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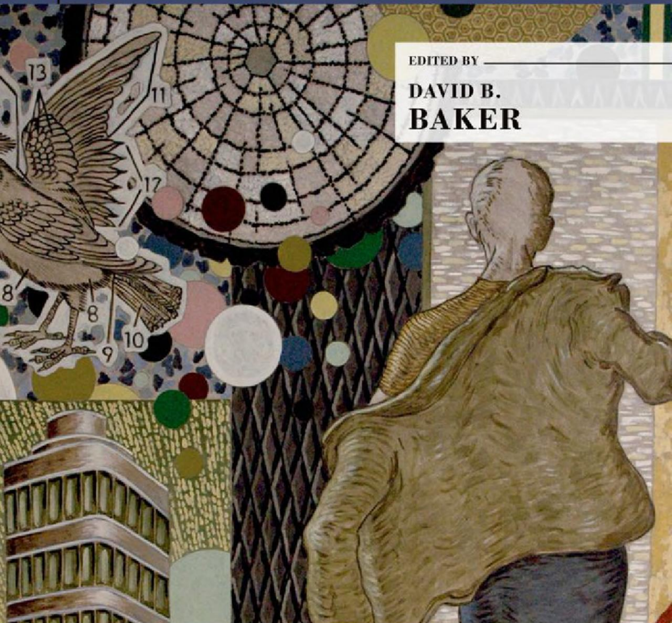

EDITED BY

DAVID B. BAKER

The Oxford Handbook *of* *the* HISTORY *of* PSYCHOLOGY

GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES

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CHAPTER 1

The Internationalization of Psychology

A History

Ludy T. Benjamin, Jr. *and* David B. Baker

Abstract

This chapter discusses the origins and development of the international organizations and meetings that have sought to bring together psychologists from all over the world, principally the International Congresses of Psychology, which began in 1889 and are organized now by the International Union of Psychological Science, and the International Congresses of Applied Psychology, which began in 1920 and now are planned by the International Association of Applied Psychology. From its largely European origins, this chapter shows how psychology grew as an experimental and applied science to encompass psychological organizations in more than 100 countries today. The early congresses were a mix of experimental psychologists and parapsychologists, with the latter group forming their own group after 1905. The subsequent development of the international congresses is a story of science, applications, and world politics.

Keywords: International psychology, International Congress of Psychology, International Congress of Applied Psychology, parapsychology, International Union of Psychological Science, International Association of Applied Psychology, World War I, World War II

The International Union of Psychological Science (IUPsyS) was established in 1951, to serve as an organizing body for psychological societies and psychologists around the globe. Today, it boasts 71 member nations from Albania to Zimbabwe and thus, by member affiliation, represents most of the world's psychologists, whether they are engaged in research, teaching, practice, or public service (see Appendix A). Yet, efforts to bring the world's psychologists together are much older than the formation of the IUPsyS. This chapter traces the history of international psychology organizations, beginning in the late 19th century with the first of the international congresses.

The beginnings of this history reside in the creation of a new scientific discipline, namely psychology, a field that left the house of philosophy and sought to join the house of natural science. This elopement had been delayed by a host of naysayers who argued over centuries that a science of mind was not possible, that the study of mind could never achieve the level of objectivity needed to qualify as science. By the middle of the 1800s, that long-held view had been seriously challenged, for example, by John Stuart Mill (1843), who called for an empirical science of psychology, and by Wilhelm Wundt (1862, 1874), who called for and established an experimental science of psychology (Cattell, 1888). Wundt's psychology laboratory was arguably the first on the scene but it was followed quickly by other laboratories in Germany, as well as labs in Denmark, Austria, England, and the United States.

As the new psychology laboratories emerged, some psychologists sought ways to bring their kindred researchers together. British psychologist Joseph Jacobs, recognizing the value of an international organization of psychologists called for

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the establishment of a "Society for Experimental Psychology." Jacobs (1886) wrote:

> This is the age of Societies. Agriculture and ballooning, cart-horses and dentistry, engineering and forestry, all subjects from A to Z, are represented by associations intended to promote the interests of each particular subject. Psychology alone has no society connecting together the workers in the wide field which the science of mind can claim for itself. (p. 49)

Although no international society existed in 1886 when Jacobs made his plea, there was at least one national society in France. La Société de Psychologie Physiologique was founded in Paris in 1885, by Jean-Martin Charcot and Charles Richet. The society was established to link the new experimental psychology with the work of Charcot at the Salpêtrière. The Société never achieved that end, however, and proved mostly to be a forum for papers on hypnosis. Shortly after Charcot's death in 1893 it ceased to exist (Ellenberger, 1970). But in France in the late 1880s, plans for an international gathering of psychologists were taking form, and Charcot's Société would host the meeting (see Françoise Parot, 2011, on France, Chapter 16, in this volume).

The First International Congress of Psychology

In the second half of the 19th century, international congresses in a wide number of fields were commonplace. Statisticians held their first such congress in 1853, physicians their first in 1867, and anthropologists their first in 1885 (Montoro, Tortosa, & Carpintero, 1992). The impetus for an international meeting of psychologists began with an article published in 1881, in a French journal (Nicolas & Söderlund, 2005). The author was a young Polish philosopher and parapsychologist, Julian Ochorowicz, who had earned a doctorate from the University of Leipzig in 1874 with a dissertation on the nature of consciousness. Evidently Ochorowicz was a friend of Théodule Ribot, who edited the *Revue Philosophique*, where he published his detailed proposal for an international congress of psychology. According to Sabourin (2001), Ribot was sympathetic to the idea but doubtful of its achievement. Yet, eight years later, the first International Congress of Psychology would meet in Paris, France, on the centennial of the French Revolution, the 10th anniversary of the opening of Wundt's laboratory at the University of Leipzig, and in the midst of the grand World's Fair being hosted in Paris.

The meeting began on August 6, 1889. Charcot served as the honorary president of the congress but did not attend the four-day event. Instead, the audience was welcomed by Ribot, who gave an opening lecture on the status of contemporary psychology. According to William James (1889), who was in attendance as one of the few Americans present, Ribot showed "in simple but impressive words how [psychology] advances by combining physiological and pathological observation and experiment with the older introspective method, and [urged] the investigators of all countries to share in the work now become common" (p. 614).

Ochorowicz was in attendance and must have been pleased to see the extraordinary culmination of his plan laid out so meticulously 8 years earlier. Nearly 400 individuals attended one or more of the sessions. Ochorowicz himself was involved in the sessions on parapsychological topics. Given William James's involvement with psychical research (see Coon, 1992), it is interesting to read James's description of this part of the congress:

> The most striking feature of the discussions was, perhaps, their tendency to slope off to some one or the other of those shady horizons with which the name of "psychic research" is now associated. Amongst those who took a more active part in the debate may be named MM. Marillier, Gley, Binet, Pierre Janet, Bertrand, Espinas, Bernheim, Liègois, Ochorowicz . . . Delboeuf, Forel, Galton, Sidgwick, F. W. H. Meyers. (James, 1889,1889 p. 615)

Certainly, the mix of individuals at this congress was considerable, from physiologists to philosophers and from physicians to parapsychologists. And, there were a few representatives of the new psychology, including Joseph Jastrow from the United States and Hugo Münsterberg from Germany. Although the meeting was billed as an international congress, the overwhelming majority of attendees were from France. By James's account, only three came from the United States, four from England, and three from Germany. The breakdown of attendees by country suggests that more than 300 were from France. It seems likely that some of that audience consisted of lay individuals interested in psychology, no doubt most of those interested in hypnosis and paranormal phenomena. So, mixed with Galton, James, Binet, and Ribot, one may have

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found mediums, seers, palm readers, mental healers, and mesmerists. James (1889) described the social importance of the congress:

> The open results were, however (as always happens at such gatherings), secondary in real importance to the latent ones—the friendships made, the intimacies deepened, and the encouragement and inspiration which came to everyone from seeing before them in flesh and blood so large a part of that little army of fellow-students from whom and for whom all contemporary psychology exists. (p. 615)

For James, one of those social contacts was Hugo Münsterberg, whom James would invite 3 years later to become the director of the psychology laboratories at Harvard University. In bringing Münsterberg to Harvard, William James wrote to his novelist brother Henry that the university had acquired the "Rudyard Kipling of psychology" (Benjamin, 2006, p. 98).

The final event of this inaugural congress was a grand social affair. An elaborate banquet was held on the first platform of the Eiffel Tower, the recently completed architectural wonder that was the centerpiece of the Paris World's Fair.

Perhaps prompted by this first international meeting of psychologists, discussions began about publishing international compilations of the new psychological literature. The German journal *Zeitschrift für Psychologie und Physiologie der Sinnesorgane* began publishing an international bibliography as early as 1890. And, in 1895, similar bibliographies appeared in France in *Année Psychologique* and in the United States in a new publication entitled *The Psychological Index* (Benjamin & VandenBos, 2006).

Parapsychology and the Early International Congresses of Psychology

When scientific psychology arrived on the scene in the late 1800s, it found itself in competition with an existing popular psychology in a variety of forms, what Leahey and Leahey (1983) have called psychology's "occult doubles." Phrenologists, physiognomists, spirtitualists, mesmerists, mental healers, and practitioners under other names as well offered a range of services to the public, including cures for melancholia, marital counseling, career advice, personnel selection, and parenting advice. For the public, these practitioners *were* the purveyors of psychology, a reality not lost on the new experimental psychologists who sought ways to distance their discipline from these popular psychologies and looked for opportunities to inform the public about the new science of psychology and why it was the one true psychology. In founding the first journal of the new psychology in 1881, Wilhelm Wundt had wanted to call it *Psychologische Studien* but that title was already in use as a parapsychological journal. So, Wundt selected *Philosophische Studien* instead. When G. Stanley Hall sought to found the first American journal of psychology in 1887, he was given the sum of $5,000 from a benefactor interested in establishing a parapsychology journal. Hall had no intention of establishing such a periodical and evidently never informed the donor of the nature of what would become the *American Journal of Psychology*. When the donor learned of the ruse, he asked that his money be returned (Ross, 1972).

Parapsychology had been a visible part of the program for the 1889 congress, and it promised to be on center stage at the second congress, planned for London, in 1892, and hosted by the British Society for Psychical Research. Indeed, the president of the London Congress was Henry Sidgwick, a philosopher and psychic researcher who was one of the founders and the first president of the British Society for Psychical Research (see Alan Collins, 2011, Chapter 14, in this volume). When the French were organizing the 1889 congress they had sought to identify psychological organizations in other countries for the purposes of distributing invitations. In the United States, their search led them only to the American Society for Psychical Research, and so they extended an invitation to that body. James and Jastrow became aware of this in attending the Paris Congress and likely brought that word back to American colleagues working in the new experimental psychology. It is possible that this situation proved to be an impetus for the founding of the American Psychological Association (APA) in 1892 (Sokal, 1992).

Joseph Jastrow had been vehement in his insistence that experimental psychology was in no way connected to paranormal subjects. Many of his experimental colleagues shared similar views. But the program included multiple sessions on paranormal events and there were, no doubt, many in attendance for whom that was the only subject of interest. That this tension was recognized by the organizers of the London Congress is evident in this description of the program: "All branches of experimental psychology received a due share of consideration in the

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papers and discussion. Owing to the abundance of material, it was found advisable to place Neurology and Psychophysics in one section (A), and Hypnotism with kindred questions in another (B)" (Anonymous, 1892, p. 580). Those experimental psychologists who attended Section A heard presentations from an outstanding lineup including Alexander Bain, Francis Galton, Charles Richet, Pierre Janet, Hermann Ebbinghaus, Eduard Hitzig, Christine Ladd-Franklin, C. Lloyd Morgan, Edward B. Titchener, Gerardus Heymans, Henry H. Donaldson, Lightner Witmer, James Mark Baldwin, and James Sully. Although the attendance at the meeting was heavily British, it was evident that the percentage of international attendees was much greater than at the Paris Congress.

The Third International Congress of Psychology was held in Munich, Germany, hosted by a heavily spiritistic association, the Gesellschaft für Psychologische Forschung.

According to Gundlach (1997), "Carl Stumpf, who presided over the congress, tried his best to curb spiritism and hypnotism. But the academic societies for the less sensational areas of psychology continued to have difficulties in assembling enough members to ensure enduring organizations" (pp. 537–538). Thus, the better organized spiritualists, hypnotists, and psychical researchers were able to continue as a major force in these early congresses purporting to represent the new experimental psychology. Furthermore, the presentations at these congresses were of sufficient interest to the psychical community such that detailed reports appeared regularly in psychic journals such as the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* (see, for example, Myers, 1889).

The Fourth International Congress returned to Paris in 1900, hosted by Ribot, Richet, and Pierre Janet. According to Robert Woodworth (1900), who reported on the meeting for the journal *Science*, "Psychical research was thoroughly ventilated at the Congress" (p. 606). Compared to past meetings, the number of papers on psychical topics declined (Warren, 1900). There were several papers on celebrated mediums, one of whom was present. One review of the psychical portion of the congress was especially critical of the quality of those presentations. In summarizing the presentations, Newbold (1902) concluded, "It is to be regretted that the tolerant spirit displayed by the organizers of the Congress in granting a hearing to the representatives of views with which few of them had any sympathy should have been in some cases so ill rewarded" (p. 103). Perhaps because they were being made to feel increasingly unwelcome, the psychical researchers decided to establish their own international congress, which would be known as the Institut Psychique. The paranormal group participated in one more congress, the fifth, held in Rome in 1905 (see Guido Cimino & Foschi, 2011, Chapter 19, this volume), but ties were officially severed there, and the spiritists, psychics, and mental healers found other venues in which they could share their common interests (Nicolas & Charvillat, 1998).

Politics, War, and the Congresses

The Sixth International Congress of Psychology was held in Geneva in 1909, attended by 550 psychologists. The multiple languages of the congresses had always been a problem and were commented upon in most summary reviews. It was noted that discussion of papers was almost always in the language of the presenter and thus limited to a small number of attendees, especially for languages such as Russian, Chinese, and Japanese. Some steps were taken at this congress to deal with the language barriers. The major addresses and many of the minor papers were distributed in advance, often with abstracts in several languages. Further, Esperanto was recognized as an official language, and several brief reports were given in that form (Ogden, 1909). Some believed that it could be the international language of science, a hope that quickly disappeared. For Americans, the big news of the Geneva Congress was that the organizing committee accepted the invitation to hold the next meeting in the United States, in 1913.

The American proposal was one of two considered for the next meeting, the other from Hungarian psychologists for a meeting in Budapest. The American proposal was ill-prepared at best. It was presented by Morton Prince as a petition to host the meeting, but without any indication of a host institution; that is, no university nor the American Psychological Association had indicated support for the meeting. The petition listed James Mark Baldwin as president of the congress and William James as honorary president. Yet, Baldwin had expressed no interest in the congress and had not signed Prince's petition. And James was named without his consent or knowledge. The informality and disorganization of the proposal foretold of difficulties ahead. What followed were several years of bickering among the leaders of American psychology, especially James McKeen Cattell, James, Baldwin, and Titchener, that produced on-again, off-again plans for the congress that eventually went down to defeat in early 1912.

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By then, it was too late for any other country to put together plans for the meeting, and so it was cancelled. With the intervening years of World War I, the next congress would not be held until 1923, 5 years after the end of the war and 14 years after the Geneva Congress (Evans & Scott, 1978). The United States would have to wait 40 years from the first congress in Paris for its chance to serve as host country for the world's psychologists.

When the congresses resumed in 1923, with the meeting held in Oxford, England, the pattern of attendance changed, as did the balance of power in the administration of the meetings. First, attendance was down considerably compared to the last two meetings before the war due to the economic recession affecting much of Europe. In fact, attendance was reduced by half, to approximately 240 attendees at both the Seventh Congress in Oxford and the Eighth Congress in Groningen, Holland, in 1926. Second, whereas the Germans and French seemed to have been the dominant forces before the war, the British and Americans assumed a larger role in the post-war congresses; the psychologies of those two countries would grow in international influence as well.

There was some concern about the reception of the German psychologists at the Oxford meeting in 1923, especially by the French participants. But all seemed to go well, as reported by Louis Thurstone (1923): "It was a source of satisfaction that the German and the French psychologists could meet each other as scientists and as men without allowing their political differences to affect seriously the activities of the Congress" (p. 560). The concerns about the German psychologists were merited, especially given the actions of Wilhelm Wundt, the acknowledged founder of the science of psychology. In 1914, 93 German professors and other intellectuals signed and published a document that was entitled "An Appeal to the Civilized World" (Lutz, 1932, vol. 1, pp. 74–78). Wundt was one of the signatories of that manifesto, which claimed that Germany's invasion of Belgium was a matter of self-defense, and that Germany had the right to pursue whatever means necessary to ensure the future of German culture. Especially offensive to many academics was the German army's destruction of the city of Louvain and its great university, which had been established in 1425. The signers of the manifesto argued that such destruction was justified and was, in fact, brought about as retaliation against actions of the citizens of Belgium. Some academics were so incensed by the message of the German manifesto that they considered it to be a war crime (Hale, 1980). Wundt's ultra-patriotic stand angered many of his international students and caused some of them to revise their academic histories, minimizing the purported influence of Wundt and German psychology. Wundt died in 1920, just 2 years after the end of the war. But the ill will toward Germany lived on for some years. Sadly, it would recur all too soon.

The International Congress of Applied Psychology

In 1920, a new international organization formed, emphasizing applied psychology or what was then called *psychotechnics*. It held its initial meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, under the title International Congress of Psychotechnics Applied to Vocational Guidance. The timing, location, and subject of this conference were not accidental, as described by Horst Gundlach (1998):

> World War I left Europe for the most part shattered and wrecked, physically as well as morally. The devastation gave way to revolutions and civil wars, and despite armistices and peace treaties, nobody dared to hope for an enduring peace. Reconstruction and reconciliation seemed to be the only remedy to prevent a rekindling of hostility and further destruction in Europe. Innovative practical applications seemed what the science of psychology could offer to the reconstruction projects, and a neutral and affluent Switzerland seemed the most appropriate location for reconciling embittered adversaries. (p. 25)

The word *Psychotechnik* was coined in Germany in 1903, and subsequently translated for similar use in many other languages, mostly European. It was used to describe vocational guidance and personnel selection tests that used apparatus, instead of the paper-and-pencil psychological tests that were popular in the United Kingdom and the United States. Interestingly, the work of Alfred Binet and Henri Simon on a psychological test for measuring intelligence was first presented at the 1905 Rome Congress. But their work would have far more impact in the United States and would not be the subject of much discussion in the early International Congresses of Psychology. Using an ever-developing collection of psychological instruments, those involved in psychotechniks measured such behaviors and cognitive processes as reaction time, hand-and-body steadiness, motor fatigue, color perception, and puzzle assembly (Drunen, 1997). Despite the German origins of the term, it was used by the new

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organization in the title of its congresses until it was replaced by the phrase *applied psychology* in 1955.

The first congress was organized by two faculty members at the University of Geneva: Édouard Claparède, professor of psychology, and Pierre Bovet, professor of education and philosophy. The focus of the congress was on vocational guidance, a growing activity in Europe following the influence of American lawyer Frank Parsons and the import of his ideas to Europe shortly before World War I. The approximately 50 participants at the Geneva congress came from Switzerland, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Spain, and a few other European nations. There were no participants from the United Kingdom, United States, or Russia. And no Germans attended, presumably because of the high rate of inflation after the war. However, some German psychologists did attend the second congress in Barcelona, in 1921 (Gundlach, 1998).

The significance of this initial congress was that it gave much-needed visibility and the beginnings of a voice to those psychologists worldwide who were interested chiefly in the application of their science. The early congresses focused on vocational guidance, but that subject proved too limiting, and it was dropped from the official congress title at the fourth congress in Paris, in 1927.

The Barcelona meeting in 1921 drew a much larger audience, as did the 1922 meeting in Milan. After three annual meetings, the congresses appeared on an irregular schedule. There were two more in the 1920s (1927 and 1928), three in the 1930s (1930, 1931, and 1934), and then a 15-year hiatus, largely because of World War II, until the 1949 meeting in Bern, Switzerland. Today, the congresses are held every 4 years on an agreed-upon schedule with the International Congress of Psychology, so that one of the congresses occurs every 2 years, an agreement reached with IUPsyS in 1976. The organization responsible for the International Congresses of Applied Psychology is the International Association of Applied Psychology (IAAP), a name adopted in 1955 (Pickren & Fowler, 2003). Today, the IAAP has a membership of approximately 1,500 psychologists in 80 countries. The congresses that it organizes are important venues for the development of applied psychology, especially in the exchange of ideas that offer solutions to problems that are international in scope (see Appendix B).

"Finally, Finally in America"

The Americans finally got their congress in 1929, the Ninth International Congress of Psychology, hosted by Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut, where psychologist James Rowland Angell was university president. James McKeen Cattell served as president of the congress. As secretary of the congress, Switzerland's Édouard Claparède excitedly proclaimed in one of the opening addresses, "Enfin! Enfin en Amérique!" (Claparède, 1930, p. 33). He added that, "For us of the Old World, America has danced before our eyes for 40 years as the promised land" (Langfeld, 1929, p. 366).

Indeed, it had been 40 years since the first congress met in Paris in 1889. William James, who had attended that Paris meeting, was now dead, as was G. Stanley Hall, Hugo Münsterberg, and E. B. Titchener. John Watson had been forced out of academic psychology in 1920 because of his scandalous divorce. That left Cattell as the dean of American psychologists. Thus, the individual who, it can be argued, was most responsible for the failure of the Americans to host the 1913 meeting was now the welcoming and very active head of the 1929 Congress.

The Americans were eager to make a great impression. Although scientific psychology's roots were clearly European, Americans in the public euphoria of the Roaring Twenties were convinced of the preeminence of American psychology, and they intended to make that evident. Attracting international visitors was critical, and because of the expense of travel to the States, there was some concern about how to draw participants from abroad. A note in the 1928 *Psychological Bulletin* announced that "The Americans hope that the appointment of some foreigners for lecturers and lectureships can be arranged near the time of the congress, so that foreign attendance can be increased and international solidarity within psychology furthered still more" (Anonymous, 1928, p. 122).

