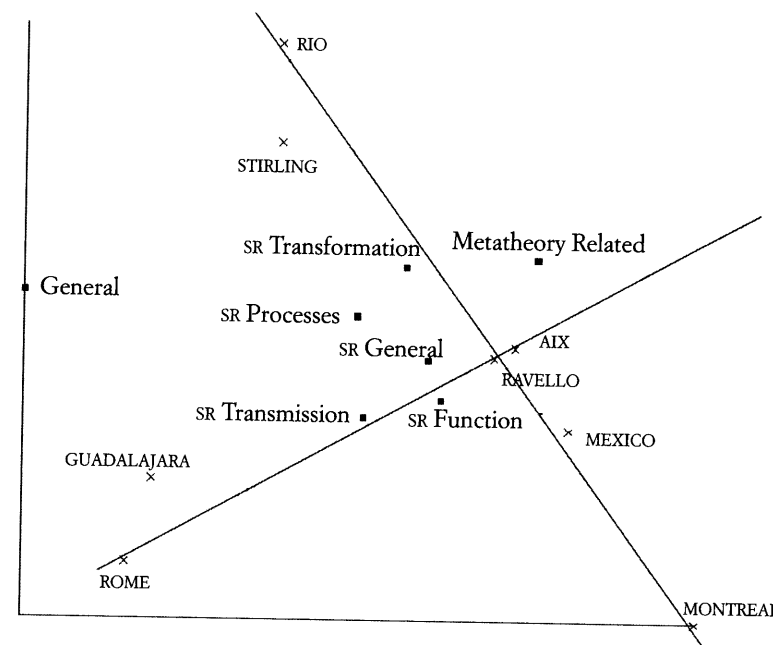
In figure 19, using as internal variables "references to SRT" and as external variables the eight ICSR.s, we find a structure already seen in figure 17, even if here it is more marked. Namely, we find a concentration of References to Paradigmatic Aspects of SRT all around the 1<sup>st</sup> ICSR (Ravello, 1992) in contrast with the General Reference to SRT that is outside of the cloud of internal variables and has the 2<sup>nd</sup>, the 6<sup>th</sup>, the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> conferences sitting in a borderline position. This is evidence of the increasing trend of scientific production on SR with a more applied and general perspective.

If, instead we examine the paradigmatic references to SRT, we find that the two axes that pass through the central Ravello conference, link the four conferences located at the extremities of the data (Rio de Janeiro, Montreal and Rome, Aix-en-Provence) and indicate four regions in this space:

- a first region embedded between the 5<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Montreal, 2000), the 1<sup>st</sup> ICSR (Ravello, 1992) and the 8<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Rome, 2006) represents the literature taking into account the *functional aspects* of SR;

FIGURE 19

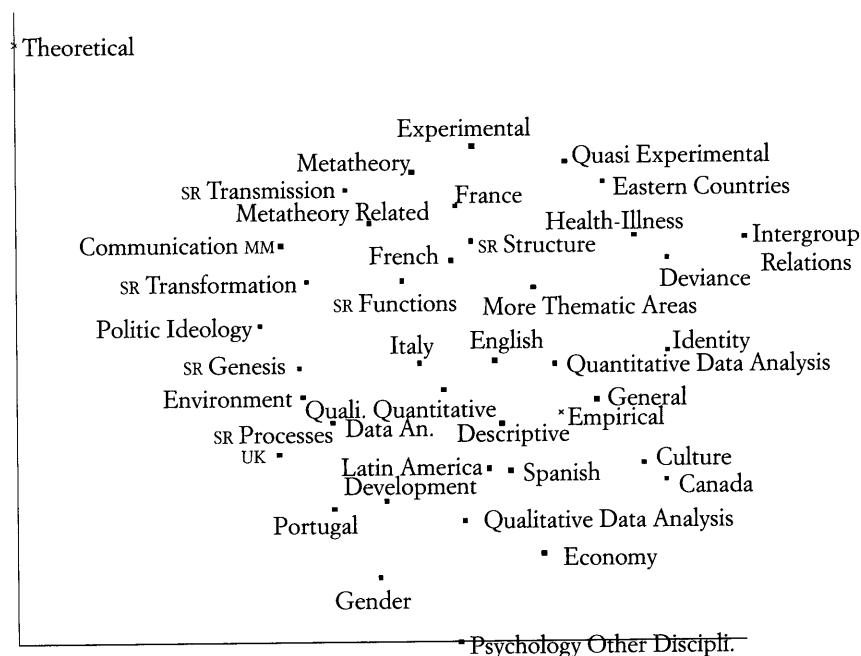
WSSAI Diagram Related to Internal variables: the Session "References to SRT" variables and to External variables: Ravello, Rio, Aix, Mexico, Montreal, Stirling, Guadalajara, Rome



- in contrast to the first region we find the area defined by the 2<sup>nd</sup> ICSR (Rio de Janeiro, 1994), the 1<sup>st</sup> ICSR (Ravello, 1992) and the 3<sup>rd</sup> ICSR (Aix-en-Provence, 1996), where we find a literature concentrating more on the *structural aspects* of SR (consistent with the peculiar interest that the Aix-en-Provence School gives to these aspects);
- in the third region, located between the 2<sup>nd</sup> ICSR (Rio de Janeiro, 1994), the 1<sup>st</sup> ICSR (Ravello, 1992) and the 8<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Rome, 2006) we find all the *dynamic aspects* of SR with reference to the *Transformation of SR* that represents almost an overlapping between this region and the structural one. This is consistent with the importance that the Aix-en-Provence structuralist approach attaches to the theoretical elaboration on SR Transformation (Flament, 1987), but, also, with the importance that the dynamic processes of SR acquire in research focused on Communication and Meta-theoretical studies, the central theme of the 8<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Rome, 2006);
- the last region, defined by Aix-en-Provence, Ravello and Montreal, is an empty space where the only the external variable projected is Mexico City, which is, in any case, very close to the boundaries of the functional area.