By almost all measures, the Ninth Congress was a great success. The American Psychological Association cancelled its meeting, and more than 700 of its members attended the congress, where they heard Karl Lashley deliver his APA presidential address. International registrants numbered 104 from 21 countries. Total attendance, including spouses, was more than 1,000, a number that far exceeded the previous record of approximately 600 attendees for the 1909 congress in Geneva, was four times the attendance of the previous congress in Groningen, and would not be equaled until the Brussels Congress (the 15th) of 1957.

The distinguished invited addresses were given by Ivan Pavlov from Russia, Wolfgang Köhler from

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Germany, Albert Michotte from Belgium, Henri Piéron from France, Carl Spearman from England, and Edward L. Thorndike from the United States. Other international speakers included Kurt Lewin, Alexander Luria, Jean Piaget, William Stern, Robert Thouless, Karl and Charlotte Bühler, Mario Ponzo, Otto Klemm, and Wilhelm Wirth. The program was decidedly American, with 310 papers delivered by speakers from the United States compared to 73 presentations by international psychologists (not including papers read by title). It was the largest program to date, held over a period of 7 days. Not only were the Americans able to flood their guests with the substance of American psychology, but important liaisons were formed with many of the international psychologists by arranging lectures for them at a number of the East Coast universities (Boring, 1930; Langfeld, 1929; Poffenberger, 1929).

One of the gifts given to each of the international participants was a copy of *The Psychological Register*, edited by Carl Murchison and hot off the Clark University Press. This impressive undertaking was the first international directory of psychologists. It listed psychologists individually by country and included their educational history and a list of publications to date. The 570-page book included approximately 1,250 psychologists from 33 countries, with slightly over half of the book devoted to psychologists from the United States and Canada. Murchison (1929) confessed to the difficulty of the task, in some cases, to identify legitimately trained psychologists in various countries and to get complete information from them as requested. But the compilation was by far the most complete to date and no doubt served an important function in stimulating contacts across borders. Interestingly, the book given to the international guests was identified as Volume 2. Volume 1 was to have been a compilation of psychologists who had died before 1929, going back to the ancient Greeks. But that book was never published. A greatly expanded version appeared in 1932 as Volume 3. Because of contacts made with international psychologists at the New Haven meeting, Volume 3 included nearly double the number of psychologists—approximately 2,400—from 40 countries (Murchison, 1932). These volumes proved helpful in subsequent congresses, particularly in arranging symposia for researchers working in common fields.

Montoro, Tortosa, and Carpintero (1992) have argued that the Ninth International Congress was exploited by the Americans in advancing their psychology. Nowhere was that more evident than in the presidential address delivered by Cattell (1930) entitled "Psychology in America." Cattell clearly acknowledged America's debt to Europe in the sciences, arts, humanities, and certainly in psychology, naming Wundt and Francis Galton as the two greatest psychologists who ever lived and noting that he worked with both of them. Although he was gracious in his praise of Wundt, with several of his German students in the audience, Cattell's letters to his parents from his graduate study in Leipzig suggest that he held a very negative view of Wundt's worth as a psychologist (Sokal, 1981). Perhaps he had changed his mind after 45 years. Cattell touted the contributions in applied psychology that had come from America, arguing for superiority in all applied fields with the exception of industrial psychology. He labeled the American Psychological Association as the "world's greatest organization of psychologists" (Cattell, 1930, p. 22). He closed his remarks with a biblical metaphor illustrating the importance of such international meetings in the context of recent and continued international conflicts:

> International congresses are significant factors in the advancement of scientific research; they also promote international cooperation and good-will. The objects of the sciences are more ideal than the objects of the churches; their practices are more Christian. When in the fullness of time there is a family of the nations, when each will give according to its ability and receive according to its needs, when war among them will be as absurd as it would now be for members of this Congress to begin murdering one another, this will be due in no small measure to cooperation among scientific men of all nations in their common work. And it may be that psychology, the child among the sciences, and the United States, the child among the nations, shall lead them. (p. 31)

In spite of the bravado, the meeting was by most measures a very successful one that connected American psychologists and their international colleagues in important ways. Contacts made by some of the attendees from Germany and Austria would prove fortunate only a few years later, when the rise of the Nazi party forced them to look for jobs and security in America and other countries.

The Gathering Storm

Following the meeting in the United States, the 1932 congress convened in Copenhagen. Attendance was

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less than half of the American meeting, approximately 450 registrants and guests. The 1936 meeting was to have been in Madrid, but the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War forced it to meet elsewhere. Initially, the Spanish organizers felt that the meeting could be delayed until the summer of 1937, but when it became clear that the violence had escalated and showed no signs of ending in the near future, they were forced to cancel their hopes for the meeting (Carpintero & Lafuente, 2008). In an attempted move from the frying pan to the fire, the ideological watch office of the Nazi Party sought to bring the meeting to Germany (Geuter, 1984). But the organizing committee chose Paris instead, with the 11th Congress opening in July, 1937. Despite the last-minute relocation of the congress, the meeting was judged a successful one, with nearly 600 registrants from 36 countries. Two proposals were submitted at the Paris meeting for the 1940 congress, one from Otto Klemm to hold the meeting in Leipzig, Germany, the other from Karl Bühler to host the meeting in Vienna, Austria. Bühler told Klemm that if he supported the Austrian proposal for the 11th Congress, then Bühler would support a meeting in Germany for the 12th Congress. The Austrian proposal was accepted. When the Nazis invaded Austria in March, 1938, Bühler was arrested and put in prison for several months (Rosenzweig, Holtzman, Sabourin, & Bélanger, 2000). He and his wife Charlotte would eventually make their way to the United States, part of the diaspora of displaced European intellectuals (Mandler & Mandler, 1969). Klemm committed suicide in January 1939, likely related to the dismissal of Felix Kreuger, Wundt's successor, from the Leipzig faculty. Kreuger was not anti-Semitic enough for the Nazi Party, which brought about his ouster in 1938. Klemm, who admired Kreuger, took over his position for the few months before his death. He was 54 years old (Wohlwill, 1987).

With the German occupation of Austria, pressures grew within the congress organizing committee to move the meeting. The American Psychological Association passed a resolution opposing the meeting in Vienna or in any country where the progress of psychology would be "hindered by a government hostile to the tradition of free and unimpeded scholarship" (Olson, 1939, p. 129). Plans were made to move the 1940 meeting to Edinburgh, Scotland, but as the war in Europe escalated, it became clear that no meeting would be possible. Instead, the 12th International Congress of Psychology was delayed until several years after the conclusion of World War II, meeting in Edinburgh in 1948, with an attendance of approximately 700, most of those from Great Britain. It was at this congress that the plans for the IUPsyS were formed.

The International Union of Psychological Science

The idea for an international union had been discussed at the first international congress in 1889 and at subsequent meetings. But the growth of psychology internationally following World War II, especially the formation of many new national psychology organizations (see Appendix C), led to a renewed call for a formal organization that could promote international meetings and international cooperation among psychologists. Moreover, such international unions were being encouraged by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the Union was formally established in 1951, as the International Union of Scientific Psychology at the time of the 13th International Congress of Psychology in Stockholm. The name was changed in 1965 to the International Union of Psychological Science, perhaps to avoid the assumption that there could be a psychology that was unscientific. The rules of the Union allowed for the membership of one psychological organization from each country. Eleven psychological associations joined as charter members, representing Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. In addition to those 11 charter members, societies from nine other nations were also added in 1951. Today's 74 member nations range from the membership of the United States at 114,000 to Malta at 46. Other nations with large memberships include the United Kingdom (39,000), Spain (30,700), Australia (16,500), Germany (15,000), the Netherlands (13,000), Sweden (8,600), Indonesia (8,100), and Japan (7,300). See Appendix A for a listing of all member nations of the IUPsyS.

The chief function of the Union is to facilitate the exchange of psychological knowledge among nations. Its goals were first stated formally in 1952 and modified in the years since. The aims of the Union were described in 2009 as follows:

> As stated in Article 5 of its Statutes, the IUPsyS works to promote "the development, representation and advancement of psychology as a basic and applied science nationally, regionally, and

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internationally." It represents psychology in its full breadth as a science and as a profession.

Article 6 of the Statutes states the aims of the Union as follows:

> (a) To enhance and promote the development of the science and profession of psychology.
> (b) To exchange ideas and scientific information between psychologists of different countries.
> (c) To organize the International Congresses of Psychology and other meetings on subjects of general or special interest in psychology.
> (d) To contribute to psychological knowledge through publishing activities.
> (e) To foster the exchange of publications and other communications among different countries.
> (f) To foster excellence in standards for education, training, research and the applications of psychology.
> (g) To enable the development of psychological scientists and national associations through capacity building activities.
> (h) To foster international exchange, especially among students and young researchers.
> (i) To collaborate with other international, regional, and national organizations in matters of mutual interest. (from the IUPsyS website, 2009).

Perhaps the most immediate impact of the Union was a more structured and formalized mechanism for soliciting bids for the international congresses and working with the local hosts in the planning and conduct of those meetings. See Appendix D for a listing of all the International Congresses of Psychology.

Consistent with the aims listed above, the Union began publication of a journal, the *International Journal of Psychology*, in 1966. Since 1992, it has published the proceedings of the International Congresses. It occasionally publishes other volumes, such as a history of the Union and all of the congresses from 1889 to 1996 (Rosenzweig, et al., 2000) and *The International Handbook of Psychology* (Pawlik & Rosenzweig, 2000). The Union participates with other international councils in matters of mutual interest, especially promoting the development of science worldwide. Further, it has organized and/or co-sponsored a number of regional conferences on a variety of psychological topics. As noted earlier, the International Congresses of Psychology and the International Congresses of Applied Psychology each occur every 4 years but are staggered by mutual agreement, so that one of the congresses occurs every other year (see Appendix B).

Conclusion

Today, there are a great many specialized international congresses in psychology on such topics as sport psychology, personal construct psychology, psychology and law, cross-cultural psychology, analytical psychology, psychoanalysis, child psychology, psychology and religion, positive psychology, psychotherapy, psychology and spirituality, and even one on licensure, certification, and credentialing of psychologists. Some of these have been aided by the IUPsyS as part of its mission to enhance the development of the science and practice of psychology.

The work of the IUPsyS extends the reach of psychology beyond disciplinary boundaries. The Union is currently involved in a worldwide program to develop sustainable water use. In cooperation with the World Health Organization, the Union is working on a revision of the international classification of diseases. Allied with other international groups, the Union seeks to bring psychology's resources to bear on creating conditions that will sustain world peace.

Opportunities abound to assist the development of psychology and psychologists in many countries where both the science and issues of mental health are not well developed. In recent years, the IUPsyS has discovered that its limited resources cannot begin to meet the needs that come to its door. It is hoped that this book, in describing the historical development of psychology in so many nations, will alert readers to the similarities and differences of problems faced by individuals in countries large and small, rural and urban, and that it may result in stimulating further advancement of the quality of psychological science and psychological services throughout an increasingly interconnected global society.

List of Abbreviations/Acronyms and Technical Terms

APA: American Psychological Association, largest national psychology organization, founded in 1892

IAAP: International Association of Applied Psychology; responsible for the international congresses of applied psychology that began in Geneva in 1920 and meet now every 4 years

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ICP: International Congress of Psychology; held its first meeting inParis in 1889 and meets every 4 years

IUPsyS: International Union of Psychological Science, founded in 1951; contains 74 member nations today. It is responsible for planning the international congresses of psychology

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

Glossary

Esperanto: A language developed in the 1870s that was intended to be an international language, but never received the support its developers had hoped

psychotechnik: A word coined in Germany in 1903, initially used to describe psychological work in vocational guidance and personnel selection tests that used apparatus; it later became a synonym for applied psychology

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Appendix A
Member Nations of the International Union of Psychological Science (IUPsyS)

Albania	Finland	Mexico	Slovakia
Argentina	France	Mongolia	Slovenia
Australia	Georgia	Morocco	South Africa
Austria	Germany	Namibia	Spain
Bangladesh	Greece	Netherlands	Sudan
Belgium	Hong Kong	New Zealand	Sweden
Bulgaria	Hungary	Nicaragua	Switzerland
Canada	India	Nigeria	Turkey
Chile	Indonesia	Norway	Uganda
China	Iran	Pakistan	Ukraine
Colombia	Ireland	Panama	United Kingdom
Croatia	Israel	Peru	Uruguay
Cuba	Italy	Philippines	United States
Czech Republic	Japan	Poland	Venezuela
Denmark	Jordan	Portugal	Vietnam
Dominican Republic	Korea	Romania	Yemen
Egypt	Lithuania	Russia	Zimbabwe
Estonia	Malta	Singapore	

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Appendix B
International Congresses of Applied Psychology

Number	Year	Location	President
I	1920	Geneva, Switzerland	Édouard Claparède
II	1921	Barcelona, Spain	Édouard Claparède
III	1922	Milan, Italy	Giulio Cesare Ferrari
IV	1927	Paris, France	Édouard Toulouse
V	1928	Utrecht, The Netherlands	Franciscus M. Roels
VI	1930	Barcelona, Spain	Emilio Mira y López
VII	1931	Moscow, USSR	Isaak Naftulevich Spielrein
VIII	1934	Prague, Czechoslovakia	František Šeracky
IX	1949	Bern, Switzerland	Henri Piéron
X	1951	Göteborg, Sweden	John K. G. Elmgren
XI	1953	Paris, France	Raymond Bonnardel
XII	1955	London, United Kingdom	Clifford B. Frisby
XIII	1958	Rome, Italy	Leandro Canestrelli
XIV	1961	Copenhagen, Denmark	R. Tranekjaer
XV	1964	Ljubljana, Yugoslavia	Zoran Bujas
XVI	1968	Amsterdam, The Netherlands	H. R. Wijngaarden
XVII	1971	Liège, Belgium	Roger Piret
XVIII	1974	Montreal, Canada	L. Dorais
XIX	1978	Munich, Germany	R. Amthauer
XX	1982	Edinburgh, United Kingdom	Gerry Randell
XXI	1986	Jerusalem, Israel	Yehuda Amir
XXII	1990	Kyoto, Japan	Jyuji Misumi
XXIII	1994	Madrid, Spain	Jose Maria Prieto
XXIV	1998	San Francisco, United States	Joseph D. Matarazzo
XXV	2002	Singapore	Elizabeth Nair
XXVI	2006	Athens, Greece	James Georgas & Marina Manthouli
XXVII	2010	Melbourne, Australia	Paul Martin
XXVIII	2014	Paris, France	

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Appendix C*
National Psychological Societies

Country	Society	Year Founded
Afghanistan	Afghan Psychological Association	2001
Albania	Association of Albanian Psychologists	1991
Argentina	Argentine Psychological Society	1930
Armenia	Union of Psychologists of Armenia	
Australia	Australian Psychological Society	1945
Austria	Austrian Association of Professional Psychologists	1953
Azerbaijan	Azerbaijan Psychological Association	1997
Bahamas	Bahamas Psychological Association	
Bangladesh	Bangladesh Psychological Association	
Barbados	Psychological Association of Barbados	
Brazil	Brazilian Association of Applied Psychology	1949
Bulgaria	Bulgarian Psychological Society	
Cambodia	Cambodian Psychological Society	
Canada	Canadian Psychological Association	1938
Chile	Association of Psychologists of Chile	1959
China	Chinese Psychological Society	1921
Colombia	Colombian Federation of Psychology	1955
Croatia	Croatian Psychological Association	1953
Cuba	Cuban Union of Psychology	1964
Cypress	Cypress Psychologists Association	
Czechoslovakia	Czechoslovak Psychological Association	1958
Denmark	Association of Danish Psychologists	1947
Dominican Republic	Dominican Psychologists' Society	1979
Ecuador	Ecuador Society of Psychological and Psychiatric Studies	1942
Egypt	Egyptian Association for Psychological Studies	1948
El Salvador	Salvadoran Society of Psychology	1964
Estonia	Union of Estonian Psychologists	1988
Ethiopia	Ethiopian Psychologists' Association	
Finland	Finnish Psychological Society	1952
France	French Psychological Society	1901
Georgia	Georgian Psychological Association	1991
Germany	German Society for Experimental Psychology	1904

(*Continued*)

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Country	Society	Year Founded
Greece	Association of Greek Psychologists	1963
Guam	Guam Psychological Association	
Guatemala	Guatemalan Psychological Association	1996
Hong Kong	Hong Kong Psychological Society	1968
Hungary	Hungarian Psychological Association	1928
Iceland	Association of Icelandic Psychologists	1954
India	Indian Psychological Association	1925
Indonesia	Indonesian Psychology Association	1959
Iran	Iranian Association of Psychology	1995
Iraq	Iraqi Educational and Psychological Association	
Ireland	Psychological Society of Ireland	1970
Israel	Israeli Psychological Association	1958
Italy	Italian Psychological Society	1910
Jamaica	Jamaica Psychological Society	
Japan	Japanese Psychological Association	1927
Jordan	Jordan Psychological Association	1996
Kenya	Kenya Psychological Association	
Korea	Korean Psychological Association	1946
Latvia	Latvian Professional Psychologists Association	
Lebanon	Lebanese Psychological Association	
Liechtenstein	Association of Liechtenstein Psychologists	
Lithuania	Lithuanian Psychological Association	1958
Malaysia	Malaysian Psychological Association	
Malta	Malta Union of Professional Psychologists	
Mexico	Mexican Psychological Society	1953
Mongolia	Mongolian Psychologists Association	
Morocco	Moroccan Psychological Association	
Namibia	Psychological Association of Namibia	1990
Nepal	Nepalese Psychological Association	1982
Netherlands	Netherlands Institute of Psychology	1938
New Zealand	New Zealand Psychological Society	1967
Nicaragua	Nicaraguan Psychological Association	1981
Nigeria	Nigerian Psychological Association	
Norway	Norwegian Psychological Association	1934

(*Continued*)

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Country	Society	Year Founded
Pakistan	Pakistan Psychological Association	
Panama	Panamanian Psychologists Association	1965
Peru	Peruvian Society of Psychology	1954
Philippines	Psychological Association of the Philippines	1961
Poland	Polish Psychological Association	1948
Portugal	Portuguese Psychological Society	1965
Puerto Rico	Association of Psychologists of Puerto Rico	1954
Romania	Psychologists Association of Romania	1965
Russia	Soviet Federal Socialist Republic Psychological Society	1957
San Marino	Organization of Psychologists of San Marino	
Saudi Arabia	Saudi Educational and Psychological Association	
Serbia	Serbian Psychological Society	1953
Singapore	Singapore Psychological Society	1979
Slovakia	Slovak Psychological Association	1957
Slovenia	Slovene Psychological Association	1954
South Africa	Psychological Association of South Africa	1982
Spain	Spanish Psychological Society	1952
Sudan	Sudanese Psychological Society	1987
Sweden	Swedish Psychological Association	1955
Switzerland	Swiss Psychological Society	1943
Thailand	Thai Psychological Association	
Tunisia	Tunisian Society of Psychology	1961
Turkey	Turkish Psychological Association	1956
Uganda	Ugandan National Psychological Association	1992
Ukraine	Ukrainian Psychological Society	
United Arab Emirates	Emirates Psychological Association	
United Kingdom	British Psychological Society	1901
United States	American Psychological Association	1892
Uruguay	Psychological Society of Uruguay	1953
Venezuela	Venezuelan Psychological Federation	1957
Vietnam	Psycho-Pedagogical Association of Vietnam	1990
Yemen	Yemen Psychological Association	1990
Yugoslavia	Psychological Association of Yugoslavia	1950
Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe Psychological Association	

*Partially adapted from David & Buchanan (2003). Many countries have more than one psychological society. For the purposes of this listing we included only the first one to be established.

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Appendix D
International Congresses of Psychology

Number	Year	Location	President
I	1889	Paris, France	Jean-Martin Charcot
II	1892	London, United Kingdom	Henry Sidgwick
III	1896	Munich, Germany	Carl Stumpf
IV	1900	Paris, France	Théodule Ribot
V	1905	Rome, Italy	Giuseppi Sergi
VI	1909	Geneva, Switzerland	Théodore Flournoy
VII	1923	Oxford, United Kingdom	Charles Myers
VIII	1926	Groningen, The Netherlands	Gerardus Heymans
IX	1929	New Haven, United States	James McK. Cattell
X	1932	Copenhagen, Denmark	Edgar Rubin
XI	1937	Paris, France	Henri Piéron
XII	1948	Edinburgh, United Kingdom	James Drever, Sr.
XIII	1951	Stockholm, Sweden	David Katz
XIV	1954	Montreal, Canada	Edward Bott & Edward Tolman
XV	1957	Brussels, Belgium	Albert Michotte
XVI	1960	Bonn, Germany	Wolfgang Metzger
XVII	1963	Washington, DC, United States	Otto Klineberg
XVIII	1966	Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Alexei Leontiev
XIX	1969	London, United Kingdom	George Drew
XX	1972	Tokyo, Japan	Moriji Sagara
XXI	1976	Paris, France	Paul Fraisse
XXII	1980	Leipzig, Germany	Friedhart Klix
XXIII	1984	Acapulco, Mexico	Rogelio Diaz-Guerrero
XXIV	1988	Sydney, Australia	Peter Sheehan
XXV	1992	Brussels, Belgium	Géry d'Ydewalle &Paul Bertelson
XXVI	1996	Montreal, Canada	David Bélanger
XXVII	2000	Stockholm, Sweden	Lars-Göran Nilsson
XXVIII	2004	Beijing, China	Qicheng Jing
XXIX	2008	Berlin, Germany	Peter Frensch
XXX	2012	Cape Town, South Africa	Saths Cooper

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CHAPTER

2 Australia

Roderick D. Buchanan

Abstract

Australian psychology has a relatively long history that mirrors the story of modern psychology in Europe and America. It was born of colonialism, and its institutional structure retains significant provincial features. The discipline had its roots in the British-style public universities in the major cites, spreading from this academic base into various applied fields. Educational and clinical psychologists spearheaded this diversification. Although independent practice has recently become more common among Australian clinicians, most nonacademic work has developed in various government programs and agencies. Teaching and research has come to reflect an internationalist perspective, but some local and particular influences have still given it a home-grown flavor.

Keywords: Australian, psychology, history, colonialism, academic, applied, public, provincial

Australia is an old continent, an island country with no common borders. Geographical isolation has always shaped its ecological, biological, and social destiny. Australia has had a long history of human habitation, with the indigenous Aboriginal population having roamed the land for thousands of years. After Englishman Captain James Cook charted the east coast of the country in 1770, it was declared an ideal place for a penal colony. The First Fleet arrived 18 years later, and the country was transformed as an unruly outpost of the British Empire, the white colonial population boosted by the regular arrival of convict transports and free-settlers. A rural farming economy emerged alongside the growth of large city centers, especially along the southeast rim. Australia quickly became one of the most urbanized nations in the world. Nonetheless, it remains relatively sparsely populated, given a land mass just shy of that of the United States, with Anglo-American customs a little at odds with surrounding Asia.

In the last decade of the 19th century, Australia consisted of six states—New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, Queensland, and Tasmania—governed largely by elected local parliaments. In 1901, federation united these states, along with the Northern Territory, under the Commonwealth. The Australian Capital Territory was created to accommodate the nation's capital, Canberra. The site was chosen as a compromise between rival cities Sydney and Melbourne, the respective capitals of Australia's the two most populous states, New South Wales and Victoria. The primary and secondary school systems developed under each state's jurisdiction, and so did the universities, at least initially. However, control of the tertiary sector has gradually been handed over from the various states to the federal government in more recent times.

Academic Beginnings at the Turn of the Century

The Western science of psychology followed the long path east of people, goods, and culture. As was the case in Europe and the United States, academic psychology in Australia began as an offshoot of philosophy, taught as one or several subjects in mental

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philosophy. Not surprisingly, it first appeared at Australia's two oldest establishment of higher education, the University of Sydney and the University of Melbourne, both established in the early 1850s.

The University of Melbourne appointed the tall, red-bearded Scot, Henry Laurie, to a lectureship in philosophy in 1881, the first such post in the country. Sydney University followed suit with Francis Anderson in 1888, and both posts were quickly upgraded to chairs explicitly covering mental philosophy (O'Neil, 1987). Like almost all of the first generation of Australian academics, Laurie and Anderson were educated in Europe. Although Mother England was generally the strongest cultural reference point, these pioneer philosopher-psychologists had a predominantly Scottish background, for that is where psychology had gained its strongest institutional foothold in the United Kingdom in the late 19th century. Anderson's Glasgow credentials gave Sydney philosophy and psychology a Scottish common-sense realism it has retained to this day. Gentleman-scholar Laurie had studied in Edinburgh, as had William Mitchell, who had been given a chair in philosophy at the University of Adelaide in 1894 (O'Neil, 1987).

Even so, early Australian mental philosophy had a wider set of intellectual influences than the free-thinking liberalism the 19th century Scottish "enlightenment." As historian Alison Turtle (1988) put it, inspiration came from British empiricism and evolutionary biology, supplemented by German physiological psychology. For example, Laurie's teaching of psychology at Melbourne emphasized the physiological experimentalism of Alexander Bain and the expansive social and scientific writings of Herbert Spencer. But he also came to admire, and wanted to emulate, the experimental and mental testing work being done in American and German universities.

A similar pattern of appointments occurred at other Australian universities. For instance, Adelaide graduate G. Elton Mayo took up a post at the University of Queensland as lecturer in logic philosophy and ethics in 1911, before becoming a full professor of philosophy in 1919. By 1913, all six Australian universities had made appointments in philosophy that took in psychology in some form. Not all the subjects taught emphasized experimental observation, but all included it to some extent. No institution offered a full course in psychology, and separate departments were still a pipe dream.

The year 1913 proved auspicious, however. When the University of Sydney took on Henry Tasman Lovell, it began expanding its subject offerings into a recognizable degree course. Taken in conjunction with experimental education, these psychology subjects would make up a B.A. degree. By 1919, a full course was in place at Sydney. By adding a fourth "honors" year to this undergraduate program 6 years later, the institution established the first full major in psychology in the nation. While nominally under the control of philosophy until 1929, Sydney psychology had already achieved functional independence. That year, Lovell was elevated to a full chair in psychology, and it would remain the only such position until after World War II.

The University of Western Australia in Perth followed Sydney's example. The University had already chosen one of Laurie's graduates, Philip Le Couteur, to teach mental and moral philosophy before the World War I. Le Couteur left in 1918, for a career as a private school headmaster, and for a time his position lapsed. In 1928, Hugh Fowler joined part-time lecturer Ethel Stoneman in the Western Australian philosophy department. Fowler had been educated at University College London under Spearman. His vision was clear: He wanted to establish an independent psychology department and gain a full-time position within it. Holding out on an offer from the Auckland Teachers' College, Fowler achieved his ambition by the beginning of 1930 (Richardson, 1995).

As the nation's second oldest institution, the University of Melbourne might also have been expected to follow suit. However, Henry Laurie's plans for expansion were largely shelved in the wake of a financial disaster that rocked an already cash-strapped university early in the new century. In 1912, he was succeeded by William R. Boyce Gibson as professor of philosophy, who immediately instituted "psychology, logic, and ethics" as a first-year elective. Several notable educationalists cum philosophers taught this subject, including Ken Cunningham and P.M. Bachelard. Although advanced psychology would also become part of the final honors syllabus, little provision was made for experimental work. In contrast, developments at the Teacher Training College adjoining the university gave experimental and applied psychology a much firmer footing in Melbourne (Buchanan, 1996). Educational institutions would prove to be an important complementary pathway in the development of Australian psychology, providing a particularly crucial entry point into applied professional practice.

Early Educational Initiatives

Victoria was the first state to make primary education compulsory, secular, and free in 1872, with New

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South Wales and other states quickly following suit. Not surprisingly, the nation's first Teacher Training College had been founded in Melbourne in 1890. Under the direction of Frank Tate, psychology was taught in the College as a component of the instruction given to teachers; this teaching was based largely on the texts of William James. In 1903, John Smyth succeeded Tate as principal and set up a crudely equipped classroom that represented the first experimental psychology laboratory in Australia. Smyth had gained his Ph.D. in Edinburgh and, like many of his generation, had visited Wundt's laboratory in Leipzig. Enthusiastic about the experimental approach, Smyth put Matthew Sharman in charge of the laboratory in 1913 (Buchanan, 1996). That year, Lovell set up a similar laboratory in the Sydney philosophy department (Turtle, 1988).

The use of standardized testing in France and the United States set an example that Australian educationalists and would-be psychologists eagerly followed in the prewar years. Testing soon became an integral part of teacher training. For example, students in the diploma of education course in the Melbourne Teachers' College were introduced to tests of memory, attention, and fatigue, and to the new Binet intelligence tests. Binet's 1911 scale also proved a hit with staff at the Sydney Teachers' College. More significantly, the new mental tests provided for a practical administrative knowledge, the technical centerpiece for an emerging applied specialty.

Up until the turn of the century, feeblemindedness had been a medical province. Now, the states began to make provisions for special education, with Victoria and New South Wales leading the way. In 1911, the Bell Street Special School set up in Melbourne, assessing and treating feebleminded and maladjusted children. Stanley Porteus was appointed head, despite the fact that he had no formal background in psychology. Porteus quickly came to the conclusion that the Binet tests were unsuitable for many of the children he encountered; they were far too dependent on verbal faculties and did not tap foresight, initiative, and planning. Instead, he developed his own set of maze tests of intelligence that he is remembered for. In 1917, Smyth also engaged Porteus as a lecturer in the Teachers' College, the first appointment of a psychologist there.

Australian psychologists were not yet ready to capitalize on the opportunities provided by wartime mobilization like their U.S. counterparts did with their massive testing program. However, in the early 1920s, various state governments initiated school psychological services to deal with the special education needs of children identified as different—the delinquent, the precocious, and especially the intellectually deficient.

In Tasmania, as one of the first generation of academic appointees, Morris Miller had worked closely with the state government drafting policy on mental deficiency. Miller became director of the new State Psychological Clinic, also attaining a professorship of psychology and philosophy in 1928. Many of these state educational psychologists were women, with new clinics staffed by Constance Davey in South Australia, Ethel Stoneman in Western Australia, and Lorna Hodgkinson in Sydney. Testing was a staple of their practice, and children the priority. Even so, both Miller's clinic in Tasmania and Hugh Martin's "worry clinic" in Sydney saw adults as well (Cooke, 2000; Turtle, 1988).

The services these educational clinics offered were ad hoc and fragile, liable to fall by the wayside due to staff shortages and the vagaries of government funding. Nevertheless, this kind of educational and vocational counseling was the dominant mode of applied psychology in Australia between the wars, and it provided a lead-in for the development of clinical psychology as a distinct specialty.

Another important national initiative linking psychology and education occurred in Melbourne in 1930, when the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER) was set up, with assistance of the Carnegie Corporation. Ken Cunningham was made director. As an independent body, ACER's brief was to study education, to form a central information resource, and to facilitate and support educational reform. It was sustained by U.S. funds for the first 13 years of its operation. It quickly became a major source of psychological research. Projects were undertaken in which specific grants were obtained, or else directly from core funding (Turtle, 1987). One of the first things ACER did was to adapt and standardize intelligence and aptitude tests across the nation.

Academic and Applied Growth in the 1920s and 1930s

Psychology expanded steadily between the wars, within the academic institutions where it had taken root. For example, under Lovell's stewardship, the number of Sydney graduates increased from five in 1929, to 21 in 1938. By the late 1930s, both Sydney and Western Australia offered an M.A. in psychology based in part on an experimental thesis.

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Both universities also began to build connections outside academia, selling their expertise and tools to business, government, and the wider community. Sydney was particularly important for the development of industrial psychology. Bernard Muscio had taken up Anderson's chair in logic and mental philosophy in 1922, and immediately set up Australasian Association of Psychology and Philosophy, the first professional representative body, and the *Australian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy* to go with it. Although the Association provided a valuable forum, psychologists would remain the junior partner in this alliance. Numbers and power went with the philosophers. For example, Association office holders tended to be philosophers, as were the editors of the *Australian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy* (O'Neil, 1987; Turtle, 1988).

Bernard Muscio died suddenly in 1926, becoming antipodean psychology's version of the tragic young genius. However, A.H. Martin took over Muscio's interest in industrial psychology, establishing the Australian Institute of Industrial Psychology in 1927, affiliated with C.S. Myers' Institute of Industrial Psychology in London. Martin had taken a Ph.D. in experimental psychology at Columbia with Thorndike and Woodworth. The Institute developed tests for use in vocational guidance and personnel selection, as well as helping train students. Martin remained honorary director for two decades, and the nonprofit Institute would survive until the 1970s.

Not all aspects of the development of psychology in Australia can be situated in an "onward and upward" narrative. This is no better illustrated than the faltering attempts to create an institutional base for psychology in Melbourne. Despite its success, psychological laboratory work at the Melbourne Teachers' College stalled in the years just after World War I, with the maverick innovator Stanley Porteus departing for the Vineland Training School in New Jersey. John Smyth set about reviving the College laboratory in the early 1920s, and chose Ken Cunningham to head a more ambitious laboratory program at the College. However, Cunningham soon left to do a Ph.D. at Columbia. He returned in 1927, but his higher ambition was thwarted by the fact that the University of Melbourne could still not provide a departmental home. Instead, he taught at the College, and in the University's philosophy and commerce departments. Before taking on the ACER post in 1930, Cunningham helped to construct new intelligence and performance tests, and, in 1928, to institute the special teacher's certificate for those dealing with the "mentally deficient."

It was not as if the idea of a psychology department at Melbourne lacked powerful backers. During the 1924 conference, the Australasian Association of Psychology and Philosophy recommended that the status of psychology at Australian universities needed to be raised, with departments of social science established in all such institutions. Professors Alexander Gunn and W. Boyce Gibson strongly supported such moves. In 1925, they formed a professorial committee with a view to establishing a chair in psychology in the faculty of science. However, amid competing claims from other faculties, tightening budgets, and other circumstances that remain mysterious, the plan was quietly dropped. It has been suggested that the committee had distinguished industrial psychologist Elton Mayo in mind for the position of foundation chair. Mayo had just obtained a position at Harvard and would soon be most famously associated with the Hawthorne studies of worker efficiency. However, Mayo was reluctant to come back to Australia. The unavailability of the Committee's chosen candidate, and the absence of alternatives, was apparently enough to scuttle their enthusiasm. Another decade would pass before such plans could be put on the agenda again (Buchanan, 1996).

Freud and the Clinic Between the Wars

School psychological services were one strand of clinical work to emerge in the educational context of the early 1920s. These publicly funded clinics were set up to address delinquency, mental deficiency, and learning and behavioral problems. However, the intellectual and professional model provided by psychoanalysis played an important, ambiguous, but formative role in the development of clinical psychology down under.

A handful of discussion pieces on Freud's work had appeared in various Australian medical journals in the early years of the 20th century, but local interest appeared limited. With the ties of empire strong, Australia followed Britain into the Great War in Europe. However, the romantic image of battlefield adventure quickly gave way to the realities of trench warfare. The specter of shell-shock proved a rude awakening for somatically oriented psychiatrists, and therapeutic desperation opened the door to psychoanalytic approaches. Back in Australia, the clinical impact of these developments was muted by the fact that almost all shell-shock cases were cared for, at least initially, in England. Although there was significant discussion of psychoanalytic techniques in the aftermath of war, when the soldiers returned

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home, it was more a case of distant intellectual thunder (Damousi, 2005).

Although some psychologists incorporated an interest in psychoanalysis, it did not occupy a central part of their academic teaching. Perhaps the most notable and influential exception to this was Tasman Lovell, who gave analysis equal billing with experimental and social psychology in his courses at Sydney. Drawn to psychoanalytic accounts of neurosis and psychopathology, he wrote extensively on dreams. Yet, he was no practitioner, and derived all his integrative knowledge simply from what he could read. Elton Mayo, on the other hand, tried to take a more hands-on approach, immersing himself in the analytic techniques of Freud, Jung, and Janet, and then attempting to apply them when working with returned soldiers immediately after the war.

Although Mayo and Lovell had both dabbled in private practice in the 1920s, they had little company among their peers. To many Australian psychologists, psychoanalysis was everything psychology was not, far too subjective and unscientific. It was greeted with skepticism and indifference down under, much more so than it was in the United States. Intellectually, it ran up against the closed-shop of Anglo philosophical rationality. It also sat rather uneasily with an antipodean culture that stressed stoic independence and stigmatized most forms of mental distress. The way analysis sought to open up the psychological interior came across as invasive in a culture that guarded personal privacy. But more importantly and prosaically, it lacked critical mass. There were no training facilities and limited client service opportunities. During most of the interwar years, there were only two qualified analysts practicing in Australia—Roy Winn and Paul Dane—and both were medical men. In 1931, Winn left Sydney Hospital and set up in private practice as the country's first full-time analyst (Damousi, 2005).

Nevertheless, psychoanalysis did enter Australian popular culture to some extent, permeating the literature, arts, and politics of the major city centers. An interest with psychoanalysis tended to go with a leftist, "progressive" outlook; its enthusiasts were overwhelmingly elite Protestants. It was another of point of difference in the pervasive Anglican–Catholic divide that stratified Australian life up to the beginnings of multiculturalism in the 1970s. Colorful Melbourne psychiatrist Reginald Ellery, for example, managed to combine an interest in Freud with his advocacy of radical somatic treatments. Ellery's socialist leanings and bohemian prose was very much in keeping with the modernist push of the Reed-Harris literary set. He opened his own practice in Melbourne in 1933, the first private psychopathic hospital in Victoria.

In the lead-up to World War II, Roy Winn, Ernest Jones, and John Rickman worked together to enable psychoanalysts to migrate to Australia. In the end, only one made it—the Hungarian Clara Lazar-Geroe. She would become a central, matriarchal figure for psychoanalysis in Australia, settling in Melbourne and founding the nation's first training institute there in 1941.

World War II and Its Aftermath

The resumption of hostilities in Europe in 1939 did not have an immediate impact on Australian psychology, as like it did in the United Kingdom and on the continent. Only when things came closer to home, when the war in the Pacific escalated in 1942, did an urgent need for manpower management come to the fore. The discipline's de facto leadership—Cunningham, Lovell, Martin, Miller, and Fowler—pushed psychologist's expertise in personnel selection, job placement, and rehabilitation training to the various branches of the armed forces. All three branches—the army especially—began to rely on psychologist's services in some way during the war, and all three set up psychological organizations to retain them afterward. The war also brought the discipline into contact with allied professional groups, especially psychiatrists, although not always harmoniously (Cooke, 2000; O'Neil, 1987).

Wartime had a way of rewriting the rules, helping to generate closer ties with government and the armed services. World War II accelerated professional reform, in part because it brought Australian psychologists together. In a land defined by the cliché "the tyranny of distance," the sheer scale of geographical separation had made it difficult to organize at a basic national level, let alone achieve a higher sense of disciplinary identity.

Eager to use wartime opportunities to establish a united professional front, Australian psychologists began to canvas ideas for a new disciplinary body. A manpower survey in 1943 had revealed a small but growing field badly in need of organizational representation. Over 600 people possessed at least 2 years of psychological study at a tertiary level. They were young, mostly male, but vulnerable to the encroachment of untrained charlatans as well as rival professional groups. Yet Australian psychologists baulked at the idea of forming a stand-alone national body. Such a move had a few influential supporters—Fowler and Martin prominent

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among them. However, most saw it as premature or simply not worth the trouble. In what now looks like a cringing compromise, they opted to create an affiliate body of the British Psychological Society (BPS), hoping to enjoy the prestige and privileges the Society might bestow. New Zealand-born Donald McElwain was key proponent of this safe and familiar option, already being a member of the British Society. Thus, the Australian Branch of the BPS was born in 1945, initially comprising 54 members. Given its age, size, and centrality, the Sydney department was the natural institutional base for the Branch, and the recently retired Lovell became its first president. The Branch would expand significantly over the next two decades, eventually outgrowing its provincial status (Cooke, 2000).

Branch membership standards were deliberately set higher than those of the rather unrestrictive parent British body in an effort to curtail the untrained. Basic membership required at least a degree in psychology and experience in research, teaching or practice—equivalent to the middle-tier "Associate" level of BPS membership. The Branch soon launched the *Australian Journal of Psychology*. It would be a costly venture, given that all Branch members would automatically receive each issue. However, the *Australian Journal of Psychology* provided a communication channel that further strengthened disciplinary identity, as well as an outlet for empirical work the *Australian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy* refused. Even so, founding editor Don McElwain would have great difficulty rounding up sufficient copy to fill its pages in the early years, and the first edition did not appear until 1949.

Postwar Academic Growth

The nation's higher education system began to expand significantly in the postwar years, with academic psychology soon represented in all the major city centers. In a long overdue move, a psychology department was finally established at Melbourne in 1946. Oscar Oeser was appointed head; he became at 41 years of age Australia's third professor of psychology—after Lovell and William M. O'Neil. Sydney had managed to advertise their chair just prior to that of their new southern counterparts and O'Neil got the nod ahead of Oeser.

The South African-born Oeser had a diverse background, having been educated at Rhodes University, at Marburg in Germany and at Cambridge. Oeser was unable to take up the post immediately due to his work in Germany, so the department was put in place by acting head Don McElwain. With a Ph.D. from London and fondness of rugby, McElwain transplanted much of the teaching structure of his former department in Western Australia. On his way to Melbourne, Oeser stopped off at the University of Western Australia in Perth, recruiting young staffers Sam Hammond, Cecily de Monchaux, and Fred Emery. Despite the rush, the department started teaching, albeit a little behind schedule, early in 1946 (Buchanan, 1996).

Although social psychology had been researched and taught at Sydney and Western Australia, the foundation of the Melbourne department provided a huge boost for the growth of the field in Australia. Reflecting Oeser's interests and expertise, significant longitudinal survey work was started in this early period. Melbourne became a center for research and teaching in social structure, attitudes, and prejudices—symptomatic of the optimism and sense of social renewal in the immediate postwar era. Much of this work was ground-breaking in terms of its scope and the multipronged methodology that Oeser labeled "functional penetration." Influenced by Lazarsfeld, Mead, and Lewin, this work incorporated broad ideas from sociology and anthropology, and connected them with a social psychology of roles, norms, and attitudes. Collected volumes resulting from this work were edited by Oeser, Hammond, and Emery. These volumes covered attitudes to immigration, the role of the family in child development, and the place of work in the community. In the West, Ronald Taft and Alan Richardson were pursuing a similar line of research on migrant assimilation, and Taft would subsequently move to Victoria, taking up a post at Melbourne before moving on to a chair at Monash University (Feather, 2005).

The Melbourne department produced many notable graduates, such as Leon Mann and Richard Trahair, and would remain an important institutional center for social psychology. Fred Emery later attained international renown for his research on work group relations and industrial democracy, mainly done at the Tavistock Institute in London (Bochner, 2000). Social psychology would gain a second-wave boost with the creation of the new universities in the postwar period, particularly Flinders University in South Australia and Macquarie University in New South Wales and the Australian National University in Canberra.

Many of the newer universities would fill relative gaps in teaching and research, whereas older departments would consolidate and broaden their offerings and output. For example, the Sydney department added many new areas after the war, but would remain a strong center for experimental and

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behavioral research. William O'Neil had a rigorously catholic approach to the discipline, but came to specialize in history and philosophy. The department institutionalized the value of the historical perspective and retained informal links with philosophy, still housed next door in the years immediately following the war. The realist approach of Scottish émigré philosopher John Anderson, a long-time faculty member in the middle part of the century, would prove particularly influential. Anderson became an iconic aspect of the Sydney scene, he and his followers seeing off social conservatives then holding out against deconstructive intellectual trends (Turtle, 1997).

The graduates the Sydney department turned out would also prove more influential than the department itself in the postwar period. For example, Sydney alumni Ross Day became the founding professor of the new Monash University department in 1965. Day initiated an extensive program of laboratory research in sensory perception, behavioral genetics, and human engineering. Another Sydney graduate, George Singer, would cast the even newer La Trobe University department in his own image; since its inception in 1972, it was a leading site for neurophysiological research, one the few such centers in the country (Buchanan, 1999).