FIGURE 20

WSSAI Diagram Related to the 8<sup>th</sup> ICSR – Internal variables: the “References to SRT” variables, the “Thematic Areas” variables, the “Methodological Profile”; External variables: Theoretical vs. Empirical



Related to the data of the 8<sup>th</sup> ICSR (Rome, 2006), the Space Diagram 20 shows the well-known circular modular structure, but there is a reversed balance between the external variables *Theoretical* and *Empirical*. Here the variable *Empirical* is placed at the centre of the structure while the variable *Theoretical* is located outside. What is new here is that at the centre of this structure we observe some applied research features, such as the choice to use *Qualitative* and *Quali-Quantitative Data Analysis* and the focus on research objects related with intertwined Thematic Areas. This result can be understood as the beginning of a new approach to psycho-social applied research, one that is more oriented towards taking into consideration the complexity of social phenomena both in the integrated poly-thematic dimension and the methodological dimension (with increasing multi-method research approaches). On the external layer in the direction of the external variable *Theoretical* we find the thematic areas *Communication* and *Theory*, *Meta-theory* and *Methodological Issues*, together

with some Reference to Paradigmatic Aspects of SRT such as *SR Transmission* and *Meta-theory related* and *France* as an Author Institution Country.

## II

### Results of the Analysis Based on Analysis of Multiple Correspondences

In order to have a deeper understanding of the factors organizing the structure of our data, using the SPAD-N statistical package (version 5.0), we carried out, a Multiple Correspondence Analysis (ACM) from which we obtained the following histogram concerning the variance explained by each factor:

FIGURE 21

Histogram of Factors Eigenvalues extracted via Multiple Correspondence Analysis

VALEURS PROPRES			
APERÇU DE LA PRÉCISION DES CALCULS : TRACE AVANT DIAGONALISATION .. 1.0000			
SOMME DES VALEURS PROPRES .... 1.0000			
HISTOGRAMME DES 59 PREMIÈRES VALEURS PROPRES			
NUMERO	VALEUR PROPRE	POURCENT.	POURCENT. CUMULE
1	0.0853	8.53	8.53
2	0.0493	4.93	13.46
3	0.0394	3.94	17.40
4	0.0317	3.17	20.57
5	0.0289	2.89	23.46
6	0.0288	2.88	26.34
7	0.0264	2.64	28.98
8	0.0250	2.50	31.48
9	0.0240	2.40	33.88
10	0.0238	2.38	36.26
11	0.0229	2.29	38.55
12	0.0221	2.21	40.76
13	0.0215	2.15	42.91
14	0.0212	2.12	45.02
15	0.0205	2.05	47.08
16	0.0201	2.01	49.09
17	0.0197	1.97	51.05
18	0.0194	1.94	52.99
19	0.0189	1.89	54.88
20	0.0188	1.88	56.77
21	0.0182	1.82	58.59
22	0.0177	1.77	60.36
23	0.0176	1.76	62.13
24	0.0174	1.74	63.87
25	0.0170	1.70	65.57
26	0.0167	1.67	67.24
27	0.0163	1.63	68.86
28	0.0159	1.59	70.46
29	0.0159	1.59	72.05
30	0.0156	1.56	73.61
31	0.0154	1.54	75.15
32	0.0151	1.51	76.66
33	0.0147	1.47	78.13
34	0.0144	1.44	79.57
35	0.0142	1.42	80.99
36	0.0138	1.38	82.37
37	0.0135	1.35	83.72
38	0.0133	1.33	85.05
39	0.0131	1.31	86.36
40	0.0127	1.27	87.63
41	0.0123	1.23	88.86
42	0.0121	1.21	90.07
43	0.0116	1.16	91.23
44	0.0113	1.13	92.36
45	0.0108	1.08	93.45
46	0.0106	1.06	94.51
47	0.0088	0.88	95.39
48	0.0081	0.81	96.20
49	0.0077	0.77	96.97
50	0.0066	0.66	97.63
51	0.0053	0.53	98.16
52	0.0045	0.45	98.62
53	0.0039	0.39	99.01
54	0.0035	0.35	99.36
55	0.0033	0.33	99.69
56	0.0027	0.27	99.95
57	0.0004	0.04	99.99
58	0.0000	0.00	100.00
59	0.0000	0.00	100.00

## Description and Interpretation of Factorial Axes

In describing and interpreting the factors and their intersections, we will pay more attention to the first two factors. In fact, according to the values obtained after re-evaluation via Benzecri's Optimization Formula, the first two factors, alone, explain more than 96% of the variance.

The figure 22 shows the intersection between the first axis (abscissa) and the second (ordinate).

### 12.1. The First Factor. Interpreted as the Opposition between *Empirical* vs. *Theoretical*

The positive semi-axis of the first factor picks up the variables associated to empirical papers. This is why the modality present for *Descriptive Research* is located along this semi-axis. Descriptive research appears to be the most employed modality in the application of the SRT and, according to the global data, descriptive research designs are in an overwhelming majority.