Australian universities maintained a structural model that was essentially British, even as the instructional content has become increasingly Americanized in recent times. At an undergraduate level, the 3-year degree major plus a fourth "honours" year remained standard, with most courses covering the gamut of the discipline and offering a range of elective choices. Despite the perceived need for uniformity, different departments did exhibit different emphasizes. For example, Sydney pushed history and philosophy at a third-year level, the University of New South Wales was strong on industrial psychology, whereas Monash University emphasized experimental and physiological subjects. The British model has only recently been challenged, and only at the University of Melbourne, where a more American structure of generalist undergraduate courses and specialized graduate training has been instituted in the last 2 years.

Postgraduate programs were the area in which the most significant restructuring and growth occurred. Only an M.A. could be taken in psychology prior to the war, and it was not necessarily seen as a strictly research-based degree. By the mid-1950s, the M.Sc. became available, along with the Ph.D.—both bona fide research degrees requiring original scientific research. Student numbers were boosted by the introduction of a federally funded student scholarship scheme in 1960, part of the increasing level of commonwealth involvement in higher education in the postwar era.

The Expansion of Applied Work in the 1950s and 1960s

World War II had underlined the burgeoning demand for psychologists in government, business, and social service sectors. But it had also highlighted the lack of training facilities in psychology. Academic expansion helped service this demand for applied expertise. Although the image shift was never as dramatic as it was in the United States, Australian psychologists would increasingly market themselves in practical terms.

On the back of war work assessing military recruits, applied psychology expanded into the government service sector. Work in specialist clinics dealing with child guidance and the intellectually handicapped expanded in the postwar period, especially in New South Wales, where the state government boosted school guidance and counseling services dramatically. By 1973, there were over 400 district guidance officers and counselors employed by the state—many, but certainly not all, trained in psychology. Although the federal government pressured other state governments to follow suit, their response was generally more ad hoc and measured (O'Neil, 1987).

These opportunities were augmented by new openings in the state mental hospitals dealing with adult psychiatric patients. As part of an attempt to modernize and reform these custodial asylums, many mental hospitals expanded their roster to include the services of psychologists. Growth was particularly strong in Victoria. In 1951, seven psychologists were employed by the Victorian Mental Hygiene Authority. By 1968, this number had swelled to 25. Although the corresponding number of psychiatrists increased from 10 to 97 over the same period, this still represented a significant increase. In addition, there was a small but growing cadre of psychologists branching out into private practice.

Courses were developed to service this expanding role, with the University of Western Australia and Sydney University leading the way. Both had diploma courses in clinical psychology in place by the late 1950s. Other tertiary institutions, such as the University of Melbourne, got their clinical programs up and running in the early 1960s. These diploma courses were stepped up to master's level

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a decade later, with La Trobe, Macquarie, Newcastle, and Flinders following suit.

Professional Regulation and the Formation of the Australian Psychological Society

A burgeoning market for psychological services helped convince academic leaders and young graduates of the future of applied work, but it also opened the door to the non-qualified and the charlatans. The Australian Branch of the BPS had cautiously approached the issue of professional regulation in the years following the war. Two versions of a Code of Ethics were produced: an initial 1949 version, and a revised and far more detailed 1960 version. It is worth noting that these initiates predated any such moves by the parent British body. However, the impact of these ethical standards was limited by the fact that, up to that time, only a handful of Australian psychologists had entered the uncharted waters of private practice. Moreover, any such code could only be said to apply to Branch members, leaving the fringe elements free to ply their trade.

Even so, the most vexing aspect of professional regulation for the Branch was one of process, an issue that would eventually prompt Australian psychologists to go it alone to form an independent body. In the early 1960s, the Branch had received a complaint about the manner in which a Branch member was promoting his services. The protracted expulsion process—in which evidence was sent back to the parent British body for review and judgment—helped convince members of the desirability of local autonomy. At the same time, community disquiet and some lurid press coverage of the activities of various pseudo-psychological groups in Victoria led to a state government investigation, the Anderson Inquiry. Although the main aim was to suppress Scientology and other fringe *psyche* therapies, the inquiry set a precedent for the professional control of psychological services in other states. The final report of the inquiry branded Scientology "evil" and resulted in the State Psychological Practices Act of 1965. The Act provided for the registration of professional psychologists in Victoria, legitimating the qualified and sanctioning the nonqualified. However, the Act ceded control over the regulatory process, since the board set up to oversee it was an external body made up of psychologists, psychiatrists, and doctors, with a lay chairman. Australian psychologists could only hope that such a body would operate in the discipline's best interests (Cooke, 2000).

Articulating those interests would require an effective professional organization at the very least, preferably one that was not beholden to a distant power. Even the simple matter of electing Branch members had made for irritating and embarrassing delays, given that it was necessary to send applications back to England to be voted on and/or dealt with. It had become clear that Australian psychologists could and should manage their own house when it came to professional ethics, and were best placed to deal with looming issues like training standards, course accreditation, and so on. Reforming the arcane Branch thus became a top priority; the only question was what form should it should take.

Tellingly, it was the constitution of the American Psychological Association that provided inspiration—particularly the famous postwar revision of its charter as the "promotion of psychology as a science, as a profession, and as a means of promoting human welfare." A proposal for independence put to branch members in 1965 was carried overwhelmingly. So, the Branch became the Australian Psychological Society (APS) the following year and relocated to Melbourne, with "around 900" members. Taking over from Branch chairman Richard Champion, Ross Day became the Society's inaugural president.

The formation of APS in 1966 signaled a new dawn for the Australian discipline, marked by a series of initiatives at a professional level, as well as some more subtle intellectual changes. Australian psychology remained inescapably provincial; what changed was the nature of that provincialism. Instead of looking to mother England and the Continent, Australian psychologists were more inclined to take their intellectual cues from the United States. Australian psychology would ever more reflect the theory concerns and research priorities of their American counterparts. They would be more likely to visit, attain jobs, or be educated stateside, and to publish in United States journals. The sun did set on the British Empire, but only rather slowly.

Developing an Academic Research Culture in the 1960s and Beyond

Academic psychology grew in tandem with the expansion of the Australian university system in the postwar era. Thirteen new universities were created in the three decades following World War II, adding to the half dozen established prior to it, and almost all came with psychology departments. Much this was a result of the expansion of the tertiary sector, including the creation and rearranging the multiple tiers of the structure of this sector. After the publication of the Murray report—Australia's own post-Sputnik overhaul of higher education—several new

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campuses were created by the early 1960s. In addition, colleges of advanced education were created in the late 1960s as vocationally oriented alternatives to the universities. They and the older institutes of technology began to offer degree courses in psychology in the early 1970s, and these institutions would in turn employ a sizeable chunk of academically engaged psychologists.

With the exception of ACER, psychological research in Australian has mostly been performed in a university context. Prior to World War II, this had to be accomplished on shoestring budgets drawn from departments' tight operating funds. Purpose-built laboratories were almost unknown. This situation hardly improved after the war. Returning soldiers flooded campuses, making for high work loads for harried, often inexperienced staff. Ross Day (1997) remembered: "there was no culture of research. We were told about the discipline, rather than taught to question it or to criticize it (p. 5)."

Things began to change for the better in the early-1960s, however. The federal government stepped in to fund basic and applied scientific research with a competitive, peer-reviewed grant scheme run by Australian Research Grants Committee, which later became the Australian Research Council. Since that time, psychological research has expanded markedly, and other funding avenues have opened up. Medically oriented researchers can turn to the National Health and Medical Research Council. Applied psychologists can tap into various specialist government bodies and industry groups, a trend especially encouraged more recently by universities looking to shore up their financial positions in the face of dwindling per-student government operating funds.

By the 1980s, if not before, virtually every major research strand of the discipline came to be well-represented. At close of the 20th century, it would be difficult to point to a distinctly Australian psychology, at least not in terms of teaching and research. Peculiar emphases have been flattened out. For example, there has been a long strand of research and practice in the individual differences tradition, a direct lineage of ideas, technology, and personnel from the London School and the American testing movement. Although still present, it is nowhere near as relatively prominent as it was between the wars. Conversely, behaviorism made little impact in Australia academia, although its radical reformulation in the hands of Skinner and Spence enjoyed a lengthy run in Sydney and in some of the institutions founded by Sydney graduates (Turtle, 1997).

Recent Professional Developments

Much of the postwar growth in Australian psychology, particularly in the more applied areas like clinical, educational, counselling, and social psychology, could be attributed to the increasing participation of women. The majority of psychology graduates had been female as far back as the late 1950s. Although this proportion increased to over 75% by 1996, attrition rates have also decreased. A greater proportion of female graduates took postgraduate degrees and/or pursued careers in psychology from the mid-1970s onward. Marriage, family, and travel were not longer the source of career dissipation they once were. Even so, women still continued to be under-represented in the upper echelons of the discipline's hierarchy, and it wasn't until the 1990s that women outnumbered men within the APS (Cooke, 2000).

Clinical psychology stood out as the most significant area of nonacademic employment, a Trojan horse for Australian psychology's spread beyond the universities. In light of the special needs of this group, clinical practitioners had formed a separate division within the APS in 1965, a year before a similar division was created within the BPS. Applied practitioners of other stripes—educational, industrial/organizational, and counselling psychologists—followed suit by forming their own APS divisions (later reborn or renamed as Boards) in the late 1960s and 1970s. However, none was as well-represented as that of clinical psychology.

By the early 1970s, more than 300 clinical psychologists were working outside the universities in Australia. Over half worked in the state mental hospitals and public health services, while the rest were scattered around in various welfare agencies and other organizations. In addition, a small (over 10%) but growing cadre had struck out into private practice. Clinical practice still tended to emphasize diagnostic testing as a primary role. When and if any treatment was undertaken, it tended to be more Rogerian than Freudian. Pat Pentony had been instrumental in importing the client-centered approach to Australia. He and Elwyn Morey had initiated the first clinical course work in Australia at the University of Western Australia in 1949. Pentony would continue to promote the client-centered approach after moving to Canberra University College (now part of the Australian National University) in the 1950s, training notable researcher and practitioner Godfrey Barrett-Lennard.

Although Australian clinicians increased their options, competition and control remained an

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ongoing issue. Other states and territories followed Victoria's example by creating independent registration boards. Nevertheless, the road to nationwide legal recognition was long and circuitous. Australia's most heavily populated state, New South Wales, did not pass its Psychological Practices Act until 1990. The Australian Capital Territory was the last to fall into line 5 years later. All such acts were based on the Victorian template, but typically only restricted the use of title. The original Victorian act had provided a definition of practice. This definition was sufficiently broad to cover all aspects of the psychologists' activities. Numerous exemptions were necessary to allow for the activity of doctors, teachers, and the clergy. However, this created a loophole that would undermine the original intent of the act. When Scientology was recognized as a legitimate religion for the purposes of the Federal Marriage Act in 1973, it meant they (and possibly many other fringe elements) could avoid legal sanction. This made definitions of practice in the legislation subsequently drawn up in other states seem fruitless. A rather uneasy "liberal tolerance" came into effect. No one professional group—certainly not psychologists—could claim a monopoly in a mental health marketplace (Cooke, 2000).

As Australian clinical psychologists branched out from the public hospitals, health services, and clinics in the 1970s, they began to outgrow their narrow diagnostic role. Clinical practice took on a more autonomous, treatment-oriented footing, aided by the development of new, distinctly psychological treatment regimes. Therapeutic modalities became more diverse, with individual desensitization procedures and group and family therapy augmented by the arrival of cognitive-behavioral techniques in the 1980s (Lewis, 1988). Different approaches evolved in different regions. For instance, London Institute of Psychiatry alumnus Aubrey Yates helped introduce behavior therapy to Australia, joining the University of Western Australia faculty in 1960. Conversely, Gestalt and cognitive-behavioral approaches were initially centered in Melbourne, with Ian Campbell pioneering rational emotive therapy at the University of Melbourne. Client-centered and analytically informed approaches were the big losers in this readjustment, although the Rogerian influence is still very much in evidence in counseling and educational guidance (Birnbrauer, 1996; Grant, Mullings, & Denham, 2008).

When the government employment sector was squeezed in the 1980s, increasing numbers of Australian psychologists turned to private practice. In 1989, the APS saw fit to establish a committee on independent practice to monitor and represent them. By the mid-1990s, over 1,600 psychologists had set up independent practices—representing 22% of all Australian psychologists—outnumbering those employed in the universities (Cooke, 2000, p. 233).

The 1990s saw the policy of deinstitutionalization come into full effect. Most of the venerable but decaying state asylums were closed, with their patients redistributed to other forms of institutional care or cast out into the community. Even in Victoria, Eric Cunningham Dax's vision of hospitals without walls was supplanted by the amorphous notion of care in the community. It would prove a mixed blessing for Australian clinicians. On the one hand, it brought mental patients (and psychiatrists) out of the asylum—where the medical man once ruled. It made these erstwhile patients available to a range of mental health care workers, including psychologists, who increasingly treated the severely disturbed along with the worried well as part of community-based outreach teams. But this intensified competition between medical and paramedical groups in the relatively unregulated interface between the public and private arenas, and this brought a raft of new problems and negotiations.

In a bid to achieve a degree of parity with their medical colleagues, Australian psychologists struggled to have their services included as part of the various public health programs that have been introduced since the 1960s. The APS had first lobbied for publicly funded health rebates for psychological services in the late 1960s, as part of the then Medical Benefits Scheme. The federal government rejected these claims, but the Society had a little more success getting some private health insurers to cover member services.

When the Hawke government introduced the Medicare public health scheme in 1984, psychologists lobbied to be included as part of the services offered. However, disciplinary representatives were not able to guarantee adequate representation in rural areas, nor assure legislators that a mass exodus from the public to the private sector would not occur. Thus, their claims for inclusion were rejected, and little headway has been made on this issue for two decades since, despite multiple and seemingly persuasive submissions from APS. Finally, in 2006, the Howard federal government allowed for clinical psychologists to be included within a rebate scheme requiring referral from doctors, helping to boost a patchwork system of care that struggled to cope, especially in rural areas.

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Science and Practice Today

Reform and expansion of higher education in the late 1980s, which included the upgrading of some former institutes to university status, as well as the creation of new universities, effectively doubled the number of Australian universities. By 1996, there were 38 university psychology departments in the country, only two of them private. Australian psychologists now contribute a small but significant proportion of psychological research across the world. This proportion has been growing steadily in the postwar decades, from 1.5% in the mid-1970s to 2.5% in the mid-1990s, with a 2.8% share of research published in major journals (Cumming, Siddle, & Hyslop, 1997). No one area stands out as particularly strong or weak in this context; local output in psychometrics, human experimentation and engineering, developmental, clinical, educational, and industrial psychology remain strong, sports psychology especially. Perhaps the only relative soft spot would be in (neuro)physiological psychology, with most Australian departments not yet tooled-up for this kind of demanding, "wet" research.

Australian psychology is now distinctly Janus-faced—both learned science and artful profession—just as it is in the Europe, the United Kingdom, and especially the United States. Although multiplying the discipline's options and reach, it was also a source of tension, particularly as the balance began to shift toward the applied fields. Recognizing the need to reflect the professional concerns of much of its membership, the rebadged APS took the decision to instigate a new journal, the *Australian Psychologist*, in 1965. The *Australian Journal of Psychology* had become a decidedly academic journal, a general outlet for theory-driven research that struggled to compete with overseas specialist journals. The *Australian Psychologist* was deliberately modeled on the *American Psychologist.* Its founding editor, Clive Williams of the University of Queensland, hoped much of the new journal's copy would come from those outside the universities—an editorial line that was difficult to realize in practice. However, after a shaky start, the *Australian Psychologist* blossomed to become a key forum for professional comment and practical research.

The accreditation process overseen by the Society had the effect of standardizing curriculums.Undergraduate course variations became less pronounced by the 1980s. What distinguished different departments were their postgraduate offerings—particularly the professionally oriented programs—and the lure they represented to students seeking careers in these fields. The basic start-up costs for undergraduate programs were low. Postgraduate applied courses were a different kettle of fish, especially the labor-intensive clinical and clinical neuropsychological programs. These required hard-to-get specialist staff and links to teaching hospitals, requirements that older, more established departments found easier to meet.

Clinical psychology helped paved the way for other applied fields—especially for clinical neuropsychology, which emerged in the late 1970s. The industrial psychology program Martin had pioneered in Sydney did not survive through the 1970s. However, several institutions, such as the University of Melbourne, initiated master's programs in industrial and organizational psychology in the early 1970s. Industrial and organizational psychology would remain a staple of undergraduate instruction, and there are now around 16 postgraduate training programs in the field. The first Australian Industrial and Organizational Psychology conference took place in 1995 and has been held biennially ever since (O'Driscoll, 2008). Other applied areas, such as counseling and educational psychology, grew steadily, although their specific histories have yet to be charted. State and federal governments remain the key employers of these nonacademic psychologists, with over a quarter of psychologists on government payrolls in the mid-1990s. Although an equally large percentage was engaged in independent practice, the commercial private sector has remained relatively underdeveloped.

The APS attempted to accommodate the interests of practitioners as well as academics by expanding the number of applied specialty Boards (now dubbed Colleges) in the 1980s and 1990s. Although the clinical Board retains the most members (over 700 in the mid-1990s), it was rivaled in strength by the counsellors and the educational and developmental psychologists. In 1981, two divisions were created within the Society, one for professional and one for scientific affairs, as the Society fully professionalized all aspects of its internal staffing and operations. By the early 1990s, those on the professional side of the divide were in the majority. Even though the accommodation of the divergent interests of academics and practitioners has not been without conflict, the Society has managed to avoid the kind of formal split the American Psychological Association suffered in the late 1980, with the formation of the science-oriented American Psychological Society (Cooke, 2000).

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Local and Particular: Antipsychiatry in Australia

Given the distinctly provincial nature of Australian psychology, historians and psychologists themselves have struggled to come to grips with the question of what, if anything, distinguishes it from the kind of psychology carried out in the major overseas centers. A superficial but reasonably accurate answer would be "nothing much," assuming that it is all a matter of straightforward cultural importation. Nevertheless, the process should still be seen as a dynamic one: Some of these ideas have blossomed and have been deployed in some culturally unique and specific ways. This could probably best be illustrated with two quirky and compelling examples.

As feminism, gay liberation, and the first stirring of patient advocacy washed up on Australian shores in the early 1970s, they helped create a home-grown version of the antipsychiatry movement. At the time, Australian psychiatry stood at an historical juncture; locked into essentially somatic mindset, its practice was tethered to increasingly decrepit, long-stay state asylums. Leading figures in this movement focused on the corrosive, repressive nature of the doctor's role, but they also promoted the idea politically engaged, community-based social psychiatry (Damousi, 2005; Laffey, 2003).

Among psychologists, academic clinician Robin Winkler stood out as singular, crusading figure. Winkler immediately instigated an antipodean version of David Rosenhan's famously iconoclastic 1973 "pseudopatients" experiment. Like Rosenhan, Winkler had his experimental confederates fake specified symptoms in order to gain admittance to mental hospitals, but he also had them visit general practitioners. A more explicitly political twist was added to his study, with the Whitlam Government's new Medibank public health program about to be introduced. Thus, experimental confederates were asked to assess medical attitudes to this great leap into "nationalized" medicine (Owen & Winkler, 1974; Winkler, 1974). Like Rosenhan, Winkler argued for a new respect for patient rights in the face of the arbitrary discipline and numbing routine of institutional life. And he and his co-investigators did uncover pockets of resistance to Medibank among GPs (Owen & Winkler, 1974).

In 1976, Winkler moved on to head the University of Western Australia's clinical master's program and departmental clinic before his untimely early death a decade later (Richardson, 1995). Jay Birnbrauer (1996) pointed out how Winkler's career epitomized the shift in orientation of Australian clinical psychologists in the 1970s: from institutionally based test artisans to socially active community consultants. Winkler had completed a Ph.D. on token economies in Sydney's Gladesville psychiatric hospital in the late 1960s. Although speaking out on the choice of goals in behaviour modification—opposing the treatment of homosexuality, for example—he also attempted to alter public attitudes that stigmatizing and exacerbated psychological problems.

The attacks Winkler led were symptomatic of a general questioning of medical authority in this period, with Australian critics contrasting the somatic model of illness and treatment with more psychological and sociological perspectives. Nevertheless, clashes with psychiatry were not as overt and pronounced in Australia as they have been overseas, in the United States, for example. There was not the same level of heated debate over patient jurisdiction, not the same kind of pitched battles over the ownership of psychotherapy (Buchanan, 2003). Both psychiatry and clinical psychology emerged from government-funded institutions of one sort or another in Australia. Until relatively recently, it was never entirely clear whether there existed a market for either group's services outside these institutional confines. As has already been mentioned, Australia's was not a therapeutic culture; engaging a third-party expert to assist in the pursuit of happiness or personal growth sat rather uneasily with an ethos of privacy and stoicism. This is one reason antipodean clinical psychology has developed according to a problem-solving orientation, geared to specific issues like drug and alcohol abuse, veteran's affairs and post-traumatic shock, child welfare, and relationship difficulties.

The psychoanalytic movement had a less divisive presence down under than it did abroad. Unlike the American psychoanalytic training institutes, for example, the institutes established in Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide readily admitted suitably qualified lay trainees. Several notable Australian practitioners—such as Ian Waterhouse—were turned out by these institutes after first training as psychologists. However, in other respects the Australian institutes were just as conservative as their overseas counterparts, and just as insular. They remained separate, even secretive entities that stood apart from the universities and medical schools. As a result, psychoanalysis never achieved a high level of integration within psychiatric training programs in Australia, nor within undergraduate instruction in psychology, where it was generally taught as just one of number of theories of personality,

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if at all. It was only in postgraduate training in psychology that a Freudian focus might be intense. Some clinical training courses, for example Melbourne University's clinical master's program, contained a stream that stressed psychodynamic ideas and techniques. Even so, if one wanted to become a recognized "analyst" in Australia, one still had to then go through the lengthy training regimes specified by one of the institutes. And, like some of their overseas counterparts, they were racked by internal divisions, especially from the late 1970s when a Lacanian school emerged to challenge a Kleinian orthodoxy (Damousi, 2005).