After the variables *Open Instruments of Data Collection*, *Qualitative Data Analyses* and *General Reference to SRT*, this variable is the one that most orientates the axis, presenting the highest absolute contributions.

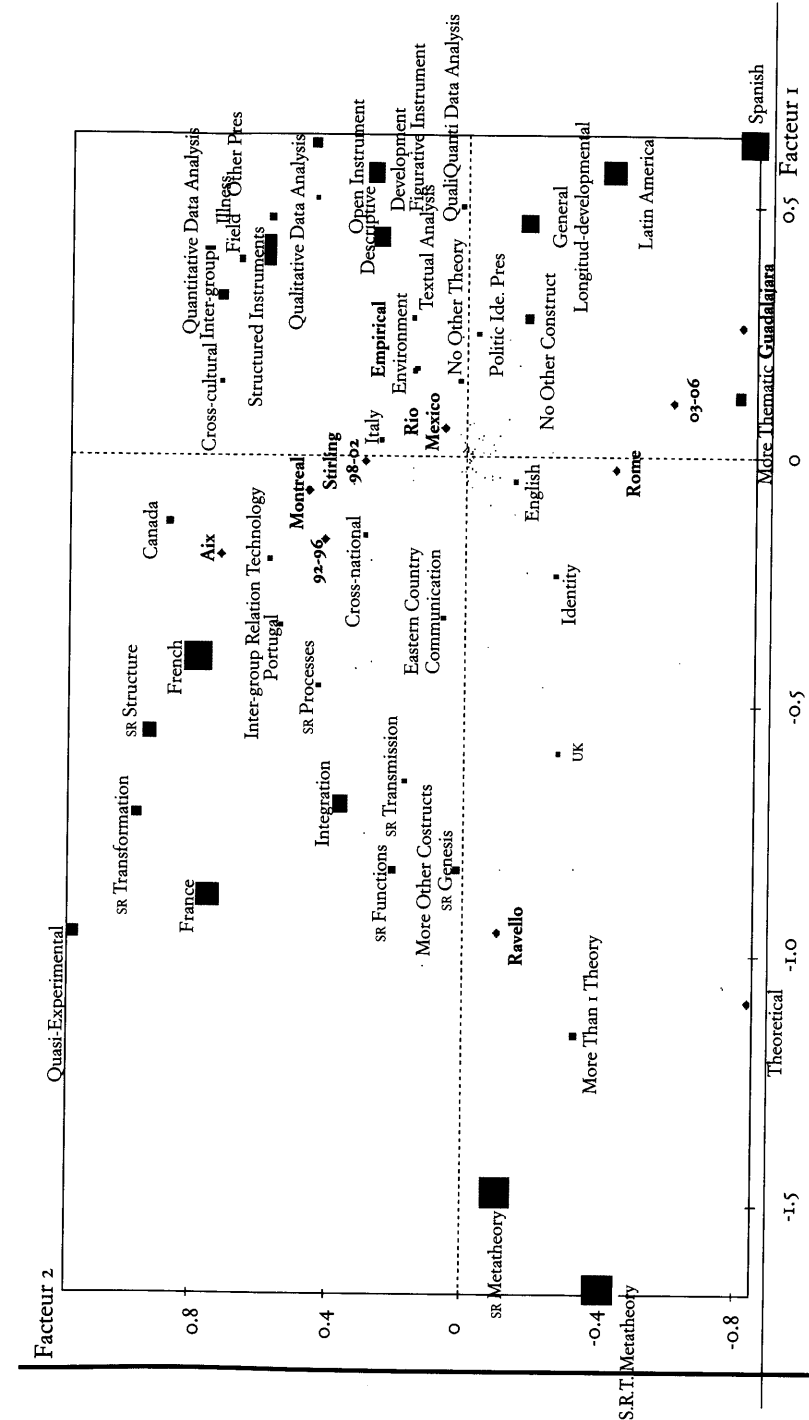
According to a decreasing order of test-values, within the illustrative variables that in their present modality are projected onto this semi-axis we find - *Empirical papers*, *Guadalajara* (8<sup>th</sup> ICSR), the period *2003-2006*, *Rio* (2<sup>nd</sup> ICSR) and *Mexico City* (4<sup>th</sup> ICSR). These contrast with the variables *Theoretical papers*, *1992-1997*, *Ravello* (1<sup>st</sup> ICSR), *Aix* (3<sup>rd</sup> ICSR), *Montreal* (5<sup>th</sup> ICSR), *Rome* (8<sup>th</sup> ICSR) and *Stirling* (6<sup>th</sup> ICSR) on the negative semi-axis, partially confirming the main WSAI results that show the different kind of literature presented at the conferences held in Europe and those held in the Americas.

Mirroring the positive semi-axis, on the negative semi-axis we find variables like *Reference to Meta-theory* and the thematic area *Meta-theory that strongly orient the semi-axis*.

On the negative semi-axis there is also the variables *More than one Construct*, *SR Genesis*, *SR Functions*, *SR transmission* and *France* which have great orientation strength on the axis, indicating that papers located on this semi-axis deal with the theoretical and meta-theoretical level of analysis for the SRT.

FIGURE 22

Crossing First and Second Factorial Axes extracted with the AC



## 12.2. The Second Factor. Interpreted as the Opposition between European and North American Literature vs. Latin American Literature

The second factor extracted expresses the difference in cultural contexts and its influence on literary production in various countries. This result is in agreement with the comparison of descriptive statistics, already discussed above and reflects the polarity expressed by the axis between the literature of European and North American origin and Latin American literature.