Although psychoanalysis was co-opted as resource at times by both sides of the antipsychiatry debate, Australian analysts played only minor roles in framing mental health care provision. And when deinstitutionalization eventually came about in the 1990s, it was only as an indirect and delayed result of the antipsychiatric critique. With policy precedents available from America and England, economic expedience had more to do with the wave of mental hospital closures (Chesters, 2005). A complete history of these events has yet to be written, especially with respect to the state-by-state differences in philosophies and outcomes.

Local and Particular: Aboriginal Psychology

Social psychology remained a strong feature of the Australian discipline. Nevertheless, Norman Feather (2005) concluded that it was notable only in terms of the diversity of its borrowings from American, British, and European traditions. But in this postcolonial world, if any subfield were to reflect local concerns it this one. Feather pointed to research on particularly Australian topics like attitudes toward high achievers ("tall-poppy syndrome") and the devaluation of home-grown culture relative to that emanating from overseas ("the cultural cringe"). He also recounted the long and somewhat painful history of research in the "ethical and political minefield" of "Aboriginal affairs."

Pre-modern 19th-century appreciations of Australia's first inhabitants emphasized their primitiveness. Known to Europeans as "Aborigines," but to themselves by their various tribal names, their indigenous status became both a sticky label and the defining conceptual prism through which they were viewed. Overseas observers from Spencer to Freud found them a convenient example of evolutionary throwback. They were seen as a backward race, the lowest rung of the evolutionary totem pole. Local medical men and social policy makers saw indigenous Australians as alien and threatening. Although sympathetic in their appraisal of the results of contact with the "white man," they were fearful of the degenerative effects this might entail for their own kind. Even so, they also wondered what might be learned from them as an example of adaptation to a hostile, non-European environment.

Medical researchers suggested that the "savage" mind was simple and childlike, less prone to the kinds of breakdowns that went with the stress and pressures of civilization, and less sensitive to physical pain and discomfort. However, expert opinion varied as to if and how they could be assimilated or preserved at the margins, given the expectation they were a "dying race."

Psychologists' formal involvement with "Aboriginal affairs" in the early part of the century came as part of attempts to manage this encounter. The first recognizable precedent was the Cambridge Torres Strait expedition of 1895, when C. G. Seligman had examined Aborigines from the Fitzroy and McKenzie River districts and concluded their sensory and perceptual skills were no different from that of Europeans. However, this finding was overtaken by testing with the standardized psychometric tools of Western psychology in the new century, which repeatedly illustrated the gap in intellectual capabilities. Interpretation of this gap would shift subtly over time, however (Anderson, 2002). Perhaps the most well-known early psychological research came from Stanley Porteus, the self-described (1969) "psychologist of sorts." During the war years, Porteus teamed up with Richard Berry, chair in anatomy at the University of Melbourne, attempting to map mental deficiency onto physical anthropometry, especially cranial measurement. For Berry, Aborigines were merely another small-headed group, whose feeblemindedness was comparable to white delinquents and criminals. Porteus' tests results did little to contradict his collaborators' conclusions of inherent inferiority.

Porteus departed for the United States at the end World War I. However, inspired by Wood Jones' ideas of selective environmental adaptation, he returned in 1929, to set up a research base amongst the Arunta people. Using his own maze tests and other measures, Porteus likened Aborigines to that of 12-year-old white children, but hardly inferior to other racial groups. Distancing himself from Berry's obsession with hereditary racial typing, Porteus saw his subjects as specifically suited to the local environment. Anthropologists were in turn critical of Porteus. For instance, A.P. Elkin suggested Porteus merely

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measured rather "listened," that his conclusions of inferiority were based on tests that still tapped culturally specific skills like speed, and neglected other skills like oral memory.

Although psychological investigation of the indigenous population tailed-off in the Great Depression years, the comparative framework emphasizing deficit would remain. As Australia experienced successive waves of immigration in the 1950s and 1960s, the question of cultural integration took on a new urgency. Indigenous children began entering the school system in large numbers for the first time, along with the children of migrants from non–English speaking backgrounds. New assimilation policies were drawn up, including the forced removal of children from their families. Ironically, this was the very time when overseas researchers such as John Bowlby were stressing the importance of the maternal bond (McConnochie, 2008). At no stage did psychologists produce any research questioning these policies. However, to be fair, no other learned group did either. As late as 1980, psychologists such Seagrim and Lendon (1980) were weighing up the pros and cons of separation, suggesting "the age at which the change occurs and the consistency of affection . . . will affect the success of [the child's] adaptation" (p. 202). Instead, Australian psychologists focused on the question of indigenous underachievement at school. The compensatory strategies they helped devise were designed to combat measured cognitive and motivational deficits—a result, it was assumed, of cultural deprivation or genetic inferiority.

The political and social climate had nonetheless begun to change in the 1970s. Multiculturalism became the official watchword as the federal government abandoned the blunt goal of assimilation. More importantly, indigenous leaders began articulating the notion of self-determination, parallel cultural rights, and reparation for past wrongs. Through the 1980s, there was a dramatic decline in psychometric research with Aboriginal populations and an increasing interest in other aspects of the indigenous psychology.

The 1988 World Psychology Congress held in Sydney was a watershed moment in Australian psychology's self-representation to the international community. On the last day, a New Zealand delegate wondered aloud why there was so little material pertaining to the psychology of the indigenous population. The only example of this was some unfortunate historical material that had sparked outrage and shame among some local delegates. It was s trigger for official action from those within the APS. Various symposiums and conferences were devoted to exploring the psychology of indigenous peoples—which saw the first presentations by Aboriginal speakers, as well as specific initiatives for including indigenous issues in teaching, for training Aboriginal psychologists, and for research (Gridley, Davidson, Dudgeon, Pickett, & Sanson, 2000). In 2000, the *Australian Psychologist* published a special issue canvassing the achievements to date and prospects for the future (e.g., Davidson, Sanson, & Gridley, 2000). There has been an explosion in research in this area since 1990, with a paradigm shift in perspective. Gone is the deficit model, replaced by an expanding focus on indigenous attitudes and values, on mental health and social justice. Reconciliation might still be an ongoing process, but at least psychology was now playing a part.

Conclusion

Australia is one context in which the "out-of-philosophy" origin story essentially holds true. Antipodean psychology was in the first instance a university-based discipline, although applied work in educational and clinical contexts followed close behind. Until World War II, however, it amounted to a limited array of isolated individuals, departments, and work sites. Its development lagged behind that in Britain, Europe, and America. Nevertheless, Australian psychology caught up surprisingly quickly, growing strongly in the postwar period to represent a mature but scaled-down version of these overseas centers. APS membership reflected this expansion. The Society had over 4,000 members by the mid-1980s, topping the 10,000 mark by the turn of the century. Even so, there was twice that number of registered psychologists in the country. The number of Society-affiliated psychologists per head exceeds that of the BPS in Britain and the American Psychological Association in the United States—one illustration of the relative achievement of the discipline in international terms. Of course, the APS has nowhere near the stature and influence of those professional bodies, certainly not abroad and perhaps not even at home.

Australian psychology's penetration of everyday life is a little harder to gauge, but it does exhibit the full range of practical applications, as well as academic and applied career paths. Nonetheless, it cannot escape its colonial past and provincial present. It still lacks a sense of national identity. The national APS conference is poorly attended in comparison with specialty groupings at home and abroad. The discipline's

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priorities and anxieties still reflect this outward gaze. Despite the distance, Australian psychologists still look to travel overseas whenever possible, and they often connect with each other through the major conferences held in North America and the United Kingdom. Publications in the most prestigious American and European journals are seen to count for more, degrees obtained at the major universities there, likewise. Overall, Australian psychology's global outlook and competitiveness makes its success unqualified, if not unique.

Future Directions and Challenges

These can partly be divided into scientific or applied spheres. On the science side:

- Enhancing priority research areas, especially the neurosciences and interdisciplinary biomedical research, human factors and technological change, clinical and health psychology, and industrial and organizational psychology
- Boosting the research funding base with public and private partnerships
- Further development of international links with major overseas centers

On the applied side:

- More effective marketing of applied personnel and skills
- Training of clinical and health care personnel; improving services in community care programs, especially those serving disadvantaged groups and rural areas
- Closer ties with public and private-sector industry; developing cross-sectional perspectives on work structures, changing work patterns, and workforce diversity
- Boosting psychologists' role in improving educational outcomes and policy formulation
- Further research and action on indigenous psychology, social justice issues, and sustainable development

More generally:

- Enhancing disciplinary cohesion and communication, especially links between research and practice
- Raising psychologists' profile in public policy debates
- Maintaining qualification standards relative to the rest of the world, with training programs designed to meet wide-ranging global opportunities.

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CHAPTER

3 Brazil

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Abstract

This chapter provides a broad overview of the history of psychology in Brazil from the first notions of psychological though in the country´s colonial period through the inception of scientific psychology in the late 19th and early 20th century, up to the consolidation of psychology as profession and scientific practice throughout the 20th century. Psychological ideas first arrived in Brazil through Jesuit clericals, who were in charge of the colony's education from the 16th century to the middle of 18th century, when they were banned from the Portuguese Kingdom. Children of Native, European, and mixed ethnicity were in the same classes, and Jesuits assimilated the ideas of Native Brazilians about child development and education into their own propositions. Higher education was prohibited in the Portuguese colonies up to the 19th century. Brazilian nationals interested in pursuing academic degrees in law or medicine had to do so in Portugal or France, up to 1808, when the country´s first two Medical Schools were created. Throughout these schools, new European ideas about psychology arrived in Brazil. The school in Rio de Janeiro was more concerned about neuropsychiatry, psychophysiology, and neurology. In Salvador, the medical school focused on the study of criminology, forensic psychiatry, mental hygiene, social psychology, and pedagogy. In the early 20th century, psychological laboratories were first established in normal schools (aimed at training teachers for child education) and mental hospitals. Laboratories were implemented by Brazilian students of European and American psychologists, or by the foreign scholars themselves. They visited the country by official invitation, and some eventually settled here. Psychology was recognized as a profession in Brazil by a federal law in 1962. By that time, training and research in psychology were organized around major theoretical approaches, mainly psychoanalysis. It is argued that the current trend of psychology in Brazil is toward growing specialization and consolidation of its subdisciplines, reflected on a growing number of scientific societies and specialized periodicals.

Keywords: Psychology in Brazil, history of psychology, teaching and research in psychology

The aim of this chapter is to provide a broad overview of the history of psychology in Brazil. It begins with the psychological ideas prevalent during the colonial period, advancing through the inauguration of scientific psychology in the late 19th and early 20th century, up to the consolidation of psychology as a profession and a scientific practice in the country.

The history of psychology is a theme of great interest among Brazilian psychologists. This history has been described since the middle of the 20th century by recognized Brazilian psychologists. The first account of experimental psychology in Brazil was written by Plinio Olinto (1944/2004). He worried about the lack of support for the conduct of experimental research at Rio de Janeiro institutions in the first half of the 20th century. However, the first comprehensive studies about the history of psychology in Brazil were in the form of articles published by two eminent Brazilian psychologists: Annita

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Cabral (1950), a former student of Max Wertheimer (1880–1943) at the New School for Social Research in New York; and Lourenço Filho (1955), the founder of the New School's theory, a clarification and application of the functional educational ideas of Édouard Claparède (1873–1940) and John Dewey (1859–1852).

In the 1970s, Isaias Pessotti (Universidade de São Paulo), a former Brazilian Gestaltist who became a Skinnerian behaviorist, wrote two often-cited papers (Pessotti, 1975, 1988). Rogério Centofonti (1982) and Antonio Gomes Penna (1985, 1986) also wrote about the history of psychology in Rio de Janeiro. However, work to advance research in the history of psychology came with the symposiums of the National Association of Graduate Programs in Psychology (ANPEPP), which started in 1988. These meetings are a place for the clarification and discussion of research by workgroups from different areas of psychology. At the Sixth Symposium, held at Teresópolis, Rio de Janeiro, in 1996, appeared a group interested in the history of psychology, led by Marina Massimi (Universidade de São Paulo), who was a former student of Pessotti; Regina Campos (Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais), who received her Ph.D. at the Stanford University; and Maria do Carmo Guedes (Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo), who was a student of Carolina Bori (1924–2004). This group attracted researchers from universities around the country and became a reference for the study of the history of psychology in Brazil. The Brazilian historians in psychology were greatly influenced by Josef Brožek (1913–2004), a former professor at Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. He visited Brazil in 1988 and in 1996, he attended the Sixth Symposium of ANPEPP (Massimi & Campos, 2004).

Among the many Brazilian psychology journals, *Memorandum: Memória e História em Psicologia* is a major publication focused on history of psychology. A dictionary of pioneers in Brazilian psychology (Campos, 2001a) was published, and a historical dictionary of institutions (educational, medical, and governmental) that served as centers for the dissemination of psychology in Brazil was edited by Jacó-Villela (in press). The Professional Council of Psychology, an organization that controls the licensing of Brazilian psychologist, has financed some of these publications. Most programs include a history of psychology in the curriculum, and a textbook for use in university courses was prepared by Jacó-Villela, Ferreira, and Portugal (2005).

Psychological Ideas in Colonial Times

Psychological ideas first arrived in Brazil through the Jesuit clericals (Catholic Company of Jesus) by occasion of their inauguration of the first school in the colony, in Salvador–Bahia, in the middle of 16th century. For about 200 years, the Jesuits took care of the education of the sons and daughters of the Portuguese, the Native Indians, and also of children born from interracial unions. They founded several schools and offered a scholastic teaching in Latin. They also tried to integrate Portuguese, Indian, and mixed-race children in the same classrooms. Had the Jesuit program prevailed, the Brazilian population probably would consist today mainly of native Brazilian descendants. The psychology of the colonial period was a mix of scholastic ideas and native Brazilian culture, mainly with respect to childhood education, as reflect by the writings of the Jesuits Fernão Cardim (1549–1625) and Alexandre de Gusmão (1629–1724). Cardim's writings were first published in English in London, in 1625. They appeared in Portuguese late in 1847, in Lisbon (Veríssimo, 1916). Both books were republished recently in Brazil (Cardim, 1625/1980; Gusmão, 1685/2004). The Jesuits were very impressed with the loving relationships between parents and infants, observed especially in the care mothers took in breastfeeding their children. Native Brazilian parents related with their children without any kind of aggression, and they used toys and games to prepare them for adult life.

Massimi (1990) found old Jesuit publications that brought light to their ideas about education. The Gusmão's treatise *A Arte de Crear Bem os Filhos na Idade da Puerícia* (*The Art of Well Training the Children When They Are Very Young*) is considered the first manual on psychopedagogy written in Brazil, and it presents topics on child development, family relationships, learning, and motivation. Infancy was defined by Gusmão (1685/2004) as a period in which the child does not present rational actions for living, being dependent of adult help. The child was considered a blank tablet, ready to absorb any image. He believed that, depending on the education that one gives to a child, it would possible to predict her or his future. The idea was that any child could be educated ("domesticated," in the author's words). Gusmão also defended that girls should be educated, which was forbidden by the Portuguese Crown at that time. According to Massimi (1990), the Jesuits brought to the colony a very creative and innovative educational system, recognized throughout in missionary regions of southern Brazil and northern Argentina. But all that experience came to an end

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with the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal and from its colonies in 1759. After that, there were no more schools in the Brazilian colony until the Portuguese Court moved to Brazil in 1808, with the help of the United Kingdom, to escape the invasion of Lisbon by Napoleon. The few books that Massimi could find from that period brought psychological ideas based on the writings of Augustine and Aquinas.

The dictatorial Marquis of Pombal (1699–1782), the chief minister of King Joseph Emanuel of Portugal, used his power to modernize the Portuguese kingdom. In 1755, he abolished slavery in Portugal and prohibited the enslavement of native Brazilians by declaring them free citizens of Brazil. Pombal wanted to outlaw African slavery in Brazil as well, but he realized that slavery formed a central part of the Brazilian agricultural economy. Recognizing the importance of Brazil to the economic well-being of Portugal, Pombal tried to improve the efficiency of the Brazilian economy and administration, and to lessen tensions between colonists and their Portuguese rulers. He involved Brazilian-born individuals in the colonial government, introduced new crops, and established Portuguese as the official language in Brazil. (At the time, Brazilians used two different general languages, northern and southern dialects, both a mix of Portuguese and native Brazilian tongues [Freire & Rosa, 2003]). The Jesuits were expelled from the country because they did not agree with Pombal's economic programs. However, Pombal was not able to organize a system of education for the Brazilian people.

Until the early 19th century, the University of Coimbra was the institution of choice for Brazilians looking for a college education. In the first three centuries of Brazilian history, Coimbra graduated more than 2,500 Brazilian nationals. It is interesting to note that, at Coimbra, Brazilians were not considered foreigners, but rather Brazilian-born Portuguese, who could even become faculty there. This was the case, for example, of Francisco de Lemos de Faria Pereira Coutinho (1735–1822). Born at Rio de Janeiro, he was educated at Coimbra, becoming a professor there after graduation. Later, he joined an organization (*Junta de Providência Literária*) that aimed to study and plan the radical university reforms of the Pombal period. Coutinho was promoted and became an executive of that reform and president of the University of Coimbra for nearly 30 years. José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva (1763–1838), the father of Brazilian independence, had been also a professor at Coimbra University before becoming a national hero in Brazil for his participation in the fight for the country's independence. Like Coutinho and José Bonifácio, several other Brazilians were professors and lecturers at Coimbra (Teixeira, 1989).

Although Coimbra had long been a main destination for Brazilian nationals who sought a university degree, Portugal was not interested in implementing higher education in the colony. However, local communities were clamoring for the establishment of universities. When the Portuguese royal family moved to Brazil in 1808, fleeing Napoleon's invasion of Lisbon, one of their first acts was to authorize the creation of medical schools in the country. The *Faculdade de Medicina da Bahia* and Faculdade Medicina do Rio de Janeiro were both created in 1832. Such a concession certainly pleased the affluent families of Salvador, capital of the Bahia province, because their offspring had no longer to move to Coimbra or to Paris to become doctors. When the royal family arrived in Rio de Janeiro, then the capital city of the new Kingdom of Brazil, Portugal and Algarves, a medical school was also created there. Another consequence of the royal family moving to Brazil was the opening of Brazilian ports to friendly nations. Several activities that were prohibited, such as building roads and installing industries, were now allowed. The Bank of Brazil was created, as well as the Royal Press (prior to that, no book had ever been printed in Brazil). The political and economic turmoil of that period also contributed to the opening of theaters and to the organization of libraries.

Several scientific and cultural European missions and expeditions came to Brazil during colonial and imperial times. Naturalists John Mawe (1764–1829) from England and Auguste de Saint-Hilaire (1779–1853) from France, zoologist Johann von Baptist Spix (1782–1826), and botanist Karl Friedrich Philipp von Martius (1794–1868) from Germany were among them. France sent an important artistic mission that included Grandjean de Montigny (1776–1868), who became Brazil's first architecture professor, responsible for introducing the neoclassical style. Also in that mission were painters Félix Émile Taunay (1795–1881) and Jean Baptiste Debret (1768–1848), who depicted Brazilian sceneries and documented the Court's most important events. Two other important visitors were Charles Darwin (1809–1882) and William James (1842–1910). Darwin came to Brazil first in 1832, and then in 1836, as described in his Beagle Diary.[1] James spent 10 months in Brazil between 1865 and 1866, mostly in Rio de Janeiro, Belém, Manaus, and along the rivers and tributaries of the Amazon bay.

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His letters, diaries, and drawings were recently published in a bilingual book (in Portuguese and English) (Machado, 2006). Soon after the country's independence in 1822, law schools were opened in São Paulo and in Pernambuco. Along with the medical schools, these were the institutions that opened the long road to the creation of a Brazilian university.

The organization of higher education in Brazil was guided by the French model, focused on professional education and managed under the supervision of the central government. Such a model did not stimulate research activities and seriously restricted academic autonomy. The first professors in the medical schools were military doctors. Only later were civilian professors appointed. However, those schools came to be consolidated as medical training centers after independence. The medical model and the textbooks were also French. At that time, Brazilians who wanted to become medical specialists went to Paris to study. Most professors at Brazilian medical schools were trained in Paris.

Psychology in the Medical Schools in the 19th Century

The medical schools in Rio de Janeiro and Salvador–Bahia gained the status of comprehensive programs only in 1832, 10 years after Brazilian independence in 1822. In these schools, as well as in the law schools established in 1928 at Recife and São Paulo, the advances in European psychology, especially the attempts to understand the subjective motivations of behavior, were considered as necessary and important information for the curriculum. The study of subjective motives of behavior was considered as a way to help in the prevention of mental disease and delinquent behavior (Massimi, 1990).

It was not until the 1850s that Brazil's first psychology book was written by philosopher and medical doctor Eduardo Ferreira França (1809–1857). Born in Salvador, in the state of Bahia, Ferreira França graduated in medicine in 1834, at the University of Paris with the thesis "Essai sur l'Influence des Aliments et des Boissons sur le Moral de l'Homme" ("Essay on the influence of food and beverages on the spirit of man"). In his treaty *Investigações Psicológicas* (*Psychological Investigations*), originally published in 1854, Ferreira França (1972) attempted to reconcile two apparently incompatible French doctrines: Condillac's[2] materialism and Maine de Biran's[3] spiritualism. The central idea was that, although instincts were the substrata for the development and differentiation of all mental faculties, it was only through will, acting as a catalystic power, that they might actually function. In that sense, he accepted Condillac's argument for the primacy of empirical data as the basis for modern psychological science, but set it against the problem of necessary confidence in observations as a condition for knowledge: simple sensation is not a fact if an idea had not yet been created by it. Without rebutting empiricism, he was committed to prove the existence of a spirit that was modified by sensation, and stressed the importance of such a concept in explaining human psychology. At that point, Ferreira França appealed to Maine de Biran's idea that voluntary action is the actualization of a power that is the true primary fact related to an "intimate sense". Confidence, which is a condition for any sort of knowledge, would be implicated by that intimate sense. The two-volume book—of 284 and 424 pages, respectively—comprises seven parts, described by the author as "a classification of mental faculties according to the method of natural science": (1) phenomena of consciousness and faculties; (2) modifiability (sensitivity, affectivity); (3) motion; (4) intellectual faculties I (internal and external perception, relation between them, of the qualities of bodies and of habits); (5) intellectual faculties II (brain sensitivity, sleep and dreams, consciousness, reasoning, memory, imagination, abstraction, composition, generalization, judgment, faculty of the future, faculty of faith, and of ideas); (6) instincts (physical, intellectual, social and moral); and (7) will. Ferreira França's project was to write two books on the subject: one on experimental psychology—which he achieved in his *Psychological Investigations*, and the other on rational psychology, which he never wrote. In the introduction to a subsequent edition of Ferreira França´s book, Paim (1967) argued that França's work, naïve as it could appear more than a century after its edition, clearly represented in psychology the marked eclecticism of an incipient intellectuality that aimed at preparing the ground for political liberalism in Brazil.