Such a polarity is immediately highlighted by its location at the extremity of the negative semi-axis of the present modality of the variable *Spanish language* and right after *Latin America, General Reference to SRT* (that on this axis presents the highest absolute value) and *No constructs and concepts, More Thematic Areas, Politics and Ideology, Identity*.

This combination of modalities and variables leads us to believe that:

- this refers to the Latin American literature semi-axis;
- on the level of paradigmatic development of SRT and of comparison with other theories and constructs, the type of papers outlined here is rather free of specific paradigmatic references to the SRT.

The modality *General Reference to SR* present on the same semi-axis reinforces this reasoning. Based on the comparative statistics, in fact, this variable characterises Latin American papers.

The discussion is reversed if we take into consideration the positive semi-axis. Here the highest absolute contributions are associated to the variables *France, French Canada* and, along with a specific reference to almost all the paradigmatic aspects of the SRT as well as other theories and constructs, and frequency of the thematic area “meta-theory”. Also, the variable *Integration* has a high absolute contribution on this semi-axis, consistent with the empirical evidence that among the possible types of reference to other theories, those that sustain the possibility of integration among the theories represent the majority.

As illustrative variables, the variables *Aix* (3<sup>rd</sup> ICSR), *Montreal* (5<sup>th</sup> ICSR) and the period *1992-1997* are projected onto the positive semi-axis while *Guadalajara* (7<sup>th</sup> ICSR), the period *2003-2006* and *Rome* (8<sup>th</sup> ICSR) onto the negative.

Taking into account the four quadrants of the factorial plan individually, we can identify four different kinds of literature on SR presented during the 14 years from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> ICSR:

- in the first quadrant (positive semi-axis for both the first and second factor) we find literature based on applied research with *descriptive* research designs and dealing with a large range of methodological options, *cross-cultural* and *inter-group researches* adopting *open* and/or *structured instruments of data collection* and carrying out different kinds of *qualitative, quantitative* or

*quali-quantitative* data analysis. This kind of literature was presented at the second and fourth conferences held in Latin America (respectively *Rio de Janeiro* in 1994 and *Mexico City* in 1998) and focuses on study objects related to the *Health-Illness* and *Development and Education* thematic areas;

- in the second quadrant (positive semi-axis for the first factor and negative semi-axis for the second) we find Latin American literature that again seems to have an applied character, presenting papers based more on *longitudinal-developmental* studies, mostly on issues related to Political and Ideological topics linked with *more thematic areas* with a *general reference to SRT*. In addition, the SRT, is assumed to be the only theoretical framework, and does not take into account specific relationships with other psychosocial constructs. This kind of literature is predominantly represented in the 7<sup>th</sup> ICSR held in *Guadalajara* (2004);
- in the third quadrant (negative semi-axis for both the first and second factor) we find *meta-theory* oriented literature, that concentrates on studying the relationships between the SRT and *other psychosocial theories*, with a thematic focus on *identity* issues. This scientific production is mainly represented by *English* and *English language* papers in the first and in the last international conference, held respectively in *Ravello* in 1992 and *Rome* in 2006;
- in contrast with the second quadrant, in the fourth quadrant (negative semi-axis for the first factor and positive semi-axis for the second) we find the *French, Canadian* and *French language* literature on SR, much more oriented towards contributing to the paradigmatic development of the SRT, especially concerning structure and transformation aspects, but also *SR Processes, Functions, Transmission* and *Genesis*. This literature is mainly associated with study objects related to *Inter-personal and Inter-group Relations, Technology* and *Communication* and, even if it does have a strong theoretical interest, it is not necessarily represented by theoretical papers but by theoretically driven empirical research. Here we also find the contribution to the development of the theory provided by *experimental* studies or *cross-national* research. This kind of literature was principally represented in the 3<sup>rd</sup> ICSR (*Aix-en-Provence*, 1996) and the 5<sup>th</sup> ICSR (*Montreal*, 2000), while the 6<sup>th</sup> ICSR (*Stirling*, 2002) was located in a bridge position between this and the first quadrant.

## 13 Concluding Remarks

Consistent with Carl Graumann's reasoning on the production of knowledge and diffusion of ideas (Graumann, 1998), from the first International Conference on Social Representations (*Ravello*, 1992) to the 8<sup>th</sup> ICSR (*Rome*, 2006), the constant growth in participants coming from an ever increasing number of

countries is an indicator that the SRT has become established as a point of reference for a large cross-disciplinary network of researchers not only in Social Psychology but also in other social sciences (Sociology, Anthropology, Media Studies etc.).

We have also highlighted some *specificities* related to the *socio-cultural context* in the phenomenon of the SRT's diffusion such as the strong relation between conference location and language options for the papers presented at the ICSR. Contrary to the tradition of the history of Social Psychology which is based on the analysis of textbooks where «when the names of scholars, whether typical or not, who marked the history of social psychology are associated with spaces (countries, cities or institutions), the latter are considered as mere labels» (Kalampalikis, Delouvée, Pétard, 2006, p. 37). Here the socio-cultural context – considered both in terms of the conference's "location", and with regards to the "authors' institution Country" – shows a set of significant results that allow us to assign more value to "place" than simply a physical location. Places here are considered in terms of individual and collective scientific activities associated with institutions and their location in a country or on a continent and go beyond the traditional approach of «history argued for a conception of scientific work and of science as independent of any geographic, historical, economical etc., context [...]» where «the history of social of social psychology is in its essence a history of scholars, who are very often disconnected from their workplaces, from their colleagues, from the socio-political conditions in which they worked, published and theorized the psychological and the social» (*ibid.*, p. 39).

Taking into consideration only the first six ICSR, in a previous analysis by de Rosa and d'Ambrosio (2003) the results of the comparison between both WSSAI and ACM structural analyses identified three profiles of scientific contributions based on authors' institution countries (European, Latin American and North American). This mainly concerned the criteria of "thematic areas" and the "empirical vs. theoretical" character of the scientific production. Based on the analysis of the abstracts from the entire series of eight ICSR.s, the results presented here show a new bipolar pattern focusing on the differences between Latin American and European literature. This is also probably due to the decrease in participation of North American researchers during more recent conferences.

European origin papers are the most heterogeneous. Their common feature is an interest in the application of the theory, with a focus on the development and articulation of paradigmatic aspects of the theory and meta-theoretical interests.

The numerous Latin American papers are strictly empirical, favour an "applied" perspective with no interest in the development of the theory *per se*, but

see it as a tool for understanding phenomena of social reality significant to their community (i.e., democracy, social inequality, and socio-economic problems, health etc.).

Besides the differences, a shared trend emerges from our results in relation to both transversal thematic areas (i.e., Health-Illness), and the influence of the temporal dimension.

The structural change shown by the Space Diagrams (also confirmed by the ACM results) provides evidence of a transformation in the papers of the last international conference compared to previous ones.

Two clear patterns can be highlighted:

- the last decade seems to be characterized by a reduced distance between interest in the meta-theoretical questions and empirical approaches inspired by the SRT, which also appears to make its assumption more critical in relation to other theoretical constructs and paradigms such as Social Cognition, Discourse Analysis etc. (cf. de Rosa, 2006a);
- there is still an important presence of general rather than paradigmatic reference to SR.

Here, some questions arise.

Given the cross-disciplinary expansion of SR literature and the new scenarios projected by the future location of the 9<sup>th</sup> ICSR: in Asia, how is it possible to correlate the "diffusion" of the theory and its researchers' increasingly massive production with its "development" in relation to social psychology?

To what extent and how did the impact of Latin American and/or Canadian scientific production bring about a reaction or influence on the European model and vice versa?

Which are the resistance factors in the paradigmatic development of the theory?

SRT diffusion, obviously, was not a case of reproduction without change in the various new cultural and scientific contexts.

For an example, in the *corpus* of Latin American papers (mostly from Brazil), when a paradigmatic reference appears, the *Structure of SR* is what is most relevant. As collaborative studies conducted by French and Brazilian researchers constitute the majority of intercultural collaborations, it is possible to go back and examine the flow of contacts and exchanges between these two scientific environments. According to Sperber, it is a situation of «groups of (exchanged cultural) representations that are mutually advantageous to one another» (Sperber, 1990).

To conclude, a detailed reconstruction of the flow of researchers between the various scientific centres now seems necessary. Also, to avoid easy conclusions, according to the research plan created by de Rosa (1994b), it will be necessary to integrate and compare the results obtained from the meta-analysis

based on the paper abstracts presented at conferences with the wider research programme aimed at meta-analysing the complete *corpus* of the literature inspired by the SR paradigm, including Ph.D. dissertations, books and articles currently under examination.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Over the years, several schools and approaches have been developed and have grown in the field of Social Representations. These include: *a*) the *Structural Approach* developed by the *Aix-en-Provence School*, inspired by Flament and diffused beginning with Abric's 1976 seminal work on the structure of SR. Several generations of researchers have contributed to the development of this approach including: Abric (1993; 2001; 2003b); Deschamps, Guimelli (2004); Flament (1987; 1994a; 1994b); Guimelli (1988; 1993); Guimelli, Rouquette (1992); Moliner (1992; 1995; 2001); Tafani, Audin, Apostolidis (2001); *b*) the *Socio-dynamic Approach*, the so called *Geneva School* – built on Doise's work (1986; 1988; 2002a; 2002b; 2004a; 2004b) and including contributions from Doise, Clémence, Lorenzi-Cioldi (1992; 1994); Staerklé, Clémence (2004); Staerklé, Spini (2004); *c*) the *Anthropological Approach* – basically inspired by Jodelet's perspective on SR (Jodelet, 1984; 1989a; 1989b; 2003) and developed by Haas (2002; 2004; 2006), Haas, Masson (2006), and Kalampalikis (2007); *d*) the *Narrative Approach*, see: Harré (1989); Laszlo (2002); Contarello, Volpato (2002); Jovchelovitch (2002) and Purkhardt (2002); *e*) the *Integrating and Differentiating Approach* developed by de Rosa (1987; 1990; 1992; 1993; 1994a; 1994b; 2002a; 2006a; 2006b) inspired by both the integration and the differentiation of several theoretical paradigms and methodological approaches on the basis of their epistemic principles' compatibility.

<sup>2</sup> The European Ph.D. on Social Representations and Communication has a long institutional history of recognition obtained via programmes approved by the EU-DGs for Research and Education and Culture, Ministries, the prestigious European University Associations (like the EUA and UNICA). The institutional network of 13 European universities in eight European Countries aimed at training a new generation of researchers, and the annual International Summer Schools, is described on the Euro Ph.D. website at [www.europhd.eu](http://www.europhd.eu) and in an article available on line (de Rosa, 2004: <http://www.mariecurie.org/annals/index.html>) currently developed in a forthcoming book (de Rosa, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> For the data collection related to the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> ICSR our gratitude goes to Joana Suta.