The study of psychology in Brazil occurred mainly at the medical schools in the form of doctoral dissertations (Lourenço Filho, 1955). In the beginning, no empirical research or theoretical treatises were pursued, but small papers were presented with general considerations about some psychological aspects of psychiatric disease. The first of these monographs appeared in 1836, at the Medical School of Rio de Janeiro, with an old philosophical theme: *Paixões e afetos da alma* (*Passions and Affects of the Soul*). It was a vague association between biology and metaphysics presented by Manuel Inácio de Figueiredo Jaime. The first dissertation using a truly

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experimental approach was prepared by Henrique Roxo (1877–1969) in 1900, in Rio de Janeiro: *Duração dos Atos Psíquicos Elementares nos Alienados* (*Duration of Elementary Psychic Acts in the Alienated*) and its purpose was to support psychology as a fundamental and basic science.

An examination of the titles of these dissertations (Lourenço Filho, 1955; Pessotti 1975) shows an interesting correspondence between their themes and the new developments of psychology in Europe. For example, from the medical school of Bahia came *Algumas considerações psycho-physiológicas a'cerca do homem* (*Some Psychophysiological Considerations About Man*) in 1851, by Cunha Mello; *Influência da civilização sobre o desenvolvimento das affecções nervosas* (*Influence of Civilization on the Development of Nervous Afflictions*) in 1857, by C. E. O. Cardozo; *Qual o papel que desempenha a civilização nas doenças mentais* (*The Role of Civilization in the Development of Mental Diseases*), in 1888; and *Crime e Epilepsia* (*Epilepsy and Crime*), in 1887, by Afrânio Peixoto. The same pattern could be seen in the dissertations from Rio de Janeiro, as exemplified by *Psicofisiologia da Percepção e das Representações* (*Psychophysiology of Perception and Representation*), in 1890, by Estelita Tapajós. The most polemic work (Almeida & El-Hani, 2007) was presented by Domingos Guedes Cabral in 1875, to the medical school of Bahia. It was the first Brazilian Darwinist work. Titled *Functions of the Brain*, Cabral's thesis was not accepted because it negated the existence of God. Finally, a dissertation from the medical school of Rio de Janeiro seemed to anticipate the term clinical psychology. It was written by Odilon Goulart, in 1891, with the title *Estudo Psychoclínico da Afasia* (*Psychoclinical Study of Aphasia*). The term *clinical psychology* was used for the first time by Lightner Witmer (1867–1956), who transformed his laboratory at the University of Pennsylvania into a psychological clinic in 1896, and founded the journal *The Psychological Clinic* in 1907 (Hilgard, 1987).

Interestingly, the two medical schools had different approaches to psychology. The school in Rio de Janeiro was more concerned with neuropsychiatry, psychophysiology, and neurology. In contrast, the school in Bahia was more focused in the study of criminology, forensic psychiatry, mental hygiene, social psychology, and pedagogy. By the beginnings of the 20th century, the two approaches converged in Rio de Janeiro, in a program developed to modernize the National Mental Hospital. The reform was lead by two psychiatrists from Bahia: Juliano Moreira (1873–1933) and Afrânio Peixoto (1876–1947) (Lourenço Filho, 1955). They were following the psychiatric French orientation of Pierre Janet (1859–1947), as preached by Henrique Roxo (1877–1969) and Antônio Austregésilo (1876–1960) at the medical school of Rio de Janeiro. These psychiatrists encouraged the installation of laboratories of experimental psychology in Brazil. They were also very receptive to the new ideas of psychoanalysis. Later, in 1927, Juliano Moreira was the first chair of the section of the Brazilian Society of Psychoanalysis, whose headquarters were in Sao Paulo (Perestrello, 1988).

The First Psychological Laboratories

The recognition of psychology as an experimental science found acceptance almost immediately in Brazil. Brazilian physicians had contact with psychological laboratories in the European institutions where they were trained. These contacts encouraged the foundation of psychological laboratories in Brazilian hospital environments. In the same way, the promotion of experimental psychology as a scientific base for pedagogy stimulated the creation of laboratories in normal schools and studies of measurements of intellectual abilities. Some of these laboratories prospered, becoming important centers of research and practice, and a base for the creation of institutes of psychology that were subsequently incorporated into the universities. In Brazil, as in England, psychological laboratories faced plenty of opposition. The same reasons that prevented James Ward (1843–1925) from installing a psychological laboratory at Cambridge University in 1877 (Hilgard, 1987) were present in the first attempt to found a laboratory in Rio de Janeiro in 1897. The discussion was the same, as exemplified by the words of the Brazilian opponent Farias Brito (1862–1917), quoted by Lourenço Filho (1955, p. 267): "it would be ridiculous to subject the faculties of the soul to device analysis."

The planning and implementation of laboratories progressed through the collaboration of internationally recognized psychologists in planning the facilities (Gomes, 2003). Alfred Binet (1857–1911) collaborated with the Brazilian physician Manoel Bomfim (1868–1932) in planning the laboratory for the Pedagogium, an institution dedicated to the exposition of new methods of education and located in the old Federal District. The laboratory was installed in 1906. George Dumas (1866–1946), a French physician and psychologist, collaborated with the physician Maurício de Medeiros (1885–1966) to install a laboratory in a psychiatric hospital in Rio de Janeiro

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in 1907. Ugo Pizzolli (1863–1934), an Italian psychologist, came to Sao Paulo to install a pedagogical laboratory in the Normal School. Waclaw Radecki (1887–1953), a Polish psychologist with doctor's degree from the University of Geneva, arrived in Brazil in time to be invited, in 1923, to direct a laboratory that was built with equipment brought from Paris and Leipzig in a hospital environment in Engenho de Dentro, a suburb of Rio de Janeiro. Theodore Simon (1873–1961), who had worked with Binet in Paris, and Léon Walther (1889–1963), who had been Édouard Claparède's assistant (1873–1940) at the University of Geneva, organized a laboratory at the School of Pedagogical Improvement, in Belo Horizonte in 1928. The following year, the laboratory started its activities under the direction of Helena Antipoff (1892–1974), a Russian psychologist with a doctoral degree from the University of Geneva, who fixed her residence in Brazil. Claparède himself came to visit the laboratory in Belo Horizonte (Antipoff, 1975; Campos, 2001b).

The installation of these first laboratories is a beautiful passage in our history. The implementation occurred in applied environments, and the main activities were directed to research tests for mentally ill people or to develop assistance programs for school activities. Even then, the laboratories fulfilled the mission of fomenting research, forming researchers, and offering psychology services. The laboratory in Sao Paulo, later reactivated by Manuel Bergström Lourenço Filho (1897–1970), later became the base for courses in educational psychology and general psychology at the University of Sao Paulo (Pessotti, 1975). The laboratory in Engenho de Dentro became the base for the creation of the Institute of Psychology, currently part of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (Centofanti, 1982). The laboratory in Belo Horizonte contributed to the training of professors who later started to teach psychology at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (Pessotti, 1975).

Manoel Bomfim was never a great enthusiast of experimental psychology and neither was Nilton Campos (1898–1963), one of Radecki's successors and later director of the Institute of Psychology in Rio de Janeiro. This fact perhaps explains the slow development of experimental psychology in Brazil, but it does not mean that those pioneers were not interested in research. Bomfim was to develop a psychological theory that highlighted the importance of language in the mediation between social-cultural influences and individual awareness, which anticipated the concepts that would come to be treated by authors Jean Piaget (1896–1980) and Lev Vygotsky (1896–1934) (Antunes, 1999). Nilton Campos was the first professional to dedicate himself entirely to psychology in Brazil, focusing mainly on the methodological aspects of research (Cabral, 1950). Psychological practice seemed to penetrate Brazil hand in hand with research, although an institution dedicated to the training of psychologists was still lacking.

From Research to Application

Radecki, in 1932, tried to transform the laboratory of experimental psychology into an Institute of Psychology by transferring its activities from a distant suburb of Engenho de Dentro to a more central area in the city of Rio de Janeiro. However, the project did not prosper due to budget issues (Penna, 1985). Centofanti (1982) stated, however, that other causes contributed to the failure of the project: opposition by Catholic groups and opposition by influential psychiatrists who were against the professionalization of psychology in the country.

Those interested in the formation and training of psychologists would have to wait for several years for courses to be organized and dedicated to the field. In this period, research would provide support to the practice, with some groups turning to educational and learning issues, others to offering clinical assistance, and a few others to the field of industry, work, organization, and selection of personnel.

The necessity for developing efficient methods for education and a belief in education as a base for a democratic society provided great incentive to research psychological testing. In 1924, Medeiros and Albuquerque (1867–1934) published a widely debated book on tests, strengthening the discussion on educational reform in Brazil (Lourenço Filho, 1955). In 1925, in Recife, Ulisses Pernambucano (1892–1943) created an Institute of Psychology within the Department of Health and Assistance of the State of Pernambuco. The Institute was mostly devoted to research and the application of psychological measurements (Medeiros, 2001). The research developed by Pernambucano and collaborators, and listed by Medeiros, included Pernambucano reviewed the Medric Binet-Simon-Terman scale and published articles such as "Test of the Standardization of Columbia Test"; "Psycho Technical Study of Some Aptitude Tests"; and "Alfa Test and Florence Goodnough's Design Test." In 1928, in Salvador, Isaias Alves (1888–1968), influenced by Medeiros and Albuquerque, provided the beginnings of studies on psychological measurements and, in 1928, published the book *Individual Intelligence Test.*

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Between 1925 and 1932, Lourenço Filho developed his research on reading and writing in the laboratory of the Normal School of the State of Sao Paulo and developed the ABC test, which is utilized in several countries in Latin America (Lourenço Filho, 1927/1971).

At the same time, some professors of educational psychology led the educational reforms that occurred in the 1920s in some Brazilian states. This reform movement included the normal school reform by Sampaio Dória (1883–1964) in Sao Paulo in 1920; the general reform of education by Lourenço Filho between 1922 and 1924, in Ceara; and the reform of primary teaching by Fernando Azevedo (1894–1974), between 1927 and 1930, in the Federal District. These reforms culminated in changes being introduced by Anísio Teixeira (1900–1971) in the Federal District, between 1932 and 1935, in primary and secondary schools, and in adult education. Teixeira was inspired by the New School, a theory based on works by psychologists like Claparède and Dewey (see Lourenço Filho, 1930/2002). Teixeira even created a municipal university inspired by the spirit of German universities—the University of the Federal District—that unfortunately lasted for only 4 years. It was suffocated by Catholic groups and private schools. Teixeira transformed the Normal School of the Federal District into the Institute of Education and organized a course for professor specialization and improvement, also instituting tests services and school measurements. For the course on educational psychology, Teixeira invited Lourenço Filho; and, for the head of tests services and school measurements, Isaias Alves, a former student of Edward L. Thorndike (1874–1949). Anísio Teixeira was a disciple and scholar of the educational psychology of John Dewey, with whom he studied in the United States. Researchers in psychology started to influence the practice through important administrative functions. In the educational field, Lourenço Filho was invited by the Ministry of Education to implement the National Institute of Pedagogical Studies (NIPS) in 1938. Thus, reforms in education, although part of practice, furthered research in psychology. Critical pedagogy scholars would describe this phase as the peak of "psychologism" in education (Freire, 1970).

In the clinical psychology field, by the initiative of the Brazilian League of Mental Hygiene, created in 1922, offices of psychology were instituted together with psychiatrist clinics (Lourenço Filho, 1955). Our historians, however, highlighted only one clinic of child orientation in Sao Paulo, that founded in 1938 and headed by Durval Marcondes (1899–1981). The antecedents of that clinic came from a study group of physicians, educators, and engineers from the Institute of Hygiene in Sao Paulo, formed in 1926. Marcondes was the first physician to practice psychoanalysis in Sao Paulo. In the same way, Helana Antipoff left the laboratory of Minas Gerais to direct the Center of Youth Orientation in Rio de Janeiro, together with the National Child Department. Applied psychology was also appearing in other states. In Rio Grande do Sul, in southern Brazil, psychological practice was originated by the psychiatrist Décio de Souza (1907–1970), based on his research (Souza, 1945) and the training he obtained in the United States (Gomes, Lhullier, & Leite, 1999). Research and practice continued to walk together.

Applied psychology in work situations followed economic progress and social transformations in great urban centers (Cabral, 1950). As in other parts of the world, such applications were undertaken by nonpsychologists and without much knowledge of psychological theory. In Brazil, Roberto Mange (1885–1955), a Swiss engineer, was in charge of introducing methods for the rationalization of work and psychological tests in the selection of students for a technical school. However, the relation between practice and research in this field was stimulated by Henri Piéron's visits (1881–1964) who, in 1927, taught courses on experimental psychology and psychotechnics at the Normal School in Sao Paulo; and by Léon Walther who, in 1929, taught courses on psychology as applied to industry. The evidence of the relation between research and practice is clearly seen in a project that resulted from these visits: the creation of an institute of scientific work organization. The project did not prosper, but later the Institute of the Rational Work Organization (IRWO) was created with similar objectives. These applications in Sao Paulo permitted the development of research and professional training for this field. Psychological techniques were being widely used also in services for railroad personnel in Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro.

In Rio, Radecki's laboratory participated in the selection of pilots for the Army Air Service, and in 1936, the Administrative Department of Public Service started to utilize psychological tests. However, the consolidation of research and training in the field came with the creation of the Institute of Selection and Professional Orientation (ISPO) of the Getulio Vargas Foundation, in Rio de Janeiro, in 1947. The first main organizer and director was the experienced professional and scientist Emilio

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Mira y López (1896–1964) (Penna, 1985; Rosas, 1995).

In this period, psychology began to be taught at the university. The University of Sao Paulo was created in 1934, and it was the first in Brazil to follow German Wilhelm von Humbolt's (1767–1835) model of higher education: a university based on the principle of free and universal education, combining both teaching and research. The next, in 1935, was the University of the Federal District, also a research institution. The University of the Federal District had a short life (only 4 years), and was incorporated by the University of Brazil, which was mainly an aggregation of the higher-education institutions in Rio de Janeiro. The country was not ready for academic freedom. However, the University of São Paulo became the most important higher-education institution in Brazil because of the incentives it received from the state of São Paulo. Both universities had professors who came from France. In Rio de Janeiro, psychology was taught by the Belgian physician André Ombredane (1858–1958), a former assistant of George Dumas, and specialized in medical psychology. In Sao Paulo, psychology was taught, from 1935 to 1944, by Jean Maugüé (1904–1985). He was interested in the basic topics of psychology in affect, perception, memory, and personality, but he was critical of experimental psychology and did not encourage this area of inquiry. He was succeeded by the American social psychologist Otto Klineberg (1899–1992), who arrived in 1947 and radically changed the direction of the program. Maugüé was a celebrated monological lecturer who impressed his students with the depth of his presentations. In contrast, Klineberg was more participative, motivating students to question and discuss. He organized a sequence of courses in which students could address the different topics, in the following order: experimental psychology, theories and systems, social psychology, differential psychology, personality, and psychopathology (Cabral, 1950; Klineberg, 1975).

The inclusion of psychology in the curriculum of the bachelor degree and teaching licensure in philosophy contributed to the training of psychologists in the 1940s and 1950s (Gomes, Lhullier, & Leite, 1999). The students were so interested in psychology that some programs offered internship practice in hospitals, as was the case at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul. Paradoxically, the university seems to have collaborated more intensely in the development of psychology as a practical ability, than as a field of empirical experimentation and investigation. The universities did not have resources to invest in equipment, and the old laboratories transferred to them were not renovated.

Aniela Ginsberg (1902–1986) presented an interesting indicator of the quality of research undertaken by Brazilian psychologists at the beginning of the 1950s in a commemorative edition of the *Report of Psychology* from the Society of Psychology of Sao Paulo, in 1975. Ginsberg described a conference held in Curitiba, in 1953, The First Brazilian Congress of Psychology, and financed by the state of Parana. Ginsberg (1975, p. 82) said:

> The government of the state offered to each active participant (that presented a paper) the transportation ticket and free hosting, which increased the number but not the average level of the communications, although facilitating the contacts among psychologists from different states. Some good papers, though, appeared and almost all active psychologists at this time attended the conference.

We may infer from the report that the number of psychologists was increasing, but not the amount and quality of research. Therefore, the event was important for planning and for putting into motion the necessary political programs for the recognition of the profession and the creation of graduate programs. Ginsberg (1954) presented a detailed report about the event. In the 1950s, psychological training initially was offered in postgraduate courses at the specialization level.

Professional Psychology Made Official

Discussions about regulation of the psychological profession had taken place in the Brazilian Sociedade Brasileira para o Progresso da Ciência (SBPC; Society for the Advancement of Science) meetings during the 1940s and 1950s (Pfromm Neto, 1979–1981). One landmark in that period was the establishment of the *Associação Brasileira de Psicologia* (ABP; Brazilian Association of Psychology) in 1954, by initiative of Annita de Castilho Marcondes Cabral (1911–1991) of the Universidade de Sao Paulo. The first president was Carolina Martuscelli Bori (1924–2004), a behavioral psychologist from the same university. The ABP did not have a long life, practically disappearing during the 1970s.

Debates at SBPC and ABP fostered a movement toward the recognition of psychology as a profession and concurred with the establishment of a workgroup that proposed a law to provide its official regulation.

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This workgroup was formed by Professors Lourenço Filho (Fundação Getúlio Vargas, Rio de Janeiro), Carolina Bori (University of Sao Paulo), Father Antonius Benko (Pontificial Catholic University, Rio de Janeiro), Enzo Azzi (Pontificial Catholic University, São Paulo), and Pedro Parafita de Bessa (Federal University of Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte). It is noteworthy that all of them were working in Brazil's southeastern state capitals. The southeast has been the country's most economically developed region as a result of gold and diamond exploration in Minas Gerais since the 18th century; the establishment of Rio de Janeiro as the capital and home for the royal family in the 19th century (although that would change with the inauguration of Brasilia in 1960); and São Paulo as the main coffee producing center, as well as the country's first center of industrialization in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. As with the economy, the most renowned universities of the period were centralized in that region, although other regional centers, such as Recife, in the northeast, and Porto Alegre, in the south, were home to considerable developments in psychological science and application.

From the efforts of the work group, a first version of the bill came about in 1958 (Lourenço Filho, 1971). After further discussions and revisions, led by the ABP and other experts mainly from Sao Paulo, on August 27, 1962, Federal Law No. 4119 recognized the profession of psychologist in Brazil. It stated that psychology programs were to be hosted by the College of Philosophy, at that time, a kind of liberal arts and sciences university entity that offered a bachelor's degree and teacher's licensure. The bachelor's degree was planned for training on research skills. The teacher's licensure included a supervised teaching practice, mainly for the high school level. The first two diplomas were granted after a minimum of 3.5 years of training. However, in the case of psychology, a new kind of degree was created: the professional licensure. This degree allowed its holder to teach; to do psychological assessment, professional orientation, and selection; to perform psychopedagogical orientation; and to treat adjustment problems. Training normally took at least 4.5 years but, until now, was typically done in 5 years. The degree included a mandatory internship, or supervised practice period, which in most cases would encompass or be a choice among the already traditional applied areas of industrial, clinical, and school psychology. The original curriculum for all psychology programs in Brazil included the following mandatory subject matters: physiology, statistics, general and experimental psychology, developmental psychology, personality psychology, social psychology, general psychopathology, psychological assessment and counseling techniques, and professional ethics. Elective topics included group dynamics and human relations, psychotherapeutic theories and techniques, and industrial psychology. Thus, professional psychology training conformed to Brazilian higher-education tradition in offering a professional education, like medical, law, or engineering, immediately after secondary education or high school. The concept of master's and doctoral degrees as programs with proper curricula, specific requirements, and a qualifying exam based on a research proposal for a master's or doctoral thesis or dissertation, was yet to come.

Although the profession was regulated only in 1962, many professionals held specialist diplomas in psychology from programs that had existed since the 1940s and 1950s, and had been practicing psychology long before the first psychologists trained under the new legislation would graduate. Those specialists, as well as other professionals who had been working as psychologists, had to submit to an accreditation process overseen by the National Secretary of Education. Further regulation of the psychology profession led to the establishment of a Federal Council and Regional Councils of Psychology in 1971. These councils oversaw the accreditation process, which in Brazil is very simple: It is only requires that the candidate present a psychologist's degree obtained from an accredited program.

The types of degrees and internship requirements have not changed significantly for many years. Only recently have new areas and approaches to internship emerged, and curriculum adaptations to social and regional demands were implemented because of new curricular guidelines released in 2000. These guidelines extinguished the bachelor's degree in psychology, replacing it with a psychology teacher's licensure and the degree of psychologist that allows professionals to register with the Councils of Psychologists and receive a license to work. The professional program actually requires much more work than an American undergraduate program, and it is similar to a master's degree from a U.S. university. It is strongly oriented to practice, with an emphasis on internship. The objective is that students should get a considerable overview of the field and general practice in different areas.

Professional Training: Vicissitudes of a Rapid Expansion

In the beginning, the prospects for the development of a psychological profession in Brazil seemed

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positive (Figueiredo & Seminério, 1973). There were a large variety of research practices, the application contexts were increasing with the country's industrialization and educational reforms, and a mass of prospective students was eager to practice the new profession. Last, but not least, most of the same group who conducted research was responsible for the applied psychology services in industries and schools, and they were teaching and supervising licensed professionals as well as psychology students. The path was one that led to a positive combination between research and practice. However, reality led psychological training in Brazil to follow a less positive agenda.

The concern with a good training in psychology, which could contemplate a bond between teaching and research, was present in the first programs in psychology. It was greater or smaller, depending on the conditions of the development of the university in the region. However, the immediate and overpowering expansion of offering programs compromised the relation between teaching and research. There were three programs in 1962, 40 in 1974, 73 in 1984, and 111 in 1996, and over 400 at present. Few universities followed the example of pioneering institutions in searching for the guidance of foreigner professors. Most institutions counted on the collaboration of religious orders, professionals from similar fields, or professionals interested in psychology to start these programs. The tradition of the professional school model became dominant, and research was disappearing not from the curriculum, but from the classroom.

A broad description of psychology developments in Brazil during the 1970s was presented by Osvaldo de Barros Santos (1918–1998) in a symposium sponsored by the Brazilian Society for the Progress of Science, in Brasilia. Santos' presentation was published the following year in *Revista Psico* of the Pontiphical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul (Santos, 1977). The author revealed that, on December 31, 1975, there were 4,951 licensed psychologists and 61 professional psychology training programs with 8,795 students. Table 3.1 shows the specialties declared by the professionals (professionals could list more than one specialty). The information is incomplete, but very elucidative of the development of professional psychology in Brazil at that time.

Due to a subset of factors apparently peculiar to Brazil's intellectual training and mainstream educational philosophy, the theoretical and doctrinaire emphasis prevailed in the consolidation of

Table 3.1 Distribution of professional specialties of psychologists

Specialties	Frequency	%
Clinical Psychology	1,234	30.1
Organizational Psychology	788	19.6
Teaching Psychology	719	17.5
Educational Psychology	505	12.3
Psychological Assessment	309	7.5
Social Psychology	102	2.5
Experimental Psychology	72	1.7
Research	71	1.7
Other Areas	291	7.1
Total	4,091	100

psychology teaching in Brazil (Matos, 1988). The theoretical emphasis was associated with a trend to accept and legitimize psychology´s professional practices by affiliation to a psychological doctrine (psychoanalysis, humanism, or even behaviorism). There was little concern to assess or verify empirically the efficacy or effectiveness of such practices (Langenbach & Negreiros, 1988). This is also true even in the field of psychological testing, which has a long tradition of research in the country (psychological tests were the first tools of applied psychology in Brazil). Psychological assessment occupied an important share of the curricula in the 1960s and 1970s, but decreased considerably in the 1980s. From a total of 146 tests commercialized in Brazil in 1999 by 11 editors, only 28.8% of these instruments reported reliability, validity, and normative studies in their manuals (Noronha, Primi, & Alchieri, 2004). Fortunately, in 2003, the Brazilian Council of Psychology initiated a program to evaluate the status of the psychological tests that were being used in Brazil. The Council maintains online[4] a list of tests that present good psychometric characteristics and that can be used by psychologist.

In the 1980s, concern for the social needs of the country and the commitment of the society to re-establish democratic order also seemed to have interfered in the relation among teaching, research, and practice (Gomes, 2003, 1996). Social activism, often considered a red flag, determined scientific production for a given reason. Such impacts were well succeeded in the social activism, but confused the relation between tradition, theoretical trends

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that promised social change and defense of human rights (e.g., critical theory, feminist theory, psychosociology), and alternative methodological approaches (e.g., qualitative methods, participatory action research, ethnomethodologies). At the same time, a clash arose between the quantitative research associated with the evils of capitalism and the qualitative research associated with subjectivity and social justice. These critical factors led to social psychology being replaced by a critical-historical social theory. The constraint in identifying it with the social psychology or with quantitative research in general was fairly strong during the 1980s and 1990s, when many colleagues preferred exchanging the research field for other fields, from traditional social psychology to other areas. Fortunately, these fields seem to be reappearing in the country today.

At the same time, teaching suffered because of the lack of qualified professors, and from a lack of basic infrastructure as such laboratories, study and research rooms, and libraries (Gomes, 1996). In addition, many professors neglected to assess students, considering such practices inefficient and unnecessary (Gomes, 2003). Throughout this period, a remnant of the liberal educational trends of the 1970s, an influence of humanistic pedagogy, was transformed into radical permissiveness. In the 1990s, with the growing number of master's and doctoral programs offered this general situation started to change.

Master's Degree and Doctoral Programs

Brazil's higher-education system is historically made up of professional schools, which are considered graduate level institutions. There is no undergraduate concept. Therefore, graduate programs came immediately after secondary education, offered within a professional school. The first professional programs in psychology were organized at the end of the 1950s and in the early 1960s. Soon after, master's degree programs emerged as "postgraduate level" education. The first master's program inaugurated in Brazil was in clinical psychology, in 1966, at the Pontiphical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro. Following it, in 1970, was experimental psychology, in the school of psychology and human development at the University of Sao Paulo. The University of Sao Paulo also offered the first doctoral degree program in experimental and school psychology in 1974. The current configuration of the graduate programs results from the last major reform of higher education in Brazil, implemented between the late 1960s and early 1970s (Gauer & Gomes, 2002). Main consequences of the reform were the adoption by federal universities of the departmental structure and stimulus plans for full-time professorship. For postgraduate education, the reform defined the master´s and doctoral courses and their respective degrees as the standard for *stricto sensu* international graduate studies, which requires the completion of a master's thesis and a doctoral dissertation. Note that, in Brazil, the term *thesis* is for comprehensive work at the doctoral level, and for a dissertation at the master's level.

The expansion of the master's and doctoral programs in Brazil was associated with the development of two federal government agencies: Coordenação para o Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Ensino Superior (Foundation for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel Coordination for Improvement of Higher Education Personnel - CAPES), and Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico (National Council for Research and Development - CNPq). The two agencies, founded in 1951, have played an important role in the qualification of higher-education teaching and research. The agencies started an ambitious line of scholarship financing to send students abroad to obtain master´s and doctoral degrees. The first impact of this effort was restricted to some selected universities from the most developed regions of the country. Conceptual issues about graduate programs and the role of science and technology also limited the impact of these early programs. The curriculum framework was not properly clarified to bring a comprehensive view of the field and to increment a systematic training in research methods. In general, these programs were made up of different courses based on the doctoral dissertations of the faculty. Thus, the courses pertaining to the curriculum of a program were not necessarily related to each other. At that time, this curricular situation was defined as a "patchwork quilt." There was, however, a deficiency of instrumentation, accentuated by a lack of definition of research lines. Even so, some good results were produced by these programs in the training of creative and productive researchers, and that was important for the reforms introduced subsequently. However, there was a clear concentration of research in a few centers of excellence and a loss of interest in research in most professional programs in psychology. Even today, there are not enough doctors in psychology to attend to the demands of several regions of the country.

Fortunately, the growth and changes in master's and doctoral programs have had a positive effect on the relationship between teaching and research so far.

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Examples were the cognitive psychology course at Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, created in 1976, and the development psychology course at Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, founded in 1988. These two programs could be characterized by a small number of faculty members; a well-clarified curriculum, combining research techniques with statistics and qualitative methods; lines of research that are clearly defined to explore and advance specific areas, such as cognition or topics in development psychology; and an emphasis on faculty continuing education and publication requirements. Also, they reinforced the importance of the relationship for students of in the five initial years of professional training (a graduate program in Brazilian terms) with the master's and doctoral programs (postgraduate programs) through research. The postgraduate programs usually have the means to finance the participation of graduate students in research groups with master's degree and doctoral students.

General Organization of Psychology in Brazil

As mentioned before, professional psychological practice in Brazil is supervised by the Federal Council of Psychology and the 17 administratively and financially autonomous regional councils. The functions of the councils include determining the orientation of the field, serving a disciplinary role, monitoring professional practice, and promulgating ethical principles. The first ethics code was released in 1975. The Federal Council also functions as a court of professional ethics and acts as a consultative agency in matters relating to psychology. The regional councils have analogous functions, and they actually register all psychologists who work in their respective regions. University professors and researchers do not need to register unless they teach practical subjects or supervise students in applied settings.

The academic and scientific activities are coordinated by psychological societies and associations. In fact, these organizations played an important role in professional regulation and the establishment of the Federal Council. Three of these associations should be mentioned: the psychological societies of São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul, and the Brazilian Association of Psychology in Rio de Janeiro. After the professional consolidation, these organizations organized conferences and workshops around the country. As mentioned already, the first Brazilian association did not have a long life; the states societies still exist, but they have become professional associations with little interest in research and placing more emphasis on clinical discussions. The first society that had an important function in the development of psychological science after the regulation of the profession was a regional society in the city of Ribeirão Preto, in the state of Sao Paulo. This society was organized in 1971 with a regional coverage but became the most important outlet for scientific discussion and the clarification of psychological science. In 1992, the regional society was officially transformed into a national society, the Brazilian Society of Psychology. However, this association was organized in such a way that the original group from Ribeirão Preto held all the power and acted in such a way that prevented it from becoming a truly national society. Thus, several groups that could have developed divisions (like those of the American Psychological Association [APA]) had no other choice but to create specific scientific societies in several fields such as psychological assessment, social psychology, organizational psychology, educational psychology, and others. The Brazilian Society still exists but could not continue publishing a journal, and its meetings are attended by less than 1,000 participants. Many specific area societies organize meeting that attract from 1,000 to 4,000 participants.

The fight for the work rights of psychologists is carried by the unions. These organizations are not very strong in Brazil because most psychologists work as autonomous professionals and are not employed by private organizations. Psychologists who work for public organizations (city, state, or federal) belong to specific unions.

Psychology Journals in Brazil

The first serial publication in psychology in Brazil, *Arquivos Brasileiros de Psicotécnica* (*Brazilian Archives of Psychotechnique*), started in 1949, edited by the Getúlio Vargas Foundation in Rio de Janeiro. Later, it was renamed *Arquivos Brasileiros de Psicologia Aplicada* (Brazilian Archives of Applied Psychology), and it was the most important psychological journal in Brazil. Today, more than 80 journals are dedicated to psychology in Brazil. Some of them publish also in English and Spanish, and some accept submissions only in English. Differently from most countries, university departments have historically edited most Brazilian psychology journals. Few publications come from scientific societies, but this trend is growing, as we will see in the next section. Because university departments usually encompass professors and laboratories from several fields of

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psychology, most journals tend to be of a general scope. In a single issue of a major Brazilian psychology journal, one might find an experimental pharmacological trial with rats, a psychoanalytic case study, and a theoretical essay.

In the last decade, a system was developed to evaluate psychology journals.[5] A national commission, whose members were nominated by CAPES and ANPEPP started to evaluate Brazilian psychology journals. This system has helped improve the editorial process of many journals, and also has helped to index them in several data banks, which is important in the retrieval of information. The journals assessment is also used to evaluate postgraduate program scientific production as well as to evaluate researchers. Agencies will usually take into account the number of publications and the evaluation of the journals in which they appear when making decisions about grants. The journal evaluation commission had a tremendous impact on the field, improving the quality of articles and publications. The next evaluation will comparatively analyze Brazilian and foreign periodicals. Each journal will receive a rank and be classified according to several criteria (mostly indexed articles and impact). The Brazilian psychology journals may be accessed freely from two websites: Scielo (Scientific Electronic Library Online[6]), a Brazilian service that includes journals from major Latin American countries, Portugal, and Spain; and PEPsic (Electronic Psychology Journals[7]), a service offered by the Brazilian Council of Psychology. PEPsic also includes collections of thesis and dissertations.

Theoretical Affinities

An overview of the history and the present situation of psychology in Brazil would be incomplete without an analysis of the theoretical affinities of different groups of professionals and researchers. Brazilian psychology, both scientific and professional, seems to be at a turning point, moving from an age of schools to a period of specialized maturity. This trend is relatively late when compared to more mature psychological communities, such as that found in the United States. It is characterized as a movement from all-encompassing theories and systems guidance of training, research, and practice, toward a more pragmatically oriented, specialized, and diversified (although not theory-free nor necessarily eclectic) approach to scientific psychology. The identification of that movement is corroborated by the creation of subdiscipline associations and periodicals. In line with that interpretation, the following is an attempt to describe the current status of some of the theoretical approaches to psychology predominant from the 1960s to the 1980s, and a preliminary appraisal of the major areas of interest of Brazilian psychologists as reflected by their societies and periodicals.

Brazilian society has generally taken psychotherapy to be synonymous with psychoanalysis. This may be confirmed at any time in the media, where psychoanalysts are the favorite guests in debates on any subject connected with mental health or even contemporary trends in people's social behavior. There is also a traditional confusion between psychology and psychotherapy, which has led psychology in Brazil to be understood by the general public as psychoanalytic psychotherapy.

Whatever semantic confusions the general public embraces, they are not devoid of historical reasons that emerged from the academic context. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, many philosophers, educators, and doctors, in the spirit of the times of the early 20th century, brought psychoanalysis into the university as the comprehensive theory of psychology. The curricula of the nascent professional discipline of psychology often came to be mainly psychoanalytic, since those same scholars had been involved in their planning. That happened both through these scholars directly working on psychology curriculum projects, and indirectly, through their students' work.

Despite the possible impact from the behaviorist approach represented by Sao Paulo scholars, who were actively involved in regulating the profession (see previous sections on professional regulation), psychoanalysis still prevailed as the dominating approach. Even so, psychologists encountered some restrictions to receiving psychoanalytical training. For a long time, some psychoanalytical societies accepted only physicians. That situation began to change thanks to the Lacanian movement. Through Argentina and France, the ideas of Jacques Lacan (1901–1981) influenced Brazilian psychoanalysis from the early 1970s onward. One main tenet of that approach was the opening of the psychoanalytic field to other professionals, not just medical doctors, and psychologists were the most interested of them all. Presently, psychoanalytic training, even in traditional societies, is done mainly by psychologists. Psychiatrists are shifting to pharmacological treatments and to cognitive-behavioral therapy.

Today, although many psychology curricula still have numerous psychoanalytic courses, psychoanalysis is seldom the only, or even the prevalent theoretical orientation. As with other major theoretical

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approaches emphasized in the 20th century, it seems to have a relatively large, but somewhat stagnated community within psychology. There are some graduate courses of psychoanalytic orientation in Brazil, and most of their production is theoretical, rather than applied. An example is the journal *Ágora: Studies on Psychoanalytical Theory*, an online publication, accessible in Scielo (www.scielo.br).

The behaviorist movement in Brazilian psychology has its origins with Fred S. Keller's (1899–1996) visit to the Universidade de Sao Paulo and to the Universidade de Brasília, to help the planning and development of laboratories and courses (Keller, 1975). In fact, whereas most psychology courses in Brazil were psychoanalytic, the others were predominantly behavioristic in their orientation. However, the expansion of a behavioristic movement in Brazil seems to have been circumscribed to those two universities visited by Keller and to the circle of influence of their faculty. Behaviorism has a relatively small, but stable academic community. A few other universities came to that orientation through the influence of faculty trained or supervised at those institutions visited by Keller. Examples of that trend are to be found both in the north, such as at the Federal University of Para at Belem, and in the south, in two state universities of Parana, at Maringa and Londrina. The behaviorists are represented in Brazil by the Brazilian Association for Psychotherapy and Medical Behaviorism, founded in 1991. This society publishes a journal, the *Brazilian Journal of Behavior Analysis* that is supported by the postgraduate programs that offer training in the area.

One important trend currently influencing the field of behaviorism in Brazil is cognitive-behavioral psychotherapy. Whereas behavioral therapies were never predominant due to a number of reasons—including the popularity of psychoanalysis and misguided political and ideological conceptions that labeled them as right-wing instruments of oppression—cognitive-behavioral therapies have considerable influence in the last one or two decades. This approach is represented by the Federal Brasileira de Terapias Cognitivas (Brazilian Federation of Cognitive Therapies) and by the journal *Revista Brasileira de Terapia Comportamental e Cogntiva*, created in 1999 (available on line at PEPsic - http://www.bvs-psi.org.br/).

Humanism received a great deal of attention from the late 1960s to mid-1970s. Carl Rogers (1902–1987) visited Brazil in 1977, 1978, and 1985 for workshops on his client-centered approach (Gomes, Holanda, & Gauer, 2004). Pierre Weil (1924–2008), who introduced humanistic and transpersonal approaches to the country starting in the late 1960s, moved to Brazil and became professor of the Federal University of Minas Gerais at Belo Horizonte. Presently, there are a few established graduate-level research centers and a small number of clinics of humanistic orientation throughout the country. However, humanism in Brazil presents much the same trend as behaviorism, best characterized as maintained by a relatively small but stable community of research and application. An example of this movement is the publication *Revista da Abordagem Gestáltica*, created in 1994, accessible by PEPsic (http://www.bvs-psi.org.br/).

Social psychology mostly dominated by the historic-critical approach constituted a strong movement and specialty organization in Brazil. This orientation attracts a considerable number of psychologists and faculty around the country, and they have a biannual meeting that is attended by up to 4,000 participants. They also have a very active society, the Associação Brasileira de Psicologia Social (ABRAPSO; the Brazilian Social Psychology Association), organized in 1980, and they publish the journal *Psychology and Society*. The journal's articles highlight research and theory at the interface of psychology and society, taking a posture toward social psychology that is critical, transformative, and interdisciplinary. Along with social psychology, there is a growing interest for community interventions, institutional analysis, feminist studies, political psychology, and subjectivity.

In health psychology, three different movements can be identified: *collective health* that brings psychologists to an interdisciplinary discussion about public policy for the health–illness care process; *health psychology*, a growing field of application and employment for psychologists, mainly by state agencies; and *hospital psychology*, a specialty that has been developing in Brazil since the 1950s and that has a notable appeal for students and newly graduated professionals. Hospital psychology seems to be a Brazilian peculiarity; it is a specialty that prepares psychologists to work in hospital environments. These fields do not have clear theoretical affiliations. Collective health and health psychology follow the general psychological view of Brazilian social psychology. Hospital psychology uses either a psychodynamic or even a cognitive-behavioral approach. One outlet for the research in this area is the journal *Psicologia Hospitalar*, created in 2001.

The new areas of neuroscience, neuropsychology, and neuropsychological evaluation have attracted the attention of Brazilian psychologists. In 2005,

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an interdisciplinary conference was organized to present and discuss research about the interface between brain and mind, the Brazilian Conference on Brain, Behavior, and Emotions. The meeting has gathered professionals from psychology, medicine, pharmacology, and basic researchers on physiology and biochemistry. This event is already on its fourth edition.

Future Directions

A possible sign of maturity of the discipline is the growing specialization and diversification of areas of research and application. One such indicator is the change from general psychology periodicals to specialized ones. That accompanies another movement, which is the creation of numerous scientific societies, also specialized in those areas, as seen in Table 3.2. Psychological testing has regained attention. There is a postgraduate program entirely dedicated to psychometrics and psychological assessment at the University of San Francisco–Itatiba, Sao Paulo, and a national association (the Brazilian Institute for Psychological Assessment [IBAP], www.ibapnet.org.br) that publishes the journal *Avaliação Psicológica* (*Psychological Assessment*, http://www.bvs-psi.org.br/) and organizes a biennial meeting that attracts researchers from all over Brazil, Portugal, Spain, and several other Latin American countries. Research in neuropsychology has been conducted by departments, particularly, biochemistry and physiology. However, there is a well evaluated postgraduate program in psychology at the University of Sao Paulo dedicated to biopsychology. Neuroscience also has become an important field, and there is a growing interest in neuropsychological assessment.

Psychology is a strong profession in Brazil and a developing science (Hutz, McCarthy, & Gomes, 2005). There are more than 160,000 licensed

Table 3.2 Psychological subdisciplines with scientific and professional societies and specialized periodicals in Brazil

Sub-discipline	Association	Founded	Periodical	First volume
Social Psychology	ABRAPSO: Associação Brasileira de Psicologia Social	1980	*Psicologia e Sociedade*	1986
Neuropsychology	SBNp: Sociedade Brasileira de Neuropsicologia	1989	—	
School and Educational Psychology	ABRAPEE: Associação Brasileira de Psicologia Escolar e Educacional	1990	*Psicologia Escolar e Educacional*	1996
Professional Counseling	ABOP: Associação Brasileira de Orientação Profissional	1994	*Revista Brasileira de Orientação Profissional*	1999
Hospital Psychology	SBPH: Sociedade Brasileira de Psicologia Hospitalar	1997	*Revista da SBPH*	1998
Psychological Assessment	IBAP: Instituto Brasileiro de Avaliação Psicológica	1997	*Avaliação Psicológica*	2002
Developmental Psychology	SBPD: Sociedade Brasileira de Psicologia do Desenvolvimento	1998		—
Organizational Psychology	SBPOT: Sociedade Brasileira de Psicologia Organizacional e do Trabalho	2001	*Psicologia: Organizações e trabalho*	2001
Political Psychology	ABPP: Associação Brasileira de Psicologia Política	2001	*Psicologia Política*	2001
Health Psychology	ABPSA: Associação Brasileira de Psicologia da Saúde	2006	*Mudanças: Psicologia da Saúde*	1993
Cognitive Therapy	FBTC: Federal Brasileira de Teorias Cognitivas	2005	*Revista Brasileira de Terapias Cognitivas*	2006

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psychologists in Brazil. Until a few years ago, young psychologists had a higher income than most professionals working in health or social care who had comparable years of education and training (social workers, nurses, public school teachers), although this is not true today. Also noteworthy is the fact that Brazilian psychologists are underpaid when compared to their colleagues in the United States and Europe. Most psychologists in Brazil work for about $US20 (or even less) per hour. However, the number of psychologists will keep growing over the next years.

An important and rapid development of research has been observed in the last decade, and the offer of postgraduate training will continue to rise over the next decade. A possible new trend is the offering of professional postgraduate programs for improvement of the applied services. In fact, the social arena has attracted a great deal of attention in the last decades. Many students will prefer to work for nongovernmental agencies in poor neighborhoods than for multinational corporations. Therefore, training programs to work with community psychology, youth and families, ecological development, and populations at risk will be on the rise in popularity over the next years.

Perspectives are that psychology will continue to capture the attention of the media and raise the interest of young students in years to come. Large national and regional meetings will attract more students, professionals, faculty, and researchers. The national system to fund research and student training has been growing every year and apparently will continue to increase the amount of grants available in the foreseeable future.