<sup>4</sup>  $d_{ij} < d_{kl}$  each time that the observed data indicates that  $R_{ij} > R_{kl}$ .

<sup>5</sup> For more details about WSSAI and HUDAP in the theoretical and methodological perspective of the Facet Theory see, among others: Canter (1985); Amar, Toledano (1994); Buschini (2002).

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# On Some Representations of the History of a Discipline

by Denise Jodelet\*

This commentary proposes some reflections on the ways that the articles in this special issue of *Rassegna di Psicologia* approach the history of social psychology. It clarifies many configurations of interest bringing together the different texts: analysis of the scientific production (journal articles, manuals and conference speeches); the development of social psychology in the intellectual, academic and political context of certain countries; critical considerations on the way to present social psychology or to conduct research in it; evolution of the discipline in different time periods. The commentary also delineates the lines of tension and stakes that, underlying the historical approaches, refer to inter-disciplinary relations, relations with the American and European schools of thought and references to the discipline's past. This leads to some comments on the modalities of implantation and diffusion of scientific models and some suggestions inspired by science studies, with the goal of examining the social dynamics of scientific production.

Key words: *Social Psychology, Social Representations, Production of Science, Scientific Dissemination, Interdisciplinarity, Political Context, Historical Periodization.*

For someone who, properly speaking, has never carried out any research in this field, it may seem overweening to contribute to an issue entirely dedicated to the history of social psychology. Nevertheless, it happened that reading the various articles in this special issue of "Rassegna di Psicologia" has awakened a sustained interest and given rise to some reflections that echo back to those that I have been able to make concerning my own field of study. In fact, I have had the opportunity to attempt some incursions into contexts related to factual or epistemological history that have impacted on the way to approach social representations (Jodelet, 1982; 2007a, forthcoming). Encouraged by this experience and inspired by the different paths taken by the articles found in this special issue, I am taking the liberty to make some comments.

The texts published in this journal mostly reflect those presented during the workshop *Looking at the history of social psychology from the two sides of*

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*the Atlantic* organized by Annamaria de Rosa. This kind of meeting gives participants complete freedom to address the subject in the way they wish and according to their own interests and specific research. This results in a certain disparity that makes a comprehensive view difficult. However, this diversity in perspectives and styles does enable the examination of material that not only provides precious information on the local state of art but also enables examination of what social psychologists understand and undertake concerning the history of their discipline.

The fact that the workshop took place during the 8<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Social Representations makes this area of theoretical and empirical research particularly meaningful. In fact, whether social psychology is taken as the object of their research or if they focus on the field of social representations, all of these articles return to the latter in one way or another. Despite the fact that this field is not mentioned in the title of the workshop, reference is made to it either directly or indirectly. In the majority of the texts it is treated as part of social psychology, in only three is it taken as a primary object of study (de Rosa, Palmonari, Rouquette). But the other approaches refer to it as well, explicitly or implicitly, as far as they highlight the representations at work in the discipline or in the account of its history, indeed, seeming to go on to a history of representations. This confers a particular character to the historical aspect of this special issue.

# I

## Different Ways of Writing a History of Social Psychology

From many of these texts it is clear that this enterprise is part of the continuity of other eminent contributions specifically dedicated to the history of social psychology. Thus, the names Farr, Graumann, Moscovici, Pepitone recur in many authors' works. From these approaches emerge proposals less systematic and more limited to regional or national situations, different axes of concern and different styles that are all different ways of writing history. From this point of view, several configurations are outlined, to which the articles are connected by different aspects.

First, it is possible to aggregate those contributions that adopt a distanced and objectivizing point of view based on the analysis of scientific production. They illustrate a serial history, like that of the "Annals School", starting with revue articles (Sensales), or a study of the staging and contextualization of scientific creation beginning with textbooks (Kalampalikis *et al.*), or, again, an analysis of the structure of a specific field, in this case social representations, starting from papers presented at international conferences (de Rosa and d'Ambrosio).

Second, considering the historical context brings together another grouping of texts. These texts place the discipline's development in the intellectual, academic and politic contexts particular to certain countries. They consider, therefore, that the context either had a direct effect on scientific practice, as in the case of countries with a past of dictatorial regimes (Neculau, Jesuino, Sà), or has modulated its production according to defined periods, under the influence of authors who were politically committed or represented dominant disciplines (Sensales). When the historical line embraces a whole era, articles take the form of a narrative that engages the authors and the institutions to which they belong. An implication that can go as far as adopting a commemorative form and an idiosyncratic reading of a collective historical flux (Sà).

Third, it is possible to find a critical proximity in the considerations that lead to how social psychology is presented (Kalampalikis *et al.*), how to conduct research in it (Pepitone, Rouquette) or comparing the social representations paradigm with social psychology approaches (Palmonari). In the first case, the epistemological critique is conducted in the name of a new perspective in the history of science that is oriented towards the production of scientific collectives. In the second case, epistemological critique yields the construction of scientific objects done in the name of adapting social psychology to real life behaviours or an adjustment of the relationships between object, methods and populations in the study of social representations. In the third, the discussion concerns certain central concepts and the new study models of social representations.