Notes

1. Darwin`s Beagle Diary (1831–1836), see The Complete Work of Charles Darwin Online http://darwin-online.org.uk/content/frameset?itemID=EHBeagleDiary&viewtype=text&pageseq=1 transcribed by Kees Rookmeaker from the facsimile published by Genesis Publications, 1979, Edited by John van Wyhe.
2. Étienne Bonnot, Abbé de Condillac (1714–1780).
3. François-Pierre-Gothier Maine de Biran (1766–1824).
4. For the status of psychological tests in Brazil, see Sistema de Avaliação de Testes Psicológicos (SATEPSI), http://www2.pol.org.br/satepsi/.
5. See http://www.anpepp.org.br/index-aval.htm.
6. Scielo: http://www.scielo.br.
7. PEPsic: http://www.bvs-psi.org.br/.

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CHAPTER 4

Brunei Darussalam

Narasappa Kumaraswamy *and* Chandraseagran Suppiah

Abstract

This chapter discusses the development of psychology and its various branches in Brunei Darussalam. Brunei Darussalam is an independent Islamic Sultanate located in the northern part of Borneo in Southeast Asia. Brunei is a multiracial and multicultural society with unique sociocultural beliefs. The main domain of the culture is deeply entrenched in Malay, Islam, and monarchy (*Melayu, Islam, Beraja* or MIB). The development of psychology as a subject and specialty is still at an early stage. Historically, educational psychology, guidance and counselling, and special education are the branches of psychology that are first to emerge, followed by clinical psychology. For the past 20 years, interest in psychology and its related branches has improved. In Brunei, the development of the field of psychology is closely related to rapid development of the economy after independence in 1984, specifically due to the rapid progress made at the Ministry of Education, the University of Brunei, the Ministry of Health, various government agencies and departments, and nongovernmental voluntary organizations. Currently, there is a positive acceptance of the role of psychology, counseling, special education, educational psychology, and clinical psychology by the government and society at large. Therefore, psychology has bright prospect of developing and expanding its role and impact on society. This chapter discusses various aspects of how psychology developed in Brunei, and suggestions are made for future development of psychology.

Keywords: Psychology, sociocultural beliefs, *bomoh*, *dukkha*, guidance and counseling, mental health

Brunei Darussalam is an independent Islamic Sultanate located in the northern part of Borneo in Southeast Asia. As a Malay Muslim monarchy, Brunei is ruled according to Islamic values and its traditions, by the present King, His Majesty Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah (Ministry of Industry and Primary Resources, 2004). It is an oil-rich country with a land area of 5,765 square kilometers. It shares its borders with the Malaysian state of Sarawak. The capital, Bandar Seri Begawan, is located in a district known as Brunei-Muara, which is one of the four districts that make up Brunei Darussalam (the other districts are Tutong, Belait, and Temburong). According to the 2001 population census, Brunei Darussalam has a population of about 332,844, comprising 66.7% Malays, 11.1% Chinese, and 22.2% other races (Department of Statistics, 2002).

Sociocultural Beliefs in Brunei Darussalam

Malay Culture and Religious Beliefs

Multiple cultural elements and foreign civilizations had a hand in influencing the culture of this country. Brunei's culture has been influenced by the four dominating periods of animism, Hinduism, Islam, and the West. However, it was Islam that has planted its roots deeply into the culture of Brunei; hence, it became a way of life and is adopted as the state's ideology and philosophy (*World Fact Book*, 2005).

The life of the average Brunei Malay revolves around his or her religion (Islam) with certain things being forbidden (*haram*), certain things tolerated

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but not encouraged (*makruh*), and certain things that fall under the embrace of Islam (*halal*). The consumption of alcohol, eating pork, eating meat not slaughtered under Islamic guidance, adultery, and coming into contact with the wet nose of a dog are *haram*. Smoking and eating shellfish are considered *makruh*. Bruneians shake hands by only lightly touching hands and then bringing the hand back to the chest; it is not customary to shake hands with members of the opposite sex (*World Fact Book*, 2005).

Spiritual and religious factors play a vital part in mental health among the Malays, but they generally prefer to interpret psychological problems in physical terms in order to avoid the label of mental illness and the negative connotation that accompanies it. Many believe that symptoms of psychological problems are indicative of the loss of *semangat* or soul substance, which makes them physically weak and confused. They also belief that *angin* or the wind present in the stomach, nerves, and blood vessels causes hallucinations and delusions. Another common belief is that of being possessed by a spirit or *Jinn* (Genie). It is believed that after death, the ancestors may wish to stay in the bodies of their offspring. Problems arise when the possessed person refuses to allow the *Jinn* to stay in their body (Haque, 1998).

Santau or black magic is also an important factor leading to psychological problems or which can be used to explain psychological problems. *Santau* is practiced either by using traditional ingredients mixed in food or drinks or through spirits such as *Jinn* for purposes of revenge, envy, gaining personal strength, and so on. These cultural beliefs lead the people to seek guidance from traditional healers called *bomohs* or *pawan*, who are considered keepers of hidden knowledge and who can get rid of the possession and cure psychological illnesses. *Bomohs* remain indispensable in Malay society even in this modern age of e-medicine. Malays in Brunei believe that a *bomoh* obtains inherited knowledge through prophetic dreams. The *bomohs* can be one of three general types. The first type is the one who supposedly uses the Qur'an as a guide for diagnosis and treatment of illness; the second is most closely related to Malay magic (*ilmu batin*); and the third uses herbs and traditional medicines (Haque, 1998).

The strong influence of religion in Malay culture results in the general belief that mental disorders are an outcome of abandoning or neglecting of Islamic values (Haque, 1998; Haque & Masuan, 2002). Although these belief systems reflect the early influence of animistic and Hindu traditions, Islam perceives mental illness and mental health differently. The basic premise in Islamic literature is that human beings are made both of body and soul, the unity of which results in psyche (*nafs*) that reflects itself in the form of behaviors. Thus, human behavior is the result of the dynamic interplay between material and nonmaterial forces and is in control of human consciousness. Ongoing purification of thought and deeds brings a person closer to God and keeps a person mentally healthy. The Qur'an uses the term *inshirah al sadr* to refer to a state of mental health. The Qur'an also uses the term *dhaiq al sadr* to refer to states of psychological imbalance. *Taqwa* is associated with a state of well-being, whereas psychological or mental imbalance is attributed to *ma'siyat*, (Haque, 1998, 2004).

Although Malay and Islam is the main culture of the people of Brunei, the Chinese (11%) are predominantly influenced by Chinese cultural and religious beliefs, which includes Buddhism, Taoism, and Christianity. Other races (22%) include indigenous people such as Dusun, Kadayans, Ibans, and others such as Indians, Pakistanis, etc. and mostly are either Muslims or Christians.

Chinese Cultural and Religious Beliefs

The Chinese community in Brunei is made up of those from the Quemoy (Jinmen), Cantonese, Hakkas, Hainanese, Teochius, and Henghua (Xinghua) regions. As in other overseas Chinese communities, these different groups are located in different areas. The majority of Chinese are followers of Buddhism, and a small percentage are followers of Christianity.

In Buddhist philosophy, life is full of sufferings (*dukkha*) for those who crave for this world (*samdaya*) but can be ended (*nirodha*) by a ceasing of desire, which leads to a state of ultimate happiness (*nirvana*). Buddhists believe in *Karma*; thus, mental illness can be viewed as the outcome of negative behaviors done in the past. Qualities necessary for good mental health are the qualities of right understanding, right thought, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right action. Mastery over moral conduct and control of evil actions lead to purity and spiritual advancement. An attachment to this material world is considered ignorance, which will lead to unhealthy character and restlessness in individuals (De Silva, 1996).

The Lord Gautama Buddha in his sermons stated that it may be possible for a person to claim to have

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been free from physical disease even for a hundred years, but it is not possible for a person to claim to have been free from mental disease even for a day, except for an *Arahant* or a perfected disciple or a Buddha. It is recognized by all Buddhist scholars that the ultimate aim of the Buddha is to produce *Arahants*, the culmination of the original Buddhist practice. If the *Arahant* is the only person with perfect mental health, the aim of the Buddha was to produce mentally healthy personalities. Thus, Buddhism may be considered an early form of psychotherapy (De Silva, 1996; Kalupaha, 1987).

Early Chinese literature attributes good health to the person's state of emotions. Thus, excessive, unbalanced, or undisciplined emotions are primarily the reason for any kind of illness. Emotion is an integral aspect of the body's basic functions and is regulated by the circulation of *ch'i* (air or breath) that is partly innate and partly a product of one's food and drink. *Ch'i* not only maintains the physical body but also the mental and spiritual processes. Abnormal emotions affect the functions of the *ch'i*—"anger makes the *ch'i* rise; joy relaxes it, sorrow dissipates it, fear makes it go down; cold contracts it; heat makes it leak out; fright makes its motions chaotic; exhaustion consumes it; worry congeals it'" (Faw, 1995).

The need to adhere to Chinese values is also very important for people of this culture. A traditionalist Chinese has strongly internalized values in which primary allegiance is to the parents or the family of origin. Self-worth is measured by the material achievement one brings to the family in terms of education, occupation, and monetary gain. Mental disorders may arise when the person has failed to be a conforming son or daughter and is unable to bring the expected honor to the family. There is no room for blaming others, as the individual is himself or herself responsible for society, rather than the other way around (Faw, 1995).

Christian Beliefs in Mental Health

Christianity in Asia tends to attribute mental disorders to natural causes, such as normal life challenges and human wrongdoings over which God has ultimate control, meaning that no illness can inflict man without the will of God. Disorders may be inflicted upon a person to bring about a change in his or her life, to teach patience, and to increase a trust in God. In addition to biopsychosocial causes, the psyche or spiritual factors are also important for mental health and are used generously in the treatment of mentally ill persons. According to Christianity, true mental health is not possible without a right relationship with God (Faw, 1995).

History of the Development of Psychology in Brunei

According to Mundia (2008), the development of psychology in Brunei, as compared within the Asian context, has not reached the level of Japan (Sato, 2001), which has a psychological association, nor the levels of India (Jain, 2005) and Pakistan (Suhail, 2004), whose universities offer a number of master's and doctoral programs in psychology. However, although a small country in terms of both population and land mass, Brunei has made many achievements in psychology within a few years after independence from Britain in 1984.

The Sultanate of Brunei was very powerful from the 14th to the 16th century. Its realm covered the northern part of Borneo and the southwestern Philippines. European influence gradually brought an end to this regional power. Later, there was a brief war with Spain, in which Brunei was victorious. The decline of the Brunei Empire culminated in the 19th century, when Brunei lost much of its territory to the White Rajahs of Sarawak, resulting in its current small landmass and separation into two parts (History of Brunei, Wikipedia). In 1888, Brunei became a British protectorate, retaining internal independence but with British control over its external affairs. On January 1, 1984, Brunei became a fully independent state. Since independence, rapid progress has been made in the development of the economy, expansion of medical facilities and mental health care, and expansion and reforms in the education sector, as well as in improvements to the various government departments and ministries. The development of psychology is somewhat parallel to this progress since independence.

The Role of Education in the Development of Psychology

One of the major landmarks in the development of psychology in Brunei is related to the establishment of the Brunei Teacher's Training Centre in Brunei town to provide trained teachers for the massive educational expansion that took place beginning in 1956. The role of educational psychology become more prominent when, in 1984, the Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah Teacher's College was upgraded to an Institute and thus became known as Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah Institute of Education (SHBIE) (Pg Mahmud, 2006). In 1988, SHBIE merged to become a part of Universiti Brunei Darussalam.

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This change led to the formation of the department of educational psychology at SHBIE and paved the way for the development of psychology-related courses as an important aspect of the teacher training program. The department of educational psychology, which initially started with four psychologists (the heads of the department were a Indonesian with Ph.D. from the United States, a Briton with a Ph.D. from the United Kingdom, an Australian with a Ph.D. from Australia, and a Malaysian with a M.Ed from Malaysia) has since expanded and played a significant role in the development of psychology in Brunei. Over the years, it has developed programs such as the certificate in special education, certificate in counselling, bachelor of primary education (special education), postgraduate diploma in counselling, and master of education (special education). Apart from these, the department of educational psychology serviced many other programs in teacher training programs at the certificate, diploma, degree, or graduate level by offering core courses such as developmental psychology, psychology of learning and teaching, introduction to counseling, individual differences, children with special needs, measurement and evaluation, and learning and development (Handbook, 2008/2009).

The department of educational psychology of the SHBIE organized the first international conference in psychology in September 1997 (the Ninth Asian Workshop on Child and Adolescent Development) and was attended by more than 250 participants, which include about 50 international paper presenters and participants. The proceedings of this conference saw more than 40 papers published (see Burns, 1997). Since 1997, the department has successfully organized three national seminar workshops for all local counselors. The department has also organized international and national conferences and seminars in collaboration with the Special Education Unit of the Ministry of Education.

Since January 2009, the Universiti Brunei Darussalam has been undergoing a major reform. The SHBIE has been upgraded to a graduate school, which implies that it will only offer graduate-level programs. All departments in the SHBIE have undergone major changes, rebranding, and regrouping. Since March 2009, the department of educational psychology no longer exists. All lecturers in the areas of educational psychology, counselling, special education, and early childhood development are gathered into an academic grouping called *psychological studies and human development* (PSHD). This group consists of 22 academic staff including eight lecturers in educational psychology and measurement and evaluation, four in counseling, four in special education, and six in early childhood education. Among these staff, eight are expatriates and the rest are Bruneians. Another major change that has strong impact on and implications for future psychologists, especially in the roles of counseling, special education, and educational psychology, is that SHBIE will not offer an undergraduate program. It will only focus on graduate-level programs in which every student who aspires to become a teacher must complete the new master of teaching program to become a qualified teacher. It should be noted that, in the new master of teaching program (which is replacing all existing undergraduate teacher training programs), the roles of educational psychology, counselling, and special education have been drastically reduced. Another implication is that the certificate in counselling, the certificate in special education, and the bachelor of primary education (special education) degree is no longer offered at SHBIE. However, at the postgraduate level, it is anticipated that within the next few years there will be more programs at SHBIE in areas related to psychology. For example, a Master in Counseling course with 14 students was started in January 2011. There are also deliberations to introduce majors and minors in psychology, and elective courses in psychology for undergraduate programs at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Universiti Brunei Darussalam.

Health Care and Psychological Services

Health care development in the Sultanate is undertaken as part and parcel of the overall socioeconomic development in Brunei. The provision of services for health, education, and welfare have been continuously developed together with providing basic infrastructure such as roads, housing, and the provision of safe water, electricity, proper sewage facilities, and modern telecommunication systems. The most recent significant initiative taken by the Ministry of Health, which is responsible for all aspects of health care in Brunei Darussalam, is the introduction of its first strategic health plan, the National Health Care Plan 2000–2010, which is the guiding principle for current and future implementation of programs and projects. It is designed to meet the challenges of the new millennium,

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which include changing disease patterns, lifestyles, and population demography, and the escalating cost of health care and public expectations for better quality health care.

As it stands, basic health services are accessible and provided free to citizens and permanent citizens of the country, including provision for overseas specialized medical care not available in the country. The quality of health in Brunei has seen much improvement over the years, and today it has achieved almost all of the Global Health Indicators set by World Health Organization (WHO).

Raja Isteri Pengiran Anak Saleha (RIPAS) Hospital is situated in Bandar Seri Begawan, which is the capital. It is the largest and most comprehensive of the government medical facilities in Brunei with an 880-bed capacity and up-to-date modern medical facilities. Opened in 1984, the hospital has evolved from being a primary health care provider to a referral center and multidisciplinary institution providing a wide range of specialist's services.

The RIPAS Hospital psychiatry department presently functions with five specialists and four medical officers trained in psychiatry in the Western model. The Clinical Psychology Unit was started at RIPAS Hospital in October 2002, with one qualified clinical psychologist and three trainee graduate psychologists. It caters to the needs of not only psychiatry but also other specialties such as pediatrics, neurology, neurosurgery, oncology, endocrinology, and general medicine (Kumaraswamy, 2005). Usually, cases are referred to the Clinical Psychology Unit for psychological evaluation and treatment. About 40% of cases are referred by the department of psychiatry. At the clinical psychology unit, psychotherapy in the form of behavior therapy and cognitive-behavioral therapy are the main treatment orientations. Although the existence of the psychiatry department goes back to 1985, not much progress has been made in psychotherapy. More emphasis has been given to the medical model than to a psychological model, and medical treatment is more typical than is psychotherapy.

In Brunei, most psychotherapy is provided by traditional healers (*bomoh*). It is popular in that it is widely believed that mental disorder is caused by evil spirits. A survey conducted in Malaysia, where a large population of Malays live, indicated that 80% of psychiatric patients first visit or consult with *bomohs*. The same situation prevails in Brunei as well. Even medical practitioners firmly believe that mental disorders are caused by evil spirits and that *bomohs* are their first choice for treatment (Mohd, 1989; Razali, 1995; Razali, Khan, & Hasanah, 1996). Indigenous methods of care are prevalent in many societies around the world, particularly in Asia. Among the Malays, it is common for patients and their families to use both traditional methods of treatment as well as modern Western medicine, either concurrently or consecutively. This is especially so in cases of patients with mental disorders (Murphy, H. B. M., 1973).

In these "traditional" methods of psychotherapy, the indigenous healer normally enters a state of trance and is able to communicate with the spirit world. Through this communication, the patient is told not only the causes of his disorders, but the prescribed treatment. Similarly, Islamic healers use Qu'ranic verses to drive out malevolent spirits possessing the patient.

Development of Guidance and Counselling

The development of guidance and counselling can be divided into three main perspectives. First, development of guidance and counselling in Brunei is related to developments (discussed earlier) in the Ministry of Education and the Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah Institute of Education at Universiti Brunei Darussalam. Second, the development of counselling is related to developments in various ministries such as the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Social Welfare and Ministry of Defence. Third, the development of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) indirectly influenced the popularity of psychology and counseling.

Early development of counseling in the Ministry of Education in Brunei can be traced to 1983, when the Career Guidance Unit was established under the administration of the Scholarship and Welfare Unit in the Department of Planning, Research, and Development. This was established to support guidance activities, especially career guidance and discipline management in secondary schools. Later, in 1986, it was replaced by the Counselling and Talent Guidance Unit in the Department of Schools. One of the aims of this unit is to prepare counselling teachers. For this purpose, the first basic course in counselling was conducted by two consultants, Dr. Mary Connor and Mr. John Bennet from United Kingdom, sponsored by the British Council. In 1999, another upgrading course was conducted by the same consultants. This course was continued until 1993. The Counselling and Talent Guidance Unit also provided basic courses in counseling

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for teachers, coordinated career talks and visits, and carried out activities related to Job Training Scheme. In 1993, this unit became the secretariat for the Drug Abuse Committee of the Ministry of Education. In 1994, this unit introduced peer counselling for all schools. This unit produced the first guidebook for guidance and counseling services for schools in Brunei in 2007 (*Buku panduan*, 2007). Although initially the counseling models used are similar to the British model, the current models used in counseling in Brunei schools are similar to those used in Asian countries such as Malaysia and Singapore. However, in the training of counsellors and the practice of counselling, it is emphasized that any counselling model in Brunei must adhere to the national ideology of Malay, Islam, and monarchy (MIB) (Mohiddin, A., 2008).

Realizing the need for certified counselors, the Department of Educational Psychology, SHBIE, UBD introduced the certificate and postgraduate diploma in counselling as a one-year full-time in-service program for teachers and nonteachers (private and public sectors) in 1997. The certificate in counselling was for teachers and government officials who do not have a basic degree, and the postgraduate diploma in counselling is for teachers and government officials who have a basic degree. Both programs prepare candidates for positions as counsellors in primary and secondary schools and in other agencies in the private and public sectors.

Apart from the Ministry of Education, counseling services are also provided by qualified counsellors in other government departments in the country. The Ministry of Defence has an excellent counselling center with a number of qualified counselors who were trained at certificate-level in the Universiti Brunei Darussalam and one counselor with a master's degree in counselling. Initially, this center was set up to mainly deal with substance abuse and family-related problems. However, it now boasts a comprehensive system of support for all Ministry of Defence staff. The center is also playing an active role in promoting counseling-related activities for the society at large and in training paracounsellors for the Ministry of Defence.

Other departments, such as the Narcotics Control Bureau and Drug Rehabilitation Centre, the Ministry of Welfare, Youth, and Sports, and the Prisons' Department, also have provision for counseling. In April 2005, the government launched a counselling unit within the Institute of Public Administration for Civil Servants. The main objective is to provide counselling services for government servants. Currently, all the above departments and ministries have very limited numbers of qualified counselors (at most two in each department), but their functions are broad and their professional counselling roles are not very clear. Therefore, counselling-related facilities in these departments are still very basic and are at an early stage of development. For example, at the Drug Rehabilitation Centre, there are two counsellors with a certificate in counselling.

At UBD, counseling services are provided by the counselling unit of the Student Affairs Unit (HEP) division of UBD. Two qualified counsellors provide counselling services to students who are referred to them for various academic and personal reasons, and to students who voluntarily seek help.

Another important development in counseling is the formation of the Brunei Counselling Association (PERKAB) in 2000. The formation of the association was initiated in 1999 by two expatriates with a pro tem committee comprising mainly students enrolled for the certificate program in counselling and for the postgraduate diploma at the department of educational psychology, SHBIE, UBD. The main aim of PERKAB is to monitor and assist the development of professional counseling in Brunei. Since its inception, PERKAB has been carrying out various activities, including workshops, seminars, and publications to reach out to the public and fellow professionals.

Conclusion

The development of psychology as a subject and a specialty in Brunei is at an infant stage. Historically, psychology emerged as a part of educational development, in particular guidance and counseling, educational psychology, and special education. For the past 20 years, the interest in psychology and its related branches has improved and is closely related to the rapid development of the economy after independence in 1984. Since independence, there has been a clear increase in the role of psychology, especially in mental health care and clinical psychology, counseling services, and services for children with special needs by means of inclusive education. An increasing number of Bruneians are gaining academic and professional qualifications in psychology-related areas. Asian countries have diverse sociocultural perspectives. Psychology is not growing as quickly as some other disciplines. Society, culture, and belief systems still play a major role in the development of psychology. On a positive note, with the advent of information technology,

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