Finally, the articles in this issue are organized in distinct groups according to the time periods under consideration. On one hand, certain national approaches (Neculau, Jesuino, Sà) incorporate the history of social psychology into the history of social and human sciences, chronologically covering those periods that both preceded and followed the rise of the discipline, generally placed at the beginning of the 1950s. Others limit their object of study to the period preceding the affirmation of the identity of social psychology, in a sort of archaeology of knowledge (Sensales), or to the period that marked its autonomous development, a determination of the place where it was practiced and of its lines of force (Kalampalikis *et al.*). Sharing this second perspective, the study of the production related to social representations (de Rosa and d'Ambrosio) establishes as its time limits the dates of the development of an institutionalized form of scientific communication: the international conferences. Between this group and the following, the historical experience of social representations (Palmonari), which had as its departure point a personal meeting with Moscovici and its finish line the emergence of new theoretical formulations, raises some questions on future development among the various proposed models for the study of social representations. The third group

makes a tacit use of the temporal dimension in applying a present reflection to the state of things in social psychology or in the field of social representations which is highly dependent on the past, while trying to define the lines of coming developments (Pepitone, Rouquette).

## 2

### The Lines of Tension and the Stakes

Underlying these different perspectives are some lines of tension that can be identified. They are related to relations with other disciplines, to the influence exercised by certain currents of thought both in the United States and in Europe, and, finally, to relations with the founding currents of the social sciences or social psychology.

The relationship with other disciplines is evoked from a double perspective. On one hand, one notices a return to the "beginnings" origins that insists on the inter-disciplinary inspiration of social psychology. Some nostalgia is not absent in these evocations of the past. The deep cultural and social rootedness of theories and the orientation towards collective psychology and psychology of the masses attest to the lost richness and circulation of ideas, texts and research themes that were so lively in Europe at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and which today, if they have not disappeared entirely, are more limited. This reminder of the past also appears to bring some hope with it, to the extent that the evolution of social psychology is undergoing an enlargement in perspectives that reconnects with the past, as if a buckle is about to be closed. On the other hand, in studying the conditions surrounding the emergence of social psychology, the links of subordination claimed by closely related disciplines (medicine, psychiatry, and social sciences) from which social psychology is trying to free itself and become autonomous are emphasized, either in a general way or in a national context. However, today it seems that the defence of social psychology's identity is no longer via objurgation of the risks of absorption. The development of culturalist currents in psychology bears witness to this fact. Moreover, the question of inter-disciplinarity once again emerges in the field of social representations, as shown by de Rosa's metanalysis or implied by Pepitone's text that recommends taking inspiration from social science methods in order to give real social pertinence to the discipline.

In addition, in reading studies on the evolution of the discipline, it seems that one of the most important issues is the rivalry with or the perceived dependence *vis à vis* foreign research trends, in particular, those developed in the United States. This is evident both directly or indirectly when the beginnings of social psychology are being nostalgically evoked, as being highly depend-

ent, as in Italy, on European currents of thought, or, when the surprising discovery is made that the development of the discipline in Europe occurred with an American impetus (Moscovici, Markova, 2006).

These readings stimulated me to go back to an already old work of mine (Jodelet, Viet, Besnard, 1970), which had as its objective to provide detailed information on research trends in social psychology. As Moscovici said in his preface, this information constituted one of the two «humble» and «necessary» task needed «to liberate the energies that will help the discipline to progress». The other task he addressed in the preface was to «discover and conquer a domain of thought in the richness of its contradictions». In this way he wanted to avoid the obstacles entailed by the temptation to «paint a historical picture of social psychology or to construct a panorama of its organic or accidental links with the other human sciences. This could be material for a separate work, strictly dependent on personal choices concerning the value scale that orders both the above mentioned sciences and the hierarchy of social psychology's centres of interest»<sup>1</sup>.

My work contained detailed summaries of 230 texts representing the condition of social psychology on both the theoretical and empirical planes. Published between 1952 and 1968, these texts were grouped according the central themes of the time and their theoretical premises were presented in Moscovici's preface: 1) Attitudes, opinions and social representations; 2) Mass media, broadcasting processes and social change; 3) Communication structures and language; 4) Restricted groups (dynamics and inter-group processes – structure, production and organization of groups – hierarchy, leadership and power); 5) Social pressure: process of influence, norms and roles; 6) Analysis of social interaction: exchange, conflict, negotiation; 7) Psychological processes, physiological variables and social factors; 8) Social perception, interpersonal and inter-group relations.

In this study, a comparison of references to American or European authors shows that the presence of the latter is actually more important than what the majority of historians report. European authors represent 17% of the authors cited. This European presence is confirmed by an important fact. In the articles in this book that concern countries where social psychology took root later than in the European bases that founded the European Association of Social Psychology, the representation of European authors is more marked than that of American authors. This confirms that the institutionalization of the discipline in Europe really squared with the emergence of an autonomous trend, even if the references to American ancestors, precursors and pioneers remain constant.

Concerning this aspect, it would have been advisable to consider the influence of European papers on research development in the United States, as in

the case of the study of social influence – to mention just one example. We should not forget the effect that European currents of thought had on post-modern critiques of social psychology, those of linguistic and semiotic works on the prevalence of discursive and narrative perspectives, or those of French philosophic reflection on the development of feminist and cultural studies, which revert back to social psychology. This complex synergy would have deserved more attention.

### 3

#### Implantation and Circulation of Scientific Models

The relationship with foreign schools of thought assumes different shapes in this special issue. According to the authors, it is referred to as a space for discussion and cooperation, a source of inspiration, a request for stimulation, a source of intellectual loans, a frame for orientation, a methodological resource, or a colonization enterprise. On the one hand, these differences are based in the history of the countries under consideration, most especially in their intellectual and political history. On the other hand, they are also part of the process of the diffusion of science.

Concerning the role accorded to political and institutional history, three texts stand out that illustrate this role. These are related to countries that have had dictatorial regimes for more or less extended periods and that have seen more or less extreme forms of violence. The influence of politics is particularly well illustrated in the case of Romania, where intellectual life was characterized by an intense interest in social and cultural issues and in the past had a solid background in production and communication with countries abroad. After having been reduced to silence and institutionally destroyed, it has again been able to reconnect with its traditions, thanks to the light offered by the contributions of European social psychology. In Portugal, social psychology does not appear to be supported by a national tradition that existed prior to the dictatorship. It owes its blossoming to the influence of a university that established links with other European universities. Read through the lens of a personal academic history, Brazil's situation gives the impression that politics had a lesser influence, which led to the fertilization of a multiplicity of perspectives. We know that the human sciences, which were considerably developed before the dictatorship, suffered great difficulties during that period, including controls on activities and the exile of teachers, students and researchers. These obstacles had a profound influence on the choice of research orientation and theoretical models, which can hardly be attributed to the effects of intellectual colonization.

On this point, we should also remember the Argentine experience, where

repression went as far as to dismantle the buildings of the faculty of social sciences, and where all social perspectives were abandoned to focus solely on the individual. We can link this situation not only to the dominance of psychoanalysis, attributable not only to a local peculiarity (mentality, snobbery or fashion) that was tied to the European affiliation of its population, but also to the very late appearance of university programmes in social psychology. More generally, Moscovici and Markova (2006) showed how *coups d'état* in Latin America have profoundly disrupted international scientific relations. Unfortunately, evidence of the development of the discipline in Latin American countries is lacking in this special issue. This would have allowed us to see the rise of common concerns and the development of their own perspectives through exchanges among researchers who strive to better grasp the reality of their own countries or continents. This has resulted in the development of an original orientation towards studies on community and political psychology, as well as an expansion of the fields of application for social psychology to sectors like education, health, social work etc. This opening would have permitted us to better understand the specificities that Latin American contributions display in the international conferences on social representations.

The historic analysis of the establishment of social psychology in different countries described in this issue would have benefited from space given to the diffusion processes by which social psychology has taken root and defined its objectives at the intersection of theoretical allegiances and attention to local realities in different national and regional contexts. The objectifications of the discipline's diffusion and development in texts or conferences do not allow us to understand the dynamic aspects of these processes, nor the creativity of these scientific exchanges. Taking into consideration the role assigned to encounters among researchers (*ibid.*) and to academic education is of decisive importance in understanding the discipline's history. This is particularly evident in the case of Latin America, where doctoral studies carried out in the United States or in different European countries have largely contributed to tracing the profile of national research in social psychology.

### 4

#### Conclusions

As a researcher versed in the content analysis of social representations, reading the majority of the articles in this special issue has left me somewhat unsatisfied. I would have liked to see more deeply through the themes of the research being conducted, both in terms of empirical objects, theoretical orientations and results. The important themes and wide categories of these works are without doubt worth knowing, but, in order to better understand nation-

al specificities, it would have been useful to know something more about the concrete content of the concerns defined by cultural contexts on both sides of the Atlantic. In the preface previously mentioned, Moscovici hoped to «discover, in its right importance and right position, the contemporary production of a developing scientific community, with the riches and approximations that this entails». In this respect, he recommended «emphasizing the concrete problems that the discipline experiences in claiming its legitimacy, autonomy, coherence, the essential themes around which efforts have been mobilized, and the directions towards which they must head in the future, in order that social psychology can achieve an authentic scientific status» (*ibid.*, p. 11). After many years, this perspective is still valid.

In this special issue of “Rassegna di Psicologia”, in order to present the history of social psychology in their countries the contributors have adopted different points of view: political and institutional contextualization, identity achievement, colonization, history of ideas or of the representations of science, results of a condition produced by a scientific history. In order to open new perspectives on this kind of approach, it would be advisable to take into consideration the works of the “new history of science” and “science studies” which are linked to extra-scientific factors in the production of knowledge.

If these various articles have allowed us to grasp the role of political factors, we must also take advantage of the horizons opened by authors who emphasized the collective character of building science. This is also true for the recognition of the role of communication systems and of power and competitive relationships among researchers that govern the life of laboratories and the production of knowledge (Knorr-Cetina, 1981; Latour, Woolgar, 1986). Once again, we should profit from studies by authors like Fleck (1979) who since 1934 has supplied us with conceptual tools to analyse communal functioning in the construction of scientific facts. He proposed some key-concepts for the analysis of the modalities of scientific production. The concept of “collective thought” refers to research groups, while that of “style of thought” describes the cognitive functioning of groups governed by norms, concepts and specific practices. In her work *How institutions think* (1986) Mary Douglas highlighted the proximity of ideas expressed by Fleck and Durkheim as well as the equivalence between the concepts proposed by Fleck and those of the «social group» and «collective representation» proposed by Durkheim.

These perspectives and their conceptual instruments should prove precious for researchers who ponder the ways in which their discipline has evolved and who attempt to extract its representations.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> This percentage would be much higher if we took into consideration the number of times that these authors are mentioned.

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